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SPECIAL REPORT

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Education and Conflict in Haiti

Rebuilding the Education Sector after the 2010 Earthquake

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CONTENTS

Summary

- The massive earthquake of January 2010 devastated almost every aspect of Haitian society, but it also presented an excellent opportunity to address the problems of the largely dysfunctional education sector.

- Education has not only served to prevent, mitigate, and resolve conflict in Haiti, it has also functioned as an underlying cause of, contributor to, and trigger for violent conflict. These issues must be addressed if Haiti's rebuilding efforts are to succeed.

- The Haitian authorities need to implement substantial structural reforms to address past policies of exclusion and overcentralization, as well as financial and language barriers.

- Primary education for all children under the age of fourteen should be free and compulsory. Substantial investment is needed in vocational training, as well as in adult education and civic and peace education.

- Teacher and technical education should be promoted through campaigns to improve the status of these professions, incentives to participate in pre-service and in-service programs, and financial and other awards.

- Curriculum and training options need to reflect the number and types of jobs that may be available after students graduate, providing the skills necessary to support a modern economy.

- The state should work with the private sector in expanding public-private partnerships, for example in the areas of school construction, scholarships, trainee programs, long-distance radio programs, and internships.

- Haiti needs to do much more to develop students' and teachers' capacities to manage conflict peacefully by making teaching methods more student-centered, promoting critical

thinking and creative problem solving, and reforming curriculum to encourage tolerance and inclusion.

• The international community must recognize that long-term security and development depend on a well-functioning education system. The international community can help by assisting with the establishment of a clear strategic plan for education, including ways to monitor and assess reform.

Introduction

The massive earthquake of January 2010 devastated almost every aspect of Haitian society. The first priority, of course, was to rescue the injured and trapped, and to provide medical care, food and water, and shelter. But the long process of rebuilding has also begun. This report argues that reform of the largely dysfunctional education sector is crucial to the success of efforts to rebuild Haitian society as well as to the country's longer-term security and stabilization needs. Indeed, without substantial reform of the education sector, rebuilding efforts are unlikely to succeed.

Even before the earthquake, Haiti was facing a crisis in its education sector. The internal conflict that resulted in the overthrow of the Jean-Claude Duvalier regime in 1986 has continued in various forms since then, further weakening the underdeveloped education sector. Education itself has contributed in some ways to Haitian political and social conflict, exacerbating tensions and triggering destructive unrest. To deal with Haiti's many pressing challenges, it will be necessary to develop a new approach to education based on equity, inclusion, and diversity, an approach that will not only improve the education sector but also lead to increased security.

Challenges to the Education Sector

A number of problems plague the education sector in Haiti. The sector is given very little financial support. Many schools use outdated curricula, while others implement the reformed curriculum of the 1997 National Plan of Education and Training (NPET) only partially. The high dropout rates and low enrollment rates in Haitian schools are due to economic hardship, high repetition rates (repeating a grade), and linguistic barriers. The quality of education also suffers because of a dearth of materials, expertise, proper management, and organization. All these deficiencies have been exacerbated by the recent earthquake.

With the state's lack of institutional strength and capacity to provide basic services to the Haitian masses, the education sector has become increasingly privatized. According to the 2002–03 education census cited by the World Bank, only 8 percent of Haitian schools were public, while approximately 92 percent were privately owned and financed, meaning they were tuition-based in most cases. Because of Haiti's extreme poverty, most schools were unaffordable and therefore inaccessible to the majority of families. In fact, only 55 percent of children aged six to twelve were enrolled in school, and less than one-third of those enrolled reached the fifth grade. According to "Making a Qualitative Leap Forward," the Haitian government's 2007 Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, of the 123,000 students admitted to Haitian secondary schools in 2004, only 82,000, or 67 percent, were able to receive secondary schooling, and most of those who completed their secondary schooling were unable to find a place in the universities.[1]

The difficult economic situation in Haiti has rendered many families incapable of meeting the direct and indirect costs of education, leading to the withdrawal of children, especially girls, from school. Some parents have resorted to dividing one education between two children. In this situation, children take turns going to school. This phenomenon has

contributed to the problem of high repetition rates. Repetition, in turn, increases the cost of education to families. As a result, some families are less willing or unable to spend what little money they have on school fees, uniforms, and textbooks. The high dropout rate is generally not reflective of a Haitian disregard for or disinterest in education; rather, it is an unfortunate consequence of limited family resources.[2]

In addition to financial barriers, there are also linguistic barriers. French and Creole are both official languages of Haiti. Most Haitians speak Creole, but only the most advantaged Haitians speak French. Since French is the principal written and administrative language of Haiti, it is required for any person wishing to engage as a full citizen of Haiti. The current practice of using French rather than Creole in the classroom discriminates against the lower socioeconomic classes. Instead, schools should educate Creole speakers in their own vernacular while preparing them for full French proficiency.

Even if families are able to pay for their children's schooling and students understand and speak the language of instruction, there is no guarantee that these young people will get a decent education. Many Haitian schools are incapable of providing quality education, and those private schools that serve the poor have little financial incentive to do so, since poorer parents are unable to pay very much.[3]

The dearth of qualified teachers contributes to the low caliber of many Haitian schools. Only 60 percent of non-public school teachers are recognized as appropriately trained.[4] This is due partly to poor remuneration and the migration of trained Haitians abroad. The lack of teacher training is especially problematic in disciplines such as physics and chemistry, where instructors may be unable to conduct even basic laboratory experiments.

An acute shortage of textbooks, desks, chairs, and teaching materials and inadequate infrastructure are among the most significant problems for teachers and students alike. There are not enough school buildings to accommodate all of the school-age youth in Haiti, and the lack of technology in the schools (computers, Internet access) further limits learning. Again, these shortages and substandard facilities were made worse by the recent earthquake, which destroyed large parts of the infrastructure that did exist.

At the university level, resource and facility shortages have been exacerbated by ruling governments' efforts to control or censor student activities. These clampdowns have sometimes resulted in mass demonstrations, university closings, and the destruction of buildings, school materials, and equipment.

Organization and Structure

Education in Haiti, even though now mostly private, is still a function that is supposed to be regulated by the Haitian Ministry of National Education and Professional Training (Ministère de l'Education Nationale et de la Formation Professionnelle, or MENFP). The ministry's mission is twofold: (1) to provide educational services to its citizens and (2) to play a normative and regulatory role. However, most observers agree that MENFP has not been able to fulfill its mandate.[5]

Compounding the challenges of providing quality education is the inability of MENFP to distinguish between schools that perform above or below basic quality standards. Seventy percent of Haitian schools lack accreditation. MENFP does not have the capacity to meet its mandate of monitoring, evaluating, and reporting on the academic performance of schools primarily because it is overstretched and without adequate support. There is now approximately one inspector responsible for providing accreditation, pedagogical supervision, and administrative support for every six thousand students. The World Bank also reports little effective cooperation between MENFP and the schools.[6]

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Another challenge to providing quality education, especially in the rural areas, is MENFP's management and administrative structure. It is highly centralized and bureaucratic, and has a strong urban bias. Rural Haiti, with 70 percent of the country's population, receives only 20 percent of educational expenditures. In 2007, twenty-three communal sections lacked a school, and 145 were without a public school.[7]

Educational Governance

Educational governance has always been subject to a high level of political involvement, which fosters distrust and lack of confidence in the education sector overall. Appointments to key senior education ministry posts are driven mostly by political patronage or ideological consideration. MENFP remains the primary agent of policy planning in school matters. It plays a significant role in the determination of curricular content, regulations, validation of degrees and certificates, and inspections. Despite its incapacity even to monitor and evaluate schools, MENFP has responsibility for all organizational aspects of the education sector. The present organizational structure does not adequately separate the functions of governance and policymaking from the functions of management. There is no strong and independent policymaking body.

Management

The decree of 1998 laid out the structure and composition of the Ministry of Education, which includes departments (Haiti's ten geographic regions), school district offices, and inspection zones. This legislation declared that the government would be responsible for the financing, initiation, development, implementation, and supervision of educational policies. In an effort to decentralize the education sector, a limited amount of responsibility and authority has been given to departments and district offices. The departments are responsible for the implementation and follow-up of educational policies and plans, the recruitment and management of teaching staff, and the supervision of schools. Parent-teacher associations are acknowledged in the 1997 NPET; however, little has been done to encourage their active participation in the decision-making process, leaving a known resource relatively untapped.

In 2003, with the aid of the European Union and others, Haiti put in place the Program for the Improvement of the Quality of Education (PARQE). Its main achievement was the creation of seventeen Core Application Schools and Center for Educational Support (EFACAP) and associated schools, which compose the new system of primary schools, secondary schools, and teacher training centers. These seventeen EFACAPs are part of a program for the rehabilitation and construction of 360 schools and the training of three thousand teachers. They can accommodate 110,000 students. School facilities and teacher training centers with libraries, computer labs, and housing were built in four departments (North, Grande Anse, South, and Centre), and from these schools emerged parent associations and school boards.

In 2006 the Bureau of Youth, Sports, and Civic Service, which used to be part of MENFP, became the Ministry of Youth, Sports, and Civic Action (MJSAC). Its mission is to implement and support extracurricular activities that contribute to the quality of life through the practice of sports and other leisure activities, extend good citizenship and skills training, and encourage the development of community life.

MJSAC programs have three main components: (1) civic action, through the deployment of school brigades that provide an institutional framework for youth to resolve certain issues that affect their community, such as road safety, deforestation, natural disasters, and HIV/AIDS; (2) workforce development in both urban and rural areas, with projects such as the

development and modernization of fish farming, the revival of agriculture, and the manufacturing of sporting and sociocultural materials; and (3) youth development and promotion, including the National Academy of Sports, which was created to provide training in soccer and to organize local and nationwide competitions.

Recent Reform Efforts

Despite the severe deficiencies of the Haitian education sector, many Haitian leaders have identified education as an important national goal. The country has attempted two major reform efforts in recent years, the Bernard Reform of 1978 and the NPET of 1997.

Bernard Reform

The Bernard Reform of 1978 was an attempt to modernize the system, make it more efficient, and build its capacity to satisfy vast educational needs, given the economic limitations. The new curriculum that resulted from the Bernard Reform attempted to align the school structure with labor market demands by introducing technical and vocational classes into secondary schools. In addition, the Bernard Reform restructured and expanded the secondary school curriculum by separating it into academic and technical tracks.

One of the major innovations of the Bernard Reform was the use of the Haitian vernacular in formal education. Haitian Creole became the language of instruction in the first four grades of primary school.

Unfortunately, the Bernard Reform made little headway. The curriculum in use before the reform is still applied throughout the country, and it still follows the classical model, which provides a general education without consideration for the labor market.

The Bernard Reform failed for two reasons: lengthy delays in the implementation of the new curriculum and inadequate resources and infrastructure to support the proposed changes. At the tertiary level, the majority of parents preferred to see their children attend universities because technical schools were considered low-prestige institutions. As a result, the labor market lacked sufficient jobs for new graduates of liberal arts programs, and remuneration lagged behind expectations.

National Plan of Education and Training

The NPET of 1997 marked a shift from the French educational model—an authoritarian system, designed and monitored by a highly centralized bureaucracy, that was teacher-centered and saw students as passive learners—to a model of participatory learning based on student-centered approaches. The NPET also shifted to a new paradigm of citizenship education aimed at developing civic knowledge and attitudes that would promote unity and an appreciation of diversity in Haitian society, providing the foundation for an inclusive national identity.

Education authorities have shown political will and commitment to reaching all the prescribed goals, even though the goals have not been fully realized. The Ministry of Education has partially decentralized the process of service provision. However, such efforts have not been matched by any substantive modernization and decentralization of MENFP. There is fear as well that the decentralization process will lead to fragmentation rather than help solve the problems of social polarization.

Despite the promising features of the NPET, several issues still need to be resolved. The goal of making education free and compulsory at the primary level has not been met. Since families must pay fees before each academic year, primary education remains beyond the reach of most Haitians. Further, the increasing demand for higher education has not led to

the creation of new or significantly expanded state universities. With respect to content, although the curriculum does offer a peace education component as part of citizenship education, peace education needs to be discussed more concretely and take into account the intractable characteristics of the Haitian conflict. Finally, with few exceptions, the NPET has not been successful in creating space for communities to express their opinions through parent-teacher associations or other mechanisms.

The Links between Education and Conflict

Education has not only served to prevent, mitigate, and resolve conflict, it has also functioned as an underlying cause of, contributor to, and trigger for violent conflict in Haiti. Many elements of the education sector have also suffered as a result of social and political unrest. The multifaceted links between Haitian education and conflict, including those found in the current period of insecurity, are rooted in events that occurred long before independence.

Colonial Legacy of Violence and Exclusion in Education

The overriding lesson that colonialism taught the inhabitants was that the use of violence and elitism are the most effective means to obtain what you want.

The colonial system from which Haiti emerged has had a profound and lasting impact on Haitian education. The overriding lesson that colonialism taught the inhabitants was that the use of violence and elitism are the most effective means to obtain what you want.

Throughout the period of Spanish dominance over the island of Quisqueya, 1492–1697, Columbus and others used brute force to exploit and nearly eliminate the island's native Taino-Arawak Indians. After the near extinction of the native people, the Spanish brought in Africans, whom they forced to work as slaves, beginning in the early 1500s. The Black Code of 1685 outlawed education for blacks.

From 1697 to 1803 the French controlled the western side of the island. At this point the population was composed of three major groups: the higher- and lower-class white colonists (*grand blancs* and *petits blancs*), free blacks (mulattoes—people of mixed black and white ancestry—and black freedmen), and slaves. The French gave more social, economic, and legal liberties to those with lighter complexions and cultural ties to France, especially those with knowledge of the French language. With the advantages of skin color and access to the dominant French culture, along with the ability to progress through hard work, the mulattoes grew in economic status to the point that some were wealthier than the poorer white colonists and had slaves of their own.

Even after independence and the official end of slavery, stubborn social and economic divides were, and continue to be, maintained through cultural, religious, and linguistic systems of exclusion.[8]

Education as a Victim of Conflict

Over the years, political instability and popular unrest have had a variety of negative effects on education in Haiti. Political leaders and those vying for power have targeted professors, teachers, students, and community leaders. For example, during François "Papa Doc" Duvalier's regime, Duvalier's Tonton Macoutes imprisoned students who had supported secondary schoolteachers in a 1959 strike. The Tonton Macoutes, whose name means "boogeymen," were a Haitian militia, controlled by Duvalier, that used brutal violence to suppress political resistance. The 1959 teachers strike was implemented to protest the embedding of Tonton Macoutes in the ranks of teachers. In response to this public show of resistance, Papa Doc not only arrested the students, he also abolished all youth groups, including the Boy Scouts; bombed education facilities; and surrounded the university and schools with police.[9]

But François and his son, Jean-Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier, were not the only leaders to target educational institutions and individuals. Fanmi Lavalas, the party of former president Jean-Bertrand Aristide, formed grassroots organizations called *organisations populaires*. They were composed of party militants and had the original aim of community empowerment. Later they became heavily armed political gangs that terrorized the population. On December 5, 2003, pro-Aristide gangs, such as the *chimères* (ghosts), and police attacked the State University, where students were holding antigovernment protests. They ransacked buildings, gutted two departments, and injured dozens of students and administrators.[10]

Students and teachers in many areas of Haiti have suffered and continue to suffer from a general lack of security. With Haiti's ongoing political instability and widespread violence, going to school is not a safe journey for children.[11] Even when students and teachers do arrive at school safely, the general feeling of insecurity surely detracts from their ability to concentrate on school matters.

With the increase in violent conflict in Haiti over the past few decades, many from the middle class, including the better-trained teachers, have emigrated from the country, resulting in a severe shortage of trained instructors. A lack of respect, status, and training, as well as low salaries, has also contributed to low morale among schoolteachers.

Education as Cause of and Contributor to Conflict

Education has contributed to conflict in Haiti in a number of ways. Both the curricular content and the lack of access to education for many people have increased tensions between competing socioeconomic classes. Although various laws have declared education a universal right, it has been monopolized primarily by whichever group is in power. Throughout much of Haiti's history, the elite, primarily French-speaking mulattoes, have sought to maintain power in this way. This has contributed to resentment on the part of the rest of society and led to *noirisme*, a black power movement that sought to invert the power balance in Haiti, giving privilege to the majority blacks, or at least the elite blacks, over the minority mulattoes.

Violence and Inequality in the Curriculum: The following statement, which appears in history textbooks in Haiti, reveals how education can play a role in nurturing violence in the minds of Haitian pupils. Louis Boisrond-Tonnerre, Haitian writer and historian and author of the Haitian Act of Independence, is quoted as saying, "To write this act of Independence we must have a white man's skin for parchment, his skull for an inkwell, his blood for ink, and a bayonet as pen."[12] Whether Boisrond-Tonnerre meant his words literally or not, inflammatory statements of this sort encourage a culture of violence against others based on color.

The United States also contributed to tensions and inequality in Haiti during its occupation from 1915 to 1934. Many in Haiti identified racism, classism, and repression in some U.S. education policies. Contentious policies included (1) supporting technical and agricultural training over liberal arts education, (2) using money earmarked for student scholarships to pay the salaries of foreign "experts," (3) giving more money to technical and urban schools than to universities and rural and girls' schools, and (4) giving more support to primary education in states such as Puerto Rico and the Philippines, whose populations were not predominantly African American.

These policies fed into Haitian wariness that the educational reforms were not so much part of a development strategy that would further them collectively as a nation but rather an exploitative effort by yet another foreign white power that sought a partnership with the elite minority and access to cheap labor and raw materials. Many Haitians believed that the U.S. emphasis on technical and agricultural training meant that U.S. Americans viewed Haitians as intellectually inferior and wanted to keep them in a subordinate position academically and economically.

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Many in Haiti identified racism, classism, and repression in some U.S. education policies.

Although the U.S. policy was flawed, there was an important truth at the heart of it: there is a genuine danger in not diversifying curriculum and training options according to the number and types of jobs that may be available after students graduate.

Emergence of the Black Legend and the Ideology of Noirisme: In response to mulatto elitism, a number of well-educated black Haitians, notably Jean Price Mars, initiated the Haitian ethnological movement in the 1930s. This movement emphasized an appreciation for and embracing of African culture and a rejection of European values and the belief that psychological makeup is based on genetics and not on environment.

Inspired by the ethnological movement, the advocates of *noirisme* took the Afrocentric mentality a step further and developed a political theory that encouraged a small number of rising black leaders to take power away from the mulatto elite. *Noiriste* leaders insisted that a representative government or democracy was just a facade that allowed elite mulattoes to exploit the majority. They argued that Haiti would do far better under a strong black leadership. Furthermore, they called for Haiti to be limited to blacks only, with Creole as the principal language medium and voodoo the spiritual practice.[13]

The results of *noirisme* for Haitian society were mixed. The movement was accompanied by a heightened focus on black awareness and pride as part of a conscious effort to promote a social identity, if an exclusive one. *Noiriste* leaders—typically those who were not from elite families but who had received an education—were convinced the only way to promote the nascent black middle class and positively influence the destiny of black Haitians was through higher education. That was a leitmotif of both Duvalier administrations as father and son undertook reforms in the education sector.

Unfortunately, the new policy changes did not make education available to all Haitians. Rather, it exchanged one type of exclusion for another. Students from the lower economic strata, children of blue-collar workers or farmers, gained access to the prestigious disciplines of law, medicine, and engineering in large numbers for the first time. The new class of professionals mostly served in public administration, the biggest employer of graduate labor.

Many of the newly excluded class of students—the elites—had the financial means to gain an education elsewhere, which created other tensions. Traditionally, an education obtained outside Haiti has been valued more highly than the education earned in Haitian schools. Consequently, better remuneration is provided to those holding foreign diplomas. The situation is exacerbated by the fact that only a small number of college graduates can be accommodated in suitable positions in the Haitian economy.

Despite the *noiriste* acknowledgment of education as a primary means to promote its agenda, there was also a fear of education and intellectuals as possible threats to *noiriste* power. One reason for this fear was the close connection between the education sector and the Roman Catholic Church. Papa Doc and other *noiristes* saw the existing Catholic institutions as perpetuating "cultural terrorism" against black Haitians. The *noiristes* argued that religious schools promoted a sense of inferiority among blacks and endorsed dependence on foreign white powers. These factors, and the understanding that schools have often been hotbeds of opposition around the world, led the Duvalier regimes to attack educational institutions in an attempt to neutralize likely threats to their power.

Education as a Trigger for Conflict: Education has not only served as a cause of conflict, it has also been at the heart of events that have marked the beginning and escalation of revolts. As in many countries, the public universities have typically been highly politicized. Public university students, followed sometimes by high school students, have often initiated political or social crises in Haitian history.

One such example of an education-related event that helped escalate violence was the massive antigovernment demonstration in 1985. Protests had been occurring for sustained

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periods of time before this demonstration, but after soldiers shot and killed four students, the protest movement gained strength. This event marked a change in the conflict in that it unified popular protest against the state, resulting eventually in the toppling of the Jean-Claude Duvalier regime.

Another example of this phenomenon took place on December 5, 2003, when the police and *chimères* attacked the State University. Even though these pro-government forces had previously stoned civic leaders and hit demonstrating women with urine-filled bottles, "many believe that it was [the attack] . . . on the State University that ultimately mobilized civil society against the government." Thereafter there was a nearly unanimous call from organized civil society for Aristide's departure.[14]

The Likelihood of Conflict Escalation: Some of the ways in which education has historically led to conflict have been adduced here, including a disconnect between preferred education programs and labor market needs, linguistic inaccessibility, and lack of concrete support for and implementation of reforms by the state.

There are also historically new factors, such as the proliferation of small arms, that amplify the violence surrounding Haitian education today. Arms, drug, and human trafficking have increased in Haiti, in part because international criminals have taken advantage of Haiti's weak state and porous borders. This criminal activity in turn has added to violent instability because it has made tools of violence accessible to people in economically desperate circumstances.

Poverty alone, however, even the extreme poverty found in Haiti, does not always lead to violent unrest. People are unlikely to revolt when the situation, even if desperate, is what people expect. The likelihood of protest increases when popular expectations exceed reality by a critical degree.

The inequality and insufficiency of Haitian education leaves many Haitian families extremely frustrated, especially lower-income Haitians. As the World Bank report on Haiti notes, "Compared to their peers from upper income quintiles, Haitian children from lower income households get less and worse education," even though their families pay a much higher percentage of their household revenues for schooling.[15]

Frustration with the political leadership is also at a high level. The current government may be in particular peril should it fail to make meaningful improvements to the education sector. The Préval administration made grand verbal commitments to the National Strategy for Education for All (EFA). However, according to World Bank figures, Haitian public support of education in FY 2007 was only 2.5 percent of gross domestic product (GDP). This was the lowest rate of public support for education in the Latin America and Caribbean region, which averages 5 percent of GDP. It was also much lower than the average sub-Saharan African rate (3.9 percent). The Haitian government's financial support was only 11 percent of the total budget, far short of the 20 percent that is the World Bank's EFA benchmark.[16]

In this situation, diminishing patience with the slow pace of change under democratically elected governments has caused some Haitians to argue for the return to an authoritarian regime, which led some people to be nostalgic for the Duvalier regime.[17] But Baby Doc is not the only political and economic entrepreneur feared by the current administration. Drug dealers and other smugglers have been accused of manipulating the frustrations of average Haitians, for example during the food riots of April 2008, to further weaken the state and give themselves freer rein.[18]

Massive unemployment, low school enrollment rates, and other problems have created large numbers of resentful youth who embrace divisive political rhetoric and contribute to cyclical violence. Gangs such as the *chimères* terrorize large areas of Port-au-Prince, "a legacy of Aristide's policy of arming groups of disaffected youth in the slums; most of these youth are today hardened gang leaders who quickly abandoned allegiance to Aristide to embrace

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lucrative criminal ways that they will not easily abandon," according to the World Bank's background paper on Haiti.[19]

In these and other ways, lack of access to education contributes to a dangerous and often deadly mix of youth and violence. When youth are removed from the classrooms they flow into the streets and consequently are more exposed to armed gangs, drug dealers, sexual predators, and other criminal elements. Youth are, overall, more vulnerable either to becoming victims of such elements or to being co-opted into the groups that perpetrate violence against others.

Girls are especially vulnerable to sexual and other forms of violence because, if there is limited money, they are more likely to be kept out of school than boys are. "According to the UN, 50 percent of young women in the violent shantytowns of Haiti have been raped or sexually assaulted."[20] Among the few who report such crimes, one-third are under the age of thirteen. Many reasons have been cited for the high rate of gender-based violence in Haiti, but high on the list are poverty, lack of jobs, and lack of education, all of which contribute to the breakdown of societal norms that allows gangs to get away with using rape as a weapon of control.[21]

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Education as a Tool of Conflict Prevention and Resolution

Although education has both suffered from and contributed to violent conflict in Haiti, it can also be a tool to help mitigate violence.

The term "peace education" may sound utopian, but its goal and varied approaches are quite pragmatic. Rather than attempting to eliminate conflict, peace education teaches students to deal with conflict in nonviolent and creative ways. This is achieved through affording students experiences that reshape their values, attitudes, knowledge, and skills in ways that equip them to help resolve disputes and prevent violence from erupting or expanding. The aims of peace education are outlined in table 1.

Because peace education has been defined in such broad terms, it can be used in a variety of contexts: in primary and secondary schools, youth and community centers, trade schools, adult literacy programs, homes, and workplaces. For example, by modifying teaching methods to be more student-centered and encouraging students to actively participate in group activities, teachers can create a safe space where students feel empowered to think critically and creatively. This approach should lead to better educational outcomes, but it may also instill in students an understanding of the importance of respect, communication, and cooperation, which would be expected to have positive effects beyond the classroom.

Many countries have used peace education as a tool to help reduce, resolve, and prevent conflict. Examples of programs that may support peace education include curriculum reform and development activities, pre-service and in-service teacher training programs, youth camps, sports and recreation programs, youth groups, training for community leaders, workshops for parents, media training activities, traveling theater and puppet programs, television and radio shows, public relations campaigns, contests, and exhibitions. But as a UNICEF Educational Section paper notes, "Because lasting behavior change in children and adults only occurs over time, effective peace education is necessarily a long-term process, not a short-term intervention."[22]

One way to maximize the chances for success is to address the causes of and possible resolution of intergroup tensions. For example, education should offer students an intense study of the reasons for violent competition between elites and the masses rather than just mixing students from different socioeconomic backgrounds together and hoping for the best. Teaching students how to resolve disputes among themselves as individuals is insufficient when they are surrounded by stubborn structural and violent conflict. Another

Table 1. Aims of Peace Education

Knowledge	• Understanding the nature of conflict and peace
	• Ability to identify causes of conflict, and nonviolent means of resolution
	• Enhancing knowledge of community mechanisms for building peace and resolving conflict
	• Understanding rights and responsibilities
	• Awareness of cultural heritage
	• Recognition of prejudice
Skills	• Ability to cooperate
	• Critical thinking (e.g., the ability to deconstruct stereotypes and prejudices)
	• Creative problem-solving
	• Dealing with emotions
	• Participate in society on behalf of peace
	• Ability to live with change
Attitudes	• Self-respect, positive self-image
	• Tolerance, acceptance of others, respect for differences
	• Bias awareness
	• Gender equity
	• Empathy
	• Reconciliation
	• Solidarity
	• Social responsibility
	• Sense of justice and equality

Source: Fountain, "Peace Education in UNICEF," 14–16.

suggestion is to lead students through studies of non-Haitian conflicts so that they learn about similar disputes, which may give them an increased ability to understand if not appreciate opposing perspectives.[23]

While merely increasing the diversity in classrooms is insufficient for achieving maximum gains from peace education, mixing students of different economic, racial, linguistic, religious, and social backgrounds in shared classrooms may help increase respect and appreciation among youth from different backgrounds. This is especially true if similar steps are taken in a strategic and semipermanent fashion throughout the country and in concert with other reforms that address larger intergroup tensions.

One way to address these tensions is through new approaches to teaching history. Even with biased textbooks, teachers can instruct students in how to think critically, and in particular how to recognize stereotypes, their historic origins, and the economic and political motivations of those perpetuating them. As the author of the UNICEF Educational Division paper observes, "This is sometimes referred to as 'reading against the text.'"[24] Students could then more compellingly express their opinions on stereotypes, classism, racism, sexism, and other subjects in the form of letters to local newspapers, textbook publishers, or appropriate government offices. The study of Haitian folktales that include messages about nonviolent conflict management and power sharing would complement the historical studies, with the additional benefit of showing how narratives about friendship or enmity are constructed.

If implemented in a long-term, holistic fashion, peace education may also help to promote Haitian identity reflective of a unified but diverse society. The way to deal with social division is not to replace one form of exclusion with another, as has been done in the past.

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Rather, plans designed to promote social unity work best.[25] Universal primary education will be intrinsic to any inclusive education plan.

Inclusivity extends to the realm of language as well. Language programs that feature both French and Creole at the primary level should help create positive links between Haitians regardless of class. Educating a generation of bilingual children might go far in increasing a sense of unified Haitian pride as well as an increased capacity to communicate with each other. Foreign languages such as Spanish and English are taught at the secondary level, but most students, even after seven years of study, are unable to use those skills properly. Additional French, Spanish, and English classes might be offered at the tertiary level to equip future generations to bridge the gap between Haiti and the outside world.

But inclusivity is about much more than just languages; it means an appreciation of differences and the development of a plural identity. Such an identity is perhaps best embodied in the term *Créolité* (Creoleness), which embraces the diversity of the Caribbean region, including indigenous Taino-Arawak Indian, African, European, and Arab influences, and for Haiti, the French political and cultural legacy. By highlighting the accomplishments of black people and exploring cultures from around the world, the school system would augment the ability of students to appreciate and accept differences among Haitians and others. Again, peace education can facilitate this pride in Haitian heterogeneity in a number of subjects, from history and social studies to the arts and sports, based on the needs of the school and the community it serves.

Recommendations

Although Haiti faces daunting challenges, the rebuilding process already under way presents an excellent opportunity to address the largely dysfunctional education sector. It will be important to involve all stakeholders in the process. Working from that premise, the Préval–Pierre-Louis administration in 2008 created the Working Group on Education and Training to develop strategies and initiatives to increase access to and the quality of Haitian schools and to modernize the organization and function of the national education sector. The plan was to produce a new document, provisionally called "Agenda 2030," launching a presidential initiative for an education pact covering the period 2008–30. The working group established a Web site (www.commissioneducation.ht) and has produced several reports and working papers. It is not clear where the process stands after the earthquake, but it might be a good place to start as Haiti moves forward in rebuilding its education sector.

To the Haitian Education Authorities and Government Officials

• Develop an inclusive and integrated education system

The education sector must serve as the foundation for real attitudinal and behavioral changes in Haitian society. Schools must take into account the pluralistic dimension of Haitian society and develop participatory methods of learning in order to give students a means of dealing with conflict constructively. These practices will serve as the foundation of good citizenship, respect for self and others, democratic values, and tolerance of differences.

The role of the Haitian government should be to guarantee equal access to education for all groups. In this respect, greater attention should be devoted to rural communities, which are rarely consulted or included in any institutional settings. At the tertiary level, universities should establish a fair student admission and scholarship selection process that balances merit-based and needs-based criteria.

The education sector also needs to offer more flexible arrangements, especially for rural students and those with special needs, and provide greater opportunities for adult learners.

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The education sector should also develop more active parent-teacher associations as a way to elicit the views of parents on education content and delivery. For instance, it would be reasonable to let those communities whose economies are based on agriculture and fishing adjust their school calendar and subject matter to more closely reflect their needs. The creation of local school boards would also encourage the community to become more involved in school matters.

The MJSAC has the potential to reach nontraditional students and other hard-to-reach youth by incorporating recreational activities and civic awareness into its extracurricular programming. Both ministries, MJSAC (sports and civic action) and MENFP (education), need to go farther in their efforts, not only with the National Academy of Sports, where MNEFP provides the teaching and the pedagogical materials for young soccer athletes selected for this program, but also in developing prevocational and vocational education and training at the upper secondary level, as prescribed in the 1997 NPET.

• Change the curriculum to enable students to manage conflict better

Haiti needs to do much more to develop students' and teachers' capacities to manage conflict peacefully. Haitian pupils need to develop new skills and be instilled with new values that change their perception of the other. They need to be aware of the importance of respectful communication and creative problem solving in interpersonal relationships. Students need to learn in the classroom how to resolve disputes peacefully and how to achieve consensus or reach compromise. More broadly, peace education programs focusing on constructive problem solving should be supported as an investment in conflict prevention and conflict management, as described earlier in this report.

Students need to learn in the classroom how to resolve disputes peacefully and how to achieve consensus or reach compromise.

MJSAC's youth programs should also include a peace-building component. Youth can be challenging to reach in a way that truly engages them in learning, dialogue, and action. There are many benefits to peace education that forge positive connections with members of groups. MJSAC might be instrumental in the creation of youth peer mediation systems, for example. It could set a stage for peace-building behavior by granting young people opportunities to enjoy success.

In addition, curriculum development needs to take into account a dual system that combines school-based and work-based elements, as the MJSAC training program does. This cooperation is necessary to create a generation of skilled nationals in accordance with the needs of the business sector and the different aspirations, training, and access to resources of young people. In addition to job-related skills, vocational programs must equip students with the social and communication skills necessary to improve their success in the workplace.

Timely implementation of curriculum change is important, since it will boost citizen confidence in the government and build the momentum required for sustaining reform.

• Improve training for both teachers and students

A well-trained workforce is critical to Haiti's economic development. Teacher and technical education should be promoted through campaigns that improve the status of these professions. For example, teachers could be offered meaningful incentives to participate in both pre-service and in-service programs. Outcome-based financial and other awards might help raise morale and retention rates.

The government should work with the private sector to determine how best to prepare students for existing and expected jobs in Haiti. Vocational training should be accessible to those who are illiterate and should also include a basic reading component that supports broader intellectual development.

It will, however, be important to train leaders—promising youth from diverse socio-economic backgrounds—as well as followers. Liberal arts education programs might be structured to prepare a new generation of leaders to work in the government, judiciary, law enforcement, and civil arenas and in the private sector. Otherwise, people might conclude that a nation of youth is being trained for dead-end jobs that merely provide cheap labor for wealthy countries. But there is a danger to training too many people for jobs that don't yet exist in Haiti. Annual job forecasts should be widely distributed so that students can understand their employment prospects and make well-informed decisions when planning their education.

• Increase public investment in education

Fees to attend publicly maintained primary schools must be abolished and arrangements made to provide free secondary education. Primary education for all children under the age of fourteen years must be free and compulsory. A substantial investment needs to be made in vocational training, adult education, and civic and peace education. The government should create a special fund to invest in particular areas that might improve educational quality and access and give impetus to the necessary structural changes.[26] In light of the devastating effects of the recent earthquake, which reduced to rubble a number of private schools and universities, the reconstruction effort should increase the percentage of public schools or provide financial support to private schools.

• Develop a plural identity based on the concept of *Créolité*

Throughout all areas of education, instructors, administrators, and parents should work together to reinforce and instill in youth a plural identity based on the concept of *Créolité*. Ernest Pépin, a poet and novelist from Guadeloupe, has argued that *Créolité* is basically a "mosaic identity."[27] Haitians who view themselves through this prism should more easily appreciate the various contributions to Haiti's history and culture made by the state's different inhabitants, including the indigenous Taino-Arawak Indians, Europeans, Africans, and Arabs.

Developing a plural identity based on **Créolité** *and cultivating in Haitian youth a sense of accommodation and an appreciation of differences should help them work toward national unity while peacefully embracing diversity.*

Developing a plural identity based on *Créolité* and cultivating in Haitian youth a sense of accommodation and an appreciation of differences should help them work toward national unity while peacefully embracing diversity. The definition of national culture and identity can be achieved through language policies and social studies that embrace the diversity of Haitian society.

• Modify the governance and management structure and improve monitoring

The current governance and management structure needs to be modified and monitored. Table 2 presents the current functions, current monitoring, proposed functions, and proposed monitoring of important governmental bodies in Haiti.

The Haitian authorities need to commit themselves to a real decentralization and further regionalization of the education sector. Decision making must be shifted to those closer to the community and school, so that decisions are made that are more responsive to local conditions and needs. Local authorities, for instance, can play a greater role in school supervision, community relations, and school management.

The Ministry of Education needs to narrow its focus to the role of regulation and general organization of the education sector. This is an immensely important task that absorbs many resources and should receive the sole attention of the ministry. Required are, first, the development of an education strategy, and second, the creation of an autonomous multifunctional entity to implement that strategy. The autonomous entity would govern

Table 2. Governance and Management Functions

Body	Current Functions	Current Monitoring	Proposed Functions	Proposed Monitoring
Ministry of National Education and Professional Training (MENFP)	Education policy and regulations Education finance Preparation of national plan and budget Planning Development of standards for facilities, curriculum, and teachers Research and development	Monitor expenditures and payments to institutions Monitor national examinations Design and implementation of tools and methods for yearly evaluation of the education sector	Creation of basic laws and policies Setting the overall direction of development and preparation of national plans Regional coordination programs Research and development	Development of regulation and quality control instruments Improvement of budgetary procedures and supervision and training of inspectors Accreditation and evaluation methods Supervision strategy Monitoring education outcomes and dissemination of information
Departments (geographic regions)	Main responsibility for secondary schools Implementation of education plans, policies, and procedures Administration and management of secondary education, length of schooling, yearly enrollment, supply of textbooks	Coordinate and oversee policy for primary schools through the school districts and Bureau of Inspection Supervise secondary schools	Establishment of education policies that are consistent with national policies Decision making and budgetary responsibilities Mobilization of local resources	Stronger monitoring and evaluation skills, and support for information systems
Bureau of Inspection	Organization of examinations Academic supervision of primary education	Assess school-level quality	Academic supervision of both primary and secondary schools	Development of indicators for school performance
School districts	Main responsibility for primary schools Assurance of proper functioning of primary schools	Monitor public and private primary schools Oversee all school district activities and Bureau of Inspection Oversee national examinations Academic supervision	Independence as a municipal-level entity Mobilization of local resources Management and administration of secondary schools	Establishment of community relations to review district-level programs
State University	Higher education policy Development of regulations Research and development Curriculum policy University staffing levels Quality assurance	Evaluation and accreditation of private universities	More effective accreditation of quality and innovation in private educational institutions Regulation of educational standards and outcomes New partnership with private providers participating in policy formulation and dialogue	Creation of private education think tank to monitor progress and to reach objectives

Table 2. Governance and Management Functions (continued)

Body	Current Functions	Current Monitoring	Proposed Functions	Proposed Monitoring
Ministry of Youth, Sports, and Civic Action (MJSAC)	Responsible for extracurricular activities Policy development and implementation Management of facilities and equipment	Accreditation Quality assurance Monitoring of youth organizations	Establishment of more programs targeting vulnerable groups Development of a stronger cooperation with MENFP	Creation of public and private youth associations to review policy setting and quality standards
Parent associations	Promotion of welfare of students and schools, and bringing parents into closer relation with school		Source of support for quality education and standards Mobilization of community for school assistance	
National Office for Partnership in Education (ONAPE, not yet operational)	Improve accessibility to education at primary level Promote public-private partnerships		Administer public and international funds Serve as intermediary between MENFP and partnerships Could be extended to secondary level	
Consortium of Professional Organizations in Education	Quality and equity support for education in private schools Building unity and legitimacy Advocacy for funding	Quality assurance, standards, and outcomes Assurance of attendance and enrollment	Official and legitimate counterpart of the Ministry of Education Policy formulation and dialogue	Management and supervision of quality standards Assessment of school-level quality Setting and managing standards for its affiliated members
National Literacy Secretariat	Facilitation and building partnerships Coordination and orientation of civil society initiatives on literacy Expansion of adult literacy Curriculum development Teacher training Implementation of adult literacy centers	Distribution of certificates of recognition Annual audit Quarterly reports and yearly financial reports	Creation of a coherent policy framework across government activities Enhancement of information sharing and coordination	Development of a partnership with civil society organizations to review policy setting and quality standards Development of literacy policy including performance standards

specific aspects of the education sector, such as assessment, curriculum and standard set-ting, and inspection.

The government needs to significantly increase the capacity of the Ministry of Education to monitor schools and effectively manage a system of accreditation, which should create incentives to schools to provide quality education that meets national standards.

The state must also articulate a vision for education reform as well as realistic short-, medium-, and long-term goals. The government needs to be forthright about the fact that some reforms will require a long time to achieve, and it must set up a system of bench-marks and other accountability mechanisms. Raising the expectations of the public without meeting these expectations will increase the level of disappointment and frustration to a dangerous level. The benchmarks should be clearly measurable by the public (e.g., new text-books, new schools in marginalized areas) to demonstrate the state's growing capabilities and commitment to education reform.

The state should work with the private sector in exploring, developing, and expanding public-private partnerships, for example in the areas of school construction, scholarships, trainee programs, long-distance radio programs, and internships.[28]

The Haitian government should make operational the National Office for Partnership in Education (ONAPE).[29] ONAPE's main mission is to promote and maintain programs to improve accessibility to primary education in Haiti. Composed of nine members, ONAPE is an autonomous body that could take over some of MENFP's responsibilities, particularly the administration of public and international funds for primary education. It would also be an appropriate intermediary between MENFP and public-private partnerships. ONAPE could also establish a policy dialogue that would be transparent and accountable.

To Civil Society

• Help focus public debates around education issues

Civil society should act now to create discussion forums on education. In addition, for student and community organizations to play their proper roles, they need to advocate for the creation of education councils in which local groups and individuals would continue to be involved in school matters. Nonprofit organizations can help supplement the work of the schools and the Ministry of Education by providing technical advice and funding specific projects. For example, some media projects have experienced success in reaching nontradi-tional and remotely located students via long-distance radio programs. The media can also play a part in tempering public expectations of education reform while at the same time articulating the measurable successes achieved by government policies.

Business associations have wanted to create think tanks that would research issues related to the business and education sectors. This would be a way to establish greater collaboration between education and business. This interaction would give the education sector the opportunity to adjust itself to the labor market and restore the business sector's confidence in the education sector. The private sector may also be helpful in developing proposals to present to municipal governments for public-private partnerships in school construction, teacher training programs, mentoring, and language tutoring programs.

To the International Community

• Assist the Ministry of Education in a process of empowerment

The international community must recognize that, as pressing as humanitarian issues are, long-term security and development depend on a well-functioning education system. The international community can help implement new models of education management by

The international community must recognize that, as pressing as humanitarian issues are, long-term security and development depend on a well-functioning education system.

17

assisting with the establishment of a clear strategic plan on education, including the means to monitor and assess reform. Accountability and success may be improved through the creation of performance-based programs and better monitoring and evaluation systems. Haitians should be involved at each step, to gain the hands-on training necessary to ensure the sustainability of education reforms.

International actors can also assist in developing and implementing instruments and processes for conflict impact analysis for the education sector. This will need long-term financial and technical support for the Haitian Ministry of Education and other bodies to build their capacities for their redefined roles.

In addition, the international community must improve its communication and coordination with other donors, nongovernmental organizations, the Haitian government, and the Haitian diaspora to harmonize assistance strategies and avoid unnecessary overlap between the country's efforts and those of donors.

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