

From relief to recovery

Supporting good governance in post-earthquake Haiti

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A Haitian man looks at the destroyed homes of one neighbourhood of Port-au-Prince, Haiti May 6, 2010.

The humanitarian response undertaken in Haiti after the earthquake that struck on 12 January 2010 has been one of the most complex ever. However, as the first anniversary of the quake approaches, the Haitian state, together with the international community, is making little progress in reconstruction.

The Haitian authorities need to show greater strategic leadership and take decisions that reflect the priority needs of the Haitian population. They need to initiate public infrastructure projects that put people to work and build skills; support people to return home, or allocate land for new houses; and invest in agriculture. The international community should do much more to support these efforts by increasing the capacity and accountability of Haitian institutions.

Summary

The earthquake that struck Haiti on 12 January 2010 had a devastating impact on the already vulnerable island nation, leaving more than 200,000 people dead and over one million homeless. In October 2010, Haiti was struck by a second disaster. As of mid December 2010, the cholera outbreak has affected more than 122,000 people, leaving at least 2,600 dead.¹

The humanitarian response that has taken place over the past 12 months has saved countless lives by providing water, sanitation, shelter, food aid, and other vital assistance to millions of people. Yet, as Haiti approaches the first anniversary of the earthquake, neither the Haitian state nor the international community is making significant progress in reconstruction.

This is deeply disappointing for the many Haitians who hoped that the country would make a fresh start and that their lives would improve, but it is not so surprising. Well before the earthquake, Haiti suffered from extreme poverty, gross inequality, chronic political instability, and weak, corrupt state institutions. Even in developed countries, disaster recovery can take a considerable length of time. In Japan, for example, it took more than seven years for the city of Kobe to recover from the 1995 earthquake.

However, even a steep hill can be climbed. To deal with the challenges created by the earthquake, the new Haitian government should urgently work together with the international community to create the conditions needed to allow people to leave the displacement camps and rebuild their livelihoods.

Listening to the Haitian people

The Haitian authorities need to move forward on critical issues that are their prime, and sole, responsibility. They should settle legal issues that are hampering the repair of houses and the removal of rubble. They must also take steps to support people to return to their communities and to construct homes in existing or other appropriate locations.

The government of Haiti should, as a matter of priority, develop a long-term plan and implement investment programmes that put people to work and builds skills. This could focus on labour-intensive public infrastructure projects, such as water provision and road building. It should also introduce social protection programmes, such as cash transfer and micro-credit programmes, which both safeguard short-term welfare and generate economic activity. Donors should support and prioritise these endeavours.

In Haiti, power and decision-making, as well as wealth, are concentrated in the capital Port-au-Prince, mostly in the hands of a very few. The process of political and economic decentralisation of the country needs to go further and faster, liberating local authorities to tackle local issues. In the aftermath of the disputed November 2010

elections, this should be combined with a drive to reduce corruption at all levels, build trust between Haitian citizens and the authorities, and to make government more responsive and accountable to communities. Donors, UN agencies, and NGOs should work with local government and should support this process.

Some parts of the Haitian government have been working more efficiently. The national water and sanitation authority, DINEPA (Direction Nationale d'Eau Potable et d'Assainissement), along with departments within the ministries of health and agriculture and many local mayors, have shown that there are government institutions that are capable of taking a leading role in the recovery.

The voices of poor Haitians are seldom heard in the policy-making process that directly affects their lives. The Haitian authorities, along with the international community, should consult, communicate, and involve the Haitian people in national reconstruction plans and programmes. Women must be part of this process. Women's participation in decision-making at all levels is fundamental for the transformation of power, citizenship and democracy. The Haitian authorities need to do more to support the efforts of millions of ordinary Haitian men and women, who are struggling daily to improve their lives and the lives of their children.

Undermining the Haitian state

The international community has not done enough to support good governance and effective leadership in Haiti. Many aid agencies continue to bypass local and national authorities in the delivery of assistance, while donors are not coordinating their actions or adequately consulting the Haitian people and key government ministries when taking decisions that will affect Haiti's future.

The Interim Haiti Recovery Commission (IHRC) was established in April 2010 by the government of Haiti under pressure from the international community. It has rightly been tasked with improving co-ordination, building state capacity, and bringing donors and the government together to lead the reconstruction process effectively.

However, the IHRC, under considerable US influence,² has so far failed to fulfil this function. The IHRC should do much more to involve Haitian ministries, local government, and the Haitian people in the planning process and project implementation.³ At present, there are only two, non-voting, representatives of Haitian civil society organisations⁴.

Donors need to stop the 'rampant bilateralism'⁵ and the often contradictory policies and priorities that plague the IHRC. They should also co-ordinate much more closely amongst themselves, in order to avoid gaps and duplication in funding. For example, money has been made available for temporary housing, but almost no funds have been allocated for rubble removal.

Donor governments also need to uphold their commitments and deliver on pledges to rebuild Haiti. In November 2010, the Office of the

UN Special Envoy to Haiti reported that only a little over 40 per cent of funds pledged for 2010 had been disbursed.⁶

Whatever the weaknesses of the Haitian government, it remains the sovereign authority whose engagement is essential if relief, reconstruction, and development in Haiti are to be successful. After November's fractious general election, the new government will face a massive task. But it will also have an historic opportunity to make a break with the past and build a better Haiti. To do so, national and international actors will need to redouble their efforts to strengthen the state's capacity, policies, and accountability at local and national levels. Neither a 'republic of NGOs'⁷ nor a 'shadow' trustee government composed of donors and international financial institutions will provide sustainable solutions for the Haitian people.

Recommendations

The new Haitian government should:

- Show real political leadership and urgency in reconstructing the country, including by developing a public works programme that creates jobs and builds skills; supporting homeless families to return or resettle in appropriate locations; implementing social protection programmes such as cash transfer and micro-credit programmes; and investing in agriculture and Haitian businesses;
- Put measures in place to reduce corruption and improve accountability, and speed up the decentralisation of power to local authorities.

International donor governments, the UN, and international NGOs should:

- Work far more closely and effectively with the Haitian authorities, reinforcing their capacity and working to improve the performance of ministries;
- Donors should release funds promised at the New York conference in March 2010 and improve transparency related to pledges and disbursements. They should co-operate much more closely with each other and should harmonise policies and priorities;
- Major stakeholders, including Bill Clinton, should urgently review the workings of the IHRC and speed up delivery of its mandate.

The Haitian authorities, donor governments, the UN, and international NGOs should:

- Consult, communicate and effectively involve Haitian citizens in the reconstruction of their country and ensure recovery programmes reflect their priority needs.

Introduction

Before the earthquake in January 2010, Haiti was not only the poorest country in the Western hemisphere but also had the most unequal distribution of income. Addressing people's needs after the quake is an enormous task, made all the greater since many of those affected did not have a decent house or a proper job to begin with.

Since January 2010, much of the world's attention has focused on the million or so people inhabiting the displacement camps in and around the capital Port-au-Prince. However, these people live next to another one million people who are surviving in the city's slums, often in even worse conditions. This situation is drawing people to the camps where some basic services, such as water and sanitation, are better or are provided for free. Many of those in the camps can leave only if the government and international aid agencies invest in jobs and infrastructure in their communities.

In the short term, it is hard to be optimistic about progress. Political instability, civil unrest and prolonged government paralysis following the November 2010 elections,⁸ as well as the national cholera outbreak which has already killed more than 2,600 people, have cast shadows over the immediate future.

Yet progress is possible. In the period before the earthquake, Haiti was experiencing modest economic growth and greater political stability. There was also improved security, partly due to the presence of the UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH). In the medium term, the country can return to a positive development path only if there are renewed efforts by its own political classes and by the international community to make this happen – which must include giving more resources and power to ordinary Haitians.

In setting out what must now be done, Oxfam draws on its 32 years of experience in Haiti and discussions with its long-term local partners, local and national authorities, and international actors. This paper explores the background of chronic poverty and governance challenges that preceded the earthquake, the challenges that now face national and international actors in building a better Haiti, and the need to support Haitian authorities to take a greater lead in the recovery process. It concludes with recommendations to both the Haitian government and donors, and highlights ways forward for delivering progress in the sectors in which Oxfam works: housing, the provision of water and sanitation and livelihoods.

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Before the quake: poverty and weak governance

For decades Haiti has suffered from extreme poverty and inequality. Weak and often corrupt state institutions and inappropriate donor policies have undermined development. Millions of Haitians are extremely vulnerable to natural disasters⁹ and outbreaks of disease, as the recent cholera outbreak demonstrates.¹⁰

Key facts¹¹

Population living on less than \$2 a day (2007):	72%
Percentage of the population without a formal job (2010):	80%
Percentage of urban population living in slums:	86%
Percentage of people without access to sanitation (2008):	49% (urban) 83% (rural)
Human Development Index ranking (2009):	149 out of 182
Index of State Weakness (2008):	129 out of 141

Poor governance is central to the many problems that plague Haiti. The state has historically been unable to deliver basic services, economic development, or security to most of its population, not least because of high levels of corruption and political instability. In Haiti, informal client-patron and elite networks have traditionally competed with and often dominated formal state structures, excluding the majority of the population and undermining the legitimacy of state institutions. The lack of opportunities in Haiti have also created a brain drain, with few educated and qualified individuals willing to hold public office or invest in the country.

*In March 2010, Bill Clinton said of the trade conditionalities that his government introduced: 'It may have been good for some farmers in Arkansas but it has not worked. It was a mistake that I was party to.'*¹²

Economic sanctions and a history of inappropriate and often incoherent donor assistance and trade policies have done little to promote development or a viable and functioning state. During the Cold War the Duvalier regimes¹³ (1957-86) were able to misappropriate international aid and terrorise the population by presenting themselves as anti-communist bulwarks. In the mid-1990s, import liberalisation demanded by the International Monetary Fund and the US had a disastrous impact on Haitian rice farmers, exposing them to unfair competition from subsidised US rice exports.¹⁴

Yet despite these institutional and donor failures, by 2009 there appeared to be some signs of improvement. The country saw its fifth consecutive year of economic growth and a decline in crimes such as kidnappings,¹⁵ indicating that, under the right conditions, Haiti can make progress.¹⁶

3

Continuing challenges

This section analyses some of the successes and most difficult challenges faced during the emergency response and in starting the reconstruction process. It also suggests some concrete steps that the government of Haiti and the international community need to take.

A successful emergency response

Well over \$1 billion was raised for the emergency response to the earthquake through bilateral aid, private donations, and assistance from international financial institutions.¹⁷ This unprecedented generosity has saved and is still saving lives. As a result of the humanitarian response, more than 3.5 million Haitians received food aid, 700,000 people have been employed in cash-for-work programmes, over half a million tarpaulins have been given to homeless people and 1.2 million people continue to have access to at least five litres of safe water per person per day.¹⁸

There have been difficulties for humanitarian agencies in adapting to the context of an urban disaster. Engagement with and ownership by local and national authorities has been limited, UN humanitarian leadership has at times been weak, and there have been gaps in information collection and analysis.¹⁹ These challenges remain, hindering effective reconstruction.

Challenges to reconstruction

The Haitian authorities, whose sovereign responsibility it is to ensure successful relief and reconstruction in Haiti, are not taking the necessary steps to achieve this. At the same time, the international community has too often acted in ways that have undermined good governance and effective leadership in Haiti.

To tackle the challenges created by the earthquake, the Haitian government needs to work together with donors and international aid agencies to clear the rubble, repair damaged homes, and begin the physical reconstruction of buildings. It should also urgently begin to improve access to basic services, reducing unemployment, and tackling long-standing issues of housing and land tenure.

As Haitians prepare for the first anniversary of the earthquake, close to one million people are reportedly still displaced.²⁰ Less than 5 per cent of the rubble has been cleared, only 15 per cent of the temporary housing that is needed has been built and relatively few permanent water and sanitation facilities have been constructed.²¹

Box 1: Five key recovery lessons from other disasters

- 1. Early attention to livelihoods is vital.** Kick-starting the economy must be a priority from the very beginning. In general, donors have not been prioritising livelihoods to the extent that local people have been, and this needs to be addressed.
- 2. Relief and recovery must be simultaneous processes.** While emergency assistance can save lives, more sustainable support is needed in order to recover from a disaster. Relief *and* recovery assistance must take place simultaneously. Aid agencies and donors must support both from the early stages of a disaster.
- 3. Local participation and ownership is essential to recovery.** Participation in all aspects of relief and recovery by the affected population is not simply desirable for its own sake – it is proven to be the most effective form of response. Local and national authorities must also lead and ‘own’ the process.
- 4. Disaster risk reduction is an integral part of effective response.** In the past this has often been neglected. In earthquake contexts, seismic analysis is vital for ‘building back better’. Local knowledge of construction techniques and materials is also very important.
- 5. Rubble removal should be a priority.** Experiences from other earthquakes (e.g. in Kobe, Japan 1995 and in Bam, Iran 2003) show the importance of clearing rubble quickly so that reconstruction can start.

While many of the challenges that confront Haiti in reconstruction are specific to the country, it is clear from the responses to other major natural disasters around the world that repairing the damage will take many years. Almost one year after the 2005 Pakistan earthquake, for example, only about 17 per cent of affected people had begun rebuilding their homes, while the US government has taken several years to rebuild New Orleans following Hurricane Katrina.

Financing reconstruction

In March 2010 an international donor conference was held in New York to discuss funding for the reconstruction of Haiti, during which \$2.1 billion was pledged for 2010.²² This is vital for successful reconstruction; however, to date, according to the UN Office of the Special Envoy to Haiti,²³ only 42.3 per cent of funds pledged for 2010 by the top 30 donors have been disbursed. Representatives from four different donors interviewed by Oxfam said the aid figures published by the UN Office of the Special Envoy were either not accurate or ‘not helpful’ because donors did not make pledges ‘for 2010’ but rather for recovery over several years.²⁴ The discrepancies between disbursement figures published by some donors and the UN Office highlights serious problems with overall donor coordination and transparency. Without accurate information on aid flows, their purpose and the timing of disbursements, it will be extremely difficult for the government of Haiti to plan and take key decisions related to reconstruction, or for the donors to coordinate their policies.

Nevertheless, money alone will not solve Haiti’s problems.

The Haitian state: indecision, corruption, weak capacity, and limited resources

For their part, the Haitian authorities have been moving extremely slowly to address vital issues. They have not resolved legal complications related to the repair of houses or the removal of rubble²⁵ from the streets, and have not acted to support people living in camps to move back into their communities or to other appropriate locations.

Given Haiti's long history of institutional weakness, this is not altogether surprising. The Haitian state has been plagued by fragmented and often violent party politics and corruption, while many state institutions have traditionally been controlled by a limited number of powerful elites. As one donor official put it, 'The government is stuck between the population's needs and wishes on the one hand and the interests of the "big families" on the other.'²⁶ The recent election unrest and alleged fraud illustrate these ongoing challenges.²⁷

The earthquake exacerbated existing institutional weaknesses. Over 20 per cent of civil servants died and most ministry and public administration buildings, including the Presidential Palace, parliament, and the law courts, were damaged or destroyed. Many authorities still have access only to basic facilities to carry out their functions, for example, inadequate office and meeting spaces, and almost no communications equipment, computers or vehicles. These are problems that donors could have addressed more quickly.

During a community survey of 1,700 Haitians conducted in March 2010, people told Oxfam that the government, together with the international community, should prioritise job creation, education, and housing.²⁸

A 38-year-old woman who is living under plastic sheeting in the Pétionville Golf Club camp, was very clear about what she needs from the authorities: 'The government should give us a decent place to live because when it's raining it's a disaster,' she said. The same woman also stressed the importance of education: 'When you are illiterate, it's a hard situation. You can't do anything by yourself – even sign a paper.'

Yet with the right support from the international community, there are measures that the government of Haiti can take. Given these immediate needs, the government should develop appropriate social protection programmes that are accessible to urban and rural people, such as cash transfer and micro-credit programmes for the poorest. It must also invest in basic health and education services, and develop a job creation plan that puts people to work and builds their skills in projects that are conducive to recovery and reconstruction.

In Haiti, power and decision-making, as well as wealth and jobs, remain concentrated in Port-au-Prince. One political commentator noted that within the government decision-making was so centralised that ministers 'even make decisions for their drivers and cleaners'.²⁹ With the situation as it stands, local mayors and councils, who could be helping to rebuild their communities, are not being provided with the resources they need in order to do so.

While the government has taken some positive steps to begin the political, demographic, and economic decentralisation of Haiti, more needs to be done to ensure that this process is effective and transparent. This should include improving monitoring and feedback mechanisms, putting in place systems for proper budget and expenditure reporting, and strengthening the auditing of aid flows to the local level. This will

help to ensure transparency in the allocation and spending of resources.

For governance to improve, the Haitian government must put measures in place to reduce corruption and improve accountability. People must also be given the opportunity to better influence policy decisions that directly affect their lives. The Government of Haiti should do more to consult, communicate, and involve Haitian citizens in the reconstruction of their country. This must include ensuring that women are able to actively participate in decision-making at all levels.

Successful government ministries

Improving state performance is not only important, but also possible. Haitian water and sanitation authority DINEPA (Direction Nationale d'Eau Potable et d'Assainissement) has strong and competent leadership and a measure of independence from powerful vested interests that is lacking in many other ministries. This is partly due to the high level of financial and technical assistance that DINEPA has received from some donors and international aid agencies.³⁰ Oxfam for example is collaborating successfully with the DINEPA on restoring water and sanitation systems, while at the same time increasing DINEPA's own capacity to deliver services.³¹

Departments within the ministries of health and agriculture have also been praised by a number of international NGOs and UN agencies interviewed by Oxfam.³² The National Food Security Coordination network (Coordination Nationale de Sécurité Alimentaire; or CNSA), which sits under the Ministry of Agriculture, has been effectively assessing and monitoring markets and food prices, as well as their impacts on food security since the quake.³³ Similarly, the Communal Health Unit (Unité Communale de Santé, or UCS), part of the Ministry of Health, has been working effectively with Oxfam in Artibonite to tackle the cholera outbreak.³⁴

Box 2: Oxfam's work with the National Directorate for Civil Protection (DCP)

As part of the National Disaster Risk Management Response Plan (NDRMRP),³⁵ Oxfam and other international NGOs have worked with the national Directorate for Civil Protection (DCP), a local disaster preparedness and response network that sits within the Ministry of Interior. Oxfam has provided training and financial support to the DCP over a number of years. Donors and aid agencies, including Oxfam, can do much more to build the DCP's capacity to respond to future disasters.

Some local mayors are working tirelessly for their communities. Together with the Directorate for Civil Protection (DCP), they have provided assistance to people following the earthquake, for example by finding safer places for displaced people to shelter and registering people in need.

Donors: bypassing the Haitian government and people

*'It will be tempting to fall back on old habits – to work around the government rather than to work with them as partners, or to fund a scattered array of well-meaning projects rather than making the deeper, long-term investments that Haiti needs now. We cannot retreat to failed strategies.'*³⁶

US Secretary of State, Hilary Clinton, March 2010.

Over the years, most donors have not done enough to help resolve the lack of state capacity and action in Haiti. Instead, some donors and governments have too often responded in ways that have exacerbated institutional weaknesses and bypassed the Haitian people. Since the 1980s, the donor community has tended to provide assistance directly through the UN and Haitian and international NGOs so as to circumvent corrupt and inefficient state institutions. However, this in turn has served to undermine the state's ability to fulfil its function. To quote one Haitian trade unionist: '[The international community] ask why the government is weak but they never ask what they are doing to make it stronger – or if they have made it weak.'³⁷

The Action Plan for National Reconstruction and Development (APNRD)³⁸ and the Interim Haiti Recovery Commission (IHRC) have been particularly problematic in this respect. The Action Plan³⁹ was developed in March 2010. While some consultation took place in preparatory meetings, including a two-day conference in Santo Domingo in the Dominican Republic, the World Bank had already done most of the preliminary work. In private, donor officials admit that the process was top-down, non-consultative, and not owned by the Haitian state or people.⁴⁰ According to a Haitian university professor, the APNRD 'did not involve the citizens of Haiti and does not have our consent'. In an Oxfam survey, only 17.5 per cent of those polled supported the Action Plan, since they did not believe it reflected their priority needs.⁴¹

Under pressure from the international community, especially the US, the IHRC was established on 15 April 2010.⁴² Its stated aim is to improve consultation, planning, and joint decision-making between the government and donors in order to implement the Action Plan. In practice, this has so far meant approving project proposals.⁴³ One of its main objectives is to strengthen the technical capacity of Haitian ministries.⁴⁴ However, according to one senior advisor to the President, the very creation of the IHRC has 'de facto done the opposite'.⁴⁵

For example, while the IHRC has been able to develop detailed plans for the construction of housing under the Neighbourhood Return and Housing Reconstruction Framework,⁴⁶ representatives from relevant government ministries (such as the Ministry of Social Affairs) were not involved in the drafting process, which raises serious questions about the government's ownership of the strategy.⁴⁷

While the government is responsible for reviewing and approving projects alongside donors, it lacks the staff and technical capacity to perform this task effectively.⁴⁸ The Commission has often made matters worse by sending too many project proposals at too short notice, with many documents available only in English.⁴⁹

Moreover, the IHRC has failed to meet its objectives as shown by the fact that donors are still not coordinating actions between themselves. There are a particularly large number of international actors in Haiti. Strong coordination should therefore have been one of the top

priorities. Instead one political commentator in Haiti noted that the IHRC has been plagued by ‘rampant bilateralism’, creating gaps and duplications in donor projects.

A donor representative told Oxfam: ‘The Commission is not doing its job. How is the [Haitian] government meant to take quick action when it is presented with 100 different and contradictory plans from donors?’⁵⁰

Beyond engaging with the government, the IHRC must do more to adequately consult and communicate its role, priorities, and decisions to the Haitian people. There are currently only two, non-voting, representatives from Haitian civil society organisations⁵¹ who are allowed to attend the Commission meetings, and the fact that documents are not available in Creole has not helped to build trust between the Commission and the people. In addition, the Commission has yet to recruit its NGO liaison officer, who will be responsible for ‘ensuring the IHRC’s engagement with NGOs’.⁵²

Role of NGOs and the UN

National and international NGOs and UN agencies have a long and complex history in Haiti. In the past they have been responsible for running many of the country’s education, health, and welfare services, and many of them are now addressing relief and recovery needs. These agencies should be more accountable and should do much more to build the capacity of the Haitian people and state, so that they can take greater responsibility for the provision of basic services.

Free services such as health care, education and water are being provided to hundreds of thousands of vulnerable people. While this is saving countless lives, it is also having a negative effect on the small Haitian private companies and individuals who traditionally provide many of these services. A number of clinics, schools, and small businesses have already gone bankrupt. International NGOs and UN agencies need to do more to incorporate these service providers into the reconstruction process.

Since the earthquake, coordination with and support to the Haitian authorities has often been poor. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) attempted to hand over responsibility for running the Early Recovery Cluster – the co-ordination structure responsible for supporting return and resettlement and the provision of basic services and livelihoods – to the Haitian government in May 2010. However, UNDP should have done more to ensure that the government representatives responsible for taking over the running of the cluster had the necessary capacity, equipment, and facilitation skills to do the job. As a result, this crucial co-ordination mechanism collapsed within two months of being handed over and the cluster only resumed meetings in November, back under UNDP leadership.⁵³

On other occasions, UN agencies and some NGOs have replicated or completely bypassed existing government bodies.⁵⁴ For example, the UN Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) does not work closely with the DCP, the local network responsible for disaster preparation and response.⁵⁵ OCHA responded to a tropical storm in September 2010 and prepared for Hurricane Tomas in November by setting up an emergency response centre in parallel to the existing DCP office.⁵⁶

Similarly, while the establishment of UN-led technical co-ordination meetings in the immediate aftermath of the earthquake contributed towards improved information-sharing and coordination between aid agencies, clusters now need to work more closely with existing government co-ordination structures to ensure government involvement in decision-making related to recovery.⁵⁷

Oxfam spoke to a number of national and local authorities, who said they often felt excluded from humanitarian decision-making and co-ordination processes. In some cases, local authorities felt undermined by donors and aid agencies, who do not adequately consult them before implementing aid projects.⁵⁸ Several thousand international NGOs are thought to be operating in Haiti, but only 450 are formally registered, while just 150 NGOs regularly send reports to the Ministry of Planning.⁵⁹ This is in part because the current registration process can take several years to complete.

An opportunity for a new Haiti: sustainable solutions for housing, water and sanitation, and livelihoods

This section explores the steps that need to be taken to kick-start recovery in some key sectors where Oxfam is working: housing, water and sanitation, and livelihoods.

a) Housing, return, and resettlement

The earthquake had a devastating impact on housing; 105,000 homes were destroyed and 208,000 were damaged— creating an estimated 20 million cubic metres of rubble. This volume of rubble could fill enough dump trucks parked bumper to bumper to reach more than halfway around the globe. More than 1.3 million people were forced to seek temporary shelter in 1,300 separate camps,⁶⁰ while over 500,000 people sought refuge with relatives or friends outside the capital.⁶¹

Obstacles to return and resettlement from camps

Few damaged houses have been repaired and only 15 per cent of the basic and temporary new housing required has yet been built.⁶² As a result, up to one million people have not been able to move from camps into more permanent accommodation.⁶³ This is largely because without jobs most people cannot afford to move back to rented accommodation, or repair or construct new homes.

'We are still living in tents more than nine months since the earthquake. We have been abandoned to our fate. The government has forgotten us,' said a resident of the Corail camp, outside Port-au-Prince.⁶⁴ A woman in her thirties, who is living in a camp with her five children, spoke of her most pressing needs: 'Give us a grant so we can start a trade or business, leave the camps and find new homes.'

According to UN Habitat: 'Most donors have not prioritised livelihoods, rubble clearance and repairs of existing houses.' Before the earthquake, 60 per cent of the people now living in camps were renting either their houses or land.⁶⁵ Falling incomes and rising prices caused by the destruction have meant that many of these people can no longer afford to pay rent. At the same time, the camps continue to offer free water, sanitation, health care, and other services, which in many cases were not available in the neighbourhoods they lived in previously, especially in rural areas. Most camp residents can therefore return home only if there is investment in communities and sufficient jobs to allow people to pay rent.

The remaining 40 per cent of the camp population owned their own homes or land prior to the quake, but many of these homes have been destroyed. Not only is there a lack of resources and skills to safely rebuild them, but less than five per cent of rubble has so far been cleared,⁶⁶ limiting space available for construction. While donors have provided generous funding for basic shelters,⁶⁷ relatively little money has been made available for large-scale rubble removal,⁶⁸ meaning that systematic and mechanised approaches have not yet been attempted in most parts of Port-au-Prince.⁶⁹ The government of Haiti through the

Centre National des Equipements (CNE)⁷⁰ can support this process by identifying dumping sites for rubble and by working with donors to prioritise rubble clearance especially in informal settlements.

There is also not sufficient money to repair existing houses. UN Habitat estimates that, 10 months after the earthquake, less than \$10 million has gone towards repairing houses, in part because donors lack UN and NGO partners with sufficient technical skills to support this. Yet prioritising house repairs would have allowed hundreds of thousands of people to return home within a few months of the disaster.⁷¹

Moving forward with resettlement and return

Some NGOs and private contractors have been reluctant to demolish or repair damaged buildings, or to begin constructing basic shelters, in the absence of formal evidence of land and home ownership. Yet several agencies have demonstrated that land tenure does not have to be a major impediment to construction work.

The Cooperative Housing Foundation (CHF), an international aid agency working in Haiti, has successfully collaborated with municipal governments and local community groups in Port-au-Prince, Leogane, Petit-Goave, and Gressier to identify tenancy and house ownership prior to the earthquake and to gain approval to demolish severely damaged buildings. While not always legally binding, these agreements are recognised by the communities and local leaders. As a result, close to 4,000 shelters have been built. Similar approaches together with tools and training provided by other NGOs, have allowed people to begin repairing their homes or to build basic homes.

Box 3: Working outside of camps to prevent displacement

In a village near Gressier – less than one mile from a camp where Oxfam has provided water, latrines, and showers – many families have been able to stay in their community and on their own plots of land. Oxfam supports people in their communities to help them to remain in or near their homes rather than moving into a camp.

The European Union⁷² is funding UN-Habitat and the Emergency Architects' Foundation to support displaced people that previously lived in Carrefour-feuilles to return to their neighborhoods. In collaboration with Oxfam and our Haitian NGO partners, the project builds capacity by training local authorities and community representatives to map local risks, put in place rubble clearance plans, create new livelihoods opportunities, and clarify tenure issues by registering land ownership prior to the earthquake. These and other capacity-building projects need to be expanded to ensure that Haitians have the skills necessary to improve urban planning and construction.

If people are to leave the camps, donors and aid agencies should move away from trying to formally solve complex land rights issues before moving ahead with the construction and repair of homes. Instead, more flexible approaches are needed as outlined above. Donors and aid agencies should focus their efforts on ensuring greater community

participation in verifying peoples' housing statuses prior to the earthquake and should support them to improve pre-earthquake conditions in these houses by providing better training and tools. For those people who lived in dangerous locations before the quake, such as on steep slopes or in ravines, the government, with the support of donors, must identify new sites that are safe and economically viable.⁷³

b) Water, sanitation, and hygiene promotion (WASH)

The water and sanitation sector has suffered from decades of mismanagement, inadequate technical expertise, and a lack of resources. Despite recent improvements, especially following the establishment of DINEPA in 2009, only about 30 per cent of Port-au-Prince has access to a municipal water supply, and only 50 per cent of the city has access to toilets. Just 52 per cent of waste in the Port-au-Prince metropolitan area is collected.⁷⁴ The decrepit state and poor geographical coverage of Haiti's water and sanitation infrastructure is responsible for the seriousness of the national cholera outbreak, which began in October 2010.

In the aftermath of the earthquake over one million people, including those not living in camps, had access to clean water and latrines because of the work carried out by DINEPA and aid agencies.⁷⁵ However, most of the water is still tankered, which is very expensive.⁷⁶

Challenges in building sustainable infrastructure

The biggest barrier to constructing more permanent water and sanitation facilities has been the absence of a clear solution for people living in the camps to return or resettle, as described above. As with housing, camp landowners have been reluctant to allow aid agencies to build more sustainable water and sanitation structures, fearing that the displaced population will settle permanently on their land. In one location, a landlord refused Oxfam permission to build toilets without guarantees that the entire camp population would leave the site by December 2011 – a guarantee that Oxfam was not willing or able to give.

The way forward

In some cases, Oxfam has collaborated closely with the local authorities to resolve land disputes. In the Marassa camp, it has worked with the local mayor to negotiate land use and to make it possible to build a more sustainable water and sanitation infrastructure.⁷⁷ Similarly, in the Corail camp, Oxfam has worked with the local and national authorities, including the mayor, DINEPA, and the Ministry of Interior, to get approval for the extension of water pipelines. Once constructed, the pipelines will be managed by DINEPA, which has received technical training and financial support from Oxfam.

If Haiti is to avoid future public health crises such as the ongoing cholera outbreak, the government of Haiti, with the support of the international community, must significantly step up investment in basic, affordable and safe water and sanitation infrastructure, including

in rural areas. Longer-term technical and financial assistance totaling more than \$100 million to DINEPA from the Spanish government, is a positive step in this direction.

Box 4: Oxfam's cholera response in Artibonite

The mayor and the local department of the national Ministry of Health, the Communal Health Unit (known by its French acronym UCS) have been involved in the cholera response in Artibonite since the first assessments were conducted in October. Oxfam has been providing funding for 45 staff and training to an additional 45 staff already employed by UCS. Oxfam has also seconded a hygiene promotion specialist to help local authorities to produce and disseminate appropriate cholera prevention messages to the local population. The aim of the project is to prevent cholera, while building the capacity of the local authorities and health structures to take a leading role in disease prevention.

c) Livelihoods and employment

The earthquake left more than one million people in immediate need of food and water. It also destroyed thousands of businesses and severely reduced agricultural production. As a result, many people lost their jobs and livelihoods. The total economic cost of the quake, including lost income, is estimated to be well over \$3 billion.⁷⁸

Successes in meeting food needs

In the immediate aftermath of the earthquake, aid agencies were able to provide food and money to 3.5 million Haitians, while thousands more were employed in 'cash-for-work' programmes. Since the initial emergency response phase however, agencies have been struggling to move beyond cash-for-work schemes and to transition from emergency programmes to more sustainable activities. While cash-for-work has provided essential money to thousands of people, and through them has fed into the local economy, such schemes will not provide the longer-term job security that Haitians need.

The way forward

The post-earthquake reconstruction process must give priority to promoting sustainable livelihoods and helping people earn a living. Although some aid agencies are active in developing job creation programmes, often in innovative and creative ways which can be scaled up, agencies need to be more active partners of the government and work with the private sector in providing sustainable income-generating activities. Donors can facilitate this by providing more flexible funding. One head of an international NGO interviewed by Oxfam said that donor restrictions had forced his organisation to disguise more appropriate and sustainable livelihoods projects as cash-for-work so that it was able to use existing donor funds.

*One displaced woman in her 50s told Oxfam: 'We do not want to remain dependent on international assistance indefinitely. We want to start our own businesses.'*⁷⁹

Box 5: Supporting livelihoods

Fonkoze is Haiti's largest micro-finance institution. Operating mostly in rural areas, Fonkoze has been able to assist very poor and illiterate women to develop their own small businesses. Over the course of a two-year programme, the women receive a monthly salary to pay for their children's education and to support basic livelihood activities. They are also provided with relevant training to run a small business, such as chicken farming, and to manage a small loan. The programme has had a near 95 per cent success rate, bringing thousands of women out of absolute poverty.⁸⁰ Oxfam is working with Fonkoze to apply similar models to urban settings. This and other micro-credit programmes, such as those developed in Bangladesh, could provide models for sustainable livelihoods interventions in Haiti.

To create a more prosperous Haiti, sustained economic growth and greater foreign and domestic investment in Haitian businesses are needed. The economy must also be diversified and the business environment improved for example by simplifying registration procedures for new companies. This will have a much greater impact than scattered and relatively small-scale NGO income generation initiatives, however worthwhile they may be at the local level.

The reconstruction of Haiti will also need to focus on major investment in infrastructure and agriculture,⁸¹ as well as in social safety net programmes that can protect incomes.⁸² Additionally, income generation schemes will need to go hand in hand with safety net programmes that ensure access to childcare and education, so that women can take advantage of access to employment.

Investment in public works not only has direct economic and social benefits by providing roads, power, and water to people and businesses, but also generates employment opportunities and supports local suppliers. In the context of the cholera outbreak, investment in water and sanitation provision should be a priority, while new road construction projects will help support economic and demographic decentralisation by connecting rural areas to larger markets and increasing local investment. Where possible, Haitian contractors and goods manufactured in Haiti should be used.

Haitian government administrations and the donor community have historically failed to pay sufficient attention to Haiti's agriculture sector. The majority of Haitians live in rural areas and depend on agricultural activities for their livelihoods. Urgent action is needed to provide adequate assistance to enable farmers to increase food production, boost local incomes, and reduce the country's dependency on imported food. For example, farmers' banks and other credit systems are needed to allow subsistence farmers to access money, seeds, tools, and basic agricultural technologies. Irrigation systems, transportation routes, and storage and processing centres should be repaired and improved.

The Haitian government has developed an ambitious \$772 million National Agricultural Investment Plan, which focuses on sustainably boosting production, increasing access to markets, and improving access to basic services in rural areas.⁸³ Donors should support the government in the implementation of this plan.

Conclusion and recommendations

Real recovery and reconstruction have not yet started in Haiti. This is deeply disappointing for the many Haitians who hoped that the unprecedented international support following the earthquake would not only lead to quick recovery but would be an opportunity to finally begin to address longstanding poverty, political instability, and weak and corrupt state institutions.

Haiti's political and economic elites have not yet lost the once in a lifetime chance to address many of the issues that have held back the country's development. But the process must start now. The new Haitian government must in particular show real political leadership to urgently kick-start the reconstruction process. It should work together with donors and international aid agencies to clear rubble, improve access to basic services, tackle unemployment, attract new foreign investment, and address housing and land tenure issues.

The international community must unite and support these efforts by working much more closely with Haitian authorities and by helping the government to improve state policies and accountability at local and national levels. This will take time and sustained political and financial support.

Recommendations

The new Haitian government should demonstrate real political leadership and urgency in reconstructing the country, including by:

- Developing a public works programme focusing on essential services and infrastructure that creates jobs and builds skills.
- Taking the lead on organising the systematic removal, disposal, or re-use of rubble, including by resolving outstanding legal issues over who owns the rubble and by identifying sites where debris can be safely dumped.
- Identifying new sites that are safe and economically viable for displaced people who have nowhere to go and lived in dangerous locations before the quake.
- Developing social protection programmes such as cash transfer and micro-credit programmes that are accessible to people in poverty in both rural and urban areas.
- Implementing the National Agricultural Investment Plan, which calls for investment of \$772m over seven years.
- With the support of donors and in consultation with the Haitian people, reviewing the Action Plan for National Reconstruction and Development (APNRD). It should develop clear timeframes and budgets for each sector and ensure the plan is implemented.
- Accelerating the decentralisation process, ensuring that funds and technical expertise for the provision of basic services go to local

government.

- Ensuring that accountability and anti-corruption mechanisms are strengthened.

International donor governments should:

- Work much more closely and effectively with Haitian authorities, reinforce Haitian involvement in the recovery process, and work to improve the performance of ministries, rather than undermining them.
- Donors should release funds promised at the New York conference in March 2010 and improve transparency related to pledges and disbursements. Donors should co-operate much more closely amongst themselves and harmonise policies and priorities.
- Major stakeholders, including former US president Bill Clinton, should urgently review the workings of the IHRC and speed up delivery of its mandate.
- Through the IHRC, donors should work with the government to focus on strategic discussions around reconstruction challenges, and not attempt to micro-manage international aid (e.g. registering all projects worth over \$10,000).

The United Nations and international NGOs should:

- Ensure, in collaboration with other international organisations and state bodies, that a much more coherent and integrated approach to construction and development is adopted. This should encompass housing, employment, and access to basic services.
- Urgently strengthen support to government institutions at all levels and provide the necessary assistance to allow them to take the lead role in the reconstruction process, starting with the clusters.
- Move from emergency assistance to recovery and development aid, which supports livelihoods and job creation. This means public and private sector development.
- Work with the private sector to speed up rubble removal and create jobs; this should be supported by donors.
- Ensure greater community participation in verifying peoples' housing statuses prior to the earthquake and provide training and tools to displaced people in order to move ahead with the construction and repair of homes without waiting for multiple time-consuming land issues to be solved.

The Haitian authorities, donor governments, the UN, and international NGOs should all:

- Consult, communicate and effectively involve Haitian citizens in the reconstruction of their country and ensure recovery programmes reflect their priority needs.
- Give much more attention to poor people in rural areas and urban slum-dwellers who are not living in camps.

Notes

- 1 UN OCHA Haiti Cholera Situation Report 23 December 2010:
<http://ochaonline.un.org/tabid/6412/language/en-US/Default.aspx>
- 2 During interviews with UN and foreign embassy staff in Haiti in November and December 2010, representatives highlighted to Oxfam the leading role that the US played in creation of the IHRC and the continued importance of the US in influencing how the IHRC functions.
- 3 Interviews with representatives from Haitian civil society, government officials and donors, November 2010.
- 4 These represent the Haitian Diaspora and Haitian NGOs. In addition, there is one representative from the labour unions and one from the business community who are able to vote.
- 5 Interview with senior UN official in relation to the lack of coordination between donors, 20 November 2010.
- 6 UN Office of the Special Envoy to Haiti, November 2010. <http://www.haitispecialenvoy.org/>
- 7 The large number of NGOs providing services in Haiti in the place of the Haitian state has led some commentators to call the country 'a republic of NGOs'.
- 8 The elections were due to take place in February 2010 but were postponed following the earthquake. Alleged irregularities during the November election resulted in protests and some violence.
- 9 Between 2001 and March 2007, disasters resulted in 18,441 deaths and made 132,000 people homeless, costing an estimated \$4.6bn. www.alnap.org/pool/files/haiti-context-analysis-final.pdf
- 10 The cholera outbreak started in the Artibonite province, an area not directly affected by the earthquake.
- 11 World Bank. 2009 'World development indicators.' World Bank, Washington D.C.
<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator>. Transparency International. 2009. Corruption perception index. http://www.transparency.org/policy_research/surveys_indices/cpi/2009. United Nations Development Programme. 2009. Human development report 2009: Haiti. UNDP, New York.
http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/country_fact_sheets/cty_fs_HT1.html. World Health Organization and UN Children's Fund. 2010. Haiti: improved sanitation coverage estimates (1980–2008). Joint Monitoring Programme for Water Supply and Sanitation, March. http://www.wssinfo.org/download?id_document=1020. cited in Haiti Earthquake Response, Context Analysis, July 2010, www.alnap.org/pool/files/haiti-context-analysis-final.pdf
- 12 Speech by Bill Clinton, March 2010, quoted in Haiti Support Group Briefing, Number 65, September 2010. <http://www.haitisupportgroup.org/>
- 13 Francois Duvalier ('Papa Doc') ruled Haiti from 1957 to 1971; his son Jean-Claude Duvalier ('Baby Doc') ruled from 1971 until his overthrow in 1986.
- 14 Haitian rice production fell by almost 50 per cent between 1990 and 1999, and remains 6 per cent lower than the levels of the 1980s. Oxfam International (2002) op. cit.:['Planting Now' - http://publications.oxfam.org.uk/display.asp?k=e2010101510562844&sort=sort_date/d&sf1=cat_class&st1=610&ds=Aid&m=8&dc=596] FAO, FAOSTAT database, <http://faostat.fao.org/default.aspx> .
- 15 RAND National Security Research Division, "Building a more resilient Haitian State" 2010. www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/2010/RAND_MG1039.pdf
- 16 Haiti Earthquake Response, Context Analysis, July 2010, ALNAP: www.alnap.org/pool/files/haiti-context-analysis-final.pdf Haiti Earthquake Response, Context Analysis, July 2010, www.alnap.org/pool/files/haiti-context-analysis-final.pdf
- 17 The Haiti Revised Humanitarian Appeal was 72 per cent funded at \$1bn as of 20 November 2010. <http://fts.unocha.org/pageloader.aspx?page=emerg-emergencyDetails&appealID=893>
- 18 UN Report: Haiti 6 Months On, July 2010.
- 19 Inter-Agency Real-Time Evaluation conducted by the Global Public Policy Institute, March 2010. <http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/rwb.nsf/db900SID/EDIS-89DQV8?OpenDocument>
- 20 International Organisation for Migration, displacement figures ("Data Tracking Matrix"), 9 December 2010. Note that these figures are disputed by many aid agencies in Haiti.
- 21 Interviews with WASH, Shelter and Early Recovery cluster members, November 2010.
- 22 This figure does not include debt relief or in-kind contributions. UN Office of the Special Envoy to Haiti. <http://www.haitispecialenvoy.org/>
- 23 http://www.haitispecialenvoy.org/about_us/mission
- 24 Telephone interviews with donor representatives in Belgium, 12 December 2010, reflecting views expressed by two other major European donors interviewed by Oxfam in December 2010.
- 25 The lack of legal clarity over who owns debris and some damaged houses has hampered the removal of rubble and demolition of unsafe buildings.
- 26 Interview with a senior European donor official, 17 November 2010. This reflects similar concerns raised in a memo from the US embassy leaked in November 2010. It noted that the Haiti suffers from a 'political vacuum' occupied by 'those who do not necessarily reflect the interests of the nation.'

http://www.lemonde.fr/international/article/2010/11/29/haiti-rene-preval-un-president-tetu-et-soupconneux_1446619_3210.html

- 27 Presidential and parliamentary elections were held on 28 November 2010. The results were contested due to alleged voting irregularities, sparking protests that were at times violent.
- 28 Oxfam community survey, March 2010. In a separate focus group discussion with twelve representatives from four different civil society organisations in Port-au-Prince in December 2010, none of the participants felt that the government's Action Plan for National Reconstruction and Development (APNRD) was a Haitian document. 'The citizens of this country were not consulted', said one respondent.
- 29 Interview with Oxfam, 21 October 2010.
- 30 For example, the Spanish government is providing technical assistance and more than €100m in financial support to DINEPA. This enables it to train and recruit more qualified staff and purchase better equipment.
- 31 Oxfam has, for example, seconded a waste management expert to help DINEPA develop new policies and to provide additional technical advice.
- 32 The Ministry of Agriculture, with the support of FAO, for example, was the first to publish its strategy, within days of the earthquake.
- 33 This information has been vital for the planning and implementation of aid projects and will be used to support longer-term agricultural reforms.
- 34 With Oxfam's support, UCS has been developing hygiene promotion messages and disseminating them to the local population.
- 35 <http://protectioncivilehaiti.net/spgrd.htm>. This is the 'Plan national de gestion des risques et des désastres'.
- 36 March 2010. <http://secretaryclinton.wordpress.com/2010/03/31/hillary-clinton-at-the-haiti-donors-conference/>
- 37 Haitian trade unionist quoted in Haiti Support Group Briefing, Number 65, September 2010. http://www.haitisupportgroup.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=341&Itemid=235
- 38 <http://www.reliefweb.int/nw/rwb.nsf/db900sid/SNAA-83U9KC?OpenDocument>
- 39 According to the document, the Action Plan 'indicates the requirements to be fulfilled so that the earthquake, devastating as it was, turns into a window of opportunity so that, in the Head of State's words, the country can be reconstructed'. www.haiticonference.org/Haiti_Action_Plan_ENG.pdf
- 40 Interview with Oxfam, November 2010; phone interview, donor missions to the UN in New York, and to Haiti in Port-au-Prince, November 2010.
- 41 Oxfam community survey, March 2010.
- 42 One official close to the Prime Minister of Haiti said that, while the government was sceptical about the creation of the IHRC, the financial situation was so desperate that it was forced to do 'whatever it takes' to secure donor funding. When its establishment was announced, it sparked riots in the streets of Port-au-Prince in opposition to the Commission and to the extension of presidential powers. Interview with Oxfam, 28 October 2010.
- 43 The Commission is made up of representatives from the government of Haiti and from all donors who have contributed more than \$100m over two years, or over \$200m in debt relief. It is co-chaired by former US President Bill Clinton and the Prime Minister of Haiti.
- 44 Article 12 of the presidential order creating the IHRC (in French, la Commission Intérimaire pour la Reconstruction d'Haïti, or CIRH): 'The CIRH shall provide the relevant ministries with the international technical assistance necessary so that they may strengthen their capacities to fulfill their mandate in relation to development priorities and projects effectively and promptly.'
- 45 The Commission was created by the Law of April 15, 2010 and has a 18 month mandate <http://www.cirh.ht/sites/ihr/en/Pages/default.aspx>
- 46 The housing plan was presented to the government of Haiti during the IHRC's 14 December meeting.. <http://www.cirh.ht/sites/ihr/en/Pages/default.aspx>
- 47 The IHRC is also currently undertaking a mapping exercise of NGO projects in Haiti, again without the involvement of the Ministry of Planning. Interviews with UN agencies involved in drafting the document, November 2010.
- 48 A donor representative in the Commission estimated that only 40 per cent of staff had been recruited by the end of November 2010.
- 49 Two of the donors that sit on the Commission commented that they receive proposals only three or four days before meetings, or sometimes not at all. In some cases this is because the Commission sends documents only to donor headquarters rather than to Haiti offices.
- 50 Interview with donor representative, 2 December 2010.
- 51 There is one non-voting representative from Haitian NGOs and one from the Diaspora. In addition, there is one voting representative from the Haitian business community and one from the trade unions.
- 52 As of 3 December 2010, the Commission was still advertising the post. <http://www.cirh.ht/sites/ihr/en/about%20us/Pages/default.aspx>

- 53 Interview with government officials, UNDP and members of the Early Recovery Cluster. The cluster resumed its meetings in November 2010 under the leadership of UNDP.
- 54 Interview with donor officials who fund the DCP, November 2010.
- 55 A concern voiced by Oxfam and other NGOs, and also by a senior UN official and a representative from an international financial institution interviewed by Oxfam in November 2010.
- 56 Interviews with a donor representative, a representative from an international financial institution, and an OCHA staff member, November 2010.
- 57 The government has organised regular coordination meetings (known as the 'tables sectorielles') on key thematic issues (for example education and health) for a number of years. In the immediate aftermath of the earthquake the establishment of the cluster system was appropriate and generally improved inter-agency coordination. As agencies move from emergency work to longer-term recovery and development activities, some clusters in Haiti need to work more closely with the government-led structures.
- 58 Oxfam interviews with government officials, November 2010.
- 59 Interview with foreign embassy officials quoting government figures, November 2010. Figures were verified by a Ministry of Planning official.
- 60 Fact sheet ('Data tracking matrix') Camp Coordination and Camp Management cluster, October 2010.
- 61 Haiti Earthquake, The post-disaster needs assessment: Assessment of damage, losses, general and sectoral needs, (Annex to the Action Plan for National Recovery and Development), March 2010.
- 62 These are 'transitional shelters' or temporary wooden huts. UN Habitat estimates that only 'a few hundred' new houses have been constructed.
- 63 Overall, the United Nations says, relief agencies have built 19,000 shelters that can house about 94,000 people, or about 6 per cent of those who are homeless. Interviews with UN Habitat, November 2010.
- 64 Oxfam focus group, 2 December 2010, Corail camp.
- 65 IHRC Neighbourhood Return and Housing Reconstruction Framework, A Recovery Plan for Haitian Families, draft completed in October 2010 but not yet approved by the Haitian government.
- 66 Government of Haiti, June 2010.
- 67 A total of \$77,890,748 has been made available to build 103,195 'transitional shelters' i.e. basic wooden huts. OCHA situation report and Shelter cluster factsheets. June 2010.
- 68 Exact figures on funding for rubble clearance are not available. However, UN Habitat report that the lack of funding from donors for this purpose is a major barrier to supporting returns and resettlement. NGO representatives interviewed by Oxfam said that donors did not regard rubble removal as 'sexy'.
- 69 Funding has been made available for NGOs, which have undertaken rubble removal as part of an integrated approach to construction and livelihoods (e.g. through cash-for-work programmes); however, this is too small-scale to have made an impact. ECHO and other donors have said that only a large-scale mechanised approach by private contractors using cranes, diggers, and trucks will have the required impact, given the volume of rubble created by the quake. Large-scale mechanised approaches have started in the formal part of the city, but large projects for rubble management in very dense informal settlements have not yet been initiated.
- 70 The CNE is the government body responsible for the construction and maintenance of infrastructure.
- 71 Interviews with UN Habitat and Care staff, November 2010.
- 72 Through ECHO, the European Union's office for humanitarian aid.
- 73 For example, in April people were relocated from a camp in Petionville (established on the golf course) to Corail several kilometres outside of Port-au-Prince. The location selected is vulnerable to flooding and strong wind, and no economic opportunities are available in the area (i.e. lack of access to jobs, limited transport links etc.).
- 74 Haiti Earthquake, The post-disaster needs assessment: Assessment of damage, losses, general and sectoral needs, (Annex to the Action Plan for National Recovery and Development), March 2010.
- 75 This included not only the camp populations, but also vulnerable groups living in neighbourhoods surrounding displacement sites.
- 76 Oxfam GB alone is spending \$167,000 per month on water tankering.
- 77 This included family pit latrines with a lifespan of 3–4 years. Families were given keys to the latrines to increase ownership and to improve maintenance.
- 78 Haiti Earthquake, The post-disaster needs assessment: Assessment of damage, losses, general and sectoral needs, (Annex to the Action Plan for National Recovery and Development), March 2010
<https://www.cimicweb.org/cmo/haiti/.../Haiti%20PDNA%20FAQs.pdf>
- 79 Oxfam focus group discussion, 2 December 2010, Corail camp.
- 80 Project evaluation report, 2010.
- 81 At the micro level, Fonkoze's Zafen programme ('It's Our Business' in Creole) is working with the Haitian

diaspora to encourage Haitians living abroad to turn remittances into investment. By using a specially designed website, Fonkoze showcases opportunities to invest in small businesses. Currently there are only 75 businesses registered, but this could potentially be expanded by, for example, engaging with the Ministry for Haitians Living Abroad.

- 82 Preliminary assessments show that the majority of recipients of Oxfam's cash grants spend a portion of these funds on basic social services, with a strong investment in education for their children.
- 83 Oxfam International (May 2010) 'Planting Now: Agricultural Challenges and Opportunities for Haiti's Reconstruction'.
http://publications.oxfam.org.uk/display.asp?k=e2010101510562844&sort=sort_date/d&sf1=cat_class&st1=610&ds=Aid&m=8&dc=596

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