

United Nations Development Programme
Evaluation office



Case Study Haiti

EVALUATION OF UNDP ASSISTANCE TO CONFLICT-AFFECTED COUNTRIES

HUMAN SECURITY

By Carrol Faubert

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Acronyms

CEP	Provisional Electoral Council
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
ICF	Interim Cooperation Framework
MINUSTAH	United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti
NGO	non-governmental organization
OAS	Organization of American States
PIR	Integrated Emergency Response Programme Targeting Vulnerable Groups and Communities in Haiti
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
SRSG	Special Representative of the Secretary-General
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

Executive summary

The situation in Haiti is not a post-conflict situation but rather a protracted and violent 20-year long transition following the end of the predatory dictatorship of the Duvaliers. The crisis left Haiti as the poorest State in the western hemisphere with 56 percent of the population living under conditions of extreme poverty (less than US \$1 a day). The crisis is as much the result of a prevailing culture of violence, widespread corruption and the criminalization of armed groups as it is of neglect by the international community.

It was only in 2004, after six United Nations missions that were generally considered to be failures, that the United Nations and the international community recognized that a long-term commitment and a robust multi-dimensional Security Council mandate were required for the new United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH).

The new United Nations Mission was also established in line with the concept of 'integrated missions' and the Resident Representative of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) was appointed as Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary-General, cumulating the functions of Resident Coordinator and Humanitarian Coordinator. During 2000-2005, UNDP had to adapt its role to the evolution of the internal situation and the nature of the United Nations presence in the country.

The years 2000-2005 were marked by two distinct periods. During the first phase, which began with the controversial second election of Jean-Bertrand Aristide in November 2000 the lasted till the departure of President Aristide in February 2004, UNDP operated in the absence of a Security Council or General Assembly mandated mission. UNDP's major contribution during that period was the launching of a multi-year programme titled *Programme integer de reponse* (PIR) that contributed significantly to allowing a resumption of humanitarian and recovery assistance in a situation where most donors rejected direct cooperation with Government authorities. Following the withdrawal of MICAH (Mission internationale civile d'appui en Haiti¹) in February 2001, the Resident Coordinator became the senior-most United Nations official in the country and, as a result, played a very prominent role in the days and weeks immediately following the exile of President Aristide.

With the establishment of MINUSTAH in 2004, UNDP's role had to adapt to its new responsibilities in support of the Security Council mandate. Through its participation in MINUSTAH, UNDP is an integral part of the renewed international effort to support transition in Haiti and improve the situation of Haitians. While support to the justice sector and other programmes started before 2004, new activities undertaken by UNDP during the transition period have included support to the electoral process and to the Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) programmes. The role of UNDP in the electoral process represented a major increase in the financial resources administered by the UNDP country office and put a heavy toll on limited human resources. This role, however, remained very administrative and technical, increasing an often expressed perception that UNDP was moving away from its core development mandate into a service-providing function. Despite the slow progress in the DDR programme, some interesting innovations were introduced in

¹ International Civilian Support Mission, Haiti

Haiti that could serve as models elsewhere. On the management side, the major innovation was the creation of a totally integrated management structure between UNDP and MINUSTAH; another major advance was the decision of the Security Council to allocate limited resources from assessed contributions for reintegration activities of the DDR programme.

Major lessons derived from this case study in Haiti include:

- The international community shares some of the responsibility for the crisis in Haiti in the absence of a proactive prevention strategy and a sustained long-term commitment.
- The concept of integrated missions is being promoted through the formal adoption of 'integrated areas of activity' (DDR, justice, electoral support, national dialogue and protection of the children). The formula could help promote a more coherent cooperation between the United Nations mission and members of the United Nations Country Team.
- UNDP's role in support of the electoral process has been effective but limited only to providing administrative and technical support. This has raised questions about the justification of UNDP's participation in terms of the organization's core mandate.
- Important management and funding innovations introduced in the DDR programmes could serve as models for other, similar situations.
- UNDP has shown leadership through its capacity to adapt, anticipate and innovate.
- UNDP's capacity to create Trust Funds and manage them with flexibility is viewed as a major asset by both the United Nations Secretariat and donor partners. On the other hand, UNDP's image suffers because of its slow procedures for disbursing funds to implementing partners, contractors and staff.
- UNDP's outreach beyond Port-au-Prince is rather limited. Opportunities have probably been lost to capitalize on a security situation reported as more favourable in the countryside and urban centres outside the capital city.
- Relations with the civil society have been intense but are often based on personal contacts rather than on structured institutional arrangements.

Introduction

Haiti is one of six countries selected by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) as case studies supporting an external evaluation, conducted between 2000 and 2005, of the organization's role and contribution in countries affected by conflicts. The evaluation intends to investigate to what extent UNDP's activities in conflict-afflicted countries contributed to the goal of human security defined broadly as 'freedom from fear' and 'freedom from want'. Whereas the consolidated evaluation report formulates recommendations aimed at improving UNDP's global performance in addressing the needs of conflict-affected countries, each of the case studies identifies lessons learned based on concrete experience in a particular environment.

The case study in Haiti involved extensive desk work as well as a field visit that took place between 11 and 19 January 2006. The case study was conducted by Carrol Faubert from Abacus International Management (one of the three international consultants responsible for the overall evaluation) and Michèle Oriol, an independent national consultant. The team held extensive discussions with the senior management of the UNDP country office, with programme and project staff, as well as with UNDP's major partners in the Government of Transition, leading donors, and some of the United Nations officials in Haiti. A particular effort was made to meet members of the civil society so as to obtain views and analysis from people not directly involved as partners to UNDP. A list of persons met by the evaluation team appears as Annex II. In preparation for the field mission, the team examined several documents that were either assembled by the Evaluation Office and the UNDP country office, or identified through the consultants' own research. Key documents consulted by the evaluation team appear as Annex III.

Unfortunately, the only visit planned to the outskirts of Port-au-Prince to look at a project had to be cancelled due to the security considerations. This absence of direct exposure to the situation outside the capital could only be partially compensated for through discussions with international non-governmental organizations operating in the provinces and through the extensive personal experience of the national consultant.

The paucity of reliable data collected in a systematic way over several years make it difficult to identify usable indicators of human security over the time frame of 2000-2005 given to the evaluation exercise. This has meant, for example, that most of the data related to personal safety was recent and that any comparisons with the past had to rely on the perception of respondents. Annex I provides a compilation of selected statistics on human security in Haiti.

The present report reviews the background to the current crisis and assesses the evolution of human security in Haiti over recent years, using the broad parameters of personal safety, human rights, rule of law as well as economic environment and livelihoods. It discusses the role of the international community, especially UNDP, in trying to improve the situation in Haiti and reviews UNDP's main partnerships, including its participation in the integrated United Nations mission². The report also examines issues related to the

² Although UNDP cooperated closely with the successive missions mandated by the Security Council or General Assembly between 1993 and February 2002, MINUSTAH (Mission des Nations Unies pour la Stabilisation en Haïti), established in June 2004, was the first mission where the UNDP Resident Representative was designated as Deputy Representative of the Secretary-General.

management of UNDP operations in a crisis situation, and a final section draws some conclusions and lessons.

1. Background and causes of the crisis

After numerous delays and setbacks, Haiti’s Presidential elections were finally held on 7 February 2006. However, as results indicating that Presidential candidate René Préval was just short of a victory in the first round started being announced, his supporters took to the streets amid rumours of fraud. On 16 February 2006, after a week of demonstrations arising from the rumours and confusion regarding the vote counting operation, the Provisional Electoral Council (CEP³) announced that René Préval had won the Presidential election on the first round of voting with 51.2 percent of the vote. In what one of the 33 candidates termed as “an electoral coup”, the CEP decided to adopt an internationally-backed formula and distributed blank votes proportionally between candidates, as a result of which René Préval’s score jumped from 48.8 percent to 51.2 percent. A second round was thus avoided and the week-long violence on the streets calmed down. An important question is whether stability will now prevail in Haiti. One indication of improved conditions is that the number of kidnappings, a phenomenon that had been on the rise before the elections, dropped significantly from 106 in December 2005 to only 18 in February 2006. There is hope, but it remains very fragile.

Since the departure of Jean-Claude Duvalier in February 1986, Haiti has been engaged in a seemingly endless political transition punctuated by several military coups, outbursts of violence and foreign military interventions. The case of Haiti cannot be described as a conflict situation. There has been no recent situation of war with a neighbouring country, nor has there been a civil war between opposing Haitian factions or communities. Haiti is a case of a lingering political and governance crisis accompanied by a severe degradation of the economy, of security and of livelihoods. The country has been trapped in an accelerating downward spiral that will be difficult to halt and reverse. The origins of the crisis go back to the troubled past of Haiti. A chronology of key events in the history of Haiti is provided in Table 1 below:

Table 1: KEY EVENTS IN HAITIAN HISTORY	
1 January 1804	Haiti gains independence from France
1807-1820	Civil war between north and south Haiti
1821-1844	Haiti invades and occupies Santo Domingo (Dominican Republic from 1844)
1915-1934	The United States invades and occupies Haiti
1957	Dr. François ‘Papa Doc’ Duvalier is elected President through military-controlled elections
1959	Duvalier creates his private militia (Tontons Macoutes), following an attempted coup
1964	Duvalier proclaims himself President-for-Life
1971	Papa Doc Duvalier dies in office after naming his 19 year-old son Jean-Claude (‘Baby Doc’) as his successor
7 February 1986	Jean-Claude Duvalier leaves Haiti following popular unrest and external pressure
1986-1990	Succession of military coups
16 December 1990	Father Jean-Bertrand Aristide is elected President with 67.5 percent of the votes in Haiti’s first-ever democratic election
30 September 1991	Military coup by General Raoul Cedras. Aristide goes into exile. An international embargo is imposed against Haiti in October 1991
19 September 1994	A United States-led military intervention leads to the return of President Aristide in October

³ CEP stands for Conseil électoral provisoire.

28 April 1995	Aristide abolishes the National Army
1996-2000	As Aristide is not eligible for a second consecutive term, René Préval, a close associate, is elected President
29 November 2000	Aristide is elected President in an election marked by fraud and extremely low participation. Economic sanctions are imposed on Haiti
29 February 2004	Aristide is forced to resign and to go into exile. The Security Council authorizes the deployment of a Multinational Interim Force to be followed by a United Nations Mission (MINUSTAH)
17 March 2004	A Government of Transition is formed under Prime Minister Gerard Latortue
16 February 2006	René Préval is declared President-elect following elections held on 7 February.

Haiti's crisis has affected the livelihood of most Haitians and has taken a heavy toll on their human security. There are several underlying causes and phenomena behind the crisis, and the four major ones are detailed below.

1.1 A culture of violence

The Duvaliers ruled Haiti for nearly 30 years, and their rule was marked by a widespread culture of violence. The infamous Tontons Macoutes, Duvalier's private militia⁴, established a regime of terror beyond the imagination of most people: they had a free hand in arresting, detaining, torturing and killing whoever was considered to be an opponent of the regime, or whose wealth members of the ruling class coveted. Thousands were killed or had to flee the country for their lives. Violence became a means of achieving and preserving absolute political power.

Outbursts of violence and a round of bloody military coups followed the departure of Jean-Claude Duvalier in February 1986 and lasted until the elections that brought Jean-Bertrand Aristide to power in December 1990. Aristide, a former priest, carried the hopes of the poor masses of Haiti. But in less than a year, a military coup led by General Cedras chased Aristide into exile. This coup was one of the bloodiest in the troubled history of Haiti: some 1,500 people died, 40,000 fled the country and 200,000 to 300,000 left the capital for the safer countryside.

The international community imposed an embargo and violent demonstrations rocked the country. International pressure and a United States-led military intervention finally brought Aristide back to Haiti on 15 October 1994, to complete his term as President. Although not eligible for a second term in office according to the Constitution, Aristide continued to pull many strings when he was replaced as President by René Préval, a close associate. In 2000, in a Presidential election marked by massive fraud and a participation of only 10 percent of the registered voters, Aristide was declared the winner with 91.6 percent of the votes and returned as President.

Although the Duvaliers had gone, 'Duvalierism' lived on during the Aristide years. Violence, human rights abuses and corruption continued unabated and remained a means of preserving power and accessing wealth. Duvalier's Tontons Macoutes were replaced by other armed groups, some of which continue to threaten security to this day. Violence coupled with impunity has characterized the Haitian political scene for most of the past 50 years.

⁴ The Tontons Macoutes, literally the bogeymen in Créole, were created by François Duvalier in 1959, following an attempted coup. In 1971, his son officially re-named the para-military group as Milice Volontaire de la Sécurité Nationale.

1.2 The loss of moral and civic values

Under the Duvaliers, corruption and the accompanying impunity became the rule for whoever had any power. The three decades of dictatorship devastated the economy, destroyed tourism, drove out foreign investors and ruined rural production. The situation was so bad that an analyst⁵ claimed that for the Duvaliers and their clients, Haiti's only real remaining economic asset was its poverty. Foreign aid agencies and religious and humanitarian organizations would give millions for development and relief, but most of the funds would be appropriated by the ruling class, and little would filter down to the people for whom the money was intended. Corruption, bad governance and impunity remained a foundation of politics during the Aristide years. This loss of moral and civic values is still affecting Haiti.

1.3 The criminalization of armed gangs

Fearing yet another military coup, President Aristide disbanded the National Army in 1995⁶. As the army had been responsible for police activities and for the prisons, these services had to be built up again. This left a weak police force to look after all aspects of state security and public order. Discontent among the former military and delays by the Government in honouring its promises of financial compensation resulted in some members of the disbanded armed forces forming illegal armed groups or joining existing ones.

Many of the armed groups operating today were created by President Aristide or his Fanmi Lavallas party as a substitute for an army they did not trust and that they had abolished. These armed groups became the unofficial armed wing of the regime and a means of intimidating opponents. In recent years, many of these armed groups turned to purely criminal activities.

1.4 An erratic international response

Contrary to a situation such as the one in Afghanistan, Haiti had no clear 'year zero', with the opportunity to reconstruct a State from scratch following a change of regime. Major national institutions have continued to function during years of political turmoil, in spite of their difficulties and weaknesses. This, coupled with the absence of geo-political interest in Haiti, partly explains the tendency of the international community to withdraw prematurely under the assumption that an election or the return to legitimacy meant that the country could stand on its own.

In a period of 10 years (1994-2004), two multinational forces had to be despatched to Haiti. Between 1993 and 2001, no less than six different United Nations Missions were deployed to the country, each generally considered a failure. Each time, there seemed to be an urge to exit rapidly, to the extent that there was often pressure from key governments to 'spin' the results of United Nations Missions positively for domestic consumption or to justify an early withdrawal of military or police contingents. It was only from 2004 on that the international community recognized the need for a long-term commitment in order to secure the future of Haiti.

⁵ Abbott, Elizabeth, *Haiti: the Duvaliers and their Legacy*, McGraw-Hill Books, New York, 1988

⁶ President Aristide made this surprise announcement on 28 April 1995, on the occasion of a joint press conference with visiting Costa Rican President Oscar Arias.

Following the military coup of 1991 and the fraudulent elections of 2000, the international community reacted by imposing an embargo or sanctions against Haiti. The intention was to disavow the violent coup and the democratic farce of the elections, but the effects were devastating, mainly for ordinary citizens. The 1991 embargo had particularly disastrous results: shortages of petrol, cuts in the supply of electricity, a sharp increase in consumer prices and the loss of at least 120,000 jobs. In Haiti as in many other situations, the political and military leaders whose actions justified the sanctions generally went unscathed and the poorest were disproportionately harmed. The result was more poverty and the exacerbation of social tensions.

2. Evolution of human security: 2000-2005

Haiti is by far the poorest country in the western hemisphere. In the 2005 global human development report, Haiti ranks 153rd out of 177 countries in terms of its human development index (HDI). Guatemala, the nearest western hemisphere country, ranks 117th. Although the actions of the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) and the Government of Transition have brought about some positive changes, much remains to be done to improve the condition of the poor.

2.1 Physical security

While a chaotic situation prevailed during most of Aristide's second Presidency, the situation was particularly bad from 2003 and up to the resignation and departure of the President. Uncontrolled armed groups such as the 'Armée Cannibale', operating mainly in Gonaïves, or former members of the disbanded army and the President's informal militia – the 'Chimères' – had a free hand in many parts of the country, perpetuating the cycle of violence and impunity. In 2004, the deployment of the Multinational Interim Force and later on MINUSTAH led to the gradual improvement of security conditions.

There is now a sharp contrast between the situation in the provinces and that in the capital. The larger towns outside Port-au-Prince and the rural areas are now relatively calm. Armed groups no longer operate in the open. Insecurity, however, has taken other forms and often concerns human rights abuses, denial of justice or summary mob executions. In Port-au-Prince, the period leading to the 2006 elections saw a sharp increase in insecurity, mainly due to the activities of illegal armed groups operating from neighbourhoods such as Cité Soleil where neither the national police nor the MINUSTAH forces dare operate. Violence and insecurity in Port-au-Prince are now characterized by:

- A shift from politically-motivated violence to purely criminal activities, including kidnappings, drug trafficking, rapes and murders. The criminal activities of illegal armed groups target all categories of citizens, irrespective of their social position or political inclination.
- The development of linkages and collusion between illegal armed gangs, international drug smugglers⁷, purely criminal groups or individuals and some members of the national police and the political and business elite.
- The attempt by illegal armed gangs operating in Port-au-Prince to expand the territory under their control by moving to new neighbourhoods or pushing their existing territorial boundaries. For example, gangs operating out of Cité Soleil had reached areas just next to the international airport at the beginning of 2006.
- The acquisition of more sophisticated weaponry smuggled into the country and paid for by the proceeds of the illegal activities of armed gangs. In parallel, many in the middle and upper classes have acquired weapons as a means of self-protection and the wealthier have often constituted quasi-militia protection groups.

⁷ It is estimated that between 18-20 percent of illegal drugs entering the United States transit through Haiti.

As mentioned earlier, the election of René Préal as President in February 2006 coincided with a significant reduction in the number of kidnappings in Port-au-Prince. The coming months probably present a unique window of opportunity to capitalize on the hopes for change created among the poorest segments of the population as a result of the victory of their candidate. If this opportunity is missed, Port-au-Prince and Haiti as a whole could easily fall back into even worse violence.

2.2 Respect for human rights

Systematic abuses of human rights marked the last years of the Aristide regime. Summary executions, arbitrary arrests and detention, mob justice, police violence against peaceful demonstrations, intimidation and violence against journalists and students appeared to receive a tacit blessing from the authorities. The situation improved from 2004 with the establishment of the Government of Transition. The relevant section of Annex I details human rights violations between 2000 and 2005.

The United Nations Independent Expert on the Situation of Human Rights in Haiti noted in his report of January 2005 that although serious violations persisted (attacks, armed assaults, reprisals, rapes, murders, summary execution, looting, destruction through fire, etc), he had observed that, apart from the numerous cases of prolonged detention and reprehensible police practices, these violations no longer emanated from the Government as such⁸. In other words, violations of human rights are no longer an instrument of power for the Government of Transition⁹. It is hoped that the new Government formed via the 2006 elections will maintain the same attitude. The major violators of human rights are now the illegal armed groups and some elements of the national police. The media is considered largely free, although there is still a certain degree of self-censorship among journalists.

The Government of Transition did not create an independent commission on human rights or an equivalent institution. There is an Ombudsman function but it is considered weak and deals mainly with administrative complaints from within the civil service. A number of human rights groups are active in Port-au-Prince and, at times, intervene even in difficult neighbourhoods such as Cité Soleil. A more determined national effort and strong support from the international community will be required in the post-electoral phase to strengthen the human rights culture and related national institutions.

2.3 The rule of law

Years of abusive use of positions of authority by law enforcement agents, judiciary personnel and civil servants have made it difficult for Haitians to trust their police, their judicial system and the state apparatus in general. After 10 years of international support, the national police force is still considered to be under construction with help from MINUSTAH. The number of officers – now almost 6,000 – is still short of the ideal 8,000-9,000 for a country with a population of some 8.3 million. The police force suffers from a negative perception among the population in Port-au-Prince and the Director General of the Haitian National Police

⁸ Report by Louis Joinet, Independent Expert on the Situation of Human rights in Haiti, 24 January 2005, United Nations document E/CN.4/2005/123.

⁹ It should be noted that the agreement on the transition stipulated that the Prime Minister and the Ministers had to renounce the possibility of standing in future national elections. The Government of Transition therefore was more of a technocratic than a political government.

himself is quoted as saying that some 25 percent of his force is corrupt¹⁰. Nevertheless, an opinion survey conducted in preparation for UNDP's 2005 national human development report indicates that close to 64 percent of Haitians – mainly those living outside the capital – trust the police. This could indicate that the joint efforts of the Haitian National Police and MINUSTAH to make the police force more professional are having some impact.

The same UNDP survey showed that 52 percent of the persons interviewed now trusted the justice system. In 1999, however, a team of national and international experts produced a document called 'Justice in Haiti' that described the state of the justice system. It concluded that the justice system was controlled by the political powers and lacked independence, that it suffered from a chronic lack of financial and human resources, that judicial personnel was often incompetent and corrupt and that working conditions, including salaries, were totally inadequate. The report also noted that legislation was totally outdated and did not correspond to the Constitution or to the international standards and Conventions that Haiti has formally signed. Contrary to the practice in most countries, the Minister of Justice also supervises the national police.

2.4 Deterioration of the environment

Over the past decade, Haiti has been hit by no less than 20 internationally recognized natural disasters¹¹. In 2004, the southern part of the country as well as the Gonaïves and Port-de-Paix were devastated by major floods resulting in the death of more than 4,000 people while up to 330,000 had their homes totally or partially destroyed. Because of its geography, Haiti is prone to natural hazards such as hurricanes and tropical storms, earthquakes, floods and landslides. The increased frequency and intensity of natural disasters is believed to be linked to severe environmental degradation. Chronic poverty, a high population density¹² and a weak institutional capacity to address long-term issues such as environment have contributed to anarchic urbanization, deforestation and over-exploitation of agricultural land.

The vulnerability of Haiti to natural disasters has been exacerbated by the recurring political, institutional and security crises that have weakened the capacity of the State to develop preventive measures and a national capacity to mitigate disasters. It is now estimated that 90 percent of the population live in areas that could be affected by hurricanes and tropical storms and that 37 percent live on land prone to landslides. In Port-au-Prince itself, whole neighbourhoods, including the 300,000 people living in Cité Soleil, are threatened by floods.

2.5 A slow improvement of the economic environment

From 2000 to 2003, Haiti witnessed near zero annual growth of its gross domestic product. With the turmoil that marked 2003 and the beginning of 2004, the economy suffered a negative growth rate of -3.4 percent while the annual growth rate of the population was some 2 percent. There now seems to have been a slight improvement, with a growth rate of 1.8 percent recorded for 2004-2005 and 2.7 percent predicted for 2005-2006. The rate of inflation also dropped, decreasing from 43 percent in 2003-2004 to 25 percent the following year and there is a provisional estimate of 15 percent for 2005-2006. As in all similar situations, high inflation rates penalize mainly the poorest segments of the population.

¹⁰ 'Haiti's Elections: The Case for a Short Delay', International Crisis Group, Latin America/Caribbean Briefing N°9, 25 November 2005.

¹¹ See Annex I for an overview of past natural disasters.

¹² The population density is nearly 300 inhabitants per km square

2.6 Persistence of extreme poverty

The economic security of households has deteriorated over recent years. A 2003 survey¹³ of perceptions of poverty indicated that 78 percent of heads of households considered themselves to be poor. In 2001, the percentage of Haitians living in extreme poverty (less than US \$1 a day) and the percentage living on less than US \$2 a day stood at 56 percent and 76 percent respectively¹⁴. There are significant geographical inequalities with regard to the

Table 2: Evolution of selected human development indicators in Haiti: 2001-2005¹⁵

Indicator	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	Average Latin America and Caribbean -2005
Human development index (HDI)	0.468	0.471	0.467	0.463	0.475	0.797
HDI ranking	134	146	150	153	153	--
Life expectancy at birth	52.4	52.6	49.1	49.4	51.6	71.9
Infant mortality (per 1000)	83	81	91	79	76	27
Undernourished population (%)	62	56	50	49	47	10
Adult literacy rate (%)	48.8	49.8	50.8	51.9	51.9	89.6

prevalence of poverty: in the capital city, only 20 percent of the population lives under conditions of extreme poverty, while the percentage jumps to 50 percent in other urban centres and to 59 percent in rural areas.

Table 2 below shows the evolution of selected indicators of human development and security between 2001 and 2005 and compares the performance of Haiti to the average for Latin American and Caribbean countries.

2.7 Exodus and brain drain

According to the Ministry for Haitians Living Abroad, there were nearly one in five Haitians – a total of two million – living outside the country. The number includes 1.2 million in the United States and Canada, 150,000 in Europe, 350,000 in the Dominican Republic and another 300,000 in other Caribbean countries. Many fled as refugees, mainly during the Duvalier years, while others simply sought better opportunities for themselves and their children away from their country's difficult security, social and economic situation. The phenomenon of family reunions also added to the number of Haitians leaving the country. During the second half of 2005 and the whole period leading to the February 2006 elections when insecurity and kidnappings were at a height, many among the wealthier families of Port-au-Prince either left the country altogether or sent their families away. As in most similar situations, those who left were often the better educated, the entrepreneurs and those whose

¹³ 'Survey on Perceptions of Poverty in Haiti', carried out in July-August 2003, quoted in the Haitian national human development report, 2005, UNDP.

¹⁴ 'Survey on Conditions of Life in Haiti', Haitian Institute of Statistics and Information Technology, 2001

¹⁵ UNDP, human development reports, 2001-2005. The data in each annual report is generally a few years older than the year of publication.

wealth or talents would have been needed by their country. It has been estimated, for example, that 80 percent of the college-educated Haitians now live outside the country.

This Haitian Diaspora has a significant economic impact on the country through remittances and tourism. It is estimated, for example, that remittances from the United States alone amount to some 30 percent of Haiti's gross domestic product¹⁶. Most of these remittances, however, are used for household consumption needs and are not tapped for investment. Altogether, transfers from abroad directly to families amount to US \$800 million, double the budget of the State.

A different form of brain drain has been the rather intense poaching of Haitian talents by organizations and agencies of the international community, including the United Nations. The issue of the difference in salary scales between national institutions and foreign agencies is a well-known world-wide phenomenon that has never been addressed effectively.

2.8 Representation and access to decision-making structures

A UNDP-sponsored survey quoted in the 2005 Haitian national human development report indicates that Haitians have little trust in the public institutions that should be representing their interests. Only 19 percent trust political parties and barely 31 percent the Parliament. Churches, private health and schooling institutions and even non-governmental organizations (NGOs) gather much higher marks.

There are hundreds of civil society organizations in Haiti. They are generally considered to be highly politicized, and their mobilization at the end of 2003 and the beginning of 2004 played a central role in the ousting of President Aristide. The political landscape of Haiti was transformed in December 2002 with the creation of the Group of 184 (G-184). The group draws its name from the initial number of member organizations but the membership in 2004 was thought to be much larger. The G-184 is a loose coalition of civil society organizations including human rights groups, women's groups, students, unions, business associations, rural organizations and neighbourhood committees. Critics of the G-184 say that it now represents little more than the opinions of its leaders in Port-au-Prince and generally reflects the interests of the business elite of Port-au-Prince.

¹⁶ 'International Narcotics Control Strategy Report for 2006', Bureau for International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs, United States State Department.

3. The role of the international community and of the United Nations

In an article in the Wall Street Journal, just days after the resignation of President Aristide, Secretary-General Kofi Annan drew lessons from past interventions of the international community in Haiti and pledged a long-term commitment to the people of Haiti:

“...the most important lesson is that there can be no quick exit. Haiti will need our resources and our support for a long time. The present crisis is at least as much the result of irresponsible behaviour by the Haitian political class as of omissions or failures in previous international efforts. This means that true success will involve helping new and more responsible political groups to emerge – building on the role played in the crisis by the civil society. That cannot be done quickly. A long-term effort – ten years or more – is needed to help rebuild the police and judiciary, as well as basic social services such as health care and education... Getting it right this time means doing things differently. Above all, it means keeping international attention and resources engaged for the long haul.”¹⁷

It is true that until 2004, the international community’s engagement in Haiti was often short-lived and shied away from the long-term commitment that would have been the only possible response to the lingering crisis in Haiti. Between 2000 and 2004, several international actors shifted their attention away from Haiti as a result of donor fatigue or frustration at the protracted political crisis. The Organization of American States (OAS) is a notable exception as it remained as actively engaged in Haiti during 2000-2004 as it had been over the last 15 years. The OAS has been involved in election monitoring¹⁸ and in political mediation. It has also kept a watch on the human rights situation in Haiti through the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights.

The numerous United Nations Missions that preceded MINUSTAH were rather limited in scope, addressing essentially the creation of a police force. They also suffered from the well-known weakness of such missions, their limited time horizons. In contrast, the mandate given to MINUSTAH in 2004 was much broader. When the Security Council created MINUSTAH in April 2004, it insisted on the need for a long-term commitment. When approving a further six-month extension of the Mission’s mandate in February 2006, the Council reiterated its “...intention to renew (the mandate) for further periods...”¹⁹. Table 3 below provides a list of United Nations Missions to Haiti since 1993 and illustrates the differences in mandates between MINUSTAH and the preceding missions.

¹⁷ Wall Street Journal, 16 March 2004, *Haiti : This time we must get it right*, by Kofi Annan.

¹⁸ The OAS and other international observer groups withdrew after the first round of the 2000 elections because of serious irregularities in the electoral process.

¹⁹ Security Council Resolution S/RES/1658(2006) of 14 February 2006.

Table 3: United Nations Missions in Haiti: 1993-2006		
Mission	Dates established	Main elements of mandate
MICIVIH	February 1993	The joint OAS/United Nations International Civilian Mission in Haiti was mandated to verify and promote human rights and to assist in institution building.
UNMIH	September 1993 – June 1996	The United Nations Mission in Haiti really became operational in October 1994, and replaced the multi-national force that restored Jean-Bertrand Aristide as President. It was mandated to sustain a stable and secure environment, including for holding free and fair elections; to protect international personnel and key installations; and to assist in the professionalization of the army and the creation of a separate police force.
UNSMIH	July 1996 – July 1997	The United Nations Support Mission in Haiti was mandated to assist the Government in the professionalization of the police and to coordinate activities of the United Nations system in institution building, national reconciliation and economic rehabilitation.
UNTMIH	August – November 1997	The United Nations Transition Mission in Haiti was mandated to assist in the professionalization of the police.
MIPONUH	December 1997 – March 2000	The United Nations Civilian Police Mission in Haiti was mandated to assist the Government in the professionalization of the police.
MICAH	December 1999- February 2001	This Civilian Mission was mandated by the General Assembly to consolidate results achieved by MIPONUH and predecessor missions. In the wake of the military coup of General Cedras and the climate of political turmoil and insecurity, the Secretary-General recommended the non-renewal of the mission's mandate.
MINUSTAH	established in April 2004; current mandate expires in August 2006	The United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti received a broad mandate under Chapter VII, including: i) ensuring a secure and stable environment: reform of the police, Demobilization, Disarmament and Reintegration, restoration of the rule of law, protection of civilians ii) support to the political process: foster democratic governance, assist in creating national dialogue, assist in the holding of elections, assist in extending state authority iii) human rights: support Government and human rights institutions and groups to promote and protect human rights, monitor and report on the human rights situation, advise the Government on investigation of human rights violations and on a strategy to reform the judiciary

The international community's support to the transition in Haiti over the last two years has centred on three major priorities: re-establishing security and containing illegal armed groups operating in Port-au-Prince, building up a police force, and supporting the electoral process. Other sectors of intervention have received less sustained attention. Justice, human rights and the strengthening of State institutions will need to be addressed more forcefully in the post-electoral period.

3.1 Containing illegal armed groups

The despatching of the Multinational Interim Force at the beginning of 2004 and the subsequent deployment of MINUSTAH helped restore a reasonable level of security in most regions of Haiti. The situation was quite different in Port-au-Prince, however, where armed groups continued their activities and took control of whole neighbourhoods. Several observers claim that it would have been possible to disarm the illegal groups at the very beginning of the transition period when the Multinational Interim Force had an overwhelming military superiority and the gangs had not yet adapted to the new environment. A human rights activist

interviewed by the evaluation team was personally involved in discussions with the leaders of a gang that was ready to disarm, but she could not convince Multinational Interim Force officers to seize the opportunity.

By the end of 2005, some neighbourhoods of Port-au-prince were considered no-go areas for both the national police and the MINUSTAH forces. These areas, known as '*zones de non-droit*', are the fiefdoms of gang leaders who exercise full control over the population and engage in criminal activities from those havens. Cité Soleil, with its 300,000 people, is the most notorious of these enclaves. The National Police and MINUSTAH have entered Cité Soleil only very occasionally. They camp on the outer limits of the vast slum and seem to be engaged in an operation of containment of the situation rather than in an attempt to confront the armed groups.

3.2 Building up a national police force

Prior to 1994, police functions and the prison system were under the authority of the armed forces. The police force was then an arm of the violent and repressive military and had been engaged, over the years, in widespread violations of human rights. The decision to create a new, independent and professional police force was taken in 1994. When, in 1995, President Aristide disbanded the national army, the Haitian National Police remained the only security and law enforcement institution available to Haiti. Since then, the building up, strengthening and 'professionalization' of the police became a top priority for the Government and for the international community. There are currently some 1800 civilian police officers from 33 countries helping MINUSTAH implement its mandate to support the reform of the national police force. After the United Nations Mission in Kosovo, this is the second largest civilian police component of any of the 15 active United Nations peacekeeping missions.

3.3 Supporting the electoral process

Support to the electoral process that should lead Haiti out of the current two-year transition period has been the top priority for the international community. The process has suffered repeated delays, particularly with regard to the registration of voters. The Presidential election itself was delayed four times and was finally held on 7 February 2006. A total of 63 percent of the 3.5 million potential voters participated in this election, by far the highest rate of participation in Haiti's short experience with democracy.

The Chair of the International Mission for Monitoring Haitian Elections, in a statement dated 9 February 2006, declared that "...overall, the elections proceeded in a calm and orderly fashion". The Mission, however, deplored "...some isolated incidents, in particular the destruction of ballots..." but emphasized "...the general absence of intimidation and violence at polling centres"²⁰. However, as results indicating that Presidential candidate René Préval was just short of a victory in the first round started being announced, his supporters took to the streets amid rumours of fraud and the alarming news that 147,000 ballots had disappeared and thousands more were found in a Port-au-Prince municipal dump. After one week of turmoil and demonstrations, the Provisional Electoral Council adopted a compromise solution and declared the victory of René Préval, in order to calm the demonstrators and defuse the situation. Many have questioned the legality of the electoral formula adopted and have questioned the legitimacy of a victory obtained through a compromise. The Director-General

²⁰ Quotes in this paragraph are taken from the Declaration of Jean-Pierre Kimberley, Chair of the International Mission for Monitoring Haitian Elections on the Elections of 7 February 2006.

of the Provisional Electoral Council received threats, was the victim of arson and had to flee the country temporarily. At the time of writing this report, the International Monitoring Mission had not yet issued its final assessment of the overall process.

3.4 Perceptions of the United Nations and UNDP

MINUSTAH's mandate is much more comprehensive than that of its six predecessor United Nations Missions. The mandate addresses a wide range of transition issues, aimed at ensuring a stable and secure environment, including the protection of civilians, fostering a democratic and inclusive political process and promoting human rights. Although the Interim President of the country had formally requested the deployment of the Mission, the Security Council decided to act on the basis of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter to authorize both the deployment of the Multinational Interim Force and of MINUSTAH. The supporters of the previous regime saw MINUSTAH as the arm of the external forces that had ousted President Aristide and remained mistrustful. A majority, however, welcomed the Mission and its more robust mandate with great hope.

There is now a prevailing impression among the civil society in Port-au-Prince that MINUSTAH failed to deliver on their priority expectation, that of improved security. In the capital, as mentioned earlier, insecurity increased sharply throughout 2005 and MINUSTAH was seen as incapable of curbing violence despite its 7,500 soldiers. There are a few reasons fuelling that perception:

- The various troop-contributing countries interpret the mandate of MINUSTAH differently, particularly with regard to the protection of civilians and the utilization of authority conferred by Chapter VII. As a result, certain contingents refuse to take part in offensive operations.
- Past attempts at undertaking robust actions have resulted in some civilians being injured or killed. These 'collateral' incidents have attracted heavy criticism from human rights groups as well as an enquiry by the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights.
- Some observers believe that there is a high degree of collusion between certain elements of the police forces and the armed groups.

Generally, however, there is a consensus that MINUSTAH's long-term presence is essential for stabilization in Haiti and, more particularly, for building the capacity of the Haitian National Police. This feeling was reflected in a recent statement by President Préval acknowledging the importance of MINUSTAH's contribution to the stability of the country.

As far as UNDP is concerned, there exist two very different perceptions. On the one hand, some feel that UNDP is playing a much too political role and is too close to the Government of Transition. Others feel, on the contrary, that UNDP has not only lost visibility through its participation in the United Nations integrated mission, but that it has also moved away significantly from its core traditional development mandate²¹ to become merely a service provider in support of some of the objectives of MINUSTAH. This difference in perception is no doubt the result of the very political and visible role the Resident Coordinator has had to assume in the context of the early days of the transition on the one hand, and the role of UNDP as a long-established development institution in Haiti on the other. The perception that UNDP's leadership in Haiti plays a very political role remains to this day.

²¹ When the evaluation team met with Prime Minister Gérard Latortue, he himself echoed that concern.

4. UNDP's contribution to improved human security

This section examines UNDP's specific contribution during the two distinct periods that have marked the years 2000 to 2005. It also looks at the structure and characteristics of UNDP's programmes. Finally, selected major activities resulting from the crisis or supporting the transition process are reviewed in more detail.

4.1 From 2000 to February 2004: the political crisis

The period starting with the controversial second election of Jean-Bertrand Aristide in November 2000 and ending with his resignation and departure from the country on 29 February 2004 was marked by street violence, politically-motivated killings, growing insecurity largely due to armed groups, and gross human rights abuses. Economic sanctions were imposed on Haiti and most external assistance, with the exception of humanitarian relief through NGOs, was frozen. On the local political scene, a new force – the Group of 184 – was created at the end of 2002 and gathered strength to the extent that the Group's action, coupled with pressure from other countries, provoked the departure of President Aristide.

The United Nations Civilian Mission in Haiti, a peace-building mission created under the authority of the General Assembly, was withdrawn in February 2001 and was not replaced until the creation of MINUSTAH more than three years later. This left the UNDP Resident Representative as the most senior in-country United Nations Officer, in his dual role as Resident Coordinator and Humanitarian Coordinator. As a result of this, the incumbent played a very high profile role during the early days of the transition and, to an extent, continues to do so to this day.

During the 2000-2004 period, UNDP continued its activities in Haiti, working on its long-term development programmes such as justice, including the building-up of the prison system, governance and natural disaster mitigation. In 2002, UNDP published Haiti's first national human development report entitled 'Governance for Human Development: A Major Challenge for Sustainable development in Haiti'. UNDP also undertook several initiatives designed mainly to provide a framework for a gradual re-engagement of donor countries in Haiti. The major strategic instrument developed for this purpose was the Integrated Emergency Response Programme Targeting Vulnerable Groups and Communities in Haiti (known as PIR), launched in March 2003. The PIR was relatively modest with a target of around US \$84 million. Projects proposed for rural areas and shantytowns/slums amounted to 53 percent of the total budget, the remainder representing national projects.

The PIR attracted funding amounting to only about 40 percent of the total programme cost. However, PIR did have several positive effects:

- The Prime Minister agreed to allow the UNDP and other United Nations agencies to use their good offices in their respective fields of competence to initiate a dialogue on poverty between various components of the civil society, donors and the technical departments of the government.
- In a context where most donors had frozen their programmes implemented through the Government, the PIR offered a platform for donors to re-engage in favour of the Haitian population by establishing United Nations Country Team members as 'lead agencies' for each of the various sectors and by promoting implementation mainly through United Nations agencies and NGOs.

- The process of consultation on poverty launched through the PIR allowed political opposition elements to participate in defining national objectives. With the agreement of all sides, UNDP organized parallel consultations with the Convergence Démocratique, a coalition of major opposition parties. In addition, UNDP was instrumental in creating a Group of Eminent Persons, which allowed members of the civil society to participate in the national consultations on poverty.
- Finally, by linking the PIR to the dialogue on poverty in preparation of a future Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PSRP), UNDP contributed to renewing the dialogue between international financial institutions and the Government.

4.2 UNDP and the transition: 2004-2005

As mentioned earlier, the Resident Representative of UNDP, as the most senior United Nations Officer in Haiti after the withdrawal of MICAH, had to assume a very prominent role in the weeks and months that followed the departure of President Aristide. During that period, the UNDP Resident Representative was the *de facto* representative of the Secretary-General, a function that was formalized when he was asked to be the interim head of MINUSTAH pending the arrival of the designated Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG) on 17 August 2004. The UNDP Resident Representative contributed to defining the international response to the crisis and to shaping the institutions of the transition under the exceptional circumstances that prevailed in Haiti immediately after the departure of President Aristide:

- He ensured that the new interim President could get in touch directly with the Secretary-General and discuss the future Security Council resolution that authorized the Multinational Interim Force.
- At the request of prominent members of the international community, he sat on the Tripartite Council²² established on 4 March 2004, representing the international community component. The other two components were the (former) Government and the Democratic Platform.

This role of the UNDP Resident Coordinator was one of the major contributions of UNDP to the development of the international community's strategy of support to the transition in Haiti. A second contribution was the very active role played by UNDP in supporting the formulation of the Cadre de Coopération Intérimaire/Interim Cooperation Framework (CCI/ICF).

The ICF is the basic strategic document developed by the Government of Transition in close cooperation with 26 bilateral, multilateral and United Nations agencies. It was developed through an intensive process of consultation that lasted some two months and was presented by the Government at an international conference co-hosted by the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, the European Union and the United Nations in Washington on 19 and 20 July 2004. UNDP participated actively by supporting the Ministry of Planning, the lead Ministry on the Government side, and by making available technical expertise. UNDP also participated in the Steering Committee created to conduct the development phase of the programme and to provide a central focus for operational

²² The Tripartite Council was responsible for choosing, by consensus, the seven members of a Conseil des Sages (Council of Wise Persons) who would select the Prime Minister of the Government of Transition for approval by the interim President and would advise the Prime Minister in the selection of his cabinet. The Conseil des Sages has remained active throughout the transition period, assuming the role of an independent advisory group.

coordination. By the end of 2005, the ICF had mobilized international support worth US \$780 million, of which US \$570 million had been spent. The ICF, initially foreseen to cover the period up to the end of 2006, has now been extended to the end of 2007.

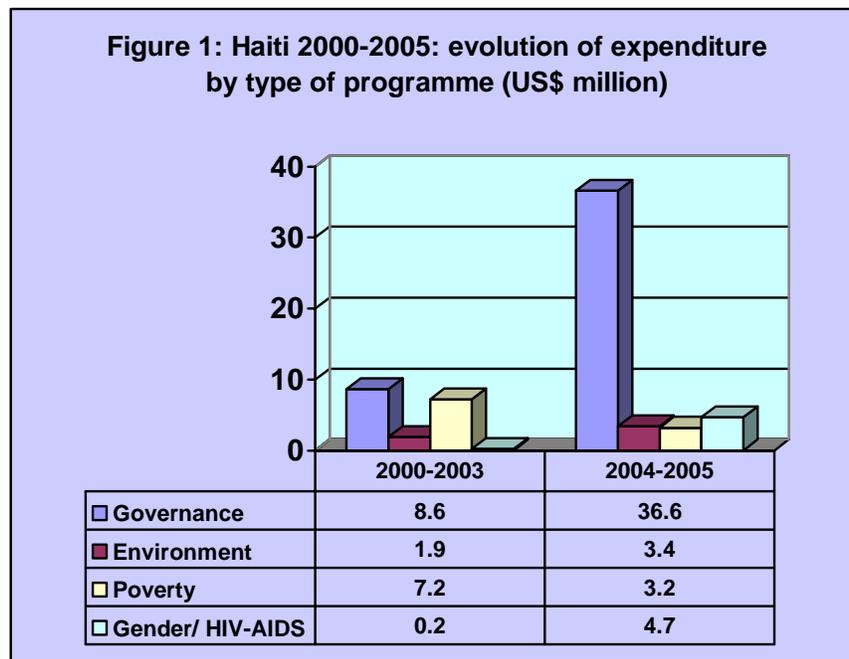
UNDP has also been actively cooperating with the interim authorities, the World Bank and other partners for the development of an interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, a process that was launched in July 2003 and was expected to be completed by March 2006. A second national human development report entitled 'Vulnerability and Poverty in Haiti' was published in June 2005. In addition, the country office, anticipating future developments, started formulating an integrated post-electoral strategy in 2005.

During 2004 and 2005, in order to fulfil its role of providing support to the transition process and to the mandate of MINUSTAH, UNDP has performed activities, such as assisting the electoral process, where the organization is seen mainly as a provider of financial and logistical services. Some, including those among UNDP's own staff, feel that this has distracted the organization from its core mandate of supporting the development efforts of the Government.

4.3 Structure of the UNDP programme

The UNDP programme in Haiti is structured around four major axes of intervention: governance, the environment, poverty reduction, and gender and HIV/AIDS. As mentioned earlier, the six years covered by this case study are divided broadly into two distinct periods. The first is from 2000 to 2003 when, in a situation of deepening political crisis, UNDP continued its ongoing programmes and helped develop a new approach combining humanitarian assistance, rehabilitation and longer-term development through the PIR. The second period corresponds to the political transition in Haiti when UNDP has developed programmes intended to support the transition process and the mandate of MINUSTAH. Other on-going activities, such as support to the prison system, had to be strengthened significantly during the transition period. The period also witnessed major natural disasters and UNDP increased its activities in support of the national effort to aimed at improving natural disaster response and preparedness.

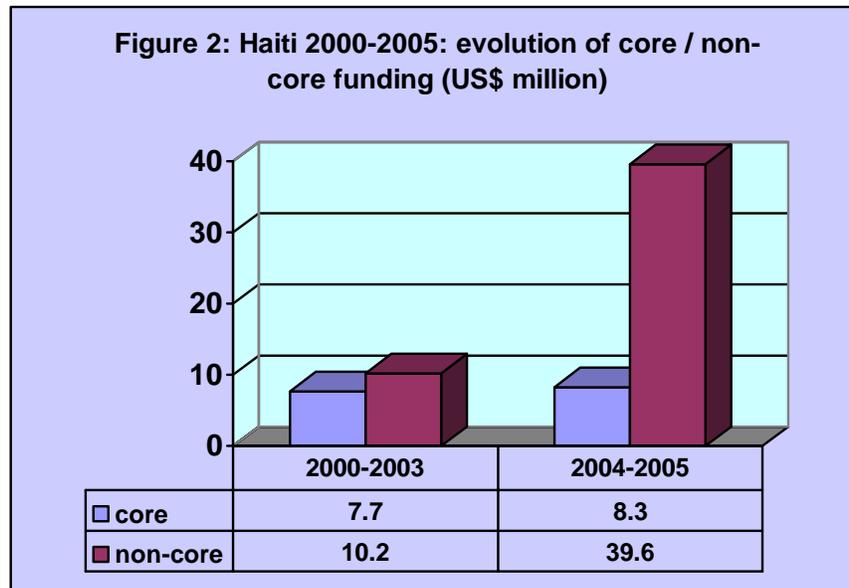
Figure 1 The table below illustrates the changes in the relative share of UNDP expenditure according to the type of intervention. For the four years between 2000 and 2003, UNDP spent a total of US \$17.9 million, a rather modest average of some US \$4.5 million per year. For the last two years of the transition period, the expenditure amounted to US \$47.9 million, for a yearly average of more than five times that of the preceding period.



Source: UNDP country office

The massive increase in expenditure under the governance axis corresponds to the launch of the large electoral support project for some US \$59 million for 2005 and 2006. Funds allocated for both environment and HIV/AIDS activities have also increased. In the case of programmes linked to the environment, the increase reflects the intensification of efforts to build up natural disaster prevention and response capacity following the floods in Fonds Verrettes and Gonaïves in 2004, as well as the actual response to the successive emergencies. The large increase related to the HIV/AIDS sector reflects the multi-year grant of US \$6.7 million that UNDP received from the Global Fund for its Haiti programmes. Interventions related to poverty reduction are the only ones showing a net decline. This largely reflects the operational difficulties linked to the execution of some projects in rural areas or in the slums of Port-au-Prince due to security restrictions and the limited outreach of UNDP staff outside the capital.

The programmes resulting from UNDP's role of supporting the transition and the mandate of MINUSTAH correspond mainly to the UNDP service line of 'Governance' (electoral support, justice and national dialogue) and 'Crisis Prevention and Recovery' (Demobilization, Disarmament and Reintegration – DDR – and natural disaster reduction). Most of these activities are financed largely through non-core financing. This is reflected in Figure 2 below showing the evolution of core and non-core funding between the two periods of 2000-2003 and 2004-2005. As will be discussed later in this report, UNDP's involvement in support of the electoral process has been mainly as a facilitator or provider of services.



Source: UNDP country office

4.4 Supporting the electoral process in Haiti

The Trust Fund established by the international community through UNDP to support the electoral process in Haiti had received contributions totalling US \$59,026,754 by the end of January 2006. These funds were made available by the Governments of Haiti (US \$2.9 million), Brazil (US \$1 million), Canada (US \$16.2 million), the European Union (US \$20.5 million), Japan (US \$0.9 million), the United States (US \$17.2 million) and by UNDP itself (US \$0.4 million). The total budget for the elections has been revised several times in consultations among the Provisional Electoral Council (CEP), the OAS and MINUSTAH. While the initial budget was estimated at US \$43.2 million in October 2004, the latest revision, in February 2006, brought the target up to US \$73.2 million.

On the national side, the CEP is responsible for the electoral process; the CEP finally came into being with the appointment of the last of its nine members in June 2004. The CEP has suffered from incessant internal disputes and has remained a rather weak institution. On the international side, the two major actors in the electoral process have been the OAS and MINUSTAH. Through a Memorandum of Understanding signed on 2nd and 3rd November 2004, the two institutions agreed on their respective roles and responsibilities: the OAS would be responsible primarily for the registration of voters, including the production and distribution of identity cards, while MINUSTAH would ensure the overall supervision and quality control of the process as well as support to the CEP. The CEP and the Government of Transition together with MINUSTAH and the OAS formed the core group steering the electoral process. UNDP was requested to lend its good offices for the management of the Trust Fund established to channel the international community's funding in support of the electoral process.

Up to just a few weeks before the first round of the Presidential election was held on 7 February, many observers were convinced that another postponement was inevitable. The date of the first round had already been postponed three times, resulting in a total delay of three

months. The registration of voters as well as the distribution of national identity cards²³ suffered delays, so that by the end of January 2006, just a few days before the actual vote, MINUSTAH estimated that only about four-fifths of the cards had been distributed. Thanks to the intensive mobilization of all concerned actors, the elections were held on time, although the counting process was finally tainted by a last minute compromise under pressure from the streets.

As mentioned earlier, UNDP was requested to assist in the management of the Electoral Trust Fund and to lend its good offices for many of the logistical support aspects of the process such as procurement, payment of salaries, and recruitment of personnel. The participation of UNDP is governed by an agreement signed on 10 January 2005 between the Government, CEP, MINUSTAH and UNDP. Under the organizational structure of MINUSTAH, the Electoral Assistance Section is placed under the supervision of the Principal Deputy Special Representative and is considered to be one of the 'integrated' fields of activity within the United Nations Mission. The Section is staffed by a combination of MINUSTAH staff and UNDP project personnel. Due to delays in recruitment through the United Nations Secretariat machinery, UNDP had to increase its project personnel so as to avoid crucial gaps and delays. According to the MINUSTAH Head of the Section, the whole electoral support process would have failed without the inputs of UNDP. The comparative advantages of UNDP have been:

- The organization's capacity to provide a conduit for funding acceptable to both the donors and the Government.
- Its capacity to advance funds on the basis of firm pledges as opposed to a United Nations Secretariat regulation that only funds actually contributed can be committed. This has been a clear value-added in the face of often important delays between donors' pledges and the actual transfer of funds.
- The relative speed of UNDP for recruitment of staff as opposed to United Nations Secretariat procedures.
- The capacity of UNDP to take on administrative responsibilities such as the payment of salaries for nearly 40,000 temporary staff in polling stations.

On the negative side, UNDP is blamed for its heavy bureaucracy and for delays in disbursing funds. Whereas other members of the United Nations use UNDP for its greater flexibility, others, in particular national institutions, implementing partners and staff, expect the organization to further improve its procedural flexibility.

In Haiti²⁴, the role of UNDP in the electoral process is perceived as being limited to financial and logistical support. When asked what he perceived the UNDP's contribution to be, the Director-General of the CEP stated that UNDP played the role of a bank and was not involved in the actual electoral process. For his part, the Head of the MINUSTAH Electoral Section gave high marks to UNDP for its technical and administrative inputs, adding that elections could not have taken place as planned without the contribution of the country office. As mentioned earlier, some of UNDP's own staff thought, however, that UNDP was being diverted from its core mandate and its unique position in development advocacy by engaging in very demanding and staff-intensive servicing functions.

²³ There had never been a national identity card in Haiti. An early decision was made to seize the opportunity of the registration of voters to issue a multi-purpose identity card instead of a simple voter's card.

²⁴ The case study undertaken in the Democratic Republic of the Congo as part of this same evaluation exercise describes a different management approach that allows UNDP to be part of a very coherent and operationally sound management formula.

4.5 DDR: an innovative management approach

Reports on the results of the DDR process over the past two years have been anecdotal at best. The successive six-monthly reports of the Secretary-General on the situation in Haiti mention occasional cases of disarmament, the largest being 227 former soldiers who gave away antiquated weapons at the beginning of 2005 or, more recently, one 14 and one 18 member armed gang, and 15 former military soldiers joining the disarmament process²⁵. In his report of 2 February 2006, the Secretary-General stated that "...conditions for comprehensive disarmament remain elusive, with inadequate national commitment to reconciliation, limited progress on security sector reform, lack of clarity on the future status of the former military and limited job creation, and large numbers of weapons²⁶ remain(ing) in circulation".

Prior to the deployment of MINUSTAH, UNDP had launched a one-year pilot project for the reduction of armed violence and insecurity. The concept was an innovative one as it linked disarmament to a community approach involving information campaigns, support to community conflict-resolution mechanisms and micro-projects benefiting community groups as well as former members of armed gangs. The project was implemented in Carrefour-Feuilles, a poor neighbourhood of some 150,000 inhabitants on the outskirts of Port-au-Prince. According to a report by Amnesty International, the project was one of the rare promising initiatives for DDR in Haiti²⁷. MINUSTAH and UNDP started replicating the formula in 2005 but with little success, mainly due to reasons mentioned in the previous paragraph. For the period 2004-2005, UNDP established projects worth some US \$1.5 million, mainly to support the development of a national strategy for DDR and the related national institutions.

Since the end of 2004, the respective programmes of MINUSTAH and UNDP have merged into an integrated structure where the staff of both institutions works as one team. This is a rather unique experiment in managing DDR programmes that could help resolve the perennial problem of the absence of a conceptual and operational linkage between the Demobilization and Disarmament components, generally handled by the United Nations Mission, and the Reintegration component under the responsibility of UNDP. The integration between the three processes of the DDR has been further enhanced through the decision of the Security Council to allocate some funds in the MINUSTAH budget for following up on demobilization and disarmament with limited reintegration support. It would be unfortunate if the absence of progress in terms of numbers of people actually disarmed – due largely to factors beyond the MINUSTAH/UNDP programme – should result in discarding a management innovation that could serve as a model in other situations.

4.6 UNDP's contribution to improving justice

UNDP budgeted a total of US \$6.7 million for its programmes in support of the justice sector during the transition period, of which some US \$6.2 million have been financed. Progress, however, has been rather limited so far and most of the planned activities should begin in 2006. Some achievements can nevertheless be recorded. A much needed compilation of existing laws has finally been completed and should help in the administration of justice and

²⁵ Reports of the Secretary-General on the Stabilization Mission in Haiti, S/2005/313 of 13 May 2005 and S/2006/60 of 2 February 2006.

²⁶ Various sources estimate the number of weapons in the country to be between 170,000 and 220,000.

²⁷ 'Haiti : Disarmament Delayed, Justice Denied', Amnesty International, 28 July 2005.

in the development of new legislation. Some courtrooms have also been rehabilitated, including the Tribunal de Première Instance in Port-au-Prince and UNDP has provided technical expertise to the Ministry of Justice.

The most successful activity over the past few years has been the support given to the prison system. The project was initiated at the end of the 1990s to help the newly established prison administration take over from the disbanded national army. The project suffered a serious setback when many jails and tribunals were looted and destroyed during the violent events of February 2004 leading to the departure of President Aristide. Nonetheless, the US \$2.1 million programme has had several significant achievements. First, it finally established a database of people in Haitian jails, whose exact number and legal situation had remained largely unknown. In the process, project staff uncovered 21,000 misplaced files unattended to for years, some containing court orders freeing prisoners. The second most significant achievement has concerned the technical and management support given to court clerks to ensure the proper handling of case files. As a result, delays between arrest and presentation in a court that used to be between 14 and 22 months in 2002 have now been reduced to an average of six to seven months.

Because of other priorities, particularly the intense efforts related to the electoral process, international support to the justice sector has been slow to materialize. The post-electoral strategy foresees major support to the new Government in strengthening governance institutions. UNDP, in cooperation with the United Nations Development Group Office and the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, is currently engaged in developing programmes coherent with the Interim Cooperation Framework that will address:

- The strengthening of Parliament and of the future Permanent Electoral Council
- Support to justice and security reform (Rule of Law)
- Public sector reform, decentralization and local governance
- Human rights

4.7 Dealing with emergencies in the midst of a crisis

Haiti was hit by major natural disasters twice in 2004. In May, torrential rains in the southern part of the country resulted in heavy flooding affecting mainly two locations, Fonds Verrettes and Mapou (Fonds Verrette had already been destroyed twice following natural disasters in 1994 and in 1998). Later on, in September 2004, hurricane Jane caused massive flooding in the city of Gonaïves, in the northern part of Haiti. UNDP was at the forefront of the United Nations response and took action to address both the emergency and the need for strengthening national capacity to cope with recurring natural disasters. The Thematic Environmental Group created under the ICF has repeatedly underlined the linkages between Haiti's increasing vulnerability to natural disasters and the deforestation, anarchic urbanization and over-exploitation of land, themselves a product of poverty and insecurity due to the crisis.

Over the past two years, UNDP has contributed substantially to addressing the consequences of natural disasters and to equipping Haiti with an improved national capacity to deal with disaster risk. Projects for a total of US \$2.3 million have been under implementation during the period. The main achievements have included:

- Coordinating the international response to the two emergencies of 2004 and supporting the formulation of two Flash Appeals.

- Managing emergency funds received from UNDP/BCPR, OCHA and UNHCR for a total of US \$700,000
- Formulating and updating an inter-agency contingency plan for natural disasters
- Supporting the Government in the formulation of a National Plan of Action and in the organization of two simulation exercises in 2005
- Coordinating the formulation of a Strategic Framework for the Rehabilitation of Gonaïves
- Coordinating reconstruction activities in Fonds Verrettes, through a US \$1 million grant from the World Bank under the LICUS Trust Fund²⁸ combining reconstruction assistance and national capacity building for disaster risk management.

²⁸ LICUS stands for Low Income Countries Under Stress, a World Bank initiative for prevention activities in fragile states.

5. Partnerships, coordination and management

This section of the report examines the major partnerships developed by UNDP in the transition phase in Haiti. It looks at the coordination mechanisms put in place under the Interim Cooperation Framework and discusses some issues related to management.

5.1 UNDP and the integrated mission

When MINUSTAH was created at the end of April 2004, the Security Council approved the proposal of the Secretary-General to give the Mission a multi-dimensional mandate and to give it the structure of an integrated mission²⁹. The appointment of the Resident Representative of UNDP as Deputy SRSG was an important element of continuity as he had already been in the country for almost two years. As mentioned earlier, he was called upon to play a prominent role on behalf of the international community as a member of the Tripartite Council in the days after the departure of President Aristide. He was also requested to lead MINUSTAH until the arrival of the appointed SRSG in mid-August 2004.

Five key components of the mandate of MINUSTAH have been identified as integrated areas:

- *The DDR programmes*: as mentioned earlier, the MINUSTAH and the UNDP programme structures have merged into a fully unified Section where human and financial resources are pooled.
- *Justice*: the Mandate Implementation Plan³⁰ calls for the development of a joint programme between MINUSTAH and UNDP to strengthen the capacity of the justice system. UNDP has finalized a project document for a 2006-2008 programme of support to the justice sector. The programme, worth US \$11.5 million, has already been funded to the level of US \$5.7 million (including US \$1.5 from UNDP's own resources) and is awaiting Government signature. The project foresees a close interaction with the MINUSTAH programme once the latter is defined.
- *Electoral support*: the relationship between UNDP on the one hand and MINUSTAH/OAS on the other is described in sub-section 4.4 above. UNDP's role has been mainly one of a service provider in the context of Haiti.
- *National dialogue*: UNDP has already developed a project to promote and support national dialogue to which over US \$500,000 was allocated in 2005. The project will be implemented in close consultation with MINUSTAH and under the personal guidance of the SRSG.
- *Protection of children*: There are plans to co-locate the MINUSTAH Child Protection Unit with UNICEF so as to ensure better integration.

Despite delays in some of the areas of intended integration, there seems to be a determined effort to move ahead in that direction. There is no doubt that despite the strong long-term commitment of the Security Council to Haiti, some of the activities that now form part of MINUSTAH's mandate will need to be gradually taken over by members of the

²⁹ The concept of the 'Integrated Mission' is derived from the 'Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations', United Nations document A/55/305 – S/2000/809 of 21 August 2000. The Panel was chaired by Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi and the Report is commonly known as the Brahimi report. The first full application of the concept was in Afghanistan where Lakhdar Brahimi headed UNAMA, the first Integrated Mission.

³⁰ Internal planning document dated 13 September 2005.

United Nations system who have a permanent and specific mandate and a much longer-term commitment to staying in Haiti. Some even argue that the involvement of MINUSTAH in activities already covered by another component of the United Nations with a long-term presence in Haiti could be counterproductive; the involvement of a United Nations Mission with a shorter planning horizon in activities such as rehabilitation (quick impact projects), human rights or rights of the child at times ignores the longer-term strategies of mandated agencies.

5.2 Developing partnerships

UNDP's relationship with the Government of Transition has been intense, in line with the strategy of empowering national authorities and recognizing the lead role of the Government in the coordination mechanism set out in the ICF. The Ministry of Planning is the major institutional interlocutor of UNDP but the Resident Representative and the Prime Minister have developed a close working relationship that is often perceived as short-circuiting line ministries.

The new role given to the Resident Representative, combining the functions of D-SRSG, Resident Coordinator of the United Nations System and Humanitarian Coordinator, is a very demanding one. There is a perception among some of the members of the United Nations Country Team that the Resident Coordinator functions have suffered in the process and that the participation of the Country Team is less than would have been hoped. This is no doubt partly due to the chronic absence of a permanent incumbent of the post of Country Director within the UNDP country office. In all similar situations, such a function has proven essential in freeing up time for the D-SRSG to perform tasks that are not strictly a part of UNDP's mandate while ensuring that the regular UNDP operations are not hampered.

As mentioned earlier, UNDP is managing a World Bank grant of US \$1 million under the LICUS programme. Worldwide, this is the second largest programme managed by UNDP under LICUS. The programme was approved in 2004 following the disastrous floods in Fonds Verrettes. The approval of this grant was also part of the Bank's re-engagement strategy in Haiti.

Some of the donors met by the evaluation team mentioned that they often found it difficult to distinguish between UNDP and MINUSTAH. They did, however, have a very positive view of UNDP's role in providing a conduit for their funds by creating Trust Funds such as the one for support to the electoral process. One important donor mentioned that the ability of UNDP to advance funds against firm – but yet unpaid – pledges was an important means of flexibility. They complained, however, about not being consulted enough for the launch of certain initiatives such as planning for the post-electoral phase. In that respect, some mentioned that the intense working relationship between the Resident Representative and the Prime Minister at times resulted in other partners being sidelined.

UNDP has systematically tried to involve members of the civil society in the formulation of major strategy documents and exercises such as the PIR, the ICF, the interim PRSP and the two national human development reports. Organizations of the civil society nevertheless feel that they could contribute more. One respondent noticed that UNDP generally secures the participation of the civil society by contacting, and often contracting, prominent individuals from organizations or from the academic world. He suggested that a longer-term commitment of the UNDP to a partnership with institutions rather than with

individuals could be more productive. He suggested, as an example, possible cooperation between UNDP and universities for developing a permanent mechanism to analyse poverty and exclusion as a means of developing a prevention policy.

5.3 Coordination of support to the transition

At the political level, the coordination of the international support to the transition in Haiti is ensured through a Core Group chaired by the SRSG and composed of MINUSTAH, the OAS and major international stakeholders. Its main functions include (a) the facilitation of MINUSTAH's mandate; (b) the promotion of interaction with national authorities as partners; and (c) the enhancement of the effectiveness of the international community's response.

At the operational level, the coordination mechanisms are derived from the ICF that the Government presented to donors in July 2004. The first level of coordination is the Joint Committee for the Implementation and Monitoring of the ICF, designed to provide strategic guidance. The Committee is chaired by the Prime Minister and includes participants from the Government, civil society and the international community. The second level is an inter-ministerial mechanism chaired by the Ministry for Planning and External Cooperation, meant to ensure horizontal coordination between Ministries and between Thematic Round Tables. The third level is more directly operational and consists of 10 major Thematic Round Tables, some divided into sub-groups. Each Thematic Round Table has a national coordinator, normally from the relevant ministry, as well as a focal point appointed by the international community. UNDP, together with the OAS, acts as focal point for the Security and Political Governance Round Table that covers a wide range of issues including police, DDR, justice, prisons and human rights. UNDP also participates as a member in most of the other Round Tables.

This complex coordination structure has worked very unevenly. The efficiency of the Thematic Round Table has been largely dependent on the impulse the national coordinator was willing or capable of giving. The higher levels of coordination were also affected by resistance within some ministries to share information or recognize the need for horizontal coordination, and by an over-centralization in the Office of the Prime Minister.

5.4 UNDP's capacity to deal with an increased volume of operations

The total volume of operations managed by UNDP went from a rather stable pattern of expenditure during the period 2000-2003 with a yearly average of some US \$4.5 million, to a total expenditure of some US \$30 million in 2005. This jump reflects the UNDP country office's move from concentrating on the core functions of a development agency to an engagement in large programmes of support to the transition and to the mandate of MINUSTAH, mainly through its participation in the electoral support programme.

UNDP employees consider that their work has considerably increased and that human resources are stretched to the limit. Indeed, the total number of staff has not increased in proportion to the volume of activities. In 2000, the total number of UNDP staff, both national and international, including project staff, stood at 113. Despite the increase in the volume of operations described above, there were only 120 staff members in 2005. Of course, there cannot be a simple linear relationship between the volume of expenditure and the number of staff but it would appear that, in this case, there would be justification for additional

resources. It should be noted that the Haiti country office staff remember the ‘re-profiling’³¹ exercise carried out between April and August 2001 as a very traumatic experience. The total number of staff then dropped from 113 to 101 at the end of 2003, just before UNDP had to mobilize for supporting the transition process.

UNDP chose the direct implementation mechanism for most of the new projects implemented during 2004 and 2005. This resulted in a situation where the country office had to assume direct responsibility for the management of large budgets, particularly with regard to the programme of support to the elections, adding to the staff’s already heavy workload.

5.5 Efficiency of response and organizational flexibility

Many of our respondents underlined the capacity to advance funds ahead of pledges being actually paid as one of the major advantages of UNDP in managing Trust Funds on behalf of donors. This has allowed projects not to suffer unduly from delays between a donor announcing a pledge and the actual transfer of the pledged amount. On the other hand, there seems to be a consensus that UNDP’s procedures for disbursing funds under its own projects cause delays. There seems to be a need for UNDP to develop procedures more adapted to programmes where the speed of response is a crucial element of success.

5.6 Monitoring and evaluation

The evaluation team did not have time to review in detail the monitoring and evaluation functions within the country office. It was noted, however, that in 2003, the country office developed an interesting and promising paper setting out performance indicators designed to monitor the humanitarian situation in Haiti as part of the follow-up to the PIR. The indicators addressed six broad themes: health, food security, education, economy, vulnerable groups and security. For each indicator, a source of information producing relevant data on a regular basis was identified. Unfortunately and for unknown reasons, the exercise was abandoned. Such data collected in a systematic way would have provided valuable information not only for assessing the humanitarian situation but also to serve as a monitoring tool for the evolution of human security.

³¹ UNDP undertook a world-wide review of staff and country office structures in 2001 with a view to adapting human resources and country office management structures to the evolving mandate and role of the organization. For many in the field offices, this was perceived as a staff reduction exercise in disguise.

6. Conclusions and lessons learned

6.1 The need for prevention

UNDP did not have to face a typical post-conflict situation in Haiti. The period of transition that began on 1 March 2004 followed a political crisis, not a civil war or an international conflict. The origins of the protracted crisis that has affected Haiti for the last 20 years can be found in the troubled history of the country, marked by predator dictatorships and the resulting erosion of governance and of moral and civic values. Could the international community have acted earlier and done more to prevent Haiti from being trapped in the downward spiral of political, economic and social degradation? The case of Haiti clearly demonstrates the need for a more proactive prevention role on the part of the international community.

6.2 The need for a long-term approach

Between 1986 and 2004, the international community and the United Nations failed to provide the sustained and intensive support that the situation in Haiti warranted. Haiti's own ruling class has often been ambivalent about its wish to receive such support, distrustful of its international partners and not totally committed to change. On their part, some members of the international community have tended to reject the wishes of the Haitian Government when they did not conform to their own. The negative impact of the harsh economic embargo imposed between 1991 and 1994, in particular, has provided valid arguments for those who were advocating the adoption of wiser, more targeted sanctions.

Fears have been expressed that, having met the benchmark of the elections, the international community would again disengage and that MINUSTAH would rapidly wind down. The recent announcement by Spain and Morocco of a withdrawal of their contingents from MINUSTAH raised concerns in that direction. The assurances of a long-term commitment given by the Secretary-General, by the Security Council and by the donors meeting held in Washington, just after the Presidential election, are reassuring signals of the determination of the international community.

A long-term engagement of the United Nations in Haiti also means that the role of the various agencies needs to be enhanced. The decision of MINUSTAH to promote more integration between some of its activities and those of members of the Country Team could help ensure a coherence of approaches between a mission with a time-bound mandate and United Nations organizations working on the basis of a very different planning horizon.

6.3 New roles for UNDP

In Haiti, UNDP has had to adapt to an evolving situation and to accept new roles in support of a new Security Council mandate as from 2004. This has mainly concerned the incorporation of the Resident Representative – with his Resident Coordinator and Humanitarian Coordinator functions – into the MINUSTAH structure in line with the integrated mission concept and, on the operational side, the large-scale programme of support to the electoral process and the involvement in DDR.

UNDP's role in support of the electoral process in Haiti is clearly perceived as one of a manager of funds and provider of logistical services. This raises the issue of the value added through UNDP's participation. For donors and for MINUSTAH, the advantages are clear: (a) UNDP provides a convenient and neutral conduit for funding; (b) UNDP can compensate to a certain degree for the donors' own weaknesses with regard to the actual materialization of pledges; and (c) UNDP's recruitment and disbursement speed and flexibility – however imperfect – remain better than those of the donors. For UNDP itself, however, the formula appears to have diluted its core development mandate. UNDP should ensure that it participates in a more substantive way in the management of electoral support programmes and that its participation is systematically linked to civic education programmes and longer-term support and capacity building for the Electoral Commission and other institutions of democracy.

The management structure adopted for the integrated MINUSTAH/UNDP programme in support of the DDR in Haiti is exemplary and could serve as a model in other situations. Another innovation, the allocation of assessed contributions for the initial rehabilitation of demobilized beneficiaries, could also break new grounds in terms of improving the coherence between the three respective components of the DDR process. These management and policy improvements should not be discarded as a result of the limited progress in actual disarmament, a phenomenon largely due to causes outside the control of the programme.

6.4 UNDP's capacity to innovate and anticipate

UNDP has shown leadership and a notable capacity to innovate and anticipate in responding to the political crisis between 2000 and 2003 and the subsequent political transition period:

- The development of the PIR, in a context where most international assistance had been frozen, proved to be a convenient mechanism for linking humanitarian and development needs and for providing a platform for the re-engagement of the international community.
- The personal role played by the Resident Representative during the early phase of the transition illustrated the capacity of the organization to respond to exceptional circumstances and to assist the Secretary-General in the absence of a Special Representative.
- UNDP played a crucial role in developing the ICF by organizing consultations, mobilizing the required technical expertise and supporting transition authorities that had just been installed. The ICF will continue to provide a framework for the international community's support to Haiti until 2007.
- In light of the establishment of a new democratically-elected Government, UNDP has anticipated the need to review its approach and has initiated work on a post-electoral strategy.

6.5 The need to improve institutional flexibility and response

Despite the positive comments received with regard to UNDP's capacity to advance funds on the basis of firm pledges, there is a consensus that UNDP could further improve its procedures, with a view to accelerating the pace of disbursement, thereby improving operational performance.

6.6 The need for more outreach

According to estimates by UNDP staff, at least 90 percent of UNDP's project activities are implemented in Port-au-Prince. This is rather surprising as the security situation outside the capital city is reported as much more stable. In the coming phase, one of the programmes that UNDP will be promoting is decentralization and the building of capacity for local governance. The recent positive trends showing a decline in the rate of crimes in the capital as well as UNDP's objective of working more intensely with local administrations should provide occasions for UNDP to increase its presence and impact outside Port-au-Prince.

6.7 Strengthening relations with the civil society

UNDP has been consulting, at times intensely, with the civil society for certain aspects of its work such as the preparation of the interim PRSP or the production of the national human development reports. Other documents, such as the ICF, suffered from a lack of consultation with the civil society, mainly due to the short time allocated to the preparation of the document. These consultations have often been with prominent individuals on a personal basis rather than with institutions and organizations as a whole. UNDP should explore the possibility of developing long-term partnerships with academic or other institutions. Such partnerships could help UNDP further develop its capacity to analyse the evolution of the situation in Haiti and be used to develop a much needed set of indicators and a database related to human security and development.

Annex I: List of People Consulted

UN

Adriano Gonzalez-Regueral, Representative, UNICEF
Lakhdar Brahimi, Special Adviser UN, Executive Office of the Secretary-General
Jean-Marie Guéhenno, USG, UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations
Wolfgang Weisbrod-Weber, Director, Europe and Latin America Bureau, UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations
Renata Dwan, Co-ordinator, Best Practices Unit, UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations
Luis Jimenez McInnis, Political Affairs officer, UN Department for Political Affairs
Judith Karl, Post-Crisis Cluster, UNDGO
Tuesday Reitano, Programme Specialist, UNDGO
Niels Harrild, Programme Administrator, Post-Conflict and LICUS Trust Funds, World Bank

UNDP

Michel Matera, UNDP Haiti
Freddy Austly, UNDP Haiti
Arnaud Dupuy, UNDP Haiti
Adama Guindo, D-SRSG (RR, RC and HC), MINUSTAH
Daniel Ladouceur, UNDP/DDR project
Jacques Diotte, UNDP/Justice and prisons projects
Philippe Rouzier, UNDP
Janie Compas, Finance Officer, UNDP
Kettly Etienne, Human Resource Officer, UNDP
Maria Lucia Lloreda, RBLAC
Marc-André Franche, RBLAC
John Ohiorhenuan, Deputy Director, BCPR
James W. Rawley, Deputy Director, BCPR
Peter Batchelor, Team Leader, BCPR/SADU
Luc Lafrenière, BCPR/SADU
Marc-Antoine Morel, BCPR/SADU
Bruce Jenks, Director, BRSP
Geneviève Boutin, RBLAC
Stephane Vigie, outgoing Director, BRSP
Alvaro Rodriguez, BDP
Linda Maguire, BDP
Joceline Bazile-Finley, Deputy Assistant Administrator, BOM
Gilbert Houngbo, Director and Chief of Staff
Brian Gleeson, Director, Office of Human Resources Management

Others contacted

Gérard Latortue, Prime Minister, Prime Minister's Office
Christian Rousseau, Secretary General, Conseil des Sages (Council of Wise Persons)
Michel Soukar, journalist, Radio Signal FM
Kettly Julien, Director, IMED (human rights organisation)

René-Max Auguste, Member of the Board, Chairman in 2005 , American Chamber of
Commerce in Haiti
Andy Apaid, Co-ordinator, Group of 184
Jean Lavoix, Co-ordinator, Group of 184
Robert Jean, Director General, Ministry of Planning and External Cooperation
Michèle D. Pierre-Louis, Director, FOKAL (cultural and community service organisation)
Henri M. Dorléans, Minister, Ministry of Justice
Hérard Jadotte, Secretary General, Notre Dame University of Haiti
Claude Maingé, Expert, Post-Conflict, European Union
Andrea Marco Vera, Infrastructures Section, European Union
Yves-André Wainright, Minister, Ministry of Environment
Gérard Le Chevallier, Head, Electoral Assistance, MINUSTAH
Henri Bazin, Minister, Ministry of Finance and Economy
Guy Bernardin, Chief of Staff, Ministry of Finance and Economy
Jacques Bernard, Director General, Provisional Electoral Council
François Montour, Counsellor and Chief of Canadian Cooperation, CIDA
Paul-Emile César, World Vision
Luc Meissner, General Administrator, Médecins du Monde (Fr)
John Bevan, Director of Political Affairs and Planning, MINUSTAH
Erna Kerst, Director, and senior staff, USAID
Col. Jacques Morneau, former Chief of Staff, MINUSTAH
Canadian Forces College

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Evaluation Office, United Nations development Programme
One United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017, USA
Internet: <http://www.undp.org/eo>