



Building Back Haitian Government Responsiveness: The Power and Limitations of Grassroots Advocacy

by Daniel Moss

I. Executive Summary

When ordinary citizens come together to press decision-makers for services and rights protections for the most marginalized among them – that’s the essence of social justice advocacy. When decision-makers can be held accountable to govern fairly, that is advocacy success.

In hopes of helping funders understand how bottom-up change for social justice occurs in Haiti – and encouraging their ongoing support – this brief report examines the state of grassroots advocacy in Haiti. Based on a modest number of cases, the report is not comprehensive but does offer insight into: how do communities and interest groups come together to exert pressure? What capacities do they require and acquire in order to implement an effective advocacy strategy? Who do they target to deliver changes? How is that pressure perceived by targets of advocacy campaigns? And crucially, how does one measure success and under what circumstances are efforts successful?

It’s no secret that Haiti is a challenging country for activists and advocates. Historically, the government of Haiti has not been responsive to citizen demands. Its capacity to deliver services and guarantee justice is limited. It’s not always clear who is making decisions in Haiti – the international footprint has been gigantic. For grassroots advocates to identify who has policy-making authority in Haiti – to create a power map of sorts – is not a simple task. An advocacy strategy might require several trips to Washington D.C., where decisions about Haiti are often made. This is no simple feat for a small women’s or peasant organization. Repression of activists is not uncommon, making advocacy a dangerous business. Grassroots organizations themselves are frequently divided in an often-fractured, sectarian environment.

And yet, despite these long odds, grassroots-driven changes do indeed occur. There exist political openings, there are responsive decision-makers at the local and national levels, there are scores of persistent and talented activist organizations, there is community-based reporting on stories that mainstream media may find too controversial. Employing the right strategies at the right moment can lead to important changes – changes in laws to protect women from violence, changes in community access to affordable water, changes in how schools are held to account for quality education. The funding community is interested in knowing how its support can be instrumental in engendering these types of positive change in Haiti.

This report takes a developmental view. Advocacy capacity does not develop all at once, nor is it static. It is strengthened over time in an uneven learning process. Indicators of improved capacity are as important to track



as policy changes. For example, an NGO may offer services, say technical assistance to small farmers when the Ministry of Agriculture fails to do so. It may be a lengthy process to become an organization pressing or collaborating with the Ministry.

Advocacy capacity grows in tandem with public sector capacity. In an iterative dynamic, public capacity and performance improves when it is held to account by civil society organizations. If advocates don't have a public partner to deliver change (whether in a cooperative or contentious relationship), advocacy will bear little fruit and Haiti is likely to remain home to 10,000 NGOs doing what the government does not do. Desiring to alleviate suffering, funders will continue to support a bloated NGO sector. In this study, we therefore also look at how civil society organizations hold NGOs accountable. The path to high-functioning public agencies is developmental as well. Unfortunately, at the time of this writing, there does not exist a clear path for how the government of Haiti will acquire the necessary resources and skills to do its job well. The philanthropic sector cannot fill that gap.

Perhaps Haiti's greatest national resource is the many ways in which ordinary people organize to support one another – the gwoupman, the kombit, and other community-care traditions that have kept Haitians alive in the face of so many challenges. That glue, what in modern day

parlance we tend to call social capital, is as abundant on the Haitian landscape as rocks. With strategic support, these home-grown Kreyol-speaking clusters – quite different than the UN clusters formed after the earthquake – will be the core of a movement for a responsive Haitian state.

The report concludes with recommendations for Haiti funders, including:

- Work closely with grantees to understand how their program can garner more and more public support over time. Ask about whether official local development planning processes are underway and how the program you support might integrate into that planning framework.
- Provide direct support for advocacy capacity building and action plans of grantees (including public education programs) that build constituency, engage public decision makers and hold accountable non-governmental organizations for the services they may be providing.
- Be flexible and opportunistic. Pursue work in sectors, for example, women's rights and in communities, such as rice-growing areas of the Artibonite where a movement may be stronger, decision-makers more responsive and change therefore more likely. Build on these local successes.
- Where feasible (through site visits or on-the-ground staff or consultants), build direct relationships with mayors, kaseks, etc., so as to improve understanding of the local contexts in which grantees are working.

“We hope that funders put resources into these advocacy strategies rather than churches and little projects that aren't useful to the country.”



- Identify specific decision makers at the local and national level – from kaseks to mayors to deputies to bureaucrats - with whom to collaborate on programs, policies and services. Again as above, this is essentially a grantee power-mapping exercise that a foundation might support. Where possible, seek formal agreements in writing with public agencies to clarify responsibilities in project implementation.
- Join coalitions advocating for more public sector support through international sources (e.g., bilateral and multi-lateral donors) and local sources (e.g., an equitable tax and fee system).

This report does not answer all the questions we yearn to answer, namely: What are the winning issues around which a social movement might coalesce and

enjoy some measure of success? Who should these organizations and movements target for engagement and influence? Who are the most likely change-makers, both among advocates and decision-makers? Answers to these questions are difficult to generalize, although we do shed light on specific cases. Context shifts each day with elections, the death of a local leader, the prominence of issues like climate change and food policy on the international stage. The essential bit of homework that pushes change forward is clearly articulated, achievable demands, careful analysis of where power lies and a thorough plan to influence key decision-makers. Changes may be far too small and suffering far too large. But we might all be surprised at what can be accomplished with a persistent and focused advocacy campaign.

II. Introduction: Breaking Old Habits

The mayor of Croix-des-Bouquets, Nyrvah Florens Bruno, pointed to an empty space next to her computer that badly needed dusting. "We don't even have a printer," she sighed.¹ "When my constituents need a document, I can't help." The NGOs² that manage projects in her municipality may have budgets twice the size of hers. They may have a fleet of jeeps while there's no truck for municipal garbage pick-up. "They don't come to me to ask what the community needs. They don't report on what they are doing."

Elie Lafortune and I spent several days in February 2014 interviewing public authorities and NGO officials,³ funders⁴ and grassroots advocates⁵ about social justice advocacy. Barbara Klugman, a South African advocacy evaluator, describes social justice advocacy as working for "structural and enduring changes that increase the power of those who are most disadvantaged politically, economically, and socially."⁶ Klugman finds that social justice advocacy adheres to three inter-related values: Resources should

be distributed for everyone to live a decent life; all human beings in all their diversity should be treated equally, and: all people should be represented and be able to advocate on their own behalf.

We sought to understand how Haitian civil society organizations promoting social justice seek to influence public officials, knowing that Haiti's public sec-



Photo: Institute for Justice and Democracy in Haiti



tor capacity to offer its citizens a safety net and rights protection is often quite limited. We investigated how citizen-led advocacy and grassroots influencing

rare bird indeed. A close second would be a representative citizen's group that pressures and collaborates with a public agency to co-manage delivery of an essential program.⁷ Neither of these scenarios are common in Haiti.

Photo: The Haiti Fund at the Boston Foundation



The Republic of Haiti has been dubbed, "the republic of NGOs."^{8,9} Never has this label been more apt than since the 2010 earthquake when over 90% of aid bypassed public agencies and was channeled to private, non-profit organizations. Haiti is certainly not alone in this dynamic; it is not uncommon in weak states that receive significant amounts of development assistance. Recent books by, Jonathan Katz, "The Big Truck That Went By"; Mark Schuller, "Killing with Kindness: Haiti,

is perceived by its "targets". Likewise, how do public officials hold NGO and development agencies accountable, those who increasingly provide the services that they don't?

Near the end of our interview with the Croix-des-Bouquets mayor, when it became clear that we had no project funds to offer, she grew impatient, "Did you bring anything for us at all?," she asked. "A photocopier? A shovel?" The meeting ended uncomfortably and we left. Elie fidgeted with the car key to unlock the door, "How much can you really expect a municipality to do if it doesn't even have a printer?"

Contrast this painful interaction with a more idealized version. Picture an adequately-resourced, responsive public sector agency with its finger on the pulse of community needs, creating innovative programs that build on community leadership and assets. This positive scenario is described by Oxfam's Duncan Green in his informative blog, "From Poverty to Power". Yet this confluence of political will and capacity – the kind of capacity, which might just put NGOs out of a job – is a

International Aid, and NGOs"; and Beverly Bell, "Fault Lines: Views Across Haiti's Divide", describe this perverse aid-dependency-corruption-public collapse cycle in sobering detail: When the public sector doesn't deliver on development or human rights, social movements demand regime change. With few resources forthcoming, communities manage on their own with few government services, and demand little from a withered state. NGOs improvise a safety net by offering programs, NGO funding declines and the limited services recede. The public sector atrophies, disconnected from its constituents.¹⁰

One might be tempted to overlook this severing of government's responsibility for its citizens if NGOs and the private market were able to fill the gap. And there are of course successes stories. But in the aggregate, human suffering, rights violations and environmental degradation remain endemic in Haiti. It is not surprising that NGOs cannot make up for a weak state.

Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton recognized this dilemma. Just after the earthquake, she stated, "It will

be tempting to fall back on old habits, to work around the government rather than to work with them as partners, or to fund a scattered array of well-meaning projects rather than making the deeper, long-term investments that Haiti needs now. We cannot retreat to failed strategies.”¹¹ And yet, just after the earthquake, little of the \$1.1 billion in US aid for post-earthquake recovery ever left the U.S. “Half went to the US government agencies preparing to aid the response, the rest to UN agencies, contractors and NGOs.”¹²

This dissonance between what we know and what we do is disheartening – and suggests that vested interests and colonial beliefs shore up a rotten system. The purpose of this paper is to explore how citizen advocacy in Haiti is building back accountability in Haiti, not only in the public sector but in the NGO sector as well.



Photo: The Haiti Fund at the Boston Foundation

III. An argument to support citizen-led advocacy – Even if advocacy isn’t your cup of tea

In Haiti and elsewhere, foundations generally enter into funding relationships with the hope that they might offer a temporary boost. In the best of circumstances, a funder helps scale up a good idea that might be replicated or a service to a neglected population that might be made official policy. Most funders would like their support to be time-limited, so as to be able to withdraw funding at some point without undermining the enterprise they’ve funded. At that point, another

funder might step in, or even better, the community itself or the public sector. That successful transition – from private to public ownership – is more or less the gold standard of effective philanthropy. It’s no secret that it’s rarely achieved, especially in Haiti. Why?

One reason may have to do with a project’s origin. Peaks in aid to Haiti – and to many countries – tend to occur during natural and political crisis, emergencies when it’s easy to violate best practices for community-led development. For both good and bad reasons, emergency projects often ignore the “demand mechanism”, through which community residents come together to articulate a desired change and research whom can give them the resources they require to solve their problem. Because the depth of unmet needs is so profound in Haiti, the safety net so broken and the public sector so absent, this crucial step called “voice” or “advocacy” or “influence” is often skipped. An NGO may roll out an off-the-shelf project even if there is no built-in constituency to lead it or advocate for its continuity when funding dries up – post-earthquake, temporary

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housing is just one example. Without that community leadership, project survival and sustainability are in question.

It's true that consultations with beneficiaries to prioritize program design options are increasingly common. These consultations are good news but may occur after the bulk of the program has been designed. A consultation won't necessarily answer whether local ownership exists to carry the project forward, once foundation assistance winds down.

The contention here is that if foundations are concerned with a succession plan to their time-limited support, they ought to encourage citizen voice and influence early on in program design. Think of it as insurance policy for project longevity. Not only will this demand mechanism ensure relevancy and survival of a given project, but may encourage monitoring and evaluation by the beneficiaries. This in turn plants seeds of accountability, sure to be among any development project's long-term goals.



And yet, despite these obvious benefits, funding advocacy is not common – even less so in Haiti where there is widespread cynicism that government will listen to its citizens, even if they are well organized. It is true that however loud and targeted cit-

izen voice may be, it is only half the solution. A movement can advocate until hoarse, but if the public sector agency has little ability to deliver (no staff, budget or gasoline for transport for example), it may be an exercise in frustration.¹³ Decision makers may resent that foundations encourage citizen advocacy, but do little to ensure that the public sector has the capacity to provide services. Funders may also draw the wrong conclusion when advocacy doesn't yield government action, thinking the organization to which they granted was ineffective rather than that the project may have been doomed without state support. An integrated solution includes strengthening the "supply" side, the ability of the public sector to deliver. Further on in this paper, we will explore how funders can support both the supply and demand sides of effective governance.

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IV. Measuring Advocacy

One reason that funders shy away from funding advocacy is the perceived difficulty of measuring its impact. An article in Stanford Social Innovation finds that, "advocacy is by nature a risky business with no guarantee of success. Projects may play out over many years in a complex and chaotic political process with numerous competing interests."¹⁴ It goes on to suggest that, "Nevertheless, evidence is growing that foundations and nonprofits can make important strides in assessing advocacy projects by evaluating them against a framework of factors crucial to success."

According to Barbara Klugman, one of those factors "is the ability to read the terrain and shift strategies to take advantage of windows of opportunity. In this process, complex decisions must be made about how to push the agenda forward."¹⁵ One therefore wants to get a sense of an organization's deepening capacity to think and act strategically, including adapting to changes. Clearly, this is not something simple to measure.

Advocacy impacts are likely to occur outside of the timeframe in which the actual advocacy actions take place, which may mean outside of the grant period for which a foundation has offered support. Increased

capacity to conduct advocacy is likely to show before actual impacts are made – and is an important gain in its own right. It's important to track indicators of that increasing capacity, including among others:

- Ability to propose a feasible solution to a defined problem
- Ability to plan and implement an advocacy strategy
- Ability to take advantage of a window of opportunity in a shifting context
- Number and quality of interactions with target
- Ability to evaluate steps in an advocacy campaign
- Evidence of effective use of media and other publicity and educational tools
- Depth of leadership
- Overall organizational capacity to conduct advocacy
- Creation of reports and credible research to support one's advocacy position and ability to present useful data
- Level of participation of your target constituency
- Participation in alliances with powerful inside champions
- Ability to articulate a convincing theory of change guiding the advocacy work

Impact indicators may include, among others:

- A shift in social norms or public opinion
- Increase in target population knowledge of rights
- Evidence in shift of decision-maker opinions and actions
- Local and national changes in legislation and programs
- Increase in access to services for target population
- Decrease in discrimination of target population¹⁶



Photo: Grassroots International



Although monitoring advocacy work can appear daunting, it needn't be overly complicated. It requires close work with grantees to establish a baseline of capacity and activities and supporting a series of reflec-

tive moments to take stock of, and report on, changes. This monitoring and evaluation process can be accomplished through supporting an organization's self-evaluation or by working with an external third party.

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V. Defining Advocacy in Present-day Haiti

The Haiti Fund at the Boston Foundation gathered Haitian advocates together on February 13, 2014¹⁷ to discuss what present-day grassroots advocacy looks like. We analyzed cases and among other topics, discussed types of advocacy targets (decision makers who can deliver change), how state weaknesses figure into citizen demands, more and less effective tactics, and acquiring resources for this work.

Alix Cantave, Haiti program officer for the W.K. Kellogg Foundation, opened the session. “Since 1986,

against Baby Doc, the organizing that that brought Aristide to power, Lavalas’ rise and decline and the limitations of the Preval administration. “Advocacy has been all or nothing,” said Cantave. “You either want their head on a platter or you support them to death. There’s very little in-between. But there are things in-between.”

Since before the slave rebellion, Haiti has had an active and vocal civil society pushing for change against both dictators and nominally-elected governments. Not surprisingly, that civil society action is quite different than that in the U.S. The idealized notion that elected officials are accountable to their constituents is not necessarily a good fit for Haiti. Even today, due to a political stalemate, Haitian mayors are appointed by the executive branch.

With so much centralized power and few resources available to local authorities, it can seem pointless, for example, to support a peasant organization to pressure a rural mayor for a road when it’s well-known that he has no budget to deliver. And yet despite long odds, grassroots advocacy can be effective. “Times are different now,” Cantave said. “When we speak of advocacy, it’s no longer only regime change – although some organizations still look for that. What social change are you looking for and how are you organizing to get it?”

Photo: Institute for Justice and Democracy in Haiti



when we think of advocacy, we have been thinking in terms of regime change. A change of government.” He provided a brief historical scan of popular movements



His comments provoked debate about how communities engage decision-makers and hold institutions accountable. Representatives of Je Na Je, Fraaka, and Fondation La Vie, among others, discussed differences between relatively narrowly-targeted advocacy campaigns, say for a piece of legislation versus a social movement that coalesces around an overarching change, such as food sovereignty. Here's a flavor of that conversation through direct statements made by conference participants (translated from Kreyol)¹⁸:

"In some places you conduct advocacy with money – that's your power and influence. We don't have that."

"Before people didn't know they had rights. Now they do. Human rights awareness is the foundation of advocacy."

"We conducted forums together for Senators to let them know about peoples' issues. Based on that, we worked successfully with government. It was all based on knowing the local problems."

"NGOs advocate for the poor as if they know the problems, but they really don't involve them."

"You need a target. The government is responsible for giving communities clean water. Advocacy focuses on something specific."

"Advocacy helps you put pressure on government to respect human rights. It's an exchange between citizens and the government."

"When you advocate and they don't act, it's because you don't know your rights. For advocacy to work, you need a state of rights."



Photo: The Haiti Fund at the Boston Foundation

"Start your advocacy locally. Like to get water for your community. If you don't get results locally, you go to mayor. Then further. Go to the media, the radio. Do a sit-in. Those are strategies of struggle. Sometimes you have to form a coalition."

"You need both social movements and advocacy. People recognize social movements and then you can push your demands further."

"Conscious-raising and education are different than advocacy, but they both go together."

"You have to educate decision makers. Most don't know what you are talking about."

"As an intermediary, Action Aid can know the problem. But the best people to do the advocacy are those who are suffering. You can collaborate with communities but don't do the advocacy for them."

"There are not many advocacy funders. Funders want to see immediate results. Will they agree to fund an advocacy project that will last 5 years? It's not very quick. It is always a long journey, never a straight line. You need a plan a, b, c and d."



"Advocacy is never separate from politics. It's never innocent. Don't try to separate them."

"Deputies don't really understand their job. They don't want to legislate. They want to dole out projects like NGOs. That's what people are used to."

"When you advocate, make reasonable demands. Maybe you can't advocate for land reform as a whole. Maybe one piece of land. Make it manageable."

"We hope that funders put resources into these advocacy strategies rather than churches and little projects that aren't useful to the country."

There is already plenty of good literature about government and NGO dysfunction in Haiti. During the workshop from which these statements are drawn and through additional interviews, we biased our exploration of advocacy towards what is working. We looked specifically at where public institutions – and private development agencies as well – had become more responsive through citizen pressure. The result is an inspiring cross-section of cases demonstrating strategies to shore up accountability and sustainability.

Photo: Grassroots International



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VI. Case Studies in Brief

1. Affordable Water: DINEPA and Water Rates

DINEPA, the national public water agency, is a relatively young public agency, having been created in 2009. It is a central government agency, but with an extensive network of regional offices called OREPAs. In contrast to many other public agencies, which have difficulty attracting direct international support, DINEPA receives significant funding; over \$200 million dollar for its core operations come from the Spanish cooperation agency, AECID and the Inter-American Development Bank. DINEPA offers a bridge between communities in need of water services and international donors wanting to resolve community access to water and sanitation. One of the challenges NGOs frequently face in the water sector is when they establish an isolated water system, not connected to a public system. Who will manage and maintain it? DINEPA plays a key role in researching the feasibility of proposed water projects and helping to produce a maintenance plan.

The right to water and sanitation was recognized by the UN General Assembly in 2009. DINEPA is building the capacity to implement this right through local work with communities working within the OREPA structure. In Saint Marc, when a private water distributor sought a rate increase to pay for infrastructure improvements, citizen groups protested. In response, the local OREPA office held community consultations to hear

out local concerns. At a public meeting, DINEPA officials committed to conduct a study on affordability, which was published in 2014.¹⁹ Field research showed that families' ability to pay was insufficient to shoulder the rate increase. The study recommended a more modest rate increase than that proposed by the water operator. Pressure on the public agency in this case proved successful.

2. A New Public Institution for Women's Rights and Services

Like DINEPA, the Ministry of Women's Affairs (MWA) is also young (created in 2005), junior and underfunded.²⁰ Working with a tight budget, it seeks to support a national network of women's organizations that advocate for women's rights legislation and provide es-

sential services. Famn Deside, from Jacmel, is a leading women's organization that has pressured legislators to pass a law against violence against women and for paternity responsibility legislation – for men to pay child support. The latter legislation has passed but

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Photo: Grassroots International





sits on the President's desk, awaiting signature. The MWA encourages the active participation of women's organizations across Haiti in legislative advocacy.

The MWA coordinates a nascent national network of "women's houses" and shelters for victims of violence and abuse. The term, coordination, may be an overstatement. The national coordinator of the women's centers, Kettleine Charles, Coordonatrice Nationale des Maisons des Femmes, for example, lacks the budget to actually make visits to the provinces to monitor the women's work and offer support. Yet, within its limitations, the Ministry attempts to decentralize women's services and support battered women. It has also created an advisory board to steer its work, composed of leading women's organizations. There is good reason for skepticism in Haiti about the effectiveness of this under-resourced agency; however, the basic ar-

chitecture exists for a public space for women's rights. With more support, it could potentially flourish.

3. Preventing the spread of cholera: Pressuring the UN to support the water and sanitation sector

It is difficult to imagine something more perverse – the organization charged with keeping peace in Haiti brings death instead. And yet, through global migration of bacteria, that is what happened. The source of Haiti's post-earthquake cholera epidemic turns out to have been Nepalese peacekeepers working with the UN security mission, MINUSTAH.

With poor water and sanitation infrastructure, the toll has been a terrible one; thousands of Haitians died of cholera just a year after the earthquake. The tragedy further undermined MINUSTAH's increasing unpopularity. The agency already was having difficulty proving its value (\$576 million to be spent on the mission in 2013-14 alone) to Haitian's security. In fact, many see the foreign troops (7,980 soldiers and police²¹) as an occupying force which receives salaries many times those of local cops and undermines the Haitian National Police's authority.

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Recognizing the importance of holding the UN (a principal player in Haitian development) accountable, the Haitian human rights organization, the International Lawyers Bureau (BAI) and its sister organization in the US, the Institute for Justice and Democracy in Haiti (IJDH), have led a highly visible, unprecedented lawsuit against the UN. While the suit continues to work its way through international courts, it has received global attention and a settlement appears to be forthcoming. Compensatory monies may be invested in strengthening Haiti's inadequate water and sanitation infrastructure, although it is not yet defined how monies will be spent – whether through DINEPA, the national water agency, or through UN agencies and private NGOs. Although the Haitian judicial system is unquestionably weak, BAI and IJDH found a way, through international procedures, to pursue justice for Haitians.

4. The wrong rice storage silos in the wrong place: USAID agrees to shift practice

Because the Ministry of Agriculture is so under-resourced, farming communities are much more likely to receive support – seeds and technical assistance for example – from USAID than their own Ministry. This is why some peasant and advocacy organizations seek to influence USAID, rather than knock on the Ministry's door.

Rice is a staple of the Haitian diet. The rice sector in Haiti has been in a tailspin since U.S. President Clin-

ton brokered a trade deal for Arkansas farmers and farmers from other rice-producing U.S. states to export their rice duty-free into Haiti. To increase the competitiveness of the remaining Haitian rice farmers, the USAID WINNER program – a watershed-based, rural development program operated by USAID contractor, Chemonics – offered grain storage bins to farmers in Haiti's rice basket, Artibonite.

Numerous problems in the implementation of the USAID project were uncovered in an Oxfam America report.²² Problems allegedly stemmed from limited consultation by Chemonics with Haitian farmers. This lack of local input, from the farmers' point of view, is what resulted in USAID delivering the wrong-sized rice silos to the wrong place, requiring the farmers to spend scarce resources to move the bins. The civil society advocacy organization, PAPDA (The Platform for Development Alternatives) worked with the Artibonite farmers (with Oxfam's support), to pressure Chemonics to rede-



Photo: Institute for Justice and Democracy in Haiti

“Deputies don’t really understand their job. They don’t want to legislate. They want to dole out projects like NGOs. That’s what people are used to.”





sign some of the program's elements. Going forward, USAID committed itself to working more closely with the farmers group in a more consultative process.²³ In post-earthquake reconstruction, an

organized constituency can succeed in engaging with a large development organization – and even more unlikely, their private contractor – to change practices.

5. Affordable Fertilizer: The Ministry of Agriculture Slashes the Price of a Key Agricultural Input

60% of the Haitian population lives in rural areas²⁴ with the majority working in agriculture. However, irrigation infrastructure is inadequate, agronomist assistance is nil, and credit is lacking. The results aren't surprising. Crop productivity is low and out-migration to Port au Prince is high, a demographic factor that contributed to the tragically high earthquake death toll.

The Ministry of Agriculture's Port-au-Prince campus is a haunting, depressing place where scores of public servants died during the quake.²⁵ A large colonial era building teeters, condemned, scored with deep gashes. Five years post-earthquake, emergency tents still stand under dusty palm trees. Under-employed agronomists wait in dim hallways hoping for work. One begged us, with some embarrassment, for money for his family.

From all appearances, the Ministry doesn't have two nickels to rub together. And yet, in a classic example of the squeaky wheel gets the grease, noisy farmers in the Artibonite organized for a fertilizer subsidy. According to Lafrance Dilon of the organization, OD4SS, when numbers and press coverage grew, the Ministry could no longer brush them off. The Ministry relented and dropped the price of fertilizer, at least temporarily. It was a stop-gap measure to be sure, with few long-term prospects for real development, but it nevertheless demonstrates that some populist responsiveness survives in the hollow Ministry halls.²⁶

6. To March or not to March?

We asked each elected official: "What is the best way for constituents to make their concerns known to you and others in the government?" We commented that marches seem to be a frequent pressure tactic, especially for organizations that feel that there are few points of entry to influence the political process. We asked, "are marches an effective way in Haiti to signal the need for change?"

To a person, the decision-makers explained that Haiti's political system is anything but a smooth account-



ability machine. There are not always means to register legitimate complaints. While the decision-makers we met with preferred a sit-down meeting and less rancorous forms of engagement, the politicians admitted that there's nothing like a march to generate bad press – and spur action.

During the advocacy workshop, one participant said, "if nothing happens, you might have to burn tires in the street. But there are many steps before that." But when those steps don't yield results, there was consensus:

The power of a well-organized march with a clear policy target should never be under-estimated. It remains a prominent feature of Haitian advocacy for good reason. It puts ignored issues in the public eye.

7. Little-Known Decentralists – Strengthening the Kaseks

There are some who feel that kaseks hold the key to good local planning and governance. Kaseks are locally-elected neighborhood representatives, something between a community sheriff and city councilor (although not answerable to a mayor).

"To understand Haitian community development you have to understand the kasek system," Raoul Pierre Louis of Turgeau (a neighborhood of Port au Prince) explained. "Some discard the system because it has its origins in a Duvalier police structure. But it really exists outside of the political party system."

Kaseks have few resources to work with and earn about \$200 a month. Pierre Louis supplements these limited government transfers to Turgeau with funds he raises

for his neighborhood through the CERDEL Foundation. He has obtained support from the Irish development agency, CordAid, for a housing program.

Pierre Louis is wary of NGOs that claim to be working for development but neglect to work within a community development plan already vetted with the neighborhood. Turgeau's plan was spread across his desk when we met. Over the years, he has built trust with the community, so much so that when an NGO approaches residents with a project, the residents are likely ask if they've spoken with the kasek. As a local coordinator, kaseks can weave together complementarities among disparate NGO projects. They can also be instrumental, said Pierre Louis, in guaranteeing rights. Pierre Louis was proud to have been able to install lighting in dark sections of Turgeau, helping diminish violence against women.

Kaseks can provide continuity in community development and put neighborhood social capital to work. If an NGO would like to do a water project, Pierre illustrated, a kasek might say, "Ah, there's this neighborhood group over there that can manage it.

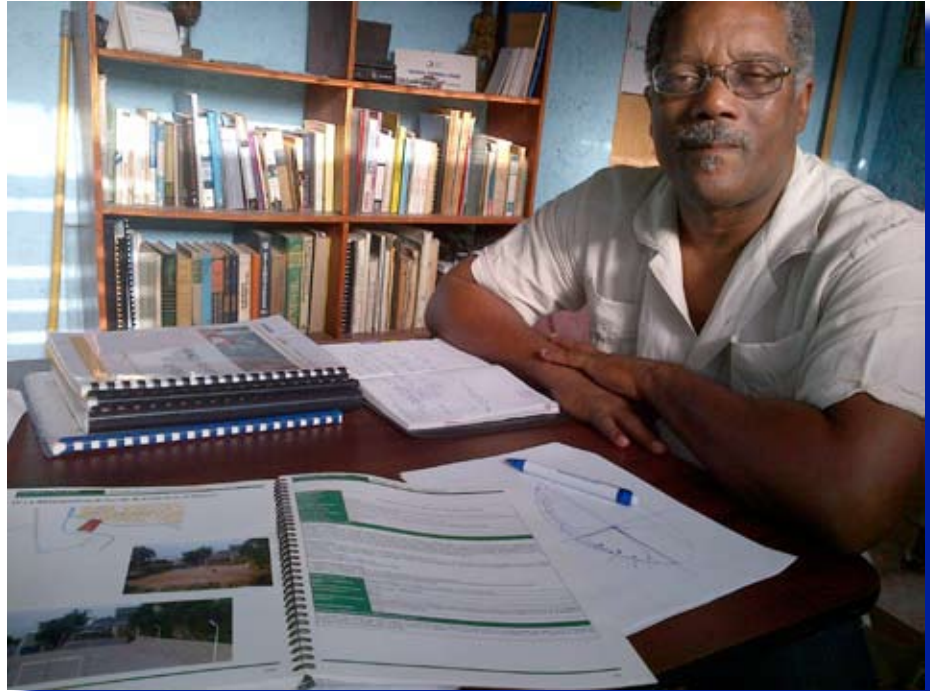


Photo: Institute for Justice and Democracy in Haiti



They're really good." If the NGO undertaking the work doesn't complete the work by its stated timeline, the kasek can apply pressure. They might just be able to prevent a development project failure in the neighborhood.

It's certainly not a perfect form of governance. Pierre Louis has been the head of the national association of kaseks. "We have few resources to work with and many of my colleagues have a seventh grade education or less," he said. "That makes fulfilling their planning role difficult." Nevertheless, the kaseks are an important and neglected feature of the local development landscape and ought to be sought out and consulted as NGOs roll out neighborhood projects.

8. Following the Decision Trail to Washington DC

A practical 'follow the money' and power approach informs the work of Action Aid and the Haiti Advocacy Working Group (HAWG) in which it participates. Ideally, Haitian citizens engage and influence Haitian decision makers on Haitian soil. It's no secret that many decisions about Haiti are made off the island, frequently in Washington DC.^{27, 28}

That doesn't mean that the Je Nan Je (Eye to Eye) campaign, supported by Action Aid to improve national agriculture plans and provide secure safe, affordable, long-term housing for displaced Haitians, doesn't seek to influence Haitian legislators in their own (collapsed) parliament. They do. But at the same time, Je Nan Je, in coordination with the HAWG, meets with Haitian legislators when they are in D.C. and seeks out U.S. Congresspeople and State Department officials who have a say in aid packages to Haiti.²⁹

Kysseline Cherestal of Action Aid observed that, while in the U.S. one can gather petition signatures to bring Justin Beiber's misbehavior to President Obama's attention, petitions don't work nearly so well in Haiti. And so, for example, to bring small farmers voices into debates on effective actions for land reform and local food production, they advocate both inside Haiti and outside. U.S. lawmakers from Barbara Lee to Marco Rubio have met with Je Na Je representatives to better understand Haitian farmers' food sovereignty aspirations and complex land issues. Advocacy in Haiti is anything but straightforward. Due to who holds the purse strings and the decision-making authority, sometimes you have to pass through Washington DC to get to Port au Prince.

9. Home-Grown Investigative Journalism Shining a Spotlight on Injustices

Media is a critical tool in a Haitian advocates' tool kit. Informants for this report, from advocates to targets, noted that, as is true most anywhere, decision makers dislike bad press and act to shield themselves from it. Advocates apply pressure through the media.

According to Jane Regan – founder of Haiti Grassroots Watch (Ayiti Kale), an alternative news source and investigative journalist training ground – getting coverage from the mainstream paper, *La Nouvelliste*, commercial radio or TV is important but insufficient. In any case, editors may steer clear of critical stories and nix controversial stories.

Ayiti Kale identifies young journalists and journalism students who are disillusioned with Haiti's media and eager to see their investigations published. Ayiti Kale

"Before people didn't know they had rights. Now they do. Human rights awareness is the foundation of advocacy."



digs into how earthquake reconstruction dollars have been spent, and has published reports in Kreyol, English and Spanish.

Due to diminished funding, future reports will be in Kreyol only. That's unfortunate, said Regan, because Ayiti Kale's reports have frequently been translated and picked up by media across the globe. With international visibility, there is sometimes a kind of boomerang effect and the Haitian press takes interest. For example, Ayiti Kale's investigation of mining concessions was covered in the Canadian press, where mining companies seeking to do business in Haiti are headquartered. When the Haitian parliament deliberated whether to restrict mining in Haiti, Ayiti Kale's investigations were cited by parliamentarians concerned about the environmental consequences. Haiti's mainstream journalist corps has proven itself reluctant to cover controversial stories. Ayiti Kale's young team digs in the muck and gives voice to local concerns.

10. Strengthening human rights awareness

How do public education and awareness raising about rights fit into advocacy campaigns? For many activists we spoke with, rights education was a pre-condition for engaging in advocacy. It makes intuitive sense that rights education precedes or occurs concurrently with advocacy action. That is, unless you know your rights, you're not likely to raise your voice to demand that those rights be respected. Does rights education lead to advocacy action? Not necessarily. There may be workshop after workshop explaining rights to housing, to water, to political participation, but not surprisingly, campaigns for rights recognition and implementation

don't necessarily coalesce automatically. Being able to craft effective advocacy campaigns is a skill apart.

Some policy makers we spoke with felt that NGOs expend too much time on rights education in the abstract, for example telling women they have the right to live without violence, and not enough effort to improve women's immediate condition and help women find jobs. Perhaps they wish the NGOs would solve all the women's problems so they would not be pressured to act.

Some funders expressed concerns that the impact of rights education is too difficult to measure. Ideally, one could measure concrete rights protections – laws, convictions, water connections, etc. But those tangible results take time. There is something to be said – quite a lot actually – for improved fluency in expressing ones rights. A shared opinion across all our interviews was that due to intensified education by community organizations and NGOs, more than ever before, Haitians are aware of their rights and what their elected officials ought to do to respect those rights. That's a springboard for effective advocacy. Forcing politicians' hands to act is still a work in progress.



Photo: The Haiti Fund at the Boston Foundation





11. Building on Haitians' self-reliance

Haiti has a deep tradition of community self-reliance, part survival mechanism in the face of a weak state and part legacy of enduring customs through which communities take care of their own. Haitians don't want to be dependent on state agencies anymore than anyone else. Beverly Bell in "Fault Lines" inventories half a dozen home-grown support networks. These "solidarity customs"³⁰ based on relationships and trust, include: Konbit, Twok, Sol, Sabotaj, Men Ansanm. Each custom relies on shared know-how and labor and in some cases, pooled capital. The traditions explicitly recognize the importance of inter-dependency to help a group or individual in a group take a step forward.

This traditional community safety is far more resilient and trusted than Haiti's weak state safety net. Maintaining these traditions constitutes a different form of advocacy – less demands on the state than mustering internal resources for community care. The presence and resilience of these Haitian traditions certainly begs the question as to why in a country so rich in social capital, NGOs and government programs don't simply build on these homegrown organizations and

leaders in designing their projects. It seems a reasonable hypothesis that an aid program would be more effective and accountable if built on local structures of self-reliance.

Indeed, these indigenous customs were invaluable in post-earthquake recovery. The Peasant Movement of Papaye (MPP) took in quake refugees. "The cash-poor, community-rich" Carrefour-Feuilles

area of Port au Prince offered community-based aid.³¹ The Association for the Promotion of Integrated Family Health (APROSIFA) contracted neighborhood women to cook meals that served 4800 people daily. Ingredients for the cooks were provided by local farmers, leading APROSIFA's founder, Rose Anne Auguste, to comment dryly, "I would like to tell the international community that we can grow food." Bell observed that, "the scene could hardly have diverged more from the distributions of sacks of imported rice."

"When people realize that they have a government which is extremely weak; and they have together with their fingers, with their little hammers, their machetes, their sticks – saved so many neighbors, so many family members," Bell quotes Lnez Jean Francois from the State University of Haiti's psychology department, "they realize just what strength they have, individually and collectively."³² Yet, warned then Prime Minister Bellerive, a strong community fabric does not absolve those who ought to be helping. "Everyone is talking about the resilience of the Haitian people, and everyone is taking advantage of that resilience."³³



12. Educational reform

The W.K. Kellogg Foundation has been working in Haiti for over six decades. As advocates for children's welfare and social equity, they are committed to helping Haiti develop a high quality educational system. Current school performance indicators are alarmingly low³⁴ – 30% of primary school age children are not enrolled in school and more than 60% of the enrolled will drop out before 6th grade. Less than 15% of schools are public.

"Who are the champions for systemic education reform?" asked Alix Cantave, Program Officer for the Kellogg Foundation. There's not a coordinated reform movement in the country." Mindful that Kellogg is an international foundation and not a Haitian social actor, Cantave moves carefully so as not to play too large a role, seeking to bring together education reform advocates and public officials. The Kellogg Foundation is looking to work more closely with the Ministry of Education. At the same time, it offers grants to reform-minded NGOs, including those experimenting with educational innovations. One idea that the Kellogg Foundation is pursuing is an action oriented think-

"NGOs advocate for the poor as if they know the problems, but they really don't involve them."



Photo: Institute for Justice and Democracy in Haiti

tank on education to accompany the sector, including the Ministry.

13. No paper to print birth certificates

Perhaps there's no piece of paper more valuable for rights protection than a birth certificate. A valid birth certificate is often a necessary pre-condition for school registration, voter registration, a land title and more. And yet more than 20% of Haitians do not have this crucial document.³⁵ It's a sign of just how under-resourced public offices are that a birth certificate isn't issued to each and every newborn.

One deputy with whom we spoke described a municipal office that had run out of birth certificate forms. Not wanting the new mother to leave empty-handed, the office simply photocopied the last form they had. The problem was that the same identification number was used twice and therefore, the certificates were invalid. The deputy criticized NGOs for



Photo: Institute for Justice and Democracy in Haiti



raising expectations in communities about universally-granted birth certificates without resolving what to do about the lack of forms.

Is the deputy right? Is supporting birth certificate advocacy pointless without providing forms? Should NGOs and foundations use their funds to purchase forms? Due to the grassroots pressure, the authorities are scrambling for forms. They don't seem to like it very much, but there you have it. Depending on how you look at it, this is exactly how advocacy should work. The

deputies and municipal authorities feel the heat from below and are forced to advocate "upstream" with the appropriate agency to ensure that the municipalities in their district have blank certificates. Why blame the advocates for raising the issue? This exemplifies Haiti's chicken and egg problem. Citizens are increasingly savvy about rights and the need to advocate, while the public sector continues to stumble. Public officials look to private foundations and NGOs to resolve the problem because they have little success within their own public institutions.



Photo: The Haiti Fund at the Boston Foundation

VII. Bumps in the road: Exploring the public sector's "supply" problem and other puzzles

We offer these examples of grassroots advocacy and institutional responsiveness to counter-balance the more pessimistic view that accountability in Haiti simply cannot be found beneath the rubble of the state and the flood of NGOs. With these dozen-plus cases, we've only begun to scratch the surface. There are likely hundreds more and the brief summaries we've provided here don't do justice to their richness and complexity. At the same time, we are mindful that these

"successes" are the exception to the rule. Accountability remains a very tough issue in Haiti.

There are tremendous obstacles to establishing a healthy link between Haitian public institutions and those they are charged with serving. The contention of this paper is that citizen advocacy and iterated contact with public servants can help build that institutional responsiveness. But if target institutions such as the



Ministry of Agriculture have little budget and trained personnel with which to work, responsiveness will lag. Senator Steven Benoit commented to us, "Decision makers are hampered. Sometimes they just don't know what to do. NGOs have consultants to learn issues. We don't have consultants." Or much else for that matter.

Public sector agencies require adequate resources and training to satisfy public demands. Therein lies the dilemma. Many donors are reluctant to fund the public sector until it demonstrates its accountability.³⁶

During this research, we observed numerous challenges to building public capacity. One is that while some funds are available for public sector training, it may be allocated to foreign consultants contracted to provide a workshop or conduct an assessment. Once these one-off interventions are complete, the reality of the under-resourced agency's scarce operating budget remains a glaring impediment.

Also casting a shadow on capacity-building work is Haiti's challenging political terrain. For example, due to a parliamentary stalemate, mayors are currently appointed by President Martelly. Many Haitian public servants are only thinly and temporarily accountable to an electorate.

A third problem is linked to the second. Local public officials as well as local NGO leaders are frequently perceived as "rent-seekers" – taking resources that don't belong to them, rather than looking out for the common good. This is not just a frequently-heard opinion about political figures, but NGOs as well. Some NGOs

are seen not as service providers to populations in need but rather political and economic fiefdoms of enterprising social entrepreneurs.

There are creative ways around these challenges but they require long-term accompaniment and funding. One model that Duncan Green cites to fortify weak states is to encourage and strengthen a cadre of forward-thinking change-makers, whether they be school teachers or water utility operators. Based on peer leadership, a reform movement can be fortified from within public agencies. Seconding public servants from other countries to facilitate reforms is a complementary method that has proven successful. Bell finds that, "NGOs could be useful in strengthening the government's capacity to function and provide services."³⁷ Indeed, at the February 13th meeting of grassroots advocates, Famn Deside described their focused work with judges and parliamentarians to teach them how to better attend to rape victims. These are promising methods to build capacity, albeit at a limited scale. They cannot substitute for more systematic and continuous investment in public sector agencies on the part of larger donors.



Photo: Institute for Justice and Democracy in Haiti



VII. Recommendations

There's a great deal that can be done to strengthen accountability between public institutions and the citizens they ought to be serving. While there is no one roadmap to get there, here we suggest action steps in that direction.

1. Make sure the problem you are addressing is diagnosed thoroughly – and most importantly, in context. Why isn't a program already being offered to address the problem you would like to address? Or is there in fact a program in place but it's maligned or underdeveloped? What institutions are failing to fix the problem and how might they be coaxed or supported? This exploration might yield a "power map" of who to speak to to understand the problem better and ground program interventions in political realities.³⁸

2. Theories of change³⁹ must adapt as contexts evolve. Elections are held – or suspended – new businesses emerge, climate change advances, natural disasters strike. Keeping a finger on shifting context – by holding periodic discussions with the kasek or mayor for example – may turn up unexpected opportunities or

new allies. A project proposal could ask prospective partners to describe the local power structure and how they seek to influence change.

3. Based on the above analysis, be flexible and opportunistic. Work in sectors, e.g., women's rights and in communities, e.g., rice-growing areas of the Artibonite, where local organizations and movements may be stronger, decision-makers are more responsive and therefore change is more likely. Successes in one area may engender advances elsewhere.

4. Consider a Memorandum of Understanding between the civil society organization you are supporting and a public agency. For a variety of reasons, foundations don't often fund public agencies directly. How can civil society-public sector cooperation be encouraged? One

"Conscious-raising and education are different than advocacy, but they both go together."



Photo: ActionAid USA





Photo: ActionAid USA

practical idea is for a project implementation plan to describe co-management agreements with public authorities. For example, if the community organization puts x amount of labor into reforesting a watershed, the municipality will put y into piping infrastructure. Of course these are delicate negotiations to be led by the organizations themselves, not a foundation. Crafting a co-management plan is in itself a form of advocacy – it can make transparent roles and tasks to which the parties can be held accountable.

5. Municipal officials with whom we met felt that they had much to offer a foundation looking to support community development and human rights work in their jurisdiction. Consider how to work with them. "We can tell if a project is feasible," one municipal official told us, "and how it fits with other things going on in the neighborhood." In this sense, the municipality can theoretically improve efficiency, seeking synergy with other municipal services and projects. A municipality may be able to ramp up security details around a project, for example, or site a school near a housing development. It's not infrequent that one donor doesn't know another donor working in the same community. Municipali-

ties may be able to facilitate these working relationships. Because municipalities generally see few resources from the central government, they may be eager to cooperate, not only to garner resources, but to have a partner with which to learn about community development.

6. Register NGO projects with public authorities. At the national level, the Haitian Ministry of Planning maintains a registry of NGOs. Some municipalities, such as Delmas, are attempting something similar at the municipal level. And yet, of the purported 10,000 NGOs in Haiti, less than 300 have registered. There may be some justified suspicions about these registries – for example, do public authorities want this information to later extract fees or other resources from the projects? That can certainly be a temptation and cause for caution. And yet, imagine yourself a mayor. You find out second hand that an international health NGO has begun work on a clinic down the street. It seems only

"We conducted forums together for Senators to let them know about peoples' issues. Based on that, we worked successfully with government. It was all based on knowing the local problems."



fair that authorities should have all the information they need to draw disparate projects together into a coherent local development plan.

7. Advocate for public sector capacity building and operating resources. Encourage partners, especially bilateral and multilateral development agencies, to make investments in public agencies, pegged to performance indicators. Might a foundation's small donation to a health clinic be leveraged to encourage a larger funder to pay for the salaries of Ministry of Health promoters?⁴⁰ As mentioned above, consider strengthening public sector capacity by funding learning opportunities with associations of public servants – be it an association of mayors, school teachers or nurses. These groups often have champions and innovators within, motivated to improve their performance. Many will be open to working closely with citizen organizations, understanding that this close relationship is key to improved service delivery.

8. Make grants to support advocacy capacity building and campaigning, that builds an informed citizenry, engages public officials and holds accountable non-governmental organizations for the services they provide.

Photo: Grassroots International



VII. Conclusion

There appears to be consensus – spoken but not yet universally applied – that no amount of NGO aid in Haiti will solve development inequities and human rights violations. The flip side of that consensus is that the public sector must step up its work. Yet to strengthen or create an accountable public sector is a formidable task, a challenge for foundations whose modest resources are likely better spent on civil society organizations that play a watchdog and co-management role, than on operating budgets for public ministries. It begs the question then of who and how to provide the public sector with resources to do its job. This paper does not answer that question but suggests that foundations themselves must advocate within coalitions for bilateral and multilateral agencies to directly engage and support the government of Haiti.

History teaches that government institutions become more responsive and effective through citizen engagement. For that reason, the philanthropic sector's investment in citizen engagement, advocacy, influencing – whatever you choose to call it – is so crucial. Demanding public responsiveness is the essence of advocacy and certainly not only a concern for “advocacy funders”. It's a time-tested, effective approach – even in as difficult a context as Haiti – for all demand-driven, sustainable and equitable development. Please do share your insights as you discover what works best in this exciting and essential area of work.



Endnotes

¹ Interview conducted February 12, 2014

² NGO is an imprecise term in Haiti. It can generally be used to describe any sort of charity or rights group, whether a large international organization like CARE to a small neighborhood woman's group. Additionally, Bell finds that "non-governmental is actually a misnomer, since many of the agencies, like Save the Children and Catholic Relief Services, get at least half their funding from the US government." Beverly Bell, *Fault Lines: Views from Across Haiti's Divide* (New York: Cornell University, 2013), 83.

³ Interviewees from Public Sector: Raoul Pierre Louis, Kasek of Turgeau; Guito Edouard, DINEPA; Senator Steven Benoit; Mayor of Crois-des-Bouquets, Nyrvah Florens Bruno; Kettleine Charles, Coordonatrice Nationale des Maisons des Femmes, Ministry of Women's Affairs; Deputies: Alexandre Bellevue Guerda Benjamin, Clement Dupner and Derilus Vickers.

⁴ Interviewees of Funding Organizations: Jenny Petrow, Interamerican Foundation; Amber Lynn Munger-Pierre, American Jewish World Service, Alix Cantave, W.K. Kellogg Foundation; Regan Ralph, Global Fund for Human Rights; Kysseline Cherestal, ActionAid USA.

⁵ Interviewees with grassroots advocates: Beverly Bell, Other Worlds; Jane Reagan; Ayiti Kale, Vice Mayor of Delmas; Lafrance Dilon, OD4SS; and participants at February 13 meeting: Romaine Nicole, PDL; Beau-brun Micehyne, Joseph Leroywood, and Leblanc Roberts McJirony, Beyond Borders; Antoine Lucia, Fanm Deside; Louisiane Nazaire, Jean Je; Roosevelt Jean Felix, POHDH; Nixon Boumba and Amber Lynn Muger, AJWS; Guylande Mesadieu, Fondation Zanmi Timoun; St. Aubin Marie Andree, Action Aid; Doliscar Jackson, FRAKKA.

⁶ Barbara Klugman, *Evaluating Social Justice Advocacy: A Values Based Approach*, August 2010, <http://www.evaluationinnovation.org/sites/default/files/Klugman%20Brief.pdf>

⁷ "Just as political opportunities create possibilities for effective citizen mobilization, so too does organized citizen action create new possibilities for state reform." John Gaventa and Rosemary McGee, from *Citizen action and national policy: making change happen*, as quoted on Duncan Green blog, "From Poverty to Power", <http://oxfamblogs.org/fp2p/do-transparency-and-accountability-initiatives-have-any-impact/>.

⁸ Bell, 84.

⁹ Bell notes that foreign NGOs are obligated to register with the Haitian Ministry of Planning but as of 2013, only 162 had done so. Bell, 85.

¹⁰ Jonathan Katz joins other critics who have contended that "going around governments" makes "fragile states weaker." In 2005, more than 100 countries, including the U.S. signed a declaration in Paris highlighting the importance of offering direct budgetary support to governments within aid packages. Katz cites research showing that aid "addressed problems best when it matched a host country's priorities...and that no evidence had been found that giving money straight to governments increased corruption. In fact, because it strengthened government's oversight roles, in some cases it helped bolster transparency." And yet in 2009, approximately 1.7 percent of US foreign assistance was delivered to government budgets. USAID spent over \$6.9 billion on its top 20 private vendors. Jonathan Katz, *The Big Truck That Went By: How the World Came to Save Haiti and Left Behind a Disaster*, (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013), 111.

"When you advocate, make reasonable demands. Maybe you can't advocate for land reform as a whole. Maybe one piece of land. Make it manageable"



¹¹ Katz, 125.

¹² Katz, 112.

¹³ It was true that the Ministry of Public Works (MTPTC) had gone around town assessing buildings that had been shaken...Its personnel branded thousands of buildings with MTPTC's stenciled initials spray-painted in red (condemned), yellow (must be reinforced) or green (fine as it is)...There were people from Public Works who, for a price, had allowed homeowners to stencil shaky houses with whatever colors they chose. So even those painstaking MTPTC stencils - a surprising sign of municipal responsibility in a place where normally there was none - could not be trusted" Amy Wilentz, *Farewell Fred Voodoo* (New York, Simon and Schuster, 2013), p. 72-73.

¹⁴ Ivan Barkhorn, Nathan Huttner and Jason Blau, *Assessing Advocacy*, in Stanford Social Innovation, Spring 2013.

¹⁵ Barbara Klugman.

¹⁶ Adapted from Klugman and from Barkhorn, Huttner, and Blau.

¹⁷ See footnote 5 for names of all participants.

¹⁸ All quotes are from conference participants. Please see footnote 5 for names of participants.

¹⁹ ONEPA, *Enquête sur l'Appréciation de la Tarification et le Niveau de Satisfaction sur le Service Public d'Eau Potable à Saint-Marc. Réalisée sous la direction de l'Observatoire National de l'Eau Potable et de l'Assainissement*, Janvier- Février 2014.

²⁰ There exists skepticism that politicians may set up new ministries with little authority in order to give the appearance of action on behalf of marginalized constituencies. The new Ministry of Peasant Affairs, for example, appears to have little real power.

²¹ MINUSTAH Facts and Figures, <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/minustah/facts.shtml>.

²² Jennifer Lentfer, *We Are Spectators No More*, Fall 2013, <http://www.oxfamamerica.org/explore/research-publications/oxfamcloseup-fall-2013/>.

²³ Jennifer Lentfer, *Oxfam article on Feed the Future in Haiti causes a stir in Washington DC*, October 17, 2013, <http://politicsofpoverty.oxfamamerica.org/2013/10/oxfam-article-on-feed-the-future-in-haiti-causes-a-stir-in-washington-dc/>.

²⁴ IFAD, *Enabling the rural poor to overcome poverty in Haiti*, http://www.ifad.org/operations/projects/regions/pl/factsheet/haiti_e.pdf

²⁵ According to Jonathan Katz, "the earthquake killed 17% of all civil service employees and destroyed almost all ministry buildings," Katz, 112.

²⁶ In contrast to the Ministry of Agriculture itself, the CNSA – the National Coordination for Food Security – is a relatively well-funded semi-public agency connected to the Ministry. It operates autonomously with private funding. The information they compile on food shortfalls is requested by donor agencies offering food aid.

²⁷ "The IMF pushed Haiti so hard to open its borders to trade that by 1995, import tariffs on rice and flour had dropped from 50% to as low as 3%... The resultant flood of cheap food from other countries has been a death knell for peasant agriculture" Bell, 67.

²⁸ "Haitians will remain trapped as long as the rules of global political and economic power remain unchanged." Bell, 68.

²⁹ "Success depends in part on a new tier of heroic 'hybrid mediators', who manage to simultaneously stay rooted in community struggles, and navigate the international system, moving between them and speaking both their languages with equal facility." Duncan Green, <http://oxfamblogs.org/fp2p/how-has-campaigning-changed-since-slavery-was-abolished>.

³⁰ Bell, 52.



³¹ Bell, 53.

³² Bell, 70.

³³ Prime Minister Bellerive, as quoted in Bell, 171.

³⁴ Haiti Partners, *Who We Are*, <http://haitipartners.org/who-we-are/haiti-statistics/>.

³⁵ Index Mundi, *Completeness of birth registration, rural (%) - Country Ranking*, <http://www.indexmundi.com/facts/indicators/SP.REG.BRTH.RU.ZS/rankings>.

³⁶ About US Senator Patrick Leahy blocking money for justice reform, Katz writes, "He seemed to be arguing that the U.S. would not pay for justice reform in Haiti until the Haitian justice system reformed itself." Katz, 129.

³⁷ Bell, 85.

³⁸ "I can't differentiate programming from power analysis – they go hand in hand. We're pushing ourselves to really think through how change happens in Tanzania and try out different things. The whole team and partners are now talking in terms of power analysis." Jane Lonsdale as quoted in Duncan Green "From Poverty to Power" blog, <http://oxfamblogs.org/fp2p/building-accountability-in-tanzania-applying-an-evolutionaryventure-capital-ist-theory-of-change/>.

³⁹ A theory of change is an "explicit presentation of the assumptions about how changes are expected to happen within any particular context and in relation to a particular intervention. A theory of change maps out which actors have to do what in order to achieve and sustain a vision of success, and identifies the major linkages between them." <http://www.keystoneaccountability.org/glossary>.

⁴⁰ "The state is the one who's in place, legally, to respond to the people. What Partners in Health tries to do is to collaborate with the State to reinforce its efforts, so down the road it can better meet its responsibility. We always say the Ministry of Public Health is our most important partner... We ensure that everything we do supports and reinforces the Ministry of Public Health, the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Agriculture... We realized a long time ago that it doesn't make sense for us to do our own small effort apart, to build our own hospital or clinic or even separate schools." Loune Viaud quoted in Bell, p. 164. The case of Partners in Health is highly instructive for what it teaches about a potentially virtuous circle between an NGO and a public sector ministry. Books and articles have been written about it already with likely more to come – which is why it is not explored in this paper. Notwithstanding Viaud's comments above, some informants wondered if Partners in Health will ever be able to turn the new Mirebelais teaching hospital over to the Health Ministry – one of the many quandaries about the transition from private to public management.

**"Advocacy is never separate from politics.
It's never innocent. Don't try to separate them."**



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"Advocacy helps you put pressure on government to respect human rights. It's an exchange between citizens and the government."

