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Building for the future:
homes and security in Haiti

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Executive Summary

Since the January 2010 earthquake, the Haitian people have been suffering the political and humanitarian consequences of a catastrophe that shattered an already fragile state. Whilst the earthquake centred on the capital Port-au-Prince it devastated the whole economy and its fall out continues to be felt across the country in failing services, the cholera epidemic and growing civil unrest.

There have been some positive developments, but the provision of safe and secure homes in particular appears to have stalled. It is not surprising that at the six month mark less than ⁱ30,000 of those displaced had found permanent homes and that a year on, progress on providing lasting housing remains slow. However, it is unacceptable that the vast majority of those made homeless remain in increasingly squalid tents with little hope even of moving into transitional shelters – semi-permanent homes made from plywood with steel frames and corrugated plastic sheeting for roofs. It should also be a matter of international concern that emergency tents have to be replaced at huge expense because more durable shelters cannot be built.

The people ActionAid works with tell us they desperately need safe, permanent and affordable homes in their local neighbourhoods and the means to earn a living. Yet their testimony shows that they feel they are being overlooked by their own government and the institutions that have been set up by the UN and major donors to help organise the aid effort: the Interim Haiti Recovery Commission and the Haiti Relief Fund. This concern becomes even more acute when set alongside figures showing that ⁱⁱtwo thirds of Haitians did not have formal jobs before the earthquake, with the situation almost certainly worsening since.

This ActionAid report is based upon interviews with earthquake survivors living in camps, community and NGO representatives, institutional officials, ActionAid policy and programme staff and desk research. In the report, ActionAid reveals that those trying to provide homes encounter a number of hidden obstacles that are significantly hindering progress. These obstacles include little or no thought being given to the need for permanent low-cost housing for the poorest, the lack of a strategic plan around shelter and rubble clearance and a system of land tenure that was failing before the earthquake and has since been torn apart. Most tragic of all, lack of action and political will is entrenching even further the gross inequalities that were present before January 2010.

Evidence shows that a basic housing solution would be to construct multiple, locally dispersed pockets of social housing integrated into the fabric of the city. However, there are two more likely and alarming scenarios:

1. A city gradually overwhelmed by hundreds of unplanned, unserviced encampments and shanty towns run by slum landlords and prone to gang warfare;
2. The construction of a series of vast soulless government settlements thrown up outside the city full of unemployed marginalised people.

If nothing is done to alleviate the situation, the consequences of the latter two scenarios could be devastating with implications for increasing social unrest and ever deepening poverty. Whilst we all have a responsibility to ensure the best possible outcome, ActionAid hopes that this report will serve as a wakeup call to the Haitian government. It must provide strong democratic leadership to its people, committed to meeting their basic needs. Haitians have a right to expect the provision of decent homes, jobs and essential services in their own neighbourhoods.

Most importantly, ActionAid believes that the Haitian government with the support of its major donors – the US, Canada, France, Spain and the EU – should immediately tackle the housing and jobs crisis with the help of the Interim Haiti Recovery Commission and Haiti Relief Fund. These need to be fully funded. Blockages should be addressed without delay. A well-publicised, comprehensive and inclusive national response should be formulated as should a housing strategy rooted in local realities. Land reform must also be prioritised to give all Haitians a stake in their country's future.

Introduction

As we pause to remember the victims of the earthquake that hit Haiti one year ago on January 12 2010, the sheer scale of the devastation in the capital Port-au-Prince remains plain to see. Between 1.3 and 1.7 million people still live in ⁱⁱⁱ1,300 camps around the capital, eking out an existence in progressively more ragged tents or in shacks made from tarpaulins, rusting corrugated iron sheets and salvaged building materials.

Yet any assessment of the relief and reconstruction effort must take into account the size of the disaster. The ^{iv}Haitian government estimates over a quarter of a million people died, 300,000 were injured and 2.3 million were displaced – almost a quarter of Haiti's population. The government lost thousands of civil servants. In Port-au-Prince and its surrounding municipalities, most government buildings were destroyed or damaged as were over ^v313,000 houses. Haiti's own Action Plan for National Recovery estimates losses to the housing sector at ^{vi}\$739 million equating to 40 per cent of the total cost of the earthquake.

To put this into context, Indonesia took five years to replace 139,000 houses destroyed in Aceh by the 2004 tsunami. In the developed world, six years after the 1995 earthquake that hit the Japanese city of Kobe, some people were still living in temporary accommodation because property claims had not been settled. Even today, in New Orleans, the United States struggles with the consequences of Hurricane Katrina. Haiti, which as reported in the ^{vii}Washington Post, is fragmented, disorganised and far poorer has lost and suffered more. Yet, through the resolve of ordinary Haitians, the efforts of local and international organisations and the donations of people and governments around the world, there have been positive developments.

To date, ^{viii}97,700 tents and 749,000 tarpaulins/coverage kits, 92,200 toolkits and 169,000 kitchen sets have been distributed. Over 19,000 transitional shelters have been built with a further 125,000 planned (by end 2011). Many have taken friends and neighbours into their homes. People have not starved and whilst there is

mounting unrest it has not so far erupted into mass violence. Even though cholera is now endemic it has not devastated the camps and despite a shaky start, medical services appear to be up and running.

However, the Haitian people have suffered much for many years. Statements about Haiti being the poorest country in the western hemisphere do not fully convey the magnitude of the poverty and consequent injustice that most Haitian's experience. In 2009 Haiti was listed 140 out of 182 in the United Nations Development Programme's ^{ix}Human Development Index, the world's poverty scale. In 2010 that fell to 145. Despite the billions of dollars pledged to the aid effort, Haiti could easily fall even further.

Most people and organisations working in Haiti understand that recovery after a disaster of this magnitude is not a short-term project. It could well take many years and it is a truism to say that rebuilding will be a marathon rather than a sprint. Nevertheless, Haitians should not have to put up with a half hearted response. Nor should they put up with an approach that washes its hands of responsibility for meeting the needs of the poorest and most vulnerable.

Daniela's story



Daniela and her granddaughter outside her new semi-permanent home in Mariani, Port-au-Prince.

Daniela's home was destroyed in the earthquake but since she owned the small plot of land where she is now living and retained the deeds ActionAid was able to build a model transitional shelter. Daniela's new home offers an example of what can be achieved if government, local municipalities and agencies work together to allocate land and build shelters. The 18 square

metre two roomed semi-permanent home is small but it is neat and tidy and should last for up to five years.

Daniela cooks on a brazier outside and collects water from a spring. She's planted a small garden and built a wall around her land. Now Daniela has better premises she feels safer and more secure. But with eight in her family, none of whom are working, life remains hard. With cholera threatening, Daniela worries about hygiene, keeping her grandchildren healthy and ultimately about building a proper home.

“As we say in Haiti where there's life there's hope. My house is an example of what can be done if small plots of land are available. When we were living under corrugated iron sheets I had skin problems and was constantly feeling ill. Since moving in my health has improved and I'm no longer sick. My neighbours who don't have land are living in very poor conditions and when it rains all their things gets wet.

“Since January (January 2010) there has been some improvement. ActionAid helped at first with food then through projects offering work and wages, and because I could prove my right to the land I got better shelter. This shelter was built by an engineer. It's solid and secure. It's dry and I feel safe. But since Tomas (tropical storm Tomas) and now the outbreak of cholera I've felt concerned for the health of my family and the safety of my neighbours. All of them are living in shacks or tents. They need housing and jobs.

“Traditionally in Haiti we've relied very much on running our own small businesses to generate income. But since the earthquake that's become much harder. Everyone lost everything and we very much need help to get started. I used to sell used clothing imported from the USA and I could just about support my family on what I earned. At the moment I can't because I lost everything in the earthquake so I'm reliant on what people give us until I can get going again.

“It would be good for the state to find land and give it to the community so better shelter is provided. I know that the coordinator of our camp went to see the local mayor to try and persuade him to give us land but was told none was available. To get a home like mine is important, and people need to have land so they can build. The government should intervene and give land. The state was supposed to help us but that just doesn't happen and instead we are dependent on organisations like ActionAid.”

Josephmona's story

Josephmona lives close to Daniela but unlike her neighbour she does not own land and is living in a tent. ActionAid initially donated food and is now helping with cash for work programmes and cholera prevention initiatives but her family's future is very uncertain. None of her children, aged 13, 9 and 6 go to school.

“We're desperate. People say there is land outside the city but it's not just about homes it's about jobs as well. We need both. Just to buy food is difficult. When I work and get paid I pay bills and feed the children. But it's not enough.

“The earthquake created huge problems for us. We all fell sick afterwards, my husband, myself and my three children. Previously we shared accommodation with friends but the building was destroyed. Now I live in this awful camp in a tent. When it rains it leaks water and it’s cold and difficult. We need a home desperately.

“People like us can barely survive. We don’t have money to buy or even to rent. There are no real jobs and no money is coming in. We rely totally on what people can give us. I need a house and I can only see overseas aid agencies doing this for us. The government doesn’t seem interested. If we wait for them to act we will die before it happens. I sometimes think nothing will be done because if it could we would at least have heard something by now.

“I have no options and I see no effort from government to help. They need pressuring to do what they should do. Where I am staying no one has turned up. Only ActionAid came along. No one should live like this.”

The issues

No history of social housing

Haiti has no history of social housing. In a developing world context ActionAid defines social housing as either houses that are let at low rents and on a secure basis to people in housing need and generally provided by local authorities and registered landlords or housing built or owned by poor people on land allocated to them by the state.

^xPort-au-Prince is reportedly a city designed for 250,000 but home to 3 million. Even before the earthquake, most poor people in Port-au-Prince were private tenants living in teeming overcrowded slums. The poorest families typically rented one or two rooms from slum landlords paying between six months and one year’s rent in advance. Many could not even afford slum rents and lived in small informal squatter camps located in ravines and gullies. Only ^x60 per cent had access to clean drinking water or proper sanitation.

Since the earthquake and destruction of so much of the housing stock, anecdotal evidence shows that rents have increased by a minimum of 50 per cent. A family renting a room in Carrefour, a largely residential and very poor district on the outskirts of Port-au-Prince, would have expected before the earthquake to pay between \$10 and \$15 a month every six months but is now having to find \$15 to \$20. In other areas, rents and rent increases are far higher. Many of the poorest people, particularly those who earn a living buying and selling goods on the streets lost everything and cannot afford to meet increased rental costs or even send their children to school. These are the people who are now predominantly living in camps.

Rural areas are also under huge pressure. Right after the earthquake, many thousands fled Port-au-Prince for safer rural areas either staying with family members or setting up small tent settlements. Already stretched communities with lower incomes and fewer services than in Port-au-Prince offered what they could and largely welcomed the survivors. But life is increasingly difficult and there are few jobs or even schools that children can attend. While some survivors would like to remain in the countryside, most are beginning to trickle back to the capital’s camps. With the

population rising and with rents increasing beyond the means of the poor to pay, the need for social housing becomes even greater.

Disputed land

The majority of campsites are situated on disputed land, an estimated ^{xii}70 per cent are on private plots – this holds true for both urban and rural settlements. Within this lack of certainty, fear of eviction is rife and there are rumours of an increasing number of evictions and threats of eviction by armed gangs as well as by the Haitian police force. In one of the spontaneous post-earthquake camps established in the Mariani area of Carrefour where ActionAid is working, the pastor of a local ministry which owns the land wishes to build a larger church on the site and would like people living in the camp to move. In another ActionAid-supported settlement, tents are pitched on land which prior to the earthquake had been divided into building plots and sold off to individuals who now want to reclaim their land. In both camps, people living in tents have nowhere else to go.

Most camps are poorly serviced but they at least offer basic accommodation. The best provide latrines, clean drinking water, sporadic cash for work programmes and some limited but free schooling and health care run by non-governmental organisations. People living in camps also have hope that tents will translate into better shelter sometime in the future. So, despite a hand-to-mouth existence, those in camps want to stay put, in areas they lived before the quake struck, close to relatives and occasional local employment.

Slow removal of debris



Local residents of Philippeaux, Port-au-Prince take part in cash for work rubble clearing programme sponsored by ActionAid.

Added to land disputes is the mammoth task of moving debris, much of it still thought to be contaminated by human remains. The Washington Post estimates that the earthquake created approximately ^{xiii}20 million cubic metres of debris. In comparison, the ^{xiv}2005 Pakistan earthquake created 2.3 million cubic metres. Whilst rubble has now been cleared from the streets, the Washington Post has also estimated that it will take ^{xv}8 million lorry-loads to clear it all away. Main roads are often in poor condition and side streets are almost inevitably narrow, winding and pot-holed. Three months after the earthquake there were still only ^{xvi}300 dump trucks in the country. Even now, most clearance is being done by hand using wheelbarrows. Debris from buildings could consequently take many years to clear despite the urgent necessity to free up land for rebuilding.

Charitable organisations blocked from building homes

The UN's Shelter Cluster in Haiti, a group of UN and government representatives and international and local charitable organisations working on housing, has identified lack of available land – either because land ownership is unclear or because plots are blocked by debris – as the biggest challenge to providing shelter.

Non-governmental organisations cannot build transitional shelters – let alone permanent homes – without the agreement of landowners. Such agreements have not been forthcoming. Landowners fear transitional shelters will become permanent over time. There are also no clear government guidelines to allow legal construction of homes or even transitional shelters on spare land or land where ownership is not known or is in dispute.

With slow progress on transitional shelters, those providing tents – the aid agencies – now have to start spending donated funds replacing them. Good all-weather tents that will house a family cost between \$300 and \$500 and may last between 12 and 18 months. Replacing 100,000 tents could easily cost between \$30 and \$50 million, money that should be spent on more permanent shelter solutions. This year the hurricane season was relatively benign but if a strong hurricane hits Haiti, those in tents or living under tarpaulins and plastic sheeting will be extremely vulnerable. Many tents will be lost and lives put at risk. In comparison a well-constructed and solid transitional shelter capable of withstanding more extreme weather costs between \$2,000 and \$3,000 and will last up for up to 5 years.

The Shelter Cluster states that to enable large scale shelter construction and ultimately the provision of permanent homes, issues of safe relocation sites, debris removal and planning processes must be urgently addressed by the authorities. Cluster representatives also say that it is important to focus on a “return-to-neighbourhood” strategy i.e. people returning to their pre-earthquake neighbourhoods. This is exactly what dispossessed people desperately want but is not happening. Adding to frustration, the Haitian government has acknowledged that ^{xvii}100,000 damaged buildings are habitable and that an additional 60,000 could easily be repaired. But the majority cannot afford the rents and sometimes housing remains empty because of ownership disputes.

Haiti's creaking system of land tenure

The national land register – the cadastre system – is the key to addressing housing needs in the long-term. Haiti operated a system of land tenure inherited from its

former colonial power, France based on a system of notarised records. The system was never fit for purpose and since the earthquake and consequent lack of government supervision over the hundreds of camps that have sprung up, it has virtually fallen apart. Land plots have multiple claimants, many people have lost deeds and others never held official titles despite land being in their families for generations. Documents are often forged. Private and national records seldom match up. Even the state does not know how much land it owns.

The Organisation of American States (OAS), the principal political, juridical and social governmental forum for the Americas has proposed a \$70 million system of land reform. In an interview with ActionAid the project's spokesperson Christian Caceres explained that few people in Haiti can state with much certainty that they own the land they live on. The OAS cadastre proposal, which if accepted will take the lifetime of two or three governments to see through includes strengthening the National Registry Office, a new land policy and law and landowners compensated for transferred plots.

Haiti certainly needs land reform and the OAS proposal is welcome. But in order to build the trust of the population, the needs of Haiti's poorest must be explicitly and quickly addressed. This requires immediate government action, as in the current vacuum, informal systems flourish and the risk of land-grabbing by powerful vested interests is high.

Lack of government strategy

People's right to housing is enshrined in both the Haitian constitution and the U.N. International Declaration of Human Rights but the government has unveiled no strategic plan to realize this right. Instead it has announced a series of ad hoc initiatives which include making government owned land available at ^{xviii}five huge sites approximately 10 miles outside of Port-au-Prince. Each is capable of housing tens of thousands of people but they are a long way from the main roads into the capital with its jobs, shops and other facilities.

Yet Haiti has been here before. In the 1950's, ex-dictator François Duvalier the infamous Papa Doc created a new city 50 miles north of Port-au-Prince for the emerging middle class he wanted to create. In Duvalierville he constructed houses and roads but no jobs followed. The city was a white elephant. Today, it is nothing more than a rundown town with limited education and health services and with ^{xix}80 per cent of its inhabitants thought to be without work.

Being moved away from family, friends and potential livelihoods, faced with inadequate public services and with no ability to better their lives is what the displaced fear most. Port-au-Prince is a city of municipalities. In rebuilding city and society, planners must recognise the reality of decentralised urban communities and how their needs, livelihoods and well-being are linked to their localities.

Furthermore, building in Port-au-Prince is possible despite government proposals to move the poorest people out of the capital. In the past, the Government of Haiti has declared eminent domain – the right of the state to take private property for public use – when appropriating land for roads and factories. And in September 2010 the government in an expropriation decree designated over 450 hectares of land in

downtown Haiti for government buildings, shops and offices. All property owners within the area have been told that they must provide proper ownership documents to receive some form of compensation.

If the government can allocate a large downtown area of Port-au-Prince for official and business purposes they should be able to work with local authorities to identify multiple, smaller plots of land for land redistribution and social housing, paying appropriate compensation to land owners. This would boost local economies. It would also ensure that people do not have to cross the city for jobs or new houses, or leave their families and communities, helping maintain social networks that have been built up over generations. Additionally, it would break the cycle of excluding the urban poor from land.



Francine Baptiste, 67, and five of her grandchildren pose in front of the tent supplied by ActionAid and its local partner COZPAM in Philippeaux, Port-au-Prince.

Lack of accountability

To manage the money pledged since the earthquake, the government of Haiti, the UN and major donors have created two separate bodies. The Interim Haiti Recovery Commission (IHRC) approves and supervises all major aid projects in line with requirements outlined in the Government of Haiti's ^{xx}Post Disaster Needs Assessment. The Haiti Reconstruction Fund allocates funding for approved projects that need financial support. Yet delivering on money pledged and setting up processes has been slow within a system that lacks transparency and is difficult to negotiate. Furthermore, housing and land tenure issues were not fully addressed in the Haiti Post Disaster Needs Assessment and neither do they appear to be prioritised by the Recovery Commission.

The Recovery Commission has an 18-month mandate and is chaired by former US president Bill Clinton and Haitian Prime Minister Jean-Max Bellerive. It has 14 Haitian and 14 non-Haitian commissioners all of whom represent various sectors but not all of whom have approval rights. According to the ^{xxi}Commission's website it has so far met three times and approved 47 projects budgeted at \$2.5 billion although only 60 per cent of that is definitely funded. The Commission's remit is admittedly wide and the two NGO representatives on the Commission interviewed by ActionAid advised that the response would become quicker and more focussed in 2011. But currently only four of the projects are specifically for housing and three for other forms of shelter. The housing projects are budgeted at \$32 million for which funding of \$13 million has been found and the shelter schemes at \$66 million of which \$51 million has been allocated. The OAS cadastre project, presented to the Commission in August 2010, is still to be discussed.

In addition, if a local Haitian organisation or network wishes to submit a proposal for a Haitian reconstruction project their options are limited. They are supposed to approach the Commission. They also have the option to approach the Reconstruction Fund for money and in theory the Fund is supposed to be the best way for Haitian groups to access funding. However, in order to be considered, all organisations must first submit a ^{xxii}\$50,000 administrative fee. This favours large international organisations and excludes resource-poor Haitian groups from participating in the process even though it is precisely these groups that are mainly concerned with advocating for jobs and housing and giving a voice to the poorest.

It is not clear why housing has not been prioritised. Alongside this lack of clarity over housing, there are also concerns that donor nations have insisted on unprecedented oversight and veto powers for non-Haitian Commissioners raising fears about lack of transparency and accountability and whether decisions are being made in the best interests of the Haitian people. Nearly all Commissioners have been invited to participate rather than be elected or go through an application process, and the Commission does not have to report to government.

Donors say lack of Haitian oversight is to guard against corruption and waste. Transparency International ranks Haiti ^{xxiii}146 out of 178 countries in its Corruption Perception Index. So from a donor's perspective this arrangement may be understandable. But if not careful the Commission could effectively become a parallel government and undermine even further the state institutions and ministries that should be leading the housing and reconstruction effort. Haitians need a government that accepts responsibility for their wellbeing.

Maxanin's story

ActionAid met Maxanin when its workers were distributing anti-cholera kits in Lascahobas, just over three hours drive from Port-au-Prince in Haiti's Central Plateau. She and 20 families, originally from Carrefour, are living in tents on a small plot of land. They are struggling to survive. A benefactor is currently allowing the families to camp on the land but they cannot find jobs except for ActionAid's cycle of cash for work programmes.

“I’ve been here since January 20th (2010). I have my husband and two children with me. We left Carrefour after the earthquake. We lost everything and we were very afraid. We wanted to get out. We moved here because I met a woman who is based in the United States but was originally from my neighbourhood. She was helping the hospital in Lascahobas and invited the group of us to come and live on this spare land. She’s a good woman who wanted to help. She got us free hospital treatment and food in the early weeks. She’s returned to the US now but she’s letting us to stay on this land for the time being.

“We live a day at a time, day to day, surviving by our faith in God. ActionAid is helping us out with cash for work jobs and now the cholera kits but life is difficult. The children don’t go to school because we can’t afford it and our tents are in poor condition.

“I know COSADH (ActionAid’s local partner organisation in Lascahobas) are trying to sort out somewhere more permanent to stay so we can feel secure and I know that’s tricky. But we have nowhere else to go or live. We don’t own anything and we can’t afford to rent. I’m speaking for all the families that live on this land. We’d like more help with start up funding for commercial activities so we can be self sufficient and can meet the rent for ourselves and send our children to school. And we need proper homes.”

Conclusion and recommendations



Women farmers demanding a hunger free Haiti in an ActionAid-organised rally in Jacmel on World Food Day 2010.

Many millions of dollars were donated to the people of Haiti by individuals from around the world. They, as well as ordinary Haitians, trust those in power to make

the right decisions and to act in a timely manner. However, humanitarian and development assistance in Haiti is being provided in a context of vulnerability and weak human rights and it is increasingly obvious that land disputes, inertia, lack of accountability and minimal planning are conspiring to drastically slow the pace of reconstruction.

The earthquake was undoubtedly devastating. But unless a sense of urgency prevails, its long-term consequences for survivors and indeed the whole country are grave. Haiti could easily slip into economic and social chaos. Decent housing and the ability to earn a living are key determinants of people's security. Without them, there is little hope for a better life. To avoid Haiti tipping into anarchy and violence, ActionAid believes that the following recommendations should be acted upon immediately within a context of good governance and democratic control.

- 1. The government and its principal donors must tackle the housing and jobs crisis with a clear sense of urgency. The blockages that are currently holding up rebuilding and reconstruction should be addressed without delay. These include land disputes, slow progress on rubble clearance, poor record keeping, no clear strategy on housing the homeless and lack of accountability within major institutions tasked with leading the aid effort.**

A national response requires strong democratic leadership with a commitment to land and housing for the landless, local jobs and most importantly local participation. Having nowhere to live, no prospects for the future, no hope and no voice creates conditions for political instability as the recent violence surrounding Haiti's election campaign has shown.

- 2. The earthquake precipitated a national disaster which requires a comprehensive, inclusive national response that is well publicized and accessible to Haitian civil society organizations. This should include a strategy for ensuring that those worst affected – the poor and the dispossessed – are actively involved in and able to influence the decisions that will impact their lives.**

Government, major donors and international NGOs need to work within the system of municipalities giving a voice to groups representing the urban poor, rural peasantry and women to empower local people and communities to become self sufficient and independent.

- 3. The government must formulate a housing strategy that is rooted in local realities and should not impose big top-down housing projects as suggested in the National Action Plan.**

Projects that involve huge population movements to areas with few jobs and services will not work. They are not sustainable nor are they appropriate to the needs of those most affected – the very poorest. In contrast, community-led local housing schemes and employment reinforce and strengthen local culture and local livelihoods.

4. The government must invest in a system of integrated land reform taking into account urban circumstances in Port-au-Prince and other large towns and cities as well as agricultural reform in rural areas.

We need an active commitment to changing the way Haiti is organised from a tenant society made up of the poor and disposed to one where people including the poorest have access to social housing and/or redistributed land on which to build or farm, giving all of Haiti's citizens a stake in Haiti's future.

ActionAid Haiti

ActionAid has been working in Haiti since 1998. Its emergency response programme has so far provided food, tents, hygiene and kitchen sets, cash for work and cholera response programmes to over 130,000 people. Longer term development work, begun before the earthquake continues, reaching an additional 60,000 people. Partners include rural farmers movements, community based organisation representing the urban poor, networks of slum dwellers, local think tanks and human and women's rights groups.

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Endnotes

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