

REDEFINING THE *LAKOU*: THE RESILIENCE OF A VERNACULAR
SETTLEMENT PATTERN IN POST-DISASTER HAITI

by

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THESIS ABSTRACT

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Title: Redefining the *Lakou*: The Resilience of a Vernacular Settlement Pattern in Post-Disaster Haiti

The study shows the importance of the *lakou*, which is a spatial manifestation of the familial social structure in the Haitian culture, through the analysis of post-disaster temporary settlements, showing that through their own devices endogenous inhabitants create the *lakou* in post-disaster temporary settlements. The methodology was qualitative through interviews, observations, and site mapping, and qualitative coding was used to uncover the emergent themes. This study establishes the importance of the *lakou* in community vibrancy and demonstrates how the *lakou* adds to the resilience of the survivors living in such settlements. The unprecedented transformation of the *lakou* from a kinship based settlement pattern to a more inclusive non-familial pattern points to the importance of the spatial and social manifestation in the development of community in a settlement. It is conjectured that this resiliency factor can be useful in the process of turning a post-disaster settlement into a successful permanent settlement.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The focus of the thesis is the study of the *lakou* in self-settled post-disaster camps in Haiti, following the 2010 earthquake. A primary settlement pattern of the Haitian Creole culture, the *lakou* represents a kinship-based social system and the courtyard or compound that the family occupies. The *lakou* system has been resilient throughout the tumultuous history of Haiti. Although the *lakou* system does not hold the prominence it once had, in today's urbanized landscape, the *lakou* still remains important, albeit transformed.

In the aftermath of the earthquake on January 12, 2010, as millions scattered over Haiti's landscape into post-disaster settlements, the Haitians took with them their idea of the *lakou*. The study demonstrates the presence of the *lakou* system in self-settled post-disaster settlements. The *lakou* system has transformed and appears to be a resilience factor for these communities as well as one for the post-disaster reconstruction. This thesis will shed light on this transformation and how the *lakou* adds to the resilience of the Haitian society and culture. Deeply ingrained in the Haitian culture is an unparalleled strength and ability to overcome adversity.

1.1. Understanding the History of Haiti

The study of a place requires knowledge of its history in order to understand the complexities that have created the present environment. The intricacies of Haiti's history begin to uncover the important interaction of economic, social, and political systems, which have affected the cultural and social structures of Haiti. The developments of the

divisions that take place between race and class further emphasize the complexities of the country. Together this knowledge informs the research the dynamism of Haiti.

1.2. The History of Haiti

“Mountains Beyond Mountains,” is a common parable and description of Haiti. A country with a once lush and beautiful landscape, it was the pearl of the Caribbean. Now, since plagued by adversity, political upheavals, civil unrest, environmental degradation, and mass poverty, there lies “mountains beyond mountains” of problems.

Haiti is located on the western third of the island of Hispaniola, located in the Caribbean Sea and along the West Indies. The country has a rough and mountainous landscape with a tropical and semiarid climate. There are two rainy seasons, between April and June and then again between October and November, which is also when hurricanes frequently disturb the Caribbean. The main regions of the country are the *Plaine de l’Arbonite*, which is south of the *Montagnes Noirs*, the northern region, which consists of the Northern Massif and the Northern Plain, and the southern region, which consists of the *Plaine du Cul-de-Sac* and the mountainous southern peninsula. The *Arbonite* valley hosts the Arbonite River, which is a major source for agricultural irrigation and power, created by the *Peligre* hydroelectric dam, and the *Plaine du Cul-de-Sac* contains the largest fresh water lakes on the island. Refer to Figure 1.1 for understanding the location of Haiti and the regions within it. Figure 1.2 illustrates the key cities in Haiti that will be discussed throughout the thesis.

The indigenous population of Haiti, consisted of the Tainos, Ciboneys, and other Arawaks. They referred to the land as *Ayiti*, which translates to “the land of mountains.” The indigenous population of the island has been estimated to have been between



Figure 1.1. © Rémi Kaupp, CC-BY-SA, Wikimedia Commons. Map of Haiti and Departments. 1. Arbonite, 2. Centre, 3. Grande-Anse, 4. Nippes, 5. Nord, 6. Nord-Est, 7. Nord-Ouest, 8. Ouest, 9. Sud-Est, 10. Sud.

300,000 and 1,000,000 during the mid-fifteenth century (Arthur and Dash 17; R.D. Heintz et al 13; Dubois 18). The indigenous population thrived as tribes and lived off the land and sea, but the population was not able to survive more than twenty years after the invasion in 1492-1493 by Christopher Columbus (Arthur and Dash 17).

On a mission for the Queen and the Papal See, Christopher Columbus landed in Northern Haiti at Mole St. Nicolas on his maiden voyage to the “New World” on December 5, 1492. From recounts of Columbus’s and his crew’s journals, the Spaniards found the indigenous population to be generous and delightful; on their arrival they were

greeted by the natives bearing gifts of fruit and wearing jewelry of gold (R.D. Heintl et al 12; Cummins 21-22). Nineteen days later, Columbus's ship, the Santa Maria, landed near present day Cap Haitien. The Santa Maria ran aground and capsized amongst coral reefs and Columbus was forced to leave nearly forty of his men until his return. It is speculated that after setting up camp, *La Navidad*, the Spanish raped the native women and were in turn savagely killed by the revengeful natives. On his return, Columbus found a pile of his men's bones piled high along the anchor of the Santa Maria (R.D. Heintl et al 13).

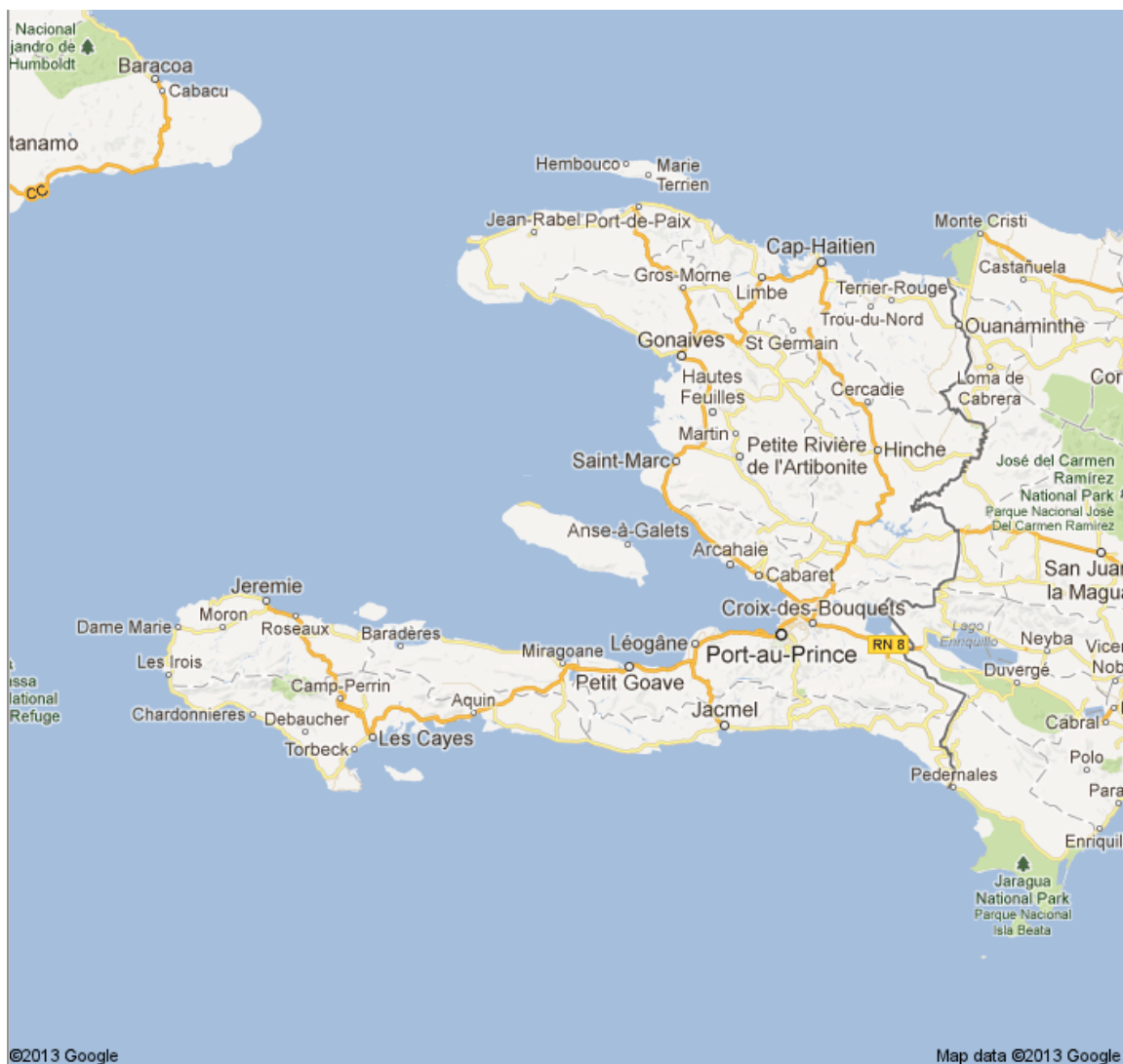


Figure 1.2. © 2013 Google. Map of Haiti listing key cities.

The Spanish, in search for gold and other precious minerals, put the indigenous population to work in the mines. Directed by the Papal See, the Spanish pioneers made a decree to the natives that they were to follow the moral codes of the Catholic Church and that they were to work for the Spanish Crown. Anyone who disobeyed the decree would be killed or enslaved (King Ferdinand of Castille 22-23). Some of the indigenous population fought back, led by Queen Anacoana of Yaguana, which is present day Leogane, and her husband Caonabo, the leader of Maguana, which is present day Santo Domingo. Many of the natives were slaughtered in war or executed along with Anacoana and Caonabo. In need of more and stronger laborers, the Spanish began to import slaves from Africa. By the seventeenth century, the indigenous population was nearly wiped out through war, forced labor, and diseases such as small pox. Small groups of survivors found shelter in the treacherous mountains and were later joined by marooned slaves; elements of the indigenous culture passed into Haitian civilization through these maroon settlements (Joachim 24-25).

After Christopher Columbus's maiden voyage, the island was named Hispaniola, and the capital, Santo Domingo, was the hub of Spanish expansion in the Americas until it lost its significance in the seventeenth century (Dubois 18). For a long period during the sixteenth century the Spanish lost interest in the western third of Hispaniola as valuable minerals ran out, and the land became host for buccaneers and pirates, most notably at the island of Tortuga (R.D. Heintz et al 15-17; Arthur and Dash 17).

During the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697, Spain ceded one third of the island to the French, which they called Saint Domingue, now present day Haiti (R.D. Heintz et al 22-23; Arthur and Dash 17-18). The French realized the land's agricultural potential for

sugar, coffee, and cocoa. In order to work the land, the French began to import slaves from Africa in order to increase the number of laborers, especially since the indigenous population had largely been wiped out. Haiti remains the only Latin American country with a predominantly African ancestry and French influence.

The slave population came from all regions of Africa with different languages, religions, and cultures. “They absorbed and digested, and out of the diverse and even contradictory elements, they worked out new patterns of life and thinking” (Courlander 27). By the end of the eighteenth century, the slave population of Saint Domingue was approximately half a million. The population of African slaves began to descend into maroons, freed slaves, and mulattoes. The maroons were slaves who ran to the hills to find freedom and protection from their white owners; they lived a collective life, typically under one leader. The freed slaves were either the offspring of slave mothers or slaves set free by their owners, and mulattoes were the children born of a slave woman and white man. Social instability between the mulattoes and the white populaces left room for rebellion.

On July 14, 1789, revolution stirred in Paris as the Bastille fell. Louis XVI approved the *Declaration of Rights of Man and of the Citizen*, which stated, “All men are born and live free and equal in their rights,” and affected the white plantation holders of St. Domingue (R.D. Heintz et al 39). This created a clash between free mulattoes and white inhabitants. Leading up to the slave revolution, Vincent Oge, a mulatto educated in France, led a demonstration in 1791 in Cap Francais, the capital of northern Haiti, to demand the restoration of rights for free coloreds declared in the Code Noir and the *Declaration of Rights of Man and of the Citizen* (R.D. Heintz et al 37-40). The white

plantation owners brutally executed those involved in the demonstration, which ended any promising relations between white and colored.

The revolution began with the slave insurrection, which was touted to have begun with the vodou ceremony at *Bois-Cayman* in the northern plains of Haiti. On August 14, 1791, the vodou priest known as Boukman led a ceremony that was to infuse the slaves with the spirits that would empower them to overthrow their oppressors (Sannon 35-36; R.D. Heinl et al 37-58). For the Haitian people, the story of Boukman and the role of vodou in the independence of the country are central to their history, and in speaking with them, clearly close to their hearts. The following is an excerpt from an interview with a Haitian living in a post-disaster settlement; it gives a detailed description of the importance of vodou in the Haitian revolution.

It is fascinating anthropology. It is a major reason for the Haitian independence. During the revolution of 1789 [1791], there were a lot of mysterious things. A lot of the heroes of the independence, the men who fought for independence, practiced these things. All of the slaves practiced it a lot. At night, August 22nd to the 23rd, 1789 [1791] there was a vodou priest called Boukman. He was the head of the grand ceremony. That ceremony would strengthen all of the slaves. He had all of the slaves drink the blood of pigs. All of the slaves were made strong like wild animals. Even if you walk on them, they keep on. They used to use a lot of powder on people, when they threw it at the white man, all of a sudden they died. It is poison. The feast was known as the Boukman Ceremony, which happened in the North. This ceremony was one of the things strengthening the slaves.

They say the religion that brought independence to Haiti was vodou. Vodou should have been the official religion. What is vodou, it is all Boukman's ceremonies. The vodou priest is the one in charge of the ceremonies, like a catholic priest leads a Mass. This nation was born from vodou... There are people who believe, there are some that are doubtful, and there are some who do not believe at all. In spite of these three types, it is something that is common among all, this is the independence of Haiti... In spite of the three opinions, there is only one thing that is common; it is the independence of Haiti. All of the people agree that Boukman played an important role in the independence of Haiti.

To me, I emphasize the sociology aspect. I started learning about the society's history. I do not want to say this is good or this is bad. I want to know the reality of it all. Vodou is hard to define because it is a vast subject. Everyone has his or her own opinion (Appendix D).

Two figures emerged in the aftermath of the ceremony: General Rigaud, who led the mulattoes, and the ex-slave, Toussaint Louverture, who led the half million blacks. On August 22, 1791, furious hordes swept across the plantations and took over Cap Francais (present day Cap Haitien) and the North. Part of the reason for the success of the slave insurrection is due to the importation of slaves from Central Africa who had recently been at war and trained in guerilla tactics (Dubois 23). These soldiers were able to create a network of militias ready to attack at a moment's notice. In the wake of the revolution, war and disease had reduced the population by as much as one third (Arthur and Dash 45).

Toussaint Louverture was the only leader with the power and ability to control Saint Domingue, and with the support of half a million slaves, he overtook Rigaud. This move demonstrates the recurring Haitian struggle between black and mulatto. Louverture ruled Saint Domingue with the consent of the French and conquered the Spanish Colony to the East. Under Louverture, economic stability was brought back to the island, as he implemented a system very similar to the old plantation system established by the French. The elite *noir* (black) generals and wealthy mulattoes were allocated plantations under which the newly freed slaves were to cultivate; this was a system that was not received well by the general population, understandably (R. D. Heinl et al. 87-93; Dubois 30-35).

In January 1802, Charles Leclerc, the brother-in-law of Napoléon Bonaparte, arrived to replace Louverture as governor, an effort that was part of a strategy to reestablish French control as well as slavery on the island (R.D. Heinl et al 104).

Leclerc's advances were repelled and war broke out between the colored people of St. Domingue and Leclerc's men. His advances eventually wore out the natives, and Louverture was lured, captured, and sent to prison in the French Jura Mountains, where he later died. At this point, Leclerc wished to reinstate slavery in Saint Domingue. Once word spread of Leclerc's intents, the black population was outraged and, under the leadership of Louverture's black generals, fought Leclerc's troops. Weakened by yellow fever and malaria, Leclerc and his troops could not withstand the attack, and in November 1802 Leclerc died.

General Jean Baptiste Rochambeau succeeded Charles Leclerc. Rochambeau was known for his ruthless warfare tactics and eventually was forced to retreat to Mole St. Nicholas when faced with the combined native forces of the Haitian leaders, Jean Jacques Dessalines, Alexander Petion, and General Henri Christophe.

On January 1, 1804, Jean Jacques Dessalines declared Saint Domingue independent and renamed the country Haiti, reaching back to the indigenous roots and word for the land, *Ayiti*. Symbolically, Dessalines tore out the white stripe from the French flag to represent the removal of the white and the combination of the blacks and mulattoes. Shortly after, Dessalines began a bloodthirsty mission throughout Haiti, massacring all white people remaining in his realm. This massacre proved to be a horrific crime and an even worse mistake, as he wiped out the foreign talent needed for the rebuilding of the nation (R.D. Heinl et al. 122-127). Immediately, he put into law a rule that no white man could own land. Dessalines declared himself governor for life and emperor of Haiti.

With the French gone, Dessalines began to divide his people between cultivators and soldiers. In many ways this could have been considered enforced servitude and continued to create the divisions between mulatto and black (R.D. Heinl et al 125). Furthermore, he divided the country into four regions led by General Henri Christophe in the North, General Gabart in the Arbonite valley, General Petion in the west, and General Geffard in the south. Dessalines' division between workers and soldiers, mulattoes and blacks, led to dissatisfaction within the population (Dash 8). In 1806, insurrection spread throughout the country, leading to the assassination of Dessalines on October 17, 1806, which was conspired by his administration, including Alexander Petion and Henri Christophe.

Even though its leaders and population declared Haiti an independent nation, the outside world still considered it a French colony. The primary reason for the refusal to accept Haiti's independence was due to the status of the slave trade during this period. The idea of a slave revolt with the magnitude of that led by the Haitians scared the other countries involved in slavery. Napoleon Bonaparte himself wished for Haiti's African population to be wiped out (Dubois 35-41). Even the Vatican refused to recognize Haiti as a nation state and refused to send missionaries or accept the Catholic Church in Haiti. Without the backbone of Catholic schools to educate the masses, the development of the nation was greatly affected (Dash 8).

The years following the assassination of Dessalines were marked by the internal fragmentation of Haiti and a struggle between the North and South. Henri Christophe ruled from the North near Cap Haitien and declared himself the head of the State of Haiti.

Alexandre Petion, a light skinned mulatto, was elected president of the southern Republic of Haiti. Thus continued the struggle between the blacks and the mulattoes in Haiti.

Henri most famously built the Sans Souci Palace, modeled after Versailles, and the Citadelle Laferrier. The citadel was part of a large system of fortifications built to protect the country from future French conflicts. Looking at a similar model that Louverture used for economic success in the past, Christophe instituted an agricultural system resembling the plantation system in order to bring the economy back to its prominence. The population resented this new system. Out of favor and troubled, Henri Christophe committed suicide; supposedly his remains are within the walls of the Citadel.

Alexandre Petion was found to be a much more favorable leader. He seized large plantations from the rich gentry and divided them among the peasantry. Petion also distributed state-owned land in an effort to buy acceptance. Around 150,000 hectares were distributed or sold to more than 10,000 individuals (Arthur and Dash 46).¹ This had a negative effect on the national economy as exports decreased and most of the population became subsistence farmers. Petion also had a strong belief in the importance of education and began the Lycee Petion in Port-au-Prince to provide an education for all. Eventually Petion took ill with yellow fever and died; before his death, Petion named his successor to be General Boyer.

General Jean Pierre Boyer united the north and south of Haiti under his rule. He also invaded Santo Domingo, and brought all of Hispaniola under one government. On July 11, 1824, Boyer signed an indemnity treaty stipulating that Haiti would repay France for their loss in profit from the slaves and land holdings in exchange for formal

¹ 150,000 hectares is the equivalent of 579 square miles.

diplomatic recognition of the country's independence. The indemnity amounted to a sum of approximately 150 million francs, a blow to the economy of Haiti for which it would have to borrow from France and the United States to repay². The United States would not recognize Haiti's status as an independent nation until the abolition of slavery. Boyer's government collapsed in 1843, and at this time the majority of the population consisted of small peasant farmers.

The militarized state under these four generals was the bane of nineteenth-century Haiti (Dash 9). In 1843 the plantation system collapsed and there emerged a full-blown class of peasantry in Haiti due to the overthrow of Boyer by Charles Riviere Herard. Boyer was forced into exile and died in Paris. A great divide between the peasants and land-owning aristocrats began to develop, comparable to a caste system (Arthur and Dash 46; Dash 9-10). This division was marked by an illiterate, distrustful, peasant majority, a tiny elite divided by rivalry based on color, and no middle class. The struggles between the peasantry and elite would continue throughout the nineteenth century as the peasantry was exploited to produce Haiti's agricultural exports.

The period between 1843 and the United States occupation of 1915 was marked by this constant struggle and the rise and fall of over twenty rulers. Of twenty-one presidents, only two completed terms, while others fell in coups d'état. From this period onward a constant fight took place among the small elite to gain control of office and fight for the spoils that came with the presidency. Once in the office, one worked quickly to plunder the coffers and treasury before being ousted (Dash; R.D. Heinl et al). The most ruthless was Faustin Soulouque, whose twelve-year rein of terror led the nation to

² 150 million francs is the equivalent to \$528 million USD.

economic ruin and to be seen as a savage nation from abroad. The *Politique de Doublare*, a government by understudies, dominated the 19th century. Black generals came to power, manipulated by powerful mulatto elites. These generals would crown themselves emperor and create a fearsome paramilitary force, similar to the Tonton Macoutes.³

During this tumultuous period, as governments were overthrown, many pacified potential opponents with grants of land formally belonging to the state. The transfer and sale of land was never adequately recorded. As land was divided to decedents, holding became even more obscure. To complicate things even further, farmers began to occupy abandoned and idle lands, passing on the land to their children. The absence of official land deeds and titles complicated claims to land and left illiterate peasants vulnerable to exploitation (Arthur and Dash 82-84). The population began to form social and cultural ties to the land. Dubois illustrates the practice of gaining land control and the rise of the *lakou* system: “The most visible and widely shared of these practices, and one that has left a distinctive mark on the social geography of Haiti, was the system of the *lakou*. In its most basic sense, a *lakou* refers to a group of houses...and usually owned by an extended family” (107). Through the Code Napoleon, which guarantees equal right to inheritance, the land, which a *lakou* occupies is divided among the family in equal parts and typically the eldest male is the head. The *lakou* became a central settlement pattern of Haiti during this period and provided a level of autonomy and individual freedom for its inhabitants (Dubois 107-111; Larose 482).

Between 1911 and 1915, Haiti underwent even greater turmoil and turned abroad for heavy borrowing. With dominance in the Caribbean during this time, the United

³ The Tonton Macoutes were a paramilitary force formed under Duvalier to suppress his competitors and those who opposed him.

States wanted Haiti for its strategic ports in the Caribbean, in order to keep European powers in check (Dubois 211-214). The original purpose for the United States to land on Haiti was for the protection of United States citizens and foreigners in Haiti. The occupation was part of a strategy to keep European powers out of the western hemisphere during World War I. The occupation would last through 1934.

Under United States occupation, martial law was under effect. This led to the revolts led by the military chief of Leogane, Charlemagne Peralte, who led the gorilla fighters known as the Cacos against the US troops. In 1919, Peralte was shot to death, and his remains were tied to a door as a sign, which pacified the peasantry and the countryside but also made Peralte a martyr. After Peralte's death, the Haitian military, Garde d'Haiti was formed.

The US occupation of Haiti had some benefits to the country. Under occupation, several US business ventures invested in building infrastructure in Haiti, including a rail line from Port-au-Prince to Cap Haitien and roads throughout the country. The infrastructure allowed for more efficient extraction of resources from the country, which created a surplus. The United States used this surplus from the non-productive state to pay back the debt owed to it. The United States also centralized all of the power in Port-au-Prince. The development led by the US occupation made rural ports less important as the infrastructure allowed for centralization to the main ports, such as Port-au-Prince (Dash 13-14). This made the countryside reliant on Port-au-Prince for its economic viability. One surprising outcome of the occupation was the temporary unity of the blacks and mulattoes.

In 1934, Stenio Vincent, the president of Haiti from 1930-1941, led Haiti into the second independence. He set August 21, 1934 as the official date. The US occupation caused much of the same destructive socio-economic problems that had plagued Haiti in the past, marked by a militarized society, the ostracism of the peasantry by the elite, and the divide of class and color rivalry; however, the country was modernized (Dash 14-15). The United State's occupation left behind modern infrastructure, such as paved roads connecting the country and a new sewage system in Port-au-Prince. Mulattoes left in charge after the US withdraw of troops caused much of the same problems, "the old antagonisms [between black and mulatto] soon reappeared" (Arthur and Dash 47).

President Vincent wanted to dissolve the legislature and rewrite the constitution. He dissolved the legislature in 1935 and abolished the separation of powers, and proclaimed "sole authority of the state" and gave himself a second term beginning in 1936 (R.D. Heint et al 492).

The great depression heavily hit the coffee industry of Haiti by 40% on annual earnings. To make things worse, the coffee harvest of 1935 was poor, and devastating floods came in October. The Haitian Pineapple Company, which had been thriving, hit a wall. Out of the many American agricultural ventures that had started decades before, only two remained. The Standard Fruit Company's banana sector was the only surviving agricultural venture. Money remained the main problem as the government needed to appease the elite in favor (R.D. Heint et al 494-495). Vincent attempted to borrow money from Europe in order to pay down the US debt, but was refused due to the amount Haiti still owed France. Another blow hit the Haitian economy in 1936 when France closed its markets to Haitian imports. R.D. Heint et al remark that by the end of 1936, "the masses

remained disenfranchised under an authoritarian *mulatre* oligarchy” (R.D. Heinl et al 495).

During the thirties a new educated class was forming. The offspring of the elite were seeking and finding Haiti’s roots in Africa. The anthropologist Jean Prince Mars examined Haiti in light of African origins. These young elites wanted to distinguish the *noirs* from the mulattoes and build a power base in the urban poor and peasants. The sentiment of this group was anti-elite and anti-mulatto (R.D. Heinl et al 496-497).

1937 marked a tragic year for the Haitian population. Throughout the early 1900s Haitians had been migrating to Cuba and their neighbor, the Dominican Republic, in order to find work in the sugar cane fields. Upwards of 500,000 Haitians searched for work abroad. In 1937, Fulgencio Batista, the ruler of Cuba, expelled all Haitians. And, in 1937, Trujillo, the dictator of the Dominican Republic led a massive attack on Haitians at the border between Haiti and the Dominican Republic. Trujillo ordered the killing of fifteen to twenty thousand Haitians; it was a well-planned massacre. There was no clear reason why Trujillo ordered the attack other than a response to the 1822 attack of the Dominican Republic by Haiti. Vincent signed an agreement with Trujillo and asked for inter-American mediation. In the end Haiti could do nothing about the attack and Trujillo settled out of the courts, paying \$525,000 in cash to Haiti, which amounted to \$30 per person killed (R.D. Heinl et al 501).

As World War II entered full swing, under the pressures of war, Haiti started to lose its markets for produce. Britain ended orders for sugar and cotton and the Japanese bought the British shares in attempt to gain favor with Haiti. The Germans and Italians also sought to gain the support of Haiti by placing money into the Haitian war chest. The

United States was not spending any money on Haiti, but was keeping a watchful eye, nervous of the Japanese, Italian, and German interventions. Backed by the United States, Elie Lescot rose to power on April 15, 1941 as Vincent stepped down (R.D. Heinl et al 507-508). Lescot pledged wholehearted loyalty to the United States. On December 8, 1941, Haiti declared war on Japan. Appeased by Haitian loyalty, the United States replaced Japan, buying the entire cotton crop and credited the Haitian bank with two million dollars.

Haiti benefited greatly from the reception of US artillery, military, aircraft, and coast guard detachments during wartime. The US coast guard left behind a well-trained *Garde Cotes* and eighty-three flagships. The US air force constructed airfields throughout Haiti and trained Haitian aviators, leaving behind the *Corps d'Aviation*. The aircrafts left behind allowed for the formation of a Haitian airline, and many of the airfields remain to this day as active airports.

In 1946, once again political upheaval struck Haiti. Disapproving officials wanted to oust Lescot after he extended his term until peace arrived. Riots and looting began in the streets, led by the young intellectuals. In February, a military junta arose to replace Lescot and dissolve the legislature (R.D. Heinl et al 514). On August 12, 1946, mulattoes moved to resurrect the liberal 1932 constitution, and elections were scheduled. Dumarsis Estime won. Other elites felt cheated and the peasants worker movement took to the streets. Estime's victory was a victory for the folklore movement of black intellectuals; it led to the power of the black elite and the end of American financial control (R.D. Heinl et al 519). For once, Haiti entered an era of a booming economy; however the boom was squashed by a failed nationalized fruit industry and poorly planned development projects.

One great accomplishment of 1946 and the post-war era was the establishment of the *Centre d'Art* and the renaissance of Haitian art, reinvigorating Haitian culture (R.D. Heindel et al 523-526).

Estimate's revolution and destruction of the mulatto elite led to the empowerment of Francois Duvalier, a mild mannered doctor, known for his work with the US Center for Disease Control, fighting the spread of typhus, malaria, and yaws, who transformed into an absolutist leader. Duvalier's control lasted from 1957 to 1971, which was widely regarded as a dictatorship and denounced for being a kleptocracy. He also changed the colors of the Haitian flag to red and black. Duvalier propagated his black consciousness as a façade for state plunder. Duvalier gained help from the United States to train the Haitian military, and he formed a civil militia, the *Volontairus de la Securite*, which was more widely known as the *Tonton Macoutes* or boogeymen. Duvalier reigned by a state of terror. The middle class and the lower-class peasantry, who shared some commonalities with Duvalier, supported him. Duvalier even used vodou to enhance his aura and infallibility, furthering his connection with the countryside and control over it through a network of vodou priests (Dash 17).

Francois Duvalier was succeeded by his son Jean Claude Duvalier after his death in 1971. During Jean Claude's rule over Haiti, the country continued to unravel. With a lack of support for rural agriculture, the country exported little and relied heavily on foreign aid. The peasantry suffered greatly and many were forced to move across borders into the Dominican Republic in order to find work. (To make matters worse, the United States undertook an eradication of the Haitian pig to prevent the spread of disease. In replacement they introduced the Iowa pig. The introduction caused serious problems for

the rural pig farmer, as they costed many times more to raise than the well-adapted Haitian pig). Duvalier's reign is known for its atrocities to the Haitian population, which included the murder of over 30,000 people and the mass brain drain of Haiti, as thousands upon thousands of well educated and upper-class Haitians fled abroad.

In 1983, Pope John Paul II visited Haiti and inspired progressive parish priests, such as Jean Bertrand Aristide, a populist priest among the peasants, to bring about change. This inspiration led to the forming of the *Ti Legliz*, which was instrumental in grassroots movements that played a major role in the 1984 riots and eventual overthrow of the Duvalier reign. "Twenty-eight years of Duvalierism had exacerbated the cleavage between nation and state that had been inherited from independence and now made Haiti the poorest, most socially polarized nation in the Americas" (Dash 21). In 1985 the demonstrations and riots grew as the people of Haiti held the government in contempt. In 1986, the government lost control of the countryside, as the peasantry took hold. As desperation grew, the people took a stance against Duvalier and his government. The influential progressive church movement and the expansion of communication through media strengthened the populace. Jean Claude was forced into exile on February 7, 1986. The fall of the Duvaliers led to the birth of non-governmental organizations in Haiti, which saw the opportunities to help develop the western hemisphere's most damaged country.

Jean Bertrand Aristide won the 1990 elections by the will of the majority. Aristide was a priest among the peasantry class who had gained large approval during the *Ti Legliz* movement. However, in 1991, he was ousted in a coup led by General Raoul Cedras, which followed with military repression in the slums and countryside. The

international community responded to the political situation with a trade embargo. In 1994, the Clinton administration returned Aristide to power. This period has been known as the Clinton Occupation of Haiti and marked by the forced removal of Cedras. In 1995, Aristide abolished the military in Haiti. In 1996, Rene Preval, a Haitian politician and agronomist, won the election and replaced Aristide, but Jean Bertrand Aristide returned to office in 2001 until he was removed from the country by the US military due to conflicting interests that had taken ground.

After Aristide's exile, Rene Preval took office once again in 2006, where he remained until the 2011 elections. On January 12, 2010 a magnitude 7.0 earthquake struck Haiti with an epicenter near Leogane, less than thirty miles west of the capital, Port-au-Prince. Preval has been criticized for his failure to properly respond to the magnitude of the disaster, and in 2011 Michel Martelly, a famous Haitian pop singer, replaced him. The destruction caused by the earthquake and its effect on the Haitian people and economy has been devastating. In under a minute, the hope of a country to rise from its troubled past was diminished. Three years after the earthquake, the nation is still trying to rebuild itself, but the hope of coming back stronger is fading as aid begins to dwindle and a solid plan for recovery has yet to take shape.

1.2.1. Conclusion

Insurmountable atrocities have ravaged Haiti since the landing of Christopher Columbus in 1492, and yet the nation stands strong. The division that has been created between the elite and the peasantry creates distrust within the lower class, and the division between mulatto and *noir* creates a constant struggle for power. Within this study, knowledge of the complex political history is critical for interpreting some of the

statements made by interviewees concerning the role of government as well as understanding individual worldviews.

1.3. Sociology of a Developing Nation: Urbanization and Vulnerability

The complexity of Haiti's history is intertwined with the sociology of a developing nation. Knowledge of Haiti's development is just as important to understanding the nation's history. The development of Haiti, as it relates to urbanization and vulnerability, illustrates how the current economic and environmental climate has evolved and how it affects future development.

Throughout the world, 1 billion people exist on the margin of society, living in informal settlements and surviving on the informal economy. This population is as much as 78.2% of the urban population in less-developed countries (M. Davis 8). Haiti is one of these less-developed countries and is well known as the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere. The creation of informal settlements in Haiti, as in the majority of developing countries, is directly tied to overurbanization. Overurbanization is a symptom of development in Haiti that inevitably results in the formation of informal settlements that are left in a state vulnerable to economic, social, and environmental disaster.

1.3.1. Demographic Background

On the Human Development Index (HDI), Haiti is ranked number 158 of 187 countries recorded in the 2011 report, which puts it in the low human development category. Life expectancy is 61.5 years, the infant mortality rate according to the 2011 HDI report is 87 for every 1,000 births, the gross national income at the purchasing power parity is \$1,123, and the poverty rate of Haiti is 0.299 (UNDP 2011). The population of the country is 9,719,932, with an urban population of 52%, predominantly

located in the capital, Port au Prince. The metro population of Port au Prince is around 2.5 million with a city population of nearly 900,000 (CIA World Factbook). The population density in Port au Prince was measured to be as high as 1,500 people per hectare, roughly 2.5 acres (Fass “Political Economy in Haiti” 190-192). Given the rise in population since this statistic was given, it can be assumed that urban density has increased as well. Haiti has been described as “a scattered island of wealth surrounded by a sea of poverty” (Portes 23). Formal sector jobs are few, 90% are in Port au Prince, 50% are in the public sector such as education, health, and justice, and the rest are in state-owned enterprises such as electricity, telephone, police, and customs. The remainder of work is in the small private sector, consisting of factories, banking, commerce, and transportation. Unemployment in Port au Prince has been as high as 48.8% (Verner 8). It is quite apparent that Haiti has suffered from overurbanization.

1.3.2. The Rising Trend of Overurbanization

Since the era of decolonization following World War II, there exists a noticeable trend following the development of decolonized states. As these nations develop and their populations begin to migrate toward the cities for economic opportunities, overurbanization begins to occur. Post-colonial industrialization contributed to the demand for inexpensive housing; however, the downward pressure from these industries created an imbalance between wages and housing costs because the wages were too low. These problems were further exacerbated by mass migration to the urban centers. In order to be in central locations and in close proximity to work opportunities, workers were forced to create squatter settlements in backyards, rooftops, pavements, government-owned property, and any other available land, due to low wages, expensive

housing, and land scarcity. The UN Millennium Project estimates that more than 900 million people were living in slums in 2001. Urban informal settlements and slum growth were fueled by population growth, migrations, land scarcity, and inadequate policies. All of this is the unique outcome of historical, economic, and cultural processes at the local, regional, and national level (Green 218-221).

The urbanization trend in the Caribbean basin has come about because of rapid urbanization, highly unequal distribution of wealth, traditional agriculture decline, and export-oriented development. Migration to the city has not been gradual, but sudden. High rent and scarcity of housing force the poor to create their own shelter solutions, in irregular, informal settlements, and often squatting. A great dichotomy has formed between the rich and poor as they live in different worlds within the same city (Portes 23). As the rural agriculture economy is unable to absorb labor, it causes rural out-migration and the growth of the marginal masses in cities where people assume there are more economic advantages (Shandra et al. 310-316). Both young and old seek these advantages. According to Verner, workers who migrate to the city have a higher likelihood of being employed in the non-farm sector regardless of age, which is partially due to the strong informal economy (Verner 11-12). Also, the growth of export-oriented industry developed in Haiti, which attracts laborers to the cities. Port au Prince attracts as many as 100,000 people per year from rural areas. This has led to an explosion of housing for these workers as well as generated jobs in the informal economy (Verner 7). Spatial polarization, urban primacy, and informal employment are all central features of Latin-American urbanization (Portes 18-26), with Haiti being no exception.

According to Shandra et al, there are several reasons for overurbanization, rural push and urban pull, economic modernization, the neo-Malthusian perspective, and the dependency perspective; all of which are closely tied to environmental degradation. The neo-Malthusian perspective states that population growth is responsible for overurbanization. It is directly tied to overcultivation, deforestation, soil erosion, pollution, and overall environmental degradation, which lead to the urban pull (Shandra et al). The neo-Malthusian perspective is interwoven with all of the reasons for overurbanization because population growth plays such an integral role in each area of development.

1.3.2.1. Rural Push, Urban Pull

Rural push and urban pull are tied to population pressure and agriculture productivity. In the rural push, population growth outstrips job opportunities and overall agricultural productivity drops, leaving a labor surplus particularly in rural areas. In Haiti, the rural push leads to impoverishment among a jobless population, and people are drawn to urban areas because they perceive of economic opportunity in the city (Shandra et al 312). There are several causes for the rural push and urban pull: supply-induced scarcity and environmental degradation; demand-induced scarcity; structural scarcity; and environmental scarcity (Shandra et al). Supply-induced scarcity occurs when environmental degradation occurs more quickly than the renewal rate; demand-induced scarcity occurs when there is an increase in consumption within a population; structural scarcity occurs when resources are not allocated equally and are kept by a select population (the elite); and environmental scarcity is caused by these three structures (Shandra et al 311). Scarcity is caused through the imbalance of the renewal rate of

resources, increased consumption, and inequitable distribution. One practice in particular that adds to land and resource scarcity in Haiti is the division of land to each child of a family as part of the Code Napoleon (Lundahl "Failure" 116). These problems also affect income and increase vulnerability through instability and health risks (Shandra et al. 311-314). The rural population becomes increasingly impoverished and urban-ward migration to cities occurs.

1.3.2.2. Dependency and Overurbanization

The dependency perspective relates overurbanization to external factors and transnational economics. Haiti took advantage of the Caribbean Basin Initiative in order to build an export-oriented manufacturing sector. The Caribbean Basin Initiative was part of a temporary US program initiated by the Caribbean Economic Investment Act to provide tariff and trade benefits to Caribbean countries. The export-producing zone was concentrated in Port au Prince. This location accelerated rural migration to the capital, which already had land scarcity and soil erosion. Policies established under the rule of François "Papa Doc" Duvalier between 1950 and 1976 led to a massive population growth of more than 400,000 in Port au Prince (Fass 8). In 1990 the urban population of Haiti was at 30.3% (Portes 11); today that population has increased to 52%. In Port au Prince, urban space has been thoroughly invaded by the rural migrants, reversing the class polarization where the elite exit the city as migrants enter. The elite have to deal with squatters outside their doors due to the lack of space for housing (Portes 22-23). Also, this invasion of the rural migrants has led to the extreme densification of former working class areas, "bidonvilles," with as much density as 1,200 people per hectare (2.5 acres) (Portes 22; Fass 190). Occupation of urban space has spilled into the streets,

creating markets that block traffic. Furthermore, the access to utilities such as water, electricity, and drainage is limited or non-existent in these highly dense settlements, with access only available to the privileged. A statistic from 1988 shows that 72% of the urban population lacked running water and 92% had access to basic latrines only; and today the pirating of services is frequent and dangerous (Portes 22). With the lack of space in the capital, migrants are forced to expand outward, seeking basic services and employment. Haiti has suffered from several economic crises where the decline in agriculture could not be absorbed by any other industry, and no industry emerged to absorb excess labor; no export production zone could deal with this mass migration (Portes 23-24).

Resource scarcity can be caused by environmental degradation, increased demand, and inequitable distribution. In Haiti, the environmental degradation diminishes the amount of arable land and therefore the economic opportunity in agriculture. This reduction in economic prosperity through agriculture pushes people into the cities to find jobs. This is exacerbated by the overpopulation and excess labor force in rural areas that migrate to the cities in search of work (Lundahl “History”).

1.3.2.3. Environmental Degradation

It is widely accepted that Haiti is the most underdeveloped nation in the western hemisphere, primarily due to political and environmental reasons. The environmental factors are particularly influential in the process of rural migration and overurbanization. Environmental degradation has occurred throughout the history of Haiti, due to overpopulation, poor agricultural practices, and deforestation. These are all integrally linked. Since agriculture is the primary source of income in Haiti, as the population

grows, the ratio of people to land increases, and therefore the need for more land is necessary and the forests are cleared. Deforestation has had the largest and most lasting effect on environmental degradation in Haiti. Haitians have cleared forests for agriculture to make space for a growing population, for exporting timber, and for fuel. Deforestation leads to soil erosion, which depletes the soil of the necessary nutrients needed for agriculture, and the silt that erodes flows into water sources, polluting water sources and depleting potable water. The process of depleting arable land is exacerbated through current agricultural practices of rural Haitians, such as not allowing the soil to rest and allowing the over-grazing of livestock, which results in bare land that is easily eroded by rains. Moreover, there is a lack of economic resources to fix the problem (Lundahl "Politics"). Farmers are less likely to invest in agriculture modernization because they do not hold the title to the land, and the lack of access to infrastructure services such as water and electricity makes their situation worse (Verner 21). Additionally, rural and urban dwellers use charcoal for energy, furthering deforestation and land erosion. "People living in a state of absolute poverty tend to put a much higher weight on the present than on the future when making decisions. What matters first and foremost is survival today" (Lundahl "Politics" 29). When the effects of deforestation and environmental degradation are too great, rural residents push into urban slums or flee the country (Shandra et al 312).

1.3.2.4. Foreign Dependency/International Intervention

Economic modernization is tied to the importance of internal economic characteristics. Shandra et al explain that, "a global division of labor that distorts the domestic economy of the many developing nations, reduces the rate of economic growth,

increases income inequality, and adversely affects well being for a substantial portion of a population” (316). Trade dependency aggravates this gap and direct foreign investment promotes underdevelopment, all of which lead to overpopulation and vulnerable populations. For example, multinational corporations put factories in urban areas that attract workers to these city centers, but there exists an extreme discrepancy between their product value and labor value, and they therefore do not supply their workforce with a viable income.

Foreign loans, specifically through the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, led to the foreign debt crisis in Haiti. This was exacerbated by underdevelopment in Haiti and a predatory state. The debt and interest payments created by these loans drained scarce capital from investment in the national economy and inhibited economic development while reducing government spending on social welfare programs such as education and health (Shandra et al 316). Furthermore, the increase of taxes caused increased burden upon the citizens, preventing the potential reduction of overurbanization. Those in power during the predatory states in recent Haitian history mismanaged funds and took out even more loans for the personal gain of certain politicians, mortgaging Haiti’s development possibilities (Lundahl “Politics”). During the US occupations, debt payment was set as a priority above development.

Typically democracies that respond to citizen protests and opinion help mitigate overurbanization more effectively. However, while Haiti has a democratic government system, it has suffered from oppressive leaders that did not have the best interest of its citizens in mind, and instead heeded to the interests of transnational corporations (Shandra et al 315). The predatory political forces in Haiti have further increased its

social problems, and the resulting political oppression has led to the increase in urbanization. For example, Haiti was indebted to France, and in order to pay the indemnity, taxes were imposed on the people. Agriculture production had to be increased in order for the rural farmers to be able to afford these taxes, which led to more over-intense use of land. As earlier discussed, the degradation of the land pushes people to look for work in the city, perpetuating the cycle of overurbanization.

Mats Lundahl further argues that the cause of economic underdevelopment in Haiti is the combination of the growth of population and soil erosion, the lack of technological progress in agriculture, and the predatory state that has occurred in Haiti on and off for the last 150 years. The existence of the predatory state or kleptocracy has been especially detrimental to the development of Haiti. During the reign of François "Papa Doc" Duvalier and later his son Jean-Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier from 1957 to 1986, the nepotistic hiring of political officials attracted people to the capital in attempt to gain positions in the Duvaliers' kleptocracy. Politicking became the best way to secure income. After the fall of the Duvalier reign, as state officials were sent into exile, some left with state revenues, a common practice in developing nations (Lundahl "History").

1.3.2.5. Vulnerability

Overall demand for land in urban areas leads to the use of unsuitable, normally unusable terrain, which is prone to natural hazards. This land tends to be below floodplains, on sandy soil susceptible to slump, and reclaimed land such as landfills (Ofori 41). The lack of capital to build sustainably leads to inhabitants ignoring proper building codes and zoning ordinances, not using proper building technology, and not properly maintaining buildings. Additionally, the government does not have the capital

to manage urbanization and maintain public space (Ofori 41-42). The high-density urban areas are also unsafe because the lack of economic and social capital leaves room for these areas to easily develop high crime rates and health risks. The rise in the security industry is a marker of this (Verner 7). More particularly, the openness to environmental disasters for these slums leaves them exposed to potential total collapse.

The overurbanization, or hyperurbanization, leads to social and environmental degradation in and around these urban centers due to overpopulation, which in turn leads to vulnerability, especially as seen in informal settlements or slums. This timeline of development and urbanization is intricately woven with the increase of vulnerability that has led to a more powerful impact of natural disasters. The poverty of developing nations and the lack of resources, such as social and economic capital, increase vulnerability weakening coping strategies and delaying the recovery process (UNHSP). “The vulnerability of unauthorized, un-engineered construction, while varying in detail geographically, has risen in accordance to social and economic realities of development and urbanization” (Green 221).

One hundred of the most powerful disasters of the twentieth century occurred toward the end of the century, ten in the 1970s, twenty-five in the 1980s, and sixty-five in the 1990s, and according to the Operations Evaluation Department of the World Bank, the death rate of natural disasters in the developing world is one hundred times higher than that in the industrialized world (Ofori 40). This lack of mitigation is an indicator of underdevelopment. These numbers are expected to rise, especially as the world population makes the shift to the 50% urban, 50% rural mark. As urban populations rise, we especially begin to see a rapid growth of cities in the developing countries. According

to Degg, 88% of the world's fastest growing cities are located in developing countries, and all of these are exposed to natural disasters (Degg 208). Disasters costed seventeen times more between 1990 and 1999 than from 1950 to 1990; this appears to be a growing trend that makes a developing country, such as Haiti, even more vulnerable to devastating effects (Ofori). This observation is quite relevant to the 2010 earthquake that shook Haiti. It is also interesting that the World Bank is the largest lender to national disaster relief, which according to Shandra et al. will cause further harm to development because of debt problems. Many of Haiti's economic problems are a direct result of borrowing from other nations, the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund.

In Haiti, it is clear that this trend has led to one of the most devastating natural disasters in the western hemisphere. Port au Prince, Haiti had a spectacular population boom between 1950 (150,000) and 1976 (640,000) during the Duvalier reign (Fass 8). Port au Prince was originally established as a small port town with little infrastructure to support a population over 60,000, but today the city's population is around 1 million. As previously stated, this hyperurbanization was caused by the lack of natural resources to support agriculture, which has forced people into the city for economic survival, and it has led to the development of informal settlements built over unstable ground that do not follow codes or zoning. It is in these informal settlements where the highest percentage of vulnerability occurs, which is escalated by the economic standing of its inhabitants and the environmental degradation caused by the location of the settlements.

In developing countries, it has been shown that the indigenous architecture is resilient to some forms of natural disaster, such as in Asia and the Americas; however, in the case of the 1999 earthquakes in Turkey, the indigenous adobe construction was not

resilient and failed (Ofori 48). An important aspect of indigenous architecture is that it is culturally responsive and uses local resources. Due in part to the fear that the vernacular architecture is not resilient and due to the prestige of more modern building materials and technology, some countries have enacted policies that prevent the use of indigenous architecture, forcing the use of less desirable materials such as masonry and reinforced concrete. In India, these policies have backlashed, as buildings built using these methods were not seismically sound. The modern building materials and technologies also undercut the traditional construction methods, which can be superior in resilience, as well as undercut an age-old trade of master builders and carpenters. These master builders are forced to construct with materials and techniques that are unfamiliar to them, which leads to faulty workmanship (Green 222-224).

In urban areas, a shift occurs from the use of the traditional construction methods to modern methods, this is a complicated issue that is affected by policies and by social norms. Building codes may require the use of reinforced concrete or confined masonry in earthquake zones, or an individual may use concrete because it is a status symbol, it brings them esteem. Due to cost and economic resources, construction has developed in unsustainable ways that greatly affect already vulnerable urban populations. Also, these populations seek out the most affordable housing possible that is nearest their place of work. Even in the upper class, people use improperly trained construction workers to build their homes because they are the only builders available; this practice has led to the poor construction of a high percentage of buildings in Port au Prince.

Since urbanization has increased drastically and the majority of the population lives in informal settlements, new social and economic patterns have arisen. Rural born

slum dwellers migrated to areas populated by friends and family, and their rural social structures were modified to the urban context (Blanc 195-196). Lundahl argues that many rural to urban migrants came alone, leaving family and social networks, and therefore the urban economy has an individualizing effect (“Failure” 116-117).

Another aspect of urbanization in Haiti is the loss of rural social structures that provided security. The urban economy is more and more individualistic. The indigenous economic social structures of the *lakou*, *sang*, and *konbit* have not fared well in the migration to the city. The *sang* and *konbit* are interconnected to the central focus of this thesis, the *lakou*. The *sang* is the rotating access to credit within the *lakou*, and the *konbit* is the rotating access to labor (Lundahl “Failure” 114). The *lakou*, *sang*, and *konbit* serve to accumulate social capital and form a basis for community-based enterprise. However these social structures are partially lost in rural out-migration due to the individualistic form of migration. These cooperative structures have had trouble surviving in modern urban society and have not turned out to become sturdy building blocks of community-based entrepreneurship. The individualistic nature of the competitive urban economy causes mistrust and animosity (Lundahl “Failure” 117-125). The fall of these structures is directly tied to the political turmoil as well. These structures will be further discussed in later chapters.

Contrary to Lundahl’s views on the loss of the *lakou*’s effectiveness in creating social capital in urban areas, Blanc and Schininà et al. describe the *lakou* as playing a fundamental role in Haitian society (Blanc 195-196; Schinina et al. 161). As populations migrate to urban areas, there are pieces of a social network in place that help individuals find accommodations and work in urban areas. Most notably this social structure is the

lakou. The following section will go into further detail, describing the *lakou*'s effectiveness in mitigating vulnerability.

1.3.3. Mitigation of Vulnerability

The rural, non-farm sector can have a positive role in absorbing a growing rural labor force and slowing rural-urban migration (Verner). Verner illustrates that this is possible through an increase in education that creates non-agriculture based employment, increasing job potential in rural areas (8-24). The urban pull also has the ability, to some extent, to create labor shortages in rural areas, increasing the demand for labor in rural markets; the reality is that rural workers could potentially earn more than their urban peers (Verner 23). Rural workers need access to land tenure in order to help alleviate the rural push (Verner 23-24). Shandra et al provide six steps that can be implemented in order to mitigate overurbanization and vulnerability: environmental programs, promoting environmental sustainability, medical programs, grassroots organizations, partnerships between state and society for protection of environment, partnerships between state and society for health, and propagating worldwide standards (313-314). International non-governmental organizations (NGOs) help to reduce urban migration through the preservation of natural resources. Furthermore, in fostering the active role of citizens in society, grassroots movements and political protests for the protection of individual rights also play an important role in reducing overurbanization (Shandra et al 325-326). Through the reduction of overurbanization, mitigation of vulnerability can occur. Green states that the need exists for local knowledge, local tradition, local resources, and local economy (309-329).

Since the 2010 earthquake, as a result of displacement, Haiti requires major adaptations to redefine personal, interpersonal, socioeconomic, cultural, and geographical boundaries. The *lakou* is a social support network for migrants to urban centers as well a primary factor of resilience in disaster response and post-disaster recovery (Schinina et al 161). The *lakou* has been challenged by urbanization and migration and the loss of social connectedness but is still a fundamental part of Haitian society. Urbanized communities tend to recreate the *lakou* in urban suburbs and the same happens among students moving to the capital (McGill University 18-19). The International Organization of Migration recommends that the revitalization of the *lakou* system is one of the main resilience factors and it needs to be implemented in the planning of settlements, both in population selection and spatial organization (Schinina et al.). Furthermore, those members of the *lakou* who migrated internationally through the support of their families have the ability to send remittances, increasing the earning capacity of their families through transnational ties.

1.3.4. Conclusion

Overurbanization is a result of several different factors: the rural push and urban pull, economic modernization, neo-Malthusian perspective, and dependency perspectives. In Haiti, the rural push and urban pull factor is apparent. The increase of population and accompanying growth of the labor outstrips the job opportunities and overall agricultural production drops. Due to the perception of economic opportunity in urban centers, people are drawn there; this leads to overurbanization. Overurbanization leads to people living in treacherous conditions, making them vulnerable to social, economic, and natural calamity. The loss of social capital and the weakening of indigenous social support

systems in rural out-migration further intensify the vulnerability of these populations. The symptoms of vulnerability can begin to be alleviated through promoting environmental sustainability, implementing medical programs, protecting the environment and health as a result of partnerships between the state and society, and propagating worldwide standards. The reintegration of indigenous social structures, such as the *lakou*, will further mitigate vulnerability and alleviate overurbanization.

1.4. Post-Disaster Recovery

The 2010 earthquake shook Haiti in the night on January 12th, affecting an estimated 3 million people, killing more than 300,000, and destroying nearly 80,000 buildings in Port-au-Prince alone.⁴ Within days, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), multi-national aid organizations, and foreign governments responded with supplies, food, physicians, and necessary aid. As a first response, food and medical attention were given in order to maintain the health of the traumatized survivors. Excavation of the rubble followed in the hopes of saving those trapped beneath the rubble, and emergency and transitional settlements (tent cities) were set up in order to house the nearly 1 million displaced Haitians. Following these early stages of the disaster relief process, organizations such as Architecture for Humanity, Habitat for Humanity, Red Cross, and Caritas began to devise resettlement and reconstruction plans in order to better serve the needs of those displaced. The timeline of Haiti's post-disaster recovery can be better evaluated in conjunction with a larger narrative of similar events across the globe.

⁴ This number is contested by many, such as Archibold, due to inaccuracies in reporting ("Homeless in Haiti").

1.4.1. Post-Disaster Recovery in Haiti

Two years after the earthquake, more than 40% of these temporary settlements still remained. It has become more and more apparent that the nature of these settlements is threatening the health and safety of those living in them. Epidemics of cholera, poor sanitation, and lack of clean water persist and there is a constant threat of crime and other gang-related activity. Furthermore these temporary settlements were not built to resist hurricanes, which frequent the area and leave room for more potentially devastating disasters, creating a perpetual cycle of calamity.

The 2013 hurricane season has proved disastrous for those remaining in these temporary settlements. Despite the dangers faced by the inhabitants, they remain in temporary settlements either because they have nowhere else to go, or because they have formed new communities and new bonds with their neighbors, with whom they do not wish to part (Wachtel). Randal Archibold notes the major reason people leave these tent cities is because the land owners or managing groups evict the inhabitants or people leave to escape the violence and crime taking place in the camps (“Forced Out”).

The issues that surround the temporary settlements bring up many questions regarding the implementation strategies and development and design processes of installing emergency, transitional, and permanent post-disaster settlements.

- How can implementation and design strategies be developed that identify and deal with potential issues such as sanitation, water-borne illness, and clean water?⁵

⁵ The Orangi Pilot Project in Pakistan is an example of a design strategy to implement infrastructure into informal settlements, allowing for an endogenous, generative method of installation (Hassan).

- How can temporary settlements be planned in a way that takes into consideration people's desire to remain there?
- How can tent cities be developed to inhibit violent crime?
- As planners, engineers, designers, NGOs, aid organizations, how do we respond ethically and in culturally sensitive and socially responsible ways?
- Are traditional settlement patterns created in temporary settlements through the devices of the endogenous populations?
- What is the role of traditional settlement patterns in the design of temporary settlements, knowing that such temporary settlements are likely to become permanent?
- Can beauty be created in such chaos?

At the forefront of post-disaster planning and reconstruction should be the social, cultural, and ethical responsibilities of aiding in the transformation of the current temporary settlements into viable, permanent ones.

1.4.2. Temporary Settlements

In a study by Aytul Kasapoglu and Mehmet Ecevit on the responses to the East Marmara Earthquake, the effects of temporary settlement formations on affected populations are discussed. In most cases, the temporary settlements had adverse socio-economic, psychological, and cultural effects on the survivors. However, the researchers did find resilience in affected populations through solidarity and moral obligation to their fellow man (Kasapoğlu and Ecevit 339-358). Badri et al. discover the negative impact that involuntary resettlement into temporary, permanent, and host settlements had on the socio-economics of the survivors. Although their study indicates that disaster risk was

alleviated with the planning, survivors, living in either a host settlement or temporary settlement, were often forced to travel to their original property in order to conduct daily agricultural-based business (Badri et al. 451-468).

Multiple studies show that failures in planning and in cultural responsiveness lead to "ghost towns" and over-crowded settlements. Mitchell discusses the potential of creating "ghost towns" when temporary settlements are improperly planned and fail to incorporate the wants and needs of the survivors (296-313). These settlements are abandoned as survivors move back to their original towns, giving up safety for economic sustainability or moving in with family in adjacent towns unaffected by the disaster (Mitchell 310-313). This phenomenon is also noted by Joel Audefroy and in research on post-disaster recovery in Southeast Asia (Audefroy "Haiti"; Mulligan and Nadarajah).

Almost all literature on disaster recovery, including resources and reports such as those produced by the Sphere Project, lists several stages of recovery that usually follow a linear path from emergency shelter to transitional shelter to permanent shelter.⁶ Given the discourse among many researchers, it would seem pertinent that disaster recovery planners should consider enabling temporary settlements, and possibly even the original emergency settlements, to become permanent. Kelman et al. state:

The aim of emergency shelter is to avoid life-threatening situations by meeting immediate needs. Emergency shelters, however, are often never replaced by external organizations, and so families are forced to use them for months or years or to use their own resources for permanent housing (263).

1.4.3. Recovery Response and Disaster Risk Management

Natural disasters have caused greater catastrophes in recent years due to the

⁶ The Sphere Project is a humanitarian organization dedicated to the creation of the *Humanitarian Charter and Minimum Standards in Humanitarian Response* (<http://www.sphereproject.org>).

effects of hyper-urbanization and increased vulnerability (I. Davis 5-8). Large populations live in informal settlements that are prone to hazards due to the lack of building codes, poor construction, and shoddy materials; these problems persist due to economic standing (Yu, Lange, and Mastrangelo 307-310). These factors increase the vulnerability of informal settlements. Rapid urbanization draws millions of people to the city for jobs or the hope of employment, and more often than not, the majority of these people who migrate from the countryside end up in informal settlements. Oliver-Smith speaks directly to the occurrence of unsafe settlement and building practices in Haiti, and how they added to the devastating effects of the earthquake ("Haiti" 32-36). It is necessary to respond to vulnerability during the recovery process in order to create prevention measures for the future. Building codes must be adapted or modified, skilled laborers must be trained, better materials need to be used, and culturally responsive architecture needs to be implemented. This leads directly to the need for disaster risk management, which can facilitate successful preventive measures with the implementation of procedures and protocol (Wamsler).

1.4.4. Conclusion

Post-disaster recovery is a complex issue. Even with the best intentions in mind, a well-laid out plan can fail. Post-disaster planning and reconstruction needs to happen at a local level to ensure the inclusion of all people involved and in order to be socially and culturally responsible. In order to address vulnerability and create resilience, the individual needs to be empowered (Lizarralde et al.). The knowledge of current local practices should influence the approach to self-settled post-disaster communities and the systems established by the individuals, such as the *lakou*.

CHAPTER II

THE *LAKOU*

The *lakou* is a vernacular settlement pattern of Haiti. It is manifested in both the social organization of the family and the physical space of the family compound and courtyard. The literal Haitian Creole translation is the courtyard or yard (Edwards 122).

In the simplest physical formation the *lakou* is a clustering of houses, typically protected by a fence, owned by members of the same family, with a shared courtyard. Historically, the clustering of houses occurs on family land, owned equally, through the laws of inheritance,⁷ among the children of each generation. Theoretically, the land is divided into smaller and smaller lots over time; however, this is not always the case due to agreements within a family.

The Souvenance *lakou*, as shown in Figure 2.1, depicts the physical characteristics of a *lakou*. The families in this *lakou* arranged the housing along a road and built a wall for protection.⁸ In the primary and central courtyard, the temple and Mapou tree⁹ reside; these are the focal communal and spiritual objects within the *lakou*. There are also secondary and tertiary courtyards. The secondary courtyard contains other Mapou trees and water cisterns; it also shares the rear of the temple. The tertiary courtyards are smaller and created by the clustering of individual nuclear families. As

⁷ Code Napoleon.

⁸ The wall is often times the first object built on the property to demonstrate ownership and protect the property from squatters.

⁹ The Mapou tree is a sacred tree to many Haitians. It is considered taboo to cut down a Mapou tree in Haiti, which helps to explain why these are the largest and oldest trees in the country. Infrastructure must give way to the Mapou tree throughout Haiti. This ritual is directly tied to the West African roots of Haiti.

the family grows, houses creep into the agricultural fields in order to provide more room for subsequent generations; these clusters provide additional communal spaces.

Although it is not certain, the fields are most likely communally shared among the family in the form of a *konbit*.¹⁰ Therefore the law of inheritance does not affect the division of the physical agricultural land, but only the equal dispersal of the produce.

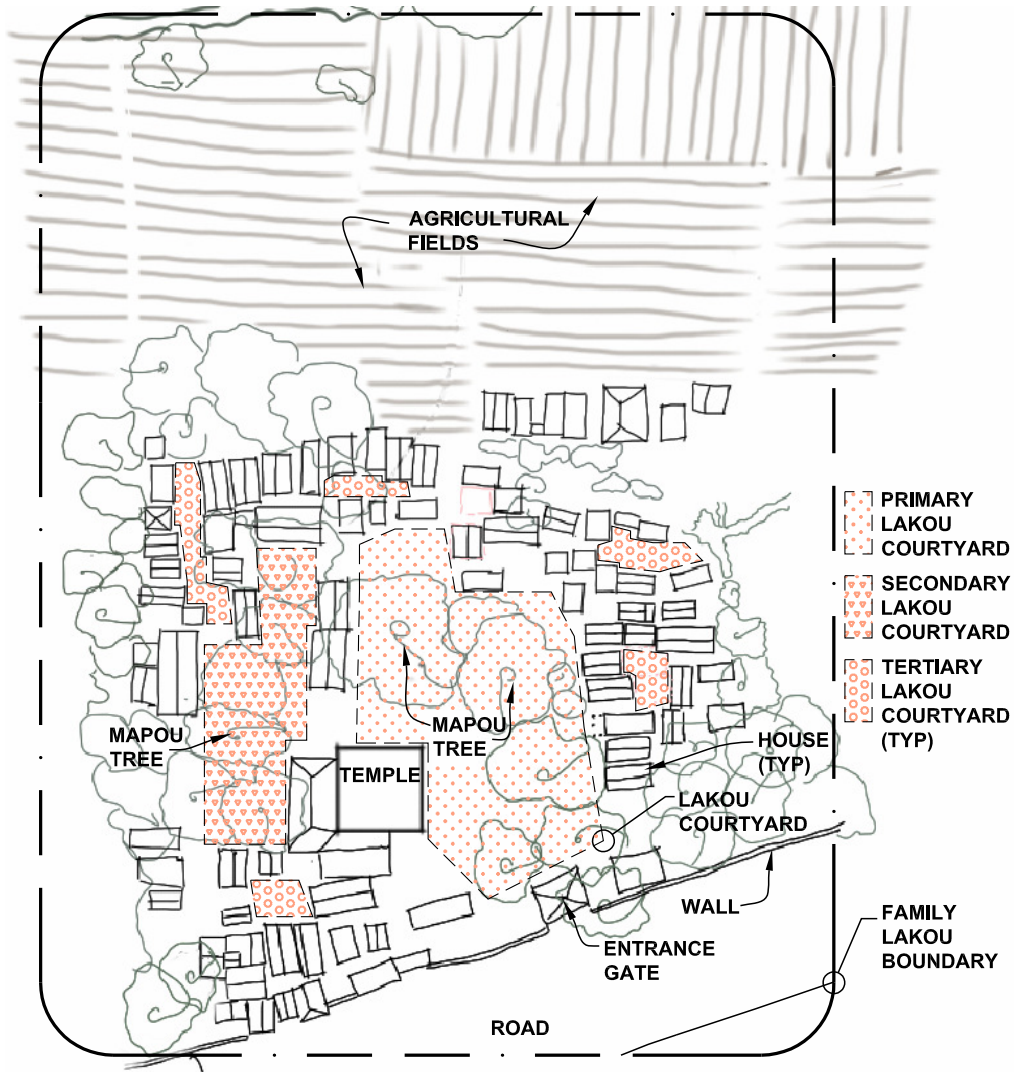


Figure 2.1. Souvenance *lakou*. Key elements are labeled.

¹⁰ The *konbit* is an agricultural cooperative organized by relatives within a *lakou* in order to establish more efficient and effective agricultural production (Lundahl “Failure” 113-116).

The abstract diagram in Figure 2.2 depicts a typical formation of the *lakou*, which is slightly different than the example from Souvenance. The property is arranged radially with the cluster of houses in the center. The inhabitants of the *lakou* agree upon the locations for the houses, common spaces, and agricultural fields. The fields are the most valuable asset to the family and therefore the most important land to inherit. Considerable individuality exists within the *lakou*, and little planning goes into the *lakou*'s formation. It is the social organization that shows the group character. A *lakou* always has a "met," or chief who is usually the oldest person of the family (Bastien 482). Agreements are made between family members in order to designate arable land, living areas, and the cemetery.

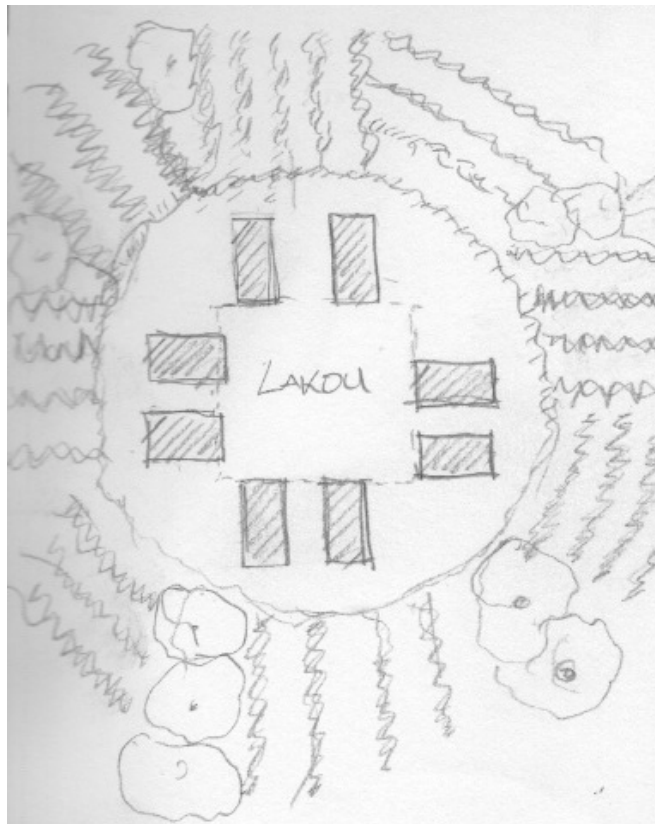


Figure 2.2. Abstract diagram of a *lakou*. Central housing cluster surrounded by agricultural fields. Agricultural fields segmented into equal pieces for each family member.

2.1. The Cultural and Historical Importance of the *Lakou*

A part of my field research in Haiti included traveling to Souvenance for the vodou ceremonies and *Rara* festivities, which took place during *Holy Week*.¹¹ The following is a personal account of some of the events that took place during this time in the Souvenance *lakou*.

2.1.1. A Vodou Ceremony

In the middle of a heated discussion, a woman is taken by a spirit, she drops slowly to the ground and begins writhing around as if in a seizure; she has been possessed. She slowly works her way to the Mapou tree, lodges herself under the roots. This Mapou tree is located centrally to the lakou across a path from the main vodou temple; it has a diameter of nearly five feet and stands over fifty feet in the air. There is a second, great Mapou, which is located in the distance behind the lakou's agricultural fields.

The ceremony begins in a side chapel of the main hall, which is connected to the vodou temple, an octagonal building located in the center of the lakou. The temple is filled with vodou symbols and ritualistic art; its new construction sticks out in the vernacular of the lakou. Many are sitting. Some whooping, stand up and begin to pulse with the beat of drummers.¹² They slowly process into the main temple. A giant circle of spectators forms as the mass of dancers slowly circles around a chandelier hanging from the center of the hall in a procession. This procession continues for several rounds, and

¹¹ Vodou is a Haitian religion, combining aspects of West African spirituality brought and shared among the slaves and Catholicism.

¹² The Haitian drum is also a ritualistic instrument used in these ceremonies. Without knowing a vodou priest, it is very difficult to get your hands on one of these drums.

then the participants assemble along the back and begin a forward-back procession. There are gentlemen in the front, both encouraging and corralling the “initiates.” Goats and chickens are slaughtered in a back room and brought out to bleed over those in procession. The chickens are laid at the altar, and a hole is dug in the ground; then the blood and bones are poured in. Goats are brought out to the dancers on the shoulders of the same male initiates. As the ceremony draws on late into the night, the procession exits the temple and follows the path to the gate of the lakou. It is at the gate that a chant begins between those inside of the lakou and the local villagers standing in the street on the other side of the tall concrete wall (Appendix B).

2.1.2. Historical Importance

The *lakou*, along with all other vernacular architecture¹³ and urban patterns of Haiti, is heavily influenced by the origins of the Haitians in Western Africa, the colonial influence of the French, Dutch, and Spanish, and the indigenous population of the Taino (almost entirely wiped out by colonization) (Vlach “Popular Architecture of Haiti” 12-19). The origins of the *lakou* culture can be tied to the division of land among Petion’s soldiers in the early 19th century (Dubois 322), but could also go back as far as the original maroon settlements in the mountains. Throughout the time of colonization on Hispaniola (the island that includes Haiti and the Dominican Republic), the indigenous population and the slaves escaped to the impenetrable mountains, where they formed

¹³ Vernacular architecture, as defined by Paul Oliver in the *Encyclopedia of Vernacular Architecture of the World*, (1997):

Comprises the dwellings and all other buildings of the people. Related to their environmental context and available resources, they are customarily owner or community built, utilizing traditional technologies. All forms of vernacular architecture are built to meet specific needs, accommodating the values, economies and ways of living of the cultures that produce them (xxiii).

maroon settlements, which were typically led by one individual and in which all inhabitants lived communally (Joachim 24-25; Heintz 27-33). It is also in these settlements that the Taino had their influence on the new African slave population.

The historical point at which the *lakou* system took prominence in Haiti was marked by a law instated by President Geffard in 1862, which allowed for the sale of government-owned land into small parcels. In 1883, President Salomon distributed plots to anyone who committed to cultivating coffee, cotton, tobacco, or indigo; this drastically increased the number of landowning Haitians (Dubois 107). As the population gained land holdings, they developed social and cultural customs tied to the land; the most important being the *lakou* (Dubois 107). Furthermore, the Haitian law of inheritance, which is built upon the Code Napoléon,¹⁴ guarantees the equal distribution of land to the children. The *lakou* system developed as generations of a family maintained the same land and became tied to the land. The *lakou* system became the typical settlement pattern of Haiti. The inheritance of the land and the ability to sustain a family through the produce of the land enabled the *lakou* system to remain autonomous, guarantee land ownership, and protect individual freedoms (Dubois 107-112; Bastien 478-510).

Furthermore, the *lakou* system developed in absence and opposition to the government. It was an auto-regulatory and egalitarian structure, which regulated itself through inheritance, land ownership, and family relations (Dubois 107-112). The matron of a *lakou* who was interviewed stated: “That’s even worse if you leave it up to the government. We don’t have a government! Our government is our family that is here”

¹⁴ The Haitian legal system is based on the Napoleonic Code 1804. Other elements of the Haitian Code were adopted from the French Code. The Napoleonic Code guaranteed the right to inheritance for the direct bloodline of the owner, in this manner land was divided equally among the children.

(refer to Appendix D for all interviews). The *lakou* enabled communities to repel a threat that came from within Haiti, from the state itself as it attempted to reconstruct the plantation order. The *lakou* kept the division of wealth among families without consolidation to the wealthy elite. Settlements with the *lakou* were formed with a network of paths with few common roads in order to prevent access (Larose 494).

2.1.3. Cultural Importance

Deeply rooted in the Haitian culture, the *lakou* is deeply connected to the Haitian religion of vodou. Physical aspects of the traditional *lakou* are tied directly to spiritual significance. For example, a cemetery, placed in a corner of the *lakou*, draws remembrance toward the ancestors, who formed the *lakou*. The following narratives describe the connections between the *lakou* and the vodou counterpart in depth.

2.1.3.1. Souvenance

The *lakou* at Souvenance is understood through vodou spirituality and directly linked to the social concept of the *lakou* (Figure 2.1). This *lakou* is one of the original families of Haiti and is also the location for their vodou ceremonies. During the RaRa¹⁵ celebration, which takes place during Holy Week, the family of this *lakou* returns to take part in the annual ceremonies. As part of the RaRa pageantry, members of the surrounding *lakous* form bands of drummers and horn players and march throughout the streets, stopping at the gates of each *lakou* to draw the other families into the street

¹⁵ The RaRa celebration is tied to the spring planting season. Historically, a *lakou* would organize a *corvee* or *ronde* in order to get other *lakous* together to help with their agricultural production. A team of musicians would march to the surrounding *lakous*, playing drums and timbales and blowing on conch shells to awaken the sleeping families. After enough members were rounded up to participate in the fields, work would begin and songs would be sung and libations of rum poured to motivate the workers. At the end of the day, a feast would be the reward for a hard day's work (Courlander).

festival.

A member of the Souvenance *lakou*, Mona, provided an interesting tale concerning the history of vodou and its significant connection with the *lakou*.¹⁶ Like many members of the large rural *lakous*, Mona does not live in her family *lakou* anymore, she lives in Port-au-Prince and travels back to her roots twice a year to participate in her ancestral ceremonies. Mona's description of the *lakou* comes from a narrative that has been passed down to her through generations.

There are three *lakous* in Gonaives: Souvenance, Dahomey, and Soukri. Soukri comes from Congo. Soukri is celebrated on August 14th... and has their celebration for the harvest. They start on the 14th, but have a celebration five to six times a week for a month. Bajo [another *lakou*] only has a celebration for five days; it is a special *lakou* for Ogou. Ogou is one of the icons; he is the guy sitting on the horse and is not specific to Haiti. He is found in Cuba and Brazil too. Soukri used to have a sugar cane plantation in the Menage time and Souvenance used to be linked to cotton...If you go into this temple, you will see a bed of Dessalines. That bed belongs to Dessalines. This is the place that Dessalines...comes when he needs power, when he is trying to save himself...Dahomey, the person that brought the Dahomey here was not a slave, he came from Africa. He came to Souvenance from Senegal and founded this town. People had to have secret ceremonies during my grandmother's time. The government did not accept vodou. For a long time the Catholics and Christians fought the vodou. Souvenance never closed, but they tried to burn temples. During Duvalier's time, he accepted vodou ceremonies. Little by little a rebirth of the ceremonies came about. The original family no longer exists at Souvenance. Little by little they keep it alive. The *lakou* is very tied to the vodou spirituality.

Mona's description of the various *lakous* in the region depicts the link between the *lakous* and the ceremonies that are connected with vodou. These ceremonies take place in conjunction with the spring planting and the fall harvest. During the ceremonies, narrated at the beginning of the chapter, a linkage between the ritual and the physical areas of the

¹⁶ The most famous vodou ceremony in the history of Haiti is the Bois Caman Ceremony, which occurred in one of the large *lakous* in northern Haiti (Dubois 92).

lakou is apparent. Each ritual takes place in a different area of the *lakou*. For example in the Souvenance *lakou* there are different ceremonies that take place in multiple locations within the *lakou*. The main ceremony takes place in the temple, then a procession is led to the water cisterns surrounding mapou trees, where another ritual takes place, and then the procession continues to the large mapou tree at the central courtyard and ends at the largest mapou tree behind the fields.

2.1.3.2. Interview with a Man in a Post-Disaster Settlement

The following excerpt is from an interview with the leader of a post-disaster settlement, further explaining the spiritual connections to the *lakou*. The committee chair is a young Haitian man studying sociology and anthropology. He gave me his understanding of the *lakou*, which is developed through his own ancestral narrative and informed through his academic studies. His narrative is broken up into themes.

Definition:

Lakou has two definitions; the first definition is courtyard or the yard. The second definition is an anthropological term for a mystical thing.

Ancestral origin and mysticism:

As far as this term, the *lakou* has a link to the ancestors. No matter where you are in the world, when the *lakou* is asking for you, you should come back. It is specific and has a deadline for when you must return.

The *lakou* is a habitation; it is the place set by the ancestors. It exists from generation to generation. It is not something that you can sell because the ancestors cannot be replaced. It is in that same *lakou* that all of the mysterious things can be solved. It is in that *lakou* that the family should solve their problems.

How is the *lakou* formed? It is the ancestors who form it, habitation to habitation until the last generation reaches it. From the ancient tradition, they apply the same traditions. In the *lakou*, there is someone who is in charge of the *lakou*, like a priest. That person is the only one who has access to talk with the guinea. It is that person who has to begin the ceremony when they are serving food to the guinea. That's the way it is.

You cannot just take a *lakou* from the countryside and put it here. It was something that was established from the first generation. It is as if I were to take the *lakou* from my country to yours. It is something that remains from generation to generation. That is why I tell you that, as the time is coming, even if you live far away, when you sleep, you will think of the *lakou* and return there. As long as you do not return there, you will be confused. Physically you will be in good health, but you will feel that something does not work. It is still in your mind, it is like a mother or father who has a child that goes away from them, their only objective is to come back to your children. That is the way it is with the *lakou*.

The *lakou* habitation is not a simple thing. The *lakou* habitation is a zone, like a tribe. There is no stranger in that place, it is my family from generation to generation. When you come to the house, it is your family's house. On one side your sister's house, the other your brother's and the other your mother's house. Each of the children lives in their own house within the same zone, from generation to generation. Even if one leaves the country, their house will remain. Another member of the family is not allowed to sell their empty house. You cannot take it out from its origin and place it somewhere else. I was born in a *lakou* and came here to Port-au-Prince.

Every January 26th, my *lakou* is supposed to get back together. Even though we do not have any ceremony, we should all be there. The children of the *lakou* belong in the *lakou*. It is tradition that began with our ancestors.

The spirits:

The spirit that lives in the *lakou* is called the guinea. The spirit that lives in the *lakou* is only for the generation that lives in that *lakou*. That is the reason why, even if you go far away, anytime the spirit asks for you, you should come back. It is because of him, the spirit, that you are alive. In a *lakou* there is a spirit that watches over all, an evil spirit. The evil spirit can attack the family that belongs to that *lakou*. If the evil spirit attacks one of the people, only the good spirit in the *lakou* can heal that person. The spirit that heals is only there to heal people from that family. The spirit can prevent you from doing what you want to do. If you keep teasing a member of that family, the spirit will stop you from doing that. In the same way that spirit does not encourage any member of that family to tease other people.

I remember, when I was a child, I was possessed by a spirit. When I went out at night here in Port-au-Prince, I was hit by them. I have a grandmother, who is from Cap Haitien, from the habitation, Haroab. My grandmother knows that I have a problem in Haiti, and she forces other people to bring me back to Cap Haitian so that I can be healed. The medicines that heal are very simple and it is the guinea that tells what will heal me. The guinea should be active in your mind, and he will tell you

what type of leaf will heal. How does he know? When my grandmother is sleeping, the spirit comes to her mind, and she opens the door and goes out. She goes to the *lakou*, among all of the trees and plants, and picks up leaves that are good for the sickness. In this case, it is the guinea who heals that person.

Everything that the devil desires will be found in the place that is the peristyle. The guinea cannot heal you here, you have to go back to your *lakou*, the habitation of your ancestors. This is the place where the secret of the medicine is held.

The Mapou Tree:

To heal sick people, they use leaves from the trees in the *lakou*. Leaves of the Mapou tree. Sometimes you can see people thriving on the ground. ... How does it work? If a member of the family in the same *lakou* has a problem. A member of the same family, while he is sleeping, he dreams that there is a member of another family that is persecuting a member of his family. That same family has to give a treatment. Someone may be working, in good health. He will get a vision of the guinea in his head, even if he was not doing anything bad.

In the *lakou* there is a huge tree, the Mapou. This is the very place where all of the family members get together. Some of them bring ox to sacrifice. They have a great ceremony and lay the sacrifices at the Mapou's feet. They light candles and pray so that the guinea can come eat the food. It is different when you see people tie ox and sacrifice them so that the blood can drain to the Mapou's feet. This time it is the devil.

The guinea cannot stand blood, the best way to thank him is for all of the family members to get together for all of the people to drink the wine (klarin¹⁷) that the ancestors used to drink. It is different for the devil. For the devil you should shed blood, by killing an ox tied to the Mapou. The devil can drink that blood in several manners. When the blood has finished shedding, it is said that a snake comes down the tree to drink the blood. In this manner, you know you are dealing with the devil.

2.2. Other Definitions of the *Lakou*

The *lakou* carries several meanings, but is most widely known informally as a social structure and formally as a family compound. Edwards and Kariouk define *lakou* as, "... the courtyard. A house compound, or yard, usually surrounded by a fence or vegetative boundary" (122). Lundahl adds, "... a spatial unit, the site of an extended

¹⁷ Moonshine made from sugar cane.

family, at times encompassing as many as three or four generations, but the term is also used for the extended family itself (with a common residence)” (“Failure” 113). “The front porch is the focal point of the *lakou*” (Taylor). Larose defines the *lakou* and points out the significance of physical divisions:

The *lakou* is a cluster of households without any fence between them; the building of fences would indicate the prescience of factions within the group and the *demembre* spirits would not tolerate it: stress is put on the group unity (494).

Additionally, Larose suggests that the clustering of houses on rented land does not form a *lakou* (494). This argument by Larose considers the necessity for the family spirits to reside within the *lakou*.

Mats Lundahl and Simon Fass draw importance to the cooperatives inherent in the *lakou* (Lundahl “Failure” 114-116; Fass “Housing” 193-203). The *konbit* is an agricultural cooperative organized by relatives within a *lakou* in order to establish more efficient and effective agricultural production. The *sang* is a system of rolling access to credit within a *lakou* that is meant to support family members whose crop did not produce well in a given year or are in need of a loan for another reason, such as sickness. These systems are also reiterated in *The Aftershocks of History* and *The Drum and the Hoe* (Dubois; Courlander). The *lakou*, *sang*, and *konbit* serve to accumulate social capital and form a basis for community-based enterprise. These cooperative structures have had trouble surviving in modern urban society and have not turned out to become sturdy building blocks of community-based entrepreneurship as in rural society (Lundahl “Failure” 117-125).

The *lakou* does not only exist in a physical form, but also defines the family. The *lakou* is embedded in the *creole* culture, holding an important part in the social and

spiritual life of Haitians. The *lakou* is where the family grows and socializes; it is also where the family pays respect to the spirits (often times of the first ancestor to build the *lakou*) and practices vodou (Bastien 482). The strong tie of the family community in the *lakou* is a very important aspect of the social fabric in its relationship to the built environment.

2.3. The Resilience of the *Lakou*

Mulligan and Nadarajah point out the importance of family and community support networks in disaster recovery as well as in overall economic development; the *lakou* can be the center of this network in Haitian communities (1-16). Given the importance of this network and support system, I conjecture that the *lakou* is a primary resilience factor and should be used in the planning of settlements, both in the selection of population and in spatial organization.

Authors such as Fass and Lundahl speak of the *lakou*'s urban transformations as well as its economic significance. Bastien Remy describes the *lakou* in great depth through his ethnographic studies and explains the social, cultural, and historical importance, which is reiterated through the words of the young Haitian committee member. More recently, Mintz, Dubois, Larose, and Laguerre have described the importance of the *lakou* system in their studies. It is clear that the *lakou* is still important in Haitian society and should be looked to as such.

Mulligan et al. and Audefroy voice the concern that it is not only necessary to adapt strategies to the “vernacular architecture,” or indigenous architecture of the specific locations, but it is also important to involve the community of survivors in the process of rebuilding (Mulligan et al. 1-16; Audefroy “Post-disaster” 665-675). Furthermore,

vernacular architecture has proven to be resilient in disaster-prone areas due to its evolution over time and ability to adapt to nature (Audefroy "Haiti" 448-462). Audefroy discusses the resilience of the Haitian vernacular architecture in the wake of the 2010 earthquake and suggests adapting the vernacular architecture in order to create future disaster prevention ("Haiti" 447-462). By improving the vernacular building technologies and architecture, the vernacular form continually evolves, as it should. It is especially important to remind Haitians of the successes of their architectural heritage and how to learn from the past to build a better future.

The autonomy of the *lakou* system as described by Dubois, Bastien, and Heintz et al. shows the historical resiliency of the *lakou* throughout the tumultuous history of Haiti. In *The Aftershocks of History*, the *lakou* system is described as a defense against the state itself (Dubois 107-114). Historically, as the Haitian governments of Louverture and Henri Christophe attempted to reinstate the plantation structure, the peasantry resisted through their own social and cultural conventions (Heintz et al.; Dubois). Even present day Haitians allude to the ability of the *lakou* to be self-governing. The resilience of the *lakou* system could prove to be of great use in the Haitian recovery from the 2010 earthquake.

2.4. The Spatial Patterns of the Traditional *Lakou*

Spatial patterns of the *lakou* begin to emerge from the literature. These patterns are connected to the habitus, or daily habits, of the inhabitants of the *lakou* and have historical reference. A pattern is an idea about how something is done, it can connect with the past and work with other patterns to create a language to guide a process. The following is a list of the main patterns that form the *lakou*, as determined through the literature. Chapter V will reveal the transformation of these patterns in the present day.

- Few common roads in order to conserve arable land and prevent outside access
- Networks of paths created through a communal agreement
- Designated toilet locations
- Borders to prevent conflict in the form of living walls
- Communal eating, those with food shared with those who were without
- Cemetery for the respect of ancestral heritage
- *Konbit and Sang* (agricultural cooperative and rolling access to credit)
- Direct linkage to rural markets

Furthermore, there are several iterations of the *lakou* typology uncovered through the literature review that are found throughout rural, semi-rural, suburban, and urban Haiti. The diagrams in Figure 2.3 delineate the changing formation of the settlement pattern. The first is the clustering of the families' homes on the family owned property, designating the social and spatial relationships. The second diagram shows the inclusion of a physical barrier surrounding the housing cluster, thus creating a compound. The third diagram delineates the occurrence of an extended family *lakou* in an urban setting. Due to the high cost of living in an urban environment, the families all share one single home (Fass 193-202). The fourth diagram designates the more common urban occurrence of the private *lakou*, in which a nuclear family lives in a single-family home. The fifth and last diagram is a rendition of the Souvenance *lakou*, demonstrating the growing aspect of the extended family within the physical space and the designation of agricultural and housing land use. These diagrams are helpful in understanding the various formations that the *lakou* takes in Haiti and were used to uncover the *lakou* in post-disaster settlements.

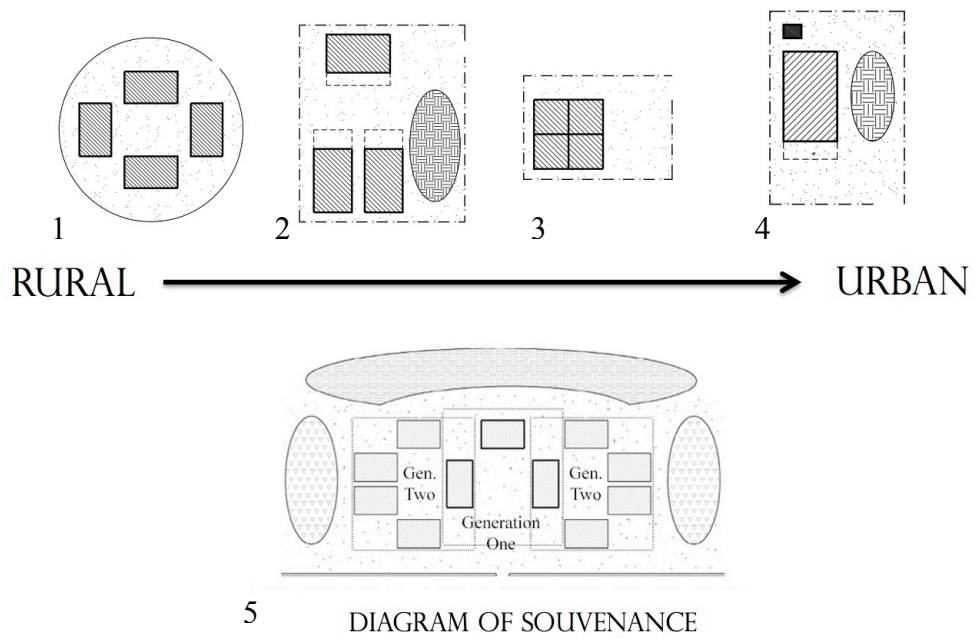


Figure 2.3. *Lakou* typologies discovered through the literature. The typologies demonstrate the variation in formations and the transformations that take place as the *lakou* enters the urban strata.

CHAPTER III

GOING INTO THE POST-DISASTER SETTLEMENTS AND SPEAKING WITH THE INHABITANTS

3.1. Introduction

The *lakou* is present in Haitian settlement patterns and is important to the health of Haitian society and culture. The goal of this study is to test the *lakou*'s importance through the study of post-disaster temporary settlements,¹⁸ showing that through their own devices, endogenous inhabitants create the *lakou* in post-disaster temporary settlements. I propose that this will show the need to account for the production of the *lakou* in the planning of post-disaster initial settlements that are intended to be permanent in order to maintain the health and vibrancy of the settlement.

The aim in the field was to investigate whether or not the *lakou* manifested in the post-disaster settlements, and if it did, how this might be important. The presence of the *lakou* brings to question, what role it plays in resilience after disasters. The following chapters will demonstrate what was uncovered through this study and the changing nature of the *lakou*. This chapter will go through the process of the field study.

3.2. Why Qualitative?

In order to discern the manifestation of the *lakou* in post-disaster settlements (PDS) a qualitative approach was necessary. Because the *lakou* manifests itself both in physical space and social organization, qualitative research methods were necessary in

¹⁸ When referring to post-disaster temporary settlements, the term temporary is in reference to the emergency and transitional stage of post-disaster recovery and less in reference to time. The exact status of these “temporary” settlements is difficult to ascertain since they have adapted and changed over the last three years since their implementation.

order to discern the duality of the *lakou*. In order to investigate the social organization of the *lakou*, interviews with inhabitants and observations were necessary to uncover the individual connections to the *lakou* and the significance drawn to spatial organization. The physical aspect of the *lakou* can be measured and documented through measured drawings, but to understand the meanings attached to the space, observations and interviews were necessary.

The overall analysis involved qualitative coding of interviews in order to determine sentiment toward the *lakou*. As themes surrounding the *lakou* emerged, it was possible to discern the manifestation of the *lakou* in the post-disaster settlements and the changing characteristics of the *lakou*. The analysis of the interviews was combined with the inductive analysis of behavior-mapping exercises, which helped to connect inhabitants to social spaces and the significance of spaces. Lastly, measured drawings were created to determine the significance of the sizes of different spaces and the relation of size to use.

These methods were combined to determine how a space within a self-settled post-disaster camp resembled the traditional form of the *lakou* and how the inhabitants conceptualized the *lakous* and regarded the social aspects of community. I asked the following questions: if the inhabitants considered a space to be a *lakou*, what is the significance of the space, and was it just a physical space or did it have a social connection; if the inhabitants did not consider a space to be a *lakou* or to resemble a *lakou* system, did their actions and socialization within a housing cluster represent what one would expect in the traditional *lakou* system? The observations were used to discern how a clustering of houses or entire camp resembled a traditional *lakou*.

3.3. Methodology

Through personal observation, I noted the social behaviors and interactions of the inhabitants, defining areas where the interactions most often took place. Photographs and sketches were used to help document these spaces and supplement mapping exercises. Interviews with inhabitants complemented these observations, transmitting meaning to the social interactions in an attempt to discover how the social form of the *lakou* is defined in space by the inhabitants. An audio recorder was used to record the conversations for transcription and coding. These interviews help to illustrate the community defined by the *lakou* and whether or not a healthy form exists in a settlement, spatially and socially. The interviews also helped to explain why the *lakou* does or does not exist spatially, although this was often difficult to ascertain due to individual conceptions of the term *lakou*.

3.3.1. Interviews

The interviews were conversational in style in order to avoid the pressure of a formal interview process and maintain a comfortable and relaxed environment. The questions developed for the interviews evolved throughout the study. Depending on the unresponsiveness to the questions or a lack of understanding, I changed the questions to better suit the individuals whom I was interviewing. The interview questions, including translations can be seen in Appendix B, and the transcription of every interview can be found in Appendix D. Prior to conducting the field research, I studied Haitian Creole at the University of Oregon Yamada Center, but during the interviews, I still required translators for the interview process.

I used three different translators for these interviews, one in Port-au-Prince and two in Leogane. The translator in Port-au-Prince provided great continuity throughout the study of the post-disaster settlements selected there and was familiar with the full definition of the term *lakou*. The first translator I worked with in Leogane introduced me to several sites, but he was unable to continue working with me due to scheduling conflicts. He arranged for his cousin to work with me in his place. This was advantageous because the cousin grew up in a family *lakou* and understood the intent of the interview questions. The personal connections the three of these interpreters had in the various post-disaster settlements were critical for the success of the study. The interpreters had all worked with aid organizations in the various post-disaster settlements, and the two in Leogane had some family members living in the post-disaster settlements. These connections helped to establish trust within the communities. Finally, the interview recordings were transcribed into English and used for coding.

3.3.2. Mapping Exercises

In conjunction with the observations and interviews, I conducted mapping exercises. I used behavior maps as a method to perform observations and note the activities that took place within the settlements. I created behavior maps in order to determine key focal points of social activity and daily routines that took place within shared space in the self-settled post-disaster camps. These maps were based on both sketches and site plans derived through the measured drawings. The behavior maps can be viewed throughout Appendix C.

In conjunction with the interviews, I also attempted a mapping exercise with interviewees, in which they were to draw maps of their neighborhood or *lakou* and

identify where they socialize. The aim for this exercise was to uncover spatial relationships to the *lakou*. Unfortunately, interviewees were either embarrassed to draw or had never attempted to draw before. An added difficulty to the interviewee exercise was my mistake in using a mechanical pencil rather than a regular pencil, because some people had never seen or used a mechanical pencil before. Figure 3.1 is one example of an attempt at the mapping exercise. This demonstrates yet another issue with the exercise; the man drew his previous house layout rather than his current house.

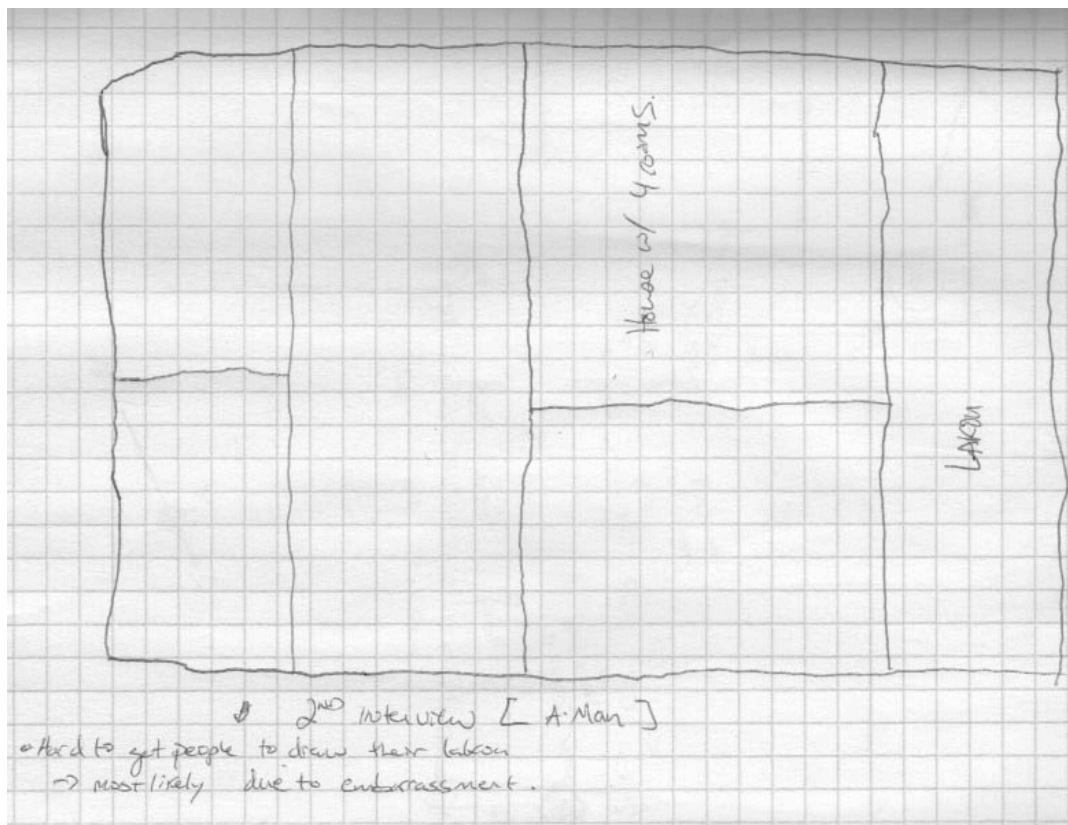


Figure 3.1. Interviewee's drawing of his house.

3.3.3. Measured Drawings

The last method used was the drafting of detailed measured drawings of the *lakou* and its surroundings. These drawings were used for the behavior map, combining the information from the observations and interviews, and locating the occurrence of the

social, spatial organization in plan. The scope of the measured drawings ranged from drafting the site plan of an entire camp to drawing only the shared social space, which was considered to be a *lakou*. The range depended on the size of the settlements and how the inhabitants conceived the *lakou*. The measured drawings help to develop a settlement pattern of the *lakou*. However, the actual measurements of the communal spaces did not prove significant. The differences in the size of spaces were indeterminate. The size of a space did not affect the activities that took place in the area: a small space was just as likely to have four people sit and talk as a large space. The largest factor in differing activities had more to do with objects such as a sunshade than the actual size of the space.

3.3.4. Selection Criteria for Sites

I had originally planned to select sites based on the manifestation of the *lakou* within post-disaster settlements in Port-au-Prince and Leogane and to determine how successful the settlements were working. The intention was to find settlements in which the *lakou* manifested itself and settlements in which the *lakou* did not manifest itself, using these criteria to determine whether or not the *lakou* adds to the social health of the camp. Prior to departing for Haiti, initial research of several post-disaster settlements and conversations with acquaintances working in the field determined that there were settlements with *lakous*. For example, one post-disaster settlement planned and designed by Architecture for Humanity (AFH) was being constructed by Habitat for Humanity in Leogane with the *lakou* as a key-planning criterion.

The site selection based on these criteria proved much more difficult in the field, even with the support of local NGO employees and a group of professors and planners. During the first week in Haiti, I studied a traditional *lakou* in the Arbonite district that

was not affected by the earthquake. I spent four days in the Souvenance *lakou*, outside of Gonaives for the RaRa festivities, as described in the previous chapter. This study helped reinforce the knowledge I gained through the literature review and helped me to understand the social and spatial relationships within the *lakou*. The study of Souvenance established a base for understanding the structure of the *lakou*, the social and spatial relations, and connecting the literature to the field research. This knowledge guided the observations. Upon my return, I met with James Lutz, an architecture professor from the University of Minnesota, collaborating with AFH, and Sabine Malebranche, a planner in Port-au-Prince and planning professor at the State University. Knowledgeable of my research intentions, they provided very useful and important advice.

3.4. Case Studies and Distinctions

The study was conducted in Port-au-Prince and Leogane. Port-au-Prince was chosen in order to develop a deeper understanding of the transformations that the *lakou* settlement pattern undertook in urbanization and to see how the social construct translated in the urban post-disaster settlement. Leogane was chosen because the *lakou* is the predominant settlement pattern of the region, and it was likely that inhabitants of post-disaster settlements in Leogane would bring aspects of the *lakou* and its social construct into the post-disaster camps. Furthermore, Leogane was the epicenter of the earthquake, so its inhabitants and their settlements were the most impacted.

The sites selected for the study were self-settled post-disaster camps, following the definition of a self-settled post-disaster settlement from the United Nations Shelter Center (UN OCHA).¹⁹ Self-settled camps were chosen in order to discern the creation of

¹⁹ The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs Shelter Center

space in a post-disaster settlement through human processes, and understand possible bottom-up mechanisms that supported healthy development. Viewing planned post-disaster settlements would have been less effective because the rigid planning hinders the development and adaptation created through human processes. Through the aid of friends living and working in Port-au-Prince, I chose three different settlements near Delmas 75.²⁰ After observing and conducting initial interviews, it was determined that these were self-settled post-disaster camps, and I chose two for further study based on their unique characteristics. In Leogane, I had planned to study the Santo Community, but did not receive approval from the managing organization, Habitat for Humanity International. This was not a problem because the Santo community was a planned permanent PDS, not a self-settled camp. I did an initial field reconnaissance to determine the other post-disaster settlements in the area and designated three. Again, I used initial observations and interviews to determine which were self-settled and chose the two settlements that were the most unique.

Table 3.1 illustrates the primary self-settled post-disaster settlements studied and designates the stages these settlements have gone through, ranging from the emergency shelter phase to the semi-permanent stage. All of these post-disaster settlements are incremental and fit into the Shelter Center's definition of a self-settled post-disaster settlement (UN OCHA 88). A full description of each settlement may be viewed in the observations section of the appendix (Appendix C). The first three, Save the Children, the

describes a self-settled camp as follows: "a displaced community or displaced groups may settle in camps, independently of assistance from local government or the aid community" (88).

²⁰ My friend, Corrigan, helps run the Apparent Project with his wife Shelly. They employ various vulnerable Haitians who work as artisans. I became friends with several of these artisans, most of whom lived in the post-disaster settlements.

walled settlement, and Sugar Canaan, all began as emergency shelter settlements for displaced persons by the earthquake but have since transformed into more transitional shelter settlements through the inhabitants' own devices. The inhabitants have created more permanent housing than the original tarps and tents distributed to them by various aid organizations.

Table 3.1. Matrix of Settlement Designations

Settlement	Semi-permanent	Transitional	Temporary	Emergency*
Save the Children (Urban)			X	X
Walled Settlement (Urban)			X	X
Sugar Canaan (Suburban)		(X)	X	X
Ka Piti (Suburban)	X			

* Emergency shelter settlement formed directly after the earthquake and has transformed into a temporary shelter settlement through self-built temporary housing; these settlements have been in place for over two years.

Save the Children refers to the large camp near Delmas 33 in Port-au-Prince, Haiti, which is in an urban setting. People began to take refuge at this site directly after the earthquake, and it has since transformed as people have constructed more permanent housing, using wood branches and tarps. This PDS was chosen due to its size, proximity to my accommodations, and inhabitants with whom I was acquainted. An inhabitant of the Save the Children settlement, Rodney, helped to select active social areas within the settlement.²¹ One area was his own house and the space his family shared with their neighbors, and the other was a large open space in front of a pre-existing concrete house, where a water cistern had been constructed. The walled settlement, which initially

²¹ Rodney's mother works for the Apparent Project, and Rodney has been taken in by Corrigan's family.

received aid from Oxfam, was also chosen due to proximity and acquaintances, as well as the uniqueness of a settlement contained within pre-existing walls; this PDS is also in an urban setting. Rodney also helped me to find this settlement. The walled settlement had a large shared space near the entrance, but the most utilized space by the whole camp was the small church built in the corner of the settlement. This settlement was not more than a kilometer from the Save the Children settlement. These two sites were studied together for a three-week period while I was living in Port-au-Prince, during which I conducted interviews and observations, interacting with the inhabitants.

Sugar Canaan and Ka Piti refer to the two settlements in Leogane, Haiti that were chosen for study. Both are in suburban environments with close proximity to the urban center of Leogane. Sugar Canaan is located on Rue National, just outside of the city center of Leogane. This settlement was originally located along the river but was forced to move to its current location when the river flooded during the rainy season directly following the earthquake of January 12, 2010. Furthermore, this site is in another transitory state as the IOM intends to relocate the inhabitants into transitional shelters (T-shelters) on land owned by the Chest of Korea, a non-governmental organization. After conducting initial interviews here, it was clear that the settlement was a self-settled PDS.

The last site, Ka Piti, was chosen for its qualities as a semi-permanent settlement created by the landowner, the Red Cross, and the inhabitants themselves. For all intents and purposes, this is a growing, permanent settlement, but given the building materials used, land appropriation techniques, and infrastructure realities, it is considered a self-settled PDS. The landowner divided his sugar cane fields into lots, in a checkerboard fashion. Each plot is rented to a tenant for a period of five years, after which time the

tenant may either purchase the land or rent it for another five-year period (there was an unclear understanding of the lease terms among the inhabitants). These lots, which were sugar cane fields, lie at a low elevation within two kilometers of the sea and are prone to flooding. During the rainy season, it is extremely difficult to reach these lots by foot, which is the primary means of transportation for the inhabitants. These persisting problems pose a serious problem for the settlement. During my field research in the settlement, which was during the 2012 rainy season, I was not able to reach the *lakous* on a few occasions. Some inhabitants received houses from the Red Cross, constructed with a concrete masonry unit (CMU) base and stick-frame structure with painted plywood sheathing enclosing the structure and a tin roof. There currently is no infrastructure, although a Japanese electrical engineering NGO has plans to install electricity in the settlement. Due to the proximity of plots to each other, inhabitants are forced to come to agreements as to what parts of their shared property will be used for foot paths. There are no roads in the settlement other than one access road that stops at the beginning of the property; there is a main road to the sea that is to the east of the settlement. My translators helped me select two specific *lakous* to study, which were inhabited by their families. The other *lakous* chosen were based on the friendliness and openness of the inhabitants. These two sites were studied during a four-week period through interacting with the inhabitants and making observations.

3.5. People's Concept of the *Lakou*

The interviews brought out the difficulty of studying a subject with a complex meaning. Inhabitants had different understandings of the term *lakou*. Through the literature, in particular by Mats Lundahl, it was expected that urban dwellers would not

understand the social aspect of the *lakou* and only understand the *lakou* to be the yard or a courtyard, and only in the countryside would inhabitants understand the full concept of the *lakou* system (“Failure” 112-127). Nearly everyone understood the literal translation of *lakou* to courtyard or yard, and some connected significance to the space. For example, the *lakou* or yard of one’s house is the space in which they spend the day enjoying the shade of trees, and it is where they receive guests into the house. The only inhabitants who understood the social and spatial aspect of the *lakou* defined the term in the sense of the family compound or family *lakou*. Only one person I interviewed, a camp committee member and student, understood the full meaning and significance of the traditional *lakou* system. This is described in the previous chapter.

With one of the common interview questions, the interviewee was asked to define the *lakou*. If they did not understand the question, I asked alternative questions such as: “What was your house like before the earthquake? How were rooms and outdoor areas arranged? What have you created here that is similar to your old house? How important is it to have a space outside of your tent house to sit, cook, and clean in?” In Port-au-Prince, the majority of inhabitants’ concept of the *lakou* involved the physical space. In Leogane the majority understood the concept of the family *lakou*, and their concepts of the *lakou* demonstrate this understanding.

The following is from a conversation I had with an older woman living in the Save the Children PDS. She gave her explanation why the shared space in front of her house existed.²²

Why are the houses so close together, did you all decide to have it that way?

²² Refer to interview in Appendix D and Figure C.6 for the space being referenced.

No. We do not own the land, so we do not feel we can build wherever. The houses are stuck together here because this is the only space left. The inside of my house is very small because I had to leave space for the government.

How important is it to have this space, is it something special to have?

I left the space for the *lakou* because I do not know the government's plan. I would have liked my house to be bigger and take up that space, but I was afraid of the government.

This woman had a unique perspective of the importance of space, placing more importance on the size of her house and the government control.

Another woman living in the Save the Children camp was utilizing the vacated space adjacent to her house. This woman, although less concerned about the government, also placed importance on space.

It depends on what God decides to give us. If you're living in this kind of situation and God decides to remove you from it, it is a blessing. You like and want beautiful things. We are lacking space here and people are always arguing with me because of my kids and the space they use to play (Appendix D).

Nearby, I spoke with a group of students and asked how important it was to have individual *lakous* and more space for relaxing outside. One man stated: "It would be better for the people. Yes, exactly, [the *lakou*] is very important to have" (Appendix D).

In another camp, ASCEDD, down the way from the Walled Settlement in Delmas, the inhabitants considered a single common space to be the *lakou*. This space was a covered area that provided shade from the sun, where most of the inhabitants came to socialize and work on crafts to sell at the market (Figure 3.2). Adjacent to ASCEDD, another camp, called Heads Together, also considered communal shaded spaces to be the *lakou*. The women of this camp worked and socialized under a simple shaded covering,

and the men socialized under the shade of trees in another space in the camp. When the women were asked where they considered the *lakou*, they responded:

Even though it is in bad shape, where we are standing right now. We just can't stay in the tents because it is so hot. Yes, we consider this space as a *lakou*. It was a good space but right now it needs repair. This is where we use to stand to keep from getting wet in the rain (Appendix D).

A man in the group stated: "Our afternoons are spent here. Those that go to work head out to work, and those that don't hang out and socialize" (Appendix D). The images in Figure 3.3 depict each of these spaces in the Heads Together camp.



Figure 3.2. Photographs of the primary social space in ASCEDD. Photos by author.



Figure 3.3. Photographs of the primary social spaces in Heads Together. On the left is the women's social space, and on the right is the men's social space. Photos by author.

In Leogane, people placed emphasis on the physical space alone and on the social aspects of the *lakou*. In the PDS Sugar Canaan, the leader of the camp considered the whole camp to act as one *lakou*. This appears to be based on the social aspect of the term. The following is an excerpt from our conversation.

Is it family alone that lives in the *lakou*?

There are places where it is only family in a *lakou*. As for me, I lived in my own house and other members of my family lived in theirs. There are areas here where you will see six different houses, and they are all from the same family living in tarps in this camp.

Is there an opportunity for people to create their own *lakou*?

In order to have your own *lakou*, you have to have your own home. For example, everyone here has a tarp. ... A person that has the means can lease a piece of property, build a house with a wall around it with a *lakou* where you park your car and live with your family. Everyone would like to have his or her own personal space. To have your own personal space you have to have cash (Appendix D).

This man describes the *lakou* as a courtyard or yard and refers to the privacy required for a *lakou*.

Across town, in Ka Piti, I asked people to tell me what the *lakou* meant to them. “It means we are a family; we live together as one here and we collaborate to become one” (Appendix D). A woman living in a family *lakou* gave this response. Other responses drew on the importance of the space to provide a safe haven or buffer zone during an earthquake in case their house was to fall, and others alluded to the benefits of emotional support within a *lakou*, and still others referred to the privacy required for a *lakou*.

The concept of the *lakou* varied greatly between all of the camps. Even the expectations surrounding the concept of the *lakou* in the literature did not prove true in all

cases between urban and rural areas. Many complexities add to this, especially in the post-disaster environment. Mass internal migrations occurred after the earthquake and many residents from the cities moved into the outskirts and countryside. In Leogane, known historically for linkages to the family *lakou*, many inhabitants of the post-disaster settlements came from Port-au-Prince and had no knowledge of the family *lakou*. Clearly, it is an evolving concept.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF THE FIELD INTERVIEWS AND OBSERVATIONS

Deeply rooted in the Haitian culture is a strength to overcome adversity. The *lakou* system has been resilient throughout the turbulent history of Haiti. It has allowed the peasantry a level of autonomy while tyrants ruled the country and provided them a means for agricultural economy and sustenance farming. Although the *lakou* system does not hold the prominence it once had, in today's urbanized landscape, the *lakou* still remains important, albeit transformed.

In the aftermath of the earthquake on January 12, 2010, as millions scattered over Haiti's landscape into post-disaster settlements, the Haitians took with them their idea of the *lakou*. The *lakou* system is apparent in the self-settled post-disaster settlements, which were under study.²³ The system has transformed and appears to be a resiliency factor for these communities as well as one for the post-disaster reconstruction. The following analysis will shed light on these transformations and how the *lakou* adds to the resilience of the Haitian society and culture.

4.1. Analysis

The literature review of the *lakou* was necessary in order to develop an understanding of the formations and typologies of the settlement pattern in Haiti, uncovering the patterns and typologies discussed in Chapter II (Refer to Figure 2.3). Looking through this lens enabled me to develop an understanding of the *lakou* in the urban and rural environments of the post-disaster settlements under study and deduce

²³ This study only focuses on four self-settled post-disaster settlements. Many of the settlements that housed the homeless victims of the earthquake were planned by international aid organizations such as the Red Cross and World Vision.

meaning found through the observations, interviews, and drawings. The data collected from the field research was analyzed using a combination of techniques.

Inductive analysis was used to study the behavior maps, photographs, and sketches in order to uncover the relationship between social activities and physical space and determine the location where daily routines took place. These helped uncover the social constructs in these self-settled post-disaster camps and the space these activities were associated with. Using the literature of the traditional *lakou* system as a lens, I was able to determine how these associations compared to the traditional *lakou*, how they differed, and how they are one and the same.

Qualitative coding was used to conduct the analysis of the interviews and uncover the emergent themes found throughout them. I implemented both the use of qualitative coding software (Atlas and Dedoose) and manual methods for qualitative coding in order to complete the analysis. As I discovered these emergent themes throughout the interview threads, I learned how the inhabitants defined their social actions in space and how important they considered their social interactions within the community, such as sharing, lending money, taking care of each others children, and socializing with each other in general. The interviews also helped to discern if the inhabitants thought they were living in a *lakou* and who the members of their *lakou* were.

Lastly, I analyzed the measured drawing to determine if the measurements of a space were significant in the designation of the social activities tied to that space and to uncover patterns that existed within a site. I concluded that the importance of spatial size was inconclusive because a small space may contain the exact same social interactions and personal activities as a larger. The patterns that were discovered through the study of

the measured drawings were important, as subset typologies began to emerge from the drawing.

The literature analysis, qualitative coding, inductive analysis of the observations, and study of the measured drawings all acted as multiple lenses to examine the post-disaster settlements and determine whether or not the *lakou* manifested itself in each settlement. Each aspect of the analysis reinforced the other and added an additional level of scrutiny in order to ensure analytical rigor.

4.2. Typologies: Distinctions Based on Physical Attributes

In Chapter II, the traditional formation of the *lakou* system was described as well as the historical context. Chapter III alluded to these typologies through the demonstration of the site selections and methods used. This section will outline the primary typologies of the *lakou* system that were found in this study.

Entering into the field research, I developed expectations based on my research of the *lakou* that influenced what I anticipated discovering. I expected to find the existing typologies of the *lakou* within the urban environment and in the rural/semi-rural environment, and I also expected that those I interviewed would understand the social context of the *lakou* with the exception of urban dwellers. As demonstrated in Chapter III by the inhabitants' concept of the *lakou*, it was to my surprise that the majority of those interviewed did not have a full understanding of the term *lakou*, outside of its most basic translation as the courtyard or yard. Surprisingly, there was a direct contextual relationship established between how the *lakou* is defined and how it is formed.

Informed through the literature and observations of existing *lakou* systems in Haiti, I discovered the existence of three primary typologies of the *lakou* within the self-

built post-disaster settlements (PDSs). These typologies are shown in Figure 4.1. The first primary typology is referred to as *lakou* one (L1); it is the clustering of houses sharing communal land, whether this land has renters or squatters. The L1 *lakou* is similar to the form of the traditional rural *lakou*; however, land ownership and agricultural production do not exist in most PDSs. This typology has two iterations, L1.1 and L1.2, which are subsets as shown in Figure 4.1. L1.1 is a multi-family housing cluster surrounded by a physical barrier. Typically members of an extended family occupy each house in a L1.1 *lakou*, which is also similar to one of the pre-disaster iterations of the *lakou*. The L1.2 *lakou* is a single house occupied by multiple families and enclosed by a fence. The second primary typology is referred to as *lakou* two (L2), which is the formation of a single-family *lakou* with the property enclosed by a fence. L2 is the private *lakou*; the house is occupied by a single, nuclear family. The diagram of the L1.2 resembles that of the L2 diagram, but includes multiple families. The last primary typology discovered in the self-settled camps is referred to as *lakou* three (L3). In the L3 typology the inhabitants of the *lakou* consider the entire PDS to be a *lakou*, and their social actions represent that of an extended family *lakou*. Typology L3 was discovered in two separate camps, Sugar Cane and the Walled Settlement, thus the two forms, L3 and L3.1. In L3, the camp consists of a clustering of houses on communal land, and in the case of L3.1 the camp consists of a clustering of houses sharing the space enclosed by a wall. L3 is a new typology that was discovered in the study of the self-settled post-disaster camps.

This research focuses primarily on typologies L1, L1's subsets, and L3. These typologies form at an individual level and can cross over each other. The major finding within these typologies of the *lakou* settlement pattern in Haiti is the inclusion of non-

familial members within a *lakou*. This takes place within L1 and its subsets and L3. The L2 pattern will be considered separate from the comparison of the L1, L1 subsets, and L3 typologies due to its individualism; however, it is recognized that an L2 typology may exist within the other typologies as mentioned. This leaves us with a comparison of the clustering of houses without physical barriers and the clustering of houses within barriers.

4.2.1. *Lakou* Typologies

The matrix in Table 4.1 is used to compare the occurrence of the *lakou* typologies within the camps and their connection to the familial, communal, and private aspects of the traditional *lakou*. The responses under the familial, communal, and private aspects are based upon the inhabitants' sentiments toward each and knowledge of the *lakou*'s social aspects on the part of the researcher, as well as observable traits. In the Walled Settlement the inhabitants lived communally and understood the concept of the private *lakou*, although private *lakous* (physically separated) did not exist within the settlement. In Sugar Canaan, the inhabitants understood the concept of both the private and the familial *lakou*, and each type was represented within the overall settlement, which was considered as one communal *lakou*. The communal living within the Walled Settlement was observed as living in one large *lakou*, similar to what was found in Sugar Canaan. In Ka Piti, the familial and private *lakous* were represented and the inhabitants understood both concepts of the *lakou*. Lastly, in Save the Children, the inhabitants understood the concept of the private *lakou*, although non-existent within the settlement, and parts of the camp appeared to operate communally, although that was unclear as well. These typologies and concepts of the *lakou* demonstrate the transforming nature of the *lakou*.

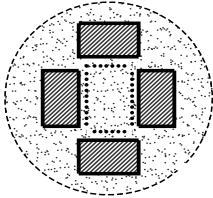
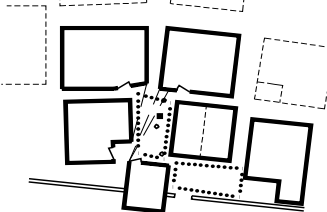
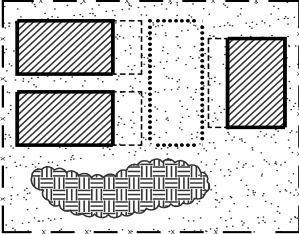
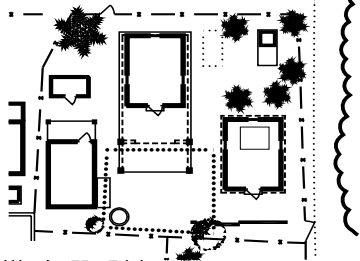
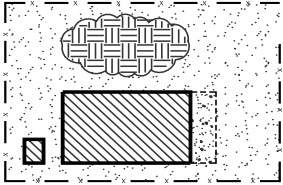
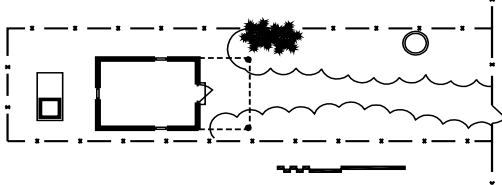
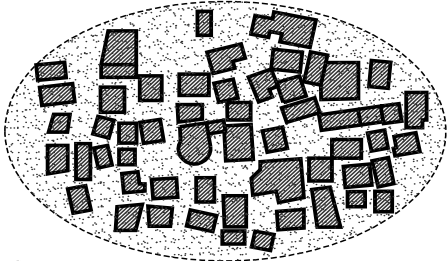

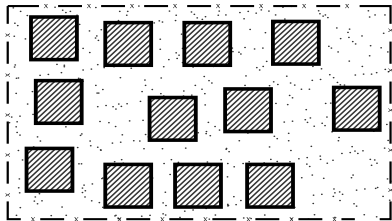
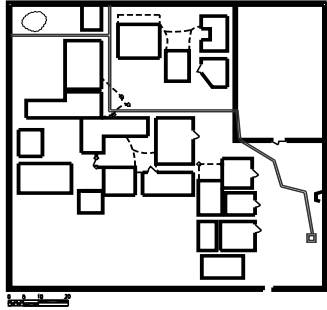
DIAGRAMS	EXAMPLES														
<p>L1</p> 	 <p>Save the Children</p>														
<p>L1.1</p> 	 <p>Extended Family in Ka Piti</p>														
<p>L2</p> 	 <p>Private <i>Lakou</i> in Ka Piti</p>														
<p>L3</p> 	 <p>Sugar Canaan</p>														
<p>L3.1</p> 	 <p>Walled Settlement</p>														
<table border="0"> <tr> <td data-bbox="272 1682 342 1717">House</td> <td data-bbox="397 1682 472 1738">Shared Space</td> <td data-bbox="527 1682 651 1738">Agriculture Field</td> <td data-bbox="722 1682 901 1738">Banana, Papaya, Breadfruit, etc.</td> <td data-bbox="950 1682 1036 1717">Gallerie</td> <td data-bbox="1079 1682 1187 1738">Yard/ Courtyard</td> <td data-bbox="1242 1682 1317 1738">Fence or Wall</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="272 1745 342 1801"></td> <td data-bbox="397 1745 472 1801"></td> <td data-bbox="527 1745 651 1801"></td> <td data-bbox="722 1745 901 1801"></td> <td data-bbox="950 1745 1036 1801"></td> <td data-bbox="1079 1745 1187 1801"></td> <td data-bbox="1242 1745 1317 1801"></td> </tr> </table>		House	Shared Space	Agriculture Field	Banana, Papaya, Breadfruit, etc.	Gallerie	Yard/ Courtyard	Fence or Wall							
House	Shared Space	Agriculture Field	Banana, Papaya, Breadfruit, etc.	Gallerie	Yard/ Courtyard	Fence or Wall									

Figure 4.1. Diagrams of the *lakou* typologies uncovered in the self-settled post-disaster camps with examples of each.

Table 4.1. *Lakou* Typologies Matrix

PDS	L1	L1.1	L1.2	L2	L3	L3.1	Familial	Communal	Private
Walled Settlement	?	X	-	-	-	X	?	Yes	Concept*
Sugar Canaan	X	X	-	X	X		Yes	Yes	Yes
Ka Piti	-	X	X	X	-		Yes	-	Yes
Save the Children	X	?	?	-	-		?	Yes	Concept*

* The inhabitants understand the *lakou* as a private entity, although the way they live represents the communal aspect of the *lakou* system.

? Possibly existed but was not observed or discovered in interview.

The Walled Settlement PDS has no separation by fences due to squatting but is surrounded by a perimeter wall (Figure C.27). Given the enclosure of a communally shared property, this settlement is considered to be an L3.1 typology. Even more interesting, within the settlement, smaller housing clusters exist of close-knit families, demonstrating a degree of division within the greater phenomenon. The diagram in Figure 4.2 demonstrates the existence of the small divisions of family clusters within the larger *lakou*.

Sugar Canaan is an informal squatter settlement on privately owned land (Figure C.32). This settlement is unique in that all three typologies of the *lakou* manifest themselves. The camp is a clustering of houses without any true physical perimeter wall and is considered by the inhabitants to be the same as a family *lakou*. It is an L3 typology, but within the overall clustering, individual families have established their own private *lakous* and family *lakous* through the establishment of physical barriers. The drawing in Figure 4.3 demonstrates this.

Ka Piti is a self-settled post-disaster settlement located on rented land. Each lot is divided and rented by a family or group of families. The predominant typology in this settlement is the family *lakou*, representing typology L1.2. The private *lakou* also occurs,

representing typology L1. The diagrams in Figure 4.4 demonstrate the two typologies taking place within Ka Piti.

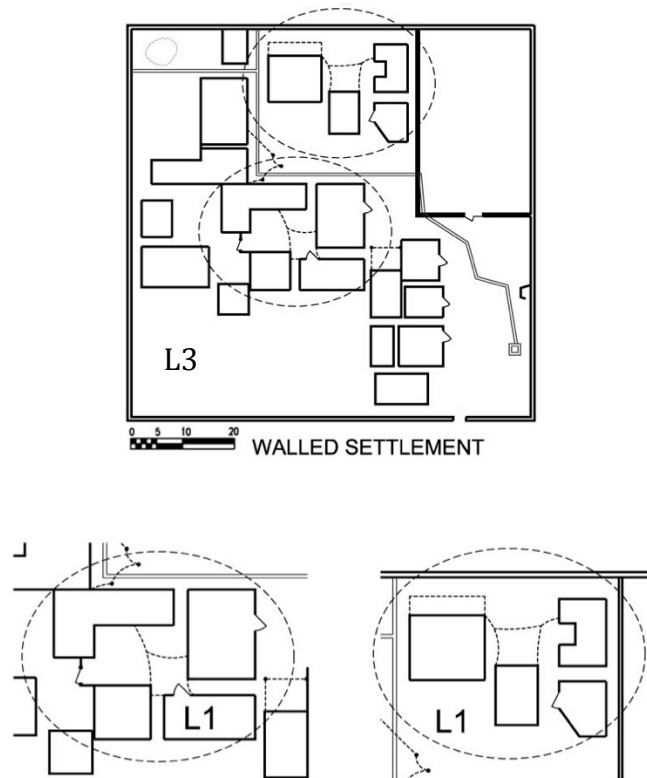


Figure 4.2. Diagram of the Walled Settlement. These demonstrate the presence of family clusters (L1) within the larger *lakou*. In this case the cluster of housing within the walls is the L3.1 typology, and the sub-*lakous* found within are the L1 typology.

The last case study, Save the Children, is a self-settled PDS that consists of the housing clusters on publicly owned land. The organizations that take place in this settlement fall into the L1 typology. The size of this settlement makes it hard to consider the housing clusters to demonstrate a *lakou*, and it resembles a typical informal settlement of Haiti more than the others. There are smaller housing clusters within the overall settlement that resemble family *lakous* and these occurrences also lack the physical perimeters, falling under the L1 typology.

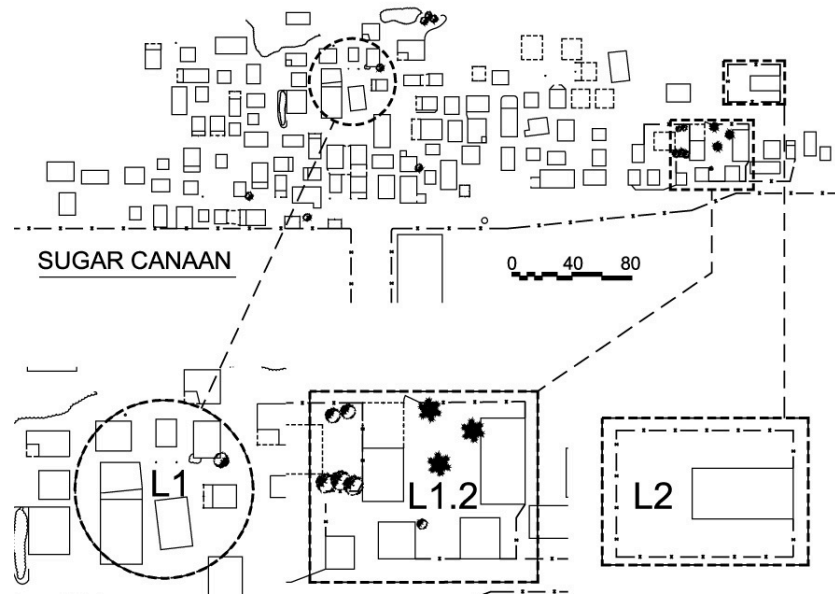


Figure 4.3. Diagram of Sugar Canaan. This drawing distinguishes the different typologies that occur within Sugar Canaan. The overall camp is a type L3 *lakou*, and each callout displays the three other types found within: L1, L1.2, and L2.

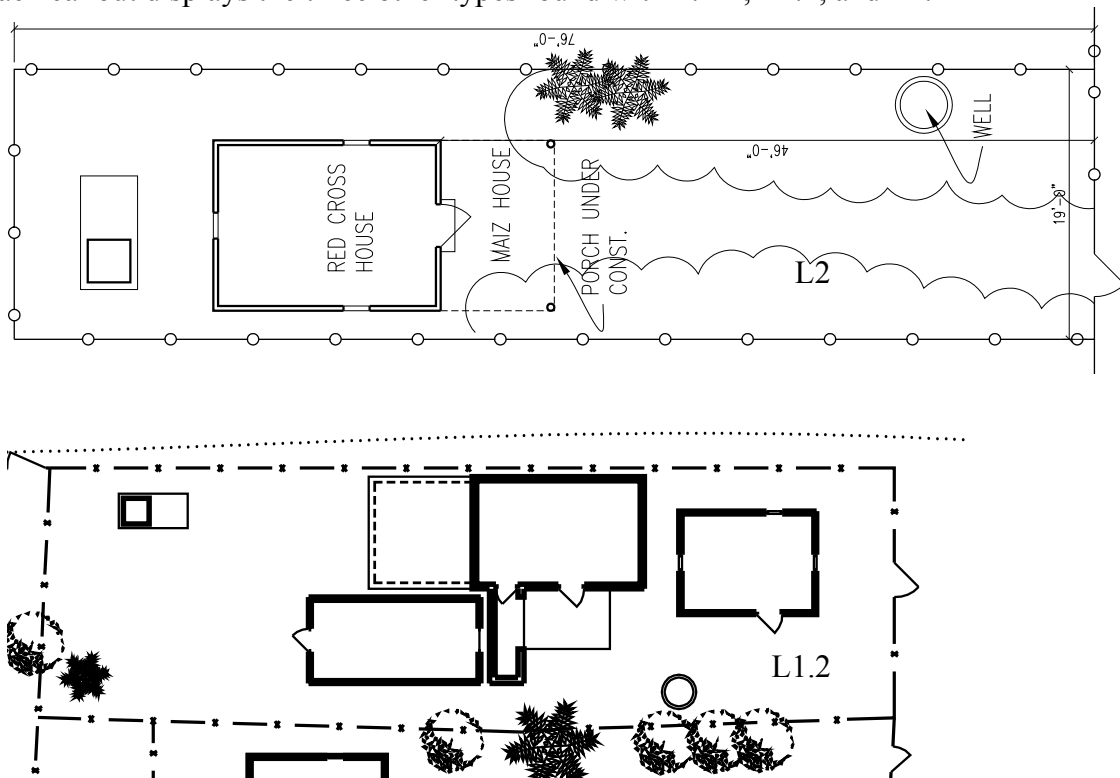


Figure 4.4. *Lakous* in Ka Piti. Top: Drawing of a private *lakou* (L2) found in Ka Piti occupied by a single family (husband, wife, and child). Bottom: Drawing of a family *lakou* (L1.2) found in Ka Piti occupied by an extended family (husband, wife, and child; brother-in-law; and cousin).

4.3. Transformations

This study reveals the transformations that take place in the *lakou* in self-settled post-disaster settlements. The most significant finding from this research was the transformation of the *lakou* into a non-familial structure. What has allowed for this transformation to occur is the change in perception of what constitutes a *lakou* in post-disaster settlements. In Figure 4.5, the traditional formation of the *lakou* is shown in parallel with the transformations of the *lakou* in these post-disaster settlements. Significant activities and descriptions of the *lakou* as found in the literature allow for comparisons to be made through observations in order to define what constitutes a *lakou*. These are the spatial construct, land ownership, physical divisions, property divisions, and actions such as sharing.

The traditional *lakou*, which is primarily rural, exists as a spatial construct, the compound, and a social construct, the family. The spatial construct of the traditional *lakou* is dependent on land ownership, which provides for the equal division of land among the children; however, families have been known to squat on land and take ownership through several generations of occupation (this creates problems due to the lack of land deeds). Family members may put up physical divisions as the need for protection arises to keep the family compound safe from outsiders as well as protect from evil spirits (Bastien 478-510). As the property is divided among the children in each subsequent generation, social conflicts may take place between extended family members, which can ostracize parts of the family (Bastien 478-510). In the case where members of a family are ostracized, they will divide their house from the cluster with a physical barrier, creating a private *lakou* (L2) within the larger family *lakou* (L1 or L1.2).

Sharing and communal systems, such as the *konbit* and *sang*, are intrinsic aspects of the traditional *lakou*, as discussed in Chapter II.

Fass, Larose, Lundahl, and others have documented the transformation of the *lakou* through urbanization and the predominance of the private *lakou*. As the *lakou* moves into PDS, the formation's resemblance to the traditional *lakou* begins to overlap with the traditional *lakou*. The social construct transforms from the kinship model to an inclusive model, consisting of unrelated individuals. The communal aspect of the transformed *lakou*'s spatial construct overlaps with the communal aspect of the traditional *lakou*. Because there is typically no land ownership in a PDS, people do not feel the right to establish physical barriers. Communities cluster their housing in a PDS and share the land with each other. Because there are no barriers, the inhabitants begin to perceive themselves as living together (as family). Even in PDSs where physical divisions are created, it is common for multiple families to live within a fence or other form of barrier. This most often occurs from either the economy of sharing a single dwelling or when rent systems are established. For example, a family may decide to build a fence around their houses in a PDS, regardless of ownership, and if they move away from the PDS, they may rent each house to a different individual or family. In the post-disaster camps, sharing becomes a very important aspect, and the communal nature resembles the traditional *lakou*, especially the sharing of meals.

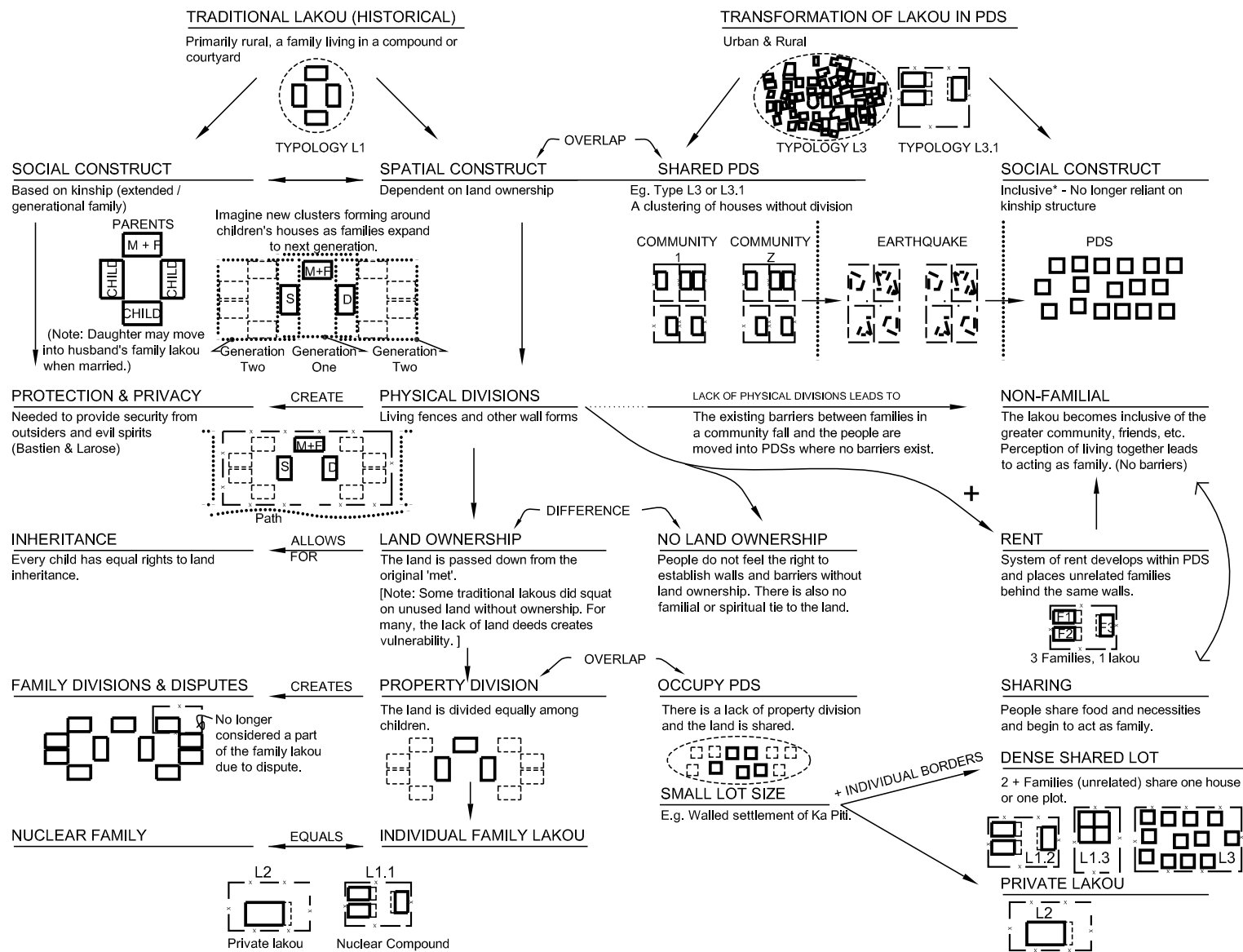


Figure 4.5. Diagram detailing the transformation of the *lakou* from the traditional *lakou* to the formations found in the PDS.

I will argue that the key changes that have led to the transformation into a non-familial *lakou* in these post-disaster settlements are due to the lack of land ownership, the economy of rent, the lack of physical borders, and the reliance on the greater community for survival. The following analysis of the observations and interviews will demonstrate the transforming definition of the *lakou* in the post-disaster settlements. The definition of the *lakou* as outlined by Larose and Bastien will be tested through the analysis of housing clusters on rented and squatted land in post-disaster settlements. The descriptors of the *lakou* used by Bastien will demonstrate the significance of sharing between non-related families. Lastly, the analysis of the presence or lack of physical borders will test this aspect of Larose's definition.

4.3.1. Renting and Sharing

Contrary to Larose's argument that the clustering of houses on rented land does not form a *lakou*, it was clear that the inhabitants of these self-settled post-disaster camps considered these formations to be *lakous*, many of which were inclusive to people outside of the family (Larose 482-511).

In the self-settled post-disaster settlement Ka Piti in Leogane, almost all of the inhabitants are renting plots of land from a common landowner. A few were there before the earthquake and own small lots while others are relatives of the original landowner and have been permitted to stay without rent. In the effort to save on economy, some families have begun to share a *lakou* with friends and old neighbors. A system has even developed, which was also apparent in other self-settled camps, where the original lessee or purchaser becomes a lessor to new tenants, who will rent individual houses sharing one *lakou*.



Figure 4.6. Photograph of a *lakou* containing unrelated families. Photo by author.

A farmer, his wife, and child rent a small house that sits adjacent to a slightly larger transitional shelter, which was distributed by the Red Cross (refer to Figure C.53) for site plan). The property is surrounded by a living fence of cacti that was put in by the owner of the land, and it has adjacent neighbors on three sides with a path to the west. This family moved in shortly before their neighbor, a lady and her four children, who rent the Red Cross shelter. Their circumstances are meager, but they make the best out of what they have. In part, due to the economy of renting a house and sharing the property with another family, these families share one *lakou*.

It is apparent that these families have grown close, not only with whom they share a *lakou*, but also their neighbors in adjacent *lakous*. While visiting with the farmer, several of his neighbors came around to say hello, most of whom recognized me from previous encounters. The man farms sugar cane, bananas, and plantains in a nearby field,

and he sells the produce at the nearby market, to the local klarin²⁴ distilleries, and on the street. He also has planted a few banana trees in his own *lakou*.

Although these two families, renting houses in a shared *lakou*, are not related, they consider themselves to be of one family *lakou*. When asked about living in the *lakou*, the man states: “As for surviving, we survive together. We don’t make noise or get into arguments. If we have something that we are able to share then we share it” (Appendix D). He and his wife even look after their neighbor’s children as their own. While observing and speaking with the man, his sister-in-law was visiting his wife and the two of them were taking care of all the children in the *lakou*, feeding and washing the little ones. The man continued to say: “Everyone you see here, we live as family. For example: if something happens at night, I can call upon my neighbor to help. We help each other” (Appendix D). It is in the space of the *lakou* that these families spend their time together and socialize with their neighbors and friends. The solidarity shared among these families reveals the resilience of the *lakou*’s social construct.

Furthermore, the landownership aspect of the *lakou* has changed in today’s Haitian society. In these self-settled post-disaster settlements, it is clear that the *lakou* is still alive and well even though land is rented. Outside of the non-familial phenomenon, the majority of families living in Ka Piti share a family *lakou* on rented land. Looking forward, as Ka Piti moves toward permanence, it is possible these rented lots will

²⁴ Klarin is a form of moonshine rum, common in Leogane, which produces a large amount of sugar cane.

eventually be purchased or leased for ten or more years and passed down to the next generation.²⁵

A saleswoman living in Ka Piti spoke with me about her family *lakou* and her neighbors. She lives on a decent-sized piece of land with her children, mother, and her nephew and his family. The family has enclosed the property with tarp fences in order to distinguish their *lakou* from their neighbor's.²⁶ The woman lives in a canvas tent while her nephew lives in a wood-frame house he built himself. While her nephew is away in Port-au-Prince, the woman, her children, and mother live in the shotgun house, and she sells water, ice, and soda from the front porch. While I was visiting on one occasion, the family was washing clothes under a *tonnell*²⁷ in the *lakou*. The woman talked about her neighbors and living in Ka Piti. "The people that live next to me are my neighbors but we live as family. This house is for me and the other is for my nephew. I leased this land with the option to buy after ten or fifteen years" (Appendix D). This family provides yet another example of a family living in a *lakou* on rented land and also speaks back to the notion of considering neighbors as family. Perhaps this is necessary for survival after such a devastating disaster.

Even before the earthquake, it is possible that people considered the renting of houses sharing land to be called a *lakou*. When asked about the *lakous* a group of people in Sugar Canaan came from, a man mentioned: "Yes, we had a *lakou*. The way it works is that there may be several homes in a *lakou* and everyone just rents out a room to stay"

²⁵ Refer to Ka Piti Observations, Appendix C.

²⁶ Refer to Observations Ka Piti Overview for camp formation (Appendix C, Figure C.43).

²⁷ A small, open-air structure that provides shade from the sun. Also called a *peristyle*.

(Appendix D). When asked a similar question, a woman responded: “[There were] five sisters living where I lived, three of us were renting and the other two came to live with us” (Appendix D). These individuals considered themselves to be living in family *lakous* even though they were renting. These findings bring to question Larose’s argument against the *lakou* formation on rented land, in other settlements prior to the earthquake.

4.3.2. Lack of Land Ownership and Squatting

Following the logic of Larose’s argument for the clustering of housing on rented property, it could be assumed that the clustering of squatters is also not a *lakou*. The logic follows that squatted land cannot be inherited. In the Walled-in Settlement, Save the Children, and Sugar Canaan self-settled post-disaster settlements, inhabitants squatted on privately and publically owned land. Absentee and/or generous landowners and the government permitted families to settle on their properties in the wake of the earthquake in order to provide safe ground for people to establish temporary shelters. These camps have lingered on for nearly three years and benefit from the generosity of the landowners to not evict them. In the three post-disaster settlements of study, the inhabitants and even entire camps considered themselves to be of one *lakou*. The argument for the *lakou* system existing on squatted land is supported through the analysis of physical divisions and the act of sharing, two descriptors of the traditional definition of the *lakou*. The reason for the formation of these family-like, communal living arrangements could be related to the research of Schinina et al (158-164). They discuss that in order to ease the effects of post-traumatic stress, inhabitants of post-disaster settlements might have the need to create a sense of family.

4.3.2.1. Save the Children

In Save the Children, shelters are packed in tightly, with only a couple of feet in between in order to create passageways. Throughout the camp, several shelter clusters share small *lakous*. There are a few physical divisions in the camp, which separate various sections of the camp or are created by an individual family for more privacy. In figure 4.7, seven families are clustered around two, small, shared spaces that act as social hubs for these inhabitants and their friends. The only physical border present in this cluster is a knee-high wall defining the street edge.

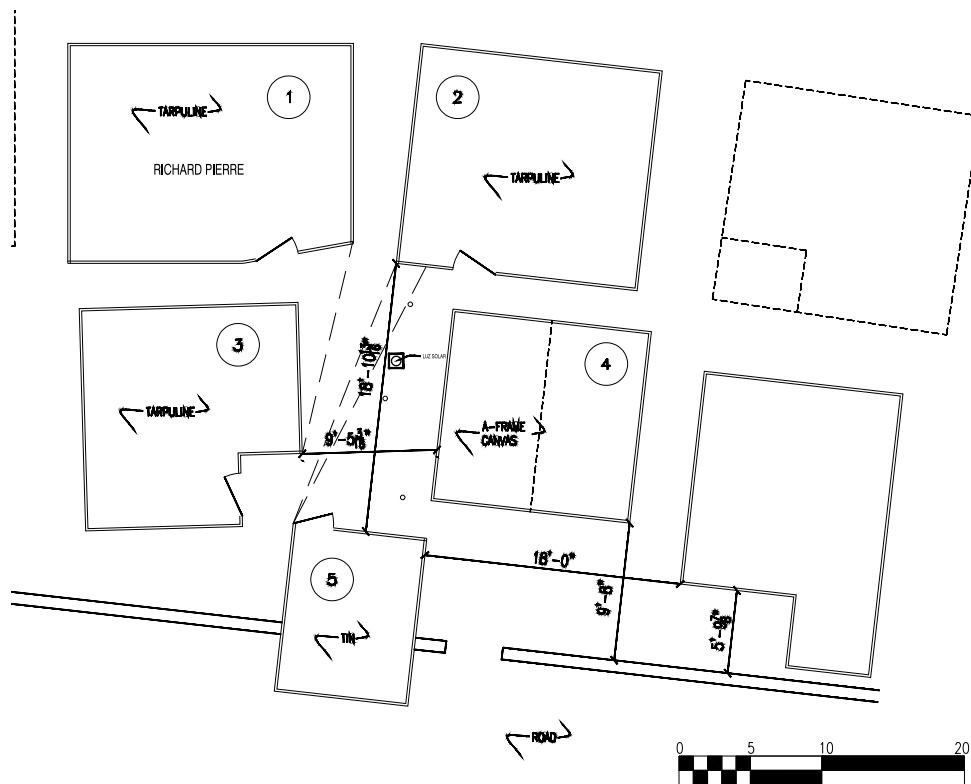


Figure 4.7. Clustering of houses that form a *lakou*.

Through observations, it became clear that these unrelated families lived in harmony, as one would expect in a traditional *lakou*. In the anterior space, the family living in the shelter numbered 4 and the shelter to the left were often seen washing clothes and dishes together and cooking together. It was also common for these two

families to share meals with each other. The sketch in Figure 4.8 depicts these two families interacting with one another. The act of sharing, a significant gesture of the *lakou* system as described by Bastien, demonstrates the perseverance of the *lakou* system in a post-disaster settlement shared by unrelated families. Sharing food with a neighbor is treating them as family. One of the women living in this housing cluster shared, “We don’t really have any problems in this camp, I don’t argue with any of my neighbors and I even eat with them. I don’t have any problems with my neighbors” (Appendix D). She even adds that they live in harmony with each other.

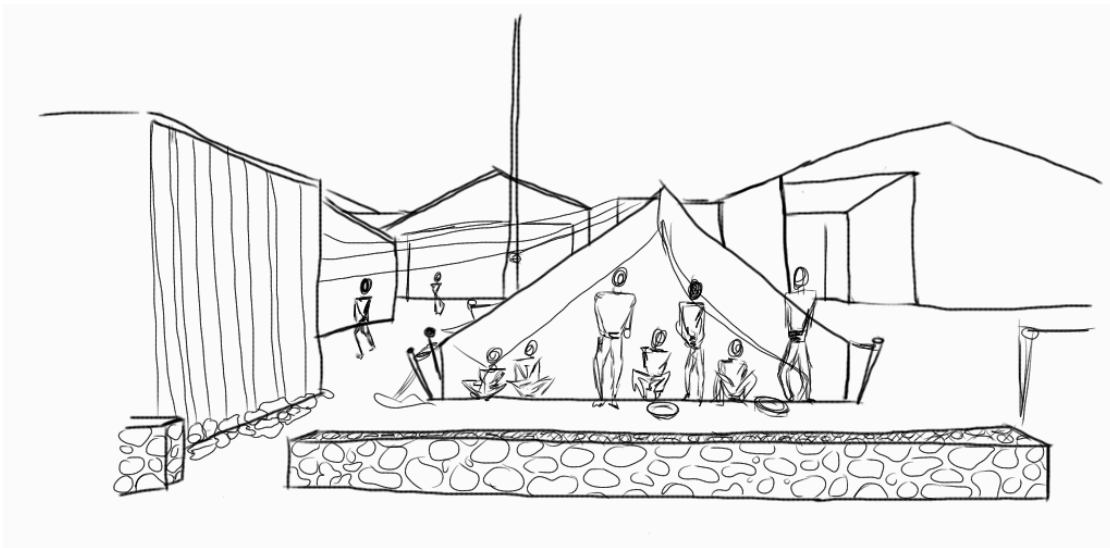


Figure 4.8. Sketch of a *lakou* formed in Save the Children PDS.

In the Walled Settlement and Sugar Canaan, it can be conjectured that the lack of physical divisions between these houses allows for the formation of *lakous* in these self-settled post-disaster settlements. Remy Bastien and Larose speak of the clustering of houses without physical divisions as *lakous* (Bastien 478-510; Larose 492). Although some physical divisions were apparent in the settlements under study, inhabitants of two of the self-settled camps considered themselves to all live in one *lakou*. The lack of

physical division changes the perception of these inhabitants into acknowledging that they share a *lakou*.

4.3.2.2. Walled Settlement

In the Walled Settlement, self-settled post-disaster camp near Delmas 75 in Port-au-Prince, nearly thirty families have clustered themselves within pre-existing walls (Refer to Figure C.27). The existing walls had once enclosed a privately owned *lakou*, but now they enclose the shared *lakou* of these families. The perception these families have of the *lakou* has appeared to change due to the physical presence of the perimeter wall, placing them in one *lakou*. What is more surprising, this change has occurred in Port-au-Prince, where the concept of the family *lakou* system is not as familiar as in Leogane, where it is prevalent.²⁸ The community cohesion, which allows this settlement to function as a *lakou*, could be due to the fact that the families have all known each other since before the earthquake and are recovering in solidarity. I spoke with a man and women living in the camp; when asked if neighbors had joined them in the camp the man responded: “Yes, and we are still neighbors”(Appendix D). He went on to say that everyone gets along, although the camp situation is desperate. As in the other camps, families appeared to live in harmony. There were a few housing clusters that appeared to separate themselves and acted more as a family grouping of houses; however, I never was able to discern if they were related or not (refer to Figure 4.2). Either way, these groupings clearly operated as one family sharing a *lakou*. On a daily basis, it was common to observe these inhabitants cooking, cleaning, and washing clothes together

²⁸ Refer to Chapter III.

within shared space. One family even had a television, which would attract all of the young men in the vicinity to watch soccer.

4.3.2.3. Sugar Canaan

Sugar Canaan is the last self-settled post-disaster settlement that demonstrates the transformations of the *lakou*. This settlement has the most profound sentiment to being one and the same with the traditional *lakou* system. It is sandwiched between a barbwire fence to the north, a road to the east and west, and a tree line and concrete block wall to the south (refer to Figure C.32). One inhabitant described the land ownership: “This land is leased and not owned by the Koreans because they are the ones that leased the property. If anything is out on this property then the people here cannot take it with them”²⁹ (Appendix D). There is no ownership of land among the inhabitants. Within the settlement there are very few physical borders used to create private space. Since this settlement exists in Leogane, the idea of the *lakou* system is not new to the inhabitants.

“The way that you see us here is how we are living, this place is like a village the way you see it, and, yes, it is a *lakou*. This is where we play and do everything. When the heat is on, this is where we sit for fresh air” (Appendix D). The leader of the camp describes the entire camp as one *lakou* and states the importance of the social aspect, “It is important because that is the way it is supposed to be. We are living together in this camp” (Appendix D). Many others living in the camp described their shared camp to be one *lakou*, one family. A group of women washing clothes together spoke about the communal aspects of the camp; one woman solidified the idea of a neighbor as family. “I give the word *neighbor* a lot of importance because when you live next to someone they

²⁹ The Chest of Korea is the Korean organization that the woman is referring to by stating “Koreans.”

become like family to you. When one has a problem, we help each other, a good neighbor is like a good relative” (Appendix D). She continues on to describe the camp as one *lakou*: “Here there are not different *lakous*, like this is all one *lakou*” (Appendix D).

One woman considers the camp a *lakou* but with reservations: “I would consider this camp as a *lakou*, but this camp doesn’t belong to me. If they gave me a *lakou* here, I wouldn’t be able to take it with me because this property doesn’t belong to me. I can do whatever I want in my own *lakou* but here I cannot” (Appendix D). This woman’s description of the camp speaks to the social cohesion of the *lakou* but the necessity to have her own private property. The leader of the camp adds: “To have your own personal space you have to have cash” (Appendix D). To afford individuality, one must have the means to obtain it. A common thread among the inhabitants is the desire to own one’s property in order to establish a family *lakou* or private *lakou* and gain the individual freedom that comes with it. Although the inhabitants live together as one, they feel restrained by the need to conform to the entire community. In the post-disaster settlement, a balancing act forms between the desire for individuality, the lack of economic means, and the need for the social support system that exists within the PDS *lakou*. Here is the juxtaposition between the social aspect of the *lakou* and the land ownership aspect of the definition, which some individuals still consider necessary. The social construct of the *lakou* begins to lose reliance on land ownership. As mentioned prior, the inhabitants of Sugar Canaan liken living together in the camp as living in a *lakou*. The spatial construct, the clustering of houses, takes form in the PDS out of necessity for space to occupy after losing housing in the earthquake and therefore does not rely on land ownership. The lack of barriers between the families allows for the

community to live together as one, and the change in perception leads to the consideration of the entire camp to be part of one *lakou*.

The act of sharing can be seen out of necessity for survival, but it can also be compared to the significance of sharing within the traditional *lakou* between families. Sharing food with a neighbor is treating them as family. When speaking about her children, the same woman speaks to the importance of sharing. “Yes, because if they cook a meal and my kids are hungry, they will share the meal with the kids” (Appendix D). Another woman, who was washing clothes, speaks about the importance of sharing between neighbors. “We support each other. When a neighbor has and the other does not, that neighbor that has shares. This is the way we live here” (Appendix D). This woman also considers a neighbor as a good relative, as described earlier.

Not only do the inhabitants describe this settlement as a *lakou*, but it also functions as a *lakou*. Bastien speaks of the organization of the *lakou* system in “Haitian Rural Family Organization;” the descriptions he uses for the traditional organization can be seen paralleled in Sugar Canaan (478-510). “We live here as one child does coming from the belly of one mother. Everything we do here has to be approved by the leader of the camp we have meetings to discuss what is happening” (Appendix D). The woman, who stated this, speaks to the cohesion and organization of the camp as one would expect the traditional *lakou* system to operate. When asked if the camp lives together as a family does, this same woman responded with a resounding, “Yes.”

During the interviews, I asked most about their sense of security in the camp. The security of a traditional *lakou* is a major concern and is usually answered by establishing the physical perimeter, as mentioned before. The inhabitants of Sugar Canaan speak of

insecurity due to the lack of concrete house walls and of a perimeter wall to keep outsiders at bay, but others speak to the community cohesion creating security. A woman responded to the benefits of knowing each other, “Yes, because if any of us here has a problem we can help each other” (Appendix D). Similar sentiments were also felt at the other camps. Another woman stated that she knew everyone in the camp well and “we give one another security” (Appendix D). Yet one other, who considers the camp as one *lakou*, believes more security would come through the separation of the camp into separate *lakous*: “If the *lakous* were separated it probably would be more secured” (Appendix D). This separation would help settle disputes between individuals and families and the construction of walls between *lakous* would create added security. The security provided through living together in a *lakou* is a common response to community cohesion in general, but in these post-disaster settlements it appears necessary for survival and protection. The camp needs to act as one.

Furthermore, there are several areas in the Sugar Canaan that act as social hubs, where women and men gather to gossip and help each other out with work. One specific area is depicted in Figure 4.9. In this area it was common for women to gather and gossip, do each other’s hair, wash clothes, or take care of each other’s children. All are common activities one would expect in a traditional *lakou*. “When I’m sitting home and feel as if I can’t take it anymore, I come right over here to this neighbor’s house. We have been friends for a while. If I can help her with something that she is doing, then I help her” (Appendix D). These communal activities are beneficial to the inhabitants of the

post-disaster settlement and add social capital.³⁰ For example, the ability to leave one's children with a neighbor or to be watched by other members in the *lakou* allows for a saleswoman to travel to the market or into town for work.

In other areas within the camp, small *tonnells* were constructed to provide shade. Two examples are shown of these hubs of social life in figure 4.10. These areas are the equivalent to the shared courtyard space that the *lakou* defines and are similar to the subsets described in Figure 4.3. The spaces are primarily used by the housing cluster that surrounds them and also draw people throughout the camp to join in gossip and play.

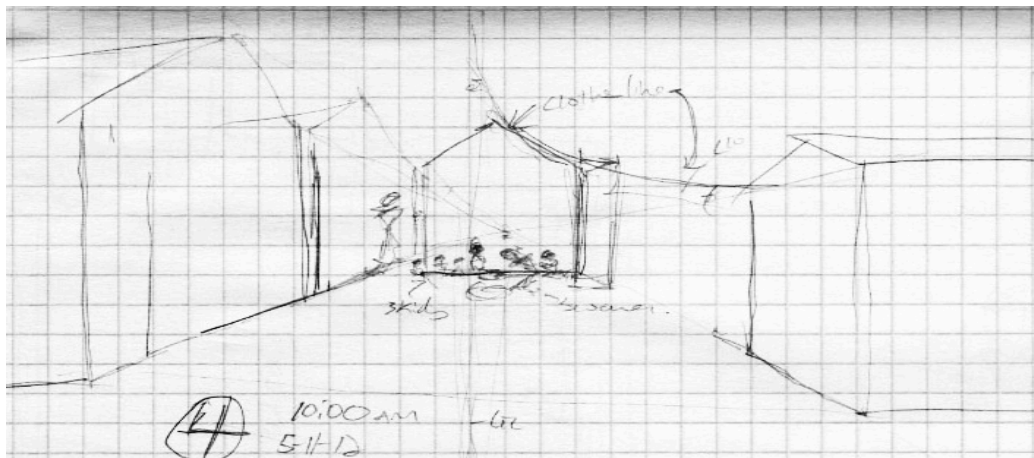


Figure 4.9. A sketch of a social hub in Sugar Canaan (Refer to Appendix C for the location of this site within the PDS).

4.4. Resilience of the *Lakou* in the Post-Disaster Settlement

It is apparent that the *lakou* is brought into the post-disaster settlements as discussed thus far. This section will describe the importance of the *lakou*'s presence in the post-disaster settlements and its role in post-disaster resilience. As has been discussed, the resilience of the traditional *lakou* throughout history is evident. The *lakou* system provided autonomy for families and the ability for a family to sustain itself

³⁰ “Social capital refers to connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them” (Putnam 19). Social networks have value.

through sustenance farming and avoiding a reliance on the government. In many ways the transformed *lakou* found in the post-disaster settlements provides similar resilience factors. Some of the social aspects of the *lakou* that improve the lives of the inhabitants and add value have been discussed. The social construct of the *lakou* in these post-disaster settlements is a powerful structure that provides the possibility for sustenance, security, and emotional, social, and financial support systems, all of which add social capital to the community.

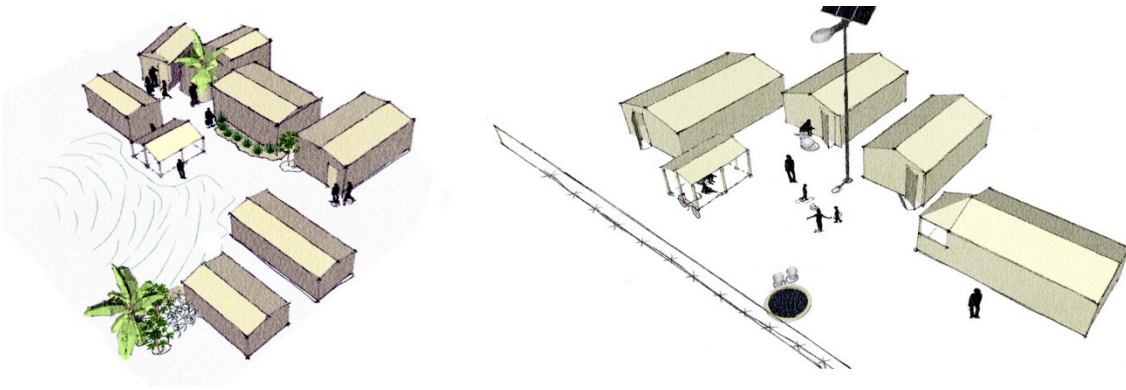


Figure 4.10. Drawings of social hubs within the PDS that contain *tonnells*. (Refer to appendix C for location within Sugar Canaan).

The need for sustenance is great in the post-disaster settlements; many of the inhabitants lost everything in the earthquake including their jobs and have very little to survive on. The generosity of caring neighbors provides food for many; when one has they share. Also, the agricultural aptitude and ingenuity of some allows for them to grow produce within the post-disaster settlement and in their *lakou*. One man talked about the ability to grow produce in the *lakou* in order to provide for oneself: “A *lakou* is a place that can help feed you when you are hungry” (Appendix D). This same person had planted a banana and plantain crop within his shared *lakou*. The willingness to share food with neighbors was discussed earlier, providing the ability for the majority to get by.

Emotional, financial, and social support systems are imperative in a post-disaster settlement. These support systems help an individual deal with the devastating toll that going through a catastrophic disaster takes. Schinina et al talk about the need of support systems in “Psychosocial Response to the Haiti Earthquake: The Experiences of International Organization for Migration”(158-14). The social construct of the *lakou* provides many of these structures in the post-disaster settlements.

The ability to lean on a friend when in financial need is an important aspect of the support system in a PDS. A woman in Sugar Canaan stated: “If we are in the market together and I come up short on funds, or she does, we are able to lean on each other. If my neighbor is unable to go she can give me the money tell me what she needs and I will bring it back for her” (Appendix D). This support allows a family to get by until they are able to make some money, and it provides flexibility for a family. If a neighbor must stay home with children, his or her friend is willing to run an errand for them. Another woman living in Sugar Canaan stated: “We support each other. When a neighbor has and the other doesn’t that neighbor that has shares. This is the way we live here” (Appendix D). It is evident that the ability to rely on a neighbor for necessities helps a family to survive.

Child support is a part of the support system that was evident through observations and reinforced through interviews. The ability to leave a child with a neighbor in order to make it to the market is crucial for a saleswoman; it becomes the difference between feeding one’s family and starving. It was common to observe multiple children playing together under the watchful eye of a single woman or a small group of women taking care of the neighbor children. A man in Ka Piti was grateful for a larger community for the sake of his child. He speaks to the overall support system available in

the *lakou*: “If I have a problem they can help me. As you can see I have a child, she is not here. Before, she would have had to sit around all day. Now she is playing with other children from the neighborhood” (Appendix D). The camp leader of Sugar Canaan speaks more generally on the need to watch out for the children within the camp, “As long as that child is here, he/she is a part of us in this camp” (Appendix D). The existence of a social support system for children within the *lakous* of the post-disaster settlements is a great benefit for the entire community.

The emotional support system inherent in the *lakou* is also critical in helping individuals to recover from the disaster. The social aspect of the *lakou* provides an opportunity for inhabitants to gain stress relief. One woman commented, “When you have a problem at home it is good to have someone else in the *lakou* to share your problem with. It helps to get that stress or problem out of you.” (Appendix D). A vodou priestess living in Ka Piti pointed out, “Yes, it removes the stress, like right now I can tell my husband that I have a headache and he helps me feel better. He makes me laugh and I make him laugh. Then he says lets play dominoes; that is a way to help us put our hunger aside also. If we sat still doing nothing we would be thinking too much” (Appendix D). Socializing within the *lakou* helps put one’s mind at ease. Other activities that take place between *lakous* also add distractions in order to put one’s mind at ease. A man in Ka Piti mentioned, “Well we have movie nights here in this community and after that we have dominoes and cards” (Appendix D). The emotional support provided in the *lakous* within the post disaster settlements help relieve stress and support the inhabitants recovery, developing resilience within the community.

Lastly, the post-disaster settlements *lakous* provide security for the inhabitants. The familiarity with one's neighbors combined with a caring community with the above support systems provides a blanket of security for the community in a post-disaster settlement. A man in Ka Piti talks about the supportive nature of his community: "We live as neighbors, if one has a problem then the other helps out. The other day my child was bleeding and it was a neighbor that took her to the doctor" (Appendix D). Good neighbors, like family, keep a watchful eye out for each other. When asked whether or not security is gained through knowing one's neighbors, a woman responded, "Yes, because it would be difficult for one person to live in these woods alone. Everyone is watching out for each other" (Appendix D). Security is very important in any community, and is especially important in a post-disaster settlement where inhabitants live in temporary shelters constructed from tarp and corrugated metal.

The solidarity that develops between the inhabitants of these post-disaster settlements and *lakous* demonstrates the resilience created by these support systems. Kasapoğlu and Ecevit found similar resilience in affected populations through solidarity and moral obligation to their fellow man (339-358).

4.5. Conclusion

"As for surviving, we survive together" (Appendix D). Within this man's *lakou* of two unrelated families, everyone lives as a family. Stress is reduced with the surrounding of family and friends as everyone helps each other to laugh and add distraction. Many people in the settlement invite friends and family into their *lakous* to play dominoes and pass the time together. Individuals share food with neighbors in need, and these deeds are reciprocated. Neighbors help each other out and lookout for each

other, they provide a blanket of security. Also, the increase in population in the area provides outlets for families, children have more friends to play with, more eyes are watching for burglars, and people enjoy entertainment together such as movie nights in the community.

This analysis demonstrates the transformations of the *lakou* system and the definition of the term. It also describes the aspects of the *lakou* and communal living that play a role in post-disaster resilience. The social processes uncovered in this chapter relate to physical space ,and create physical and social patterns that relate to each other. In the following chapter will demonstrate the patterns of the *lakou* in relation to these findings and the traditional *lakou* system. These patterns may be the most telling sign of the transforming *lakou*, demonstrating the persistence of the daily habits common within a family *lakou* system.

CHAPTER V

PATTERNS OF THE POST-DISASTER *LAKOU* IN ITS CONTEXT

5.1. Introduction

The *lakou* system is apparent in self-settled post-disaster settlements, albeit transformed, and it provides a level of resilience within the post-disaster settlement (PDS) communities. The *lakou* has transformed in post-disaster settlements as the inhabitants develop the social and physical functions within the PDS environment. This chapter describes the patterns that are manifested through the *lakous* found in the post-disaster settlements and compares them to those found in the traditional *lakou* system.

A pattern is an idea about how something may be done. It defines an arrangement of parts in the environment, which is needed to solve a recurrent social, psychological, or technical problem (C. Alexander et al. “Houses” 53). In many ways a pattern represents the habitus of individuals and, when used for planning or design purposes, can tie social and cultural capital within the development. The goal in using patterns is to create housing at an individual and community level. By doing so, cohesion is created between the individual, community, and the culture. These patterns can in turn be used to act as a catalyst for generative design, which is the adaptation through incremental growth.

The patterns detailed in this chapter are based on the literature research of the traditional extended family *lakou* settlement pattern as detailed in Chapter II as well as the diagrams described in Figure 4.3. The patterns include the larger settlement patterns of Haiti, which connect the outside environment to the *lakou* and the patterns of the *lakou* itself, such as creating fencing, clustering, and inclusive living arrangements. Table 5.1 and 5.2 delineate these patterns. The aim of the descriptions is to show the importance of

these patterns as they relate to the *lakou* formation and their important role in the planning of post-disaster settlements. If these patterns exist in these post-disaster incremental settlements through the devices of the inhabitants, they should be accounted for in formalized post-disaster settlements. Formalized settlements need to allow for the proper allocation of land in order to allow for a healthy formation of these patterns. Furthermore, contingency planning needs to include these types of traditional patterns for future post-disaster planning.

Table 5.1. The traditional settlement patterns uncovered through the study, which are all connected to the *lakou*.

Traditional Settlement Patterns Connected to the <i>Lakou</i>			
Road System	Pedestrian	Market	<i>Lakou</i>
Limited Local Roads	Footpaths	Central Market	Property Ownership & Division
Informal Parking*	Communal Spaces	Secondary Market	Communal Space
Public Transportation Hub*			Spiritual Space
			Private Space

* Modern systems that are predominant throughout Haiti, but they did not yet exist at the time of the *lakou*'s development

Table 5.2. The settlement patterns of the *lakou*, uncovered through the study.

The Patterns of the <i>Lakou</i>			
Property	Communal Space	Spiritual Space	Private Space
Land Tenure Clustering Borders	Agricultural Field The (Court)yard <i>Tonnell</i> Well Dinning Area Washing Area <i>Sang</i>	Temple Mapou Tree Cemetery	<i>Lakay</i> (House) Hygienic Area Kitchen Kamis

5.2. Road System

5.2.1. Local Roads

5.2.1.1. The Pattern

Within rural Haiti roads are limited in order to conserve arable land and prevent outside access. The lack of access roads adds protection to the *lakou* from outsiders. The introduction of inexpensive motorcycles from China and South Korea into Haiti has had a significant impact on transportation since the 2010 earthquake, which has further put off the necessity for paved roads.

5.2.1.2. Explanation: Context and Issues

The limitation of roads in rural Haiti is tied to the division of land for agricultural purposes, which is the foundation of the Haitian economy. With the lack of motorized vehicles, roads accessible by vehicles were unnecessary as people were accustomed to walking for up to several hours to reach nearby markets. In the mountain towns throughout the southern peninsula, it is not uncommon to walk a few hours down a hillside trail to reach a market or school, and then hike back up (Bastien 478-510). It was during the USA military occupation of Haiti in the early 20th century that major investments were made in the road infrastructure of Haiti, and most of these improvements were not maintained after the USA military left in the 1930's (Dash 11-20). The lack of access to rural communities helped add a level of security to the traditional *lakou* from outsiders. It could be argued that the lack of access led to the need for solidarity that is satisfied by the *lakou*, although members from various *lakous* would still intermingle at the market and rely on these interactions outside of their *lakou* for economic gain.

Today the lack of well-built roads and funding into infrastructure perpetuates the need to hike such distances on a daily basis for many rural Haitians. Even where roads exist in the mountain areas they are hardly passable by vehicle. Often, when one takes public transportation via ‘tap-tap’ (usually a pick up truck with seating in the bed) the vehicle will be unable to pass at some point along the road, and the people will have to get out and walk or find a ‘moto’ (small motorcycle) to take them the rest of the way. In areas such as these mountain towns, roads and footpaths that were at once inaccessible are now made accessible through the addition of ‘motos’. Motorcycles have also spurred an entrepreneurial spirit because they are affordable and they have created access for Haitians to take up work as a taxi driver.

The difficulty of finding this pattern in self-settled post-disaster settlements is due to the temporality of such settlements. In the self-settled post-disaster settlements that were studied only two are relatable to this pattern. Save the Children and the Walled In settlements in Port-au-Prince were located directly off of roads, which provided relatively quick and easy access for the inhabitants, especially in the case of the Walled In Camp due to its small size. Also, due to the urban and transitional nature of these two settlements, there is no intention for privacy or need for arable land. On the other hand, in Leogane, Ka Piti fits well into this pattern and Sugar Canaan shares some aspects.

5.2.1.3. Examples

Sugar Canaan is located at the fork of Rue Nationale #2 and is connected to the east and west bound sections of Rue Nationale #2 by a dirt road. Figure 5.1 details the location of the PDS in relation to Rue Nationale. The dirt road connecting the two sections of Rue Nationale had existed prior to the earthquake in order to link a school to

the major road. Beyond the road to the school, which is adjacent to the settlement, there are no other roads found within or leading to the settlement. There are several reasons for the lack of access roads within Sugar Canaan:

1. The conservation of space was necessary in order to provide livable area for a large number of inhabitants. This demonstrates a connection with the pattern of the traditional *lakou*, but rather than conserving arable land the inhabitants are preserving livable land.
2. The majority of inhabitants walk to the markets nearby (within 2 miles) and do not require transportation. It is observable that the footpath headed toward Leogane is trafficked more by inhabitants than the paved road near the school.
3. The introduction of the motorcycle taxi into the settlement has provided quick access for inhabitants willing to pay eight goudes (roughly thirty cents) for a ride to the city. The motorcycles used by the taxi drivers are able to access most all of the corridors between houses in the settlement.
4. This settlement is new and meant to be a transitional settlement; therefore, time and money has not been put into creating access roads.
5. It is possible that the lack of access roads contributes to the need for solidarity that is satisfied by the *lakou*. The inhabitants rely on each other to watch out for one another, help lend a hand when needed, and to take care of each other's children.

Ka Piti is located roughly one-quarter mile north of Rue Belvald and one quarter mile west of Route Ka Piti. Figure 5.2. shows the location of the camp in relation to these roads and the city. Currently, there are only footpaths connecting the *lakous* within the

self-settled post-disaster settlement to these two roads. There are several reasons for the lack of access roads within the settlement:

1. The original purpose for the land was agricultural; it was once a large sugar cane field.
2. The land was divided into plots of various sizes for rent without consideration for infrastructure. The divisions resemble a checkers board and were intended to provide the highest amount of livable lots as possible.
3. The introduction of the motorcycle into the area allowed for access to the individual *lakous* without the need for a paved road.

However, the lack of access roads to the *lakous* within the settlement is not beneficial.

During the rainy season, it can be nearly impossible for inhabitants to reach the market by foot due to muddy conditions and sometimes flooding; even motorcycles have difficulty traversing the paths and fields. Again, it is possible that due to the seclusion that occurs in these conditions the lack of access contributes to the solidarity found in the *lakous*.



Figure 5.1. ©OpenStreetMap. Open Source Map of Sugar Canaan, 08 Feb. 2013.



Figure 5.2. ©OpenStreetMap. Open Source Map of Ka Piti, 08 Feb. 2013.

Some inhabitants of Ka Piti complained about the lack of vehicle access. They worried what would happen if an accident or fire occurred and the police needed to reach

the area immediately. The lack of access roads may provide some benefits to the settlement, but this also may pose a potential hazard.

5.2.2. Informal Parking

5.2.2.1. The Pattern

Parking happens along the side of a road or within one's *lakou*. Within the self-settled post disaster settlements there is no space for parking a car, but motorcycle parking is common.

5.2.2.2. Explanation: Context and Issues

The most common parking found within residential areas exists within the walls of a *lakou*. The car is parked in the yard in front of the house, behind a closed gate. When giving his view definition of the *lakou*, one man stated: "You have to have the *lakou* to plant trees, for a parking space if you have a car, and if you're having a party you need space in the *lakou* to receive the guests" (Appendix D). Even mechanics will locate their repair shop adjacent to a road in order to service cars on the street. Parking lots are rarely found. Figure 5.3 shows the typical configurations for the pattern of informal parking.

5.2.2.3. Examples

Motorcycles were the primary vehicles found in the post-disaster settlements with very few exceptions. Save the Children contained one mechanic that had a repair shop with a small parking lot; outside of this occurrence, parking was found along the street that looped the settlement. In Ka Piti, individuals parked motorcycles within the walls of their *lakous*, and there was not enough space for anything larger. One man from Ka Piti complained that there was no space to park a vehicle even if one could afford to have a car. In the other two settlements, motorcycles were the only vehicles found parked.

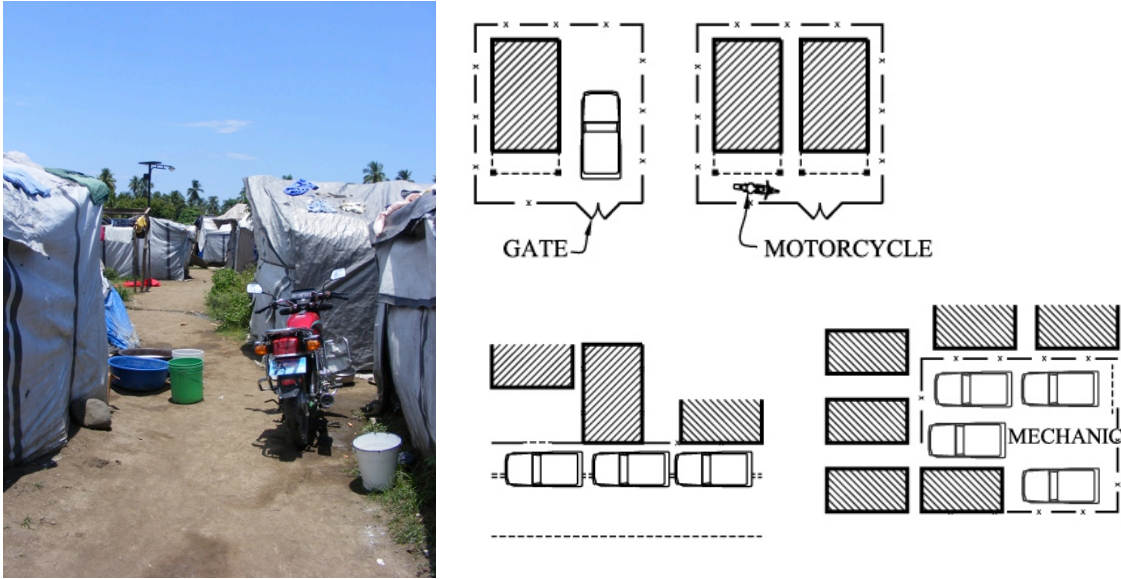


Figure 5.3. Diagrams demonstrating the informal parking pattern. Photo by author.

5.2.3. Public Transportation Hubs

5.2.3.1. The Pattern

An acute rise of public transportation has led to the creation of bus stops along the major highways and near the entrances to towns and villages. Within the self-settled post-disaster settlements studied, designated locations for motorcycle taxis have developed near the edges of the settlements.

5.2.3.2. Explanation: Context and Issues

These transportation centers help to connect the inhabitants of *lakous* to farther reaching locations, such as the major markets in Port-au-Prince. The accelerated growth of public transportation, since the 2010 earthquake in Haiti, is directly connected to a large amount of aid directed toward public transportation projects, such as the introduction of low cost motorcycles. Most of the post-disaster settlements under observation had a specific location for motorcycle taxis to wait for passengers. Typically this location was at the main entrance to the settlement from the major road or it was

within a meeting space such as a market or well. Figure 5.4 depicts these locations in reference to the *lakous*. The motorcycle transportation hubs allowed for easy access from the *lakous* in the PDS to the markets, and they allowed for individuals to meet with family and friends that lived far outside of the PDS. The location of the hubs still required walking to the hub, which still allowed for a level of limited access. Although they made the *lakous* in the post-disaster settlement more accessible for inhabitants, a level of limited access was maintained in comparison to a trafficked road.

TRANSPORTATION HUB

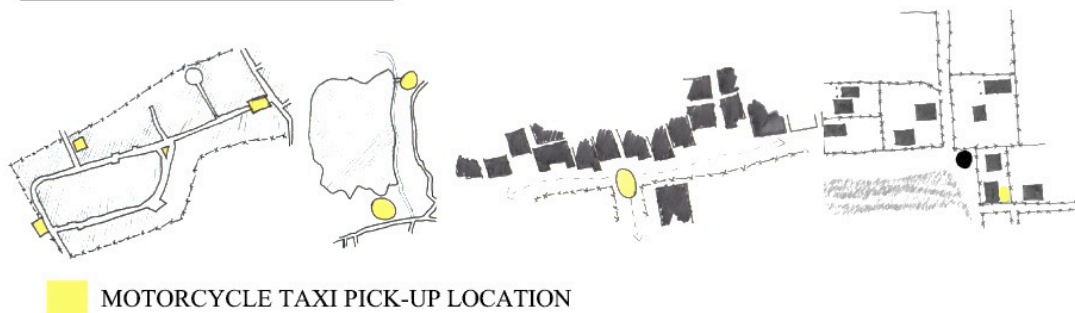


Figure 5.4. Diagrams of the transportation hubs.

5.2.3.3. Examples

The development of motorcycle taxi pick-up areas was evident in Save the Children, Sugar Canaan, and Ka Piti. Within Save the Children, multiple waiting areas were present for motorcycle taxi drivers; one was located adjacent the mobile medical clinic and the others located along the loop road. The designated area for moto taxis in Sugar Canaan was at the entrance to the camp adjacent to the school and vendors. In Ka Piti, it was typical to find a motorcycle taxi near the path toward Rue Belvald, but others could be found near Route Ka Piti. Furthermore, in Ka Piti several inhabitants had their motorcycle taxi located in their *lakous* and would drive other inhabitants from these locations.

5.3. Pedestrian

5.3.1. Footpaths

5.3.1.1. The Pattern

The spattering of houses in the countryside, consisting of many clusters (*lakous*), is connected through an intricate network of footpaths (Larose 482-511). The footpaths between houses and clusters are created through communal agreements and the quickest point of access. The patterns of footpaths in the post-disaster settlements are also created through agreements and the quickest point of access. Other footpaths are the corridors between houses.

5.3.1.2. Explanation: Context and Issues

The footpaths function much the same way in the urban areas as they do in the countryside; they create access to locations where a vehicle cannot. As mentioned before, their necessity comes about from the need to create the largest area for arable land and to prevent outside access to a *lakou*. Landowners must agree upon the creation of paths that pass between houses or family *lakous* since a small portion of each lot will be designated to the path. The footpaths follow common lines of travel such as between a cluster of houses and a well or between a village and a major road or market

In the urban centers footpaths are the only way to access many of the low-income housing areas, especially the informal and squatter settlements. In Port-au-Prince, the low-income housing built precariously along the valleys of the hills relies on footpaths for access.

In the post-disaster settlement, Ka Piti, pathways are created through an agreement between neighbors renting adjacent properties. This typically occurs along the

edges of the staked out land, where the renters will put up fencing to create further division. In other post-disaster settlements such as Save the Children in Port-au-Prince, the paths are the corridors between the houses. This makes for a meandering path from one's house to the main footpath that dissects sections of the camp. Sugar Canaan represents the connection of footpaths well. As shown in Figure 5.1, Sugar Canaan is between two major roads, connected to each by footpaths, and these footpaths are the only way to access the individual *lakous* and houses in the camp.

5.3.1.3. Examples

The diagram and images in Figure 5.5 demonstrate the paths created between *lakous* in Ka Piti. These paths require agreements between neighbors in order to designate space; most of these paths are no more than three feet wide. In Figure 5.6, the auxiliary paths are the corridors between houses. The two primary footpaths connect the *lakou(s)* to the major roads, running through the entire site.



Figure 5.5. Diagram and photographs depicting the allocation of footpaths in Ka Piti. Photos by Author.



Figure 5.6. Diagram of the footpaths in Sugar Canaan. The dotted line represents the paths.

5.3.2. Communal Spaces Along Paths

5.3.2.1. The Pattern

A path widens or opens into a recess where it meets a communal meeting place such as a well or off the side of a road.

5.3.2.2. Explanation: Context and Issues

The point where a path widens is commonly the most trafficked; the increase in foot traffic in some of these areas attracts vendors to the location. Altogether this creates a lively social hub. An example from Sugar Canaan is listed below. The areas where a path opens into a recess typically occur where there is a communal well or a communal shaded space, which attract inhabitants throughout the settlement to gather and socialize. Examples of this pattern are found in Sugar Canaan and Save the Children. Ka Piti is the only camp where this pattern is not present, but it does benefit from open fields and a cinema for community entertainment. Figure 5.7 displays typical diagrams of this pattern. The communal spaces are almost always active, and it is common for women to sell goods near the space. These social spaces are also often times the source of news and

gossip for the community. As discussed in Chapter IV, some of these social hubs may be considered sub-set *lakou* formations (Refer to Figures 4.3 and 4.4).

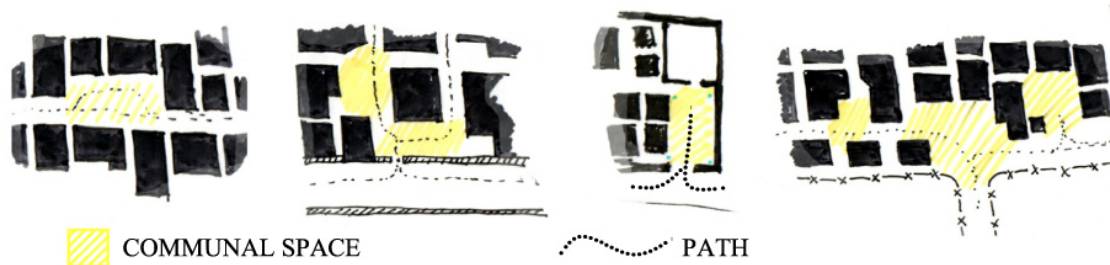


Figure 5.7. Diagrams of the communal spaces formed along footpaths.

5.3.2.3. Examples

In Save the Children there are several communal spaces directly off of the road, tucked behind a knee-high wall, as seen in Figure 4.7 and 4.8. The formation the pattern creates in this example from Save the Children contributes to the formation of a *lakou* in this location through the creation of courtyard and adding to the social construct. Figure 5.8 shows a space in Sugar Canaan where the path that crosses between the fence to the north of the camp and the camp itself widens as it approaches the communal water well. This space is used by everyone in the camp and often acts as a meeting point for friends to have conversations while gathering water for washing. Nearby, at the entrance to the camp from the road to the north, the footpaths convene and create a large active space where vendors have set up shop; this is exhibited in Figure 5.9.



Figure 5.8. A communal Space created near a well in Sugar Canaan. Photo by author.

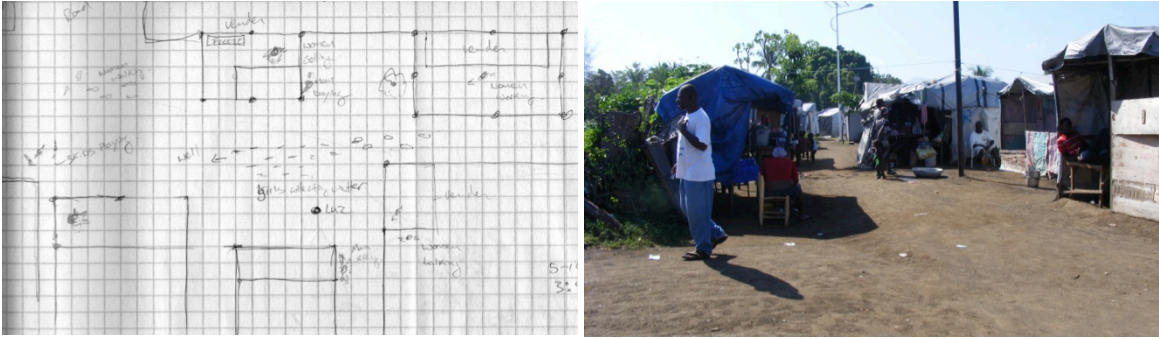


Figure 5.9. A communal space created at the entrance to Sugar Canaan. Photo by author.

5.4. Market

The markets contribute to the financial capital and vitality of the settlements and *lakous*. The sale of goods and produce is a common profession amongst Haitians, and is evident within the post-disaster settlements. Men and women alike rely on markets to sell their produce, goods, and crafts.

5.4.1. Central Market

5.4.1.1. The Pattern

A central market is located near the center of a town or along a major road that passes through the town. The desire for closer markets to the new post-disaster settlements may create a change in location of the current markets or a creation of multiple markets.

5.4.1.2. Explanation: Context and Issues

The central markets provide the means for inhabitants of *lakous* and others to sell the food they produce as well as other merchandise. In Leogane, the central market is located just east of the central plaza (Refer to Figure C.28). In Carrefour Dufort, which is along Rue National a few miles west of Leogane, the market is along the busy Rue National. Both of these markets will draw people from Sugar Canaan and Ka Piti,

although the market in Leogane is the major draw. These markets also have primary days of activity on Wednesday and Saturday. The central market may add to the social capital within a *lakou* as people meet and socialize with others from all over the region, spreading their social networks.

5.4.1.3. Examples

In Leogane, the new and highly populated post-disaster settlements, Ka Piti and Santo, desire to have markets that are more accessible to them. I conjecture that this will lead to the creation of either a large market in-between the two settlements along Rue National, or two new markets in their respective locations. Figure 5.10 shows the existing major market in Leogane in comparison to the proposed locations for future markets near the post-disaster settlements.

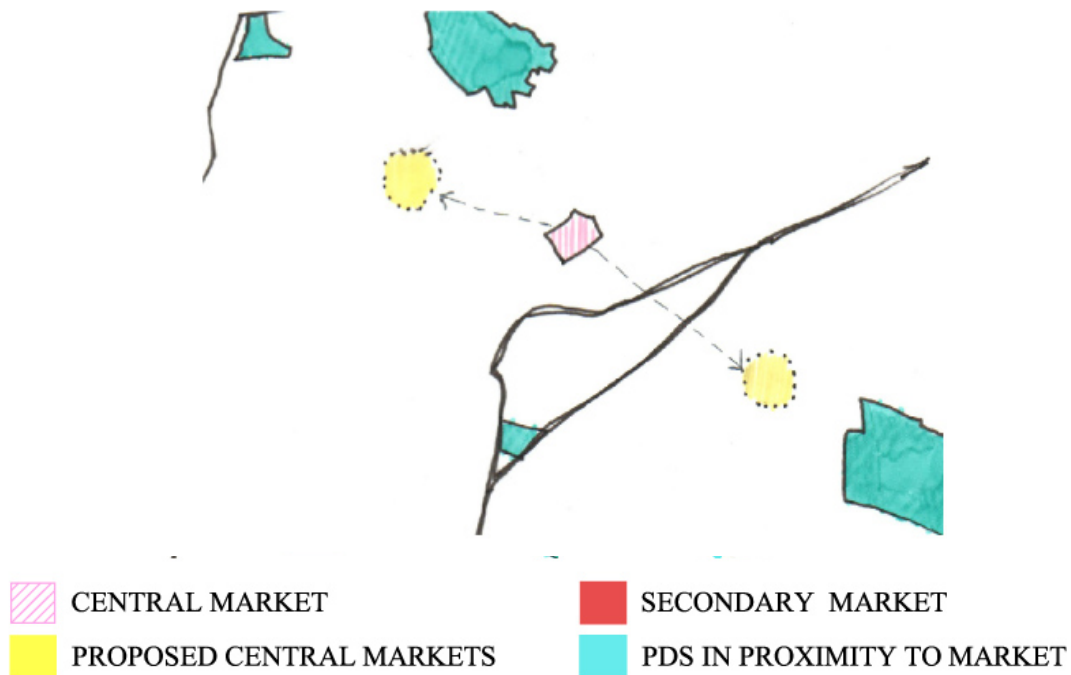


Figure 5.10. Diagrams showing Leogane’s major market in relationship to the new proposed locations, which are closer to the *lakous* of the post-disaster settlements.

5.4.2. Secondary Markets

5.4.2.1. The Pattern

Rows of merchants form around high-traffic roads and paths.

5.4.2.2. Explanation: Context and Issues

In Leogane, the main road into the city is lined with various merchants. Another road, adjacent to St. Croix Hospital is also lined with merchants (Refer to Figure 5.11). These create secondary markets in the town. Within ‘Sugar Canaan,’ a small market of a few merchants is at the main entrance to the settlement, adjacent a school (Figure 5.9). In Ka-Piti, there are several merchants that set up a store along the major paths throughout the settlement.

In Port-au-Prince, secondary markets pop-up everywhere. A good example is the market that started up adjacent to the American supermarket, Eagle. It is most likely in



Figure 5.11. Diagram of the secondary markets in Leogane and their relation to the two PDS studied.

direct competition to the supermarket. At the Save the Children settlement several merchants established themselves along the road that loops around the camp, and there is a cluster of merchants near the medical clinic.

5.4.2.3. Examples

The communal space created at the convergence and or widening of paths tends to be a location for vendors to have a secondary market in the post disaster settlements, as discussed earlier in reference to Figure 5.9. Another example of these secondary markets exists directly across the street from the entrance to the Walled In Camp, where inhabitants try to make an income selling goods to those who traffic the area.

5.5. The *Lakou*

The *lakou* pattern can be summarized as the clustering of an extended family's houses on shared land, owned by the family. As discussed in Chapter II and shown in Figure 2.3, there are several iterations of the *lakou* pattern. This section will go through the spatial patterns that construct the *lakou*, as well as those which are contained within the *lakou*. Each of these patterns carries a social connection.

5.5.1. Patterns Dealing with the Property of the *Lakou*

5.5.1.1. Land Tenure

5.5.1.1.1. The Pattern

“The *lakou* grows out of the continuous occupation of the same land by one family” (Bastien 481). In the self-settled post-disaster settlements the *lakou* formation is found on rented land in informal settlements where inhabitants do not have land rights.

5.5.1.1.2. Explanation: Context and Issues

This pattern contributes to the development of a *lakou*. As explained in Chapter II, land is passed down from generation to generation. Following the Code Napoleon, every child has an equal right to the inheritance of land originally owned by his ancestors. Each child receives an equal share of the land and the land is continually divided amongst the family as the generations pass it down. The communal spaces remain and may change as agreements between relatives evolve. Even if family members do not occupy the land any longer, they return during certain times of the year to fulfill religious obligations (Bastien; Appendix D).

Through the field study, it became apparent that land ownership was not a necessary requirement for a *lakou* to form, as described in Chapter IV. The lack of visual borders created a perception of shared space and unrelated families rented houses on shared land. The evolving concept of the *lakou* includes the apparent need for emotional and economic support, which requires neighbors and communities to act as families.

5.5.1.1.3. Examples

In Chapter II, the Souvenance *lakou* is discussed at length. The land was originally owned by the ancestors and over time has been divided amongst the children of each generation. Today roughly sixty family houses remain in the *lakou*, and have divided the land equally amongst them. In this case, there are agreed upon designations for land use between arable land and livable land.

The examples of this pattern in the post-disaster settlements have been discussed at length in Chapter IV. In Sugar Canaan, the inhabitants considered the entire PDS to be one family *lakou*. Surprisingly, extended family *lakous* can be found throughout Haiti,

which are as large, if not larger, than the size of the PDS Sugar Canaan. In the region of Leogane, the *lakou* can consist of four to one hundred households (Larose). In the Ka Piti settlement, unrelated families, forced to share a *lakou* together in order to afford rent, live together as one. The perceptions of Haitians living in this type of arrangement are changing in order to accept the conditions of living and maintaining social continuity.

5.5.1.2. Clustering

5.5.1.2.1. The Pattern

The clustering of houses on a shared piece of land without any fence between them is a *lakou* (Bastien 478-510, Larose 482-511). Inhabitants of post-disaster settlements consider the clustering of houses on shared land, which is inclusive of unrelated families, a *lakou*.

5.5.1.2.2. Explanation: Context and Issues

As explained in Chapter II, the clustering pattern is an essential part of the formation of the *lakou*. The clustering of familial houses is partially due to the small size of the vernacular houses, fitting only two to four people. Generally one nuclear family resides in each house. This pattern primarily occurs in rural areas where land is more abundant and the agricultural practices attached to the *lakou* are prevalent. In urban areas the private single-family residence often replaces the *lakou*; however, it is common for multiple families to reside within one house (Fass “Housing” 193-205). The transformation of the *lakou* into the urban setting was detailed in Figure 2.3.

As mentioned before the more recent phenomenon of rent systems has changed the nature of land tenure, and squatting is common throughout Haiti, especially in urban

centers. It is still evident through the field research that the *lakou* is very alive in these situations and does not require for families sharing a *lakou* to be related.

Bastien’s explanation of the clustering of families with a single leader or ‘met’ has had resurgence in the post-disaster settlement, albeit now, there is no requirement for familial relationships (478-510). The post-disaster settlements studied are created as people move into a shared location, and these people typically do not have property rights to the land they settle on. Typically a leader is established in each of these settlements. As established in Chapter IV, since people do not feel they have a right to establish physical divisions on property they do not own, they perceive themselves as living on shared land or in the same *lakou*. Combined with the pattern of land tenure, these two patterns contribute to the formation of the *lakou*.

5.5.1.2.3. Examples

The Souvenance Lakou in Chapter II demonstrates the examples of the traditional system of clustering in rural Haiti. The clustering found in the post-disaster settlements and the different typologies found are described in detail in Chapter IV. Figure 5.12 represents a diagram of this pattern in the traditional setting, and figure 5.13 displays diagrams of the pattern found in the post-disaster settlement.

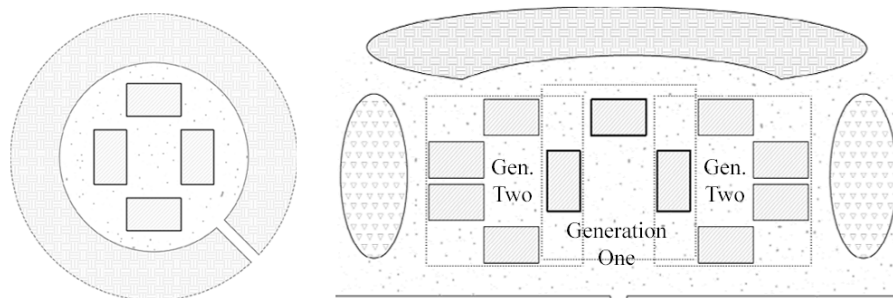


Figure 5.12. Diagrams of the extended family *lakou* formation, which show the clustering of the houses (the rectangles). In the diagram to the right, notice the creation of additional clusters as the family expands in each subsequent generation. The pattern represented by the diagram to the left is also found in the PDS as discussed in Chapter IV.

5.5.1.3. Borders

5.5.1.3.1. The Pattern

Physical divisions are created between *lakous*, or between a *lakou* and a road or path, in order to prevent conflict and prevent access from outsiders. A traditional form is a living wall, consisting of plants such as cacti, but concrete block walls are also common. In the self-settled post-disaster settlements the border pattern manifests in two ways:

1. The physical division is either a living wall, constructed from tarps and corrugated metal, or a concrete block wall.
2. No divisions are created due to the lack of property rights and the perception that one must share the land with one's neighbors.

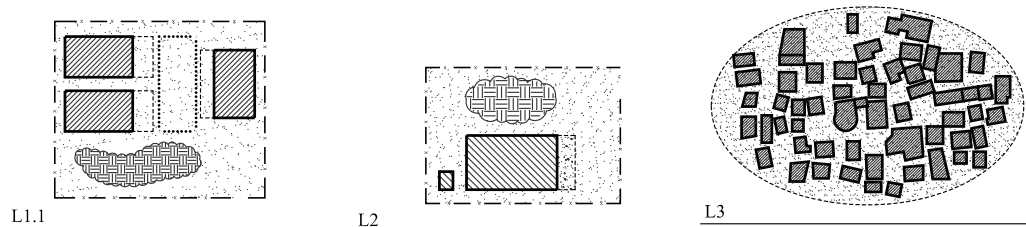


Figure 5.13. Diagrams of the clustering pattern that are found in the PDS. Left: Clustering of houses within a wall. Center: Single house containing multiple families. Right: Clustering of houses on shared land, representing an entire PDS.

5.5.1.3.2. Explanation: Context and Issues

The fences serve a dual purpose: to protect a family from outsiders who may commit robbery and to protect the family from evil spirits, curses, and other forms of mysticism (Larose 482-511, Bastien 478-510).³¹ The walls also contain the family to their

³¹ The curses may come from the evil spirits such as the devil, and the walls protect the family from these spirits lingering outside the walls. The curses may also be cast upon the family from an outsider. When one is sick, it is a common belief that a curse has befallen the person and by placing them inside the walls, they are protected from additional harm (Bastien 478-510; Larose 482-511; Appendix D).

ancestry, as they mark the borders of the family owned land; this was mentioned in Chapter II. Divisions created between families within *lakous* would express disputes that are ongoing between family members. As shown in Figure 5.14, physical barriers between households may represent these divisions.

As discussed in Chapter IV, if people do not feel they have a right to establish physical divisions on property they do not own, they perceive themselves as living in a shared *lakou* and/or as a family. Schinina et al's report on post-disaster settlements discusses that a connection may exist between the need for survivors to create a sense of family and the need to ease the effects of post-traumatic stress (158-164). In the self-settled post-disaster settlements Save the Children, the Walled Settlement, and Sugar Canaan this can be construed as the case for the formation of *lakous*. The borders pattern contributes to the creation of a *lakou*.

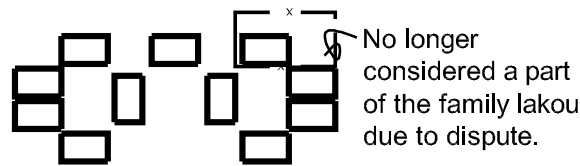


Figure 5.14. A diagram demonstrating the barriers that may be formed within an extended family *lakou*.

5.5.1.3.3. Examples

Figure 5.15 is an example of the traditional borders found in the countryside; notice the wall of plants that creates a barrier in front of the *lakou*. The other most common form of border is the concrete block wall, creating a perimeter around a *lakou*, similar to what is found in the Walled Settlement (refer to Figure C.27).

Due to a plethora of tarps from the emergency relief and a lack of economic means to construct solid concrete block walls, most people who create barriers for division in the post-disaster settlements use tarps or corrugated metal sheets. Figure 5.16 displays an example of these borders. Within the post disaster settlements it is also common to find living fences as demonstrated in Figure 5.17. Sugar Canaan and Ka Piti.



Figure 5.15. Photograph of a rural family *lakou* with a living fence. Photo by author.



Figure 5.16. Photograph of an extended family *lakou* in Ka Piti with a fence of tarps, demonstrating the border pattern in a PDS. Photo by author.

5.5.2. Communal Spaces of the *Lakou*

The communal spaces are those shared by all of the inhabitants of the *lakou*. These include the agricultural fields, the courtyard or yard, the *tonnell*, the well, the dining area, the washing area, and social patterns such as the *konbit* and *sang*. These spaces are associated most with the social construct of the *lakou*.

5.5.2.1. Agricultural Field

5.5.2.1.1. The Pattern

The agricultural production within the *lakou* occurs in the open area behind the cluster of homes. This space is designated through an agreement between the family members. Agricultural fields are reduced to gardens next to houses or rows of plants along the perimeter of a house in the self-settled post-disaster settlements.



Figure 5.17. Photographs of living walls found in Ka Piti and Sugar Canaan. Photos by author.

5.5.2.1.2. Explanation: Context and Issues

Haitians have relied on agricultural production and sustenance farming. The agricultural fields play a vital role in the Haitian economy. Chapter I and II speak to the role of agriculture and the *lakou*. Economic competition may exist within the *lakou* as families compete with each other, but in order to create a more viable form of agricultural production families began to pull together their resources into a cooperative called the *konbit* (Lundahl “Failure” 112-127).

In the post-disaster settlements, space for agricultural production is not a priority while space for housing is. However, the inhabitants of these self-settled post disaster settlements find room for agricultural production in the limited space within *lakous*.

Gardens are created in a different space of the *lakou* and plants are placed along house walls if space is too limited.

The research did not discover any cooperative agricultural production amongst the families living in the post-disaster settlements, but it is possible cooperatives existed. In Ka Piti, several fenced lots had rows of sugar cane and banana trees being harvested, which were typically seen being worked on by several different people.

5.5.2.1.3. Examples

The typical arrangement of the agricultural fields in a rural *lakou* is similar to that seen in Souvenance. Figure 5.18 demonstrates two typical formations of the *lakou* and the location of the fields. The agricultural fields are typically located either to the rear of the housing cluster or at the circumference of the housing cluster.

In the post-disaster settlements the location of agricultural fields depended on the amount of allowable space, and plants were typically placed anywhere people could find



Figure 5.18. Drawings of Agriculture Fields. Left: The Souvenance fields are at the rear. Right: The fields begin at the outer circumference of the housing cluster.

room. In Ka Piti produce was grown anywhere in the *lakou* that had room for a garden or row of bananas and breadfruit. Figure 5.19 depicts this pattern in Ka Piti. In Sugar Canaan and Save the Children, produce and other plants were planted in fenced in areas and around the perimeter of houses. Figure 5.20 and 5.21 display the pattern in Sugar Canaan and in Save the Children.

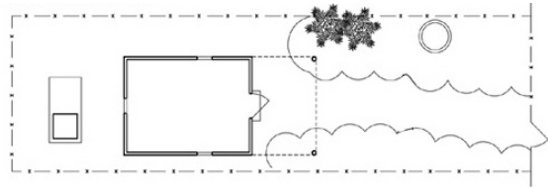


Figure 5.19. The production of food crops within a *lakou* in Ka Piti. Photo by author.

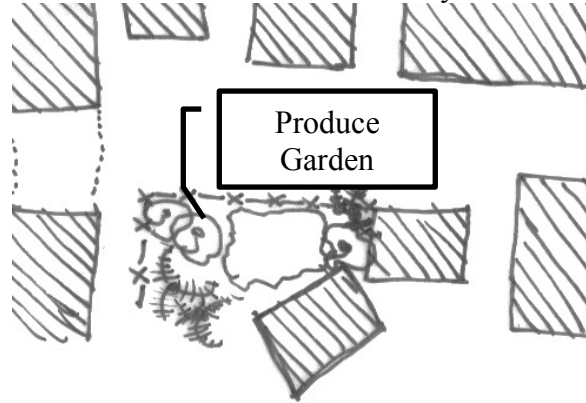


Figure 5.20. Photograph and diagram of a produce garden located within a *lakou* in Sugar Canaan.

5.5.2.2. The (Court)yard

5.5.2.2.1. The Pattern

The space between the houses typically takes the form of a courtyard or large yard.



Figure 5.21. Photograph and diagram of a small garden located adjacent a house within a *lakou* in Save the Children PDS. Photo by author.

5.5.2.2.2. Explanation: Context and Issues

The yard or courtyard is the center of activity in the *lakou*. It acts as the receiving space for guests, a place to have a garden, or plant trees and shrubs for shade. It is the space that the Haitians live in. In the post-disaster settlements this space is shared amongst neighbors, friends, and family. This space is the hub of activity within the *lakou*. As discussed earlier, the communal spaces created at the convergence and recesses of paths may be considered *lakous*.

5.5.2.2.3. Examples

Two examples of the courtyard are found in the Plaza PDS and in Save the Children PDS.³² Both demonstrate the type of activities that occur within this pattern. In the Figure 5.22 a group of inhabitants who share this courtyard are playing dominoes together while listening to music. The courtyard provides a place for the social construct of the *lakou* to occur within this cluster of houses. In Figure 5.23 a group of children,

³² Refer to Appendix C for further information on the Airport Industrial Park post-disaster settlement.

under the watchful eye of a mother, are playing under a shade located within a courtyard. This demonstrates the system of childcare that can also occur within the *lakou* pattern.

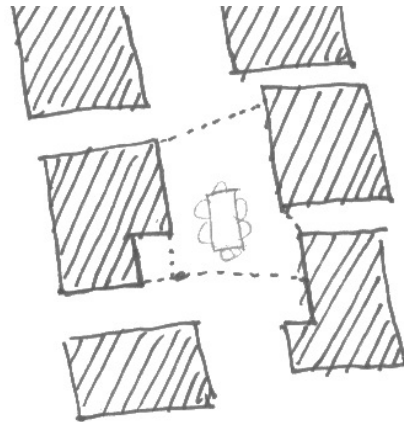


Figure 5.22. Photograph and diagram of a courtyard created between a cluster of houses in the Plaza PDS located in Port-au-Prince. Photo by author.

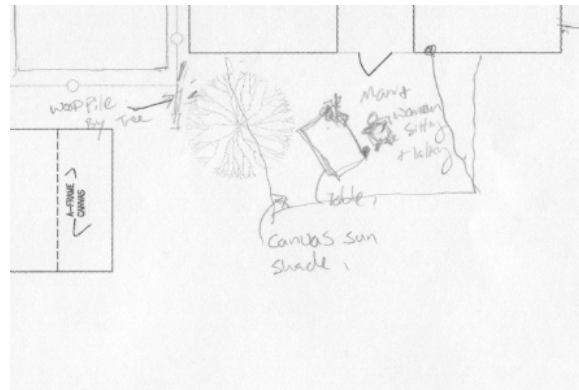


Figure 5.23. Photograph and diagram of a yard created between a cluster of houses in Save the Children. Photo by the author.

5.5.2.3. Cemetery

5.5.2.3.1. The Pattern

The cemetery is “communal property excluded from divisions of property among heirs” (Bastien 482). It is located toward a back corner of the *lakou* yard, typically adjacent a temple or other spiritual space such as a Mapou tree (Bastien 478-510).

5.5.2.3.2. Explanation: Context and Issues

The cemetery is where the bones of the ancestors and original founders of the *lakou* rest; their spirits reside within the walls of the *lakou*. Because there are no ancestral ties to the land of the post-disaster settlements, there are no cemeteries. I conjecture that in due time, cemeteries will exist in the *lakous* of Ka Piti. The cemetery spans across both the communal and spiritual patterns of the *lakou*.

5.5.2.3.3. Examples

Figure 5.24 illustrates the cemetery in a *lakou* east of Leogane at Carrefour Signu. It shows the tombs of the deceased members of the *lakou* located beside the vodou altar. This is the spiritual space for the entire extended family.



Figure 5.24. Photograph of a cemetery located in an extended family *lakou* in Carrefour Signu. Photo by author.

5.5.2.4. Tonnell

5.5.2.4.1. The Pattern

A simple open structure is located in a central location to the yard in order to provide shade for people to sit under. The spatial location remains the same in post-disaster settlements.

5.5.2.4.2. Explanation: Context and Issues

In the post-disaster settlements, the *tonnell* becomes a meeting place; some people work on merchandise to sell at the market, others talk with friends, and others sleep. The social interactions within the *tonnell* carry more weight as they contribute to the social and spatial construct of the *lakou* in the post-disaster settlements as described in Chapter IV.

5.5.2.4.3. Examples

Figure 5.25 depicts two different *tonnells*. The one to the right is a typical *tonnell* constructed from wood posts and canvas, located in a *lakou* in Ka Piti. The *tonnell* to the left is quite different; as mentioned prior, this space is one that is considered to be a *lakou* by those who occupy it. This space is the center of social activity in its post-disaster settlement. The *tonnell* pictured in Figure 5.8 is located in Sugar Canaan adjacent to a well. It is located in the recesses created off of the main path through the settlement as described before. This structure attracts social activity in the space as it provides shade from the hot sun. As the main source of shade in many instances, this pattern develops a strong relationship with other patterns: the (court)yard, dining, and washing. For example, a *tonnell* is present in the courtyard shown in Figure 5.23. Figure 5.26 shows a set of diagrams that demonstrate the relationship of the *tonnell* with other patterns.

5.5.2.5. Well

5.5.2.5.1. The Pattern

The well is typically located along the outer edge within the main yard of the *lakou* or nearby a bathroom facility with plumbing. In the urban environment the well may be beneath the house.



Figure 5.25. Photographs of *Tonnells*. Left: The *tonnell* is the hub of social activity in this post-disaster settlement. Right: An example of a *tonnell* located in a *lakou* in Ka Piti (refer to Figure C.55 for location). Photos by author.

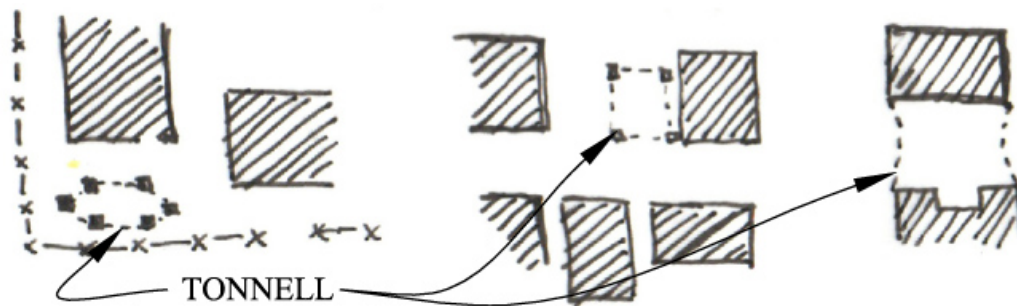


Figure 5.26. Diagrams demonstrating various iterations of the *tonnell*.

5.5.2.5.2. Explanation: Context and Issues

The majority of wells are hand dug, with a concrete block cistern. These serve as a gathering place for inhabitants of the *lakou* as they prepare water for bathing and washing. The water is not potable so it must be boiled or tablets added to kill bacteria.

In cases of wealthier families, the well is dug significantly deeper than usual using machinery, and water is pumped into a water tower adjacent to the well and bathroom facility. These are still fairly primitive, but effective.

5.5.2.5.3. Examples

Figure 5.27 displays the typical location of wells in the *lakous* of Ka Piti. The well located in Sugar Canaan is at the communal space created along the main footpath.

(refer to Figure 5.8). In Save the Children, rather than a well, a cistern is located along a road at the edge of a yard, as shown in Figure 5.28. The cistern is as large as a pool, and provides non-potable water for a large number of inhabitants in the camp.

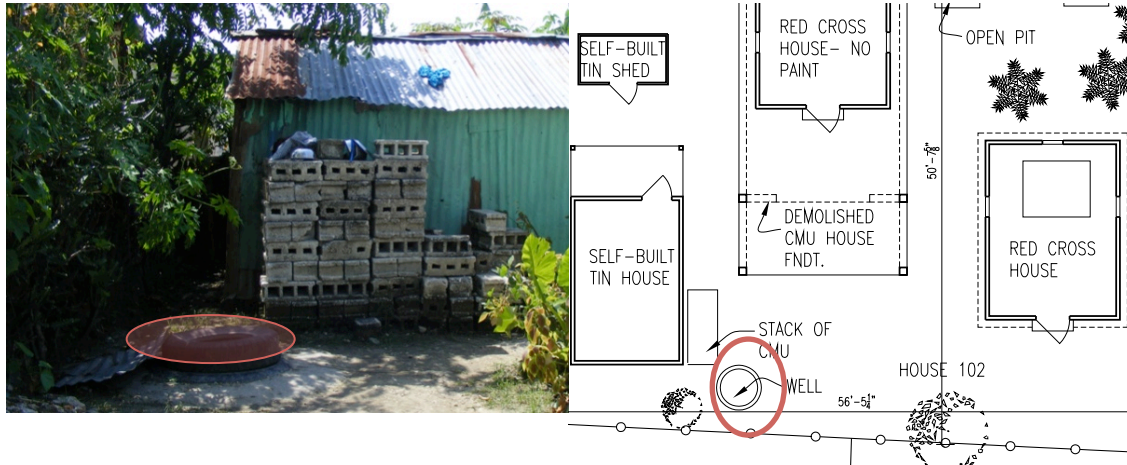


Figure 5.27. Location of the well (in red) within a *lakou* in Ka Piti. It is located within easy access to the houses.



Figure 5.28. Location of a large water cistern in Save the Children, highlighted in red. It was empty at the time due to a dry spout of weather.

5.5.2.6. Dining Area

5.5.2.6.1. The Pattern

The dining area can be located centrally to the yard in a location equally accessible to every family in the *lakou*. In the post-disaster settlements, the location of

dining remains the same, but the social construct attached becomes inclusive of non-familial inhabitants.

5.5.2.6.2. Explanation: Context and Issues

The communal aspect of the dining area is significant because it demonstrates the importance of sharing food among families within the *lakou*. If nothing else, the inhabitants of a *lakou* share food with each other. The only time a family may not share food together is if a serious dispute arises and divisions begin to form (Bastien 478-510).

When the individual family houses are large enough, dining occurs within the house, but the sharing of food is still important as families invite each other into their homes to break bread together.

In the post-disaster settlements circumstances have forced unrelated, unfamiliar individuals to survive together. Sharing this common experience, inhabitants begin to lean on each other and rely on their neighbors to get by. The act of sharing food with others takes place despite people being unrelated.

5.5.2.6.3. Examples

Figure 5.29 outlines the diagrams of various iterations of this pattern. The dining area may be placed under the shade of a *tonnell* or the *galerie*, or it may be contained within the house itself.



Figure 5.29. Diagrams of the different iterations of the dining pattern.

5.5.2.7. Washing Area

5.5.2.7.1. The Pattern

The washing area is located adjacent the well or in front of the house.

Clotheslines are strung across the yard adjacent to the area where the women wash clothes.

5.5.2.7.2. Explanation: Context and Issues

The area of the *lakou* where women wash clothes is a meeting place to gossip and pass the time together. It differs slightly in every *lakou*, but in most cases the washing takes place at the front of the house and the clothes are hung on clotheslines that crisscross the yard. With the close proximity of houses, each woman may work in front of her own home while chatting, or may also go over to her neighbor's house.

5.5.2.7.3. Examples

In Figure 5.30 note the clotheslines that cross the courtyard. The circle toward the bottom of the space designates a washing bucket. Figure 5.31 depicts the washing area in front of two homes shared by multiple women and the relationship between the *tonnell* and the well.

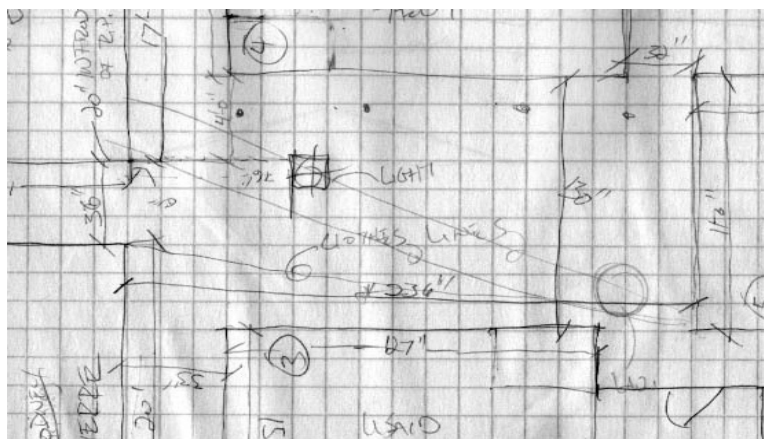


Figure 5.30. A behavior map of a *lakou* in Save the Children taking note of the social and spatial pattern of washing. Refer to Appendix C for observations.



Figure 5.31. Photograph and diagram detailing the washing area pattern's occurrence in Sugar Canaan. Photo by author.

5.5.2.8. The *Sang*

5.5.2.8.1. The Pattern

The *sang* is a system of rolling access to credit that is established within a *lakou*. This is a social construct of the traditional extended family *lakou*. In the post-disaster settlements and their *lakous*, a system of lending exists for purchasing necessities.

5.5.2.8.2. Explanation: Context and Issues

Similar to the operation of the lending system established through the Grameen Bank, the *sang* provides access to funds through a communal lending system established within a family *lakou*. Although this social system was not studied in detail, it can be conjectured that a similar lending system has been established in the post-disaster *lakous*. As explained in Chapter IV, within the solidarity shared among the inhabitants, support systems for lending and sharing food have developed.

5.5.3. Spiritual Spaces of the *Lakou*

The spiritual spaces of the *lakou* include the vodou temple, the cemetery, and the mapou trees. Less common spiritual features found in a *lakou* are ritual baths used during certain vodou ceremonies.

5.5.3.1. Temple

5.5.3.1.1. The Pattern

The temple resides in a central location in the yard, typically in relation to the main entrance. In the post-disaster settlement, the temple is located central to the yard without connection to the ancestors.

5.5.3.1.2. Explanation: Context and Issues

In the temple, the family pays homage to their ancestral spirits and participates in the religious ceremonies of Vodou. These ceremonies tend to originate in the temple and move their way throughout the *lakou* as demonstrated in the Souvenance, RaRa ceremony described in Chapter II. In a large *lakou*, the temple designates the primary and secondary courtyards, such as in Souvenance. Temples vary in size from a small primitive lean-to structure the size of a small shed to a large concrete structure that holds five hundred people. Size is dependent on the size of the *lakou* and wealth of the family.

In the PDS, location of the temple has no direct connection to the ancestral significance of the land. The only instance of a temple present in the post-disaster settlements was in Ka Piti in the *lakou* of a vodou priestess. The temple was located in the middle of the yard, directly in front of the gate.

The presence of a shrine or Christian chapel, for example the church present in the yard of the Walled in Camp, could also be considered under this pattern. However, the primary consideration for the temple is the connection to the ancestors. As this pattern changes and evolves, other physical spaces used for spiritual purposes within the *lakou* could be replacing the vodou temple. This represents the active Christian missions in the

post-disaster settlements and the adaptation of the vodou symbolism into the Christian religion.

5.5.3.1.3. Examples

In the *lakou* mentioned above in Carrefour Signu, the temple is located directly adjacent to the cemetery displayed in Figure 5.24. As shown in Figure 5.32 this temple is very small, especially in comparison to the temple in the Souvenance *lakou*, which is pictured in Figure 5.33. In the priestess' *lakou* in Ka Piti, which is shown in Figure 5.34, the temple is located toward the center of the yard. There are also other ancillary buildings that are possibly related to the temple toward the edge of the yard.

5.5.3.2. Mapou Tree

5.5.3.2.1. The Pattern

A Mapou tree resides in a central location within the yard with roots spreading across the space. A second tree or multiple Mapou trees reside along the periphery of the central yard or to the periphery of the property.



Figure 5.32. The vodou temple located in the Carrefour Signu *lakou* Photo by author.



Figure 5.33. Photograph of a vodou ceremony taking place in the temple located in Souvenance. Photo by author.

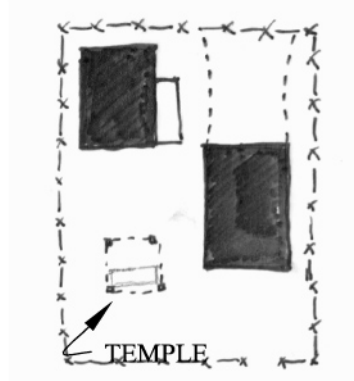


Figure 5.34. Photograph and diagram of the temple located in the *lakou* of a vodou priestess in Ka Piti. Note the similarities with the *tonnell* in Figure 5.25. Photo by author.

5.5.3.2.2. Explanation: Context and Issues

The *lou*, or vodun deities, dwell in the Mapou tree. This spirit may be the soul of the founder. In the post-disaster settlements Mapou trees were not evident, but if they were present they would still hold a sacred importance, although not connected to the ancestral spirits of the place.

5.5.3.2.3. Examples

The Mapou Tree displayed in Figure 5.35 is located in the central yard of the Souvenance *Lakou*. As part of the ceremonies, it is wrapped in red and blue, the colors of the Haitian flag. This tree plays a central role in the religious ceremonies that take place within the yard.

5.5.4. Private Spaces of the *Lakou*

The private spaces of the *lakou* consist of the *lakay* (house), the hygienic area, the kitchen, and *kamis* (stores). These spaces are kept private for use by the individual nuclear family or individual inhabitant.



Figure 5.35. Photograph of a Mapou tree located across from the temple in the main courtyard of the Souvenance *lakou*. Photo by author.

5.5.4.1. Lakay (House)

5.5.4.1.1. The Pattern

After the property is staked out the house is staked out in an area deemed fitting, such as a flat area under the shade of a few trees. The houses are clustered together, and are typically one or two rooms in length with a small front porch. In the post-disaster settlements, the location of the house is similar to that of the original pattern, especially in Ka Piti. In the other three settlements, the location of the house is determined on a first-come first-served basis. The first people to arrive at most of the self-settled post-disaster camp locations were able to secure a large lot for their house, while others were left with smaller, leftover spaces.

5.5.4.1.2. Explanation: Context and Issues

Within the *lakou*, the house is the private residence of each adult family member. The house is typically only used for storage and sleeping. The *lakou* (courtyard/yard) is where the inhabitants live and conduct their activities. In the *lakous* studied, it was common to find families dine and prepare food in their houses as well. The communal

spaces are where families greet friends and neighbors; it would be a faux pas to invite oneself into a person's house.

Houses in urban areas are typically constructed from concrete and concrete block. Many are two rooms wide with a central corridor. More than one related family may also occupy a house in the city, and each room may be rented out to a different family or individual. The urban house is typically surrounded by a wall and would be considered a private *lakou* or an extended family *lakou* living within one house, as was discussed in Chapter IV.

The most common house typology in the self-settled post-disaster settlements is a single room abode with an a-frame roof, constructed with wood posts and a tarp envelope. The houses are found in clusters and occupied by individual families. Most have a covered porch at the entrance, and some have a front and rear door, while others do not.

5.5.4.1.3. Examples

The two examples shown in Figures 5.36 and 5.37 demonstrate three different approaches to the organization of the house. In Figure 5.36, the house to the left has no porch and only one room. The house to the right has two rooms and a yard behind. The larger room is the living space with an entrance that is covered, and the other space is a small store connected to the *lakou*. Figure 5.37 depicts the houses of two related families connected by a covered corridor and a shared front porch and gate. Both of these houses are divided in two rooms, but one has an entrance through the front and the other has an entrance to the side of a room.

In the sketches shown in Figure 5.38, the house to the left is a common type found in Save The Children. It is divided into two rooms that are connected by a single covered porch. In this example the porch is entirely enclosed in order to create storage space. The figure to the right is a typical style for the self-built houses in Ka Piti and also typifies those in Sugar Canaan. It consists of one room with a front porch.

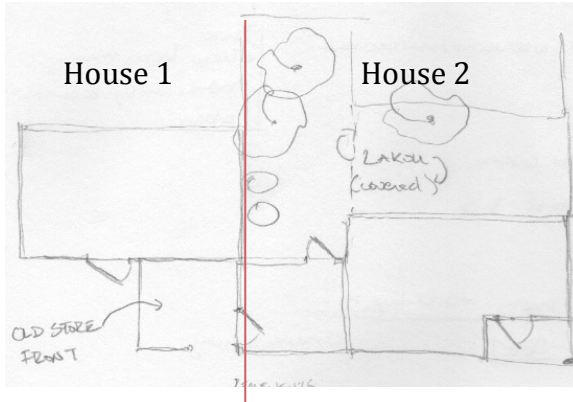


Figure 5.36. Floor plans of two houses in the Airport Industrial camp, Port-au-Prince.

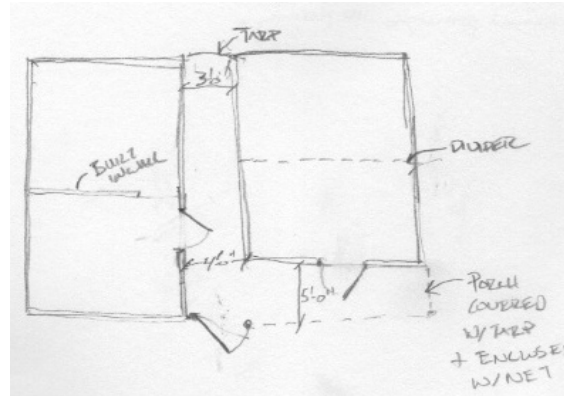


Figure 5.37. Floor plans of two houses within an extended family *lakou* in the Plaza camp, Port-au-Prince.

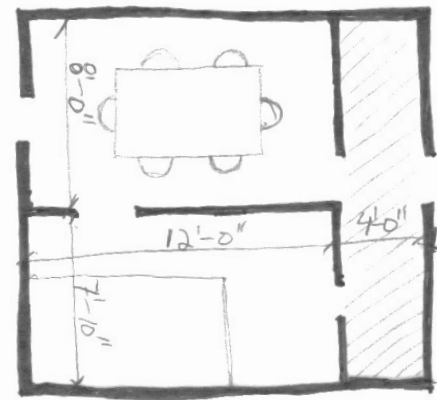
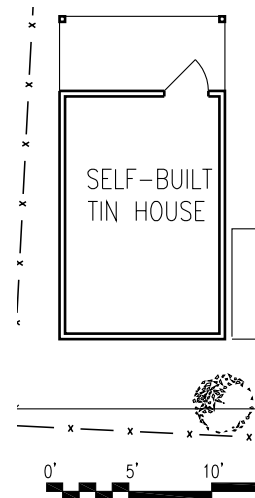


Figure 5.38. Drawings of house floor plans. Left: House in Save the Children PDS. Right: House in Ka Piti PDS.



5.5.4.2. Hygienic Area

5.5.4.2.1. The Pattern

A latrine is tucked away in a corner of the *lakou*, out of sight. Optimally there is one per house. A bucket shower may or may not be attached to the other side.

In the post-disaster settlements two patterns emerge for the hygienic area.

1. A common latrine is shared among an entire post-disaster settlement.
2. Each house has a latrine located behind the house.

5.5.4.2.2. Explanation: Context and Issues

In the first case for a post-disaster settlement, the latrine is not maintained and becomes unusable. This forces people to use bags to dispose of fecal matter or use adjacent fields and the secluded spaces between houses. There is an issue with maintaining the latrines shared by an entire camp because no one wants to maintain something that is not their own. In the second case the family living in the house maintains the latrine. The issue of maintenance is a cultural issue and the improper maintenance of latrines in the post-disaster settlements is exacerbated by the fact that most were installed by aid organization and were maintained by these organizations (Doug Taylor). Due to this, the inhabitants never took ownership of the toilets and once the aid organizations left, the latrines became unusable. In Ka Piti the latrines are shared between two to five families living in the *lakou* and are still maintained by everyone. In order for proper maintenance of the latrine, I conjecture that the proportion of houses to latrines should not exceed five; beyond this proportion people believe the maintenance is someone else's problem.

Issues arise with the installation of the latrines in Ka Piti by the Red Cross. Many inhabitants do not see the need for a nice covered latrine or were not taught how to maintain it properly. There were several cases where an inhabitant converted the latrine into a kitchen and other instances where the latrine was dismantled and the materials repurposed.

5.5.4.2.3. Examples

The following figures showcase the most common latrines found in post-disaster settlements, some successful and others unsuccessful. Figure 5.39 displays the contrast between a latrine under the maintenance of an aid organization and one left to the responsibility of the inhabitants, which has become unusable. Figure 5.40 shows two well-maintained latrines, one in the Walled Settlement and the other in a *lakou* in Ka Piti. The latrine in the Walled Settlement is one of two, each containing toilets and a shower stall. These are maintained by the ten families that share them, demonstrating the upper echelon for maintenance by a group of families.



Figure 5.39. Photographs of latrines in PDS. Left: Latrine in Sugar Canaan, which has become unusable since an aid organization stopped maintaining it. Around one hundred families share this latrine. Right: A latrine in Save the Children that is maintained by an aid organization. Photos by author.



Figure 5.40. Photographs of Latrines in PDS. Left: Latrines maintained by the inhabitants in the Walled Settlement. Right: Latrine maintained by a single family in Ka Piti. Photos by author.

5.5.4.3. Kitchen

5.5.4.3.1. The Pattern

The location of the kitchen is typically at the rear of the house or at the front of the house. It is a space often designated by a small charcoal stove and a counter for preparing food.

5.5.4.3.2. Explanation: Context and Issues

The kitchens range greatly in size. Some consist of a single charcoal grill located by the front door of the house and food is prepared on the ground adjacent to the grill. In

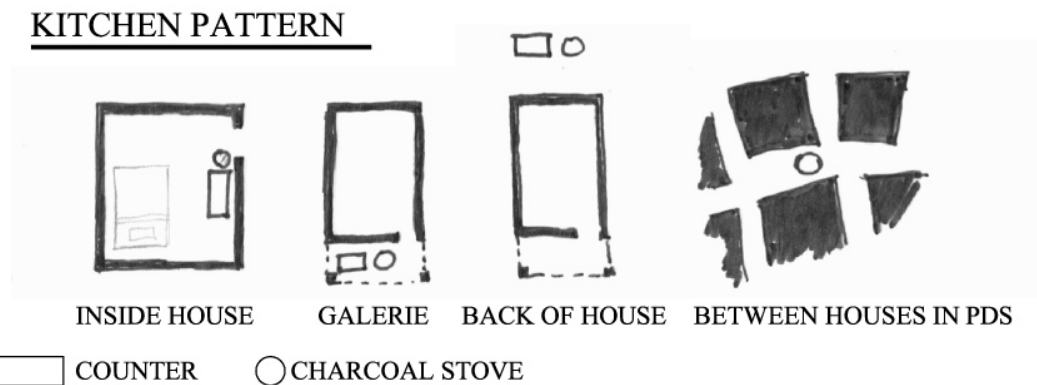


Figure 5.41. Diagrams of the typical kitchen locations in relation to the house.

other houses, a small food preparation table is located inside the house and a charcoal stove is located adjacent to it. Yet, in other locations a food preparation counter and charcoal grill are positioned under a covered space behind the house. Figure 5.41 demonstrates the typical arrangements of the pattern. As explained previously, some individuals have even converted their latrine into a cooking space. More commonly the kitchen is outside the front door and under a small covering or the shade of the front porch. The women are the primary users of the kitchen and most widely use a charcoal fire to prepare food.

5.5.4.3.3. Examples

Figure 5.42 depicts a house and kitchen located in Ka Piti. The kitchen is located in the small covered space on the side of the house. This space provides room for the kitchen, a dining area, and a social space. Figure 5.43 depicts the typical location for cooking and preparing food, directly outside of the front door. Notice the small fire pit with a white plate on top; this is a small charcoal grill.

5.5.4.4. *Kamis* (Store)

5.5.4.4.1. The Pattern

The *kamis* is located either in the *lakou* near the gate or on the front porch of the house.

5.5.4.4.2. Explanation: Context and Issues

The *kamis* is a home-based enterprise that typically involves the sale of goods. This feature of the *lakou* was visible walking throughout Leogane and Port-au-Prince and is just as evident in the post-disaster settlements. The size and range of merchandise sold

at a *kamis* varies greatly. Some entrepreneurs have full shops in their *lakou* or house as seen in the Airport Industrial camp as described in Figure 5.36.



Figure 5.42. Photograph of the kitchen located to the rear of a house in Ka Piti. Photo by author.



Figure 5.43. Photograph of a food preparation area and charcoal stove located near the front door to a house, partially covered by the front porch. Photo by author.

5.5.4.4.3. Examples

The example from above in the Airport Industrial PDS depicts a *kamis* as a single room attached to a house. Other common locations for the *kamis* are described here and diagrams are represented in Figure 5.44. In the observations of the interpreter's aunt's house in Ka Piti, the woman sells ice and beverages from her cooler, which is located on her front porch (Appendix C). In Sugar Canaan, there are several *kamis*. Two are located in individual covered vending booths, while others are located at the doorstep of people's homes. In some cases in both post-disaster settlements and along streets, the entire house functioned as a store and the owner lived within the store, but rolled up their bed each morning, preparing the store for the day. Figure 5.45 displays an instance in Sugar

Canaan where the entire house functions as a store during the day and sleeping quarters at night.

5.6. Conclusion

It is apparent that social processes create these spatial patterns, which reinforce a connection between the social construct and spatial construct of the *lakou*. These patterns manifest as both spatial and social constructs and represent the human processes that take place in the post-disaster settlements in Haiti. They help inhabitants to carry on their social and cultural routines after the abrupt change that the 2010 earthquake caused. As expressed in Chapter IV, the social patterns become evident and create the spatial patterns manifested in the *lakous* of the self-settled post-disaster camps.

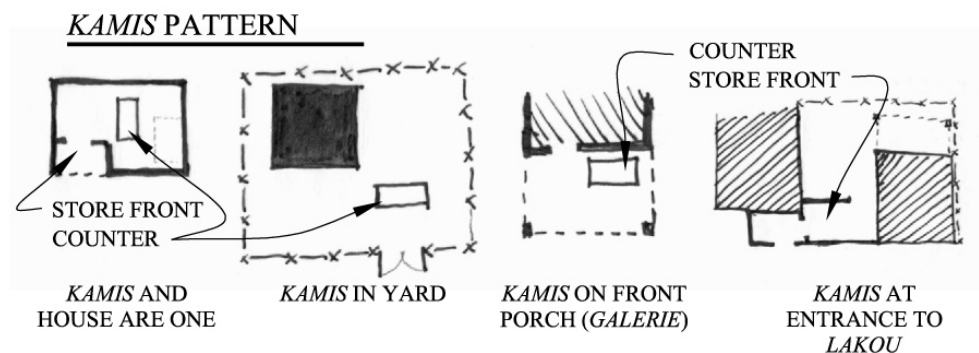


Figure 5.44. Diagrams depicting the typical relationship between the *kamis* and the house.



Figure 5.45. Photograph of a *kamis* in Sugar Canaan PDS. Photo by author.

CHAPTER VI

CONNECTING THE RESEARCH TO CURRENT PRACTICES IN THE FIELD OF POST-DISASTER RECONSTRUCTION.

6.1. How Does the Resiliency of the *Lakou* Play out Today?

The *lakou* is present in Haitian settlement patterns and is important to the health of Haitian society and culture. The intent of this study was to test the importance of the vernacular settlement pattern, the *lakou*, through the study of post-disaster temporary settlements. The study shows that endogenous inhabitants create the *lakou* in post-disaster temporary settlements implicitly through their communal activities and explicitly through their knowledge of the *lakou* system, such as the case in Ka Piti. This study suggests the need to account for the production of the *lakou* in the planning of post-disaster temporary settlements in order to maintain the health and vibrancy of the settlement. Furthermore, accounting for the *lakou* in space and social form combined with proper land allocation could potentially enable a post-disaster settlement to transition into a permanent settlement.

6.1.1. Resiliency

The autonomy of the *lakou* system as described by Dubois, Bastien, and Heintz shows the historical resilience of the *lakou* throughout the tumultuous history of Haiti. In *The Aftershocks of History*, the *lakou* system is described as a defense against the state itself (Dubois 107-112). The inheritance of the land and the ability to sustain a family through the agricultural production of the land enabled the *lakou* system to remain autonomous, guarantee land ownership, and protect individual freedoms. Historically, as the Haitian Governments of Toussaint Louverture and Henri Christophe attempted to

reinstate the plantation structure, the peasantry resisted through their own social and cultural conventions (Heinl; Dubois).

Although the *lakou* has seen a decline in the past several decades, its presence remains as important as ever as a cultural and social resiliency factor, and should be maintained. The autonomy of the *lakou* system still remains important to Haitians, and this demonstrates the ability for the *lakou* to self-govern during corrupt and ineffective governments. The matron of a *lakou* declared: “That’s even worse if you leave it up to the government, we don’t have a government. Our government is our family that is here.” A self-regulatory social system, such as the *lakou*, becomes very important in the aftermath of a disaster when the government is unable to be effective.

Furthermore, the self-organization that takes place within the self-settled post-disaster camps develops support systems within these communities, demonstrating the role of the *lakou* in creating resilience in post-disaster settlements. As discussed in Chapter IV, the social systems that take place within the *lakous* add to the resilience of the post-disaster settlements. Mulligan and Nadarajah discuss the importance of family and community support networks in disaster recovery (1-16). The *lakou* appears to be the center of this network in these communities. There is a significant amount of potential in the *lakou* to mitigate vulnerability as a resilience factor through social capital, solidarity, and cultural capital.

Lastly, capital is created through the *Diasporic Lakou*. The social framework of the *lakou* is an important part of the social fabric of Haiti. As the *lakou* transforms socially and spatially in modern times, the relationships bound by it strengthen the community. Charlene Desir speaks about the role of the *lakou* today:

What is done inside the *lakou* has potential for lasting change, because it engages the spiritual source of Haitian survival and resistance. It is essential now to expand the *lakou* to several different levels that will represent the entire community, including the diaspora, for the long-term work of rebuilding (282).

As members of the *lakou* move abroad or leave Haiti to escape political instability, such as what occurred during the reign of Duvalier, their deeply rooted connection with their motherland may help spur healthy development in the future. There already has been a drastic increase in the economic support to Haiti received through these remittances (Desir 280-283). Some argue the resurgence of Haiti lies in the countries benefit from the immigrants to the USA, France, Spain, and other nations. Many of these family members have become well established abroad and send remittances home to Haiti. It is these Haitians that can help their country rise again.

6.1.2. Planning

As explained in Chapter I, current post-disaster reconstruction and planning practices are flawed. More attention needs to be placed on the endogenous systems, such as the vernacular architecture and settlement patterns of a society, in order to maintain cultural and social resiliency as well as empower the people. This study presented the role of an endogenous system in post-disaster settlements. Following the logic of John F.C. Turner on self-built housing along with the work of the World Bank on incremental housing, especially as described in the work of Roberto Chavez, it is apparent that populations create their own built-environment without the aid or necessity of formal building codes and building professionals (“Is There New Hope for Slum Dwellers”; “Housing by the People”).

The results conjecture that proper land allocation and grouping of families in post-disaster settlements will provide further opportunities for people to establish *lakous*. The

findings uncovered in Chapter IV describe the benefits of the social processes that develop within the *lakou* communities, and the physical patterns described in Chapter V demonstrate how these social processes combined with spiritual and cultural processes take form in physical space. These will inevitably allow for healthy social structures to form as well as the makings for the evolution into permanent settlements. This will help relieve some effects of post-traumatic-stress, providing opportunities and resources to the communities will help with bottom-up development and self-perpetuated housing, or generative development.

6.1.3. Conclusions

To reiterate, the key findings of this thesis are as follows:

- The *lakou* has transformed within the self-settled post-disaster camps and has become inclusive of non-familial members.
- The *lakou* is a social safety net.
- The social patterns that take place within the *lakou* add to the role of the *lakou* in post-disaster resilience.

If one looks at the literature on the *lakou* presented by Larose, Laguerre, and most notably, Bastien, the *lakou* is specifically a familial organization, which brings me to question the definition of the *lakou* and whether or not a new definition should be considered. It is apparent that the familial organization is not the sole form of the *lakou* in post-disaster situations. A non-familial *lakou* system has formed and the ties to the land are no longer important. With this in mind, planners can use the patterns from Chapter V to develop post-disaster settlements with a sense of community.

The implementation of endogenous systems such as vernacular architecture and settlements in a community helps to maintain cultural and social resilience. Endogenous systems should be taken advantage of in PDR to create culturally and socially adapted settlements. Taking place at a grassroots level, these mechanisms may help improve the development of a community. Three recommendations for architects and planners working on PDR in Haiti are as follows:

1. Create social hubs through the use of open-air structures that provide shade. As described in Chapter V, these spaces welcome healthy social activity.
2. Maintain the extended family cohesion within new settlements. A big problem that occurred in the temporary settlements was the separation of extended families between different camps.
3. Proper allocation of space is a necessity to allow these formations to occur; the rigidity of post-disaster settlement guidelines currently do not allow for these social formations to occur naturally.

This thesis fits into the broader study of informal settlements. It is understood that the patterns identified in the Haitian *lakous* are actually common among informal post-disaster settlements in other parts of the world. Without more research that compares Haitian Settlements with those in other cultures, this issue cannot be fully answered. However, this does bring up an important issue of the regional and global overlaps that could exist. This research and approach could potentially be applied in a global arena, providing solutions for disaster response worldwide because of the general humanitarian qualities.

Henry Glassie speaks on the perception of the temporality and permanence of a settlement by its inhabitants based on ownership (Vernacular Architecture). As a settlement is born, people tend to settle with more temporary shelters until they become more comfortable and have a perception of permanence, and at this point they begin to construct more permanent shelters. Taking this into consideration within the context of the incremental post-disaster settlements studied in Haiti, a light is shed on the perception of the inhabitants on permanence and reasoning behind the patterns of living they form within the post-disaster settlements and in the *lakou*.

These self-built environments are typically far more efficient than those created through more formalized methods. The function of these environments follows the daily patterns of the inhabitants. Although these built environments are not well protected from nature, and do not necessarily have utility services or any infrastructure, they are typically the only built environment that allows for inhabitants to have shelter and an economy (proximity to market, factories, and other jobs).

In Haiti, a large percentage of the population lives in incremental housing settlements on the periphery of economic hubs such as seaports, market centers, and factories. These informal settlements are often squatter settlements on Government or privately owned land. These settlements provide the only option for a livelihood and shelter for their inhabitants. One should consider what would occur without the existence of this symbiotic relationship between the informal and formal economies.

6.2. Future Study

The amount of data collected during the field research is extensive and not all of it can be properly implemented into this thesis. Some of the field research also brought to

question other significant questions connected with the post-disaster reconstruction and development of Haiti. It is my intention to further develop the key findings in order to prepare for future papers.

The gaps discovered during my research and my continued interest in global and regional issues have motivated me to take the next step to continue this research. It is my intention to continue studying the connection between settlement planning and post-disaster reconstruction with the addition of looking at micro-enterprises within the post-disaster settlements. In my doctoral studies, I hope to uncover the global implications of the human processes, which create settlements such as the *lakou*, as well as work toward social and cultural resilience in the face of climate change.

APPENDIX A
INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

A.1. Interview Questions

(ENG = English; HC = Haitian Creole)

ENG: Could you give me a tour of your neighborhood?

HC: Eske ou ta mènne m wè katye w --- OR katye sa a (your neighborhood vs. this neighborhood)

ENG: Do you feel a sense of community in your neighborhood? Who do you live next door to? Are they relatives, friends, members of your *lakou*?

HC: Eske gen yon sans kominote nan katye a? Se ki moun ki vwazen w? Eske yo tout se fanmi? Yo tout se zanmi?

ENG: Who do you spend time with? Are they mostly friends? Family? Relatives?

HC: Ak ki moun w konn pase tan? Moun sa yo, eske yo se zanmi w? fanmi w?

ENG: What adjectives would you use to describe your neighborhood? Dirty, Clean, Safe, Unsafe, busy, lively?

HC: Ki jan w ta dekri katye w a? Ak ki mo w ta dekri katye a? (pa egzamp, li pwop, li sal, li san danje, okipe, vanyan?)

ENG: Is your neighborhood safe? What do you think would make it safer?

HC: Eske katye sa a an sekirite? Ki sa ki ta ka fe li pi plis an sekirite?

ENG: Do you want to stay in your current neighborhood, or move? If so, why?

HC: W ta vle rete nan katye w, oubyen w ta vle kite katye a? Poukisa?

ENG: What do you like about your community? What do you not like about it?

HC: Ki sa w renmen nan kominote a? Ki sa w pa renmen?

ENG: Do you have a lot of friends in your neighborhood? Are you well connected in your neighborhood? Are you respected, or known by most of your neighbors?

HC: Eske w gen zanmi nan katye w a? W gen yon bon rezo sosyal? Eske vwazen w konnen w? Eske yo kon respekte w?

ENG: What type of work do you do? Do you conduct any business in your

neighborhood?

HC: *Ki kalite travay w fe? Ki kote w konn travay? Eske w konn travay nan katye w?*

ENG: Who are the members of your *lakou*? Can you point out their houses to me (show them a site plan if necessary)? Where do you spend time with each other, in the *lakou*?

HC: *Ki moun ki nan lakou w? Ki kote yo rete? (Where are they living) Eske li tou pre? (Is it near by) W ta ka montre m kote yo rete? Kote w konn pase tan ak zanmi w, ak fanmi w?*

ENG: Are there many different *lakou*'s in your neighborhood? Does having your *lakou* present in the tent city/temporary settlement benefit you? How do you feel about the livelihood of the *lakou* in your environment? Does it provide a sense of security or safety?

HC: *Konben lakou genyen nan katye a? (how many lakous are there in the area?) Eske gen anpil lakou nan vwazinaj la? (are there many...)*

Si w gen lakou w nan lavil tant, eske sa ba w plis sekirite? Eske sa ede w? Yon soutni / sipote lot? (People support each other?)

Lakou w bay sekirite pou w / pou moun ki nan lakou a

ENG: What do you do in the *lakou*, visit with people, cook, clean, etc.? Do you conduct any type of business there? What kind of business? What adjectives would you use to describe it? Name three that would typify this space.

HC: *Ki sa w konn fe nan lakou a? Pase tan avek/ak moun kwit manje, lave rad, etc. Ou fe biznis nan lakou a? Ki kalite?*

Ki jan ou dekri Lakou a ak espas li? (this means 'how do you describe the lakou and its space) *Ki jan ou ta dekri lakou w a - si w ta gen pou ban m twa mo pou dekri l, ki mo w ta chwazi? (if you want to get them to name three things)*

Mesi Anpil! pa de kwa

A.2. Oral Consent

ENG: Hi, my name is James Miller. I am a student at the University of Oregon and I am doing a research study about the *lakou* and its manifestation in temporary settlements.

HC: *Bonjou, m rele James Miller. Mwen se etidyan nan Inivesite eta Oregon, Ozetazuni, e m ap fe yon rechèch sou lakou ayisyen, e jan l ap mache nan vil tant yo.*

ENG: Would it be okay with you if I used the information we talk about in my study? This is completely voluntary and you may say no if you do not want this information used in the study. If you agree and we start talking and you decide you no longer want to do this, we can stop at any time.

HC: *Eske w ta dakò pou m pale avè w, e pou m sevi avek konvesasyon sa, enfòmasyon sa nan rechèch mwen an? Si w pa dakò, w met di m non, w pa vle pou m sevi avek enfòmasyon sa. Si w dakò, e nou komanse pale, epi w deside w pa vle kontinye, nou ka sispann pale.*

ENG: I will not identify you or use any information that would make it possible for anyone to identify you in any presentation or written reports about this study. If it is okay with you, I might want to use direct quotes from you, but these would only be cited as from a person (or if person has a specific label or title, it might be used).

HC: *M pa p mansyone non w, ni ninpòt enfòmasyon ki ta ka fe l posibil pou lòt moun identifye w, nan sa m ekri pou rechèch la, ni nan ninpòt prezentasyon m ta bay. Si w dakò, petèt m ta vle site sa w di, men m pa ta mansyone non w ak sitasyon sa yo. (for someone with a title: Mwen ta ka itilize tit w ak sitasyon an?)*

ENG: There is no expected risk to you for helping me with this study. There are no expected benefits to you either. Do you still want to talk with me? (If yes, go ahead and talk and you may take notes if you want. If no, you may still talk with the person, but you may not use any information they give you as part of your research study.)

HC: *M kwè ke pa gen ni risk ni benefis pou w si w deside ede m ak rechèch sa a. Eske w toujou dakò pou pale ave m?*

A.3. Revised Interview Questions 16 April 2012

Can you give me a tour of your neighborhood? Can you tell me about it? Who are your neighbors, where do you spend your time, what do you do in the neighborhood, where do you walk around, where do you meet with friends or family, etc.? Where do you collect water, if there is electricity available, how do you get it? What do you use for fuel? Are there showers or toilets available?

Do you know the people in your neighborhood well? Do people get along? If you know each other well, does that help you feel more secure? Does having the support of neighbors beneficial? If it is, how so? If not, why?

Where did you live before the earthquake? Was it nearby?

What type of house did you live in before the earthquake? Did you rent it?

Did the house have a *lakou*? Is it important to you to have a *lakou*? What did you use the *lakou* for? Business, cooking, cleaning, children playing, spending time with friends and family, having a party?

Where is the *lakou* in this neighborhood? Do you consider it as just the space in front of your house? Or are there any larger spaces that are *lakou's* shared by people? Can you show me them? What goes on in these spaces?

Did you move here with anyone else that you know, family, friends, neighbors? Do they live next to you or nearby? Could you point to their house(s)?

Are you familiar with the definition of the *lakou* as a family organization, that is made up of your extended family and sometimes close friends? It is common in the countryside. In these *lakous* the family arranges their houses around a shared space/courtyard (the *lakou*).

If you are, could you tell me about your *lakou*?

How important is having a *lakou* to you? How big should it be? What is its purpose? Does the *lakou* have to be private, or would you be fine with sharing the *lakou* with your neighbors or friends?

Since the earthquake, how have your daily activities changed? Work, spending time with friends and family, where your children play, where your children go to school, how you get around, etc.?

Have any of your previous neighbors passed away since the earthquake, or were killed in the earthquake?

Who do you spend time with? Are they neighbors, family, relatives, friends?

Do you want to move away from here? Why? What is keeping you here?

How does your family provide for necessities? If you have a job, what type of work do you do? If you don't have a job, do neighbors help out your family, or are you left to provide for yourself?

Are there many different family *lakous* in your neighborhood?
Is the social part of the *lakou* important?

Would you build your own house with your own hands? How would you go about building a house for your family?

A.4. Interview Questions Addendum

Could you give me a tour of your neighborhood or tell me about it?

Who do you live next door to? Are they relatives? Friends? Members of your *lakou*? Did you live with or next to the same people before the earthquake? Or are the people you lived next to in the past living in a different place now?

Have any of these neighbors passed away since the earthquake or were they killed in the earthquake?

Who do you spend time with? Are they mostly friends? Family? Relatives?

What words describe your neighborhood?

Is your neighborhood safe? What do you think would make it safer?

Do you want to stay in your current neighborhood, or move? If so, why? Is this because your shelter is not secure, not well constructed?

What do you like about your community? What do you like about your neighborhood?

Do you have a lot of friends in your neighborhood?

What type of work do you do? Do you conduct any business in your neighborhood? What type of work does your family do? Your neighbors? How do people acquire human necessities? Food, clothing, shelter, medical treatment? Where do the resources come from? Trade, barter, etc.?

Who are the members of your family *lakou*? Can you point out their houses or show them to me? Where do you spend time with each other, in the *lakou*? Did any members of your family *lakou* die in the earthquake? Did the members of your *lakou* move with you to the same shelter village? If not, if the family *lakou* did not stay together how has this affected things? How has this changed your life?

Are there many different *lakous* in your neighborhood? Does having your *lakou* present in the village make life better? Easier? Does having the *lakou* present help make it more exciting? More active? Does having the *lakou* help you feel happier? After the earthquake, were you glad to have your *lakou* (family) with you? Did it help reduce stress? Does it provide a sense of security or safety? Now, how important is it to have the space of the *lakou* around, the actual courtyard? Is it necessary to have the space too? Or is the social part of the *lakou* more important?

What do you do in the *lakou*? Visit with friends and family and neighbors, cook, clean, etc.? Where else would you be during the day if not here? What is a typical day of activities for you? How have your day today activities changed from before the earthquake? Where do you cook and eat? How do you describe the *lakou*? The space, what should the *lakou* be like? What adjectives would you use to describe it?

APPENDIX B
FIELD JOURNAL

5 April – 8 April 2012

Souvenance:

The *lakou* at Souvenance is understood through the vodou spirituality and directly linked to the social concept of the *lakou*. The village we stayed in is the *lakou* of one of the original families of Haiti and is also the location for their vodou spirituality.

Observations:

In the middle of a heated discussion, a spirit takes a woman; she drops slowly to the ground and begins writhing around as if in a seizure. She slowly works her way to the Mapou tree, lodges herself under the roots. (Onie Lafev? Haitian-American Psychologist)

The ceremony begins in a little side chapel of the main hall. Many are sitting; some whooping, and stand up and begin to pulse with the beat. They slowly process into the main hall. A giant circle of spectators forms as the mass of dancers slowly circle around the chandelier hanging from the center of the hall in a sort of procession.

This continues for several rounds, and then the participants assemble along the back and begin a forward-back procession. The entire time, there are gentlemen in the front, both encouraging and corralling the “initiates”.

A man, the chant leader, stands on a platform to the side of the initiates. He shakes out the beat on his morocco.

Glass mugs of raw rum (red) pass around.

Sacrificed chickens and goats.

Chickens lay at the altar, large candle menorah, hole dug in ground, blood, bones poured in. Goats brought out to the dancers on the shoulders of the same male initiates. Passed around to other dancers.

Day 1 Interviews:

People living in the camps seem only to be familiar with the definition of the *lakou* as the space, the yard in front of the house. Even the translator was unfamiliar with the definition of the *lakou* as a social concept. In order to understand the importance of community and family, it was necessary to ask round about questions directed at the core meaning of the *lakou* in order to understand how it translates in the tent camps.

Overall, the *lakou* was a very important space to have for these inhabitants because it is where they spend their time; their lives take place in the *lakou*. It was well worth asking what their life was like before the earthquake especially as it pertains to their housing. One of the most interesting descriptions of the *lakou* to hear was the concept of the *lakou* as a private space, not open to others. It was difficult to understand if this was private for the family or if they would invite extended family into the space or neighbors for a social gathering.

Interview at Souvenance with Mona:

Three *Lakous* in Gonaives: Souvenance, Dawme, Soucri (Congo), Soucri is celebrated on August 14th.

In Bajo they have Nango. Soucri, which is in Congo, has their celebration for the harvest. They start on the 14th, but have a celebration 5-6 times a week for a month. Bajo only has a celebration for 5 days; it is a special *lakou* for Ogum. Ogum is one of the icons. He is the guy sitting on the horse; he is not specific to Haiti. He is found in Cuba and Brazil. Soucri used to have a sugar cane plantation in the monange time. Souvenance used to be cotton, Bajo was in that time (Dessalines time). If you go into this temple, you will see a bed of Dessalines. That bed belongs to Dessalines, this is the place that Dessalines when before he goes to the world war before fighting when he needs power he comes here, when he is trying to save himself. At that time he used to live at Mountage de Dessalines. The doume; the person that brought the doume here was not a slave, he came from Africa. He came to Souvenance from Senegal and founded this town.

People had to have secret ceremonies during my grandmother's time. The government did not except vodou. For a long time the Catholics and Christians fought the vodou. Souvenance never closed. But they tried to burn temples. During Duvalier time, he accepted vodou ceremonies. Little by little a rebirth of the ceremonies. The original family no longer exists at Souvenance. Little by little they keep it alive. The *lakou* is very tied to the vodou spirituality.

In Bajo and the Nago, the guy is from Africa too. The place is named *Lakou* Bajo. The guy is named Pati Bajo, he was from Cote de Fer I think.

12 April 2012

Observations:

- Hard to get people to draw their *lakou*. This is most likely due to embarrassment.
- Another difficulty in Haiti is people's inability to give freely. To act in generosity and kindness without expecting anything in return.
- People tend to always want something in return for their actions, even if their actions one just a seemingly simple gesture.
- For example, Corrigan told a story of the boy....

16 April 2012

Field Observations:

- One tent has already been replaced over the weekend; this tent shares the Pierre *lakou*. Previously they had asked me to look at the circumstances they were living in with the water leaking etc. Possibly the camp committee listened to the family's pleas for a new tent.
- *Lakou*: the place where people spend their time outside of the hot house. Man watching children play and trying to keep them in line. Christopher standing nearby, seemingly interested in what I am doing. It is hard to communicate with him in broken Spanish and Creole. In general people are interested in what I am doing for better or worse.

17 April 2012

Before the day began, I had some thoughts and reflections:

As far as my plan for research methods is concerned, it is far harder to get people to complete sketches of the *lakou* than I had originally envisioned. People are either too embarrassed by their drawing abilities or do not quite comprehend the intention of the exercise. I hope that in Leogane, I might have better success with this exercise.

Other difficulties that I have come across involve the interaction and involvement with Haitians, granted this is a generalization. Many of the Haitians that I have interacted with seem to have an inability to give freely, to act in generosity and kindness towards another, especially toward a *blan* (white person). People tend to want something in return for their actions, even if their actions are just a seemingly simple or innocent gesture. Again, this is my observations and generalizations, mostly directed toward white people. I wonder how they interact with each other, if acts of kindness are present or not. In general, there is an attitude that a person becomes indebted when he is helped out. For example, speaking with Corrigan one day, he told a story regarding a boy that he and his wife took in. Every Sunday the boy would clean their house because the cleaning lady had the day off, after acknowledging what was happening, Corrigan made it clear that he did not have to do this. However, the boy responded that he was glad to help clean the house without expecting something in return, using his action of cleaning the house as an act of kindness. The boy went on to say, that if he were to do this for another family, a Haitian family, that they would reprimand him for they would not want to be indebted to the boy for his service. This is an interesting trait of Haitians that I learning a little more every day about, *petit petit*.

Today I visited a camp that was established by the Red Cross and World vision on an athletic field near the Delmas 31 and 32 (Not far from the airport). As I am learning, each camp is run by a committee or individual, typically these individuals were the first ones to arrive at the site, but in other locations these committees are formed of the 'elite', those that have money. At this particular camp, the committee is formed of the wealthier people in the camp. Shortly after entering the camp and conducting interviews with people around their homes, a woman who was not happy that I was there approached me. It turns out that she was a member of the committee. She asked that my interpreter and I

meet with her and another committee member, which we obliged. Nervous as I was that something bad was going to happen, I had a nice discussion with this other member, a man who was a student of sociology and anthropology at the State University. I received quite a lot of information pertaining to the *lakou*'s definition as a social structure rooted in tradition. Growing up in a rural *lakou* himself, he was able to provide me with an excellent point of view/opinion of the *lakou*. The downside of it all, I was forced to pay 500 goudes (\$12.50) for his time and being in the camp. I must say that all in all it was worth it. However, it goes to say that not ten minutes before meeting this man, I had a conversation with an inhabitant who spoke of the corruption of the committee, which I must agree with. It is said that the committee is only out its leaders' own good and they horde the money that they receive, whether it be from organizations or researchers like myself.

I am slowly learning the difficulty that it is to conduct research safely and efficiently in these camps. It is even more difficult explaining that I am only a student and not here from an organization. My research may benefit them in a round about way, but not as an organization may through direct action. I will see what the road has lying ahead.

The second camp that I visited today is one of the largest in the city of Port au Prince (30,000+ families consisting of father, mother, and children (easily over 100,000 people), it is located near the airport in a government owned industrial park. The most interesting observation of this camp was that people were beginning to build permanent structures made of either concrete block or wood sheathing. People have even begun to create a rent system as they move out. It is a really interesting occurrence.

18 April 2012

Not pleased with NGO's and somewhat disgruntled with how difficult it is to conduct research in Haiti. In attempt to receive allowance to look at the Santo development, I have already received a negative response from Shelter Aid Organization (name changed), Haiti. Partially this was my fault for not fully explaining myself, but to my defense, why would the director of one of the most know permanent settlement projects in Haiti assume that I, a researcher of settlement planning, do not realize that this project was in fact a permanent settlement. The following is the chain of e-mails. (Names changed to protect identity)

Hi,

Jim shared your contact information with me. I am a graduate student from the school of architecture at the University of Oregon, conducting research on the transformation of the *lakou* in the post-disaster temporary settlements.

Sincerely,

James Miller

Dear James,

Thank you for your interest at the development.

For your information: It is a greenfield settlement development with permanent houses and therefore no suitable subject for any research regarding transformation of a *lakou* or temporary settlement.

It is in the interest of this new step in the housing process that there be no misunderstandings or confusions occur.

Therefore, I hope that you understand that this should not be subject to your subject of studies.

Respectfully,

Steve

Steve,

Yes, I do understand that very well. Sorry that I did not address this in the previous correspondence. Although the core thesis of my research is on the transformation of the *lakou* in temporary settlements, whether it be the tent cities or t-shelters, I am also looking at how the *lakou* changes from the rural *lakou* to the urban *lakou* and how it is being implemented in post-disaster permanent settlements.

I want to study the community to see how the *lakou* is implemented in the planning of permanent settlements, since it is one of the few permanent settlement projects that I have come across which implements the *lakou*. I have looked at some of the drawings on the open architecture platform as well as some briefs on the project. The part of the community that is especially interesting to me, among many other parts of the project such as the community involvement, is how the inhabitants have begun to make their space their own. Speaking with Jim, he talked about how some people have begun to construct various spaces and 'sheds' in their *lakous*. Furthermore, although this is not directly linked to the core of my research, it is supportive to my thesis, given the focus on the importance of the *lakou* in planning permanent settlements. I am also meeting with an urban planner from Cordaid to learn more about their permanent housing project in Villa Rosa, Port au Prince which implements the *lakou* in the planning as well. I am not very familiar with the Cordaid project as of now.

My plan of study in Leogane is to look at the 'urban *lakou*', temporary settlements, and I was hoping to spend some time looking at your development to understand how the *lakou* has been implemented in permanent settlement planning. Also, it is my understanding, and please correct me if this is wrong, that it has been under consideration under the master plan of the development to include some of the nearby post-disaster housing developments.

Again, my apologies for not being clear with my research intents. Please let me know if you would reconsider. Thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

James Miller

No response what given from Steve of Shelter Aid Organization.

Thoughts:

It is very frustrating how little organizations on the ground here communicate with each other and communicate with researchers. The reconstruction efforts lack the collaboration and synergistic attitude that one would expect in this situation.

24 April 2012

Today begins the second leg of the trip in Leogane. Unfortunately, the trip to Jacmel had to be canceled for a few reasons. Heading out of the city on Monday morning we were met by roadblocks set up by the UN (Japan). In attempt to go around the roadblock we thought we were home free before running into yet another roadblock of burning tires. At this point we ended up pinned between two roadblocks. Driving back towards the first, we heard glass shatter as people were throwing bottles towards drivers-by, then saw burning tires ahead, in a mode of panic the driver hit the gas and drove right through. Then we were stopped by a police checkpoint. In an attempt to get off the main road, we were blocked by a mob of people watching all that was going on. It was then that I noticed the police officer next to me pull out his 44 Magnum and fire a shot in the air, which was followed by multiple others. At that moment the crowd cleared and we were able to pass through up the hill. Escaping the insanity of Port-au-Prince demonstrations, we took refuge at the Olafson Hotel where we enjoyed a breakfast and sitting by the pool.

25 April 2012

Today we made it out of the city and I arrived in Leogane at the Notre Dame center.

26 April 2012

Visited with Taylor at the Shelter Organization site and walked around. Was later advised by Jim to assure approval from Steve, which I am not certain is worth the commotion.

27 April 2012

Walked around the city observing the vernacular architecture and the devastation that was apparent in the city. Under the weather...

28 April 2012

PROCHE Visits (PROCHE is a program developed through the United States Catholic Bishops Council to provide funds for the rebuilding of parish churches throughout Haiti)

I visited local Catholic parishes in the Leogane region to determine the needs of each parish in preparation for their application to the PROCHE fund. This was in conjunction with Notre Dame.

29 April 2012

PROCHE Visits

30 April 2012

PROCHE Visits and preparation for field studies this week.

Notes: Observations of the many types of permanent shelter projects/ t-shelter projects. Need to make notes on connections for side project to see implementation (especially as the hurricane season comes).

Verify organizations and prototypes in attempt to research implementation. More importantly how the *lakou* is functioning in the settlement.

1 May 2012

Sites: Ka Piti, Chest of Korea, Sugar Canaan (Next to steel building on Rue National)

Other observations: Food for the children camp on the shoreline. Nice concrete/ concrete block structures built around a central court with a covered community gazebo. Electrical lights put in by electricians without borders.

Unexpected obstacles: Dealing with politics and the bureaucracy of organizations and the rainy season.

General site observations: The Red Cross camp did not appear to have any site planning done. From what I gather, the landowners rent the land out to people for a period of five years. Once a person has rented his piece of land, the Red Cross provided them with a semi-permanent (wood structure on concrete block

foundation) for free. My assumption is that the Red Cross came to an agreement with the landowners to provide a temporary solution for housing, given the five-year rental period. I would assume that it is the hope of the post-disaster recovery community that these inhabitants will try to establish permanent housing elsewhere. I do not see this ever happening. I have also heard that people take advantage of the situation and either sell their house that was provided for free, or they rent it out to another person as they move to a permanent/nicer house closer to the city center. This community did not have any proper paths or roads to it and did not have any infrastructure. People were bathing in the near by streams, the toilets were latrine toilets adjacent to the house, and I did not see where drinking water came from. Most people were sitting outside of their house without any coverage from the sun (these houses were built without a galerie, although some had added on some form of make shift galerie). Most families enclosed their property with a fence made of tarps and branches; some of these properties consisted of more than one house (possible *lakous*). The site overall was very muddy due to being low lying, the lack of any form of divergent canals, and the streams that went through the site. Without any future planning for this site, I fear the worst (as Robertson said...'Another City Solei').

The other site of interest is the tent camp near the convergence of Rue National, west of Leogane. This camp is one of the few tent cities still remaining in the vicinity of Leogane; it most likely is the largest that is still remaining as most people have been moved into some form of temporary/ semi-permanent/ permanent housing. The camp was relatively clean but lacked any sort of operable toilets or source of water. It did have solar lights installed by electricians without borders. Apparently the site had originally stood in proximity to the river nearby, but due to heavy flooding during the 2010 rainy season, it was forced to relocate to its current position where it has been for nearly two years now.

3 May 2012

The last two days have been spent in the field observing and beginning documentation of three sites near Leogane. Interviews have been conducted in two of these sites. The first and primary site is a remaining internally displaced persons (IDP) camp on Rue Nationale near Leogane Proper, another settlement is down the road and is a semi-permanent wood structure shelter project implemented by the Chest of Korea, the last settlement is the Santo settlement outside of Leogane that includes the Shelter Aid Organization development and the master planning completed by AFH. This site encompasses permanent core shelters completed by HFH, semi-permanent shelters completed by GTZ, Asian Relief Mission, and CARE. The GTZ shelters are made of particleboard and should be considered transitional, the ARM shelters are on cinder block foundations and should be considered Semi-permanent (it is my understanding that these shelters will be moved by HFH onto concrete foundations and upgraded slightly to be a permanent part of their master plan). The CARE shelters should be considered transitional, but upgradeable depending on the land deeds; these structures have tarpaulin walls

which could easily be upgraded since the frame and roof structure are of sturdy wood framing.

The site constructed by the Chest of Korea is a transitional shelter settlement that could easily be upgraded to permanent granted the land deeds are purchased or rented accordingly. The IDP tent camp is in miserable condition and is temporary. This site was built by the people themselves and has existed since the earthquake, though it has changed locations due to flooding. It is under the inhabitants understanding that a Korean organization is in charge of managing the camp and they have had little help from any organization for relocation.

With the given interpreter, it is very difficult to complete interviews with my questions. The questions will need to be rewritten, and I fear that too much will be lost in translation still. The research may have to rely primarily on the use of observations. Though it is important to understand where people came from and how many different villages are represented in the camp. The other difficulty is the expectations of the inhabitants and their lack of will to communicate with me or at least on the subject at hand.

One last frustration is over the Shelter Aid Organization Santo project. Since that area falls under their domain and given my relationship with their director, it is difficult to complete research in the area without stepping on their toes. When I was walking around and talking with individuals in the area, there was a lot of complaining about the lack of work and loss of employment with Shelter Aid Organization. I understand that Shelter Aid Organization is starting to reduce their anticipated housing numbers most likely due to funding running dry. These workers do not know this. There were a lot of problems previously, in the past few weeks with worker strikes. So the situation there is not great and these individuals that live in the area, the ones whose settlements I had intended to study, are very unhappy with Shelter Aid Organization. In order to not cause more of a problem, it may be best to stay away from Santo.

5 May 2012

Yesterday I began conducting site documentation of the IDP tent camp as well as walk through observations of the Red Cross village. In the IDP camp most people were sitting out of their houses either washing clothes, cooking, or chatting with their neighbors. It appeared as though the *lakou* spaces I looked at were only used if the space created was close knit between the houses. The larger spaces were tended to be overgrown and were covered in litter. The quality of indoor environment in these camps forces people outside to find comfort in the shade.

In the Red Cross camp, some houses are grouped together within a fence while others are fenced in on their own. The fences tend to be of tarp but some of either plants or wood poles. It is very important to the Haitians to have a fenced in property for security purposes and the establishment of property. I have not yet

interviewed people in this site, but I would assume that the clustered houses are of the same family.

11 May 2012

The past week has been spent in the IDP camp. It has been a very successful week in my opinion of interviews and observations. The general consensus is that the camp is one large family *lakou*. The most interesting thing I observed was a *lakou* within the greater *lakou*. A group of neighbors from a previous IDP camp moved to this camp a year after the earthquake and established their own *lakou* here. It is especially interesting because they are not blood relatives, but became like family after the earthquake.

Next week I will begin to conduct research in the Red Cross settlement off of Rue Belval.

A continuing observation is that the Haitians I interview consistently want something from me, or if not me at least an organization (most assume I represent an aid organization). Even though they have the capacity to rebuild themselves, they expect things to be given to them. This is a very difficult perception to deal with and is counter productive.

13 May 2012

Last week concluded the study of the IDP camp, Sugar Canaan. Today, I began further investigation and observation of the Red Cross camp, Ka Petit. I have decided on a section of the settlement that I will begin to conduct site documentation and observations of beginning tomorrow for my last week of field research.

It has been an amazing experience living in Haiti, interacting with various organizations and volunteers as well as locals. It is quite extraordinary working in the field and observing the conditions of these settlements. I do fear for the worst that some will eventually develop into slums given the lack of infrastructure and possibility of future infrastructure being implemented. Also, there is a degree to which the inhabitants are fed up with their situation and even given the implementation of amenities or further shelters, they do not want to remain in the same place. Part of this maybe due to the fact that a large percentage of the population came from different cities such as Jacmel, Port-au-Prince, Petit Goave, etc. and want to return to their old villages. Others have land that they are slowly rebuilding on, while many do not have enough money to purchase or rent land or housing for themselves.

21 May 2012

The last week of field research was spent taking measurements and observations of

8 *lakous* in the Ka Piti Settlement. These *lakous* generally consisted of family members, siblings, parents, and children. There was exception where two different families lived in the same *lakou* but were friends and neighbors from before the earthquake.

The fences built in the Ka Piti settlement seem to have an adverse effect to security and socializing with neighbors, but that is the Haitian way, build a wall then a house.

APPENDIX C

OBSERVATIONS

C.1. Port-au-Prince Observations

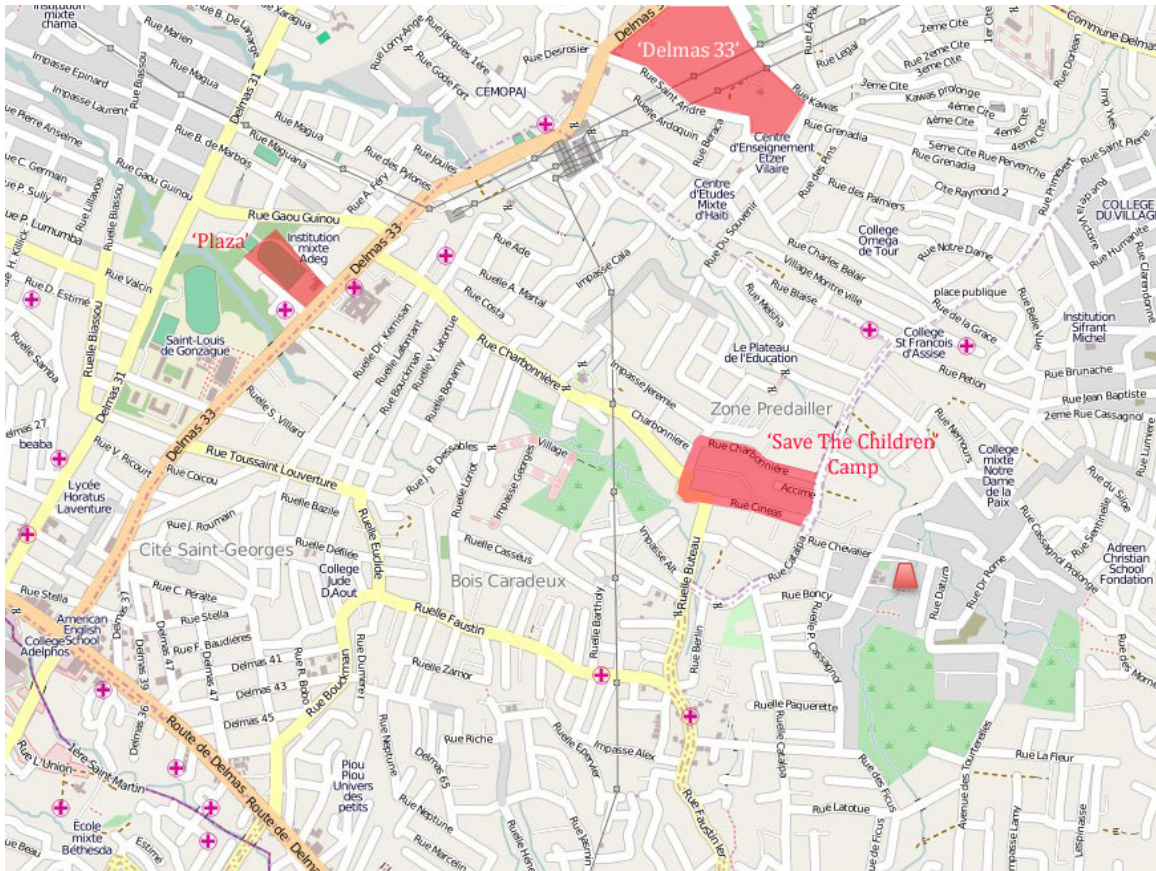


Figure C.1. © OpenStreetMap contributors. Map of Port-au-Prince designating three of the self-settled post-disaster camps that were examined (highlighted in red). The Airport Industrial Field camp is at the top, the Plaza camp is to the left, and the Save the Children camp is to the bottom right. The small highlighted space just east of Save the Children is the Walled Settlement.

C.1.1. Airport Industrial Field, IDP Camp

C.1.1.1 General Observations

This post-disaster settlement is one of the largest remaining in Port-au-Prince. The government owns the property and no one has been forced to leave yet. In fact, some people rent out their old tent houses as they rebuild their own homes. Note that Delmas, one of the major routes in Port-au-Prince has numbered, perpendicular auxiliary roads;

these numbers increase as you move up into the hills. I was told by one of the men, who lives in the camp and is one of the committee members, that there are around 30,000 families living in 30,000 individual tents. He estimates that each tent has around 5 to 6 people living in it, which would equate to population of 150,000 to 180,000 people. This man also explained that the area was supposed to turn into a public park during the Jean Claude Duvalier presidency, and the former president, Aristide, who also had plans to do something with the land, paved the roads around the area. The Red Cross and World Vision had provided aid for the settlement but have since stopped. There are many camps in this area, around thirteen according to the shopkeeper, who I interviewed. Each camp has its own committee members and its own name.

C.1.1.2 *Lakous*

The *lakou* in the Figure C.2 shows the creation of businesses attached to one's *lakou*. The remnants of a storefront are visible at the entrance of the tent house. Left over posters and compact discs are hanging on the walls on the inside of the shop. The store has two sections, one is an open-air entrance surrounded by a tarp fence and the other is enclosed, an auxiliary entrance into the *lakou* of the inhabitants. The entrance section has two chairs in it, one broken and holding open the door. The *lakou* is long and narrow with a porch directly behind the house. The space is created in by the surrounding tent homes. The inhabitants have planted a few bushes that provide shade to the space, which is also covered by a tarp. The porch has two men relaxing and speaking with each other, while buckets lay to the side for washing. This family was able to enjoy more space than others because they were one of the first people to reach the area.

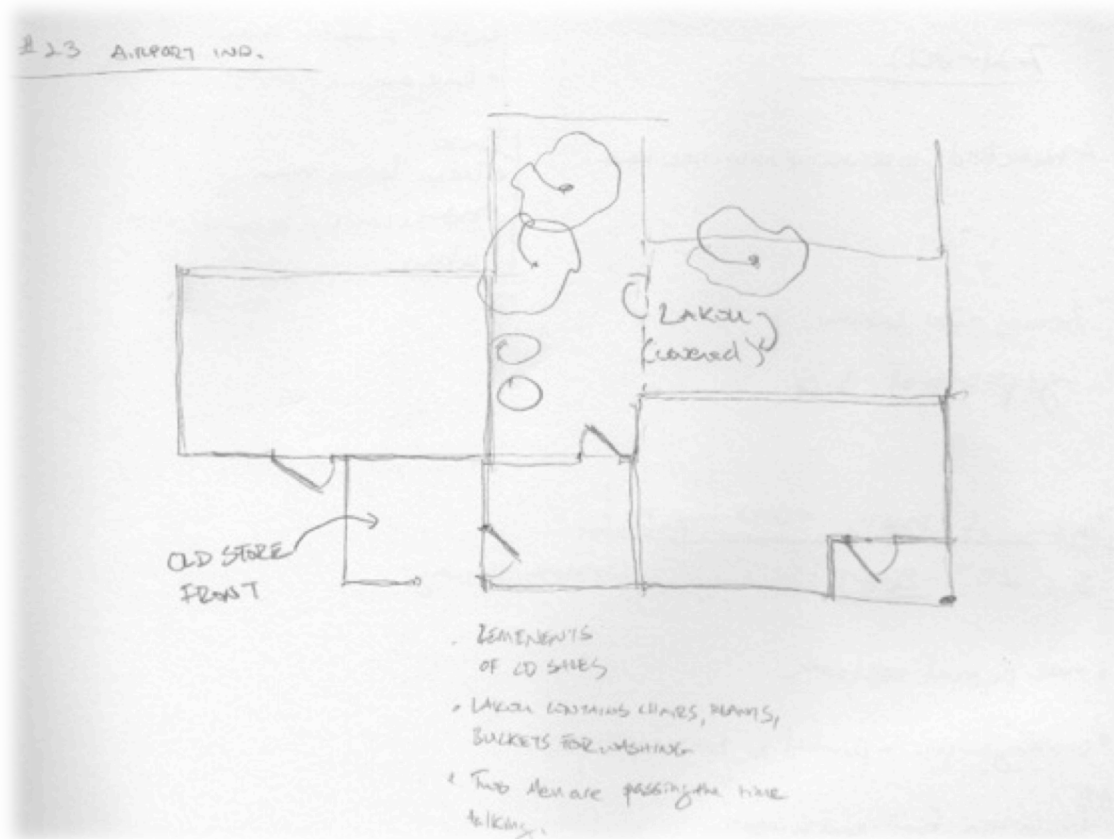


Figure C.2. *Lakou* in the Airport Industrial IDP camp.

C.1.2. Plaza Athletic Field IDP Camp

C.1.2.1. General Observations

The post-disaster settlement established on an athletic field complex near Delmas is known as the 'Plaza.' The inhabitants of this camp are illegally squatting on land owned by a private individual who used the land for athletic events and an annual fair prior to the earthquake. It is said that the owner plans on evicting the squatters in the very near future, hopefully in time to host his fair.

C.1.2.2. *Lakous*

The sketch in Figure C.3 shows one *lakou* studied in the camp. This is a family *lakou* nestled among the tents. The inhabitants have created a fence with sticks and tarp to

partition off their two tent houses from the rest. I interviewed a man living there along with his children and wife in the house on the right. Another family member owns the house on the left.

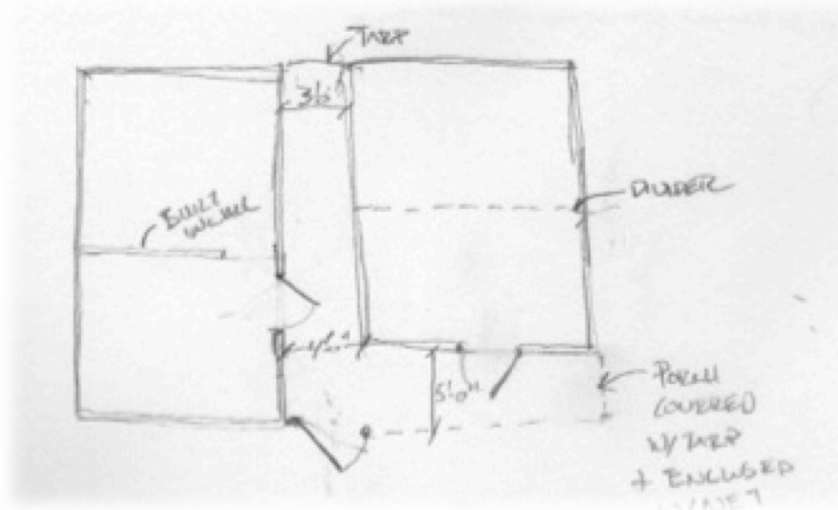


Figure C.3. Sketch of family houses in the Plaza that form a *lakou*.



Figure C.4. Photographs of a social hub and *lakou* in the Plaza camp. Photos by Author.

C.1.3. Save the Children Settlement, Delmas, Port-au-Prince



Figure C.5. ©2012 Google. 17 April 2012. Aerial view of Save the Children PDS.

C.1.3.1. General Observations

The people living in the camps seem to only be familiar with the definition of the *lakou* as the yard or courtyard in front of the house. Even my translator, Jack, was unfamiliar with the social concept of the *lakou*. In order to understand the importance of community and family, it was necessary to ask more round-about questions directed at the social meaning of the *lakou* in order to understand how it translates in the tent camps and in a broader sense, the urban area of Port-au-Prince.

Overall, the *lakou* is a very important space for the inhabitants of these camps because it is where they spend a significant amount of their time. Haitians live in their *lakou*, as Americans live in their living room. It was well worth asking what their life was like before the earthquake especially as it pertains to their housing. One of the most interesting descriptions of the *lakou* so far was the concept of the *lakou* as a private space. This was an understanding of the *lakou* concept that was unexpected.

C.1.3.2. *Lakou* 1 (Figure C.6.)

The houses that surround the *lakou* are made of various materials and built by the occupants. The houses to the left and top right are constructed with the branches of trees as the frame, covered with tarpaulin, which was supplied by various organizations. In these cases the tarpaulin has a USAID stamp on it. The branches are from local trees, most likely adding to the deforestation of Haiti, and can easily be purchased from the side of a road in various locations throughout the city. The bottom most house is constructed from the same frame covered with corrugated metal sheathing. The A-frame house in the middle is constructed from an actual a-frame canvas tent. The house to the far right is constructed using the same method of branches and tarpaulin. The occupants of this house have also planted a garden along the outside of the left hand wall, where chickens are also roosting. The houses to the bottom left and the far right both have small porches at the recess. Figures C.7 thru C.13 provide detail of this *lakou*.

The following is the text from Figure C.14:

2nd Interview [A Man]

It is hard to get people to draw their *lakou*, which is most likely due to embarrassment for never having drawn with a mechanical pencil on paper.

Another difficulty in Haiti is people's inability to give freely, to act in generosity and kindness without expecting reward. People tend to always want something in return for their actions, even if their actions are just a seemingly simple gesture.

This is my observation towards white people; I wonder how they interact with each other in kindness. But in general there is an attitude that a person becomes indebted when he is helped out.

For example, Corrigan (Clay) told a story about a boy doing chores for him. (The evolution of generosity.) When told he didn't have to clean, the boy responded that he enjoyed doing something freely without expecting something in return. If he were to do this act of kindness for someone else, they would get mad because they would not want to be indebted to the boy.

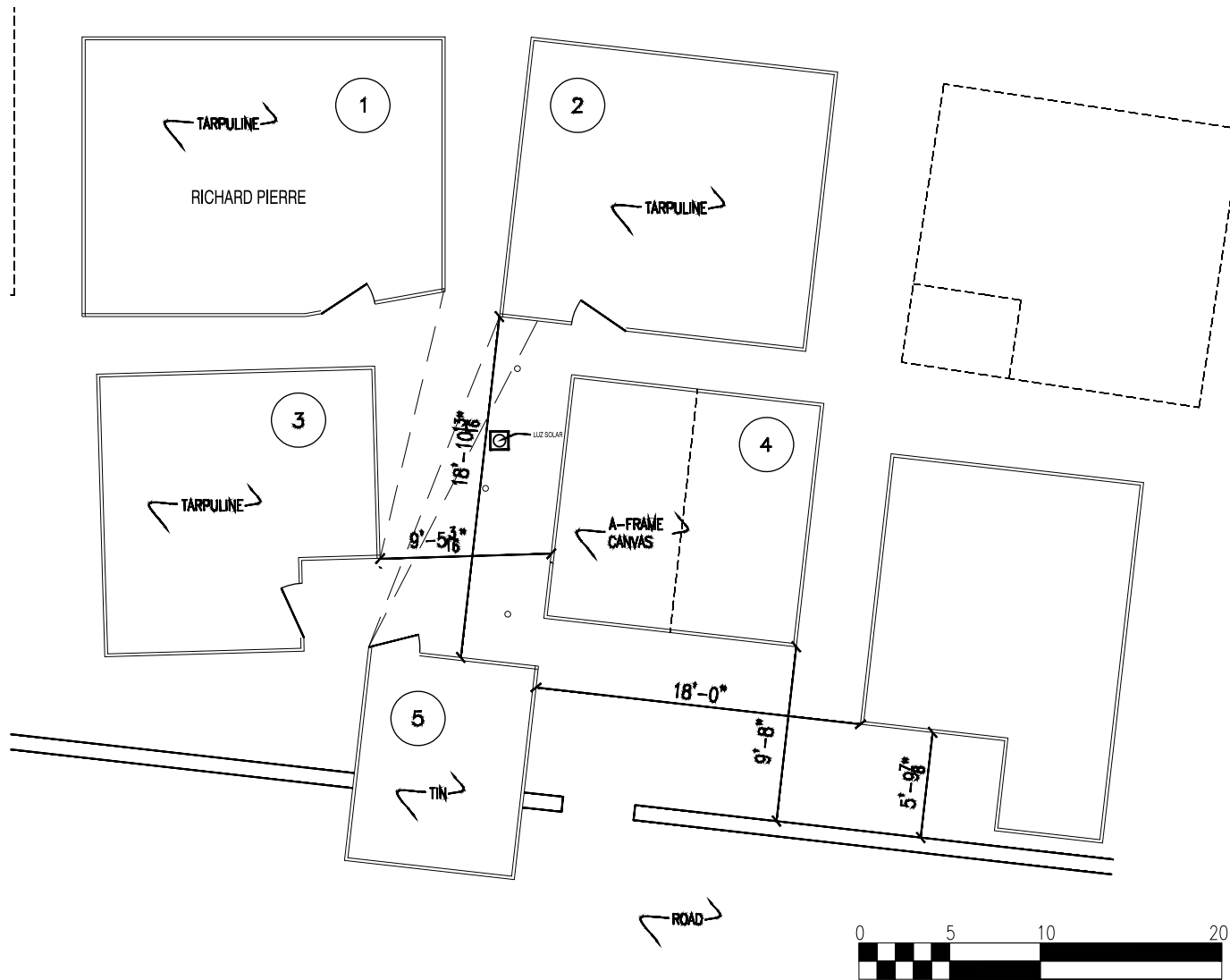


Figure C.6. Measured drawing of the first *lakou* under observation in Save the Children.

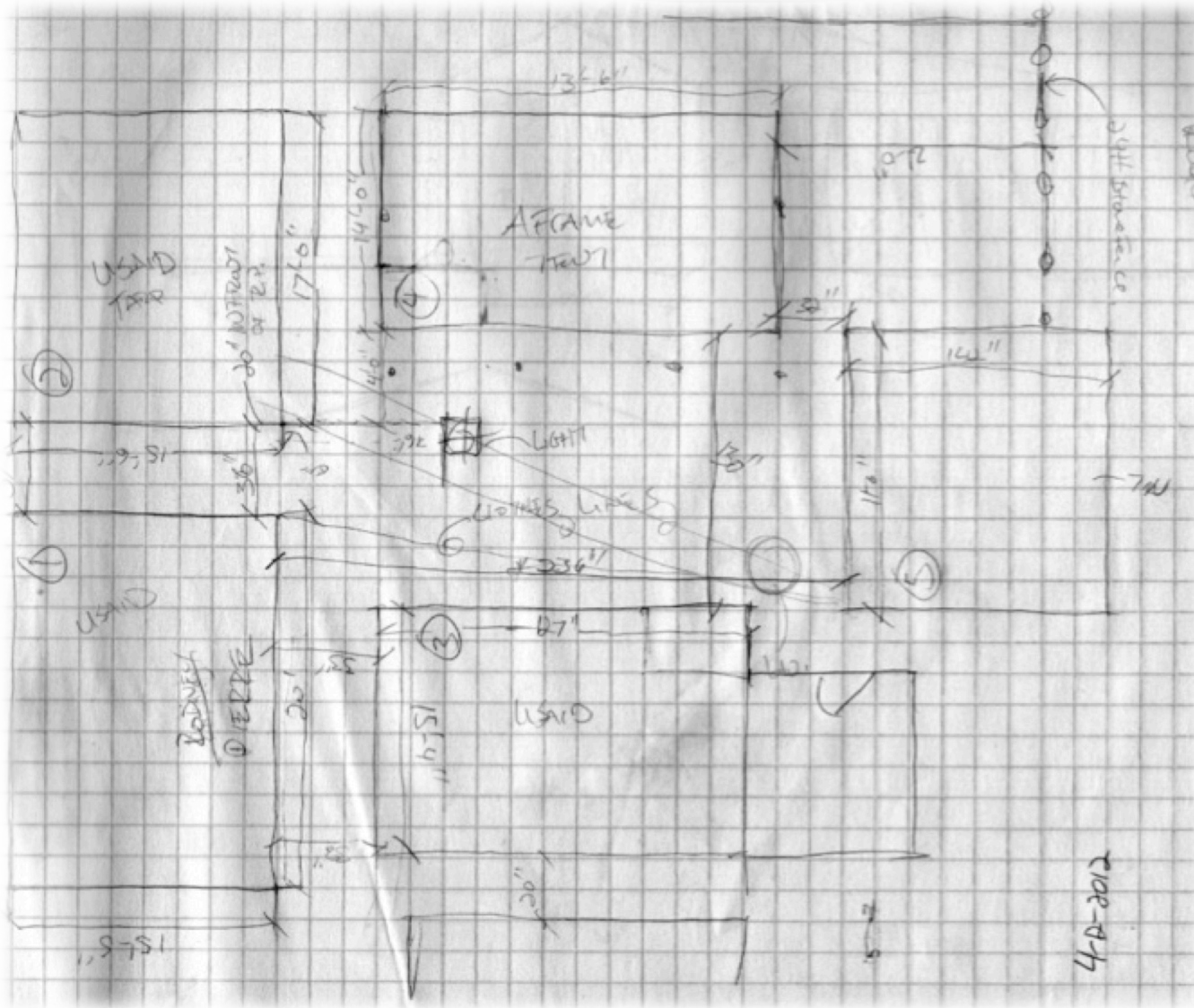


Figure C.7. Original dimensioned sketch of the lakou in Figure C.6. – 12 April 2012.

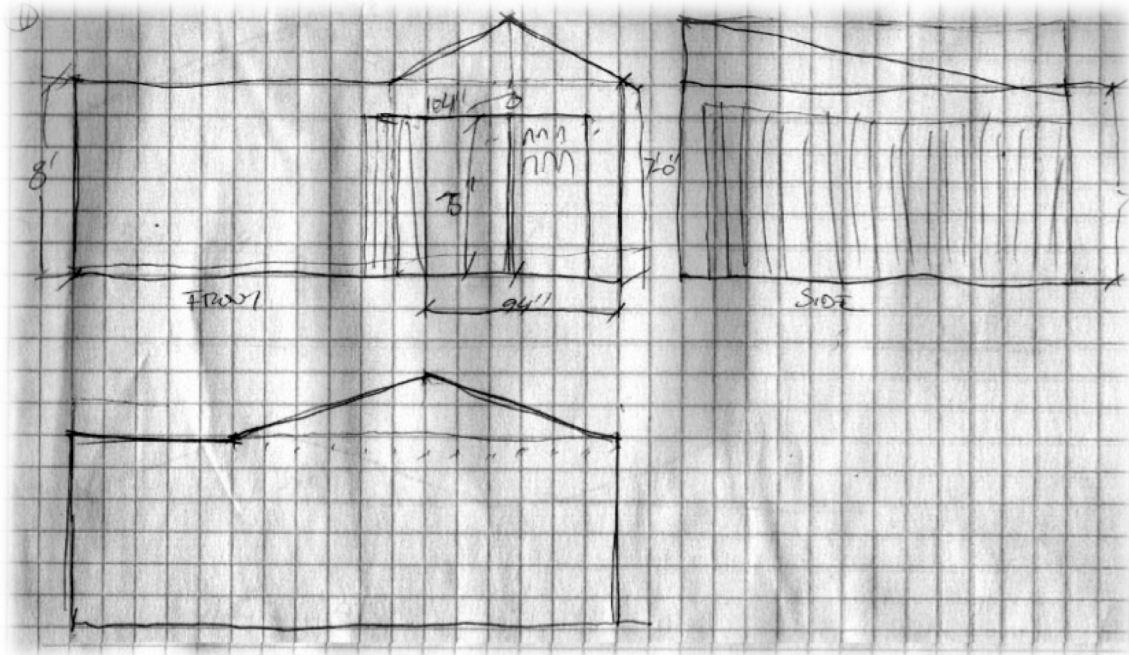


Figure C.8. Sketches of the houses surrounding the lakou in Figure C.6. – 12 April 2012

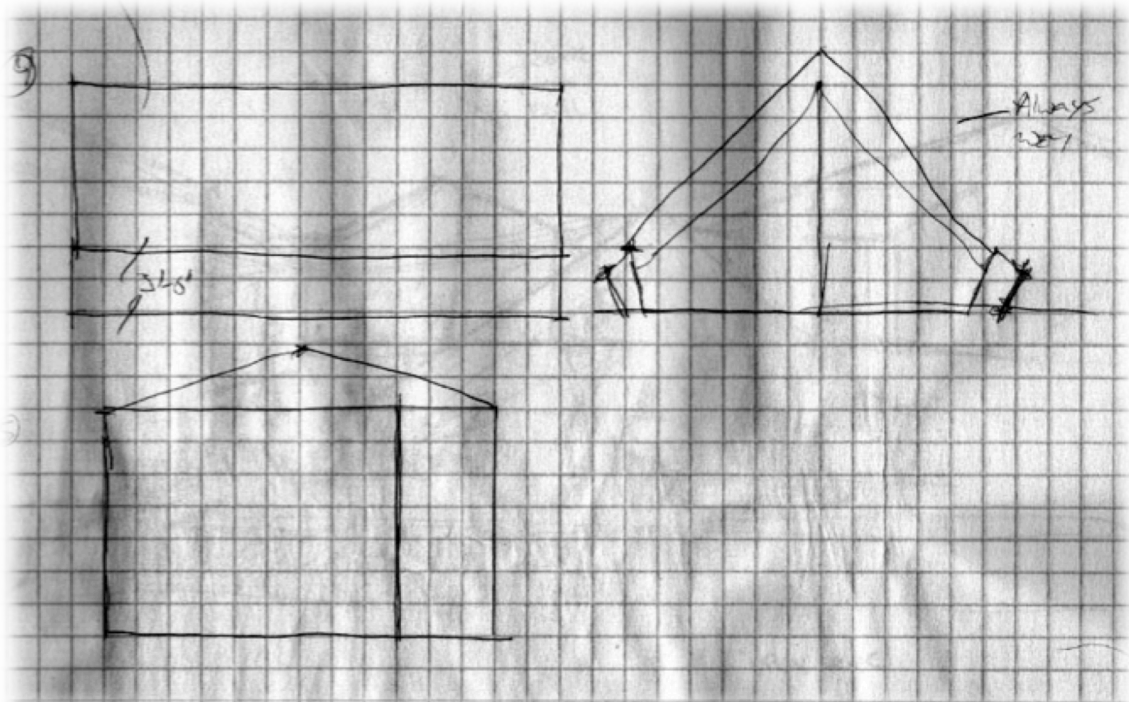


Figure C.9. Sketches of the houses surrounding the lakou in Figure C.6. – 12 April 2012

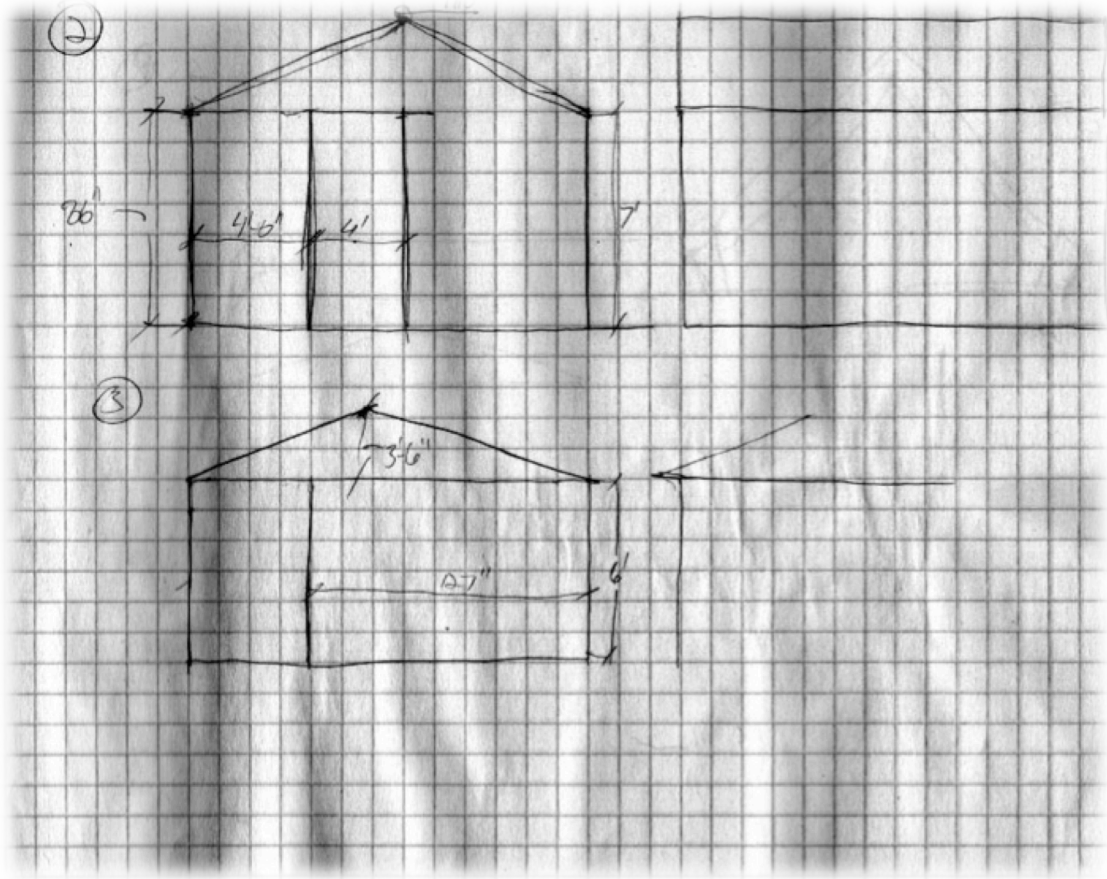


Figure C.10. Sketches of the houses surrounding the *lakou* in Figure C.6 --12 April 2012.

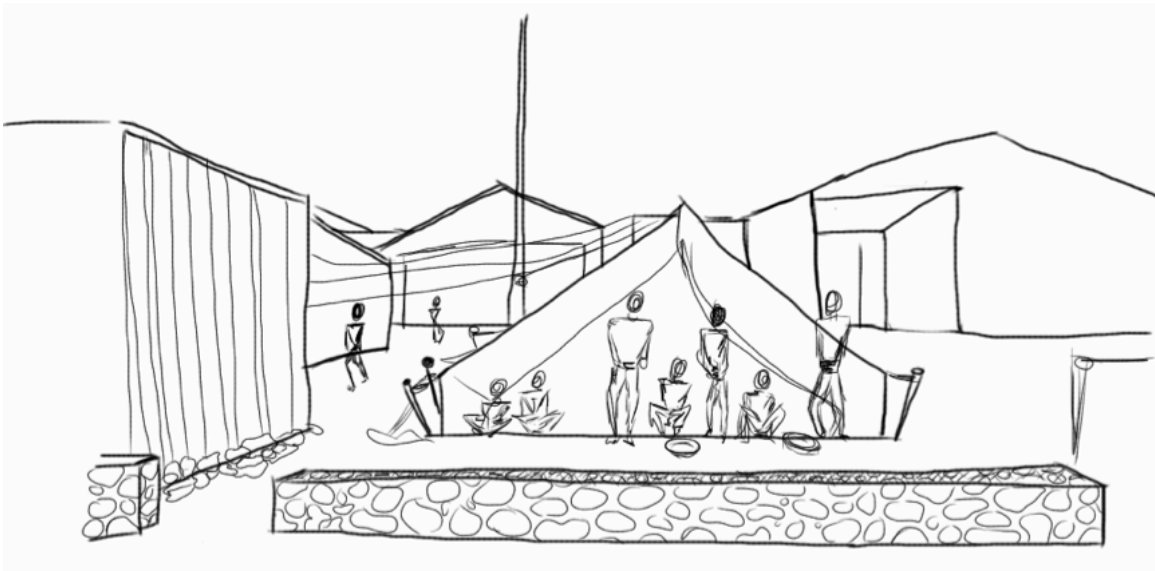


Figure C.11. Perspective of the lakou in Figure C.6. – 12 April 2012

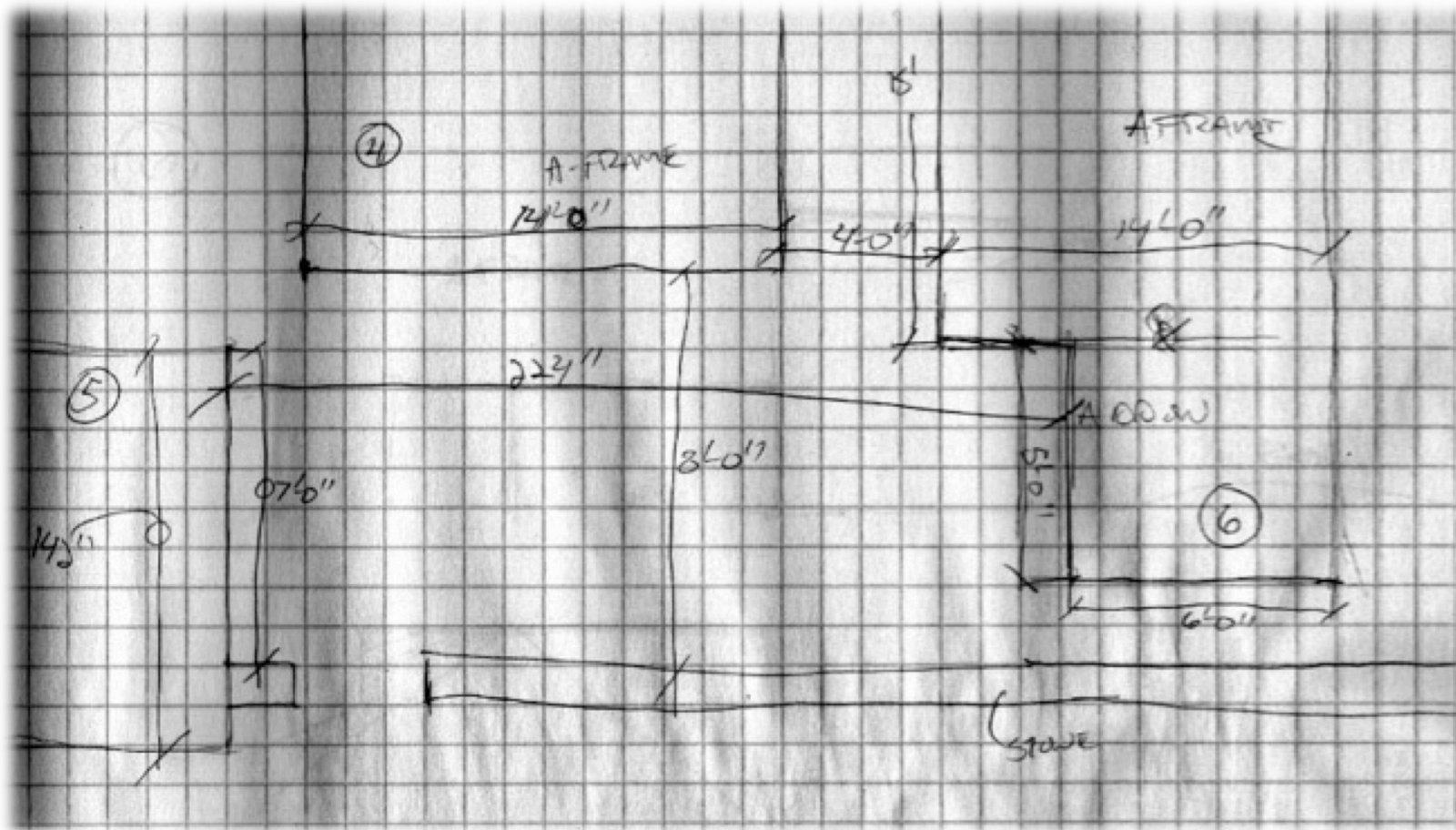


Figure C.12. Dimensioned sketch of a part of the *lakou* in Figure C.6. – 12 April 2012

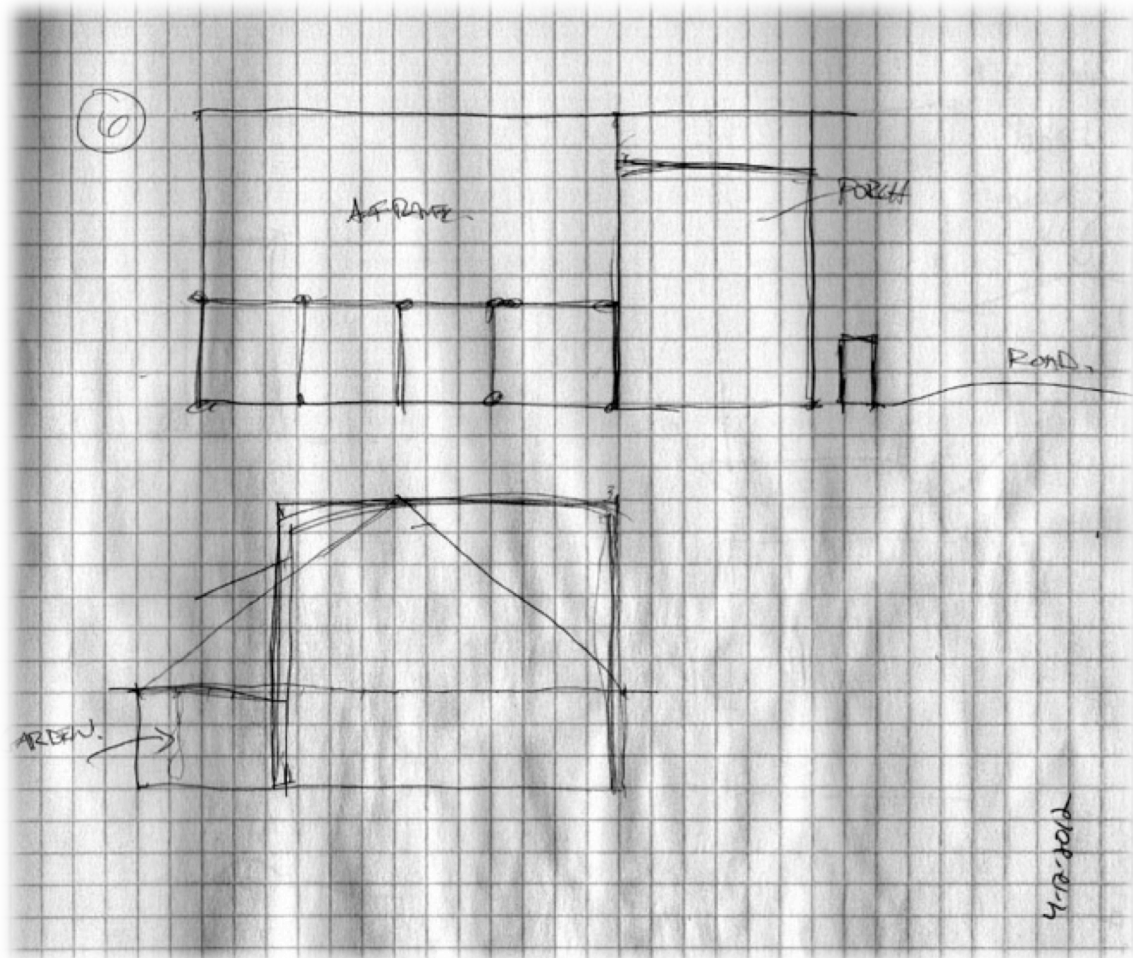


Figure C.13. Sketches of one of the houses in a *lakou* (Figure C.6.). This house has a garden to one side.

Observations from Figure C.15:

Three children sit outside of their tent while I observe with a Haitian friend.

Laundry hangs on the clothesline drying. The A-frame, canvas tent has been changed since April 13th, when the occupants complained of the rain coming in and always being wet inside. It is well known for the rain to be a major problem for slum dwellers and tent dwellers in Port-au-Prince. In the area known as Cite de Solei, flash floods are common due to the non-existence of storm drains and proper infrastructure. Families are know to take shifts walking around at night while a few sleep on the one raised bed the family

could afford. Other families are forced to sleep while standing. Fortunately in this camp, conditions are not as dire and people are not forced to take such drastic measures.

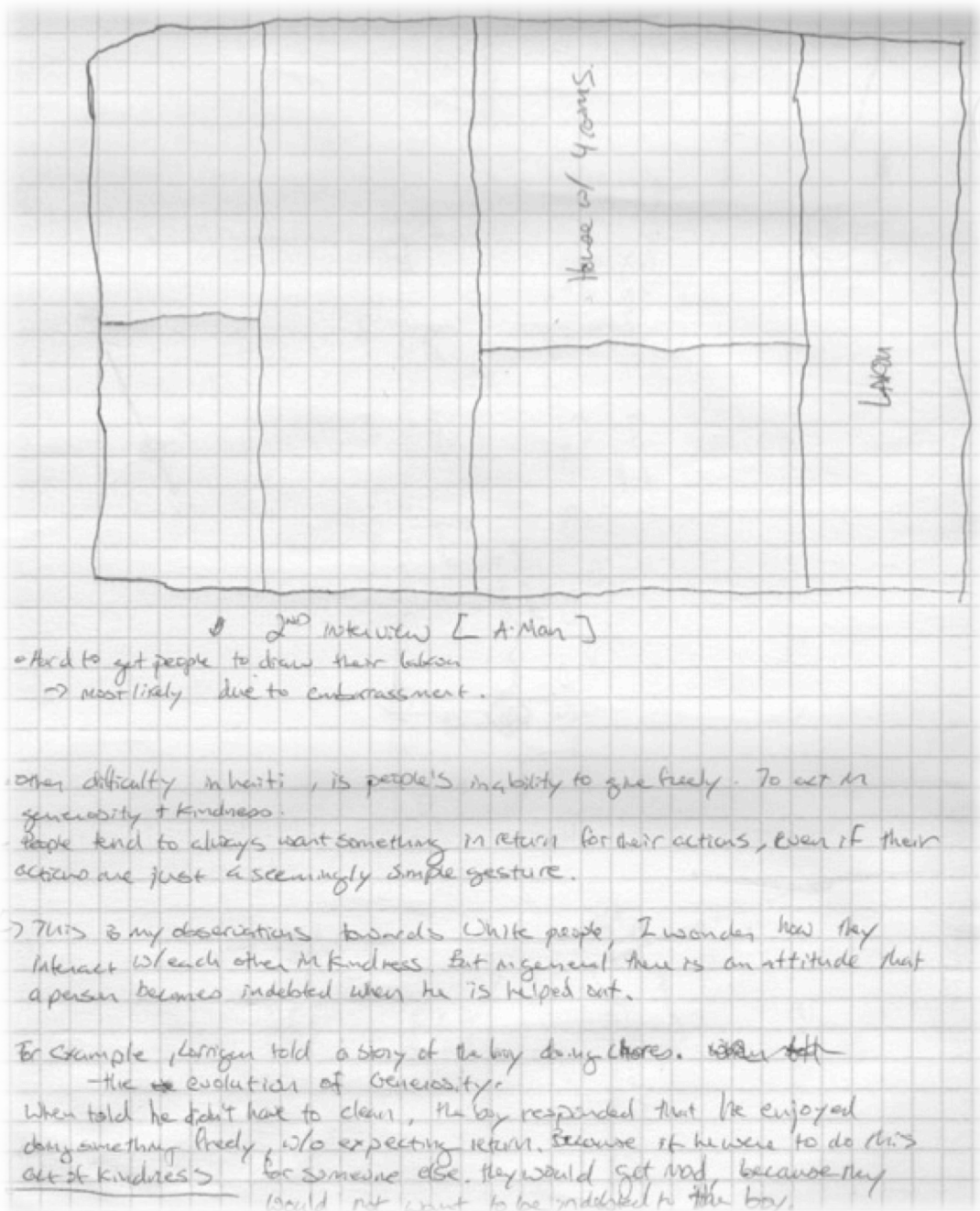


Figure C.14. A drawing by an interviewee, showing what he would like his lakou to be like -12 April 2012.

As far as the replacement of the tent, I am uncertain as to whether or not the occupants contacted the governing committee to allocate a new tent or if they purchased one on their own. I over heard the family speaking about the camp committee, which is why I assume the committee helped to allocate a new tent to the family.

Observations from Figure C.16:

Continuing observations in the lakou, slightly more activity is going on. A man is sitting outside of a tent with his small child playing besides him. The entrance to the tin shed at the far left has been left open with the door lying on the ground in front of it. Several children run through the lakou and make a second pass the other way towards the road and two people are passing through to the other side. A girl is studying on the doorstep to her family's house.

Observations from Figure C.17:

The door that was lying on the ground has been put back in place and locked. The man was still sitting at the corner of the house, but left shortly after I began this observation. He was watching his children, trying to keep them in line. The children living in the house at the top right are at school and their mother is at work. A girl walks back and forth in the lakou coming and going between two of the houses, another man walks through the lakou toward the street. A new trash pile has been made toward the top of the lakou, outside of a house. In the other small lakou to the left, two women are washing dishes and chatting. In general, people are interested in what I am doing.

The family living in the top left house is out and about; the mom is at work and the children are at school. It is very interesting that the family living in the a-frame tent has already had their tent replaced since Friday. They asked me to see their circumstances

and how it has improved. I wonder who helped, possibly the committee of the camp (first persons here).

The lakou – the place where people spend their time outside of the hot house.

Observations from Figure C.18:

There are two young adults talking with each other, sitting at the corner of a house. A child is running back and forth between houses, playing with a condom like a balloon. A few people are walking through the *lakou*. A woman is enjoying the fresh air, sitting under the shade of her porch.

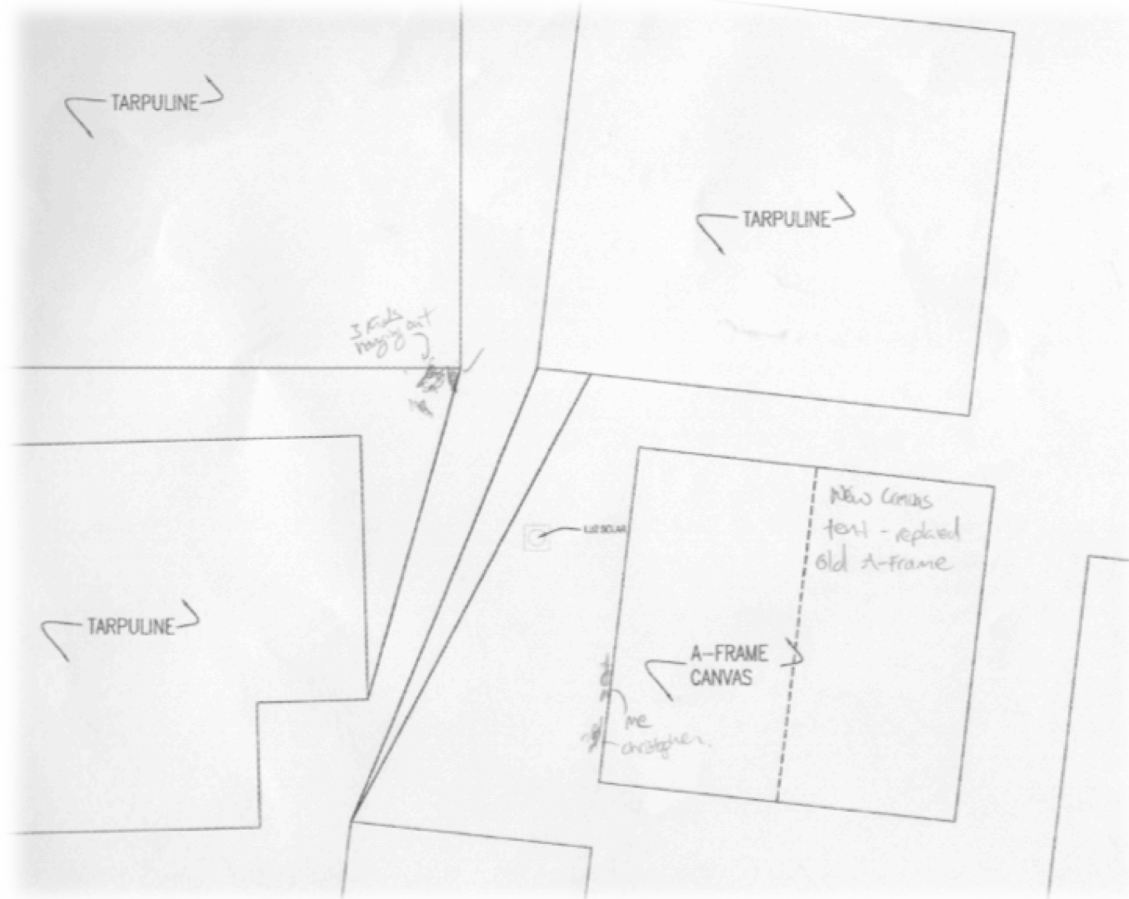


Figure C.15. Behavior map study of the *lakou* from Figure C.6. – 16 April 2012 at 10:20 AM

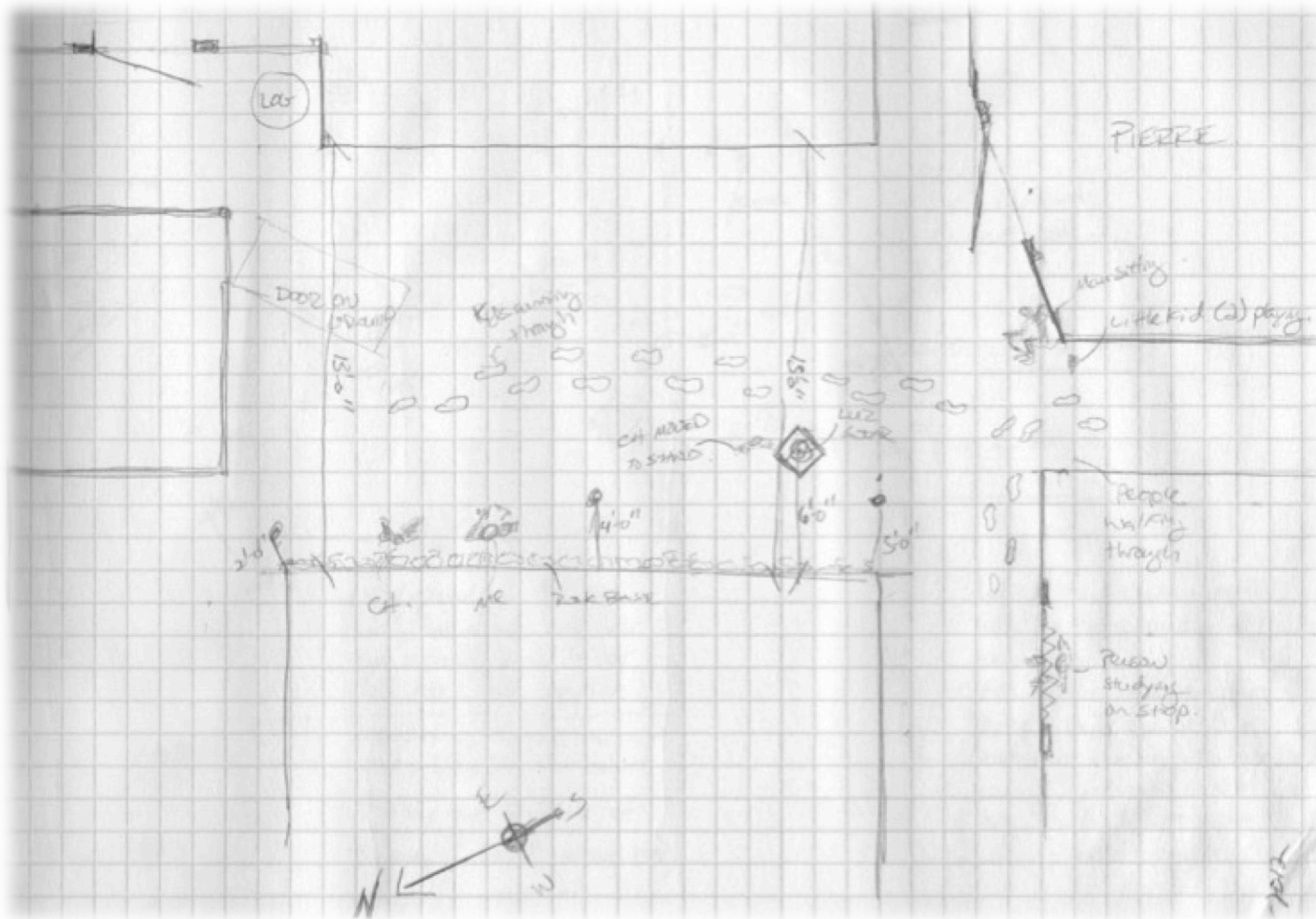


Figure C.16. Behavior map study of the lakou from Figure C.6. Completed on 16 April 2012 at 10:30 AM.

There are two women washing dishes in front of their house. They are sitting on makeshift chairs in the space directly in front of their tent. These women are sharing the space together with their neighbors, two women cooking in front of their own house. All of them are chatting together and passing the time together. On the knee high wall between the adjacent road and this space, three men are sitting and talking with each other and occasionally chipping into the conversation among the women. I am sitting adjacent to these men, along the wall.

Observations from Figure C.19:

The women who were washing dishes in the previous hour are now cooking; the other two women who were at that time cooking have left. The woman who was enjoying the shade of her porch is now washing dishes and preparing food together with her daughter, who has returned most likely from selling on the street. The girl living with her dad in the house on the top left is studying for school, sitting on the doorstep; her father is sitting next to her, enjoying the fresh air. The little boy running between houses is continuing to play with his 'balloon.' My friend Rodney and his sister are sitting on the stone outside their homes, talking with each other occasionally. A group of children walk through the *lakou* on their way back to their homes. Another man walks through toward the street.

Observations from Figure C.20.

I am sitting under the shade, along the side of a house. A group of men and women in the space adjacent the street are talking with each other; some are sitting under the shadow of their house, one is standing, and the other are sitting on the knee high wall.

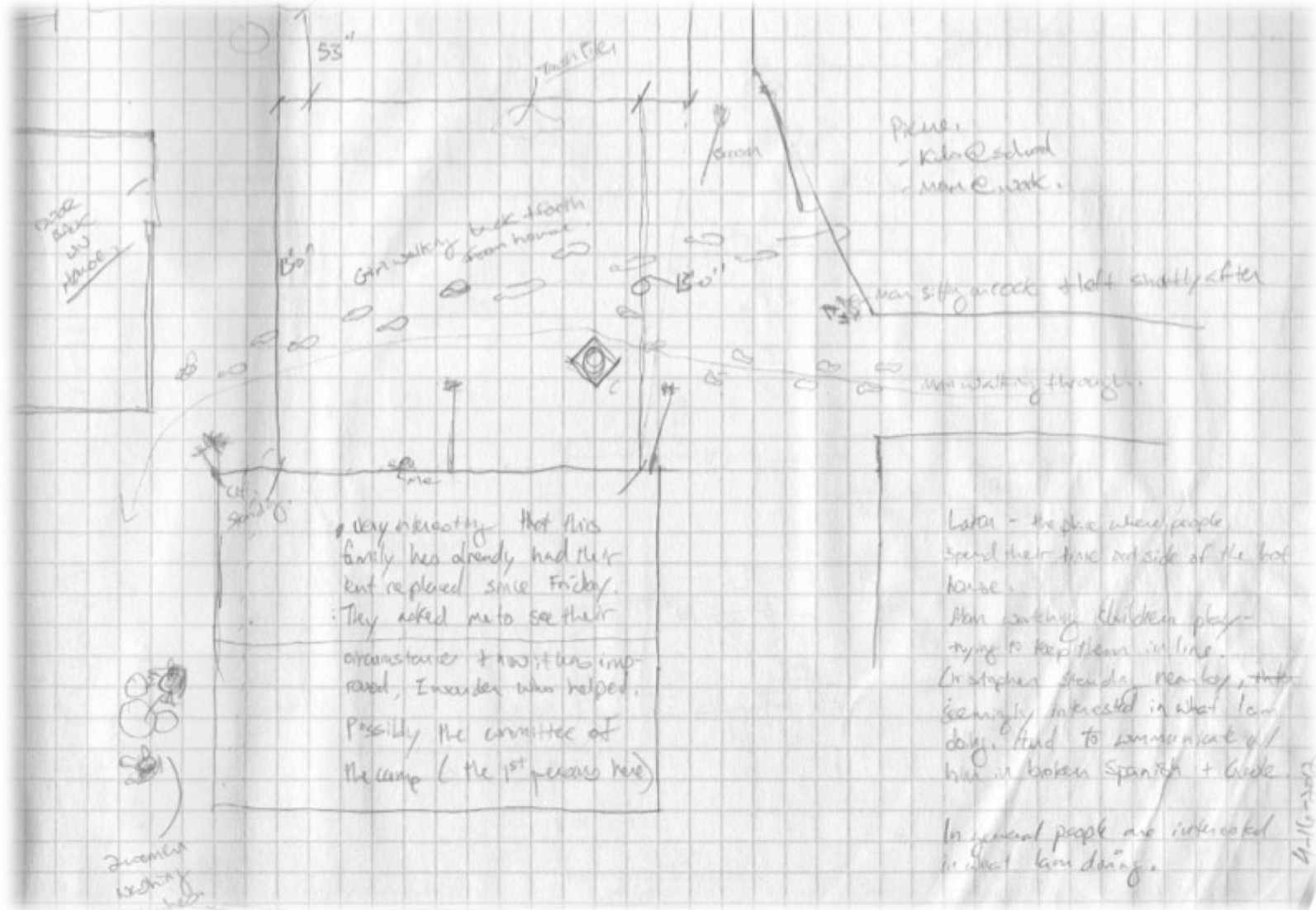


Figure C.17. Behavior Map study of the lakou in Figure C.6. Completed on 16 April 2012 at 10:50 AM.

A woman is cooking under her porch and occasionally entering the conversation. I notice the garden along the side of her house. Three children are playing in the main *lakou* between the houses and staring at me, wondering what I am doing taking these notes. Laundry hangs from the clotheslines. Several children in their school uniforms walk through the *lakou* towards their own houses.

C.1.3.3. *Lakou* 2 (Figure C.21)

This *lakou* is formed around a pre-existing house made of concrete block and poured concrete. The area is shared between ten houses and is around 3,200 square feet in size. On the patio directly in front of the house lies an a-frame canvas tent occupied by one family. At the far side of the *lakou*, along the road, is a water catchment cistern that was constructed after the earthquake out of poured concrete. Moving clockwise from the cistern shown in Figure C.21, adjacent the cistern is a meeting place, constructed of a stick frame covered with tarps and corrugated metal half walls. Next is a metal shipping crate that has been converted into a small depot for bottled beverages. Next is a house constructed using a stick frame with corrugated metal walls and roof with a wood door. A few trees provide shade from the harsh sun for this corner of the *lakou*. Next is a house constructed with a stick frame covered in tarps, this house used concrete blocks to create a base and poured concrete to create a partial slab floor with a patio. The next two houses are constructed with stick frame and tarps and both have porches built onto the front, resembling the Creole “shotgun” style of architecture. At the far back, not shown in the figure is another house, similar to the previous two. On the other side of the concrete house is a tarp fence separating another section of the settlement. The tarp fence turns the corner before the next house, which consists of a stick frame and tarp sheathing.

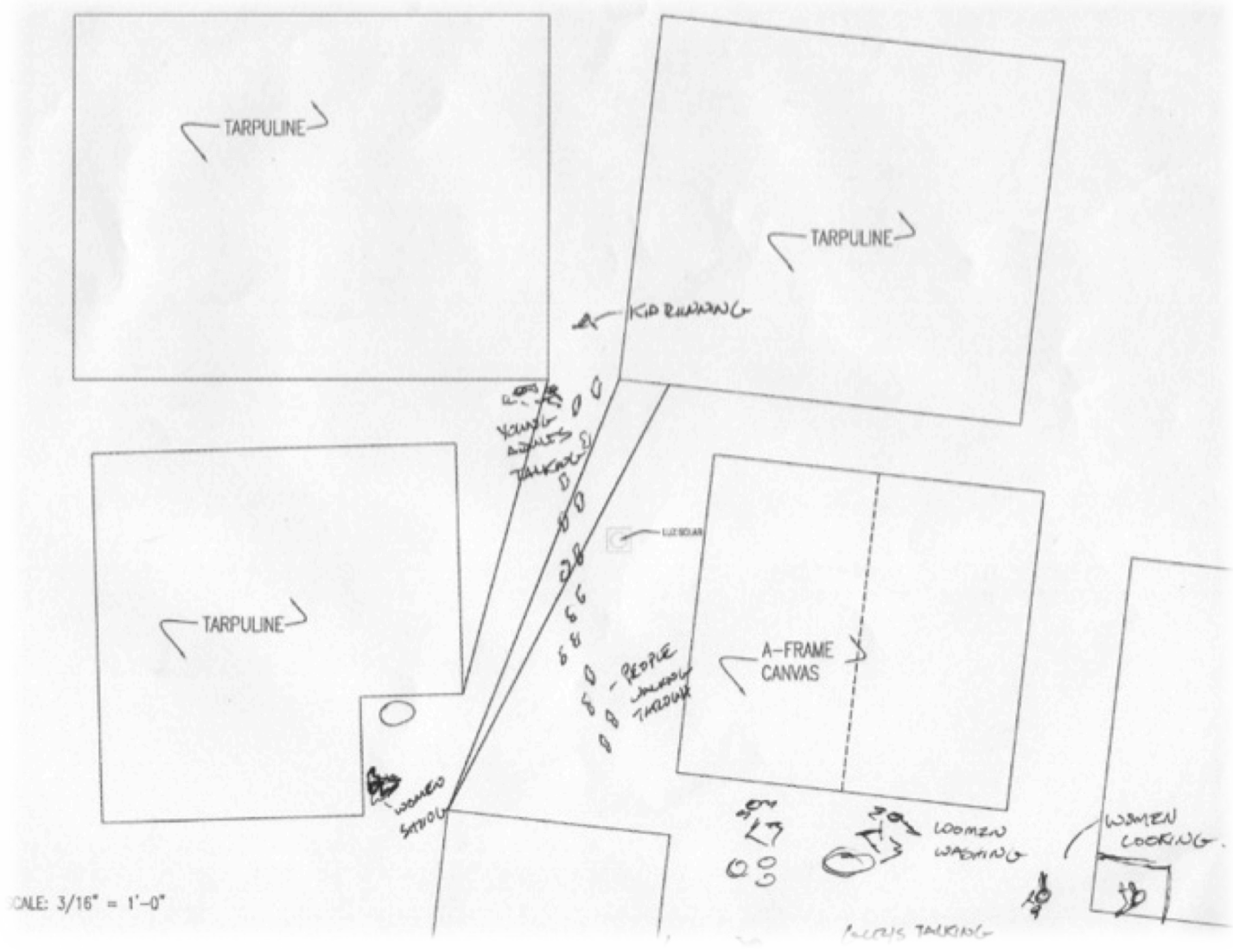


Figure C.18. Behavior map study of the lakou in Figure C.6. Completed on 17 April 2012 at 2:00 PM.

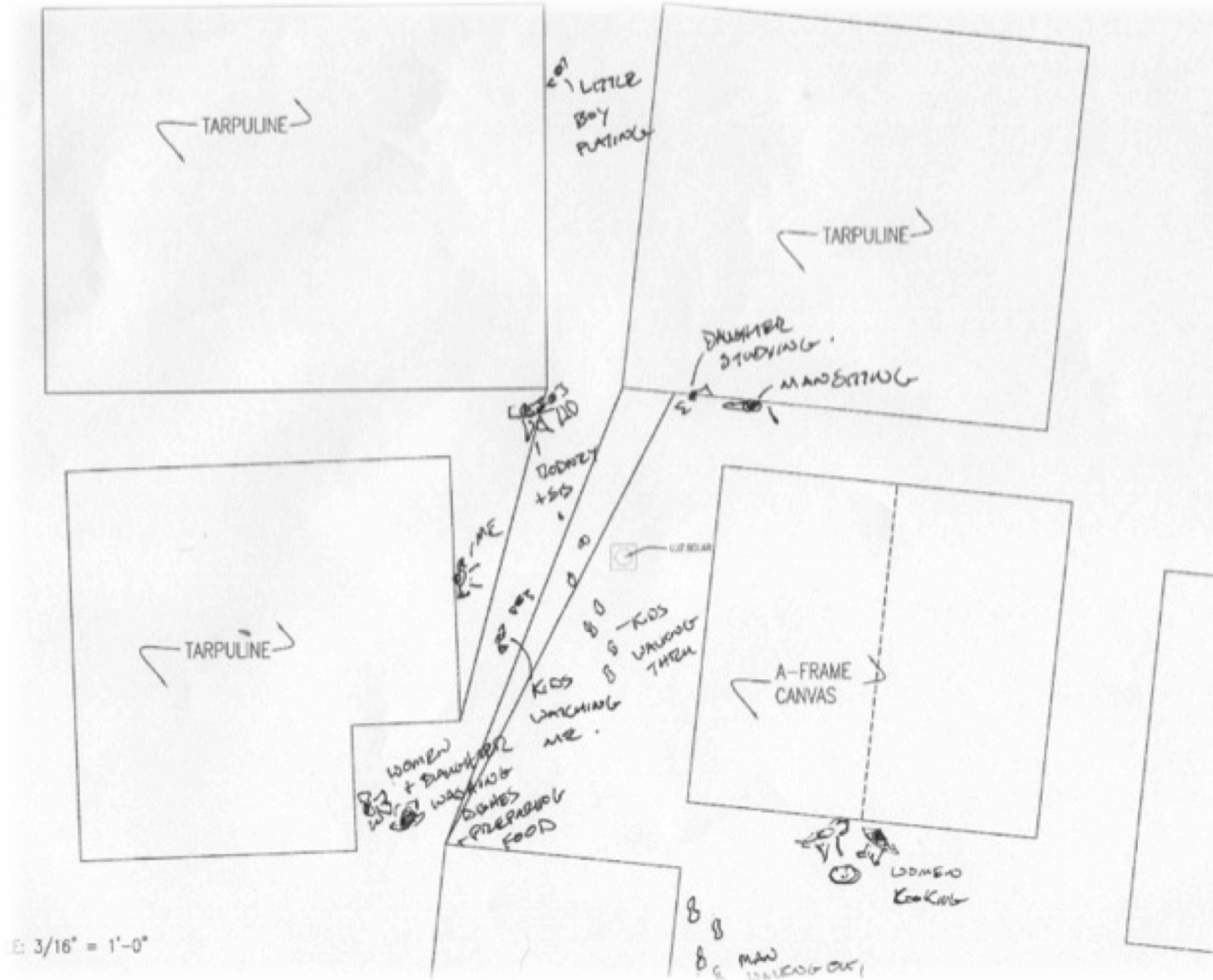


Figure C.19. Behavior map study of the *laku* in Figure C.6. Completed on April 17 2012 at 3:00 PM.

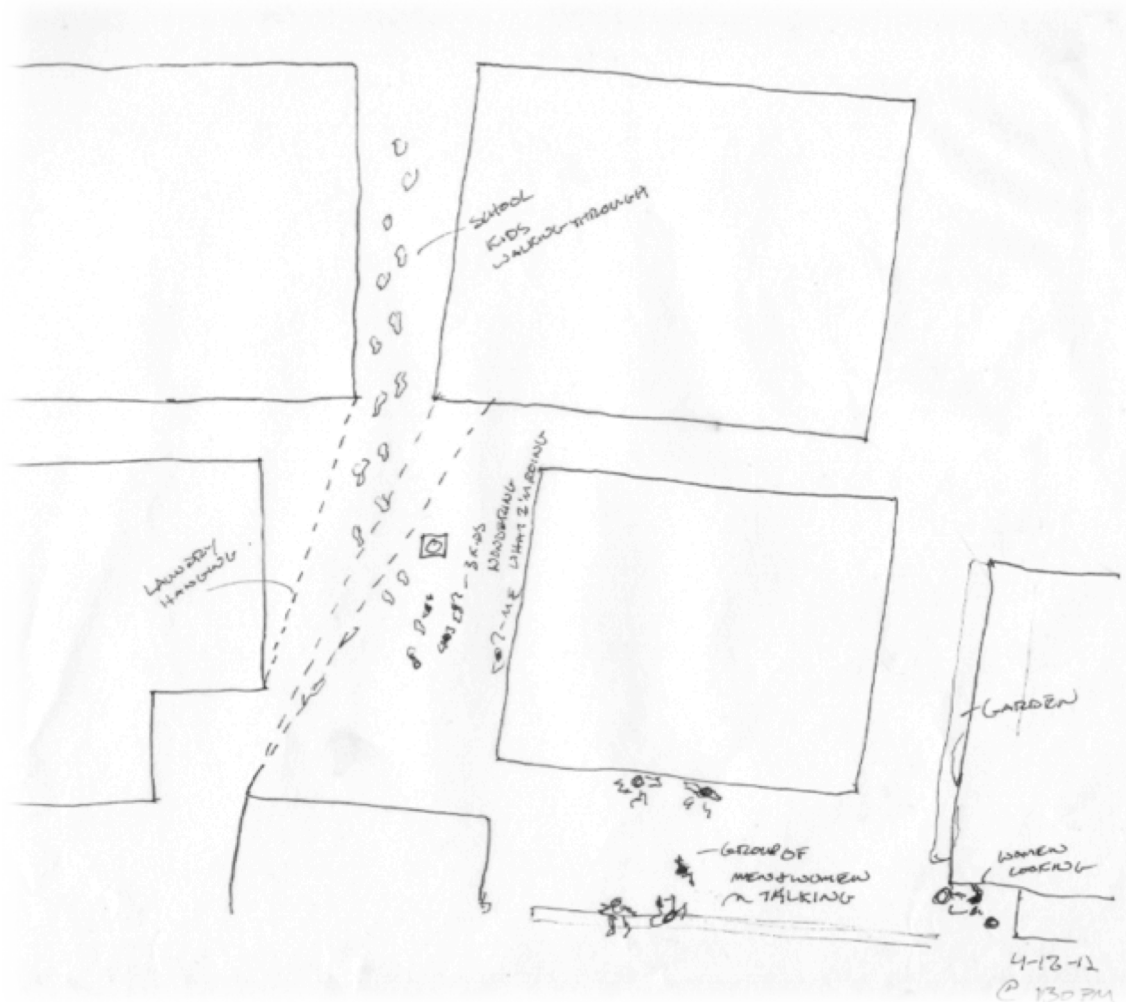


Figure C.20. Behavior map study of the *lakou* from figure C.6. Completed on 18 April 2012 at 1:30 PM.

In addition, the inhabitants of this house have constructed a large porch using a pole and tarp with ropes that tie it down. Underneath the porch is a make shift table. Next are two houses constructed in the same fashion. Additionally these two houses are connected to the first by a tarp fence. The last house has constructed a porch, which it uses for a small vending business. The house to the right of the cistern is constructed with stick frame and tarps as well with some vegetation to the rear of it; the front entrance opens onto the road.

Observations from 12 April 2012:

Along the left side of the concrete house, a husband and wife bathe their toddler in the shade. Not far from them, along the remnants of a concrete slab, a woman is sitting in the shade of a tree. Clothes are drying on a line stretched between a tree and a house's porch. Two toddlers hop out of their house to play. A woman leans on the shed, enjoying the fresh air and coming to collect her drying blankets from the clothesline stretched between the depot and her house. On the right of the cistern, a group of ten children are playing soccer together, hanging out, and watching their younger siblings. The house to the right of the concrete house has timbers and planks of wood leaning against it; it appears the inhabitant is either a carpenter or a lumber sales person.

A little boy and girl join the parents who were bathing their baby earlier. Also a woman, whom they seem to know, comes by with a pale of vegetables. Some of the children from the group playing soccer are now sitting on the wall of the cistern passing the time together, talking and joking with each other. Four little children play under the makeshift table in the shade.

Observations from Figure C.22:

Two girls and a baby are enjoying the shade sitting and standing adjacent to the left wall of the concrete house. Across from them, a few people are congregated in their porch, passing the time together and talking with a man standing just outside of the porch. Down the way, a man is standing outside of his house, staying out of the heat of his house. I notice the woodpile sitting by the tree adjacent to the house with the large canvas sunshade to the right of the concrete house. Under the shade a man and woman are talking to each other, sitting at the table. The vender adjacent to the street is selling

various goods to passers by. Lastly, I notice the drainage pipe made of PVC pipe coming down to the cistern from the concrete house.

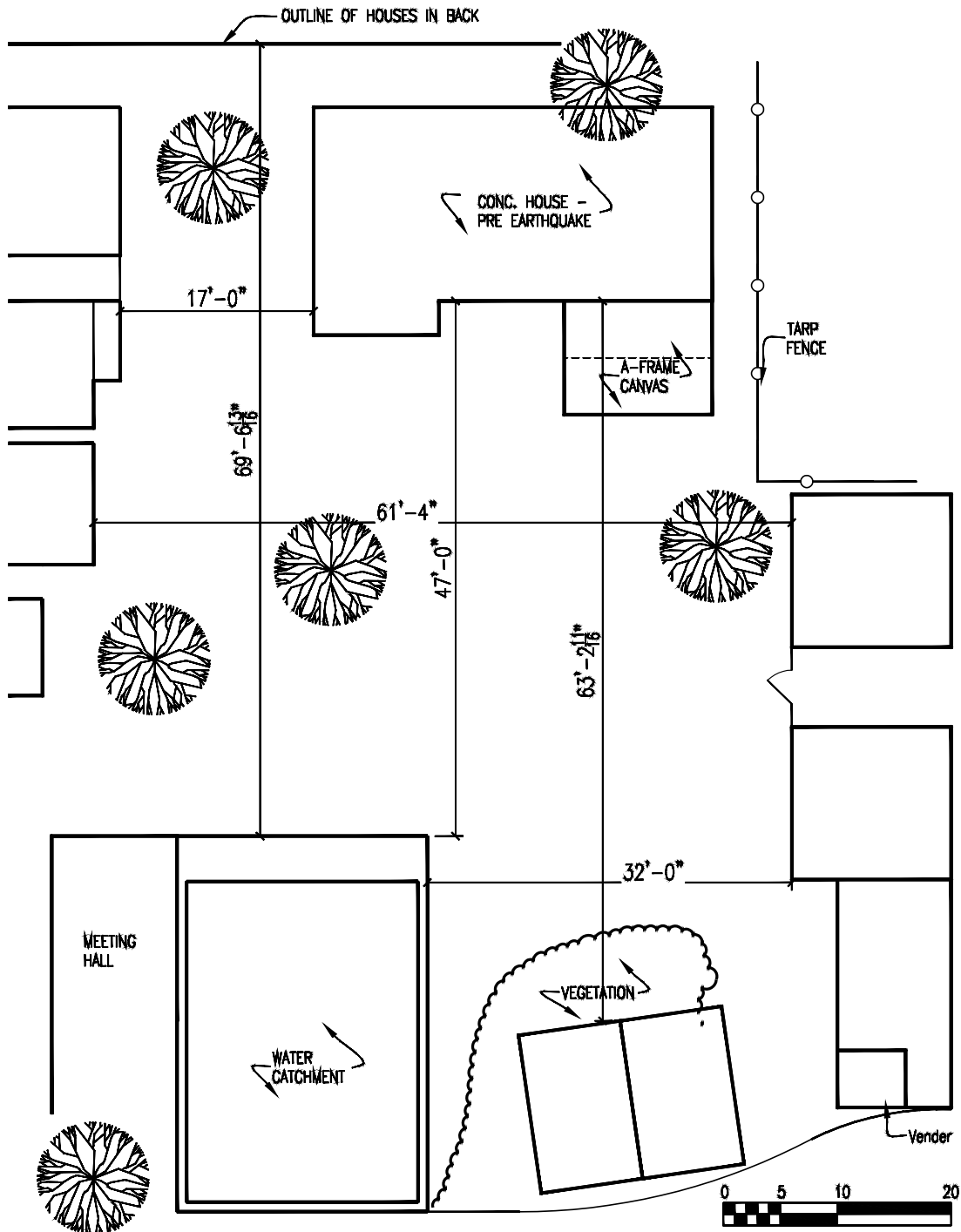


Figure C.21. Measured drawing of *laku* two in Save the Children camp.

Observations from Figure C.23:

I am sitting along the side of the cistern and a child is sitting at the other end watching me. A man walks from outside of the *lakou* to talk with a couple of women; they pass the time together under the shade of their porch. Along the left side of the concrete house, three women pass the time together, sitting along the stairs and door stoop. Under the cover of the large sunshade, a man and a woman are passing the time together. The space seems rather quiet.

Later on, I notice the women sitting at the table are joined by a third. They have what looks like to be clothing and papers out on the table, and they appear to be making some type of craft, possibly for sale.

Observations from Figure C.24:

I am sitting along the wall of the cistern. There is a girl in a wheelchair to the right of the meetinghouse watching a group of children playing. There are woman talking and doing laundry outside of their porch. Clothes are hanging along the clotheslines stretched between the tree and concrete house. A few people walk through the *lakou* on their way to the road, one stops by to check out the vendor. A man is sitting on top of the table under the sunshade.

C.1.4.1. General Observations

The inhabitants of this settlement broke through a wall to a vacant lot after the earthquake. The first man to reach the area and set up his makeshift house became the head of the camp. The majority of the houses in this settlement consist of a stick frame covered in tarps; a few have corrugated metal sheets as doors or patches on the wall. The houses are huddled close together, with only a few feet left between them. Before I

arrived there, several additional houses were located along the north wall. A church resides in one corner of the camp, and its construction consists of a concrete block base and knee wall, a stick frame upper wall with tarps covering it, and a corrugated metal roof. The settlement has a latrine serving the inhabitants with two shower stalls. The aid organization, Oxfam, installed this. The inhabitants of the settlement constructed a drainage ditch in order to improve the flooding and run off caused by the rains.

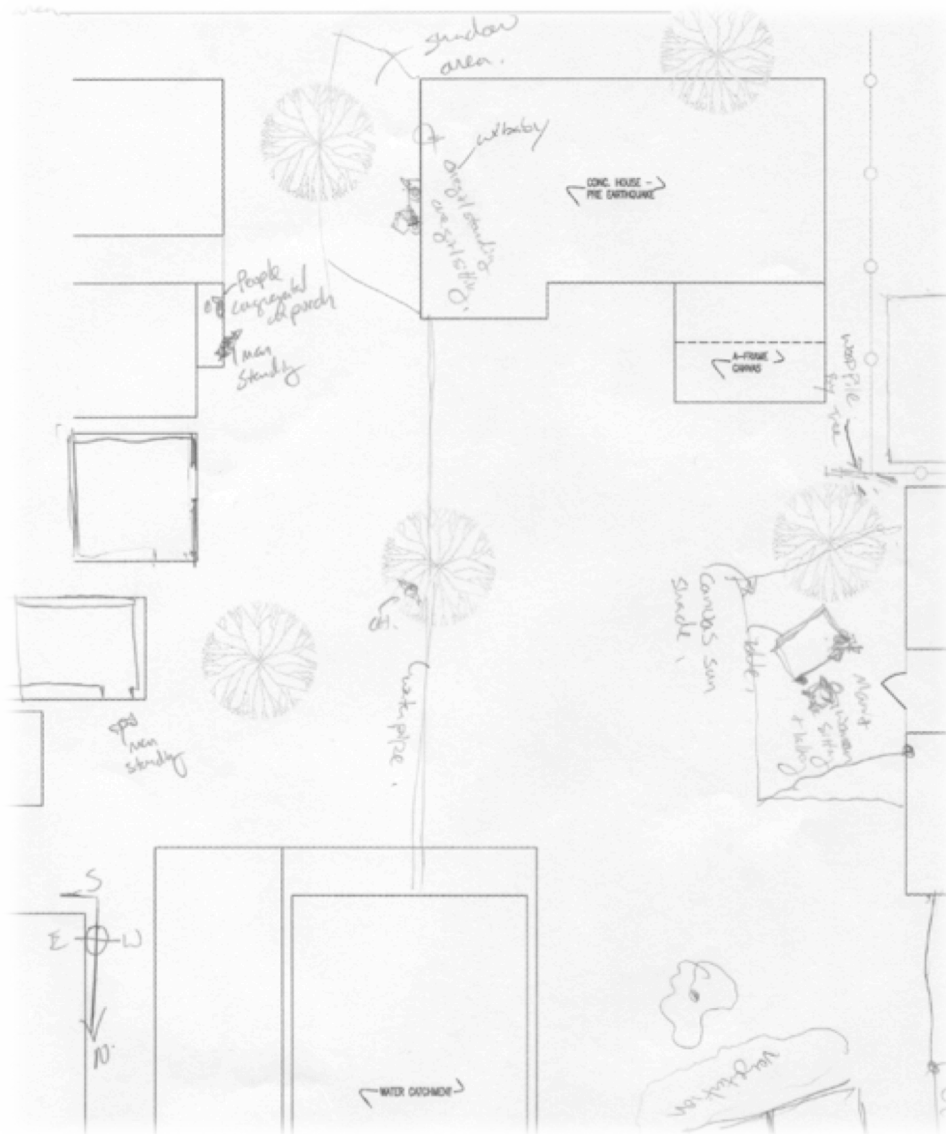


Figure C.22. Behavior map study of *lakou* two completed on 16 April 2012 at 11:10 AM

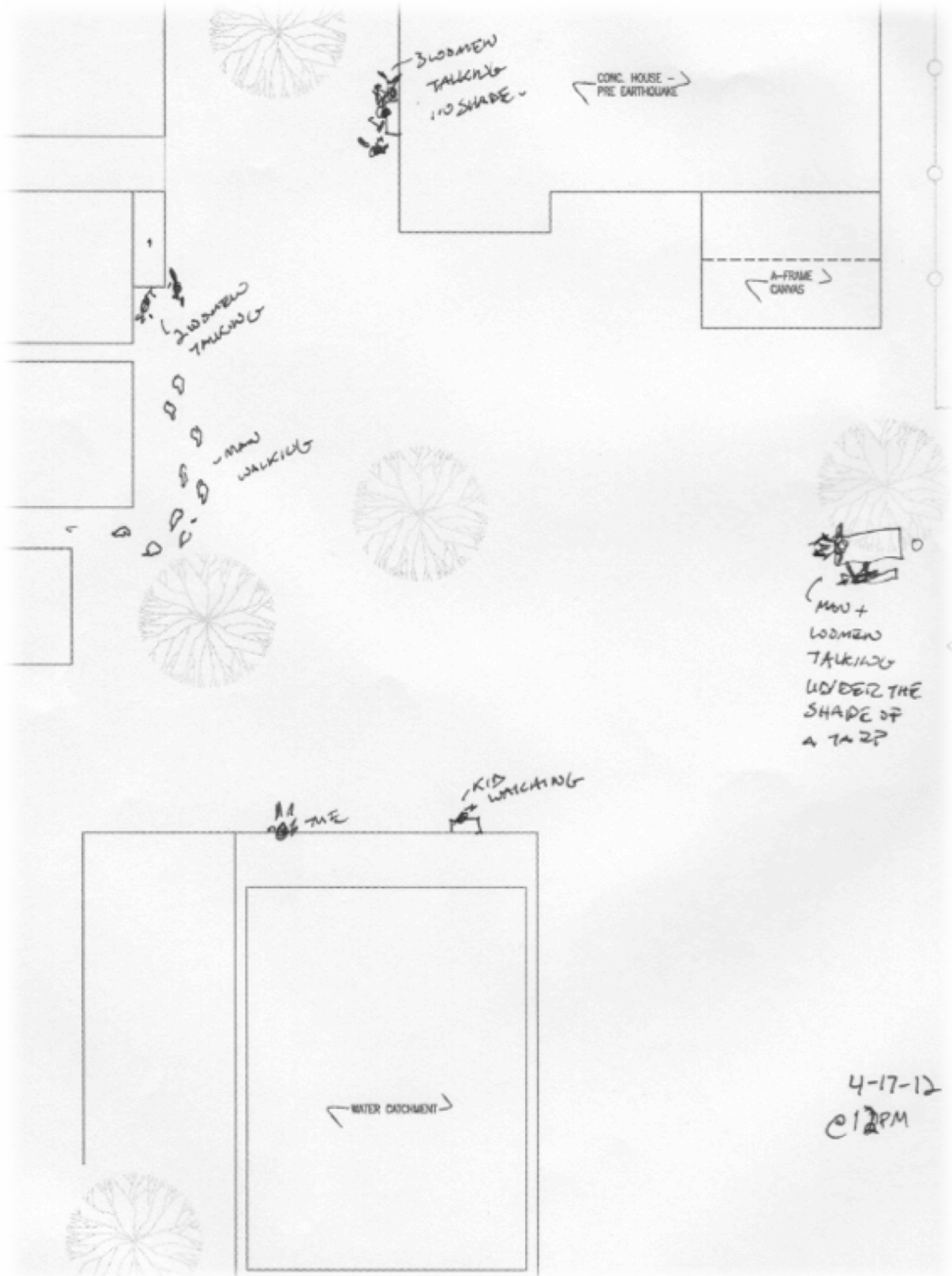


Figure C.23. Behavior map study of lakou 2 completed on 17 April 2012 at Noon.

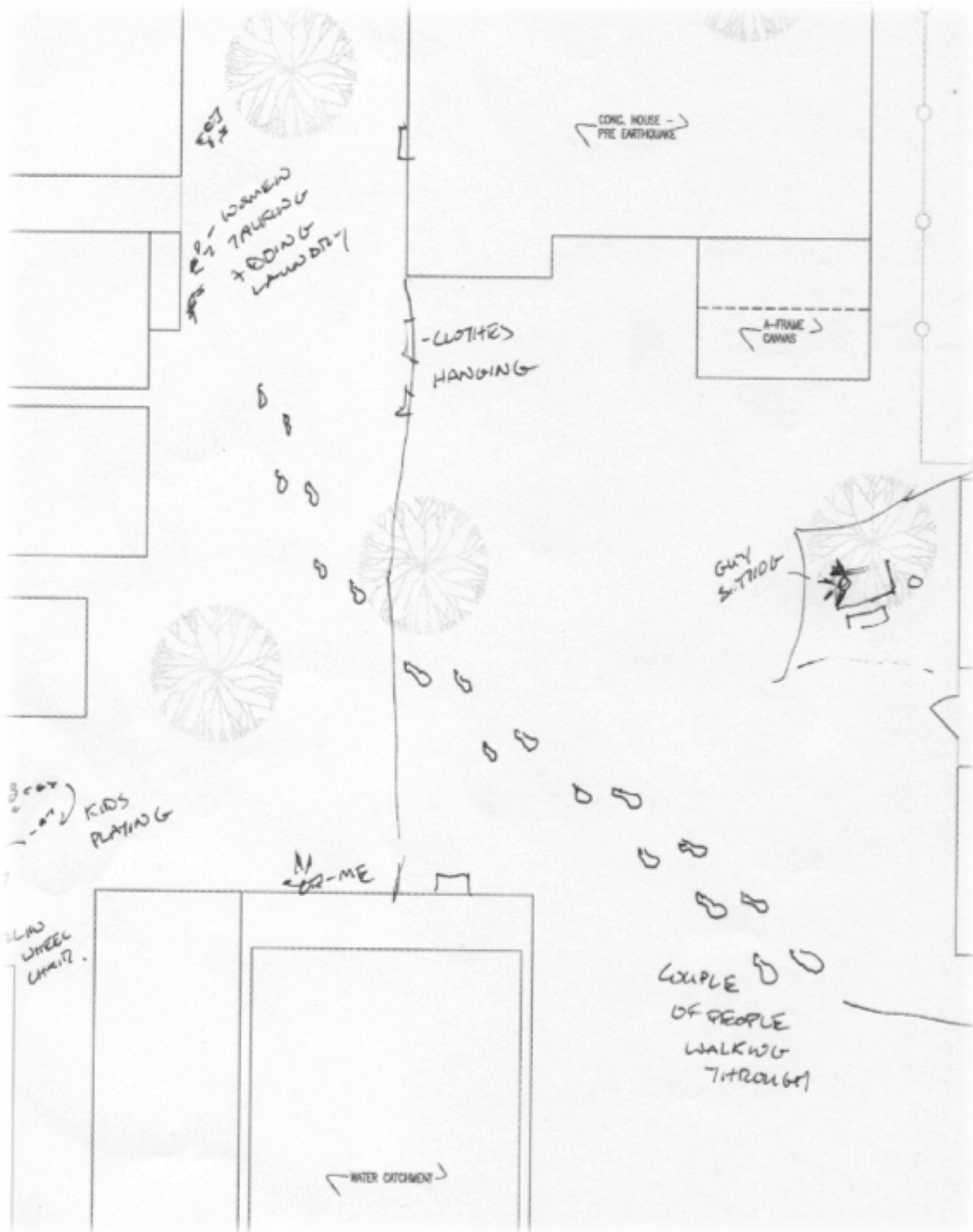


Figure C.24. Behavior map study of *laku 2* completed on 18 April 2012 at 10:50 AM.

C.1.4. Walled Settlement, Delmas (Figure C.25, C.26, and C.27)



Figure C.25. ©2012 Google. Aerial view of the Walled Settlement.

C.1.4.2. *Lakou* observations, 13 April 2012

Upon arriving at the camp, a group of men met my translator and me to discuss our intentions there. We were introduced to the head of the camp to gain his approval to continue with observations and interviews. The camp leader was jovial and welcoming. Today must be laundry day because everyone seems to have their clothes hanging from the lines throughout the camp. There are laundry buckets and pales lying face down on the ground (a good practice to not have standing water which fosters malaria carrying mosquitoes). Speaking of washing laundry, it is amazing how dignified someone looks, living in these camps.

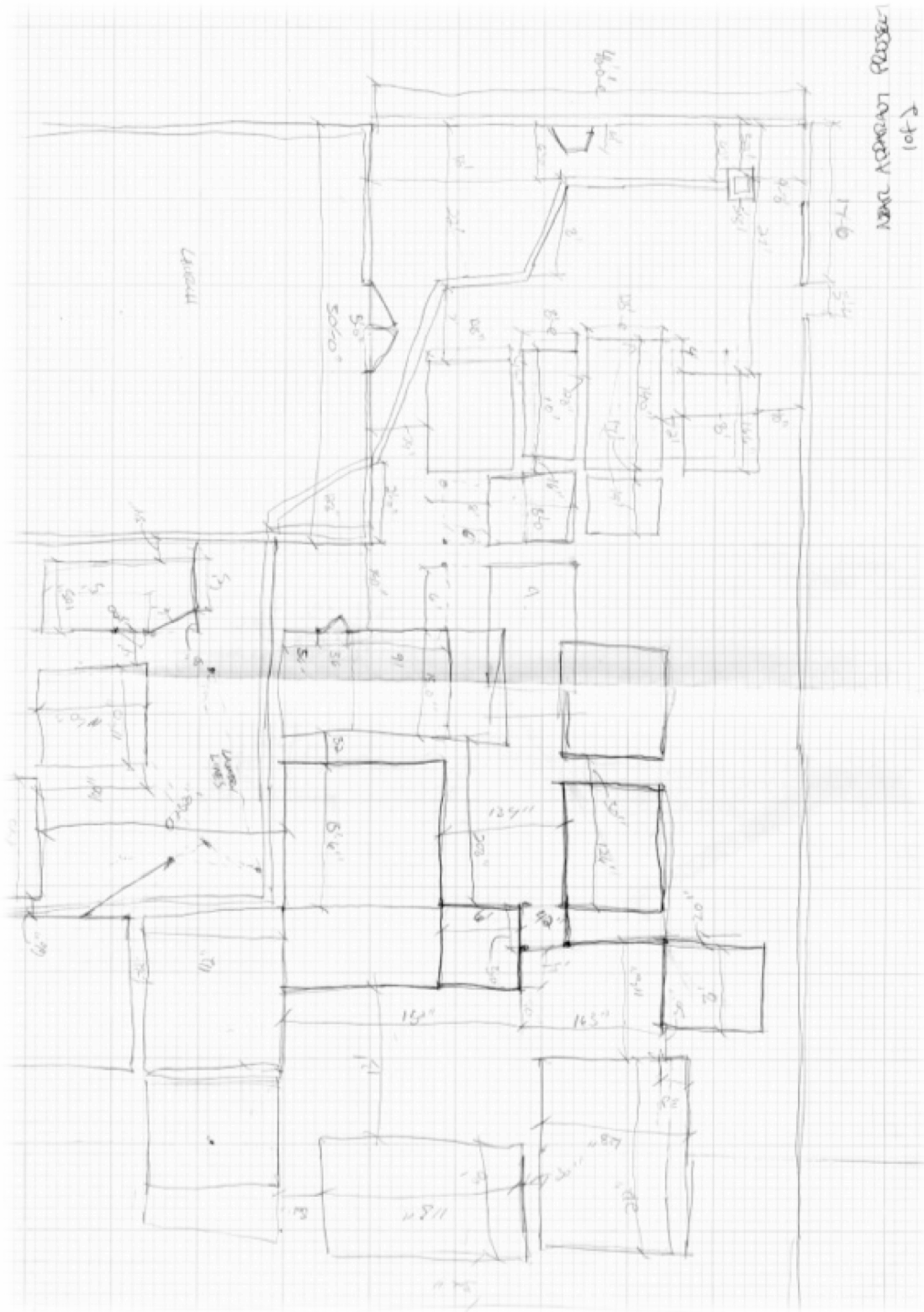


Figure C. 26. Original dimensioned sketch of the Walled Settlement.

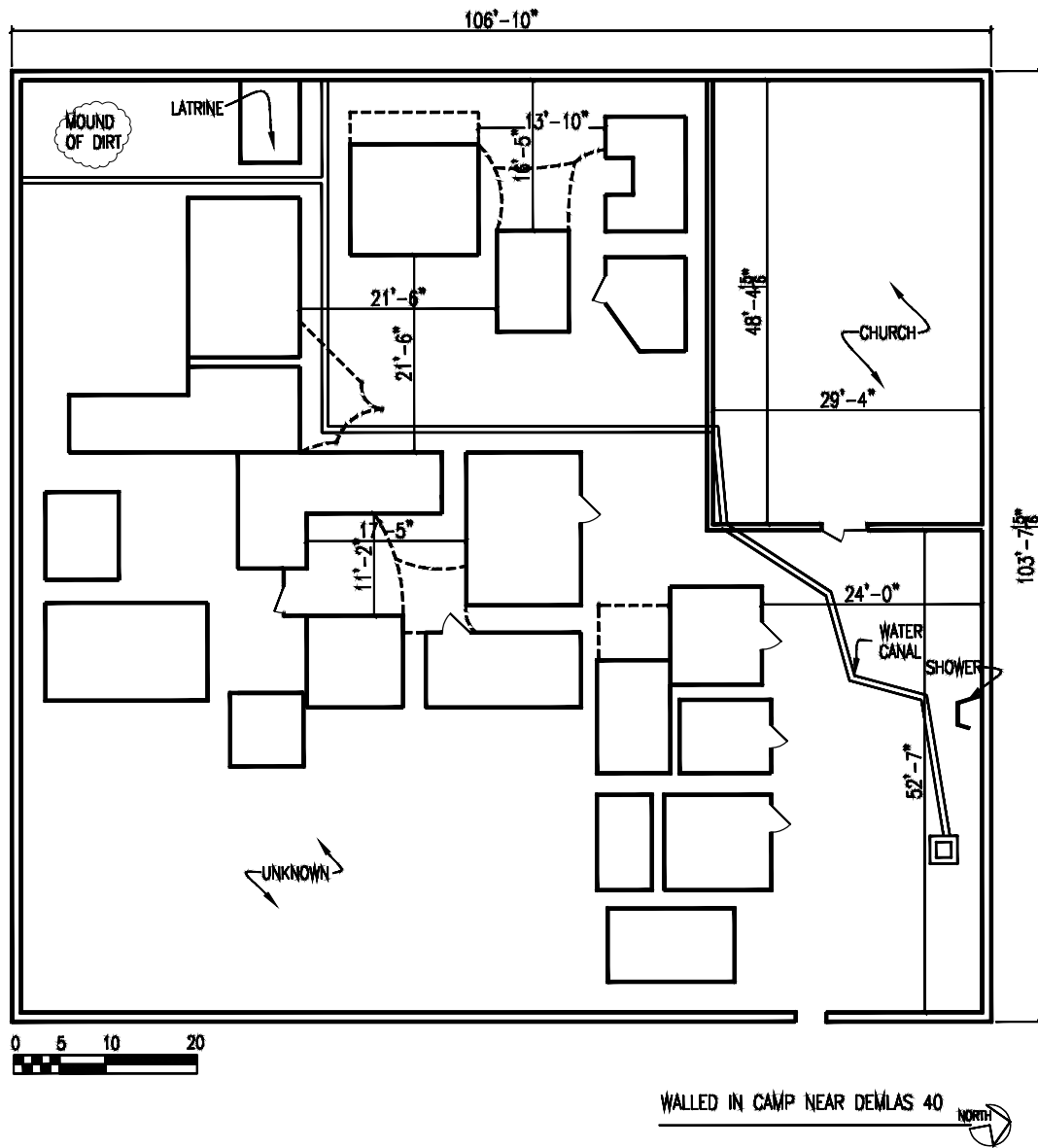


Figure C.27. Measured drawing of the Walled Settlement.

In the words of Rodney, a young Haitian friend, “you have to stay fresh (good looking).” I remember back from my trip to Souvenance, how beautiful the women and children looked, coming out of their little mud huts for the ceremony, very dignified in the amazingly white whites and brightly colored dresses.

Not many people are in the camp, a few children peak their heads out of the corners, occasionally one runs through an empty space. A group of young men are watching television in their tent, it sounds like a soccer match. As I head out of the door to the camp, Save the Children is handing out buckets of supplies to the people in the area. The camp leader goes down to ensure his camp will be fully supplied.

C.1.4.3. *Lakou* observations 18 April 2012

Once again laundry is hanging from clotheslines throughout the camp. Not a lot of activity is going on. I come across a few school children eating lunch with their families, one girl is reading a book and finishing a school assignment. A few women sit on the doorsteps or under the shade of their porch preparing food, others work on washing dishes. My friend Rodney decides to go across the street to get us a Coca Cola and Sprite; we take a break inside of the church's shade. Inside the church, a group of women are relaxing and two are working on crafts, most likely to sell on the street or at the market.

C.2. Leogane Observations

C.2.1. Sugar Canaan, Rue National, Leogane

Named by its inhabitants, Sugar Canaan is the post-disaster settlement located outside of Leogane's city center, along Rue National. Refer to Figure C.28 for location. Originally, this settlement was located along a nearby river directly after the earthquake, but due to flooding during the rainy season, the inhabitants were forced to move to the current location. The settlement is on nearly two acres of government owned land. A Korean NGO, The Community Chest of Korea, is purchasing the surrounding land in order to set up a transitional settlement for displaced persons. This project is in conjunction with the mission of the International Organization of Migration (IOM). There

are approximately one hundred families living in the settlement. The estimated population is around five hundred with a population density of roughly 250 persons per acre.

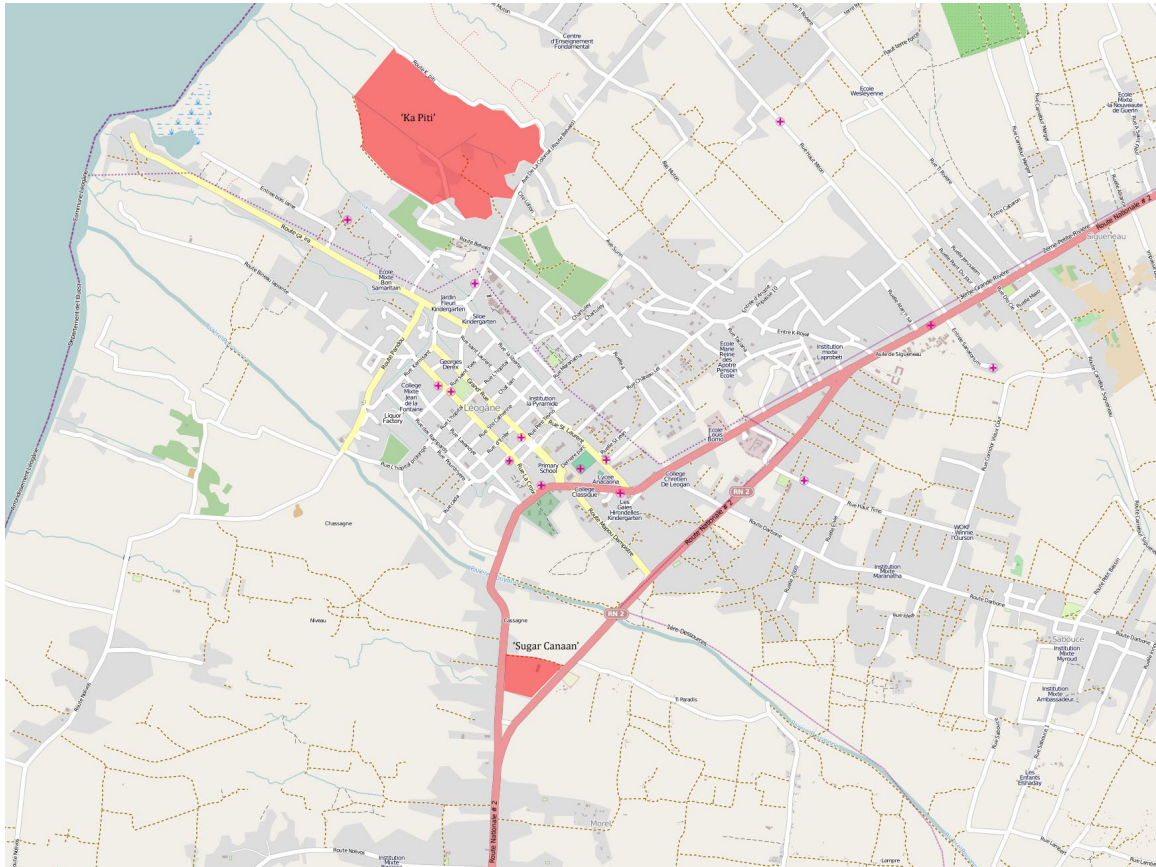


Figure C.28. ©OpenStreetMap. Open Source Map of Leogane, designating the two settlements under study. The highlighted area to the north (top) is Ka Piti and the highlighted area to the south (bottom) is Sugar Canaan.

Observations from Figure C.34:

The area under observation is near the main entrance to the camp, see the indication of the road neat the school. Three vendors lie in close proximity to the entrance; all three are operated by a woman. One vendor, along the fence dividing the camp and the adjacent field, primarily sells food and beverages (the one with the ice box), and the other vendor sells, also along the fence, supplies and household items. The

vendor with beverages was selling one to a man, while the other was sitting besides her goods. The third vendor is across the path from the two along the fence; this vendor sells food items from the porch of their house. Two women were talking with each other at this place and with a man sitting beside the next-door house. The two vendors along the fence are similarly constructed, using four main posts with a tarp draped across beams; the tables are makeshift from wood scraps and branches as are the chairs.

The vendor connected to the house is sitting in the front porch of the house, which is constructed of tarps and a stick frame. Under the shade of his porch another man is sitting and relaxing at his house. This house is constructed of tarps and stick frame and additionally has plywood sheets boarding up the front porch, there are children playing out front. A group of girls walks through the space with buckets of water, coming from the well. There is a solar powered light fixture in this space as well that no-longer functions and has clothesline tied to it.

Observations from Figure C.35:

A family is preparing dinner under the shade of a sheet stung across two houses. While the family prepares food, two children play under the shade of the sheet. The houses in this area are constructed of tarp and stick frames, most with gable roofs. The house adjacent the space has a large garden containing corn and banana trees; a low-lying tarp fence contains this space.

Observations of the same space on 11 May 2012 at 9:30am

One woman is seems to be getting her three children ready for the day. Two women are washing clothes while one woman bathes herself. A couple young men are sitting under the shade of the sheet. There is laundry draped along the roofs of the houses.

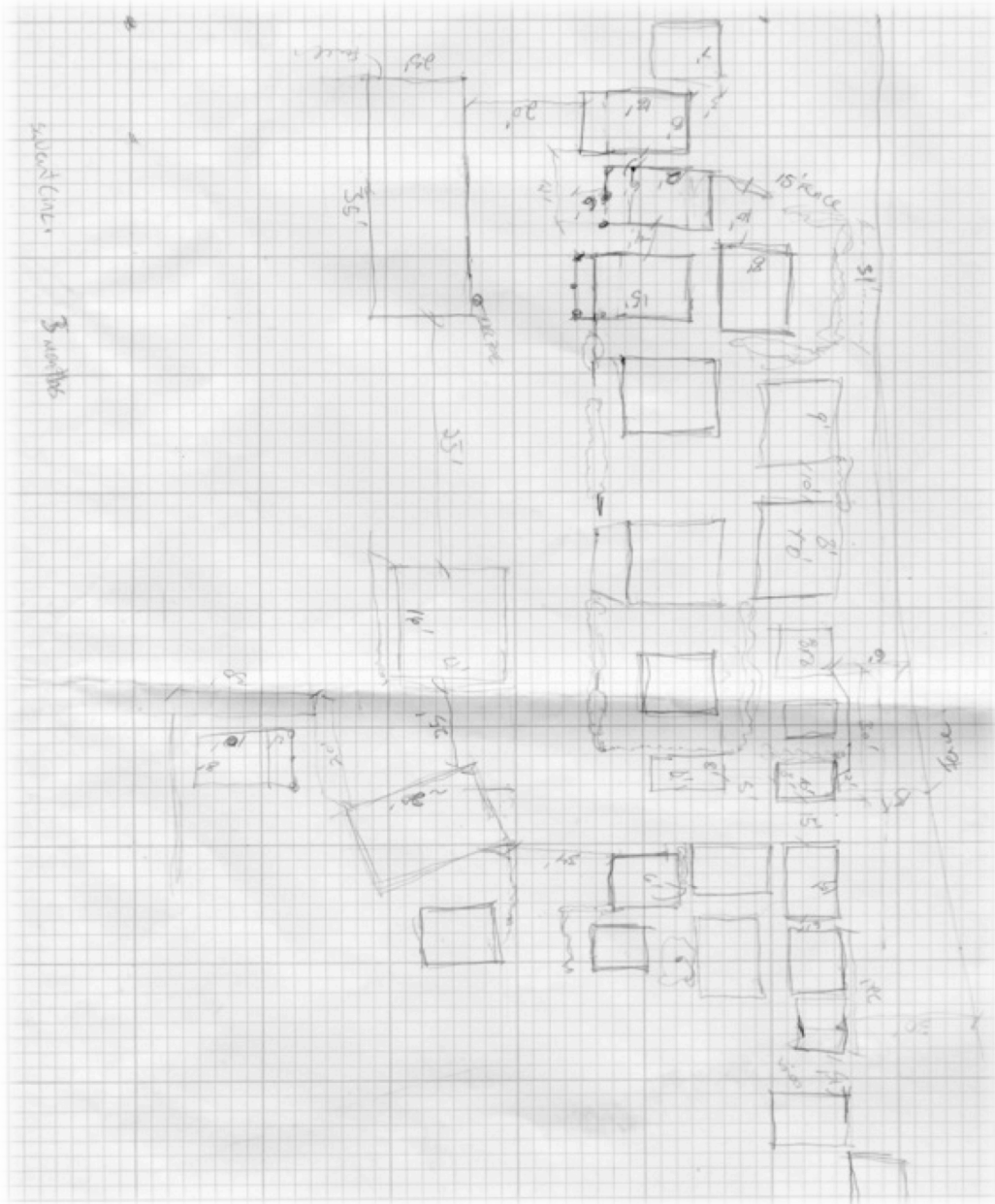


Figure C.29. Sketch of Sugar Canaan site.

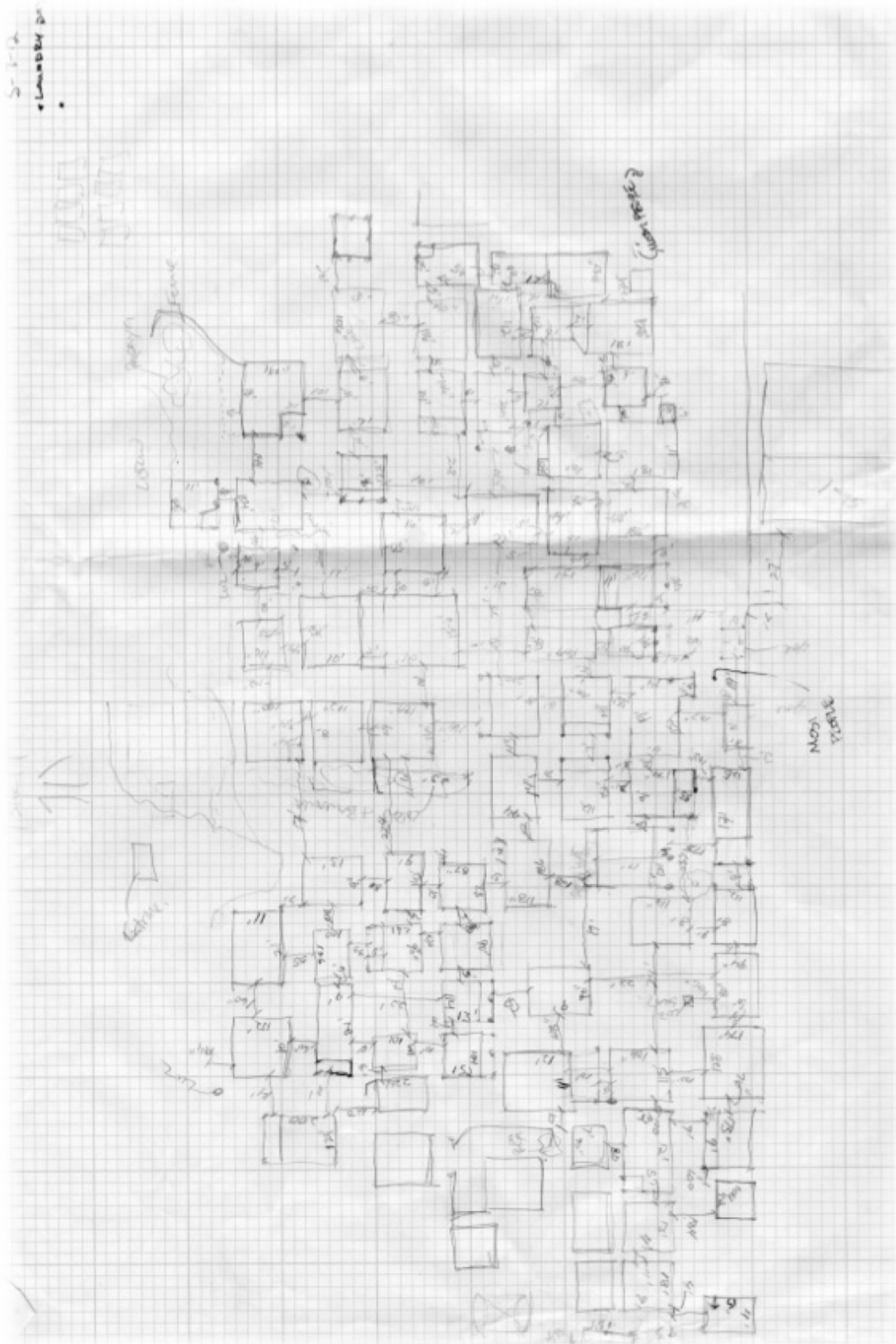


Figure C.30. Sketch of Sugar Canaan site.

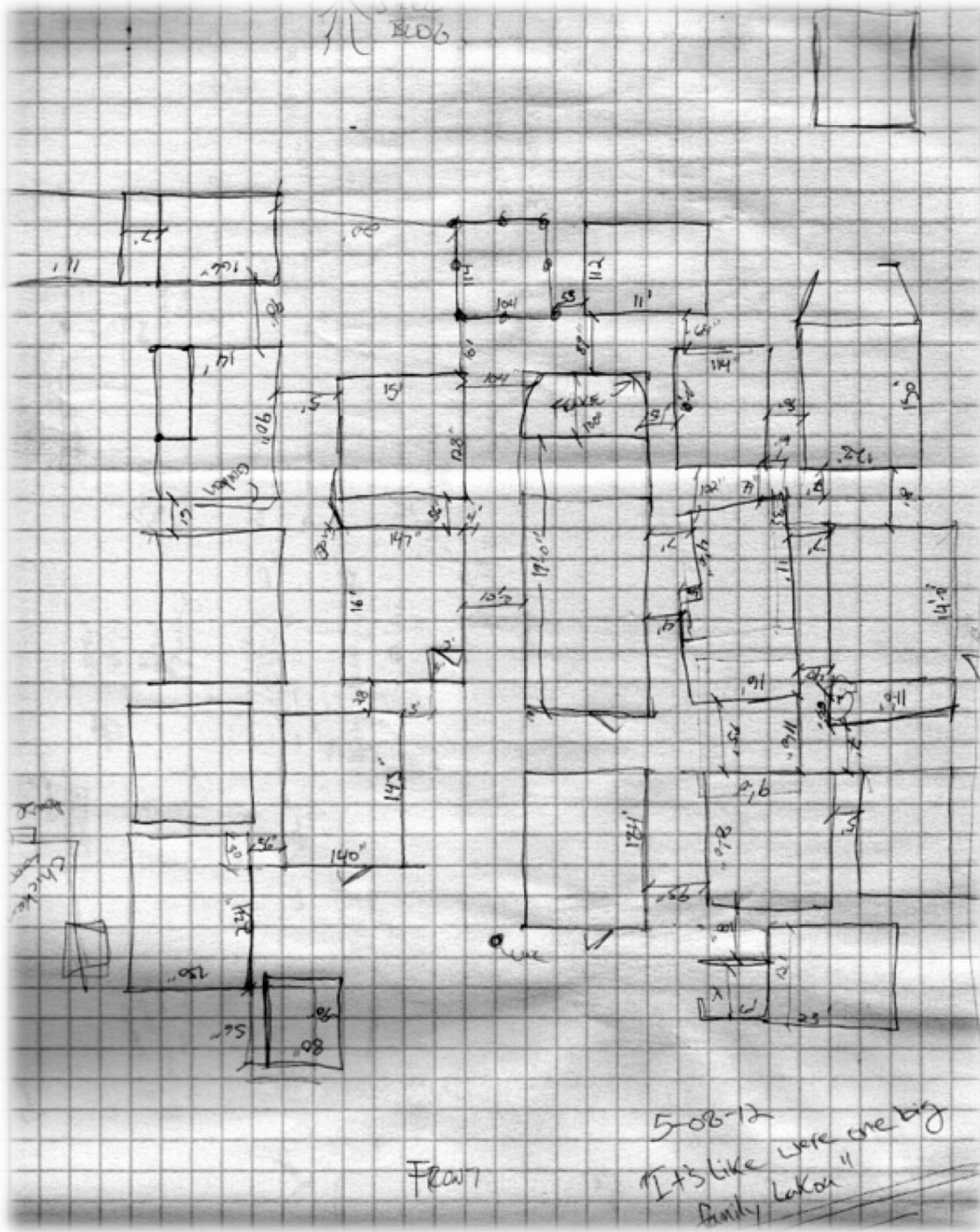


Figure C.31. Partial site plan sketch of Sugar Canaan. 5/08/2012

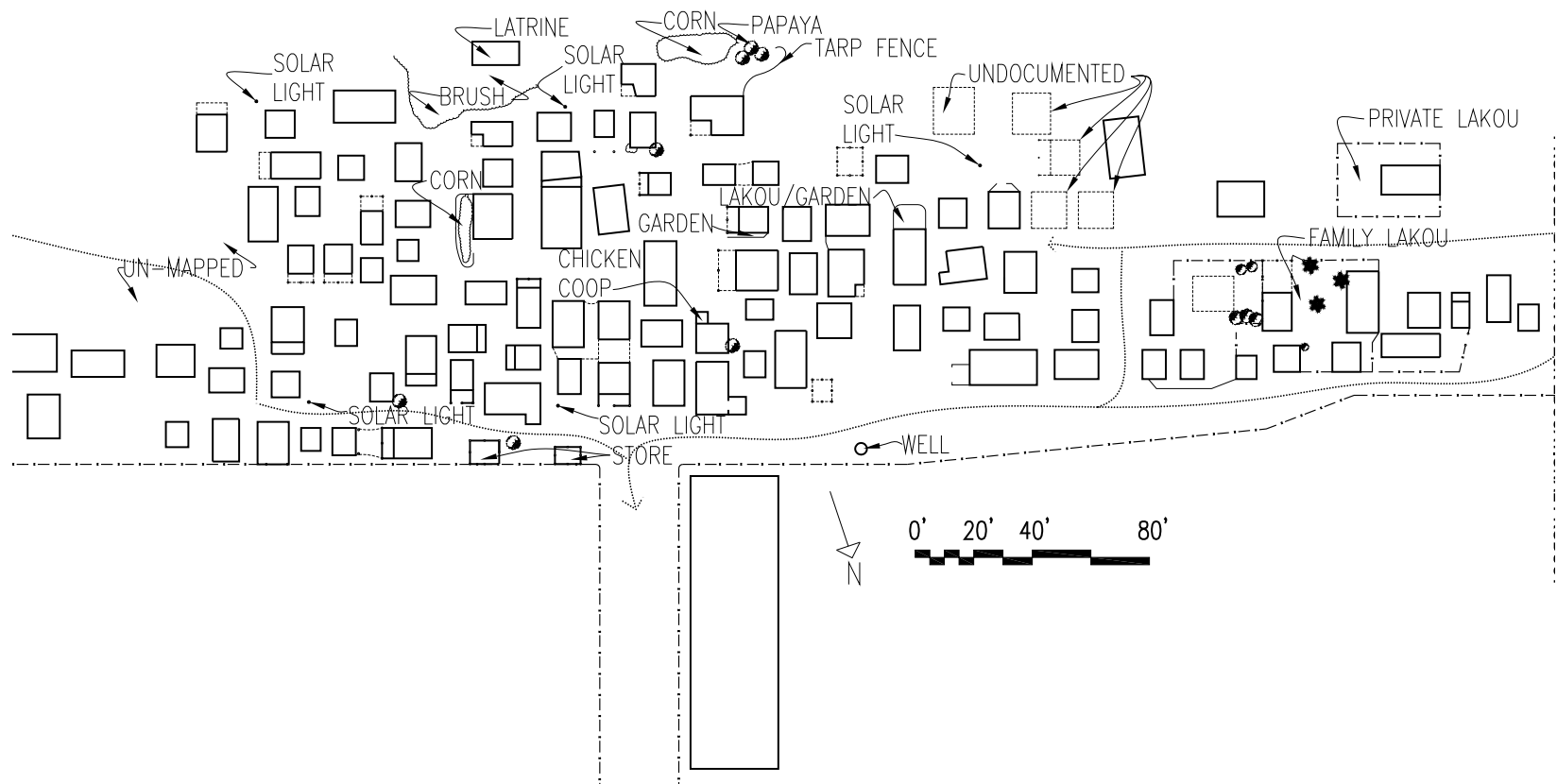


Figure C.32. Detailed measured site plan of Sugar Canaan .

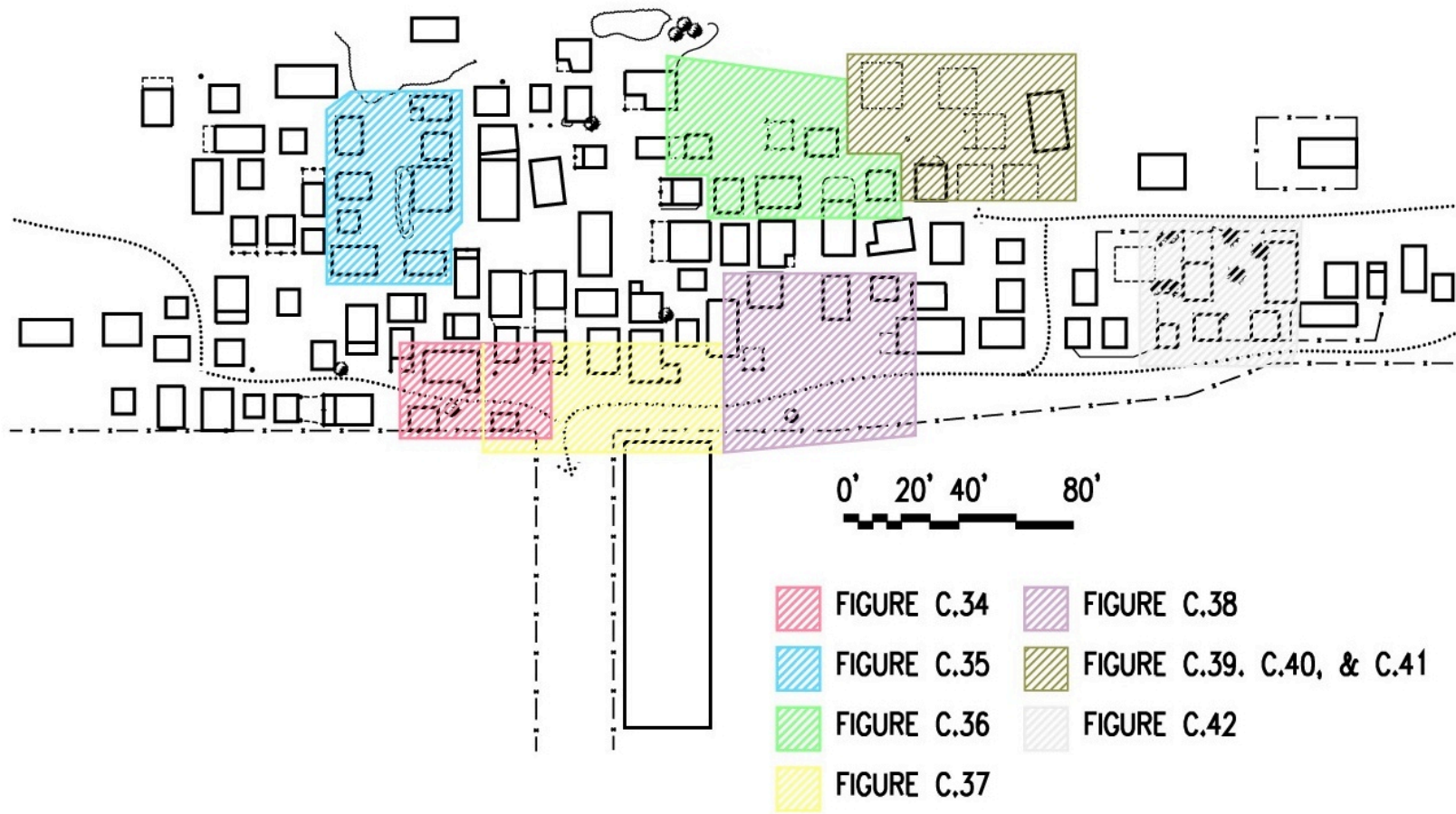


Figure C.33. Site plan of Sugar Canaan with legend key highlighting areas under observation.

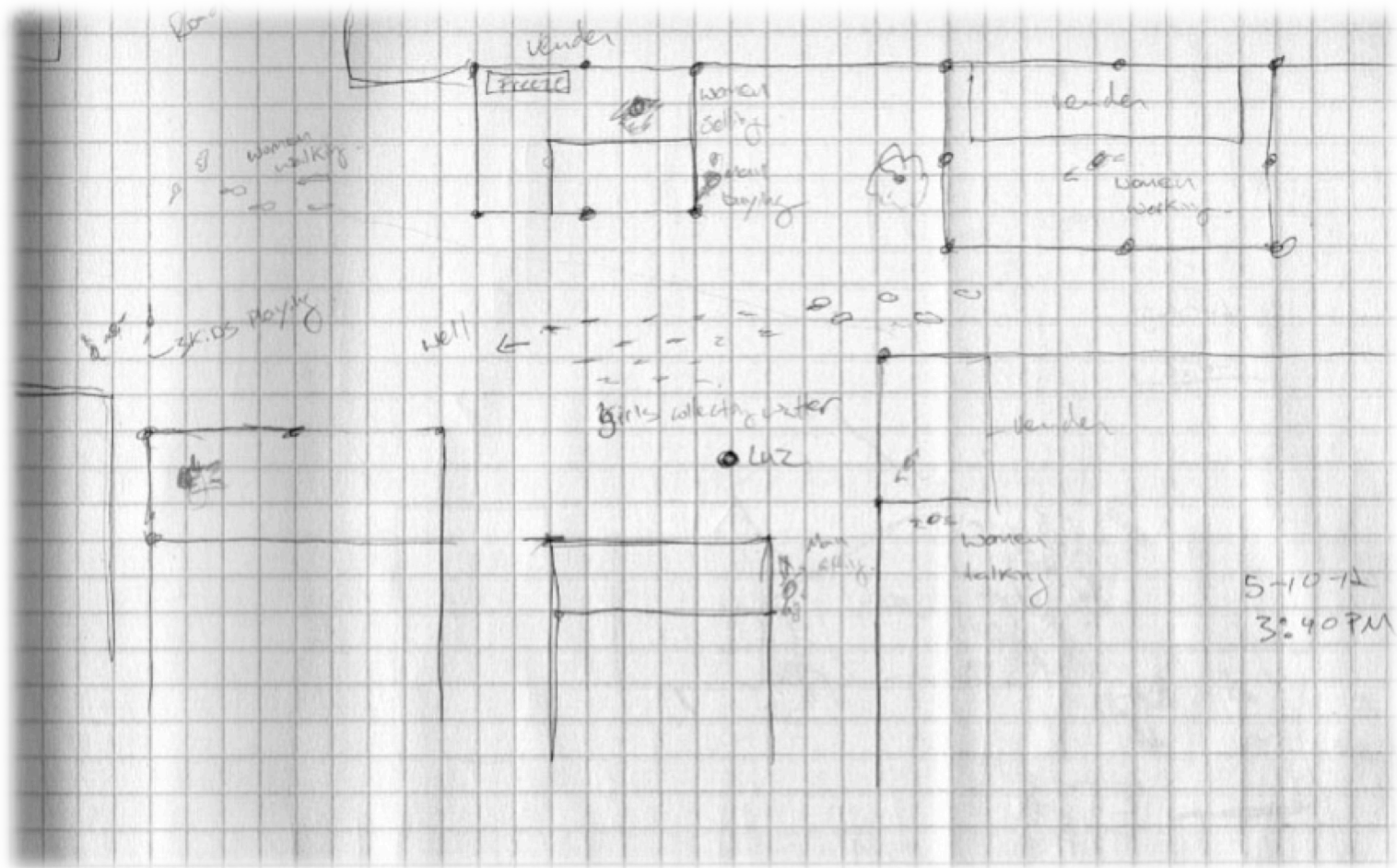


Figure C.34. Observations from Sugar Canaan, 10 May 2012 at 3:40 PM.

Observations from Figure C.36:

As I observe, a little girl keeps yelling, “Hey You,” in typical fashion. At the far end, three women are talking while preparing dinner. The house they are sitting in front of has a low-lying wall, which is made of corrugated metal and plywood, coming out from the wall, as if to create a space for the porch or divide it from the nearby house. The house adjacent has a garden, which is enclosed by a high, tarp fence. This could even be considered the *lakou* of that specific house. A papaya tree is growing in it along with some other bushes and some corn. A woman comes up to talk to another woman standing beside the tarp fence. There is a small covered structure without walls enclosing it, which acts as a gathering place and shaded area to escape the heat of the tarp houses. A boy is sitting under it with a little baby, and a woman sits adjacent to it with her baby, sitting on blanket along the back wall of her house. There are several houses around which have corn growing along with other fruitful plants.

Observations from Figure C.37:

The heat of the day has not quite come out, although it is already in the 80’s (F). The area under observation is by the entrance near the school. There is a woman frying fish outside of her front door and talking with a couple of other woman. She fries the fish over a charcoal fire. It is not clear whether or not she is selling some of the fish to the women, or just giving the food away. The vendors are at their posts. The far vender, selling household goods, has a few customers, a couple of women, who she is talking with. A few people walk through the space. Overall, not a lot of activity.

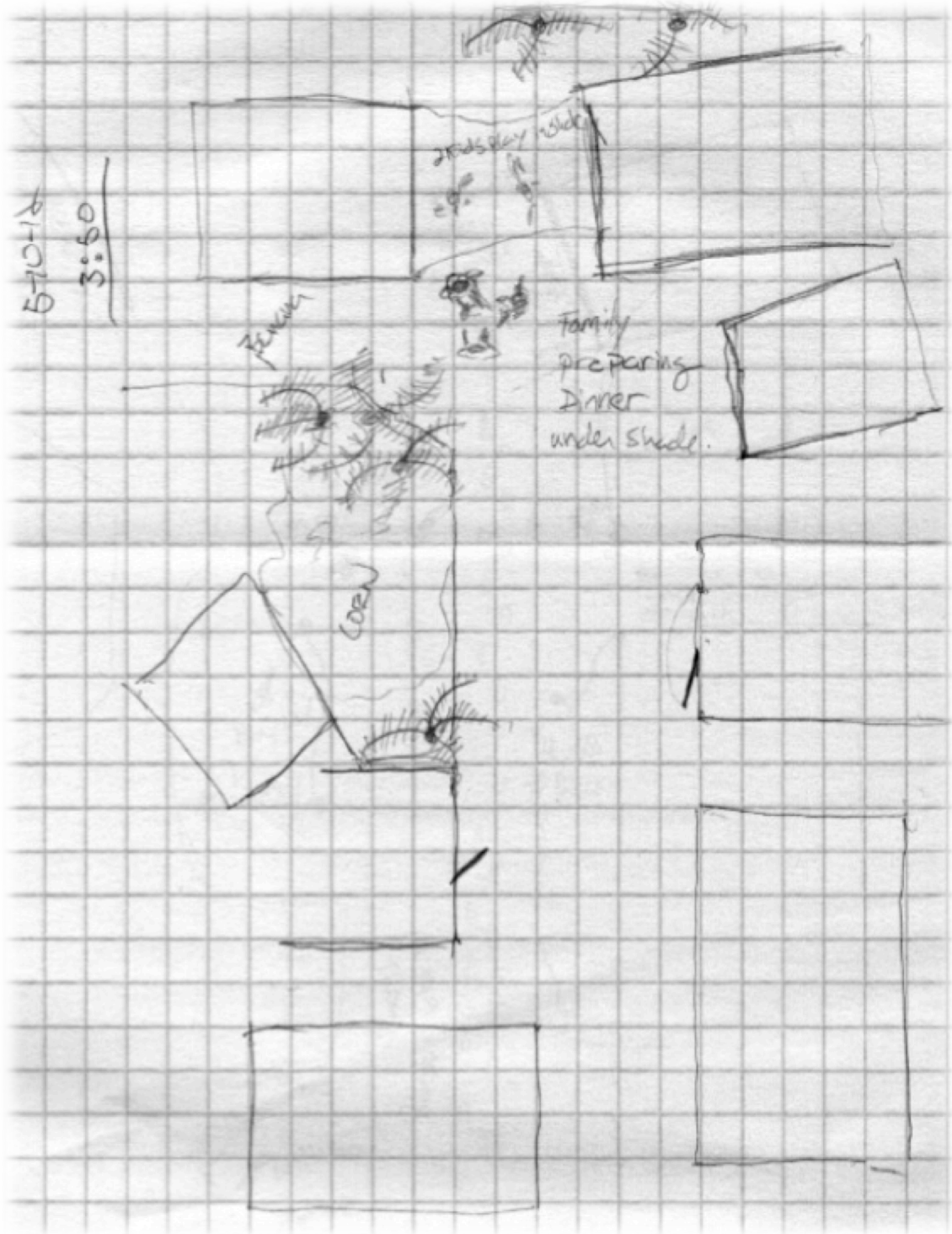


Figure C.35. Observations from Sugar Canaan, 10 May 2012 at 3:50 PM

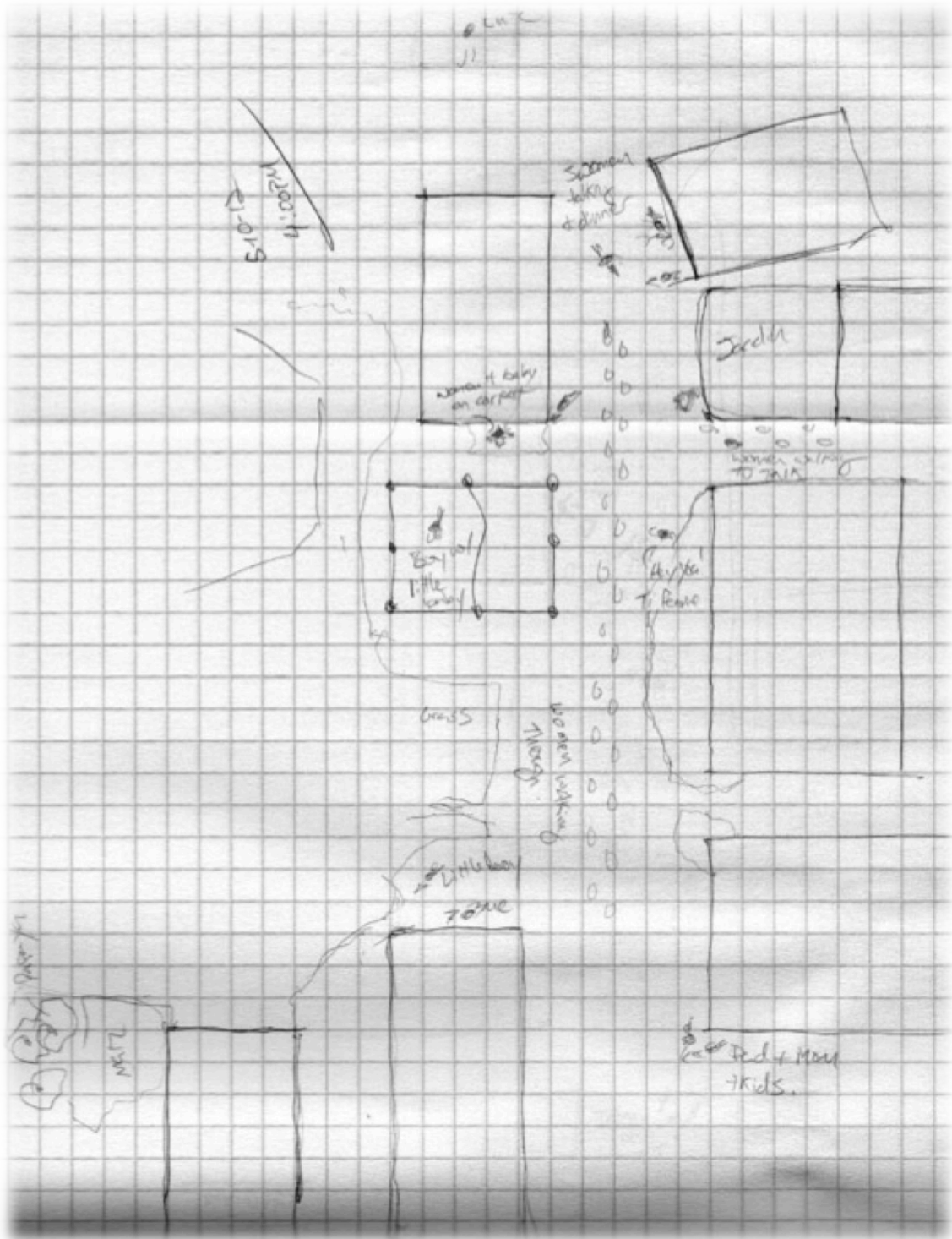


Figure C.36. Observations from Sugar Canaan, 10 May 2012 at 4:00 PM.

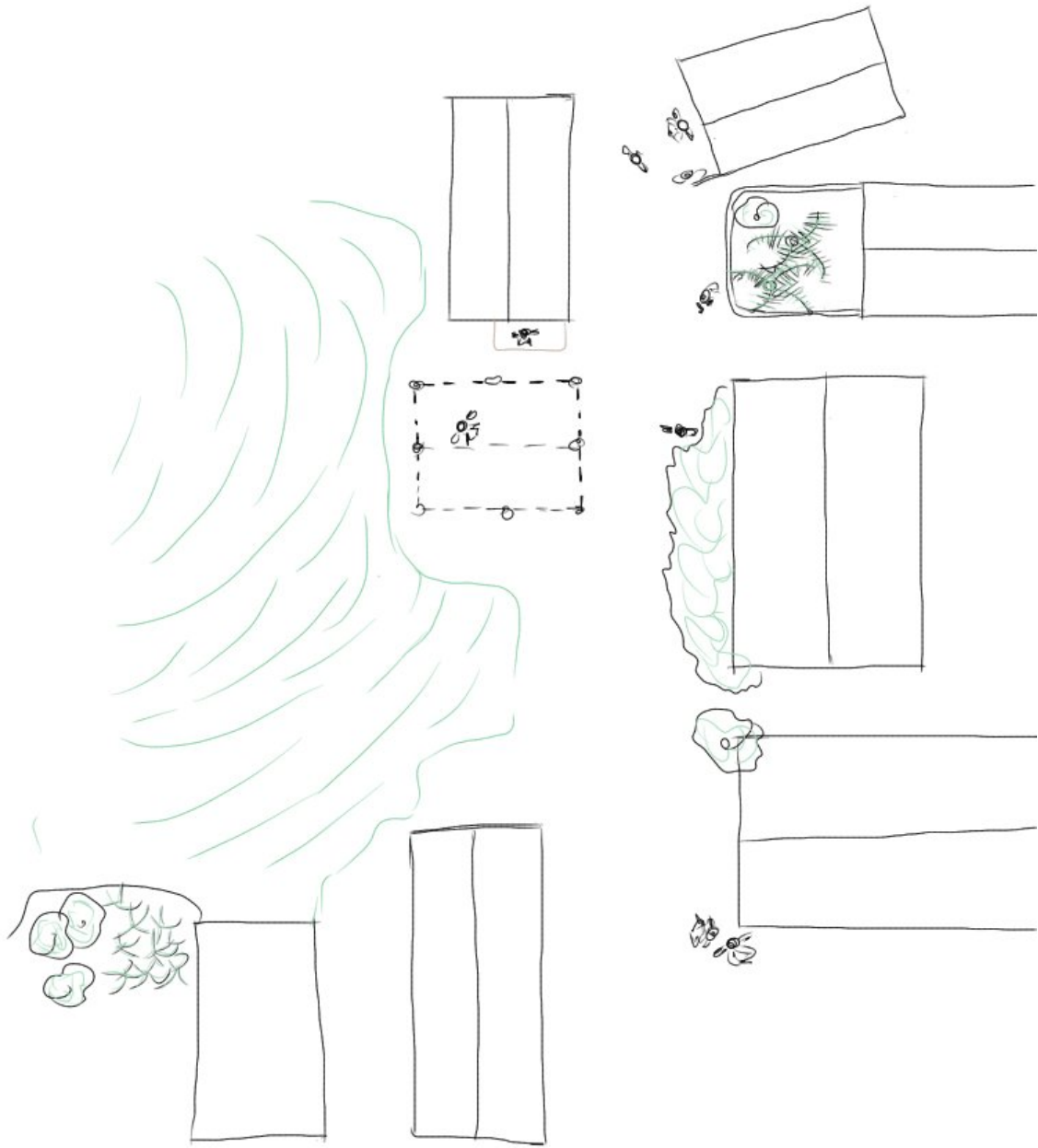


Figure C.36.1. Sketch of a social hub in Sugar Canaan. The *tonnell* is the central object with dashed lines.

Observations from Figure C.38:

This area is down the ways, along the fence by the school, and next to the camp well. There are a few buckets scattered around the well to draw water from it. A child is collecting water for his family. Under the shade of a small structure, two women are cleaning and one has a small child with her. This structure is constructed out of sticks and a tarp over the top, two plastic patio chairs are under it. Behind these two women, another person is washing outside their house, using a large, broad bowl. A few kids are playing soccer in the space, under the eyes of their mothers.

Observations from Figure C.39:

Walking around the camp to this area, I pass by a woman selling candies, crackers, and cookies. She is selling along the path that runs through the camp, under the shade of sugar cane and a few small trees. The vegetation at this point along the camp seems to divide one part from the other; it almost looks like a gate to ones property. Near by her, another woman is washing laundry in a large plastic tub outside of her house. There are buckets scattered about the space and two large plastic tubs. Her child is playing close to her.

The figure shows another area in the camp where surrounding houses form a small *lakou*. I only notice one woman, sitting in the shade created by a tarp strung between two tent houses. Not much other activity is happening.

Observations from figure C.39:

The area of observation is toward the south of the camp. Three women are washing clothes with five children sitting and standing nearby. A woman walks through between the tent houses. Along another tent-house a boy is sitting in the shade; across the

path in a small, semi-enclosed courtyard around a solar powered light one woman is washing clothes while children are playing next to here and another woman is bathing her baby.

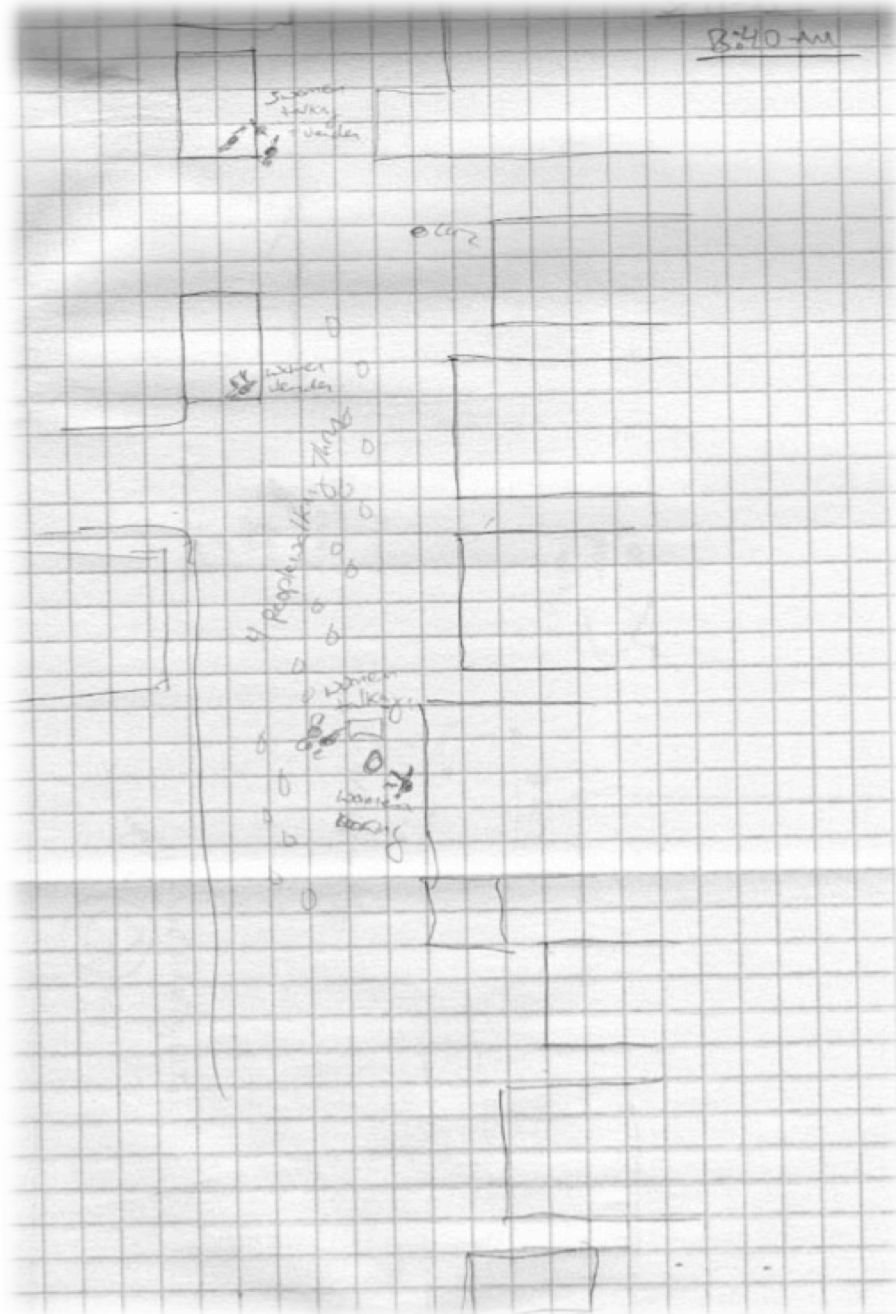


Figure C.37. Observations from Sugar Canaan, 12 May 2012 at 8:40 AM.

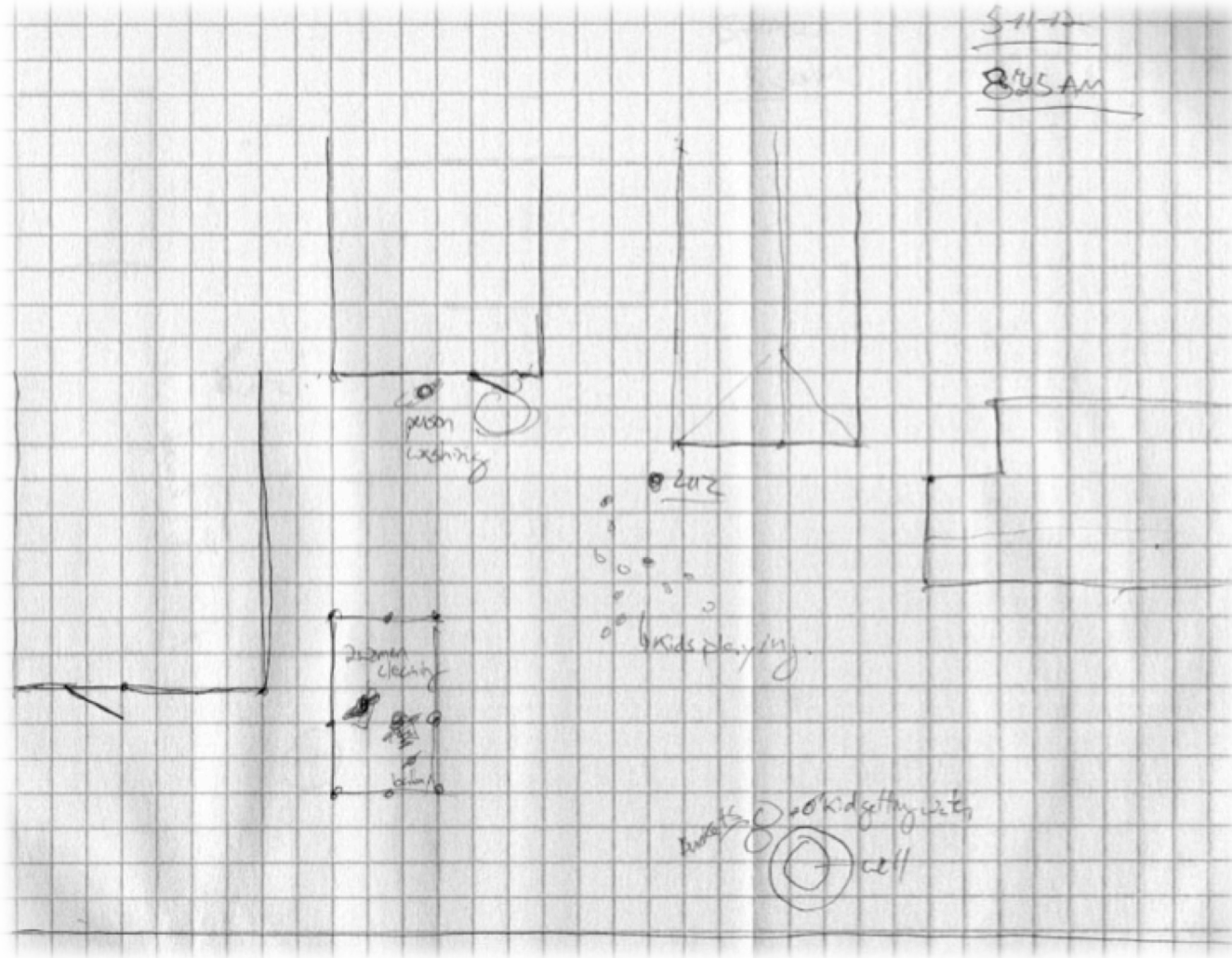


Figure C.38. Observations from Sugar Canaan, 11 May 2012 at 8:45 AM.

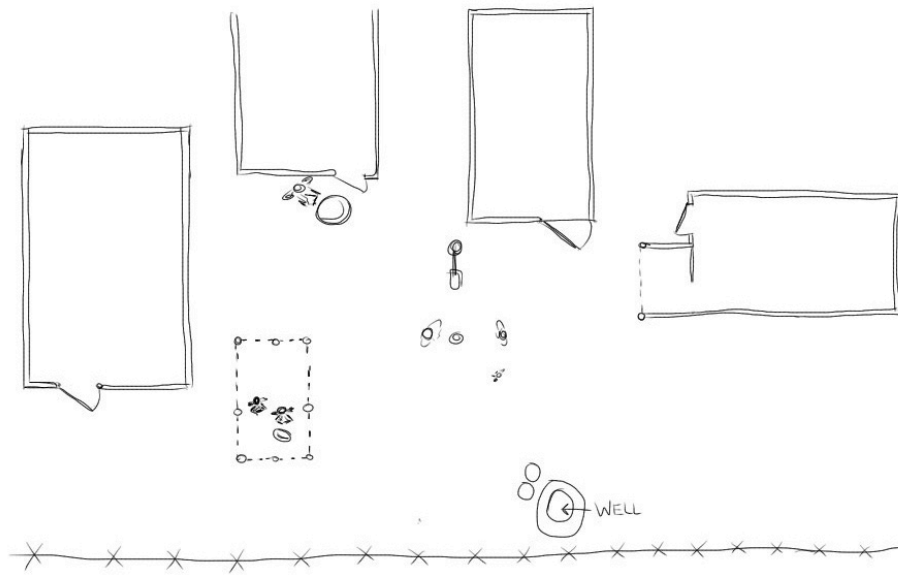


Figure C.38.1 Drawing of a social hub in Sugar Canaan. The *tonnell* is the object designated by dashed lines.

Within this same little nook of the courtyard, a woman is sitting under the shade of her porch, constructed of a tarp strung across the front of her canvas tent-house attached to three posts stuck in the ground about four feet to the front. Also there are a few chickens plucking around in the dirt, slowly traversing the camp. There are several livestock animals in the area too, not in this specific area of observation, but in close proximity. A bull is in a near by fill, attached to a rock by a rope, and several goats are grazing all around with small branches attached to their necks to prevent them from straying too far.

Observations from Figure C.41:

The sketch is a scene coinciding with the plan sketch in Figure C.41. This presents a perspective view of the courtyard like space with the most activity in it. Depicted are the women washing and the children sitting around as well as the woman walking through the space. It also shows how the light post which was installed by Electricians Without Borders is central to the space. I've also drawn attention to the

clothes lines that crisscross between the tents with have the freshly washed clothes hanging to dry.

Figure C.42

Figure C.42 is a measured drawing of a family *lakou* that is within the greater camp. This is depicting a cluster *lakou* within the idea of a whole camp *lakou*.

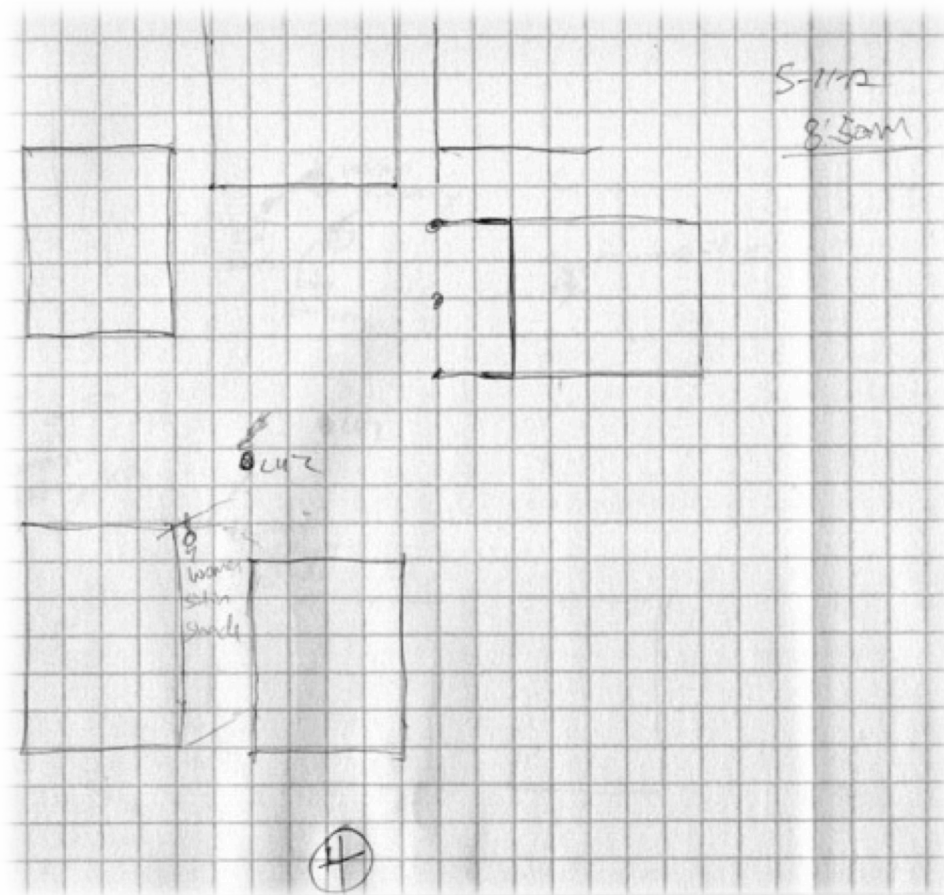


Figure C.39. Observations from Sugar Canaan on 11 May 2012 at 8:50AM.

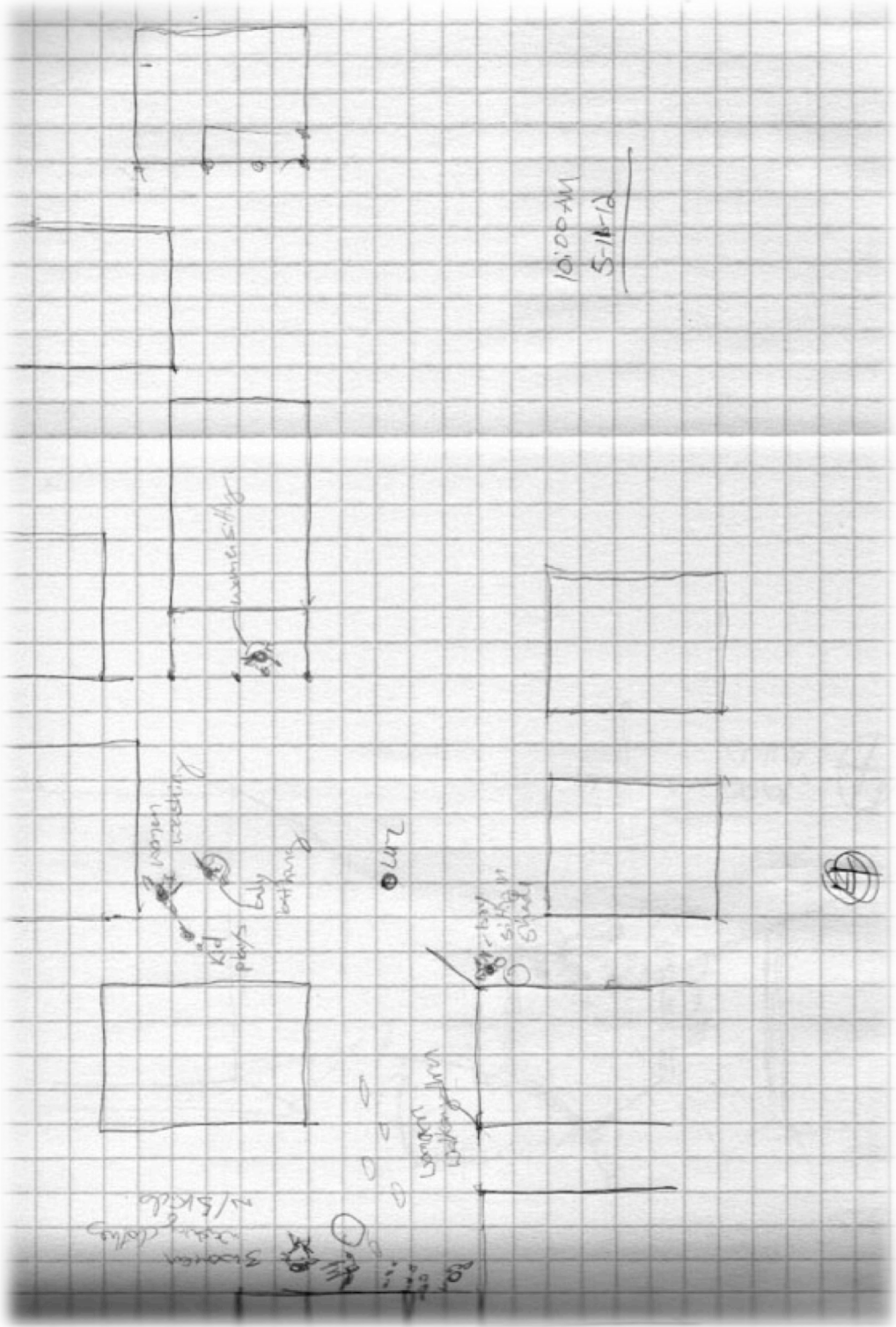


Figure C.40. Observations from Sugar Canaan on 11 May 2012 at 10:00 AM.

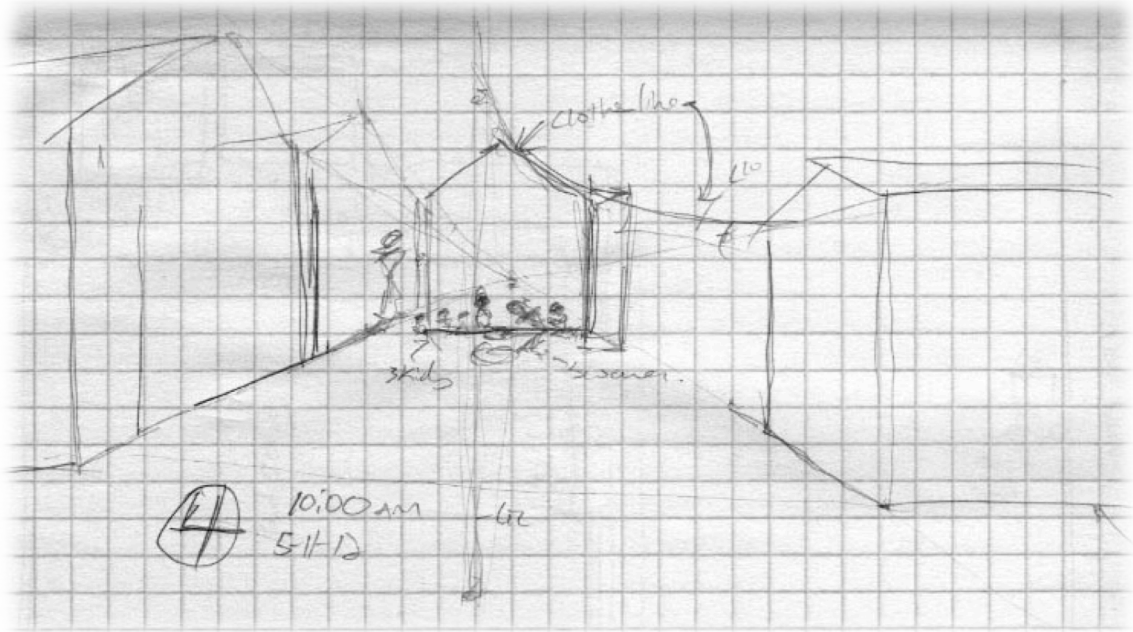


Figure C.41. Observations from Sugar Canaan on 11 May 2012 at 10:00 AM

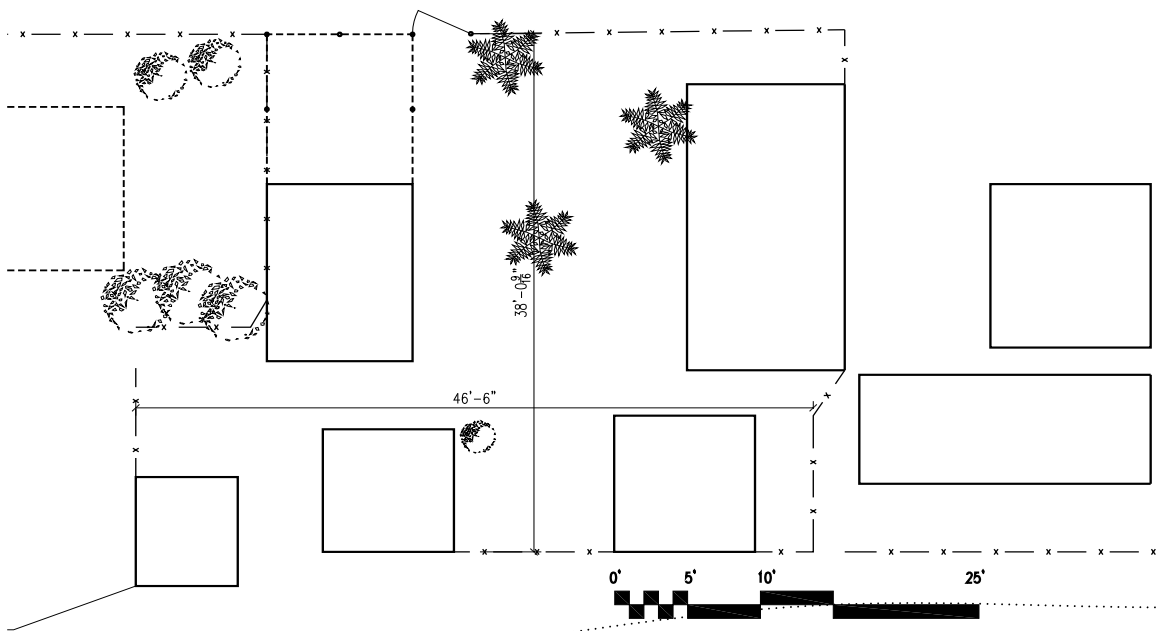


Figure C.42. Measured drawing of an extended family *lakou* in Sugar Canaan.

C.2.2. Ka Piti, Rue Belvald, Leogane, Haiti

Notes from the field:

17 May 2012 at 9:45am

- Figure C.53. This is the *Lakou* with the cactus fence and a ‘Red Cross’ house and an adobe and corrugated sheet metal house. [The cactus fence though seemingly large, approximately three feet in height, has only been here since after the earthquake.]
- There are clothes drying along the fence.
- The *lakou* next door to this one has two brothers and a sister sitting outside under the shade. There are seven people that live here under the roofs of three separate houses (three families). One house is a preliminary house, a house constructed with a wood frame and a tarp that is intended to be temporary or at the most transitional. Another house is made of concrete block with a makeshift roof of tarps; this house was originally in this area before the earthquake but was severely damaged in the quake, and it has only been recently that an inhabitant moved back inside. The last house is a Red Cross distributed temporary shelter. This house is constructed of a typical stick frame with plywood sheathing, a corrugated metal roof, and a concrete block foundation. These houses are typically built in-situ out of precut pieces to accelerate the construction process.
- This family *lakou* originally consisted of the one concrete blockhouse but has since gained a few more family members since the earthquake. It is important to note the fact that the Red Cross provided house is a provisional or temporary structure, hence the T in T-Shelter.

- [Each person/family received a shelter card from the Red Cross but could only receive one shelter per plot of earth]
- Regardless of being separated by space, they will still maintain social aspect.
 - Brother visiting from Ti Goave
 - Neighbor friend visiting

17 May 2012 around 10:30am:

- Figure C. 54. The house behind the last (on the other corner) – husband and wife with four children
 - Other concrete block house
 - 5-6 years
- Husband, wife, children, and friend
- 1st house = self-built (right after the earthquake)
- 2nd house = Red Cross T-shelter, which they are living in
- 3rd house = Red Cross T-Shelter, not painted, which a friend lives in.
- Nothing is going on in the *lakou*, yesterday the children were playing marbles in the afternoon.
- [Marking off property and putting up a fence or some form of border is very important!]
- 7 people live in the *lakou*, two houses are occupied and one is vacant.

- 2 new people came into the *lakou* after the earthquake (most people living in this area are not from Leogane).
- Inhabitants are happy to have their own *lakou*.

17 May 2012 at 11:30am

- Figure C.55. This *lakou* has a tonnell and a bathroom facility under construction. A tonnell is a small outdoor covered space to create shade from the sun and protection from the rain. It is a common piece of the traditional *lakou* in Haiti.
- A woman, mother, and two children occupy the *lakou*, and a nephew of the middle-aged woman occasionally stays there.
- The nephew constructed the wood constructed house, which is in the style of a Red Cross T-shelter, but was self-built. The nephew is now in Port-au-Prince but when he returns to Leogane, he stays here.
- The grandma is washing clothes under the cover of the *tonnell*. The kids are inside studying and the daughter is hanging clothes up to dry. The middle-aged woman who is the mother is selling ice on her front porch. Another girl is also doing laundry under the *tonnell*.

17 May 2012 around 2:00pm:

- Figure C.56. A man and wife have a *lakou* with a Red Cross T-Shelter, a ‘Prela’ shelter, and a stone foundation of a four-room house. The man has plans to rebuild the stone house. The husband and wife have two children and a cousin living with them. The cousin had bought a Red Cross shelter and the foundation

for another was put into the ground before construction was halted due to illegal acquisition.

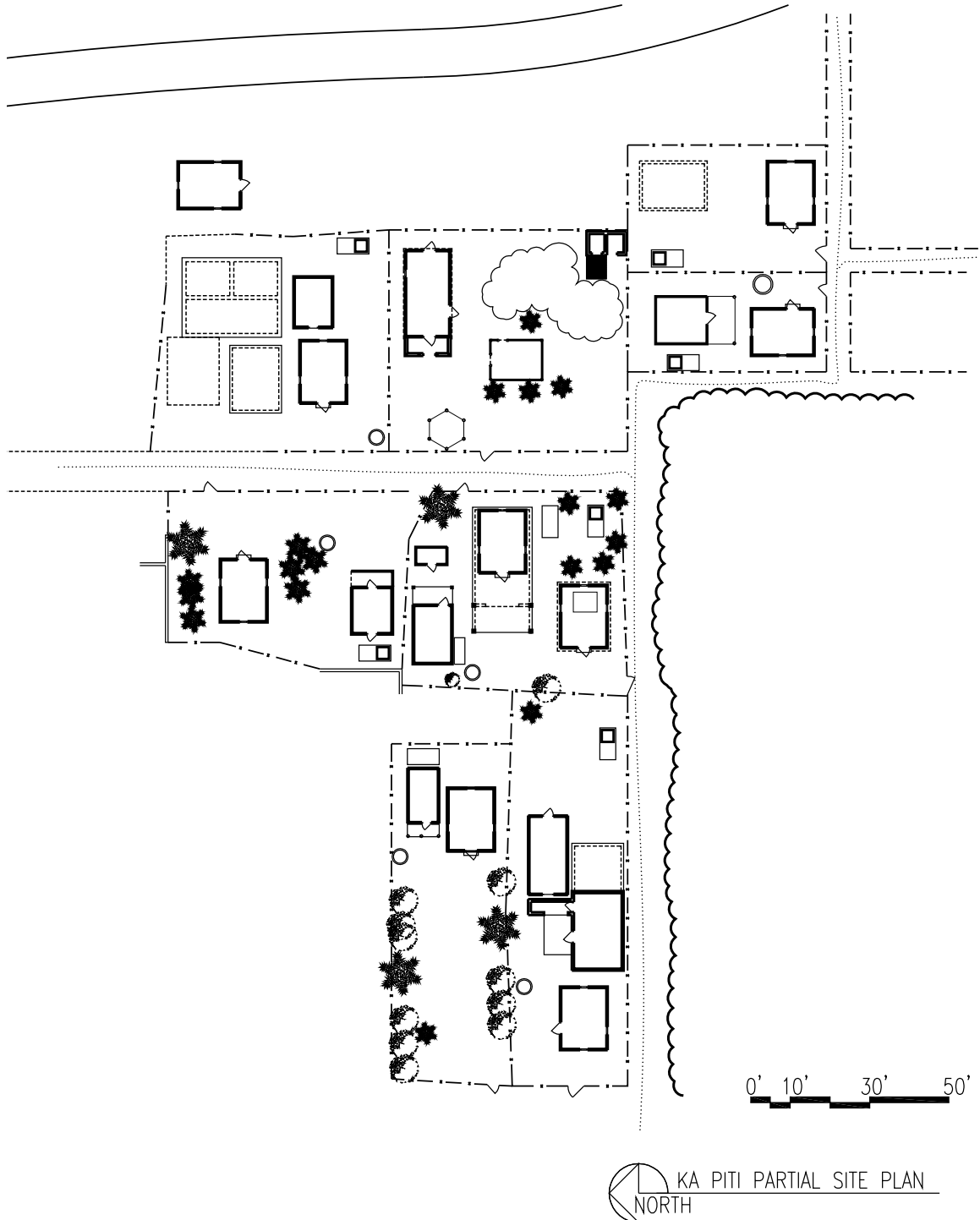


Figure C.43. Site plan of the *lakous* under observation in Ka Piti.

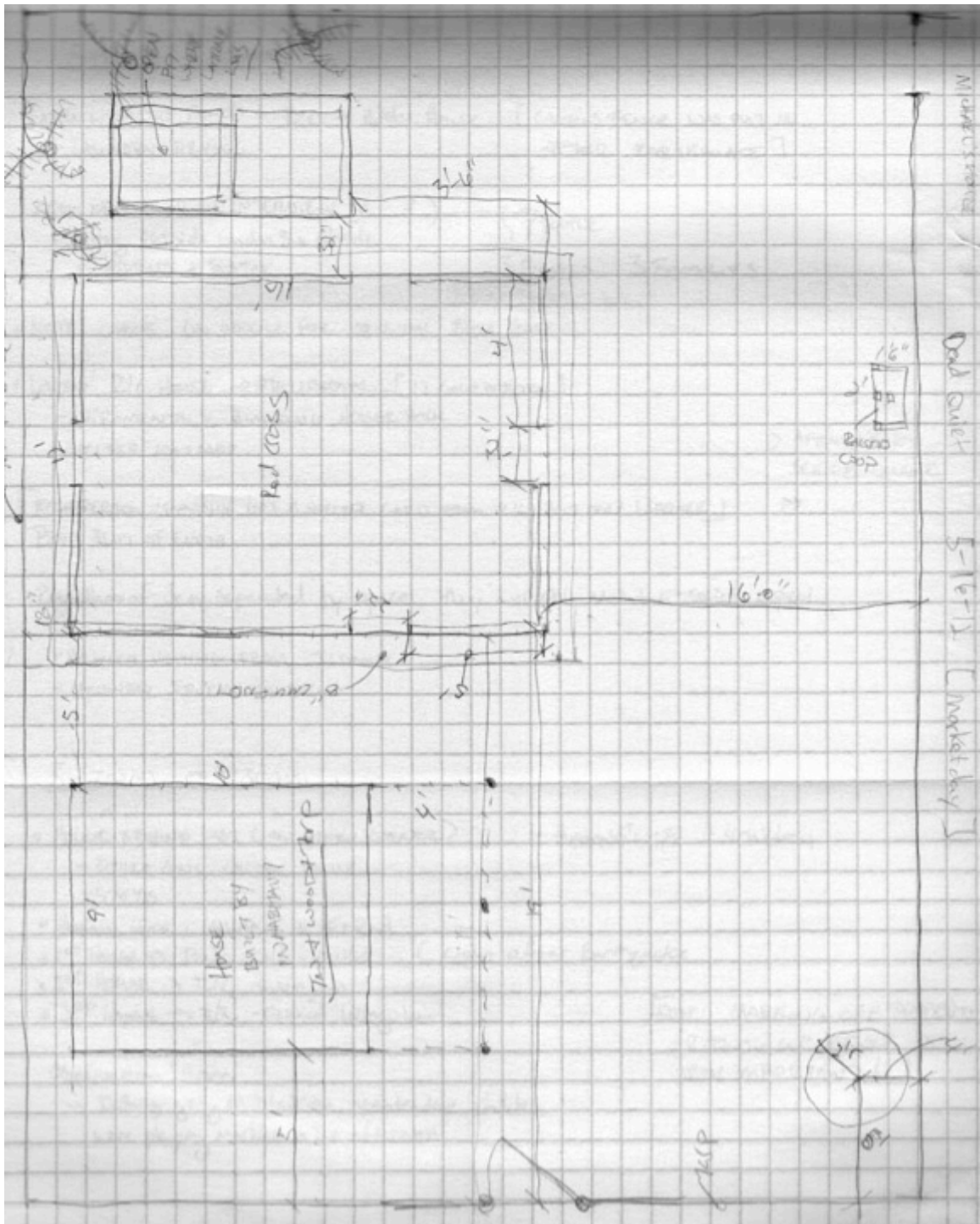


Figure C.44. Sketch of a hairdresser's *lakou* in Ka Piti completed on 16 may 2012.

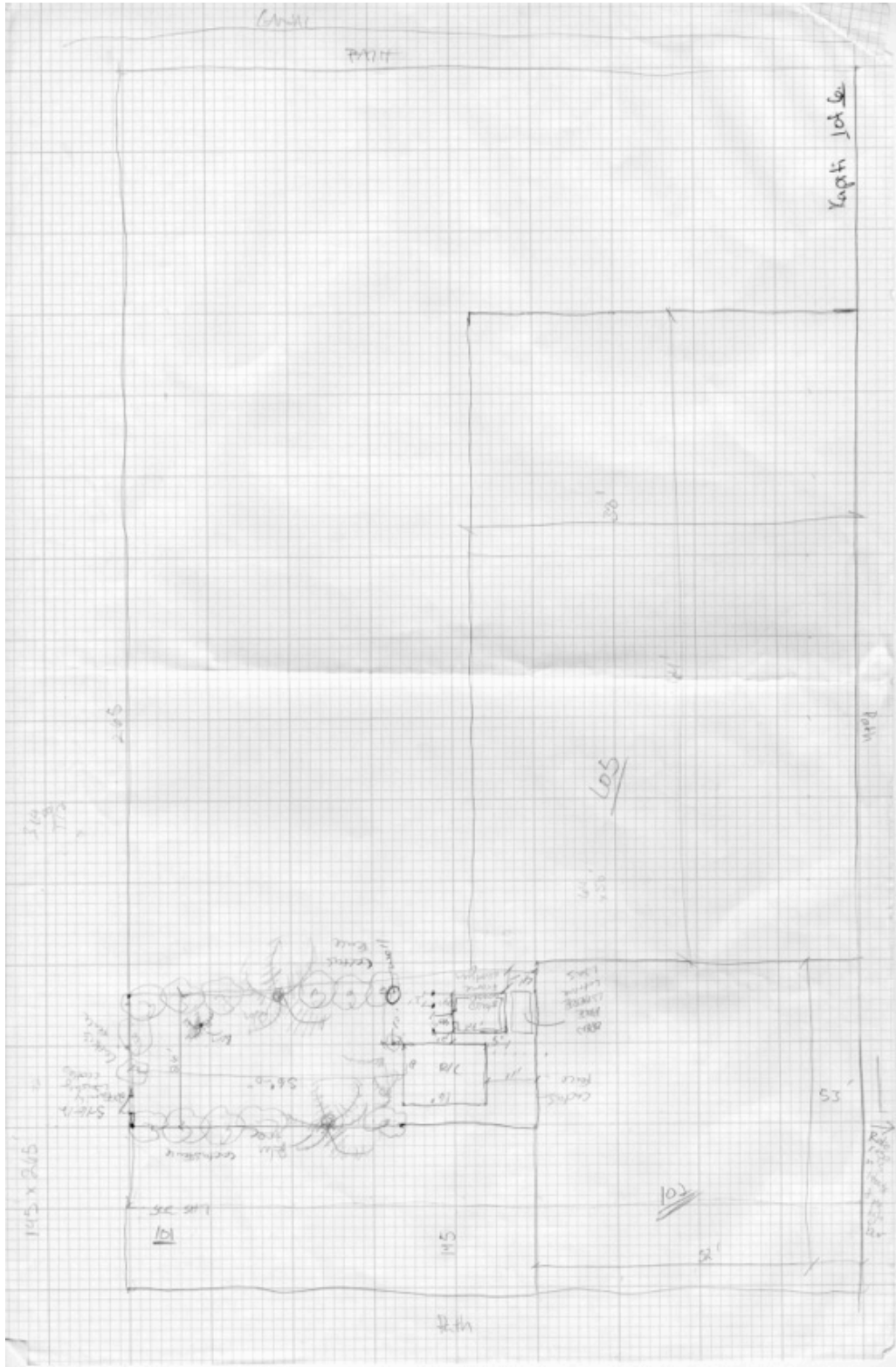


Figure C.45. Sketch of a *lakou* containing unrelated families in Ka Piti completed on 16 May 2012.

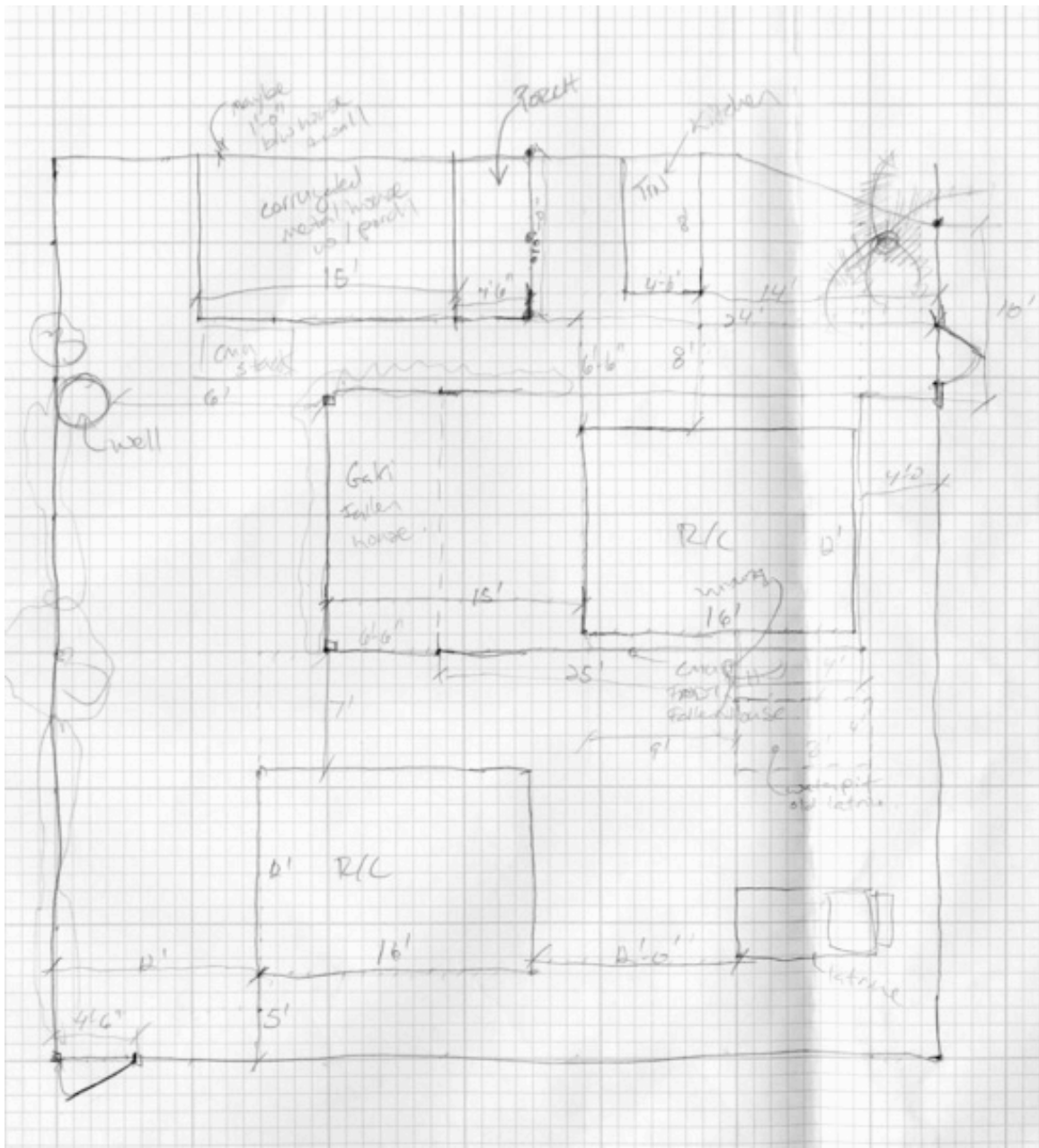


Figure C.46. Sketch of a pregnant woman's lakou in Ka Piti completed on 16 May 2012.

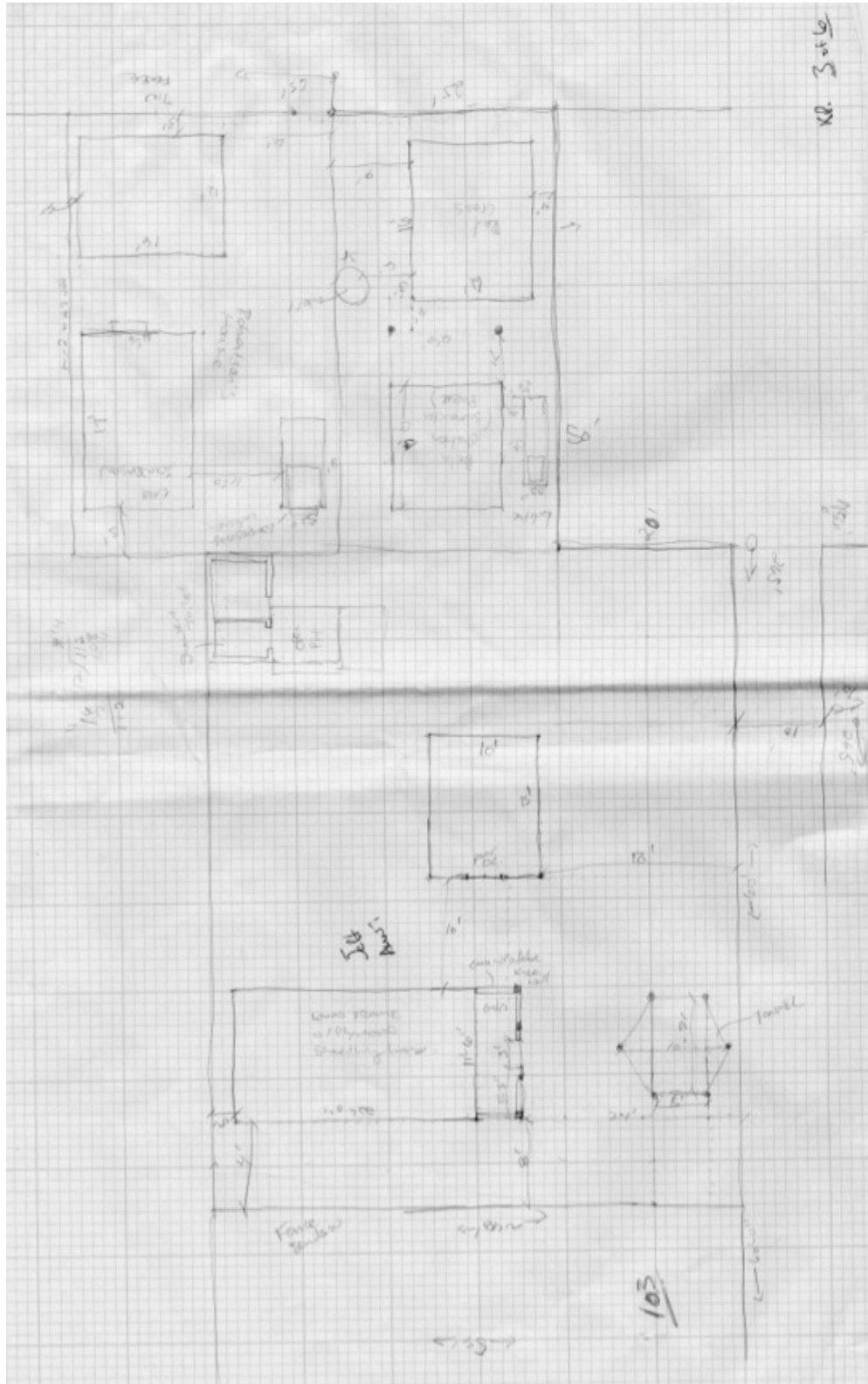


Figure C.47. Sketch of the interpreter's Aunt's *lakou* (Bottom), interpreter's *lakou* (top-left), and a motorcycle taxi driver's *lakou* (top-right) in Ka Piti completed on 16 May 2012.

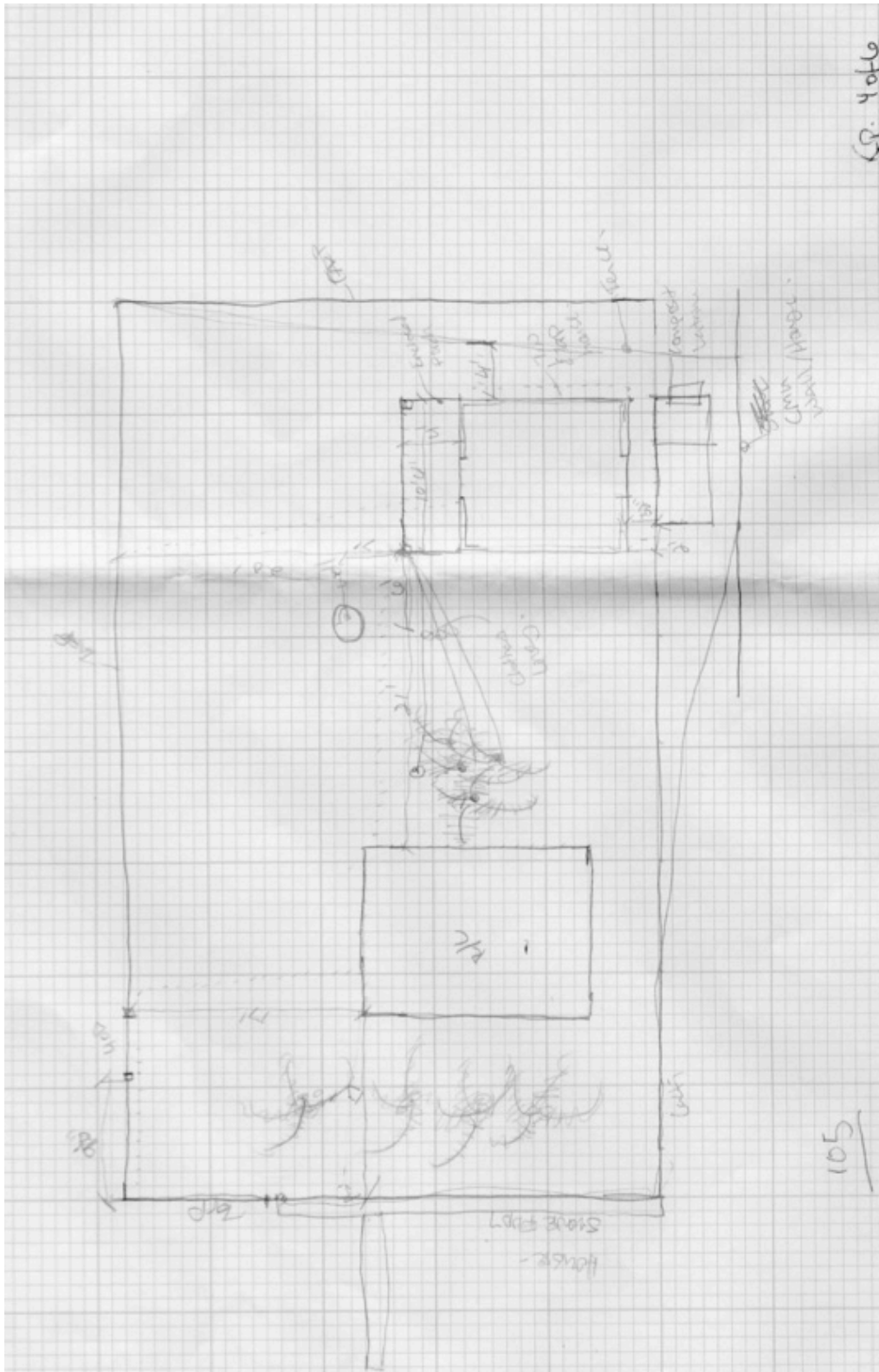


Figure C.48. Sketch of an extended family *lakou* in Ka Piti completed on 16 May 2012.

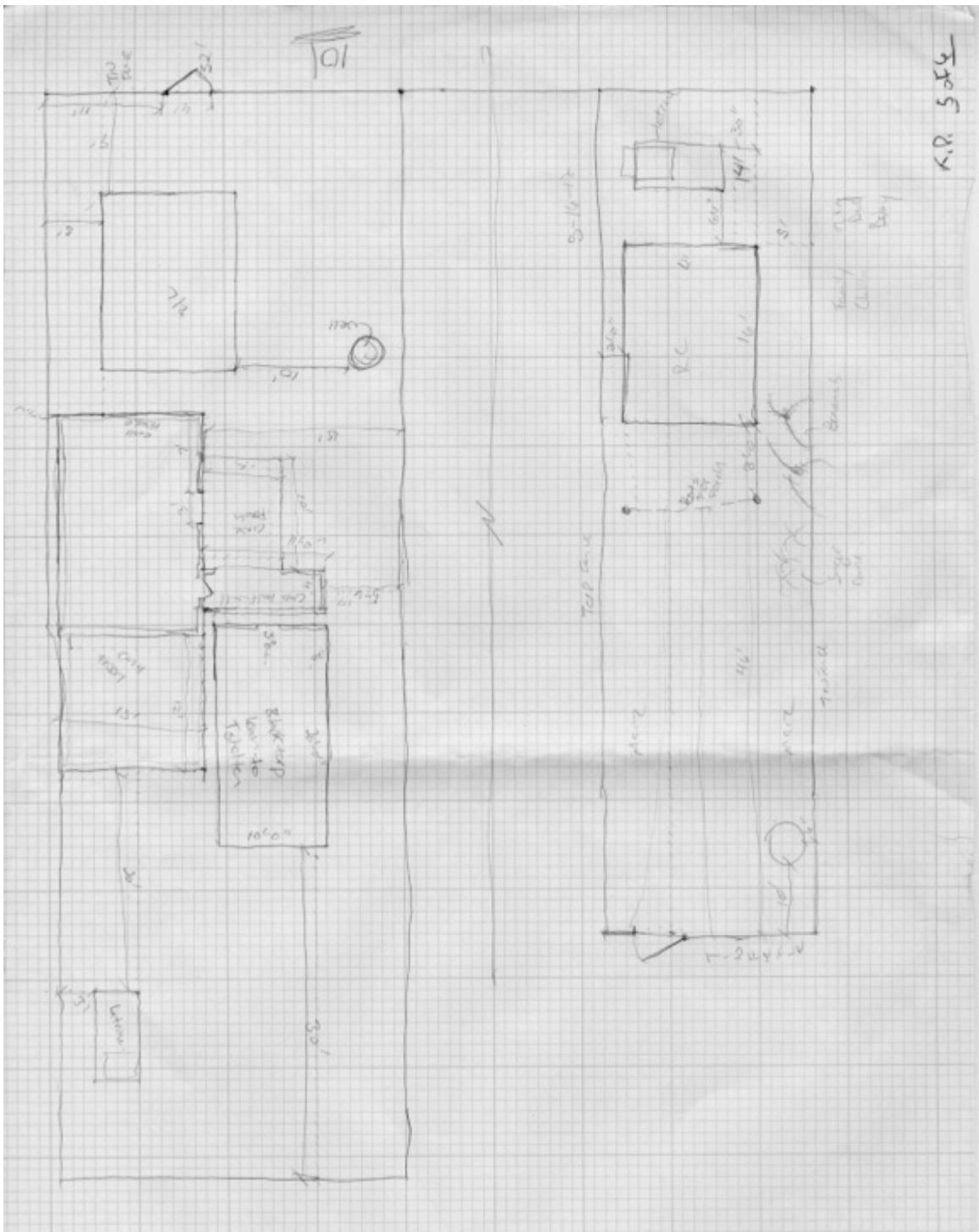


Figure C.49. Sketches of a pre-disaster extended family *lakou* (left) and a private *lakou* (right) completed on 17 May 2012 in Ka Piti.

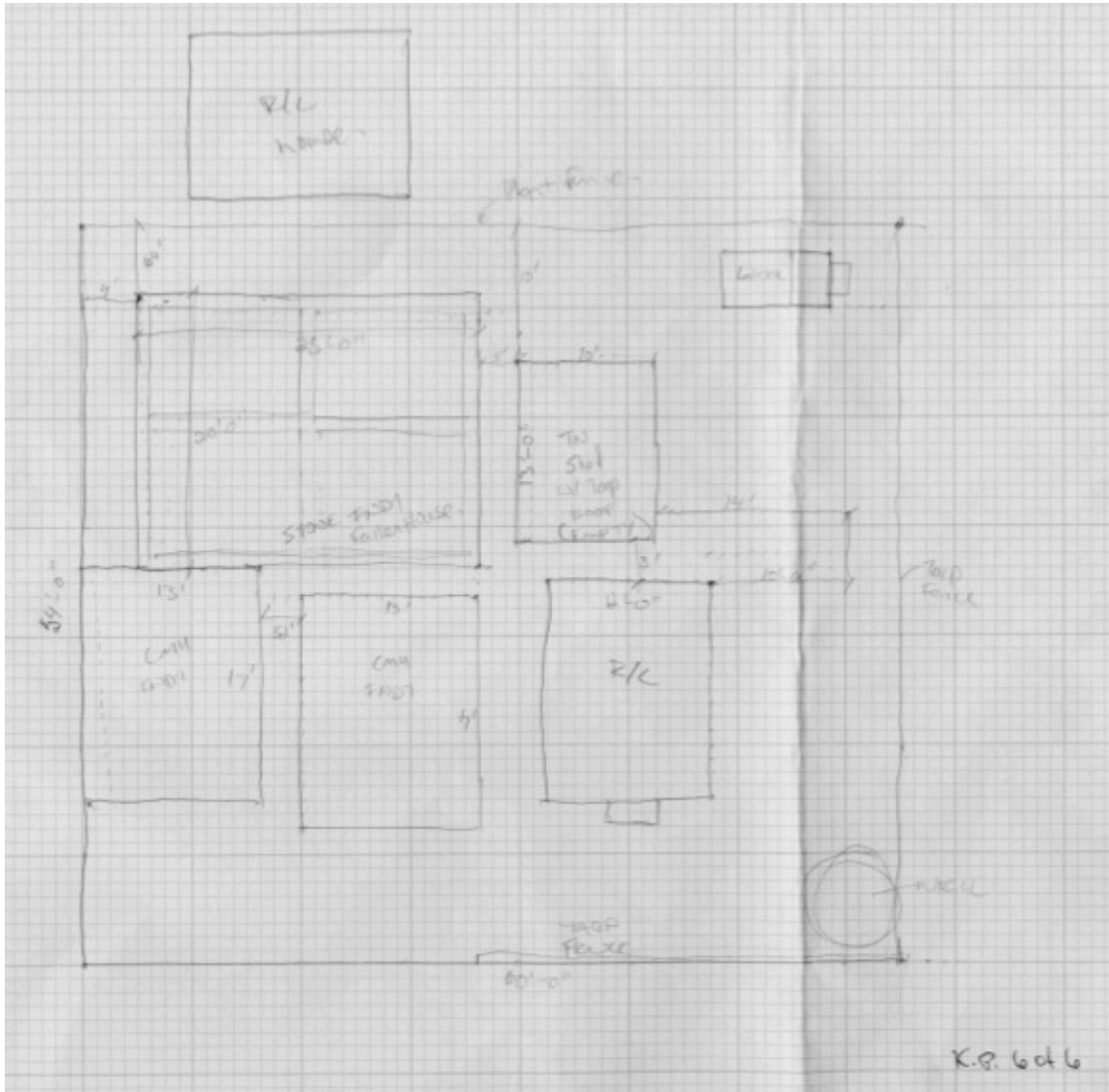


Figure C.50. Sketch of an extended family's *lakou* in ka Piti completed on 17 May 2012.

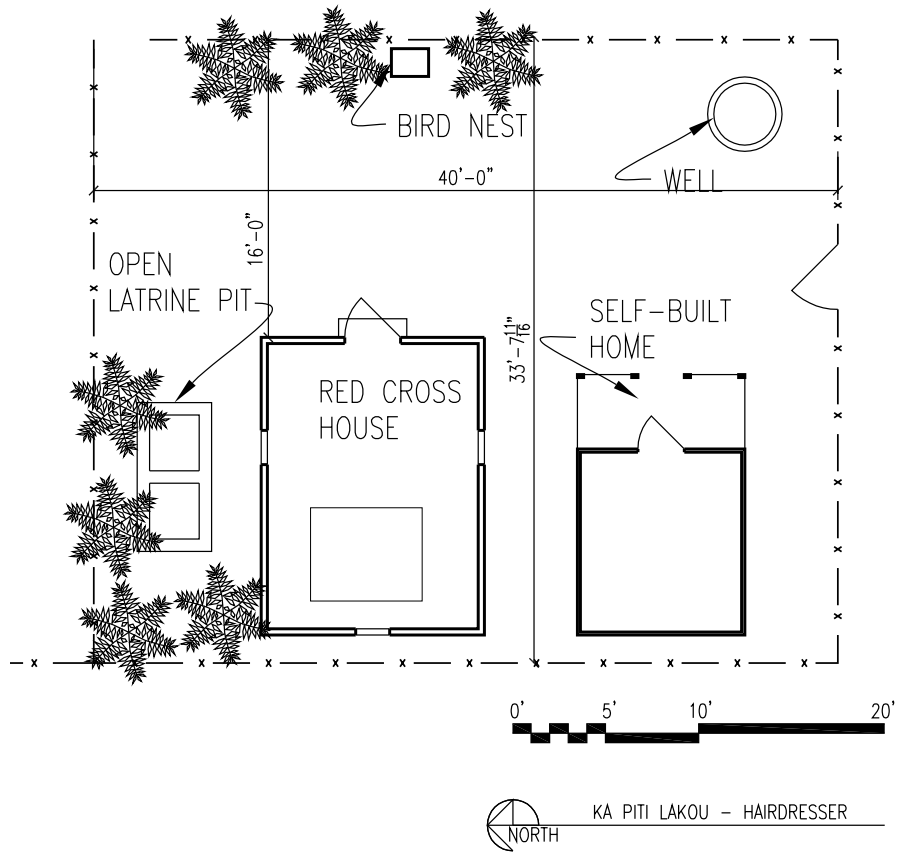


Figure C.51. Measured drawing of a hairdresser's extended family *lakou* in Ka Piti.

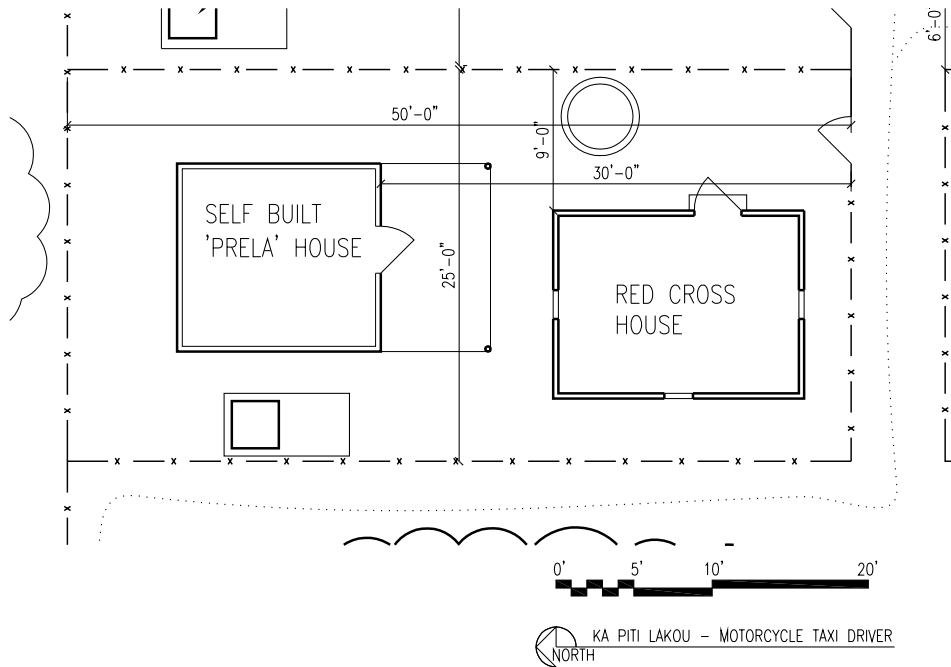


Figure C.52. Measured Drawing of a motorcycle taxi driver's *lakou* in Ka Piti.

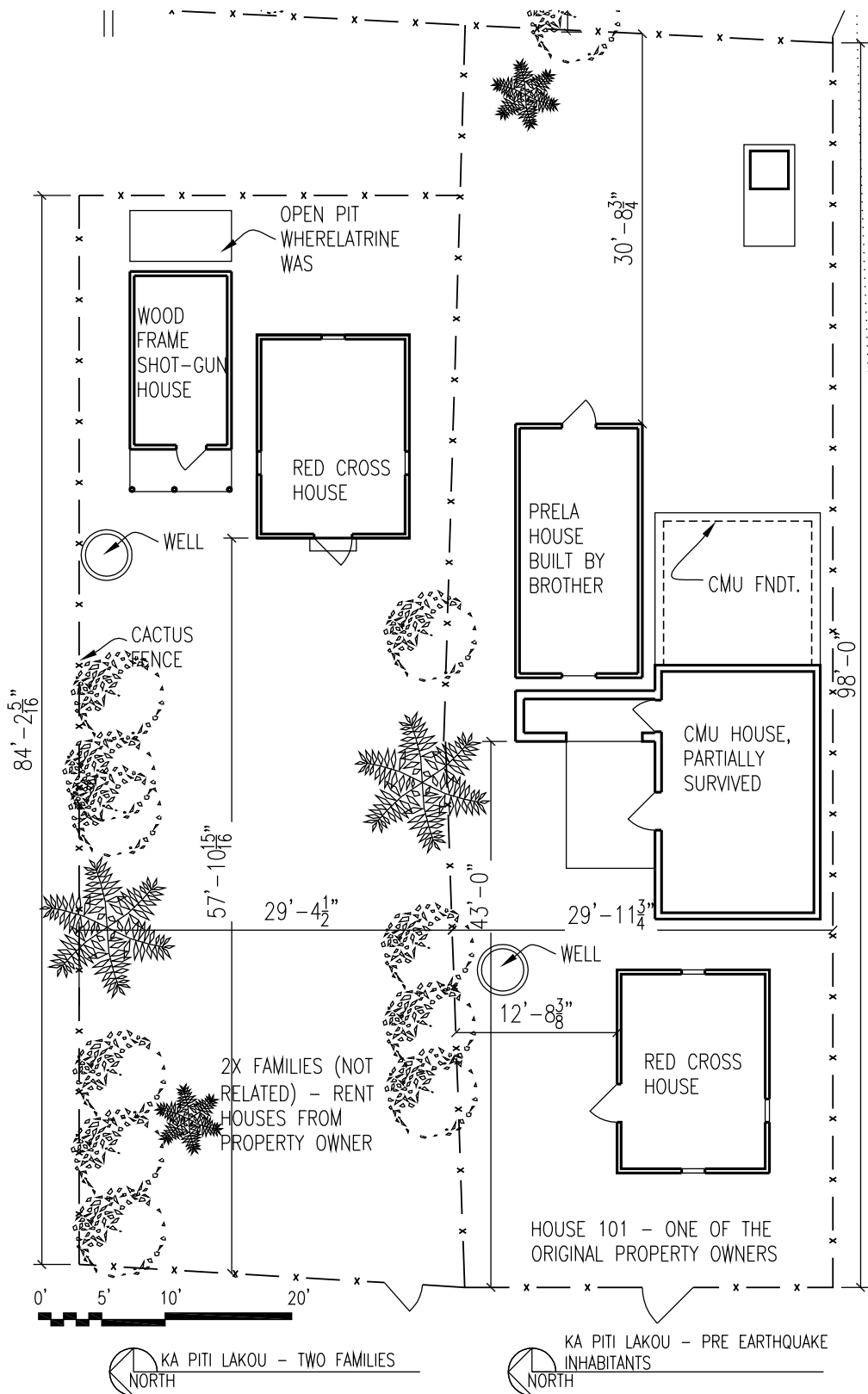


Figure C.53. Measured drawing of the *lakou* containing unrelated families (left) and the pre-disaster *lakou* of an extended family in Ka Piti.

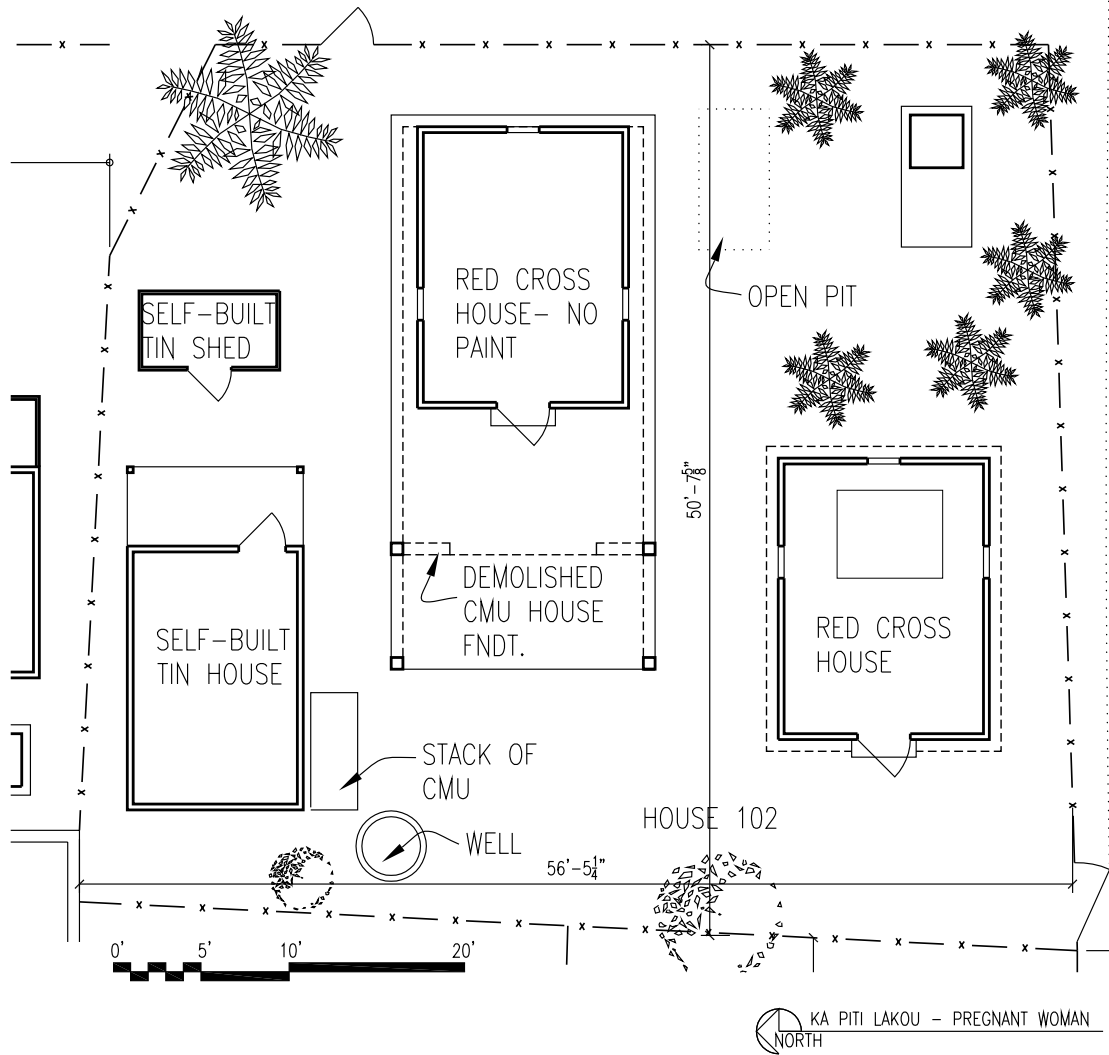


Figure C.54. Measured drawing of a pregnant woman's *lakou* in Ka Piti.

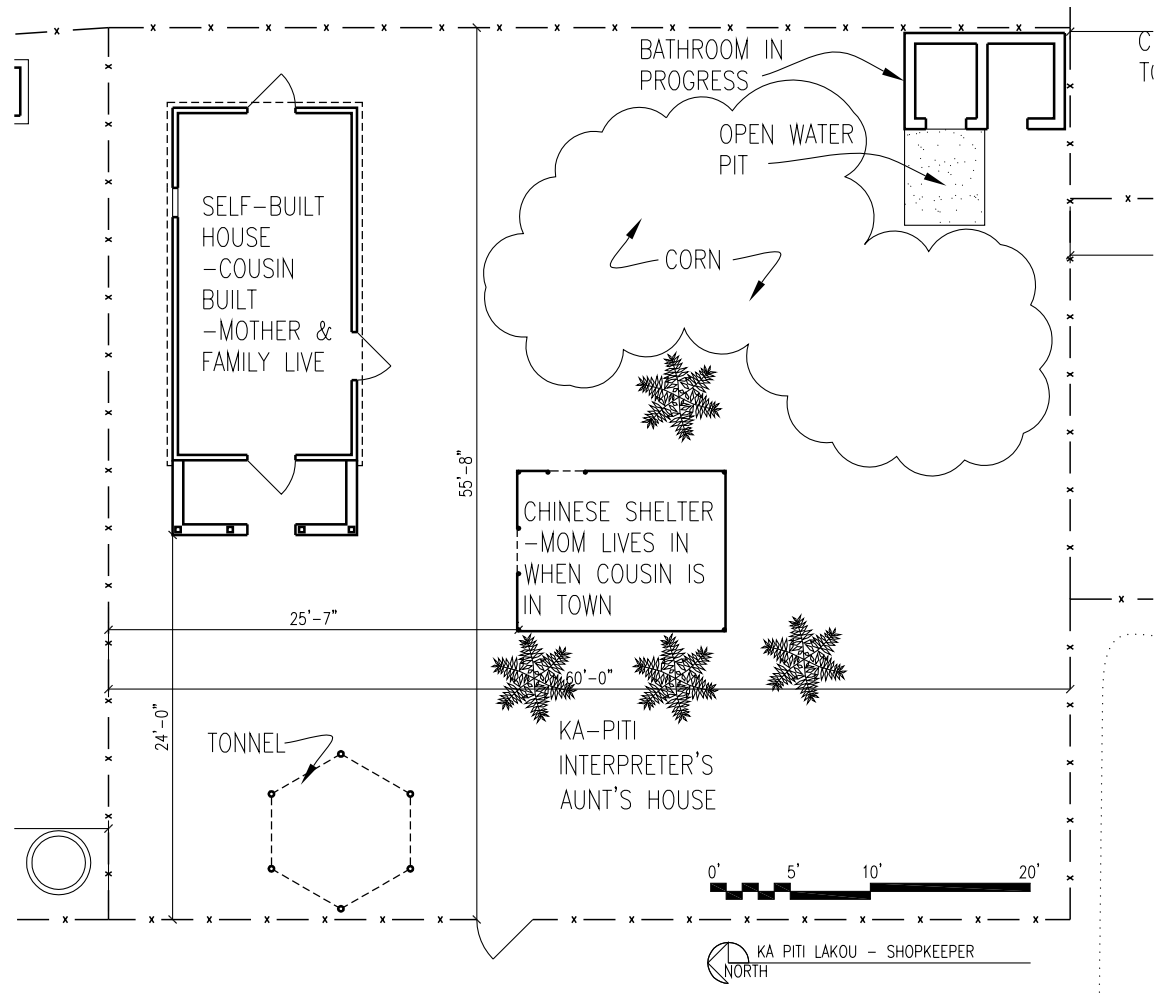


Figure C.55. Measured drawing of a shopkeeper's family *lakou* in Ka Piti.

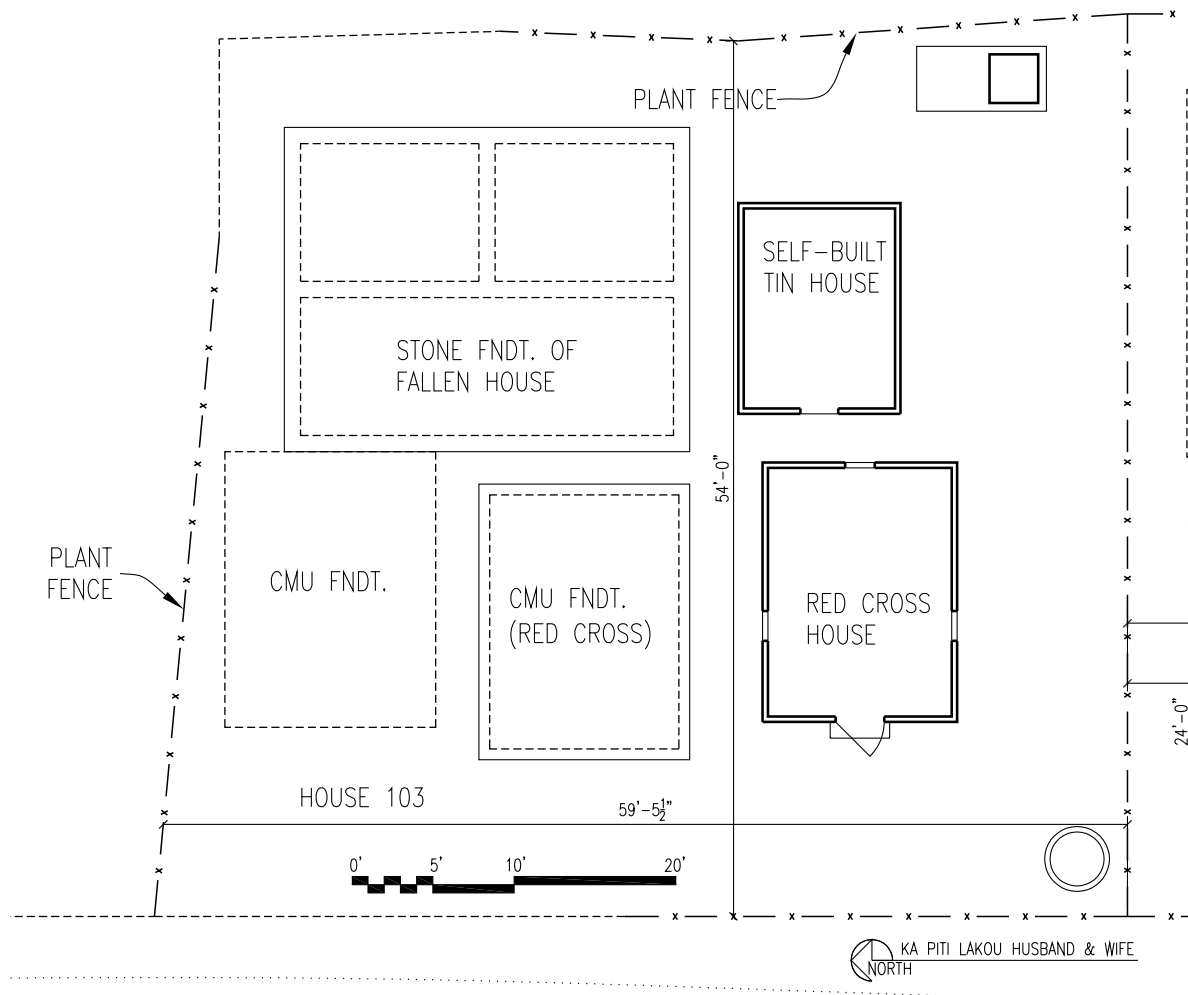


Figure C.56. Measured drawing of an extended family's *lakou* in Ka Piti.

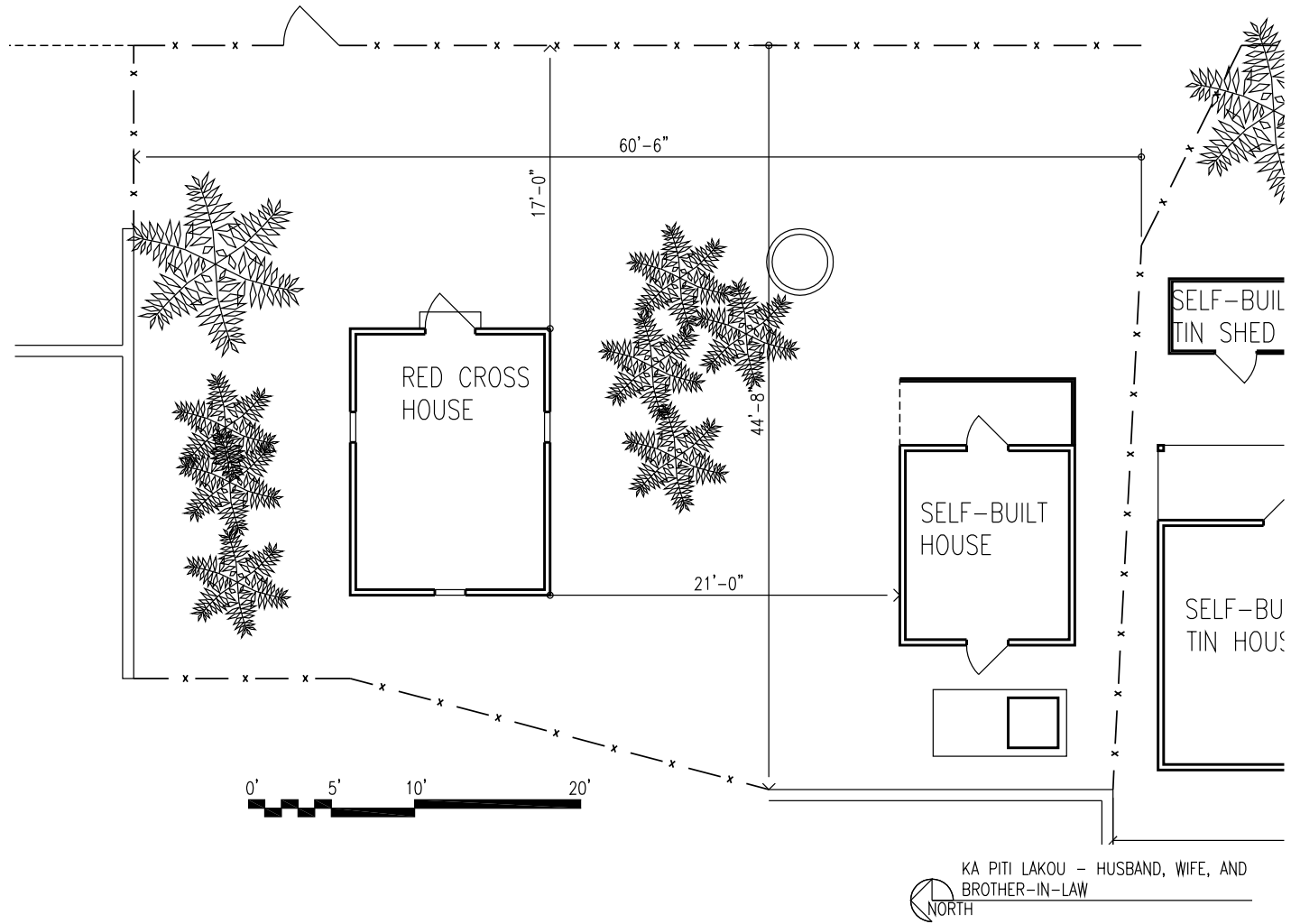


Figure C.57. Measured drawing of an extended family's *lakou* in Ka Piti.

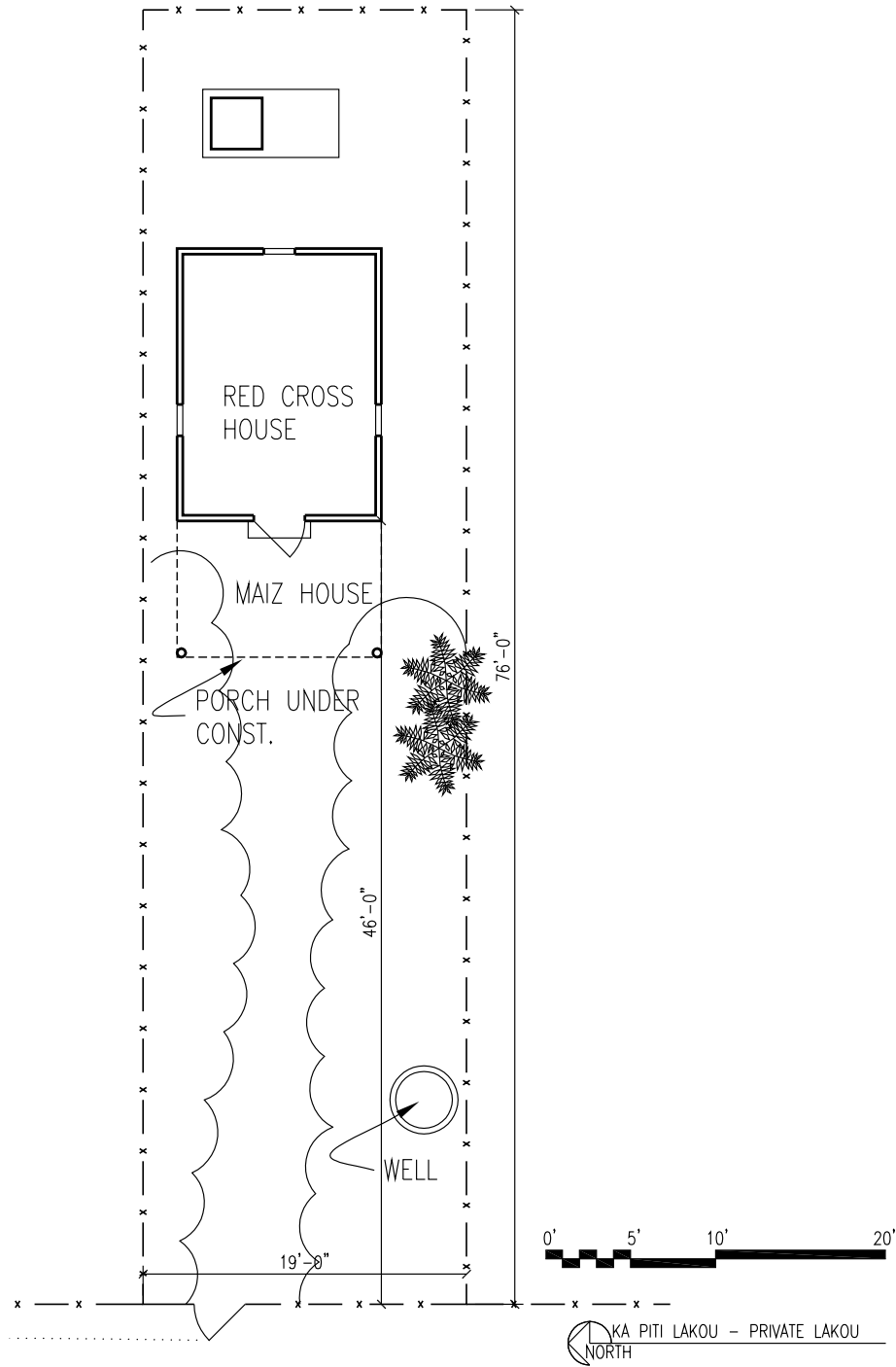


Figure C.58. Measured drawing of a private *lakou* in Ka Piti.

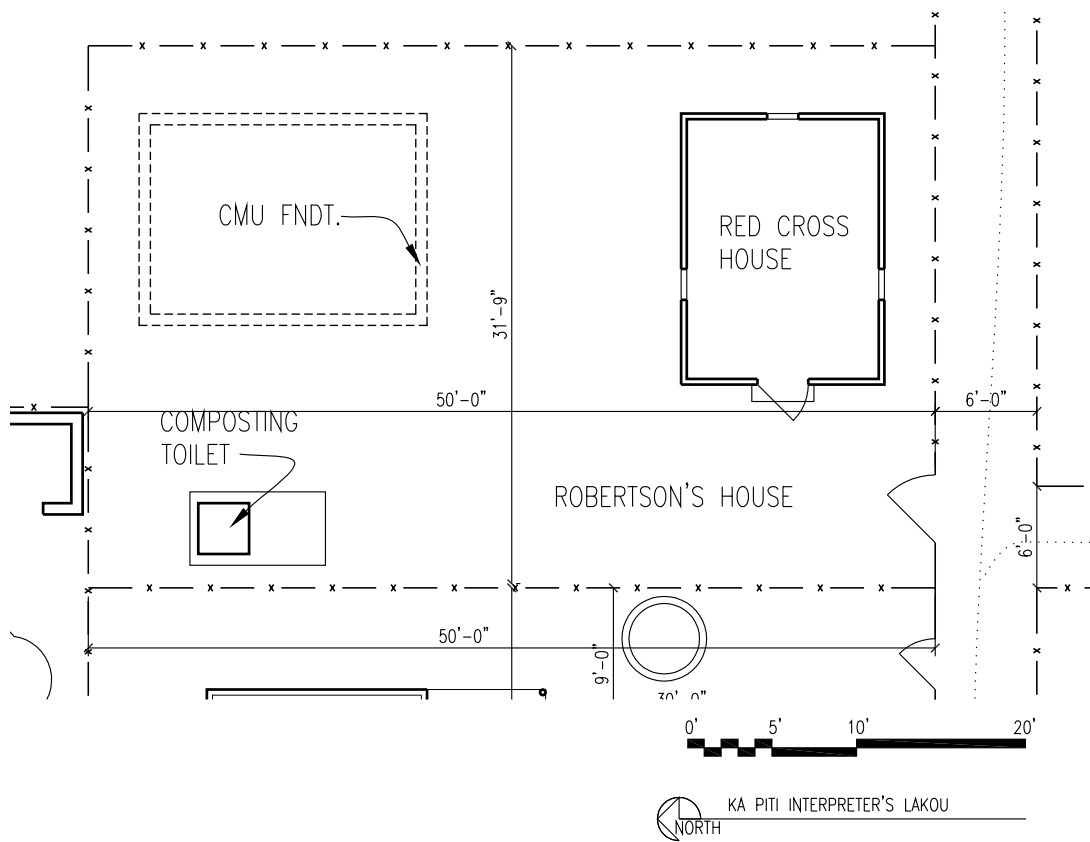


Figure C.59. Measured Drawing of an interpreter's private *lakou*. In Ka Piti.



Figure C.60. Photographs of a vodou priestess's *lakou* in Ka Piti. Photos by Author.

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEWS

D.1 Port-au-Prince Interviews

Reference Appendix C for observations of these sites.

D.1.1. Save the Children Post-disaster Settlement, Delmas

Refer to Figure C.5 for the following interviews.

D.1.1.1. Interview with Anise, a woman living in the tent city (Figure C.5 Bottom left)

Miller: Good morning, my name is James Miller. I am a student from the University of Oregon and I am doing research on the *lakou* in Haiti. As I am walking through this tent city will you agree to speak with me so that we can continue this conversation for the research that I am doing. If you don't agree or are not interested just tell me no. If you agree we will start with the questions and we can stop at anytime. If you agree I will record what you are telling me without having to mention your name. There is no risk or benefits from helping me with my research. Do you agree to speak with me and help me with my research?

Miller: Do you know who built these tents?

Woman: The Red Cross gave these tents. The tents are worn out right now so we use tarps. When we first got here is was IOM (International Organization of Migration) that issued cards to us IOM and Red Cross

Miller: Did IOM or the Red Cross help build this structure, or did the people living here construct it?

Miller: The Red Cross gave us tents first and after the tents wore down they gave us these tarps. We built this by ourselves.

Miller: How has this village changed since you arrived?

Woman: The Red Cross still visits us. Last month, IOM came here to count all of the people still here. I do not know why. I do not know whether I will receive anything or not.

Miller: Where did you come from before coming here?

Woman: I was living on Delma 75.

Miller: Did you move here with any of your family or friends?

Woman: I came here with my kids and one of my friends. I have a friend that lives with me as well.

Miller: Do you feel a sense of community here?

Woman: We're surviving and we don't have violence here.

Miller: Has any of your neighbors passed away since the earthquake or died in the earthquake?

Woman: I know people from abroad who visited their family that died during the earthquake. As for me, I don't have any close relatives that were affected.

Miller: When moving here, did any of your neighbors next door move here too, or were they separated?

Woman: Yes, I have a few that came over; they are over there.

Miller: Did the community you had before get maintained here:

Woman: Even before the earthquake we lived in harmony with each other.

Miller: Now?

Woman: We don't really have any problems in this camp, I don't argue with any of my neighbors and I even eat with them. I don't have any problems with my neighbors. Since the earthquake, I have been sick.

Miller: How do you describe living here?

Woman: In the house that I am living in, it is not comfortable because the ground isn't compacted. At least we haven't had to live with violence here. We are not living with the best security but at least we are not having problems with violence.

Miller: What would improve living here?

Woman: What I would like to do within this house is change the way it is right now because it is not safe. It can be pulled down easily. The way the house is right now when it rains it floods. I would like walls to be built that prevent this.

Miller: If you have support within the community would they feel safer?

Woman: It's only the Red Cross that helps us by distributing hygiene kits.

Miller: Do you want to stay here or move somewhere else?

Woman: What I would like is to have a two-bedroom house if I am to be removed from this camp. Don't move me and put me under another tent or tarp. I cannot afford to rent a house though.

Miller: How do you make an income here or how does her family get income?

Woman: As for me I have been sick for over a year but I used to go out and sell things on the road. Because of my sickness I cannot go out and sell. I was so sick; my legs were all swollen.

Miller: How do you get necessities like food?

Miller: As long as you are serving God then he never abandons his children. He sends me food!

Miller: Does the clinic over there cost money or can you receive treatment there?

Woman: There is a hospital that I go to that treats me for free.

Miller: How close are your family's houses to here and how close are the houses of your old neighbors?

Woman: They don't live that far away.

Miller: Where do you spend most of your day?

Woman: Right here! I spend all afternoon here, sleep here, everything.

Miller: Does your family spend time in the *Lakou*?

Woman: Yes!

Miller: Much of the day?

Woman: The young lady you just saw is my daughter; she just went out.

Miller: Before IOM or the Red Cross gave you tents, was there any space for the *Lakou*?

Woman: This area was empty! Everybody just came in and occupied a space and prepared it for their tent. When I came here the property was empty, with only trees. People cut down the trees and put up their shelters.

Miller: When they first set up this village did they have spaces like this (pointing to courtyard) or was it just one house after another?

Woman: Right after the earthquake, people made makeshift houses. Then Red Cross came and gave people tents to replace their makeshift houses with. The way the houses are situated now are the same way the tents were.

Jack (Interpreter): When people set up these camps, it was pretty free-for-all, everyone just placed their tent or makeshift house where they could. If they wanted to put it here they did, if they wanted to put it there, they did.

Miller: Why are the houses so close together, did they decide to have it that way?

Woman: No! There were not any other houses here. I left an empty space in the middle just in case the government decides to build and needs extra space. We do not own the land, so we do not feel we can build wherever. The houses are stuck together here because this is the only space left. The inside of my house is very small because I had to leave space for the government.

Miller: How important is it to have this space, is it something special to have?

Woman: I left the space for the *lakou* because I do not know the government's plan. I would have liked my house to be bigger and take up that space, but I was afraid of the government.

D.1.1.2. Interview with a man, a neighbor of the previous woman (Figure C.5: Top Right)

Miller: After the earthquake did you come here with family and neighbors?

Man: Yes, everyone right here is my family.

Miller: Did you live near by before?

Man: Yes, I lived in the area!

Miller: Did many people from your neighborhood come here?

Man: Yes, most of the people who live here lived in this area.

Miller: So did you know the people that live here before the earthquake?

Man: just a few!

Miller: Do you live near some of people that you once lived near?

Man: Yes!

Miller: Whom do you spend a lot of time with?

Man: I spend my time with my family.

Miller: How do you describe your house before the earthquake and how do you describe the tent city?

Man: Well the house I lived in is destroyed, but it was much more beautiful. I was comfortable in it. In this house when it rains the inside floods, that is a big problem because when we want to sleep we can't. We are not comfortable.

Miller: How is this neighborhood and it's security?

Man: Well, nothing has ever happened to me here.

Miller: Do you want to move somewhere else?

Man: Yes, I would like to move somewhere else because the conditions here are not good.

Miller: How is the sense of community here?

Man: The area is noisy. There are a lot of arguments and scandals; most people can't deal with that.

Miller: How do you spend your time here?

Man: My afternoons are spent mostly on the outside because of the heat, sleeping inside these tents during the heat can make you sick. Sometimes the house stinks in the heat, so you have to come outside.

Miller: Does he have a lot of friends here?

Man: Yes I have friends here. Toto over there is my friend.

Miller: Could you draw a *lakou* for me?

Man: Refer to Figure C.13 for interviewee drawing.

D.1.1.3. Interview with a woman living in the camp (Behind the *lakou* in Figure C.5)

Miller: Before the earthquake did you live near by?

Woman: Yes!

Miller: Did you come here with any friends or family?

Woman: I have my sister and friends.

Miller: The people who lived next door to you before the earthquake?

Woman: Yes!

Miller: Do you have many of the same neighbors or different ones?

Woman: No, Not the same ones!

Miller: What was your house like before?

Woman: It was a house with a metal roof but I did not own the house I rented. When I look at the way I am living now the house I was in before was a lot better.

Miller: Did her house before have a *Lakou*/yard?

Woman: No! It did not have a *Lakou*, just a small path in front.

Miller: Did any of your family or neighbors pass away during the earthquake?

Woman: I have some friends and a cousin that died.

Miller: Living in your same neighborhood?

Woman: No they were not living in the same neighborhood or place with me.

Miller: Where do you spend most of your time?

Woman: Right here! I don't have anything to sell right now but when I do I spend a lot of time in the streets.

Miller: So how do you describe living in this camp?

Woman: Right after the earthquake, this place used to be very unsecured because thieves use to break into my tent and steal food, while I was inside. This is not happening anymore.

Miller: Who built this structure?

Woman: The father of my children.

Miller: Does he live here also?

Woman: No he doesn't live here he lives in another town.

Miller: Do you want to move out of here?

Woman: I am not saying that I don't want to move but it depends on where they are going to put me. I cannot afford to rent a house.

Miller: What do you not like about living here?

Woman: When it rains everything inside of my house gets wet because rain gets inside of it. We have to wait for the rain to stop in order to lie down. It is really hard to sleep in those conditions.

Miller: What are the benefits of living here if any?

Woman: I don't benefit from anything here. I'm here because I don't have any place else to go. Because I cannot afford to rent a house, I am obliged to stay here.

Miller: Do you have friends who you spend time with here?

Woman: don't really visit friends or strangers but I have an older brother and sister that I usually visit. I spend time at my sister's house.

Miller: You are a sales woman, right?

Woman: Yes!

Miller: Do you work around here?

Woman: I work all over; I put the stuff on top of my head and walk around.

Miller: Does that provide for necessities?

Woman: Yes, it helps because if I go out and make 250 gds, when I come home; I am able to boil something for my child and I to eat. Maybe even share with the rest of my family. When I don't have I just stay like this. I sometimes pass the entire day hungry.

Miller: Would you prefer having a larger *lakou*?

Woman: I am satisfied with what I have right because I don't have an option.

Miller: What all do you do in this space (the *lakou*)?

Woman: I have the line for my laundry inside the house; I just hang out here to get out of the hot tent.

Miller: Is it important for you to have the same friends and neighbors here that you had before?

Woman: The neighbors I had before are the same as the neighbors I have now. I don't get into arguments with them so I don't have a problem.

Miller: Would you rather have a *lakou* or a larger house?

Woman: If it is something being given to me then I have to except it as it is. I would rather have a large *lakou* and a smaller house.

Miller: What would you do with the bigger space?

Woman: If I have a big *lakou*, I would have a business inside of it.

D.1.1.4. Interview with a Man Living Adjacent to the Last Interviewee:

This man has two small children he is watching over.

Miller: Did the people who were your neighbors before the earthquake come here with you?

Man: Yes!

Miller: Are they near by, next door, or somewhere else?

Man: Some are near!

Miller: How do you spend your time during the day?

Man: I spend my afternoons here because I am not working.

Miller: Do you just spend time with family?

Man: Yes! With my wife and children.

Miller: How do you describe the neighborhood?

Man: After the God up above, we give our own selves security. Sometimes the U.N comes thru but there is not much of a police presence they just drive by without stopping. We are not secure here! Most of the disputes are from the people here and around the neighborhood.

Miller: Did you build this house?

Man: Yes! I built it.

Miller: Did the Red Cross give you the materials?

Man: We purchased the sticks and Red Cross gave us the tarps. This tent leaks whenever it rains we could have purchased another one but we are not working. The little that I do have is used for food.

Miller: What was the house like before?

Man: After the earthquake I tied sheets together as shelter that was before they came and distributed tents.

Miller: The concrete there (pointing at 'foundation wall') did you do that?

Man: Yes I did it to shield the water from coming in.

Miller: Before the earthquake where did you live?

Man: I was living on Delma 75 near here.

Miller: What was his house like?

Man: It was a house that I rented. The house had cracks and damages, and the landlord would not renew his lease so now we are here.

Miller: Did this house have a *Lakou*?

Man: No. No *Lakou*.

Miller: Do you want to move from here?

Man: Well, Yes, I would like to leave here. Sleeping under a tarp is not what I prefer. I have kids and the heat plus this is not a secured house. You have to be able to afford to leave, if you can't then you stay.

Miller: How long do you think you will be here?

Man: I can't really tell you how long, only god knows how long.

Miller: What kind of work did you do before?

Man: Before, I was a mason and a mechanic.

Miller: How do you provide for necessities?

Man: I have three children and I am not working so their mother usually goes out as a sales woman with something on top of her head filled with stuff to sell. Whatever she earns she uses to fix a meal for the kids.

Miller: Would you like to have a *lakou*?

Man: Right now I don't have anything, whatever I get I will take, but I prefer a big house and a big *lakou* for my children.

Miller: What is the benefit of a big *lakou*?

Man: I have children who would have a place to play so they would not have to go to the neighbor's house. If I wanted to do something serious or important I could do it in the *lakou*.

Miller: What else would you do in a *lakou*?

Man: Cook; Clean maybe even have a small business.

Miller: Since the earthquake, how has your daily activities changed?

Man: After the earthquake things haven't been good at all. I was working before the earthquake. I was able to take care of my household. Everyone I was dealing with had losses during the quake so they are not doing anything and neither am I. We were all discouraged.

D.1.1.5. Interview with a Woman Living in the Camp:

This woman was sitting on a chair outside of her house in the shadow of the canvas. She was trying to stay cool, out of the hot house. She utilizes the vacant area under the skeleton of a shelter for her laundry, refer to Figure D.1. Her five children play in this area as well as around the small pathways between houses.



Figure D.1. Photographs of the *lakou* space referred to in the interview. Photos by author.

Miller: Before the earthquake did you live near by?

Woman: I lived near by!

Miller: When you moved here did many of your neighbors and family come also?

Woman: No! Everyone was trying save his or her own lives.

Miller: If they didn't come here then where did they go?

Woman: Each person found a place of his or her own, they scattered.

Miller: So the people you live near are new acquaintances?

Woman: Yes, I didn't recognize them before being here. Since we have lived here together, we are well acquainted.

Miller: Now that you know each other, is there a sense of solidarity or community?

Woman: We share with one another but we have arguments amongst each other also but we talk and work things out.

Miller: Who built the house?

Woman: We built it ourselves. My husband built it.

Miller: Is your husband working?

Woman: He is not in a great job just a little something to put food on the table. Small odd job!

Miller: How do you describe your neighborhood? The security.

Woman: The problems we have here are when people are arguing with one another but the police usually come in to ease the tension. When we first came here people use to steal our stuff but now it doesn't happen.

Miller: Is there anything that you like about living here?

Woman: As far as security, God is protecting us. What I don't like is the situation that I am living in. Whenever it rains the inside of our house floods. Our houses aren't normal. This is the problem we have.

Miller: Do you want to leave here? What is keeping you here?

Woman: If we had another place to go we would have left already. I was renting before coming here but after the quake we couldn't afford it anymore the landlord took it over.

Miller: What was your house like before?

Woman: I was comfortable with the house I was living in. It wasn't as large as we would have liked it because we couldn't afford anything large.

Miller: How does your family provide for food?

Woman: With Jesus we're not doing as bad. My husband is working very hard to try and provide. He is a flowerpot maker.

Miller: Whom do you spend most of your time with?

Woman: I spend my time with Jesus. I'm not a person that likes to talk a lot. I say good morning and good afternoon to my neighbors. When the kids are going to school it is me that has to get them ready.

Miller: Did your old house have a *lakou*?

Woman: No, it was not a big house. We did not have a *lakou*, there was just a path in front. I have five kids.

Miller: Is the *lakou* important?

Woman: Our biggest problem is housing and how the rain floods the inside of it. I would like my house to be fixed.

Miller: Did someone live here (pointing to the skeleton of a house)?

Woman: Yes, there was a house here but it was destroyed. They are going to rebuild it.

Miller: Did the people move elsewhere?

Woman: I don't know where they moved too.

Miller: Where do you cook?

Woman: I cook here, because I don't have any other place to do it.

Miller: Is this the space where you do your laundry (pointing to vacant space in front of her house)?

Woman: Since they haven't finished building the house we are taking advantage.

Miller: Is it like having your own *lakou*?

Woman: Yes (laughing), but everything will be over when the people come back. I will not be able to do my laundry there anymore.

Miller: Do you like having this space?

Woman: Yes, I would like to have that.

Miller: Do any of your neighbors also use the space?

Woman: Yes. The owner of that place is still alive and will come back.

Miller: Would you like to have a *lakou*, like this space?

Woman: It depends on what god decides to give us. If your living in this kind of situation and god decides to remove you from it, it is a blessing. You like and want beautiful things. We are lacking space here and people are always arguing with me because of my kids and the space they utilize to play. If I have another place where I could go and live it would be good.

D.1.1.6. Interview with a Woman and Man Living in the Camp

The interview started with a woman who was sitting outside of here house and later a man and two male friends joined in the conversation. They are next-door neighbors to the woman.

Miller: Before the earthquake did you live near by?

Woman: Yes!

Miller: Did your family and neighbors come here?

Woman: Yes!

Miller: Are they next door or near by?

Woman: They live near by.

Miller: Did any of you neighbors, friends or family pass away?

Woman: Yes, my aunt passed.

Miller: How do you spend your time here?

Woman: Right here! Sitting in this space.

Miller: With anybody?

Woman: Yes, with friends.

Miller: Where do you usually spend your time in the house or outside?

Woman: Outside!

Miller: Who built you house?

Woman: I live in tent that was given by the Red Cross.

Miller: How is the security?

Man: There might be security in the area but here we don't have any. There is always trouble here. They are very noisy.

Miller: Are there any benefits of living here?

Man and two friends: The advantages here are because, right, we can't afford to go out and rent a house so that's the advantage right now.

Miller: Is the medical center free (Save the Children Mobile Clinic).

Man: Save the Children just provided some medical care, but did not do much. When they speak of free medication the way we are supposed to receive the free medication we do not get it. When someone is sick you don't get all the medical attention that you are suppose to receive.

A friend (speaks a little English): In my opinion, the clinic is not a benefit. Living here is not a benefit because during the day it is really hot inside of the house. So during the day we have to come outside to cool off. It makes us sick having to stay in these houses. To rent a house would be better for us all, to live a better life. We do not have a possibility to rent a house.

Miller: Given the circumstance, would it be better if there were larger spaces, larger *lakous*: an area to spend time outside, out of the heat of the house?

Same friend (response in English): Yes, exactly it would be better for the people.

Miller: It sounds like a *lakou* is very important for people to have?

Same friend: Yes, exactly.

Miller: Is this neighborhood and community good or bad?

Man and friends: No matter where you live you will always find those who make things impossible, we have those types of people here also. Here people at least understand each other and live in harmony.

Miller: Would a *lakou* benefit people?

Man: Because of the way we are currently living here, if we had a house with a *lakou*, we would be able to plant trees and get fresh air.

Friend (in English): Yes, the sun is very shiny every day.

Miller: Is there any other space around here?

Man: No, everyone comes out of their houses into these pathways, like we are now.

D.1.1.7. Interview with Mrs. Pierre (Figure C.5: Top-left):

Mrs. Pierre's employer, Corrigan Clay, had told me previously how she was happy with her current home because she had a lot more living space for her family. The four rooms she was able to make was much better than the little one room house she rented before the earthquake. This information is contradictory to what I discovered in the interview. This could be due to a change in perception over time or could be due to the personal relationship she has with Clay which allows for her to be more open, especially without the perception that I would be able to provide something better for her in the future (a common perception among the people I interviewed). The perception that I was there to provide something beneficial to the interviewee was common and I wonder to what degree this affected the responses to the questions. This was especially evident in Port-au-Prince, where there was no personal connection between the translator and the interviewee or the interviewee and myself with the exception of Mrs. Pierre and Anise. In

Leogane, in the majority of cases, the interviewee knew or was familiar with the translator.

The occupants of this house are glad to have more room than they had previously. Before they had a two room, small house, now they have a four-room house that they built themselves, refer to Figure D.2.



Figure D.2. Photographs of the Pierre home. Photos by author.

Miller: Where did you live before the earthquake?

Woman: I was living nearby the camp, still in Delmas 75.

Miller: What was the process of moving to the camp?

Woman: There was no guiding organization. The house I lived in before was destroyed in the earthquake so we moved into the new property and established our tents there.

Miller: Is the house you have now the same you had when you first moved into that area?

Woman: The house where I lived before the earthquake was made of block. The new one as you see is a tent.

Miller: Sorry, you misunderstood me. Did you have a tent at first before building a house with tarps and wood?

Woman: first of all we lived in a tent, when the tent wore out, we tried to build something better with tarps and wood.

Miller: Did you move with any family or old neighbors?

Woman: I moved with friends who lived nearby.

Miller: Does it seem like most people who moved into the tent city came there with people they knew?

Woman: There were people who did not live by, who came from different places to come live in the camp.

Miller: Does it help you to get by, having had friends come with you to the camp?

Woman: Yes

Miller: What do you think of the neighborhood as far as security and community?

Woman: It is not a safe place to live, but because we do not have anywhere to go, we are obliged to stay there.

Miller: What could make it safer?

Woman: Well, we cannot ask for anything because the property does not belong to us.

Miller: What are the benefits of living there given the circumstance?

Woman: The benefit is that I do not have to pay rent, but this is also a problem because the property does not belong to us.

Miller: As far as the proximity of the tents, do you think it would be better if there were more space for people to pass their time in?

Woman: I cannot answer that question.

Miller: Did your previous house have a *lakou*?

Woman: Yes

Miller: Do you wish you had one now?

Woman: Well there is none, that's the way it is.

Miller: How big was the *lakou* at your old house?

Woman: It had a big *lakou*.

Miller: What type of activities went on in the *lakou*?

Woman: I used the *lakou* to do laundry, and also the children played there.

Miller: Any type of business?

Woman: No, but in the new house in the camp I do have a business; however, I do not have enough money to keep it up.

Miller: How is your day spent?

Woman: Working at the Apparent Project from 8-3, then I go home to cook for the kids.

Miller: Where do you spend time with friends?

Woman: In my house.

Miller: So where did you live before the earthquake?

Woman: Delmas 75

Miller: Did you just move here on your own or were there any organizations that directed you into this camp?

Woman: We were renters so we came here immediately after the earthquake on our own. The house was destroyed.

Miller: The house that you have now, is it still the same house or has it changed?

Woman: The house I was living in before the quake was concrete and now this house is made out of tarps.

Miller: Did you move to this tent city with any family or neighbors?

Woman: Yes I have people here that came from the same place where I was living.

Miller: Does it help having friends here that you knew before the earthquake? Time out: 4:59

Woman: Yes!

Miller: So what do you think of the neighborhood as far as security in the community?

Woman: We are not secured here at all; since we don't have we are obliged to remain here.

Miller: Do you think there is anything that can be done to make it safer?

Woman: If they could put security guards in place to give us security. This land is not ours so that probably doesn't interest anyone. If this land was ours we could have made our own provisions where security is concerned.

Miller: Given the circumstances what are the benefits of living there?

Woman: The reason we are still here is because we don't have anywhere else to go right now.

Miller: As far as everything being so close together, DO you think it would be better if people had more space here to spend their time?

Woman: I really don't know!

Miller: Did the house you have before have a *lakou*?

Woman: Yes! It had a *lakou*.

Miller: How big was the *lakou* at your old house?

Woman: It was a huge *lakou*!

Miller: What kind of activities did you have in your *lakou*?

Woman: The kids played in it, wash and plenty other things.

Miller: So what do you do most of the day?

Woman: I work from 8am to 3pm.

Miller: Outside of work what do you do?

Woman: I don't do much except take care of my children.

Miller: Where do you spend time with friends?

Woman: In my house.

D.1.2. Walled Settlement, Delmas, Port-au-Prince

Refer to Figure C.26 for the following interviews.

D.1.2.1. Interview with a man and two women living in the walled camp:

This camp was built within the walls of a vacant property, after the earthquake people broke open a hole in the wall and began to settle there. In one corner is a small church that is used by the community and there are two showers and latrines provided by Oxfam.

Miller: Who built the houses here?

Man: We built them!

Miller: Was the land just open?

Man: It was empty!

Miller: Where did you live before coming here?

Man: I was living over there. I was renting a house before and it was destroyed.

Miller: Did you move here with your family?

Man: Yes, I did!

Miller: Did any of your neighbors from before move here too?

Man: Yes, and we are still neighbors.

Miller: Did any of your neighbors or people you lived with before pass away?

Man: There were people in the area that passed away but that's all.

Miller: How did they find this place to live?

Man: After the earthquake this land was empty so we came here. We made a hole in the wall and came in.

Miller: How is living here?

Man: It is not good at all. We do not feel comfortable because when it rains we suffer a lot.

Miller: How about security?

Man: Yes, we are secured.

Miller: How is the sense of community, do you all get along?

Man: We get along well with each other. It's mostly jobs we don't have plus there is no one person that is responsible for this camp.

Miller: Do most people want to leave?

Man: Life here isn't good at all, we don't want to stay, plus the amount of water we get here can just about carry us away.

Miller: Is the sense of community a benefit to being here or is it something you can find anywhere?

Woman: We are poor we don't have any funds or any where to go and rent a house, we are here but there is no benefits to being here.

Miller: Is there any type of water or electricity here?

Woman: When the earthquake first happened, Oxfam provided us with water, now it's been six months since they have brought us water.

Miller: Does anyone have a business here?

Woman: No there isn't any of that here.

Miller: What do they consider the *Lakou* here?

Woman: When the sun is really hot most of us go near the church to get away from the sun. This camp doesn't really have a *lakou* or special place.

Miller: Was this much space (figure?) here before or is it because people have moved?

Woman: Yes, people use to live in these empty spots. Water floods were giving them problems so they left. These people had houses so they left but we don't have anything.

Miller: How important is it to have a house with a *lakou*?

Woman: If we had a *lakou* with a house that would be great for us, then we would have a place to get fresh air and breeze.

Miller: Where do most people spend their time, in the house or outside?

Woman: They spend most of their time outside because of the heat. Those tents are very, very hot.

Miller: What did Oxfam help them with?

Woman: They just gave us toilets and water to use. Nothing else! We were getting other things from Oxfam for a long time before (the earthquake).

Miller: Was this space always here or were there more tents? How close were the tents together before people moved.

Woman: There were four tents there, a tent here, here, over there.

Miller: Was this just a path to pass through?

Man: Yes.

Miller: Was there a tent here too (refer to Figure D.3)?

Woman: Yes.

Miller: Is it better now with the space?

Woman: There was someone living there in a tent, someone else will come and build a small house there. We left the space for them. Refer to Figure D.3.



Figure D.3. Space left by a fallen tent (Left) and space left by moved tents for water drainage (Right). Photos by author.

D.1.3. Heads Together Camp in Clairville, Delmas, Port-au-Prince:

The people from around the local area who sought refuge on vacant land established this camp. With the help of Oxfam, they built their own houses and even a water canal.

D.1.3.1. Interview with a Group of Men Living in the Camp

The group of men was enjoying the fresh air sitting beneath the shade of a tree in a large open area in front of a shelter built by the Apparent Project.

Miller: Did most of the people here come from the same place?

Man: Mostly everyone here is from this area.

Miller: Do you have the same neighbors?

Man: Yes. Everyone knows each other.

Miller: Did you all build the camp yourselves?

Man: We built these houses ourselves.

Miller: Did you have help from any organizations?

Men: Oxfam!

Miller: What did you all get, water?

Men: They gave us toilets, water and tarps.

Miller: Was this house here before or is it new? (Refer to Figure D.4)

Man: It is a new house!

Miller: Who built it?

Man: Shelly with the Apparent Project!

Miller: And Corrigan too?

Men: Yes!

Miller: Does anyone living here work there?

Man: Yes, the people who live in that house.

Miller: What do you think of the neighborhood? How do you describe it?

Men: There is really nothing you can dislike because whatever they give us we except it. The problem is when it rains there is no place to walk because mud is everywhere. The tarps are about done with from taking on so much water.

Miller: Have you all done anything to try and divert the water?

Men: Yes, we dug a canal to help keep the water out.

Miller: Where do you spend most of your time?

Men: Our afternoons are spent here (outside). Inside our homes are very hot so we spend it right here.

Miller: Do you all consider this space your *lakou*?

Men: Yes!

Miller: What do you all do here, socialize?

Men: Those that go to work head out to work and those that don't hang out and socialize.

Miller: Were there more tents here then there are now?

Men: No, same amount.

Miller: Why is it that in the other tents cities, the tents are very close together and here tents are spaced out?

Men: Well, you have to leave space for people to walk and pass.

Miller: Did you intentionally leave this space?

Men: Yes.

D.1.3.2. Interview with a Group of Women in the Camp

Some of the women were sitting and socializing, another woman was separating beans, preparing them for sale. Several children were playing around in the area and a couple was helping the woman preparing beans. One woman led the conversation (Refer to Figure D.5.).



Figure D.4. *Lakou* where the men in Heads Together Socialize. Photos by author.



Figure D.5. Photograph of a group of women sitting under an open-air structure. Photo by author.

Miller: What is this space used for?

Woman: This was built because of the water and floods in this camp. When it rains water use to get into all the tents. Many people with children came into this space to be safe.

Miller: When did this happen?

Woman: June 6 2010!

Miller: Did you all come from the same community from before?
Women: Everyone came from the same place/area.

Miller: What was that place called?
Women: Clairville city!

Miller: What is this place called again?
Woman: Heads together.

Miller: Is the sense of community good here?
Women: We don't have problems with neighbors because we all came from the same place. Our biggest problems are tarps and water. Most of the tarps are worn out and we can't afford to replace them. We are getting into the raining season and we need toilets for these children. We have problems with the water too. People used to come here to maintain the toilets, but no longer do this. The biggest problem that remains is with the property. The property is not ours and the owner wants it back. There was a fence around the property, but after the earthquake it fell, allowing all of us to enter.

Miller: Do you think it is safe and secure?
Women: No, we are not secure here, these tarps tear easily and people used to tear them open to break inside. It is rare to find tarps for sale right now so it is difficult to replace the ones that are torn. The only thing we have is god's protection.

Miller: Does knowing your neighbor help you feel safer?
Women: Yes!

Miller: Does anyone conduct any type of business in this area?
Women: Yes, people did have small businesses and things going on for them, but they crashed. Even after the earthquake we had businesses but lost everything after the June floods. We use to sell cosmetics and sometimes the bank use to help us by giving us credit but there is none of that right now.

Miller: What was your neighborhood like before coming here?
Woman: We were living in houses. A few of us owned our homes, but they were destroyed and we don't have the resources to replace them. The homeowners are suffering because homeowners use to lease half of their house and live in the other half to earn income. When we lived in concrete homes we felt at ease and here we don't feel safe.

Miller: Did the house you lived in have *lakou*?
Woman: No, it had no *lakou*. We were living and renting a place with an option to buy.

Miller: What do they consider the *lakou* here?
Women: Even though it is in bad shape, where we are standing right now. We just cannot stay in the tents because it is so hot.

Miller: What is that woman doing?
Woman: She is making peanut butter.

Miller: Is it a good thing to have this space, the *lakou* here?
Woman: Yes we consider this space as a *lakou*. It was a good space but right now it needs repair. This is where we use to stand to keep from getting wet in the rain. Most of the tents in this camp are leaking. There are people that have asthma here. This is where we keep them to shield them from the rain.

Miller: Is it better that you have this then nothing?
Woman: Yes, for the moment.

Miller: Where do people cook and clean?
Woman: right in front of our tents.

D.1.4. Camp ASCEDD, Delmas

D.1.4.1. Interview with a Group of People Living in the Camp

Miller: What is the camp called?
Man: This camp is called ASCEDD.

Miller: Where did most of the people here come from?
Man: In the area, around Delmas 75

Miller: Did you all move here as neighbors?
Man: Most of us, yes.

Miller: Did it help the transition, having your neighbors with you?
Man. Yes! We are comfortable since we all know each other.

Miller: What are the benefits of living here? What are the disadvantages?
Men and women conversing with each other: There is no advantage of being here; it is the situation that put us here. We are not satisfied with IOM.

Miller: Did most of you rent houses before the earthquake?
Man: Some of us had our own, some were renting. But, as you know, these are houses that were damaged and need to be fixed.

Miller: What do people do for work, or are many without jobs?
Man: Many people here are carpenters and masons. As you know there are no jobs in Haiti, most of the people are jobless. The president said that he would make school free for the kids, but some of us did not experience this. If there were an organization that provides jobs for us, this would be very helpful.

Miller: What do most people during the day?

Man: Spend time outside, in this space.

Miller: Do you all consider this space the *lakou* of the camp?

Man: Yes

Miller: Is this the only space like this in the camp?

Man: Here is the biggest space.

Miller: What was the purpose of the tarp covering?

Man: The tent is hot! This tarp provides shade from the sun!

Miller: Did you all build the houses yourselves?

Man and woman: Yes! But, the property is not ours.

Miller: Did you all get help from Oxfam?

Man: We had support from Oxfam, but it was right after the earthquake for emergency.

Miller: Is it important to have a *lakou*?

Man: Yes!

Miller: What would you do without a *lakou*?

Man: Well, it would be bizarre! A house needs a *lakou*. The *lakou* is like a living room. We need a space to receive visitors.

Observation: It is bad that these tent houses do not have *lakous*, it adds further negative impact to their living conditions.

Miller: Would it be better if each house had a *lakou*?

Man: Yes. A *lakou* would be beneficial for me. For example, if I would like to have a party, I could invite guests into it and if I wanted to plant trees and a garden, I could use that space for it.

Miller: What about a shared *lakou*?

Man: To me the *lakou* must be independent. When I go out, I lock the gate so nobody can get in.

Miller: What do people use this *lakou* for?

Man and woman: During the day, when the sun is hot, we come out here to find shade.

Miller: Do you all spend most of the time here with friends or family?

Man: We spend most of our time with families and friends, yes.

Transcription Clarification:

Miller: Where did most people here come from?

Man: Delmas 75

Miller: Did they come with the same neighbors or different ones?

Man: Most of us!

Miller: What are the pluses and minuses of living here what do they think of the tent city?

Man: There are no advantages our current situation placed us in this tent city. If we had a choice we wouldn't be here so there are no advantages.

Miller: Did most of them rent houses before?

Man: There are those that were homeowners and those whom were renters here. Some of those homes were either damaged or need repair just like these tarps.

Miller: What type of work do people do?

Man: This is something very negative because there are no jobs in this country right now. There are masons and carpenters here and every morning they wake up and sit here on these rocks just wasting time waiting for it to get dark to get ready for bed again. There are women here that had small businesses who lost everything and they too wake up everyday doing nothing. The government even talked about free schools but we haven't seen any of that. When a child gets a proper education this child will be able to help his society tomorrow. If there is no one to help and some of the youths get an education and finish school they can end up being smokers.

Miller: Do they consider this a *lakou*?

Man: This space here is what they consider as a *lakou*.

Miller: So who built the tents? Themselves?

Man: We built these tents ourselves.

Miller: Did they get help from Oxfam too?

Man: It's been well over a year since Oxfam gave us anything here.

Miller: Is it important for them to have a *lakou* a space like this?

Man: Yes!

Miller: What would they do without it?

Man: All I can say is you always have to have a place to receive people.

Miller: Would it be better if every tent here had a *lakou*?

Man: Yes! That is something, which is important. It's normal for you to have space when you have a growing family and if you decide to have visitors you need the extra space. You have to have the *lakou* to plant trees, parking space if you have a car and if your having a party you need space in the *lakou* to receive the guest.

Miller: How about having a shared *lakou* with other neighbors?

Man: A *lakou* is supposed to be personal and independent so others can't walk in and out of it as they please.

Miller: As far as this *lakou* what do people do here?

Man: We sit here when it gets to hot inside the tarp.

Miller: Do they spend most of their time with friends, family or both?

Man: When we are here we are like a family, we have nothing else to do we just sit here tell jokes whatever else.

D.1.5. Airport Industrial Park IDP Camp, Port-au-Prince – 17 April 2012

General observations:

This is one of the largest tent camps in downtown Port-au-Prince. Refer to Figure D.6. The government owns the property, and no one has been forced to leave yet. In fact, some people rent out their old tent houses as they rebuild their own homes. Note that Delmas one of the major routes in Port-au-Prince, the offshoots of Delmas are numbered, and these numbers increase as you move up the hill. There is also an area of Port-au-Prince known as Delmas, which is adjacent to Rue Delmas near Delmas 32.



Figure D.6. ©2012 Google. Aerial view of the Airport Industrial Camp, 15 April 2012.

D.1.5.1. Interview with a Store Keeper

This man lives in a self-built wood framed house with a tin roof and wood sheathing. It has a porch and a small *lakou* out front.

Shop owner: This camp has 30,000 families, each individual tent here is a family. This is what I mean my 30,000 families. If every tent here has 5 or 6 people in it and there are 30,000 tents then add that up.

Miller: Where did all the people living here come from?

Shop owner: Well each family here came from a different place. We gathered together in one family.

Miller: What was this area before?

Storekeeper: This tent city location was a that was supposed to turn into a public park during the Jean Claude Duvalier presidency. The road was paved by former president Aristide and he too had plans to build something here. They had a project for this land, but now because of the catastrophe people just come here and live in it.

Miller: Do you know if the land is government land, or is it privately owned?

Storekeeper: It is government property.

Miller: When you first arrived did any organizations provide tents?

Storekeeper: Only the Red Cross and world vision gave us aid. They stopped providing food water and toilets.

Miller: Did they build any wooden houses or structures?

Storekeeper: No! They just gave us some sticks and tarps.

Miller: So most of these houses were built by the people living in them?

Storekeeper: Yes! I came with all my stuff and did the work myself.

Miller: Did you come with family or neighbors?

Storekeeper: Yes I came with my wife and child. There we some neighbors that came with us, but they live far from here.

Miller: Do you know your neighbors now?

Storekeeper: Yes we are like one now!

Miller: Does everyone provide support for each other?

Storekeeper: Well it is God that is holding us together, this has become an embarrassing situation. Most of the people that are still here are the ones who have nowhere to go. If you don't have any money or a job then things are ruff. It's like if I have 50 gds and my friend or neighbor use to share his with me then I share mine also.

Miller: Do you spend a lot of time with your neighbors? Time out: 8:10

Storekeeper: Well we are here so we do spend time together.

Miller: Does being close with your neighbor provide a sense of security?

Storekeeper: Well! It is God that gives security. If you pray to God, you know your life is secured.

Miller: Where do you guys get water?

Storekeeper: Well World Vision gave us about 5 tanks that can be filled with water but that aid has stopped.

Miller: Is there any type of well here?

Storekeeper: No, we have no well here just the water tanks.

Miller: Is there any electricity here?

Storekeeper: No, we have no electricity here, we have to steal electricity from the poles.

Miller: When you arrived here were there already a lot of people here, a lot of families?

Storekeeper: Well no! You know everybody was running around. Day by day, more and more came here.

Miller: Have many people started moving out?

Storekeeper: The folks that were suppose to leave have already left, the rest of us that are left have nowhere to go. Those who left had houses to move to.

Miller: Has there been any type of pressure to get people out?

Storekeeper: Not really the guys that use to put pressure on us gave up.

Miller: Are there any showers or toilets for the people to use? Time out: 11:56

Storekeeper: Well, there aren't any of these things here there is probably one toilet that was given by the Red Cross. If you see any toilets someone made or build it them selves.

Miller: Before the earthquake what did you do?

Storekeeper: I am a businessman; I had a small business for housewares.

Miller: What type of house did you have?

Storekeeper: Before the earthquake, I had a two story house made of concrete and blocks, but it collapsed. I put metal sheets on the roof.

Miller: Did the house have a yard/ *Lakou*?

Storekeeper: It did not have a big *Lakou*, just something small.

Miller: Did you have a storefront for your business or was it in your house?

Storekeeper: Yes, the business was at my house. The business I had was in my *lakou*.

Miller: Here, would you consider the space (covered space) we are sitting in a *lakou* or is it a porch?

Storekeeper: This is just a small porch that I built to get fresh air, so that I could spend more time outside the house.

Miller: No *lakou*

Storekeeper: Just that small space there.

Miller: Where do you spend most of your time during the day?
Storekeeper: I spend most of my time right here.

Miller: What do you do for work now?
Storekeeper: Well there are no jobs right now.

Miller: Do you spend time with your neighbors and family?
Store keep: Yes with my neighbors and the ladies that are here.

Miller: Here or just walking around?
Storekeeper: No I walk you know my girl is here.

Miller: The term *lakou*, what does it mean?
Store keeper: *lakou*/yard is a place where you have your house, animals and even be able to pull out a chair and sit down in.

Miller: what has changed since the earthquake and what is the biggest change?
Store keeper: Well I don't see any changes.

Miller: Did any of your neighbors or family pass away?
Storekeeper: Yes, most of the people near my house passed away during the earthquake. My cousin died, many people died. Where we lived there were many apartment buildings that collapsed.

Miller: Do you want to move out of here?
Storekeeper: Well if I leave, I have nowhere to go. I should know where I am going before I move.

Miller: If you move, will you miss the neighbors or new friends that you have here?
Storekeeper: Well, that's part of it! Now we have become accustomed to one another.

Miller: How does your family provide for food and necessities?
Storekeeper: Giving them food is difficult just look at what is going on here, this is my small business that provides not me.

Miller: Do many people around here have businesses?
Shopkeeper: Yes, there is no other way to survive.

Miller: Have many people started to build structures with wood or concrete block?
Storekeeper: Yes, after the earth quake a few people did start building homes.

Miller: Is there a committee for the camp?
Storekeeper: There are many camps here, around thirteen. There are thirteen committee members, but everything is mixed together. Each area has its own name.

Miller: Do any organizations still come here, or are involved with the camps? World vision, Red Cross, IOM, etc.

Storekeeper: We stopped receiving aid from organizations around June 4, 2011.

D.1.5.2. Interview with Peter, a Younger Man Living in the Camp (Figure D.7)



Figure D.7. Photograph of housing and a *lakou* in the Airport Industrial Camp. Photo by author.

Miller: When you came here did you come from near by?

Peter: Yes, I lived near by, in Delma 33.

Miller: When you came here were there already a lot of people here or was it growing?

Peter: Well on January 12 this is where we came because as you well know a lot of homes were destroyed. Just about everyone in my area came here.

Miller: Did you have any type of shelter provided for you all?

Peter: There were a lot of problems on the first day but on the second it was cold and we simply used sheets to sleep and blankets to sleep. People were not accustomed to making shelters; we were not taught what to do in this circumstance. We knew nothing of tarps at that time.

Miller: Did you come here with family or neighbors?

Peter: I have family here, but it is my children and my wife that are living with me.

Miller: Did many people from your neighborhood, where you lived before, come here too?

Peter: Yes, some are here with me!

Miller: Are these people near your house?
Peter: No not all of them! They are not far.

Miller: The neighbors that you have now, do you know them well?
Peter: Yes! There were people that I did know before the earthquake, but now I know them well.

Miller: Do you all help each other out?
Peter: Yes, even if it is not 100% we share a little.

Miller: Where do you get your water?
Peter: Red Cross had been providing us with water, but now they do not anymore. Now we buy buckets of water for 5gds.

Miller: Are there any showers or toilets here?
Peter: Yes Red Cross provided us with toilets and showers. Whenever it is full, they empty it (refer to Figure D.8).

Miller: Do you spend any time with your neighbors?
Peter: Yes, I always do!

Miller: Does having support and knowing your neighbors well help you feel secure?
Peter: We are always going to be lacking security. During the day it is ok but at night is when it becomes a problem because we really don't have an individual person responsible for that. These tarps are always broken into so security is not 100%. Even while people are inside the house, people have been know to tear the tarp and take things.

Miller: Did you have a house before or did you live in an apartment?
Peter: I was renting, but the house I rented was destroyed during the earthquake.



Figure D.8. Photograph of the toilet and shower facilities, which are out of commission. Photo by author.

Miller: Did the house that he lived in before have a *Lakou*?

Peter: Yes it had a yard/*lakou* and a cistern.

Miller: What all did you do in the *lakou*/yard?

Peter: If my yard/*lakou* belongs to me I plant trees in it, or do whatever I want inside of it but if it's doesn't belong to me then I can't do anything. In my old house, I did not do such things because I was renting.

Miller: Is any *lakou*/yard here or are the houses too close together?

Peter: No!

Miller: Do you think the people would benefit from a *lakou* if they had one here?

Peter: I can't speak for everyone, but if there was something I was receiving or given, even though I don't have land here, I would find a place to put it on someone else's land.

Miller: Do you know anyone that has done that before? Put their temporary house in someone else's *lakou*?

Peter: Yes, a lot of that is going on here. We haven't had a chance to benefit from that yet. Usually there is a committee leader that goes out and tries to get temporary housing for folks. In this camp we are missing that kind of leadership. For example, in other camps, people find temporary jobs but in this camp we get nothing. The persons in charge of the committee are not helping us at all; we are suffering.

I am going to show what the heat from these tarps has done to one of my children. She is 6 months old and this is what the heat from these tarps has done to her face (noticeable rash and redness).

Miller: So how do you provide for the family?

Peter: Even with a trade it is difficult to find a job. I was trained as a mason, but it is hard to find a job. I just do odd jobs here and there, wherever my services are needed. I'm a young man, if I go out into the street and ask for 5gds I won't receive it. My family helps me out sometimes also.

Miller: Is your extended family here also?

Peter: Just my brother and sister, my mother and father are not here. My sister and brother help me when I do not have work. My sister's house has a great *lakou*, so if I receive something like a temporary shelter, I can put it there.

Miller: Do they have a concrete and/or blockhouses?

Peter: Yes, a blockhouse. They are renting also.

Miller: Did it survive the earthquake?

Peter: Yes, the house was built before the earthquake and survived.

D.1.5.3. Interview with a Woman Living in the Camp

The woman lives in a wooden transitional shelter with her family. She was outside cooking beans when I approached her for an interview (Refer to Figure D.9).



Figure D.9. A Purchased wood shelter. Photo by author.

Miller: Did you come here from a near by place?

Woman: Yes!

Miller: Did you come with family or neighbors?

Woman: Yes both family and neighbors.

Miller: Do you live near them?

Woman: There is one person close to me here but he is not here right now.

Miller: Do you know the new neighbors?

Woman: I don't have any new neighbors I knew most of these people before the quake.

Miller: Does everyone here help each other out?

Woman: Yes!

Miller: Is it helpful that you have support from your neighbors?

Woman: Yes.

Miller: How so?

Woman: No, they don't help me!

Miller: Before the earthquake, what type of house did you live in?
Woman: A blockhouse!

Miller: Did you rent it?
Woman: Yes, Rent!

Miller: Did the house have a *lakou*/yard?
Woman: Yes, it did.

Miller: What did you use the *lakou*/yard for?
Woman: The *lakou* had a reservoir and we used to plant flowers.

Miller: Did they use to have any parties in the *lakou*/yard?
Woman: Yes, I use to have parties.

Miller: Did the children play in the *lakou*?
Woman: Yes!

Miller: Any business in the *lakou*/yard?
Woman: No

Miller: So now you that you do no have a *lakou*, are you able to do the things that you use to do in your *lakou*?
Woman: No you can see that. It is in this open area that you see me cooking!

Miller: Are there any large spaces in this area.
Woman: No!

Miller: Who do you spend time with during the day? How do you spend your time?
Woman: I work.

Miller: When you are not working, what are you doing?
Woman: I cook and clean! I have a child to take care of.

Miller: When you first came here what type of shelter did you have?
Woman: Like that one (referring to a shelter made of tarp).

Miller: Did you build this house yourself?
Woman: I purchased it!

Miller: Is it just a local builder?
Woman: An organization distributed them but it takes a bit of time to get one.

Interpreter: I know many people who purchased tent and yet tents were given out; however, not everyone was able to get one handed out to them. I received my tent from my school after the earthquake.

D.1.5.4. Interview with Jean, a Sales Woman in the Camp (Refer to Figure D.10)



Figure D.10. Photographs of the woman's house with a storefront. Photo by author.

This woman rents a house in the camp made of tarp and wood frame. She runs a small business from it, selling food and supplies.

Miller: Before the earthquake, did you live near here?

Woman: I lived far from here before the earthquake, near Delmas 60.

Miller: Did you come here with people whom you lived near before the earthquake?

Woman: There were some who lived next door to me who died in the earthquake, and there were some who moved to the countryside.

Miller: Were there many people who moved to the countryside?

Woman: In the house where I lived, four other people were living in it. During the earthquake two of them died and the other two moved to the countryside.

Miller: Did they move to Corail or Canaan (Two large tent cities north of Port-au-Prince)?

Interpreter: Corail is still part of the city.

Woman: No, they didn't.

Miller: Did you come with any of your neighbors?

Woman: Yes, and we help each other.

Miller: Did you know any of the neighbors before coming here?

Woman: No, I got acquainted with them after coming here.

Miller: Are you close with them? Good friends?

Woman: Yes. We understand each other and cope well with each other, but we are in trouble economically.

Miller: Do you and your neighbors help each other out when in need?
Woman: No, they do not share.

Miller: Who built your house?
Woman: I lived in a tent before coming here. There was another person living in this house; they moved out and gave it to me. I rent it.

Miller: Has this transaction happened a lot in this camp?
Woman: Yes.

Miller: Do others do the same, renting?
Woman: Yes, the majority of the people rent houses in this camp.

Miller: Did the original owner move away?
Woman: Well, The man who lived here had a house before the earthquake. The house was damaged, but he fixed it and moved back into his house.

Miller: Does the owner of the house do any maintenance?
Woman: No. When it rains, water used to come in, so I had to buy a new tarp. It is up to me to fix it whenever something is not working.

Miller: What type of house did you live in before the earthquake?
Woman: I rented a house with two rooms; it was a concrete house.

Miller: Did it have a *lakou*?
Woman: Yes it had a small *lakou*. There were other people who lived there as well, but as I said, they scattered after the earthquake and two died.

Miller: What did your family use the *lakou* for?
Woman: In the *lakou* I used to do laundry.

Miller: Is there a *lakou* here?
Woman: No.

Miller: Here, where do people do activities that normally take place in a *lakou*?
Woman: Wherever they can. If I had a big *lakou*, I would use it for laundry and to take a rest.

Miller: Here, where do you do laundry?
Woman: Next to the street, under this porch, I even hang clothes up in the house (pointing to the clothes hanging from clotheslines inside of the house).

Miller: How do you spend your day?
Woman: The way you see it (working). I sit here with the baby because I can not stay inside the house with the heat.

Miller: Are you a sales woman?

Woman: Yes! When I have money, I buy stuff to sell so we have money to eat.

D.1.5.5. Interview with a Sales Woman Living in the Camp (Refer to Figure D.11 and Figure C.2)



Figure D.11. Photographs of a *lakou* in the PDS. Photos by author.

Miller: Where did you live before coming here?

Woman: Downtown! Near Delma 33.

Miller: Did you move here with family and friends?

Woman: Yes!

Miller: Did you or your next-door neighbors come here too?

Woman: Yes, as part of my entourage.

Miller: Do they still live near you?

Woman: We are not together right now but they live near.

Miller: Do you know your next-door neighbors here?

Woman: Not all of them.

Miller: Do you get along with your neighbors?

Woman: Yes!

Miller: Do you feel like a community here?

Woman: In the position that we are in whenever it rains everything we have gets damaged or destroyed. We don't have a good committee to keep things in order.

Miller: Does everyone help each other out?

Woman: no!

Miller: How do you spend most of your day?

Woman: I don't spend it well; the sun is very hot during the day.

Miller: Is there any electricity available?

Woman: We look for our own electricity; we tap a very long cord into the electrical poles.

Miller: Do you have to buy water?

Woman: Yes, we buy buckets of water for 5gds/per bucket.

Miller: Are there showers and toilets here?

Woman: We make our own toilets and showers.

Miller: How did you get the tent was it given to you or did you have to buy it?

Woman: I built it myself!

Miller: When you first got here what type of shelter did you have?

Woman: I had a house made of sheets only.

Miller: Do you have a big family?

Woman: Just the three of my husband, my baby and us. (Refer to C.2. for sketch of *lakou*)

Miller: Do you have any brothers or sisters?

Woman: Yes I do!

Miller: Do they live elsewhere?

Woman: Yes, they live elsewhere.

Miller: Do they live in the city or in the countryside?

Woman: In Port au Prince, but in other tent cities.

Miller: Did you live near any of your brothers and sisters before the earthquake?

Woman: No! I lived with a cousin of mine.

Miller: Is she here also?

Woman: She is not here with me; she lives in Carrefour.

Miller: What type of house did you live in before the earthquake?

Woman: A concrete house.

Miller: Did you rent it?

Woman: Yes, it was rented.

Miller: Did the house before have a *lakou*/yard?

Woman: No!

Miller: Is it important for you to have a *lakou*/yard or not?

Woman: Yes!

Miller: Why?

Woman: So that she can plant trees to provide shade from the sun.

Miller: What else would you use a *lakou* for?

Woman: We can use a *lakou* for laundry, have a pool, and even have a business.

Miller: How have you provided for her family?

Woman: I have a business.

Miller: What do you do here?

Woman: I have a boutique! I ran out of money though, so I had to close the business. I can't afford to purchase goods to sell.

Miller: Do you mostly spend time with family or do you spend time with friends as well?

Woman: With family!

Miller: Do you spend any time with her neighbors or no?

Woman: Yes, sometimes.

Miller: In each other's houses?

Woman: That woman who we just talked to would come in here to spend time, and I would go over there to spend time with her.

Miller: Is there a *lakou* here or no?

Woman: Yes, a small one!

Miller: How do you describe living here?

Woman: We are without security, a thief recently cut open one of the tarps. We do not like this kind of life because we are not secured here.

Miller: Has anyone, for security purposes, started building with concrete or wood?

Woman: Most of the people that are still here are still using tarps. Some did purchase plywood.

Miller: Is it too expensive to purchase wood or build with concrete?

Woman: Yes!

Interpreter: Did you go to school?

Woman: Yes, but I quit in eleventh grade.

Interpreter: Do you want to go back?

Woman: Yes, I want to resume my studies, but I do not have money to go back to finish.

Miller: How is it that you have a *lakou*, while a lot of people do not?

Woman: If you were here after the 12 of 13th of January 2010 then you had already secured your space. Some people came late into the camp, some people even paid to have a space here. There are others who built big houses with no *lakou*. As for us we built a small house so that we can have a *lakou*/yard. It was based on who was here first. The one who came first, had the opportunity to build their houses the way they wished; the one who came later had no choice and had to do with the land they found. We were one of the first people here.

Miller: Do you think that the guy with the concrete house on this property was one of the first people here?

Woman: A house was already being prepared there even before the earthquake; there was a foundation. He found someone living there in the foundation of his house and chased the folks away and began finishing building his house.

General Observations:

The remnants of a storefront are visible at the entrance of the tent house (Refer to Figure C.2 for a sketch of area). Left over posters and CDs are hanging on the walls on the inside of the shop. The store has two sections, one is an open-air entrance surrounded by a tarp fence and the other is enclosed, an auxiliary entrance into the *lakou* of the inhabitants. The entrance section has two chairs in it, one broken and holding open the door. The *lakou* is long and narrow with a porch directly behind the house. The space is created by the surrounding tent homes. The inhabitants have planted a few bushes and trees that provide some shade to the space as well as hung a tarp over the porch area. The porch has two men relaxing and speaking with each other, while buckets lay to the side for washing.

D.1.6. Plaza Athletic Field IDP Camp, 17 April 2012

This camp will most likely undergo evictions in the near future due to a festival that the property owner wants to have, which used to take place annually before the earthquake (refer to figure D.12).



D.12. ©2012 Google. Aerial view of the Plaza IDP camp, 17 April 2012.

D.1.6.1. Interview with a Family Living in the Camp, a Man and a Woman

When approached the woman was washing dishes and the man was helping her prepare food. They were both watching over their children at the same time.

Miller: Does this camp have a name?

Man and woman: This field is called the Plaza!

Miller: Can you tell us a little about the camp, where did most of the people come from and who built it?

Man and woman: It was after the quake that we arrived. Homes were destroyed, and everyone was told to find an empty field. So people here are from all over.

Miller: Did any Organizations help establish the camp or was it the people that built it?

Man and woman: There was Red Cross and IOM, but IOM did not do anything for us at all. IOM started to provide help, but they stopped in the middle. It's always been Red Cross that's helping us.

Miller: Did you have tents before building the camp?

Man and woman: No we didn't have anything!

Miller: So how do you spend your time around here?

Man and woman: The time we spend here is not good; when the sun is out, we can't even stay inside the tent. Only at nighttime can we go inside the house.

Miller: Are there any places that are shaded from the sun?

Man and woman: We just search around for different spots where there is shade. When it is hot we go over there (pointed to a tree line).

Miller: Where do you collect water?

Man: Red Cross used to bring us water but it has been a few months since they have given us any.

Miller: How long has it been since Red Cross stopped given you guys water?

Man and woman: A few months, possibly since July.

Miller: Is there any electricity available here?

Man: Yeah, somewhat, whatever little we can get.

Miller: Are there any toilets or showers available?

Man: Yes, there are toilets here.

Miller: Is there a water pump or something used for washing?

Man and woman: Well it's the same water that Red Cross used to provide to us. We used the drinking water. Now we buy water, if you don't have 5 gds then you can't even get a bucket of water.

Miller: Do you know the people in the neighborhood well?

Woman: Well the people that are next to us we know, but the ones further off we don't know.

Miller: Do you get along with your next neighbor next door?

Man and woman: We are like family! We are close friends.

Miller: Does knowing your neighbors help you feel more secure?

Woman: Well if one of us has a problem we help each other.

Miller: Is it important that you have that support from your neighbors?

Woman: Yes!

Miller: Before the earthquake did you live near by?

Woman: Yes, we were living near by!

Miller: Did you come here with any family or close neighbors?

Man and woman: We came here with just about everyone! Families and friends.

Miller: The next-door neighbors that you have now, did you have them before?

Woman: No! They were not our neighbors. We met when we came here

Miller: Did any of your family or neighbors die during the earthquake?

Man and woman: Yes, many!

Miller: What type of house did you live in before?
Woman: We rented a blockhouse.

Miller: Did the house have a *lakou*?
Woman: The yard wasn't huge but we had one.

Miller: Is it important for you to have a big *lakou*?
Woman: Yes!

Miller: What are the benefits of having a *lakou*/yard?
Woman: I can have my kitchen there and if I decide to have a business it will also be in my yard.

Miller: Where is the *lakou*/yard here?
Woman: Where you are standing right now. (Man and woman laughing)

Miller: When you think of the word *lakou*, what is it that you think of? Is it just the yard, or can it be a space shared by multiple homes and people?
Man: When you are done building a house, the *lakou* is what is left around the perimeter. (Man laughing)

Miller: Does the *lakou* have to be private?
Woman: Yes!

Miller: Are there any spaces here that are shared by different people?
Man: No! Where we are is what we have! We can't have a yard because everyone is too close together.

Miller: What do you consider this space we are in right now?
Man and woman: This is just a little road, a path.

Miller: Do you do any cleaning out here, like laundry or dishes?
Woman: We do that inside the house.

Miller: Do you cook in the house also?
Man: Yes.

(Crying baby)

Interpreter: The term *lakou* is losing its original meaning little by little as time moves forward.

Miller: Since coming here after the quake, how have daily activities changed?
Man: Well there are not really any activities going on, there are no jobs, nothing. Those that do have a profession are just sitting around.

Miller: Is it more difficult trying to spend time with friends and family right now? Is it more difficult to provide safety for your children?

Man: Yes. We have nothing to do for work, so we spend all of our time here.

Miller: Do the children go to school?

Man and woman: Those that are able, but not all the time. There are those that go to school and those that don't. Some parents cannot afford for schooling.

Miller: Do you mostly spend your time with friends and family?

Man and woman: Yes.

Miller: What is it that's keeping the people here, is it money?

Man: We don't have the financial resources to go anywhere else.

Miller: How does your family provide for necessities like food?

Man and woman: God taught us how to survive but there are people here that go a week without cooking a meal. It's others who have that are sharing.

Miller: Has anyone you know started building his or her house with concrete or wood?

Man: People have houses made out of sticks right now. There are some who have begun to build with block and wood sheathing.

Miller: Is the rain a big problem here?

Man: Yes! It's a big problem. The tarps are worn out and do not keep the rain out.

Miller: If they were given the opportunity and the space to do it do you think the people create their own *lakou*?

Man and woman: If we had a property we would, but since this property does not belong to us we can no.

Miller: If this camp were planned in a way for each family to have their own *lakou*, would that be an improvement.

Man and woman: We cannot answer that question because we do not own this property.

D.1.6.2. Interview with a Family Living in the Camp

Max approached me after overhearing my other interview. He wanted to give his opinion and speak his mind regarding the camp committee. Him and his wife responded to my questions. He was eating with one of his children while the interview took place (Refer to Figure C.3 for a sketch of the *lakou*).

Man: We have not been living well at all here. We have a small committee, but this committee isn't really doing much do help us. When the committee gets something, they keep it for themselves. Right now we don't have any water, no clean bathrooms. We aren't living well at all. We're sleeping in tents that are torn at the bottom. When it rains they flood inside.

Miller: How is the committee formed?

Man: Well! Some guys formed the committee. They made money and walked out on us.

Miller: Do you know your neighbors well?

Man and woman: Yes!

Miller: Are they family?

Man and Woman: They are not family, but we consider our neighbors as our family. We live among each other as family.

Miller: Is having that type of family support helpful?

Man: It helps. When I have a little, I share with my neighbor, and when I don't have, they share with me.

Miller: Does it help make people feel more secure?

Man: Well! We feel secure because we have God up above. God protects us. We cannot put our trust in man, so we look up to God for protection. In reality we're not really safe.

Miller: Did you know the neighbors you have now before the earthquake?

Man: Yes! We lived in the same area. We lived in Delmas 18. When our houses were destroyed we abandoned them together and came here. We were living on Delmas and came here right after the quake. Meanwhile we have a bigger problem, the owner of this property wants it back. We have been here for two years and two months, but the owner wants to put a fence around the whole place. If we had a real committee at this camp, this is an issue that they should be trying to resolve. They should be finding us another property to go to. We put our faith in God, we do not put our faith in any of the committee members. They are just out for their own good. All of the people here would like to go rent a house, but because there is no money, they cannot go do that.

Miller: Is the committee in charge of going out and seeking help/ aid from other organizations?

Man: The committee is only looking out for themselves. When they meet with the organizations they are only looking out for themselves, they keep the money to themselves. They are wasting the resources only on themselves.

Miller: Has the property owner given you all a time limit?

Man and woman: Well, he gave us a deadline already, but that date has passed. Right now the owner has already built a wall around it, us spending two years here is costing the owner a lot of money. On this property the owner used to have festivals, this was how he made money. You understand what I'm saying? He has said that he is going to keep us out. There's not much we could say about that. Since we do not have any money to rent a house, we will stay here until the property owner removes us by force.

Miller: Before the earthquake what type of house did you have?

Man: A house made out of blocks. I was living in a house that had five stories. I was living at the very top. That house was destroyed completely killing the owner.

Miller: Did you have any neighbors that passed away?

Man and woman: A lot of people died, actually 14 people died at that house.

Miller: In that apartment was there space for the children to play?

Man: It didn't have a big space but it did have enough space for folks to sit down.

Miller: What do you consider to be the *lakou* here?

Man: Here, where I'm sitting (covered area in front of the house).

Miller: How big would you like your *lakou* to be?

Man: I would like a two-bedroom house to live with my children that has a toilet and shower, with a kitchen and big *lakou*. This way my children can play.

Miller: Others we asked said that they would like to have a *lakou* to have a business. Is that what you would like?

Man: I would plant flowers and trees.

Miller: Have many people here started to build their houses with block or wood sheets?

Man: No! Some have started building with sticks or wooden sheets. The owner of the property will not allow anyone here to begin building with blocks.

Man: This place is called the 'Plaza.' This is where they used to play basketball and have other athletic events. They have not been able to do this since the earthquake.

Miller: When you first came here with your family was there already a lot of people here or did it slowly grow?

Man: No! There were not a lot of people here. Day by day, more people come. All of the people here, it is the earthquake that put them here. People here are from all over.

D.1.6.3. Interview with a Man Living in the Camp (Refer to Figure C.4)

Miller: Can you tell me a little about your neighbors and how well you know them?

Man: We live as family!

Miller: How do you spend most of your time, with neighbors?

Man: I spend most of my time in the camp because the sun is too hot to be inside.

Miller: The neighbors you have now, did you know them before coming here?

Man: It was during the earthquake that we met.

Miller: Did you come here with anyone else that you knew from the place you lived before?

Man: Yes, there are people.

Miller: Did any of your neighbors pass away?

Man: Yes, my cousin.

Miller: Did you know them all?

Man: Yes.

Miller: Does knowing your neighbors well help? Do you help each other out?
Man: Here my neighbors and I we're not working so we just chill, or we sleep.

Miller: Do you feel more secure knowing that you know your neighbors well?
Man: No! There is no security here; there are people that come here to misbehave. They fight, and steal people's things!

Miller: Did you live near by before the earthquake?
Man: Before the earthquake I was living on Delmas 31.

Miller: What type of house did you live in before and did you rent a house or apartment?
Man: I was living in a two-story house.

Miller: Did the house have a *lakou*?
Man: No! It did not have a *lakou*.

Miller: Where did people go to get out of the house or for children to play?
Man: There is little space so sometimes they play on the gallery/ porch.

Miller: Is it important for you to have a *lakou*?
Man: Yes, that is what I would like to have.

Miller: Why?
Man: Because, for example if we had space during the earthquake we would have been able to run and stand in that empty space. If there's no space then you can't run anywhere.

Miller: In this space what do most people do?
Man: We get together and play dominoes and stuff.

Miller: Is this a pretty active space?
Man: No!

Miller: Do a lot of things happen here, kids playing people doing things?
Man: Yes the kids play here. To keep them from wondering away we create some sort of activity for them.

Miller: How has your daily life changed as far as what you do in a day?
Man: Things have gotten worst for me after the quake. The way I was accustomed to living I am not living like that anymore. When it rains the conditions are bad.

Miller: What do you do for food?
Man: Well we live as neighbors, if I have 5 gds and my neighbor has 5gds we put it together and see what we could do. There are no jobs so.

Miller: Has anyone prevented you from building with concrete or wood?

Man: This is private property, which doesn't belong to us you can't build with blocks. We can only put up our tents plus the owner is putting a lot of pressure on us to leave.

Miller: Have people left on their own to find other places or has any organizations offered help with relocating?

Man: Yes, there is an organization; like if you have your own piece of land then they will probably put up a temporary house for you that can last up to 5 years.

Miller: Why did you decide to make a little porch, is this what you like?

Man: When the sun is very hot it is difficult to stay inside so that's why I have it, to get some fresh air.

D.1.6.4. Interview with a Plaza Camp Committee Member

Miller: What can you tell us about the *lakou*?

Man: *Lakou* has two definitions; the first definition is courtyard or the yard. The second definition is an anthropological term for a mystical thing.

As far as this term, the *lakou* has a link to the ancestors. No matter where you are in the world, when the *lakou* is asking for you, you should come back. It is specific and has a deadline for when you must return.

The *lakou* is a habitation; it is the place set by the ancestors. It exists from generation to generation. It is not something that you can sell because the ancestors can not be replaced. It is in that same *lakou* that all of the mysterious things can be solved. It is in that *lakou* that the family should solve their problems. All of their problems can be solved in that *lakou*. The spirit that lives in the *lakou* is called the guinea. The spirit that lives in the *lakou* is only for the generation that lives in that *lakou*. That is the reason why, even if you go far away, anytime the spirit asks for you, you should come back. It is because of him, the spirit, that you are alive.

In a *lakou* there is a spirit that watches over all, an evil spirit. The evil spirit can attack the family that belongs to that *lakou*. If the evil spirit attacks one of the people, only the good spirit in the *lakou* can heal that person. The spirit that heals is only there to heal people from that family. The spirit can prevent you from doing what you want to do. If you keep teasing a member of that family, the spirit will stop you from doing that. In the same way that spirit does not encourage any member of that family to tease other people.

To heal sick people, they use leaves from the trees in the *lakou*. Leaves of the Mapu tree. Sometimes you can see people thriving on the ground... How does it work? If a member of the family in the same *lakou* has a problem. A member of the same family, while he is sleeping, he dreams that there is a member of another family that is persecuting a member of his family. That same family has to give a treatment. Someone may be working, in good health. He will get a vision of the guinea in his head, even if he was not doing anything bad.

In the *lakou* there is a huge tree, the Mapu. This is the very place where all of the family members get together. Some of them bring ox to sacrifice. They have a great ceremony and lay the sacrifices at the Mapu's feet. They light candles and pray so that the guinea can come eat the food. It is different when you see people tie ox and sacrifice them so that the blood can drain to the Mapu's feet. This time it is the devil.

The guinea cannot stand blood; the best way to thank him is for all of the family members to get together for all of the people to drink the wine (klarin) that the ancestors used to drink. It is different for the devil. For the devil you should shed blood, by killing an ox tied to the Mapu. The devil can drink that blood in several manners. When the blood has finished shedding, it is said that a snake comes down the tree to drink the blood. In this manner, you know you are dealing with the devil.

The people who are possessed, they are called *blakou*. These people do not have a *lakou*, they have something called a *Peristyle*. It is a house where people dance. The evil spirit comes all over them and dances in their heads. They come in several forms. When it reaches midnight. If you are not like them, you cannot stay. Only people that are like them can stay in that place. When they are dancing and you are attending, once midnight comes, you must leave. Otherwise, the spirits can transform you. It is different from the guinea, the guinea are pleased when you come to visit the family of the *lakou* even if you are not part of the family. This traditional celebration occurs every year

You cannot serve both spirits at the same time, you either have a guinea or the evil spirit. If you try to serve both you risk death. When you are serving a spirit, anytime that it is your turn, you must oblige.

Poor people who want to become rich, those people can go to a witch doctor and ask. They may give part of their body so that they can become rich. One day, at anytime, a spell can come over that person. All of this is done by the devil. They can put people in a state of confusion. To sum it up, all of the evil doings are done by the devil. Remember, this is different than the guinea. The guinea deals with healing. It prevents bad things from happening, the guinea protects. It is not the same thing as the devil. The devil does a lot of things. There are many that can be represented in different forms. The most dangerous representation of the devil is a snake. For example, most of the women or men who want to become rich are obliged to give a part of themselves to the devil or they can become married to the devil (give their soles). All of the time the devil is transforming in the form of a snake, and that snake, even when you are driving your car, is next to you, like your wife. When you lie down on your bed, it is next to you.

You have to be one who is truly serving the lord, so the devil does not kill you. Even if you have it in your mind to resign, the devil is in your car. And if you have it in your mind to talk with a woman, and you are married to the devil, it will prevent you from doing so. When you go do anything, like go on a walk, that snake will force you to take it with you. That is the way it is.

Miller: Did you grow up in a *lakou* or did you study the subject?

Man: My family is from a *lakou*, but I did not grow up in one. I remember, when I was a child, a spirit possessed me. When I went out at night here in Port-au-Prince, I was hit by them. I have a grandmother, who is from Cap Haitien, from the habitation, Haroab. My grandmother knows that I have a problem in Haiti, and she forces other people to bring me back to Cap Haitien so that I can be healed. The medicines that heal are very simple and it is the guinea that tells what will heal me. The guinea should be active in your mind, and he will tell you what type of leaf will heal. How does he know? When my grandmother is sleeping, the spirit comes to her mind, and she opens the door and goes out. She goes to the *lakou*, among all of the trees and plants, and picks up leaves that are good for the sickness. In this case, it is the guinea that heals that person.

It is a very simple thing; the devil is not the same as the guinea. There are devils that have different treatments, some keep you in bed at home, and they have you take a bath in foul water or drink a chicken's blood. There are some devils that trap you under a tree and use a whip as your medicine. If it is good medicine that person will be healed, but many times it is false healing and nothing happens. Those who practice evil go to a witch doctor for treatment; it is very difficult to get healed. Sometimes the person has to eat foul things or drink foul blood and nothing happened. If you go to a witch doctor for treatment, it is very difficult to be healed. If you go to harm someone, it is easier to harm someone than to receive healing. They may be in several forms; they send evil spirits to harm that person. You may be walking down the street and be hit by a car, no one else has an injury except for you, and you die. You may be walking, make a bad step, and fall down dead.

For the devil, evil doing is easier than healing people. The devil is not part of any *lakou*.

How is the *lakou* formed? It is the ancestors who form it, habitation to habitation until the last generation reaches it. From the ancient tradition, they apply the same traditions. In the *lakou*, there is someone who is in charge of the *lakou*, like a priest. That person is the only one who has access to talk with the guinea. It is that person who has to begin the ceremony when they are serving food to the guinea. That's the way it is. They do not heal people for money. They do not send people to put money for intercessions. The only things that they use are the leaves from the trees.

Miller: Why do you think that the *lakou* is not present in the city?

Man: In the capital, the people from the countryside, their generation who were not born in the capital. You cannot just take a *lakou* from the countryside and put it here. It was something that was established from the first generation. It is as if I were to take the *lakou* from my country to yours. It is something that remains from generation to generation. That is why I tell you that, as the time is coming, even if you live far away, when you sleep, you will think of the *lakou* and return there. As long as you do not return there, you will be confused. Physically you will be in good health, but you will feel that something does not work. It is still in your mind, it is like a mother or father who has a child that goes away from them, and their only objective is to come back to your children. That is the way it is with the *lakou*. In Port-au-Prince, there are a lot of *peristyles*, the

place where the evil spirit lives. It is not something that was established by the ancestors from generation to generation.

The day that the devil comes into my mind, I am baptized as a witch doctor. I look for a place to establish a house, and have all of the spirits' pictures. Everything that the devil desires will be found in the place that is the *peristyle*. The guinea cannot heal you here, you have to go back to your *lakou*, the habitation of your ancestors. This is the place where the secret of the medicine is held. You cannot take the *lakou* out of the countryside and put it in the capital. This is never done. The *lakou* Habitation is not a simple thing. The *lakou* habitation is a zone, like a tribe. There is no stranger in that place; it is my family from generation to generation. When you come to the house, it is your family's house. On one side your sister's house, the other your brother's and the other your mother's house. Each of the children lives in their own house within the same zone, from generation to generation. Even if one leaves the country, their house will remain. Another member of the family is not allowed to sell their empty house. You cannot take it out from its origin and place it somewhere else.

I was born in a *lakou* and came here to Port-au-Prince. It is fascinating anthropology. It is a major reason for the Haitian independence. The revolution of 1789 (1791). There were a lot of mysterious things. A lot of the heroes of the independence, the men who fought for independence, practiced these things. All of the slaves practiced it a lot. At night, August 22nd to the 23rd, 1789 (1791) there was a vodou priest called Boukman. He was the head of the grand ceremony. That ceremony would strengthen all of the slaves. He had all of the slaves drink the blood of pigs. All of the slaves were made strong like wild animals. Even if you walk on them, they keep on. They used to use a lot of powder on people, when they threw it at the white man; all of a sudden they died. It is poison. The feast was known as the Boukman Ceremony, which happened in the North. This ceremony was one of the things strengthening the slaves.

They say the religion that brought independent to Haiti was vodou. Vodou should have been the official religion.

What is vodou, it is all Boukman's ceremonies. The vodou priest is the one in charge of the ceremonies, like a catholic priest leads a mass. This nation was born from vodou. Every single person has his or her own point of view. The people who believe, there are some that are doubtful, there are some who do not believe at all. In spite of these three types, it is something that is common among all, which is the independence of Haiti. Everyone who has a different opinion agrees that Boukman was a pioneer. In spite of the three opinions, there is only one thing that is common; it is the independence of Haiti. All of the people agree that Boukman played an important role in the independence of Haiti. That is the reason why it has a great importance in anthropology.

To me, I emphasize the sociology aspect. I started learning about the society's history. I do not want to say this is good or this is bad. I want to know the reality of it all. Vodou is hard to define because it is a vast subject. Everyone has their own opinion. It is hard to define.

I was born, but not brought up in the *lakou*. Each *lakou* has its own tradition. For example, every January 26th, my *lakou* is supposed to get back together. Even though we do not have any ceremony, we should all be there. The children of the *lakou* belong in the *lakou*. It is tradition that began with our ancestors.

(Note: I had to bribe this man after the meeting. He considered it payment to visit and conduct research in his camp.)

D.2 Leogane Interviews

Reference Appendix C for observations of these sites.

D.2.1. Sugar Canaan Camp, Leogane, Haiti (Refer to Figure C.32)

This camp is located just outside of Leogane on the way to Carrefour Dufort off of Rue National. It was originally set by the river just north of the camp's present location, but due to rains and flooding the inhabitants were forced to relocate.

D.2.1.1. Interview with a group of people taking shelter from the sun under shade (Refer to Figure C.36)

Miller: How long have you been living here?

Man: We've been here since January 12 of the earthquake.

Miller: Did you build these houses?

Man: Yes.

Talking randomly

Man: IOM has been here since January 12, 2010 and they have never done anything serious for us here.

Miller: Was there already a lot of people living here before they came here?

Man: No! It was empty.

Miller: How soon after the earthquake did they move here?

Man: The over flow of the river forced them out.

Miller: The community that you lived with, did they all come here or did they separate?

Man: They asked for permission to move onto this land to have a place to stay.

Miller: Did you all come from *Lakous* ?

Man: Yes, we had a *lakou*. The way it works is that there maybe several homes in a *lakou* and everyone just rents out a room to stay.

Miller: Do you have the same neighbors now?

Man: Yes, Some are here and others are elsewhere.

Miller: Are you friends with your neighbors here?

Man: Yes, all of us here are friends my house is over here and his house is there.

Miller: Do you spend most of their time with your friends and family?

Man: Yes!

Miller: When you move do you all want to have the same community with you?

Man: I could get a home here and he gets a home elsewhere it doesn't matter.

Man: There have been many different organizations in and out of this camp but none of them have given us the aid that we need. They are always here giving us food and stuff but we need more than that. It's like every organization thinks the people in this camp already have another organization helping us get situated. That is not the case because no one has moved us out. The Koreans are always turning away organizations that want to help us by telling them they are here to help us which is not true.

Miller: Are other members of your *lakou* here?

Man: None of them passed away but those that had a place to go left and others remained.

Miller: Are people living here from all different places?

Man: We we're not all from the same *Lakou* but from the same neighborhood.

Miller: How long did it take you to get to know each other or did you know each other from before?

Man: About one year since we've known each other.

Miller: The people that they spend time with did they know each other before the earthquake or after?

Man: Even before the earthquake we we're together.

Miller: All of the people here are from different places, but do they get along?

Man: Yes! We get along!

Miller: Do you help each other out?

Man: Yes!

Miller: When you built your houses were there more of these houses already here or have people moved out?

Man: Those that can afford to move have moved out.

Miller: Were these houses a lot closer together before, or was there always this much space between them, or was the space created when they built them?

Question was never asked

Miller: When they built the house did they try to build larger shared spaces?

Man: Before the house was built we put pickets in different areas to measure space.

Miller: Are there any large areas for kids to play in?
Question never asked!

D.2.1.2. Interview with the Leader of the Camp

Man: This camp is called CRC, June 21, 2010 is when we arrived at this camp.

Miller: What do you all do here as a whole? How do you spend your time? Is this where you live?

Man: Well this is where we live every house that you are looking at has someone that lives inside of it. This is where our entire day is spent. Some people have jobs and go into the city and others stay here.

Miller: What do you guys do here?

Man: As a whole we don't really do anything, those that could afford to have a small business have a small business those that can't go out and look for something to do and after that they return to their homes to sleep.

Miller: Do your friends and family come visit you guys here?

Man: Yes! There are people from the countryside here that get visits. Wherever your house is on this camp is where your friends visit you. Before the earthquake no one was living in houses built like this and now here we are and our friends know we are sleeping under tarps. So they except the conditions and still visit us.

Miller: Where do you guys get water from and how?

Man: Well water is not easy to come by because we dug a well so that we can take showers and wash clothes but we don't have drinking water so we drink from the well. We drop tablets into the water to treat it before drinking it.

Miller: Where do you guys get electricity from and how?

Man: Well we don't really have electricity.

Miller: Where do you guys use the bathroom and shower?

Man: We shower in front of our homes because we don't have private showers here. As for toilets, this is something different. We had a toilet that was given to us by an organization called "Save the Children". It became gross with feces! People now go into the sugar cane fields or wherever else they can find to use the restroom.

Miller: Does everyone here know each other well?

Man: Yes, everyone here knows each other.

Miller: Do you feel safer because everyone here knows each other?

Man: Well, in the space of two years, since we have been here, if we did not know each other there has not been any violence here and that is due to the committee here and the strategy we put in place, that helps the people here see and understand their situation and

how we can help each other. If something goes wrong in the afternoon or night hours how can you handle it.

Miller: Do you guys help the kids also?

Man: Yes, because as long as that child is here he/she is part of us in this camp. When people ask for a head count you can't leave that child out.

Miller: Where were you living before the earthquake?

Man: Well, most people here were not homeowners they were renting. The homes they were living in were damaged or destroyed. Most of the people here do not own any land so here we are on this terrain.

Miller: Are there a lot of people that have left?

Man: Yes, folks that were already home owners that had land. They saw that in the two years since coming here they haven't received anything so they left.

Miller: The people that live here, are they from different areas?

Man: Yes, some are from Petit Goave, Grand Goave, Port au Prince people are from all over. The earthquake brought them here so they had no choice but to stay.

Miller: Do you have a name for this place?

Man: We know everyone's names here.

Miller: Does the house you once lived in have a *lakou*?

Man: Yes, the houses had a *lakou*.

Miller: Is it important for you to have a *lakou* and how to you use it?

Man: When you have a house with a *lakou* you can use that *lakou* for several different things. It's a place to relax and you can even plant things even have a shower and toilet. Whatever you like you can plant in your *lakou*.

Miller: You don't use it for business or place for kids to play?

Man: Yes, when I say a place to relax it is also a place for the kids to play, as for business you have to have the financial means to have one. Those that can afford to have a small business have one.

Miller: Do you consider a *lakou* as a place in the front or in the back of your house?

Man: If you are on your own land you can position your *lakou* anyway you want. If you don't have land all you can do is wait continue to wait. Wherever you find the space to have a *lakou* is where you put it, even when you rent a house there has to be some kind of space to sit and relax in.

Miller: Is there a *lakou* where a lot of people are living in?

Man: The way that you see us here is how we are living, this place is like a village the way you see it, and yes it is a *lakou*. This is where we play and do everything. When the heat is on this is where we sit for fresh air.

Miller: Do you recognize the meaning of the word *lakou* as a family?

Man: A *lakou* is something private like this is my space and this is yours. Like when you rent a house you can rent it and have a business in the *lakou*.

Miller: Did people here come from different *lakous*?

Man: Well, I told you already that people here are from everywhere.

Miller: At first, was it hard to get to know each other, to trust each other since they came from different places?

Man: When we came here we got to know each other. We are friendly toward each other and spend time with each other.

Miller: What is the importance of having a *lakou*?

Man: A *lakou* has a lot of importance but you can't speak of a *lakou* unless you have a home first. In order to have a *lakou* you have to have a house, and if you don't have a house then you have no *lakou*. If I have a piece of land and I don't have a house on it then I don't have a *lakou*.

Miller: Is it important to have the social aspect of living together?

Man: It is important because that is the way it is suppose to be. We are living together in this camp.

Miller: Have you gone out and planned activities with your friends or family?

Man: Yes, we have friends that we go out with. Like I may want to step out somewhere and ask my friend to come with me and he does the same thing.

Miller: Did any of the neighbors that you had from your old neighborhood move here with you?

Man: No!

Miller: Since the earthquake, how have things been? Are you working? Do you spend time with your friends and family; play with your kids, etc.?

Man: As for me, I was working before the earthquake and after but I left my job because I saw that the folks here needed a leader. Yes, I left my job to help these people but the organizations haven't given me a penny and I am the one responsible for this camp and these folks don't give any problems.

Miller: The kids that are playing here, do they go to school or not?

Man: There is probably just one child here at this camp that doesn't go to school.

Miller: Is there anyone from your neighborhood that died during the earthquake?

Man: During the earthquake everyone here had a friend or family that passed away. I had my wife the mother of my child killed during the earthquake.

Miller: Whom do you share your time with friends or family?

Man: We spend time with each other as you can see from the two days that you have been here.

Miller: How would you like to live, you prefer living here with all of your friends or somewhere else?

Man: Well I can't really say if I would live here; this is not a permanent spot. If an organizations decides to do something for the people here then that person will find a place he prefers. Everyone has their own solution to their problem; everyone makes their own decisions as to where they want to go.

Miller: What do you and your families do for necessities; do you have a job or family that is helping you?

Man: I don't have a job right now or family that is helping me. I use my brain in a positive way in order to survive. My family is in Port Au Prince, but if I am really in a jam, I can reach out to them for a little something. If they haven't maybe they will send it to me maybe not. I am a grown man I would like to have a job. I am full of different certificates from what I have learned. I haven't benefited from anything since leaving my job. I haven't had any organizations come to me and say this is what I am giving you for all your help.

Miller: Is it family alone that lives in the *lakou*?

Man: There are places where it is only family in a *lakou* as for me I lived in my own house and other members of my family lived in theirs. There are areas here where you will see six different houses and they are all from the same family living in tarps in this camp.

Miller: Is there anyone building a permanent and secured home?

Man: No! We don't have that!

Miller: Is there an opportunity for people to create their own *lakou*?

Man: I already told you that in order to have your own *lakou*, you have to have your own home. Example: everyone here has a tarp. If I have an opportunity to have my own *lakou* yes I would like that. A person that has the means can lease a piece of property build a house with a wall around it with a *lakou* where you park you car and live with your family. Everyone would like to have his or her own personal space. To have your own personal space you have to have cash.

Miller: Did they build these houses themselves or did any organizations help?

Man: We did it ourselves!

Miller: What is the camp committee in charge of?

Man: For the two years we make demands for whatever the organizations are able to give us. We have reached a point where for a time now we haven't received anything from any organizations. For example, there are a lot of tarps that are in ruin and when it rains it rains inside of these peoples houses. If the organizations were giving us something the

first thing it should be are tarps that way we can distribute one to every house hold in order to cover their homes.

D.2.1.3. Interview with a Woman in the Camp

Miller: Can you speak of this camp and how it functions? Who are your neighbors and whom do you share your time with?

Woman: My sisters are my neighbors when I am not at home I am right here at my sisters. This is where I spend all my time.

Miller: Do you spend time with others at this camp?

Woman: No! I don't have friends but I speak with everyone. The people that are my friends are two females out back.

Miller: Where do you get water?

Woman: We have a well here that we dug ourselves we use the water to bathe and wash.

Miller: Do you don't have electricity?

Woman: No

Miller: What do you use for toilets?

Woman: No! We don't have any toilets and we take a bath in the bushes over there. We sometimes go out into the field over there to relieve ourselves.

Miller: Do you know everyone at this camp well?

Woman: I don't go into their homes but I know them.

Miller: Do you think by knowing each other it makes you feel more secure?

Woman: Yes, because if any of us here has a problem we can help each other.

Miller: Where were you living before the earthquake?

Woman: I was living in the countryside.

Miller: What type of house did you have?

Woman: I was renting a home that was destroyed.

Miller: Did the house you were renting have a *lakou*?

Woman: Yes, it had a *lakou* because the owner of the house lived on the property.

Miller: Is it important to have a *lakou*?

Woman: No, because I am living in a camp right now, I would have to leave here.

Miller: What do people use a *lakou* for? Is it for business or for the kids to play?

Woman: You can have a *lakou* for the kids to play and for business, but you have the means for these things.

Miller: When you are home, where is your *lakou*, in the front of your house or out back?
Woman: The *lakou* is in the front.

Miller: In the place where you lived, did it have a place for your friends and family to relax together?

Woman: Yes! It was five sisters living where I lived, three of us were renting and the other two came to live with us.

Miller: Do you know the definition of a *lakou* as a social organization or as a family?

Woman: It means a place where an entire family resides without outsiders living amongst us.

Miller: Where do you find a *lakou* in the countryside or the city.

Woman: In the countryside!

Miller: Are you from the countryside or city?

Woman: I am from Petit Goave.

Miller: What is the importance of having your own *lakou*?

Woman: I would like to have a place to reside with my child.

Miller: The *lakou* that you want, do you want it to be private?

Woman: I want a private one not like it is here!

Miller: Do you go out with your friends and family?

Woman: I go out on my own sometimes when the ladies are stepping out I go out with them.

Miller: Do you have visitors come here that you go out with?

Woman: I don't have any friends.

Miller: Since the earth quake how do you pass your time is it with your friends or family?

Woman: I spend my time with my family my mother is in the countryside and my father passed away. I pass my time with my family.

Miller: Where do the kids go to school?

Woman: One of them attends school downtown and the other in Carrefour. I send them to school on credit.

Miller: Did you have any family or friends pass away during the earthquake?

Woman: I had a cousin that passed away and a friend whose daughter passed away.

Miller: Would you prefer to live here with everyone or somewhere else?

Woman: I am just barely holding myself together here I don't want my children here.

Miller: Do you work?

Woman: No, I am not working when I have I help my family and they help me when they have.

Miller: The place where you lived, did the family live in a *lakou*?

Woman: Where I lived had the mother and her children living in it. It was a family *Lakou*! We were living amongst that family.

Miller: Do you know the definition of what a *lakou* means?

Woman: Yes!

Miller: Has any organizations come here to build or give you all any shelter?

Woman: An organization came here and said they would build shelters here but the committee told them no.

Miller: If an organization decided to give you a shelter would that be important?

Woman: Yes, because I don't want to live in this camp anymore.

Miller: What do you think of the shelters that are being built by the different organizations?

Woman: Anything I get is better then what I have.

D.2.1.4. Interview with a Woman Living in the Camp

Miller: I am a student from the United States, conducting research for graduate school. The research I am conducting here will be written in a report, this report will then be made available to organizations to read. This is why I am here.

Miller: Can you speak about this camp how do you spend your time and what do you do here?

Woman: We live here as one child does coming from the belly of one mother. Everything we do here has to be approved by the leader of the camp we having meetings to discuss what is happening.

Miller: Where do you get water?

Woman: We dug our own well but whenever we need water we have to go out into the street. We don't have water or toilets here.

Miller: Where do you take a bath?

Woman: We shower anywhere and we defecate in bags and dump it.

Miller: How about electricity?

Woman: We have electricity but nothing here! What we have here lights up whenever it wants. I can't remember the last time we had lights.

Miller: Do you know everyone in this camp well?

Woman: Yes, I recognize them but I don't know them well! We help each other anyway we can. We support each other.

Miller: Where were you living before you came here was it close by?

Woman: Before the earthquake I was living with my brother in law and he passed away.

Miller: When you were living with your brother in law what type of house was it?

Woman: It was a small house that he rented.

Miller: Did the house that you were living in have a *lakou*?

Woman: Yes!

Miller: Is it important for your house to have a *lakou*?

Woman: Yes it is important! If I can get a *lakou* that would be nice.

Miller: What do you use the *lakou* for? Is it a space for the kids to play?

Woman: I use it for the kids and me nothing else.

Miller: When you have a *lakou* is it in the front of the house or in the back?

Woman: In the front of the house where you are entering. This is where your kitchen and everything is.

Miller: Is there a *lakou* here or do you consider any space here as a *lakou*?

Woman: This is my house over here this is my *lakou*! In the front is my *lakou*.

Miller: Do you know the definition or meaning of the word *lakou* what does it mean to you as a social or family mater?

Woman: For a *lakou*, if I have four children then I would want my own space for me and my children the others have their own space.

Miller: Did you live in a family *lakou* before?

Woman: Yes

Miller: Did the people from that family *lakou* move here or did they separate?

Woman: They pass by to say hello but they are not here with me. My closest friend and family that I was living with passed away.

Miller: If you were to have your own *lakou*, would you like it to be private?

Woman: Yes, I would like my *lakou* to be private just for my family and me. But these are my neighbors I don't want to get a home and for my neighbors to be left out!

Miller: If you have to go outside this camp with whom do you go out with?

Woman: Well, if I have to go to the market and this woman here has to go also then we go out together. If we are in the market together and I come up short on funds or she does we are able to lean on each other. If my neighbor is unable to go she can give me the money tell me what she needs and I will bring it back for her.

Miller: How have your activities changed since the earthquake?

Woman: Nothing has been working out for me. My life has changed; I am not living the same way I was before. My mind always wonders off thinking about the friends I have lost the people I depended on most have passed away.

Miller: Where do your kids go to school?

Woman: I had four children going to school, but now I can only afford to send one of them.

Miller: Did you have any friends or family pass away during the earthquake?

Woman: I lost about five people during the earthquake! Those that were able to help me the most.

Miller: Were any of them living with you at the time?

Woman: My brother in law!

Miller: Whom do you spend your time with right now is it with your friends or family?

Woman: I spend time with my children and a few neighbors that are here.

Miller: Whom did you move over here with, was it friends and family?

Woman: Just my kids!

Miller: If they were giving you a home here, would you like to live here or elsewhere?

Woman: Well if I get the house here then I wouldn't mind living here but if they decide to give me a house somewhere else than that's fine also.

Miller: Are you working?

Woman: If I found a job, I would work and the family members I had that were able to help me passed away.

Miller: Have any organizations promised to help you all get temporary housing?

Woman: In the almost three years that we will have been here people are always coming here taking are pictures doing this and that but no one has given us a bag of rice. We have no one doing anything for us they are taking our pictures for nothing.

Miller: If you had a chance to have your own *lakou* would you want it here or else where, what do you think?

Woman: It would do me a lot of good because I wouldn't have to get into any arguments plus I have daughters and sometimes when you are living in a camp you don't want your daughters exposed to everything. Getting a place where I can live alone with my daughters would do me well.

Miller: Did you live in the countryside or in the city?

Woman: I am from the countryside.

Miller: Was it a concrete blockhouse, wood or what was the house made out of?

Woman: A mixture of blocks, rocks and wood.

Miller: What do you think of a *lakou*, the way a family and everyone is living in a *lakou* and how they get along?

Woman: The way a white American lives is different from the way Haitians live. The family I had has passed away I have no family to share with.

Miller: Do people here live as a family in this camp?

Woman: Yes!

D.2.1.5. Interview with Another Woman Sitting with the Above Woman

Miller: How are you surviving in this camp, what do you do and with whom do you spend your time?

Woman: I spend my time with everyone here, we are doing whatever we can to survive because we don't have anyone that is responsible for us. Some of us that have a little something get up in the morning and head out and others that don't have to stay here in the camp. It is my husband who goes out and works doing odd jobs. As for my neighbors I know just about everyone here. We have been together since January 12 of the earthquake.

Miller: What do you all do for water?

Woman: Sometimes we get water from the Ministers (UN) but we don't trust them. The water we get from the well is to wash or bath but we don't have clean drinking water.

Miller: Do you have electricity?

Woman: No, we don't have electricity I use candles and gas lamps.

Miller: Where did you live before the earthquake?

Woman: I was living in the countryside where we had our own home that was destroyed.

Miller: Did you live in a family *Lakou*?

Woman: Yes, I had a *lakou*. Me, my husband and children lived in it where we did gardening and we relaxed in it.

Miller: Did you lose anyone during the earthquake?

Woman: No, I didn't lose anyone but my mother injured her face.

Miller: With whom did you move here?

Woman: I came here with my husband and children. But people from my neighborhood also came to live here also. Just about everyone here is from the same area.

Miller: When you are here, whom do you spend your time with and do you spend the entire day here?

Woman: I don't really spend time anywhere else. When my neighbors and me aren't doing anything we get together and talk.

Miller: If you were to receive some type of aid would you prefer to stay here or somewhere else or would you like to be with your neighbors?

Woman: If I received some type of aid so that I may return home, I am definitely leaving.

Miller: Would you like to live near the same neighbors that you have now?

Woman: Yes, I would like to live near them.

Miller: Has there been any organizations or person to come here and offer to give you temporary housing.

Woman: The way you see things here is the way it is, we don't have toilets or anything. We receive no aid.

Miller: If you have an opportunity to get your own home or temporary housing would that be good for you?

Woman: Yes, it would be good for me, if they give me something so that I may return home I am out of here. There is a lot of noise here and when I am home I don't hear all this noise.

Miller: How important is the relationship that you have with your neighbors?

Woman: It is important for those that know me but not important for those I don't recognize because some people here talk have no respect and talk to you in any kind of way. If I was living on my own personal property no one could come and disrespect me.

Miller: How important is it to have a *lakou*?

Woman: It's important to have your own *lakou* so you have privacy and no one can bother you.

Miller: Do you like the idea of having a shared *lakou*?

Woman: The *lakou* that I lived in is not large but if I knew someone very well and could get along with him or her then I wouldn't mind having a *lakou* with him or her. There are others that come and live with you in a *lakou* that can make you very unhappy.

Miller: What is it like here with all of you sharing a *lakou*?

Woman: The problem is that some neighbors are problems; you cannot take them to live with you and share a *lakou*.

D.2.1.6. Interview with a Woman

Miller: How are you all living in this camp and what do you all do?

Woman: We live thru God because if God didn't want us here we would not be here after the earthquake. Whatever God gives us we share, if we were unable to eat we would not be here. It's not from any type of aid that we have received that we are here. I have land but my house was destroyed and I don't have the resources to rebuild it.

Miller: Where do you all get water and electricity?

Woman: This is where we shower, where we are standing we just get a bucket of water and take a bath, we get water from this well we use it to wash clothes and we drink from it because we don't have any other resources. We don't even have toilets people use plastic bags.

Miller: Do you as neighbors know each other well and how do you pass your time?

Woman: Everyone knows each other, but everyone here doesn't think the same. People here are always arguing, we live amongst each other but not everyone has the same opinion.

Miller: Does it help when everyone knows each other? Does it make you feel more secure?

Woman: Yes, because it would be difficult for one person to live in these woods alone. Everyone is watching out for each other. If everyone here had some place else to go we would have left.

Miller: How do you feel about sharing space with your neighbors? What are the differences and how do you deal with it?

Woman: I had neighbors living in the same *lakou* I was living in and we got along very well but here and where I was living is not the same. I would like to get along with all of them but there are some who do not know how to get along with others.

Miller: Where did you live before the earthquake and was it near here?

Woman: No it was not that close it was a concrete house with blocks.

Miller: Did the house have a *lakou*? What did you do in the *lakou*?

Woman: I use to plant things, if you came to my *lakou* you would find mango trees, plantains growing. Whatever I find I plant near my front door.

Miller: What do you consider to be the *lakou* here?

Woman: I would consider this camp as a *lakou* but this camp doesn't belong to me if they gave me a *lakou* here I wouldn't be able to take it with me because this property doesn't belong to me. I can do whatever I want in my own *lakou* but here I cannot.

Miller: When you go outside of this camp is it with people that come and visit you or your neighbors here?

Woman: I don't get any outside visitors. I go out into the markets and stuff on my own.

Miller: Did you have anyone that passed away during the earthquake?

Woman: Yes, the father of my children passed away during the earthquake.

Miller: Whom are you living with now?

Woman: I am living with my children; sometimes I survive by borrowing from friends. You might have a problem and that friend is the one you can bother from as long as you pay it back. I have seven children; three that are going to school and the others don't go to school because I can't afford to send them.

Miller: Do any of your neighbors help out with the kids?

Woman: Yes, because if they cook a meal and my kids are hungry they will share the meal with my kids.

Miller: Would you like to leave here and go live somewhere else or stay here as a family the way you are?

Woman: I would not want to stay here, if I find someone that wants to give me something I would want them to put it where I live. This is a camp; I can't raise my kids here; I can't educate them here. I want to live in separate place with my children.

Miller: Is there anyone or an organization that is offering to give anyone homes or assistance?

Woman: IOM came here and said that they would give us temporary housing here but I said that I did not want to stay here. Once the home was issued here at this camp you would not be able to move or relocate. This land is leased and not owned by the Koreans because they are the ones that leased the property. If anything is out on this property then the people here cannot take it with them. We are suffering in the middle of this sugar cane field and mud.

Miller: If you had your own *lakou* to live in, would that be important to you or would like to stay the way you guys are living together

Woman: I would like to have my own *lakou*, that is important me. I would like to return to the *lakou* where I was living with the same neighbors.

D.2.1.7. Interview with a Man Living in the Camp

Miller: Talk about the way that you are living here?

Man: We find a way, to live in a way that God created us to live. I have a wife and six children; it is god that gives me a helping hand with them because I can't even read for myself.

Miller: What do you do?

Man: What I use to do was pull carts, but I don't pull carts anymore. Now I distribute moonshine. This helps me make a few bucks so that I can feed my kids.

Miller: Do you know everyone in this camp well and do you spend your entire time here with him or her?

Man: It is here that I spend my entire time; all of us have been here together since January 12, 2010. I was even preparing to build a small house for my children but then the earthquake happened and ruined things. Now I am fighting to find a way to try and start over but it is difficult.

Miller: Did you live in a family *lakou* before coming here?

Man: No, it was a place I rented.

Miller: Is your land near Leogane?

Man: Not very far from here.

Miller: Where do you guys get water and electricity?

Man: We had a toilet out back but so much people use that toilet and now it is ruined. It is clogged up and full of filth. We had to dig a well to get water and this is the same place where we take our baths.

Miller: Do you have anyone that passed away during the earthquake?

Man: No, no one!

Miller: Would you like to move out of here or continue to stay here?

Man: Here is not a place where I enjoy living; it's just that I cannot afford to leave right now. If I could afford it I would be out of here.

Miller: Did you move here with just his family or did any neighbors come with you?

Man: Yes, I have neighbors here.

Miller: Do you guys help each other out?

Man: Yes!

Miller: Did you have a family *lakou* where you once lived?

Man: Yes, there was a family *lakou* but not my family.

Miller: Did any of them come here?

Man: Yes!

Miller: Has anyone or any organizations stopped by to give you guys aid or help?

Man: We haven't really received anything here except tarps to build these houses.

Miller: If you had a chance to move out of here and have your own *lakou* would that be good?

Man: Yes, it would be good! If god sends an organization with a soft heart that wanted to help me get a home that I could put on my land I would tell god thank you. If it is up to us to come up with the money to move we cannot do it. Besides if we had the means we would have been out of here already. This is not a place that we like!

Miller: When you all built the camp, who decided this house goes here and that house goes there? Man: No plans were made; everyone just chose a spot and said I am building my house here and I chose a spot and said I am putting mine here.

Miller: How many people do you think live here in these houses?

Man: Right after the earthquake there were over 200 houses and now it is over 100 due to people leaving.

Miller: Have many more people been moving out?

Man: Yes, as long as they could afford it they leave.

D.2.1.8. Interview with a Woman Living in the Camp with Her Husband

Miller: How is living in this camp?

Woman: When the sun gets very very hot, it is difficult for my kids to live under tarps; my kid's hair is turning and they are getting sick. As an adult, sleeping under tarps is not good for me either.

Miller: What do you do for water, electricity and toilets?

Woman: We haven't received anything, if we have to use the toilets we go into the sugar cane field, we bath in the streets where we are visible. The UN brings water in sometimes.

Miller: What do you use to cook food?

Woman: We use sticks to cook food because we don't have money to buy charcoal.

Miller: Do you know everyone in this camp well?

Woman: Yes, we give one another security.

Miller: Where were you living before the earthquake?

Woman: I was living not too far in a house that I rented. In a brick house that was a one bedroom.

Miller: Did the house that you rented have a *lakou* and did a family live in the *lakou*?

Woman: No. I had no *lakou*.

Miller: Did you have any relatives that passed away?

Woman: I had a cousin that died no neighbors that died.

Miller: Did any of your neighbors or people that shared the *lakou* with you come here?

Woman: I have neighbors here.

Miller: How do you make a living? Do you work or have a husband that does, what do you do?

Woman: I don't do anything; I have a husband that helps out when he can. If I eat, it is because of my husband. We have two children together, but I can not afford to feed them so I send them to the orphanage. I sent them to the orphanage because I can not provide food for them. That hurt me because sometimes I want to see them, but I am not allowed. It hurt me so much, but I could not do any better, that is life.

Miller: With whom do you spend time? Is it with the folks that are here?

Woman: When I am sitting home and feel as if I can't take it anymore I come right over here to this neighbor's house. We have been friends for a while. If I can help her with something that she is doing, then I help her.

Miller: Would you like to leave this place?

Woman: Yes, because here my mind is not at ease people are always cursing and arguing.

Miller: Has any person or organization come by to give you all shelter or some type of aid?

Woman: No, there hasn't been anyone, different organizations come by take our names down but nothing serious is being done.

D.2.1.9. Interview with a Woman Living in a Family *Lakou* within the Camp

Man: My name is James Miller. I am a student at a University in the United States, I am doing research on *Lakou's* in Haiti. Do you agree to speak with me, have conversations if you don't agree to speak with me just tell me. If you agree you can begin speaking and you can stop at anytime. I will not use your name or any information that would help others identify you. If you agree I will use this information in my thesis and any related presentation. I will not use your name in any shape or form. Do you understand everything I just said?

Woman: Yes

Miller: There are no benefits to this research. Do you still agree to speak with me?

Woman: Yes. I agree but I want to know if your research is so that we may receive some type of aid?

Miller: It will not directly benefit you, but it is my hope that aid organization will look at my research in order to better serve you.

Woman: How are we living here in these tents? We don't have any leaders to help us sometimes. I can speak for myself; I spend two days here without working or anything at all. We are here suffering. Sometimes when they pass by just like this white American is here doing his research and take our names down as if they are going to send us something but we don't get anything. We don't know how we are going to survive there are no jobs nothing at all.

Miller: Who are the people living next to you, are they your neighbors or family members? Did they live near you before the earthquake?

Woman: We lived in the same area but there are people here from Jacmel and Peti Goave also. We are all living here together. We live as neighbors but we are not family. No one here lived in the same house with me.

Miller: Did you have anyone that passed away during the earthquake?

Woman: Yes, my three-year-old child died. One of my kids children. After time passed I became very sick even going to the hospital, I couldn't speak for three months.

Miller: With whom do you spend time with here and is this person a friend or relative?

Woman: [No response]

Miller: What is your definition of a *lakou*?

Woman: It means we are a family; we live together as one here we collaborate to become one.

Miller: Are you and your neighbors safe here?

Woman: Well we are not really safe, I guess since we don't own or have anything of value for thieves it's ok, but we have no one watching over us. You are safe when you have someone watching over you night and day. Someone who sees wrong being done tells the person to stop don't do that! People sometimes go after each other with machetes and other weapons. There is no one to go after the person or say, "No! Don't do that!" Everyone has to defend himself or herself, sometimes the neighbors even get violent here to the point where he/she can kill you. You have to be careful and watch your back. I'm a churchgoer and a missionary. There are those who think they can kill me just like they did Jesus. In my neighborhood there are some that are good and some that are bad. If I get some kind of satisfaction from god and they remove me from here along with the many people that are living here it would be a huge grace. I am here living alone I don't have a brother, sister or an uncle living here with me in this camp. It is just me and my children that are here and my husband.

Miller: What do you like in your community?

Woman: There isn't much to like about the community because there isn't anything here.

Miller: What do you like and dislike within your community.

Woman: If we are to live in this camp, I would like it to have more security. There are those that are threatening to burn down each other's houses. We need to have laws so that when a person says such things he/she is judged for what he or she says.

Miller: What types of work do you and do you have your own business?

Woman: I don't have anything! I am not working.

Miller: How about your family, what type of work do they do?

Woman: I am not from Leogane; my family is from Jacmel, I left my home 13 years ago and came here to live. I am not advancing here in Leogane. When I have a little something it goes directly into my children.

Miller: How about your neighbors here what types of work do they do?

Woman: They are living the same way, they don't have anything either.

Miller: Does everyone here help each other out with necessities?

Woman: If someone here gets sick and needs 50gds to go to the office they will not get it here, people are not giving. Each person is looking out for themselves they don't care if you're hungry. As for me when I see a hungry child I share but there are people that see you sharing a piece of bread with a child and say you are the devil. They don't want you giving the child anything but I don't have that type of heart.

Miller: Where do you get your resources from, (food, clothes, medicine etc)?

Woman: [No answer]

Miller: Did you have anyone pass away during the earthquake?

Woman: Yes, my uncle and two children. If I look beyond Leogane, I lost a lot of friends and family during the earthquake. I had a cousin who was supposed to fly out to the U.S that died, the one that was able to help me in a time of need has passed away.

D.2.1.10 Interview with a Woman in a Group Washing Clothes Living in the Camp

Miller: Talk to me about how you are living in this camp?

Woman: We are not comfortable here; we are sleeping under these hot tarps. We don't have any form of security here, the country is unstable we just sleep but we are not comfortable. We are living here not because we enjoy it but because we don't have a choice. The earthquake took whatever we had so if there is an organization willing to do something for us we would appreciate that.

Miller: The neighbors that you have here are they your friends or family?

Woman: Some are my friends and others came from the same neighborhood.

Miller: Does anyone here have any one that passed away during the quake?

Woman: Yes, I have a neighbor that has a sister that died; others had family members in Port au Prince that died.

Miller: With whom do you spend your time with here? Is it with your family or friends?

Woman: They are not family but my friends and neighbors.

Miller: What words do you use to describe your neighborhood? Can you define it?

Woman: I give the word neighborhood a lot of importance because when you live next to someone they become like family to you. When one has a problem we help each other a good neighbor is like a good relative.

Miller: Would you like to live in a better place along with your neighbor?

Woman: I would like to live in a better place that is safe and secured but it's the people making the decisions for us that can tell us if it is good or bad. We are unable to provide for ourselves we are not in the best situation and would like a better life. No matter if we leave or not there is still no guarantee that life will be better or worse.

Miller: Would you want to have the same neighbors and the same friends that you have here when you move?

Woman: Yes!

Miller: What do you like and dislike within this community?

Woman: There are folks that don't understand or comprehend things well. I feel like I can live and get along with others but there are those who doesn't feel the same way. Before you live with someone you really need to get to know him or her and his or her way of thinking. If I dislike someone it is because they are always arguing and causing trouble.

Miller: What type of work do you do and do you have your own business?

Woman: I am not working and the business I use to have closed because I ran out of money. I just sit here!

Miller: What type of business did you have?

Woman: I used to cook food!

Miller: How about your families, what type of business are they in?

Woman: I have family members with shops, boutiques; I have some that sell goods in the market. They are everywhere.

Miller: As for your neighbors here, what do they do for work?

Woman: Most of these folks don't have work anymore but some of them did before the earthquake. This is why a lot of us here are suffering and sometimes when the blan [white] come to the camp and distribute things they sometimes get stolen because our homes are not secured. This is the reason that a lot of us are just sitting around doing nothing.

Miller: Where do you get your resources from like food , medicine, the houses your living in etc.?

Woman: Sometimes our husbands go out and do odd jobs, when they return they give us a little something and days we don't have we just live without. We support each other. When a neighbor has and the other doesn't that neighbor that has shares. This is the way we live here.

Miller: What do you do for clothes?

Woman: If we have a few extra dollars we go out into the market and buy second hand clothes. If we don't have money then we stay with the clothes we already have. Buying clothes is not something we are able to do all the time.

Miller: Did you build this house?

Woman: Yes, we built these homes ourselves.

Miller: What do you do for medicine when you are sick?

Woman: When we are sick we go to a low cost clinic. There are some also that are free that do not ask for anything. Sometimes we go to Sans Frontiers [Doctors without borders] because it is free.

Miller: Do you have any family members here?

Woman: I don't have any relatives here! My relatives don't live here.

Miller: Where do you guys spend your time?

Woman: We spend all our time here when the sun begins to beam down on us we go and look for another shaded spot. We try not to go very far so that are houses aren't broken into.

Miller: Do you have any members of your family that died?

Woman: Yes, I have family members that died in Port Au Prince but nobody passed away in the house I was living in.

Miller: Were there different *lakous* where you lived?

Woman: Yes, there were different *lakous* because there were so many of us. The person that we rented from made sure that everyone had his or her own *Lakou*. There were several houses in the *lakou* and everyone had their own little space. Here there are not different *lakous*, like this is all one *Lakou*. We don't really like how things are here. When your living amongst so many people life isn't the same. If the *lakous* were separated it probably would be more secured.

Miller: Are you happy being in your own *lakou*?

Woman: Yes, because when you are in your own *lakou* you know when people are coming and going. You have more control over what is going on.

Miller: Would you like to have your own *lakou*?

Woman: I would like to live in a camp but one where everybody has their own *lakou* with a house in it that is more secured then what we have now.

Miller: When you are living in a *lakou* and you have stress does it help to have other people in the *lakou* to talk with?

Woman: Yes, because when you have a problem at home it is good to have someone else in the *lakou* to share your problem with. It helps to get that stress or problem out of you. It is especially important to have your own *lakou* when you are trying to raise children. If your children are being raised in a *lakou* with violence that child will grow up to have a lot of problems.

Miller: Is it more important to have a *lakou* in the front, back or on the side of the house?

Woman: [No answer]

Miller: What do you do in your *lakou*, do you receive visitors, cook, or wash?

Woman: In the *lakou* we wash, cook; we do all the chores that are important.

Miller: What are your daily activities?

Woman: I don't have any particular activity that I do every day. My money was stolen so now I don't have anything going on.

Miller: Where do you cook?

Woman: This is where I cook right here where you are (standing outside of tent house).

Miller: How can you describe or define a *lakou*, what does *lakou* mean to you?

Woman: For me *lakou* means a place that is walled in and secured. When you have a place that is your own, any and everybody cannot walk in and out of it because it is more secured.

Miller: What was the *lakou* like that you lived in before?

Woman: It was secured. When there are problems out on the streets we didn't have to worry because we are in a secured place. Even though the house we lived in was destroyed after the earthquake we remained in the *lakou* and still felt secured.

D.2.2. Ka Piti, Leogane, Haiti

This semi-permanent settlement was built through the contribution of Red Cross and the Chest of Korea. The original landowner, who no longer lives in the area, separated his land, which was originally used for sugar cane fields. The separated plots were rented or sold to inhabitants for a price of \$500 per five years. There is a road going out to the sea to the East of the settlement and Ave De Colonial (Route Belvald) to the South. The land is low lying and prone to flooding during the rainy season, which leaves the inhabitants to a difficult and harsh environment. There are only footpaths throughout the settlement wide enough for motorcycle travel and makeshift bridges over the streams that traverse the property.

D.2.2.1. Interview with a Woman Living in a *Lakou* in the new Settlement (Refer to Figure C.58)

Miller: When did you all arrive here?

Woman: We have been here for about 7 months.

Miller: I see that everyone has a separate space for their house. Did you all rent or lease this space? Woman: We leased the space. We looked for a piece of land, all of these houses that you see are on land that was leased.

Miller: Can you describe to me how you leased this space?

Woman: This piece of land here, not everyone leases space the same way. There were people here before us, I leased my space for \$2,000 dollars Haitian (\$400 USD). Some leased for more and some probably less.

Miller: The houses that I am looking at, what organization gave you guys these houses?

Woman: Yes, it was Red Cross. Red cross distributed all of these houses that you are looking at.

Miller: When you first got here, were there a lot of houses here?

Woman: There were a lot of houses here, a lot of people were living in camps, and when Red Cross decided to give them houses; I found a piece of land to lease. Remember I have been here for 7 months some people have been living here for two years.

Miller: Can you tell me little about the folks that are living here and what they do?

Woman: Nobody is really doing anything here, it was the house they wanted and that is why they are here.

Miller: Who are your neighbors? Are they your family or friends?

Woman: I don't have family here I found these people living here and we became friends. My relatives do not live here.

Miller: Do you have any neighbors that passed away during the earthquake?

Woman: Yes there are some!

Miller: Did any friends or neighbors from where she lived before come here with her?

Woman: Yes, some are here!

Miller: Where did you live right after the earthquake?

Woman: After the earthquake I was living on a terrain near the St. Rose Catholic Church.

Miller: Whom do you pass your time with here, is it your friend's family or neighbors?

Woman: I spend time with friends and neighbors. Sometimes when I am not doing anything I go out to visit my sister.

Miller: Are the people living here safe and if they are how and why?

Woman: I can honestly say that this place is not safe because just about every night thieves come into this place. We really need more lights here and for drinking water to be near us. We dug a well here for water but it is not used as drinking water.

Miller: Do you consider this to be a temporary or permanent place to live and have a home?

Woman: This area is terrible when it rains it gives us a lot of problems you could say this is permanent because once we reached the five years that we have on our lease then we can renew it again. Once you have lived here for a while you can even decide to purchase it.

Miller: What type of work do you do or do you have your own business?

Woman: I'm a sales woman that goes around selling things but I haven't been able to sell anything since after the earthquake I don't have the money to purchase anything.

Miller: How about your family what types of work do they do?

Woman: The men go to work and the women are sales women.

Miller: How about the people living here?

Woman: They're doing the same thing I am doing, there might be a few that go out and sell things.

Miller: How do you get clothes?

Woman: Just about all my clothes were lost during the earthquake. I just remain the way that I am, dependent on God!

Miller: How about food?

Woman: You eat when you have and when you don't you stay the way you are. I don't eat from my neighbors to keep them from talking bad about me.

Miller: How about when you are sick what do you do?

Woman: There is San Frontiers (Doctors without borders) hospital and that is where I go. The other clinics or hospital wants you to pay.

Miller: In the *lakou* that you are living in is it just you, your husband and children?

Woman: Yes.

Miller: Do you relax in the *lakou* with your family?

Woman: The way you see it is how it is, everyone has a piece of the *lakou*.

Miller: When you are here with your friends where do you hang out, in the *lakou*?

Woman: Sometimes in the *lakou*, but mostly in the house.

Miller: Do you have anyone in your family that passed away in the earthquake?

Woman: My father passed away, my brother, other relatives and friends that died.

Miller: Did you live in a family *lakou* before the earthquake?

Woman: No.

Miller: Were there a lot of family *lakous* where you lived?

Woman: Yes, there were a lot.

Miller: Are there many here?

Woman: Yes there are some.

Miller: When you are living in a family *lakou* are you at ease and more comfortable?

Woman: I am a lot happier having my family next to me, here is not great. If I were to get sick, it would take me a lot of time to reach my destination and when it rains we have problems.

Miller: When you have your own *lakou* do you feel more secured?

Woman: Yes.

Miller: How important is it for you to have your own home with a *lakou* in it?

Woman: It would be a whole lot better and cost effective for me, I would use that same money that I would have been paying to lease this land and use it to start my business.

Miller: What do you do in a *lakou*, receive people, cook etc. what do you do?

Woman: I don't really do anything!

Miller: How does living here compare to where you lived before?

Woman: This is much worse then the way I was living before. Before I had a small business and I was able to do things for myself and now there is no work and I am not doing anything.

D.2.2.2. Interview with a Man Living in a *Lakou*, a Motorcycle Taxi Driver (Refer to Figure C.52)

Miller: How long ago did you move here?

Man: I've been here for two years.

Miller: Were there many people here when you moved here?

Man: No, there were not a lot of people here.

Miller: Do you know how the plots of land were divided?

Man: I can't really tell you how it was decided; I just know that everyone chose a piece. Some are bigger than others.

Miller: Tell me how you are living here?

Man: Like I said this is not a good area anywhere you lived where there are a lot of people you are going to have a lot of noise and arguing. If your not used to it then it becomes a problem.

Miller: Who lives as your neighbors, are they friends or family?

Man: These are not people I knew before. I know them now because they live here.

Miller: Are the people living next to you people that were affected by the earthquake?

Man: Yes

Miller: Did you have any neighbors that died during the earthquake?

Man: I have an aunt that passed away, neighbors that died, my wife lost some friends and family also.

Miller: When you are here with whom to you spend your time is it with friends or family?

Man: With my wife and neighbor.

Miller: Do you think this place is secured?

Man: No! I had three goats here and all three were stolen, I have heard noises at night and seen people running away when I step outside. Who knows what that person was up to.

Miller: Would you like to move out of this place and go elsewhere?

Man: Yes, I would like to move out of here but I would have to know where I am going first. It is because of the conditions that I want to move.

Miller: What do you like and dislike about this community?

Man: What I dislike the most about this area is when it rains. Speaking of that, if it was raining you wouldn't be here. It would have been too difficult for you to enter. Our biggest problem here is a road, having a decent road to move back and forth.

Miller: Do you know why some of these houses are so close together with a tiny space for a road?

Man: I think it depends on how you leased your space, that is. Sometime people ask for a little to move around and that's how it happens.

Miller: What do you do for a living as far as work do you have a business?

Man: I don't have a business just my motorcycle.

Miller: What do your neighbors do?

Man: Some go out and sell ice cream, candy and some even sell cold drinks.

Miller: What do most people do here for food and clothes, how do they eat?

Man: Most people here purchase their own food in the markets.

Miller: How about for medicines?

Man: S Frontiers because it is a free hospital!

Miller: Where do you spend your time here inside the house?

Man: We spend time inside and outside the house.

Miller: If you lived in a family *lakou* would that make you a bit happier help you live better?

Man: As long as I was near family it would be better; I always want to see them. I always get on my motorcycle and drive over to see them. I spend time with my mother and sister. I would be more comfortable living close to them.

Miller: Is life in a family *lakou* more secured?

Man: Yes, I would feel more secured because when you're in a family *lakou* if there is a noise everyone in the *lakou* gets up. If I have a problem here I am all alone.

Miller: How important is it for you to have your own *lakou*?

Man: If it is my *lakou* then I could do whatever I want inside of it but when something is not yours you are limited. For example: If I had had funds I would remove this tarp that you see here and replace it with blocks. This is a muddy piece of land and I don't like it.

Miller: What is more important to you, having a family *lakou* or your own *lakou*?

Man: My own *lakou* because I can do whatever I want inside of it. If I have a friend in need and I have my own *lakou*, I can invite him to stay in my *lakou* because it is mine!

Miller: What you do in your *lakou*, entertain friends, cook, clean, what do you do?

Man: I sit and live with my wife and children; sometimes my neighbor and friends would come over and sit right here.

Miller: How have your activities changed since the earthquake?

Man: Before the earthquake, I was living at my wife parent's house, I was never comfortable but God helped me find this piece of land to lease. I'm comfortable living like this leaving my in law's house. I'm in my own house; I can say that I am grown now!

Miller: How do you define a *lakou* and its significance.

Man: My *Lakou* is my riches, having a *lakou* allows you to plant trees and things that you can eat. Some you can plant plants that will bear fruits. A *lakou* is a place that can help feed you when you are hungry.

Miller: how long did it take Red cross to give you this home?

Man: It took six months for me to receive my home once I came onto this land.

Miller: Did many people do that?

Man: Some people received their homes without having to buy them but I didn't have a choice because my name did not make the list.

D.2.2.3. Interview with Two Women Living in a *Lakou* in the Settlement (Refer to Figure C.51)

The two women are doing each other's hair; their relative is visiting them from the USA.

Miller: Talk to me about your living conditions here inside this camp?

Women: When you are doing this research, we are not going to benefit from it; we are already living in misery. It's like we are talking for nothing! I am living under a tarp that is worn out, why don't you help me replace it after asking me all of these questions. It's like driving a car without a steering wheel. This research is going to be good for you guys but not for me.

Miller: Talk to me about the way you are living here?

Other woman: I live in a bad condition!

Miller: Did you live in the tent camp before?

Women: Yes, we were living in tents before moving here.

Miller: Do you live here alone in this *lakou*?

Woman: I'm here with a few other people, my children and family.

Miller: Did any of your neighbors die during the earthquake?

Woman: Yes, I had some!

Miller: Are you guys secure here?

Woman: We are not really secured because we are living under tarps.

Miller: Would you like to continue living here or would you like to go somewhere else?

Woman: If I am able to get out of here I will, but financially I can't do anything right now.

Miller: What do you like or dislike about where you are living?

Woman: There are so many things that we dislike, there is no road, electricity or water here. We have to walk all the way to Rue Belvald to get water.

Miller: Are you guys working or do you have a business?

Man: No, we are not working!

Miller: What kind of work does your family do?

Woman: Some are taxi drivers, they do everything!

Miller: How about your neighbors here, what types of work do they do?

Woman: I don't know what they do!

Miller: What do you do for necessities like food?

Woman: I'm hungry right now and don't have any food to eat. I'm hungry!

Miller: How about clothes?

Woman: When we have money we buy clothes we even buy used clothes from Peppe's closet (donated clothing from the USA at very reasonable prices).

Miller: Where do you spend your time?

Woman: We spend all our time here only when we need something we go out.

Miller: Did you have any family members that passed away?

Woman: Yes, I had two brothers that died, grandmother a few more.

Miller: Did they all live with each other before?

Woman: Yes.

Miller: Are you guys secured here?

Woman: God is the one watching over us, we are not safe!

Miller: What type of activities do you do every day?

Woman: We just sit around!

Miller: How have your activities changed since the earthquake, what comparison?

Woman: Before the earthquake we had homes now our houses are destroyed and look at what we have. The heat is killing us, mosquitoes are biting us and we are breathing in stench from the toilets.

Miller: Did you live in a family *lakou* before the earthquake?

Woman: Yes we did!

Miller: Do you want to live in a family *lakou* in the future?

Woman: Yes

Miller: What was their family *lakou* that they lived in before the earthquake like?

Woman: We were living in a concrete house that was destroyed.

Miller: Did they have a wall?

Woman: Yes

Miller: Did they own the land or rent?

Woman: We were renting the house.

Miller: Do you know of any plans to put electricity or anything on this land?

Woman: We are hearing that everyday!

D.2.2.4. Interview with a Man Living in a *Lakou* Shared with an Unrelated Family (Refer to Figure C.53)

The man and his wife were preparing food while watching their children.

Miller: My name is James Miller, I am a student at the University of Oregon and I am conducting research on the *lakou* in Haiti. I want to know if I have your approval to ask you a few questions for my research. If you agree tell me you agree and if you don't let me know.

Man: Yes, I agree

Miller: How do you see things here in this camp how are you living?

Man: We are just leasing.

Miller: How did you guys lease it, what were the conditions of the lease?

Man: We leased the house but the land is not ours.

Miller: How long have you all lived here?

Man: We haven't lived here for a year yet. I have only been here for a month and I was living here before the lady next to me.

Miller: Where did you live before here?

Man: We were in a camp but it doesn't exist anymore.

Miller: Can you talk about how you all are living and surviving here?

Man: As for surviving we survive together, we don't make noise or get into arguments. If we have something that we are able to share then we share it?

Miller: It's just the two of you here do you have any kids?

Man: I have only one child and she has four.

Miller: Did you have any neighbors from your old residence that died during the earthquake?

Man: I had neighbors that died but I did not know their names. It was two young ladies that lived next to me that passed.

Miller: Do you spend all of your time here, is it right here that you spend all your time day and night?

Man: Yes, this is where we spend all of our time.

Miller: Are you in your neighbors secured here?

Man: No, we are not secured look around you look at how things are.

Miller: Would you like to stay here with your neighbors or would you like to move?

Man: If they gave us another place to go we would leave. We are leasing right and that is not what we want to do. We don't have money or a good job.

Miller: What do you like and not like about this community?

Man: We are here and it is not like we are secured; we sleep with one eye open at night. It's not that I don't like this community but this land is not for me so how can I like it.

Miller: How do get along with those you are living here with?

Man: Everyone you see here, we live as a family. For example: if something happens at night, I can call upon my neighbor to help. We help each other.

Miller: Did you and your neighbors live in the tent city the same way that you are living together now?

Man: Yes.

Miller: And before the earthquake?

Man: Yes

Miller: Do you have any family that you lived with before the earthquake that moved over here with you?

Man: Yes, There are plenty of them.

Miller: Is having old neighbors and friends here what brought you to live in this community?

Man: Yes.

Miller: What type of work do you do and do you have a business?

Man: The type of that I do is plant things, for example if I have a piece of land here I would plant corn, beans and other stuff. I plant the stuff and when they cultivate I share it.

Miller: What type of work does your family do?

Man: Family does the same type of work, cultivate.

Miller: How about the folks that are living here what types of work do they do?

Man: They do whatever they can, some have small businesses, and some can't afford to have small business because they don't have the money.

Miller: What do you do for necessities such as food; where do you get it?

Man: Whenever we have we eat! We have to have money to go out in buy food in the market. Sometimes you are dependent on the food you plant in your garden because you don't have anyone else helping you.

Miller: How about for clothes?

Man: When we have money we go out and buy used clothes.

Miller: Do you mostly spend time in each other's *lakou* or is there some place else where you spend time?

Man: Here or with our friends.

Miller: Would it make you happy living in a family *lakou* and relieve some of your stress?

Man: When you are amongst family and friends you have to be happy, yes it makes me very happy?

Miller: After the earthquake where would you have liked to live?

Man: I would like to live anywhere but if you don't have the money then you can't go anywhere. For example: I would have never come to this place if I didn't have money to come here. You can't lease a house without money.

Miller: What do you do in this *lakou*?

Man: Everyday we wake up we sit down, when we eat we eat when we don't have we don't have. We don't have money so we stay within ourselves.

Miller: How have your activities changed since the earthquake?

Man: Yes, before the earthquake some of us had small businesses, but the earthquake destroyed our homes along with our small business. Each of us had some type of activity going on in our lives.

Miller: Where do you all cook?

Man: Right here!

Miller: How long have you all known each other?

Man: This is my sister in law.

D.2.2.5. Interview with a Vodou Priestess and Her Husband Living in a *Lakou* in the Settlement (Refer to Figure C.60)

They were playing dominoes with her family and friends to pass the time.

Miller: How long have you all lived here?

Woman: We've been here one year.

Miller: How has it been living here?

Woman: This place doesn't belong to us; this land belongs to our family. The family member that owns this land gave us authorization to put this house on the land. As you can see this isn't really a house but we can't afford anything else so we live in it.

Miller: Are you all family?

Woman: We are neighbors not family; there are four of us living here.

Miller: Did you know each other before the earthquake?

Woman: Yes

Miller: Talk about how you guys are living here and what goes on in this place?

Woman: While I am here I share with everyone, when I have I share with them and when they have they share with me. For example, today I woke with no money or food to eat. All we can do is sleep. And then play dominoes.

Miller: The people that are living in and around you are they your friends or family?

Woman: We are friends, not family.

Miller: Are there people here that were living in your neighborhood before the earthquake?

Woman: No! It was after the earthquake that we came to live in the same place and became friends.

Miller: Did you have any friends or family that passed during the earthquake?

Woman: Yes, I did! I had a cousin and neighbors that died.

Miller: Do you spend the entire day here or do you have some place else where you hang out? Woman: I spend the entire day here! If I'm not here I probably just stepped outside. If I have a little something maybe then I would go out to the market other than that this is where you will find me.

Miller: Would you like to continue to live here or somewhere else?

Woman and man: To live somewhere else, I would already have to have been use to that area; then I would be making new friends. In order to go somewhere else you have to have money. You can't just sit here and say your going to live someplace else without any money.

Miller: What do you like or dislike about this community?

Woman and Man: We have a lot of problems in this area, we have problems with electricity and clean water we don't even have toilets. We are the ones that dug a well to have water. Sometimes this is the same well water that we drink. I think this area desperately needs a water fountain of some sort. The electric company is near, but they say we are the ones responsible for getting our own electricity pole.

Miller: What do you like about this community?

Man: This is not a community that anyone can enjoy. The situation here is not good, but we don't have a choice right now. There is no nightlife here in this community! You have to go very far for any type of enjoyment and returning here in the middle of the night is not safe [due to belief in mysticism, not due to violence].

Miller: What type of work do you guys do or do you have a business?

Man: Speaking for myself, I do masonry work, but finding a job is not easy these days because you have to know somebody that knows somebody. I have distributed at least ten resumes and nothing.

Woman: No we don't have a business this bottle of rum sitting next to me is my business!

Miller: What type of work does your family do?

Woman: I really don't have any family that is doing anything right now.

Miller: How about your neighbors here, do they work?

Woman: No! They do not have any business we really don't know how they live but we know they don't have work.

Miller: If you're not working then how do you eat?

Woman: It's like I told you; if today I chose to sell something then I take from that. I try not to take too much from what I made so that I can rebuy again. Yesterday was Sunday; I had to dig into the pot to cook something to eat and today I can't.

Miller: How about clothes?

Woman: The same time when I go out into the market, if I am able to spend something on clothes then I pick it up. When I am unable to buy any I just stay like that.

Miller: Does the Red Cross give you any provisions?

Woman: No! When the Red Cross came out to assess things I was out sick so the person who accepted the provisions in my place is the one helping me. Once I was well I went over to the Red Cross to explain my situation to them, and I was sent over to the person responsible for the distribution but I kept getting put off. When it is raining, I have to put pots and bowls on my bed to catch the rain leaking through the holes in my roof. This is bad for me. Also, there is a lot of mud when it rains, so we cannot go out and have to stay here. We have to wait a couple of days before we can go out again; it is a bad situation.

Miller: Where do you spend your time here or in another *lakou*?

Woman: Right here!

Miller: Did have members of your family that died?

Woman: Yes, I had a grandmother, father, mother, cousin and plenty others.

Miller: Do you have any of your relatives here with you?

Woman: No, I am the only one here. Only my cousin, brother-in-law and husband live together in the house.

Miller: Were there different family *lakous* where you were living before the earthquake?
Woman: Yes, lots.

Miller: Where would you like to live?

Woman: I don't think I have the money to go and live where I would want to live. I live in Haiti right if I had the money I would have left the country.

Miller: With whom would you like to live?

Woman: With my husband and those close me.

Miller: Does it help to relieve stress when you are living in the same family *lakou*?

Woman: Yes, it removes the stress, like right now I can tell my husband that I have a headache and he helps me feel better. He makes me laugh and I make him laugh. Then he says lets play dominoes, that is a way to help us put our hunger aside also. If we sat still doing nothing we would be thinking too much.

Miller: How have your daily activities changed since the earthquake?

Woman: Before the earthquake I had a nice size business going. I sold some of everything at my place things folks eat. Since the earthquake I haven't been able to do anything. If you ask somebody to borrow something for a small business you need to go out and sell what you purchased in order to pay back the money that you borrowed.

Miller: Where do you cook?

Woman: Right on top of this metal sheet.

D.2.2.6. Interview with a Woman Living in a *Lakou* with Her Extended Family (Refer to Figure C.53)

This family lived in the settlement prior to the earthquake.

Miller: Were you living with some of these same neighbors before the earthquake?

Woman: No, I was living with my family.

Miller: Were you living in a camp before coming here?

Woman: No! The earthquake caught us here; we were living in that house that was destroyed. Since the house was destroyed we built a house out of tarps.

Miller: How long ago did they build this shelter?

Woman: It's been 3 ½ months.

Miller: Was it hard to separate from some of your friends and family after the earthquake?

Woman: I have other brothers and sisters that were here that moved but we all grouped together as a family to see what we were going to do.

Miller: Did any of your friends or family pass away during the earthquake?

Woman: I had a nephew that was living with us that died. My older brother's child.

Miller: Do you spend your day with your friends or neighbors?

Woman: It is family that lives in this *lakou* so that's who I spend my day with.

Miller: How can you define your neighbors, are they active?

Woman: These are not people I am used to living with they have been here for two weeks so there is nothing that I can tell you about them.

Miller: Do you do many activities here, like play dominoes and games? What do you do?

Woman: We play Dominoes but no dancing. Maybe turn on the radio while we are playing dominoes.

Miller: How many people live in this *Lakou*?

Woman: Seven people!

Miller: Is each house for a different family?

Woman: It's just us in the *lakou* so everyone lives in his or her own house.

Miller: Are you and your neighbors secured here?

Woman: No. We are not secured here as you can see we use tarps to wall in our *lakou* and the houses that we are living in are not secured.

Miller: What will make you feel secured?

Woman: Once my house is prepared in concrete blocks, and has good secured doors, and my *lakou* is walled in only then will I feel secured.

Miller: To you, is the wooden house permanent or temporary?

Woman: No it's not permanent this house is provisional.

Miller: How long do you have this land rented for?

Woman: We have had this land for 7 years it's ours.

Miller: The cactus on this property was it there before?

Woman: No, it was not here before the earthquake, the owner that brought that piece of property used the cactus as a perimeter wall.

Miller: Why do you say that this shelter is not secured is it because when it rains you get wet on the inside?

Woman: Well yes, when it rains water leaks inside from the edges that are not sealed and this shelter is made of wooden sheets.

Miller: Do your neighbors make a lot of noise and fuss?

Woman: No, I haven't seen that, but they just got here so I don't know.

Miller: I know this land is yours and this house but do you like your community?

Woman: This is what I have so I have to like it! If I had another place to go to that was more secured and safe, but this is what I have for now.

Miller: Since you have been here before the earthquake what do you think of the people that have started to move here?

Woman: Well I haven't really seen any changes the only changes were the people moving in.

Miller: Do you like the fact that there are more people around here?

Woman: Yes I like it! I feel safe because there are lots of people around us. Before we were the only ones here in the middle of the sugar cane fields.

Miller: Are you friends with a lot of your neighbors?

Woman: Yes, all these neighbors are our friends. After they moved here, we began to learn things about one another but we are friends.

Man: What I like about the neighborhood is, for example before these people moved here, if I wanted to go out after 6pm, I could not go out because it was too dark, but now I can because there are a lot of people around me. If I have a problem they can help me. As you can see I have a child, she is not here; before, she would of have to have sat around here all day. Now she is playing with other children from the neighborhood. I like it right now. Before with all of the sugar cane, I was too afraid to go on a walk, but now I can. Also there are a lot more motor taxies to get around on.

Miller: Do you spend time with them?

Woman: No. We don't really spend a lot of time together. You already have a family and you just bring any kind of friends around your family.

Miller: After the earthquake did you have a business here or else where?

Woman: I had a business in the market but during the earthquake while everybody was running there was so much commotion everything I had was stolen.

Miller: What do you do for necessities such as food, clothes etc.; even medicine can be a necessity so what do you do for that?

Woman: As for food we are a group of family living here so when one has and the other doesn't we share with one another.

Miller: As for clothes?

Woman: We buy used clothes from Peppe's Closet.

Miller: As for medication when you are sick what do you do?

Woman: When we are sick we find a way to make it to Sans Frontiers because it is a free hospital. If I needed money to go to another hospital we would not be able to afford it.

Miller: Do you enjoy living in a family *lakou*?

Woman: We don't have the possibilities of going anywhere else. This *lakou* is what we have.

Miller: How do you feel being separated from your two brothers?

Woman: There is no space here for all of us to live so the others had to find another place to live one of them is living in a house just like this one.

Miller: Are there other neighbors that are living as a family just the way you guys are?

Woman: Most of people here are living as a family.

Miller: Are there other people here that are not from Leogane, that are from Jacmel or Port au Prince?

Woman: It's not just people from Leogane but from all parts of Haiti. Port Au Prince, Jamel and La Gonaive.

Miller: Does living her as a family help relieve some of the stress, like hunger and other things?

Woman: Psychologically there are a lot of things that we would like to have but can't. We try to do whatever we can to get through our situation and problems.

D.2.2.7. Interview with a Pregnant Woman Living in a Family *Lakou* (Figure C.54)

Miller: Talk to me about your *lakou*?

Woman: This is just one *lakou*, my husband and I leased this *lakou*.

Miller: Did you all move here after the earthquake?

Woman: I was living here before the earthquake.

Miller: Do you know the people we just spoke with (other family living here before the earthquake)?

Woman: They could have had this house here but weren't living here before the earthquake.

Miller: Are people living here in this *lakou* with you, friends or family?

Woman: I live here with my husband and children.

Miller: Did Red Cross build the shelter sitting where your old house use to be?

Woman: Yes.

Miller: Was this house built first or that house?

Woman: My House.

Miller: We're you and your friend living together before the earthquake?

Woman: Yes.

Miller: Did you have any neighbors that moved elsewhere after the earthquake?

Woman: The people that rent land were not here before; they came to live here afterward. There were only four of us living in this area before the quake. One of the folks moved out.

Miller: Do you think it is a good change or a bad change that more people are living in this area now?

Woman: I can't really answer that because I am never here. I'm here now because I have a newborn baby.

Miller: Has it been hard on you being separated from friends and family after the earthquake?

Woman: No.

Miller: Did you have any family or friends that died during the earthquake?

Woman: No one at all!

Miller: Who do you spend your time with, is it with family or friends?

Woman: I spend time with family in the *lakou*.

Miller: What do you do in this *lakou*? Do you play dominoes or just lay down and relax with your baby?

Woman: I don't really know how to play any games like dominoes. I just lay here and relax with my baby. If I am able to do some work around the house I do it.

Miller: Do you feel secured here in this *lakou*?

Woman: I don't know. I just go to sleep and wake up.

Miller: What would make you feel safe?

Woman: Fix the tarps and fix this area.

Miller: Would you like to remain here or go someplace else?

Woman: I don't know, only God knows what he wants to do for us!

Miller: Do you have a business?

Woman: Well I use to sell fried plantain and pâté at night but since having this baby I haven't been able to go out much. I used to sell the food right outside.

Miller: When it rains does your house flood?

Woman: Whenever it rains with a lot of wind, the inside of my house gets completely wet.

Miller: Do you notice your neighbors making a lot of noise when you're laying down with your baby?

Woman: As for noise, yes they make noise.

Miller: Do you have a lot of friends here?

Woman: We say good morning to each other but I don't go and visit them at their house.

Miller: What do you do for necessities such as food clothes etc.?

Woman: When my husband goes out and makes a little something he brings it and we survive off of that. When he doesn't we stay without.

Miller: How about clothes?

Woman: Used clothes are not expensive and I can't afford to wear new clothes.

Miller: How about medicine when you are sick?

Woman: I go to Sans Frontiers hospital.

Miller: Do you ever eat with your friends that live here?

Woman: Yes, sometimes they send me food.

Miller: Were there any changes before and after the earthquake in this *lakou*?

Woman: Not really!

Miller: How do you feel about losing your sister?

Woman: Sometimes it makes my head hurt. It begins to spin.

Miller: Are there folks from all over in this community?

Woman: Yes, there are people here from elsewhere besides Leogane.

D.2.2.8. Interview with the interpreter's Relative, a Woman Living in a *Lakou* (Refer to Figure C.55)

Her nephew built the house and is constructing a bathroom facility in the *lakou* as well

Miller: Talk about you and your neighbors and how you are living?

Woman: The people that live next to me are my neighbors but we live as family.

Miller: Who are the members of your family?

Woman: My mother and my child; I have other members of my family but they don't live here.

Miller: How many children?

Woman: Two

Miller: Are they the only ones living in this house?

Woman: This house is for me and the other is for my nephew. I leased this land with the option to buy after ten or fifteen years.

Miller: Did they build this house or someone else?

Woman: My nephew purchased everything and built this house.

Miller: Is there any one in this area that was living with you in your old neighborhood?

Woman: Yes, there are a few!

Miller: Did you separate from any of your friends or family after the earthquake?

Woman: After the earthquake I had three nieces that were living with me that aren't with me anymore.

Miller: Did you have any family members die during the earthquake?

Woman: I had friends but no family.

Miller: Whom do you spend time with here, is it with the kids and your mother?

Woman: The neighbors that speak to me I speak to them, but I spend time with the family I have here.

Miller: How can you define or describe your neighbors are they active or what?

Woman: Most neighbors here are relaxed and some are out in the market taking care of business.

Miller: What do you all do here for entertainment?

Woman: We play our radios listen to music and talk.

Miller: Are you and your neighbors secured here?

Woman: No, because we don't have security, anyone can just walk into here.

Miller: Do you feel your secured?

Woman: No. Sometimes when you here the dogs barking at night it startles you as you can see I sleep inside a tarp.

Miller: Do you feel secured in this house (referring to the wooden house)?

Woman: No

Miller: Do you like your neighbors and this community?

Woman: I can't hate them!

Miller: Do you have anybody that you were friends with before the earthquake who live in this community?

Woman: Yes, there are quite a few.

Miller: Do you know your neighbors well?

Woman: Some of them I know well.

Miller: Before the earthquake, did you have a business?

Woman: The same (selling ice and refreshments).

Miller: Do you prefer living in the city or out here?

Woman: I prefer the countryside.

Miller: Do you like to live in a family *lakou*?

Woman: Yes.

Miller: Are there a lot of people here living as families?
Woman: Yes, a lot of people.

D.2.2.9. Interview with a Man and Woman Living in the Settlement (Refer to Figure C.56)

Miller: Talk to me about this area?

Man: Just about everyone here is leasing a piece of land to live on, we live as neighbors. If one has a problem then the other helps out. The other day my child was bleeding and it was a neighbor that took her to the doctor.

Miller: Who are the people living near you are they family or neighbors?

Man: My family and me, along with a cousin, live in this *lakou*.

Miller: How many in total live here?

Man: Five people.

Miller: Was it hard to separate from your friends and family after the earthquake?

Man: Yes.

Miller: Did these friends die or did they move?

Man: Yes, there were a lot who died and now everybody is everywhere.

Miller: Do you have any family or friends that died during the earthquake?

Man: Yes, 5 people died where I lived. Quite a few!

Miller: Whom do you spend your days with, is it with family or friends and neighbors?

Man: We spend time with the neighbors that are here.

Miller: Do you have a chance in this community for entertainment or activities?

Man: Well we have movie nights here in this community after that we have dominoes and cards.

Miller: Do you think this area is safe?

Man: This area is not that bad but it's not secured. See they already broke into this house before.

Miller: What would make you guys feel safe?

Man: Having a house that is secured, for us to put our heads together in order to have some sort of security. Then this area would be safe.

Miller: Do you have a business?

Man: No, I don't have a business.

Miller: Is there a lot of noise in this area?

Man: No! There is no noise.

Miller: What do you like about this neighborhood and your neighbors?

Man: My neighbors don't do a lot of arguing or make loud noises. They don't give me any problems and I don't give them any.

Miller: Do you have a lot of friends here, and do you know your neighbors well?

Man: Yes, I know them!

Miller: What do you do for necessities such as food and clothes?

Man: Sometimes I work and provide and when I don't work we stay the way we are.

Miller: How about clothes?

Man: We stay with the clothes that we have until we can afford to buy new ones.

Miller: How about medicine if you are sick?

Man: If we get sick we find a free hospital to go too.

Miller: Where do you spend time? In your *Lakou*?

Man: Where there is shade! We switch places depending on the sun.

Miller: Since being separated from the people that lived in the family *lakou*, has anything changed?

Man: Well it hurts us a lot!

Miller: Has the transition to living here been difficult?

Man: Yes it's difficult; we don't really have a house!

Miller: Is there a lot of family *lakous* in this area?

Man: No, there are not a lot of families *lakous* in this area; most of these people are here because their homes were destroyed.

Miller: How important is it to have space in a family *lakou*?

Man: It is important; you don't want the house to take up the entire space. If we are inside and a problem arises we need to have standing room in the *lakou*.

Miller: How do you describe a *lakou*?

Man: A *lakou* has to be private, for the family only.

D. 2.2.10. Interview with a Woman Living in a *Lakou* in the Settlement (Refer to Figure C.57)

She was in her *lakou* with her husband and brother-in-law. Her neighbors came to visit with her.

Miller: Talk about how the people and neighbors in this area are living?

Woman: Things are ok but you know Haitian people can never do things properly.

Miller: Are the people living next to you family or friends?

Woman: My brother in-law is here living with me, along with my sister but they are not home right now. My husband and child also live here!

Miller: Were you all living together before the earthquake?

Woman: Yes!

Miller: How long have you been living here?

Woman: Since the 18th of January 2010.

Miller: Was it hard being separated from your family and friends after the earthquake?

Woman: If we have to separate then we separate! I wasn't really separated from anyone. The ones that were with me before the earthquake are here with me now!

Miller: Did you have any members of your family die?

Woman: No! no one.

Miller: Do you spend your time with family or neighbors?

Woman: My neighbors and people living in this *lakou* with me!

Miller: How can you describe this area, is it always full of activity?

Woman: In this area, if we are able to live together and get along then we live together. The only entertainment here is a small cinema for folks to watch movies.

Miller: Is this area secured?

Woman: I can't really describe rather it is secured or not because I haven't been thru this entire area.

Miller: Do you feel secured?

Woman: I'm not really secured but in a way we are when everyone is in their own place.

Miller: What would make this area safe and secured?

Woman: Even when police are in the area we are not completely safe so I don't know!

Miller: Do you have a business?

Woman: No.

Miller: Do you think that this shelter is safe from hurricanes or disasters?

Woman: Well I haven't gone thru a hurricane yet but the other day we had a lot of rain and everything inside my house got wet.

Miller: Do your neighbors make noise or is this a quiet area?

Woman: Everybody has to remain indoors in order not to hear any noise! So you can hear noise at any time of the day.

Miller: What do you like about living in this community? Is it the friends, the area or your land? Or is it the social life?

Woman: Maybe if this neighborhood had a market it would make it more likeable.

Miller: Do you have a lot of friends in this area?

Woman: I have a few friends!

Miller: Do you know the people in this neighborhood well?

Woman: I don't know them well; it's after the earthquake that I met them.

Miller: Did you know these neighbors, who you live next to, before the earthquake?

Woman: Yes.

Miller: Did you know many of the next-door neighbors?

Woman: There are a few that were living here before the earthquake. For example, the lady next door to me has been living here since before the earthquake.

Miller: Do you have a business?

Woman: No

Miller: What do you do for necessities like food?

Woman: I have my husband who provides.

Miller: What do you do for clothes?

Woman: Whatever's left from what my husband gives me if I can buy clothes then I buy!

Miller: How many people do you have living with you here?

Woman: I have myself, husband two children and two other adults.

Miller: Where do you all spend time in this *Lakou*?

Woman: Right here in front of this door!

Miller: Before the earthquake, were you living in a family *lakou*?

Woman: Yes

Miller: What are the changes you have seen since the earthquake?

Woman: The same way I was living before the earthquake and now are very different. Things were not as hard and difficult as they are now. Things were better!

Miller: Do you think that there are a lot of family *lakous* in this area?

Woman: I really don't know! I can say yes and some of those people probably aren't family after all.

Miller: Do you think that the people living here are from different places like Port-au-Prince, Jacmel etc?

Woman: Yes! But I don't know where!

Miller: What is the importance of these empty spaces in your *lakou*?

Woman: Maybe we can plant things and have a garden.

Miller: What type of activities do you guys have inside this *lakou*?
Woman: We spend time talking until it's time for us to sleep!

D.2.3. Interviews in Santo, Leogane, Haiti:

D.2.3.1. Interviews with the a Woman in Santo

Miller: I am a student from Oregon I'm working on a project where I am evaluating the conditions at this camp. Do you agree to speak with me? During our conversations I will ask you a series of questions.

Woman: Yes I Agree to speak with you!

Miller: How long have you lived here?

Woman: One year.

Miller: Is that when they built this camp?

Woman: Yes

Miller: Do you know who built it?

Woman: Haiti Mission.

Miller: Where did you live before?

Woman: State Road 9.

Miller: Before the earthquake did you have your own home?

Woman: Yes, renting!

Miller: Was there a process to get this house?

Woman: Yes

Miller: Was this area all built at once or little by little?

Woman: Little by little.

Miller: Do you know if the organization had a plan for this area or not?

Woman: I don't know!

Miller: Do you know when they started building here?

Woman: During the month of March after the earthquake.

Miller: Did people from your old community come here too?

Woman: Yes.

Miller: Do you have some of the same neighbors that they had before?

Woman: Yes.

Miller: Did you come with just your family?

Woman: Friends and family.

Miller: Does the community get along here?

Woman: Well there are problems everywhere.

Miller: Did you come from a *Lakou*?

Woman: Yes!

Miller: Did the other members/people from the *lakou* come here too?

Woman: Yes.

Miller: Is it important to maintain the community in the *lakou*?

Translator responds (Robertson): he wants to know about the *lakou* and where you guys came from. He knows that you guys should have received a house with more than one bedroom with a terrace and he sees that these homes do not meet these criteria.

Question asked was never answered.

Miller: Who are the other members of your *lakou*?

Woman: We don't know where they are!

Miller: The ones that are here where do they live?

Woman: Yes., there's me and another.

Miller: Where do you spend time when they are not here?

Woman: When the heat becomes too much for there is a tree out back where we go and relax under.

Miller: How do they describe the *lakou*?

No response

Miller: Do they like living here?

Woman: No! I don't want to live here!

Miller: What was the neighborhood like that they lived in before?

Questions was never asked properly.

Miller: If not this where would you rather be living?

The questions was never asked or answered!

Miller: If you lived on your own land, would you like to have the members of your *lakou* with you?

No Response

Miller: How is this neighborhood otherwise?

Woman: No. This place is not safe!

Miller: What kinds of problems do you have other than noise?

Woman: Yes, people are always arguing around here.

Miller: Do the neighbors and friends watch out for each other?

Woman: Yes.

Miller: Does it help having the other members of your *lakou* living here with you?

Woman: Yes, we can sit and tell jokes sometime!

Miller: Do you want to have or maintain the same friends when you move from here?

Woman: It wouldn't be a problem!

D.3. Interview at Jeff's Family Lakou in Carrefour Signu:

Refer to figure D.13 in order to picture this family *lakou*.



Figure D.13. Photograph of the family *lakou* in Carrefour Signu. Image by author.

Miller: How many people live here?

Woman: About 20 people! Still counting it's about 50 plus people living here.

Miller: Did you build the wall first or what was built first the wall or the houses? Time out: 4:03

Woman: The houses were built first. Everyone pitched in to build the houses.

Miller: Who built all of the shelters?

Woman: We purchased these homes from people who already had these homes as shelters because we wanted to move out of the camp.

Miller: How long were you all in that camp?

Woman: About 9 months. We didn't receive anything while we were there and kept getting wet in the rain so we decided to move over here.

Miller: Did the whole family live in the tent camp?

Woman: No.

Miller: Where did the others stay?

Woman: Everyone here was living in the camp, we left the camp and came here.

Miller: Was there something that separated you from each other?

Woman: It was a lot of us, so everyone used sheets to separate one from the other. In that moment we used whatever we could find.

Miller: These shelters are temporary right?

Woman: Well we don't have the financial means for anything else right now.

Miller: Like that house, how did that family get that shelter (pointing across the street to a Red Cross Shelter).

Woman: A handicap person lives in that house, They just built that house the other day.

Miller: How do they like living in a family *Lakou*?

Woman: Well we don't have any other terrain to live on or the funds to purchase land. It was our grandparents that left this land for us.

Miller: Would you rather live together as a family or separate in your own houses?

Woman: We don't have anything else if he was to do that for us we would be very happy and grateful.

Miller: What kind of activities do you do together here?

Woman: We don't do anything right now but we used to sell used clothes. Since the earthquake nothing, because we lost everything.

Miller: Do you have water and electricity here?

Woman: We had a water pipe here but it is damaged right now. No we don't have any electricity.

Miller: Does the government do anything?

Woman: That's even worst if you leave it up to the government, we don't have a government. Our government is our family that is here.

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