

Final Evaluation of Concern and Glencree's Peacebuilding Intervention in Haiti, 2009-2012

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

CBO	Community Based Organisation
CNDDR	National Commission for Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration
Concern	Concern Worldwide
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration
DRR	Disaster Risk Reduction
EU	European Union
Glencree	Glencree Centre for Peace and Reconciliation
HCUEP	How Concern Understands Extreme Poverty
HPCD	Haitian Partnership for Christian Development
HSI	Haitian Stabilisation Initiative
KDSM	Collective pour le Development de San Martin – a collective of San Martin CBOs
Lakou Lape	Literally means courtyard of peace
MINUSTAH	United Nations Stabilisation Mission in Haiti
PBP	Peacebuilding Partnership
Phase 1	Concern and Glencree’s peacebuilding work from 2006 to 2009
Phase 2	Concern and Glencree’s peacebuilding work from 2009 to 2012 i.e. This programme
ToR	Terms of Reference
Track I	Peacebuilding efforts focused on a national and more central level involving high-ranking officials and/or institutions.
Track II	Processes focused on the wider sectoral levels that can involve official leaders and civil society actors with influence in their own communities.
Track III	Normally focused at the grassroots level, these are activities directed towards conflict transformation and peacebuilding at the community level.
WASH	Water Sanitation and Hygiene sector
3PM	Partnership for Peace and Prosperity of Martissant
3PSM	Partnership for Peace and Prosperity of San Martin

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Executive Summary

This three year EU funded programme was a partnership between Concern and Glencree. Working in the poor slums of San Martin and Martissant in Port au Prince it aimed to contribute to a reduction in violence, improved Track II and III peacebuilding and increased local capacity, as well as codify good practice for transforming protracted social conflict. This was in effect a consolidation of a well-received three year process that had started due to the severe consequences of widespread violence and criminality in San Martin. The underlying approach taken was of training and dialogue complemented with collaborative actions. The intention was to build and expand relationship across the communities resulting in positive changes in the conflict dynamics.

The evaluation involved a desk review of relevant programme documents, secondary material and theory of change analysis and a two week field visit. The field visit combined focus group discussions and key informant interviews with programme participants and non-participants, and triangulation, and observation. Limitations included minimal preparation time, an inability to walk around and meet local people in their own environment, the temporary suspension of Concern's work in San Martin and meeting limited numbers of the 'core group' and gang members.

The programme did well in targeting a range of relevant actors. This could have been improved by also deliberately involving more women and locally 'respected' people. The quality of selection processes was mixed ranging from being clear and transparent to minimal understanding of how some became involved.

The training and dialogue approach adopted was innovative in the Haitian context and proved to be very appropriate. The aims of reducing violence and building local capacity were clearly addressing some of the communities' most important needs. Relevance could have been enhanced by combining the dialogue work with livelihoods initiatives which the evaluation argues should have been foreseen and planned for before the programme started. Broadening and conducting more regular conflict analyses, focusing more on accompanying those in transition from violence to peace and less on collaborative actions could also have led to improvements. Targeting and working with gang members the evaluation concludes was entirely appropriate and correct and resulted in three gang leaders renouncing violence. However it also posed challenges such as giving the perception of supporting impunity. This was never the intention and Concern is now addressing this.

The programme has demonstrated that dialogue when well managed and accompanied by good quality local capacity building can positively impact on Haiti's protracted social violence and has the potential to become a key strategy in creating a better future for the country. This is quite an achievement. The totality of programme participants spoken to, were extremely enthusiastic about the changes it had made in their own lives and the emerging lasting changes in their communities. They are extremely keen to continue the work but feel they still need a helping hand.

The creation and continued functioning of peace committees comprising sectors of the community that previously did not talk or even avoided each other is an achievement. That some of the richest business people in the country have sat in dialogue with some of the poorest in what is an extremely unequal society was unimaginable six years ago. This dynamic resulted in the creation of the Partnership for Peace and Prosperity of San Martin (3PSM), a major success of the programme over the last six years and, with continued support, has the potential to be a lasting change.

In relation to the programme's objectives significant progress has been made against the first two objectives of reducing violence and improving track II and III peacebuilding and the specific objective of increasing local capacity in San Martin and Martissant. Progress against the third and fourth objectives about codifying good practice has been very limited.

Conflict resolution¹ is a long term process and involves transforming violent conflict into peaceful processes of political and social change (Ramsbottom, 2011). In only six years this programme has contributed to peaceful social change that is potentially sustainable if continued support is available. That Haiti suffered its worst naturally triggered disaster in 2010 resulting amongst other things in a large humanitarian response, widespread suffering, increased poverty and the escape of violent actors from prison only underlines the success of the programme.

The programme has been efficient and achieved a great deal on limited resources in no small part due to the commitment of the staff. However a lack of staff and resources posed numerous challenges and could have been better predicted and managed. Too much dependence on key staff and not putting in place resources for learning and documentation and monitoring and evaluation are the stand out negative consequences of this.

The partnership between Concern and Glenree was good. Glenree's technical experience complemented well Concern's implementation capacity. More efforts to increase understanding of each other's approaches and better communication would have strengthened the partnership.

Going forward a renewed conflict analysis is important as the conflict dynamics are clearly changing in San Martin and vary greatly in the different areas of Martissant. This analysis withstanding, the dialogue work should continue and slowly but deliberately expand. This must be aligned with livelihoods initiatives and a greater focus on accompanying both those transitioning from violence to peace, and those developing their conflict management and facilitation skills. Prevention of future violence by focusing on the potentially violent actors of tomorrow and those that influence their lives and a greater focus on reducing the gender aspects of violence are also critical.

As a result of this intervention there are a number of potential actors to continue and build on this work; Concern, Lakou Lape, 3PSM, Glenree (probably in its capacity of supporting Lakou Lape) and KDSM. This is a real positive of the programme given the long term nature of the process embarked upon but has real potential to create confusion. All or any of those actors should consider involvement in the suggested future opportunities and it is vital that there is good communication and joint planning between them. It is also important that where relevant actors be brought into the fold such as HPCD who specialise in economic development. For Concern, in addition to the suggestions above, mainstreaming - but not by that name - and area based programming are possible approaches to pursue.

This report concludes that this has been an extraordinary and innovative programme with remarkable results. As John Paul Lederach² argues peacebuilding is perhaps more than anything else the art of strategically weaving a web of relationships across society within settings of protracted

¹ Conflict resolution here is understood as a comprehensive term which implies that the deep-rooted sources of conflict are addressed and transformed. This therefore encompasses peacebuilding that addresses structural issues and the long-term relationships between conflictants. (Ramsbottom et al, 2011. Pp. 31-32)

² One of the world's most well-known and respected peacebuilding academic and practitioner.

violent conflict (Lederach, 2005). This programme has helped to lay many strands of that web which have positively impacted on the conflict dynamics in San Martin and Martissant.

I. Introduction

This report gives a brief description of the context of the intervention, the intervention itself, and the evaluation methodology and limitations before discussing the main findings. As per the ToR the areas for discussion are; targeting, relevance, effectiveness, efficiency, accountability and future opportunities. Due to the nature of the findings, management issues have been incorporated into the efficiency section under headings of staffing and the Concern/Glenree partnership. Monitoring and evaluation have not really been focused on, partly because it was limited and that is already known and partly because the mid-term evaluation dealt with this in a comprehensive manner. Dee O'Donnell's report of January 2012 also gave concise but good recommendations about developing benchmarkable objectives.

The most important sections, in the eyes of the evaluator are relevance, effectiveness and future opportunities.

Although the evaluation was in theory for the period 2009 to 2012, it is impossible to consider these three years without looking at the previous three years. Therefore the evaluation focuses where possible on the last three years (phase 2) but inevitability refers to, draws lessons from and highlights successes from the first three years (phase 1) as well.

Please note and remember, before reading the detail, that overall this has been a remarkable programme with great success. There have been some significant problems encountered and very little progress against two overall objectives but discussions about these less successful aspects must not overly detract from the whole and be taken in the context that this was, for Haiti, an entirely new and innovative approach to dealing with protracted violent conflict.

II. The context of the intervention

Since its inception, Haiti's history has been characterised by war, conflict, violence and the use of force to assert power that has affected its subsequent development as a state as well as its social and economic structures. The overthrow of the Duvalier dictatorship in 1986 ushered in a prolonged period of transition towards more democratic forms of government, which has been marked by continuous political instability and violence that has restricted the country's development. This turbulent history has left a legacy of deep social, political and economic divides that has prevented the emergence of a viable social contract between the different sectors of national life. Different segments of society are often locked into polarised positions with limited capacity to clarify interests or express needs, and without opportunities to interact constructively. This situation is compounded by acute poverty and inequality that impacts on the lives of much of the population and fuels an environment conducive to violence.

III. Intervention Description

This programme was in effect a consolidation of work that started in 2006. The violence and criminality that faced the slum of Saint Martin from 2004 to 2006 impoverished and drastically deteriorated the living conditions of the population, particularly the most vulnerable groups in society. In addition to the loss of livelihoods, access to services and support were suspended as government and NGOs workers were largely unable to enter Saint Martin. As a result, Concern, in partnership with Glenree, developed a three year project that aimed to address the violence through dialogue and community collaborative action. The intention was to strengthen social

cohesion by rebuilding relationships between stakeholders in the community, as well as between them and other key external actors in Haitian society who also have an influence over the situation. Actors of violence, gang members, were deliberately targeted for two principle reasons. First, it is hard to reduce violence without targeting the main actors and second, in order to move gang members away from violence an intervention that would include them rather than exclude them would give them a greater stake in their community generating the possibility for them to play a positive role within it.

This started with the development of dialogue groups where different sectors of the community were brought together to dialogue issues of mutual interest. In time these became six peace committees. Included in these groups were members of gangs. A core group of facilitators, from around San Martin were trained who were used to give training to and facilitate dialogue with the dialogue groups/peace committees. Finally dialogue was expanded to include members of the private sector that operated in and around San Martin. This in turn led to the establishment of an organisation called Partnership for Peace and Prosperity in San Martin (3PSM) to greater facilitate on going enlarged dialogue and collaboration.

Based on the initial results of this intervention, Concern was invited by the EU to deliver conflict management in another similarly designed project in Martissant. This started in 2008. The main difference in the Martissant intervention is that gang members were not included in the peace committees as the violence was fresher and so dialogue with them happened separately.

The focus of Concern and Glencree's PBP application was consolidation, continuing to build the skills of the core group and peace committees through on-going training, dialogue and collaborative actions. 3PSM was also strengthened.

Some new activities started as well. DRF in Jamaica was engaged to provide training and facilitate two learning visits to Jamaica, one for gang members and one for peace committee members. There was a Track I and II visit to Ireland at the end of 2011 and two gang leaders that had renounced violence were sponsored to go to an international conference on violence reduction in Dublin in 2010. The programme also started a community based conflict early warning system (EWS) in 2011 and carried out a pilot training of police officers.

In 2011 due to the malfunctioning of the peace committees in San Martin they were reconfigured from being geographically focused to being sectorally based as had happened in Martissant. The new committees established were; education, health, WASH, professional development, sport and arts and culture.

The earthquake in January 2010 posed many challenges and impeded progress. The escape of prisoners, many of whom returned to their gang activities, changed the dynamics of the violence and the understandable need to focus on a humanitarian response resulted in peace committee members being involved in distributions and peacebuilding staff being drawn into the response.

From around September 2011, due to a change in programme coordinator, there was a reorientation of the programme with greater focus on Track II and I activities and less on Track III which had received considerably more attention until that time. This resulted in a considerable loss of momentum at the community level. As the new coordinator had to leave due to poor health some of the planned activities with this new reorientation, such as a summer peacebuilding institute did not materialise.

IV. Evaluation Methodology and Limitations

The evaluation involved a desk review of relevant programme documents, secondary material and theory of change analysis and a two week field visit. The field visit combined focus group discussions

and key informant interviews with programme participants and non-participants and triangulation and observation.

There were a number of limitations encountered.

- A short lead in time before the field visit meant that there was insufficient time for a thorough desk review resulting in less than ideal clarity of the programme activities on arrival in the field.
- Despite numerous efforts made and seemingly through no fault of Concern, Trocaire, ProJustice, Viva Rio and the EU were the only other actors involved in or interested in peacebuilding in Haiti the evaluation met. Not being able to meet important actors such as MINUSTAH, UNDP, UNPOL, Fokal, JILAP and RNDDH certainly reduced the ability to compare and contrast this programme approach with others', get a broad overview of wider peacebuilding efforts in the country and learn from others.³
- Not being able to walk around and meet ordinary people in San Martin and Martissant. Concern, due to threats to staff, had suspended programmes in San Martin so this was expected but it was hoped to do this in Martissant for at least half a day. However attempts to arrange this did not succeed due to security concerns.
- The suspension of Concern's work in San Martin certainly clouded many discussions with people living there. All expressed their desire for Concern to re-start their work and the evaluation has had to make a judgement call on how much the frustration and disappointment expressed in meetings was being influenced by recent events or were a genuine reflection on what has happened in the last three years in the pecebuilding programme.
- Only meeting four members of the core group that now work for Concern. A meeting had been arranged to meet about 10 of them, who are not Concern employees, but no one turned up. Given that in the programme planning they were seen to be such a key delivery mechanism for much of the programme's activities as well subject to an ambitious target of ensuring they became an independent professional group able to earn a living from offering facilitation mediation services, this was a significant gap.
- Not meeting enough current or ex-gang members on a one to one basis, partly because of no shows but the evaluator should have asked to meet more.

V. Main Evaluation Findings

V.1 Targeting

Three key areas deserve attention here. First to look at the participant selection process, was it done well and was it clear and transparent. Second, whether those selected or involved were the most appropriate people to be targeted to affect the most positive change and third, to what extent did the poorest in the communities benefit.

V.1.1. Selection process of programme participants

There have been a variety of participant selection methods used in the programme and the quality has been mixed.

For the peace committees, by far the largest group of participants, there was a noticeable distinction between the clarity of participant selection between San Martin and Martissant. In Martissant the

³ This was possibly because the visit was in July a popular time for holidays to be taken.

process was open and well understood. Each CBO or sector approached by Concern nominated who would represent them on the committee according to criteria stipulated. In San Martin, KDSM due to their intimate knowledge of the community and different sectors, were key in selecting members of peace committees based on their influence in the sector they represented. However many of those involved were often confused as to how they were selected and some didn't know at all. This lack of clarity was the same for those that had recently joined in 2011, as for those that had been involved since 2006. It is important that participants and non-participants are clear as to why people have been selected and against what criteria. The four members of the core group met were all involved from the start and were also selected by KDSM.

A good selection process was that of the visit of peace committee members to Jamaica where each peace committee was asked to nominate two people and those two were in turn 'interviewed' by two of concern's programme staff to help determine the most appropriate person to go. This was appreciated by all, except a group of local councillors from Martissant who were very disappointed that no locally elected official had participated in any overseas trip to Jamaica or Ireland.⁴

Selection of Track II and I participants for engagement in 3PSM and the trip to Ireland was by personal invitation based on a mixture of contacts the programme had built up and their representation of different sectors of Haitian society and their interest in being involved. The trip to Ireland had the additional criteria of their involvement in the peace process to date. Although on the face of it this is not a particularly transparent process, this was probably the most appropriate as it was clear that the very personal nature of the approach was the reason why some very influential people became involved in the programme.

V.1.2. Were the most appropriate people targeted?

Given that the causes and dynamics of conflict in Port au Prince are complex, differ within in each zone, and spark strong reactions from those who live in those contexts one is never going to get agreement on the best people to target to help reduce violence. However the evaluation is able to draw some broad findings.

First the approach used of identifying and targeting the relevant sectors such as education and health within the communities and then selecting representatives to be involved in peace committees was good. The evaluation also particularly liked the concept of the empty chair. Acknowledging that it is not always possible to include all actors or that other important actors may emerge over time, the empty chair allowed them to be included when appropriate.

The inclusion of gang members in the programme was in the eyes of some Martin residents a controversial one. The evaluation is in agreement that this was an entirely appropriate group of people to target as changes in their attitudes and behaviour is a key element in achieving increased peace and security and excluding them was likely to marginalise them further. However working with gang members in San Martin has certainly created problems for the programme which are explored in the relevance section.

⁴ It was not possible to get them to be clear as to whether this was a selection process issue or just disappointment on missing out on a trip.

It is not really possible to comment on the appropriateness of those selected to be part of the core group. Those met were confident in their facilitation abilities, enthusiastic about their work and motivated to become a facilitator by a desire to make life better in their communities an indication of them being a good choice. However given they have subsequently been employed by Concern to work in various post-earthquake programmes it is hardly surprising that they seemed impressive.⁵

As for the gender balance of participants there were considerably more men participants than women. There was however an increase in female participants in Martissant as compared to San Martin which is a positive step. Women respondents were, with one exception, far quieter than their male counterparts within group discussions so efforts were made to chat one on one at the end of meetings where possible. This timidity in front of their peers would indicate that it was harder for them to express their views during the programme implementation reducing the understanding generated through dialogue. For example in San Martin a group of men were arguing that violence was not very bad at a certain time. A woman disagreed and they immediately cut her off and seemed determined to persuade her that she was wrong. Although the evaluation was not able to observe any groups in actual dialogue or training during the programme this does highlight the challenges of ensuring that women's voices are genuinely heard.

In summary the targeting was largely good but two things could have made it better. First, a greater number of women participants, as discussed above, and second, the active seeking for the participation of 'respected people'. Who these people are is not easy to define for an outsider but the communities know who they are. They are often older, but not exclusively, may not hold any form of official position, but for whatever reason are someone that is looked up to and respected in their area. The logic for their inclusion is that many of the young involved in gang or criminal activity, although seemingly confident and bullish amongst their peers are, in front of these 'respected people', embarrassed by their behaviour. Including and increasing the capacity of these natural leaders who are likely to be able to have a positive influence on the level of security within the community could only have benefited the work.

V.1.3 To what extent did the poorest benefit?

As poverty is a key factor in helping to fuel violence, this is an important question to ask. However this was virtually impossible to establish as the evaluation was not able to go into and meet ordinary people in San Martin or Martissant. The programme didn't specifically target the poorest so it is very unlikely that they benefitted directly from the programme but they did indirectly.

The evaluation conducted three focus group discussions and five key informant interviews with people not involved in the programme. With two exceptions⁶ there was no stated knowledge of the programme, what its aims were, the initiatives taken or the structures developed over the last six years. This would indicate that the poorest members of the community, if asked, would not attribute any improvements they had experienced to this programme. However many Concern staff and participants were sure that the peacebuilding work helped people to move around more freely and allowed other programmes to be implemented which did target the poorest and that therefore we can conclude there were indirect benefits for the poorest.

⁵ A more detailed discussion of the core group can be found in the effectiveness section

⁶ These two had some awareness of the collaborative actions carried out by the education and health peace committees in San Martin.

V.2 Relevance

V.2.1. How appropriate was the programme to the priority needs of the communities

There is no question that an intervention seeking to contribute to reducing violence, improve track II and III peacebuilding and increase local capacity to manage conflict was entirely relevant in 2006 at the start of phase I, in 2009 when the PBP programme started, and is still relevant today. Feedback from the contextual analysis carried out in San Martin, Martissant and Cité Soleil, all deprived slum areas of Port au Prince, in June and July 2012 backs this up. Furthermore respondents to this evaluation expressed a desire for greater security and social cohesion within their communities as one of their primary aspirations for the future.

It is also clear that the needs of the poor slum communities are by no means limited to violence and insecurity. The need for greater livelihood opportunities, jobs and other constructive activities for people to engage in were the most commonly mentioned needs amongst all those spoken to.⁷

The key question therefore is whether the approach taken was the most appropriate to the context.

V.2.2. How appropriate was the approach to the local context?

The Concern/Glencree approach of training and dialogue starting with and building up from the community level was a new and innovative approach for Haiti. Based on the evidence of this evaluation it was a very relevant and necessary approach for the Haitian context for which the partnership must be applauded. As one respondent said, “if you genuinely want to help Haitians improve their situation you have to do this type of work (dialogue), but if you want to spend the next one hundred years implementing aid and development programmes then don’t.”⁸

Everyone spoken to who had participated in the programme expressed high levels of enthusiasm for the training they received, the skills they had learnt and the dialogue in which they had participated. Also over the six years the programme has developed considerable interest from other actors, such as the EU, inviting Concern to become involved in Martissant in 2008, CNDDR, HSI and MINUSTAH.

This is not to say that dialogue is the only appropriate intervention and it can and ideally should act as a complement to other approaches such as that of ProJustice who help those been affected by crime and violence to seek justice through the legal system or DDR type programmes.

Although the approach was very relevant some important issues arose during implementation that could have made the programme more relevant and are important for learning for peacebuilding work in Haiti and elsewhere in the future.

V.2.3. Impunity dilemma

There was a sense from a number of respondents that the programme, through targeting and working with gang members, were effectively in support of impunity for criminal behaviour rather than allowing the legal system to take its course. This was most apparent in San Martin where there was a great deal of criticism of the programme, from both non-participants and participants, for

⁷ Given the recent contextual analysis carried out in Port au Prince in June and July 2012 the evaluation did not focus explicitly on other needs as this would have been a duplication of effort.

⁸ Evaluation interview, Port au Prince, July 2012.

having worked with and actually assisted 'bandits', rather than 'good' people. These criticisms ranged from plain disagreement with targeting gangs to suggestions that by implication the programme was almost encouraging people to pick up arms so as to be able to maximise their benefit from the programme.

This was not the intention of the programme but this perception, although not entirely fair, was not ill founded. Evidence from the evaluation visit points to three factors from the PBP and one from other programmes from which this perception has arisen, although others were mentioned as well.

First, during Phase 1 of the programme, it was decided to help the first dialogue group, in which there were a number of gang members, to start small business activities through training and then a cash transfer. As the programme staff acknowledged this proved to be a mistake as for the most part the cash given was squandered and often not even put to use to start a business. Even though this happened five years ago this is still used by the community as an example of what they perceive to be the giving of free hand outs to gang members. The programme learnt from this and did not give cash to the third dialogue group and followed a different entrepreneur incubation model in Martissant to greater effect.

Second, is an incident within the last twelve months when two people, at least closely associated with gangs, stole five laptops from Concern's partner KDSM. It was decided by Concern, in the spirit of dialogue, that in response they would meet these two people to discuss the issue. This meeting took place in a smart hotel and involved the gang members being collected in a Concern vehicle. Although not intended the optics of this were terrible in the community and was interpreted as the two being rewarded/getting what they wanted after they stole from the community itself, KDSM being a collective of San Martin CBOs. It is possible to understand why Concern chose the dialogue route given the nature of the programme but the location of the meeting and the use of a vehicle were ill conceived. There were some programme staff who, with hindsight correctly, felt that KDSM should just report the incident to the police and let the legal system take its course.

Once again Concern has learnt from this. Very recent incidents of the same people threatening staff have resulted in Concern submitting a complaint to the police who were in the process of investigating the matter during the evaluation visit.

Third, is the on-going behaviour of some gang members who are members of the peace committees. Programme staff highlighted that poor behaviour of some, usually from gangs, peace committee members was a challenge when, for example, they initiated demonstrations against Concern when the earthquake response CFW programme was coming to an end⁹. More serious than this, which the evaluation was not able to verify, were reports of peace committee members misappropriating supplies used in collaborative actions and indeed raping and sexually abusing women in the community or camps.

It is no secret that rape, sexual violence and domestic violence is a widespread problem¹⁰, which reportedly became worse in the camps after the earthquake. Therefore it is not a surprise that gang members are possibly some of those responsible. In relation to this 'impunity' dilemma there are clear issues to be considered. When someone has become a member of a peace committee and is

⁹ It must be noted that demonstrations are quite common in Haiti

¹⁰ GBV and domestic violence are discussed in more detail in the effectiveness section.

therefore called a 'peace agent'¹¹ they have effectively had a leadership role conveyed on them by the programme. There is therefore a serious perception issue when some of these people are then reported to have misappropriated programme supplies and seriously abused and assaulted members of the community. As one member of staff suggested a type of 'code of conduct' should have been established by and for the peace committees which assuming it was properly monitored would facilitate expulsion from peace committees for inappropriate behaviour and indeed allow criminal proceedings to be followed.¹²

Finally, although not part of the PBP, gang members have reportedly had control of camp committees in San Martin, often using that position to abuse the system. Concern therefore has to liaise with them to organise their work adding to the perception that Concern works with gangs in the eyes of the community.¹³

Working with gang members and others who inevitably have chequered pasts and troubling behavioural patterns does not mean that the programme has to ignore their crimes or inappropriate behaviour. In the spirit of inclusion and non-judgement, two key values of the programme, the process can still maintain space for them to be included in dialogue and support or direct them to relevant services as they transition from a violent past to a peaceful future whilst also acknowledging that they must take responsibility for and accept the legal consequences of their actions. However programmes like this must be very alert to possible abuses within the programme and be quick to stop conferring a position of authority on people that have broken an established code of conduct.

In the interests of inclusivity and in order to reduce violence targeting gangs, the main actors of violence, was certainly the right thing to do. However doing so poses challenges as inevitably not everyone will agree this is a good idea and it makes managing community perception of the programme more complicated. Those that were dissatisfied about the targeting of gang members seemed to forget that there were many people involved in the programme who were 'good' people. This indicates the need for better communication about programme activities and their purpose, to reduce as much as possible negative perceptions created because a minority, who have a bad background, live up to their poor reputation.

V.2.4. Lack of livelihoods activities to complement training and dialogue

The lack of livelihood activities to accompany the training and dialogue was a clear message from all participants, including Concern and Glencree. It was widely felt that this would have more appropriately responded to the widespread extreme poverty in the urban slums and made the programme more effective. As most respondents pointed out, an important strategy to ensure that young people do not pursue violence was to ensure that they had income generating or job opportunities available to them and suggested that vocational/professional training was an important first step to meet that need.

¹¹ All peace committee members referred to themselves as peace agents.

¹² This is of course complicated to implement in practice as challenges in developing complaints mechanisms have illustrated. That is not an excuse for not doing it however and does warrant resources being available to make it workable.

¹³ As camp committees were already formed Concern felt that it would create more problems trying to pursue a re-formation because Concern was not happy with their membership.

The EU's PBP call did not allow for the inclusion of livelihood activities in 2009, which explains why they were not included in the PBP itself. However this was not necessary as linking with parallel livelihood programmes implemented by Concern or other organisations would have sufficed. Given the clear links between poverty and lack of opportunity to violence from the 2004 conflict analysis, Concern's deep knowledge of San Martin and increasingly Martissant and the relative success of linking the phase 1 peacebuilding work in Martissant to an incubation project with HPCD, it is hard to understand how the need for this clear link was missed during the design of Phase 2. The evaluation concludes that, for whatever reasons, this is a result of poor planning and lack of foresight and could have been avoided.¹⁴

Some efforts were made as the programme progressed to get greater livelihood involvement. The livelihoods coordinator started to sit on 3PSM's steering committee and a microfinance project was developed to support the programme but with the earthquake focus understandably turned to emergency response work and this did not progress. Although the earthquake posed significant challenges in terms of freeing up resources to support livelihoods in the San Martin and Martissant this is not an excuse for not planning these interventions during programme design and ensuring that funding and resources were set aside for their implementation.

Part of this is a problem of clear communication with communities and coordination within Concern. The above criticism withstanding, it is clear that in the last three years both before and after the Earthquake, Concern, has been able to implement many other programmes¹⁵ in San Martin and Martissant which, was in no small part thanks to the network of relationships built up within the communities from the peacebuilding work. However this link, which could have been defined as a peace dividend, was not clear to programme participants. Any future peacebuilding interventions undertaken in extremely poor countries must ensure sufficient planning of and time and resources committed to clear communication about how peacebuilding is contributing to other benefits being accrued rather than assuming people will make these connections themselves.

As for coordination there was a real sense of the peacebuilding programme being different and isolated from other Concern programmes which in turn led to a lack of coordination between it and other work being carried out in the same geographical area. Attempts through monthly internal coordination meetings were made to address this but these had stopped many months before the evaluation took place and apparently did not make a great deal of difference. At a very minimum a greater knowledge and understanding of what each programme is doing would be of great benefit to Concern in general and could have helped reduce this perception that there was very limited peace dividend as a result from the peacebuilding work. Better would be a far closer harmonisation and coordination of all activities in any geographical area. This is addressed in more detail in the future opportunities section.

V.2.5 Conflict analysis

Although the mid-term evaluation felt the programme was built on rigorous conflict analysis and key staff were happy with the depth and quality of analysis done throughout the life of the programme, enough people associated or knowledgeable about the programme felt that the analysis could have

¹⁴ An afternoon spent by the evaluator in Martissant in 2009 speaking with some participants revealed the need for economic opportunities in combination with dialogue.

¹⁵ Concern has not implemented Livelihood programmes in San Martin and Martissant during the life of the PBP.

been better at pulling out the complexity of the causes and dynamics of conflict in the different areas. The complexity of causes became apparent during the evaluation and revealed the very different reasons why individuals started to become involved in violent behaviour. Although a pattern of violence trends was apparent in San Martin in Martissant it was far more complex varying greatly from one sub zone to another.¹⁶

As acknowledged by staff, documentation has not been a strong point of the programme and therefore there is little evidence of analysis being carried out. The conflict analyses seen were a good report done by Glenree in 2004 for San Martin and a very brief analysis for San Martin done in 2011. The evaluation is confident that a conflict analysis was done before starting work in Martissant in 2008, even though no one was able to locate the report, as the major findings were described to the evaluator. The evaluator was not told of other conflict analyses having been done but it was clear that through the extensive network of contacts built up the programme was aware of changing dynamics but failed to record much of these. When that knowledge is in people's heads it is less likely to be systematically used to review whether the programme is responding most appropriately to the context and it becomes very hard for management to verify whether the programme is progressing as it should.

On a positive note the EWS that started in 2011 generated vast amounts of information and is in effect a regular month by month conflict analysis and monitoring tool which had it started earlier would have been invaluable in tracking and noting down changes in the context. This has certainly helped Concern in its security management and could be used to inform on-going programming.

V.2.6. Changes in attitude and behaviour

It is interesting that the extent to which people have genuinely changed their attitudes and behaviour is a key question in this evaluation and yet it was not mentioned once in the programme proposal. The fact that this is being asked is a positive sign as there have been changes in attitude and behaviour. However it does bring into question whether there was something missing in the logic of the programme design. The conflict analysis of 2004 highlighted how behaviour is learnt from a young age and given the widespread and what had in effect become a normalisation of violence in the early 2000's it does seem that achieving behaviour change was going to be a key part of achieving the first objective of reducing violence.

A couple of respondents who had been close to the programme expressed some disillusionment in the way the programme had developed in the last couple of years. In broad terms they felt that this had been a real opportunity to genuinely help transform people's lives by accompanying them through their transition in behaviour change, helping them access other services they may have needed and equipping them to be productive actors within their community. Instead they felt the programme had provided too much of a piecemeal approach, some training, some dialogue and trips overseas with questionable outcomes, rather than a sustained effort to genuinely change lives. As one advised the programme should have been smaller, slower and more concentrated in its approach and goals. If behaviour change had been an expected result then it is more likely that greater attention would have been paid to accompanying people through transition in addition to training and involvement in dialogue.

¹⁶ This is discussed in more detail in the effectiveness section.

A counter argument given to this was that when engaging in dialogue there needs to be a critical mass of participants so that the web of relationships reaches enough of the community to be able to withstand inevitable shocks and stresses. If the programme went too slow and was too small momentum and critical mass would not be achieved reducing the effectiveness of a dialogue approach.

The two need not be mutually exclusive. It is possible to create a web of relationships through a dialogue programme whilst in parallel accompanying key people through personal transition. The latter would need involvement of partners to address some of the potential salient needs such as psycho-social help, vocational training, and addiction. This would have required more resources to manage this and led to complications of its own but, like the issue of parallel livelihoods activities could have had a greater impact on the situation to date.¹⁷

V.2.7. Collaborative Actions

As a key programme staff member explained the collaborative actions were not included because of the impact the activity would have on the community but as a means of helping to cement relationships already built through the training and dialogue. There is certain logic to this reasoning and these actions did help cement relationships¹⁸. However given their limited impact and the amount of time they took to manage on balance a greater emphasis on livelihood activities and accompanying key people through transition would have been more relevant and a better use of resources.

V.3. Effectiveness

In this section we will first look at achievement against the four overall objectives and the specific objective and then, if not already covered, look at broader effectiveness questions raised in the ToR for this evaluation.

Given the lack of a baseline and limited monitoring and evaluation against the objectives, results and targets for the programme it is not possible to look at each objective, result and target in detail to determine what has specifically been achieved¹⁹. However there is anecdotal and qualitative evidence that has risen during the evaluation to give an indication of progress made.

As a general comment it is only possible to comment on changes in San Martin and Martissant for objectives one and two and not Haiti more generally which is deemed overly ambitious for these early years of peacebuilding.

V.3.1. Objective 1: To contribute to reduced levels of violent conflict in urban areas in Haiti

In brief for participants the programme has contributed to reduced violence as they experience it but for non-participants any reduction in violence is attributed to other factors.

All those spoken to that were involved in the programme and lived in San Martin or Martissant were of the opinion that the training and dialogue has helped to reduce violence in both areas. This was

¹⁷ The programme did try to help some who had addiction issues to get help but sadly the organisation with the relevant expertise was not able or willing to come to San Martin and therefore obliged the people affected to get to Petion-Ville each day, they were not able to do this.

¹⁸ The Effectiveness section goes into more detail about these actions

¹⁹ There was monthly and quarterly reporting carried out but most of these just mentioned activities done. From about March 2011 this improved with a percentage of how much was achieved being placed next to indicators for results. However this does not constitute rigorous monitoring against planned results.

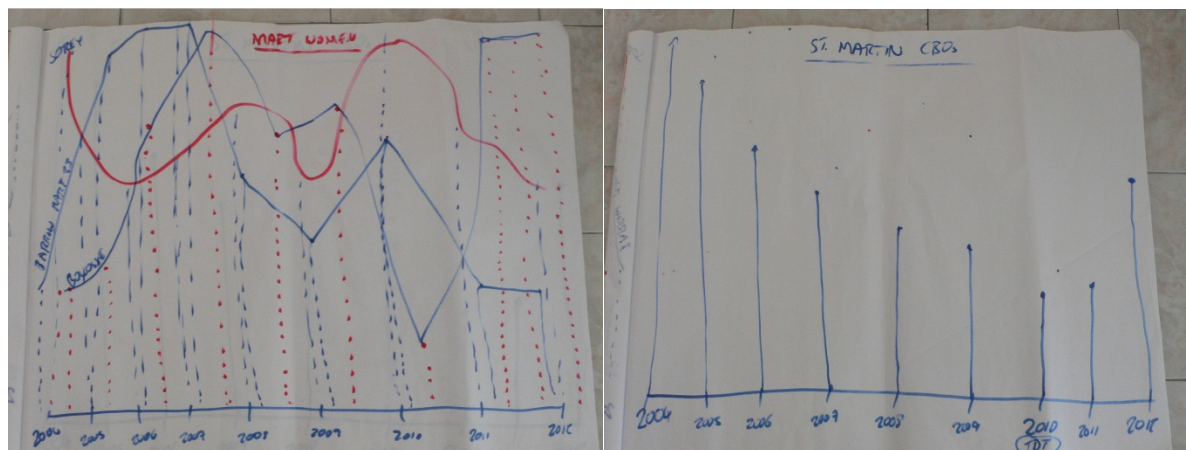
expressed in two main ways. First that they were able to move around much more freely in areas within San Martin or Martissant that they used to consider dangerous and second that they were now able to approach and talk to people that before they would have tried to avoid. Another quite frequent indication was being able to stay out later in the evenings.

Although the peace committee members spoken to felt that the above mentioned improvements were experienced more widely the evaluation did not meet any non-participants who expressed these same benefits.

To help establish non-participants experience of violence an exercise was done with each group using a timeline from 2004 to 2012 to plot subjectively their experience of the levels of violence in either San Martin or Martissant and discuss reasons for changes. In San Martin a clear pattern emerged whereas in Martissant the situation was far more complex, and varied considerably between sub zones of Martissant. (Please see figures 1 and 2 for sample timelines produced). For example in 2004 and 2005 Bolosse experienced one of its calmest periods because key gang members from that area were 'creating havoc elsewhere', whereas many other areas found this to be one of the most violent periods due to the departure of Aristide.

Figure 1: Violence Timeline Martissant

Figure 2: Violence Timeline San Martin



The pattern in San Martin was as follows. Very high levels of violence in 2004 and 2005 largely due to the departure of Aristide, significantly less violence from 2006 to end of 2009 often attributed to the political stability of the Préval presidency, continued calm after the earthquake due to increased social cohesion followed by a gradual increase in violence in 2011 and now in 2012 a significant increase. The most common phrase in relation to the levels of violence in San Martin now (July 2012) was 'ca recommence' it is re-starting agreed by both participants and non-participants. There are many possible reasons for this increase in violence. Some of those mentioned by participants and non-participants include; the stopping of humanitarian programmes; the escape of gang members from prisons after the earthquake who restarted their gang related activities; political tension such as local elections; and the lack of a significant gang leader in San Martin to keep control.

The clear distinction between the experience of participants and non-participants certainly indicates that the confidence and the expanded network of relationships obtained through training and dialogue did increase security for those people. The question therefore is whether a mere expansion of this work to ever more people would have the same effect? It is hard to say. The programme participants certainly believed it was an important element whereas non-participants always focused on the need for vocational training and job creation.

It was very noticeable how many members of peace committees were involved in other community activities beyond peacebuilding and/or members of CBOs. They seemed like a sort of group of professional volunteers. It is uncertain that merely widening the net to include people that are not in this 'group' would be as effective. Therefore although expansion of the training and dialogue is important this, as is outlined in the Future Opportunities section is not sufficient on its own.

V.3.2. Objective 2: To contribute to more effective Track II & III peacebuilding in Haiti.

Certainly in San Martin the Concern/Glenree intervention has significantly contributed to more effective Track II and III peacebuilding through the establishment of 3PSM, which effectively brings together representatives of San Martin with members from the private sector operating within and around San Martin. 3PSM, which is now a legally constituted organisation, is one of the key successes of this programme in the last six years. The fact that now, within an extremely unequal and stratified society, some of the poorest people in Haiti have an established mechanism through which they can dialogue and collaborate with some of the richest and most influential people in Haiti for the improvement of their neighbourhood should not be underestimated.

Disappointment was expressed by some that to date there has been lots of talk but little in the way of concrete action as a result of this. Although this is true it is probably unfair to have expected considerably more to have been achieved by this time. What is critical is the need for this work to be continued to realise change which is looked at in the Future Opportunities section.

An interesting point for learning in other peacebuilding interventions in similar contexts is the motivation for private sector involvement. As a key member of staff said, it was far more sustainable if someone was involved for selfish reasons than because of a sense of charity. This was evident from two private sector people involved. One explained his involvement as his own security management plan, realising that engaging in this dialogue and collaboration was going to do more for his and his family's safety than employing more security guards. Another described his engagement as being much more valuable than his insurance policy. The fact that the programme was able to identify and then convince people such as this to engage because of the potential benefits for them and their businesses was an important aspect in the success of getting 3PSM off the ground.

Enlarged dialogue did not really take off in Martissant however. The PBP envisaged a Partnership for Peace and Prosperity of Martissant (3PM) being developed modeled on 3PSM. As one key staff member said this was misplaced as there was not nearly the same business interests in Martissant to generate interest in this type of venture²⁰. Another staff member felt that instead of focusing on the private sector the programme should have looked to include the security sector in an enlarged dialogue for the Martissant area. The evaluation agrees that this would have been the best next sector to include but probably because the programme was overstretched²¹ this did not happen. It would be a shame however if the widespread enthusiasm to see the dialogue continue and expand in Martissant, were to be wasted.

V.3.3. Objective 3: To contribute to development/codification of best practice for the transformation of protracted social conflict

To date one paper (Donais and Knorr, 2011) has been produced examining bottom up peacebuilding using the Concern/Glenree work in San Martin as a case study. This paper is good but on its own is insufficient to claim a genuine contribution to codification of best practice for the transformation of

²⁰ One respondent involved in 3PSM questioned whether enough effort was made to engage the private sector in and around Martissant. One staff member felt this was a fair criticism.

²¹ Other short-term but relevant programmes were implemented. A local governance project funded by HSI and DRR by Diakonie.

protracted social conflict. This is not to say that there is still not the ability to codify some very important learning from this programme. Glenree have committed to writing one case study by mid-October, and if they have the resources would be capable of producing another and Concern should be able to produce one as well. Sadly the fact resources for learning and documentation were not recruited, even though this was highlighted as something that must be done urgently in the mid-term evaluation, means that so much more learning and codification of good practice could have been achieved.

V.3.4. Objective 4: To contribute to development of best practice for conflict sensitive interventions in fragile states.

Some efforts were made in this regard in that a consultant from CDA was recruited in early 2012 to come and give 'Do No Harm' training to Concern staff and to evaluate/review conflict sensitive interventions by Concern and other actors in Haiti. The members of staff spoken to felt that the Do No Harm training was useful and of good quality and increased their awareness of the need to analyse how proposed interventions could affect conflict dynamics. However this increased knowledge and awareness has not translated into the development of best practice for conflict sensitive interventions in fragile states and the evaluation has to conclude that there has not been any meaningful progress against this objective.

Furthermore success against this objective would have been more likely if this had been planned to take place in the first six months rather than the last. Training combined with a review and recommendations of how to improve conflict sensitivity in programming in these early stages would have allowed at least two years working on improving practice. This in turn would have generated learning and could have been consolidated by a second review towards the end of the programme. An approach such as this would have had more potential to generate good practice learning that could have been replicated in Haiti and elsewhere.

V.3.5. Specific Objective: To increase operational capacity of key civil society actors to engage in effective preventive and remedial peacebuilding work in Haiti and to deliver conflict sensitive development and emergency assistance programmes²²

There is no doubt that the roughly 180 peace agents in Martissant and 120 in San Martin have had their capacity to engage in peacebuilding work significantly increased during this programme. Although that capacity has not really spread beyond those that received the training directly this is still a significant number of people. The training²³ they had received in conflict management, restorative justice and leadership for example increased their confidence and capacity to help resolve conflicts in their community as well as changes in their own attitudes and behavior towards conflict in their own lives.

A good example given of the increased capacity was when a new gang called '117' emerged during 2011 and started fighting with existing gangs in San Martin. A health committee member took the initiative to facilitate discussions between this new gang and the ex-leader of the major gang in San

²² It does not make sense why an objective of building capacity to engage in peacebuilding is combined with one around the conflict sensitive delivery of development and emergency programmes, which would necessitate a whole evaluation in and of itself. This evaluation is considering the first part about operational capacity.

²³ The quality of the training by all providers was praised for its quality including by other 'experts' that attended some workshops. A preference was stated for workshops that had and followed a clear agenda.

Martin to agree a solution.²⁴ Although 117 are still active this initiative certainly helped to reduce tensions and ensuing violence at that time.

Another example is the extent to which certain facilitators from the programme were asked to come and resolve tensions that arose during the implementation of other Concern programmes. One of many examples given was when a couple of intoxicated and armed men threatened to stop a planned distribution unless they were given some money. A Concern ex-pat started talking to try and reason with them but they then threatened to shoot someone. A member of the core group was called and after he talked to them they left without causing any further problems.

Finally the fact that there was overwhelming enthusiasm to continue the work is also remarkable given the interruption caused by the earthquake and that the Track III work lost momentum from the final quarter of 2011. With a changeover of coordinator in September 2011 came a change in emphasis with the new coordinator realizing that the track II and I levels of the work had not received a great deal of attention. By refocusing the unplanned consequence was that the track III work of the peace committees and core group received little attention and became quite inactive.

V.3.5.1 Core group

Given the centrality of the core group to delivering the programme and the explicit objective that they would develop into a professionalised group we will discuss them here.

Having only met four members it is hard to make a judgment on this aspect of the programme but some indications did emerge.

First it became apparent that in the previous 12 to 18 months the core group, managed and supported by the programme, had become increasingly frustrated and disenchanted with the process and as one member of staff said the fact that no one turned up for the meeting was not a surprise and revealing in itself. A few reasons were put forward. First because promises were made to them by the programme that were not delivered upon. Second because they were not given enough support but were at the same time micro managed stifling their development. Third that they were let down when the programme started to focus more on track II and I activities from the last quarter of 2011. A key member of staff believed that in hindsight it was unrealistic to expect the programme to be able to assist the core group to become a professionalised group of mediators and that therefore expectations were far too high from the start.

Despite their frustration many positive comments were made about the quality of their work and their progression as facilitators over the years. Dee O'Donnell argued in her May 2009 and June 2011 trip reports that the programme needed to provide them with greater levels of mentoring and accompaniment to enhance their growth. They were involving themselves in very tricky work with at times difficult people. Without sufficient support they were inevitably going to become disenchanted. The coordinator met with them at least once a week and did give support but given that the coordinator was far too overstretched and so close to the programme they were probably not the best placed person to act as a mentor.

²⁴ Which in broad terms agreed that members of '117' could return to live in San Martin (they had escaped from prison after the Earthquake) in return for good behavior within the community.

The need to find experienced people to mentor and accompany people when they embark on difficult facilitation and mediation work is a key lesson for future programmes of this nature.

V.3.6. Changes in attitude and behaviour

A lot of respondents, primarily within the peace committees, commented on how their own attitudes and behaviour had improved when faced with conflict or needing to better manage their anger. Not being able to see this in action it was impossible to verify this.

The programme had two high profile cases of gang leaders renouncing violence, one in San Martin and one in Martissant. For one the work of the programme combined with a religious conversion were the catalyst for his sudden arrival at Church one day with 27 guns and renouncing his involvement in violence in public. Having spoken to him he certainly seemed to still be committed to a peaceful life, was keen to persuade others to follow suit and praised the work of the programme. This was corroborated by a couple of respondents in Martissant stating that he was now accepted back in his community.

It was only possible to have a short conversation on the phone with the other leader and therefore much harder to get an understanding of his story. He certainly mentioned a real enthusiasm for dialogue work and felt that it was very important for Haiti. The impression obtained by the evaluator was that his renouncing of violence was primarily as a result of a strong relationship he developed with one key staff member.

These successes have to be tempered by three things. First, reports which could not be verified, that some gang members within the peace committees had misappropriated programme supplies and sexually abused people. Apparently other members of their committee were too scared to challenge them. Second, reported by one person, that one gang leader was tempted to put the bullets back in his gun as he was struggling to see what benefit a peaceful life had actually delivered. There was no evidence however that this had happened but is a healthy reminder that people in transition are not going to have a linear, smooth change without hitches and setbacks along the way. Another argument for why mentoring and accompaniment is important. Third, in San Martin at least, is the power vacuum created when a leader stops being active in gangs. A number of respondents in San Martin felt that there were now more 'bandits' than several years ago and that the lack of a leader was a contributing reason.

V.3.7. GBV and domestic violence

Although not high level objectives in the programme it did specifically aim to try and address GBV and domestic violence through, for example, setting up dialogues for women. This was entirely right given how widespread these forms of violence were and are. In practice nothing much happened.

From the start of phase 1 of the programme there was in theory a commitment to the idea of masculinity, where men should be targeted and helped to understand what it means to be male and in effect help engender the idea that 'real men' do not abuse women either physically, sexually, mentally or emotionally. This did not get prioritised for action. The mid-term evaluation highlighted this as concept to pursue in the future to help address this critical issue but again nothing was actually done.

There was a key overlap here with the protection work that Concern started to implement after the earthquake. Although the peacebuilding and protection programmes discussed ways of working

together nothing happened. Given the fact that another key member of staff said that in reality this was a programme about intergroup violence and not individual or domestic violence probably sums up why this never got beyond being an aspiration - the commitment to and understanding of it was lacking.

V.3.8. Material change through collaborative actions

Although hard to verify the clear impression from the evaluation was that the collaborative actions made very little material difference to the communities. As a key programme staff person pointed out the actions were not done for their possible impact but rather as a means to cement relationships created through the dialogue. It is therefore not a surprise that there was no real change as a result of them. The actions that were most mentioned was some street lights put in San Martin with financial help from MINUSTAH and for a football tournament that had happened with eight different teams entered.

Indeed in San Martin one collaborative action, of paying a doctor to offer free consultations for a day, had created frustration because it was felt that this was tokenistic, would change nothing in practice and that the money could have been better spent contributing to the creation of a health centre. Furthermore if reports of kits having been misappropriated is true this only adds to ill feeling rather than bringing benefit to the community.

V.3.9. Early Warning System (EWS)

Although not explicitly raised in the ToR the EWS created merits some comment here.

There was universal agreement from those spoken to that the EWS was very effective in generating a great deal of valuable information. The main problem was not having the ability to respond to the information to prevent a potential outbreak of violence. This, as John Paul Lederach told Glencree, is the mistake that virtually all new conflict EWSs make. Therefore in practice it was a conflict information system, providing up to date and on-going analysis of the context that can be used, amongst other things, to inform programming and security management. However this can be a labour intensive way to generate that type of information.

The key challenge faced in developing the EWS was that very few people would have been willing to provide information if they knew that information was going to be passed onto either the Police or MINUSTAH who are widely mistrusted by the people. Therefore information could not be passed 'up the line' meaning the community has to be able to respond.

There is an interesting example from Chicago by an organisation called Ceasefire²⁵ where ex-gang members or criminals who have transitioned to a peaceful and law abiding life are used as 'interrupters' who effectively go to areas of reported tension and using their mediation and conflict resolution skills, combined with their comparative acceptance due to their background, try and calm the situation. They report considerable success. This sort of model is entirely possible in theory in Haiti but in practice requires people who are highly skilled and confident to willingly enter very tense situations to try to calm the situation.

It is very likely, and a thorough conflict analysis could establish this, that there are already within the community people who diffuse situations. Building on their natural capacity by providing extra

²⁵ <http://ceasefirechicago.org/> to have a look at their website and methodologies in more detail

support and training and including them in an EWS of this nature, could result in an effective response mechanism developing. Some peace committee members could also potentially develop into playing this type of role. This is worth exploring but only if the context demands a frequent need for rapid response to reduce violence and its consequences. If not then is an EWS necessary? An information system that is less labour intensive and looks at broad contextual issues and trends may be more appropriate than gathering very detailed information as done here.

V.4. Efficiency

As the mid-term evaluation pointed out the programme has been very efficient and achieved a great deal with limited resources. This was entirely due to the huge commitment given by the staff involved who embraced a punishing workload to implement the programme.

However the programme and staff were far too overstretched and limited resources was a key factor why more progress was not made against objectives three and four. Some of this could have been avoided. First Concern and Glencree should have realised, to a certain extent at least, that it would be extremely difficult to achieve the proposed objectives with the limited human resources tabled. This programme had been developing organically over the previous three years with already apparent unsustainable workloads²⁶ and yet this programme planned to continue and expand the work with few additional human resources.

Second, as it became apparent that it would be difficult to achieve all the results combined with the requirements of the earthquake response a decision should have been made to either considerably increase resources available, if the EU had agreed, or to scale back on the ambition to ensure a sustainable quality of work.

Third, no sufficient reason was heard for why resources such as contracting consultants or employing a member of staff for learning and documentation were not put in place. This would have considerably helped progress against objectives three and four around learning and codifying good practice. Furthermore the lack of an end of phase 1 evaluation, baseline for phase 2, and specific monitoring against expected results and targets as well as lack of other documentation such as conflict analyses carried out in 2008 makes evaluating the programme extremely difficult especially now we are in era of results frameworks and evidence based work. This resource could have helped achieve this.

V.4.1. The Concern Glencree partnership

This was a good partnership. Concern certainly benefited from Glencree's technical expertise, the trainers they could bring in, and their knowledge from other contexts and acknowledged that they would not have been able to develop an innovative programme such as this without Glencree's ability to think differently. Glencree on the other hand very much required Concern's implementation capacity and experience to be able to operate in Haiti. However there are some improvements that could have been made.

V.4.1.1 Concern Glencree capacity building

²⁶ The evaluator having been in Haiti visiting, evaluating and advising Concern's programming in 2008 and 2009 saw first-hand the unsustainable workload been taken on by key individuals involved in peacebuilding.

Perhaps the most important thing was to ensure that Concern and Glencree fully understood each other's approaches and work. A key question under the surface of this evaluation was whether Concern²⁷, beyond the programme staff, really ever understood peacebuilding and whether Glencree really ever understood humanitarian and development work. Some time spent giving each other training and induction about their mission, values and approaches and the key principles of their disciplines could have brought a greater richness to the partnership. Even though the programme is over, if Glencree and Concern were to work together in the future this would still be a worthwhile exercise to undertake.

V.4.1.2. Communication

Certainly in the first years there was definitely a lack of communication between Glencree and Concern in Dublin which meant that Concern found it rather hard to get information about what was happening. This did improve in the last 18 months with more regular meetings and communication.

Conversely Glencree felt that they were often out of the loop with what was happening in the field. The fact that Glencree were not aware of there being a problem with gang members controlling some of the camp committee's in San Martin was a huge surprise to the evaluator and was a hugely important piece of information that had not been communicated. Part of the communication problem stemmed from Glencree not having a permanent presence on the ground but rather being reliant on three or four visits a year. The mid-term evaluation highlighted this issue and a more consistent presence or more regular visits would have facilitated better implementation and reduced the holes in communication.

V.4.2. Staffing

Staffing has been a considerable strength of the programme but has also posed some of the most significant challenges. The commitment and dedication of key staff has been exemplary. Realising the importance of building relationships for the success of the programme they were very cognisant of the fact that they were part of the web of relationships and did wonders in building relationships across the community. They were praised by many respondents for their own contribution as well as their ability to persuade people to engage and remain engaged.

In terms of challenges the first was the lack of staff as the result of an acknowledged significant underestimation in the amount of human resources required to meet the objectives of the proposal. Some efforts were made to address this by recruiting a technical advisor but sadly that did not last and another alternative was not put in place. The lack of human resources through consultants or a staff member for learning and documentation seriously hampered the codification of learning and good practice.

The second challenge stemmed from the dedication of the staff involved which resulted in an over dependence on key staff. This was highlighted by the mid-term evaluation as a 'key person risk' and this evaluation has found their concerns to have been very valid. Having one key person who was an admitted workaholic and perfectionist contributed to the programme being overstretched and the failure to obtain the necessary resources to ease the burden. This in turn led to the programme being perceived as different and mysterious with reports of those outside being unable to

²⁷ Both in Dublin and Haiti. As a minimum the desk in Dublin and the CD, ACD's, programme coordinators and programme managers in Haiti should benefit from this type of training and induction.

understand what it was doing. All of this just multiplied after the earthquake. When that person left there was too big a hole to be filled.

The third was the different approach of the new coordinator²⁸ who on realising that Track III work had been heavily prioritised until that time refocused the programme on Track II and I work. This resulted in a loss of momentum in Track III activities causing some confusion. A more balanced approach from the outset keeping work progressing on all three tracks would have been better. Probably a mixture of being overstretched and lack of monitoring meant this was missed.

The fourth challenge was how key people in both Concern and Glencree could have been better at building a team around them to support efforts. One result of this was too much knowledge and learning remaining in their heads jeopardising wider learning and replicability. This also reduced the capacity building of other staff, with for example not giving them access to multilateral organisations or senior figures with whom the programme interacted.

However it was also clear that more support could have been given to key staff. Glencree as an organisation stated that the main improvement they would make would have been to offer more support to their international director over the years. As for Concern many involved in the programme, including the coordinator, felt that the coordinator did not get enough support²⁹ from the various country directors or Dublin. In some ways a negative spiral developed where, through over work, sharing stopped and the programme became mysterious making it hard for others to know how to support it. This in turn increased the burden on the coordinator further isolating the programme.

A lesson for the future is to accept that the nature of this type of work requires deep personal commitment for it to be successful but to be fully aware of the inherent risks this entails. Mechanisms and resources need to be put in place to ensure necessary team building, to stop too much knowledge and experience resting with key individuals and to ensure communication channels remain open.

V.4.3. Need for greater prioritisation of activities.

A final issue to explore briefly here is whether the programme became too complicated. This was suggested as a weakness by some respondents, partially agreed by one key staff member and refuted by another³⁰. Underlying the programme proposal was the logic that through dialogue and building relationships the conflict dynamics would change giving rise to new possibilities to improve the situation. Therefore it is the quality of the process and being open to those new opportunities that are important rather than being guided by pre-determined goals and objectives.³¹ The programme certainly displayed and must be praised for a great ability to be open to opportunities as they arose such as embarking on fresh inter-gang dialogue in Martissant when rivalries flared up.

²⁸ Who started in September 2011

²⁹ This relates to time management, monitoring progress and backstopping if things were not being achieved rather than day to day support.

³⁰ The evaluator despite having kept abreast of the programme over the years found it took a long time to get a reasonable grasp on the programmes approaches and activities due to the amount done over the years.

³¹ This touches on a wider debate within the peacebuilding sector about the appropriateness of logframes and results based management for peacebuilding which space does not allow for wider comment here. For example one much respected INGO CEO describes it as the 'DFID disease' believing it to be misplaced whilst a director from another sees this as laziness and that it is imperative to set strategic targets.

However the programme did become extraordinarily busy. Reading the interim reports became quite an exercise because so many activities were being reported on it became hard to tell the broad direction in which the programme was moving. The long term coordinator admitted that at times the programme 'bit off more than it could chew'. Although flexibility was important the key objectives of the programme remained valid throughout. Therefore the programme would have benefitted from more rigorous assessment of whether new opportunities were of significant importance to achieve the objectives and positively change the conflict dynamics. This reflection aided by people not directly involved in the programme implementation could have helped maintain focus on key objectives whilst still allowing for the necessary flexibility to respond to important opportunities. A half day review on a monthly or bi-monthly basis to consider what has been done and what is planned is a good method for achieving this.

V.5. Impact and Sustainability

Based on the findings of this evaluation it is too soon to be talking about impact where genuine lasting change has happened. However it is possible to start talking about outcomes where change has occurred in the dynamics of the conflict and in a large number of people's knowledge, behaviour and attitudes which has the potential to be sustainable and lasting. This, given the nature of the work and the difficulty of the context is quite an achievement. Conflict resolution³² is summed up by Ramsbottom as 'finding ways of transforming actually or potentially violent conflict into peaceful processes of political and social change' (Ramsbottom et al, 2011). Political and social change is hard to achieve in six years. Take into account Haiti's context of extreme poverty with high levels of vulnerability and marginalisation and that Haiti suffered its worst naturally triggered disaster in 2010 resulting amongst other things in a large humanitarian response, widespread suffering, increased poverty and the escape of violent actors from prison only underlines the success of the programme.

There are significant numbers of local peace agents that are now well trained, enthusiastic and committed to making their communities more peaceful and secure. All those spoken to expressed a desire to continue with their work but none felt confident that if support from Concern or Glencree were to stop now that they would be able to carry on due to a lack of resources. The examples given were that there was a lack of money for them to be able to organise meetings and trainings, a lack of a building to be able to use and the need for more training for themselves and other people. Combined with vocational or professional training and job creation they felt lasting security improvements in their communities could be achieved.

3PSM has been a real highlight of this programme, even though it was somewhat neglected in the last 12 months or so. The fact that it has facilitated dialogue and collaboration between very different sectors of society is certainly the start of a peaceful process of social change. There are real signs that the organisation will be able to sustain itself. It has a number of influential people interested in its work, has secured, with the help of Glencree, €50,000 from Cordaid, has a very committed coordinator and will soon open its newly acquired building. However there should not be complacency, there is a real risk it will not survive as well.

³² Conflict resolution here is understood as a comprehensive term which implies that the deep-rooted sources of conflict are addressed and transformed. This therefore encompasses peacebuilding that addresses structural issues and the long-term relationships between conflictants. (Ramsbottom et al, 2011. Pp. 31-32)

Another, albeit small, lasting outcome is a very good peacebuilding resource manual for facilitators. This should be translated into Creole to enable wider circulation and then be shared with relevant actors.

A further possible sustainable aspect emerging from this programme is the creation of Lakou Lape, in effect a Haitian peace institute. This will inevitably meet significant hurdles but having secured initial open funding from Trocaire and Coordaid to allow 'form to follow function',³³ an expressed interest by the EU in Haiti, advice being given by John Paul Lederach and with a strong network of contacts within Haiti and the international donor community there is a real chance this can succeed.

This potential optimism has to be tempered by two things. First Concern, understandably, was not interested in supporting the development of an institute from scratch because they felt that investing considerable money in building an infrastructure without a management mechanism firmly in place was very likely to fail and/or not be used for the intended purpose. Second, a small number of respondents reasonably close to the programme were sceptical that this was an appropriate next step citing for example, fears that this would end up being an imposed western model rather than genuinely Haitian or that two previous peace institutes in Haiti have effectively failed.

V.5.1. Trips to Jamaica and Ireland

There were two trips to Jamaica during the programme one in 2011 for gang members and one in 2012 for members of peace committees. Both were facilitated by the Dispute Resolution Foundation (DRF) who also came to Haiti to give training. The evaluation spoke with people from the 2012 visit. The stand out observation from the meeting was how inspired and motivated they were from the trip and full of praise for the quality of training received. However it is likely that with the end of the programme this motivation will go to waste as there are no initiatives or measures in place to take advantage of it in a systematic way.

During the PBP there were two visits to Ireland, one in late 2011 for track I and II actors and one by the two former gang leaders to go to an international violence conference hosted by Google in Dublin.

There were mixed reports about the Track I and II visit. Inspector Frank from the police academy was truly inspired by the community policing that he had seen in Northern Ireland and really desired to implement changes in Haiti but was frustrated as his senior did not see this as a priority. Apparently the head of Fondation d'Espoir was also very inspired by the visit and keen to ensure changes in Haiti but it was not possible to meet or speak to her.³⁴ Finally, although he didn't go in the end, Monseigneur Dumas based on the what he had seen in Haiti before going to Ireland decided to help 3PSM get a building, which has now happened.

Two other people met really enjoyed the trip but admitted that no one had run with the ball since getting back. They had met a couple of times as a group but no actions had resulted so far. It was also acknowledged that a few of the party were not really touched by the visit, or at least have not shown any interest in making something of it on their return to Haiti.³⁵

³³ i.e. to allow for slow and deliberate scoping of the most appropriate strategies and structure to pursue

³⁴ She was away on holiday whilst the evaluator was in Haiti

³⁵ It is conceivable that there is an impact from the visit to Ireland in terms of generating Irish commitment to Haiti. The evaluation has not had the time or resources to pursue this line of enquiry.

Discussions about the former gang leaders' visit were very limited. They both clearly enjoyed the experience but what that has translated into in terms of changes in Haiti is not clear.

Based on these limited discussions there are two points to make.

First, visits such as these certainly have the potential to generate inspiration and learning but without a clear plan of how that is going to be utilised and obtaining prior commitment of engagement from participants on their return the benefits are unlikely to be maximised. This seems to be the case here and the evaluator is not convinced that the benefits that have accrued could not have been achieved by less expensive means.

Second, as a key staff person acknowledged, the trips overseas were verging on being the 'tail that wagged the dog' due to the huge amount of time they took up to organise and the fears for potential conflict that may be created due to people not being selected to go on the trips. Given the limited impact partly through lack of planning of how to optimise benefit from the trips and partly because of being late in the programme this concern seems to be correct.

V.6. Accountability

There are a few key points that emerged regarding accountability.

On the positive side there was a real sense of ownership of the programme in Martissant, people felt that they had been included and consulted as the programme developed. The EU were also very happy with the reporting and commended the partnership for their honesty in highlighting areas in which they were struggling to progress.

In San Martin, although not universal, there was a sense from many that this was Concern's programme and not theirs. For example if a collaborative action hadn't taken place it was described as Concern not having done something rather than, we as the peace committee did not do this. Also there were a reasonable number of respondents who asked that they be consulted more about the design and delivery of the programme.

Given that this was primarily a programme about building relationships this is a concern as of course no one can build a relationship for anyone else. It is important that future programmes of this nature pay greater attention to fostering local ownership. The difficulty is how best to do this. The mid-term evaluation suggested the partners move to a mentoring role and this could help to foster a greater sense of ownership and responsibility within the community. An interesting study recently conducted in Bosnia and Kosovo addresses the idea of local ownership after nearly two decades of peace operations (Martin et. al, 2012). Their conclusion, although talking about system wide operations rather than an individual peacebuilding programme, is interesting and potentially relevant. They argue that the concept of responsibility is a far more constructive idea to devolve power than local ownership and challenge the utility of talking about exit strategies. They argue that it would be best to base international actor presence on a perpetually renewable contract in which the responsibility of the internationals and local actors is continually reassessed and reconfigured together with overtime local actors taking on increasing amounts of responsibility.

In Martissant one group expressed frustration about how they spend quite a lot of time giving feedback to Concern for things like evaluations but they themselves don't receive feedback from Concern explaining what is being done as a result of their contribution. Although it takes time, as

part of Concern's accountability commitments, it is very important that programme participants do receive feedback on what is being done with the input they give to programming.

A final point for improvement is around the use of learning and recommendations generated during the programme. Dee O'Donnell³⁶ stated that she did not once have a de-briefing or receive a response to her reports, which were full of useful and insightful comments. Furthermore the fact that trip reports were not located in one place and the evaluator had to accumulate documents from multiple sources indicates that a great deal of valuable input into this programme over the years has not been fully utilised. This could so easily be rectified with real benefits for implementation.

VI. Future Opportunities

For the evaluator this is one, if not the most important section of this evaluation. A thorough mid-term evaluation was completed only 17 months ago and much of their recommendations remain valid today. Furthermore, with the loss of momentum at the community level in the last year, the increase of relevant actors such as Lakou Lape and 3PSM, and because Concern has yet to decide on its future in peacebuilding future opportunities take on extra importance.

For Glen Cree future engagement in Haiti in broad terms is clear, to help establish and support Lakou Lape with the intention of ensuring that it is self-sufficient in the years to come.

To ensure simplicity, this section will first address the need for a renewed conflict analysis, make some comments on the future of 3PSM and Lakou Lape, and then discuss particular themes and areas for attention in the future which all actors can consider³⁷.

VI.1 Conflict analysis

A new conflict analysis is required in both San Martin and Martissant and it is suggested that this challenge current understanding of the conflict dynamics and be more in depth and broader than before looking at the closer linkages between conflict and poverty, include a specific focus on GBV, and consider how future interventions can start to tackle the root causes of the violence. This will have to involve a detailed stakeholder analysis of other actors that can and need to play a meaningful role such as the security sector and organisations that specialise in economic development. It can of course build on the extensive contextual analysis work that Concern has recently carried out but will have to go beyond that.

In San Martin it was evident that the nature of the conflict was changing having become more territorial both within San Martin and between Bel Air and San Martin. Also during the evaluation there was a real sense that the area was on the brink of a potential significant escalation in violence. Every San Martin respondent that lived in the community said that the violence had got worse in 2012 and that it was 'restarting'. Getting a much clearer picture of why this is the case is very important. As mentioned in section V.3.1 there are many possible factors but an analysis must be

³⁶ Private interview July 2012

³⁷ It is felt that this will be considerably more comprehensible than going through all the possible options and inevitable permutations for both Concern, Glen Cree and other actors in turn. Where appropriate specific organisations will be referred to if it is of particular relevance to them.

cognisant of emerging factors such as upcoming mayoral elections and the widely expected food price rises due to reduced global supply as a result of drought in America and Russia.

There are three factors suggested as contributing to the restarting of violence, that should not be overstated, but must be born in mind during a renewed conflict analysis because if any of them are found to be important aspects then it poses significant challenges. First, that Concern had temporarily stopped all its work, second that humanitarian interventions were coming to an end and third, that the lack of a gang leader was suggested as a reason for an increase of 'bandits' preying on the vulnerable. If Concern's rehabilitation programming is important to maintaining reduced levels of violence or if an unintended consequence of helping a gang leader to move away from violence is in fact an increase in banditry then careful consideration needs to be given on the most appropriate interventions in the future so as not to fuel the flames of simmering conflict. These findings would certainly indicate that the work to date is largely dealing with symptoms and that root causes are not being addressed.

Furthermore it is important the conflict analysis be reviewed on a systematic basis for example once a year, and on-going monitoring, such as through the EWS continue. Ideally a renewed analysis would use local capacity developed during this programme and be a joint exercise between Lakou Lape, 3PSM, Concern and KDSM, with Glenree being involved through its association with Lakou Lape.

VI.2 Lakou Lape

Although the focus of Lakou Lape for the next year is going to be based on the notion of 'form follows function' it is extremely hard to envisage that it will not in part build on the good work to date in San Martin and Martissant. The core group are to be included, there are going to be close links with 3PSM and the key actors within Lakou Lape have extensive contacts in San Martin and Martissant. Therefore their work is likely to overlap with Concern's.

Both Lakou Lape and Concern need to be cognisant of the fact that in the eyes of the community the peacebuilding programme to date has been Concern's programme.³⁸ Add to this the fact that Concern is still in the process of developing new programmes in urban areas and Lakou Lape will be in a scoping phase it will be extremely easy for considerable confusion, misunderstanding and raising of unnecessary expectations to emerge within the communities. Great care will have to be given to communicating with each other as well as the communities to avoid a repeat of considerable frustration emerging in San Martin in part due to insufficient communication. As clarity for each organisation emerges it could be advisable to develop a MoU.

Other indications have emerged as to the direction Lakou Lape may take. One is that it should become an umbrella organisation for any organisation involved in peacebuilding in Haiti with the focus very much on being led by Haitians for Haiti. A second is building on the successful track III and II dialogue to date in San Martin in particular and slowly extending that to Track I dialogue and therefore targeting more political actors. The idea of slowly expanding circles of dialogue explains it well. As one respondent noted great care will have to be taken to ensure this does not get hijacked by any political parties who then try to use it for their own ends.

³⁸ This is because Concern has had the permanent presence on the ground and was the implementing partner as opposed to Glenree who provided technical advice and visited occasionally.

It is very important, and the initial funding allows for this, that Lakou Lape is genuinely consultative and participative in its early development being willing to hear what Haitians from all sectors of society believe is required for Haiti. As one respondent said, 'we do not need or want a mini Glenree in Haiti'. On that point, the language of a 'mini Glenree' has crept into some people's vocabulary already when describing this. It is very important that this be stopped as otherwise the desire to create a Haitian institute for Haiti will seem like hollow rhetoric.

A successful Lakou Lape is good for Concern. Exploratory discussions as to how they could potentially work in partnership should, as a minimum, take place.

VI.3 3PSM

It is critical that 3PSM continues to be empowered so the possible tangible change it could achieve can be realised. Efforts will need to be maintained to keep the private sector engaged and to look, as appropriate, to expand the network further to include for example the security sector. Support in generating and managing funds and on organisational management would clearly be beneficial. As the coordinator highlighted a major challenge is to ensure that the community of San Martin see 3PSM as their organisation.

There are three risks that the evaluation believes need to be considered for the future of 3PSM. First is the risk that 3PSM could end up in competition with KDSM to get funding and implement activities for the benefit of San Martin. Understandably, given the findings of this evaluation, 3PSM is looking for funding for livelihood as well as dialogue and building of social cohesion initiatives and thereby potentially overlapping with KDSM³⁹. Cooperation and working together would be best.

Second given the genuine need to generate funding there is a risk that 'any' funding will be taken up rather than funding that is best suited to achieve 3PSM's core objectives. (Re)establishing 3PSM's mission and objectives and then pursuing relevant funding is preferable to chasing funding that could lead to a significant drift away from the original purpose of 3PSM.

Third is the inherent power imbalance within the organisation. Given that some extremely influential business people are involved in combination with some very poor and marginalised people is remarkable but also poses the risk that views of the influential will outweigh those of the poor. 3PSM must not become an elite organisation. There is no indication anyone wishes this to happen but it is a risk that needs to be mitigated.

VI.4 Continue

It almost goes without saying, although no one in the partnership suggested it, that one option is to appropriately revise the programmes approaches and objectives based on this evaluation and findings of a renewed conflict analysis and seek further funding to continue the work. The nature of the partnership will have to be considered given that Glenree is primarily supporting Lakou Lape but a number of permutations could be possible. As the findings of this evaluation have highlighted there is certainly a need for this dialogue work to continue and this option could incorporate some or all of the other suggestions in this section.

A sub option here is to effectively allow 3PSM through their alliance with Lakou Lape to build on the work in San Martin⁴⁰ and for Concern to take the lead on building on the work in Martissant.

³⁹ Although KDSM are represented on the 3PSM pilot committee the evaluation contends this is still a risk.

⁴⁰ Concern could of course offer support or partner through their other San Martin work

VI.5 Focus on prevention

Prevention of future violence should be a guiding principle. Whilst the programme to date has tried to deal with the manifestation of violence today it has not really made efforts to ensure the next generation do not pursue violence. The potentially violent actors of tomorrow are the children of today and therefore it is important that they learn about peaceful means of resolving conflict, anger management and how to work in collaboration with others. They need role models to demonstrate peaceful behaviours to them which means supporting and working with their parents, grandparents, and teachers. Involving and potentially including appropriate conflict resolution training in schools could be an effective approach and those transitioning away from a life of violence could also be invaluable in this regard. Information campaigns in community spaces such as clinics and water sources, much like those widely seen to prevent cholera could be useful building blocks in raising awareness and developing knowledge to support more rigorous violence prevention initiatives.

VI.6 Focus on Gender

Even if intergroup and/or gang violence is considerably reduced it is impossible to talk of peace and social cohesion if there is widespread violence within homes and against large swathes of 50% of the population. Therefore the commitments of the PBP of focusing on women and looking to address GBV and domestic violence need to become a reality in the future. This will potentially involve a number of strategies but a few that this evaluation believes should be considered as an evolving package are mentioned here. As will be noted there is a considerable similarity to the process pursued in relation to intergroup violence over the last six years.⁴¹

First, given that women are not comfortable talking with men about violence they suffer because of their sex and position in society, women's dialogues should be started to explore these issues. These dialogues should not be limited to discussing violence against women.

Second, men have to be targeted. This evaluation supports the recommendation from the mid-term evaluation that the concept of masculinity be explored. Getting men to explore things such as what it actually means to be male in Haiti, the challenges they face, their aspirations, and expectations that society places on them. This can be a very open process with no predetermined objectives, although of course the ultimate aim is to build the idea that real men are not violent towards women. Exploring these issues with men from the peace committees could be a good start. How the issue is made attractive to be talked about may require some creativity.

Third, female and male role models need to be identified to be in effect ambassadors for this issue.

Fourth, if women are willing, dialogue could expand so that women dialogue with men about these issues with the aim of increasing understanding and respect. Overtime, especially if the security sector becomes involved in other wider dialogue they could be brought in to provide a law and order perspective and increase their understanding. This would require careful preparation and probably have to be complemented by capacity building for the women to ensure they feel and are sufficiently skilled to dialogue effectively

⁴¹ The evaluator cannot claim to be an expert in GBV and therefore it is important that these recommendations be read in that light. It is vital that in designing programming of this nature experts are recruited and consulted.

Learning from Concern's protection work will be invaluable and this should be shared with others. For Concern there is a strong argument for increasing links between their protection and peacebuilding work in the future.

VI.7 Focus on Livelihoods

Given a key learning from this programme was the need to have livelihood activities in parallel with peacebuilding work and the clear message from all community respondents of the need for economic development and income generation opportunities it is imperative that this now starts to happen. This is one way that Concern and for example 3PSM and Lakou Lape could work in partnership. Other actors such as HPCD, who focus specifically on providing comprehensive support to local entrepreneurs, are always looking for opportunities to be involved. Links with organisations like them should be (re)established. In San Martin there was a perception that Concern had promised to develop 'une ecole professionnelle' a vocational training centre. This promise was not made but perceptions like these will have to be carefully managed in any future engagements.

One striking element of the visit was the genuine sense of economic possibility in San Martin and Martissant. The communities were convinced that with the right assistance they would really be able to make lasting improvements in their community. Advantage should be taken of this motivation.

VI.8 Focus on Mentoring and Accompaniment

Another key finding was the need to better mentor and accompany people in transition from a violent past to a constructive and peaceful future. It is advisable that this be taken forward in any continuing efforts to build peace. Livelihood and training opportunities as discussed above could play a role in helping people to transform their lives. Every person will be different but psycho-social support and rehabilitation from substance abuse are two areas likely to be required as well. Partnering with organisations with these skills would be the best way to address these issues. Although from a very different context, learning from the Chemin Levi Miyo rural programmes could offer a broad template to be used in the urban areas. This experience of working with extremely poor and vulnerable women over a sustained two year period is likely to be useful in developing methods to accompanying people in transition.

Mentoring and accompaniment is also required for continued building of local capacity to help manage conflict such as facilitators. Everyone wanted more training. This may be necessary but, although not explicitly named, a more holistic package of support, such as mentoring, would have greater impact than just more training. Working with fewer but very dedicated facilitators would be a good idea.

VI.9 Expansion of enlarged dialogue

In both San Martin and Martissant there is potential to enlarge the dialogue further. Sadly aims to train the police⁴² and develop community policing forums did not materialise in this programme but they could in the future and the security sector is the obvious next sector to be involved. Inspector Frank, a trainer at the police academy has a real enthusiasm for community policing and desire to change the police so that it becomes respected and trusted by communities rather than feared and

⁴² The one two day pilot training of police that did happen never led to further training.

mistrusted due to corruption and brutality at the moment. However his superiors do not see the importance of this.

Given the contacts this programme has made it is worth trying to persuade the necessary senior police officers to start to engage in a dialogue process in either or both of San Martin and Martissant in conjunction with piloting a community policing model of operations. It is widely acknowledged that there is need for security sector reform and this would clearly be a contribution to that. This will have to be carefully planned and sequenced and will take time but given successes in bringing together the private sector with the local community there is clearly capability to do the same with the police.

Although business interests in Martissant are more dispersed than in San Martin it is still worth exploring the possibility of encouraging their engagement in dialogue at an appropriate time. One respondent in 3PSM questioned whether the programme had made enough effort to engage them so far and was sure their engagement was possible.

VI.10 Mainstreaming

Mainstreaming has been commonly suggested as a future option for Concern. There are two obvious ways this could be done.

First is to strategically decide in the current CSP that at least all programmes in Port au Prince⁴³ must have peacebuilding outcomes, such as reduced violence, increased conflict management capacity and enhanced social cohesion, as part of their programme objectives ultimately seeking to improve the lives of the extremely poor and alleviate suffering. This conceptually is easy. Concern's understanding of extreme poverty and contextual analysis guidelines stress three key areas for analysis, programme design and implementation; assets, risk and vulnerability and inequality. Given that the recent contextual analysis has highlighted violence as a key factor in creating and deepening poverty and marginalisation and power imbalances as key causes of violence programmes that include addressing the violence fit very well into this approach and understanding. To express this another way, as suggested by one respondent, Concern in all its development or humanitarian activities should aim amongst other things to have a positive impact on the conflict dynamics. This goes beyond 'Do No Harm' as instead of trying to avoid negative impacts it is rather seeking to improve the conflict dynamics. This requires that systematic conflict analysis becomes the basis for the design of all interventions and the complete buy-in from the Country Director and ACDPs to ensure this is rolled out effectively. The Conflict Sensitivity Consortium (2012)' How to Guide' would be a useful starting point in helping Concern decide how best to incorporate systematic conflict analysis into HCUEP and CAG.

There are challenges in taking this approach. There is potential tension between Concern's wish to adhere as much as possible to the key humanitarian principles of humanity, impartiality, neutrality and independence with peacebuilding, which can become an inherently political endeavour. However there are areas of overlap, as outlined above in discussing how conceptually peacebuilding fits within Concern's understanding of extreme poverty. If the basis for progression is the commonalities that exist then it should be possible to move forward whilst not jeopardising

⁴³ And possibly all programmes in Haiti

Concern's humanitarian identity. Concern does not have to involve itself in all relevant peacebuilding activities thereby leaving overtly political work to other actors.

The second, that is less ambitious, is to integrate when appropriate, the successful training and dialogue approaches from this programme into Concern's other work. For example an education programme in the slums could work with teachers and try and get conflict management training included in curricula. Dialogue could be a very useful tool in analysis, programme design, implementation and monitoring as well as useful when problems arise. This would require increasing Concern's internal capacity to facilitate dialogue but would likely result in improved programme success.

Mainstreaming though is much harder in practice than in theory. First, it would be advisable to avoid the term mainstreaming, it is hard to translate into French and for many organisations, Concern included, it is so misunderstood and creates strong negative feelings that it is counterproductive. Furthermore any form of 'mainstreaming' requires resources to be successful. Neither of the above would work without a small unit⁴⁴ of two or three people able to offer training to other programmes, input into programme design, offer technical advice, keep abreast of best practice in Haiti and other similar contexts, document learning and be a focal point for liaison with all other actors relevant to peacebuilding in the country. Funding for this type of unit is unlikely to come from Concern's traditional donors but might be possible from actors interested in Haiti in particular or various foundations that have peace as a core part of their mission.

If mainstreaming is considered the evaluator would encourage the first approach despite the added complexities, but embark on that road thoughtfully and deliberately. Clear parameters of engagement should be laid out in the strategic plan that is being developed. A thorough exercise considering how to mix Concern's core priorities with peacebuilding would be advisable in developing the plan.

VI.11 Area based programming

This is really a consideration for Concern. Based on this and previous visits to Haiti there is a strong argument for Concern to move to area based programming in urban areas as is already done in Sodo and La Gonave. This would be one way of improving the communication between, coordination of and strengthen the links between Concern's various programme activities. These geographical areas although densely populated are very small and the considerably improved integration of programming achieved from this approach would improve impact and help reduce considerable frustration that has arisen over the last few years in San Martin. The sectors can still set sector specific objectives but also work towards a few overarching objectives for Concern's involvement in a specific area. These will no doubt come to light on consideration of the contextual analysis and strategic planning but one is likely to be a peacebuilding objective such as reduced violence.

⁴⁴ A unit is not compulsory per se but whatever mechanism is used it would need to be able to offer the support mentioned here on an on-going basis.

VII. Conclusion

To conclude this has been an extraordinary and innovative programme with remarkable results. As John Paul Lederach argues (Lederach, 2005) peacebuilding is perhaps more than anything else the art of strategically weaving a web of relationships across society within settings of protracted violent conflict. This programme, by introducing a bottom up training and dialogue approach to peacebuilding, has helped to lay many strands of that web. Given the shocks the programme has endured, the earthquake and its knock consequences and real loss of momentum in the last year, demonstrates that the web created is also resilient.

Furthermore the programme has demonstrated that dialogue when well managed and accompanied by good quality local capacity building can positively impact on Haiti's protracted social violence and has the potential to become a key strategy in creating a better future for the country. Also of note is the fact that the programme has clearly learnt from previous mistakes as highlighted by the fact that problems found in San Martin are rarely evident in Martissant.

The most important improvements that could have increased the effectiveness of the programme were combining dialogue with livelihoods opportunities and a greater focus on mentoring accompanying those in transition and those developing their conflict management and facilitation skills.

For the future this dialogue work must continue, slowly but deliberately expand and incorporate the two improvements mentioned. The people are willing, enthusiastic and increasingly capable but feel they need a helping hand to progress further.

Prevention of future violence by focusing on the potentially violent actors of tomorrow and those that influence their lives and a greater focus on understanding and reducing the gender aspects of violence are also critical.

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⁴⁵ This document is not a baseline but rather a brief discussion document of options to pursue.

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Appendix One: Terms of Reference

Terms of Reference Evaluation of Concern Worldwide/Glenree Peace-Building Interventions in Haiti June 2012

1. Background

1.1 The commissioning institutions

Concern mission is to enable poor people to achieve major improvements in their lives which are sustainable without ongoing support from Concern. To this end we work with the poor themselves and with local and international partners who share our vision to create just and peaceful societies where the poor can exercise their fundamental rights. Established in the Republic of Ireland in 1968, Concern currently works in 25 of the world's poorest countries, helping poor people achieve major and long-lasting improvements in their lives. Its main areas of work are health and nutrition, education, HIV and AIDS, and livelihoods. Concern also mitigates against and responds to emergencies and helps to prepare people for disasters in vulnerable areas. Concern has been working in Haiti since 1994 where it has developed a programme covering livelihoods, education and health in 3 areas of the country: the island of La Gonave, the commune of Saut-d'Eau and in underprivileged areas of the country's capital, Port-au-Prince. Its current strategic plan has prioritised disaster risk reduction – and within that, reduction of violent conflict – because of its serious impoverishing effects that exacerbate asset bases already eroded by repeated disasters.

The Glenree Centre for Peace and Reconciliation (referred to here as Glenree) is an Irish-based NGO which aims to contribute to building peace within and between communities in Ireland and internationally. Drawing on the experience of the Irish peace process, the organisation is actively engaged in supporting initiatives with local and international partners in Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, Colombia, the Middle East and Haiti.

1.2 Haiti's history of violent conflict

Since its inception, Haiti's history has been characterised by war, conflict, violence and the use of force to assert power that has affected its subsequent development as a state as well as its social and economic structures. The overthrow of the Duvalier dictatorship in 1986 ushered in a prolonged period of transition towards more democratic forms of government, which has been marked by continuous political instability and violence that has restricted the country's development. This turbulent history has left a legacy of deep social, political and economic divides that has prevented the emergence of a viable social contract between the different sectors of national life. Different segments of society are often locked into polarised positions with limited capacity to clarify interests or express needs, and without opportunities to interact constructively. This situation is compounded by acute poverty and inequality that impacts on the lives of much of the population and fuels an environment conducive to violence.

1.3 Concern/Glenree Peace-building Programme

The violence and criminality that faced the slum of Saint Martin from 2004 to 2006 impoverished and drastically deteriorated the living conditions of the population, particularly the most vulnerable groups in society. In addition to the loss of livelihoods, access to services and support were

suspended as government and NGOs workers were largely unable to enter Saint Martin. As a result, Concern, in partnership with Glencree, developed a project that aimed to address the violence through dialogue and community collaborative action. A 3-year project (April 2006 – March 2009), Lutte Contre la Violence (LCV, or Fight Against Violence), received European Union funding and was aimed at using training and dialogue to strengthen the social cohesion by rebuilding relationships between stakeholders in the community, as well as between them and other key external actors in Haitian society who also have an influence over the situation. This process aimed at enabling the participants to address collectively the causes and effects of violent conflict. It has given rise to a structured institution, Partnership for Peace and Prosperity in Saint Martin, 3PSM, where representatives of the private sector and community members collaborate to work for the development of the area.

Based on the initial results of this intervention, Concern was invited by the EU to deliver conflict management in another similarly designed project lasting 18 months in Martissant, another part of Port-au-Prince where considerable violence has caused major disruption. This work began in February 2008 and ended in August 2009. Together with the LCV, the project constitutes Phase I of the overall Peace Building programme.

Phase II, which set out to consolidate and further develop the work begun in the earlier phase, aimed to institutionalise local capacities, began in April 2009. This is funded through another EU project known as the Peace Building Partnership (PBP). The main project documents and logical frameworks that accompany them are annexed to these Terms of Reference. Whether or not there is likely to be a Phase III of this work has yet to be defined but this evaluation will in part shape the decision as to whether or not it is relevant to envisage further institutionalisation and how the lessons learned can be incorporated in Concern's other programmes in Haiti.

2. Purpose and objectives of consultancy

An extensive mid-term evaluation of the PBP was conducted in 2010 and the programme was adjusted accordingly to maximise the strengths and address the weaknesses which were revealed. This end of programme evaluation will attempt to measure the impact of the work of the PBP since 2009 on a range of stakeholders.

The general objectives for the evaluation are as follows:

- To assess the achievements and obstacles encountered in the PB project in order to help guide the strategies adopted by Concern\Glencree in developing their peace building work in Haiti and share lessons learnt with relevant stakeholders. This sounds like we (Glencree and us) have a clear plan to continue doing PB work in Haiti
- Assess progress made against the recommendations from the mid-term review
- Assess progress made against project objectives:
 - Objective 1: To contribute to reduced levels of violent conflict in urban areas in Haiti
 - Objective 2: The second overall objective is to contribute to more effective Track II & III peace building in Haiti.
 - Objective 3: to contribute to development/codification of best practice for transformation of protracted social conflict.
 - Objective 4: to contribute to development of best practice for conflict sensitive interventions in fragile states.

The **specific objective** of this proposed action was to increase operational capacity of key civil society actors to engage in effective preventive and remedial peace building work in Haiti and to deliver conflict-sensitive development and emergency assistance.

- To provide accountability to donors and to the target communities for the resources that have been invested – there is no further reference to this under the next section. As per our HAP commitments we need to look at how we have addressed Accountability during the project?

3. Scope of Evaluation and suggested key questions

- The evaluation should be organized in such a way so as to enable review of the relevance, effectiveness and emerging impact of the peace building work to date and management of the initiative. The key questions below are of particular interest to Concern and Glenree and therefore, while not exhaustive, should be included in the review. The evaluation is expected to answer the questions in an evidence-based manner using either qualitative or quantitative data, to note and analyse where possible any differences between the different zones, sectors or stakeholder groups.

Targeting

- How participative and transparent was the selection criteria of the participants in the programme (Dialogue group, 3PSM, Core group, retreat, trip to Ireland and Jamaica, case studies, actors etc.)?

▪ **Relevance**

- To what extent have objectives and strategies responded to the needs and priorities of our target group and the various stakeholders at various stages? Do stakeholders feel ownership of the process?
- How well did the project build on existing strengths and capacities to respond to local needs
- What adaptations were made to fit the realities of the local context?
- How well did the programme align with the government plans?
- The appropriation of the tools to the context and reality (ex was dialogue the most appropriate tool compare to a programme to assist victims to take the bandit to justice...)

- **Effectiveness** - To what extent have the objectives of the Peace-building projects' work been achieved and what are the main factors that have enabled or impeded this achievement?

Particular attention should be given to the following aspects of the work when considering effectiveness:

- Capacity building of participants: To what extent, and how, has the project strengthened the capacity of the various stakeholders (community members, CBOs, gangs members, local authorities, private sector, etc.) To mitigate against or manage conflicts they are faced with.
- How appropriate was the technical assistance from Glenree (frequency of the trips, the content of the mission, the appropriation of the remote assistance to need of the programme), etc.
- Change of attitudes or behaviour: To what extent has the project enabled participants to adopt more constructive means of conflict management, and has this been limited to the individuals involved or have they been able to influence the wider sectors they represent?
- Local delivery capacity: To what extent has the project strengthened the capacity of a core group of dialogue facilitators? How close are they to being able to offer a

viable professional service of dialogue facilitation and mediation that will enable them to operate autonomously?

- Leveraging material change: To what extent have the collaborative actions undertaken within or in synergy with peace building interventions been sufficient to reinforce the peace-building objectives in the two target areas?
- How have equality issues been addressed? How far has equity been achieved between women and men and between other groups?
- Has the risk and vulnerability to violence risks been reduced?
- To what extent has communities been able to draw attention of external stakeholders to local needs and priorities?
- What value does beneficiaries, stakeholders and communities attach to the outcomes achieved?
- How have programme interventions been redirected in response to results of compiled learning and studies as well as routine monitoring and evaluation and how have the project indicators been used in this process.

Efficiency

- How responsive has been the project's management structure? How have changes in the programme staff turn-over impacted on the delivery of outputs?
 - How well did the various components and support mechanism of the project work?
 - How have project interventions been redirected in response to results of learning and studies as well as routine monitoring and evaluation?
 - How were beneficiaries, communities, partner NGOs, Government Bodies involve in decision-making about changes in programme priorities?
 - How well did the programme ensure the timely and on-budget delivery of outputs?
 - How well did the programme ensure the contribution of local partner NGOs and Government Bodies in the delivery of outputs?
- **Impact** - What impact—positive or negative, intended or unintended—has been achieved through the peace-building work to date?
 - How has the project contributed to the growth and development of groups, associate partner NGO/GO staff and other stakeholders?
 - How has the formation of groups contributed to social cohesion and economic viability?
 - What was the impact of each of the study visits (Ireland, Jamaica, Haiti...), did any steps or progress have been made after the trip?
- **Sustainability** – To what extent can one expect the following to be sustained after the end of the current peace building project:
 - Stakeholder at which levels – local, municipality, national levels, private sector engagement in peace building processes
 - structures established for interface/capacity building (peace committees, peace spaces, 3PSM, core facilitators group)
 - changes in attitudes, behaviour, or even levels of violence
 - In relation to the points above, can the project design be seen as creating change that will be self sustaining beyond the life of this project?
 - What has actually been achieved so far with regard to sustaining changes and how robust are the processes?
 - Which outcomes and changes have the likelihood of being sustained by beneficiaries and communities, and what future inputs are required to ensure that sustainability?

- What capacities have been built among various stakeholders that would promote sustainability?
- What appropriate exit strategies have been developed and pursued among various stakeholders that would promote sustainability?
- Ability of a former gang leader to influence the community
- To what the level the actors of violence have been honestly disengaged, the level of drop out among the participants in the process, perception of the community regarding the program, or the tools or the dialogue process itself – roles of the peace committees towards the community-
- To what degree was programme learning shared within the community and neighbouring communities?

- **Management issues**
 - To what extent have the human resource levels, management and partnership structures been appropriate and effective in delivering the project? What recommendations from the mid-term evaluation have been addressed?
 - How the partnership between Concern and Glenree has been managed

Accountability

- To what level were the programme participants aware of and engaged in the design and implementation of the project?

- **Future Opportunities**
 - Based on findings of the evaluation, what are the opportunities for further Peace Building work, either directly or within the scope of broader poverty alleviation work to be undertaken in the area.

4. Deliverables and timeframe

The following deliverables will be required:

- A first draft of the report (complete less appendices) for comment from CWW.
- A full final draft of the report, integrating the feedback received.
- The report, in English, should be 15-20 pages long (1.5 line interspaced, 11 point), should be submitted in electronic format (Word or PDF), and include the following sections :
 - Executive Summary (maximum 2 pages)
 - Context of the intervention
 - Brief description of the intervention
 - Presentation of evaluation methodology and any limitations encountered
 - Presentation of main findings in relation to the points in Section 3 of these TORs, using graphs, charts and tables where appropriate
 - Conclusions – drawing out lessons learned and examples of good practice
 - Annexes: including ToRs, list of people/groups consulted, interview frameworks/questionnaires or other evaluation tools

The exact timeframe for the evaluation will be agreed with the Evaluation team but it is important that the field work should be conducted in June 2012.

5. Methodology

The methodology should be proposed by the external consultant but must be broadly participatory and allow for the inclusion of viewpoints of representatives of key stakeholders, including:

- CWW's Senior Management and Peacebuilding Team
- Glenree (to be interviewed via phone/internet)
- Members of the Core Group of Dialogue Facilitators
- Members of the Peace Committees in both Martissant and Saint Martin, including peace member who travelled to Jamaica for DRF training.
- Members of 3PSM and private sector, including participating Chambers of Commerce
- Community members not directly involved in Dialogue process in Saint Martin and Martissant.
- Track II actors who participated in Irish study visit.
- Former gang member in Saint Martin and Martissant
- Police, MINUSTAH
- Former combatants (?) from Northern Ireland who visited Haiti

It should also take into account the search for inclusivity, including women's voices. In writing the report, the evaluation team will be encouraged to draw on comparisons with relevant experience elsewhere

6. Roles, responsibilities and restrictions

CWW will be responsible for:

- Approval of the final evaluation plan and methodology
- Providing relevant documentation to the Evaluation Team on the Peace-building activities and an initial briefing on the intervention and its expectations from this evaluation
- Provision of timely feedback to the Evaluator on first draft of report
- Communication of results of the evaluation to key stakeholder groups in the appropriate languages

Glenree will be responsible (via electronic communication) for:

- Giving feedback on draft evaluation plan and methodology
- Giving feedback on draft evaluation report

Consultant will be responsible for:

- Developing methodology (including sampling size & methods, if appropriate) and evaluation plan for approval by CWW/Glenree as well as detailed tools to obtain relevant data.
- Developing a programme/schedule for the evaluation with support from CWW
- Data compilation and analysis
- Report writing
- Presentation of draft findings to a group of stakeholders to check their reactions in relation to key conclusions

The report will be the intellectual property of CWW and Glenree. Its content should be shared with third parties only with their express consent. Sensitivities to confidentiality will need to be respected. Names associated with any particular quotes or experiences should be cited only with the agreement of the person concerned.

7. Consultant Profile

The successful candidate will be identified on the basis of their ability to demonstrate the following criteria:

- Extensive knowledge and experience of working on situations of conflict or of peace-building initiatives in similar contexts, particularly at a community level
- Proven expertise in conducting participatory evaluations
- Experience of qualitative research techniques
- Good oral and written communication skills
- Good knowledge of spoken French (Creole a strong plus)
- Backing from an Institution with recognised competency in the field will be considered an advantage

8. Lines of communication

The consultant will report to the Concern Haiti Country Director or to a person whom he will delegate for contractual matters including approval of deliverables. The consultant will co-ordinate his/her activities with the concern peace building programme manager and where requested, the International Programme Manager for Glen Cree.

9. Budget/fees.

These will be agreed with the Consultant according to submitted quotation and available budget. It is expected that the work will involve 16 days field work.