

Camp Transformation in Corail Cesselesse, Haiti: Participatory Urban Planning after the 2010 Earthquake

Summary Report

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IIED's Human Settlements Group

The Human Settlements Group at the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) works to reduce poverty and improve health and housing conditions in the urban centres of Africa, Asia and Latin America. It seeks to combine this with promoting good governance and more ecologically sustainable patterns of urban development and rural-urban linkages.

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The Urban Crises Learning Partnership (UCLP) was a two-year (2015–17) learning initiative aimed at improving humanitarian preparedness and response in urban areas. It is a partnership between Habitat for Humanity GB, Oxfam GB, the Overseas Development Institute (ODI), and University College London (UCL). The project has carried out primary research in Haiti and Bangladesh through the National Offices of Habitat for Humanity in both countries, and Oxfam in Bangladesh.

The UCLP has two primary objectives: to improve the way stakeholders in urban crises engage with each other to form new partnerships and make better decisions; and to improve disaster preparedness and response in urban areas by developing, testing, and disseminating new approaches to the formation of these relationships and systems.

The project has addressed these objectives by exploring four related themes: the role of actors who are not part of the formal national or international humanitarian system; accountability to affected populations (AAP); urban systems; and coordinating urban disaster preparedness.

This case study by Rachel Senat and Alex Belvert makes a valuable contribution to the second of these themes – AAP. By examining in detail a case in which the participation of the community was very low, the paper demonstrates how poor outcomes can result from weak engagement with affected people. The paper serves as a valuable companion piece to the Simon Pelé case study in this series which highlighted the positive outcomes that are generated when participation is meaningful and central to all phases of planning and implementation. Both papers contain valuable lessons for humanitarian and development organisations planning participatory approaches in the recovery phase of urban crises.

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

AJSDO	League of Youth Athletics for the Development of Onaville / Alliance des Jeunes Sportifs pour le Développement d'Onaville
ARC	American Refugee Committee
CBO	Community-Based Organisation
CIAT	Interministerial Committee for Territorial Management / Comité Interministeriel pour l'Aménagement du Territoire
COCCESSE	Collective of Corail Cesselesse and surrounding areas' Grassroots Organisations / Collectif des Organisations de Corail Cesselesse et ses Environs
DINEPA	The National Drinking Water and Sanitation Directorate / Direction Nationale d'eau Potable et d'Assainissement
EDH	Haiti Electricity Company / Electricité D'Haïti
HFH-Haiti	Habitat for Humanity Haiti
IHRC	Interim Haiti Recovery Commission
IOM	International Organization for Migration
MINUSTAH	UN Stabilisation Mission in Haiti / Mission des Unions Unies pour la Stabilisation d'Haïti
MJHPDECC	Mobilisation of Young Humanists and Progressives for Corail Cesselesse / Development Mobilisation des jeunes humanistes et progressistes pour le Corail Cesselesse
MSSP	Ministry of Public Health and Population / Ministère de la Santé Publique et de la Population
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
OFDCC	Organisation of Displaced Women for Corail Cesselesse's Development / Organisation des Femmes Déplacées de Corail Cesselesse Développement de Corail-Cesselesse
POPES	Platform of Organisations for Economic and Social Progress / Plateforme des Organisations pour le Progrès Économique et Social
UJODH	Coalition of Onaville Youth for the Development of Haiti / Union des Jeunes d'Onaville pour le Développement d'Haïti
UN-Habitat	UN Human Settlements Programme

Abstract

The urban crisis caused by the earthquake of 12 January 2010 in Haiti led to the creation of several camps for the displaced, the management of which was entrusted to a group of humanitarian agencies. One year later, this management was transferred to the local authorities, presenting an opportunity to transform the area housing the camps into a new urban area. This study, based on a systematic approach using qualitative and quantitative methods, describes the relationship between community participation and urban planning when the aim is to successfully transform a camp into permanent housing.

Summary

After the 2010 earthquake, the Haitian government declared that 5,000 hectares of land to the north-east of the capital Port-au-Prince were to be used to build camps for displaced people. Many international humanitarian agencies were involved in building infrastructure and basic services in Corail-Cesselesse. When the decision was made to transform the area into an urban space, the responsibility for the camp was transferred to the municipality of Croix-des-Bouquets, giving it the main responsibility for managing and controlling urban development activities. The community, only partly aware of this process and in uncomfortable living conditions, expressed their disapproval of all development agencies: the national government, the local government, and the non-governmental organisations (NGOs) designated as humanitarian agencies.

The main research question we seek to answer here is about the role of community participation. This study aims to analyse the relationship between community participation and urban planning for successful development. This is one of the main themes of the Urban Crisis Learning Programme (UCLP): Accountability to Affected Populations.

The main hypothesis that we explore is that a positive correlation exists between high-quality community participation processes and high-quality urban planning. We also explore three secondary hypotheses using mixed data-collection methods. Finally, a community forum allowed us to complete and validate the results through feedback from community leaders.

First, we conducted a quantitative survey of 345 families randomly selected from the camps. Second, four focus groups of 12–15 participants each were set up, two of which comprised women heads of households and two of which were mixed-gender groups. We also conducted individual interviews. Both methods – survey and focus groups – aimed to identify the level of community participation, with the focus groups emphasising the involvement of community leaders and the engagement of the stakeholders.

The results revealed that the majority of the inhabitants do not take part in community meetings, or the monitoring and evaluation process for development projects. We found that the residents of Corail-Cesselesse lack a culture of participation, and that this is compounded by humanitarian agencies reducing their involvement in decision-making related to improving the community's environment and living conditions. In addition, the Haitian government and local authorities have weaknesses with regard to urban governance. For successful urban planning, synergy among the stakeholders – humanitarian agencies, the government, the municipality, grassroots community organisations, the private sector, and community leaders – is fundamental.

Introduction

On 12 January 2010, the capital of Haiti and some neighbouring cities were severely hit by a high-intensity earthquake reaching 7.2 on the Richter scale. This disaster resulted in huge loss of human life, injuries, families displaced in their thousands, and a massive destruction of infrastructure. In the aftermath, this chaotic situation quickly generated urgent needs, with families sheltering in tents in displaced people's camps. Two months later, on 22 March, a presidential decree declared 5,000 hectares of land to the north of Port-au-Prince were to be made available for camps, leading to the creation of a new 'city of Canaan'. The area was subdivided into four administrative areas: Canaan, Corail-Cesselesse, Jerusalem, and Onaville.

The Coral-Cesselesse area was an official camp. Various international agencies, such as the International Organization for Migration (IOM), Oxfam, and World Vision, supplied basic camp services such as drinking water, waste management, and education. A year later, on 15 May 2011, the municipality of Croix-des-Bouquets took over the administration of the area from the American Refugee Committee (ARC) and humanitarian agencies. The decision to transform the camp into a district section under the municipality put an end to the haphazard building of shelters.

Our research into the available literature did not provide any information about the population's involvement in the transformation of the Corail-Cesselesse camp. But we know from previous projects that community participation is the cornerstone of success. Therefore, the study aims to answer the question: to what extent is community participation relevant to the success of an urban development planning project?

It examines urban development in light of these assumptions:

- Successful urban planning must take into account the real needs of a community in a given situation.
- Successful urban planning must help to meet shared expectations in that community.
- Successful urban development is the result of implementing well-planned actions in accordance with a development plan.

These assumptions suggest that the establishment of a master plan is an important prerequisite for any transformation of camps into neighbourhoods. Such a master plan makes it possible to address the real needs of the community, and to study forms of community stakeholder involvement. In describing the process of transforming camps, the focus of the research turned towards the participation of citizens or communities in urban planning.

Research Objectives

The main aim of this study is to describe the relationship between community participation and planning for successful urban development. It has the following specific objectives:

- **Specific objective I:** To highlight the implications of a rights-based approach to gender equality (Caricom, 2017) in planning with community participation for successful urban development.
- **Specific objective II:** To understand how extensively the population is involved in urban development projects.
- **Specific objective III:** To examine the positive effects of the State's involvement in the coordination of aid that involves community participation and urban planning in development projects.

Research Hypothesis

Based on the research question mentioned above, the main hypothesis was that there is a positive correlation between community participation and successful urban planning. The following hypotheses were also tested:

- **Secondary hypothesis I:** The participation of women highlights essential aspects in the implementation of an urban development project.
- **Secondary hypothesis II:** Community participation is superficial and serves only as approval for the implementation of projects.
- **Secondary hypothesis III:** Coordination of interventions by the State is crucial to ensure successful urban planning and community participation in Corail-Cesselesse.

Methodology

Research Methodology and Data Collection Techniques

This study is based on a triangulation of quantitative and qualitative data. Quantitative methods made it possible to obtain a representative point of view of the whole population, while qualitative methods targeted only the community leaders who participated in the urban development projects of Corail-Cesselesse.

The study was carried out in three main phases: exploration, data collection, and analysis.

In the exploration phase, the field research team observed the communities of Coral Cesselesse with a view to identifying their infrastructures and organisational structures. At this stage, the team conducted informal interviews with community leaders.

During the second phase, the field team collected data on a sample of households at the two study sites, and gathered the opinions of the main actors: community-based organisations (CBOs), city councillors, and NGOs working in the area. This phase was supplemented by a two-day meeting (forum) to present provisional results and solicit input from community leaders.

In the third phase, data processing and analysis was carried out using the Excel and NVivo software packages. Nvivo was used mainly in the analysis of content for the interviews, and Excel for quantitative data.

Units of Analysis and Instruments

The first unit of analysis were households, represented by the heads of the household. The second was community leaders and other individuals such as religious leaders, representatives of CBOs, and other prominent figures in the community. Individual interviews were conducted with representatives of humanitarian agencies, other officials, and former executives of the town hall of Croix-des-Bouquets.

Appropriate collection instruments were developed for each technique: an observation grid focused on infrastructure and social services for the exploratory visits; a questionnaire for the quantitative survey data; and interview guidelines for the focus groups and individual interviews.

Sampling Techniques

Due to resource constraints we decided that, within the framework of this study, it would be strategic to take a representative sample of the population.

Corail-Cesselesse has a population of approximately 16,753 people in 2,714 families or households. The Corail zone is configured into two large blocks, known as Sector 3 and Sector 4. To ensure a proportionate

number of respondents from each sector, we adopted the stratified sampling method. The probability and margin of error parameters were set to 0.5 and 5 per cent, respectively, due to the undefined probability value (p) with respect to the selected household having been involved in a previous project. We arrived at a minimum required sample of 345 households, which were sampled six households apart.

The choice of participants for the focus groups was also made to ensure proportionality, here in relation to the number of organised groups involved in local development. Two focus groups were organised by sector, which gathered between 12 and 15 community leaders each. For each group, the composition of the members differed: one was made up solely of women leaders, and the other group had both women and men.

Composition of the Research Team

Carrying out this research required a coordinator, a research assistant, and three 'mobiliser-investigators' – investigators who also had a role in mobilising the community. To validate the first data collected, Habitat for Humanity Haiti (HFH-Haiti) sought the support of an urban sociologist, from the State University of Haiti, who trained participants in urban planning and community participation. The coordinator of the UCLP project took on the role of coordinator for the study. She was also in charge of organising the interviews, working with a research assistant who shared responsibility for some individual interviews. The research assistant co-facilitated the focus groups with the coordinator, and moderated the forum. The assistant was also involved in data management and analysis. The mobiliser-investigators, whose role was to liaise with grassroots organisations and ensure participation in the focus groups and the forum, were from the community of Corail-Cesselesse. They also used a questionnaire to survey the population, and collect the quantitative data in the first stage of the project.

Limitations of the Study

The composition of the displaced population in Corail-Cesselesse has changed over time; this could make the data less reliable. However, the elders are a more stable population. Among the 345 heads of household questioned in the study, 240 lived in Corail since the camps were created.

With regard to recording household participation for the study: the head of a household may not have necessarily taken part in a residents' association themselves; someone in their household may have done so instead. Similarly, the head of a household may not have participated in community meetings about the development projects, but a member of the family may have represented them.

Contextual Framework

Spatial Boundaries and a Brief History of Corail-Cesselesse

Corail-Cesselesse is located 18km to the north-east of the capital of Port-au-Prince, and is part of a wider region known by almost the same name: Habitation Corail-Cesselesse. The whole region is under the joint jurisdiction of several districts. But the former Camp of Corail is administrated by the district of Croix-des-Bouquets; this means it makes an important link with the metropolitan area in the northern part of the country, and has a strategic position in terms of cross-border trade with the Dominican Republic. Accessible by national roads 1 and 3, Corail-Cesselesse is bounded on the east by Onaville, on the west by New Jerusalem and Modern Village, on the south by National Road 3, and on the north by the Trou d'Eau mountains.

In 1971, while the master plan of Urban Development was being designed by the government for the North Pole, Habitation Corail-Cesselesse was declared a public utility. The idea was that an industrial area and tourist attractions could be developed in the area. The Haitian firm NABATEC S.A., which specialises in integrated real estate and urban development, owned a significant portion of the Coral-Cesselesse property at the time. It was considering, through its project 'Habitat Haiti 2020', the development of an integrated economic zone with industrial parks, individual and group homes, school infrastructure, green spaces, and shopping centres.

Origin of Camps in Corail

A presidential decree issued on 22 March 2010 resulted in 5,000 hectares of Habitation Corail-Cesselesse becoming a public utility (the first decree issued in 1971 had since become ineffective). This enabled the relocation of earthquake victims living in overcrowded camps in the Port-au-Prince metropolitan area (in Petionville golf course, Delmas 40-B, Fleuriot, and Croix-des-Bouquets camps). Initially, in April 2010, a first location called Sector 4 was set up, welcoming about 10,000 people to prefabricated tents. Then, in July 2011, the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) built a second site called Sector 3, with more than 300 temporary shelters.

Each sector was subdivided into six blocks. The sites were constructed with bulldozers provided by the US military (Haiti Libre, 2010), which were part of the UN force established in Haiti. Data from the humanitarian

agency Groupe URD (Noel, 2012) provide information on the population hosted in the two sectors: 2,114 families, subdivided into 1,187 families in Sector 4, and 927 families for Sector 3.

The Camp of Corail-Cesselesse was managed primarily by the American Refugee Committee (ARC). It received support from other institutions, including Oxfam for water, sanitation and hygiene; World Vision for reforestation, channelling, and construction of a community school; IOM for the repatriation of displaced persons; and the UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) as well as the national police force for ensuring the safety of the site.

Camp Transformation

An article by Amnesty International (2015) states that "there is no formal definition of the transformation of camps into neighbourhoods in the Haitian context". However, as a general rule, the transformation of camps depends on offering the residents a legal guarantee to remain permanently on the land where they have established their makeshift dwellings. This process also includes measures to promote access to basic services and, in some cases, housing assistance such as replacing temporary shelters or constructing new buildings (Amnesty International, 2015).

A few months after the establishment of Camp Corail-Cesselesse – towards the end of 2010 and into 2011 – humanitarian agencies replaced the original tents with transitional shelters. These 'T-shelters' consist of a single room and a gallery measuring about 18 square metres, and are made out of wooden frames covered with corrugated sheets. They are meant to last around three years.

The ARC was to transfer management of the camp, one year after it was established, to the municipality of Croix-des-Bouquets. The ARC had been coordinating all activities of the partners who formed the Corail-Cesselesse Camp.

To guarantee a better management of the camp, the NGO World Vision was asked to train 15 municipal officers in the fields of 'human rights' and 'protection of the environment' (Haiti Libre, 2011). The administration, at the time, decided to transform the Corail-Cesselesse camp into a district within Varreux, the second subdivision in the municipality of Croix des bouquets. As a result, a court decision was taken to prohibit uncontrolled construction on the site, so that "the

only institutions allowed to build in Corail are IOM and World Vision” (Haiti Libre, 2011). A branch of the administrative office of the Croix-des-Bouquets town hall was set up within the Corail-Cesselesse community.

As the camp looked set to be transformed into a neighbourhood, the area became more attractive for migration and land developers.

At the initiative of both the public and private sectors, various basic social services were gradually established in this new district. Humanitarian agencies were mainly responsible for existing infrastructure such as electricity, water and sanitation, leisure areas, school buildings, and health centres.

Infrastructure

The information gathered from field surveys and the validation workshops in the two sectors of Corail-Cesselesse enabled us to inventory available services and infrastructure, and to identify urban planning needs in the zone.

In terms of infrastructure, we looked at public buildings, drinking water and electricity supply systems, school buildings, community spaces, recreational areas (such as cultural centres and other areas), religious temples, hospitals, health centres, and road networks.

Public Buildings

A total of five public buildings were identified in Corail-Cesselesse: two national police stations, an office of the town hall of Croix-des-Bouquets, a public school and a health centre under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Public Health and Population (MSSP).

Drinking Water Supply and Sanitation Systems

The National Drinking Water and Sanitation Directorate (DINEPA), with the support of the international organisation Oxfam GB, set up a number of drinking water booths serving all six blocks in the two sectors of Corail-Cesselesse. To obtain their supply of water, residents had to pay the sum of two Haitian gourdes for a bucket containing five gallons. However, at the time of our investigation, technical problems meant the kiosks had not been in operation for about seven months. As a result, some families stored rain water flowing onto the roofs of their houses, while others bought well water stored in tanks at private homes. Prices for the well water were found to vary between 10 and 15 gourdes for a five-gallon bucket.

In addition, the multiple challenges of having in place only collective latrines should be emphasised; they include mismanagement, risk of disease spread, and

conflicts between neighbours. At the same time, there is no wastewater treatment or waste management system in Corail. Even where there was a drainage system for wastewater discharge, the absence of a landfill for waste, particularly solid waste, forced some residents to dump their litter into the drainage channels and others to burn it outdoors.

School Buildings

Corail-Cesselesse was served by two public schools (one is communal, under the municipality’s jurisdiction, and the other national, under the education ministry’s jurisdiction); two congregational schools; two community schools; and more than a dozen private schools. Of the total number of schools listed, only seven offered classes at all grades. There was one school offering vocational training.

Electricity Supply

All Corail-Cesselesse blocks were found to have access to electricity. However, two things should be noted: residents said the availability of electrical energy for five hours per day was insufficient, and the electricity network was financed by community contributions. To access electricity, individuals needed to self-organise and collaborate with the Haiti Electricity Company (EDH). Solar streetlights were provided by humanitarian agencies for night-time street lighting during hours not covered by EDH.

Community Spaces

In Sector 3, we found five storage hangars and a community centre built by the charity Terre des Hommes. In Sector 4, the Community Resource Centre – located in front of the Corail National Police Sub-Commission and the Scalabrini Room of Notre Dame de la Victoire Parish community – was used for any gathering of a socio-cultural or religious nature even though it is the property of the Catholic Church.

Recreation Areas

Various sports and leisure facilities were found in Corail-Cesselesse, spread over all the blocks of the two sectors. These are mainly football pitches, basketball courts, and playground equipment for children, including swings and slides. Most of these appeared to be in poor condition.

Public Places

Almost all of the Corail area has empty pockets of land that can be reserved to be used as public spaces. These areas remained undeveloped at the time of our research, with little vegetation cover or appropriate facilities.

Road Networks

Corail-Cesselesse has a dirt road that is large enough to allow good transport, trade, and connections with nearby areas. Two routes from National Road 3 lead to Corail, while various road arteries allow movement within the blocks and connect the sectors. But, during our investigation, some of these were obstructed by households looking to extend their property.

Religious Temples

We found about a dozen places of worship in Corail-Cesselesse: four Vodou temples, one Catholic parish, and eight Protestant churches. The infrastructure of the Protestant denominations is, largely, home to a pre-school and an elementary school.

Community-Based Organisations

During the study, the investigators did not report any organisational structure at Corail. But data provided in the community forum confirmed the existence of seven CBOs involved in various fields including education, the environment, and human rights. They include: Organisation of Displaced Women for Corail Cesselesse's Development (OFDCC), League of Youth Athletics for the Development of Onaville (AJSDO), The Platform of Organisations for Economic and Social Progress (POPES), Coalition of Onaville Youth for the Development of Haiti (UJODH), Mobilisation of Young Humanists and Progressives for Corail Cesselesse Development (MJHPDECC), and Collective of Corail Cesselesse and Surrounding Areas' Grassroots Organisations (COCCESSE).

Non-Governmental Organisations

There were five humanitarian agencies operating in Corail without a local office: Global Communities, Terre des Hommes, the IOM, the American Red Cross and UN-Habitat. Their services cover three areas: children's education, health, and the urban development.

Urban Development Needs

Important development needs for the Corail neighbourhood were identified by residents through the focus groups and workshops. They included:

- A cemetery and public market.
- Laying concrete and asphalt on the roads serving the neighbourhood.
- An administrative complex housing all the offices of the state.
- Approval of green spaces as public parks and planting shade trees in public spaces.
- A hospital offering ambulance services.
- A modern high school.
- Effective management of waste; clearing and development of the gully named 'Madan L' through both Sectors 3 and 4.
- The replacement of T-shelters with multi-level, modern, group housing.

Urban Governance and Participatory Urban Planning

Participation in Urban Planning

Participatory approaches to planning emerged in the 1950s, along with community development practices. The concept of participation was associated with ideas such as solidarity, cooperation, and self-management. Participation in planning has been boosted by the strengthening of democratic systems, beginning with the creation of legal frameworks setting out the prerogatives and responsibilities of the different groups in local or municipal administration. But community involvement in decision-making remains a challenge in the field of spatial planning, whether at the level of the public or municipal administration.

Specifically, there is the issue of mediation between actors, as stipulated in the current model of dominant government. Indeed, in this form of representative democracy, the principle of general interest legitimises public action – although in practice, the implementation and management of numerous urban planning projects violate this very principle. Generally, it is the residents of at-risk and vulnerable areas that are excluded from urban development plans.

Urban Governance

Getting spatial planning to be successful as a part of urban governance is complicated. This is because it must take into account the changing character of urban spaces including their social, cultural, economic, and political realities. Successful urban planning also means considering all these aspects, and the interests of all social groups. Alicia Ziccardi (2008) suggests that the exercise of effective urban administration, including the establishment of a political and socially democratic government, is not possible without citizen participation. Thanks to the structure of relationships between the different urban actors, urban governance helps to make decisions that are in the public interest. It must be emphasised that this is a new approach: it is a type of relationship that was lacking between the state and civil society in the field of urban planning.

Because of improvements, made since the 1970s, in the systems of governance and administration of cities, the language of participation, planning, and development has become linked to urban planning. Public management practices have become part of crisis management¹ as a result of modernisation processes and the dynamics of the global market. The type of governance called 'public management' appeared in the United States and Europe with the objective of coordinating and standardising public programmes and policies. Therefore, this new tool was borne out of a re-conceptualisation of government action, in order to correct ineffective responses to complex problems. Due to a lack of resources and due to competing interests, for a long time it was difficult to reconcile the three dimensions² of governmental action in crisis. In this new management framework for local government, traditional planning gives way to strategic planning with an aim to coordinate the actions of different economic and social actors. Citizens, government politicians and technicians, companies, and civil society organisations are the main actors involved. Although strategic planning had been an important tool for private companies, from the 1980s it also became a new approach to urban planning that put an emphasis on citizen participation.

Citizen Participation and Stakeholder Coordination

Citizen participation refers to a process that allows social groups to influence decisions that affect their environment and the future shape of their society. In fractured societies, this concept can be perceived differently depending on the stakeholders or social classes involved. For some, participation becomes part of an institutional strategy, legitimising the ideology behind that strategy and imposing its power by influencing those who take decisions. For others, participation offers a chance to learn about changes in social relationships, or to exercise collective power in a way that might change decision-making. Given

¹ According to Cabrero (2008), three types of crisis were identified in public management before the 1960s: the crisis of effectiveness, the crisis of efficiency and the crisis of legitimacy.

² Ibid.

that social conflict is often generated by the exclusion and marginalisation of some social groups, the search for consensus can be difficult. Referring to citizen participation, Jean Rénoël Elie (2009), in an article published by Québec University, shares a clear view on the inclusive nature of all sectors in public life, and undoubtedly refers to two aspects of participation: coordination of social groups with divergent interests, and inclusive urban policies that respond to local realities.

Participatory Urban Planning in Haiti

Both the concept and practice of participatory urban planning are new to Haiti, having begun only after the devastating 2010 earthquake and in the context of the crisis that followed in Port-au-Prince.

One course of action could have been to follow the example of successful reconstruction projects carried out after disasters in neighbouring Latin cities. The Haitian authorities, both executive and legislative, had travelled to places, particularly in Ecuador and Venezuela, which had recovered from disasters.

But at the time, two opposing voices were emerging in the debate around how to address the disaster: those advocating for reconstruction, and those advocating for a longer-term approach that lays the foundation for addressing wider social issues. Reconstruction was essentially about rebuilding the road infrastructure and housing. Those who opposed this approach said that the Haitian state had already failed to respond to the needs of all social groups, and that reconstruction in this way would encourage social exclusion of the most vulnerable. Instead, they said, let's talk about laying a 'foundation' – a more inclusive term that takes diversity into account with a view to creating social inclusion and reducing disparities. Supporters of the 'foundation' approach said it is an opportunity for society to restore social bonds and repair past mistakes that have led to marginalisation. More specifically, this option took into account not only the infrastructure needed to mitigate the impacts of a future disaster, but also a better distribution of basic services. In other words, they said, at-risk neighbourhoods and emerging neighbourhoods (such as Corail Cesselesse) should be included in urban development plans.

Faced with this situation, it was necessary to create spaces for social dialogue. In some cases, these were limited to neighbourhood scale, while others were at a wider or international scale (such as the New

York conference). Very little national debate was held around this subject – but this is beyond the scope of this study.

Community-based platforms for participation have been developed by humanitarian agencies following an integrated approach at the neighbourhood level. Experiences from participatory urban planning can be summed up as progressing in two main phases: first, the planning itself, and then the execution of planned priority activities. The structures used for these approaches are named and often practised differently by the different agencies involved; examples include the 'Neighbourhood Table' set up by the American Red Cross in Canaan, and the 'Community Council' set up with the support of Habitat for Humanity-Haiti for the Simon-Pelé neighbourhood in Port-au-Prince.

Urban 'diagnoses' were developed at the request of the Haitian authorities, and with the support of the international community. These were carried out to help the residents of the neighbourhoods get involved by combining their vision with the technical expertise of urban planning professionals. According to the guide by the Interministerial Committee for Territorial Management (CIAT, 2013) on neighbourhood regeneration, an urban diagnosis is a document that "presents the strengths and constraints for the development of the neighbourhood". It addresses several issues such as neighbourhood boundaries, population, environment and natural hazards, roads, urban services, economy, public spaces, and housing.

Local authorities are often excluded from making major decisions. No member of a local government was included in the country's reconstruction commission, the Interim Haiti Recovery Commission (IHRC),³ after the 2010 earthquake. The decisions taken by this commission not only completely denied the authority of local authorities, but also excluded them from the process.

Although not formally integrated into urban policies, the implementation of participation mechanisms in Haiti's at-risk neighbourhoods should be encouraged. It allows previously neglected social groups to demonstrate their role and potential; it also improves the coordination of humanitarian agencies' interventions, and their collaboration with local authorities or State structures. According to some representatives of development agencies, participatory processes can lead to the "convergence of interests to guarantee the sustainability of the service" (Couet, 2013).

³ On 31 March 2010, the New York conference led to the development of the National Recovery and Development Action Plan and the creation of the IHRC. The role of the IHRC was to coordinate financial and humanitarian assistance; its mandate was to manage material resources for reconstruction, and then to evaluate the project proposals submitted by international organisations.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Presentation and Interpretation of the Data

The results emerged from three sources of data: questionnaires, focus groups, and individual interviews. After a triangulation process, additional data were collected in the community forum and validation workshops, so as to improve the reliability of the results. The tables and graphs presented are based on the main questions included across our various data-collection instruments. They are ordered according to the assumptions we have formulated.

Hypothesis I: The participation of women highlights essential aspects in the implementation of an urban development project.

For the first hypothesis, we considered questions 10, 11, and 12 in the questionnaire, which deal with participation in a general way. Specifically, we looked

at question 15, which refers to women's initiative in the projects.⁴

Table 1 shows that, out of a population of 345 heads of households, of which 251 are women, 229 women (66.37 per cent of the total household population) are not members of any association or community-based organisation. Of the 251 female heads of household, only 22 (6.38 per cent of all households) are members of associations.

According to **Table 2**, of the 251 women heads of households, 216 (62.61 per cent) were not involved in discussions held to implement development projects in Corail-Cesselesse.

Table 3 shows that of the 251 women heads of households, 223 were not involved in the implementation of development projects in Corail-Cesselesse; only 28 participated. This means women who did not participate represent 64.63 per cent of the total population of heads of household, and those who participated represent 8.11 per cent.

Table 1. Membership in associations or grassroots organisations in Corail-Cesselesse: distribution of heads of household by sex

Type of respondent	Member		Not a member		Total	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Men	19	5.51%	75	21.74%	94	27.25%
Women	22	6.38%	229	66.37%	251	72.75%
Total	41	11.89%	304	88.11%	345	100%

Table 2. Participation in community meetings to identify needs and possible solutions for development projects in Corail-Cesselesse: distribution of heads of household by sex

Type of respondent	Participated		Did not participate		Total	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Men	28	8.12%	66	19.13%	94	27.25%
Women	35	10.14%	216	62.61%	251	72.75%
Total	63	18.26%	282	81.74%	345	100%

⁴C.f.: annex 1

Table 3. Participation in development projects in Coral Cesselesse: distribution of heads of household by sex

Type of respondent	Participated		Did not participate		Total	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Men	16	4.64%	78	22.61%	94	27.25%
Women	28	8.12%	223	64.63%	251	72.75%
Total	44	12.74%	301	87.26%	345	100%

To get a clear idea of the involvement of women in development projects that had already been carried out, we asked the following question in the household survey: "Is there anything that has been done in a project under the initiative of a woman or, better, a group of women?" Of the 345 heads of household who were interviewed, 344 responded no.

In the focus group with women leaders, other more specific issues related to women's leadership, women's participation in project implementation, and in the monitoring and/or evaluation process were discussed (**Box 1**).

Box 1. Focus group discussion with women leaders

Women's leadership in crisis

The two groups of women we met believe that women have more time than men to provide leadership in times of crisis. They also recognise that some women participated as representatives of blocks alongside men.

Direct involvement in a project

At the beginning of life in the camps of Corail, there were some women's associations participating in meetings on the implementation of development projects in the area. But the focus group participants said they did not know what these associations contributed; some even accuse the groups of being profiteers.

Ideas put forward by women for a project

In Corail Sector 3, women influential in the community recommended to the humanitarian agency Terre des Hommes that it builds a socio-cultural centre dedicated especially to children's protection. Data from our workshops also indicate a greater participation by women in the implementation of projects that resulted in the establishment of a police sub-commission and the construction of the Communal Corail School in Sector 3. In Sector 4, a community canteen was created following the initiative of a group of women who secured a grant from a humanitarian agency.

Mechanisms put in place by humanitarian agencies to ensure the participation of women

Community meetings organised by agencies were held regularly and the participation of women was often encouraged. The American Red Cross, one of the agencies involved in coordinating NGO actions in Corail camps, had set up clubs for women and mothers, to encourage women to become involved in issues such as improving child nutrition.

Involvement of women in monitoring and evaluation

The only women who were involved in the monitoring and evaluation process were those who were responsible for block on joint camp management committees.

Positive change in a project following women's opinions

During the execution of a drinking water supply and sanitation project run by Oxfam GB, women in the community proposed that the price of a bucket of water was revised for a greater number of inhabitants. This was done and the price was reduced by 60 per cent.

Hypothesis II: Community participation is superficial and serves only as approval for the implementation of projects.

The questions that relate to our second working hypothesis are 10, 11, 12, 13, 19, and 20 in the questionnaire administered to the heads of household. The tables below provide an overview of the situation with a breakdown by gender, but the discussion here will address the total population of respondents regardless of gender.

Data for the first three questions were presented in Tables 1, 2, and 3 – what follows is their interpretation for hypothesis II:

Table 1 shows that out of a population of 345 heads of household, 304 are not members of any community-based organisation. A total of 41 household heads are members of a community association. That is, 88.11 per cent of the total population are not members of an organisation.

Table 2 shows that 282 household heads, or 81.74 per cent of the total population, did not participate in community meetings to identify needs and possible solutions. That means 63 heads of household, or 18.26 per cent of the total, did participate.

Table 3 shows that 301 household heads, or 87.26 per cent of the total population, were not accustomed to participating in the implementation of development projects. Moreover, just 44 knew how to participate, which corresponds to 12.74 per cent of the total population.

Table 4 shows that of the 345 household heads questioned, 310 (89.85 per cent of the total population) were not accustomed to participating in discussions prior to the implementation of the projects. The number of those who knew how to participate was 35, or 10.15 per cent of the total household population.

Table 5 shows that of the 345 heads of household, 39 participated at least once in decision-making prior to the initiation of development projects. This means that 87.83 per cent of the household population never participated in decision-making, while 11 per cent of the population participated in decision-making at least once. The response of three particular heads of household were not considered, because it was inappropriate or out of context.

Finally, we sought to determine whether there was any interest in participating in the decision-making process prior to the start of development projects in Corail-Cesselesse. This question is the last of those asked of household heads.

Table 4. Participation in discussions before implementation of development projects in Corail-Cesselesse: distribution of heads of household by sex

Type of respondent	Participated		Did not participate		Total	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Men	14	4.06%	80	23.19%	94	27.25%
Women	21	6.09%	230	66.66%	251	72.75%
Total	35	10.15%	310	89.85%	345	100%

Table 5. Participation in decision-making before the launch of development projects in Corail-Cesselesse: heads of household distributed by sex

Type of respondent	Participated		Did not participate		Answer out of context		Total	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Men	16	4.64%	77	22.32%	1	0.29%	94	27.25%
Women	23	6.66%	226	65.51%	2	0.58%	251	72.75%
Total	39	11.30%	303	87.83%	3	0.87%	345	100%

Table 6. Desire or availability to participate in decision-making before the launch of development projects in Corail-Cesselesse: heads of household distributed by sex

Type of respondent	Wished to participate		Did not wish to participate		Answer out of context		Total	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Men	92	26.67%	1	0.29%	1	0.29%	94	27.25%
Women	246	71.30%	3	0.87%	2	0.58%	251	72.75%
Total	338	97.97%	4	1.16%	3	0.87%	345	100%

The data in **Table 6** shows that out of 345 heads of household interviewed, 338 (97.97 per cent of the total population) had the desire to participate in the decision-making process before projects are launched. Only four household heads, or 1.16 per cent, were not willing to participate. As with the previous question, the answers of three heads of household were out of context.

We will return to these questions to deepen our analysis of participation by crisis-affected people in urban planning. But first, we present the focus group questions that allowed us to assess the level of participation of people in the community, and to check our second hypothesis that this participation is superficial. **Box 2** presents some of the topics discussed.

Box 2. Focus group discussion with community leaders (mixed gender)

Participation and representation

During the operation of the camps, community members participated in the activities of 'Cash for Works', a scheme set up by humanitarian agencies. Recruitment was done by rotation in order to better distribute the benefits of the schemes. In addition, joint management committees for the camps – composed of one man and one woman from each block – enabled interaction between the community and agencies.

Mechanisms put in place by humanitarian agencies to encourage community participation

Humanitarian agencies set up joint camp management committees as a way to delegate authority to the community. They held weekly meetings with the residents to inform them of the activities carried out and the timeframes involved. Community leaders generally maintained close contact with agencies in that they knew how to contact them by telephone to discuss the progress of ongoing projects.

Complaints system set up by humanitarian agencies

Statements made in the four focus groups deny the existence of a complaints system put in place by humanitarian agencies. Participants said, however, that they would have liked to have a space to air their grievances, and find solutions to disagreements or discrepancies arising from the execution of any project.

Involvement of the community in monitoring and evaluation (M&E)

According to some community leaders, some humanitarian agencies led evaluation meetings for camp leaders. Others deny that they have been involved in such processes. In fact, many leaders felt that their lack of involvement in the M&E process was because they lacked real authority in the meetings. To summarise, the focus groups reported that there was no M&E during the majority of projects, either because of a lack of leadership by the community or because of lack of interest from agencies.

Hypothesis III: Coordination of interventions by the state is crucial to ensure successful urban planning and community participation in Corail.

The third hypothesis was verified by interviews with former executives of the Croix-des-Bouquets town hall, and in the focus groups. The focus groups also considered issues relating to local governance, the needs identified in the camps, and actors operating in the city. In the questionnaire administered to the heads of household, there were two questions relating to the expropriation of land. Question 14 relates to how willing heads of households were to give up a parcel of land that has become the property of the camps; question 18 focused on the potential reaction of residents if they were to be dispossessed of their property. The results are presented in **Box 3**.

Based on interviews with former executives of the Croix-des-Bouquets town hall, we note that the local authorities facilitated the integration of NGOs into the

community by issuing specific permits allowing the organisations to intervene in the Corail-Cesselesse area. According to these same interviewees, there was not, strictly speaking, at the level of the town hall, a legal framework that specified the obligations and accountability of the humanitarian agencies – either towards the community or towards local government. Finally, they also pointed out that the presence of the State in coordinating interventions was also used to secure the population's confidence in these agencies.

In terms of land appropriation, the points we have touched in the study, which are not exhaustive, are summarised in **Table 7**.

Table 7 shows that, of the 345 heads of households interviewed, 249 (72.17 per cent of the interviewees) did not want to give up their land. Those who are willing numbered 92, or 26.67 per cent of the interviewees. Four heads of households (1.16 per cent of the total study population) did not answer the question.

Box 3. Discussion with four focus groups of community leaders, both women and men

Social needs and actors in the post-earthquake crisis period

The needs in the Corail-Cesselesse camps were enormous, across all areas of life. Participants from the different focus groups identified several of these needs: nutrition, access to safe drinking water, sanitation, decent housing, access to healthcare, schools, recreation areas, electricity, and roads.

Different actors representing humanitarian agencies responded to make life in the camps easier. These include: IOM, ARC, Oxfam GB, World Vision, Mercy Corps, the Pan American Development Foundation, Terre des Hommes, Global Communities, and Save the Children. The State got involved at a later stage, through DINEPA, EDH, the Unit of Construction of Housing and Public Buildings, and the Ministry of Agriculture, Natural Resources and Rural Development. Participants pointed out that despite weekly meetings between the local government and international NGOs, until 2012 there were no direct State interventions either in terms of infrastructure or through the afforestation of farmland.

Local governance

The IOM and the ARC coordinated the actions of the various humanitarian agencies deployed at Corail-Cesselesse when the camps were created. Each agency intervened in a specific field, avoiding any duplication in interventions. At the same time, humanitarian agencies and the local authorities, which were managed at the time by a transition council and interim agents, held weekly so-called planning meetings called 'Task Force', "whose contents are ignored by the community and its leaders", said the participating community leaders.

However, some believe that this collaboration was not effective enough, and did not succeed in stimulating genuine synergy between NGOs and State authorities. They put forward the idea, for example, that humanitarian agencies could have responded better to the post-earthquake crisis if local authorities had played a role more effectively in supervision and control.

Table 7. Willingness of heads of households to transfer ownership of their parcels of land for public purposes

	Number	Percentage
Would not, under any circumstances, surrender their plot of land	249	72.17%
Were willing to surrender their land, under some conditions	92	26.67%
Did not reply	4	1.16%
Total	345	100%

Data Analysis and Results

Hypothesis I

We began the research on the basis that women are active participants in the community, and that this makes them well-placed to intervene effectively in urban planning as in other aspects of social life. **Table 2** provides information on the relatively low level of women's participation in identifying needs or finding solutions for urban development projects, with just 10 per cent of women interviewees participating in such activities. In **Table 3**, we can see that no more than 8 per cent of women were involved in project implementation activities. In addition, just one household out of a total of 345 said they were aware that the idea for a project had been initiated by women.

Through data collected in the focus groups we were at least assured that for each sector in Corail, there were essential ideas on urban planning that were raised by women. But at the same time, on the basis of constraints dictated by social factors, women often cannot be fully involved in community life. During the validation workshops we asked: "What can prevent women from actively participating in the social life in their community?" The answers revealed a set of factors including domestic tasks, child rearing, and opposition from their spouses. This question was then re-phrased to inquire about the reasons that might prevent men from participating in social life in their community. The answers reveal that the obstacles in their case can be grouped into constraints linked to daily commitments to carry out economic activities. This demonstrates the weight that gender roles carry in the Corail community.

Indeed, even if the participation rate of women remains low, there is no doubt that their point of view makes a difference in urban planning. However, gender stereotypes persist, and give the impression that men's leadership is more effective than that of women. As a result, there is a lack of confidence in female leadership. Still, our first hypothesis, that "the participation of women highlights essential aspects in the implementation of an urban development project", is confirmed.

Hypothesis II

The data clearly show that heads of households in Corail did not in general participate in community meetings to identify needs and solutions; nor did they take part in decision-making before the implementation of projects. It should be pointed out that most interviewees took the term 'participation' to mean only being present at a meeting. We understood this in the discussion forum – which was carried out after the collection of the data – when, on the first day, we provided some training around concepts of community participation and urban planning.

This partly confirms hypothesis II, that community participation was superficial.

Although the results of this study show a low rate of population participation in Corail development projects, it should be noted that this does not reflect a lack of interest. As the data shows, there are many community members who would have liked to participate actively in decision-making and meetings on the development of their neighbourhood. They probably just need to be given the opportunity to get involved. As humanitarian agencies, therefore, we should continue (or begin) to form management committees with representatives of the community. This does not address the lack of discussion between NGOs and the community regarding project M&E – an area where improvement is needed.

The picture that emerges on participation in Corail presents two scenarios: on one hand, that agencies did not offer community members the option to be involved in all phases of the projects; and on the other, that there was no culture of participation among the inhabitants. As a reminder, in the questionnaire administered to heads of households, the first question was about their membership of a group, an association or a CBO. The reason for this is that people's participation in the local development of a community is often linked to their participation in community life more generally. It is through these organised structures that people are motivated to take part in meetings, not only for training but also for decision-making. Moreover, being a member of these structures gives an individual more credibility

to represent their community with NGOs. In fact, the data presented in **Table 1** show that less than 12 per cent of the population are members of an association or CBO. This low percentage suggests that in the community of Corail, organising for local development is a limited practice.

Therefore, the data confirm the secondary hypothesis of “community participation is superficial and serves only as approval for the implementation of projects”.

Hypothesis III

The humanitarian agencies involved coordinated all operations to transform the camps in Corail – our research suggests they were both designers and developers of the Corail development plan. However, opinions differ on the existence of a Corail management scheme; some said they had heard of it, and others that they were not aware of such a document. This reflects a weakness in the ‘Task Force’ approach used by the agencies, and suggests they should reconsider their approaches. Similarly, the residents believe that the results of humanitarian agencies’ work do not correspond to the effort they appeared to make. The Task Force meetings, which aim to facilitate dialogue between humanitarian agencies, enabled the agencies to avoid duplication in their actions in the area – but local and national authorities, as well as local NGOs, were not mobilised through this process to tackle the major issues and initiatives to be undertaken in Corail.

This Task Force approach, which is similar to the Cluster approach, therefore has an inclusion deficit which is not without consequence. The results of the assessment

report (IASC, 2010) on the Cluster approach in Haiti specify that “this approach has been too exclusive and has not turned to the important actors of national NGOs, government and donors”. This report goes on to say that “the cluster approach sometimes undermines local ownership, which has created tensions with the government and limits sustainable solutions for better reconstruction” (IASC, 2010). The approach is meant to strengthen accountability in the humanitarian response, including the informal accountability of humanitarian organisations to each other and to the affected populations.

According to the citizens of Corail, there was no real representation or delegation of State power to coordinate the interventions of humanitarian agencies. The residents rejected documented information about the transfer of camp coordination and management to the Mairie de Croix-des-Bouquets in May 2011. That is why they said that coordination by State authorities and municipalities should be accountable to the community. Residents said the authorities have a role and a responsibility to work for the benefit of the population; they must seek out and disseminate the necessary information; and they must guarantee basic social services.

The data therefore confirm the third secondary hypothesis: “The coordination of state interventions is decisive for ensuring successful urban planning and guaranteeing community participation”.

Finally, after confirmation of the secondary hypotheses, the main research hypothesis – that there is a positive correlation between community participation and successful urban planning – is verified.

Conclusions

The humanitarian interventions put in place to improve living conditions at the Camp of Corail date back to the installation of the original tents. Subsequently, urban development projects began with the transfer of camp management to local authorities, which aimed to transform the area into a neighbourhood. Exactly at this stage, it is relevant to consider the process of participatory urban planning. Urban planning no longer represents the prerogative of experts because it has, for some time, represented common interests.

Nonetheless, for successful urban planning, these fundamental principles must be followed:

- To hold a democratic debate that promotes community participation and the involvement of all actors (the State, civil society and humanitarian agencies).
- To ensure local governance that favours adequate technical capacity, such as through training the residents of the community, and a project management managed by the local elected representatives.

Overall, this study offers the following evidence about participation in Corail:

- Some key aspects of local development and sustainability were initiated or promoted by women's groups in the community. Despite the fact that gender stereotypes are very present in people's discourse and practices, some women were able to express and support views favourable to improving quality of life. There was a mistrust of women's leadership, but their point of view made a difference in the execution of development projects.
- Community involvement in urban planning was weak and superficial. Not only was participation

not representative of the community, but also the agenda of community meetings did not allow for a debate between the agencies and the people affected on the decisions to be taken. Even on the rare occasions when agencies evaluated projects, assistance was only asked to rate assessments against prior expectations; ways of improving services were never considered. There were no follow-up committees systematically established after the implementation of the various development projects.

- The population of Corail-Cesselesse was not informed about the coordination of different interventions related to the development of their neighbourhood. However, the residents deferred to the local authorities and then to the State, which was represented by the local authorities, to guarantee all their urban rights, including their right to participation. While it is true that local authorities need to be accountable to the people they serve, it is also true that institutional weakness is a hindrance to good governance.

To achieve successful urban development, it is essential to carry out strategic planning that promotes the involvement of the residents and a culture of participation, while emphasising the environment in which the population evolves. Moreover, the quality of citizen participation is a determining factor in the success of urban planning. If the people affected by a crisis do not freely express their expectations and share a mistrust of each other, the only thing humanitarian agencies can be proud of is the expertise of their executives. Until the State, particularly the local government, can guarantee the rights of citizens and the development of inclusive public policies, this gap will persist regardless of the approach used to coordinating aid.

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This case study by Rachel Senat and Alex Belvert makes a valuable contribution to the second of these themes – AAP. By examining in detail a case in which the participation of the community was very low, the paper demonstrates how poor outcomes can result from weak engagement with affected people. The paper serves as a valuable companion piece to the Simon Pelé case study in this series which highlighted the positive outcomes that are generated when participation is meaningful and central to all phases of planning and implementation. Both papers contain valuable lessons for humanitarian and development organisations planning participatory approaches in the recovery phase of urban crises.

The urban crisis caused by the earthquake of 12 January 2010 in Haiti led to the creation of several camps for the displaced, the management of which was entrusted to a group of humanitarian agencies. One year later, this management was transferred to the local authorities, presenting an opportunity to transform the area housing the camps into a new urban area. This study, based on a systematic approach using qualitative and quantitative methods, describes the relationship between community participation and urban planning when the aim is to successfully transform a camp into permanent housing.

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