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Evaluating the Effects of NGO Intervention in Haiti's Private Education Sector

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ABSTRACT

Previous research on both public-private partnerships (PPPs) and intervention by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in developing countries show that NGOs fill a gap by providing essential social services that the government is unable to provide. In Haiti, non-governmental organizations, in addition to international humanitarian organizations and local civil service organizations, play an integral role in the delivery and support of education services. However, it is still ambiguous as to positionality of humanitarian organization in public-private partnership configurations, particularly in relation to what local and national education policy applies to these organizations. This ambiguity has impeded the Haitian government's ability to hold these organizations accountable. Thus, this paper seeks to evaluate the effects of intervention by humanitarian organizations, particularly non-governmental organizations, non-profits, and intergovernmental organizations, on existing educational inequities in Haiti's education system. This paper's findings drew from sixteen interviews conducted with representatives from local and international humanitarian organizations, scholars of Caribbean, and stakeholders who attended school in Haiti. This paper found that there is a lack of a regulatory framework surrounding the intervention of NGOs in Haiti's education system. It also found that though sometimes NGOs do a better job of reaching poor population in Haiti than the public sector, their intervention had no substantial effect on access and equity. Based on these findings, this paper recommends that the Haitian government prompt adopts a regulatory framework

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INTRODUCTION

Inspiration for this research paper partially arose from my experience as a Haitian-American during the January 2010 Haiti earthquake. Prior to the earthquake I was quite unaware of the socio-political and environmental crises that plagued Haiti at the time, as I was only ten years-old. After the earthquake, however, it seemed that all eyes were on Haiti, including those of some of the most notable and influential humanitarian organizations like the American Red Cross and US AID. Further, prominent celebrities in Hollywood and beyond were beginning to intervene, from charity telethons to a reimaging of the U.S.A For Africa campaign's "We Are the World". The newest rendition featured one of Haiti's most prominent celebrities oversees, Wyclef Jean. In response to the earthquake, Jean, who that same year launched a failed bid for the Haitian presidency, mobilized his charity Yéle towards providing humanitarian assistance. The new mission of the organization, founded by Jean in 2004, was to provide assistance to victims of the earthquake (Sontag, 2012). Two years later, the charity went out of business, and left with it a legacy consisting of millions of dollars of misappropriated funds. According to reporting by New York Times contributors Deborah Sontag and André Paultre, millions of dollars in donations purported to go to earthquake victims actually went towards Yéle's own offices, salaries, consultants' fees and travel, and various other personal expenses (Sontag, 2012). This is just one example of the exploitation that occurs when organizations operate unregulated and unchecked by human rights bodies.

Education as human right was first introduced into the international consciousness with the promulgation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) in 1948. More specifically, Article 26 Section 1 of the Declaration states that "Everyone has the right to education" and that education be free at the elementary and fundamental levels. While an

unenforceable and largely aspirational document, it engendered a number of human rights charters and treaties, and influenced many more. However, its influence reaches beyond just that of human rights documents. One such example is the 22nd Constitution of the Republic of Haiti, promulgated in 1987. According to Section F Article 32 of 1987 Constitution, "The State guarantees the right to education." Article 32-1 further states that "Education is the responsibility of the State and its territorial divisions. They must make schooling available to all, free of charge, and ensure that public and private sector teachers are properly trained." These rights are maintained by the current version of Haiti's constitution, which came into force in June of 2012. However, though included in the current version of Haiti's constitution, these rights have yet to be realized for every Haitian.

Historically, the education system in Haiti has underperformed in the areas of access and equity (Prou 2009). For the purposes of this paper, I will adopt a broader definition of efficiency, in which efficiency is the ability to adequately perform a task with little waste in time, money, etc. Equity, in relation to education, will be defined as "putting systems in place to ensure that every child has an equal chance for success" (Thinkingmaps.com). Today, efficiency and equity continue to underperform in the context of Haiti's majority private education system (Salmi 2000; Doucet 2012). Salmi (2000) notes that Haiti's private education sector is quite diverse in regard to what entity provides education as a service. Currently, two-thirds of Haiti's private education sector comprises of religious, church-run schools, while the remaining third comprises of non-denominational schools (Salmi 2000). Of the non-denominational schools, a large proportion are established and supported by non-governmental organizations and local associations (Salmi 2000), commonly known as community schools. Haiti's public education sector consists of schools regulated and funded by the Haitian government. The Haitian

government's Ministry of National Education and Vocational Training (MENFP) or Ministry of Education, the government entity responsible for vocational training and education in Haiti, oversees school in both the public and private sectors.

In this paper, I evaluated the efficacy of NGO intervention in Haiti's private education sector. Through this evaluation, I endeavored to answer the question: How do non-governmental organizations (NGOs) non-profits, and intergovernmental organizations affect existing educational inequities in Haiti's education system? I considered how community schools facilitate equitable education, and measure equity in terms of access to school, quality of instruction, and educational outcomes. Due to the limited scope of this research paper, I focused on Haiti in the 20th and 21st centuries, with emphasis on the time period after the 2010 earthquake. I specifically focused on the work of non-governmental organizations and international humanitarian organizations, as the organizational missions of these types of organizations are assumed to privilege human rights principles. To support this evaluation, I collected qualitative data in the form of informational and stakeholder interviews with representatives at humanitarian organizations, as well as scholars, teachers, and former students from Haiti. I used interview responses to understand the relationship between humanitarian organizations and the Haitian government, as well as to gauge what attitudes and perceptions certain scholars and stakeholders hold towards this relationship. Additionally, I collected quantitative data to evaluate the measures of access, quality, and educational outcomes in relation equity as well as to investigate the notion of "political will" in influencing the success of public policy in the context of education and education reform. In the context of this paper, I adopt the Oxford Dictionary definition of "political will," defined as "political intention or

desire; specifically, the firm intention or commitment on the part of the government to carry through a policy, especially one that is not immediately successful or popular."

BACKGROUND

While Haiti's first Constitution post-independence, published in 1805, as well as subsequent promulgations, mandated free, compulsory education, this right has yet to be realized for every Haitian. When Haiti first won its independence from France at the end of the Haitian Revolution in 1804, its first rulers quickly established public primary and secondary schools (Prou 2009), primarily reserved for the urban elite. This notable exclusion reinforced the power of the elitist class that existed before the period of revolution (Prou 2009). The exclusion extended to church-run schools, which operated similarly in terms of accessibility and remained largely closed off to Haiti's poor population (Prou 2009). These exclusionary practices contributed to what Prou (2009) calls a "social apartheid", a series of practices and discourses that reinforce the dominance of the elitist class. Today, this social apartheid persists in the form of an informal social division between Haiti's urban (moun lavil) and rural (moun andeyò) citizens (Prou 2009). The apartheid continues to impact Haiti's ability to design and implement effective and equitable public policy in education.

The Bernard Reform

Several periods of education reform, most of which began in the first half of the 20th century, followed after Haiti established its first public schools. One such reform is The Bernard Reform of 1979, sharing its name with Haiti's then Minister of Education, Joseph Bernard. In brief, the Bernard Reform sought to perform a major overhaul of Haiti's education system, tackling issues like grade retention, teacher training, and language of instruction (Prou 2009). While the Bernard Reform failed to meet its goals (Prou 2009), it revealed several considerations

relating to how the Haitian government could implement measures to ensure equitable education across its education system, as well as revealed potential barriers to implementation. Barriers to implementation at the time the Bernard Reform was implemented include lack of funding, socio-political conflict, and concentration of government expenditure among others (Prou 2009). To clarify, concentration of government expenditure refers to the decision on the part of the Haitian government as to where expenditure, or funding, is allocated. During the period in which the Ministry of Education implemented the Bernard Reform, several of these barriers to implementation, socio-political conflict in particular, proved circumstantial, as, Haiti concurrently experienced several periods of political instability and civil unrest. In particular, the dictatorial regimes of François ("Papa Doc") Duvalier and son Jean-Claude (Baby Doc) Duvalier led to an impoverished Haiti and a broken education system. Further, the coup of Jean-Bertrand Aristide in 1991, further exacerbated these conditions, leaving policymakers wondering how to implement equitable education (Prou 2009).

Privatization and the Growth of Private Schooling in Haiti

While scholars agree that partnerships between Haiti's public and private sectors are an increasingly popular means for delivering public services like education (Salmi 2000; Cantave 2006; Schwartz 2008; Schuller 2009; Doucet 2012), those same scholars are also beginning to explore its negative effects. Indeed, studies show that private schools create a positive impact on access to education in general, but "have adverse consequences on both equity and efficiency grounds" (Salmi 2000). Further, private schools remain a heavy financial burden for poor families who are required to pay for a variety of expenses, including uniforms, textbooks, and school supplies.

Despite the many steps taken towards equity in recent years, "...wide gaps still exist between urban and rural schools in terms of quality, curriculum, and teacher preparation" (Prou 2009). This inability to create change, despite a deep commitment and interest in education by the most disenfranchised of Haiti (Doucet 2012), is explained in large part by lack of capacity (Salmi 2000; Prou 2009; Doucet 2012) and political will (Prou 2009; Doucet 2012; Kang et al. 2019) on the part of the Haitian government. Both lack of capacity and political will have resulted in a lack of regulatory systems (Kang et al. 2019), a failure of the Haitian government that has resulted in the proliferation of private schools today. Kang et al. (2019) recognize that "[broadly], public-private partnerships are not able to function in the absence of 'good governance,' which entail accountability, responsiveness, transparency, equity and participation (Bovaird, 2004; Hofmeister and Borchert, 2004)." Given historical and current contexts, one can determine that the public-private partnership currently embedded in Haiti's education system is not functional or efficient. Thus, the circumstances necessitate a new way of addressing the issue of equity.

Research Aims

While the literature covers private education in Haiti as a whole, scholars pay little attention to how non-governmental organizations, in particular, provide education in the private sector. As previously mentioned, community schools are a component of Haiti's private education sector. Community schools constitute a portion of non-denominational schools, which make up ⅓ of the private education sector in Haiti. Community schools in Haiti's urban centers, the capital of Port-au-Prince in particular, may offer insight as to conditions for equitable education in a private setting. Since its founding as a Republic in 1804, the majority of schools in Haiti, both public and private, have been concentrated in Haiti's urban regions (Orner and Lyon 2017).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Principal-Agent Theory

      Principal-agent theory emerges in a number of disciplines, including economics and institutional theory. Principal-agent theory assumes a relationship between an "agent," the entity who makes decisions on behalf of another entity, and a "principal," the entity who the decisions are being made for. According to Pratt and Zeckhauser (1985), former economists at Harvard Business School, principal-agent theory is meant to explain the existence of organizations in the market system. Principle-agent theory says that because the agent inherently has more information than the principal "about what they are doing with the discretion that is inevitably left in their hands" (Salamon 2000), the principal is left at a disadvantage, as agents have opportunities to shirk responsibilities, and is subject to "moral hazard." Salamon (2000) says that the only way to address this problem is for the principal to secure better information about what the agent is doing, though it does not come without cost. The cost in question is the negative effects that may be generated by an imbalance of too much or too little control on the part of the principal.

Public-Private Partnerships

      Scholars often characterize public-private partnerships (PPPs) as belonging to an ambiguous policy category due to the diverse range of rationales behind their implementation, as well as the contexts in which they emerge (Verger et al. 2020). Though definitions of public-private partnerships vary, in the context of education, Verger et al. (2020) broadly defines public-private partnerships as a legal arrangement. Verger et al. (2020) emphasize that this partnership is contractual and time-bound, entailing that the private sector delivers an educational service at the request of the public sector. Forrer et al. (2010) propose a definition

that positions itself outside of this context, in which public-private partnerships involve private

stakeholders who are involved in the decision-making and production processes traditionally

controlled by the public sector, and share this risk with the public sector. Both definitions adopt a

market-oriented approach to public-private partnerships, in which one actor offers a good or

service that the other actor needs. Rather than aligning with a traditional variant of public-private

partnerships, the relationship displayed between Haiti's government and the private sector most

closely aligns with definitions formed by Custos and Reitz (2010) and Alford and O'Flynn

(2012). Custos and Reitz (2010) first define a public-private partnership as a contractual

relationship in which the private sector assumes activities that were traditionally performed by

the public sector. Alford and O'Flynn (2012) take this definition a step further and suggest that

the delivery of these activities, or services, are not shared, but rather controlled by a sole

provider. (Kang et al. 2019). Kang et al. (2019) defines "public-private partnership" (PPP) as a

"...service arrangement in which the public and private sectors enter into a long-term cooperative

relationship for the purpose of delivering a public good or service." As a service provided and

controlled by the private sector, private education is a notable product of the private sector.

A breath of literature evaluates public-private partnerships from an economics approach.

This approach often privileges the discussion of market-like dynamics key elements of public-

private partnerships. Market or market-like dynamics refers to those forces that influence price

and the behavior of producers and consumers (Investopedia). Kang et al. (2019) make note of

incentives and other economic benefits to the private sector in their study of factors for

successful adoption and implementation of public-private partnerships in developing countries.

Kang et al. (2019) purport that in developing countries like Haiti, these incentives ultimately

draw the private sector to those developing countries. However, Kang et al. (2019) also contend

that infrastructure projects like education seem to be less attractive to those in the private sector who do not see the potential for profits.

Recent literature on public-private partnerships in developing countries in particular suggests that there is an advantage to abandoning the economics approach (Verget et al. 2020) of evaluation. In its place, one could adopt a human rights approach. A human rights approach has the potential to evaluate other conditions for success in education, such as equity, political will, stakeholder buy-in. Historically, a lack or complete absence of these conditions has led to failure in reforming Haiti's education system (Salmi 2000; Prou 2009; Doucet 2012; Kang et al. 2019).

Privatization

These partnerships operate during the process of education privatization. Verger et al. (2017), broadly define education privatization as a process by which private actors increasingly involve themselves in the provision of educational activities traditionally provided by the state. In their systematic literature review of the different pathways toward education equity, Verger et al. (2017) adopt a Cultural Political Economy (CPE) framework to identify these pathways, relying on Bob Jessops' (2010; 2015) approach to the Cultural Political Economy framework. Jessops proposes that "...all institutional transformations...interact through the evolutionary mechanisms of *variation...selection...*and *retention,*" and contributes a high level of structuring power to semiosis, defined as the process of attributing meaning in language or literature. While the three mechanisms identified by Jessops offer a reasonable way to organize these pathways towards education privatization, Verger et al.'s (2017) adoption suggests that Jessops' use may rely too heavily on the distinct time periods in which they occur, rather than viewing these institutional transformations in a broader context. Jessops' emphasis on semiosis, however,

offers a viable mechanism by which to evaluate the sudden shift in view towards market-oriented approaches to education.

The literature suggests that during the 1980s, a general trend towards privatization began to take place (Verger et al. 2017), resulting in pro-market policies and market-driven solutions towards education equity and equal opportunity (Verger et al. 2017). While studies show that education privatization can improve learning outcomes (Doucet 2012; Verger et al. 2020), the existing research and literature on these outcomes remains insufficient and contradictory (Waslander, Pater, and Van Der Weide 2010; Day Ashley et al. 2014; Languille 2016; Aslam, Rawal, and Sahar 2017; Verger et al. 2018; Verger et al. 2020). Further, the existing literature overwhelmingly suggests that public-private partnerships have a negative impact on education in terms of equity, particularly when there is opportunity to earn a profit (Bano 2008; Moschetti 20018). Verger et al. (2020) illustrate this negative impact in their analysis of policy design, in which they construct a conceptual framework rooted in the World Bank's concept of public-private partnerships as a continuum (See Appendix A).

Verger et al. (2020) argue that nuances exist within those categories existing along the continuum. For example, regulations over school admissions. Verger et. al's conceptual framework considers variables that "contribute to the programmatic configuration of public-private partnerships," including profit-making, student selection, tuition add-ons, voucher program specificities (focusing on universal vs targeted vouchers and same-amount vs scale vouchers), charter schools, and supply-side subsidies. Verger et al. (2020) concurrently contemplate two impact dimensions: learning outcomes and equity. Though this conceptual framework does not engage in the Cultural Political Economy framework, elements of semiosis emerge as Verger et al. contemplate the mechanisms for either positive, negative, neutral, or

mixed impacts on education. At the end of the study, it emerges that "configurations oriented at the generation of market-like dynamics are frequently found to exacerbate school segregation and education inequities" (Verger et al. 2020. The finding suggests that scholars should consider market-like dynamics, or lack thereof, when constructing a conceptual framework to evaluate the efficacy of educational privatization.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Privatization and Education as a Human Right

In 2014, 2015, and 2019, the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the right to education published a series of reports that discussed the impact of privatization on the right to education. A Special Rapporteur, elected every three years with a chance for re-election, is a non-paid independent expert mandated by the United Nations to report and advise on a specific country or theme related to human rights. The past two Rapporteurs on the right to education, Kishore Singh, who served from 2010 to 2016, and Koumbou Boly Barry, who began serving in 2017, centered the themes of privatization, private education, and public-private partnerships in these three reports to the United Nations General Assembly, the foremost representative unit of the United Nations.

The first of the three reports, published in 2014, discussed State responsibility in regard to the general growth of private education. While the United Nations never explicitly defined the term "State", international law permits one to interpret it as interchangeable with "country" or "nation." Thus, the term "State" in the context of these three reports can be interpreted as such. In the 2014 report, Singh discussed privatization in the education sector and its repercussions, as well as regulation of the private sector. He emphasized the importance of non-discrimination, equal opportunity, social justice, and equity in ensuring the right to education is maintained, as

well as maintaining education as a public good. In the report's conclusion, Singh recommended that States adopt regulatory frameworks to ensure that the private sector is accountable to their role as an education provider. However, he also determined that "privatization by definition is detrimental to education as a public good" (United Nations General Assembly 2014), and urged states to strengthen human rights mechanisms to address human rights violations by the private sector. In regard to public-private partnerships, Singh determined that the State should create innovative mechanisms that utilize its own national resources. In this way, the state prioritizes education as social welfare and maintains overall responsibility for its provision.

In the second report, published in 2015, Singh more closely examined the role of public-private partnerships in education. Singh discussed various topics centered around public-private partnerships, including its arrangements, key challenges, regulation, and the enforcement of the right to education under public-private partnerships. He cited financial institutions such as The World Bank and the International Finance Corporation as key proponents of public-private partnerships, but notably characterized non-governmental organizations as a non-State provider separate from the private sector. Singh noted that whereas the private sector is generally motivated by profit, community and civil society organizations and foundations act in a "philanthropic spirit" and should be distinguished from for-profit private actors. As Singh did not explicitly mention where non-governmental organizations fall between the two, it is unclear how he characterizes their motivations in relation to their role in public-private partnerships. This omission makes it ambiguous as to how one would characterize the responsibilities of non-governmental organizations in public-partner partnerships, as it could be argued that they constitute one side or the other in relation to their operation and duties. Regardless, Singh noted that these partnerships have one duty, which is to promote social well-being. Singh further

purported that norms surrounding the right to education act as a framework for partnerships towards this duty. In this report's conclusion, Singh stressed that the State is the foremost entity responsible for education, and that they remain critical of the private sector in an effort to combat human rights violations. Amongst his many recommendations, Singh suggested that governments should privilege institutions with philanthropic interests over business interests when entering into public-private partnerships, as well as implement regulatory frameworks to control them.

In the most recent report on privatization, published in 2019, current Special Rapporteur Koumbou Boly Barry largely discussed private actors in relation to the United Nations Sustainable Development Goal 4, which is to "ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all." Barry emphasized scale in relation to the growth of the private sector. Notably, in this report, Barry cited a strategy paper by the Global Partnership for Education, a multi-stakeholder partnership and fund, that made a distinction between for-profit and not-for-profit schools. For-profit schools, according to the paper, may comprise network operators and single proprietor schools. Conversely, not-for-profit schools may comprise schools run by non-governmental organizations and faith-based schools. Within each category, there are then schools that either do or do not charge fees. However, Barry purported that the line between for-profit and not-for-profit institutions is thin, largely due to unsavory practices on the part of the institution. Additionally, Barry drew attention to the Abidjan Principles on the human rights obligations of States to provide public education and to regulate private involvement in education (See Appendix B), adopted by experts in 2019. These principles, developed over a three-year process by various stakeholders, set out to be the new

standard for governments, educators, and education providers when considering the role of private actors in education.

Regarding public-private partnerships, Barry discussed alternative partnership approaches that privilege support in teacher training, capacity-building, and other services rather than school provision. She cited international and local non-governmental organizations as potential actors in these partnerships. An equally comprehensive report to those before it, in this report's conclusion, Barry emphasized that it is important to maintain a human rights framework when dealing with private actors, to work towards the goals outlined as part of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goal 4, and to adhere to the principles outlined as part of the Abidjan Principles.

Pathways to Public-Private Partnerships

While Singh's reports in particular did a good job of establishing the role of the State in providing education, the reports rarely addressed the conditions that led States to enter into public-private partnerships. In Verger et al. (2017), multiple pathways towards education privatization are identified and evaluated. Drawing from a systematic literature review containing 227 research papers, Verger et al. (2017) identified six paths towards education privatization: ideological and structural state reform, school choice reform, historical partnerships rooted in religious schooling, low-fee private schools in low-income countries, privatization in social democratic welfare states, and privatization through catastrophe. Verger et al. cited a number of examples for each category, including the 2010 January earthquake in Haiti as an example of privatization through catastrophe. Further, they contended that, in some countries, these categories may converge in the same time period, and that more categories could exist outside those identified in the paper. This particular gap makes clear that pathways towards

privatization are incredibly nuanced, and often hard to categorize in the context of certain conceptual and theoretical frameworks.

In any event, the literature is quite minimal surrounding human rights-oriented approaches to privatization in education regarding humanitarian organizations. More specifically, the literature on non-governmental organizations is insufficient in that it fails to critically evaluate instances where they act outside of their purported role. Regarding public-private partnerships, I endeavor to interrogate the efficacy of market-driven solutions adopted by humanitarian organizations by constructing a conceptual framework that privileges human rights language and principles as key facilitators of equitable education. Further, I endeavor to determine whether or not education inequity is a by-product of the way in which certain public-private partnerships are configured. Thus, I plan to adopt a conceptual framework that evaluates the equity of Haiti's education system, a public-private partnership, through its adherence to human rights Abidjan Guiding Principles (See Appendix B).

Factors Contributing to the Successful Implementation of Public-Private Partnerships

In evaluating the factors for successful adoption and implementation of public-private partnerships in developing countries, Kang et al. (2019) adopt an explanatory framework developed by Yang et al. (2013). Within this framework, Yang et al. (2013) identify three major components for successful public-private partnerships: the market, the operating environment, and the government. Yang et al. (2013) also distinguish between two types of public-private partnerships projects: hard infrastructure and soft infrastructure. Soft infrastructure projects constitute co-investments in projects like education, healthcare or emergency service systems, while hard infrastructure projects constitute co-investments in projects like bridges and roads. While Yang et al. (2013) suggest that it is important to incentive the private sector to attract them

to the public sector, they also concede that soft infrastructure projects like education lack the appropriate incentives, and are less attractive to private partners who do not see the potential for profits. While both Yang et al. (2013) and Kang et al. (2019) frame lack of proper incentive as a negative, the literature surrounding educational privatization suggests that lack of incentive positively impacts equitable opportunities in education.

METHODS

This research paper adopted a mixed-methods approach to data collection. Data collection followed the sequential exploratory design of mixed-methods, which prioritizes qualitative research and uses quantitative research as a way to expand on qualitative findings.

Organizations

Interviews discussed in this section were conducted over a period of four months starting in October of 2020. Interviewees were recruited on a loose set of criteria. The main criterion was recruitment was that interview participants had some sort of connection to Haiti and/or Haiti's education system. Participants came from a number of different backgrounds, including non-profits, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). The only non-governmental organization represented in the study is CARE International Haiti. CARE is an international humanitarian organization with the mission of defeating poverty and hunger, promoting social justice, and saving lives. Its Haiti office focuses on programs in the areas of governance, public health, economic and food security, and education. Informational interviews with informants at CARE International Haiti constitute the only findings from an international organization.

Conversely, Anseye Pou Ayiti (APA), which means "Teach for Haiti" in English, constitutes the only non-profit organization represented in these findings. Anseye Pou Ayiti is a non-profit organization based in Port-au-Prince with the mission of improving educational

outcomes in disadvantaged communities in Haiti. Anseye Pou Ayiti's programs focus on training teachers and building capacity for leadership through coaching and mentoring.

The last organization represented is the Haitian American Lawyer's Association of Illinois (HALA Illinois). While mostly a gathering place for the Haitian American community, the Haitian American Lawyer's Association also likes to give back though volunteering and various community service projects. Various members of the Haitian American Lawyer's were recruited to participate in this study through snowball sampling. Members constitute the majority of stakeholders interviewed for this project.

Qualitative Data

All of the interviews were semi-structured. In keeping with the format of semi-structured interviews, I began each interview with a set of pre-prepared questions and asked follow-up questions based on the interviewee's responses. In the preliminary stages of this research project, I conducted semi-structured informational interviews with scholars across various academic backgrounds. These scholars conducted work broadly concerning the domains of Latin American and Caribbean studies and Education, with some scholars conducting work specific to Haiti. The primary purpose of these interviews was to establish both historical and contemporary contexts for the current state of education in Haiti, as well as generate more interviews by way of snowball sampling. Snowball sampling, a method of non-probability sampling in which study participants help recruit new study participants from their contacts, constituted 37.5% of study participants.

Additionally, I conducted semi-structured informational interviews with informants at international humanitarian organizations. Interviews with humanitarian organizations sought to answer questions about the education-based services and programming that each organization

provided, the barriers to implementing this programming, and the relationship each organization had with the Haitian government. The humanitarian organizations included in this study were chosen on the basis that they held offices in either Haiti, the United States, or both, and had previously or are currently implementing programming or providing a service that aims to improve educational outcomes in Haiti. Interviews with humanitarian organizations offered insight as to how non-governmental organizations provided education, as well as the nature of the relationship between non-governmental organizations and the Haitian government. Interviews also offered insight regarding the short- and long-term effects of programming implemented by non-governmental organizations, as well as barriers to implementation.

Finally, I conducted semi-structured interviews with stakeholders in the education sector in Haiti (See Table 1. Stakeholder Interview Participants). The stakeholders interviewed for the study consisted of former teachers and students who attended school in Haiti during the 1970s and 1980s. Interviews from former students offered insight as to their attitude towards the expansion of community schools in their neighborhoods and Haiti at large.

Broken down by subtype, I conducted four informational interviews with informants at international, non-governmental, and non-profit organizations, seven interviews with scholars who are currently or previously conducted research concerning the Caribbean and education, and five semi-structured interviews with stakeholders in the education sector (See Table 2. Interview Response Rate). In total, sixteen interviews were conducted over the course of a five-month time period (See Table 3. Interview Participants). I asked each set of non-scholar interviewees questions about how non-governmental organizations operate in their school community. I conducted interviews over Zoom, over the phone, and through email. Each interview lasted from thirty minutes to an hour and a half depending on the interviewee's responses.

In addition to the semi-structured interviews, I chose sixteen narratives for textual analysis from *Lavil: Life, Love, and Death in Port-Au-Prince* (Orner and Lyon 2017). *Lavil* is a collection of thirty-four oral histories detailing the lived experiences of Haitians living in Haiti's capital of Port-au-Prince, and its surrounding suburbs. According to the introduction of *Lavil*, "The narratives collected...are edited from interviews and conversations conducted...at various times over a four-year period between August 2012 and February 2016" (Orner and Lyon 2017; 15). Narrative were selected through convenience sampling. I analyzed selected narratives from *Lavil* in conjunction with other interviews conducted for this research paper. This approach followed guidelines outlined by Firouzhoui and Zargham-Boroujeni (2015) in a 2015 paper on analyzing personal narratives. I analyzed the qualitative data through the process of textual analysis.

Quantitative Data

Quantitative data collected largely consisted of data sets from public sources. These sources include databases and data sets developed and maintained by international humanitarian organizations and financial institutions, including the United Nations (UN), the United Nations Economic, Social, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), and the World Bank. I also collected data from Haiti's Ministry of Economy and Finance (MEF) stored on an open portal called BOOST. All sources contained data sets that specifically focused on education in Haiti. The data sets from these sources broadly consisted of data relating to various educational outcomes.

For this research paper, I chose to focus on-variables pertaining to attendance, literacy, completion, budget allocation, and expenditure. I analyzed quantitative data using the statistical

programming language R. I used R to visualize the and subsequently perform exploratory and descriptive data analysis.

Limitations

The limitations of the data collection process largely consisted of lack of school data and a palpable language barrier between myself and the interviewees. Several interviewees requested that our interview be conducted in French, a language that I am still in the process of learning. I conducted these interviews in French as requested, with the understanding I am not fluent in the language and am still learning. Though I transcribed the interviews conducted in French myself, they were translated to English using Google Translate, a free online translation tool. These translations were corrected at my discretion based on my knowledge of French and on the context and content of the interviews. As a result, I was not able to transcribe interview in completion, due to limited language proficiency. Additionally, I had no time to undergo a more thorough validation process concerning the content of the translation, as I was not able to hire or employ a translator due to lack of time and resources. Translations made through Google Translate were shown to be 85% accurate as of 2019, according to BeTranslate, a boutique translation agency.

Positionality

Throughout the process of qualitative data collection, I made sure to acknowledge my positionality as an American citizen and bilingual speaker of English and French. Before each interview, I informed the interviewee that I am an American citizen with Haitian heritage, and that I do not speak Haitian Creole. I acknowledge that though I do not share the same lived experience as those Haitians living in Haiti, my Haitian heritage partially granted me the privileges of an insider. It is possible that my heritage made interviewees more comfortable and

trusting as I conducted the interviews, but it is also possible that it made them more apprehensive, and skeptical. I acknowledge both of these possibilities as a factor that may contribute to bias in my research.

FINDINGS

Much work has been done to identify key factors that lead to the successful implementation of public-private partnerships (Doucet 2012, Kang et. al 2019). More specifically, much of the literature on public-private partnerships attempts to identify these factors in the context of developing countries, as well as the mechanisms necessary to ensure equitable implementation (Salmi 2000). However, humanitarian organizations, though occasionally included in these evaluations, are seldom critiqued to the extent that other entities in the private sector are in regard to equity specifically. Furthermore, humanitarian organizations are seldom evaluated within the human rights framework that they purport to uphold. This paper attempts to fill this gap in the literature by evaluating how non-governmental organizations, non-profits, and intergovernmental organizations exacerbate existing educational inequities in Haiti's education system.

The Role of NGOs in the Private Education Sector

The role of NGOs in the private education sector is largely that of support, though this aspect of partnership between the Haitian government and NGOs has become somewhat nebulous as the private sector has evolved. Currently, those organizations belonging to the private sector, whether they be NGOs, foundations, etc, receive a subsidy from the government as part of an effort to address a number of educational needs. In other words, the Haitian government is giving the private sector funding to carry out infrastructure projects in the education sector. The public education sector, however, still lacks resources.

Bizimina says infrastructure, or lack thereof, is one of the causes of low access, low attendance, and low attention to school. Some NGOs and development sectors will come in to improve the infrastructure. Says the ministry or the government sees NGOs or INGOs as "rescuers to address a fixed problem"

Existing Partnerships

According to Philippe Renoir, National Education Officer at UNESCO, public-private partnerships in the Haitian education sector are dynamic due to the majority of schools being private. The Haitian government is cognizant of the situation, and maintains a number of partnerships with international and national non-governmental organizations as a result. These partnerships are maintained through working groups, in which partner organizations act as consultants to the Haitians government on the matters of policy and implementation. One such working group is the Sectoral Group for Education in Emergency Situation. The group works on emergencies in the field of education, is headed by UNICEF and Save the Children. Government officials participate in the group as well, in addition to international non-governmental organizations. Within the group, decision-making is made on the basis on consensus. Partner organizations engage in discussions with government officials before any final policy decisions are made: "The partners have the opportunity to give their opinion on the documents that the government produces to facilitate the policy of the education sector." However, while partner organizations are able to make proposals to the Haitian government, the state ultimately makes the final policy decisions. Additionally, all the partner NGOs in the working group are member to a separate working group of NGOs called Circle InterONG (CLIO), InterNGO Circle in English.

Renoir describes the relationship between the Haitian government and partner organizations as a good one. Before working in Haiti, Renoir says, NGOs must have authorization from the Haitian government. The Haitian government itself defines the standards for accepting NGOs into Haiti. More specifically, standards are set by the Ministry of Planning and External Cooperation, a department of the Haitian government. Within this ministry is an NGO directorate that is responsible for overseeing NGO activities within Haiti. Those NGOs that do not follow the rules are sanctioned, according to Renoir, though he adds that the majority of NGOs follow government standards.

Conversely, Muhamed Bizimana, Assistant Country Director at CARE International Haiti, says that the public-private partnership within the education sector is not organized, with no umbrella policies that guides it

Lack of Regulation

A lack of regulation within the private education sector has led to a greater likelihood of the sector engaging in exploitative practices. More specifically, oversight on the part of the Haitian government and its magistrates has allowed non-governmental and non-profit organizations to engage in harmful practices that exploit the vulnerable position of Haitian children and families. Several interview participants mentioned lack of regulation as a pitfall of the Haitian government's partnership with the private education sector. Several interview participants also cast doubt as to whether a formal organizational structure exists in regard to the way that non-governmental organizations in particular partner with the Haitian government. The three representatives interviewed from non-governmental organizations had the most insight into the issue of regulation, though with differing conclusions as to its efficacy. On the subject of

regulation, Muhamed Bizimana, Assistant Country Director at CARE International Haiti, framed

a lack of regulation in terms of a lack of a policy framework facilitating regulation:

> …as far as public and private partnerships in the education sector, we still have a big gap
> in terms of policy and an umbrella policy framework that will regulate [it]…we still have
> a gap in terms of capacity, regulatory capacity, to ensure quality and to ensure continued
> capacity…

In other words, there are no public policies currently instituted to facilitate regulatory practices

within the public-private partnership between the Haitian government and the private education

sector. Bizimina referred to this lack of policy framework as a "policy vacuum," a phenomena

vaguely mentioned by a number of interviewees. However, according to Claudel Choisy,

Education Expert at CARE International Haiti, some non-governmental organizations are able to

operate within Haiti's education system as part of a government program spearheaded by Haiti's

Ministry of Education. According to Choisy, and Renoir, under this program, organizations

receive subsidies that support the implementation of their programming. However, it is

ambiguous as to whether or not these subsidies are actually making a difference:

> ....what [the Department of Education] has done to try to give greater access is
> that...they've subsidized some of the private institutions where there is no public sort of
> religious institutions that took the kids in. The private institutions, they would subsidize
> them to go ahead and enroll more children to educate them. But we cannot say that there's
> a measurable change as a result of that.

Private replacing the public

Lack of regulation appears to be the product of a larger issue within the public-private

partnership the Haitian government has established with non-governmental organizations.

Nedgine Paul Deroly, Founder and Executive Director of Anseye Pou Ayiti, refers to this

phenomenon as "the paradox of the private sector":

> It's the paradox of the private sector trying to come in and support, but then ultimately
> replacing, and unfortunately, also allowing the quality to plummet, because there's no

oversight and accountability or general institution or agency that is overseeing those who are public and private.

Humanitarian organizations, non-governmental organizations in particular, tend to fill a gap in services, but also, over time, fill the role as the provider of those services. Doucet (2012) briefly discusses this phenomenon in evaluating educational reform in Haiti. In Doucet's discussion of humanitarian organizations, Doucet makes the case that the Haitian government is essentially "let off the hook" because of the intervention of these humanitarian organizations. This sentiment was echoed by Bizimana in our interview. In the interview, Bizimana expressed that sometimes there is a mismatch in expectations in terms of solutions, and timeframes, as well as opportunities for collaboration over a long period of time between the Haitain government and international non-governmental organizations (INGOs):

> For example, the government will see like, okay, we are not able to provide education in x and y, remote area. If there's an INGO who's coming to us ready to go into that area, okay. Well and good. All good. But what will be the kind of roadmap for that INGO to go into that support or to accompany the education, the provision, this education service delivery as a whole?

For Bizimana this concern goes back to the lack of an overall policy that regulates government assistance for the entire education system.

Establishing a clear regulatory framework

Thus, establishing a clear regulatory framework is not only a key aspect of successful public-private partnerships, but necessary to ensure the use of equitable and ethical practices within those partnerships. Further, as private schools continue to proliferate in post-earthquake Haiti, regulation is key to ensuring a fair and equitable education system in Haiti. This regulatory framework must exist within a broader policy framework that clearly sets guidelines for how public-private partnerships are carried out between the Haitian government and the private education sector. This claim is also supported by the literature on public-private partnerships. In

fact, among the mechanisms identified for successful implementation in the literature, regulation was by far the most mentioned. For example, a 2019 journal article by Kang et. al, titled "Public-private partnerships in developing countries: Factors for successful adoption and implementation," found that enacting relevant laws and regulations is one of the factors required to the success of public-private partnership projects.

Access and the Growth of Private Schools

While the proliferation of NGO-run community schools, to a certain extent, increased access to schooling in Haiti, it has not increased access to *quality* schooling. The proliferation of education-based NGOs and private schools initially came about as part of a general shift in thought regarding the delivery of social services in developing countries. According to Bizimana, up until the 1990s, access to schooling was heavily dependent on faith-based and church-based schools, as well as church-managed school systems and public schools. Outside of this configuration, schooling was heavily private, and continues to be to this day. Indeed, most all the stakeholders I spoke with, all of which attended school in the 1970s and 1980s, attended either faith-based or private schools. Bizimana further added that a notable collapse of the governance system took place in the early 2000s. Bizimana was not the only interviewee to mention this change. Elsie Hernandez, Founder and President of the Haitian American Museum of Chicago, expressed shock at the poverty she observed in Haiti upon returning in the 2000:

> ...when I returned in 2000, it was a whole different story, because there was political turmoil, there were changes in the government. And the whole country was so different and poverty was--there was poverty then, in 1980, but it wasn't so overtly open to the public. But in 2000, it was like poverty was on the street all over the place... I never had seen poverty like this in my life when I went in 2000.

Bizimana noted that during that time, education, specifically private education, was seen as an economic opportunity rather than a social good. He further noted that as the education sector expanded, there was no policy to expand along with it: "And as that space was expanding, the

policy system didn't expand to reorganize the sector, to hold on to the fundamentals of the system that were bad in the [1990s] before the collapse of the entire state machinery." In essence, this lack of policy created a policy gap within the education sector. Today, these effects of this policy gap are still felt, as there is now a plethora of privately managed schools with potentially no kind of regulatory system or framework to support quality control.

Further, the proliferation of NGO-run private schools in rural regions has had no qualitative effect on the quality of schooling. Rather, families in Haiti's rural regions in particular are made to choose whether to find the funds to send their kids to a private school, or to not send their kids at all. Families may be able to find the funds to send their kids to school for a few years, but can't keep it up. As a result, they stop sending their kids to school. Even if there is a public school in the neighborhood, it may be miles away. Alternatively, families will send their kids to urban cities, like Port-au Prince, to give their kids a change of receiving an education.

However, I cannot definitively say whether the growth of private schools decreased quality of instruction overall. The literature surrounding private schools and quality shows there is no real significant difference in quality of instruction between private and public schools. In an article titled "Equity and Quality in Private Education: the Haitian Paradox," Salmi (2000)...A few interviewees touched on the correlation between access and quality, including Harold Cadet, a lawyer and former teacher at a number of faith-based private schools in Haiti. In speaking with Cadet, it became clear that there exist a general doubt surrounding the guarantee of quality correlated with access to private schooling:

> …I don't think that access to education has changed much. I think there may be more
>
> schools now, but a lot, most of them, are private. And they're not very good quality. So

there might be more school [sic], but I don't think necessarily that quality, the access to

quality, decent education even at the Haitian level, at the Haitian state, I should say, I

don't think that has improved much.

Indeed, Cadet was not the only interviewee to make this assessment. Later in our interviewee,

Harold illustrated the misconception about access and quality through the form of an analogy

about housing: "…because [parents] have to educate their kids, they might send them wherever

there's something named school, but it's not necessarily because there is access, because access

is, it's like saying you have access to housing, but you're sleeping at a shelter."

Negative Effects of NGO Intervention and The Private Education Sector

Exploitation

As previously mentioned, the lack of a regulatory framework for organizations

intervening in Haiti's education system has led to a greater possibility of exploitation. According

to Deroly, exploitation can result from both ignorance and maliciousness on the part of these

organizations, though maliciousness is in the minority. During our interview, Deroly also noted

that stereotypes about and bias towards Haitian people can sometimes inhibit organizations from

doing good work: "And so, I think they have to be very careful about that, the stereotypes and

the bias, and the myths that have characterized a lot of people's willingness and interest in doing

good work." In regard to ignorant exploitative practices, Deroly said to be wary of "consultants"

or "experts" who have never been practitioners in the education sector: "The, I mean, the money

thing. I mean, the fraud, the corporate, the corruption, the, you know, the groups of people who

will earn 100%, several more than the practitioners doing the difficult work. Yeah, I just think

that's what falls for me in the malicious category." Similarly, Evan Lyon, a long-time practitioner

with Partners in Health and former music teacher at a private school in Haiti, mentioned he was

not even asked to see his medical license before practicing medicine in Haiti:

> ...I worked in Haiti for, well, for almost a solid decade before anybody cared to ask for a medical license or proof that I was a doctor. And, only after the earthquake, with some extra attention on things, did someone actually inquire that I, you know, have a license, have a medical degree.

According to Deroly, in the most extreme cases, there are those who may experiment on kids,

either in the sense of experimenting on curriculums, or in terms of health care procedures, etc,

though Deroly declined to elaborate further on this subject: "And I won't even go as far as the

people who are blatantly abusing kids, because they still have a very colonial, very just

oppressive definition of what an education should look like, especially for kids who are, quote,

unquote, uncivilized." Even when abuse is happening, Deroly says, it's labeled as the right way

of education, or how education should look: "I mean, even when they're explicit, they are labeled

as 'this is how education should look.' I'm not talking about experiments on kids, but the

curricular experiments. On the subject of ignorant exploitation, however, Deroly was indeed

most concerned about those who she says have not taken the time to understand why the

education system is how it is. Deroly added that there is a lot of corruption happening in the

public sector as well, as the private sector receives special allowances while the public sector is

often left without funding for salaries and other necessary expenses:

> And then the fraud, the corruption, etc. I mean, so much of it is also happening at the public sector. And it's tricky, cause the public sector, here's the other variable. So you could be screwing over good people who don't have high salaries and international consultants, because they're the ones putting in a good word to the Ministry of Education to get the social project budgets at UNESCO, UNICEF, UN, special allowances. And so, it's a vicious cycle.

Creating barriers to education that didn't exist before

The privatization of education has created a new barrier to access in Haiti: cost. This barrier most greatly affects the poor population, which constitutes the majority of Haitians living in Haiti today.

The privatization of education has had a dual effect on perception in that it makes education an investment in the financial sense rather than the theoretical sense, but it has also created a negative perception of public schools. Most all interviewees emphasized that Haitians already value education quite highly. This notion is not unique to Haiti, but is exacerbated due to the level of poverty that resides in Haiti. Elsie Hernandez mentioned in our interview that education is valued across generations, rich or poor:

> I don't know if you've seen a drop--I think the population in Haiti is a young population--but I think, in the Haitian culture, education is one of the things that still stands very highly in any family, whether you're poor, or you're not poor. Education in Haiti is the key to come out of poverty, the key for success, the key for everything I grew up hearing about. Education, education, education. You have to be educated.

In fact, families will often divert resources that they virtually do not have towards education, as, as mentioned by Hernandez, education is popularly linked to economic opportunity and success. However, Haitian families are also starting to link quality education specifically with private schools. On this subject, Hernandez anecdotally shared how even those without the means to attend private school viewed public school quite negatively:

> ...I supported a family for the last 20 years..I supported them in private school. And so one of them, so they were all in private, one of them got kicked out of the private school, and I said, "You know, what? I'm, like, helping you to go to school. And you find yourself kicked out of the private school, the best private schools in the area. Right? And so now you need to go to public school. Period. Cause I'm not gonna be doing this." He refused. Because public school, for him, was like, beyond him, like he could not go to public school. This is not. Now this is not a family that has money.

The proliferation of non-governmental organizations has engendered mistrust towards NGOs. This distrust, in turn, has the potential to lower the efficacy of some of the interventions

that NGOs implement. This perception of non-governmental organizations most notably grew after the event of the 2010 Haiti earthquake. Immediately after the earthquake, the presence of non-governmental organizations in Haiti grew to a level that residents had never experienced. Of the stakeholders interviewed, all five expressed shock at just how much the presence of non-governmental organizations had grown since they attended school in Haiti. A lot of the mistrust Haitians experience towards non-governmental organizations is due to the uncertainty of the presence of non-governmental organizations long-term and, as a result, how long Haitians receive aid from them. Many non-governmental organizations maintain their presence in Haiti for a limited time, often for the duration of a project or duration. For example, a number of non-governmental organizations, non-profits, etc, left a year or two after the 2010 earthquake. Larger international non-governmental organizations like CARE International may only implement time-bound interventions that sometimes do not have a life outside of the project timeline.

Political Will

For the purposes of this paper, I will use expenditure as a proxy for measuring the political will of the Haitian government. As a reminder, political will is defined as the desire or commitment of a government to carry out a policy. However, expenditure will not necessarily be used as a means to evaluate how the Haitian government prioritizes education in relation to its other expenditures, but rather, how the government values education on its own.

Data availability and transparency

Statistical data on the state of education in Haiti is currently managed, in part, by the Haitian Institute of Statistics and Information (IHSI). The Institute is a decentralized body of Haiti's Ministry of Economy and Finance (MEF), and is "responsible for producing reliable, timely and accurate information on all aspects of economic, social, demographic, and other

phenomena (Knoema.com). However, while cited in a number of articles on the Ministry of

Education's website, for example, the Institute's website remains largely unavailable to users, as

the URL listed on the Ministry of Economy and Finance's website redirects to an error page. In

contrast, I was able to access the websites for the Ministries of Education and Economy and

Finance with little to no difficulty.

Nevertheless, while education statistics are difficult to find outside of certain channels,

certain ministries of the Haitian government have been able to implement systems for increasing

transparency in other ways. The Ministry of Education and Finance, for example, recently

launched BOOST, a portal developed by the Ministry that uses the World Bank's BOOST

methodology. The portal was created with the goal of "facilitating public access to budget

information" (MEF BOOST Website) in an effort to strengthen the government policy of

transparency. Data on the website is provided by the Ministries of Economy and Finance and

Planning and External Cooperation, and is presented in the form of interactive tables. The

interactive tables housed on the website start from the 2006-2007 budget year, and extend to the

2016-2017 budget year.

Budget and expenditure

While the overall budget for Haiti's Ministry of Education increased since fiscal year

2006-2007, it seems that the investment expenditure budget has increased at an even faster rate.

Data on the budget for the Ministry of Education also shows that operating expenditures make up

a large portion of the budget (See Figure 6).Though a small portion of the budget in fiscal year

2006-2007, by fiscal year 2016-2017 ten years later, investment expenditure made up almost half

of the budget for the Ministry of Education. In the first five reported fiscal years, "N/A" made up

the only group of budget allocation. It is unclear what N/A represents, as it is not explained in the

BOOST documentation (See Figure 7). It also appears that data was not available for the other groups, Economic affairs, Instruction, and General services of public administration, up to fiscal year 2011-2012. It is also possible that the Ministry of Economy only allocated the Haitian budget towards N/A for those fiscal years. If so, it is assumed that a similar trend follows in fiscal year 2011-2014, in which the entirety of the Ministry of Education functional budget was allocated to instruction. In the most recent available fiscal year, it seems that the budget was allocated away from instruction to N/A and General services of public administration. It appears that both change in both operating and investment expenditure is quite variable as fiscal years progress (See Figure 8).Operating expenditure experienced the least change, while investment expenditure experienced the most. In the most recent fiscal years, operating expenditure experienced a decrease in budget allocation, while investment expenditure experienced an increase in budget allocation.

The United Nations Economic, Social, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) also houses a small amount of expenditure data on its website. Data from UNESCO is quite limited in that there are only two years available: 2015 and 2018. Based on the available data, it seems that education constitutes quite a small percentage of Haiti's gross domestic product (GDP). Additionally, government expenditure on education did not change significantly over the 3-year period. Because the data is so limited, it cannot be determined whether this lack of change exhibits lack of political will. However, it does show that the Haitian government is not investing more of its budget into education, despite the lack of funding in both the public and private education sectors.

Evaluating Quantitative Measures of Equity

Attendance

Data for the richest quintile is missing for rural regions in the years 2005 and 2012 (See Figure 1). Similarly, data for the poorest quintile is missing for all three years, 2005, 2012, and 2017, for the urban regions. It is unclear as to why these data points are missing, but it can be assumed that they are missing due to lack of data. Additionally, data for the poorest and second quintiles are missing for the year 2012 among students in urban regions. Among students in rural regions, those who are among the poorest in Haiti had the lowest percentage of attendance. Though attendance increased among students in the poorest quintile in 2012, it decreased five years later in 2017. Across both rural and urban regions, percent attendance tends to correlate with quintile. This means that those in the lowest wealth quintiles tend to have the lowest percent attendance, while those in the highest wealth quintiles tend to have the highest percent attendance. The only exception is in 2017 when those students who lived in urban regions and belonged to the second quintile had a higher percent attendance than those students living in urban regions who belonged to the middle quintile.

What this data implies is that those students who belong to higher wealth quintiles likely receive more formal schooling than their peers in lower wealth quintiles, and vice versa. Given what is known about Haiti's current educational landscape, one can assume that cost of attendance and proximity pose as pose as possible barriers to students in poorer quintiles, proximity being how close a school is to a student's home. Due to these barriers, students belonging to lower wealth quintiles are likely to fall behind on a number academic milestones and outcomes, such as literacy. Additionally, as access, and therefore proximity, is a notable measure of equity, it can be assumed that those students belonging to lower wealth quintiles are currently experiencing inequities in their education.

Literacy

Data on youth literacy rates in Haiti in the years 1982-2016, generally reveal an upwards trend in literacy (See Figure 2). Between 1982 and 2016, literacy rates among the population ages 15-24 years in Haiti increased, with males consistently being among the most literate in the youth population. The World Bank database only contains information for the years 1982, 2003, 2006, and 2016, which does not allow for much nuance in the way one interprets these values. According to this data, females tend to be the least literate among the youth population of Haiti. It is unclear why the youth literacy dips in 2006, though it can be assumed to correlate with the numerous socio-political crises that took place during the time, including the 2004 coup d'état of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide. There is also a noticeable gap in literacy between male and female youth in the year 2006. However, it seems that literacy converge as the years progress.

Data on adult literacy rates in Haiti in the years 1982-2016 is similar to that of youth literacy rates, though there is a more noticeable gap in literacy between male and female adults. Male adults tend to have a higher level of literacy than female adults, a trend that does not change over the 34-year span between 1982 and 2016 (See Figure 3).Overall, the adult literacy rate increased going into the 20th century, with only a slight dip in the year 2006. Data on elderly literacy rates reveal that the Haitian population ages 65 and older tends to have the lowest literacy rates, with the highest recorded literacy rate amongst elderly males in 2003 (See Figure 4). Similar to the youth and adult populations, elderly males tend to have higher literacy rates than elderly females. Overall, it is clear that a gender gap exists in relation to literacy, though minimal.

Completion

Similar to trends in other measures of equity, those students belonging to lower wealth quintiles generally had lower percentages of completion, while those students belonging to

higher wealth quintiles had higher percentages of completion (See Figure 5). Data for students

belonging in the poorest quintile appears to be missing for the urban region, though it could also

be the case that the percent of completion is 0, in which case the bar would not appear. Percent

completion increased among every quintile group between 2005 and 2017 in rural regions. In

urban regions, however, percent completion dipped in 2017 among students belonging to the

second quintile. This decline appears after a notable jump in percent completion among students

in the second quintile, surpassing those students in the middle quintile. While there seems to be a

general increase in completion across every quintile, percent completion still remains relatively

low, with the highest percent completion reaching 65%.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

A number of policy recommendations emerge as a result of this study, with the

recognition that this section will only discuss a select few. In this section, I've divided policy

recommendations into proactive and reactive policy solutions. Proactive policy solutions should

be implemented with the goal of *preventing* any negative effects associated with NGO

intervention in Haiti's private education sector. Reactive policy solutions, on the other hand,

should be implemented with the goal of quickly and effectively responding to violations

regarding NGO intervention in the event that they occur. Together, these solutions should be

implemented with the goal of ensuring that the public-private partnership between the Haitian

government and the private education sector, NGOs in particular, is doing its job. Further, these

solutions should be implemented with the long-term goal of ensuring that every child in Haiti has

access to fair and equitable education, regardless of income. Due to the limited scope of this

research paper, policy recommendations will only cover the responsibilities of the State,

emphasizing that the state should be the foremost provider of education as a social good, as

outlined in the 2019 Abidjan Principles, (See Appendix B). In regard to responsibility, it is also important to note the Haitian government's responsibility to its citizens. A common theme that emerged in most all of my interviews is that Haitian citizens know exactly what they want in terms of education, but are seldom listened to. Rather, the Haitian government will listen to the expertise of outside organizations and consultants who though are equipped with a certain set of knowledge, are unfamiliar with the cycles of poverty and exploitation that generations of have Haitian citizens faced. As such, though the following policy solution will not center Haitian-led initiatives, or "stakeholder leading the way," as Nedgine Paul Deroly puts it, it is important that the Haitian government keeps its citizens in mind when engaging with the private education sector. In this way, the Haitian government can learn to be a better advocate for its own people.

Adopt a Regulatory Framework for NGOs that Emphasizes Human Rights

I recommend that policymakers establish regulatory guidelines in regard to the relationship between the Haitian government and the private education sector. Both the literature and findings from this study suggest that a lack of a regulatory framework can lead to exploitative practices on the part of the private sector. Those exploitative practices identified in this study include exorbitant fees imposed by schools on children and families, misleading families about the quality of instruction, and a lack of accountability in regard to equity and outcomes. Many of these practices are exacerbated by the proliferation of private schools in the past two decades. Regulatory guidelines must directly address each of the exploitative practices mentioned, in addition to those not mentioned and possibly identified in future studies. Guidelines must also hold both the Haitian government and the private education sector accountable for failure to provide quality education as a social service guaranteed by the 2012 Haitian Constitution and a human right outlined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

(UDHR). Indeed, a small number of interviewees emphasized education as a human right that must be protected by the government, including Nedgine Paul Deroly and Eval Lyon, the latter of which reinforced education as a human right and responsibility of the state: "...these are human rights. And these are state responsibilities to provide for."

As such, I also recommend that policymakers enact legislation that adopts those human rights principles outlined in a number of human rights treaties, particularly those regarding the right to education and the rights of the child. See Appendix C for a list of human rights treaties that Haiti has either signed or ratified that fit these criteria. Legislation should reinforce regulation guidelines by holding the Haitian government in particular accountable within the context of its existing legal framework, as well as providing a legal mechanism for accountability on the international stage.

Challenges

Due to the violence and corruption that continues to wrack Haiti's political landscape, it is unclear in what manner these policies would be carried out. Most recently, at the beginning of 2021, protests erupted over the legitimacy of Haiti's current president Jovenel Moïse, who was finally sworn in in 2017 after accusations of fraud during Haiti's 2015 presidential elections. Just recently, as these protests have grown more violent, and the matter of Moïse's legitimacy as president unresolved, the Prime Minister of Haiti has resigned and been replaced by Haiti's foreign minister, the sixth Prime Minister under Moïse (Chery, 2021).

Thus, the greatest barrier to implementation, aside from a lack of infrastructure, will likely be political instability. Aside from current events, historically, political instability has curtailed some of the Haitian government's most ambitious education reforms, including the Bernard Reform of 1979. Philippe Renoir, an education specialist at UNESCO, expressed that

political instability has been the biggest challenge in terms of policy implementation for his office in Haiti. More specifically, he expressed that this political instability is often created as a result of unsavory elections. During these times of instability, Renoir says, there will be several political demonstrations, protests, crises, and events that keep UNESCO from carrying out its agenda. Other challenges that Renoir cited include 1) motivating staff, and 2) the country's economy. On the subject of the country's economy, Renoir said that at times his team will develop a plan or policy, but not have enough money to finance it.

CONCLUSION

This research paper is not comprehensive by any means but, rather, attempts to shed light on the effects of privatization of the education sector, and how intervention from humanitarian organizations contributes to those effects. Kishore Singh, who served as, the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the right to education from 2010 to 2016, closed his 2014 report to the United Nations General Assembly by urging "civil society organizations and the intellectual community, as well as students, parents, and community associations to expose the negative effects of public-private partnerships in education," the very purpose of this paper. I urge anyone who was moved by the content of this paper to do the same.

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TABLES

Table 1: Stakeholder Interview Participants

Pseudonym	Age	From
Harold Cadet	60s	Petit-Trou-de-Nippes
Fabiola Saint Louis	70s	Pétion-Ville
Esther Joseph	60s	Port-au-Prince
Gregory Sanon	60s	Jean-Rabel
Darlene Pierre	70s	Port-au-Prince

Table 2: Interview Response Rate

	Potential Interviewees	Interviewed	Percent
Overall	41	16	0.390
Informational Interviews	18	4	0.222
Stakeholder Interviews	5	5	1.000
Scholar Interviews	18	7	0.389

Table 3: Interview Participants

Name	Organization	Affiliation/Title	Date of Interview
Muhamed Bizimana	CARE International Haiti	Assistant Country Director, Programmes	2020-10-23
Claude Choisy	CARE International Haiti	Education Expert	2020-10-23
Linsey Sainte-Claire	UChicago	Asst Professor of French & Francophone Studies	2020-12-14
Bastien Craipain	UChicago	Humanities Teaching Fellow	2020-12-14
Lyonette Louis-Jacques	UChicago	Foreign and International Law Librarian, Lecturer in Law	2020-12-15
Evan Lyon	Partners in Health, UChicago	Chief Integrative Health Officer for the Heartland Alliance Health	2021-01-11
Courtney Joseph	Lakeforest College	Assistant Professor of History and African American Studies	2021-01-14
Elsie Hernandez	Haitian American Museum of Chicago	Founder and President of the Haitian American Museum of Chicago	2021-01-15
Nedgine Paul Deroly	Anseye Pou Ayiti	Executive Director	2021-01-19
Harold Cadet*	Haitian American Lawyers Association	Lawyer/Former Teacher	2021-01-26
Fabiola Saint Louis*	Haitian American Lawyers Association	Judge	2021-01-28
Gregory Sanon*	North Carolina Central University	Professor of Biological and Biomedical Sciences/Director Cancer Research Program	2021-02-02
Charlene Désir	Nova Southeastern University	Professor; School Psychologist	2021-02-06

Name	Organization	Affiliation/Title	Date of Interview
Esther Joseph*	Haitian American Lawyers Association	Medical Technician	2021-02-10
Darlene Pierre*	Self-employed	Travel Agent	2021-02-10
Philippe Renoir*	UNESCO	National Education Officer	2021-02-25

*Pseudonym was either requested or provided to protect the interviewees privacy

Table 4: BOOST Key

French	English
Fonctionnement	Operating expenditure
Investissement	Investment expenditure
Type de depenses	Types of expenses
Depenses de personnel	Salaries and wages
Subventions, quotes-parts et contrib., alloc, indemnisations	Grants, quotas, subsidies, allocations, and allowances
Investissement (PIP)	Investment expenditure public investment program
Autres depenses publiques	Other public expenditures
Depenses de services et charges diverses	Service expenditures and misc charges
Immobilisation corporelle	Tangible fixed asset
Immobilisation incorporelle	Intangible fixed assets
Achats de biens de consommation et petit materiel	Consumer goods and small equipment
Prets, avances, prises de participation et placement	Loans, advances, equity interest, and investments

Table 5: Types of Organizations in International Development Aid Sector

Type of Organization	Definition	Examples
Non-governmental organization (NGO)	Organization that relies on development aid	CARE, Save the Children
Non-profit organization (NPO)	Organizations that are formally constituted, non-government in basic structure, self-governing, non-profit distributing and voluntary to some meaningful extent	Hope for Haiti, Human Rights Campaign, Habitat for Humanity
Traditional voluntary organization (TVO)	Organization that relies on domestic funding	American Red Cross, Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, Human Rights Watch, Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)
Intergovt organization (IGO)	Organization composed primarily of sovereign states, or of other intergovernmental organizations	United Nations, The World Bank

Type of Organization	Definition	Examples
Humanitarian organization or agency	Help to ensure that there is swift, efficient humanitarian assistance available when sudden natural disasters strike or wars occur or in connection with long-term conflicts	USAID, UNESCO, UNICEF, American Red Cross
International financial institution	A financial institution that has been established (or chartered) by more than one country, and hence is subject to international law	The World Bank, International Monetary Fund, Inter-American Development Bank
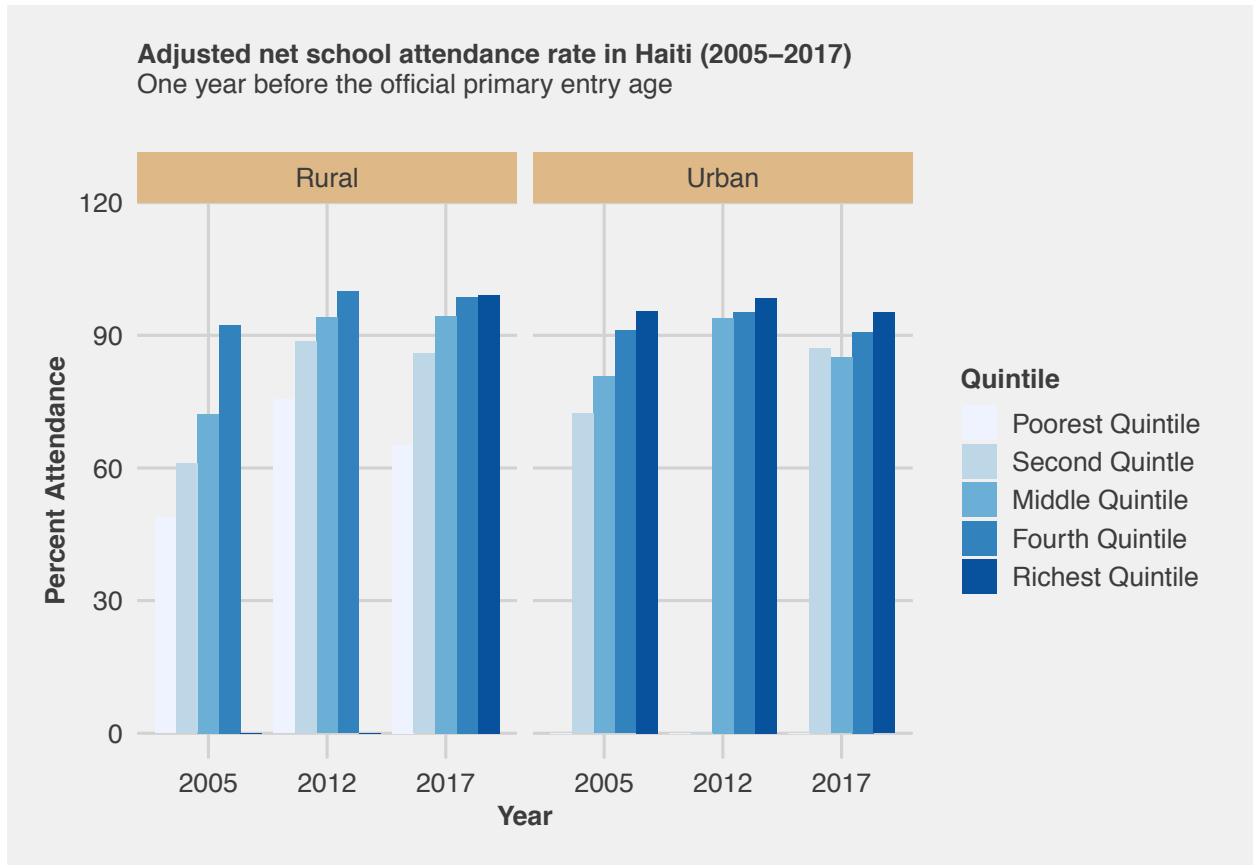
Figure 1: Source: The World Bank Education Statistics
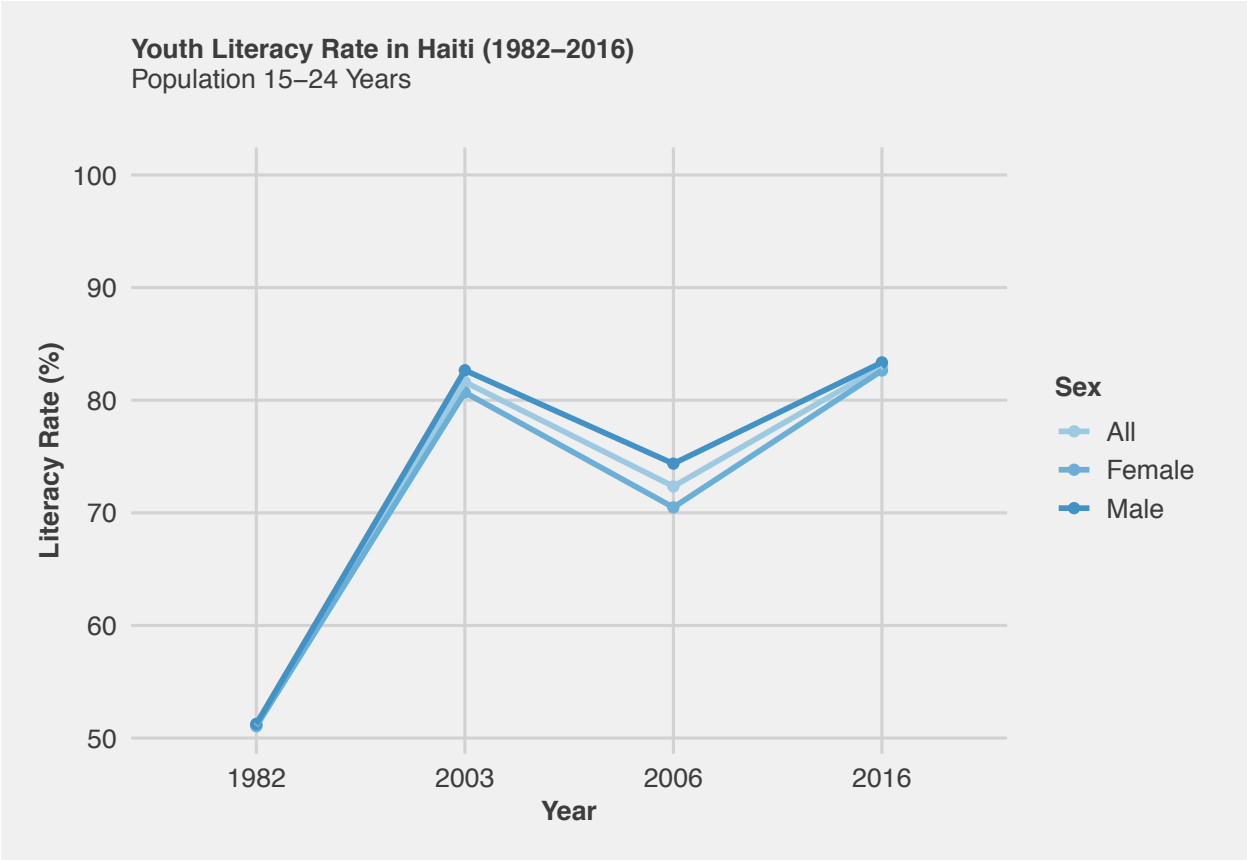
Figure 2: Source: The World Bank Education Statistics

Adult Literacy Rate in Haiti (1982–2016)
Population 15+ Years
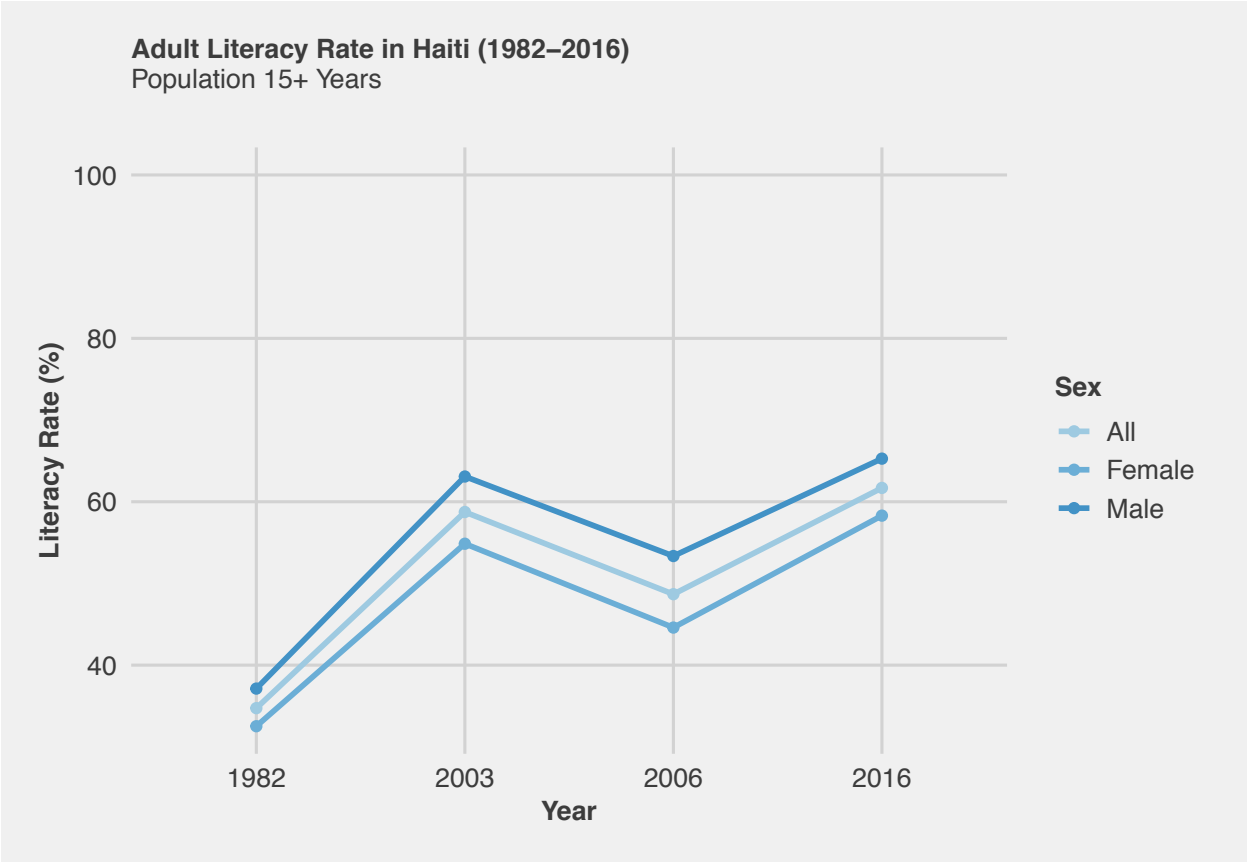
Figure 3: Source: The World Bank Education Statistics
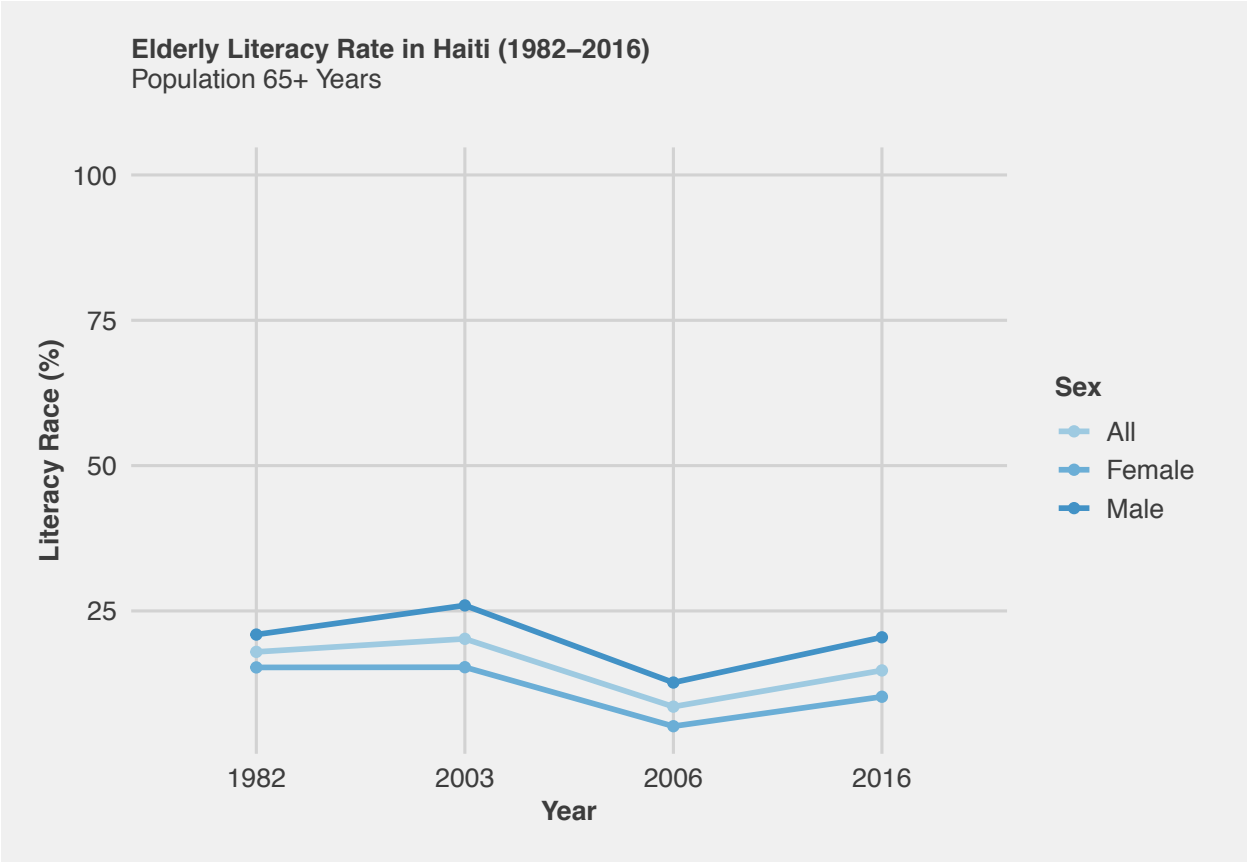
Figure 4: Source: The World Bank Education Statistics
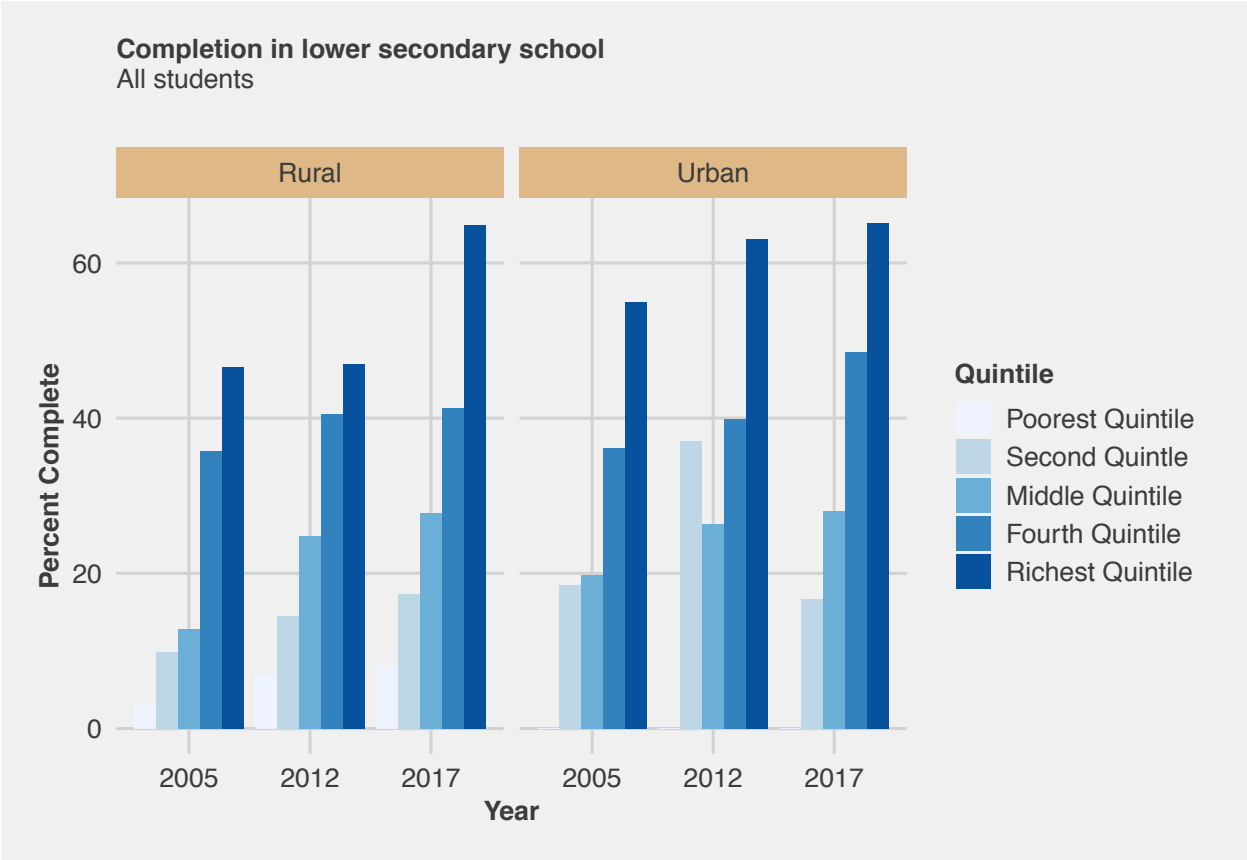
Figure 5: Source: The World Bank Education Statistics
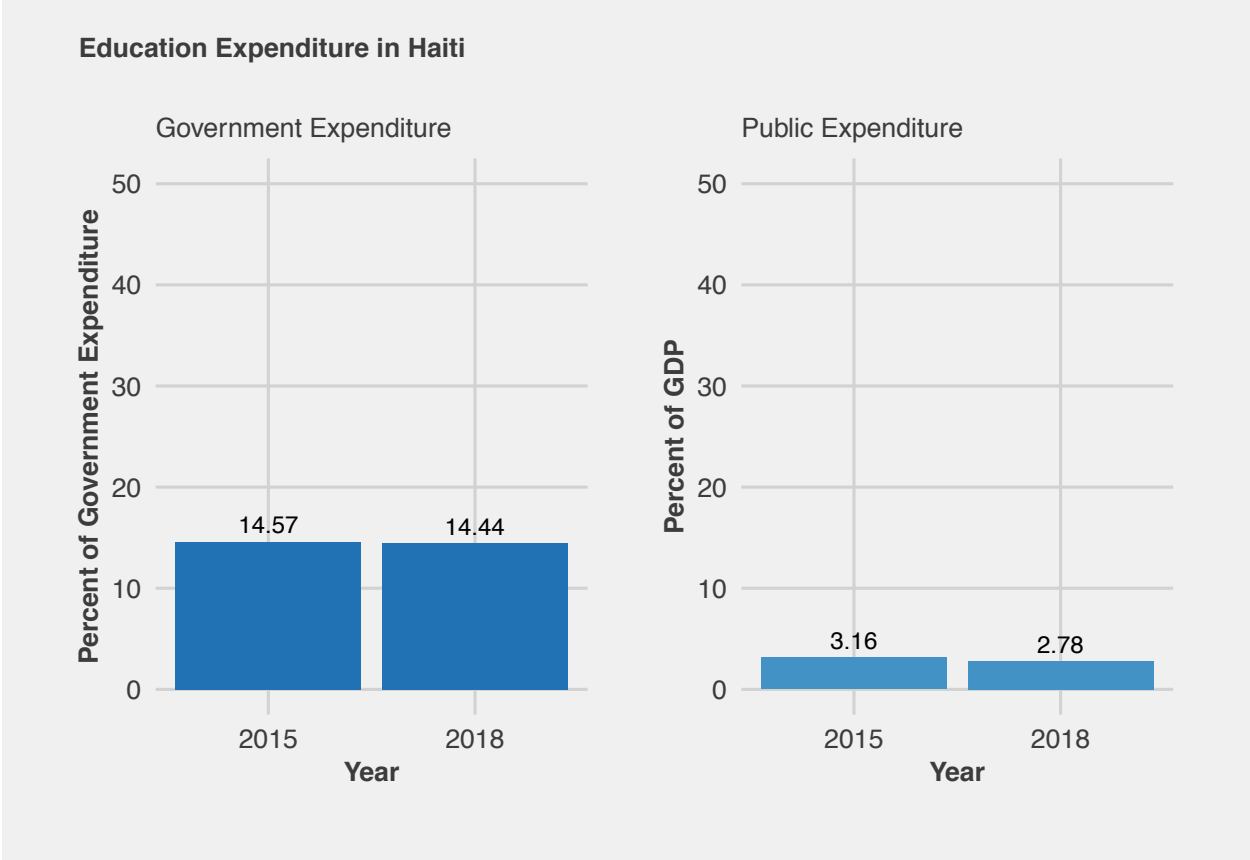
Figure 6: Source: The UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) statistics database
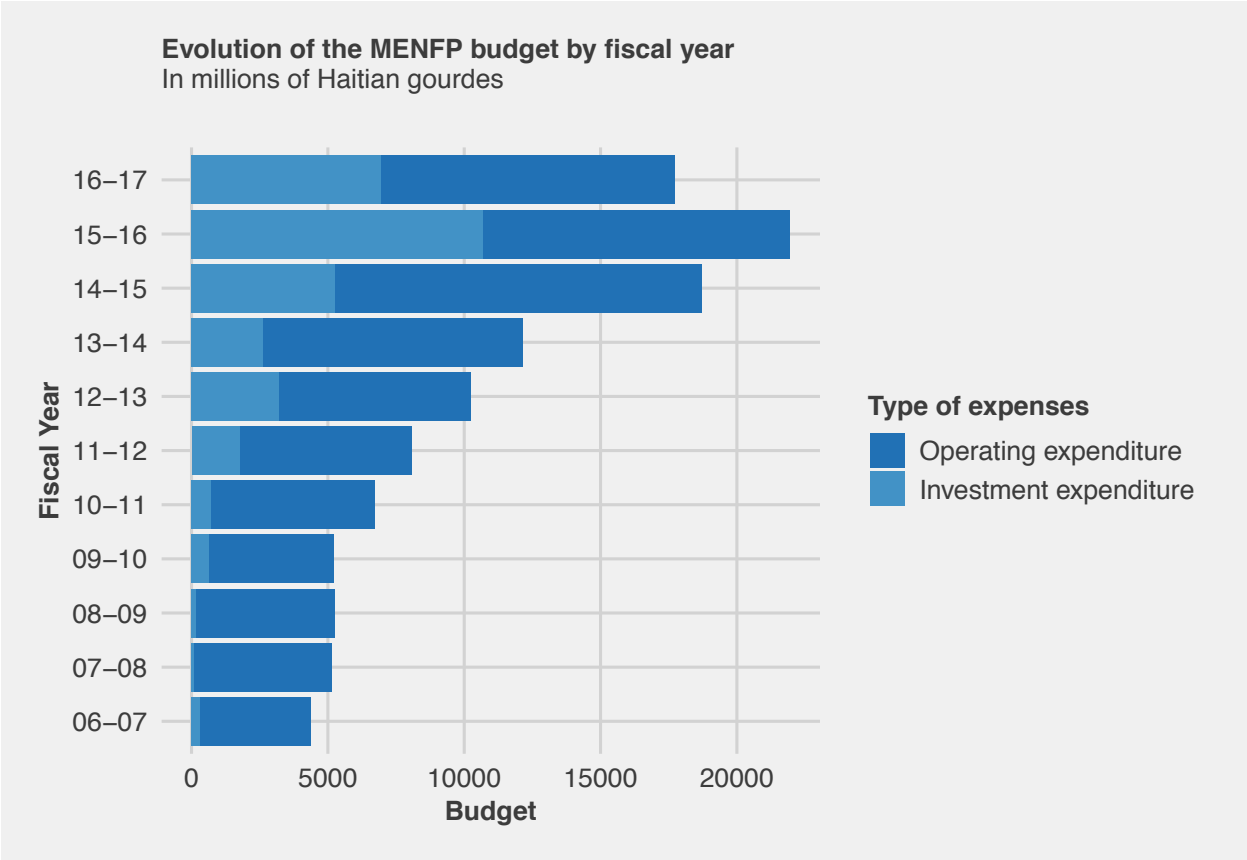
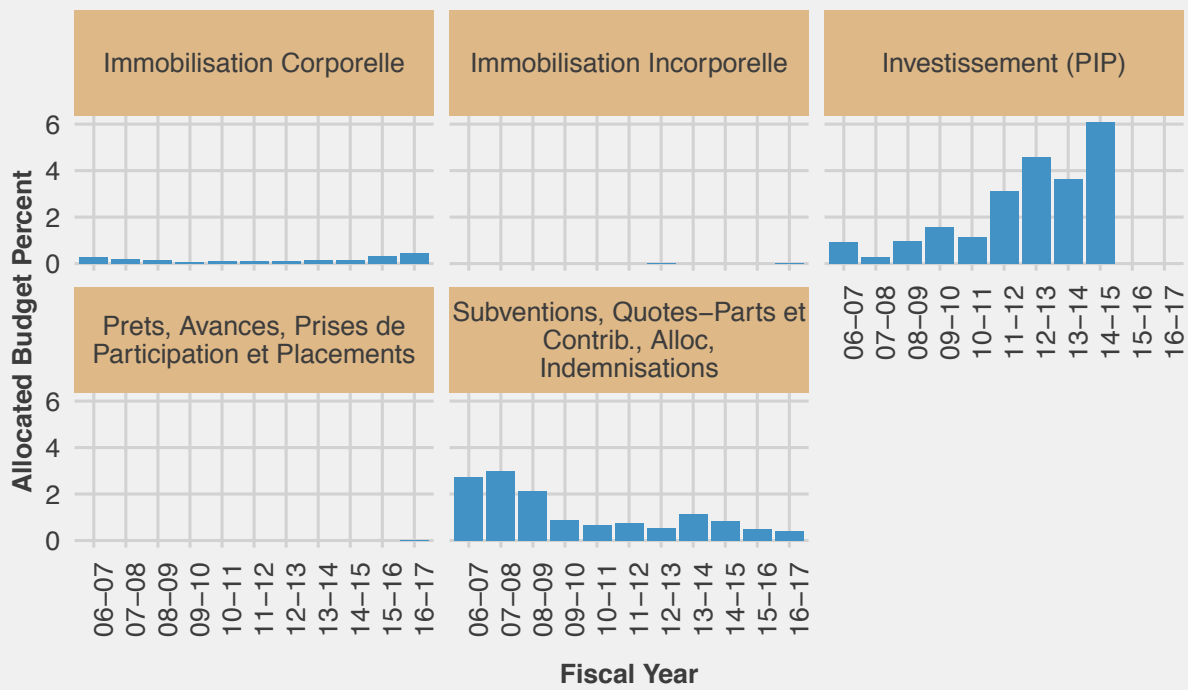Figure 7: Source: BOOST du Ministère de L'Economie et des Finances d'Haïti
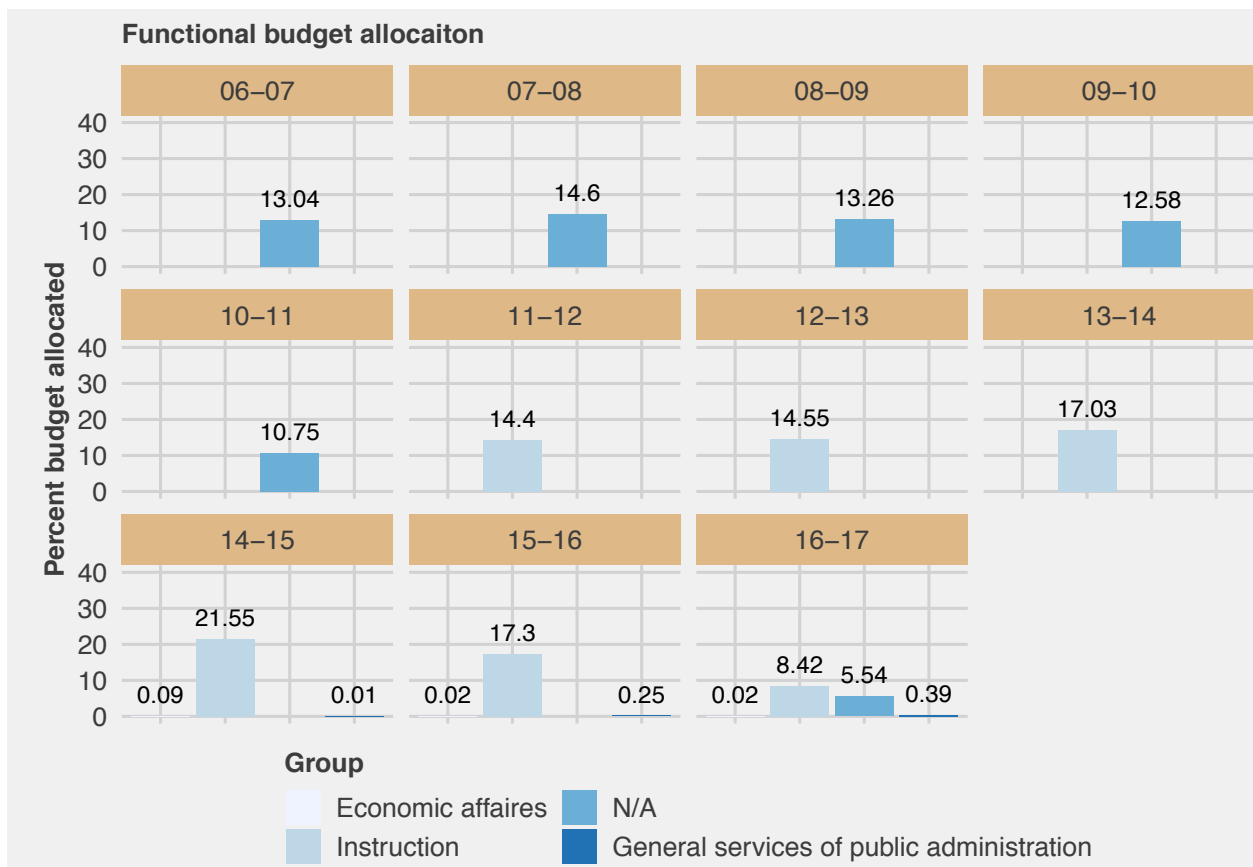
Figure 8: Source: BOOST from the Haitian Ministry of Economy and Finance (MEF)

Figure 9: Source: BOOST from the Haitian Ministry of Economy and Finance (MEF)

Functional budget allocation
Ministry of national education and vocational training (MENFP)
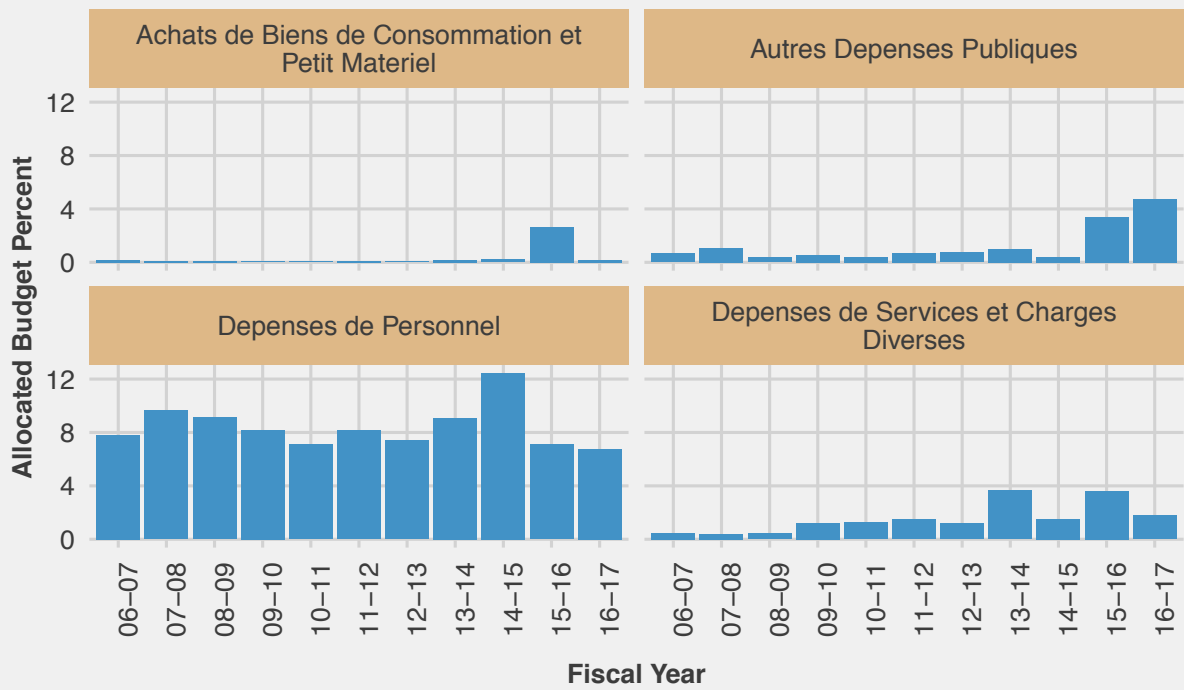
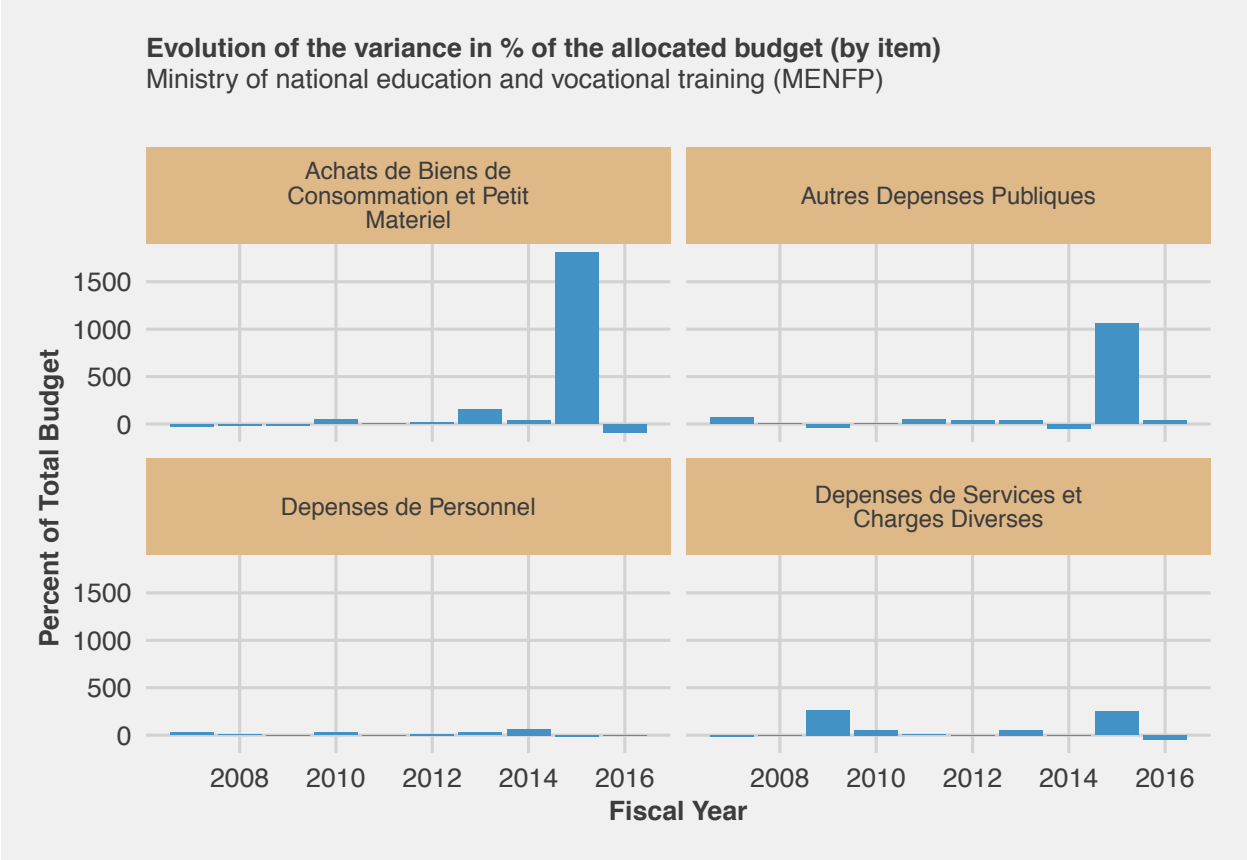Figure 10: Source: BOOST from the Haitian Ministry of Economy and Finance (MEF)
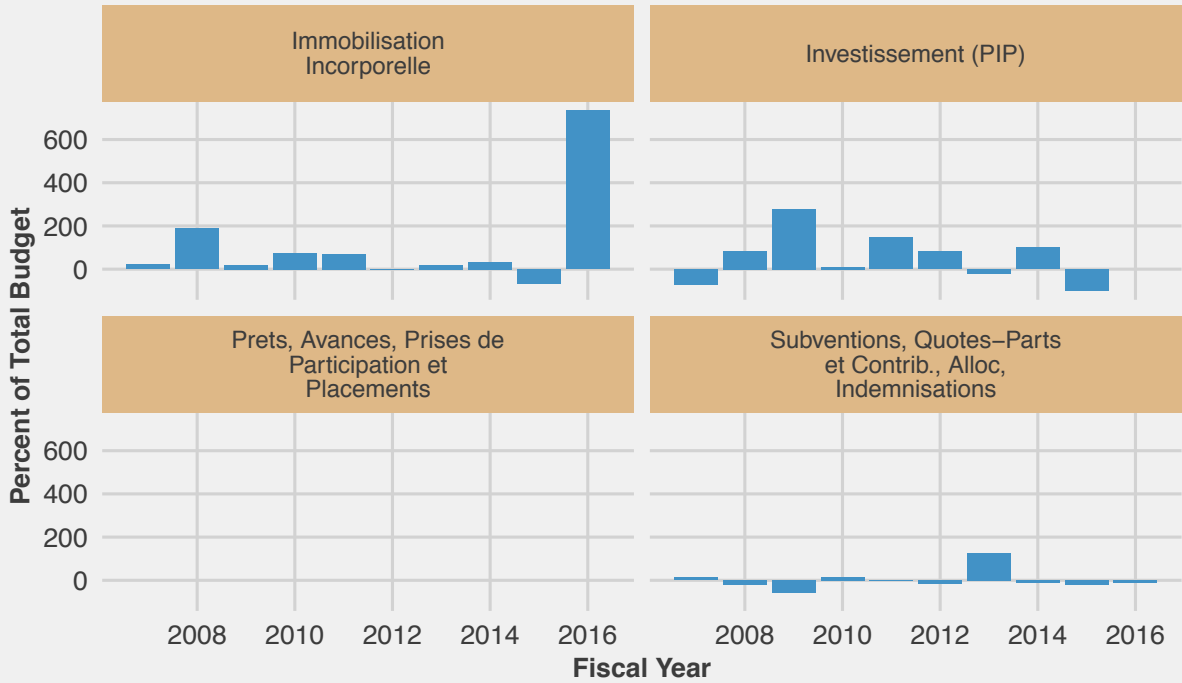
Figure 11: Source: BOOST from the Haitian Ministry of Economy and Finance (MEF)

Figure 12: Source: BOOST from the Haitian Ministry of Economy and Finance (MEF)

Evolution of the variance in % of the allocated budget (by item)
Ministry of national education and vocational training (MENFP)

APPENDICES

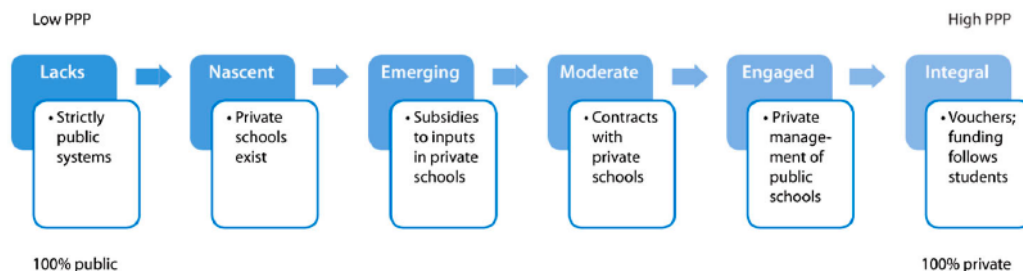**Appendix A: The World Bank Public-Private Partnership Continuum Concept**

Figure 1. The World Bank PPP continuum concept. Source: Adapted from Patrinos, Barrera Osorio, and Guáqueta (2009).

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Appendix B: Abidjan Guiding Principles 10 Overarching Principles

- **Overarching Principle 1.** States must respect, protect, and fulfil the right to education of everyone within their jurisdiction in accordance with the rights to equality and non-discrimination.
- **Overarching Principle 2.** States must provide free, public education of the highest attainable quality to everyone within their jurisdiction as effectively and expeditiously as possible, to the maximum of their available resources.
- **Overarching Principle 3.** States must respect the liberty of parents or legal guardians to choose for their children an educational institution other than a public educational institution, and the liberty of individuals and bodies to establish and direct private educational institutions, subject always to the requirement that such private educational institutions conform to standards established by the State in accordance with its obligations under international human rights law.
- **Overarching Principle 4.** States must take all effective measures, including particularly the adoption and enforcement of effective regulatory measures, to ensure the realization of the right to education where private actors are involved in the provision of education.
- **Overarching Principle 5.** States must prioritize the funding and provision of free, quality, public education, and may only fund eligible private instructional educational institutions, whether directly or indirectly, including through tax deductions, of land concessions, international assistance and cooperation, or other forms of indirect support, if they comply with applicable human rights law and standards and strictly observe all substantive, procedural, and operational requirements.
- **Overarching Principle 6.** International assistance and cooperation, where provided, must reinforce the building of free, quality, public education systems, and refrain from supporting, directly or indirectly, private educational institutions in a manner that is inconsistent with human rights.
- **Overarching Principle 7.** States must put in place adequate mechanisms to ensure they are accountable for their obligations to respect, protect, and fulfil the right to education, including their obligations in the context of the involvement of private actors in education.
- **Overarching Principle 8.** States must regularly monitor compliance of public and private institutions with the right to education and ensure all public policies and practices related to this right comply with human rights principles.
- **Overarching Principle 9.** States must ensure access to an effective remedy for violations of the right to education and for any human rights abuses by a private actor involved in education
- **Overarching Principle 10.** States should guarantee the effective implementation of these Guiding

Principles by all appropriate means, including where necessary by adopting and enforcing the required legal and budgetary reforms

Appendix C. Haiti UN Human Rights Treaties

Human rights treaties that Haiti has either signed or ratified include:

- The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (signed 1980; ratified 1981)
- The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (signed 1972, ratified 1972)
- The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ratified 2013)
- The International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (signed 2013)
- The Convention on the Rights of the Child (signed 1990, ratified, 1995) and its protocols
- The Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (ratified 2009)

Source: The United Nations Human Rights Treaty Bodies Database