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HAITI CONFLICT ASSESSMENT



Haiti Conflict Assessment

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ACCRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ADLN	The Dessalinien National Liberation Army
AFR/SD	USAID Bureau for Africa, Office of Sustainable Development
AVSI	Associazione Volontari per il Servizio Internazionale
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
DCHA/CMM	USAID Bureau for Democracy, Conflict and Humanitarian Assistance, Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation
DCHA/DG	USAID Bureau for Democracy, Conflict and Humanitarian Assistance, Office of Democracy and Governance
DCHA/OTI	USAID Bureau for Democracy, Conflict and Humanitarian Assistance, Office of Transition I Initiatives
EGAT	USAID Bureau for Economic Growth, Agriculture and Trade
EGAT/NRM/LRM	USAID Bureau for Economic Growth, Agriculture and Trade, Office of Natural Resources Management, Land Resource Management Team
EGAT/PR/PASSN	USAID Bureau for Economic Growth, Agriculture and Trade, Office of Poverty Reduction, Poverty Analysis and Social Safety Nets Team
EGAT/PR/UP	Bureau for Economic Growth, Agriculture and Trade, Office of Poverty Reduction, Urban Programs Team
FAd'H	Forces Armées d'Haïti (the Haitian Armed Forces)
FRAPH	Front Révolutionnaire Armé pour le Progrès d'Haïti (the Revolutionary Armed Front for the Progress of Haïti)
GOH	Government of Haiti
HNP	Haitian National Police
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IOM	International Organization for Migration
LAC/RSD	USAID Bureau for Latin America and the Caribbean, Office of Regional and Sustainable Development
LESPWA	Front de l'Espoir (Hope Front)
MINUSTAH	Mission des Nations Unies pour la stabilisation en Haïti (United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haïti)
MINUSTAH/DDR	United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haïti's Demobilization, Disarmament and Reintegration Section
MSF	Medicines Sans Frontières (Doctors Without Borders)

PADF	Pan American Development Foundation's Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration Section
PAHO	Pan American Health Organization
UNICEF	The United Nations Children's Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USAID/Afghanistan	United States Agency for International Development Mission in Afghanistan
USAID/Haiti	United States Agency for International Development Mission in Haiti
USG	U.S. government

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Modern Haiti stands at a crossroads. On the one hand, its progress and stability continue to be threatened by political exclusion, widespread youth unemployment, insufficient access to social services, and other longstanding “incentives” for violence. Additionally, the abundance of small arms and a large disenfranchised youth population provide ample resources for manipulation by criminal gangs, organized crime, Haiti’s economic elites, ex-FAD’H members and such political “outsiders” as former President Aristide. Haiti also continues to suffer from weak governing institutions and a history of violent political changes. Taken together, such factors could coalesce in a destabilizing mix during the critical but vulnerable first months of the new Prével Administration. On the other hand, the early months of the Prével Administration also constitutes a critical window of opportunity for the Government of Haiti and the international community to implement the programs and reforms that will be necessary for Haiti’s long-term economic health and stability.

Haiti has historically suffered from weak governance stemming from an authoritarian political culture and public institutions monopolized by partisan loyalists for personal gain. Still, traditional family and religious networks served as a check on criminality and as enforcers of social norms. However, weak civil society institutions are increasingly being co-opted by political and economic interests, while family networks are being eroded by economic need. In turn, these conditions are fueling a growing rural exodus and the rise of criminality, including kidnappings and the drug trade. Ineffective state institutions provide little counterbalance to these challenges, while the cycle of winner-take-all politics provides continued motivation to manipulate disenfranchised youth and criminal groups for political ends.

Such patterns of instability will continue unabated as long as Haiti’s economic resources continue to shrink, through environmental degradation and the stagnation of economic activities, while the pool of available recruits - unemployed, uneducated, and politically alienated youth - continues to grow. As long as various groups - both the marginalized and the powerful - feel systematically excluded, these ingredients for instability will periodically boil over into violence as various segments of society pursue extra-legal means to achieve their political and economic ends.

In an effort to address these pressing issues, USAID and the U.S. Embassy should utilize available U.S. government resources to create a comprehensive approach to the problem of instability and, to the extent possible, ensure donor coordination in Haiti.

RECOMMENDED INTERVENTIONS

The overall objective of donor engagement must be to address the longer-term, root causes of instability while, in the short-term, pursuing high-impact interventions to break the cycle of exclusion and ensure stability in the most troubled areas of Haiti. USAID/Haiti is currently pursuing vital strategic objectives related to health, education, economic growth, and governance. These resources should be strategically targeted to more effectively stabilize Haiti’s “hot spots” - neighborhoods that are particularly prone to instability and criminality - and to address a number of the aforementioned conflict factors by: creating jobs and economic opportunities; engaging youth and women in community participation and decision-making; providing security and access to fair and impartial justice; and strengthening governing institutions across Haitian society. Achieving these goals will require both incentives and pressure by the international community to enact inclusive reforms that benefit traditionally excluded Haitian groups, as well as to direct resources in a way that demonstrates to citizens that the Government of Haiti (GOH) is serious about improving the state of jobs, social services, and security in their communities.

ADDRESS HAITI'S HOT SPOTS"

In order to mitigate the impression that the GOH is inattentive to the needs and desires of its citizens, there should be an immediate, concerted and integrated U.S. government and donor effort to reinforce the

GOH's effectiveness in Haiti's most troubled areas, including parts of Port-au-Prince (Cite Soleil, Bel Air, Delmas, Martissant) and in Gonaives, Cap Haitian, St. Marc and Petit Goave, and especially among unemployed youth in these areas.

CREATE JOBS AND EXPAND ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES

Employment for Haiti's vulnerable youth population is an immediate concern but assistance, particularly in Haiti's hot spots, must also focus on infrastructure projects and other initiatives that can serve as a "bridge" to longer-term income opportunities. Market-driven vocational training linked to job opportunities and increased access to credit would also serve to lessen the isolation of Haiti's youth population and increase opportunities for trade and commerce.

FOSTER RULE OF LAW AND SECURITY

Providing security and access to fair and impartial justice will be key to establishing the legitimacy of the new Préval Administration, building citizen confidence, and laying the foundation for infrastructure and development activities. The U.S. Government and donor community should work in concert to seek integrated security sector reform at the national and local level, build community cooperation and confidence, and improve citizen access to justice.

CREATE AVENUES FOR CITIZEN VOICE AND PARTICIPATION

Given Haiti's history of political and social exclusion, as well as rising public expectations in the wake of President Préval's election, there is a significant need to develop avenues for citizens to participate in social and political decision-making. Such interventions will be especially critical in integrating previously marginalized and/or volatile groups, such as youth, urban poor, and women, into national and local decision-making processes. At the same time, new vehicles for greater participation and communication must also be established.

STRENGTHEN INSTITUTIONS FOR GOOD GOVERNANCE

Governing institutions in Haiti frequently lack the capacity to provide services effectively or even manage their own affairs. Donor support should be targeted to key decision-making institutions while robust institutional development efforts should be incorporated into all sector programs. Assistance must also fortify local governments by incorporating capacity building into all local development programs to ensure that government officials and local representatives of national ministries play a role in decision-making, oversight, and administration of community development activities. Finally, promoting good governance practices should be an integral part of donor development assistance in all sectors.

INTRODUCTION

Haiti continues to face daunting challenges to its stability and development. A culture of zero-sum politics, widespread youth unemployment, and insufficient access to social services provide ample incentives for violence, while widespread small arms and a large, disenfranchised jobless youth population serve as resources that can be utilized by gangs, organized crime, and political actors. Additionally, the clear absence of effective state and social institutions has created an exploitable political and social vacuum that the aforementioned groups have sought to fill. With Haiti's history of violent political changes, there is a clear potential for grievances, resources, and opportunities to coalesce into a destabilizing mix in the early months of the new Préval Administration.

USAID/Haiti requested the assistance of the USAID Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation (DCHA/CMM) in conducting an assessment of the short and long-term causes and triggers of conflict and instability in Haiti, with the goal of providing recommendations to inform the Mission's strategy development. In response to this request, DCHA/CMM organized a six-person team to work in conjunction with the USAID Mission to develop a focus on appropriate geographic areas and populations to address the nexus of instability and development in Haiti.

During March 2006, the assessment team comprised of individuals from DCHA/CMM, the USAID Office of Democracy and Governance, the USAID Office of Transition Initiatives, and the U.S. Department of State Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization, met with a wide range of national and local host government representatives, members of civil society, and USAID partners. Discussions were held in the northern cities of Gonaives, Cap Haitian, and St. Marc, the southern cities of Les Cayes and Petit Goave, and the capital of Port-au-Prince.

The assessment report is intended to reflect the views of the individuals interviewed and to use the consensus issues highlighted by those interviewed, even though they may not necessarily coincide with conventional wisdom or data on Haiti, to identify popular perceptions and key issues that either have in the past, or could in the future, contribute to conflict and instability in Haiti. The views and recommendations expressed in this report are solely those of the Assessment Team and are not necessarily those of USAID or the U.S. Government. A list of the organizations and individuals contacted by the team can be found in Appendix I.

RISK FACTORS FOR VIOLENT CONFLICT IN HAITI

This section outlines a number of sources of grievance and instability affecting Haiti. The grievances include feelings of political and economic exclusion that have the potential to arouse frustration in wide segments of the population. The other sources of instability affect the lives of a majority of Haiti's citizens. All these risk factors, as outlined below, are associated with elevated risk of violent conflict and unrest.

ECONOMIC RISK FACTORS

Haiti exhibits many of the signs of a chronically unhealthy economy. The country's real income or GDP decreased at an average annual rate of -0.82 per cent between 1980 and 2003, while per capita GDP fell from \$632 in 1980 to \$332 in 2003.¹ Three-quarters of Haiti's population is considered poor, while over half - four and a half million people - are extremely poor; 77 percent of Haiti's extremely poor live in rural areas.² This situation is worrisome, as recent research confirms that poverty is strongly correlated with the emergence of violent conflict. Indeed, internal conflict is overwhelmingly concentrated in low-income countries, particularly in those experiencing stagnant or negative economic growth.³ And extreme poverty coupled with "the relative capacity of the state to perform core functions, including the provision of security, effective governance throughout its territory, and the equitable distribution of public goods, has a direct bearing on the incidence of armed conflict".⁴

Conditions in Haiti over the past twenty years also have not been favorable for attracting private investment or promoting the development and expansion of domestic enterprises. Political crises and the lack of political will have stalled the privatization of infrastructure-related enterprises (including the airport, ports, the telephone company, and the electric company), and have made it difficult to begin and sustain needed economic reforms. In the wake of the international embargo from 1991 to 1994, access to international markets and export-oriented sectors, including Haiti's key assembly-oriented industries (e.g., garments, toys, and electronics), declined and these industries still have not recovered their former strength. And while monopolies are no longer institutionalized, domestic markets still suffer from a lack of open competition and the presence of quasi-monopolies based on personal and financial relationships and political influence. Other issues hindering investment (to be discussed in greater detail later in this paper) include: weak government institutions, the absence of accountability in public finances, inadequate infrastructure, the uneven application of economic reforms, and the lack of domestic investment capital. Consequently, Haiti has experienced acute difficulties when competing against its neighbors for foreign investment.⁵

Two aspects of Haiti's poor economic state in particular are linked in the scholarly literature with higher than average prospects for violence: These are the country's high level of unemployment, particularly among youth, as well as its high levels of income inequality. In the case of Haiti, that impact is exacerbated by a third key factor: the lack of access among large segments of the population to basic services, including health, education, and sanitation.⁶ These three elements are discussed in greater detail below.

1 Vemer, Dorte. "Making the Poor Haitians Count Takes More Than Counting the Poor: A Poverty and Labor Market Assessment of Rural and Urban Haiti based on the First Household Survey for Haiti." World Bank (April 2005).

2 Sletten, Pal & Willy Egset. "Poverty in Haiti." Fafo Institute of Applied International Studies. (2004): 9.

3 Collier, Paul and Anke Hoeffler. "Greed and Grievance in Civil War." (Centre for the Study of African Economies: University of Oxford, 2002)

4 Amson, Cynthia J. and I. William Zartman, eds. "Rethinking the Economics of War: The Intersection of Need, Creed, and Greed." (Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2005): 10.

5 Kelley, Martha N. "Assessing the Investment Climate in Haiti: Policy Challenges." Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (2001)

6 According to Amson and Zartman, "Even if poverty and conflict do not always coincide, it takes little imagination to see that grievances over deprivation of basic needs have a motor role in conflict."

UNEMPLOYMENT & LARGE YOUTH POPULATION

According to recent estimates, approximately 61 percent of Haiti's population is below the age of 24 years and 23.5 percent is between the ages of 15 and 24 years.⁷ Furthermore, approximately two-thirds of the Haitian labor force does not have a formal job.⁸ These facts are significant because a strong correlation exists between large youth cohorts (a high number of 15 to 29 year olds relative to the total population) and political violence.⁹ World Bank research shows that youth unemployment, in particular, can have a critical bearing on the probability of violent conflict.¹⁰ When young people - particularly young men - are uprooted, jobless, or alienated with few opportunities for positive engagement, they represent a ready pool of recruits for those seeking to fuel unrest and violence.

Without access to viable, licit economic opportunities, many youth may perceive that criminal activity is their only alternative. Some individuals interviewed by the assessment team suggested that the rise of criminality in recent years, including narco-trafficking and kidnapping, is at least partially due to a lack of licit economic opportunities. In the poorest urban slums with the highest levels of unemployment, interviews suggested that part of the population depends economically on the gains from criminal activities, and therefore provides active support to those activities.

INEQUALITIES OF INCOME DISTRIBUTION

Income inequalities also can serve as a powerful incentive for violent conflict and unrest as the poor may agitate to induce wealth redistribution and the rich may instigate violence to preempt or prevent redistribution.¹¹ A handful of Haitian families control a significant portion of the country's resources and Haiti's income distribution is the most unequal in the region with a Gini coefficient of .65¹² and the level of income inequality has not changed much since the mid-1980s.¹³ Access to land has also become an issue as decades of government patronage and malleable property laws have allowed the best lands to be taken over by companies and social elites.¹⁴ A 2004 DCHA/DG Haiti Assessment cited reports of land grabs in many parts of the country and several assessment team interviews confirmed that localized violence and crime, particularly in rural areas, is often a direct result of conflicts over land.

LACK OF ACCESS TO KEY SERVICES

In terms of access to basic services, illiteracy levels in Haiti are the highest in the Latin America and the Caribbean regions and enrollment rates for primary education are only 56 percent; only about 60 percent of Haiti's population has access to health care¹⁵; less than half of Haiti's population has access to potable water services; and only 4 percent of the rural population has electricity. Moreover, many services are highly concentrated in urban areas, while there are marked differences in access even within cities among different neighborhoods. According to many of those interviewed, the insufficiency of basic services and their unequal distribution has heightened feelings of alienation and frustration among certain segments of the population.

While acute poverty, grievances over deprivation of basic needs, and environmental degradation are not alone sufficient determinants of conflict and instability in Haiti, the rapid loss of livelihoods over a generation,

7 Data is from the Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat

8 U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. "The World Factbook: Haiti." <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/ha.html>

9 Fuller, Gary A. and Forrest Pitts. "Youth cohorts and political unrest in South Korea." *Political Geography Quarterly* 9 (1990): 9-22.

10 Sardesai, Shonali and Per Wam. "The Conflict Analysis Framework." Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction Unit (SDV), World Bank, CPR Dissemination Notes No. 5 (October 2002)

11 Sen, Amartya. *On Economic Inequality*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973)

12 Sletten and Egset 9.

13 Pedersen, Jon and Kathryn Lockwood. "Determination of a Poverty Line for Haiti." *Fafo Institute of Applied International Studies*. (2001): 5-6.

14 Howard, Philip. "Environmental Scarcities and Conflict in Haiti: Ecology and Grievances in Haiti's Troubled Past and Uncertain Future." *Canadian International Development Agency*. (June 1998): 17.

15 "PAHO works to restore public health services in Haiti." *Bull World Health Organ* 82: 4 (April 2004): 316-317.

coupled with the lack of viable economic opportunities, and urban migration creates a vulnerable population, alienated from the government, that could be mobilized for violence.¹⁶ Consequently, “interventions to break th[e] downward spiral - either by reversing deterioration in specific dimensions of governance, or by creating ‘blocks’ or ‘obstacles’ to avoid negative spillover effects from one area of governance to others - are vital to prevent[ing] further decline.”¹⁷

DESTABILIZING DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS

Poverty and a paucity of economic investment in Haiti have fueled an environmental disaster, which in turn has fueled urban migration. Deforestation has led to changes in watersheds and other problems that reduce the number of people the land can support. Each year, large numbers of Haitians feel compelled to migrate in search of better job prospects, educational opportunities, and economic conditions abroad and within Haiti.¹⁸ The government’s inability to improve the situation erodes its legitimacy¹⁹ in the eyes of the population as they seek more viable means to ensure their economic security.

Traditional family and religious networks, both urban and rural, also suffer as a result of extreme poverty. These networks, strongly rooted in Haiti’s history and culture, have in the past provided a measure of stability and order for families even in the absence of government-provided services. However, these structures have been eroded by poverty, disease and urban migration. With HIV prevalence rates among the adult population exceeding 5 percent - the only country with such rates outside the African continent - AIDS has serious negative implications for social capital, the population structure, and economic growth as it wipes out young women and men in their most productive years. The security implications of AIDS include its destabilizing effects on urban cohorts of young people as they are often left without parents and hence, necessary economic resources.²⁰

POLITICAL RISK FACTORS²¹

Haiti’s political process continues to be undermined by the exclusion of key elements of its society, as well as the ongoing weakness of its governing institutions.

POLITICAL EXCLUSION

Haiti’s long-standing tendency toward political exclusion is driven by several key factors. First, it results from the lack of responsiveness of Haiti’s political institutions and leaders. Political parties have not broadened their leadership or membership to include the younger generation, and are largely unresponsive to their constituencies, thus leaving citizens, and particularly youth, with few avenues for political expression. This disconnect is further exacerbated by the fact that party power remains concentrated in Port-au-Prince. Interviews with urban youth in both Port-au-Prince and the secondary cities (Cap Haitien, Les Cayes, and Gonaives) revealed that their contact with political parties exists only around elections. After elections, constituents have little access to legislators, who rarely return to their districts to explain priorities or decision-making.

At the local level, the decentralized government structure outlined in Haiti’s constitution has never been fully implemented. Additionally, local elections have often been truncated, and many crucial administrative,

16 Ohlsson, Leif. “Livelihood Conflicts: Linking poverty and environment as causes of conflict.” Swedish International Cooperation Agency. (December 2000): 3.

17 Goldstone, Jack. “State Capacity: The Dynamics of Effectiveness and Legitimacy in Government Action in Fragile States.” USAID Working Papers on Fragile States No. 2 (2005): 9.

18 “Haiti: Short and Long-Term Issues Paper.” United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean. (2005): 4.

19 According to Jack Goldstone in the working paper, “research on state capacity by the Political Instability Task Force and the World Bank has indicated that there are two primary dimensions of state capacity: these are effectiveness, or how well the government is able to translate resources into actions to achieve desired policy outcomes, and legitimacy, or whether the outcomes achieved, and the methods used to achieve them, are considered credible, fair and reasonable by local societal standards of the population.”

20 Piot, Peter et al. “The global impact of HIV/AIDS” *Nature* 410:6831 (April 19, 2001): 968-973.

21 For additional information on these issues see the June 2004 “USAID Political Parties and Political Violence in Haiti Assessment.”

technical and representative offices remain unfilled. There are few legitimate avenues for citizens to express their political concerns or hold their leaders accountable for responding to citizen needs. Interviews in Gonaives, for example, revealed that this lack of trust in political parties and the GOH to deliver basic services and to be responsive to constituent demands has resulted in citizens turning to donors and implementing partners, gangs, and community defense groups rather than to the government, to meet their pressing needs.

Focus groups conducted by the assessment team also found that youth in particular have a growing awareness of their right to participate in the political process (partly as a result of successful donor civic education programs), and want a role that is more robust than simply voting during elections. Absent access to organized political outlets, many young interviewees suggested that they would continue to participate in street demonstrations, especially given their assertion that such protests have influenced political outcomes in the past.

Second, political exclusion results from zero-sum competition between political actors, which is linked to the use of violence and intimidation as a tool to gain or maintain a hold on political power. In the zero-sum game of Haitian politics, there is little notion of rewarding opposition as a means to keep them engaged and to maintain constructive avenues of participation. As a result, every election has renewed the threat of political monopoly, as those left out of the new regime have seen few legitimate options for engagement, and instead, have often turned to political stonewalling, and in some cases violence, to achieve their political ends.

POLITICS AND REPRESSION

Two consecutive Duvalier dictatorships used the Haitian military and the Tonton Macoute paramilitary organization to maintain their 29 year grip on power. Thousands of Haitians were killed through public executions, political assassinations, and disappearances. Following the military overthrow of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide in 1991, the Haitian Armed Forces (Forces Armées d'Haïti, FAd'H), their paramilitary counterpart, the Revolutionary Armed Front for the Progress of Haiti (Front Révolutionnaire Armé pour le Progrès d'Haïti, FRAPH), and the Haitian National Police (HNP) were politicized and used as a tool for political repression. Political violence also increased progressively during the second term of Jean Bertrand Aristide. Aristide's departure in 2004 would not have occurred absent the activities of Guy Phillippe's Front Armee du Nord and the defection of key militant groups from Fanmi Lavalas. And while political violence seems to have declined during the period before and after the presidential election in 2006, most individuals interviewed believe that violence will continue to define Haitian politics.

Another troubling trend is the politicization of well armed youth gangs, militant popular organizations, and criminal organizations - groups that used force to intimidate political opposition for Former President Aristide and Fanmi Lavalas - and their susceptibility to use by political actors to achieve their ends (see more extensive section on Neighborhood Groups and Criminal Gangs). Interviews in urban slums in several parts of the country, including Les Cayes, Gonaives and St Marc, described how rivalries among various types of groups became politically polarized and erupted into open violence during the period prior to former President Aristide's departure in 2004. In Port-au-Prince, the majority of interviews suggested that at least part of the violent crime since Aristide's departure has been motivated by political ends, with either active or tacit support by political leaders.

WEAK GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS

Underlying the climate of political exclusion is the general weakness of government institutions.²² While the adoption of the 1987 Constitution by the Haitian people signaled their desire for a more participatory government that can provide basic services for the entirety of its population, the heavily decentralized apparatus outlined in the 1987 Constitution has never been provided the resources or authority to carry out even basic functions. Local government officials often have little knowledge of their roles, especially related to the responsibilities of assemblies, taxation, and the relationship between the communal section, commune and departmental bodies.

Government institutions are further weakened by a lack of continuity in staffing and documentation. With every change of government, nearly all positions within the administration are parceled out to political supporters rather than competent administrators. Given Haiti's tumultuous political history, outgoing administrations have no incentive for an organized hand-off or to develop basic financial, budgetary or personnel systems that can provide a measure of order and transparency to their operations. Lack of transparency, endemic corruption and the lack of basic financial management systems have starved the already weak bureaucracy of necessary finances. According to the Transparency International 2005 Corruption Perceptions Index, corruption is perceived as "most rampant" in five countries and Haiti is among those five.²³

This history of political exclusion and weak governance bodes ill for Haiti's chances of avoiding politically-driven conflict for a number of reasons. First, the ineffectiveness of Haitian institutions in promoting consensus and resolving disputes has fed the use of informal - often illicit or violent - means to achieve political ends. By failing to strengthen the judicial system as a venue for the peaceful arbitration of grievances, the GOH has inadvertently encouraged individuals to move outside the existing legal system in order to seek redress. Similarly, the failure of government decision-making bodies such as Parliament and local assemblies to serve as a forum for reaching consensus on issues of common concern has resulted in government policies and actions favoring narrow, factional interests. Second, by resorting to violence to achieve political ends, political parties, the HNP, and other armed groups have legitimated violence as a political tool. Finally, the lack of legitimate and accessible avenues for political expression may continue to fuel violent expressions of dissent.

The situation is not without its bright spots, as some individuals interviewed indicated that the new President of Haiti, René Préval, cognizant of the threats to Haiti's long-term stability, has sent signals that he may take steps to promote greater dialogue within Haitian society and to facilitate local political participation and increased economic opportunities. Interviews also suggested that while some elements of the armed youth gangs, militant popular organizations, and criminal organizations have become hardened criminals motivated by illicit profits, other factions are waiting to see if the Administration of René Préval will provide them with non-violent political alternatives. And civil society groups, while largely possessing weak institutional capacity and engaged in oftentimes fragile alliances, continue to organize community events and defend issues of common interest that can be tapped into by the GOH and donors.

AT-RISK GROUPS

The section above has outlined factors for violent conflict in Haiti that affect the majority of Haitian citizens. When assessing the prospects for outbreaks of violence, however, it is also necessary to determine what groups or organizations exist that might be mobilized quickly or have the ability to mobilize others for violent conflict or unrest. These groups are often driven by a complex mixture of grievance and greed -

22 The USAID C/FACTS 2006 Alert List ranked Haiti fourteenth in the world for based on political fragility outcome indicators, fourteenth in state effectiveness, and thirtieth in state legitimacy. The most fragile country according to each indicator is ranked 1.

23 Transparency International. "Corruption Still Rampant in 70 Countries, Says Corruption Perceptions Index 2005." http://www.transparency.org/news_room/in_focus/2005/cpi_2005#pressrelease

including people for whom the status quo is intolerable and people who stand to benefit from unrest. Without groups able and willing to mobilize, risk factors are likely to remain fragmented and the potential for violence is likely to remain latent.

This assessment has identified five groups of concern in Haiti: former President Jean Bertrand Aristide and his supporters; neighborhood groups and criminal gangs; economic elites; ex-FAd'H; and the Haitian National Police. These groups are, or have the potential to be, relatively cohesive due to their shared problems and interests, but their inclination toward violent action will largely depend on the policies adopted by the GOH and tensions among the population - including the level of public acceptance of foreign intervention²⁴ - in which case these groups could be the focal point of, or facilitate, violent unrest.

JEAN BERTRAND ARISTIDE AND HIS SUPPORTERS

Both Jean Bertrand Aristide and his supporters want to remain part of the political equation in Haiti. In the wake of his ouster in 2004 and Fanmi Lavalas' failed bid for the presidency, violence could stem from a desire for political revenge, or from attempts by former President Aristide or his supporters to regain political control.²⁵

There are many possible scenarios and conditions under which Former President Aristide and his supporters could foment instability. The following are intended as examples and not as an exhaustive list:

1. Assessment team interviews suggested that at least some Former President Aristide supporters voted for LESPWA with the expectation that President Préval would facilitate the return of former President Aristide. If they sense that President Préval is not aiding his return, or is taking too long to facilitate this process, Aristide's supporters may use violent unrest to apply pressure to the government.
2. If former President Aristide senses he is either being excluded from Haitian politics or there are steps being taken to permanently exile him from Haiti, he may seek to use factions that are loyal to him to destabilize the Préval Administration to prove that the majority of Haitian citizens remain loyal to him and that he is the only one who can manage citizens' demands.
3. If former President Aristide returns to Haiti, it is likely that his arrest will be sought. Individuals interviewed expected that if he is arrested, he will seek to mobilize his supporters to either stop his arrest or demand his liberation. These demonstrations could destabilize the government and could degenerate into widespread clashes.

NEIGHBORHOOD GROUPS AND CRIMINAL GANGS²⁶

The structure of gangs and organized crime is complex and multi-faceted, with variations in different neighborhoods and cities. Although information is often anecdotal, several points emerged from the assessment team's interviews and site visits, which were corroborated by MINUSTAH/DDR staff. Differentiation between the following groups is based largely on how the groups identify themselves. Consequently, the process of "naming" or categorizing groups is delicate and fluid. These groups are based primarily in Cite Soleil and other slum neighborhoods in Port-au-Prince, although there are reports of attempts to expand their influence to secondary cities.

In slums such as Cite Soleil, neighborhood organizations and gangs are often the only guarantor of the host community's well-being (security, livelihoods, and other basic needs) and often effectively supplant the state's functions. According to MINUSTAH/DDR staff, the residents of neighborhoods of Port-au-Prince

24 Assessment team interviews suggested that there is at least a small portion of the Haitian population that is suspicious of donor policies and programs in Haiti. This point was illustrated by anti-MINUSTAH rhetoric heard by members of the assessment team and the reported presence of anti-foreigner movements such as the ADLN in the Limbe/Plaisance area.

25 Immediately following February 7, 2006 elections, Jean Bertrand Aristide stated in a February 23rd BBC interview that the Haitian people's vote for Rene Préval was their non-violent expression for his return.

26 This section was written with the assistance of Desmond Molloy and El Hadji Bara Dieng of MINUSTAH/DDR

and other secondary cities are “left to their own devices” and can only achieve well-being through these groups of young people who are mobilized to defend their communities in the absence of the state. Neighborhood groups and their host neighborhoods therefore have a symbiotic relationship, wherein the community grants these groups legitimacy because of the services they provide in the state’s absence.²⁷ Interviews with youth from Port-au-Prince (Caridad and Carrefour Feuilles) described a collaborative relationship between the HNP and these groups to enforce a curfew in these neighborhoods in return for weapons and shared spoils.

In most poor neighborhoods in Port-au-Prince and in some secondary cities, “neighborhood groups” serve as an extended family for the neighborhood’s youth who are first and foremost, a “group of friends”. Neighborhood groups are not always distinct from community associations that provide constructive outlets like sports or bind together for specific objectives. They sometimes call themselves *Brigade de vigilance* or *Groupe d’autodéfense*. These groups are territorial and often engage in “self-defense”, sometimes violent, against rival neighborhood groups. As neighborhood groups generally profess allegiance to a particular political personality, neighborhood rivalries often take on political tones that can escalate into larger-scale violence and political actors often use these groups to access neighborhood residents. In the absence of employment opportunities or constructive outlets, these groups can be easily mobilized by political interests. They often participate in petty crime, and they can be drawn into occasional organized criminal activities as opportunities present themselves.

In contrast to neighborhood groups, criminal gangs are organized hierarchically, are better armed, and participate in more extensive criminal activities such as kidnapping and drug trafficking. Criminal gangs are typically structured with a *chef*, a couple of *lieutenants*, and ten or more *soldats*. Arms are held primarily by the *chef* and the *lieutenants* and allegiance and discipline is maintained by assurances of personal security and political connections by the “boss” and the threat of violence if “foot soldiers” defect.

Most gang “foot soldiers” and the communities in which they operate are primarily interested in meeting their basic political and economic needs, while gang leaders are likely motivated by political power and profit; therefore, the latter benefit from general lawlessness in Cite Soleil and other neighborhoods. Some of the criminal gangs are motivated by a political cause - whether it is support or opposition to former President Aristide; others operate under the direction of political parties or power groups; and some, while established and armed by Aristide, are primarily interested in personal gain. According to MINUSTAH/DDR staff, the political alliances of criminal gangs are opportunistic and “based on the best offer” rather than political ideology. Consequently, some “bosses” are presently looking for an exit strategy to rehabilitate their public image (see the March 3, 2006 edition of *Le Matin* featuring a cover photo of Wyclef Jean with gang leaders, Amaral, and Evans).²⁸

As President Préval’s political agenda takes shape, there may be more definition concerning which of the neighborhood organizations, gangs, and criminal networks will be prosecuted for their involvement in criminal acts. Some may be pursued by law enforcement; others will be pushed out of their neighborhood niches by community members; but both will be looking to ensure their survival and to prevent prosecution and hence, will remain armed and prone to manipulation and incitement toward violence by organized criminal and political interests.

ECONOMIC ELITES

Although they are but a small percentage of the overall population, a handful of Haitian families control a significant portion of the country’s resources, including land, and monopolize most of the country’s economic sectors. This inequality has historically been coupled with a disinclination to accept higher taxes to fund social programs - partly because of legitimate concerns about corruption and fiscal mismanagement

27 MINUSTAH/DDR, El Hadji Bara Dieng

28 MINUSTAH/DDR, El Hadji Bara Dieng

within the GOH. The private sector is not homogenous in its political outlook, as at least a portion of private sector supported the presidential campaign of René Préval rather than more overtly private sector-friendly candidates.

It does appear that at least a small portion of the population, including both traditional elites and others who have benefited from economic monopolies, is committed to retaining its privileges, including tax evasion, control of state-owned enterprises, and customs exemptions.²⁹ Additionally, some private sector leaders interviewed indicated a willingness to “counter those who seek to undermine their interests and make them afraid”. Interviews uncovered that this posture is at least partially driven by kidnappings and attacks on economic infrastructure (ports, the warehouse district, and industrial parks) that have plagued Port-au-Prince since 2004 and affected this segment of society by increasing their feelings of insecurity and diminishing or destroying their economic assets.

The challenge confronting the new government at all levels is to address economic issues like corruption, while also addressing gangs. The danger is that by either directly confronting the entrenched interests of the private sector or by negotiating with the armed gangs of Cite Soleil whom they perceive as criminals not to be negotiated with, that the GOH and President Préval will risk exacerbating social tensions and cleavages and fueling the potential for violent unrest.

The wearying effects of instability and violence, coupled with a growing number of Haitians pursuing advanced education abroad, have resulted in a small but growing segment of the private sector (primarily the younger generation) recognizing the need to address Haiti’s underlying problems in order to advance the country’s economic and social development. Several of these actors run foundations that provide health and education services, although some individuals interviewed suggested that they would welcome USAID assistance to strategically direct their resources.

EX-FAD’H³⁰

The Haitian Armed Forces (FAd’H) were demobilized in 1994 and remained largely peaceful for the ten years following demobilization (despite the fact that the demobilized were not paid their pension), but the departure of President Aristide in 2004 demonstrated that the FAd’H, or at least some elements, have an ongoing interest in the politics of Haiti. Moreover, their hopes for the reinvigoration of the Haitian Armed Forces have at least been temporarily dashed by President Préval’s stated intent to constitutionally dissolve the Army.³¹

Individuals interviewed by the assessment team stated that a majority of the FAd’H are not interested in permanently destabilizing Haiti, but rather in establishing a political environment where the armed forces are reconstituted or at least given employment, possibly by providing security or law enforcement services. In the short-term, however, the FAd’H may have an interest in perpetuating instability as it may increase the public’s demand for the army’s restoration (as some individuals interviewed believe the FAd’H are able to provide security where the HNP and MINUSTAH are not). Unless FAd’H interests are addressed and individuals are disarmed and reintegrated in an organized manner, the FAd’H will remain a volatile group.

29 This sentiment, expressed in interviews, is echoed in “Spoiling Security in Haiti: An International Crisis Group Policy Report.” The International Crisis Group (May 31, 2005).

30 Additional information along this same line may be found in “Spoiling Security in Haiti: An International Crisis Group Policy Report.” The International Crisis Group (May 31, 2005).

31 According to Radio Metropole, on March 16, 2006 President Préval explained that “the country needs a force that can control its borders and its seas but not an army of seventy or eighty thousand soldiers. ‘We are not waging war with any other countries. So, we will not restore the army.’ These are statements by the President, who explained that he will invest the money that could be used for the army in development projects.”

HAITIAN NATIONAL POLICE³²

The Haitian National Police (HNP) faces a critical situation. The HNP, according to assessment team interviews, still lacks the personnel, logistical and material resources necessary to fulfill its mandate. Additionally, despite the positively received efforts of Mario Andresol, Chief of the Haitian National Police, to reform and professionalize the HNP, corruption continues to be a concern and the police do not appear to have successfully regained the public's trust, particularly in urban slums. Assessment team interviews suggested that in some of the difficult neighborhoods of Port-au-Prince, factions within the HNP support neighborhood groups and armed gangs, providing them with weapons and logistical support, to maintain control over the neighborhoods and counter rival gangs. Numerous interviews also suggested that elements within the HNP directly participate in or tacitly support organized criminal activity, including narco-trafficking and kidnapping. This emerging nexus between the HNP, criminal gangs, and organized crime compounded by continuing corruption could be a destabilizing trend if it is not addressed effectively and transparently by the GOH and the donor community.

FUTURE PROSPECTS: HAITI AT A CROSSROADS

Haiti thus stands at a crossroads. On one hand, as detailed above, the country exhibits a number of attributes and trends that are associated with the emergence of violent conflict. On the other hand, President René Préval has the opportunity to enact the fundamental reforms that will be necessary for Haiti's long-term economic and political health and stability.

Notably, there are some places and events on the horizon that could trigger the outbreak of unrest and violent conflict. The places and events outlined below represent the immediate challenges facing the GOH and the international community and are issues of concern raised by the individuals interviewed by the assessment team. These moments and places of vulnerability only extend to Fall 2006, but unless these potential triggers are navigated successfully by the GOH and the donor community, the opportunity for a peaceful political transition and the establishment of stability may be lost.

VULNERABLE AREAS

Since the presidential election on February 7, 2006, "hot spots" or neighborhoods that are particularly prone to instability and criminality have seen a marked decrease in violence. Nonetheless, these remain areas where the underlying causes of conflict are especially acute - where social, political and economic exclusion are fueled by the absence of state institutions; where criminality fueled by a proliferation of small arms has thrived among the large numbers of unemployed and disaffected youth; and where traditional community networks have been eroded. Since these areas have been the epicenter of violent unrest and a source of criminality, addressing their populations' needs will be critical to achieving the stability necessary for the country to move forward under President Préval. The Recommendations and Lessons Learned in this report provide a more detailed analysis of approaches that have or could successfully meet the basic needs of these communities.

FORMATION OF NEW GOVERNMENT AND THE SELECTION OF A PRIME MINISTER

The Administration of President René Préval must be as inclusive as possible to mitigate the potential for groups to destabilize the country, and during his first few weeks as Haiti's 57th President, René Préval has demonstrated his tacit understanding of the importance of inclusion.³³ Including more factions in the new administration could strengthen the incentive of such groups to work within the political process, potentially

³² Additional information along this same line may be found in "Spoiling Security in Haiti: An International Crisis Group Policy Report." The International Crisis Group (May 31, 2005).

³³ In March 2006, President René Préval in his first official trip as President of Haiti visited the Dominican Republic accompanied by Haitian private sector representatives.

lowering the number of political spoilers with whom he will need to contend. Additionally, the Haitian private sector and politicians must use their position to promote inclusion among their ranks because unless they are able to break the traditional winner-take-all political pattern, instability could result.

The selection of a Prime Minister is often contentious and volatile as s/he is the principal interlocutor between the Executive and Legislative bodies and is often the leader the public sees as responsible for the government's policies and programs. President Préval's selection for Prime Minister will test the coherence and strength of his new government and his administration's relationship with the new Legislature.

RESOLVING CONTENTIOUS POLITICAL ISSUES

After the government takes shape, it will be faced by numerous legislative and policy issues that could easily degenerate into political stalemate. Such issues might include the passage of the national budget, the permanent dissolution of the FAd'H, the privatization of state-owned enterprises, or the devolution of authority of local governments. While none of these issues are likely to result in armed conflict, the failure of the GOH to resolve such critical issues through negotiation and compromise could lead to political stalemate and motivate some political factions to pursue extra-legal means, including violence, to achieve their interests. Such a scenario could threaten the legitimacy and existence of the new government and lead to renewed episodes of violence.

"FIRST 100 DAYS"

In many of the assessment team's interviews, citizens' demands for jobs and basic services were viewed as the most pressing issue facing President Préval in his first months as President of Haiti. Citizens' expectations are high and President Préval will need to produce high-impact, visible results in the very short term in order to establish his administration's credibility. If he is unable to adequately address citizens' demands, public confidence will wane, which will create exploitable opportunities for renewed violence.³⁴

BEGINNING OF THE 2006 SCHOOL YEAR

The beginning of the academic calendar in Haiti is always a time of great hope and great frustration. Given the fragile economic condition of the country, few people have the means to pay school fees or to purchase books, new uniforms, food for lunches and transportation to school. Without help from the government to meet these needs, as promised by President Préval during the election campaign, many families will not be able to send their children to school and their frustrations may be exacerbated by other conditions in Haiti and potentially exploited. This will be an especially vulnerable period in Haiti as it will coincide with the early months of the Préval Administration when the government will be already pressed to meet other citizen demands.

It is inevitable that the GOH will be unable to meet citizen expectations or deliver on all of President Préval's election campaign promises, especially since in the short-term GOH Ministries at all levels and the Parliament will be unable to function smoothly because a lack of functioning systems and technocratic expertise. It will be critical for the donor community and implementing partners to continue expanding the delivery of services while the GOH "gets its house in order."

THE PORTS

The assessment team identified control of Haiti's ports as a potential cause of conflict. Most ports throughout the country are controlled by private interests, many of whom are believed to be actively or tacitly condoning narco-trafficking and other illegal activities. Few customs revenues are collected relative to the total volume of trade through the ports, yet both exporters and importers must often pay high fees to use them. The ports lack many basic logistical, administrative and financial management systems, and little security oversight is provided.

³⁴ As President René Préval was declared President of Haiti on February 16, 2006 and will be inaugurated on May 14, 2006, the window of opportunity for his administration and the Government of Haiti to establish their effectiveness and legitimacy is already narrowing.

This situation contributes to instability because of the ease with which weapons and narco-traffickers use the ports and the loss of jobs and customs revenues for the state. Flashpoints may further arise from attempts to privatize or exert greater control over the ports, which could threaten local interests. Resolving the complex issues around control of Haiti's ports will be critical to addressing some of the underlying causes of conflict and enabling economic development in Haiti.

DONOR COORDINATION

Strengthening and ensuring donor coordination should be approached from two aspects. First, it is recommended that donors coordinate to avoid competition for limited Haitian social capital and sending mixed signals to Haitian beneficiaries with contradictory approaches. Toward these ends, donors should share strategies, prioritize technical areas of intervention as well as identify geographic locations for their programming in order to best address the causes of instability in Haiti. Secondly, donor efforts should dovetail with GOH development priorities in order to sustain successful strategies while strengthening the state's effectiveness and legitimacy. Specifically, the donor community and the GOH will need to work in concert in hot spots and to support efforts by MINSTUH and the Haitian National Police to ensure security and the rule of law in Haiti. And as the Haitian National Police will require donor assistance into the foreseeable future, it will be especially critical for donors to provide sustained support to MINUSTAH.

RECOMMENDATIONS

USAID/Haiti and its partner organizations already have programs in place that either explicitly or implicitly address the sources of conflict in Haiti. In many cases, the conflict prevention function of these programs might be enhanced simply through more explicit attention to at-risk groups or geographic areas. Over the longer run, however, activities that focus on only one dimension of the problem, such as youth unemployment, are unlikely to make as much headway as a coordinated response between economic, democracy and governance, and health and education programs.

The recommendations of this report are outlined in two parts: 1) strategic approaches that must be employed in the immediate term and continued throughout the life of the strategy to mitigate the potential for instability and engage potential spoilers and 2) cross-cutting themes that should be incorporated into all USAID/Haiti programs.

STABILIZE HOT SPOTS

The assessment recommends a considerable focus of Mission resources on hot spots, despite significant needs in rural areas, as hot spots represent the most immediate challenge to stability in Haiti. Stabilizing hot spots will require a two-pronged approach to: 1) improve security and the rule of law and 2) extend the reach of government through the provision of services while fortifying community institutions.

IMPROVE SECURITY AND RULE OF LAW

Without security, particularly in Haiti's slums, any substantial disarmament of gangs will be unlikely. Nonetheless, a degree of stability and eventual disarmament is possible through an integrated community development approach which seeks to empower local leaders and at-risk youth and establish a positive climate for longer term economic growth. The strategy will be to reinforce stability in hot spots through the provision of small-scale infrastructure and employment activities coupled with technical assistance aimed at encouraging community activism. This should be accomplished through a phased approach that links ongoing short term programs (the International Organization for Migration, the Pan American Development Foundation, and CARE) with longer term ongoing or planned USAID efforts in a sustainable approach to addressing hot spots that could set the stage for a durable USAID/Haiti urban strategy.

Support to communities should be tied explicitly to the communities' commitment to ensuring continued security in the affected areas. And the ultimate success of the hot spot strategy will depend on a robust

carrot and stick approach. At this juncture, efforts to join community stability activities with MINUSTAH and HNP security are only in the beginning stages and need to be more closely integrated. Over time, this will require more closely coordinated MINUSTAH and HNP security and stability operations as the latter are retrained. Consequently, the U.S. government and other donors, particularly the Canadians, will also need to coordinate their efforts to reform and strengthen the HNP and MINUSTAH to promote their responsiveness and transparency. It may also be appropriate for the U.S. Embassy to engage MINUSTAH/DDR to strategically develop and target their program in hot spot areas.

EXTEND THE REACH OF GOVERNMENT AND STRENGTHENING COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS

Initial activities should focus on producing tangible and visible results and building the trust of the community through short-term jobs, small-scale infrastructure projects and the provision of basic services.

Subsequently, the emphasis should shift to community activities aimed at reestablishing a sense of community and encouraging the reconciliation of differences among rival groups through the joint planning and implementation of activities. Toward this end, the intent is not to directly challenge neighborhood gang leaders, but to counter their influence through the reinforcement of community leadership. Over time this approach should “peel away” support for the gang leadership; first among community members and secondly among gang “soldiers”. These efforts should be accompanied by preventive activities designed to divert vulnerable youth (who are not yet hard core gang members) from criminal pursuits and into constructive alternatives.

A longer-term approach will link these community activities to the provision of basic health, sanitation, and education services by the incoming Haitian Government (and through established USAID program mechanisms) and to longer-term employment-generating activities including Haitian private sector support for vocational training (and eventual employment) and micro-finance activities. This approach should also be coordinated with civic education and accelerated education activities and efforts to provide at-risk youth with access to information and voice through radio and the internet. It will be critical to ensure these interventions strengthen the presence, legitimacy, and capacity of government institutions by channeling resources through government institutions and involving them in the oversight and implementation of activities to the extent practicable.

Target areas of the hot spot strategy should include urban and peri-urban slums around Port-au-Prince (Cite Soleil, Bel Air, Delmas, Martissant) and to a lesser degree, the most volatile of Haiti’s secondary cities (Gonaives, Cap Haitian, St. Marc. and Petit Goave). Of these neighborhoods, Cite Soleil represents a particular challenge as it is the largest and most violent neighborhood, partly because of violence-related depopulation and the subsequent loss of community identity. While Cite Soleil should receive major attention, care should be given to focusing stability efforts in other neighborhoods mentioned above to avoid the spread of gangs and criminal activities into other neighborhoods and to maintain the stability that has been achieved in the secondary cities. Robust implementation of the hot spots strategy will require a significant infusion of Mission resources - both monetary and staff resources.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR USG ENGAGEMENT

- Work with donors and MINUSTAH/DDR to appropriately develop and target their program
- Support USG and other donor efforts to strengthen the HNP and judiciary to promote transparency and responsiveness

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR DONOR ENGAGEMENT

- Coordinate efforts to reform and strengthen the HNP and MINUSTAH to improve their response and relationships with targeted communities

SUPPORT IMMEDIATE EFFORTS TO BUILD LEGITIMACY AND INCLUSIVENESS

In the early months of the Préval Administration and throughout his term, the USG can play a critical role in building public confidence and integrating potential spoilers while helping to overcome the zero-sum politics that have fueled instability. USAID/Haiti should seek immediate opportunities to 1) support symbolic acts that build the legitimacy of the government among key segments of the population; 2) promote greater inclusiveness by capitalizing on convergences of interest to bring potential spoilers into the political process; and 3) strengthen avenues for consensus-building. While all potential opportunities for building consensus and supporting symbolic acts cannot be anticipated, USAID/Haiti support should focus on two critical areas:

CREATE A FUND TO SUPPORT HIGH-IMPACT, VISIBLE RESPONSES.

A number of flexible, rapid-response mechanisms are available through USAID/Washington including BRDG-ACT (DCHA/DG), ICRP (DCHA/CMM), and SWIFT (DCHA/OTI). Critical, illustrative activities that could build the new government's legitimacy early on include:

- GOH-supported high-impact, highly visible public works projects targeted toward underserved groups. Where practicable, donor and implementing partner assistance should be implemented in close cooperation with and in support of newly elected officials and associated government institutions, and support linkages with citizens' groups. For example, USAID/Afghanistan has provided basic services and infrastructure projects on behalf of various Government of Afghanistan (GOA) ministries so that donors are perceived as facilitating service delivery while the GOA is seen as leading the effort - in order to underscore the government's effectiveness and legitimacy.
- Symbolic, high-level court cases that are politically balanced and signal an end to impunity. This assistance must be undertaken strategically, perhaps after the new administration has established its legitimacy, so these prosecutions do not destabilize the country. Outside technical expertise, including judicial mentors and lessons learned, may help avoid any political missteps.

PROMOTE INCLUSIVENESS BY CAPITALIZING ON CONVERGENCE OF INTEREST.

Overcoming the cycle of zero-sum politics will require reaching out early and often to groups who have previously been marginalized or may be interested in undermining the political process, while strengthening the social and political institutions that provide avenues for consensus-building among diverse groups of citizens. Specifically, USAID should reach out to key marginalized groups and potential spoilers, in particular the **Private Sector** and **Youth**, by

- Seeking leadership roles for youth in all programs, and creating opportunities for leadership building by sponsoring Parliamentary and government internships.
- Engaging moderate private sector associations and foundations and the Haitian diaspora to build their capacity for political advocacy and social programming and involving them in USAID activities, including job creation and hot spot programs. One approach would be to engage the Haitian business community in an effort similar to a project that was first developed in Sri Lanka. There, the business community sponsored a very effective pro-peace media campaign that spelled out in very concrete dollar terms what the country was losing in terms of economic growth and investment because of instability. They also have developed a number of initiatives to engage at-risk young people in constructive economic activities.

STRENGTHEN AVENUES FOR CONSENSUS-BUILDING NATIONALLY AND LOCALLY BY:

- Supporting consensus-building in the Parliament, by sponsoring high-level visitors and public forums to build consensus around critical issues like the budget, while rapidly building the technical capacity of the Parliamentary staff.

- Supporting consensus-building at the departmental and communal levels by facilitating participatory decision-making councils that set local development priorities and oversee their implementation in partnership with elected local governments.
- Supporting immediate, high impact training opportunities and technical advisory support to GOH Ministries for consensus-building, strengthened legislative-executive branch relations, and participatory policy development.

Note: The failure to hold local elections in a timely way can seriously undermine attempts to promote greater citizen participation and government accountability. All efforts to work with local government officials should be carefully considered.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR USG AND DONOR ENGAGEMENT

- Promote inclusion and GOH efforts to address impunity and coordinate USG and donor response to GOH in these areas
- Encourage GOH engagement of the private sector and other actors
- Encourage “social responsibility” by the private sector and other potential spoilers

CREATE JOBS AND EXPAND ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES

The high level of unemployment throughout Haiti, but particularly among youth, is both a function of the scarcity of jobs available due to a struggling economy and the inability of youth to obtain jobs due to a lack of education and marketable skills. Consequently, the informal economic sector has provided both licit and illicit means for surviving in spite of a lagging formal economy. In order to address the urgent issue of economic exclusion, USAID/Haiti should focus on providing short-term jobs linked to longer-term income generation especially for youth, while improving the enabling environment for trade and business to expand sustainable income opportunities.

- Support the development of market-driven vocational skills/entrepreneurship training targeted toward youth that is directly linked to professional internships and job placement - in cooperation with the private sector - with accompanying civic education and accelerated basic education components. In Cambodia, for example, USAID integrated courses in English and information communication technology into employment generation programs as a popular step forward in diversifying and upgrading skills rather than just providing traditional vocational skills.
- Continue micro-finance and support to micro-enterprises while expanding access to capital and technical assistance for rural and urban small and medium enterprises as a critical source of jobs
- Support orienting economic production toward supplying local (i.e. urban hotspots) markets while still operating an export-based program. This would build on USAID/Haiti’s existing successes in agriculture. This is important because urban food supply is still a basic and high-cost need for the poor.
- Foster donor coordination. This is crucial, because with USAID focusing most of its resources on urban hotspots, leveraging other donors’ programs will be required in order to achieve broader and more integrated impacts. Otherwise some of underlying causes of instability will go unaddressed. Donor investment in the rural areas will be key to stemming the flow of urban migration and its causes - environmental degradation and the lack of economic opportunity. USAID investments in critical watersheds, which are linked to urban hot spots, would help to address these causes of instability.

Note: In regards to livelihoods, the assessment team did not analyze what types of livelihoods have potential, what kinds of households form the recipient base, how remittances may be shoring up some

livelihoods, and how to synergize livelihood activities with other mission activities in health, etc. This analysis should be completed prior to providing the assistance outlined above, if possible.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR USG AND DONOR ENGAGEMENT

- Explore opportunities to engage the Haitian diaspora in social investment programs.³⁵ (This is an area where USAID/Haiti could possibly leverage the technical assistance of the USAID Global Development Alliance Office.)
- Engage GOH on economic policy development with particular attention to privatization and competition

STRENGTHEN INSTITUTIONS FOR GOOD GOVERNANCE

Support in every sector should include a concerted effort to improve the capacity of the relevant national and local institutions to manage their affairs and provide services effectively. Targeted support should be provided to key decision-making institutions while robust institutional development efforts should be incorporated into all sector programs. Finally, good governance practices (i.e. citizen participation in the design and execution of projects and government transparency) should be an integral part of donor development assistance in all sectors.

- Build the capacity of key governance institutions. Critical priorities are to build the capacity of the Parliament to effectively make decisions, with a focus on strengthening its technical staff and outreach to citizens, and strengthen the Ministry of Economy and Finance to effectively and transparently control government finances. Local government capacity building should also be incorporated into all local development programs to ensure that local government officials and local representatives of national ministries take a role in decision-making, oversight and administration of local development programs and activities.
- Incorporate critical institution-building elements into sector programs, particularly in Education and Public Health, by promoting transparency and accountability through transparent financial and personnel systems, supporting de-concentration of ministries to the departmental level, and supporting outreach activities and public forums throughout the country. However, as deconcentration efforts may lead to increased tensions due to shifts in administrative control, it will be critical for donors and the GOH to have a comprehensive, strategic plan in place to address the potential for conflict through preventative measures that ensure transparency and accountability
- Promote GOH and donor transparency through 1) explicit criteria and openness about how decisions about public works are made and how services are delivered; 2) audits of municipal spending so that the public can see how money is spent; 3) clear contracting procedures with oversight mechanisms; and 4) public meetings, presentations, and publication and wide dissemination of information from local governments. Such efforts will mitigate tensions between communities and service providers as activities are altered or end and will increase the legitimacy of donors and the GOH.
- Participatory mechanisms should be incorporated into all local development programs, preferably through the creation of Local Development Councils that include governmental and citizen representatives. Technical assistance to local governments should also be provided depending on the political status of local governments and as they demonstrate technical capacity.

³⁵ The Haitian diaspora may also play an important role in stimulating Haiti's flat economy. Since his election, President Rene Préal has enlisted high-powered Haitian diaspora financial magnet Dumarsais Simeus to help bring foreign investments to Haiti in order to create jobs. Préal met with Simeus soon after his election to discuss national and foreign investments, the creation of jobs, and the full participation of the Haitian diaspora in all of the socio-political-economic affairs of the country. They are working on a structure that will provide speedy and effective communication channels to the government regarding actions to be taken on investment proposals and issues concerning the full inclusion of the diaspora.

- Programs in all sectors should also seek to build the capacity of youth organizations - university students, secondary school associations, popular organizations, and other groups that reach out to marginalized groups - as some are developing innovative plans to engage young people in the political process.

Note: The Urban Programs Team of EGAT's Poverty Reduction Office and DCHA/DG provide mechanisms such as SUM II and the Local Governance IQC to access expertise in local/urban governance, including access to basic services by the urban poor. The CityLinks program could provide short-term activities that link Haiti's hotspot urban centers with U.S. cities to build local policy and management capacity.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR USG AND DONOR ENGAGEMENT

- Support GOH efforts to promote: 1) interactions between government officials and citizens and 2) transparency and accountability
- Ensure that all USG actors and programs support good governance practices
- Support GOH efforts to de-concentrate targeted national-level institutions
- Condition assistance on performance toward governance reform

CREATE AVENUES FOR CITIZEN VOICE AND PARTICIPATION

In the wake of President Préval's election there will be a significant gap between rising public expectations and the ability of the state to provide basic services. USAID/Haiti should support programs that provide avenues for citizens to participate in social and political decision-making while breaking down negative perceptions and traditional barriers. USAID/Haiti should target program interventions to bring previously marginalized and/or volatile groups such as youth, urban poor, and women into national and local decision-making processes, while providing opportunities for greater participation and communication throughout its programs.

- Provide opportunities for interaction among elected officials and local populations, through the creation of Parliamentary outreach centers (building on the United Nations Office for Project Services' political party centers), public Parliamentary hearings, and regular town hall meetings with local and national officials on various cross-sector issues.
- Foster local citizen participation in service-delivery programs with tangible benefits, by supporting participatory methodologies that involve citizen associations in the development, monitoring and implementation of reforms and service-delivery programs. This approach should be pursued in partnership with local governments, through local development councils to oversee local-level programs, and integrated into local, departmental and national plans for de-concentrated ministries (as in the departmental health strategies).
- Shift political party programs toward requiring greater participation of youth and women by conditioning assistance to parties to standards of participation including rotational leadership.
- Support media and internet programs aimed at including youth and local perspectives, including production of youth-oriented programs, training of local journalists, creation of cyber-cafes, and support to rural and secondary-city radios.

Note: There are also several models in other parts of the world for constructive youth engagement (see USAID/DCHA/CMM's Youth and Conflict Toolkit for more examples) and these models could be adapted to the Haitian context.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR USG AND DONOR ENGAGEMENT

- Foster local citizen participation in national level decision-making as well as service-delivery programs through citizen associations
- Support linkages between programming and democratic decision-making processes and institutions in areas such as Parliamentary development

FOSTER RULE OF LAW AND SECURITY

Current insecurity and the need for the new government to provide security were two of the key concerns listed by many of the individuals the assessment team interviewed. Providing security and access to justice will be key to establishing the legitimacy of the Préval government, building citizen confidence, and laying the foundation for infrastructure and development activities. USAID/Haiti should work in concert with the wider USG and the donor community to achieve the following objectives.

- Seek integrated security sector reform at national and local levels by promoting donor coordination to reform and strengthen the justice system and the HNP
- Support MINUSTAH and HNP efforts to build community confidence and cooperation with more active patrolling and outreach programs such as sports events, civic education and community forums.
- Improve access to justice at local level/hot spots by: 1) strengthening Justice of the Peace courts (which handle roughly 80 percent of cases) and expanding their presence through a “roving Justice of the Peace” program and 2) creating mediation centers linked to mayors’ offices to provide an avenue for the peaceful resolution of many disputes that lead to violence, such as land conflicts, while strengthening the legitimacy of municipal governments and promoting a culture of nonviolence. Ideally, these centers would be supported by a national-level mediation center and would build upon traditional practices. Efforts to strengthen the justice system should be complemented by civic education that promotes nonviolent dispute resolution and a culture of lawfulness.
- Provide training in conflict analysis and mitigation in conjunction with other capacity-building efforts to local leaders to expand their ability to analyze and respond to the causes of conflict in their community. Training can bring together the diverse perspectives of leaders into a common understanding of conflict risks, which can then be addressed through local government institutions. Revised local government approaches and programs can then be developed to overcome biases and address local government policies and service delivery that may be divisive and sources of tension.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR USG AND DONOR ENGAGEMENT

- Support coordinated donor efforts to reform and strengthen the HNP, the judiciary and MINUSTAH
- Support integrated security sector reform approaches and HNP capacity building
- Support confidence-building efforts among MINUSTAH, the HNP and communities

ADDRESS ENVIRONMENTAL DEGRADATION³⁶

There is a clear trade-off in providing a greater share of resources to urban hot spots to provide a measure of short-term stability while ignoring the rural areas that will continue to be the source of migration and unemployed youth. Where possible, USAID/Haiti should attempt to balance a focus on hot spots with assistance to stabilize the rural areas and address the deeper causes of instability. A feasible approach would be to link the hot spots identified in this assessment with the geographic priorities identified in the ongoing watershed protection and reforestation assessment of the LAC Bureau's Natural Resource Management team to address the root causes of conflict in Haiti, which include environmental degradation. USAID/Haiti should work with the Haitian authorities and communities to direct the program into watersheds which include or can have impact on the most conflict-prone urban centers.

- USAID/Haiti's program should aim to: 1) identify land-use issues that affect microcatchments and watersheds and 2) establish the enabling conditions that strengthen local governance over those catchments. People in these catchments may comprise a natural community that has common incentives to organize around the management of that catchment. Once the community strengthens its organizational capacity around the management issue, it might take on other issues such as organizing markets or negotiating with other communities and the GOH on market and political issues. (In certain cases communities that organized around land-use took on other challenges after they realized the power they had as a well-organized community.)
- Capitalize on existing experience and investments to establish an enabling environment for governance and management of watersheds and microcatchments. USAID/Haiti's current Hillside Agricultural Program (HAP) has made substantial progress in helping rural communities to organize themselves in order to better produce, process, and market their products. DAI's (Development Alternatives Inc.) work on the response to Hurricane Jeanne has produced innovative tactics in managing catchments. Over the last twenty-five years, a number of hillside agricultural initiatives have produced technologies and approaches that led to investments by farmers in soil and water conservation at a significant scale. These include the Pan American Development Foundation, CARE, and the University of Florida.

CREATE MANAGEMENT LINKAGES

In order to effectively address the causes of instability and violence in Haiti, particularly in the hot spots but also throughout Haiti, USAID/Haiti will need to develop a management structure for its new strategy that allows for close coordination between the SO Teams. This would ensure that the long-term causes of conflict and instability are being addressed by all Mission programs and that the Mission has the flexibility to adjust its portfolio and programs to address conflict and instability as they arise. Actively coordinating assistance in hot spots is an essential but labor-intensive management function. All new Mission contracts and grants should include language that allows partners to respond to events as they unfold in their areas of operation, but the Mission may also want to consider developing management structures to allow the same flexibility in its programs at the regional and national level. Moreover, coordinating these approaches with other U.S. government resources and donor actors will be a vital component to assuring a comprehensive and coordinated approach to the critical issues identified in this report.

CONCLUSIONS

While the expectations and hopes of citizens are high in the wake of the relatively peaceful presidential election in Haiti, the challenges facing President René Préal and the GOH are daunting. Unless the government is able to visibly address the basic needs of Haiti's citizens, the cycle of instability will continue relatively unabated as the pool of available economic resources continues to shrink as a result of

³⁶ The Environmental Degradation Recommendations were largely contributed by an EGAT working group comprised of individuals from EGAT/PR/UP, EGAT/PR/PASSN, EGAT/NRM/LRM, LAC/RSD, and AFR/SD.

environmental degradation and the stagnation of economic activities, and the pool of available recruits - unemployed, uneducated, and politically alienated youth - continues to grow. International investment may help resolve some of Haiti's problems, but realistically, Haiti will not attract significant investment until it demonstrates stability, and that will likely not happen in the next year, perhaps not in the next three years. But stability should be everyone's goal, Haitian and international alike.

Political stability and international engagement are key to stabilizing Haiti. The country can no longer withstand the political tug-of-wars that have characterized its 200 year history. Both Haitians and the international community must put the country's future in the balance before making decisions based on strictly political and economic interests. Key strategic components of any Haiti strategy must evaluate: which sectors of the Haitian population or government we can and should strengthen with this assistance; where they fit into the conflict equation; how they can contribute to peace and stability; and ultimately, how that assistance (or the supported actors) can strengthen Haiti's institutional, economic and political independence.

Development assistance is only part of the answer to address endemic poverty and dysfunctional Haitian government. Haiti presents unique challenges in how international assistance is delivered, who is rewarded, and if and how we help those who are most in need. Donors and policy makers must break out of traditional assistance paradigms, re-think their traditional partners in terms of honest brokers, and evaluate how international assistance mitigates exclusion, weak institutions, and an extra-legal culture. There is no "quick-fix" for Haiti and programs targeted toward short and medium term results should be clearly linked to longer term goals, with clear and measurable benchmarks along the way for both donors and the Haitian government.

There is a vital role for every donor and every actor of the USG community to contribute in helping Haiti move forward. Coordination, consistency and respect for Haitian culture and priorities should be the lens by which every donor and organization evaluates their value-added contribution.

APPENDIX I: LIST OF INTERVIEWS

Washington Meetings:

Mark Schneider, Senior Vice-President/Special Adviser on Latin America, International Crisis Group

Bob Maguire, Director of Programs in International Affairs/Assistant Professor in International Studies, Trinity University

Dan Erikson, Senior Associate for U.S. policy/Director of Caribbean Programs, Inter-American Dialogue

Mike Bengé, Senior Forestry Advisor, USDA Forest Service

Mary Anderson, Executive Director, Collaborative for Development Action, Inc.

Port-au-Prince Meetings:

Hans Tippenhauer, Jeune Ayiti

Alix Baptiste, Minister of Haitians Living Abroad (MHAVE)

Faimy Hahmre, UNPOL Human Rights

Herve Saintilus, Federation d'Etudiants de l'UEH

Sylvie Bajaux, Centre Oecumenique des Droits Humains

Me Jean Joseph Exume, Former Minister of Justice, Centre Oecumenique des Droits Humains

Yves Colon, Creative Associates

Assad, Public Relations Advisor to President René Préval

Himler Rebu, 2006 Candidate for President/Former Fad'H

Jude Altidot, Police Nationale d'Haïti (PNH)

Gerardo LeChevalier, MINUSTAH Elections

John Currelly, Resident Representative, Pan American Development Foundation (PADF)

Alphonse Nkuzimana, Coordinator of TIP Project, Pan American Development Foundation (PADF)

Ronald Blema, IFES-VOV

Tony St. II, MINUSTAH Elections

Petra Reijnders, Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF)

Cedric Piralla, Comité International de la Croix Rouge (CICR)

Benjamin Wahren, Comité International de la Croix Rouge (CICR)

Roland Pierre, Minister of Planning and External Cooperation

Gabriel Veret, Ministry of Economy and Finance

Carlo Zorzi, Associazione Volontari per il Servizio Internazionale

Fiammetta Cappellini, Associazione Volontari per il Servizio Internazionale
Genevieve Gasser, Embassy of Canada
Yves Bastien, Prime Minister's Office on Privatization
Guilaine Victor, Association des Industries d'Haiti (ADIH)
Ronald Laroche, Association des Industries d'Haiti (ADIH)
Garaudy Laguerre, Institute for Advanced Social and Political Studies (ISPOS)
Mgr. Alexandre Dumas
Gerald Gilles, Senator, Lavalas
Philippe Lamarche, National Center for State Courts (NCSC)
Lionel Bourguin, National Center for State Courts (NCSC)
Jean Lavoie, UNDP Rule of Law Program
Philippe Branchat, International Organization for Migration (IOM)
Stephanie Broughton, International Organization for Migration (IOM)
Eduardo Colindres, National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI)
Walter Turnbull, The International Republican Institute (IRI)
Jules Babinet, Mouvement Progressif pour l'Avancement des Nippes
Registre Metishah, Mouvement Progressif pour l'Avancement des Nippes
Bobby Duval, President, L'Athletique d'Haiti
Gelus Babinet, Mouvement Progressif pour l'Avancement des Nippes
Registre Metislah, Mouvement Progressif pour l'Avancement des Nippes
IDE JEN Youth Focus Group (10 youth 15-20 years old from Carrefourre Feuille)

Private Sector Focus Group (CLED and G-184 representatives):

Youri Dominique Mevs, Shodecosa
Philippe Armand, Groupe Dynamique
Martine Jean-Claude, Chambre de Commerce et d'Industrie d'Haiti
Gladys Coupet, Citibank
Gael Monin, Galerie Monin
Ruben Bigio, GB Group

Meeting with Youth Non-Government Organizations:

Guerda Previlon, IDE JEN

Mesguerre Saint Pierre, Secretariat d'Etat de Jeunesse et Sports

Rev. Pere Pierre Lephene, Peres Salesiens

Hollant Ginlov, Volontariat pour le Developement d'Haiti (VDH)

Fritz Carriot, TIMKATEC ("Timoun k'ap teke chans" - "Children who try their luck to survive")

Gina Hasboun, The USAID-funded Cooperative Association of States for Scholarships (CASS) Program
administered by Georgetown University

Jean Robert Chery, CEP

Initiative des Jeunes Universitaires pour le Renouveau d'Haiti (IJURH):

Kemal Michelot Mustapha

Hitchner Edwidge Aristide

Marie Andree Valcourt

Jackens Geffrard

Love Jimmy Bessard

Les Cayes Meetings:

Adebusi Gbadegesin, MINUSTAH Civil Affairs

Amadou Dian Diallo, UNPOL

Hassan Haroun, UNPOL

Gabriel Futuret, Union Candidate for Senate

Marie Michelle Sylvie Rameau, Deputy Mayor of Les Cayes

Pierre Etienne France, Mayor of Les Cayes

Yves Marie Aubourg, Delege du Gouvernement de Les Cayes

Joseph Hyacinthe Eugene, Commissaire du Gouvernement

Inspecteur Wiessman, Police Nationale d'Haiti

Murielle Presulme, Responsable pour la Condition Feminine et Affaires Sociales

Monique Van Hoof and staff, International Organization for Migration (IOM)

12 Youth from Collectif pour le Developpement Communautaire (CODEC) in La Savanne

7 Participants in IOM project in La Savanne

7 Participants in IOM project in Deye Fort

Petit Goaves Meetings:

Mayor of Petit Goave

Montigene Monpremier, Deputy Mayor of Petit Goave

Justice and Police Meeting in Petit Goave

Community Groups of Bayonne in Petit Goave

Frantz Pierre Louis, Engineer, International Organization for Migration (IOM)

Jelus Benet, Multilateral Organizations Performance Assessment Network (MOPAN)

Marie Lourdes Elgirus, Coordinator, Toussaint King Center for Non-Violence

Gonaives Meetings:

Alberto Wilde and staff, CHF International

Representatives of CARE

Representatives of the Pan American Development Foundation (PADF)

KLG Focus Group, Raboteau

USBK Focus Group, Cas Soleil

Cap Haitian Meetings:

Gary Verdilus, Commissioner of Police in Cap Haitian

Ketty Gaspard, Director AFASDA, Center for Domestic Violence

Ralph Vieux, MINUSTAH/Police Strengthening

Representative of Ministry of Youth and Sports in Cap Haitian

Representatives of 13 Urban Neighborhoods in Cap Haitian

Commissaire du Gouvernement au Cap Haitian

Ministry of Justice

Marie Gilane Monpremiere, Fusion Senate Candidate

Saint Marc Meetings:

Jean Claude Nicolas, National Service of Drinking Water (SNEP)

Jacques Chomy, B.D.S.

Cecilia Comeo and Adele Bernard International Organization for Migration (IOM)

Achedou Banel, Mairie de St. Marc

APPENDIX II: LESSONS LEARNED FROM HOT SPOT PROGRAMS

The assessment team reviewed existing programs in hot spot zones in Cap Haitian, Les Cayes, Petit Goave, St. Marc and Gonaives and met with the representatives of implementing partners and beneficiaries. The team gleaned lessons learned from the International Organization for Migration's (IOM) Haitian Transition Initiative (HTI) in Port-au-Prince, Cap Haitian, Les Cayes, Petit Goave, and St. Marc; CARE/CHF/Pan American Development Foundation (PADF) in Gonaives; PADF in Port-au-Prince and PADF's World Bank funded Community Driven Development program; International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in Port-au-Prince; Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) in Port-au-Prince and Associazione Volontari per il Servizio Internazionale (AVSI) in Cite Soleil. While these programs in some cases have different sponsors and somewhat different objectives, they share a number of successful characteristics.

Common Approach:

- At the core of most reviewed programs is a community based approach to Haiti's slum areas which has as its underlying objective the identification and reinforcement of community leaders and community associations. The approach seeks to foster a greater sense of community through the provision of small scale infrastructure, employment generation, and community activities such as sports and cultural activities *identified by communities* as priorities.
- Progress is dependent not so much on the completion of one activity but on the agglomeration of many small activities over a relatively short period of time. This develops a sense of momentum and visibly demonstrates change in the recipient communities.
- While short-term infrastructure and employment activities were, in some cases, successful in bringing temporary stability to a number of vulnerable neighborhoods, the assessment team found that these short-term activities were not (and generally were not designed to be) sustainable in the longer term without reinforcement. And unless these short-term activities are accompanied by longer-term, sustainable activities, partners run the risk of raising community expectations, which, unmet, will fuel unrest.
- A focus on the most egregious hot spots at the expense of other neighborhoods and cities tends to drive competition for scarce resources and hence, create incentives for instability and violence. Thus a balanced approach to hot spot neighborhoods in Port-au-Prince and select secondary cities (Cap Haitian, Gonaives, St Marc, and Petit Goave) needs to be taken.

Type and Duration of Activities:

- Initial program activities generally concentrated on visible small scale infrastructure and short term employment activities which are designed to build the community's trust and generate confidence and later activities sought to build community institutions and address community issues. The ultimate objective of both the short and long-term activities is to reestablish a greater sense of community in neighborhoods where instability has taken its toll on traditional institutions.
- The initial short-term activities must include a bridge to longer term stability. In particular, temporary employment activities need to be bolstered by longer term vocational training, accelerated education, microfinance and other activities designed to generate income and employment. Temporary employment if not sustained leads to cynicism and a breakdown in trust that initial activities were designed to address. As an example of the above, once temporary work activities were completed in Gonaives, crime rates spiked upward, underscoring the need for sustainability of employment over the longer term.
- Program managers and beneficiaries alike agree that process becomes as important if not more important than the projects themselves (or the type of project implemented). The process should include rewarding local leadership and encouraging communities to design and implement activities and to address implementation problems.

Targeted Selection of Partners and Recipients:

- Initial identification of community leadership is a difficult and sometimes time consuming undertaking, but can be achieved through trial and sometimes error. Risk taking is necessary and failure of some activities is inevitable. Frequently a good starting point for the identification of local leadership has been working with neighborhood sport associations, youth groups, and cultural organizations.
- Most of the reviewed programs involved the Haitian Government and its service only sporadically or in some cases not at all. (This was not necessarily the fault of the implementers because the interim government often did not respond to attempts to involve them). The result was that the targeted Haitian beneficiaries identified with the foreign organizations rather than the government. In Gonaives, local residents looked to CARE and other donors and partners, rather than the Haitian Government, to address issues. In order to create a sustainable approach that fosters strengthened citizen-state relations and greater government accountability and transparency, partner organizations and USAID must be intentional about including GOH engagement in the design and implementation of activities.
- Negotiations should take place with community leaders *and not with gangs*. The latter may benefit from activities (such as providing labor for projects) but they should not be in the direct line of communication. Any interaction with gangs has to be undertaken by community leadership as engagement with these groups could potentially taint donor and partner programs.
- Initial trust-building and later sustainable activities are intended to “peel away” community support for the gangs. As the number of activities builds up and the community’s trust is increased, the intent is to supplant the gangs through the provision of basic services and jobs, which will in turn shift the support of the community, and eventually that of the gang “foot soldiers” away from the gang leadership.
- It may not be possible to address the gang leadership with the provision of services and jobs and so effective law enforcement will be required to deal with the hardened core of gang leadership.

Addressing Security Concerns:

- Delivery of resources is tied directly or implicitly to the establishment of a secure environment for activity implementation and the provision of services. Often resource delivery itself helps provide a secure environment, however, a loss of operational security should result in work stoppage which is only resumed once the community leadership has found a way to reestablish security.
- Anecdotal evidence indicates that these programs through providing jobs, improving community conditions, and addressing community issues have been able to provide a degree of stability to a number of neighborhoods, even in the absence of adequate security provided by MINUSTAH and/or the Haitian National Police (HNP).
- Achievement of stability requires both a carrot (these programs) and stick (law enforcement) approach. At this juncture efforts to join community stability activities with MINUSTAH and HNP security are only in the beginning stages and need to be more closely integrated. This is point that will require close coordination between implementers, donors, and the GOH; capacity building for the HNP and MINUSTAH; and increased efforts to strengthen the relationship between law enforcement and the community.

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