Grassroots Women’s Collectives – Roles in post – disaster effort: potential for sustainable partnership and good governance
(Lessons learned from the Marmara Earthquake in Turkey)

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FOUNDATION FOR THE SUPPORT OF WOMEN'S WORK

The Foundation for the Support of Women's Work (FSWW), established in 1986 by a group of women from different backgrounds, is a non-profit, non-governmental organization. It aims to build social, economic and community assets for and by grassroots women, and support their leadership throughout Turkey in improving the quality of their lives and of their community.

The FSWW is now as a resource/partner organisation, supporting the creation of new grassroots women’s initiatives in most deprived parts of Turkey, besides the women groups in Istanbul and in the earthquake region.

FSWW with its participatory and process oriented approach supported the women in disaster region by:
1) Providing collective public spaces; Women and Children Centers
2) Creating a very flexible, monitoring support system that help them to create their own ways; connecting them to all kind of resources, technical expertise and consultancy; linking up them to similar local, international groups, NGOs; increasing their access to all kinds of information about public policies, relief programs, etc.; and advocating at national level for long term legitimacy and sustainability to their efforts.

Tools used in working with women;
• Exchange meetings
• Training and material dissemination on specific issues they needed.
• Study tours
• Community meetings to discuss common problems
Regular leadership support trainings and networking

During this process women who recovered from under the debris, had lost their family members, their friends, family and community assets, managed to recover from the trauma, against all isolation, uncertainty for the future, limited transportation, minimal infrastructure, unemployment, and made a long way in a short time.

With the support of the Foundation they made the centers a place for a range of community services, income generation, saving, credit and housing activities. Now, these groups are emerging as independent organizations with collective businesses to ensure the sustainability of child care and other community services, and also forming housing cooperatives for tenants (till now 5 reaching 400 families) linked to saving groups, and negotiating with ministry for land allocation.

PLANS and the REALITY

It is stated in the Habitat II, National Action Plan in 1996 that 92% of the country is under the risk of earthquake that 95% of whole population and 75% of the industrial investments are located. Some actions were proposed in the plan related to disaster mitigation and post disaster management. The responsible parties or “main actors” in the pre-post disaster response were identified as concerned ministries, central government agencies, insurance companies, local governments, and NGOs. The plan was mainly prepared by a consultant/expert group through a participatory processes with inputs of some other civil society organizations, chambers of relevant professionals and governmental organizations. The action plan was very comprehensive and almost perfect. However, after the earthquake on 17 August 1999, the reality was almost totally different. All those very well defined roles and responsibilities among those identified parties did not work at all, as proposed for post disaster response. It was a total chaos. All the key actors were totally clueless after such a massive disaster. Thus, disaster became, in a way, a testing ground for the whole system that the society as a whole was organized to govern itself. One should learn that without effective, poverty reducing, community development approaches and without strengthening grassroots democracy and local self-governance, good/effective post-disaster response cannot be expected.

DISASTER-OPENING UP LOCAL GOVERNANCE OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN AT THE GRASSROOTS

By experience, disaster opens up opportunities for women to involve in local governance for several reasons;
1) All disaster related areas are very concrete issue of local governance, during this dramatic process, a totally new “main actor” came in to the scene right at the first phase (rescue efforts); the women and their communities. And it is proven that even in the rescue and relief efforts, the key issue is community empowerment and community participation. In our case, only 400 people out of 10,000 were rescued from under the debris by the professional rescue teams (international, national, NGO), while the rest was done by the people themselves. I think only this figure proves that investment should be gone to communities in pre and post disaster response efforts. However, nobody wanted to see this bare fact and the common perception that these people should be “victims” with no capacity, shifted all attention to NGOS who did rescue operations. Thus, the rescue and relief efforts by the survivors, themselves, in this case, women and the communities in the face of failure of local governments to reach out and assist people especially during the first days, were shadowed.

When the governmental leadership which had been collapsed during the early days was rebuilt gradually and food and medical supplies, basic services, infrastructure and temporary shelters were started to be provided by governmental and relief agencies (national and international), the communities and people themselves were totally put aside and treated as passive takers.

But women did not stop. They continued their survival efforts that they started from the first moment, they kept their families together and involved in rebuilding their own lives and their communities. Using their own collective public centers, through the relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction processes, continued information gathering and dissemination, monitoring and negotiating with officials related to provision of basic supplies and community services, income generating and saving activities and earthquake safe housing.

2) By nature, disaster response needs partnership between almost all the actors in the society, including the marginalised groups and even individuals at all levels, most importantly neighborhood/community level, where women normally operates.

3) Decision makers/ rulers are more ready in disaster situations for participation and partnership building than ever; What is at stake is the lives, and right to live and survive is something that cannot be denied by any government. Disaster creates a socially acceptable and legitimate reason for women to get into public arena. In a way it creates a kind of recognition for women’s mobilization to advocate for their needs and also their initiatives. And this coincides with government’s willingness to recognize and responsibility to act. Thus, women’s priorities like provision of community services collective businesses and access to credit, housing cooperatives, safe housing, etc., become concrete issues of engendering local governance. However, this is always at stake, and the critical issue for women here is building a critical mass to continue to advocate for themselves. And, most importantly women become aware of their potential and this opportunity during their experiences.

4) Disaster also increases the visibility of the way that women and communities cope with the challenges and their solutions and their good practices, since all the attention of the
country (including media) is there. In a way they and the communities exposed to the whole universe...This, visibility also helps the continuity of their empowerment processes and recognition by officials.

5) Disaster, like economic crisis increases solidarity and thus women act collectively when they are provided with some assets like collective physical spaces, etc and increase their collective bargaining power (rather than individual) and thus to move toward sustainable organizations/groups to continue to influence the local agenda.

HOW WOMEN LOCATE THEMSELVES IN THE PROCESS?

INFORMATION AS AN INispensable ELEMENT OF LOCAL GOVERNANCE

Women become aware of gender priorities and use the power of information to engender local governance.

During chaotic situations, generally the information flowing around are not reliable, and mostly rumors go around. Even the governmental officials may not have timely and accurate information. This is partly because governmental decision making does not follow its usual procedure due to the urgency and pressures, and flow of information to lower ranks does not work in its routine way. In some cases they prefer just to do something and solve the problem in whatever way.

On the other hand, Women are very talented in collecting information on their gender priorities around shelter, livelihoods, essential services and in disseminating information in their own ways. So, the talents of women in collecting and sharing information created a valuable asset to start a true dialogue with officials at every phase of the process. Till that time we and the women were not aware of importance of this talent, and that “information” is one of the most important element of sharing power, i.e., governance.

• Relief phase: Women understand their development priorities and what is going on around their communities, neighborhoods. They know who is living where, how space is utilized to meet family needs in the house and community infrastructure. In times of the disaster, they who gave crucial information to officials on who lives there, where they or away at the time of the earthquake etc. This information is very important during rescue operations to help the teams to work on right spots.

• Rehabilitation phase: They know who is in most need, who is sick or wounded, pregnant, or having small children, who needs special care, in the tent cities or temporary settlements. So, they did played unofficially the role of directing aids to those in most need through their centers. That is why most people brought aid supplies to these women since they were reliable and effective. In some prefabricated settlements they were selected as community representatives to management committee and did this job officially.

• Reconstruction and housing: During their meetings, by interacting with each other, they noticed that in terms of the governmental programs, the issue shouldn’t be so simple as...
being entitled to governmental housing or not. There are many other issues; What about tenants, or those who owned illegal houses or cooperative houses which have not registered yet? And the earthquake safety issue in the new governmental houses and rehabilitation of damaged houses?

**Systematic information gathering and dissemination:**

1. **Community Surveys**: They organized in groups and conducted surveys in the settlements and visited 9,000 prefab units. They analyzed and got a map with number of tenants, entitled ones and others who are for several reasons are not eligible for housing, besides all other services needed in the settlements. In some places the information collected by women contradicted with the official data by about 30%.

2. **Consulting to technicians**: They invited technical people to learn more about earthquake safety. They led repairing activities in their communities. They visited the construction sites of permanent houses, talked to engineers, supervisors and workers, technicians.

3. **Visits to officials**: As a part of information gathering they started to visit officials (local or central government officials) to clear away the uncertainties about housing issues, to learn about business opportunities that they might provide, and resource allocation for their centers, etc. They prepared themselves beforehand for these visits. They organized the info they had already. They formulated the questions for the official. They rehearsed to get prepared for unexpected proceeding of the dialogue. They shared the roles about who is going to ask which question. Then they visited. They took notes, and read the notes and asked him to sign for confirmation saying that it was going to be disseminated. Then they exhibit these information on the walls with charts and or organize information meetings. The centers become a kind of clearing house.

By time, seeing the seriousness of women, officials started to be more careful in giving information and ask time for to learn more about some issues that they know yet.

During their first visits, women were so nervous, and not sure about the welcoming, since they were not able to get appointment upon individual requests. Then, they found out the power of going there collectively, and as pre-prepared, well informed beforehand. Then, started to say “We can go to Ankara too...”

After every visit, they shared whatever info they got with other dwellers through these centers.

**Sharing information with officials opens up dialogue for around governance issues**

As a result of this information gathering visits The result of this dialogue started with the officials. Officials were impressed with their seriousness, the quality of information they had, and the works they did, started to visit women in their centers. Through this, interaction;

- Women managed to get supply and food for their collective community services (child care centers) from public resources.
- Women’s initiatives started to subcontracted to provide lunch to construction workers, or catering for governor’s office and be informed about other tenders for supply that women can produce.
- Women organized multi stakeholder meetings (officials, private sector, universities, etc.) to discuss their business ideas and explore more about the business potential of local economy for their collective businesses.
- They obtained shops in the center of the cities to market their products.
- In case of moving the prefabricated settlements, they ensured allocation of lands from the municipalities that they might move in.
- Officials of Public Works allocated regular transportation facilities for women’s groups to monitor the construction houses systematically.
- In one site women learned that sub constructor using low quality supplies in the electricity system and informed the governance to change it.
- The quality of the information that women generated about housing shortages and the needs of tenants for housing and the technical language they used investigating earthquake safety in the governmental housing constructions, impressed the The Deputy Under secretary of the Ministry of Public works. He discussed openly about governmental housing policy and possibility of land allocation for those. So, tenant women started to organize in housing cooperatives and their reports was submitted to all levels officially. Now, the number of women organized in housing cooperatives reached to 400s.
- They moved to another process to be independent organizations for ongoing recognition and resource allocation.

The challenge for them now is; to be linked to credit opportunities for their housing cooperatives, continue advocate for themselves in a more powerful way and to use legal, recognized platforms like Local Agenda 21s.

PARTNERSHIPS AS A KEY ELEMENT OF LOCAL GOVERNANCE

The post disaster response creates a kind of microcosm in terms of partnership where all the potential partners are acting simultaneously in a specific area and trying to get results in a specific time period but with long term impacts; central, national governments, professionals, business sector, communities, individuals, NGOs, internationals, bi and multi laterals etc. And this brings to surface the other “partners” or “power centers” that might effect on gender issues, but we are not usually aware of them in normal conditions, like World Bank. When we, the women, talk about partners, we usually refer to only one actor (in Habitat II language), the government at national, or local level. Whereas, these “actors” altogether and their perception of women’s priorities and their understanding of governance is as much important as women’s empowerment for the continuity of women’s gains.

So, in our experience, in disaster situation grassroots women and their communities had to deal with all the possible “actors”, and have better chance to learn more about realities and rhetorics about partnerships and gender issues.
1) **National NGO community**

At the rescue and emergency relief period, an NGO Coordination Center with other local NGOs in order to direct the huge assistance and aid outpoured by the civil society itself in a coordinated way with the governmental and international efforts. However, they mostly failed in terms of participation, community empowerment, gender issues. They were not aware of the enormous potential that exists to turn disaster in to an opportunity for women and the communities.

- Because of lack of the long-term vision, NGO community largely limited its role to mobilization of civil humanitarian aid. Thus, when the early rescue and relief phase ended, they automatically annulled the reason of their existence in the process. So, the positive impact of their humanitarian efforts which softened the existing mutual sceptism dominating the relationship between the NGOs and the government faded away, whereas a long term dialogue and partnership related pre-post disaster management issues in general could be started.

- Whereas, NGOs could have assumed, a more strategic role of monitoring the whole process (both in rehabilitation and reconstruction). They could have a role in ensuring all the funds and inputs, loans to be used properly with long term development perspectives by forming some kinds of partnership committees at all levels). This would open up a space where women continue widely to monitor the distribution of aid, construction of the public houses and other resettlement issues, that they already started. In this sense, they remained far behind the state, since the state issued regulations to allow people to participate in the management of settlements, and women in some places used this opportunity without any support. This is because they saw the women only as a subject of social services and did not recognize their assets and capacities.

- On the contrary, as being tempted by the international relief organizations they tried to compete with each other to reach outpouring financial resources to stay there a little bit longer by direct service provision which have with no sustainability potential but a credibility potential for the NGOs because of the humanistic nature of the service.

- Depending on the scope of the natural disaster, official authority at all levels might collapsed and there could be gaps in the leadership for decision making process. In these cases, efficiency in relief efforts could be decreased due to lack of coordination, and ultimately the victims suffers more. So, the NGOs should have tried to have better collaboration with officials, and should not let their long lasting political conflicts with the state come to surface and create a false agenda that would dominate the negotiations which will put extra tension on the situation where violence already exists due to hopelessness, grief and frustration.

2) **Partnerships with strategical governmental agencies with a long term vision**

Governmental agencies, tended to deal with the rehabilitation and reconstruction process like
an issue of social services. Neither government nor the NGOs did not see that even the relief process could generate employment and livelihood opportunities for the communities. While there was governmental flexibility in the rehabilitation process in terms of women’s involvement in community services, but no institutional effort for community participation during the reconstruction efforts. However, there was no credible effort to negotiate on this issue on the civil society side.

- Thus, the FSWW partnering with women groups, built partnership with the state agency in charge of social services, put its all energy in to this strategical partner. Starting right from the first day, officially signed MOUs which are renewed to reflect the needs and strategies of the each phase during the whole process and with a long term vision. First one (during relief period) was to aimed to obtain legitimacy to work in the area from the point of view of the FSWW, and regulating the agencies responsibilities to facilitate the work of the FSWW in terms of official authorities, joint use of some resources in the tent camp sites, land allocation for the FSWW’s prefabricated women and child centers etc. The second one was referring to public resource allocation for these centers and their involvement in the evaluation of the services in the centers. And the third one signed recognizes the model of women’s centers with parent run child care services and regulates the dissemination of this approach all over Turkey to the community centers run themselves. This has opened up a process of flexibility in the existing regulations to allow community women to run community services by themselves and to credit grassroots women to be involved in the early childhood education as trainers and managers.

- Besides partnering with different governmental agencies on some practical issues on MOU basis, some opportunities were used to insert women’s role and efforts in the official documents, National Report of Turkey prepared for Istanbul +5 Conference.

- In partnering with governmental agencies in contexts of very strong, historical state domination, firstly one should be modest in terms of expectation that progress will be slow and gradual. Even you have signed MOU with the top, the local officer will resist. Training takes time, unless in the situation of crisis like earthquake which could be a little shorter. They have the opportunity to monitor you in a process, compare your work with theirs and see how your way makes a change. They always compare your way with theirs, and in some cases competition could happen too. However, fortunately they will not be the only one to judge and when it is accepted by others too (other officials, community itself, media, etc.) they have to have recognize you.

- Partnering with governmental agencies should not be seen as a way of getting something practical, or strategical resource etc., but a way of visibility and recognition of your work/your way for the long run, that might help for mainstreaming. So, even in the official MOUs, your vision and your approach that make you different from them should be reflected very clearly. You have to be consistently protect your position in the implementation process too. Otherwise, they tend to accept you as a token and see your work as an auxiliary to their work. And in this case, you have to forget the recognition as an equal partner with different vision and approach.

9
3) **International Relief Agencies /NGOs**

An immense amount of resources through international organizations outpoured to the country for relief and rehabilitation purposes. Our special thanks by heart always go to those who saved many lives, with their expertise in rescue, sanitation, infrastructure, health, etc. However, our experiences with others created many lessons that should be considered by all parties who might have any role in such situations.

- There is always a risk in disaster situations, in countries that are not prepared for disaster at community level and have not a disaster management plan, that most of the resources pouring to the area could be largely wasted because of lack of coordination. When it comes to reconstruction /development process where more and long term resources are needed, the available resources shrink since the humanitarian concerns at the beginning start to fade away by time. So, international relief and development organizations have to be involved right at the beginning with long term perspectives, and use their resources accordingly.

- Donors should have the flexibility in terms of their funding criteria in case of disaster situations and being prepared for additional resource allocation, once they involved, since rehabilitation is not limited to relief period but it is a long process against drastic changes in the economic and social life. Otherwise, the opportunities and the gains acquired with their support would be lost very quickly, and results in more humiliation and disappointing even than before.

- Donors’ resources or monies of sensitive individuals from other parts of the world should be used through the local groups/organizations in a way to invest in the communities, not directly by outside agencies. Partnership with local ones should based on “mutual learning” not on “teaching”, believing that expertise mostly lies in “how you do” which relates to cultural and socio-economical conditions, respect to peoples their own ways to deal with issues, more than “what you do”. Plus, a considerable amount of resources goes to administrative costs, and international staffing which could create employment opportunities for local people affected by the earthquake.

- Partnering with local NGOs could bring better transparency and monitoring of how the money is spent in, since they are legally under auditing, besides the communities’ sensitivity to see how the money come for themselves is spent

- Disaster situations always create a potential of change in the communities’ leadership dynamics. opens up an empowering process especially for those who are marginalized in the society, like women and poor people, and civil society in general. So, every penny should be spent in such a way that victims increase their capacities to re-build their own lives and communities. So, direct supporting the local NGOs could contribute more in promoting civil society movements.

- Whereas, the approach of the implementing organizations tend to find local partners as if choosing a sub contractor; “Here is the money who will do it in my terms “ results in
ethical deterioration in local civil movement, (2) waste of resources for “projects” with no sustainability potential, since they are poorly designed due to wrong needs assessments, etc. ; This attitude tempted even the staff of some existing NGOs to establish another one with a reasoning behind that “Money is pouring... flying in the air and I need a net to catch some of it “, even if they have a good cause. Many NGOs involved in various areas as housing, children, women, etc. that they did not have in their regulations, any experience and expertise. Plus the competing environment encouraged by this attitude, blocked them to partner with others for the needed expertise. Lots of resources went for garbage in the forms of prefabricated buildings planned to be used centers for children, youth, women, etc, since there is now nobody to run them, or washing machines, etc.

• The international donors/agencies should revisit their policies and principles and should start a new debate among themselves, on how to respect people's right to information and to participate in the planning and implementation, and use of resources, and how much spent on garbage till now. Here, the key issue is transparency and accountability on the part of the donor/implementing agencies. With this perspective, they could jointly finance a participatory evaluation work in the selected disaster areas to base their debates.

4) Multilateral and Development Agencies

World Bank

I am sincerely ready to learn more about how the World Bank operates and how can we influence them, how to get involve in the governmental programs implemented by World Bank loans, especially nowadays while the national government is weakening and World Bank is getting more powerful in the country.

When we, women are together we say that we should train them...And I don’t know how to train them... I have patience with my government, but not with World Bank. Because our government is not saying that they are getting their legitimacy from the civil society. May be that is why, I cannot help myself to resist to learn how to start and keep dialogue with them.

Right after the earthquake, they developed a project on disaster mitigation and rehabilitation. (Nov. 1999). The document is gender free. Public awareness campaign is left to government, no community information efforts. Children are left to UNICEF. Municipalities are the key agencies in construction reforms. Monitoring and evaluation is done by consultancy groups. No provision for community or women’s participation.

WE had some opportunities to try to interact with World Bank. However, each time we talked to different people from different positions...And no sign at all that we were heard.

They have always two excuses; (1) Lack of NGOs with enough capacity to partner and (2) resistance of national government to partner with NGOs. Then, there is a basic thing to be learned that capacity is not something that you plant tonight and harvest next day. They do not understand that it is a process and relates to your approach and investment. Putting forward this excuse and doing nothing about it in practice, shows that their so called priorities like gender, participation and community driven poverty programming is just a rhetoric. Of
course this does not help to good governance, one of their other priority areas.

As for the second excuse, not to mention the World Bank’s power to impose certain macro policies on governments, this is an area that NGOs should deal with and create their own ways to negotiate with their national governments, given World Bank is willing to share information about the programming process and relevant documents with the NGOs.

5) Women learning from each other; partnering with other women groups from around globally

By our experience, women learned a lot from experiences of women from other parts of the world. It contributed a lot to their empowering process. Exchange meetings and peer exchanges are miracle tools in this sense. So, international donors, bilaterals, multilateral should be called to invest this area.

Groots International helped us in an incredible way; Among many ways of practical and technical support, it kept us informed about other experiences from around the world and connect us to them to discuss many aspects of the issue and share experiences, while helping us to understand how the international/multinational organizations that we had to deal with are operating. Groots International, using the Grassroots Women’s International Academia, as a tool to document and share grassroots women’s experiences, brought together disaster practitioners from around the world to share their experiences and develop policy recommendations for national governments and bilateral and multilateral organizations during Istanbul+5 Conference in June, 2001.

SSP (Swayam Shikshan Prayog) generously shared their experiences in Latur (1993) and women saw the importance of collective acting and specifically forming saving groups and involving in a more systematic way in housing and reconstruction process. Participants in the learning exchange noted the manner in which SSP had partnered women’s collectives in the state led post-earthquake reconstruction such that women’s capacities were enhanced and a range of opportunities for communities to engage with the state were established for the first time. The redesigned state project recognised women’s collectives as central to the participation of communities in reconstruction. In 300 villages, across Latur and Osmanabad districts, women’s collectives were mobilised to educated house owners, supervise and monitor construction to ensure earthquake safety of their houses, provide feedback on progress redress grievances of houseowners. In short the women played a role in which they mediated between the state and disaster-affected communities.

Since the completion of the project in 1998, SSP continues to partner with women’s collectives on a broad based community development strategy. As a result, 12,500 women at the grassroots are organised into 703 women's savings and credit groups. While these savings and credit groups are a source of credit for production, consumption, short-term and long-term credit needs, they also take initiatives to collectively address local developmental issues such as water, housing, education, healthcare.

ICSC (international Center for Sustainable Cities) made the exchange with SSP happened and enabled Canadian volunteer women to live with women in the earthquake area and share their technical expertise in carpentry and paper making, by financial support of CIDA (Canadian International
Huairou Commission Following the Groots International’s Grassroots Women’s International Academia on Disaster in June, 2001, started a process of establishing a Working Commission on Disasters consisting of a group of practitioners and partners who will collaborate to shift the post disaster paradigm from top down, externally driven relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction to a community-driven, pro-poor one that highlights and empowers grassroots women’s collectives as key actors. As seen in this presentation, all the stakeholders needs a change in their perception to engendering post disaster initiatives, and this makes very valuable HC’s attempt to establish a working group with all stakeholder.

Engendering disasters – lessons from the grassroots

When it comes to institutionalizing the value of grassroots women groups and their practices in to policies, as stated before, not only governments, but there are other parties that do not see the value of practice in the context of everyday survival. Currently post disaster efforts which are top down and governed by efficiency, instead of focused on promoting democracy and for better governance.

But, they all seem to be reluctant contrary to the documents signed by themselves, to see the vital role of women and communities in pre-post disaster response and in general in good governance. So, as women organizations working with grassroots women in communities, while continuing our support to increase the bargaining power of grassroots women to be part of a decision making process, we should always prepare ourselves for a very very long term advocacy for not only national governments but bilateral and multilateral agencies, donors etc.

Recognizing that women and children are the primary victims of conflicts and disasters; that women’s efforts are vital in surviving and rebuilding their and rebuilding their families and their communities in emergency situations and post disaster reconstruction process in surviving; that participation of women and communities decreases human, economic and social loses as proven in most cases, and requires investing in women’s leadership role; and that crisis situations provides opportunities for engendering governance and development process;

1) Women should be involved in disaster preparation, disaster management and rehabilitation/reconstruction processes as having an active role in planning, needs assessment, management, monitoring, supervising, and also in reconstruction/development efforts.
2) Women and communities should be ensured to be part of post disaster planning and reconstruction process,
3) Prior to disaster, active measures where women and communities are center staged should be taken and vulnerability surveys should be done.
4) Long term advocacy with national governments and with bilateral and multilateral agencies in order gender issues should be involved in disaster prevention, post disaster development and conflict resolution processes.
5) Piloting efforts where women’s collectives are central and meaningful cases and studies,
learning hexchanges should be supported by UNDP, UNCHS, etc.
As of August 2001