

# **A Helping Hand?**

## **An Analysis of the Impact and Effectiveness of Private Primary Schools in Haiti**

An honors thesis for the Program in International Relations

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Abstract

**A Helping Hand: An Analysis of the Impact and Effectiveness of Private Primary Schools  
in Haiti**

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Haiti's education system has been a concern for decades. A country plagued by low literacy rates, low enrollment rates, and low completion rates, Haiti faced institutional challenges brought on by a history of colonial domination by the Global North as well as natural disasters like the 2010 earthquake that continue to influence the structure of government institutions, including primary education. Was it the influx of private schools, now accounting for 82% of primary and secondary schools, that caused an increase in literacy, enrollment, and completion rates?

This paper analyses current literature, data from the Haitian government and from independent research organizations to answer that very question. Unfortunately, the limits of the data mean that a multivariate regression analysis cannot confirm nor deny a correlation between the type of school, public or private, and improved educational outcomes. However, the discussion in literature circles and the prospect of increased data collection can provide a conclusion of increased research on the part of private actors entering the education sector in Haiti.

### **Acknowledgements**

I am endlessly thankful to Professor Kyle Emerick who devoted time and effort into advising me not only throughout my undergraduate education but through every step of this quantitative research process. I appreciate the patience he had in guiding me through a field of research I had little experience in before this project. I also am indebted to his willingness to take on thesis advisees during such a tumultuous year.

I am also eternally grateful to Professor Chakravorty for joining my committee as a second reader. Without his time, help, and compassion I would not have been able to complete my work.

I would also like to thank my parents and my fellow Jumbos for the continued support.

### **Author's Preface**

I do not nor will I ever have the same understanding of the communities in Haiti and their education needs as Haitian people or those of the diaspora. I am not attempting to speak over black scholars in the field of economic development or education inequity, but rather I am attempting to use my privilege as a white researcher to draw attention to a field with minimal data available in hopes to spur a future increase in data collection. Research into the global south by white scholars has a deep imperial history, and it is not my intention to continue this history. I sincerely hope that the impact of this piece is positive and a stepping stone in the right direction of understanding education inequity in Haiti.

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## List of Abbreviations

<b>Abbreviation</b>	<b>Meaning</b>
FONHEP	Fondation Haïtienne de l'Enseignement Privé (Haitian Foundation for Private Education)
GTEF	Groupe de Travail sur l'Éducation et la Formation (Presidential Commission on Education and Training)
HAS	L'Hôpital Albert Schweitzer
HBS	L'Hôpital Bon Sauveur
HTG	Haitian Gourde
IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization
IWI	International Wealth Index
LNGO	Local Non-Governmental Organization
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MENFP	Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale et de la Formation Professionnelle (Ministry of National Education and Vocational Training)
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NHRD	National Human Resource Development
NPIC	Non-Profit Industrial Complex
NPO	Non-Profit Organization
PIH	Partners in Health
PNEF	National Plan on Education and Training of 1997
PPPs	Public Private Partnerships
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

## **Chapter 1 – Introduction to the Education Sector in Haiti the role of NGOS**

### **Preliminary Summary**

This introduction will focus on the history of the Millennium and Sustainable Development Goals and how integral they are to the concept of private aid to the education sector in Haiti. I will discuss the current data on literacy rates across different demographics in Haiti as well as enrollment and completion rates to primary schools. In the second section, I introduce my research questions and their connection to my topic of the impact of private aid in the education sector in Haiti.

### **Background**

At the turn of the millennium, it seems as if the future of our world was at the forefront of the United Nation’s collective mind. With the signing of the Millennium Declaration in 2000, the UN launched the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) to combat global issues including poverty, hunger, diseases, gender inequality, child mortality, environmental concerns, and illiteracy. The hope of an increased quality of life for countries in the Global South seemed attainable because of this global call to action. But, by 2012, the progress made in some countries and shortfalls present in others prompted the continuation of the momentum of the MDGs, and at the UN Rio+20 summit, the global sustainability panel introduced the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), a new set, 17 in total, of more specific and specialized goals <sup>1</sup>.

To combat childhood illiteracy, the second of eight MDGs was to “achieve universal primary education”. One can see the potential correlation between high enrollment rates in primary school and high youth literacy rates. However according to the Demographic and Health

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<sup>1</sup> Sachs, “From Millennium Development Goals to Sustainable Development Goals.”

Survey data from 2012, primary completion rates were only at 44% on average – with large disparities between regions (31% for rural populations and 63% for urban populations) as well as between wealth groups (15% for the most impoverished and 75% for the wealthiest populations)<sup>2</sup>.

**Table 1: Out of School Children – Demographic Breakdown**

Demographic Factor	Out of School Children (in percent)
<b>Gender</b>	
Female	8
Male	9
<b>Location</b>	
Urban	4
Rural	11
<b>Wealth</b>	
Fifth Quintile	2
Fourth Quintile	3
Middle Quintile	4
Second Quintile	8
First Quintile	21
<b>National Average</b>	8

UNESCO, “World Inequality Database on Education – Out of School Children – Haiti”<sup>3</sup>

**Table 2: Primary Completion rates – Demographic Breakdown**

Demographic Factor	Primary Completion Rate (in percent)
<b>Gender</b>	
Female	49
Male	39
<b>Location</b>	
Urban	63
Rural	31
<b>Wealth</b>	
Fifth Quintile	75
Fourth Quintile	58
Middle Quintile	45
Second Quintile	26
First Quintile	15
<b>Religion</b>	
Protestant	88
Catholic	83
<b>Region</b>	

<sup>2</sup> UNESCO, “World Inequality Database on Education - Primary Completion Rate - Haiti,” 2012.

<sup>3</sup> UNESCO, “World Inequality Database on Education • Haiti • Out-of-School Children • Wealth.”

Camps	60
Nord Ouest	47
Nord	40
Nord Est	40
Sud	39
Nippes	37
Artibonite	35
Centre	33
Sud Est	33
Grand Anse	25
<b>National Average</b>	<b>44</b>

UNESCO, “World Inequality Database on Education – Primary Completion Rate – Haiti”<sup>4</sup>

Youth literacy rate increased from 51.15% in 1982 to 82.99% in 2016; available data shows that youth literacy has hovered around 80% since 2003<sup>5</sup>. At the end of the MDGs, Haiti’s average youth literacy rate was 85% - with varying degrees of disparity between demographic groups<sup>6</sup>.

**Table 3: Youth Literacy Rate – Demographic Breakdown**

Demographic Factor	Youth Literacy Rate (in percent)
<b>Gender</b>	
Male	87
Female	84
<b>Location</b>	
Urban	94
Rural	76
<b>Wealth</b>	
Richest	97
Middle	86
Poorest	53
<b>Religion</b>	
Protestant	88
Catholic	83
<b>Region</b>	
Camps	87
Nord	85
Nord Ouest	84
Artibonite	83
Sud	83
Nippes	82
Nord Est	82
Sud Est	78
Centre	74
Grand Anse	69
<b>National Average</b>	<b>85</b>

<sup>4</sup> UNESCO, “World Inequality Database on Education - Primary Completion Rate - Haiti,” 2012.

<sup>5</sup> “Haiti - Literacy Rate.”

<sup>6</sup> UNESCO, “World Inequality Database on Education - Youth Literacy Rate- Haiti.”

UNESCO, “World Inequality Database on Education – Youth literacy rate – Haiti” <sup>7</sup>

Why study primary education in a country that seems to have high youth literacy? With the development of the SDGs, the goals for reduction of illiteracy for all age, gender, socioeconomic, and regional groups specified to “ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all” <sup>8</sup>. The total adult literacy rate is 61.7% in 2016- with a small disparity between the male and female literacy rates, 65.3% and 58.3% respectively <sup>9</sup>. Haiti seems to fall into the category of a nation that has education inequalities, especially between age groups of youth versus adult.

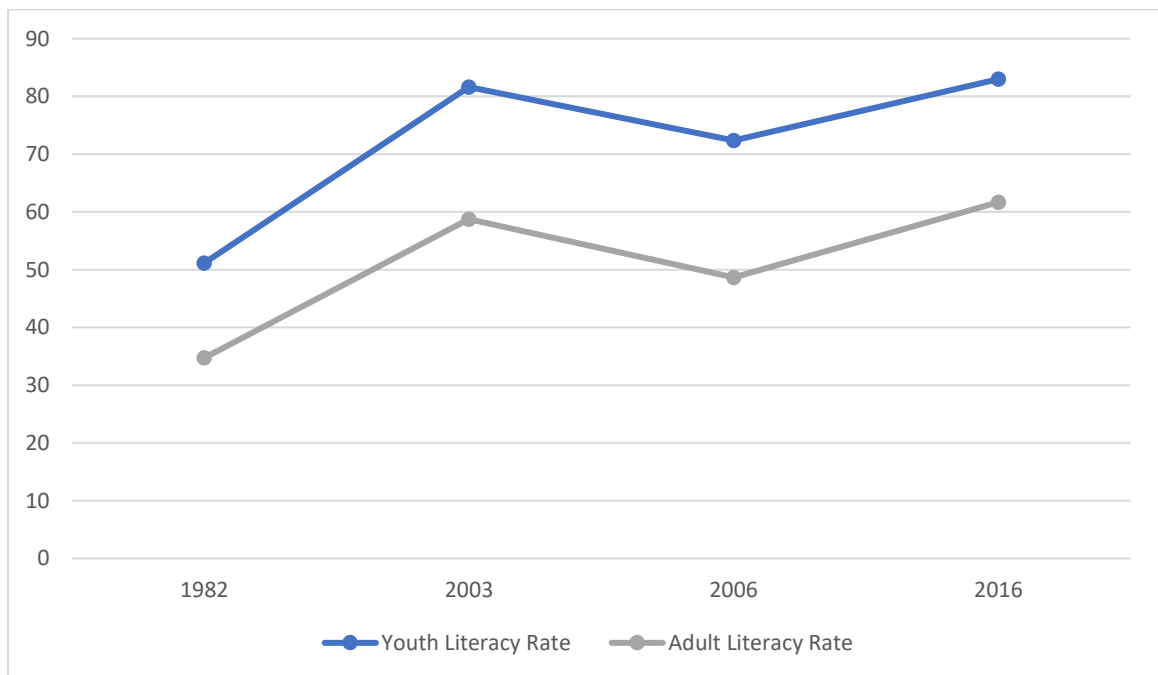


Figure 1: Comparative Youth and Adult Literacy Rates over Time

UNESCO, “World Inequality Database on Education – Youth literacy rate – Haiti” <sup>10</sup>

Koenna, “Haiti – Adult (15+) Literacy Rate” <sup>11</sup>

<sup>7</sup> UNESCO.

<sup>8</sup> “Goal 4 | Department of Economic and Social Affairs.”

<sup>9</sup> CIA, “Central America :: Haiti — The World Factbook - Central Intelligence Agency,” 2016.

<sup>10</sup> UNESCO, “World Inequality Database on Education - Youth Literacy Rate- Haiti.”

<sup>11</sup> “Haiti Adult Literacy Rate, 1960-2020 - Knoema.Com.”

According to the data introduced at this point, it would seem likely that in 10 years the adult literacy rate will increase to attempt to match the youth literacy rate in the 80% range; however, primary and secondary school enrollment sheds light on why the adult literacy rate has not already caught up. Primary school enrollment rate increased from 57.34% in 1997 <sup>12</sup> to almost a static 90% from 2010 to 2018 <sup>13</sup>.

## **Research Questions**

My questions are derived from descriptive, theoretical, policy analysis, and normative questions. First and foremost, I define the descriptive questions and their vocabulary to set up the more complex and encompassing questions that I answer. The descriptions set up allow me to be able to pursue my central research question that require data collected and analysis through a regression analysis and a policy analysis.

### Descriptive Questions

*Defining impact and effectiveness?*

Impact and effectiveness revolve around increasing the primary school completion rate. Enrollment rates do not factor in student drop outs for any reasons and testing data is both very difficult to obtain and subjective to assessing intelligence. In hand come grade repetition rate and dropout rate. A fourth metric for impact and effectiveness in this paper is attendance rate.

*Describing private aid to the education sector in Haiti. Does private aid include the creation and maintenance of private schools? Defining International NGOs and Local NGOs. How many NGOs/NPOs run and fund private schools and how many provide just tuition costs, medical aid, school supplies, etc? If private aid is mostly through the creation and maintenance of private schools, does that motivate the efficiency of those schools?*

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<sup>12</sup> Knoema, "Haiti Primary Enrollment, 1970-2019 - Knoema.Com."

<sup>13</sup> UNICEF DATA, "Primary School Age Education."

Private schools account for the overwhelming majority of schools in Haiti, and they teach 82% of all primary and secondary students <sup>14</sup>. With a list of over 100 non-profit organizations (NPOs), American Institutes for Research, AIR, created a directory of just some organizations working for education in Haiti. These organizations are non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in the private sector, and include international NGOs, some based in the U.S. Many of these NGOs work towards alleviating tuition burdens for families, covering healthcare costs, and other general monetary donations. Other organizations are fully funded private schools, either established in the U.S. and operated in Haiti or completely established and operated in Haiti. A future question to frame these private schools is the amount of tuition and the ability in which the families can pay for their children's education.

#### Central Research Questions

*Do private schools exist in areas where primary completion rates would already be high based on the geographical region and socio-economic status of the community and its members?*

Describing and defining the proliferation of private school in Haiti is important to understanding later on the differences, if there are any, in completion rates between these schools and publicly run schools.

*Are schools funded by the private sector more effective than public schools?*

Through analyzing the completion rates and the cost of primary schooling for both private and public schools, one could conclude which group has a greater impact or if there is a point at which the tuition costs exceeds what can be used productively by the school.

*Do private schools make a greater impact per dollar than public schools?*

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<sup>14</sup> World Bank, "Social Resilience and State Fragility in Haiti- A Country Social Analysis."

This would be fundamentally important to the organization and future of the international educational non-profit sector. The conclusion would potentially impact the existence of either private or public schools, and hopefully would be able to advise donors, NGOs, and government actors on how to approach the education sector in Haiti.

## **Chapter 2 – Relevant Literature on Foreign Aid, NGOs, and the Haitian State**

### **Introduction**

The 1980s and the 1990s were the golden age for NGOs<sup>15</sup>. Private donors gravitated towards international non-state actors who promised to bring humanitarian aid to impoverished people in low to middle-income countries. Even USAID and the World Bank began funding NGOs instead of giving foreign aid directly to countries in need. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s international NGOs, INGOs, and local NGOs, LNGOs, gained credibility in the international community as non-corrupt bodies with histories of grassroots organizing that could achieve what states failed to do for their citizens. They perpetuated the neoliberal climate of reduced state power by receiving financing otherwise donated to states in the Global South. NGOs became so prevalent that before 1996 there were 38,000 NGOs working in more than one country<sup>16</sup>.

I have sectioned literature into four major groups. The first group defines the relationship between NGOs and governance in Haiti. Understanding the impact NGOs have on the state and vice versa is critical to understand the following arguments of the authors in the following groupings. The second grouping argues for NGOs to continue their “supplementation” to the state. Literature in this grouping argues either in favor of NGO aid instead of public programming or that, while flawed, NGOs can create more progress with both internal and external positive changes to their structure. The third grouping of literature identifies NGOs as actors that weaken the state and then reap the benefits of a weakened public sector. These authors contrast the arguments of those in the second grouping. The final grouping analyzes the

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<sup>15</sup> Agg, “Trends in Government Support for Non-Governmental Organizations: Is the ‘Golden Age’ of the NGO Behind Us?”

<sup>16</sup> Schuller, “Conclusion.”

impacts of NGOs in adjacent sectors of development to provide a final overarching understanding of the impact of NGOs. A final minor group of literature focuses directly on private education in Latin America and the Caribbean to provide context for the education system in Haiti.

### **NGO's impacts on governance and vice versa**

The hyper expansion of the private aid sector in the 1980s and 1990s led to negative consequences for both NGOs and the states they were attempting to aid. As NGOs grew more powerful, they grew more corrupt and states grew weaker. Many states in the Global South, like Haiti, were unable to provide for their citizens due to a lack of funding to the public sector. NGOs became the substitution for the state. As they received more money, state departments received less. As the state grew weaker, more gaps in its provisions to its populations appeared and more NGOs had to step in to fill those gaps <sup>17</sup>.

There exists debate within this grouping of literature whether NGOs need more or less regulation by the state.

Ramachandran and Walz (2015) argue that the 2010 earthquake in Haiti revealed a history of how lack of government regulations on NGOs impacted reconstruction and subsequent civil life. Their research found that NGOs received a disproportionate amount of funding compared to how much the Haitian government received. NGOs and non-state actors received most US government funding to reconstruction post-earthquake, and the Haitian government received only one percent of humanitarian aid (either from the US government or other foreign governments or private citizens) and only 15 to 21 percent of long-term aid <sup>18</sup>. While tracking the money to different organizations, Ramachandran and Walz were not able to find an appropriate

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<sup>17</sup> Agg, "Trends in Government Support for Non-Governmental Organizations: Is the 'Golden Age' of the NGO Behind Us?"

<sup>18</sup> Ramachandran and Walz, "Haiti."

number of impact reports on the work the NGOs did with the money they received. The reconstruction effort revealed the lack of transparency and accountability NGOs operated with.

Not only do NGOs receive more funding and operate with little to no transparency, but the priorities of donors and NGOs also do not align with the priorities of the government. Ramachandran and Walz found through analyzing recovery funding by sector to Haiti that when the government of Haiti request funding for one sector – an example being reconstruction – donor pledges and disbursement of the funds did not reflect those requests. In four sectors – reconstruction, education, health, and institutional rebuilding – donations did not reach the requests from the government. However, in five sectors – energy, territorial rebuilding, economic rebuilding, social rebuilding, and especially transportation – donations exceeded government requests. This disconnect between donors and the government expresses the lack of understanding non-state actors had during the 2010 crisis.

Going back even further to the 1990s, Ramachandran and Walz found the 1991 coup of Jean-Bertrand Aristide by Raul Cédras crucial to understanding the relationship between foreign aid and international actors influencing Haitian politics. Both Former President George H. W. Bush and Bill Clinton backed the policies by Aristide. American politicians and political bodies continued to push for social and political reform through Aristide until his actions were not enough and aid from the US halted in 2000 as well as aid from the World Bank, the European Union, and from other western countries. It was not until Aristide was removed from power that aid returned. US-Haitian politics and aid flow patterns indicate that “assistance was primarily

used as a reward or punitive measure to influence Haitian politics”<sup>19</sup>. Aid was not primarily a tool to improve the lives of the Haitian people out of the altruistic nature of the international community. The history of using aid to determine measures taken by the Haitian state severely weakened the autonomy of the state. A weak state with a lack of funding or legitimacy to help its citizens is a ripe environment for NGOs to enter the aid market as unbiased, not corrupt, third party actors.

Returning to the 2010 reconstruction efforts, Ramachandran and Walz also found that foreign humanitarian aid trickled down from donors and donor states to subcontractor to subcontractor, each subcontractor absorbing a small percentage of the money, until it finally reached the Haitian people. A large donation could run through an INGO to multiple smaller LNGOs, to local community groups with each organization absorbing up to 10% of the money they were giving in administrative costs.

This combination of a weakened state, disconnect between priorities, and unnecessary absorption of aid funds led to a smaller contribution to the local communities by the NGOs in comparison to the amount of aid that they received and therefore slow reconstruction for Haiti post-earthquake. Ramachandran and Walz conclude by arguing that the Haitian government needs to be allotted the power to hold NGOs more accountable and that cooperation between the state and non-state actors, NGOs, is crucial to effectively using humanitarian aid.

Simanowitz and Greeley (2017) examined more in-depth the impact of differences between donor goals and beneficiary goals. They argue that Haiti’s development is dominated by international donors and NGOs, and this silencing of the state leads to political fragility, weak infrastructure, and a lack of resources for the public sectors. NGOs stifle the productivity of the

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<sup>19</sup> Ramachandran and Walz.

state as the state is dependent on international actors for resources – resources that without NGO presence, the state could have without dependence on a third party. However, Simanowitz and Greeley do not call for the reduction in the power of NGOs and an increase in power to the state. Instead, they argue that NGOs and their donors need to restructure to give more “voice” to the disempowered citizens. They assume that by just applying downward accountability – the process in which the beneficiaries hold the NGOs and donors accountable – they will be more effective actors to humanitarian aid and development in Haiti. Their conclusion doesn’t align with Ramachandran and Walz’s conclusion that the state should hold NGOs more accountable. One gap in Simanowitz and Greeley’s conclusion is the “how” of their conclusion. What authority do the people of Haiti have against NGOs that the state does not? More importantly, Simanowitz and Greeley agree that the state is weak and poor efforts to develop Haiti’s humanitarian sectors can be traced to a weak state, yet they conclude that the extent of the state’s effectiveness is fragmented by NGOs. Why would Simanowitz and Greeley not conclude removing power from NGOs and giving power to the state as an effective means to stop state power fragmentation?

Pierre-Louis (2011) identifies the preference of donors to work with INGOs instead of with the Haitian government and confirms the countless number of NGOs operating in Haiti <sup>20</sup>. Pierre-Louis goes so far as to say that some NGOs have become substitutes to the state in the eyes of donor countries as they have undermined the state in addressing issues like governance, corruption, and legitimacy. NGOs have operated by removing power of key government

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<sup>20</sup> Pierre-Louis, “Earthquakes, Nongovernmental Organizations, and Governance in Haiti.”

structures by private or international actors— a keystone of neoliberal politics and economics — which drew the attention of international donor states that wanted to propel the neoliberal agenda. For example, Haiti received \$1,586,000 from the State University of New York for Governance/Support to Parliament yet that sector received no funding from a parallel government ministry <sup>21</sup>. NGOs partnered with USAID, the World Bank, the UN, and IMF to achieve what they thought states could not.

More specifically, USAID encourages NGOs to apply for grants to work on behalf of the Haitian government instead of directly channeling that money to the Haitian government <sup>22</sup>. In consensus with the other authors in this section, an already weak state was hindered from helping its population since donor states sought out NGOs instead. However, in 2006 under Prime Minister Jacques Edouard Alexis, Haiti's government gained more oversight power over NGOs operating in Haiti. Pierre-Louis notes that the government created a plan to gradually transfer private projects over to public agencies. Pierre-Louis concurs with Ramachandran and Walz that the 2010 earthquake revealed the weaknesses of the system in which INGOs dominated the government. The neoliberal ideal of small government was taken to the extreme in Haiti, and it did not have a disaster plan that could relieve the pressures that the earthquake caused. The dominance of NGOs on the public sectors led to three days post-earthquake without aid, and when aid did arrive for the people of Haiti it was from donor states like the Dominican Republic, Cuba, Venezuela as well as from NGOs.

Even after seeing the failure of both the NGOs and the Haitian state in responding to the 2010 earthquake, donors and donor states continue to favor NGOs over the Haitian state. Pierre-

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<sup>21</sup> Pierre-Louis.

<sup>22</sup> Pierre-Louis.

Louis concludes that the international community cannot forget that the combination of a weak governance, neoliberal policy, and NGO dominance in the public sector caused poor initial response to a devastating natural disaster and slow long-term reconstruction.

While good intentions can drive the establishment and operation of NGOs in Haiti, their impact is more important than intent. Edmonds (2012) explores the relationship between the intent and the impact of NGOs and the Haitian state. NGOs in Haiti have taken advantage of the privatization of the state and have become institutions that the population cannot hold accountable<sup>23</sup>. Edmonds heavily attacks neoliberalism in Haiti for creating an environment where international actors could influence Haitian politics by withholding aid. The issue with an aid-dependent state instead of a self-sufficiently funded state reveals itself in Haiti as neither the population of Haiti nor the Haitian government has control over the aid they receive or where it is used<sup>24</sup>. The status quo is failing the Haitian people. Aid needs to be channeled into the sectors that the population or at least the government prioritizes, instead of to the sectors that international donors prioritize. Edmonds is welcoming to LINGOs that are rooted in the communities that they serve, citing that grassroots organizing brings change that is most aware of the issues that Haitian communities face. Edmonds concludes that NGOs cannot and should not replace the state as they are undemocratic and unregulated.

Schuller's two 2007 articles both analyze relationships between the state and NGOs. First published is Schuller's work that attempts to understand the relationship between the state and civil society as it struggles with NGO presence in governance. While he contends there exists heavy influence of neoliberal globalization on the Global South and in Haiti, Schuller argues that NGOs have been failed by neoliberal policies and institutions that were supposed to confirm

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<sup>23</sup> Edmonds, "Beyond Good Intentions."

<sup>24</sup> Edmonds.

their survival <sup>25</sup>. Schuller's interview with a staff member for Haiti's NGO coordination committee (UCAONG) in 2002 indicates that the Haitian government has more power over the development of the state than NGOs do. Schuller even argues that "the Haitian state's institutional response has serious effects upon the work of NGOs" and that the government limited the power of the two NGOs that he researched as case studies <sup>26</sup>. Schuller concludes in this article that smaller NGOs are more at risk of failure than larger NGOs. Not only do smaller NGOs get swept away from funding by the larger NGOs, but they also face barriers to elite language, technology, and money that larger NGOs with larger donors do not have to face. In another article published in the same year, Schuller attempts to understand the role of NGOs in contemporary Haiti. Again, Schuller concedes that NGOs are perceived to be less political and more connected to the people by donors and donor states <sup>27</sup>. Schuller did find that there are more Haitian or LNGOs than there are INGOs registered in Haiti in 1997, but that data does not account for the increased number of NGOs operating in Haiti since 1995. Schuller also found through a participation assessment survey he developed that donors believed that beneficiaries were more involved in the process of discussing problems and prioritizing issues than beneficiaries themselves believed they were involved. Both groups believed that NGO staff were instrumental in all of the steps after discussion of problems and prioritization of issues – planning, organization, execution, follow-through, and evaluation. These findings reveal that there is organizational dissonance between donors and beneficiaries of aid. One other issue with Schuller's second article is that it does not lead to a definite conclusion if NGOs are bad or good for Haiti. He merely concludes that NGOs are "running the show in terms of development in

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<sup>25</sup> Schuller, "Seeing like a Failed NGO."

<sup>26</sup> Schuller.

<sup>27</sup> Schuller, "Invasion or Infusion?"

Haiti”, and calls for more research to determine if the power structure between NGOs and the state will change <sup>28</sup>.

Taking a step back from Haiti, Romero et al. look at the utilization of private contractors in public schools <sup>29</sup>. Researchers found that the results of 93 schools selected by the government to be managed by “private providers” to be correlated with a cost-effective method of improving test scores in students. The program, Partnership Schools for Liberia, gave 3.4 percent of all public schools USD\$50 more per student plus the ability to independently raise more funds as well as increased the number of teachers. Researchers concluded that the outcome of the Partnership Schools for Liberia program was more cost effective than increased spending under the traditional education model in Liberia <sup>30</sup>. However, there were negative consequences associated with the program that did not reflect in the data collected. Students and teachers were removed from a treated school to control schools after the private contractor began management of the school, and at two other schools there were incidents of sexual abuse of multiple students. These incidents were discovered because of the interest in observing the program, so it is not to say that incidents like these do not happen at public schools. The authors of this study acknowledge that the benefits to the education of the students could be furthered by introducing uniform contracting rules to provide stricter control over which private contractors would be allowed to participate in managing public schools.

This model with its potential changes to the rules for private contractors shows a different system than the one that operates in Haiti. Where in Haiti the government has little control over

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<sup>28</sup> Schuller.

<sup>29</sup> Romero, Sandefur, and Sandholtz, “Outsourcing Education.”

<sup>30</sup> Romero, Sandefur, and Sandholtz.

the practices of the private schools, this government program in Liberia holds private contractors more accountable to the government.

### **The argument for NGOs in Haiti**

The literature in this group does not challenge the status quo in Haiti. The following authors either use case studies of individual NGOs or qualitative interview data to argue that the existence of one or more NGOs with positive impact indicates that NGOs should continue to operate in tandem with public institutions. However, one limitation of each work in this grouping is that they do not address the status quo of the hyper-population of NGOs and private schools in Haiti's education sector. Without the context of the state of the Haitian education system, it is difficult to assess whether the argument for the continuation of the status quo would be the right decision for Haiti's youth and the state.

Gedro and Hartman (2016) use a case study of an NGO school in Haiti, l'École de Choix/ The School of Choice to examine national human resource development, NHRD, in Haiti. Gedro and Hartman approached the case study through participant observation and engagement through service trips to l'École de Choix. Gedro and Hartman emphasize the need for NHRD – national framework to develop higher human capital among a nation's citizens through education, social justice, welfare, or health – in Haiti and how the education sector can fill in gaps in NHRD in Haiti. By means of a service trip to their research site, l'École de Choix (Choix), Gedro and Hartman observed the environment in which they find Choix to be an organization that could fill in gaps in Haiti's NHRD. They found that Choix provides “high-quality education designed for children living in the most extreme conditions of poverty” and builds leadership among students

and promotes “Haiti’s history of freedom and justice” through education <sup>31</sup>. Throughout the article, Gedro and Hartman mention human capital development – a variant of applied Neoliberalism – as an outcome of Choix’s work as well as a necessity to NHRD in Haiti. Gedro and Hartman applaud Choix for its ability to promote human capital development and its contribution to future success in Haiti.

Gedro and Hartman’s work invites critical analysis on the basis that their work is a case study of a single private school. Without a critical analysis of other schools in a larger study, they cannot conclude that NGOs and private schools can recreate these results and create the success that the authors believe is possible. Gedro and Hartman conclude that exploring ways of funding Choix and “other schools modeled after it” – INGO run schools – could allow Haiti to overcome subpar education. Unfortunately, Gedro and Hartman do not adequately address the history of NGOs in Haiti starting from the 1990s to the contemporary. Without the context that this literature review has already outlined on the impact of NGOs historically throughout Haiti, Gedro and Hartman miss critical characteristics about the relationship between NGOs and the Haitian state. Their conclusion asks for a continuation of the neoliberalist status quo that Haiti’s education sector has existed in since the 1980s, and articles like Ramachandran and Walz outline the flaws behind a conclusion like that of Gedro and Hartman.

Zanotti (2010) recognizes the negative impact that supporting NGOs instead of the state has had on the ability of the Haitian state to provide for its population. However, she concludes that “not all NGOs” are detrimental to the sustainability of the Haitian state and that community-based organizations that fulfill specific criteria are the NGOs that should continue operating in

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<sup>31</sup> Gedro and Hartman, “Education as a Response to NHRD Gaps in Developing Economies.”

Haiti. Zanotti used an analysis of two organizations' goals, priorities, transparency, etc. as interviews with their directors.

Partners in Health, PIH, and Fonkoze contrast the NGOs that have historically blocked the Haitian state from funding that would create more sustainable state-run infrastructure. PIH and Fonkoze are both local organizations that have connections to a diverse network of international donors and investors and understand the connection between economics, politics, and human rights<sup>32</sup>. PIH and Fonkoze's local roots allow a deeper understanding of the Haitian communities and their needs. This connection to the community creates more similarities between the priorities of the two NGOs and the priorities of the communities. The diverse network of international donors and investors prevents PIH and Fonkoze from becoming dependent on a single large donor that wishes to play politics with their donation. Zanotti identifies two critical characteristics – understanding and thus connection of the community – of the two organizations that are in direct contrast with the characteristics of the INGOs operating in Haiti. However, neither PIH nor Fonkoze specialize in the education sector in Haiti. It is critical to discover whether or not Zanotti's conclusion can be applied to the education sector and the NGOs within it.

Heyneman and Stern (2014) concede that the state should be the primary actor for public schooling, but they argue that public education faces limitations to quality that non-states schools can overcome as they contribute to universal primary education. They employed qualitative interviews with parents, teachers, head masters, and government officials to reach their conclusions. Heyneman and Stern assume that the state's governance and accountability policy

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<sup>32</sup> Zanotti, "Cacophonies of Aid, Failed State Building and NGOs in Haiti."

limits private institutions – like schools operated by NGOs. They do not mention the impact the presence of NGOs has on the effectiveness of public schools. Heyneman and Stern argue for privately-operated schools to supplement public schools; however, this conclusion cannot be applied to Haiti as privately-operated schools substitute for public schools. Heyneman and Stern also place heavy emphasis on the economic health of private institutions. Throughout their argument, they mention the burden that impoverished families without money for tuition places on private institutions and NGOs <sup>33</sup>. Heyneman and Stern provide evidence against affordable private education in the Global South in stating that “private schools that accommodate low-income families are inevitably at risk of financial failure.” Heyneman and Stern not only advocate for the continuation of private schools in the Global South but also their ability to charge tuitions out of reach for families. Their conclusion is already in practice in Haiti, and the ramifications of limited government control over private schools are shown in the education inequality.

### **The argument for strengthening public institutions**

A large strand of literature critically assesses whether dominant power over the education sector should fall on the shoulders of the state or on the shoulders of privately run institutions. The authors in this section conclude that without a strong state presence in the education sector, the quality of education, the students, and the state are negatively impacted. The general consensus among this grouping of literature is that more funding and power to NGOs is not the solution. Unfortunately, there is a gap in the literature that makes this conclusion. None of the articles have conducted recent impact analysis on NGO run primary schools. Without analysis of

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<sup>33</sup> Heyneman and Stern, “Low Cost Private Schools for the Poor.”

NGO impact, it is hard to conclude the magnitude to which NGOs are more or less effective than the state.

In assessing whether private education plays an appropriate role in Haiti, Salmi (2000) argues that a lack of a strong governmental influence in the education sector has led to adverse effects on the quality and spread of education in Haiti, a country with excessive primary school enrollment. Salmi found copious reasons why the dominance of private institutions in Haiti has not been productive for the education sector. Primarily, the private sector had been mostly unregulated in the context of quality standards by the Ministry of Education<sup>34</sup>. Without a regulatory body ensuring that all students receive quality education, students received unequal education simply by attending the school closest to home. Standardized education ensures a baseline standard for which the quality of education can only improve instead of worsen. A lack of regulation of private schools meant a lack of accountability that these schools are providing a baseline education. Salmi argues at the time of publication to improve the quality of education the Ministry of Education needs the fiscal and technical capacity to regulate private schools. A national education strategy and increased levels of public funding as parts of an intervention by the Haitian state is the obvious solution to Salmi.

The lack of government control over the school system in Haiti had led to student dropouts, under-enrollment, and failed exams<sup>35</sup>. The dominance of private schools in the education sector as well as the failure of the state to offer education free of charge had created a system in which some families cannot afford to send their children to school while other families must stop paying tuition if unforeseen financial obligations arise. Lunde explains the many reasons for student dropout. End of the year exams for students between grades are an additional

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<sup>34</sup> Salmi, "Equity and Quality in Private Education."

<sup>35</sup> Lunde, "Youth and Education in Haiti."

cost to families and are not factored into tuition that they pay every year. If a student cannot afford to take the exam they are forced to either drop out that year or repeat the grade. The lack of qualified teachers, especially in unregulated private schools, to prepare students for exams also causes students to repeat or drop out since they have not been prepared by their teachers to pass their exams. Uncontrollable factors, like environmental disasters, impact dropout rates in two ways. First, if a school is damaged as a result of an environmental disaster, the students cannot continue their education that year and the tuition money is wasted for that year. Second, if an environmental disaster impacts families directly, it is very likely that they cannot afford to spend their available income on education costs instead of medical costs for example. Lunde recommends the Haitian state take responsibility for educating the population. The state should be the primary provider of primary education – whether that be increasing the number of public schools or providing scholarships to students so they can attend private schools, since 90% of students attend privately run schools.

McNulty (2011), in understanding the education sector after the 2010 earthquake, determined in consensus with popular literature that public schools do not receive enough funding, private schools do not have enough regulations to offer quality education, tuition costs at most schools are too expensive for most families, and that the solution to improving the education sector in Haiti most likely is not putting more money into the private sector. McNulty agrees that Haitian institutions are traditionally weak, and the population has not been able to rely on the government. Local ownership over the education sector could also impact the future of education in Haiti. If the population starts putting more emphasis on and preference for government institutions, private schools will have less power in the education sector. McNulty

also concludes that international actors must also begin supporting the government of Haiti instead of private actors if Haiti is to rebuild the education sector <sup>36</sup>.

### **NGOs' impacts on adjacent sectors**

The scope of literature on the relationship between NGOs and Haiti's education sector is limited compared to the scope of literature on the relationship between NGOs and adjacent humanitarian sectors. Public health in Haiti receives a considerable amount of attention from NGOs, and accordingly, there is a considerable amount of literature dedicated to the topic of NGOs, foreign aid, and Haiti's public health sector. Since Haiti receives constant humanitarian aid, especially so after the 2010 earthquake, and since so many NGOs receive grants to operate in Haiti, there is also extensive research on the impact of NGOs on Haiti across all sectors. It is critical to see the patterns that present themselves across humanitarian sectors to see that the education sector is no anomaly when discussing NGO presence and impact.

Starting with the role of private actors in public health in Haiti, Durham et al. (2015) saw in the health sector the same phenomenon that is present in the education sector. Durham's work is a case study examining the health services at Haiti, one of six other countries. Durham employed documentary and policy review based on peer-reviewed articles and books as well as government policy reports. Durham also conducted qualitative interviews with "informants" related to the health care sector. The Haitian state is fragile and does not have the same funding that strong international actors have. INGOs have identified the advantages that operating in a weak and fragile state offers, and the health market has become increasingly privatized, commoditized, and unregulated as a result. Since the Haitian state is already weak, it follows that it has little capacity to regulate the increasingly privatized health sector <sup>37</sup>. Similarly to the

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<sup>36</sup> McNulty, "The Education of Poverty."

<sup>37</sup> Durham et al., "Haiti and the Health Marketplace."

education sector, the health sector has provided below-average care compared to regional neighbors and other countries in the Global South. Private actors in the health sector must also connect with the local communities to understand and act upon the priorities of the communities instead of on the priorities the actors believe should be acted upon<sup>38</sup>. Unlike in the education sector, in the health sector, public and private institutions are more interwoven and more cooperative. The authors also suggest that instead of preferring private actors, the health sector needs the government to bridge gaps in health care provisions to ensure quality care and sustainable institutions<sup>39</sup>.

Expanding analysis into the role of NGOs in public health in Haiti, Matousek et al. (2015) examine the surgical services provided by two NGO hospitals that operate in rural Haiti through reviewing surgery case logs at both hospitals. Both L'Hôpital Albert Schweitzer, HAS, and L'Hôpital Bon Sauveur, HBS, utilize practices that provide preference to rural patients. HAS charges fees proportional to what their patients can afford – with free service to their poorest patients – while HBS doesn't charge fees regardless of income or location. The authors find that their rural patients have increased access to care due to these policies that prioritize rural patients who often have barriers to understanding health care such as education, familiarity with the health system, and location. While their results provide proof-positive results for the benefits of NGO run hospitals, they do not compare the results of HAS and HBS against a rural state-run hospital. Matousek et al. imply that these hospitals provide greater access to surgical care than their state-run counterparts, but the results are also limited in the sense that they don't study other fields of healthcare like pediatrics, general practice, or emergency medicine. The article

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<sup>38</sup> Durham et al.

<sup>39</sup> Durham et al.

concludes with a recommendation to increase the efficacy of foreign aid through empowering the Ministry of Health and developing health plans that put public health as a priority for the state <sup>40</sup>. The health sector would benefit from increased public control in that increased public control could provide more access to rural and impoverished patients in comparison to the status quo. The impact of these two NGO-run hospitals on patients parallels with some of the impact of NGO-run schools on students. Both private institutions extend more access to resources than just public institutions, but without knowing the relative impact of these hospitals compared to state-run hospitals, we cannot conclude that they provide better or worse quality of care.

Kligerman, Walmer, and Merrell (2017) conducted 22 semi-structured interviews with directors of healthcare facilities and from those interviews assessed the impact of foreign aid on healthcare in Haiti four years after the 2010 earthquake. In the four years after the earthquake, Haiti saw long term improved access to healthcare and easier referral for lower-income patients <sup>41</sup>. The positive impacts end there. The healthcare system also saw internal brain drain, episodes of poor quality care, competition between facilities, decrease in patients to local facilities, and international brain drain <sup>42</sup>. At the national level, Haitian healthcare personnel left their local sectors to work for international aid organizations for higher salaries. This flight of personnel to higher wages caused a wage increase in the public sector, a phenomenon that the local public healthcare sector could not afford. Facilities had to reduce staff personnel which decreases the quality and availability of services in the local public sector. Competition among healthcare facilities has led to a reduction in patient flow to old facilities as they prefer newer post-earthquake facilities, closure of facilities due to an influx of INGOs in the sector, an increased

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<sup>40</sup> Matousek et al., "The Struggle for Equity."

<sup>41</sup> Kligerman, Walmer, and Merrell, "The Socioeconomic Impact of International Aid."

<sup>42</sup> Kligerman, Walmer, and Merrell.

demand for free services, and disenfranchisement of local providers because of the presence of NGOs. Kilgerman, Walmer, and Merrell conclude that to combat the negative effects of international aid and NGOs incoming institutions need to understand the state of the healthcare system already in place in Haiti as to not disrupt it. Without understanding the existing healthcare system, NGOs and international actors risk overrunning the system and pushing local actors out of competition, which is reminiscent of the education sector.

A final, comprehensive look at the NGO presence in Haiti is taken by Schuller in 2002. Five years after publishing his other works that are referenced in this lit review, Schuller conforms to a different understanding of NGOs and their impact on the Haitian state. In consensus with much of the literature already discussed, Schuller highlights the use of NGOs to combat a large centralized state and their corruption as they grew larger in power and influence in Haiti. Throughout his ethnography of communities with NGOs present, Schuller describes how NGOs evolved into businesses instead of institutions of humanitarian sacrifice. The disconnect in priorities between the donors and board of NGOs and the beneficiaries of aid can be seen in stark contrast as Schuller describes how “bigwigs” at NGOs can be seen driving luxury cars in through the communities they say they support. Community members see the hypocrisy in the structure of NGOs as exemplified by a leader of a top-down structured NGO as she says “the leaders of NGOs always want to direct an enterprise, a business. [They] take the illness and turn it into a business”<sup>43</sup>.

### **Private Schools in Latin America and the Caribbean**

Haiti’s high private primary enrollment, while not average, is not the only outlier in Latin America and the Caribbean. In 2019, the reported average private primary enrollment rate of

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<sup>43</sup> Schuller, “That’s Not Participation!”

Latin America and the Caribbean was 20.501% <sup>44</sup>. However, a handful of countries and territories have primary enrollment rates over 50%, including Aruba at 73%, Belize at 82%, Chile at 63%, Curacao at 76%, Grenada at 77%, and Trinidad and Tobago at 72%. Of the 39 countries and territories only 7, including Haiti, have such high enrollment rates, making them the exception not the rule.

### *The Expansion of Private Schooling in Latin America*

Authors Verger, Moschetti and Fontdevila examine the six ways private education manifests in Latin American countries. The first manifestation of privatization of education is through state reform, like in Chile, characterized by the liberalization of the private sector <sup>45</sup>. Private schools in Chile became more and more popular after education reform in the 1980s introduced voucher reforms attempting to discourage drops in school enrollment <sup>46</sup>. The second manifestation is slow, sub-national, incremental reform, as observed in Colombia and Brazil, where decentralized states make nation-wide education reform difficult. The third manifestation is through “default”, where private actors meet high education demands because of growing population. One popular style of private education in this style is Low Fee Private Schools (LFPS). LFPS are typically set up to cater to low-income families and students and offer that same feeling of paying for the “quality advantage” of private school instead of public school without the higher costs of other private schools. The fourth manifestation is public private partnerships, PPPs, in which public subsidies help cover costs of private schools, seen historically in the Dominican Republic and Argentina; however, not without faults, these PPPs

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<sup>44</sup> The World Bank, “School Enrollment, Primary, Private (% of Total Primary) - Latin America & Caribbean | Data,” accessed May 5, 2021, <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.PRM.PRIV.ZS?locations=ZJ>.

<sup>45</sup> Antoni Verger, Mauro Moschetti, and Clara Fontdevila, “The Expansion of Private Schooling in Latin America: Multiple Manifestations and Trajectories of a Global Education Reform Movement,” in *The Wiley Handbook of Global Educational Reform* (John Wiley & Sons, 2018).

<sup>46</sup> Gregory Elacqua, “Private School Chains in Chile: Do Better Schools Scale Up?,” August 16, 2011, 16.

lead to decreased regulation of private actors and increased difficulty in reversing these relationships. The fifth manifestation is through disaster and catastrophe, as seen in El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and specifically Haiti. Natural disasters or violent conflict spurs humanitarian spirit with hopes of mitigating or solving the effects of these crises on the education sector. The final manifestation is through latent privatization of the education sector, characterized by historical political apathy to education development followed by increased discourse and practice of privatization, as seen in Uruguay.

### *The Role and Impact of Private Schools in Developing Countries*

Authors Ashley et al. interrogate 17 assumptions about the role and impact of private schools in developing countries. The authors used 59 previously conducted studies from 11 countries (India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Nigeria, Kenya, Tanzania, Ghana, South Africa, Malawi, and Jamaica) to test their hypotheses. The study found strong evidence that teaching is better in private schools than in public schools in 12 of the 14 schools studied. It also found moderate evidence of validity of 10 assumptions based around educational attainment outcomes, quality, and access<sup>47</sup>. The remaining hypotheses and assumptions about the private versus public school dichotomy are only supported by weak evidence not sufficient to support conclusions about private schools in general. The authors conclude that there is moderate evidence that private schooling leads to better educational attainment outcomes and that teaching is of higher quality at private schools<sup>48</sup>.

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<sup>47</sup> The 10 assumptions were as follows: private school students have higher educational attainment outcomes than public school students, lower cost of private schools are due to lower teacher salaries, perceived increased quality of private schooling is a factor in choice of school, parent's social connections play a role in the perception of increased quality of private school education, state intervention in private education sector is limited by ability to create policy, state intervention when possible is not always effective, and private schools are more expensive for both school fees and hidden fees

<sup>48</sup> Laura Day Ashley et al., "The Role and Impact of Private Schools in Developing Countries: A Rigorous Review of the Evidence," April 2014, 81.

## *Public Private Partnerships*

Haiti before the 2010 earthquake had existed in a state of high private primary school enrollment, but reform policies cemented even more the status quo by encouraging public private partnerships in which public subsidies were given to private providers<sup>49</sup>. PPPs are not unique to Haiti or even solely in Latin America. Barrera-Osorio, Guaqueta, and Patrinos examine PPPs in the context of nine studies of different styles of PPPs, subsidies, private management contracts, and private finance initiatives, in Chile, Colombia, Korea, Sweden, the Netherlands, the United States, Venezuela, and Pakistan<sup>50</sup>. The authors find that literary evidence of the effects of PPPs are in opposition with each other. Proponents of PPPs argue that they increase quality of education by creating competition in the market, they can offer more flexibility to schools in hiring teachers, that risk is shared between the public and private actors leading to increased efficiency, and that governments have choice of private contractors<sup>51</sup>. Those against PPPs argue that they lead to reduced government control of a public sector, increased socioeconomic segregation, and neglect of poorer students in the public schools<sup>52</sup>.

## **Conclusion**

A study of the literature on international aid, NGOs, and the Haitian state reveals that there exists a debate over whether NGOs should continue to operate in and dominate the humanitarian development in Haiti instead of the state. While plenty of literature exists explaining and understanding the relationship between NGOs and the Haitian state in the education sector as well as the impact of NGOs overall, no contemporary research has conducted

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<sup>49</sup> Verger, Moschetti, and Fontdevila, "The Expansion of Private Schooling in Latin America: Multiple Manifestations and Trajectories of a Global Education Reform Movement."

<sup>50</sup> Felipe Barrera-Osorio, Juliana Guaqueta, and Harry Anthony Patrinos, "The Role and Impact of Public-Private Partnerships in Education," in *Public Private Partnerships in Education: New Actors and Modes of Governance in a Globalizing World*, 2012, <https://elibrary.worldbank.org/doi/pdf/10.1596/978-0-8213-7866-3>.

<sup>51</sup> Barrera-Osorio, Guaqueta, and Patrinos.

<sup>52</sup> Barrera-Osorio, Guaqueta, and Patrinos.

an impact analysis of NGOs on primary education in Haiti. The arguments for and against NGO presence in the Haitian education sector depend heavily on historical analysis of Haitian politics as they were defined by international donors. Without understanding the relative impact of private NGO schools and government schools, it is difficult to accept the conclusions to either abandon or keep the status quo. With the staggering disparity in literacy rates and school enrollments and completion between different demographic groups and 90% of the primary schools in Haiti being privately run, the remainder of this thesis will fill a gap in the current literature – discovering the impact of NGO schools on the education markers in primary school education. Moreover, the methodology of this thesis is qualitative in nature providing a different approach than the more qualitative literature that is available.

## Chapter 3 – Methodology

### Research Questions

I will briefly re-introduce the different questions that my research will answer. The descriptive questions, such as “what does impact and effectiveness look like in this paper?” and “what are the differences between INGOs and LNGOs?”, are answered to an extent in the above section. The theoretical questions will be re-introduced along with my hypotheses.

*Do private schools exist in areas of higher socio-economic status of the community and its members?*

I hypothesize that private schools exist in areas where the socio-economic status is relatively higher as the households would be more likely to pay a higher tuition than families in neighborhoods of lower socio-economic standing.

*Are schools funded by the private sector more effective than public schools?*

I hypothesize that there are factors of public schools that are more beneficial, like adherence to quality measures set by government standards, but they likely receive less funding than private schools since they cannot charge equivalent tuition.

*Do private schools make a greater impact per dollar than public schools?*

I hypothesize that private schools could have a greater per dollar impact on primary education than public schools since public education has been so restricted by the long-term domination of the education sector by private schools. Private schools must also be able to make a greater positive impact per dollar or else the literature would recommend removing private actors from the Haitian education sector completely.

### Operational Definitions

In order to answer any questions relating to “impact” and “effectiveness” and the various actors in Haiti’s education sector, I must first define the key terms that construct my questions.

Before 1978, primary education in Haiti officially consisted of six grades with two years of preparatory, elementary, and intermediate levels and unofficially two years of kindergarten preceding the first two years of preparatory <sup>53</sup>. In 1978 the government reformed the structure of primary school so that the structure was ten years of primary education, separated into an initial four-year cycle – 1<sup>st</sup> through 4<sup>th</sup> grade – and then a three-year cycle – 5<sup>th</sup> through 7<sup>th</sup> grade <sup>54</sup>.

Currently primary school in Haiti consists of pre-school coupled with three three-year cycles with the last cycle being offered at either elementary or secondary schools <sup>55</sup>. With a basic understanding of what primary school looks like to the Haitian government I can move forward with defining the different types of schools. A public school is one that is not owned or financed by any organization other than the government. In the U.S., it is common to see the difference between public and private schools as schools that do not charge tuition and those that do.

That is how the education sector in Haiti is supposed to function as well, but some public schools require families to contribute to the school in quasi tuition fees to cover educational supplies <sup>56</sup>. Private schools in Haiti consist of Catholic, Protestant, and Non-denominational schools as well as schools not affiliated to FONHEP, Fondation Haïtienne de l’Enseignement Privé (Haitian Foundation for Private Education), which is a nonprofit tasked with restructuring the private education sector. Catholic schools are cited as 15% of schools nationally <sup>57</sup>. “Mission schools”, the non-Catholic but still religious, receive foreign aid. Non-denominational schools

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<sup>53</sup> Haggerty, *Haiti - Primary Schools*.

<sup>54</sup> Haggerty.

<sup>55</sup> Suzuta, “Education in Haiti An Overview of Trends, Issues and Plans.”

<sup>56</sup> Salmi, “Equity and Quality in Private Education.”

<sup>57</sup> “National Survey of Catholic Schools in Haiti.”

include community schools that have direct ties to NGOs. I plan to focus most, if possible all, data collection on community schools rather than religious schools as they have the strongest ties to NGOs. NGOs often are formed to promote religious schools and education in Haiti, and the line between religious schools and religiously motivated international actors is blurred.

NGOs in Haiti are broken down into LNGOs, local NGOs, and INGOs, international NGOs. LNGOs are those that are established in Haiti with their main operating location in Haiti. LNGOs typically don't have the same strong ties to international donors that INGOs have. LNGOs, however, are built within their community and typically have a greater understanding of the needs of the community. INGOs, like Haiti Education Foundation or Happy Haitian Education, are based in the U.S. and typically have more superficial ties to the communities they serve.

In choosing a metric by which to compare the education levels of different schools and their students, I have narrowed down to three potential metrics. Completion rates were my most preferred metric. This set of data accounts not only for those who enrolled in schools that year but also who dropped out before the completion of the school year or could not pass exit exams after the 6<sup>th</sup> or the 9<sup>th</sup> year of primary school. This provides a new lens that isn't used in previous literature. Using completion rates allows me to see how many students are lost between the start of the school year and the end. Completion rates haven't appeared in previous literature which concerns me. It is entirely possible that completion rates were not collected either to the extent that enrollment rates are collected or they simply are not collected at all at the dates of publishing of past literature. Enrollment rates only show how many students enrolled each year and cannot guarantee that those students all completed their studies that year. Enrollment rates are seen in other studies and in other literature which means that they are available to scholars to analyze.

However, the discrepancy between enrollment rates and completion rates points to an issue in the education system of Haiti that this paper seeks to analyze. Literacy rates or testing data were my least preferred and were not chosen. High standardized testing scores are highly debated in the study of education as inaccurate measures of education. Specifically, in Haiti, Haitian Creole is the first language of 95% of Haitians and is one of two official languages along with French, but in school French is the language of education and is used most often in the classroom<sup>58</sup>. Testing students in a secondary language poses challenges to students that could manifest in their testing results.

Impact and effectiveness are two different concepts in this analysis. I define impact to mean the positive or negative direct consequences of the work of NGOs. I define effectiveness as the consequences of the work relative to the money that they spent on making the consequences happen.

In the early 2000s 45% of non-state schools were run by religious organizations – either religious NGOs or churches. Secular schools, run by either non-profit or for-profit organizations, accounted for 40% of non-state schools, and community schools, started and run by community leaders, account for 15% of non-state schools. Appropriately named, for-profit schools saw the market share of private schools and found profitable models to reap benefits from communities with high demand for education. Non-profit schools are often founded through altruistic motivations to “serve the less fortunate”. Community schools are motivated primarily through community leaders and parents who want to provide increased access to education for their children. This thesis removes the religiously run schools out of observation, and focuses on nonprofit, for-profit, and community schools.

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<sup>58</sup> Caldera and Morton, “Reading the Word and World in Haiti.”

## Data and Methodologies

As previously mentioned in the operational definitions section, I preferred to analyze the completion rates in Haiti over the course of 20 years. Plan A entailed collecting microdata on literacy, enrollment, and/or completion rates for individual schools compiled into a data set that I could have analyzed to see directly the impact of INGOs, LNGOs, and public schools. Plan A also consisted of scouring Guidestar and IRS forms for donations collected annually for correlating NGO schools. Guidestar is an information collection nonprofit that reports on U.S. nonprofits. It compiles a database of millions of nonprofits and their relevant data – populations served, gross receipts, and US Tax Form 990 which reports all revenue and costs, assets, and expenses I would have needed to find the tuition rates for each of these individual schools as well as how much money each public school received either from the Haitian government or through illegal tuition charges. With these metrics, I would have used a regression analysis to see the relationship between NGOs and completion rates as well as analyzing their impact per dollar through a cost-effectiveness analysis.

Plan B was less specific to a school level. In plan B, I would have found census data or other data collected by the Haitian, or U.S., government in regard to enrollment, completion, or literacy rates (whichever is most widely and thoroughly collected). In both plan A and plan B I had to control for confounding variables that jointly determine private school location and student academic performance. Controlling for urban versus rural populations, wealthy versus impoverished, and baseline education is crucial to a less biased conclusion on the role of NGO private schools. Urban populations have 63% primary school completion rates in comparison to the 31% of rural population<sup>59</sup>. The wealthiest population has a completion rate of 75% to the

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<sup>59</sup> UNESCO, “World Inequality Database on Education - Primary Completion Rate - Haiti,” 2012.

completion rate of the most impoverished at 15% <sup>60</sup>. Baseline education of the community would also impact the education of new generations, as parental education levels impact their children’s education levels <sup>61</sup>.

I found through the Haitian Ministry of Education and Vocational Training completion rates, dropout rates, grade repetition rates and percent of religious, private, and public schools for 46 communes in Haiti from the year 2017. I supplemented this data with national census information for control variables including but not limited to: rural versus urban location, employment status, presence of mother and or father, household level of education, etc. Using the regression equation developed with the relevant control variables, I am able to analyze the data sets.

$$Y_1 = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + \beta_4 X_4 + \beta_5 X_5 + \beta_6 X_6 + \beta_7 X_7 + \beta_8 X_8 + \beta_9 X_9 + \beta_{10} X_{10} + \beta_{11} X_{11}$$

$$Y_2 = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + \beta_4 X_4 + \beta_5 X_5 + \beta_6 X_6 + \beta_7 X_7 + \beta_8 X_8 + \beta_9 X_9 + \beta_{10} X_{10} + \beta_{11} X_{11}$$

$$Y_3 = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + \beta_4 X_4 + \beta_5 X_5 + \beta_6 X_6 + \beta_7 X_7 + \beta_8 X_8 + \beta_9 X_9 + \beta_{10} X_{10} + \beta_{11} X_{11}$$

These three regression equations,  $Y_1$  for completion rates  $Y_2$  for repetition rates and  $Y_3$  for dropout rates, each have the following variables for  $X_1$  through  $X_{11}$  respectively: percent private school, percent public school, household educational attainment, presence of father, access to electricity, household employment status, household literacy status, presence of mother, presence of household computer, ownership of property, and urban versus rural location.

The final method for this data was a regression model factoring in the control variables. The third data set that I found, attendance rates of students ages 6-17, lent itself to policy analysis of a tuition waver program implemented by the Haitian government.

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<sup>60</sup> UNESCO.

<sup>61</sup> Gooding, “The Relationship between Parental Educational Level and Academic Success of College Freshmen.”

## **Conclusion**

In this chapter, I outlined the operational definitions that are necessary for me to begin data collection. I also outlined each question I answer and my hypothesis. My methodologies for the data I collected are a regression analysis and a cost-effectiveness analysis of private and public schools; however, the method I collected depended heavily on the availability of data, and I ultimately had to pursue my Plan B and collect available government data.

## Chapter 4 – Data Analysis

### About the Data

The data was collected from the MENFP website under the “Banque de Documents” tab. The “cartes scolaires” are PDF documents of commune level education data completed in December of 2017. The PDFs are divided by communes in departments of Haiti. The 10 communes included in the Centre data set are Belladere, Boucan Carre, Cerca la Source, Hinche, Lascahobas, Mirebalais, Saut d’eau, Savanette, Thomassique, Thomonde. The 17 communes included in the Nord data set are Acul du Nord, Bahon, Bas Limbe, Borgone, Cap Haitien, Dondon, Grand Riviere, La Victoire, Limbe, Milot, Pignon, Pilate, Plain du Nord, Plaisance, Port Margot, Ranquitte, Saint Raphael. The 9 communes included in the Nord-Est data set are Capotille, Caracol, Carice, Mombin Crochu, Ouanaminthe, Sainte Suzanne, Terrier Rouge, Trou du Nord, Vallières. The 10 communes included in the Nord-Ouest data set are Anse à Foleur, Baie de Henne, Bassin Bleu, Bombardopolis, Chansolme, Jean Rabel, La Tortue, Môle Saint-Nicolas, Port de Paix, Saint Louis du Nord.

**Table 4: Economic Background of Four Departments in Haiti**

Department	No. of Communes	IWI 2012	IWI ranking 2012	IWI 2017	IWI ranking 2017
Centre	10	20.4	10	27.7	8
Nord	17	34.9	2	39.3	2
Nord-Est	9	26.0	7	35.9	3
Nord-Ouest	10	26.5	6	30.4	7

Global Data Lab, “Mean International Wealth Index (IWI) Score of Region”<sup>62</sup>

The IWI indicates the wealth, inequality, and poverty households face, with a IWI of 0 as the lowest quality household conditions with no assets like “consumer durables” (refrigerator,

<sup>62</sup> “Mean International Wealth Index (IWI) Score of Region - Area Database - Global Data Lab.”

cars, bikes, etc.) or services (electricity, water, etc.) and a IWI of 100 as the highest quality household conditions and all “consumer durables”<sup>63</sup>. The IWI scores relative to the other 10 departments increase for Centre, going from the lowest IWI score of all 10 departments to eighth, and Nord-Est, going from seventh to third, while Nord stays at the second highest IWI score and Nord-Ouest decreasing from sixth to seventh. However, none of the departments pass an IWI score of 40. This information gives a good foundational understanding of the access to wealth and living conditions of the households in this data set.

The “cartes scolaires” contain data on: the demographic of schools (private, religious, public, or other); the average cost of public and non-public schools; and the completion, repetition, and dropout rates for each grade level. For my analysis, this was the most relevant data in the pdfs. To make the grade level specific data usable, I averaged the average costs and the completion, repetition, and dropout rates to the overall for primary schools in the commune. Table 4 and Table 5 provide an answer to whether private schools can be found primarily in neighborhoods with higher socio-economic status for its community members. Centre, the department with the highest percentage of private schools, was the department with the lowest IWI score and ranking, and Nord, the department with the lowest percentage of private schools, was the department with the highest IWI score and ranking. These results are associated with a greater likelihood that private schools exist in higher percentage in areas of higher socio-economic status. Data from the MENFP also show that the average annual cost of private schools across grade levels was higher on average than the average annual cost of public schools.

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<sup>63</sup> “Computing IWI - Global Data Lab.”

**Table 5: Commune level education system data**

	Percent public	Percent religious	Percent private	Percent other	Private average annual cost (HTG)	Public average annual cost (HTG)	Completion rate	Repetition rate	Dropout rate
Centre Average	18.60%	25.44%	49.72%	6.25%	10,727.80	13,072.68	80.81%	17.53%	1.49%
Nord Average	27.72%	42.10%	25.07%	4.67%	16,041.23	18,804.49	77.06%	22.31%	0.68%
Nord-Est Average	30.18%	34.54%	31.72%	3.56%	8,798.50	7,545.77	79.15%	20.54%	0.31%
Nord-Ouest Average	23.53%	47.36%	27.82%	1.28%	12,204.81	14,708.57	79.87%	19.31%	0.81%
Total Average	25.31%	38.14%	31.83%	4.06%	12,635.08	10,724.86	78.90%	20.27%	0.81%

MENFP, complied “cartes scolaires”<sup>64</sup>

In order to control for potential variables that would impact the data found from the MENFP, I utilized the 2003 national census data. The data selected as control variables were: household educational attainment, access to electricity, household employment status, household literacy, presence of household computers, ownership of property, urban versus rural location, and presence of a mother and or father.

According to Feinstein, Duckworth, and Sabates, household income is a factor in determining the probability of educational attainment<sup>65</sup>. Variables like access to electricity, household employment status, presence of household computers, ownership of property, and urban versus rural location are all indicators of household income. Presence of mother and or father indicate the number of incomes in the household. Variables like household educational attainment and household literacy may impact the educational attainment outcomes of their children<sup>66</sup>.

## Analysis

<sup>64</sup> “MENFP.”

<sup>65</sup> Feinstein et al., *A Model of the Inter-Generational Transmission of Educational Success*.

<sup>66</sup> Feinstein et al.

**Table 6.1: Multivariate Regression Summary.**  
With No Control Variables

Variable	Completion Rate		Repetition Rate		Drop-out Rate	
	Coeff.	p-value	Coeff.	p-value	Coeff.	p-value
Percent Private Schools	0.0747908	0.146	-0.0981501	0.045**	0.0153714	0.176
Percent Public Schools	-0.1373224	0.040**	0.1469103	0.020**	-0.009919	0.491
Coefficient test (public = private)		0.0007**		0.0001**		0.0546*
*: .05 < p ≤ .1						
**: p ≤ .05						

**Table 6.2: Multivariate Regression Summary**  
With Control Variables

Variable	Completion Rate		Repetition Rate		Drop-out Rate	
	Coeff.	p-value	Coeff.	p-value	Coeff.	p-value
Percent Private Schools	0.4899577	0.069*	-0.4742136	0.053*	-0.0289153	0.191
Percent Public Schools	0.0378206	0.794	0.0181207	0.888	-0.0680563	0.054*
Presence of father	-0.2564757	0.714	0.3498713	0.577	-0.0098732	0.880
Access to electricity	-0.4808677	0.220	0.4527444	0.198	0.042302	0.316
Employment status	-0.949236	0.028**	0.8487901	0.028**	0.0733939	0.123
Household literacy	0.2229184	0.452	-0.1704137	0.516	0.2274726	0.331
Presence of mother	-0.3596062	0.693	0.3974244	0.626	-0.2435607	0.657
Ownership of property	0.9662744	0.295	-0.8866215	0.282	0.0138711	0.291
Urban location	0.2244162	0.295	-0.1381322	0.458	-0.0508284	0.066*
F test (public = private)		0.0166**		0.0069**		0.9801
*: .05 < p ≤ .1						
**: p ≤ .05						

The sample size for the “cartes scolaires” was 46 communes while the sample size for the 2003 census was 838,045 individuals over 42 communes. Percent private school is associated with a positive change to completion and repetition rates, as a 1% increase in percent of private

school is correlated with a 0.49% increase in the graduation rate and a 0.47% decrease in the repetition rate. From the data, we can see a correlation between a 1% increase in public schools and about a 0.07% decrease in the dropout rate. When looking at the results of the F test, the p-value is significant, meaning that we reject equality of the coefficients for public school density and private school density. This suggests that private school density has a stronger correlation with graduation and repetition rates, as compared to public school density. Looking back, table 5 suggests that private schools in these communes are on average more expensive per year per student than public schools, 12,635.08 HTG compared to 10,724.86 HTG. However, this difference in costs, 1910.22 HTG, does not favor public schools in a cost-effective analysis as the statistical relationship between public schools and graduation rates and repetition rates are insignificant, meanwhile it does correlate to a positive relationship with decreasing dropout rates. A \$29.79, in 1910.22 HTG, difference between the average per year cost per student between private and public schools is 3.4% of the average per-capita income in Haiti, \$760 in 2017 or 48,734.85 HTG at the exchange rate on December 29, 2017.

### **Limitations**

The results of the data are limited as they are only focused on the analysis of data from one year. Education data from the MENFP was only accessible for the year 2017. After attempting to find data from both years prior to and after 2017 from both contacts in private schools as well as Haitian government officials, the search turned up empty-handed. Only 2017 data was available for this analysis. I also encountered an absence of census data after 2003. 2003 was the last time that Haiti carried out and published a national census. The years between 2003 and 2017 could have created a difference in the control data chosen for this analysis and could have potentially resulted in different significance of the results.

Another option that could reduce the background noise of this data could be a Haitian iteration of the Romero et al. study conducted on outsourcing education in Liberia. The differences between the government funded outsourcing program in Liberia that reached 3.4% of public schools and the state of the education system in Haiti, with a majority of private schools, could be resolved by studying schools with the same level of attention devoted to data collection. As public schools in the four communes are less costly per student per year, an experiment could be conducted to see the effects of a private actor managing and maintaining a public school in Haiti.

The best conclusion for the results of this data is the recommendation for further and consistent data collection. If more education and control data becomes available from the coming years, it would be possible to see a trend in the data for more than just one year.

## **Chapter 5 – Policy Analysis of Education Reforms 1970-2015**

During the later years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Haiti began to adopt education reform policies to push Haiti's education system towards the future. The Bernard Reform of 1978 and the National Plan on Education and Training of 1997 (PNEF) directly addressed necessary changes to Haiti's education structure. During the 21<sup>st</sup> century Haiti adopted policies to specifically address the issue of education inequality. The Presidential Commission for Education in Haiti of 2008 and the Operational Plan of 2010 aimed to increase enrollment of school-aged children.

### **20<sup>th</sup> Century Reform under Duvalier**

The then president and son of former president/dictator François Duvalier, Jean-Claude Duvalier, sought to enact economic reform for Haiti through modernization, and while this was reflected in increased international and private investment into sectors of Haiti's economy, this process of modernization was not limited to just industry <sup>67</sup>. Duvalier enacted The Barnard Reform 7 years into his presidency to modernize the education system. The Bernard Reform changed the education structure in Haiti with the goal of producing graduates ready to join the labor market; specifically, primary schools began the first four years teaching in the widely spoken Haitian Creole and secondary schools began offering two different fields of schooling, academic and vocational <sup>68</sup>.

The Bernard Reform did not make a major impact on the Haitian education system. Decades after the reform, the school system still prioritizes French as the language of instruction even though 95% of the population speaks solely Creole and about 80% of teachers cannot teach

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<sup>67</sup> Nicholls, "Haiti."

<sup>68</sup> Luzincourt and Gulbrandson, "Education and Conflict in Haiti."

French adequately <sup>69</sup>. Lack of support for the new curriculum also contributed to the failure of the reform <sup>70</sup>.

## 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> Century Reform under Préval

The National Plan of Education and Training planned to change Haiti's use of the French education model to a more participation focused education model that prioritized students' learning <sup>71</sup>. With four major interventions and 10 specific objectives, the PNEF attempted to address the failures of the Haitian education system <sup>72</sup>.

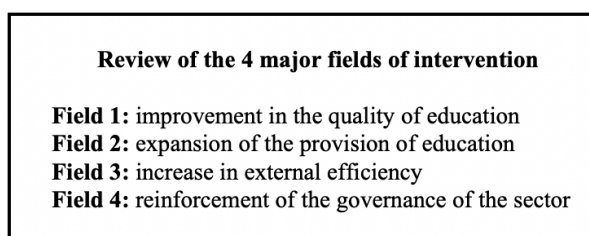


Figure 2: "Review of the 4 major fields of intervention".  
Hadjadj, Education for all in Haiti over the Last 20 Years: Assessment and Perspectives.

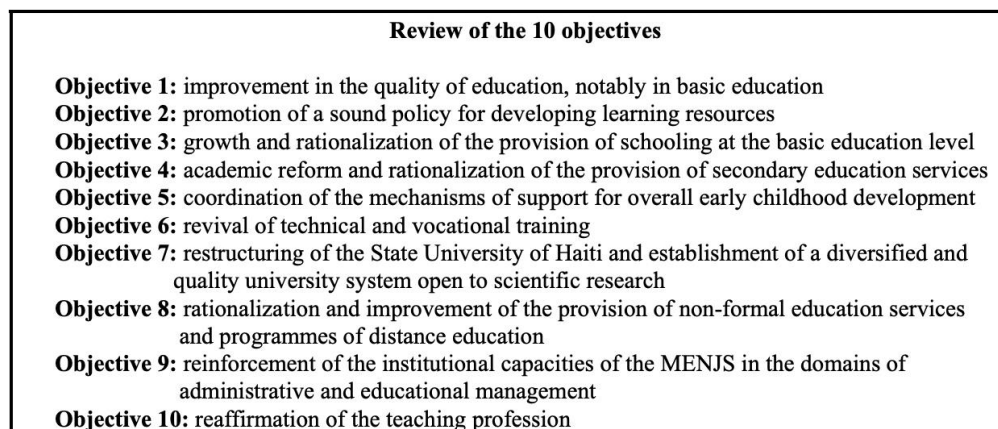


Figure 3: "Review of the 10 Objectives".  
Hadjadj, Education for all in Haiti over the Last 20 Years: Assessment and Perspectives.

<sup>69</sup> Hebblethwaite, "French and Underdevelopment, Haitian Creole and Development."

<sup>70</sup> Luzincourt and Gulbrandson, "Education and Conflict in Haiti."

<sup>71</sup> Luzincourt and Gulbrandson.

<sup>72</sup> Hadjadj, *Education for All in Haiti over the Last 20 Years: Assessment and Perspectives* - UNESCO Digital Library.

The PNEF forged a goal to make primary education mandatory and free to all students; however, that goal was never reached <sup>73</sup>. At the end of the proposed 10-15-year period of the plan, still 35% of school-aged youth in Haiti were illiterate and the average Haitian child spends less than four years in school <sup>74</sup>. The low level of adult literacy 10-15 years after the implementation of the PNEF, 61.7% in 2016, shows the ineffective results of this national policy <sup>75</sup>.

Over a decade after the PNEF, the Haitian government created the Presidential Commission on Education and Training (GTEF), a group whose focus was to increase school enrollment to 100% and provide free education and school resources for every child <sup>76</sup>. One program initiated during the same time to realize these goals was the “Programme de Subvention”, in English a tuition waiver program, TWP. For the 2008-2009 school year, 547 out of 1,034 schools were chosen from five departments: Centre, Grand-Anse, Nord-Est, Nord-Ouest, and Nord <sup>77</sup>. These chosen schools in the ideal outcome of the program would have seen increased access to schooling caused by reduced financial barriers and increased quality of education.

Education data is justifiably difficult to attain, as very little exists. Adelman, Holland, and Heidelk employed a regression analysis with data from the national school census in 2002-3 and the national school census in 2011-12. The most significant results from their analysis was the increase in student population for schools with the TWP versus control schools, but could not directly link the program to a definite effect on overall enrollment of the schools <sup>78</sup>. Data

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<sup>73</sup> Carlson et al., “The Haitian Diaspora & Education Reform in Haiti: Challenges & Recommendations.”

<sup>74</sup> Rea, “The Historic Inability of the Haitian Education System to Create Human Development and Its Consequences.”

<sup>75</sup> CIA, “Central America :: Haiti — The World Factbook - Central Intelligence Agency,” 2016.

<sup>76</sup> Carlson et al., “The Haitian Diaspora & Education Reform in Haiti: Challenges & Recommendations.”

<sup>77</sup> Adelman, Holland, and Heidelk, “Increasing Access by Waiving Tuition.”

<sup>78</sup> Adelman, Holland, and Heidelk.

collected on attendance rate from 1994-2017 corroborates the effect of the program on the treated schools. Figures 4 through 7 in the appendix indicate that increases in attendance rate is not necessarily dependent on reduced financial barriers to educational attainment from student groups of 6-8, 9-11, 12-14, and 15-17 years of age. For the age group 6-8 attendance rates for all departments increased without a significant difference between the increases of departments with treated schools and departments not chosen to participate in the program. The same results can be seen for the age group 9-11, but more interestingly, attendance decreases for 60% of the treated departments and 60% of the departments not chosen for the program. The same trend is seen for the age groups of 12-14, and the age group of 15-17 saw slow change between the start of the program and the year 2017.

In 2010 representatives from the MENFP, GTEF and the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) served as taskforce on an Operational Plan that was scheduled to last for five years. The plan's goals were affordable quality education for all Haitians without gender, location, or wealth biases, competent teachers in good learning environments, and a structured and regulated system with municipalities having more control in the education process than they have had historically. The plan began with the prioritization of primary school students and aimed for tuition free primary education, this included the participation of private schools. This plan would allow for increased acceptance of children into public primary schools as well as subsidies for private tuition, \$100 per child per year. With the average price of private school in Centre, Nord, Nord-Est, and Nord-Ouest being 158.42, this was a start to reducing primary tuition fees. Data and literature directly analyzing the effects of this reform have not been published or were not available at the time of writing this policy analysis. Using Figures 4-7 we can see if there is presence of change in attendance rates between 2012 and 2017. The 6-8 age group saw a 1.34

decrease in attendance. The 9-11 age group saw a 2.07 decrease in attendance. The 12-14 age group saw a 1.17 decrease in attendance. The 15-17 age group was the only one to see a positive increase in attendance, that of 1.44%. High economic barriers challenge constant attendance rate as sometimes students cannot afford to pay school fees throughout the year, lowered attendance can be affected by these barriers and can even lead to high dropout rates <sup>79</sup>.

## **Conclusion**

The 20<sup>th</sup> century reform under Duvalier emphasized a change in the administrative level of education, changing structures and curriculum as attempts to increase access to education; however, the Bernard Reform was never as successful as planned. Education reform under Préval emphasized plans for removing economic barriers to education in Haiti through tuition waver programs and even attempting completely free primary education. The effects of these programs were minimal and in the case of the Operational Plan of 2010 are associated with negative results in attendance.

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<sup>79</sup> Luzincourt and Gulbrandson, "Education and Conflict in Haiti."

## Chapter 6 – Conclusion

### Review of Research Questions and Hypotheses

I set out to answer three major questions. However, due to the nature of the data set I was only able to answer one.

1. Do private schools exist in areas where primary completion rates would already be high based on the geographical region and socio-economic status of the community and its members?
2. Are schools funded by the private sector more effective than public schools?
3. Do private schools make a greater impact per dollar than public schools?

I hypothesized that private schools would most likely be found in neighborhoods with higher relative socio-economic standing. The data of the IWI scores and relative rankings confirms this hypothesis.

I hypothesized that public schools had characteristics that made them more likely to be more effective than private schools, the main one being their mandatory adherence to government quality standards, but that their lower tuition rates could hinder their effect. I also hypothesized that private schools made a greater impact per dollar because of their historic advantage over public schools due to imperialism and influence from the Global North. I was unable to confirm nor deny these hypotheses due to the limitations in the data set.

### Review of Methodology and Results

Using completion rates, repetition rates, and dropout rates as well as control data from the national census in 2003 and IWI scores and rankings, I was able to conduct a multivariate regression analysis. The regression along with an F-test showed some statistical correlation favoring increased private-school density in increasing graduation rates and decreasing repetition rates and favoring increased public-school density in decreasing dropout rates. I also conducted a

literature review focusing on the education reform passed in Haiti during the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century and assessed the results of the TWP by reviewing attendance rates of children ages 6-8, 9-11, 12-14, and 15-17 over a period of 23 years that included the year of and the years after the TWP. I was able to find a correlation between the TWP and decreasing attendance rates for the ages of 6-14 and a correlation between the TWP and an increasing attendance rate for the ages of 15-17. This can be associated with a continued tradition of relatively unsuccessful education reform in Haiti.

### **Limitations and Conclusion**

The limited data available, for whatever bureaucratic and institutional reason, meant a small sample size of one year of data points. The MENFP website published only four departments' education data from the year 2017, and even after establishing contact with the MENFP office in Haiti, the documents and data are simply unavailable or do not exist. Future research would require the MENFP to consistently conduct the same data collection from 2017 in the future for all 10 departments. Future research would also require a more up to date national census with more recent control data points in order to run the same regression with less temporal bias.

I would like to conclude by emphasizing the arguments within the literature over whether private actors are a helping hand or a burden for Haitian communities, especially in the education sector. It is relevant for NGO and other private actors to research potential consequences and impacts before entering into the Haitian education sector. While quantitative data collected in 2021 could not provide a strong conclusion to the impact and effectiveness of private versus public schools, it is my conclusion and hope that more data collection is needed and is collected.

Appendix

Figures

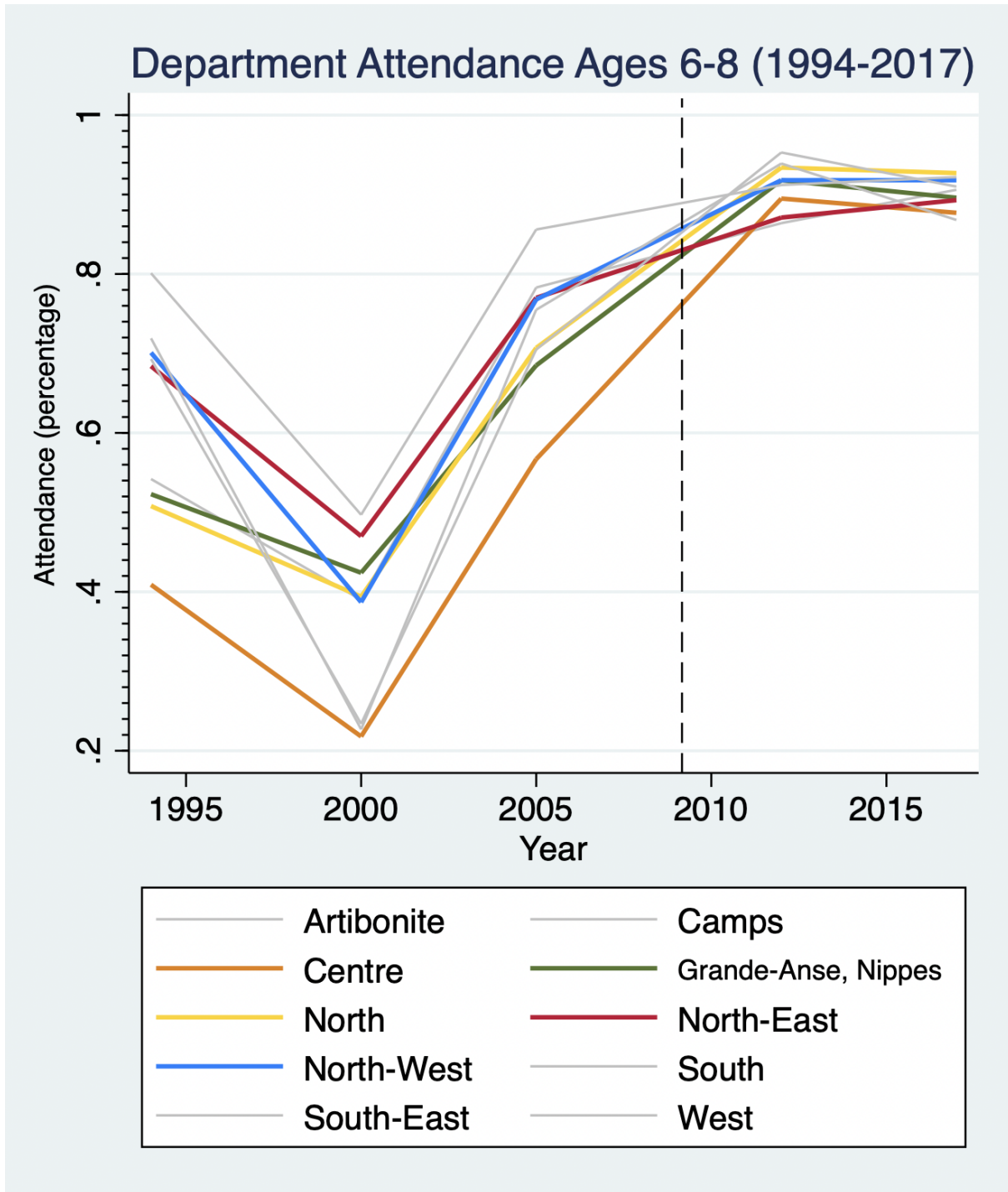


Figure 4: “Department Attendance Ages 6-8 (1994-2017)”  
Global Data Lab, “Educational attendance children 6-8”<sup>80</sup>

<sup>80</sup> “Educational Attendance Children 6-8 - Area Database - Global Data Lab.”

## Department Attendance Ages 9-11 (1994-2017)

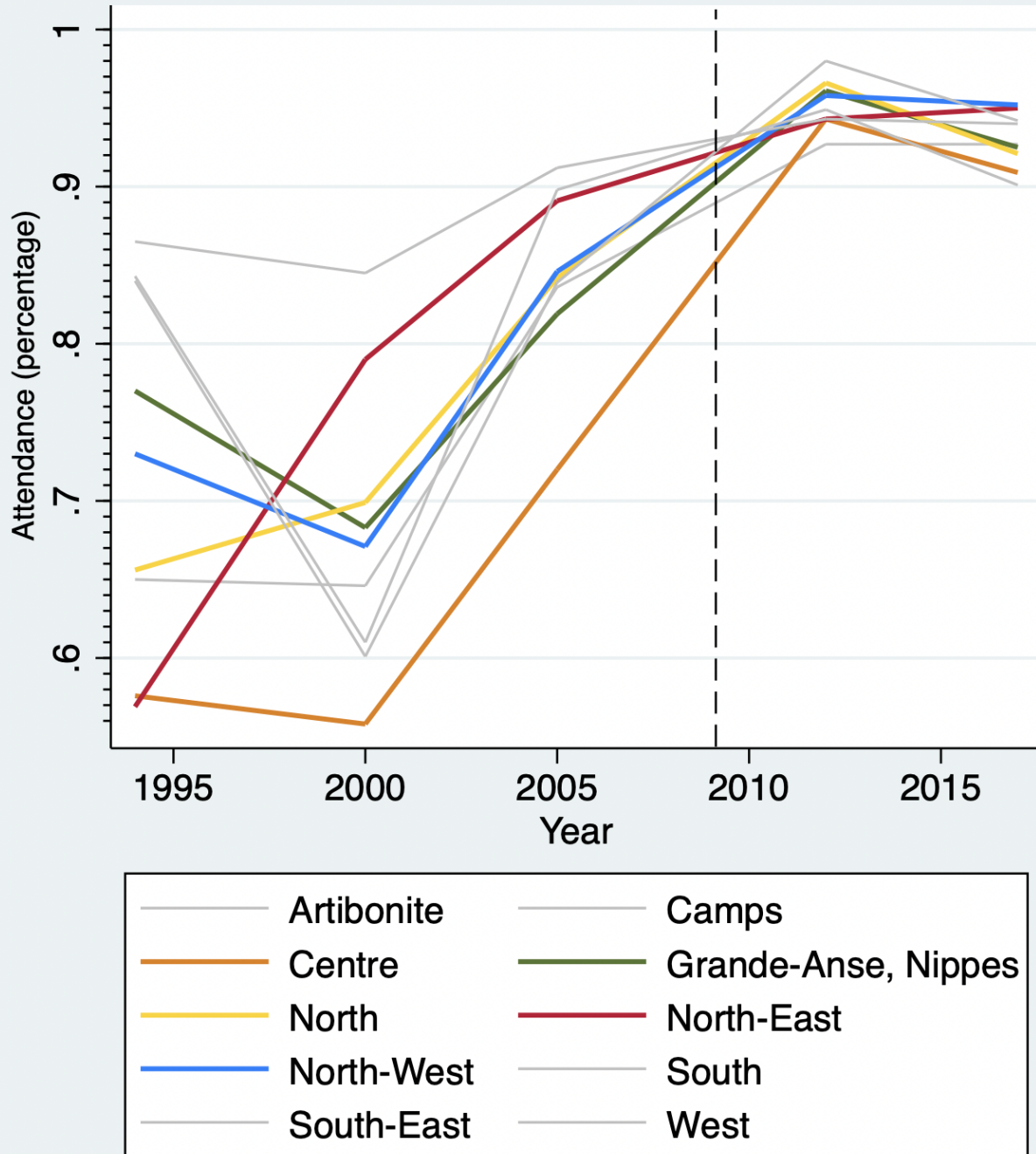


Figure 5: “Department Attendance Ages 9-11 (1994-2017)”  
Global Data Lab, “Educational attendance children 9-11”<sup>81</sup>

<sup>81</sup> “Educational Attendance Children 9-11 - Area Database - Global Data Lab.”

## Department Attendance Ages 12-14 (1994-2017)

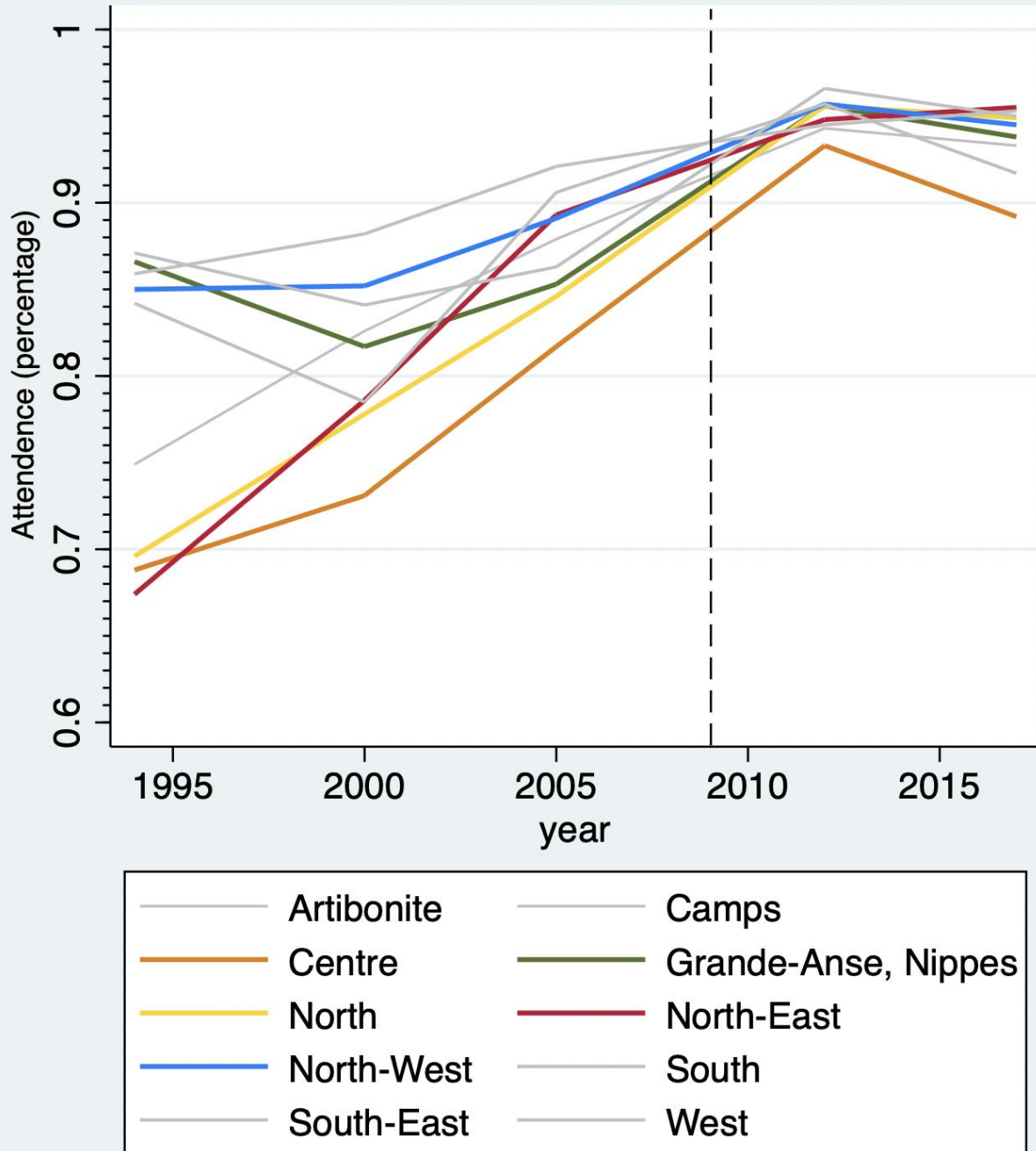


Figure 6: “Department Attendance Ages 12-14 (1994-2017)”  
Global Data Lab, “Educational attendance children 12-14”<sup>82</sup>

<sup>82</sup> “Educational Attendance Children 12-14 - Area Database - Global Data Lab.”

## Department Attendance Ages 15-17 (1994-2017)

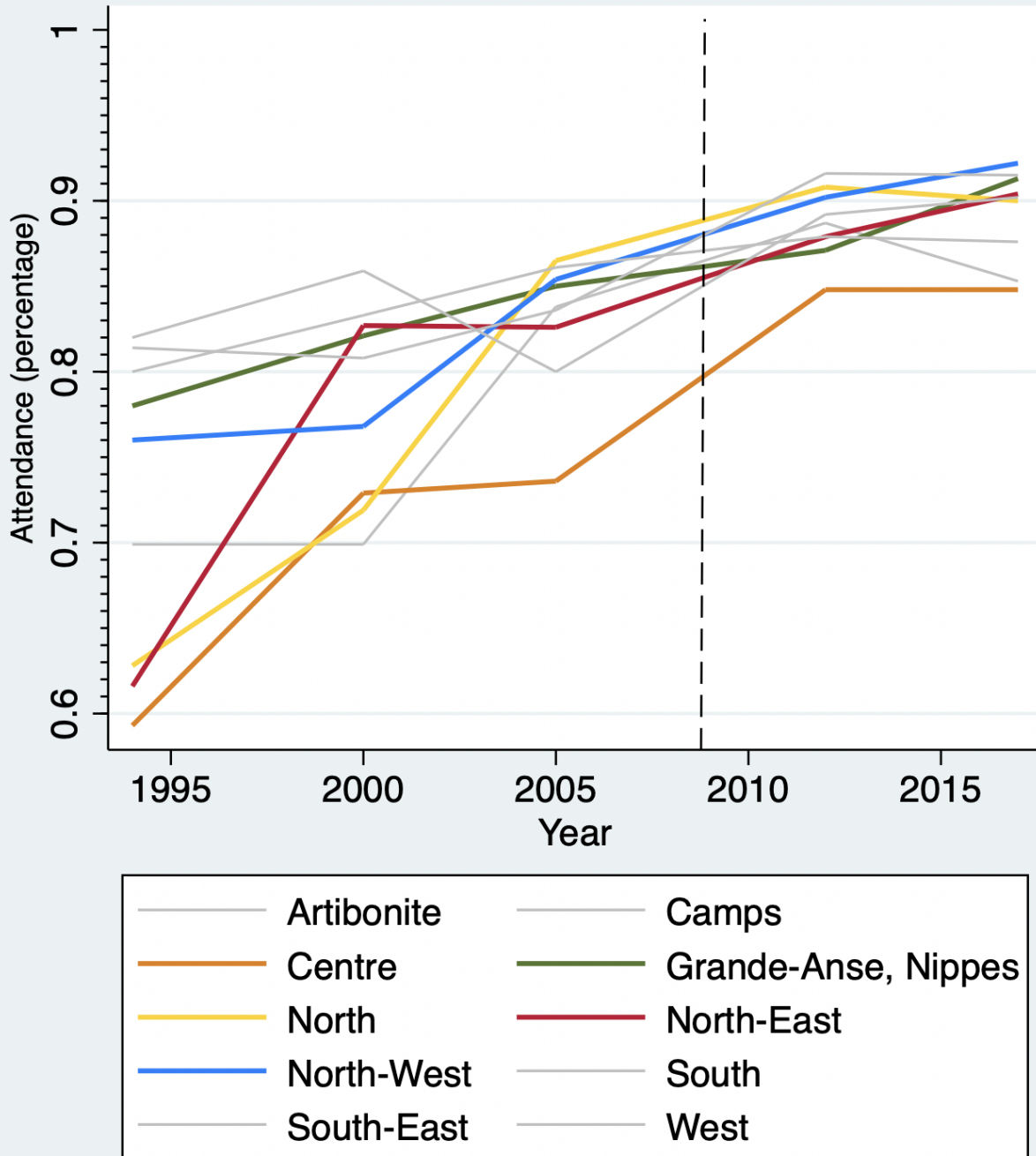


Figure 7: “Department Attendance Ages 15-17 (1994-2017)”  
Global Data Lab, “Educational attendance children 15-17”<sup>83</sup>

<sup>83</sup> “Educational Attendance Children 15-17 - Area Database - Global Data Lab.”

Tables

**Table 7.1: Department Attendance Rates, children ages 6-8**

Year	Artibonite	Camps	Centre	Grande-Anse	Nord	Nord-Est	Nord-Ouest	Sud	Sud-Est	Ouest
1994	54.20%		40.90%	52.30%	50.80%	68.40%	70.10%	71.90%	69.30%	80.10%
2000	39.00%		21.80%	42.40%	39.40%	47.00%	38.70%	22.70%	23.40%	49.70%
2005	78.30%		56.70%	68.50%	70.70%	77.00%	76.80%	75.50%	70.50%	85.60%
2012	86.40%	94.10%	89.50%	91.80%	93.40%	87.10%	91.80%	93.90%	95.30%	91.20%
2017	90.60%		87.70%	89.60%	92.70%	89.30%	91.10%	86.80%	91.00%	91.20%

Global Data Lab, “Educational attendance children 6-8”

**Table 7.2: Department Attendance Rates, children ages 9-11**

Year	Artibonite	Camps	Centre	Grande-Anse	Nord	Nord-Est	Nord-Ouest	Sud	Sud-Est	Ouest
1994	65.00%		57.60%	77.00%	65.60%	56.90%	73.00%	84.30%	84.0%	86.50%
2000	64.60%		55.80%	68.30%	69.90%	79.00%	67.10%	61.00%	60.10%	84.50%
2005	83.60%		72.00%	81.90%	84.20%	89.10%	84.60%	89.80%	83.90%	91.20%
2012	92.70%	93.40%	94.30%	96.10%	96.60%	94.30%	95.80%	94.90%	98.00%	94.30%
2017	92.70%		90.90%	92.50%	92.10%	95.00%	95.20%	90.10%	94.20%	94.00%

Global Data Lab, “Educational attendance children 9-11”

**Table 7.3: Department Attendance Rates, children ages 12-14**

Year	Artibonite	Camps	Centre	Grande-Anse	Nord	Nord-Est	Nord-Ouest	Sud	Sud-Est	Ouest
1994	74.90%		68.80%	86.60%	69.60%	67.40%	85.00%	84.20%	87.10%	85.90%
2000	82.60%		73.10%	81.70%	77.80%	78.60%	85.20%	78.50%	84.10%	88.20%
2005	87.90%		81.70%	85.30%	84.60%	89.30%	89.10%	90.60%	86.30%	92.10%
2012	94.30%	92.50%	93.30%	95.60%	95.60%	94.80%	95.70%	95.70%	96.60%	94.50%
2017	93.30%		89.20%	93.80%	94.90%	95.50%	94.50%	91.70%	95.00%	95.30%

Global Data Lab, “Educational attendance children 12-14”

**Table 7.4: Department Attendance Rates, children ages 15-17**

Year	Artibonite	Camps	Centre	Grande-Anse	Nord	Nord-Est	Nord-Ouest	Sud	Sud-Est	Ouest
1994	69.90%		59.30%	78.00%	62.80%	61.60%	76.00%	81.40%	82.00%	80.00%
2000	69.90%		72.90%	82.10%	71.90%	82.70%	76.80%	80.80%	85.90%	83.30%
2005	83.80%		73.60%	85.00%	86.50%	82.60%	85.40%	83.60%	80.00%	86.10%
2012	88.70%	80.00%	84.80%	87.10%	90.80%	87.90%	90.20%	91.60%	89.20%	87.90%
2017	85.30%		84.80%	91.30%	90.00%	90.40%	92.20%	91.50%	90.20%	87.60%

Global Data Lab, “Educational attendance children 15-17”

### **Disclosure of Potential Conflicts of Interests**

King was acting as Director of Development at Project Global Story, a 501(c)(3) non-profit at the time of conducting this thesis.

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