# University of Stavanger

# Bridging international aidwork and local capacities in a protracted crisis

An explorative case study of the
Manman Troll project in Port au Prince, Haiti.



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"*The small scale projects like Project Haiti, those are the ones that have great impact in Haiti that nobody talks about. Because they are not only running the schools, but they also give the parents and teachers a trade. That they can help themselves even after the life of Project Haiti.*" ("Prosjekt Haiti," 2012, Country director, Grameen Bank).

"*Manman Troll - Je taime, te quiero, I love you*"
(Manman Troll participant).

# Abstract

In recent years the concept of protracted crises has emerged. Countries in protracted crises are characterized by long-term crises conditions and leak the developmental and sustainable movement to get out of the crises. Haiti is one of these country who is additionally deeply dependent on foreign aid.

To be able to develop, capacity building has become more relevant when NGOs enter humanitarian crises. Capacity building is the strengthening and empowering of people in crises through long-term effective programs and projects that will not harm the society in crises, but rather contribute to a sustainable development. By increasing peoples knowledge on topics like politics, human rights, gender issues and health, for example, as well as giving them the possibility to evolve, local communities can become strengthened and more self-aware. This process might trigger a long-term movement that can get a country out of a crisis.

This thesis is an explorative study into the everyday practices of the women's network Manman Troll at Project Haiti in Port au Prince, Haiti. The research is based on fieldwork in Haiti in March 2015. Empirical data has been gathered from the participants of the women's network Manman Troll. The study intends to address the research problem: *How international NGOs can support the strengthening of local capacities in a protracted crisis*. Capacity building as the ends to trigger developmental change in humanitarian long-term crises has been used as a tool to measure the effects of Manman Troll on the participants' lives. The degree of participation in the projects program, as well as learning opportunities, empowerment and sustainable development has been key elements throughout the thesis.

Key findings from the research suggest that a stepwise approach towards building capacities in crises seems to have long-term sustainable effects on the programs participants. This also results in effects for the society in Haiti due to increased and shared knowledge about topics like human rights, gender-based violence, politics and health related issues. Furthermore, an NGO with roots in the Haitian society seems to meet the requirements to implement projects by being sensitive to societal problems like one could find in protracted crisis Haiti.

# Preface

The thesis at hand marks the completion of a post-graduate degree in Societal Safety and Risk Management at the University of Stavanger. With this, I would like to thank a few people who helped me reach the end of this master, and without whose permanent support and encouragement as well as the sharing of their knowledge and resources, I would not have gotten this far.

First of all, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Project Haiti, and especially to Ingvill Konradsen Ceide and Luc Edwin Ceide who let me stay with them in Haiti, and who so kindly introduced me to the Haitian people and culture. I would also like to thank all of the staff at Project Haiti who always helped me, when I had questions and who kindly assisted with translating all of the interviews and documents for me. You all have a special place in my heart.[1]

I wish to thank all the women involved and participating at Manman Troll in Project Haiti for the sharing of their experiences and for taking part in the interviews. Without your contribution this study would not have been possible.

I would also like to send a sincere thank you to my supervisor, Professor Kristin Sørung Scharffscher in Norway. Thank you for all your help, the constructive feedbacks, your ideas for improvements for my thesis, and all your encouraging words, when I was stuck in my own thoughts. I will always be grateful for the opportunity to go to Haiti which I would not have had, if it was not for you. Going to Haiti and being part of the evaluation of Manman Troll for Norad was an interesting, unique and extraordinary opportunity for me as a student.

I would like to express my appreciation to my partner, Geir Risvoll, who always supported my decisions to go to Haiti and who always believed in me, even when I did not. And finally, to my friends in Norway and Germany, who always had confidence-boosts for me, when I was lost again, and who encouraged me constantly along the way of fulfilling this thesis.

I as the author of this thesis point out that I am responsible for the empirical data and the analysis presented in this thesis. They are my own work which was done independently from Project Haiti, Norad or any other agency.

Mailyn Sammler
Stavanger, July 2015

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[1] The picture on the front page shows the graduation ceremony for the women of Manman Troll this year. Source: Project Haiti.

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## Abbreviations

| | |
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| FAO | Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations |
| FSI | Fragile State Index |
| GBV | Gender-based violence |
| MINUSTAH | United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti |
| MTW | Manman Troll women (=participant) |
| NGO | Non-governmental organization |
| Norad | Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation |
| Norwegian MFA | Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs |
| OECD | The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNOCHA | United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs |

# 1 Introduction

This thesis is an explorative study which seeks to illustrate the bridging of international aidwork and local capacities in a protracted crisis situation. Its purpose is to see how international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) support the strengthening of local capacities in crisis, or if they in fact contribute to weaken existing capacities and do more harm with their undertaken programs.

## 1.1 Background for the choice of the research problem

After the fall of the Berlin Wall the number of complex emergencies in the world increased. These types of crises are often characterized as extremely complex, with several causes, and intern or extern conflicts (Kruke & Olsen, 2005; Wachira, 1997). In the literature crises with such characteristics are also referred to as complex political emergencies (Goodhand & Hulme, 1999), complex humanitarian emergency (Keen, 2008), conflict disaster (Dynes, 2004), compound disaster (Kruke & Olsen, 2005; Wachira, 1997), or permanent emergency (Duffield, 1994). The Inter-Agency Standing Committee defines complex emergencies as

> "*A humanitarian crisis in a country, region or society where there is total or considerable breakdown of authority resulting from internal or external conflict and which requires an international response that goes beyond the mandate or capacity of any single agency and/ or the ongoing United Nations country Program.*" (1994, as cited in Kruke & Olsen, 2012, p. 213).

Complex emergencies often lead to a great response from both the national and international disaster-relief sector. In other words, many NGOs often rush to the place of emergency to give aid to the victims. However, in recent years voices about whether or not the work of NGOs does in fact have positive effects on societies in crises have become louder and louder. Many NGOs withdraw from a crisis-affected area after the acute emergency phase, often leaving the population alone in a still not well functioning society, and thus, they may do more harm to the local population than the original emergency situation did (Anderson, 1999; Cosgrave, 2007; Polman, 2010; Quinn, 2002; Scharffscher, 2011).

Kruke (2012) divides crisis into five phases:

| Pre-emergency phase | → | Acute emergency phase | → | Late emergency phase | → | Rehabilitation and recovery | → | Reconstruction and development |
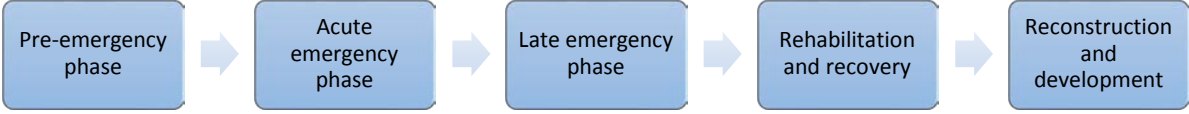
Figure 1: Linear crisis phase division (Kruke, 2012)

Whilst many NGOs hurry to be 'on stage' during the acute phase, they leave again during the late emergency phase. In other words, during rehabilitation and recovery, as well as reconstruction and development many countries are on their own in getting back on their feet with little help from the (inter-) national NGOs. Whereas several other researchers talk about similar divisions of crisis (i.e. Helsloot & Ruitenberg, 2004; Schneider, 1995; Ursano, McCaughey, & Fullerton, 1994), Kruke (2012) mentions that crises phases are circular rather than linear (fig. 1 & 2). The circular process in figure 2 illustrates how for example a country can go from any phase in the circle back to the acute emergency phase. Some countries may never fully reach the reconstruction and development phase, and are thus, constantly in a state of 'acute long-term' emergency
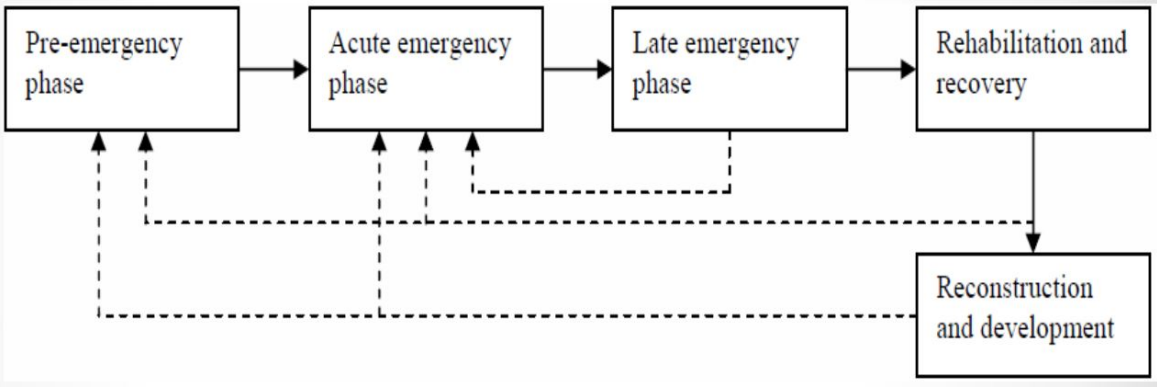
Figure 2: Crisis as a circle process (Kruke, 2012)

or development. Recently, states that are in a constant state of crisis without ever having a chance to get out of it, are called protracted crises. Protracted crises share most of the characteristics of a complex emergency, but the difference is that they take the long-term aspect into account. That is to say development is an integrated part of the concept of protracted crises. They can be defined as

"*those environments in which a significant proportion of the population is acutely vulnerable to death, disease and disruption of livelihoods over a prolonged period*

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*of time. The governance of these environments is usually very weak, with the state having a limited capacity to respond to, and mitigate, the threats to the population, or provide adequate levels of protection*" (Macrae & Harmer, 2004).

Nevertheless, not all protracted crises situations are alike. Maxwell (as described in FAO, 2010) mentions that countries who are in a protracted crisis may share some (but not necessarily all) of the following characteristics: Duration or longevity; conflict; weak governance or public administration; unsustainable livelihood and poor food-security outcomes; and breakdown of local institutions.

In relation to figure 2, there is no clear line for when relief starts or ends in this cycle. This is also valid when talking about long-term developmental aid-operations in a country. Those operations can be an ongoing process no matter which crisis phase the country or region is in. Until the 1990s relief and development were two separate parts that had no relation to each other what so ever. Nevertheless the focus changed during the last years and there are many discussions *whether* and *how* these two subjects are related (White & Cliffe, 2000). In reference to the cycle process (fig. 2), parts of a country can still be in the 'late emergency phase', while other parts of the country already are in the 'rehabilitation and recovery', or even in the 'reconstruction and development' phase.

## 1.2   Research objectives and research problem to be addressed

Countries in protracted crises appear to benefit little, if at all, from short-term relief operations from NGOs. They rather seem to be dependent on long-term developmental initiatives by the international aid sector. Therefore, the focus of this thesis is on the long-term operations of NGOs that hopefully lead to a sustainable development in the setting of protracted crises. To be able to get out of a long-term crisis and the never ending loop illustrated in figure 2, it is necessary to move towards development. To this end, capacity building as one of the developmental principles for engagement in protracted crises will be at the center for research (compare table 2, p. 17). In short, capacity building in this thesis is understood to be the strengthening and empowering of local people in a crisis-setting with the purpose of giving them the

necessary tools to start to develop themselves and their country. The goal is to see if NGOs' actions do in fact have long-term sustainable effects on a country. This might mark the beginning of a developmental process which could lead the country out of its long-term crisis. Based on these elements, this thesis is concerned with answering the following research problem:

*How can international NGOs support the strengthening of local capacities in a protracted crisis?*

As later described, currently, 22 countries are defined as being in a protracted crisis (FAO, 2010). Haiti is one of them and will be the case study explored and analyzed further in this thesis. The country is the poorest in the Western hemisphere and has repeatedly been struck by natural disasters like storms, hurricanes and earthquakes. Thus, Haiti has the preconditions to be defined as a complex emergency. However, it lacks the permanent internal or external violent conflict or the aspect of war which, as mentioned above, is a part of any complex emergency. Haiti also shows several characteristics of a protracted crisis, like the fact that it has been a developmental country over a long period of time without any proper chance for change. With the developmental aspect in mind, it is an interesting case to be examined closer in this thesis.

Qualitative research methods were used to collect data during a three-week stay in Haiti in March 2015. The research aims at giving an insight in how NGOs can accomplish sustainable long-term development through effective capacity building of people in a protracted crisis. Ceide (2008) mentions that real change lies in the institutions, the people and their mentalities. As such, the methods for performing capacity building activities and the effects on the participants living situations were examined closer. Thus, the thesis might contribute to the practical field of capacity building within the academic studies of societal safety, risk management and humanitarian crises. Moreover, it may be of help for other NGOs and actors working in crises-affected countries in the future.

## 1.3 Limitations of the study

Due to the scope of this thesis, it was necessary to make some limitations in relation to the research carried out. Protracted crises and the focus on development are relevant topics within the humanitarian sector today. If nothing else, the earthquakes in Nepal in April and May this year, have put Haiti also back on the radar due to the many mistakes that were made in the aftermath of the 2010-earthquake with regard to the humanitarian response. "*If the past five years have demonstrated anything, it's the importance of linking immediate and interim relief and rehabilitation work to longer-term development goals.*" (Prospery, 2015).

The theoretical approach presented in chapter 3 tries to confine these boundaries to limit the presentation of the empirical findings, as well as the following analysis. While the focus of the thesis is on the practical capacity building operations of NGOs, the economical limitations of the case presented were not taken into account when analyzing the findings. Even though financial resources surely define NGOs limits in what they can do and achieve, this is not investigated further in this thesis as the funding of the projects was not of relevance for the thesis itself.

## 1.4 Previous research

The field of capacity building as research seems to be quite wide and dependent on the context and the setting. Moreover, capacity building did not appear to be a clearly defined area of research within the studies of Societal Safety and Risk Management. However, some overlaps between the humanitarian sector, as an integrated part of the studies within Societal Safety and Risk Management, and the field of capacity building were found. Nevertheless, very few cases of explicit conducted academic research of cases in crises-affected countries were found while I conducted the research for this thesis. It was thus, difficult to limit the scope of capacity building to a few themes, deemed to be most relevant and important for my research. An attempt to do so is made in chapter 3.

## 1.5 Structure of thesis

The thesis at hand is divided into eight chapters. Following the introduction, chapter 2 provides the reader with background information on Haiti as a country to be able to understand why Haiti, today, can be classified as being in a protracted crisis. Both the historical side that led the country into the crisis over the years, as well as the time after the 2010-earthquake are described. Furthermore, the role of NGOs, especially in the aftermaths of the earthquake will shortly be addressed.

Chapter 3 presents the theoretical lenses through which the collected data later were empirically organized and afterwards analyzed. This chapter concludes with three complementary subsidiary research questions that will be answered in the analysis part. Afterwards, in chapter 4, the research design and methodology are accounted for. This chapter should help the reader to retrace all the choices that were made during the writing of this thesis. Chapter 5 displays the empirical findings from the data collection in Haiti. It seeks to give the reader an insight in the daily operations of capacity building and what effects the approach has on the local society. Respectively, chapter 6, discusses the empirical findings presented in the previous chapter with help of the theoretical framework presented in chapter 3. And lastly, chapter 7 provides a conclusion in relation to the research problem addressed by summarizing the key findings. Chapter 8 provides a complete list of all references used throughout the thesis.

## 2 Context

To be able to conduct in-depth research for this thesis, I decided to look closer at Haiti as a country being defined as being a protracted crisis. To this end, chapter 2 will give the reader a brief background information on Haiti as a country.

Haiti is located in the Caribbean where it shares an island (Hispaniola) with the Dominican Republic, a former Spanish colony. The country has approximately 10 million inhabitants of which 2.3 million people live officially in the major agglomerations around Port au Prince, the capital (estimated population 2009). The unofficial number is supposed to be up to twice as much. Moreover, today one out of eight Haitians lives in other parts of the world (Brinkhoff, 2010; CIA: The World Factbook, 2009; MacLeod & Lawless, 2015).

All fundamental power, both social and economic, has been in the hands of a small elite throughout Haiti's history (Hallward, 2007). The country is said to be the poorest in the Western hemisphere with an estimated 80% of the population living under the poverty line (CIA: The World Factbook, 2009; Diamond, 2005; MacLeod & Lawless, 2015; Patriquin, 2010). Numbers from the time after the earthquake reveal that poverty was still high, especially in rural areas in Haiti. In 2012, more than half of the population was poor which means they lived on less than $2.41 a day. In addition, approximately 25 percent were living below the national extreme poverty line of $1.23 a day. However, there has been a decline in the number of people living in extreme poverty from 31 to 24 percent between 2000 and 2012, according to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/ The World Bank (2014). Besides, since 2005 there has been registered an economic growth which was hampered by some natural disasters in the following years like storms, hurricanes and the 2010-earthquake that destroyed large parts of the country's infrastructure.

The main natural hazards to Haiti are hurricanes, storms, flooding, earthquakes and periodic droughts (CIA: The World Factbook, 2009). Besides, the country's natural resources have been almost completely destroyed, due to for example deforestation which caused soil erosions. While the eastern part of Hispaniola, the Dominican Republic, still is green, the western part of the island is almost devoid of trees. Today only one percent of Haiti is still forested, compared to 28% of the Dominican Republic (Diamond, 2005).

The official languages in Haiti are French and Haitian Creole. Even though most official institutions and the school system are in French, the vast majority of the people speaks (only) Creole. Education is officially compulsory for children between six and twelve, but nonetheless, almost half of the population older than 15 years is illiterate.

Ceide (2008) argues that large-scale social forces, such as class inequalities, racism, sexism, political violence, poverty and other social inequalities, undoubtedly are rooted in historical processes. "*Over the centuries, […] economic, political, and social difficulties, as well as a number of natural disasters, have beset Haiti with chronic poverty and other serious problems*" (MacLeod & Lawless, 2015, p. 1).

## 2.1 The historical context

For a long time Hispaniola was the issue of fights between the French and the Spanish. However, in 1697 they settled their hostilities, and the western part (approximately one third) of Hispaniola was forth on a French colony, while the larger eastern part (the Dominican Republic) was owned by the Spanish. France imported tens of thousands of African slaves to work on sugar plantations (CIA: The World Factbook, 2009; MacLeod & Lawless, 2015).

Haiti was the first and only country of black people to free itself from slavery through a successful slave revolt in 1804. It was the second republic to be established in the Americas after the United States. France recognized Haiti's independency in 1825, but in return Haiti had to pay France nearly 100 million francs (MacLeod & Lawless, 2015). Many researchers look at this debt as the reason why Haiti had difficulties to get started properly with their own economic system for a long time. In addition, many Western countries did not recognize Haiti's independence and sovereignty which weakened the state even more (CIA: The World Factbook, 2009; MacLeod & Lawless, 2015).

Political violence has occurred frequently throughout the country's history and caused it to be politically unstable. Centuries of upheaval and distress followed, and "*politically and socially, Haiti seems to be always in a state of transition*" (MacLeod & Lawless, 2015, p. 6).

In September 1957 François Duvalier, also known as "Papa Doc" was elected president of Haiti. He had himself elected president for life in 1964, and pushed the

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country into new tensions with the Dominican Republic, and Haiti got more and more internationally isolated. After his death in 1971 his son Jean-Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier took over as new president for life. He stayed president until 1986, when he fled into exile to France. In 1990 Haiti held its first free elections in its history, and Jean-Bertrand Aristide became president, but was overthrown shortly after. It followed a new period of struggle and internal conflicts, and US forces came to Haiti in 1994 and helped Aristide to return and fulfil his presidency. In 1995 there were new elections and René Préval became president. Nevertheless, Aristide got reelected in 2001, but in the following years violence and human rights abuse increased which led to Aristide being forced into exile in 2004. Peacekeepers from the UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) were stationed after this coup d'etat to maintain civil order and to support political processes and governance (CIA: The World Factbook, 2009; MacLeod & Lawless, 2015; United Nations, n.a.). Aristides departure "*left a polarized country, and conflicts between his supporters and his rivals escalated, leading to hundreds of deaths and international accusations of human rights abuses*" (MacLeod & Lawless, 2015, p. 12).

While the US and UN tried to prevent Aristide from coming back to Haiti, Préval got elected president once more in 2006. He had many supporters from the poor in Haiti and a sense of optimism prevailed after his election. Nevertheless violent riots were increasing in numbers the following years due to an increase in living costs, the government and MINUSTAH being held responsible (MacLeod & Lawless, 2015). Additionally, Haiti was struck by a series of hurricanes and storms in 2008, and only a short time after by the 2010-earthquake. Those events left hundreds of thousands dead and several million affected and displaced. An estimated one third of the Haitian population was affected by these events (MacLeod & Lawless, 2015). "*Anywhere else in the world the earthquake would have been a catastrophe, but the fragile nature of the Haitian state and the vulnerability of its population turned 12 January 2010 into a truly terrible disaster*" (Clammer, 2012, p. 20).

## 2.2 Haiti after the earthquake 2010 – a republic of NGOs

After the earthquake international aid and relief operations started to provide help for the Haitian people. Several million Haitians had lost their homes and had to live in "*hurriedly constructed encampments consisting of flimsy tarps and tents with little consideration for security*" (Armstrong, 2011). While some camp sites received loads of assistance from NGOs, others were characterized by insecurity and gender-based violence (Armstrong, 2011; Clammer, 2012; Schuller, 2012). Patriquin (2010) writes that there was no government, only NGOs, and that Haiti has become extremely dependent on foreign aid and NGOs. This weakened the political system even further. "*[D]espite global goodwill and almost US $ 10 billion in pledges from countries and international organizations around the world […], the country remains a patchwork of misery, shocking inequality, corruption and chaos […]* " (Patriquin, 2010). Haiti was said to be the country with the highest density of NGOs per capita in the world, a 'Republic of NGOs', according to Clammer (2012).

Clammer (2012) argues further that the earthquake revealed the many social, political and economic fault lines which were already bedeviling the Haitian society. Thus, it was very hard to move from the acute emergency phase towards the recovery and reconstruction phase. In late 2013, more than two and a half years after the earthquake, nearly half a million people were still living in temporary camp sites. More than five years after the disaster, the number has decreased, but is nonetheless still high with more than 85,000 people still living in temporary camps, according to Prospery (2015). Since Haiti suffered from a chronic shortage of new houses being built, it was, and still is, is feared that these camp sites are becoming "*institutionalized into permanent shanties*" (Clammer, 2012, p. 21).

New elections were due in 2010, but were postponed due to the earthquake until 2011. "*Any attempt since then has been stifled by accusations that the electoral council that would organize and oversee them is corrupt and untrustworthy*" (Granitz, 2014).

In the end of 2010 a cholera outbreak was sweeping across Haiti, and has since then taken many thousands lives. Figure 3 shows the cholera cases in Haiti from 2010 to 2015. Cholera does still persist due to factors like Haiti's weak water
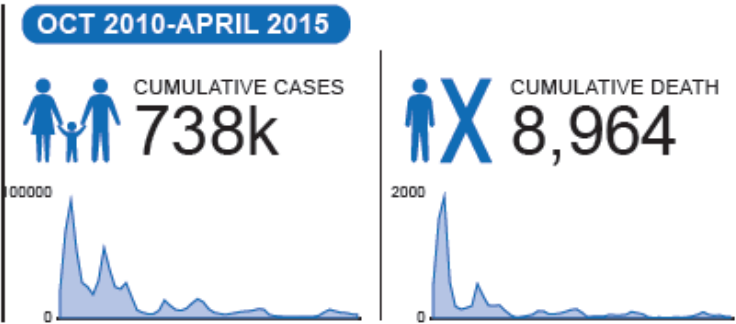


**Figure 3: Cholera Cases in Haiti 2010-2015 (UNOCHA, 2015)**

and sanitation infrastructure, the lack of access to quality medical care and deficiencies in the alert-and-coordination system. Nevertheless, according to a recent report from UNOCHA the fight against cholera is slowly being won (UNOCHA, 2015).

In summary, the international aid and relief, as well as UN operations, have been criticized a lot during the last years, mostly for their short-term operations after the earthquake. Even though billions of dollars were sent to Haiti, *"[y]et less than half the money initially pledged for Haiti by the international community appeared"* (Clammer, 2012, p. 21). This leaves the country exactly where it was before the earthquake: in a state of constant upheaval and restlessness. The development that is so deeply needed failed to appear and the population is still very, or maybe more than ever, dependent on foreign aid. To this end, the Haitian population seems to need an opportunity to become more independent. Capacity building might be the right tool to lead the way towards a sustainable development.

## 2.3 Haiti today

Approximately three-fourths of all households still lack running water and often electricity. (MacLeod & Lawless, 2015). "*[M]uch or most of the population lives chronically or periodically without public electricity, water, sewage, medical care, and schooling*" (Diamond, 2005, p. 330).

According to the CIA: The World Factbook (2009) Haiti has a shortage of skilled labor force and there is a widespread un- and underemployment. As mentioned earlier, one out of eight Haitians emigrates. These are often people who are (higher) educated, but who see little opportunities in Haiti. Resourceful people leaving like this is also called

brain drain (The Fund For Peace, 2015). More than two-thirds of the labor force in Haiti do not have formal jobs. The high level of illiteracy of the grown-up population surely being one of the main reasons for leaving many Haitians in thousands of day-to day jobs (CIA: The World Factbook, 2009; MacLeod & Lawless, 2015).

According to MacLeod and Lawless (2015), the Haitian system has led to an extraordinarily high level of semiofficial corruption. He argues that most people believe that the formal political organization of Haiti primarily exists on paper, and that rural Haitians today feel the irrelevance of a government that has been unable to bring them security, health care, clean water, and a workable transportation system. This is also reflected in the Corruption Perception Index where Haiti ranks amongst the countries with the highest corruption in the world (Transparency International, 2015). In addition, the upcoming elections in Haiti in autumn this year have been the trigger for civil riots and disturbances already since the beginning of this year.

What today's Haiti truly needs is a support system that enables the country and its population to move out of its constant state of crisis, and which enables the whole nation to look forward into a future with opportunities for long-term sustainable development. NGOs operating in Haiti should support these goals rather than to undermine the country's strength.

> "*The Haitian people need to be shaken from their renowned fatalism – the collective assumption that everything will go wrong, or at least stay the way it is. For this to happen, the country needs to phase out its reliance on non-governmental aid, a Band-Aid solution that […] has become all too permanent in Haiti*" (Patriquin, 2010).

Haiti's dependency on foreign aid today is indescribable and hinders the country's deeply needed developmental changes. "*The government's foreign debt is large, and government finances depend heavily on aid from international agencies and from such countries as the United States, France, Canada, and Germany*" (MacLeod & Lawless, 2015, p. 5). This leaves Haiti to remain the poorest country in the western hemisphere and is one of the reasons the country still can be defined as being in a protracted crises.

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# 3 Theoretical framework

This chapter outlines the theoretical lenses through which the research data later will be analyzed in order to answer the research problem at hand: *How can international NGOs support the strengthening of local capacities in a protracted crisis?* The theoretical framework in this chapter narrows the scope of this thesis down to a few relevant issues which are perceived to be of importance in relation to capacity building in protracted crises settings. Chapter 3.1 presents further aspects of why Haiti is defined as a protracted crisis, and gives in addition, some features associated with crises in general. Section 3.2 presents the concept of capacity building in the humanitarian context and introduces some theoretical approaches for relevant topics on how NGOs can operate with capacity building in crises situations like for example participation and gender awareness. Finally, there will be a short summary of the main aspects of the chapter in section 3.3.

## 3.1 Crisis and complex emergencies

Rosenthal, Boin, and Comfort (2001) write that the history of countries and cultures is woven around unique patterns of dramatic events, often symbolizing hardship, evil, distress, or danger. "*Crisis should be understood as periods of upheaval and collective stress, disturbing everyday patterns and threatening core values and structures of a social system in unexpected, often unforeseen and disturbing ways*" (Rosenthal, Charles and 't Hart, 1989, as written in Rosenthal et al., 2001, p. 6).

Furthermore, crises can be characterized by their dynamic patterns. They can either erupt fast or slow, and they can either end fast or slow. Due to its political history, the social complexities, and the 2010-earthquake, what happens in Haiti can be determined as a slow-burning crisis. In other words, the crisis in which Haiti is still in, crept up slowly on the country and its inhabitants and it seems to be going away, if at all, only in a very slowly manner. Political instability, a lack of infrastructure, as well as poverty and resource depletion are only some of the causes for the crisis that slowly emerged in Haiti. The crisis seems to be constantly present in every part of the country: the political system, the economic and social development, the medial sector, demographic pressures, and so on.

Rosenthal et al. (2001) mention that these complex emergencies often are looked at as being "*unmanageable*" (p.34) in short-, or even medium-term perspectives. Moreover, the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Norwegian MFA) writes that humanitarian crises take form when there are big losses of civil lives and violations of basic human rights, as a result of a natural phenomenon and/ or conflict; and when the economic damage exceeds one society's possibility to cope with the situation without help (Norwegian MFA, 2008). Even though many of the above and introductory features of complex emergencies apply to Haiti, the country does not qualify as an *emergency* as such. An emergency can be defined as "*a serious, unexpected, and often dangerous situation requiring immediate action*" (Oxford Dictionaries, n.a.). Respectively, the 2010-earthquake in Haiti can be confined as an emergency, but to this end, not the overall situation in the country. As mentioned earlier, Haiti rather qualifies to be in a protracted crisis.

### 3.1.1  The situation in Haiti as a protracted crisis

As previously noted, in recent years the concept of protracted crises has been introduced. The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO, 2010) writes that protracted crises situations are characterized by recurrent natural disasters and/or conflict, longevity of food crises, breakdown of livelihoods and insufficient institutional capacity to react to the crises.

Even though the criteria for defining a protracted crisis can vary a lot according to the overall circumstances, FAO (2010) uses three measurable criteria to determine whether or not a country is in a protracted crisis. These criteria are firstly, longevity of crisis; secondly, aid flows, and thirdly, economic and food security status. As mentioned before, Haiti's situation meets most of these criteria.

Table 1 illustrates how many natural disasters, human-induced disasters and a combination of those two Haiti has experienced between 1996 and 2010. About half of the 22 countries in protracted crises had in total 15 disasters during the given time period, with 15 being the highest measured amount of disasters. Haiti was amongst these countries (FAO, 2010). In other words, Haiti has been repeatedly struck by disasters over a longer time period which hampers the country's ability to develop and get out of its permanent crisis.

| Country | Natural disaster only | Human-induced disaster only | Combined natural and human-induced disaster | Total disasters (1996–2010) | Humanitarian aid/total ODA (2000–2008) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | (Number of years) | | | | (Percentage) |
| Haiti | 11 | 1 | 3 | 15 | 11 |

**Table 1: Countries in protracted crisis: typology of crisis, 1996-2010, and proportion of humanitarian aid, 2000-08** (excerpt about Haiti from table 1, FAO (2010, p. 13)).

FAO (2010) mentions that in terms of aid flows, countries who are in protracted crises are characterized by a relatively high share of total aid received in the form of humanitarian assistance rather than development assistance. This seems to be true for Haiti as well as illustrated in the previous chapter.

Many of the above characteristics are coherent with the situation in Haiti today. Additionally, or included, problems like poverty, conflict, weak institutions, a weak or non-existing government, and an exaggerated exploitation of natural resources are present in Haiti as well. The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) ranks Haiti 168 out of total 187 on their human development index 2013 with no change in rank compared to 2012. This characterizes the country as one with the lowest human development (United Nations Development Programme, 2014).

Despite the fact that a government exists in Haiti, it is still a weak apparatus and shows signs of corruption and dysfunction. Furthermore, there are internal conflicts and Shamsie, Thompson, and the Centre for International Governance (2006) claim that poverty is one of the main reasons for these conflicts: In their opinion, poverty, amongst other things, leads to violence, insecurity and political instability.

The 2010-earthquake was a big disaster for Haiti which had a low probability of occurring, but nevertheless had a very high impact on the already weak and fragile state (United Nations Development Programme, 2014). It caused Haiti to sink even further on the Fragile State Index (FSI) in 2011. As opposed to the human development index, recent data of the FSI show that the country is slowly moving upwards again. In 2014 Haiti was on place 9 (in comparison to rank 5 in 2011), being a country with *high alert* on the FSI. "*Despite the significant aid Haiti has received, the march towards*

*progress has been slow and strenuous, and not always steady*" (The Fund For Peace, 2015).
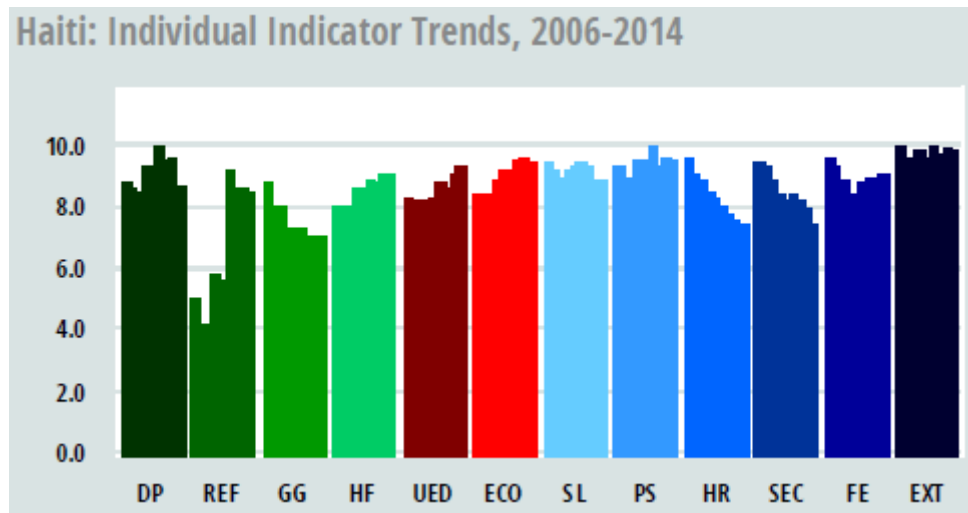
**Figure 4: Haiti: Individual Indicator Trends, 2006 – 2014 (The Fund For Peace, 2015, p. 22) [2]**

According to the most recent FSI, Haiti ranks amongst the top five worst performers in the following categories: Brain Drain and Human Flight (1st), Poverty and Economic Decline (1st), Uneven Economic Development (3rd), External Intervention (4th) and Public Services (5th). According to the Fund For Peace (2015) brain drain and human flight means that people emigrate, when there is little opportunity, leaving a vacuum of human capital. Second, poverty and economic decline describe the ability of a state to provide for its inhabitants, if they cannot do so by themselves. This strain can also create class friction like we for example see in Haiti. Third, uneven economic development describes the situation when the government is unevenly committed to different groups in society (religious, ethnic,…). Fourth, external intervention, Haiti is and has often been governed by external actors, when it could not meet its international and domestic obligations. And finally, fifth, Haiti lacks a general infrastructure – public services - which includes the provision of health, education and sanitation services among other things.

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[2] DP = Demographic Pressures; REF = Refugees & IDPs; GG = Group Grievance; HF = Brain Drain & Human Flight; UED = Uneven Economic Development; ECO = Poverty & Economic Development; SL = State Legitimacy; PS = Public Services; HR = Human Rights & Rule of Law; SEC = Security Apparatus; FE = Factionalized Elites; EXT = External Intervention (for more information, see also The Fund For Peace (2015)).

Haiti needs a long-perspective plan to get out of this crisis. The main question is: How can this be achieved? - Some possible ways are presented in table 2 underneath. FAO (2010) argues that there are humanitarian, developmental and OECD (= the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) principles for the engagement in protracted crises. While the humanitarian principles are established according to the Code of Conduct (Hilhorst, 2005; International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies and the ICRC, 2003), the OECD principles are issued to be used in fragile states, but not explicitly in states who are in protracted crises. However, the focus throughout this thesis will mostly be on the developmental principles illustrated in table 2.

| Principles for protracted crises? | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Humanitarian principles** | **Developmental principles** | **OECD principles for "engagement in fragile states"** |
| Humanity | Empowerment | Context-specificity |
| Impartiality | Participation | Do no harm |
| Neutrality | Sustainability | State building as central objective |
| Independence | Self-reliance | Prioritize prevention/risk reduction |
| Universality | Equity | Recognize political, security and development links |
| | Capacity building | Promote non-discrimination |
| | Transparency/accountability | |

Table 2: Principles for engagement in protracted crises? (FAO, 2010, p. 17).

In the following section the concept of capacity building in the humanitarian sector is presented. Moreover, some of the developmental principles presented in table 2 like participation, sustainability, empowerment and resilience, in addition to topics like gender awareness and do no harm are introduced. This narrows the empirical research of this thesis further down and will also build the foundation for a discussion later on in chapters 5 and 6.

## 3.2  Capacity Building

The term capacity building within the humanitarian sector is often used as synonym or has been associated with expressions like community development, capacity development, community action, participation, capacity strengthening and empowerment (Liberato, Brimblecombe, Ritchie, Ferguson, & Coveney, 2011; Simmons, Reynolds, & Swinburn, 2011). Current definitions of the term are often long, lack clarity, seem ambiguous, and can seem to have conflicting agendas (Simmons et

al., 2011; Smillie, 2001). The high degree of variation in the definitions might be due to the varying contexts in which actors operate. They have to pay attention to issues like for example the physical and geographical setting, the (socio-) economic situation and/ or cultural issues (Simmons et al., 2011).

Barbee (2010) writes that the term primarily refers to *technical assistance*, but in his opinion this approach

> "*tend[s] to not work well [because] outside trainers, consultants and staff, while highly trained and skilled in the subject matter, usually lack understanding and appreciation of the country`s culture, language(s), complex problems and issues.*" (p.99).

Besides, the concept of capacity building has amongst other things been criticized for not meeting the actual local challenges, not taking care of local structures, not involving local networks and people, and failing to build on what already exists in crises-affected areas. This criticism refers often to organizations that rather would get a foreign expert to come to the crisis area to teach the local people instead of using locals to do this job (Barbee, 2010; Smillie, 2001).

Despite the fact that the term *capacity building* is quite widespread, Smillie (2001) says that its definitional problem has to do with target and purpose. Target groups can be both individuals, communities, organizations, but also whole sectors such as health or agricultural. Previously, the purpose of capacity building was merely seen as a means to an end, while recently the focus has shifted towards capacity building being the goal.

Liberato et al. (2011) use a somewhat different approach. They discuss the measuring of capacity building in communities related to health issues. In this manner they refer to capacity building also as community capacity building. A community in reference to capacity building can be defined as "*(i) a specific geographical […] community, (ii) a community of identity or (iii) groups of people with a common interest or issue […]*" (Simmons et al., 2011, p. 196). Amongst other things, Liberato et al. (2011) point out that the cognitive and structural dimensions of social capital and knowledge, skills and experience dimensions of human capital were identified as important elements of community capacity. Furthermore trust, adaption, and dedicated staff were described as contributors to achieve sustainability. A different study also presented by them, found some other key factors supporting community action. They include a positive

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social environment, and the ability to work together, link to one another and participate. All in all Liberato et al. (2011) identified "*nine comprehensive domains*" (p.5) that characterize (community) capacity building: "Learning opportunities and skills development", "resource mobilization", "partnership/ linkages/ networking", "leadership", "participatory decision-making", "assets-based approach", "sense of community", "communication", "development pathway".[3] These core topics were "*relevant across different contexts with differences depending on the context and purpose*" (p.6).

Simmons et al. (2011) examined a set of definitions of capacity building as well. They found out that all definitions have three common characteristics: a) Community capacity building is a process/ an approach; b) capacity building is a collection of domains often referred to as characteristics, aspects, capabilities or dimensions; and c) definitions incorporate an outcome or the rationale for building capacity (p.193). In their article they show a table with various definitions of the term capacity building which they deconstruct according to a) to c). In table 3 some examples are shown in a simplified way[4].

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[3] It is important to note that different domains were named somewhat differently by the different authors that were studied by Lierato et al..

[4] For the purpose of this thesis, the actual definitions and authors mentioned in the article were not included in table 3. This is due to the fact that the article mostly is about capacity building within the health sector. Therefore, there is no direct connection between the process – characteristic – purpose presentations in this illustration. Table 3 shows only some features that I as the author of this thesis, assume to be relevant for this thesis. To get a more detailed insight and a full overview of all the definitions used in the original article, please take a look at Simmons et al. (2011, pp. 194-195).

| Process | Domains or characteristics | Goal/ for what purpose? |
|---|---|---|
| • To develop abilities<br>• To develop sustainable skills<br>• To allow communities to develop<br>• To improve<br>• To assist<br>• Initiatives that strengthen<br>• To address<br>• Community- and individual-led changes<br>• To strengthen<br>• An increase in<br>• Development of involved actions: Advancement (knowledge and skills), expansion (support and infrastructure in organization), development (cohesiveness and partnerships) | • To build social capital<br>• The individual and collective capacities<br>• Abilities<br>• Human capital, organizational resources, and social capital<br>• Capabilities<br>• Will to act<br>• Transferable knowledge, skills, systems, and leadership<br>• Sustainable skills<br>• Commitment, resources and skills<br>• Mix of skills, relationships, propensities for actions and openness to learning | • Improving the local quality of life<br>• To build on community strengths and address community problems and opportunities<br>• To enhance their quality of life<br>• To improve the ability of a community to recognize, evaluate and address key problems<br>• To solve collective problems, and improve or maintain the wellbeing of the community<br>• To define their own values and priorities and capacity to act on these<br>• To improve [health] |

**Table 3: Definitions of capacity building deconstructed according to their process, characteristics and purpose** (hentet fra Simmons et al. (2011), simplified by the author of the thesis).


Despite all these varying approaches and concepts of capacity building, for the purpose of this thesis the following definition according to Barbee (2010) was chosen. He argues that capacity building can be defined

"as *helping carefully selected local groups and agencies to acquire and provide orientation, facilitation and interactive training to local individuals and groups accountably, AND systematically to develop locally valid and reliable training interventions and materials adapted to local conditions and needs on an independent and sustainable basis.*" (s.100).

Based on this, Barbee (2010) mentions that the outside assistance organization, that is NGOs, need to focus on expanding awareness, understanding, knowledge and skills. By doing so, NGOs begin to move into roles as supervisors or advisors, evaluators and mentors to the local beneficiary group. Moreover, to broaden the understanding of capacity building in this thesis, I further chose to add Chapman and Kirks (2001) definition of community capacity building. They define it as "*the process by which the capacity of the community is strengthened in order that it can play a more active role in the economic and social regeneration of their area through long-term ownership of the regeneration-process*" (p.3). Additionally, Coppock et al. (2011) argue that careful capacity-building processes can provide durable, cost-effective, and low-risk options for improving the human condition in marginal lands.

Throughout this thesis I will refer to capacity building according to the above definitions presented by Barbee (2010) and Chapman and Kirk (2001). To this end, successful capacity building always has to build on the people and resources which NGOs find in the crisis-affected setting. Therefore, it is logical to engage in a systematic and trust-based cooperation with the locals.

### 3.2.1  Participation of local networks and their knowledge

Kruke and Olsen (2005) and Quinn (2002) mention some central advantages with a local collaboration. One of the possibilities to achieve this is through capacity building. This also includes the sharing of knowledge, resources and ideas. The local population can always be a source for information, knowledge and cognition NGOs otherwise would not get.

The people who live in crises-affected countries or areas often already have some sort of help or assistance system in place before the international organizations arrive. Examples are neighbors who help each other and trade goods with the people from the next village or city. To be able to solve challenges in complex and protracted crises situations, and to do so in a sustainable way, it is essential to involve the local population in the process of rebuilding and development. This is especially important since these people also are the ones who keep up the peace and development after the NGOs have left the country again (Anderson, 1999; Quinn, 2002; Scharffscher, 2011).

Research shows that NGOs often are unable to recognize these local capacities when starting their work in the crisis area. In the long term this means that local capacities, resources and networks become weakened by the international apparatus. Therefore it is important that NGOs get an overview over local organizations and institutions and the kind of help that already exists upon their arrival. In this regard it is also essential to look at the motivation behind the work of local actors. These can be influenced by biased agendas, political opinions; they can be impartial or dependent on other persons or organizations that have their own agenda (Anderson, 1999; Quinn, 2002; Scharffscher, 2011).

Local resources represent a valuable source for NGOs and other relief workers due to their local knowledge and expertise, geographical acquaintance of the area or country, and not to mention due to their knowledge about traditions and culture. This information can be of great value when operating in a foreign country. Anderson (1999) mentions that situations in which aid is given can vary a lot due to a society`s history, culture, personages, values, and tensions. This is why "*every aid project site is local and special*" (Anderson, 1999, p. 2). In her eyes the challenge for aid workers is to figure out how to do the good they mean to do without inadvertently undermining local strengths, promoting dependency, and allowing aid resources to be misused in the pursuit of war. Empowerment of the local population is one of the possible ways to achieve this.

### 3.2.2 Creating learning opportunities – towards empowerment

Empowerment was earlier mentioned as one of the possible outcomes or goals of capacity building. It can be defined as

> *"[a] process through which women and men in disadvantaged positions increase their access to knowledge, resources, and decision-making power, and raise their awareness of participation in their communities, in order to reach a level of control over their own environment"* (UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 2001).

**Figure 5: Step-wise capacity building interventions, starting from the bottom up (Coppock, Desta, Tezera, & Gebru, 2011, p. 1395).**

Coppock et al. (2011) argue that stepwise capacity building is a good way of ensuring long-lasting effects in a community. Some of the steps they mention are to improve literacy and numeracy through informal (participatory) education so that rudimentary banking and book-keeping procedures could be adopted; to promote a savings culture and a means of managing financial resources through microfinance; to create and manage small businesses through micro-enterprise training (see also figure 5).

Findings show that capacity building for individuals took three years on average (Coppock et al., 2011). To achieve long-term success for example in micro-finance can be dependent on the participants' literacy and numeracy skills, but also on training in microenterprise. Furthermore, there is evidence in the literature that capacity building helps for example poor women to become leaders and to "*rapidly change[d] their communities*" (Coppock et al., 2011, p. 1394). "*Human capacity building can be a driver for change, generating hope and aspirations that set the stage for the use of new information and technology*" (Coppock et al., 2011, p. 1394). They also mention that careful strengthening of human, social, and financial capital can rapidly improve lives and help transform communities in remote, harsh environments where the technical options to boost productivity remain elusive.

### 3.2.3  Gender awareness

Another important aspect to be considered when building capacities in crises are gender issues. Men and women are affected and influenced differently by surrounding factors. Consequently it is necessary that international aid workers take the role of gender, and especially of women and children, into consideration when entering a crisis zone or collaboration with local partners. This varies of course from context to context.

The western society often pictures women as victims and innocent bystanders. Nevertheless, women can contribute with a lot of knowledge and information about local relations. However, in some conflicts women are also seen as the (main) force to exacerbation (Olsen & Scharffscher, 2011; Scharffscher, 2011).

The Resolution 1325 from the United Nations Security Council (2000) talks about the importance of women's equal and full participation as active agents in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, peace-building and peacekeeping. It further stresses the importance of involving women in decision-making processes. Furthermore, the resolution mentions the protection of women and girls according to human rights law, especially in crises and conflict situations. It encourages actors to the strengthening and empowerment of women at all levels of society, both in organizations, their communities and at a (inter)national level. Moreover, it stresses the importance of incorporating HIV/ AIDS awareness training and gender-based violence (GBV) awareness into member states' and NGOs programs. Additionally, goal number three of the Millennium Development Goal also stimulates for gender equality and the empowerment of women ("Millennium Project," 2006).

In general, women in Haiti are seen as the pillars of the family. They take care of the children, the elderly, the household and the household economy. However, many women live alone without a partner and are thus especially dependent on an economic income (Clammer, 2012; James, 2010). However, according to Armstrong (2011), anything that relates to women is neglected in Haiti. Violence against women and rape continue to be a serious problem. "*Experts say that gender-based violence increases after disasters, when people are crowded together and men especially feel powerless*" (Armstrong, 2011). Clammer (2012) argues that even though there have been registered an increase in rapes and gender-based violence after the earthquake and furthermore, general violation of women's rights, there are many women's associations in almost every urban neighborhood, rural village and university campus. The women group together and demand economic rights and full access to social services for themselves and their families. Besides, Ceide (2008) mentions that a critical part of peacekeeping operations has been to focus on 'local ownership', and amongst involvement of the government and the local civil society, he also mentions women's groups as a necessary component in order to create sustainability.

### 3.2.4 Towards sustainable development

In 1989, Mary Anderson and Peter Woodrow developed a "Capacities and Vulnerabilities Analysis" (CVA) which "*essentially […] uses the idea that outsiders cannot develop others, but that they can help to create an environment and processes that help people on the path to their own development*" (Smillie, 2001, p. 11). With long-term development in mind this is an appropriate approach when trying to help.

Capacity building which aims to have a long-lasting impact on people, a community or a country, has to address elements like development, sustainability, effectiveness and empowerment (Barbee, 2010; Simmons et al., 2011). Barbee (2010) argues that it is important to engage local people in impacted communities, and to know how to build effective local capacities to help people and groups. He claims that this "*engagement*" process, as he puts it, empowers and creates attitudes of local "*ownership*" (p.96) and fosters mutual trust. "*Real capacity-building takes expertise, dedication, time and effort, but vastly increases effectiveness and sustainability*" (Barbee, 2010, p. 100). Therefore, in his eyes, it is necessary to try to avoid dependencies on outside resources, because dependency triggers passivity and this leads further to the outcome that local people and communities cannot help themselves in case of a (new) disaster. (See also section 3.2.5 about resilience.)

Barbee (2010) is convinced that the key to the viability of the initiatives is that they maximize the use of local resources and minimize the use of expensive (and often unreliable) outside assistance inputs. This corresponds to Andersons (1999) *do no harm* approach (see section 3.2.6). *"[I]n essence, the essential focus of sustainable capacity-building by an outside assistance organization is to inform, train, assist, model and mentor […]*" (Barbee, 2010, p. 95).

Even though some people argue that technology is the driver for progress, other researchers argue that human development is the driver and technology is the tool to achieve the goals. "*Human development provides the vision, desire, and opportunity to improve lives, and technology can then serve evolving aspirations*" (Coppock et al., 2011, p. 1397).

### 3.2.5 Resilience

There are many discussions whether or not aid organizations contribute to make local communities more resilient. Resilience is

"*[t]he capacity of a system, community or society potentially exposed to hazards to adapt, by resisting or changing in order to reach and maintain an acceptable level of functioning and structure. This is determined by the degree to which the social system is capable of organizing itself to increase this capacity for learning from past disasters for better future protection and to improve risk reduction measures*" (United Nations International Strategy for Disaster Reduction, 2005).

In the context of humanitarian aid, capacity building and sustainable development, resilience can be seen as the local people's ability to withstand a new crisis and in general to be better prepared for both emergencies and other liabilities. The United Nations Development Programme (2014) determines in their newest human development report that societies unprepared to handle shocks often incur damages and losses that are much more extensive and prolonged. As an example they mention Haiti: The 2010-earthquake cost the equivalent of 120 percent of Haiti's GDP, setting back decades of development investments.

Research shows that capacity building helped people to become more resilient and to better manage risks, for example natural disasters. In addition the empowerment of women can improve several aspects of household welfare (Coppock et al., 2011). Liberato et al. (2011) mention that further research is required to examine the robustness of capacity measures over time and to examine capacity development in association with other social outcomes. It is however of importance, that NGOs who operate in crises try not to do more harm to the local environment than already is done by the crisis.

### 3.2.6 The 'do no harm' approach

During the last decades there have been lots of discussions around whether or not non-governmental organizations (NGOs) actually reduce or in fact contribute to do harm in conflicted areas. "*[…] in all cases aid given during conflict cannot remain separate from that conflict*" (Anderson, 1999, p. 1). Even though the do no harm approach mainly applies to aid given in war zones, some of its principles are also

applicable for the work of the NGOs operating in Haiti. The approach is built on the assumption that local capacities for peace exist even though war or crisis erupt. "*They are the existing – and potential – building blocks of systems of political and economic interaction that can ensure stable, peaceful, and just futures for societies once in conflict.*" (Anderson, 1999, p. 24). As such, building blocks like that do also exist in the Haitian society and will, given the right support, result in a development that hopefully moves the country out of its permanent crisis.

Chance (2007) argues that it is important to give attention to both history and culture, for example when NGOs want to help in crises-affected areas. Expertise about the local political and cultural situation is a premise that should be the foundation of all the work done in foreign countries. To consider and respect local phenomena, local capacities and networks, is to both show that you value what's already been done, but also one reduces unnecessary costs and time spent on things that are already in place.

> "*For aid providers the challenge is both to recognize capacities for peace and to find appropriate ways to reinforce and support them without simultaneously increasing the probability that they will be targeted and destroyed by those who pursue war.*" (Anderson, 1999, p. 35).

Capacity building is one of the tools that can give the people in crises the right impulses to start a long-lasting development that changes the broken structures of their countries. Anderson (1999) mentions that there is evidence that aid saves lives, reduces human suffering, and supports the pursuit of greater economic and social security in conflict settings. In other words, enabling the people in crises to be able to help themselves, to build resilient infrastructures and give them the possibility of an income, can contribute to support sustainable development.

A bottom-up approach when operating in crises might increase the possibility of avoiding to, in fact, do harm. According to Kyamusugulwa and Hilhorst (2015) community-driven programs have the dual objective of restoring services and infrastructure while enhancing accountability in development. In another article Hilhorst, Christoplos, and Van Der Harr (2010) argue that 'Take context as the starting point' has become the first OECD principle (compare also to table 2). They state also that this principle already is present in many small-scale NGO projects. "*Development*

interventions from below are associated with the primacy of local needs over developmental models, endogenous processes and participative decision-making, putting people first, and learning processes.” (Hilhorst et al., 2010, p. 1109). Nevertheless, since development from below often is met with not operable agendas, the focus in recent years has changed towards reconstruction from below. In this thesis, however, development and reconstruction will be used as interchangeable terms. Table 4 compares reconstruction from above and below and illustrates how aid processes can have different effects dependent on the approach. Nevertheless, all NGO operations are anchored in the political, economic and socio-cultural processes ongoing in every nation or society (Hilhorst et al., 2010).

| Reconstruction from above | Reconstruction from below |
|---|---|
| Starts with state building in capital city | Focus on local and meso-level |
| Blueprint | Context-specific |
| Imposition of liberal democracy | Locally set directions of development |
| Relying on expert knowledge/ expert-based | Participatory |
| Introduce new institutions | Build on existing institutions |
| Engineering approach | Build on local initiatives |
| Statist | Consociational |
| Technocratic | Negotiated |
| Focus on international politics | Focus on local politics |

Table 4: An ideal-typical comparison between reconstruction from above and below
(Hilhorst et al., 2010, p. 1110)

### 3.2.7   Negative impacts of aid work

As the case from Haiti shows, the work of NGOs in crises can have a negative impact on a nation. Was the country in a slow-burning crisis before 2010, it just continued there after a Band-Aid was put on the immediate wounds of the earthquake and many NGOs had left again. The expected developmental push did not appear.

Aid can have negative impacts on a society by for example feeding into, reinforcing or prolonging the conflict of interests and resources. The uneven distribution of resources after a complex emergency like the 2010-earthquake can be one of those factors (Anderson, 1999; Schuller & Morales, 2012). Schuller and Morales (2012) argue that there was a short glimmer of a new society which was based on solidarity and unity in the Haitian society after the earthquake. For a short time the boundaries between classes disappeared. However they continue that this moment did not last, “*particularly*

*when the militarized, privatized, NGO-ized foreign aid apparatus reproduced and augmented the longstanding ills of exclusion, inequality, and division in Haiti*" (p.7).

Another challenge for aid operators is to avoid permanent dependencies of the locals on the aid provided. If they do not achieve this, the recipients could land in what Quinn (2002) calls a relief-development continuum. Haiti has become all too dependent on foreign help as mentioned earlier. NGOs should rather see local strengths and try to build on them.

## 3.3   Summarizing the theoretical parameters

Chapter 3 has presented a specter of theoretical perspectives that give an insight on how international NGOs can support the strengthening of local capacities, which tools they can use and what critical issues it is important to be aware of while working in a crisis-affected area.

Participation is one of the core elements regarding capacity building. It involves organizations, in this case NGOs that get local people to participate in their programs. Furthermore, these NGOs also need to react to ideas from the local people in a crisis-affected area and implement their suggestions if relevant. Moreover, there should be build opportunities for learning, training and skills development for the participants. In the end, these opportunities and active participation hopefully lead to an empowerment of the people in a protracted crisis area and in addition, to long-term sustainable development. Based on this, the following four indicators for *how* to measure capacity building in a protracted crisis were chosen:
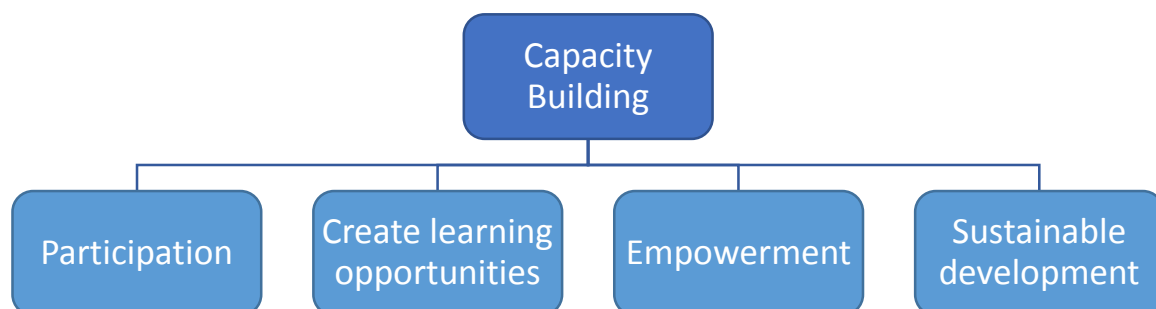


**Figure 6: Capacity building deconstructed according to opportunities for the society in crisis**

To this end, the following supplementary research questions have been added:

1. How can NGOs support effective capacity building through active participation of locals in a protracted crisis?
2. What processes need to be in place to achieve intended purposes and goals of capacity building?
3. What effects does capacity building have on women affected by a protracted crisis?

# 4 Research Design and Methodology

This chapter is meant to give the reader an insight in all the choices that were made throughout the research process in order to fulfill this study. A case study– a three-week excursion to Project Haiti, an NGO in Haiti - builds the basis for data gathering and it will be presented shortly here as well. Furthermore, this chapter also gave the opportunity for critical reflections of the choices made and how the research turned out in a real-life context.

## 4.1 Research Design

According to Blaikie (2010) a research design refers to the process that links research questions, empirical data and research conclusions. Its purpose is to give an overview over *what* is to be researched, *why* it is going to be researched, and - maybe most importantly - justify *how* it will be researched (Blaikie, 2010). Lincoln and Guba (1985) argue that the design of a naturalistic inquiry (whether research, evaluation, or policy analysis) cannot be given in advance; it must emerge, develop, and unfold. The latter is also the case for this thesis: Even though research plans were made before the collection of data, while being in Haiti the focus of the research changed slightly – emerged, developed and unfolded – and so the focus on the data gathering needed to be adapted. The process is, though, rather cyclical than linear (Blaikie, 2010).

### 4.1.1 Research purpose

The aim, or research purpose as Blaikie (2010) calls it, of this thesis has been to see how capacity building unfolds in a real-life context and what factors in capacity building work and do not work in practice. Thus, given that the term capacity building is very dependent on particular contexts and varying situations, it seemed appropriate to conduct an explorative case study research in order to complete this thesis. Case studies are well suited to study contemporary social phenomena. They are well suitable when you want to look at a selection of small units and when you want to study something, like a social phenomenon, in depth in a natural setting (Blaikie, 2010; Yin, 2014).

Therefore, the decision to go to Haiti was also a chance to see how capacity building unfolds in a real-life context and to get first-hand information about how capacity

building might affect and have an impact on the lives of the individuals that participate in the NGOs program. Becker (1997) defines impact assessment as "*the process of identifying the future consequences of a current or proposed action*" (p.2). Furthermore he mentions that in reference to social impact assessment, these consequences are related to "*individuals, organizations, institutions and society as a whole*" (p.123). In relation to this thesis, the current or proposed action would be the Manman Troll project of Project Haiti and the future consequences would be concerned with the effects of this project on the participating women and their lives and communities.

In fulfillment of this study, it was helpful to use subsidiary research questions. These questions can help to answer the main research question, and at the same time be a guide throughout the research process. They also limit the scope of the research, by putting the focus on some main topics. With Haitian NGOs, more precisely Manman Troll and Project Haiti as case in mind, three research questions were established to be able to further narrow down the extend of this thesis (compare section 3.3). These were also used as guidelines throughout the process of analyzing and reducing the data that was gathered in Haiti.

### 4.1.2  Research strategy

In order to answer the research question an abductive research strategy was chosen. According to Blaikie (2010) an abductive strategy is built on how social actors see the world and how they interpret and understand social life. An abductive research strategy also fits the context of a case study since it enables the reader to get an insider view into a chosen research topic or problem. "*The task is then to redescribe these motives and meanings, and the situation in which they occur, in the technical language of social scientific discourse*" (Blaikie, 2010, p. 19).

Dey (2004, as described in Langhelle, 2014) argues that contrary to an inductive research strategy, an abductive approach uses theory together with observation. Thus, one is able to interpret something unique, like a case, instead of generalizing. Moreover, an abductive strategy rather points to plausible interpretations instead of logic conclusions. "*Using abductive inference is thus a matter of interpreting a phenomenon in terms of some theoretical frame of reference. This can be one of*

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*several possible interpretations, depending on the theory we adopt*" (Dey, 2004, as described in Langhelle, 2014). A further advantage with this strategy is that it "*adopts a 'bottom up' rather than a 'top down' approach*" (Blaikie, 2010, p. 91) which means that it involves developing descriptions and constructing theory that is grounded in everyday activities, and/or in the language and meanings of social actors. Previous research about humanitarian crises situations show that the more complex a situation or setting is, the closer one needs to be in order to understand the full impact and/or consequences of it (Kruke, 2012; Kruke & Olsen, 2012). These reasons triggered my motivation to conduct a case study with a three-week stay in Haiti as the choice for data collection.

### 4.1.3  Research Process

The possibility to travel to Haiti and be part of the evaluation of the Manman Troll project came at short notice considering the time perspective of writing this master thesis. There were approximately four weeks for preparations before going abroad. During these four weeks, I tried to learn as much as possible about the country, its culture, the general situation in Haiti and, of course, Project Haiti. Sources for this information collecting process were books, the internet, newspaper articles and videos from the organization.

## 4.2  Haiti – getting access

The idea for this research was to look at one or more NGOs in Haiti who operate with women and capacity building. As mentioned before, gender is a critical issue in crises contexts, and therefore I was motivated to see how NGOs in Haiti took this into account in their practical field operations. Moreover, since capacity building is the central element of this thesis, the NGO(s) needed to have this approach included in their program.

An opportunity to travel to Haiti and take part in the everyday operations of an NGO presented itself on short notice. This offered not only the possibility to be part of an evaluation of an NGOs women project for Norad, but it also offered the possibility to come closer to the source for data gathering for my thesis compared to studying the

Haitian context and NGO(s) operating in Haiti from far away. I took the opportunity, even though the time and scope of this thesis were limited.

### 4.2.1 Caset: Project Haiti

Project Haiti is a Norwegian-Haitian organization that runs several projects in Haiti, both in the capital Port au Prince and in the village of St.Louis du Sud in the south of the country. In 2000 the organization opened an elementary school in the capitol for some of the poorest children from families that could not afford to send them to school, since education in Haiti costs money. Since then Project Haiti has expanded with several other projects. Among these projects are per today two elementary schools (respectively in the capital and in St. Louis du Sud), a youth club, a women`s network, seminars about relevant topics like health and human rights, and several other activities.

> "*Project Haiti's goal is to contribute to a better future for the people associated with our projects, and for Haiti as a nation. We believe that the best way of doing this is to provide people with knowledge and skills that enable them to improve their own situation. Project Haiti therefore focuses on education, capacity building and value creation.*" (Prosjekt Haiti, 2012).

The project is financed by private donor gifts and some projects, like Manman Troll and the elementary school in St. Louis du Sud, also get funding from Norad, the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation. On this account the organization was able to start up the women`s network in St. Louis du Sud this spring as well and they will also be able to expand their elementary school in the village to take in a further 200 children who are currently without any education. However, the focus for data gathering in this thesis lies on the women's network Manman Troll in Port au Prince.

**Manman Troll**

Manman Troll (*manman* being the Haitian word for mother) is the name of the women's network of Project Haiti. It started in 2007 on enquiry of the mothers that had children at Petit Troll, the elementary school of Project Haiti. It was their wish to learn how to read and write, to be able to help themselves and also their children in a better way.

Over the years the project expanded with several other activities and projects, and today, Manman Troll is a big part of Project Haiti.

### 4.2.2  Fieldwork

The fieldwork took place in March 2015 over a time period of three weeks which I spent with the NGO both in the capital of Haiti, Port au Prince, and in the southern village, St. Louis du Sud. Although I only stayed three weeks, I was able to experience both culture and people and learned a lot about Haiti.

Since I only stayed three weeks, it seemed plausible to combine the evaluation with the research for my own thesis. Consequently, this led me to set the boundaries around the part of the organization I wanted to examine more closely: With the theoretical lenses from chapter three in mind, I automatically started to inform myself more about the women's network Manman Troll and their respective projects. Getting access to relevant informants, documents and facilities at Manman Troll and Project Haiti was not a problem, because it also was in the organizations interest that all relevant data was gathered during the three weeks stay for the Norad evaluation.

Staying with the founder(s) of Project Haiti and other locals, who all were connected to the project in some way, was a good way of getting to know about local customs, culture, the security situation, especially in Port au Prince, and in general the Do`s and Don'ts in Haiti. In addition, this also offered the opportunity to see and experience the projects work and activities in St. Louis du Sud in the south of the country. These were valuable insights which I did not want to miss, since it gave me further understanding of the projects operations. As mentioned earlier, Project Haiti is going to start the same classes and courses for women in St.Louis du Sud this spring. While I was visiting Haiti they were beginning to make plans and preparations. Moreover, this offered the opportunity to see how Project Haiti connected to the locals in the village in order to recruit them to their programs.

## 4.3  Collection of data

Applying a case study approach means coming close to the sources of data. Blaikie (2010) distinguishes between four types of data sources: natural social settings, semi-

natural settings, artificial settings and from social artefacts. For the purpose of this research a combination of the first and second approach were chosen. Performing research in a natural social setting means to be directly at the source of data to be able to follow the persons to be studied and their daily routines. In a semi-natural setting the researcher asks people to talk about "*their own and/or other people's activities, attitudes and motives, or on social processes and institutionalized practices*" (Blaikie, 2010, p. 166). The abductive research strategy implies to research how social actors see the world and how they interpret and understand social life, as mentioned earlier. It is grounded in everyday activities and therefore, it seemed plausible to get as close to the data sources as possible to gather primary data.

I chose to gather qualitative data rather than quantitative since the area of research for this thesis is limited to one geographical area – Port au Prince in Haiti - and as mentioned earlier, capacity building is very dependent on the specific context and surroundings. This suggests that it might be difficult, if not impossible, to transfer and compare data from one contextual setting to another, and thus, makes a qualitative approach a better fit. A cross-sectional approach in relation to the timing of the data collection was chosen, due to be able to catch the characteristics of aspects of social life in the present. These include the population's demographic characteristics, individual attitudes, values, beliefs and behavior, social interactions; and aspects of social groups, organizations, institutions and structures (Blaikie, 2010). Interviews, observation and documents from Project Haiti were the main data sources for the further analysis later on in this thesis.

### 4.3.1 Informants

The main informants for this study were the women that are active at Manman Troll in Port au Prince. They participate for example in Manman Troll school classes, sewing classes or were former participants from different courses. In total, 80 one-on-one interviews were held, in addition to ten in-depth group interviews and discussions. Furthermore, I interviewed three leading women at Project Haiti who either are active as leaders of one of the women's activities or otherwise involved in the project.

### 4.3.2  Interviews, group discussions and field-conversations

Even though a recording of the interviews certainly would have "*provided a more accurate rendition of any interview*" (Yin, 2014, p. 110), no audio records of the interviews were made, with exception of the interviews with the staff of Project Haiti. The main reasons for this were a) there were taken notes under each interview both by me and the translators, in addition to written interview-summaries; and b) some informants did not seem comfortable in the interview situation. This discomfort or skepticism from the informants might have evolved from both fear of being in the inquiry situation, but also from the fact that I, as an outsider to these women, was an intruder into their world. Even though the women were reassured that their anonymity was taken seriously and that no names were to be mentioned in my work, I was met with a respectful distance by some of them. In the meanwhile, I was eager to take notes during the interviews, both on the answers, but also on the women's behavior in the interview situation. After every interview a summary was prepared by me.

Since the majority of the Haitian people speak only Creole (and since I neither speak French, Haiti's other official language, nor Creole), the interviews had to be conducted with the help of a translator. This role was filled kindly by the staff from Project Haiti. However, several employees were involved in the translating. The use of translators did seem to build further barriers between me, as the researcher, and the women as informants. However, it was a necessary tool to catch the women's understanding and interpretation of social life as such. Furthermore, the women seemed to feel more comfortable to talk to a person they knew through their daily activities at Manman Troll. It did not appear as if there was a 'formal line' between the employees as translators of Project Haiti and the women as participants in the interviews. Nonetheless, the use of translators always bears the risk of losing vital information and misinterpreting both the answers of the informants, but also the questions of the researcher. In some cases, the translator had to translate between several languages, for example one interview guide was in French which means that the translator had to translate the questions to Creole for the women and afterwards, he/she translated the answers for me to English. One should bear this in mind when reading the empirical data and analysis.

While one of the interviews followed a structured guide, leaving no space for additional questions, the other interviews were semi-structured, with the latter giving the opportunity for follow-up questions. They were undertaken in several different types of

situations, like one-on-one, in random assembled groups and in specific assembled groups according to the purpose and intention of the interview, respectively. In the following, the different interview situations will be elucidated shortly:

**One-on-one (two) interviews**

The interview process started with what Yin (2014) calls a survey interview. Survey interviews use a structured questionnaire (Appendix 1) and can be used to produce quantitative data. Project Haiti uses this guide every year to determine the effects of Manman Troll and to see who the participants of the program are. Internally, Project Haiti uses these data also to create statistics and effect measurements, however, the transfer of data to statistics is not of relevance to this thesis. The structured questionnaire did not leave room for follow up questions, but this was, however, also not the purpose of it. The purpose was rather to get an insight into the women's living situations and their reasons for participating in Manman Troll. Furthermore, this data collection also involved asking the informants about trends like for example, if they had experiences an improvement in their living situation, or if there was no change or a decline (compare also Coppock et al., 2011).

The interviews were conducted by one of the staff members from Manman Troll (the translator), together with me and one informant, respectively. The informants were from the Manman Troll school classes and the sewing course. In total, 80 of these interviews were undertaken which covers more than 60 percent of all the participating women from these two projects for this year. Interviews took between 15 and 30 minutes.

Additionally, I also conducted three interviews with staff members from Project Haiti who all were in some way connected to or responsible of some of the activities at Manman Troll (Appendix 2). These interviews were held in English, but a translator was with me at all times, in case either a question was not understandable for the informant, or the answer in return by me.

**Group interviews**

Two types of group interviews were undertaken, either in random or in specific assembled groups. The latter means that we invited especially chosen women to

participate in the interviews, whilst the former refers to groups of women from different courses and classes who were mixed together in one discussion group.

These interviews were semi-structured and conducted throughout several days lasting from approximately 30 minutes to two hours each. The semi-structured approach left room for follow-up questions, where this was deemed necessary or relevant. The women were in groups of eight to 15 persons each. Interviews took place during the two hours they normally would have had their normal Manman Troll activities in the afternoon at the school. Several days were used to conduct interviews on different topics like for example financial independence, political awareness, health and health care (Appendix 3). To this end, the women were able to give in-depth answers and had time to discuss and reflect on the questions during the interviews. Notes of every interview were taken in Creole and the translators from Project Haiti translated them to English afterwards.

The specific assembled groups consisted of either women who already graduated from the Manman Troll program or were in their last year (which means they graduated this summer). These groups were called in, because these women were most likely to have experienced the biggest effects, if there were any at all. During the interviews with these groups a great value was put on the fact that *every* informant answered the questions. This was especially important as to get detailed answers from the women on positive and/or negative changes in their lives after they had participated in the program. These interviews were more intensive and took on average longer time compared to the other groups due to the fact that all the women really wanted to share their stories and experiences.


**Meetings & informal conversations**
In addition to interviews with participants and staff of Manman Troll, I also engaged in several formal meetings and informal conversations with the staff. These fulfilled the purpose of giving me further insights in the project, but also to clarify questions that had come up in the meantime.

### 4.3.1  Observations

Observing the daily operations and activities at Project Haiti and Manman Troll was also part of the data collection. Yin (2014) mentions that observational evidence is often used in providing additional information about the topic being studied. Through the participation in the daily routines at Petit Troll (the school), I got a valuable insight in the everyday activities for both the women, the organization like for example Petit Troll or some of the youth club activities, as well as the facilities of Project Haiti. Furthermore, I also experienced the "behind the scenes", both by staying with some of the founders of the project, and also by getting to know about the housing situation of some of the students. Additionally, I got the permission to take pictures which I gladly did under several occasions.

Another form for observation is what Yin (2014) calls participant observation. This includes that the researcher can act in a variety of roles during one fieldwork. During my stay in Haiti, I as well got into different roles depending on the context of the situation. In one situation, I would be the passive observer, whilst in others I would for example help the staff and get actively involved in the activities. One major challenge related to this form of participation is, that it can be difficult for the researcher, to differentiate for example between his role as a researcher and the role as friend towards the people he/ she is meant to study. Secondly, the researcher can become emotionally involved and thus for example evolve to become a supporter of the people, project or organization to be studied (Yin, 2014). Personally, I experienced that it was somewhat difficult to separate my own emotions towards the empirical information in the data analysis process. I had to take some steps back mentally, to be able to take out my own feelings when I started with analyzing the data.

### 4.3.2  Documents

Lastly, more data for this thesis was gathered by reviewing and analyzing relevant documents from and about Project Haiti. These documents included for example old reports, participant statistics, and non-public internal notes. Even though Blaikie (2010) mentions that a qualitative method used on documents often are relatively time-consuming, the documents analyzed served mostly two purposes: Firstly, they gave me, the researcher, useful insights in previous and current projects of Manman Troll, and secondly, they helped me to understand the relations between different parts of

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the organization which furthermore helped me to make sense of my data during the analysis.

## 4.4  Challenges in the data collection process

### 4.4.1  Practical challenges

One of the practical challenges concerning the data gathering was the length of my stay in Haiti. It surely would have been an advantage, if there would have been the opportunity to expand the stay in Haiti to gather further data and insights which could have proven valuable. Furthermore, it would have been another advantage to have more time beforehand to prepare the stay in Haiti and to learn even more about the country`s historical background since this was an important issue in many interviews and discussions with the informants. Nonetheless, with the time framework of this thesis in mind, I managed to accumulate a large amount of data during my stay and the staff of Project Haiti was also very helpful when questions occurred with hindsight.

A second challenge was the personal bonding with the people involved in Project Haiti. As mentioned earlier, staying with the founder(s) of Project Haiti gave me valuable insights in the overall (security) situation in Haiti and the local customs. However, staying this close to the people I worked with and interviewed, might also have clouded my judgement in different situations and I did not see myself solely as a researcher throughout the whole period of my stay. This was especially challenging when analyzing the data to get to the bottom of my empirical findings without letting my feelings manipulate me. Blaikie (2010) mentions that it is important for the researcher to make a choice concerning what stance to take towards both the research process and participants. Having in mind that the goal with this thesis is to produce some objective results, it is nonetheless challenging not to place oneself in the position of the people and the context I wanted to study. The researcher need to grasp the subjective meaning used by the informants to understand their actions. The literature refers to this as "verstehen" (Outhwaite, 1975; Weber & Parsons, 1964). Notwithstanding, I tried to be as objective as possible in the analysis of the collected data.

A third challenge was the fact that the women who participate at Manman Troll only were at school or in their activities two hours a day. Other informants (the specific assembled groups) were not even involved at the activities at Manman Troll anymore. Additionally, many of the participants had vacation from their activities during my third week in Haiti. Nonetheless, thanks to the help of the staff from Project Haiti, we managed to interview a great many of the women, and many were also willing to come to Manman Troll only to contribute to our research during their holidays. Additionally, the Manman Troll sewing class and the Tailor shop are at a different location. The interviews with these women were conducted by a member of staff during my stay.

A fourth challenge was clearly the language both in relation to the staff and also in relation to the translations. Even though the general manager of Project Haiti and I had given a briefing to the staff about why this research was conducted, it became clear after a few days, that the staff did not fully understand the purpose behind the research. However, a new staff meeting was arranged and things got cleared up. Besides, when using translators during interviews information can get lost in the process of translating. While the informants answered in Creole, the translators had to interpret the meaning of these answers when translating them to English, and again, when they wrote them down. In this process it is possible that information was falsely interpreted or misunderstood by the translators, and also possibly that information got lost. Moreover, I as the researcher had to interpret the translations. Geertz (1988) mentions that it is impossible to obtain detached objectivity when interpreting the accounts of an informant. "*Social, geographical and historical locations, as well as the researcher's interests and assumptions, have a bearing on the nature of the account produced*" (Blaikie, 2010, p. 51).

Lastly, another challenge was to get the women to talk. This applies mostly for the group interviews since many women only answered "yes" or "no" even though they were asked to give examples and further explanations. After the first group interviews, I took this challenge up with the translators and they understood that it was important to try to engage the women in further clarifications of their answers. Accordingly, the following group discussions bore more fruits and the translators encouraged the women more in discussions.

## 4.5   Data reduction and analysis

In qualitative research often a large amount of data is produced through interviews. Hence, it is important to differentiate and sort the collected data somehow. With help of the theoretical approach in this thesis relevant categories were established to be able to arrange the data correspondingly. Whilst in Haiti collecting data, I already started to identify relevant themes that later would help to answer the research questions.

However, throughout my three-week stay in Haiti I gathered such a large amount of data that is was challenging to go through everything in the aftermath and reduce it, respectively. As mentioned earlier, it is crucial for the researcher to understand his/ her own role in the process of data analyzing and to be aware that one's own knowledge, perceptions and interpretations give meaning to the collected accounts from the informants. But then, this thesis does indeed neither seek to generalize nor to present an ontological truth. The purpose was to explore the social world of the social actors by using the theoretical framework presented earlier in this thesis. The chosen abductive research strategy allows the researcher to answer the research questions with help of a 'bottom up' rather than a 'top down' approach. The focus is therefore on the "*present descriptions and understanding that reflect the social actors' points of view rather than adopting entirely the researcher's point of view*" (Blaikie, 2010, p. 91). The developed descriptions are grounded in the language and meanings and/or the everyday activities of the informants.

## 4.6   Reliability and validity

### 4.6.1   Reliability

To ensure reliability means to make sure that any researcher at any given time could follow the same procedures and get the same findings and conclusions (Yin, 2014). In other words, it should be possible to conduct the same research at any later point which makes the findings and results more trustworthy (Jacobsen, 2005).

In order to ensure reliability in this thesis, all steps of the research process from the beginning to the end have been represented in this chapter. An account of the data,

the interviews and informants were given and also of the challenges I met. Chances are that some informants did not want to speak freely in front of me, the outside intruder, but at the same time, the staff from Project Haiti really tried to encourage the women to exemplify and clarify their answers.

However, this study seeks to make a connection between the theoretical approach presented in chapter 3 and the data gathered. Thus, the lenses through which I analyzed the data were influenced by the theoretical outlines. Given a different theoretical approach, the results of the analysis might probably change due to a change of focus when looking at the data.

### 4.6.2 Internal validity

The internal validity of a study is concerned with that the researcher does in fact gather the data that he/she wanted to gather. Internal validity is strengthened by sources with knowledge about the topic to be researched (Jacobsen, 2005). Since I got the opportunity to go to Haiti and speak directly with the women who are engaged in the Manman Troll project, I got as close to the sources for data gathering as possible. Furthermore, the women did not have a reason to lie during the interviews, if not of personal interests. They were given the information that the data collection was positive for them as participants since the research findings of this thesis might also be of interest to Project Haiti. The large amount of interviews is another reason to underpin the validity of the data since it gave a clearer picture of what the majority of the women thinks and experiences.

Triangulation of findings can help to strengthen the validity of a study further. (Ellefsen, 1998; Jacobsen, 2005). A variety of data sources were used to ensure that the data were valid. Additionally, I contacted Project Haiti when I was analyzing the data and discovered gaps in the data, as well as for follow-up questions.

### 4.6.3 External validity

External validity describes the possibility to transfer the findings of this thesis to other contexts, and how far they are transferable at all (Jacobsen, 2005; Yin, 2014). Even though my theoretical approach to for example capacity building was independent from the context or case study, capacity building in itself always depends on the setting in

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which one tries to achieve it. It was therefore never the goal to achieve a generalization of the data through the analysis. However, some features introduced in my theoretical approach might also apply for other context. More precisely, it is possible that women's NGOs in other protracted crises countries have made similar experiences with capacity building of women like Project Haiti in Haiti. An example of such crossover of setting within the capacity building context is Coppock et al. (2011) who write about the capacity building of women in protracted crisis Ethiopia. Several similarities between their case and the findings of this thesis were discovered.

# 5  Empirical Findings

This chapter presents the findings of the data collection from the stay in Port au Prince in Haiti. It is divided into four sections according to the indicators presented in chapter 3, section 3.3, on how to measure capacity building in a protracted crisis context: Participation, learning opportunities, empowerment and sustainable development.

Section 5.1 outlines some findings concerning the participation in Manman Troll. It describes how the NGO, Project Haiti, incorporates ideas from participating women in their program Manman Troll. Furthermore, developmental goals of Manman Troll are presented and in the end some challenges the program faces will be mentioned. Section 5.2 describes the formal organization at Manman Troll. The school classes and the vocational training are presented, as well as the entrepreneurship, seminars and former activities of the program. Section 5.3 takes a first look at the effects Manman Troll has on the women and their lives. How they make changes in their lives and living situations due to new and increased knowledge which they gain through the project. And finally, section 5.4, outlines some of the long-term improvements the women get after, but also already while they participate at Manman Troll.

## 5.1  Participation at Manman Troll

"*Before [our participation at Manman Troll] there were a lot of things that we didn't have any idea about. We had a hard time or difficulties to receive money from any money transfer, because we had to sign, but we didn't know how to do it, so we lost many advantages. We didn't know how to read so we had a lot of humiliations whenever we wanted to learn something to work with we could not, so we felt humiliated.*" (Manman Troll participant[5]).

Manman Troll started in 2007 on request of some of the mothers of the children who attended Petit Troll, the elementary school of Project Haiti. They took the initiative to contact Project Haiti and to start up a women's project. Their wish was and still is to learn how to read and write, both because of their own interest, but also to be able to help their children with their homework. Moreover, a short time after the start of

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[5] Forth on: MTP

Manman Troll school, the women expressed growing interest in learning about how to start and run their own businesses (Evaluation report of the Manman Troll project, 2008-2010[6]; Norad søknad Manman Troll, 2012[7]).

After the women expressed their wish to learn reading, writing and to expand their own skills through job training, Project Haiti begun to organize school and vocational classes in collaboration with the women. "*The women's project Mama Troll was formally established in June 2007, and is formally acknowledged by the Social Ministry on Haiti as a women's organisation.*" (NS, s.16).

Manman Troll started with the literacy course level 1 and 2 (see also section 5.2). Later on, when the project already was running, the women indicated that they would like to continue with more classes, business and vocational training. Level 3 was added to the literacy course in 2010. However, since especially the sewing course required some higher reading and writing skills due to the theoretical part of the course, they added level 4 of the literacy class in 2011 to raise/ increase the women's skills even more. After the completion of the literacy course level 4, the women are able to start at the vocational training at Manman Troll. Another reason for Project Haiti to start the Manman Troll vocational and business training was because many of the participating women were sales women without actually having any knowledge about how to run a business in an economically sustainable way.

Project Haiti wants to "*provide people with knowledge and skills that enable them to improve their situation*" (Prosjekt Haiti, 2012). The main focus is therefore on education and capacity building, and especially Manman Troll is focused on the competence building and vocational training for women. "*Another core aim at the start was to develop Manman Troll as a centre for members to meet, for mutual learning and to develop as active citizens*" (EP).

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[6] The evaluation report of the Manman Troll project, 2008-2010 is an internal report which was not published; forth on: EP.
[7] Project Haiti (2011). *Norad søknad Manman Troll, 2012*. This is an externally published report which was sent to Norad in order to apply for funding. Forth on NS.
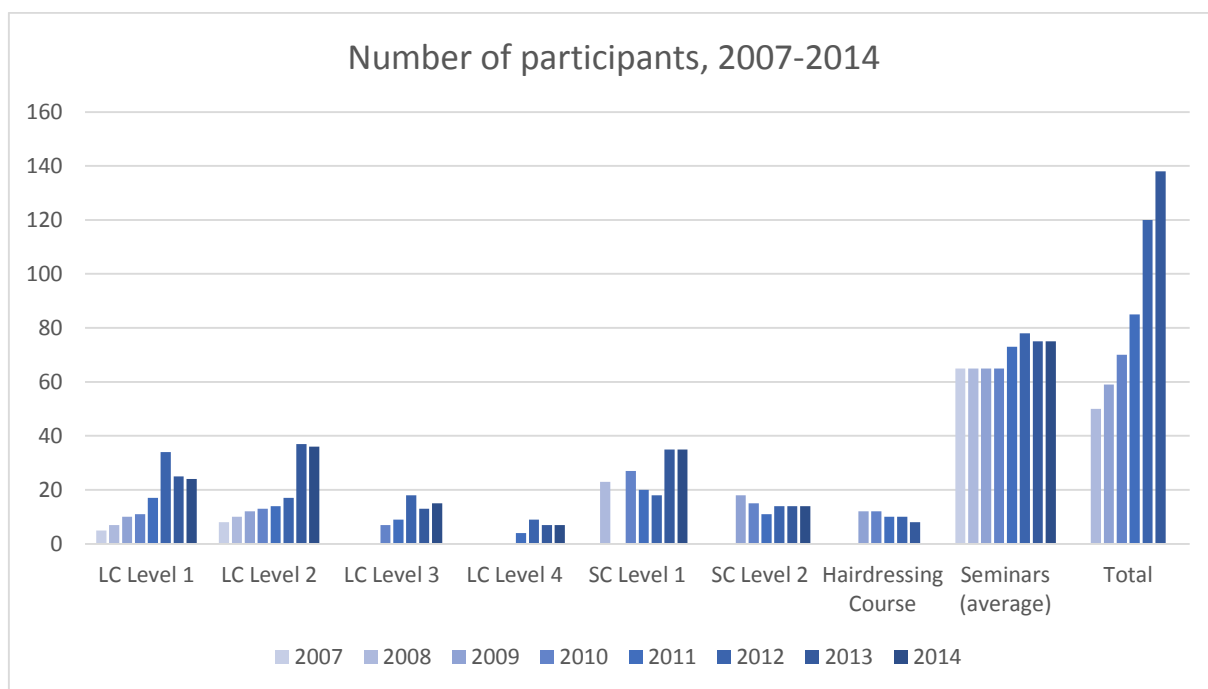
**Figure 7: Number of participants, 2007-2014 [8]**

In figure 7 we can see that the total number of participants for every level and course has risen since the start of the Manman Troll project in 2007. The last two years (2013-2014), there were even two level 1 and 2 courses of the literacy course, due to the increased number of participants. The figure, does however not include all of the activities at Manman Troll. Nevertheless, all participants are included in the 'Total' in figure 7.

During the first years of Manman Troll all participants were relatives to the children of Petit Troll. However, Project Haiti later (in 2010) opened up for other women as well who had no direct connection through their children to the project. The participating group or target group are women without steady work or income, both illiterate and literate. Both single mothers and women living with spouses can participate (NS). Besides, some of the participating women live quite far away from the Manman Troll facilities and travel long distances every day to participate in the activities. This means

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[8] LC = Literacy Courses; SC = Sewing Classes; Note: The sewing class that started in 2008 was a three-year course. Therefore, the second year of this batch is filled in as «2009 Level 2». Nevertheless since only the first batch from 2008 was over three years, the third year (2010) is not shown in the figure.

that they sacrifice valuable time which they could spend working, to be able to come to school or the vocational training instead.

> "*Just the fact that they take some of their time and prioritize to come to Manman Troll is very good. It means that they understand that their participation at Manman Troll potentially can make a difference 'for me'. Of course, the challenge [for them] is to leave their small sales booths where they might earn a few [Norwegian] Krones, to come and spend their entire afternoon here instead of selling. So if you yourself live like this, on the edge of what is possible; you live from day to day; from hand to mouth – then life is a challenge.*" (General Manager, Project Haiti).

Today, Manman Troll is a big part of the organization and consists of several activities for the women. Since the beginning of the Manman Troll project in 2007, the number of participants, especially in the context of the literacy classes, have risen. An attempt to illustrate this is shown in figure 9.

### 5.1.1  Benefits from participating

During the interview situations it became clear that women who recently had started at Manman Troll and who still were quite illiterate felt more uncomfortable and shy answering the questions. Some even seemed a bit distant or scared. Nevertheless, all of the women were open and thankful to have the opportunity to participate. Findings show, the more advanced the level of the literacy course, the more relaxed and confident the women were in the interview situation and the more they wanted to share their stories.

When talking about their lives and living situations before they joined Manman Troll, the women mention that they feel like they missed out on something when looking back now. "*We could not read, we could not even write our names. There were so many things that we were not completely aware about*" (MTP). All literacy groups (see also section 5.2.1) report personal gain from the participation. When asked about personal change, they use words like "*shy to speak*", "*worried*", "*sad*", and "*abandoned*" about their conditions before they joined Manman Troll. They claim that Manman Troll has given them more self-confidence: "*We are no longer shy to speak in public.*" (MTP).

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Furthermore, the women say that Manman Troll has allowed them to learn how to read, how to write and how to express themselves better. They feel less shy to speak for example in their families, at their children's school, or the church. Some feel empowered, and say that they have developed. They also see the possibility to learn a profession: In all literacy groups there are students who aim at the vocational courses after the graduation from level 4 (EP).

There are varying reasons why the women start at Manman Troll: Some want to improve their personal situations, learn more about their businesses, help their children, and so forth. Regardless of their own personal reasons, the women are all driven by the chance to make an improvement and a change in their own lives and the lives of their families and/or communities. They seem very ambitious: "*I wanted to go to the sewing class, but then I heard about Manman Troll literacy courses and decided to go here. Afterwards I want to start the sewing class*"; "*Things have changed since we started at Manman Troll. […] We are now able to conceive projects.*" (MTPs).

As good as all of the students who were interviewed feel good to be participants of Manman Troll– no matter what level or course they are in. They are motivated by learning how to write their own names, becoming able to help their kids, trading and writing down the names of the ones that borrow something from them. The students are happy and proud, because now they can read and write. "*Soon I will know something*"; "*I want to be able to help my kids with their homework*"; "*I am proud, because I can write my name and read signs on cars or on the street*"; "*I will be able to write a letter to my son who lives in France*" (MTPs). Furthermore the women say that they are comfortable at Manman Troll and that it is like a family with the other women and the staff. "*There are good teachers and kind people working at Manman Troll*"; "*I feel good, because they treat me well*" (MTPs).

Many women mentioned that the involvement at Manman Troll makes them hopeful. "*It is a big, big, big, big, big chance. My parents did not send me to school*"; "*I want to give my kids the opportunity to go to school, because I did not have that opportunity*" (MTPs).

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None of the women had anything to criticise at Manman Troll. They only wish to continue with their training and education in the project. Concluding, that the overall response from the women towards the project is very positive.

> "*At Manman Troll we receive many things, like for example: we can relax, it is a place where we can meet other woman and socialize, we learn how to read and write, we have the opportunity to learn a profession that we can use to earn money and that makes us (more) independent.*"

> "*Manman Troll gives us the opportunity to learn how to make clothes and now we can do this. They also teach us how to read and write. We are different compared to before we started at Manman Troll. We are not shy anymore and we know how to sew clothes for the Manman Troll shop.*"

> "*Taking part in Manman Troll activities represents a lot to us, not only the fact of being taught how to read, write and having a profession. We are first of all feeling well, making friends and so on.*" (MTPs).

The women think of Manman Troll as a good activity and talk especially proudly about everything they learn, like how to write their names and the creole alphabet.

> "*When we first started in Manman Troll, we did not know how to write our names, but now we even know how to sew. We can sew a skirt. And the many seminars we attend in Manman Troll allow us to know that a lot of things happen in the world now.*"

> "*We are really happy about the way they work with us at Manman Troll. They are really patient with us. Like we are family at Manman Troll.*" (MTPs).

### 5.1.2  Recruitment

The recruitment of participants happens mostly through the women themselves. Project Haiti does not use financial or any other resources on the active recruitment of mothers or women to the Manman Troll project.

Mostly, the women recruit new women from their neighbourhoods, communities, friends and families, to Manman Troll. Many of them are very proud to be part of Manman Troll and they tell their family members and community about it. They want to share what they receive themselves with them and encourage others to join the project to learn how to read and write: "*Then they can stop making scribbles instead of their names and they can help themselves*"; "*We would like Manman Troll to share their knowledge with them, the same way they do with us*" (MTPs).

They are aware that they can achieve more together instead of trying alone: "*It is the better way to grow in helping each other and making progress. Together we have more educated people, and then we will see more change and progress in our society.*" (MTPs).

### 5.1.3  Challenges for the effective implementation

One of the challenges in the beginning was the job creation after fulfilment of the literacy course. However, this problem was solved when the Studio Manman Troll and the Tailor Shop opened. In addition, the women can take up small loans to start up their own businesses through Project Haiti – Caisse Troll (see also section 5.2.3 and 5.3.4).

Another challenge was that there was slow progress for the women at the literacy course (NS). In a report from 2012, the organization states that the project management and the participants both wish that the activities be compulsory. The women wish to secure that the participants are serious about the activities, and wish to ensure a rapid advancement. The women have also expressed a wish for a natural progression with respect to the activities, where participants are required to go through the first stage of learning reading and writing skills, before advancing to occupational courses and receiving support in relation to entrepreneurship and other work generating income. These wishes led amongst other things to the additional level 4 of the literacy classes and to a higher academic standard of the literacy course in general.

Finally, several challenges occurred after the earthquake in 2010: If the security situation already was difficult before the earthquake, it only got more tense afterwards. The initiators of Project Haiti knew that it was/ is important to be sensitive with regard to the extraordinary situation after the earthquake. One of the board members of

Project Haiti has been the main responsible for the camp for displaced persons that Project Haiti established after the earthquake. According to an internal report, the camp housed approximately 100 families and Project Haiti provided tents, food, water, sanitary conditions and a health clinic (with doctors and nurses from the University Hospital of Northern Norway) and safety personnel from 13 January until June 2010. Even though all of the families from the camp moved back to their own homes, some of the current members of Manman Troll are still living in camps. The reconstruction work after the earthquake was and still is progressing slowly, and a large proportion of the population is angry and frustrated about this. These are concerns which Manman Troll and Project Haiti state that they take very seriously, and the activities are planned and organised with an aim to ensure the security of everyone involved (NS).

Furthermore, there was a general price increase (especially on food and diesel/gas) in Haiti after the earthquake which led to a significant increase in the operational costs compared to earlier years. Originally, the women received a warm meal after their classes and course. This was an important incentive for the women to participate in the activities. Unfortunately, Project Haiti had to drop this warm meal for the women (though not for the children of Petit Troll) in recent years, due to the additional costs. Nevertheless, the women get a meal when participating in the Manman Troll seminars. Moreover, the total number of participants has increased even though the women do not get a warm meal after their activities.

The idea of the bakery (see section 5.2.3) was also born as a new business idea after the earthquake. Regarding the costs of building and decorating the bakery, Project Haiti saw that it was and still is very difficult to find appropriate equipment in Haiti. They wished to invest in good quality ovens and other relevant equipment that has a long life-expectancy, and which is effective to maintain a continued high production. At the same time they needed to make sure that such equipment may be repaired locally, if and when the need arises.

## 5.2   The formal organization at Manman Troll

In this section the formal organization of the courses and classes of Manman Troll is going to be presented. The focus of the project is "*on competence building and vocational training for women, including separate training [in] business*" (Prosjekt Haiti,

2012). Some of the activities, like the Manman Troll Studio and Tailor Shop, as well as the bakery (section 5.2.3), are income generating activities.

### 5.2.1 Manman Troll School

The literacy and numeracy classes were the first project for the women. They started in October 2007, and were open for the mothers of the children who went to Petit Troll in Port au Prince. At that time there were only two classes (level 1 and 2). In 2010 school classes expanded and level 3 was added, and finally, level 4 in 2012. The courses primary goal is to teach illiterate or somewhat literate women to read and write Creole, and also some basic mathematics and some basic French. Some of the women also get the opportunity to learn about business (how to deal with money, budget, etc.). Before the women start at the literacy classes, they have to do a test to see which level they fit in best.

School classes take place Monday to Thursday at Petit Troll, the same school the children attend during the mornings. The classes last for two hours from two to four in the afternoon each day after the children from Petit Troll have gone home for the day. There are ten months of teaching every year, with the remaining two months being holiday from school for the women.

The students are between 18 and 70 years old and come from different places in Port au Prince (e.g. Delmas, Cite Soleil,…). Because of Manman Trolls expansion to include all women (not just the mothers of children at Petit Troll), the number of participants has increased in recent years. School classes are kept small, based on the idea that students can get a better education in smaller groups.

Most of the women participating have never been to school before and therefore, Manman Troll represents their first encounter with letters and numbers. That is also the reason why it is difficult for some of the women to adapt to the school setting (sitting still, listening to a teacher, etc.). Exams at all levels are held regularly, but no one is failed. In other words, Project Haiti is not keeping the women from advancing to the next level of the course, even if they did not do well on their exams. However some women repeat the same level several times due to their own choice, for example when they feel that they need more time before advancing to the next level. Consequently, the women are free to decide themselves how much they want to learn and advance

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during a given time period (e.g. a school year), and at the same time, how much time which they could spent working they are willing to give up, on the one hand. Whilst on the other hand, not having any restrictions on moving from one level to the next due to the fact that no one is failed, could also lead to that some women do not have the required academic level of literacy skills before starting at the vocational training.

Since many of the women do not know any French, the teaching language is Creole. However, in level 4 the women get to learn some basic French. The overall response to this was positive since the women get the chance to read for example the signs on the streets that mostly are in French.

The levels of the classes are structured so that the women stepwise learn the letters and numbers, and continue with some basic words. However, the school levels at Manman Troll are not connected to or comparable to the classes in primary school. At level 4 they should be able to read signs on the street, books, and they should also be able to do some mathematics. After completion they get a certificate which enables them to go somewhere else and learn a profession, for example within some business. Finishing the literacy course also gives them the opportunity to continue with either the sewing or cosmetology class at Manman Troll. It is important, however, that they are able to read and write to continue with these courses.

Findings show that some of the women who have reached level 4 are eager to continue in further levels, if they would exist (they mentioned level 5 and 6): "*[I] would like to continue, if there were more levels*" (MTP). Nonetheless, many of the women that have completed all levels of the literacy courses continue with vocational training at Manman Troll (se section 5.2.2).

Furthermore, findings show also that the higher the women get in the school levels, the more comfortable they feel talking to other people and they are more able to see the use of the school for them personally.

Many women who participate in Manman Troll have financial difficulties and lead lives without prospects. In fact, most women do not have steady employment. They work as saleswomen and live from day to day, always hoping to sell enough each day to be able to buy some food for their children and families. Many are eager to change something with their situation, and their wish is to be able to take care of and support their families, especially their children, in a better way. This is the reason why they

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attend Manman Troll. However, it is important to keep in mind that going to school also means giving up time which they could sit on the street and try to sell products. This is precious time for these women and possibly also money they lose, because they want to go to school and do a change.

### 5.2.2 Vocational training

Women that have completed the literacy course (level 4) or women who have some elementary education otherwise, are allowed and welcome to start at the Manman Troll vocational training. They can either start with sewing classes or at the hairdressing course. These trainings require a certain level of literacy, because they include some theoretical reading and understanding.

**Sewing classes**

Sewing classes started in 2008. In the beginning one course was held over three years with three levels. Since 2010 classes are divided in level 1 and 2 over two years. The women learn everything from the design to the actual sewing of clothes and other textile products. They sew for example skirts, shirts, dresses, and other clothes.

There is no common standard on how to educate people to become tailors. However, the sewing course has developed their curriculum based on the training curriculum of the most acknowledged seamstress school in Haiti and uses also the same literature. The teacher

Sewing class at Manman Troll ("Prosjekt Haiti," 2012)

of the sewing course herself graduated from this school, and developed the education program for Manman Troll based on her own experience. Sewing classes – just like the literacy course – take place Monday to Thursday from two to four in the afternoon for ten months every year.

Each year a new group of students starts this course. In the beginning they learn a lot of theory and also how to design their own patterns. This means that participants need
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to be literate, because they have to be able to take notes and read some theoretical literature, as well as to calculate the costs for their designs and so on. After two years in the course, the women graduate. This involves both a written and a practical exam where they have to sew their own clothes.

After fulfilment of the sewing class, the women are more able to help themselves financially. They also learn how to handle money, for example from when they sell clothes.

**Hairdressing course**

This project started in 2009 when a Norwegian hairdresser came to Haiti. She volunteered to give the Manman Troll women two intensive courses of respectively eight and five weeks. She taught them how to fix and set up hair. In 2012, she came back to teach a new group of students. This second group got more training and additional courses in manicure and pedicure.

Like the sewing class, there is no standard in Haiti to become a hairdresser with a diploma. However, all participants get an internal diploma from Project Haiti after fulfillment of the course.

During the course the women got the opportunity to train their skills with some models. They also got to practice in different salons in Haiti before Manman Troll got its own salon in the same building as the Studio Manman Troll in late 2011 – the "Salon de Beaute". Here the women could work and generate their own income.

Unfortunately, the location of the salon did not work so well and therefore the project is put on hold at the moment. However, Project Haiti still has all the equipment from Norway and as soon as a better location for the hair studio is found, they want to continue with the project.

### 5.2.3 Entrepreneurship

From the start of the project to 2010, the idea of starting a separate Manman Troll business was discussed and developed. The focus of these businesses was supposed to be on the development of paid activities for women who had completed the vocational training. "*The idea was to develop formal, profitable businesses for Mama*

*Troll, run by the women in [the] community.*" (NS, s.8). Furthermore, Manman Troll says that all businesses are and will be student businesses where the students from the various vocational training courses can practice and have internships.

**The Studio Manman Troll &Tailor Shop**

In 2010 the Studio Manman Troll (atelier) was established in a building near to the school of Project Haiti. Here the women from the sewing classes have the opportunity to practice with sewing machines. They can also sell their self-made products like the clothes.

Some of the women work at the tailor shop on a daily basis, but they do not have salaries from Manman Troll (or Project Haiti in this manner). They rather have an agreement among themselves on how to share their income when the atelier gets sewing orders from outside.

**Bakery**

The idea behind the Manman Troll bakery was developed in the turbulent aftermath of the earthquake in 2010. The staff of Project Haiti had a meeting to discuss how they could expand their project and create possible business opportunities for women. "*Something with food*" (staff, meeting 10.03.2015) was high on the agenda, and that's when the idea of the bakery was born (NS).

The bakery is a cooperation between Project Haiti, architect- and industrial design students from NTNU (the Norwegian University of Science and Technology) and TYIN Tegnestue in Trondheim, Norway. Construction of the bakery started in 2010, whilst the business started in 2012. Some Norwegian students came to help construct it (4 NTNU architecture students, 2 construction students). The project cooperates with the manager of Åpent Bakeri in Oslo, Norway who functions as a consultant and who supports the project with equipment and training.

The bakery produces different types of bread and creates a lot of employment. It is the only Manman Troll project that has male employees as well as female ones. The first product was aimed at foreigners (due to the approximately 10.000 NGOs in Haiti after the earthquake). It was a somewhat more expensive bread and was priced higher in

order to even out the production of bread products for the local marketplace. "*A primary focus is that all the products shall have high nutritional value, and be a cheap and accessible alternative for the local community. The bakery's focus shall be to emphasise the importance of nutrition to promote good health.*" (NS).

The idea is that the women should be able to help themselves to get some money through the bakery. Many women do not have husbands to support them economically and they still have to feed their children and families.

Additionally, more women can get jobs through the bakery, because saleswomen are needed who can sell the bread to people in their neighborhood and/ or community. These saleswomen come from everywhere to buy the bread for further distribution at the bakery. Project Haiti's general manager states that there are about 50 – 60 MTPs who sell bread from the bakery. "*Then we have 50 – 60 women who contribute to the economy in their district. They contribute to lift their own economy. […] They can make a difference [in their community].*" (General Manager, Project Haiti).

There is also an exchange program between the Manman Troll bakery and another bakery from Oslo in Norway. Haitian women (and men) travel to Oslo to learn about different types of Norwegian bread and pastries, and in return Norwegian employees travel to Haiti to learn from them. When the exchange bakers return, they teach the others about what they have learned. This program builds an exchange of knowledge between the Haitians and the Norwegians.

Moreover, there are group meetings at the bakery every months. These meetings serve two purposes: The employees get to say how they feel and if they are comfortable at work, and also an evaluation on how the business is going is done.

### 5.2.4 Additional and former activities

**Seminars**

Manman Troll arranges seminars two times a months on Fridays. In earlier years there were three seminars a months. Seminars started in 2007 and were held regularly since then. They are open to everyone which means not only Manman Troll participants can attend, but also other family/community members, men and children.

The seminars are based on the idea of giving useful information to the Haitian people. Topics at the seminars cover a wide range like health issues, violence in close relationships, maternity and child health, political systems, democracy, cultural things like history or the Haitian flag, the international women's day, human (women's, children's) rights and business issues like the establishment and accountancy of a business. After the earthquake in 2010, topics like posttraumatic reactions and cholera prevention were also among the topics.

Seminars are held both by internal staff and external people for example from the local community or internationals. Project Haiti also invites people from other organizations, volunteers and students that are visiting to hold seminars. An example are some Norwegian medical students who were talking about first aid. Another one were child protection/ care students also from Norway who talked about the Norwegian child care system.

**Caisse Troll**

In 2012 the project Caisse Troll started. It is a micro credit project "*whereby up to 100 women can apply for and receive loans of up to USD 200 as start-up funds for their own business*" (NS, s.10). The women can borrow the money to start up with activities that can generate income for them, for example a sales stand where they can sell the bread from the Manman Troll backery. This project is administered by the project managers of Manman Troll.

**Computer Classes**

One of the projects at Manman Troll gave computer classes to some women. Courses have been given in 2008 and 2009 by one of the staff members from Project Haiti. There were seperate classes for the teachers at Project Haiti and for the members of Manman Troll. At the moment this project is put on hold, but the possibility to start it up again in the future exists.

**Smaller activities and projects**

Manman Troll has organized six excursions and several film screenings in 2009.[9] The average number of viewers was 27 per viewing. After the earthquake twelve

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[9] There were no cinemas in Port au Prince for several years.

screenings were given in the temporary camp for displaced persons. The average number of viewers was 87 (EP).

## 5.3   Rings in the water: Empowerment of participants

One of the main questions – or maybe *the* main question – is whether and how the participation in the Manman Troll activities has an effect on the women's lives outside the project. This also includes effects that a community or other people who are not participants at Manman Troll could have through one of the active women.

> *"[A member of staff] is very resourceful and knowledgeable. She has the experience, the practical and concrete [experience], […] she does not have the theoretical administrative [formal education]', but she has a very good dialogue with the women. They understand each other. She is living their lives, not necessarily better off than them, aside from having a job and an income. […] so the women see themselves in her, and this, I think, is very valuable."* (General Manager, Project Haiti).

Many of the women were only a little active in their social surroundings before they started at Manman Troll. They often say that they did not feel self-confident enough and that it was scary to talk in front of other people. After (or while) participating at Manman Troll they feel more confident and like to take initiatives even outside the project.

Nonetheless, it is important to remember that women from different school levels, vocational courses or the entrepreneurship experience the effects quite differently. As mentioned before the further they come the more effects there are on their living situations. The results presented in this section are gathered through group discussions in mixed groups from the different activities.

### 5.3.1   Goals of the Manman Troll project

The goal of the project is to strengthen women's social and economic position, to give them opportunities and enable them to participate, organize and have some kind of

influence in their society. Additionally, another objective is to strengthen women's position in Haiti, and thereby support the possibilities for peace in the country. The focus is on women's participation in the development of the society. (EP; NS).

*"The purpose has been to create a solid and growing women's network arranging free activities of education and skill learning. The activities shall reflect the women's own needs and seek to equip them with skills and knowledge necessary to take better care of themselves and their families."* (NS, s.17).

As mentioned earlier, the Millennium Development Goal number three is to promote gender equality and empower women ("Millennium Project," 2006). As we can see, these goals are also integrated in the description of the Manman Trolls project which furthermore takes the wishes of the women themselves into account when developing their projects:

"*It is with the wishes from these women: They say 'We would like to learn how to read and write, we could think of getting vocational training' - and here the sewing class is very relevant. Then they wished for a course within cosmetic, hair and nails. Furthermore, they want to learn how to set up a budget and about bookkeeping for those having a sales booth. We worked a lot with these topics in our seminars. Moreover, we had a lot of focus on entrepreneurship and how you can make sure that you do not spend money that you do not have. You need to have this and this price on your products, to have this and this income. We also worked a lot with this, and this is absolutely a wish from our participants. They say 'This is important for us'* " (General Manager, Project Haiti).

The following points describe the projects aim for the women participating in Manman Troll:

- Illiterate MTP become literate
- Literate MTP take part in vocational training
- MTP who aim at further education get support

- MTP with vocational diplomas, have income generating opportunities through Manman Troll enterprises (like the Manman Troll Studio, the Tailor Shop and the bakery)
- MTP increase their income and ability to provide for their families
- MTP get experience in (micro-) democratic processes, planning, implementation and evaluation through their participation in Manman Troll enterprises
- MTP increase their knowledge about their own society and community
- MTP increase their knowledge about the political system and democratic processes
- MTP increase their knowledge about the body, health, illness, prevention and care
- MTP increase their knowledge about maternity and child health
- MTP start using available local health care services
- MTP increase their knowledge on the establishment and running of businesses
- MTP can actively support their children's education
- MTP develop knowledge and self-confidence to speak up and act for improvement in their local communities
- MTP take an active part in creating a solid and dynamic women's network at Manman Troll
- MTP are able to support other groups who want to establish women's networks.

Comparing these goals with the wishes from the women as described in section 5.1 and the performances in praxis as presented in section 5.2, one can see that the goals, set up by Project Haiti for Manman Troll, coincide with the projects in the real-life implementation.

### 5.3.2 Ownership of the project

The organization of Manman Troll is, as mentioned earlier, influenced by the participating women and their wishes. Participants can come with ideas for improvements of already existing projects, and also with new ideas to expand Manman Troll. Furthermore, the participants themselves can administer all phases of a

business, for example at the Manman Troll Tailor Shop or the bakery. This includes purchases, accounts, production and sale of products (NS). The students, or in these cases the workers, are responsible for all of the operations and orders they get from outside. Moreover, most participating women are motivated to create a learning environment and a network where they can get the opportunity to develop themselves and to participate in the development of their society in general.

Furthermore, Project Haiti also employs local people from Port au Prince and St.Louis du Sud, respectively, in all of their projects.

> "*The whole organizing happens locally and is run by local leaders, and they bring their own experiences with them. The woman who is leading Manman Troll has for example also been working many years with a women's network that she started herself in Cite Soleil. So you can say, the starting points are the needs we see locally. And Project Haiti is not a 'top-down' project; we do not design the organization like we might do in Norway. It is planned locally, there is a local committee, a local management that decides what we should do and sets up budgets. So, it is very locally driven.*" (General Manager, Project Haiti).

Besides, local project leaders are responsible for the practical implementation of meetings as well as building networks, the contact with local and national authorities, and applications for financing and equipment. Alongside the concrete activities like the school, the vocational training and the seminars, Project Haiti also wants to train project leaders. "*They are the ones who run the projects and develop these further*" (General Manager, Project Haiti).

However, in the long-term and if Project Haiti in fact can contribute to a sustainable development in the Haitian society, one of the Co-Founder states the following:

> "*[I]deally I wish that Project Haiti does not remain. I wish Haiti did not need Project Haiti, I wish we did not need NGOs, I wish we had a normal country like the USA, that we did not need help. [...] I want a system that gives everything [...]: health, education, security and everything.*" ("Prosjekt Haiti Clip," 2014).

### 5.3.3  Effects in the women's lives

**Civil community**

Some women are active in their respective communities and participate in activities there.

> *"We go to help people that need help, or we help the ones that have problems. For example at church we have groups of volunteers that go to pray for the sick ones; we go to the hospital and give them the things that they need the most like toilet paper, food, and we take care of them. We also used to go to the prison and to the places where they keep old and/or crazy (mental ill) people."* (MTPs).

Several women are involved in church activities. Some say that they are active in fraternal unions and with other Christian women. They are for example part as members at these unions and also active on the boards and do visits and preach with people. One of the women mentions that she is a counselor and treasurer in a youth club in her community.

> "*Yes we started an activity in our home area since we joined Manman Troll. We clean our area, sweep, remove trash, but we don't do it in groups. Some of the people in our area are being influenced by our behavior and change their attitude, but some of them keep disturbing us.*"

> "*Sometimes we participate in some dance group, and we dance for the people in our zone and other places, too. They get really happy and they encourage us to do it. And sometime they give us some small gifts.*" (MTPs).

On the other hand, some of the women are only engaged in the activities at Manman Troll. They say that they do not engage in activities other than Manman Troll, "*because it is quite dangerous*". As mentioned earlier, Haiti frequently encounters violent riots and internal (political) conflicts. Due to these unsecure situations, especially in the poorer parts of Port au Prince where most of the participating women come from, it can be quite dangerous to get involved in activities in the society, outside Manman Troll.

**Gender awareness**

Project Haiti expresses gender awareness with their Maman Troll project. They aim to contribute to the implementation of the UN Security Council resolution 1325 about women, peace and safety, in addition to the Millennium Developmental Goals ("Millennium Project," 2006) related to education, health and gender equality. The project states that the women's political engagement and equality is necessary to achieve these goals. In the Haitian context, this is a very important and vulnerable period in relation to the reconstruction of the country after the earthquake disaster, and it is crucial that the women get the chance to participate in this process.

The projects General Manager mentions that there is no doubt that women in Haiti are more vulnerable than men. Many women have children with several men and these men do not necessarily take the responsibility they should concerning their children.

> "*It is obvious that [single mothers] do not have the same opportunities. [Girls] become sexually active at a very young age. They often get abused by older men from the neighborhood or they feel that they need to offer certain services in order to survive – to get money for school or food. That is the harsh reality. So early sexual activities and early pregnancies are big societal problems. There is no government to rely on – you are on your own."* (General Manager Project Haiti).

All women agreed that the equality between men and women should be 50/50. They are eager to get involved, work and not only spent their days at home: "*I would rather stay out of the house […] I mean, I don't understand why women should only stay inside. They can do women's work and go outside."* Their point of view shows that they feel that they are capable of doing everything a man can do, too. Nevertheless, a few women mention that everyone has its own role in society: "*For me the man has its [his] role and we have our role, too.*"; "*We are born in these issues, we grow up with these issues, we make kids in these issues, and we will die in these issues*". The political instability, the ignoring of (human) rights and the general insecure and vulnerable state system are "*just a part of our lives*".

**Political involvement**

The women mention that they do not actively engage in political activities, but that they discuss these topics between themselves. They describe the Haitian politic as a

"*disaster*" that is "*made only for rich people. We do not have static politics. The Haitian people are not educated, and there is a lot of crime in Haitian politics.*" Furthermore they mention that there is no political school in Haiti: "*Even our senators, deputies and the president did not go to any political school here.*" Corruption is still a big topic in Haiti and also in the discussions of the women: "*Corruption is a malediction, in Haiti everywhere you go you will see corruption, at church, school, everywhere.*" (MTPs). They conclude that "*the name of Haiti should be corruption*".

Most of the women say that they did not participate in the last elections (in 2011) due to different reasons like "*I lived far away on the country side*"; "*I had surgery and wasn`t able to participate*"; "*I did not like it [when I participated once before]*"; "*there is no security and they do not do it [the elections] in a proper way*" (MTPs). Organizational barriers also kept the women from participating: "*[…] in the [district] we were, we could not vote, because our ID card was made in another [district]. In Haiti you are only allowed to vote in the [district] you made your ID card and nowhere else.*" (MTPs).

Those few who did participate in the last election say they did it, because they want a change and they hope for a better future, a better life and their civil rights. A few women are very aware of the fact *why* it is so important to vote: "*All of us have to vote, because we are all citizens. When you do not vote, you let someone else vote for your place.*" However, many women argue that there still are no changes in the areas where they live and that the crime rate still is unchanged. *"[P]olitics, institutions and so on are not our stuff anymore. We cannot do anything about it*" (MTPs).

Haiti is going to have elections later this year, and in this matter, Project Haiti uses the opportunity to inform the women about relevant issues in their Manman Troll seminars. "*They are going to have elections now and we organize many seminars which are concerned with the importance of voting. This is the one time your voice actually means something [gets heard]*" (General Manager Project Haiti).

**Human Rights**

The topic human rights is an ever present theme at Manman Troll. The project is convinced that women on grass root level can contribute to changing attitudes and inform the next generation about the importance of respecting human, women's and

children's rights. The General Manager mentions that Manman Troll has more than 100 women participating in their programs every year, and that these are "*[w]omen who can fight a bit more for their rights, who know their rights, and who actually can say 'This is not okay, this is against the law'; and who, not least, can use their vote.*

Regarding human rights, the women feel that they, girls and boys do not have any rights in Haiti. "*Women and children are the most unfairly treated persons in Haiti.*" (MTP). In their opinion, there is no respect for human rights in Haiti. If something happens, they feel like they cannot report it. They have little/no trust in the legal system: "*The police will say 'We will try to do something about it', but they do not do it. Nothing ever happens. Everything just moves on and on, you cannot do anything about it.*"

This applies also for children's rights. There seems to be little awareness for human rights in general and also children's rights. "*Do they have rights? – Here they don't have rights. They are in the streets, stealing, washing cars – they don't have any rights here.*" (MTP). Some children do not go to school and you see many of them on the street during daytime. They are not well-treated by adults: "*They use them to clean houses, wash clothes and everything in the house.*" (MTP).


**Female family members**

Another interesting finding is how the women's attitude towards their daughters and other female family members has changed. At Manman Troll the women learn that education can be the key out of poverty and towards a better living situation. Furthermore, the seminars teach the women about human rights, sickness and other topics which are important – for their family members as well as for them. Being a part of Manman Troll has changed the "*way we used to receive people, the way we used to treat them, and how we should behave in a society. And all this is because of the seminars that we attend at Manman Troll. And it also changed how we dress up and how we talk to people*".

It seems that the women themselves are getting more comfortable to talk about issues which they did not dare to talk about. As mentioned earlier, many women do not only care for their own children, but also for other female family members.

"*Yes we have daughters, nieces, cousins, goddaughters, and little sisters in our care, and our participation in Manman Troll has changed the way to raise them*

*in different/new ways. Now we are not afraid to talk to them, show them every part of their body; we are able to do their sex education. Using Manman Troll we can explain to them how to behave in the society, what they can do, and what they cannot do. Manman Troll shows us how to treat our daughters, take care of them, not to humiliate them. They also taught us not to blame our children by beating them when we are frustrated; they taught us how to behave to protect them.*" (MTPS).

## 5.4 Long-term improvements

This section presents some of the long-term improvements Manman Troll has on the women's lives. In the beginning some of the projects developmental goals will be presented. Afterwards, there will be a section about some former participants. This part (section 5.4.2) shows only results from these former participants, while all the other sections also include current participants' answers. Furthermore, there will be a section about the effects on the omen's financial independency and finally, a section about future perspectives.

### 5.4.1 Developmental goals of the Manman Troll project

Project Haiti proposes some developmental goals for the women's network Manman Troll (EP; NS). These goals include for example a more active involvement in the Haitian society, the creation of a sustainable women's organization locally and the general strengthening of the women's position and thereby also the possibility for development and peace for Haiti.

The local businesses (Manman Troll entrepreneurship) try to give the women new opportunities to involve themselves and make new products and services for the whole community available. People can for example come to the Tailor Shop and buy clothes and they can get their hair done by the women who are finished with the hairdressing courses. These activities are income generating and contribute furthermore, to the economic development in the community.

Moreover, throughout the Manman Troll program a strengthening of the women from a socially and economically point happens as earlier presented findings showed. The

women get more self-confident and are more able to help themselves and their families after the completion of the vocational courses.

> "*Something happens with you as a person. You feel better, you feel you are in a process where you can develop. […] You avoid to be humiliated when you for example are asked to sign something. You can actually sign it. You can keep your head high and you can go to the bank and open an account, because now you can sign and then you can get the account.*" (General Manager, Project Haiti).

Politically speaking, Manman Troll aims to increase the women's knowledge on political processes and democracy, as well as to encourage them to participate in elections as mentioned earlier (section 5.3.3). The projects general manager states that "*nothing would be better than that the women would start to involve themselves in politics and run for elections. [One member of staff] said that she might run as candidate in this year's elections*" (General Manager, Project Haiti).

Another developmental goal of the project is to increase the women's knowledge on health related issues through their seminars. As mentioned earlier, as an example some Norwegian students came and held a seminar about first aid. The increased knowledge on health issues aims also at encouraging the women to go to a doctor.

### 5.4.2  Graduates

This section focuses on the results from the group discussions and interviews with the women who graduated earlier from the literacy class and the women who are done with the hairdressing course. As mentioned earlier in chapter 5, women at higher levels, or in this case the ones who already graduated from Manman Troll, are more comfortable when talking about their living situations compared to those who just started at Manman Troll. The results show that these women also experience the biggest effects of the Manman Troll program in their lives.

**Literacy course graduates**

Some of the women who were done with the literacy course have entered formal education at secondary level. Besides, all interviewees state that they have some

income as a direct result of the Manman Troll activity they participated in. One woman mentions that "*Manman Troll gives me some money to start my own trade*" (former MTP). Another one started to work at the Manman Troll bakery after finishing school.

Some of them say that they started their own business as a result of Manman Troll. They buy bread at the Manman Troll bakery and sell it, together with drinks for example.

All of the women, except for one, say that they are more independent economically compared to their lives before Manman Troll: "*Now I am able to buy my shoes, underwear and so on, because thanks to Manman Troll I have a trade today*"; "*Now I am working in the [Manman Troll] bakery. Manman Troll does a lot for me and I cannot even find the words to explain how they help me*" (former MTPs). There was only one woman who says that she is not economically independent, because she is not working at the moment and she neither has a business or trade.


**Hairdressing course graduates**

The women from the hairdressing course who graduated in 2012 did either attend the literacy course prior to the hairdressing course or they were working somewhere else. They agreed in general that their living situations improved through their participation at Manman Troll compared to the time before. They all learned a lot during the course and Åse had taught them many things that are unknown to Haitian hairdressers, for example how to fix the hair of both black and white people, because it has a different structure. Thus, they could expand their group of customers.

After the course, some of the women had worked at the Manman Troll Salon. At the moment, since the salon is temporarily put on hold, all of them work from home. The customers either come to their homes, or they go and visit them at home to cut and/ or set up their hair. Regardless of their working location, all of them said that their economic status has improved. One of the women was even planning on opening her own salon.

Even though the women are done with their courses at Manman Troll, they still come to the seminars, because they enjoy going there, meeting others and learning even

more things. They could also imagine giving a seminar about hairdressing or cosmetics some time for the other women.

### 5.4.3  Financial independence

According to the Manman Troll women, almost 99% of all women in Haiti have to take care of themselves. "*The men only come, they give us a baby and then they walk away.*" (MTP). Many women mention that they have responsibilities within their families, for example their cousins, nieces and sisters in addition to their own children. However, most of them still say that their financial situation has gotten better.

Nonetheless, there are also a few participants who say that their economic situation has not gotten any better and that their living situation has worsened after the earthquake: "*My economic situation is the same, but before the earthquake I had my own house, now I live in a tent*" (MTP). Another women mentions that she not yet sees any effects of her participation at Manman Troll on her personal life, because "*it is me that takes care of my family and I choose to come to Manman Troll voluntary. Manman Troll does not take care of my family.*"

In some cases it is the woman who is responsible for paying everything in the household. However, some of the women do not have enough money per day to feed half of their families. A 67-year old participant mentioned that she likes to come to the seminars, because there they get something to eat and drink – for many women the only meal on a whole day. Another woman says that she likes the seminars "*especially when they teach you how to save money*".

Many of the participants are saleswomen. Those who do not work, often did work as saleswomen before as well, but they stopped, because "*stuff gets stolen all the time*" (MTPs). Another 50-year old woman mentions that she used to sell bread from the Manman Troll bakery, "*but then I got sick and could not do it anymore*", which means that she currently is without a job and any income.

Even though most of the women think that their financial situation will worsen within the next three years, most of them are convinced that Manman Troll does have a

positive effect on their economic situation. The pessimism arises due to several reasons like "*the situation in Haiti is bad*"; "*[The situation] is worse, because now there are so many people in Port au Prince*"; "*some days you don`t get to sell anything*"; "*everything is expensive – even water and rice*"; and "*[I] don`t see any benefit: It is a waste of time to go out [trying to sell things], if nothing comes in return [if they do not get any profits from it]*" (MTPs). Nonetheless one woman also mentions that there are better days on the street: "*Sometimes you go out and sell nothing, and sometimes you come home with 2500 Gourdes (approximately 50 US Dollar/ 386 NOK).*"

The further the women have come in their training the more they see the effects themselves from the project: "*Yes, my economic situation is better now, because I can sell more things*"; "*Now I can borrow money and I can have an account in a bank*"; "*Yes, the situation is better, because I sell bread from the [Manman Troll] bakery*"; "*[…] there are more customers*".


### 5.4.4  Future perspectives.

The overall mood is quite positive among the women from Manman Troll. They look more self-confident towards the future and trust that their personal situation will improve.

"*We actually start to have hope and we start to feel stronger, because we are at [Manman Troll] school. So we hope and wish to learn something professional. For us this already started at the professional school [at Manman Troll] and we hope to open our own business and tell others to do the same as us.*"

"*In about three or five years, we would like to have progress on a different level, such as education, financially and have our own designing store. We would also like to have the opportunity to design types of clothes for a market in which we will be well-known persons for our work and clothes."* (MTPs).


All of them think that they will get a job after graduating from Manman Troll. Some women say that they see themselves as "style-women" that make clothes and style other people. Most of them say that they already have learned much at Manman Troll and that they hope to learn "*50-times as much*" in the future. Some of the women have plans to start their own business in the future and get more involved

for example in their community or church: "*I would like to have a sewing shop and I would like to be proud of myself and able to read a psalm for the crowd in the church that I follow.*"; "*We have an idea about being in business and the market research.*" (MTPs).

# 6  Discussion

The analysis of the empirical findings seeks to find the answer to the research problem introduced in the beginning of this thesis: *How can international NGOs support the strengthening of local capacities in a protracted crisis?* With regard to answering this question, three subsidiary research questions were formulated (see chapter 3.3). The following discussion of the empirical findings presented in the previous chapter will be structured according to these research questions.

## 6.1  On effective capacity building through participation

### 6.1.1  Step-wise capacity building

Some of the developmental principles for protracted crises are participation and capacity building. In the long-term these principles can lead to an empowered society that hopefully is able to climb out of a long-lasting crisis situation through building up and changing existing societal structures. To be able to achieve capacity building that has long-term sustainable effects on a society, Coppock et al. (2011) suggest to use a step-wise approach starting at the bottom and building up capacities like in a pyramid (see fig. 8). Applied to the data from the previous chapter, it is evident that Project Haiti uses a similar bottom-up approach which is implemented in their Manman Troll Project:

In the beginning it was the women who envisioned themselves learning how to write and read to be able to help themselves and their children. Together with Project Haiti, the project Manman Troll was started and education and vocational training programs were established, evaluated and adjusted along the way. Besides Manman Troll school and the vocational training, Project Haiti also holds seminars twice a months to inform the women about important topics like health issues and political processes. In other words, alongside school and job training, the women get the opportunity to expand their knowledge in several other areas as well. Many women mentioned that the seminars help not only them, but also the people around them. When they for example learn about health related issues, they can share their knowledge with their families, neighbors, and community. At this stage, they already start to improve their skills and knowledge.
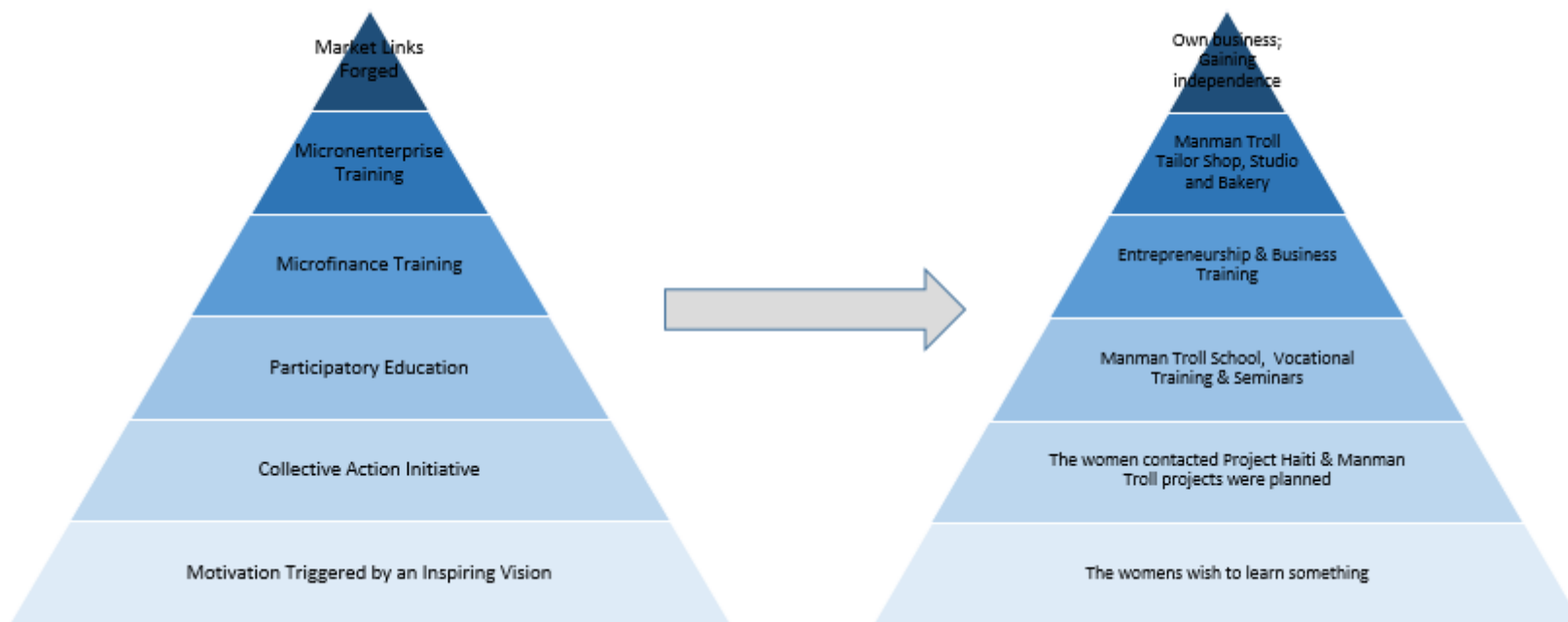
**Figure 8: Step-wise capacity building according to Coppock et al. (2011) implemented on the Manman Troll project.**

Additionally, at the next stage in the pyramid, the women get the chance to engage in business training and the entrepreneurship part of Manman Troll. At this point, the women start to go from training towards self-sufficiency, because they start to earn some money and are responsible for how to plan their projects and how to split their profits. They take the first steps towards becoming more economically independent and some women get the opportunity to start working in the Manman Troll Tailor Shop or the bakery (and also the Manman Troll Studio when it starts up again). Moreover, the women have the chance to start up their own business and they can get a mini-loan – Caisse Troll - from Project Haiti as start help.

Figure 8 tries to illustrate this step-wise process of capacity building at Manman Troll. The women start at the bottom with a vision and make their way up to the top through school education and vocational training towards steady employment and economic independence.

### 6.1.2 Ensuring adaptability

The development of the formal organization of the courses and classes at Manman Troll is an ongoing process. Adding level 4 to the literacy course is an example that illustrates this: After it became clear that the women needed a higher level of literacy and numeracy skills to be able to start at the sewing class, it was evident that the academic level of the school classes needed to rise to increase the women's knowledge. Just like Coppock et al. (2011), Project Haiti also assumes that literacy and numeracy skills are an important and fundamental element when wishing to achieve long-term success for example for the women's own businesses or the job opportunities that Manman Troll provides for them. They need to be able to make calculations, as well as to know about bookkeeping and cost-effective purchasing for example.

Project Haiti did also adapt the sewing classes which were a three-year course in the beginning, and which later were reduced to a more compact two level (two years) class.

In both cases, but also in general, the feedback and ideas of the women are taken into consideration by the initiators. After the earthquake, when Project Haiti started to plan for another business opportunity for the women, the idea of the bakery was born. Planning, construction, building and baking was and is always done by collaborating

between Manman Troll participants and staff. Furthermore, the staff has regular meetings with the bakery employees to discuss new business opportunities for the bakery and to get a general feedback from the workers.

However, in general it takes quite a long time before the Manman Troll women reach the stage of economic independence on top of the pyramid. If a woman does not have any literacy skills when she joins the program, she starts with the Manman Troll literacy course. After four levels which normally take four years, she can move forward to the vocational training, for example the sewing class, which takes an additional two years. In other words, it takes an illiterate Manman Troll participant six years before they start to make any money and get economically independent as a direct result of the program. This is given that the woman does not repeat one of the levels due to her own wishes. Six years is a long time to attend training classes while giving up precious hours that the women could spend working. To make the capacity building process more effective, Manman Troll could try to reduce the school years by for example shortening the learning process. This could be achieved by increasing the school hours with for example half an hour a day or by making school compulsory so that the women's progress is faster.

Nevertheless, at the same time it is also important to have a flexible program that gives the women the opportunity to organize their days according to their own daily schedules and priorities. That means that it can be an advantage not to have compulsory classes, even though some women might repeat a class level, if they miss a lot of classes. To that end, the women are not forced to participate every day and they have the freedom to choose working before school or vocational training, if they themselves deem this necessary. Some of the women live under very poor conditions and the circumstances might not always allow them to come to Manman Troll every day, because there are more urgent issues that they have to deal with, like getting food for their families.

Nonetheless, in the long term it appears that Manman Troll bears fruits. Former students confirm that their economic situation has gotten better, that they have an employment either through Manman Troll or otherwise and that they have increased knowledge and skills through the seminars which most of them still attend.

"*Now all of us have become able to support ourselves and our family, as a direct result of Manman Troll; for example with the information from the seminars they hold for us. Now we are not dependent on our husbands or anyone else, we can buy [...] everything we need.*" (MTP).

## 6.2 On processes and purposes of capacity building

Capacity building in Haiti is an important step towards strengthening the country's people and an attempt to ensure long-term devlopment not only for the participants of Manman Troll, but also for the rest of Haiti by initiating rings in the water. Since Haiti is defined as being in a protracted crisis, it is essential to pay attention to the context. Operations need to be focused on sustainable effects which can improve people's situation in the long-term. Carefully selecting and implementing a program that strengthens the women's skills and knowledge is a major step in this direction.

A step-wise approach as described in the previous section can be the foundation for this process. By implementing such an approach careful capacity building can, according to Coppock et al. (2011), provide durable, cost-effective, and low risk options for improving the human conditions in marginal lands.

"*Education is so important. But then – what happens afterwards? So to be able to think that we need the basic education, but let's see how we can try to develop and encourage the mothers and family members to be part of Project Haiti, so they can get an income eventually. So I think for the whole community we do make an impact.*" ("Prosjekt Haiti Clip," 2014, General Manager, Project Haiti).

In the following table an overview over processes, characteristics and goals from the Manman Troll project at Project Haiti is made. The table is linked to the previous pyramid model (section 6.1.3) and implements a bottom-up approach. Contrary to the table shown earlier in section 3.2, the process in the following table has a direct connection to the domains or characteristics and the goal or purpose. Firstly, the process column shows which operations or actions Project Haiti implements in their Manman Troll program. Secondly, the domains or characteristic column gives an

insight in the process. And thirdly, the goal or purpose column shows the desired and intended outcomes. The integrity of the table however, is not claimed by he author.

| Process | Domain or Characteristic | Goal/ For what purpose? |
|---|---|---|
| Active participation of the women | Inclusion in the process of planning & implementation<br><br>The will to act from the women | Empowerment & strengthening of the women and their situation |
| Strengthening of the women's abilities & skills | Building on what is already in place & respect the women's wishes & ideas<br><br>Individuell & collective capacities<br><br>Openess for learning | Strengthening<br><br>Empowerment<br><br>Improving the women's knowledge<br><br>Moving towards long-term effects |
| Educating the women (Manman Troll school) | Basics school education: Letters, numbers, Creole & French | Improve the women's lives<br><br>Boost the women's self-confidence |
| Giving the women vocational training | Job training<br><br>Increase knowledge & skills | Improving the women's lives<br><br>Slowly moving towards a long-term sustainable development by giving the women professional training that they can use later |
| Giving the women the opportunity to be part of Manman Troll entrepreneurship | The women learn to help themselves by using what they learned earlier at Manman Troll | Moving towards long-term sustainable development<br><br>(Starting to) improve their economic independency |
| Holding thematic seminars | Build social capital | Increasing the women's knowledge<br><br>Teach the women how to help themselves (for example in relation to health problems)<br><br>Become more independent<br><br>Enhance the local quality of life |
| Assisting the women | | Improve the women's living situation, for example by |

| | | giving them a start-up loan to start their own businesses |
|---|---|---|
| Teach & develop sustainable skills and knowledge | Sustainable development<br><br>Long-term effects<br><br>Community-effects | Build community strength<br><br>Resilience in case of a new emergency<br><br>Address community problems like cholera & gender-based violence<br><br>Give the women opportunities to get active outside Manman Troll (for example by establishing an activity group in their community)<br><br>Improving a communities ability to recognize, evaluate & address key problems & solve these together<br><br>Define their own values & priorities & capacity to act on these<br><br>Improved health |

**Table 5: Capacity Building at Manman Troll deconstructed into process, characteristic and purpose**

The processes presented in figure 8 and table 5 build on the step-wise bottom-up capacity building at Manman Troll which step by step increases the womens knowledge and skills to the end that they get more economically independent and through increased knowledge more able to reflect on their own and others actions in society.

## 6.3 On effects on woman through capacity building

### 6.3.1 Do no harm

Project Haiti's advantage is that the NGO is both Norwegian, so to speak foreign, *and* Haitian. They know about cultural, political and societal issues, as well as the language, which it is important to take into account when acting in the crisis context of Haiti.

Project Haiti is run by local employees since the project's initiation in 2000. Given that most, if not all, activities at Manman Troll are led by local committees and a local management, points to that the NGO does in fact not do any harm in conflicted Haiti and the local community. On the contrary, they rather lay matters into the hands of a group of local women and help them by assisting them in giving them the tools and facilities they need to get started. Education is the key out of poverty, according to the General Manager. This coincides with the findings discussed earlier since the higher the women get in the pyramid, the more they have learned and the more they are able to help themselves.

According to Project Haiti, individual persons can contribute to make a change in the Haitian society. The Manman Troll women can be looked at as local capacities for peace who are the building blocks to achieve a long-term sustainable development in the society. Protracted crises require a lasting commitment from the NGOs side to promote the development of people in an area or country. Since Project Haiti is a Haitian-Norwegian organization all their efforts and commitment is devoted to Haiti. As mentioned before, they know about the country's history, culture and language and this makes them uniquely suited to fit into the context. They have the knowledge on how to interact with locals and they do not appear to be strangers that try to fix something in a country far away from home.

Furthermore, findings indicate that participants do recognize themselves in the employees at Project Haiti since they come from the same societal background. Many of the employed staff come from poor circumstances and the participating women can relate to them and see that it is possible to achieve something, get an education, get a job, get an income, - no matter from which circumstances you come from.

### 6.3.2 Towards a more resilient society

It is evident from the empirical findings that Manman Troll brings long-term effects about. The empowerment and strengthening of the women seems to shape more self-confident, aware participants of the Haitian society. Besides the school classes and the vocational training, especially the seminars contribute to expand the women's knowledge on for Haiti critical topics like politics, health issues, human rights and

gender-based violence. The seminars are built on the permanent dialog between the women and the person(s) who is holding the seminar. It is a two-sided approach like the other projects of Manman Troll and Project Haiti as well.

Improving the women's awareness on relevant key issues, encourages them to think independently. Knowledge about human rights and politics are the stones that need to be laid to start moving Haiti out of its protracted crisis. The consciousness and knowledge about these topics is shared with the women's families and communities through the women themselves. More and more people do have increased knowledge about these important issues and can do something about it. Moreover, through the empowerment of the women, more people are also willing to work for a change in the Haitian society.

Amongst other things, the women have learned that corruption and 'destructive politics' are not the only things that needs to disappear in the long run. They also know that it is necessary to build a society that can withstand future hazards, both in form of criminal leaders, but also in form of natural hazards. More earthquakes, storms and hurricanes will come due to Haiti geographical location. Therefore the Haitian society needs to become more robust and resilient towards such hazards. Increased knowledge on disaster prevention and preparation point into the right direction.

### 6.3.3 Improvements in the everyday life of the women

Long-term development is not only necessary on a higher level, but also in every single part of society and in every persons own personal life. To get the opportunity to educate oneself and learn a profession is as mentioned earlier only the first step. Finding steady employment afterwards is the next step towards more independency. The women start to have their own solid income, and are thus more flexible and able to help themselves and their families in a more sustainable way. Many women mention that they now are able to save some money, because they can open a bank account (they need to be able to write their names to get a bank account) and because Manman Troll taught them about methods for how to save money.

Due to their increased knowledge, the women reflect more on their own lives, but also on relevant societal issues like politics and human rights. They start to understand that change can only come to them, if they actively engage and take part in society instead

of being passive bystanders. Even though most of the women have a negative opinion about the Haitian politicians and the overall political system in the country, they understand that change can be accomplished through the active participation in elections, but also through smaller positive changes in the society in their everyday lives.

Hopefully, the women will be more prepared to cope with the consequences of new (natural) disasters. Due to their increased knowledge they should be more resilient towards impacts from the outside. This refers not only to natural disasters, but also to the everyday life experiences they make in their homes and communities.

# 7   Conclusions

The aim of this thesis was to address the research problem, how international NGOs can support the strengthening of local capacities in a protracted crisis. Throughout the theoretical approach in chapter 3 some possible tools for the implementation and measuring of capacity building were presented. Without trying to generalize the findings from this research project, the following conclusions can be drawn:

First, NGOs can strengthen local populations through the thorough implementation of crises-sensitive programs that build capacities in crises-affected areas. Manman Troll is such a program in Haiti. The Norwegian-Haitian project seems to be a success and uses local resources throughout their whole organization to strengthen the local capacities they see. Because of the organizations own knowledge about the Haitian society and people, Project Haiti manages to stay close to those who are involved in their projects. With roots in the Haitian society it seems that they are able to meet the requirements to implement projects by being sensitive to societal problems like one could find in protracted crisis Haiti.

Second, participation on all levels is a vital part for the involved women and encourages them to contribute to the programs operations. Designing programs where the participants can learn step-wise to build more knowledge and skills, seems to be effective for long-term effects on the participants lives. They get more self-confident by becoming literate and start to become more financially independent by learning professions. Having the opportunity for steady employment after the vocational training can make a big difference for the life of a family.

Third, informative seminars on sensitive topics like gender-based violence and HIV/AIDS, as well as politics, other health issues and businesses strengthens and empowers the women, because their knowledge increases. They become more reflective and do not accept all the fragile conditions in their homes or communities anymore. Instead they share their knowledge, they talk about it with other women and this might be the start of a developmental movement for Haiti. Increasing the women's knowledge also results in effects for the society since the women use what they have learned in their everyday lives and in the encounter with other people. Thus, the knowledge spreads.

Change and development appear to begin in small places and are processes that develop and grow over time. Even though Manman Troll is only a small organization, they are already having a substantial and sustainable impact on the women's and their family's lives. Hopefully, in some years, Haiti will be able to be declared as "not in a protracted crisis" anymore.

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# Appendix 1

**Original**



## ORGANISATION MAMAN TROLL
### Formulaire d'enquête

1. Nom & Prénom...................................................................................................................
2. Date de naissance..............................J............../M................./A..................................
3. Adresse................................................................................tel...................................
4. Condition matrimoniale.....................................................................................................
5. Type de propriété :  ☐  Locataire       ☐ Sédentaire
6. Qu'est ce qui vous a  motivé de venir à maman Troll ?.......................................................
7. Personne de référence  .....................................................................................................
8. Depuis quand êtes vous a Maman Troll ?............................................................................
9. Nombre d'enfant................................................................................................................
10. Combien d'enfants qui sont déjà l'école ?.........................................................................
11. Avez-vous des enfants à l'école Petit Troll?.....................................................................
12. Combien qui ne sont pas l'école ?..............................Age ?................... .........................
13. Aimeriez-vous les envoyer à l'école ?...............................................................................
14. Savez-vous lire ?  Oui ( ) non  (   ) écrire  oui ( ) non ( )
15. Dans quelles activités êtes-vous ? Ecole ☐ Couture ☐  Cosmétologie ☐ Informatique ☐
16. Est ce que vous travaillez ? si oui quel sont vos activités ?...............................................
17. Combien vous gagnez par jour................. ou par semaine....................ou par mois.................
18. Combien de personne que vous avez à la maison?.............................................................
19. Qui est le responsable de la famille ?................................................................................
20. Combien de personne qui contribue aux frais de la maison?..............................................
21. Il y a t-il d'autres personnes autres que vos enfants?........................................................
22. Comment vous sentez vous entant que membre de Maman Troll ?.......................................
.............................................................................................................................................
23. Qu'est ce que vous aimez ? .............................................................................................
    qu'est ce que vous n'aimez pas ?......................................................................................
24. Avez-vous un changement de votre situation économique depuis 3 ans? Même ☐     pire ☐
    améliorée ☐ expliquez......................................................................................................
25. Est-ce que votre participation à Maman Troll influence elle votre situation économique ?.................
    si oui dans quel sens ?......................................................................................................
.............................................................................................................................................

**English version**

1) Full name
2) Date of birth
3) Address
4) Marital status
5) Living situation: own ___ rent ___
6) What motivated you to come to Manman Troll?
7) Reference person
8) Since when are you at Manman Troll?
9) Number of kids
10) How many of your children go to school already?
11) Do you have children that go to Petit Troll school?
12) How many of your children don`t go to school? _____Age? _
13) Would you like to send them to school?
14) Do you know how to read? Yes___ No___ write? Yes___ No___
15) Which activity do you participate in? School___ Sewing Class___ Cosmotology___ Computer Class___
16) Are you working? If yes, what are you doing?
17) How much do you earn by day ___ or per week ___ or per months ___ ?
18) How many people are living in your house?
19) Who is responsible for the family?
20) How many people contribute to the costs of the house?
21) Are there other people than your children?
22) How do you feel as a member of Manman Troll?
23) What do you like about Manman Troll?
    What don't you like about Manman Troll?
24) Do you think that there will be a change in you economic/ financial situation in three years? The same ___ Worse ___ Improved ___ Explain ____
25) Does your participation in Manman Troll influence your economic situation?
26) Did you participate in the last elections? Say yes, what for ___ Say no, why not___ [10]

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[10] Question 26 is not on the original interview guide, but was added due to its relevance of the upcoming participations this autumn.

**Interviewguide**

- **General questions**
1) Confidentiality, anonymity
2) Introduce myself and the purpose of this study
3) Name
   Age
   Sex
   Profession
   Background
4) In which part of the org/ project do you work/ participate?


- **Do no harm approach**
1) Can you tell me a bit about the idea behind Manman Troll?
   a. Purpose
   b. Goals
2) What kind of people are involved and participate in ManMan Troll?
   a. Do you reach the "right" targetgroup?
3) How much is ManMan Troll build on and connected to
   a. local traditions?
   b. local resources?
   c. local networks?
4) What challenges does ManMan Troll meet?
   a. In general?
   b. In the specific courses (literacy, sewing, seminars)?
   c. How are they solved or dealt with?
5) How is the relation (communication) between employees and employer in the project?
6) To what extend would you say that women are more vulnerable than men in Haiti?
   a. Would you say that Manman Troll contributes to strengthen womens position?
      i. How/ in what way?
7) How do you estimate ManMan Trolls influence on the local society?
   a. Positive aspects?
   b. Negative aspects?
   c. Suggestions for improvement?

- **Capacity building**
1) What local capacities do you see?
   a. Do you try to involve them?
      i. How?
2) Does ManMan Troll contribute to share knowledge in the local society?
3) How would you personally say that the project uses its resources?
   a. In what way does this change the society?
4) What do you gain from working with and involving locals in the project?

5) Do you interact with other NGOs or local organizations?
   a. How do you choose these partners?
   b. How/ in what way?
   c. How does this contribute to your project?


- **Closing questions**
1) Have you made any negative experiences in
   a. Connecting to local people and networks?
      i. Which?
      ii. How were they dealt with?
   b. Connecting to other NGOs or local organizations?
      i. Which?
      ii. How were they dealt with?
2) Do you feel like Manman Troll will have an impact on future development in Haiti?
   a. If yes, how?
   b. If no, why not?
3) Where do you see Project Haiti as a whole in 5 years from now?
4) Where do you see you're a) employees & b) participants from Manman Troll in 5 years?

Any comments?

**Discussion**

1) Are you active in your civil community? How? If yes, which organization or what activity? Who/are you responsible?
2) What do you gain from participating in Manman Troll?
3) Do you remember how you felt before you came to Manman Troll? Has there been any changes?
4) Where do you see yourself in 3-5 years? Perspectives?

**Follow-up questions group discussions**

*Some of the questions are very open, so it is very important to follow up on every lead we get from the women throughout the interview!*

**Literacy courses**

1) How many of you can read and write now?
2) How many women have entered formal education at secondary level as a result of the MT literacy course?
3) What do you think about this activity? How has it affected your life?

**Income-generating activity**

4) Do you have any income as a direct result of the activity you participate in?
5) Have you started your own business as a result of the MT activity? If yes, what?
6) Are you more independent economically since you started at MT?

**Seminars**

7) What do you personally gain from participating in MT seminars?

Improved knowledge on health

8) What types of illnesses do you worry about getting (or worry that any one in your family will get)?
9) Do you find that your knowledge on how to stay healthy has improved since you joined Manman Troll?

If yes, can you describe in what ways?

10) What can you do at home to protect your family from cholera?
11) From where do you get your drinking water?
12) Do you know of any connections between food storage and disease?
13) In what ways can good hygiene help you and your family to stay healthy?
14) If you have daughters or sons - how do you instruct them to protect themselves from violence?
15) How can you protect yourself from unwanted pregnancies?
16) Do you know of any diseases that are contracted through having sex?
17) How can you protect yourself from such diseases?
18) Have you been pregnant since 2011 – if so, how did you make sure you and your baby stayed healthy?
19) Did you seek any medical assistance during your pregnancy?
20) If your pregnancy resulted in childbirth – where did you deliver your baby (home, hospital or other)?
    Why did you choose this location?
21) If anyone in your family, or yourself, gets sick with a high temperature over several days, where do you turn for advice or assistance?
22) How easy or difficult is it for you to get hold of painkillers, band aid/bandages, disinfectant and (if applicable) birth control devices (condoms, pills, or other)?
23) In your opinion, what would make your life safer or better, in terms of health care services in your area?

Improved access to health care

24) Do the Maman Troll women 'belong' to one particular health care centre? If so, is it possible to get annual data on the number (and possibly nature) of consultations? Even if we cannot distinguish Maman Troll women from these data, we may use them as indicators.
25) If the Maman Troll women do not 'belong' to any one particular health care centre, this type of data must be collected through a questionnaire or interview.

Questionnaire/interview:

26) How many times have you seen a nurse or health worker since 2011?
27) How many times have you seen a doctor since 2011?
28) How many times have you taken anyone from your immediate family to a health facility since 2011?
29) How many times, out of these, were you the person initiating that you seek medical help?
30) Were there times when you or one in your family were sick, when you did not go to see a nurse or a doctor?
31) What was the reason why you didn't?

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**Other questions**

32) What do you gain from participating in Manman Troll?
➔ What has changed? Have there been negative changes?
➔ How? Why? Why not?

considering
    a. You personally? (Changes? improvements?)
    b. Your family situation? (changes? improvements?)
    c. Your professional situation? (changes? improvements?)
    d. Your financial/ economic situation? (changes? improvements? Are you more independent compared to before you joined MT? Do you have a higher income?)
    e. Your community? (changes? improvements?)

42) Have you started (or joined) an activity, group or initiative in your home area/ district/ community since you joined Manman Troll?
    a. What kind of activity?
    b. Have several MT women engaged in some activities together?
    c. How do people react to it?
    d. Has there been a change in your home area/ district/ community because of your activity? (Is there any "proof" for this change? If yes, which? [important from a scientific point of view])
    e. What do people gain from participating in your activity?

**Future perspectives**

43) Where do you see yourself in 3-5 years?
Considering
    a. You personally?
    b. Your professional situation?
    c. Changes in your living situation (at home)? (Do you think you will be able to support your family more/ in new ways? If yes, how? If no, why not? Explain!)
    d. Changes in your community/district?
    e. Are you planning on having your own business? What kind of? How will this contribute to a change of your situation?
44) Do you see new opportunities for yourself after you participated in MT activities?
45) Where do you see your daughters in 5 years from now? Have your dreams for your daughter changed in any way since you joined Manman Troll?
46) Where do you see Haiti in five years from now? Has your view on Haiti's future changed at all since you joined Manman Troll?