AALBORG UNIVERSITY
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The cries for survival:

The unsettled conditions of Dominican-Haitian deportees and returnees inside makeshift settlement camps at the South-East Haitian border

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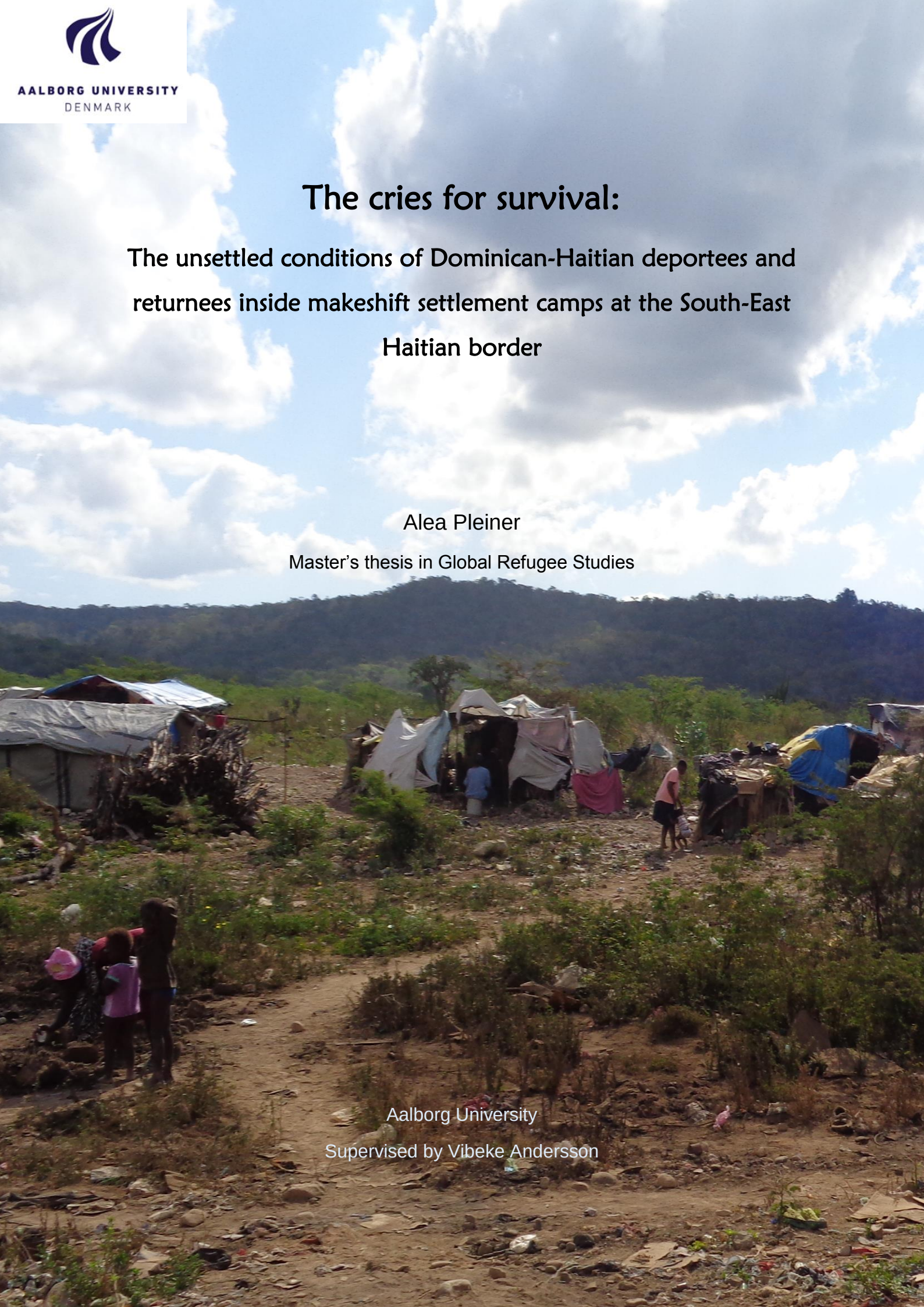
Master's thesis in Global Refugee Studies



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ABSTRACT

Along the border in the South-East region of Haiti, six makeshift settlements have emerged since June 2015 with more than 2,000 inhabitants. They consist of more than 90% coming from the Dominican Republic, either deported or spontaneously-returned; many of them left “stateless” due to recent changes in Dominican Republic immigration and citizenship laws. Inside the camps, residents have faced harsh conditions and challenges on a daily basis.

This thesis seeks to explore why the people of Dominican-Haitian background in the camps at the Haitian border are stuck within their limited situation and how they navigate their daily lives within these boundaries.

The thesis starts with setting a methodological framework and then establishing an understanding of the history of Haiti and the Dominican Republic. Subsequently, the analysis consists of two chapters:

In the first one, I argue that the many levels of social exclusion is keeping people in their situation, due to economic, social and political deprivations. Facing so many limitations in the camps, starting from lacking access to income, basic living commodities or social ties to restrictions of certain rights, it is a difficult endeavor to escape the cycle of exclusion by oneself. The second one explores different factors of exclusion through people’s experience of a liminal phase, the phase they are stuck between statuses. Having the threat of the current camp living situation turning into a permanent condition, people face emotions ranging from frustration to despair. I argue that, people have established different kind of navigation mechanisms within their limited scope, which enables them to cope with their situation of stuckness and uncertainty.

The findings on this thesis are based on qualitative data collection methods. I conducted seven interviews with people living in the camp, one interview with the local mayor of the Haitian border commune Anse-a-Pitres that is close to the

campsites, and one interview with the project coordinator of the Batey Relief Alliance (BRA) that has various projects implemented in the camps. Furthermore I back up my findings and conclusions with secondary data, using various theories and concepts.

The findings produced throughout this thesis contribute to a better understanding of the structures and the dynamics in the camps at the Haitian border, the effects it has on the inhabitants and the choices they make to navigate within their limits.

Keywords: Haiti, Dominican Republic, camps, border, statelessness, social exclusion, permanent liminality, social death, social navigation

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List of Abbreviations

BRA	Batey Relief Alliance
GARR	Groupe d'Appui aux Rapatriés et Réfugiés (Support Group for Returnees and Refugees)
IOM	International Organization for Migration
P&G	Procter and Gamble
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

1. INTRODUCTION

Imagine you are sitting in an old plastic chair. Your feet touch the dusty ground. It is hot, but there is no shade to hide, so you are trying to ignore the intense heat while sweating. You look around and see children playing. Many of them do not wear proper clothes or shoes. You see the adults as well, some walking around, some sitting like you do. The atmosphere is quiet. One could almost fall for a mistaken peaceful day. But you are in the middle of a desert-like field, surrounded by hills and bushes, only a small road of stones leading to the next village close to the border. If you look at nature, it almost looks like an idyllic landscape. But it is not. The tents that surround you are made of old clothes people collected somewhere from the surroundings, cardboards or branches of wood. You cannot stay in, as it is too hot. You also are worried about the next time when the rain will come, as you and your children will be exposed to it. The shelters are rudimentary and do not provide adequate protection. Today you are lucky, as you got some money left to buy rice for yourself and your children. You can borrow some cooking utensils from your neighbor and make a small fire, but maybe tomorrow you need to ask them for food instead. The dust makes your lung hurt, and the dirty water you carry every day from the contaminated river affects your children's stomach. You think about the past, how you got here and wonder if your future might look a little different.

This described setting could be a day from one of the 2,200 people staying at Parc Cadeau 2. Parc Cadeau 2 is one of the six makeshift settlements outside Anse-a-Pitres, a small border commune in the Southeast border region of Haiti. Lidia is one of the women living at the campsite. She has been there for almost two years now, together with four of her six children. Before she crossed the border into Haiti, Lidia lived in the Dominican Republic. She does not possess any legal documents to identify her; hence she does neither have a Dominican nor Haitian nationality. Now in the camp, she and her family face a difficult environment with unsanitary living conditions, inadequate housing, health risks and lacking economic possibilities. Despair seems to be a daily companion as there is little to no money to provide for her family (Interview Lidia: 8th March 2017).

Changes in the Dominican law that left her stateless, as well as threats in her surroundings forced the woman to leave the country (ibid.). Lidia's story is one of many: GARR, the Support Group for Returnees and Refugees, and other organizations, state in their report that between June 2015 and following February in 2016 only, close to 145,000 people have left the Dominican Republic and gone to Haiti. The number includes about 21,000 that the Dominican authorities deported to the border, whereas others returned to Haiti spontaneously (GARR et al. 2016: 2). Amnesty International even talks about 40,000 people being deported until May 2016 and more than 66,000 that “spontaneously” returned (Amnesty International 2016: 4).

Out of the deportee population, more than 2,200 have settled in the six camps close to Anse-a-Pitres along the Haitian-Dominican border. The camp inhabitants have different backgrounds: Some were born in Haiti and then moved to the Dominican Republic, some were born in the Dominican Republic. Dominican authorities deported some forcefully, others spontaneously returned out of fear for their safety. More than 60% of the people do not possess any identification papers (GARR et al. 2016: 4-5). Given their different circumstances, they all face difficult situations and harsh conditions on a daily basis.

While interning in the Dominican Republic and doing research in the bateyes, rural rudimentary housings in deplorable conditions for Haitian migrant workers, I was confronted with the issue of stateless people and deportations from the country. I started wondering about the situation at the border. What would the camps be like? How are people living? What obstacles do they face and why? How do they navigate in their situation and surroundings?

This thesis is about the people in the makeshift settlement camps close to Anse-a-Pitres in the Southeast border region of Haiti. It aims to shed light on the situations and settings that the camp inhabitants experience in order to grasp an understanding of why they are in these positions and how they manage their lives through them.

1.1 Research Question

Much has been investigated on the issue of "statelessness" of people living in the Dominican Republic. The makeshift camps at the Haitian-Dominican border have been existed since 2015 and are a fairly new phenomenon in the camp landscape, as it does inhabit different kinds of people. Therefore, this thesis will explore the following research question:

Why are people of Dominican-Haitian background inside the camps at the Haitian border stuck within a limited situation and how do they navigate their daily (socio-economic) life within those boundaries?

The research question mentions people of Dominican-Haitian background, which I will divide in two groups. The first group consists of Haitians migrants, who have crossed the border and lived in the Dominican Republic for a certain amount of time to work and/or start families. The second group consists of Dominico-Haitians, having one or two parents of the first group. “[…] they were born in the Dominican Republic, yet face problems in “proving” their Dominican citizenship and accessing fundamental rights” (Ferguson 2006: 312).

The research question furthermore includes people who have been deported to the border as well as people who “spontaneously” returned to Haiti due to fear or threats as the inhabitants of the camps and therefore the target group for the research.

In specific, the research will focus on Parc Cadeau 1 and 2, where fieldwork has been exercised.

The terms camp and makeshift settlements are used interchangeably.

1.2 Project design

Chapter 2 sets the methodological framework for the thesis. The organization Batey Relief Alliance and its role within the research is explained, followed by some theoretical and practical fieldwork method insights, namely participant observation and interviews. Next, I reflect on the fieldwork at the border and conclude the chapter with the thesis delimitation.

In Chapter 3, the Dominican and Haitian history is elaborated on. Readers can follow the line of "Antihaitianismo", an anti-Haitian attitude set out through various phases of historical events. Progressive changes of the Dominican and resulting “statelessness” are described and the camps at the Haitian-Dominican border, where fieldwork was done, are presented.

After insights into the history, Chapter 4 briefly explains the necessary divisions between the two analytical chapters, even though they conclude in a coherent discussion of the issue.

In Chapter 5, the concept of social exclusion is used to show why and in which ways the camp inhabitants are stuck in their situation. The economic dimension of social exclusion will shed light on the conditions in the camps; the social dimension will position the people in their setting; and the political dimension will explain the issue of “statelessness” and its implications of rights deprivations.

Chapter 6 then shows how all these conditions are experienced in a liminal situation. After adopting the concept of permanent liminality as well as its dangers and limits to the situation of the camps, the implications of experiencing the camps as places of despair and social death are elaborated on. Within their limitations, people nevertheless have strategies to survive and with the concept of social navigation, focus is turned towards experiences by the camp inhabitants to cope within their social moratorium.

To conclude the research question, Chapter 7 will summarize the thesis’ findings of fieldwork and theory.

2. METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

To understand the situation of the camp inhabitants, their emotions and dynamics and to be able to answer the research question, it was a logical consequence to talk to the affected people directly. Even though this thesis will rely on selected secondary literature and different concepts as well, it is vital to include the people I am writing about, to give them a voice, to listen and to understand. Since the 1980s, qualitative methods, including interviews and participant observations, have gained utterly importance in social research (Kvale & Brinkmann 2009: 11). Therefore, I decided to apply a mixed qualitative method approach in order to gain a balanced kind of data. First, I was able to do observations, as I was part of events from the non-profit organization Batey Relief Alliance in the camps. I will come back to that in the next section. Besides observing and partly participating, I conducted nine in-depth interviews, consisting of seven people living in the camps, one of the organization's project coordinators and health promoter and the mayor of Anse-a-Pitres in Haiti.

The makeshift settlements emerged around Anse-a-Pitres, which is a small town in the very South-East tip of Haiti, directly at the border to the Dominican Republic. I stayed in Pedernales, which is the counterpart of Anse-a-Pitres, a province located at the border in the South-West of the Dominican Republic.

During this one-month-stay, I had the opportunity to visit some of the makeshift camps in Haiti several times, namely Parc Cadeau 1 and 2, to observe and to interview the inhabitants as well as to talk to the mayor in the town. In the following section I will describe what role the organization Batey Relief Alliance played in my field work. Then I will go deeper into the qualitative methods I used, participant observation and interviews, and reflect on my field work at the border in general. The chapter will be closed with the delimitations of the thesis.

Figure 1: Map of Haiti and Dominican Republic and its border towns Ans-a-Pitres and Pedernales (Google Maps)

2.1 Batey Relief Alliance

The Batey Relief Alliance (BRA) is a non-profit organization that was founded 1997 in New York and addresses the socio-economic and health conditions of vulnerable people in the United States, Dominican Republic, Haiti and Peru. Children and families that suffer from poverty, diseases or hunger are provided with direct services. The organization's programs range from health to food security, water, deworming, women empowerment, agricultural and microcredit, education and disaster relief. BRA partners with local governments as well as local and international organizations. Strategic partnerships exist, for example, with P&G, USAID and the UN. The organization is a member of the Clinton Global Initiative and holds Special

Consultative status with the UN's Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). BRA Dominicana is a local non-profit organization with its headquarters in the Dominican's capital of Santo Domingo. Its aim is to execute the Batey Relief Alliance's mission. Following motto of the organization summarizes BRA's work: "The Batey Relief Alliance brings people together, alleviates sufferings, and saves lives; endeavors to empower the weak and protect rights, without regard to race, sex, creed, religion, national origin, or social status." (Batey Relief Alliance 2017).

BRA has had and still does have various projects at the camps at the border. The organization accepted to guide me with my research; allowed me to participate in their activities and accompanied me to the camps. As it would have been difficult to enter the camps by myself, due to language barriers or personal safety, their support provided me a unique access to enter the camps and to engage with people living there. As I speak Spanish fluently, but no Haitian Creole, and furthermore was more aware on how to navigate in the Dominican society, I decided to stay in Pedernales on the Dominican side of the border, where the organization helped me find proper accommodation with a local family.

BRA's project coordinator, Micheline Prosper and some of the organization's health promoters, namely Facile and Johnny, helped me through the process of crossing the border into Haiti and securing transportation to the camps. I accompanied BRA's field project team to the camps as well, where workshops are held on how to purify the water and I was introduced to the inhabitants. I also participated in the distribution of water purifiers donated by BRA's partner P&G, vitamins and deworming tablets for children.

Figure 2: Water purification workshops and distributions in the camps (pictures: Batey Relief Alliance)

Through the presence of BRA as a supporting organization, it was easier for me, first, to access the camps, including the border crossing processes, and second, to interact with the people.

Being a part of BRA, nevertheless, also came along with certain consequences. As I was perceived as a person working with a non-profit organization, answers from the interviewees could be perceived as conveniently shaped to a certain extent. The people in the camps are left in a vulnerable situation, facing harsh conditions every day and being dependent on foreign aid. As I was not able to visit the camps as an individual researcher, person or traveler, people could have guided their answers to reveal areas left necessary for support from NGOs. They also could have had the wish to make a good impression and therefore talk in a different way than if it would have been with someone not attached to any aid organizations. Being aware of these conditions, the answers of the interviewed people living in the camps still will give ample impressions and insights on how they manage and navigate their lives inside the camps on a daily basis, how they perceive their conditions to be, and what led them to the makeshift settlements in the first place.

2.2 Participant observations

When humans face new situations where they are unfamiliar with rules and roles, they turn into participant observers automatically. Once they learn how to behave, they become an ordinary participant in that setting and perform without thinking. Participant observers doing research may appear as ordinary participants as well. Nevertheless, mostly in the minds of participant observers, there are several differences (Spradley 1980: 53-54).

In this section, the differences between the ordinary participant and the participant observer are explained, as well in which ways researchers can do their observations and how this has shown specifically in my research at the Haitian-Dominican border.

According to Spradley, one of the differences is the dual purpose of a participant observer: not only do they want to react and engage properly in certain situations as the ordinary participant, they additionally have the aim to observe the whole setting.

Furthermore, participant observers target to be explicitly aware of all the information that are usually excluded from one's attention to prevent an overload of information. Besides this heightened sense of awareness, the researchers look at situations from a wider angle to gain more information (ibid.: 54-56). During the time of preparation for my research I already trained to be aware and focus on my surroundings more often, wherever I was. Additionally, through reading literature, my sensitivity for the issue heightened and when I finally got to the camps, I tried to absorb as many impressions as possible. Spradley says, "The *less* familiar you are with a social situation, the *more* you see the tacit cultural rules at work" (Spradley 1980:62). Because of that condition, especially the first few times, I could gain valuable observations and insights of the makeshift camps and their inhabitants. One thing to consider is, when preparing, also certain imaginations come along; hence one might get inattentive to other information.

The settings experienced as an ordinary participant will be from an inside perspective, whereas the participant observer will feel himself inside and outside the situation at the same time. Sometimes he will feel one perspective more than the other (ibid.: 56-57). I experienced this through organization's events and distributions in the camps. BRA held a big workshop on water purification inside the settlements, where I was sitting in a corner and observed the whole setting and process. That is where I felt more like an outsider, even though I arrived together with the team of the organization.

Figure 3: Water purification workshop (pictures: Batey Relief Alliance)

When the water purifiers and the medicines were distributed, I always participated and helped wherever I could. Still perceiving myself as an outsider of the camps, as I am not a resident, I gained a bit more of the insider perspective as an NGO worker. Participant observers can use introspectiveness as a tool for research, reflecting on their own feelings in particular situations where ordinary participants usually do not give much attention to. Keeping record of objective and subjective observations is another relevant feature of being a participant observer (ibid.: 57-58).

It seemed inappropriate to start writing directly at the camps, as I was always surrounded by some people and did not have much possibilities of having private moments to sit down and take notes. Therefore, I decided to record my observations as soon as I got home. Sometimes I had the chance to write down some key notes during the journey back to Pedernales.

Spradley defines five types of participation for observers, depending on the level of involvement with people and involvement in activities. With the highest degree of involvement, he writes about complete participation, then followed by active participation. With less degree of involvement, he describes moderate and passive participation, finishing with no involvement at all and defining this as nonparticipation during the observation (ibid.: 58).

For the time of my fieldwork, I considered myself as having been an observer with partly passive or moderate participation. Passive participation considers the observer being at the scene, yet not focusing on interacting with other people. Many researchers start with this kind of participant observations, which later leads to a higher degree of involvement, conversations and interviews. Moderate participation then is the before mentioned balance between the insider and the outsider perspective of participating and observing (ibid.: 59-60).

As described above already, I was present at the water purification workshop in the camp. To this workshop, many people came, mostly women and children. As I was overwhelmed by so many impressions, I decided spontaneously to be in the role of the observer that day and start with the interviews another time. My primary aim was

to gain ample information through observation, and I did not focus on interacting with the people besides conducting light conversations. When Micheline and I went to the camps to distribute the purifiers and the medicines, I was an insider, part of the BRA team through the distribution itself and a researcher, as well as an outsider, not being a camp inhabitant. As reflected in the section about the Batey Relief Alliance, being received as part of the team might have influenced the way or kind of answers the interviewees were providing me. Nevertheless, the organization gave me an opportunity to get in touch with the people I would not have had otherwise. With the presentation of myself as a researcher at water purification demonstration activities in the camps, I tried to put attention on my role, the aim of my study and the confidentiality secured throughout the project.

If there would have been more resources and time, it would have been enriching to get into the role of an active participant during my fieldwork, which means that a researcher tries to learn the rules from other people and then seeks to do the same and adapts their behavior (ibid.: 60).

McCall calls on participant observation as the main method for fieldwork. Through interactions, events, or rituals researchers collect qualitative data. Additionally, interviews, document analyses or quantitative methods can be performed. Some of the characteristics of participant observations McCall is referring to are participating and living in the setting, observing informally, writing field notes including exercised observations and interviewing through informal everyday conversations (McCall 2006:4). Besides these informal everyday conversations, as parts of participant observation, I chose to have interviews additionally as another form of method, which is described in the following section.

2.3 Interviews

Qualitative interviews have been a crucial instrument to produce knowledge during the 20th century in the social sciences (Kvale & Brinkmann 2009:9). Kvale and Brinkmann define research interviews as following: “The research interview is based on the conversations of daily life and is a professional conversation; it is an inter-

view, where knowledge is constructed in the inter-action between the interviewer and the interviewee" (Kvale & Brinkmann 2009:2). Qualitative interviews can be described as conversations with a specific purpose that is approached with careful questioning and listening. As the researcher is more in control of the interview situation than the interview, another characteristics of interviews is the unequal position of the two people involved (ibid.: 3).

Depending on the research purpose, there exist many different kind of interviews, such as computer-assisted interviews, narrative interviews, or factual interviews (ibid.: 147-148). Narrative interviews can be used for producing knowledge about short stories, which are specific episodes in a person's life, life histories, which are life stories from the interviewee's perspective or oral histories, where stories of the communities will be picked up upon (ibid.: 153-155). As I was specifically interested in people's life episode of leaving the Dominican Republic and living in the camps, I took the narrative style as an applicable interview method to hear more about their own perceptions and views on the situation in the camps.

Bernard then distinguishes between four main structures of interviews: the informal, unstructured, semi structured and structured interview. The informal interview can be done at the beginning of the participant observation process, where the researcher does not have a structure or control and needs to remember conversations to write them down at a later moment. With the unstructured interview, both researcher and participant are aware of the interview situation. Even the researcher has a plan in his mind, he wants people to open up and not have any control of the answers. Therefore, this method is used when researchers have a lot of time available. The semi-structured interview is characterized by an interview guide that contains certain topics and questions to be talked about. It is an often used method when researchers do not have the possibility to talk to the same person more than once. The structured interview then has explicit instructions and an interview schedule (Bernard 2011:171-173).

In the beginning of my research, I planned to visit the camps without a specific agenda and would have informal interviews or talks whenever they would fit. I soon

realized that it might be difficult to approach the inhabitants without any purpose. Just being there did not seem fitting, personally, as the people were in a highly vulnerable state, trying to survive. Also, due to certain conditions I will reflect on in the last section of this chapter, I decided to stay at the border for a month and therefore would not have had the time to build long-lasting relationships to people or to do ethnographic fieldwork. As I only spoke to each person once, I decided to exercise my interviews semi-structured. The semi-structured interview is specified "[…] as an interview with the purpose of obtaining descriptions of the life world of the interviewee in order to interpret the meaning of the described phenomena" (Kvale & Brinkmann 2009:3) and therefore seemed fitting for my aim to obtain insights of the camp life, their conditions and daily struggles and navigation methods seen from an inhabitant perspective.

Figure 4: Talking to a resident about the camp situation (picture: Alea Pleiner)

I designed an interview guide with specific topics and questions, which can be taken a look at in Appendix 1 and 2. Still, I adapted to each interview situation and how structured the interview needed to be. Some people had their own agenda in mind, wanting to tell me about some specific situations happening in their lives or in the camps. There, I let them lead the conversation and only used my guide when necessary. Others were a bit shy in the beginning. There I used more questions from the guide. Even-though I consider my interviews as semi-structured because of my interview guide, I used open-ended questions to let people control the direction they wanted to go, which then would be more a characteristic of an unstructured interview. I always tried to remember the questions and not look at the paper, as this could have disturbed the fluency of the interview. I furthermore decided not to record or take any notes. The people who were willing to talk to me told me a lot about the harsh conditions they face. It did not seem appropriate to sit with them and start writing or even recording. I wanted to give them the feeling that somebody was listening, interested in their stories and willing to give them a voice.

2.4 Reflections on the fieldwork at the border

Having the background on the theory of participant observation and interviews and my own fieldwork experience, I now take a closer look to certain components that need further consideration, starting by ethical considerations when doing fieldwork.

Ethics in research involves being sensitive and respectful towards their participants, considering their privacy and safety. Scheyvens, Nowak and Scheyens distinguish between three different main critical concepts for ethical decisions in research: informed consent, privacy and conflict of interest. Informed consent means that the participant acts freely during research and is aware of its aim. At any time of the research, he can decide on whether to continue or not (Scheyvens et al. 2003:139-142). I only did interview each participant once, still, during our conversation; I mentioned that they would not need to answer certain questions if they do not feel they want to. It was people that Micheline and I found that were willing to talk to and share their stories with me, so I did not face any difficulties regarding that. During the

BRA-sponsored first big event, a water purification workshop, the team let me introduce myself. I briefly presented my research; showed my interest for them and in their situations; and invited them to feel free to talk to me whenever they wanted. Besides that most of the people spoke Spanish, one of the health promoters translated it into Creole as well. Later, also during the distributions, people became familiar with my face and I was being related to BRA. Being related to the organization meant support for the people, which the team and I did through distributing water purifiers and medicines. It limited the light-heartedness to just go to the camps to visit the inhabitants and have very informal conversations; hence I switched to semi-structured interviews with the people.

When starting the interview, I did not introduce the project again, as Micheline and I tried to make the people feel comfortable. Consequently, we usually started the interviews with some light conversations and small talks. As some of the people in the camps could not read or write, and I did not want that they would feel embarrassed, I decided instead not to do a written informed consent. Scheyvens, Nowak and Scheyens argue that in certain circumstances oral consent is a more appropriate way. In general, it would be less about the formal design or the research goal, but rather about the appearance of the researcher himself as well as how the research could influence the participants (ibid.: 144-145). When I visited the people in Parc Cadeau 1 and 2, I always dressed decent and casual, without any make-up. I always wanted to give the people my full attention and understanding, that they were taken seriously and respected.

The second critical concept about for ethical research is privacy. When an informant wishes not to be named or unable to be identified, the researcher needs to secure his anonymity in his research. Still, not every one of the informants wants to be anonymous necessarily and certain situations, like talking to a village leader and discussing possible future scenarios, might require identification. Besides anonymity, confidentiality plays another important role when doing ethical research. Researchers are trusted with personal information and are responsible for keeping field notes or transcripts in secure places where they only will be used for research purposes.

Conflicts of interests, the third concept, can appear, as there are many stakeholders, such as the participants, universities or organizations. Especially for people doing research in their local environment, this situation may arise and the researcher is assigned to find balanced solutions without harming anyone of the persons concerned (ibid.: 146-147).

Scheyvens, Nowak and Scheyens define the imbalances of power between the researcher and the informant on two levels. The first one is about the imbalance of resources like money or education, whereas the second one is a more perceived imbalance of feeling inferior or superior to the other. They furthermore evaluate on features researchers cannot control like skin color or sex and others where they have the possibility to influence (ibid.: 149-150). As described above, I tried to leave a positive appearance in the camps through dressing adequately and treating people with respect and dignity. I tried to make them feel comfortable and equal. Through asking about their expertise and knowledge, I aimed to show my interest and make them feel worth more. An example is my questions about their techniques on how they built their homes in the camp.

Figure 5: Chatting after distributing some water purifiers (picture: Batey Relief Alliance)

Usually it is the researcher that gains more from the project than the participants. This, however, according to Scheyvens, Nowak and Scheyens, should not detain from researching. There are various ways to be active afterwards to give something back to the people, like talking about the topic with others who are in power of relevant positions and decision-making processes (ibid.: 155).

Also, through sharing the gained information about their situation and experience, it might shed light on these camps and lead to support for the inhabitants. As BRA will have access to this thesis, I could contribute as well a part to their research on the camps. On an individual basis, I tried to get to know and understand the local culture, learn some of the languages and customs and always showed respect.

Besides all these ethical thoughts, personal reflections on my fieldwork also need to be considered, beginning with the local language. I can speak standard Spanish on a fluent basis. Nevertheless, sometimes the local Dominican Spanish language was challenging for me to understand. For this situation, I always had accompanying me BRA's project coordinator Micheline or one of the health promoters, Facile or Johnny, who spoke Spanish as well. In some situations, the team members would leave during the conversations for a certain amount of time or were moving more in the background, which gave the interviewee and me a more private atmosphere.

The ideal circumstance probably would have been to talk to the interviewees myself, as they could have opened up even more or they might have talked to me about other topics they would not want to talk about in front of the organization's field personnel. Nevertheless, more time would have been needed to first gain deeper trust of the camp inhabitants, second not being linked primarily as a worker of the organization but as a researcher and third, to be firm in their local language.

Micheline furthermore facilitated me to get into a first contact with the people, as we were distributing the relief supplies. She speaks both languages fluently and started the conversation in Creole, before she switched to Spanish and let me take over. When I did not understand something during the interview, I either asked the interviewee directly or one of BRA's team members as a last instance to explain.

When I wrote down my gained information when I got back to Pedernales, I had the possibility to reflect on the interviews again with Micheline. Sometimes also, when it was a very intense conversation, Micheline got up so that I was talking alone to the informant to give us some privacy as mentioned before. In other situations, the informant and I were surrounded by other people of the camps who were listening and sometimes even commented on certain topics, which was interesting to hear but also diminishing our privacy.

Another barrier I faced during the initial interviews was my own shyness to encounter people and talking to them about delicate topics. There, BRA's team again helped me a lot to getting in contact with some of the people and making the initial introduction.

2.5 Delimitation of the thesis

In this section the limits of the thesis are shown. The aim of the thesis is to understand the situation of Haitians and Dominico-Haitians in the makeshift settlements at the border, the conditions in the camps and, how the inhabitants navigate in their vulnerable setting. This is done by investigating in the situation of the people from different angles. There could have been many more and therefore this thesis should not be seen as a universal way of doing research and analysis.

With the given resources, I decided to do a mix of qualitative methods, namely participant observations and interviews. This gave me valuable insights of the camp life and people's daily encounters and challenges. The aim is not to present a representative study, but rather shed light on specific stories and conditions perceived by the people living inside those camps to understand their situation. As it is a relatively small sample of interviewed people, this implies that the study can only be explanatory as well as the conclusions suggestive.

Health risks at the camp sites, processes of crossing the border, emotional overload, time and financial resources led me to the decision of spending one month at the border. During that month, I got valuable insights, information and knowledge about the makeshift camps at the Haitian-Dominican border and their inhabitants. Nevertheless, the conditions mentioned came along with certain disadvantages as I

had limited time on the camp sites. I was not able to interview each person more than once; to establish relationships with my informants; or even live with them in their setting. Staying at the camp sites as well as having more time would have enabled me to go beyond first impressions and data gathering and see further social and cultural structures in the camps. Therefore, I do not only rely on primary data but also include a variety of secondary literature about camp life in my thesis.

In my thesis, I refer to two of the six makeshift settlements, namely Parc Cadeau 1 and 2. I did not visit all of the camp sites due to limited time, but also due to access. The roads are in bad conditions to non-existent and it would have been too long and unsafe to visit the others, even more remote campsites. I furthermore delimit myself from research outside the camp setting. Being aware of many other people who are spread out through Haiti after having left or being deported from the Dominican Republic, I decided to focus on the people living in precarious situations inside the camps and to do fieldwork in the border areas.

I contacted several organizations that provide humanitarian aid at the Dominican-Haitian borders to get interviews with some key informants. Unfortunately, only one responded, in a very formal and renunciative way, so I did not get the chance to do any of these interviews.

3. A LONG JOURNEY: FROM THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC TO STATELESSNESS TO THE BORDER

All these people, Haitian migrants and their children born on Dominican ground called Dominico-Haitians, leaving the Dominican Republic and returning to Haiti is the result of Dominican immigration and citizenship laws, threats and fear in the country. The history of the Dominican Republic and Haiti is a complex one, but important to understand the development of an anti-Haitian attitude within the Dominican Republic and the development of its laws. Therefore, a journey through the countries' common history and the Dominican legislation is presented in this chapter.

3.1 History of the island of Hispaniola and Anti-Haitianismo

The Dominican Republic has a population of ten million people and occupies roughly two third of the island Hispaniola in the Caribbean (Fründt 2014: 256-258). Haiti covers the western third of the island with around ten million people as well (Clammer 2016: 2-3). Together the two countries form the second biggest island of the Greater Antilles after Cuba.

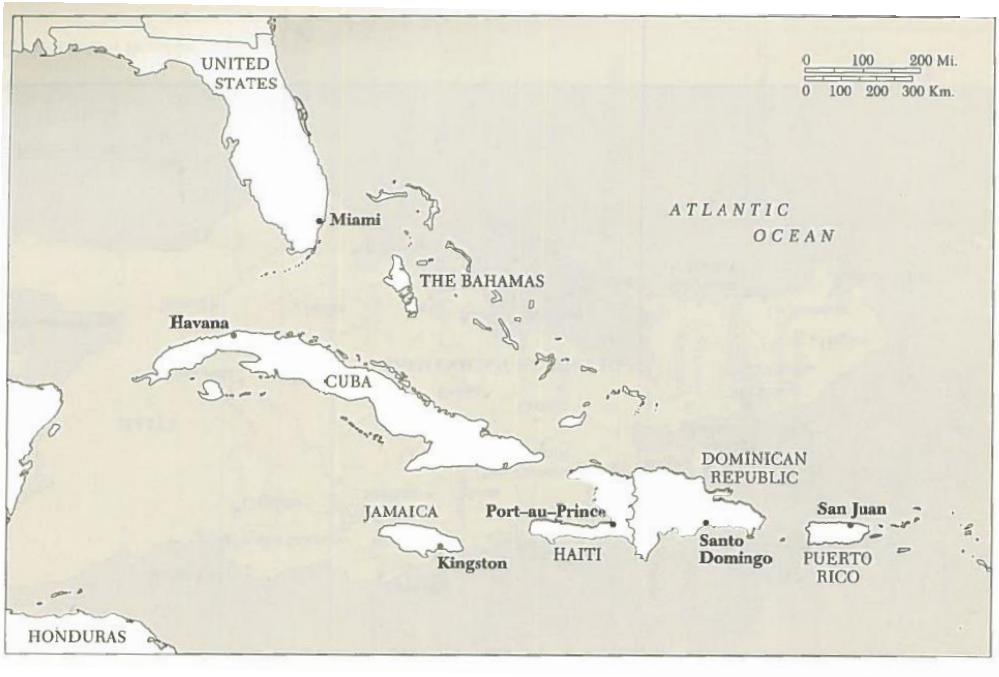

Figure 6: The Caribbean (Levitt 2001)

In 1492, Christopher Columbus explores the island in the Caribbean and calls it Hispaniola (Fründt 2014: 259). By that time, when Spanish colonists started inhabiting the island and arrived with racial prejudices, the origins of *Antihaitianismo* were formed according to Sagás. In his article 'A Case of Mistaken Identity: Antihaitianismo in Dominican Culture' he defines Antihaitianismo as a "[..] Manifestation of the long-term evolution of racial prejudice, the selective interpretation of historical facts, and the creation of a nationalist Dominican false consciousness" (Sagás 1993: 1).

Many of the estimated 400,000 indigenous people on the island of Hispaniola died soon after Columbus arrival due to his labor exploitation, resulting in a number of 60,000 survivors only by 1508. An epidemic led to a further loss of many indigenous

people (Levitt 2001: 31). Because of the declining labor force, Spanish settlers started importing African slaves in 1520. Having its focus around Santo Domingo, Spanish colonists left the northern and western parts of the island in a vulnerable position. When the French then arrived at these parts of the island of Hispaniola, many years of struggling over territory between the Spanish and French followed. In 1679 the two colonists agreed upon peace and in 1697 Hispaniola was formally divided into two colonial parts (ibid.: 32).

After its successful slave revolution, Haiti became independent in 1804. Had the Spanish colonists a reluctant attitude towards the Western part of the island already during their struggles with the French before, now they were defining themselves as anything but Haitian and the Hispanic nationalism was hardened. The Spanish elite supported its whiteness, Catholic religion and Hispanic culture whereas they portrayed Haitians as voodoo practitioners from Africa with black skin that where considered inferior (Sagás 1993: 1).

Haiti's president Boyer aimed to unify the two parts of the island in order to be able to defend the newly independent state of Haiti. In Santo Domingo, some groups supported his idea whereas others primarily were interested in becoming independent from Spain. The Dominican leader at that time, Nuñes de Cáceres, brought the elite up against him with deposing the Spanish as well as other groups who to Boyer had made promises, and in 1822, Boyer arrived in Santo Domingo with 12,000 troops despite a peaceful agreement (Levitt 2001: 32). This was the beginning of a 22-year lasting occupation of Santo Domingo by Haiti (Sagás 1993: 1).

The revolution and following independence of Haiti in 1804 terrified many countries in the Western hemisphere, being the first black republic that was led by former slaves. The country was threatened that French would try to occupy the island once again. Furthermore Haiti suffered from political isolation and hostility. Only when the country paid 150 million francs to France for repaying lost property of former French plantation owners in 1825, France recognized Haiti as a sovereign state, following by many Western countries who were refusing recognition before (Tavernier 2008: 99).

In 1844, the Dominican Republic finally became independent (Sagás 1993: 1). The nation started using Antihaitianismo as an element for promoting nationalism. One of the factors

> "[…] defining Dominican nationhood is that it emerged from a rebellion against a harsh Haitian occupation, leaving Dominicans with an enduring sense of hatred and distrust toward their neighbors. The Dominican nationality that evolved is, in many ways, an anti-identity" (Levitt 2001: 34).

Dominicans defined themselves as everything that is opposite of Haitian, including the total rejection of a black identity (ibid.: 34). Being black meant descending from African slaves, which was being related to being Haitian. Even though the indigenous population of Hispaniola was wiped out within a century, Dominicans were represented to be descendants of the Tainos and Spanish colonists and therefore could be considered dark, but not black. (Sagás 1993: 2). This is partly interesting as the indigenous people where replaced by African slaves not only in French Saint Domingue but also in Spanish Santo Domingo (Tavernier 2008: 100).

After their newly gained independence, the Dominican Republic was afraid that Haiti would try to occupy their country once again or the US would gain control over their territory. Therefore, Spain was asked for help to establish a protectorate within their land, which then only lasted for two years from 1861 to 1863. Growing debts and an ongoing fear of the Dominican sovereignty attracted many foreign investors. By the end of the century, most of its economy was ruled by and belonged to the US. The US' growing control over the Dominican's financial affairs finally resulted in an occupation of the Dominican Republic in 1916 (Levitt 2001: 35-37).

Migration between Haiti and the Dominican Republic has been characterized by the rise of the sugarcane industry in the Dominican Republic. After the fall of the European sugarcane industry with the end of World War I, the Dominican Republic became one of the major sugar producers and the United States started recruiting Haitians to work on the sugarcane fields. Even years after the US occupation of the Dominican Republic, which ended in 1924, Haiti supplied workers for the sugarcane

plantations and in 1952 the first bilateral agreement between the two countries was signed, stating that Haiti would send seasonal sugarcane cutters from its country on a regular basis. This agreement ceased with the leaving of Haiti's dictator Duvalier in 1986 (Fletcher & Miller 2004: 660-661).

From 1930 to 1961 dictator Trujillo ruled the Dominican Republic. While having relations between the Dominican Republic and Haiti, a massacre of Haitians in 1937 was the start of Trujillo's anti-Haitian policy. That massacre left tens of thousands of Haitians, who lived in the Dominican Republic and refused to leave the country, dead. Trujillo used some of the Dominican intellectuals to transfer the hostile view of Haitians to paper, adapting their history and distribute it amongst the population. His dictatorship ended 1961; nevertheless his policy had influenced people's perception on Haitians (Ferguson 2006: 330; Sagás 1993: 3-4; Tavernier 2008: 100). In general, political leaders and the country's elite have been using the Haitian occupation as a way of justifying the strengthening of anti-Haitian attitudes and fears of another take-over (Fletcher & Miller 2004:673). Promoting nationalism in the Dominican Republic many times is combined with including Antihaitianismo (Sagás 1993: 4).

Haiti remained politically and economically instable in the late 80s and the beginning of the 90s, therefore more Haitians migrated to the Dominican Republic, despite the cease of the bilateral agreement. By the end of the 1990s, it was estimated that between 500.000 and 700,000 Haitians permanently lived to their neighboring country (Fletcher & Miller 2004: 661), most of them undocumented (Ferguson 2006: 311). Many of the people who worked on the sugarcane fields lived in so called "bateyes", which are rural rudimentary housings. They were intended to serve temporarily; nevertheless, people stayed, married and founded families. The conditions in the bateyes are harsh, as people living there face no running water, no proper sanitation facilities and little or non-existent access to health care or education (ibid.: 314-315).

After the decline of the sugarcane industry, many Haitians were seeking jobs in the construction and service sector. While needed by the Dominican Republic as labor forces, Haitians still were perceived with prejudices and faced discrimination

(Kosinski 2009: 383). Studies like the one from Keys et al. in the Ethnicity and Health Journal have shown how perceived discrimination and humiliation can influence the mental health of Haitians living in the Dominican Republic (Keys et al. 2015: 219). Antihaitianismo is spread amongst Dominican culture, through every day talk, how people define their skin color, or how history is presented in school books. One example is the presentation of the country's origins in museums. In the Museo del Hombre Dominicano, translated to the Museum of the Dominicans or the Dominican Man, the image of Dominicans descending from the indigenous Tainos is very present, as well as some of the Spanish history on the island. Nevertheless, information about the country's roots to Africa only shows in very few references (Tavernier 2008: 97-100).

3.2 Progressive changes in the Dominican legislation

Some of the consequences of Antihaitianismo were the threat and partly execution of mass deportations of Haitians living in the Dominican Republic, taking place in the 1990s. Furthermore, parents with Haitian background who were living in the Dominican Republic had more and more difficulties in obtaining Dominican citizenship for their children born on Dominican ground. By that time the Dominican law granted citizenship to children born on Dominican soil automatically, excluding people "in transit" (Tavernier 2008: 100-101). People "in transit" were usually considered of being inside the country for fewer than ten days, nevertheless in the 1990s more restrictive interpretations started applying, and authorities many times refused to issue birth certificates for these children. This meant, as a consequence, that they did not receive identification documents or passports neither (Amnesty International 2015: 5-6).

In the Dominican Republic, Haitians and their children born in the country form a large minority. By 2001, the Haitian embassy estimated 280,000 people with Haitian parents born on Dominican ground. (Ferguson 2006: 308-309) and by 2012 a number of close to 670,000 Haitians and their children was estimated by the National Statistics Office, the United Nations Fund for Population and the European Union (Amnesty International 2015: 31).

The following years, major changes in the Dominican law took place that therefore disproportionally affected the Haitians as a large minority in the Dominican Republic. In 2004, the restrictive interpretations turned into law. Under the new migration law the definition of people “in transit” included temporary and/or undocumented migrant workers. Therefore, the majority of children with one or two Haitian parents, born on Dominican ground, were excluded from the right of obtaining Dominican nationality. The law started being applied retroactively with the release of two administrative decisions in 2007, with identity papers not being renewed or issued in the first place (ibid.: 6).

With the new constitution in 2010 children of irregular migrants could not obtain Dominican nationality anymore automatically by the fact that they were born on Dominican soil. Judgment 168:13 in 2013 led to a retroactive application of the new constitution back to people born in 1929, saying that the automatic right to Dominican nationality never had been entitled to these children. With this judgment several generations of people have been left stateless (ibid.: 17).

In 2014 the Dominican Republic released a law to address the effects of the Judgment 168:13, due to international pressure. Nevertheless it has failed to restore automatic nationality and asked people to go through complex processes in regaining their status or even registering themselves as foreigners in order to be able to apply for naturalization. Only a minority of the people were able to successfully (re-) gain their nationality due to incompleteness of the solutions and failures in implementation (ibid.: 5-6).

Along with the retroactive judgment in 2013, a regularization plan for irregular migrants started in the Dominican Republic, ending in June 2015. Authorities announced the implementation of deportations of irregular migrants as soon as the deadline would be due. People were afraid of these mass deportations and abuses and hence many of them “spontaneously” returned to Haiti (Amnesty International 2016: 9-10).

Others have been threatened during or after the regularization process and therefore left the country. Since June 2015, many deportations have been carried out, not

giving people the time to challenge the correctness of these actions, proof their entitlement to Dominican nationality or collect their belongings (ibid.: 5).

3.3 The camps at the Haitian-Dominican border

As mentioned in the introduction, between June 2015 and February 2016, around 145,000 people left the Dominican Public and crossed the border into Haiti. The number of people deported during the same time period lies by 21,000 people (GARR et al. 2016: 2), extending the time frame to May 2016 up to 40,000 people that had been deported (Amnesty International 2016: 4).

Figure 7: At the border crossing (picture: Alea Pleiner)

Across the border of the two countries, makeshift settlements emerged. Anse-a-Pitres, a small Haitian border town in the South-East of the country and counterpart to the Dominican town Pedernales, has an estimate of around 27,500 inhabitants (GARR et al. 2016: 4), It is considered as one of the poorest and most isolation regions in Haiti (Amnesty International 2016:11). In that area, more than 2,200 people, who equal close to 550 households, have settled around Anse-a-Pitres in six

makeshift camps, called "¨[…] Parc Cadeau 1 and 2, Tête à L'eau, Fond Janette, Male Tchipe and Savanne Galata (GARR et al. 2016: 2).

The situation of the people living in the camps is a rather delicate one. Sanitation is poor, drinking water is very limited to non-existent, health care is not accessible as well as economic opportunities are rare. Health is at risk due to the way of living: The tents are closely built to each other, running water does not exist, people need to cook and eat in the dust and latrines are not visible in the camps. It is hard to find work, especially in an area that remote and with limited options to cross the border without possessing documents. Furthermore, the majority of the children do not attend school (ibid.: 7-9). Depending on the camp, people either are exposed to extreme heat and dust or floods and cold (ibid.: 7). The materials the shelters are built with are not adequate for neither of the conditions and transform the living situation in an even more precarious one (Personal observation 5 March 2017).

Figure 8: Children eating in their family's tent (picture: Batey Relief Alliance)

At the time when the makeshift settlements emerged, people were registered and given support by the Haitian authorities, which ceased rapidly due to limited resources (Amnesty International 2016: 26). According to GARR, more than 60% do

not possess any Dominican or Haitian identification papers (GARR et al. 2016: 5-6). In general, humanitarian assistance on the camp side is very limited. Together with the IOM and the UN, Haitian authorities relocated some of the households, which had lived in the camp before, to other areas in the country and provided them with money for their rent for a year. (Amnesty International 2016: 4). Besides the relocation project and other projects of different organizations, the inhabitants of the camp side still face different challenges on a daily basis.

To fully understand and feel the situation at the camp sites, I conducted participant observations and interviews as explained in chapter 2. In total, I conducted nine in-depth interviews during my visits at the camp sites in Parc Cadeau 1 and 2 and my stay at the border, which are presented briefly in the following. I talked to seven people who are living in the camps: An older pastor, who I will refer to as **Pastor 1** throughout my thesis and who has been living in that remote area for more than 15 years now, and his neighbor **Nana**. I also talked to a younger pastor, referred to as **Pastor 2** and his father, **Pierre**. I had further conversations with other camp residents: **Lidia**, who has been living in the camp for almost two years with four of her six children, **Luis**, who has been living there with his wife and his two younger children and **Elias**, who has two children living with him and got to know his wife in the camp. Due to respect of their privacy, all names of the interviewed camp residents have been changed.

Besides talking to people living in the camp, I had two additional interviews, one with **Micheline**, the BRA project coordinator of Haiti and Harry **Byuno**, the major of the border town Anse-a-Pitres in Haiti.

More detailed information about the interview settings as well as the main content of the conversations can be found in Appendix 3.

Having set the framework for my used methods to do field work as well as the historical background that ultimately led to the situation today in the last chapters, the next chapters will now move towards on putting on an analytic lens for the situation of the camps at the border.

4. UNFOLDING THE HAITIAN BORDER CAMPS

What follows in the next two chapters, is the discussion of the situation for the people with Haitian background in the Haitian border camps. It is a coherent and constitutive analysis, inseparable in real life. For enabling the reader to keep a general overview and navigate throughout the analysis, the division of the chapters facilitates to see the various arguments of the thesis and prevents one big and confusing queue of these.

Rather, Chapter 5 unfolds the dynamics and structures in the camp with the framework of social exclusion and Chapter 6 then leads the research to its consequences, namely experiencing to live under these circumstances. Within that chapter, the concept of liminality takes on another lens of analyzing the social exclusion experienced by the camp inhabitants and offers insights of the emotional challenges and navigating and coping mechanisms people, as a result of social exclusion, find themselves in.

5. STRUCTURE AND DYNAMICS OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION

The situation at the Haitian border makeshift settlements is a rather complex and delicate one. On a daily basis camp inhabitants face different challenges and uncertainties. This chapter aims to identify reasons why people are stuck within their limited position at the border as well as the different dimensions of difficulties and conditions they encounter. When illustrating the findings of the gathered data during my fieldwork, social exclusion is used as a conceptual framework. Therefore, before going over into the analysis of my fieldwork, different connotations of social exclusion are presented and summarized into an understanding I further will use throughout the thesis.

In Bhalla's and Lapeyre's book 'Poverty and exclusion in a global world', the *concept of social exclusion* is examined. Richard Lenoir was the first one in 1974 who mentioned social exclusion in his book 'Les Exclus: un français sur dix'. He used the

term for those who did not have access to economic possibilities. This group was considered as socially disadvantaged, like elderly, handicapped, invalid or suicidal people, to name some examples, as they did not fit into the industrial norm. Later the concept applied not only to marginalized people but also to bigger parts of the general population (Bhalla&Lapeyre 1999: 1-2).

There is not a universal definition of social exclusion, but different authors have described their connotations on the concept. In the paper ‘Social Exclusion: Concept, Application, and Scrutiny’, Sen describes social exclusion under the aspect of poverty: how to understand poverty and possibly finding a new lens on how to alleviate it. He relates to poverty as a deprivation of capabilities, when a person is not able to have a decent life. He argues that no income might lead to a life of deprivation, but there are also other factors that need to be taken into account. This is what, according to him, characterizes social exclusion: the focus on the relational aspects. If one does not have any social relations, he might suffer from further deprivations and limitations (Sen 2000: 2-5).

Burchardt, Le Grand and Piachaud try to find their own understanding of social exclusion throughout their article ‘Social Exclusion in Britain 1991-1995‘ to use it for their empirical analysis (Burchardt et al. 1999: 227-228). They assume the geographical residence of the excluded person on his society’s ground and define social exclusion by the non-participation in activities that usually are done within that society. Furthermore, they specifically divide the types of activities under consideration of their society and time period in five categories, namely the consumption, savings, production, political and social activities (ibid.: 230-231).

Atkinson explains the difficulty of giving a concrete definition and instead describes three elements for the mechanism of social exclusion in his chapter ‘Social Exclusion, Poverty and Unemployment’ in Atkinson’s and Hills’ book ‘Exclusion, Employment and Opportunity’. The first one is about relativity, meaning the comparison to other events and activities in a society and putting it in perspective.

Second, he refers to agency and to the degree of how far people are responsible for certain actions. Third, he mentions the dynamics of social exclusion, which refers to chances in their future (Atkinson 1998: 13-14).

Bhalla and Lapeyre argue that a growing number of people is deprived from an economic and social point, which means that they are excluded from their society to a certain extent and captured in a 'social no man's land'. The main processes resulting in social exclusion is on the one hand being excluded from a productive system, meaning unemployment or precarious jobs, and on the other hand being socially deprived, meaning the collapse of social bonds (Bhalla&Lapeyre 1999: 4). Covering distributional as well as relational issues, they describe social exclusion as a multidimensional concept with three different dimensions, namely the economic, social and political one (ibid.: 16-17).

Considering the different notions on social exclusion, the factor of economic and social deprivations protrudes throughout the scholars. In a next step, it is interesting to take a look at the author's comparison and use of the concept of poverty in relation to the one of social exclusion, as some use the concept of social exclusion as another way to analyze poverty, where others completely distinct between the two.

Sen for example underlines the importance of the relational aspect of social exclusion. Nevertheless he uses the concept as an approach to view poverty in a broader sense, namely as lacking freedom or lacking capability. Exclusion is not analyzed separately, but a core part of the analysis of poverty (Sen 2000: 5-6).

The next level then is from Atkinson, who describes the relationship of unemployment, poverty and social exclusion. He stresses out that they are all-interrelated, still not considered as equal (Atkinson 1998: 9).

This is similar to Room's view on the two concepts. Room compares poverty and social exclusion in his article 'Social exclusion, solidarity and the challenge of globalization' and analyzes several points where social exclusion go beyond poverty. One of his arguments is that social exclusion goes away from purely financial indicators and turning towards multi-dimensional disadvantages, including for

example poor housing or health. Then, the analysis is a rather dynamic than a static one, considering entry or exit factors of the disadvantaged situation as well as the consequences of its duration. Another point is that social exclusion does not only analyze individual resources but also lacking resources within a community. Furthermore, Room argues that poverty has its focal point on distributional aspects, whereas social exclusion is more focused on relational ones, including the lack of participation or integration within a society (Room 1999: 166-169).

In her working paper 'Social exclusion', Silver even contrasts the concept of social exclusion to the one of poverty. She argues that social exclusion explains the different dimensions of disadvantages, but, without excluding the material aspect of poverty, focusing on social disadvantages and the exclusion from groups or institutions, hence the deprivation of a participating life in a society. Even though she admits that poverty and social exclusion are related as one can lead to the other in both ways, she underlines the relational aspect rather than the distributional one within the concept of social exclusion (Silver 2007: 15-16).

Also, Bhalla and Lapeyre argue that poverty and social exclusions are two concepts to distinguish. Even though poverty and social exclusion most likely are interrelated, poverty not always offers an adequate indication of exclusion. Therefore, social exclusion should be regarded as a distinct concept (Bhalla&Lapeyre 1999: 4). Another aspect for differentiating is the factor of political and civil rights. Whereas poverty focuses on difficult or non-access to income, social exclusion "[…] refers also to a breakdown or malfunctioning of the major social systems that should guarantee full citizenship" (Bhalla&Lapeyre 1999:14).

With the aim of facilitating further reading and gaining a better understanding of the concept in context to my fieldwork, I decide to choose Lapeyre&Bhalla as my main scholar for unfolding the dynamics of social exclusion in the Haitian border camps for various reasons.

First, they are focusing on social exclusion as distinct concept. The aim of using social exclusion in this thesis is not to explain poverty from a new perspective, but rather use the concept as a framework for seeing dynamics that lead to the situation

of the camp residents and shed light on factors why they are stuck, limited and finally excluded.

Second, they present three different dimensions, including the economic, social and political aspects. I definitely do not want to dismiss other possibilities of setting the framework for social exclusion, but I felt the need to choose one approach to be able of doing a coherent and analysis of the camp situation, which the dimensions offer.

Third, Bhalla and Lapeyre argue that the concept of social exclusion has been applied mainly for developed countries, regardless it is a concept that can be used in a broader sense as it focuses beyond a material perspective towards the different aspects of deprivations (Bhalla&Lapeyre 1999: 30) They devote a whole chapter to exclusion in developing countries and examine the case of Brazil (ibid.: 131). On the other hand, Atkinson for example focuses on Great Britain and Europe (Atkinson 1998: 11-13) and Burchardt, Le Grand and Piachaud note that their definition is adapted to their own society in Great Britain (Burchardt et al. 1999: 227). Another example is Byrne, who explicitly focuses on developed countries or Northern countries in his book 'Social exclusion', when he is giving illustrative examples (Byrne 2005: 14).

Last, Bhalla and Lapeyre attend their focus on the deprivation of rights. In their book they also present different interpretations for social exclusion, whereat I will use the European Union Approach, as this centers on social rights being denied or not realized.

> "It emphasizes each citizen's right to a certain basic standard of living and to participate in the major social and occupational institutions, for example, employment, housing, health care, education, and so on. Social exclusion occurs when citizens are disadvantaged and unable to secure these social rights" (Bhalla&Lapeyre 1999: 8).

In their book, the concept has been presented in relation to rights of citizens. As social exclusion is being referred to as the exclusion from the rest of the society, I argue that the concept can be applied also adequately to the camp inhabitants at the Haitian border besides their citizenship status. A society can include more than the citizens of a country.

There are vast options of defining society. I will go with the Cambridge Dictionary, which defines society as

> "a large group of people who live together in an organized way, making decisions about how to do things and sharing the work that needs to be done. All the people in a country, or in several similar countries, can be referred to as a society" (Cambridge Dictionary 2014).

When all people in a country are considered as a society, this definition also includes the people with the Dominican-Haitian background at the camp sites within the Haitian borders. Besides the mixed population of the camps, many undocumented people and some people who do possess identification papers, human rights apply to all people irrespective of their status. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) from 1948 is the primary document about human rights from the United Nations and, even though being a declaration, considered as customary international law and therefore binding for states (Human Rights Resource Center 1998). The declaration establishes equal rights to all humans regardless of any status like social or national origin, race, birth or any other status (United Nations 1948).

Having set the framework on social exclusion, throughout the next three sections its economic, social and political dimension now give insights in the different challenges people in the makeshift settlements encounter and bring us closer to and understanding why they are stuck in their limited position.

5.1 Conditions in the camps

To enter the camp sites at the Haitian border in the South-East of the country, one needs to leave the border town Anse-a-Pitres. With a motorcycle, it is a 15-minute ride, first on a simple concreted road and later, when leaving the town, a road built of stones and rocks (Personal observation: 5th March 2017).

Figure 9: On the way to the makeshift settlements (picture: Alea Pleiner)

First, one arrives at Parc Cadeau 1. There is a proper but small street, where there are one or two houses visible on the left, and some more on the right side. The surroundings of Parc Cadeau 1 seem very dusty. It is situated in a remote area, in the middle of nowhere, only with nature and desert-like plants in the dry fields where the tents are erected. A few minutes later by motorcycle, Parc Cadeau 2 begins. This Parc is defined into two parts, first a bigger and then a smaller area (Personal observation: 7th March 2017). Again, the camp areas are isolated. Next to the houses of the camp inhabitants one can only perceive the natural surroundings (Personal observation: 5th March 2017).

After Parc Cadeau 1 and 2, following the Haitian-Dominican borders, the other four camps, namely Tête à L'eau, Fond Janette, Male Tchipe and Savanne Galata, follow. Whereas for example Parc Cadeau 1 and 2 are exposed to heat, dust and drought, other areas face rain, cold and floods due to their heights (GARR et al. 2016: 7). As the research focuses on Parc Cadeau 1 and 2, the following facts, factors and results are relating to these two camp sites.

In general, the area in the South-East of Haiti is very remote and, to a certain extent, isolated from the rest of Haiti. This implies also the isolation of the camps.

Figure 10: Isolate natural surroundings of the camps (picture: Alea Pleiner)

The tents are mounted in a rudimentary way, serving a temporary purpose due to their materials. They are built of basic wood, cardboard, linen and/or trash bags and the roofs are covered with palm leaves and cardboards as well. Only very few own a metal roof. Luis, one of the interviewed camp residents, explains that there are places in and around Anse-a-Pitres where people leave their old clothes and waste. He managed to get there and collect cardboards, clothes and other material he could use for building a small house (Interview Luis: 9th March 2017). Because of their bad conditions, the tents cannot protect its residents from either heat or rain.

One can see that the tents emerged as a result of forming an informal living site, as they were built in an arbitrary order. Some of the tents are separated from others by some basic fences (Personal observation: 5th March 2017). Obvious areas for sanitation are not visible. As there is plenty of nature around, it might be possible that it is used for natural urges, as a common bathroom (Personal observation: 5th March 2017). According to GARR, Parc Cadeau 1 and 2 have two latrines each (GARR et al. 2016: 7). During my camp visits, I have never seen these latrines, nevertheless,

for a few hundred people each, the latrines are not sufficient and consequently healthy conditions are restricted in the camps.

Figure 11: A family experiencing the camp conditions (picture: Alea Pleiner)

As there are little options for the camp residents to earn a living, standards in the makeshifts settlements are difficult to be improved. Bhalla and Lapeyre explain the *economic dimension of exclusion* as the deprivation of income or more general, economic possibilities, as well as goods or services. Consequences of economic exclusion can result in limited access to adequate shelters or housing, education or health (Bhalla&Lapeyre 1999: 17), as demonstrated in the previous paragraphs.

More specifically, Bhalla and Lapeyre present long-term unemployment and precarious jobs as two factors leading to social exclusion on an economic level (ibid.: 54). I focus on the exclusion within the labor market, which is addressed by precarious jobs, as this is the case at the border. The concept of precariousness involves a constant lack of security, protection or stability. These factors lead to vulnerable positions of workers that ultimately can result in economic and social deprivations. Being uncertain of the job duration, one does not have the possibility of long-term planning. Considering that permanent pressure, it is a relevant facture contributing to mental stress and deteriorating of psychological health (ibid.: 62).

One of the precarious job options for camp residents is cutting wood at the border and selling it. Luis is one of the people going to the mountains and hills at the border, trying to find and cut wood in order to sell it. It is a dangerous job, as the crossings to the Dominican side of the border happens illegally. There is a risk of getting caught and rumors about people getting killed by residents on the other side of the border are known amongst the camp residents (Interview Luis: 9th March 2017). Pierre also talks about people being mistreated when getting caught. He knew about two people that are currently or have been in prison for cutting trees on the Dominican side (Interview Pierre: 23rd March 2017). Because of the possibility of threats or beatings, other camp inhabitants like Elias do not work in the mountains (Interview Elias: 21st March 2017).

Another option is doing small day jobs. People walk around the Dominican border town Pedernales and ask for jobs like washing people's clothes, cleaning their houses or cleaning their shoes (Interview Micheline: 4th March 2017). To be able to execute these jobs, people first need to find a way to get to Anse-a-Pitres, finding free transportations or means to pay it, and then furthermore be able to cross the borders, as many of them do not have documents and there is border control. Another option would be to cross at illegal points, which, besides dangers mentioned before, brings along long walking distances to Pedernales.

Pierre has been living in the camps for many years now. He talks about being born in Haiti, but moving to Mercedes, a Dominican border town, when he was ten years old. He still has a house there, which is empty now, and some land. If possible, he still goes to that house from time to time, works on his fields or does some temporary agricultural jobs for other people to earn some money (Interview Pierre: 23rd March 2017).

Lidia sometimes buys some products like rice and tries to sell them in the camp (Interview Lidia: 8th March 2017). Some of the camp residents participate in the "mercado internaciónal", a market at the Dominican side of the border, where

everyday life utensils like hygiene or kitchen products, food, clothes, or mobiles are being sold Mondays and Fridays. During market days, it is easier to cross the border as they are more or less open from Anse-a-Pitres to Pedernales and vice versa. (Interview Micheline: 4th March 2017). Nevertheless, only a few people have this option, as, in order to sell something, the person needs to be able to purchase his product in the first place, which requires some money or assets (Interview Pastor 2: 14th March 2017). Few people try to sell little products at their 'colmaditos', which are small 'colmados'. A colmado is a small shop, where people can buy the most important basics, like bread, food, toilet paper, rum, etc. The colmaditos in the camp are tiny stands where products like chewing gums, rice, small bags of sugar, eggs or portions of washing powder are sold (Personal observation: 7th March 2017; personal observation: 8th March 2017).

Having listed the economic option in the camps, conditions as distance, danger of threats, mistreatment or imprisonment and lack of start-up money, result into precarious job situations. As described before, lack of security, protection or stability are characteristics of the concept of precariousness that lead to vulnerable positions and ultimately to a status of exclusion. Many of the people cannot work in the camps or their surroundings and the ones who can, still do not earn enough money. People therefore face not only a material but also social deprivation, which will be taken a closer look at in section 4.2.

Once excluded from employment and income, I argue that the situation may turn into a vicious cycle where it is difficult to escape. This argument is based on Dasgupta's *concept of disenfranchisement*, discussed by Bhalla and Lapeyre. People who experience poor economic conditions without any labor power, face results like lacking income, assets or employment. Their way to future employment could be improved with increased consumption. With the example of consuming food, people can meet the minimum nutritional requirement and consequently turn their potential labor power into actual labor power (Bhalla&Lapeyre 1999: 12).

In the case of the people living in the makeshift settlements at the Haitian-Dominican border in Parc Cadeau 1 and 2, this means following: People have very little to no

options of earning money, hence no means of improving their conditions in which they live. Pastor 2 mentions people “muriendo de hambre”, people starving of hunger. Not enough money means not enough food to buy. On the other hand, the conditions in the camps include poor housing and shelters. Pastor 2 gives the example of tents being burnt. Last year for example, 15 shelters burned down. People had made a small fire and the wind turned, so one after the other tent caught fire, resulting in losing all the belongings of the residents (Interview Pastor 2: 14th March 2017). Having the tents close to each other, lacking sanitary facilities and health access then lead to poor health conditions. People in the camps talked about cases of cholera within the makeshift settlements (Personal observations: 8th March 2017). Lidia presents a little child during the interview that had lost her hair since she has been living in the camps, naming poor food, dust and hygiene as reasons (Interview Lidia: 8th March 2017). Non-purified water is another reason for bad health conditions (Interview Luis: 9th March 2017). Being in bad shape minimizes the possibility of working in one of the already very few possible precarious job areas, where then the cycle of having no income and money starts again. The following graph shows this cycle of economic exclusion:

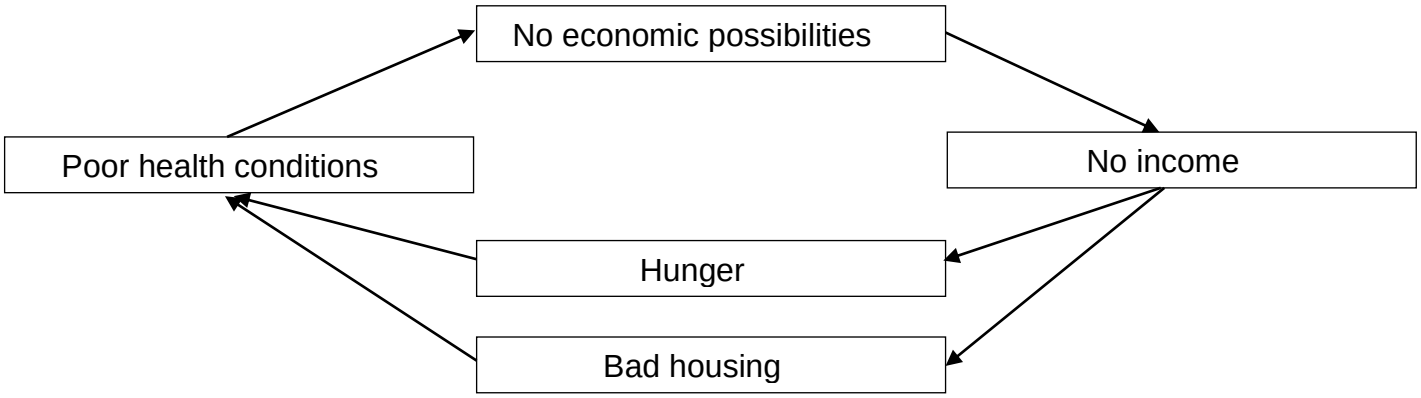

Figure 12: Cycle of economic exclusion

Bhalla&Lapeyre summarize that the possibility of owning some assets or accessing resources would be highly decisive in order to minimize the level of economic exclusion (Bhalla&Lapeyre 1999: 18). For example, being able to work and sell items at the international market on the Dominican side of the border, it is necessary to have some assets. With some start-up money, people could buy their products first,

in order to sell them again at the market. Same counts for selling products through walking around the camps or having a little colmadito.

As resources can be scarce, one needs to consider that not everyone will be able to obtain the necessary assets to escape exclusion (ibid.: 18). This implies that even within the camps, when state structures and support from the private sector would be rising, the fact of equal distribution needs to be taken into account in order to avoid leaving certain groups more vulnerable than others.

After shedding light on the various factors of the economic dimension of exclusion, the following section now demonstrates some of the social characteristics of the concept.

5.2 Social positioning of the camp residents

The multidimensional concept of social exclusion focuses not solely on economic, but also on relational issues. Next to the political dimension that is elaborated in the next but one section, these relational issues encompass the *social dimension of the concept*. Not only does the lack of employment result into an absence of income, it furthermore misses to provide recognition in a society of being productive humans. It means that a social status and human dignity are not given in this setting (Bhalla&Lapeyre 1999: 21).

Bhalla and Lapeyre acknowledge that the term ‘social’ can have multiple meanings and different forms of use. An example is the different use of well-being, which can be on an economic or a social level. At the social level, it includes the general access to social services, such as education, health, sanitation facilities and drinking water (ibid.: 22).

As for education, the children face a challenging reality. Both, Pastor 1 and Pastor 2 in Parc Cadeau 2 have small simple churches built up close to their houses. Earlier, these rudimentary facilities have been used as schools for the children, one of them even additionally as a kinder garden. Nevertheless, at that moment when fieldwork has been performed, the schools had not been in use. The pastors mentioned the problem of maintenance and lack of money as reasons. The ones who were teaching

need to take care for themselves and their families and try to earn some money to survive, therefore the teaching had been stopped (Interview Pastor 1: 8th March 2017; Interview Pastor 2: 14th March 2017). When visiting the camps, I also was looking for children. Many of them were playing around and sitting on the ground, and my impression was that none of them was going to school (Personal observation: 8th March 2017). There are schools in Anse-a-Pitres, but the walking distance is too high and the sun and heat would be exhausting the children from the makeshift settlements too much (Interview Lidia: 8th March 2017).

As mentioned earlier, sanitation facilities are non-existent on the camp sites. People live with as little there is in their daily life. Every day cooking itself is time consuming and challenging. One of the kitchens I saw in a camp was a tiny tent made of wood and clothes. Inside there were some stones and wood to make fire with basic utensils to cook (Personal Observation: 8th March 2017). To wash their dishes, clothes or themselves, people get their water from a little fountain that comes from a river, placed between Parc Cadeau 1 and 2. Walking several times a day for 15 minutes or more with buckets to get water to the living area of the camp, experiencing heat and caring for their children simultaneously, seems to be an exhausting job. Furthermore, there are pipes situated in Parc Cadeau 2, which did apparently not work at the time of doing fieldwork (Personal observation: 9th March 2017). Elias explains that he gets water from the river as the pond is broken. There he was confronted with contaminated water, as a dead animal had been lying in the water (Interview Elias: 21st March 2017).

People in the makeshift settlements encounter deprivations of basic social rights and access to social services, as they do not have the option for education, clean drinking water or proper sanitation facilities. Different factors then accumulate bad health conditions and people do not have access to any services. They are excluded in the area of Anse-a-Pitres, the Dominican Republic and within the Haitian society.

Besides the lack of social services, the social dimension can furthermore include the lack of social ties, as for example ties with family or friends. Compared with industrialized countries, developing countries have a stronger connotation for

relationships within the family or community (Bhalla&Lapeyre 1999: 30) as there are no welfare state mechanisms (ibid.: 43). Family members or communities usually share common values, relations among each other and reciprocal understanding of sharing. Compared to communities, families are the smaller units. Especially in developing countries, the head of the family members sometimes is in charge of the family's welfare and the bond of family reduces certain risks (ibid.: 36-37).

Having or maintaining social ties in the Haitian border camps is a complex and complicated endeavor. Elias came to the Dominican Republic when he was nine years old, living and growing up in the South-East of the country. After receiving threats and experiencing discrimination, he left the Dominican Republic together with his brother and a friend and crossed the border informally. He does not possess any legal documents, nevertheless his five sisters do and still live in the Dominican Republic. He does not have a mother or a father anymore. From time to time he has contacts with his sisters and also his extended family that live in Haiti, in Belle Anse, the region he was born. He does not have a phone; hence they are not in regular contact (Interview Elias: 21st March 2017).

In the camp, there are also many people who do not have any contacts or family ties in Haiti at all. Pastor 2 describes different settings. Some of the people crossing the border return into Haiti voluntarily and continue their way to other parts of the country, where they have houses or family members. Others, like Dominico-Haitians that were born in the Dominican Republic, however, do not have any ties to Haiti or family members in Haiti any more. Pastor 2 argues that therefore people would build their lives close to Anse-a-Pitres, in the camps. Rather than going to a place in Haiti they do not know, they would prefer staying in this area that is closer to the border (Interview Pastor 2: 14th March 2017).

Having limited or no social ties to the family in Haiti, returning to the Dominican Republic still is not an option. Many people lack documents and therefore would face problems with crossing the border or continuing their way due to controlling points (Personal observation: 10th March 2017). Some also cannot go as they have their family or parts of it in the camps and the way would be exhausting especially for

children (Interview Luis: 9th March 2017). Furthermore, many of the camp residents have experienced major threats and would be hesitant or fear to return (Interview Lidia 8th March 2017, Interview Luis: 9th March 2017, Interview Elias 21st March 2017). This leaves them in their precarious situation, stuck in the border camps.

Even though the camps are fairly new, a sense of community has emerged. Communities typically can be neighborhoods, ethnic groups, or villages. Bhalla and Lapeyre argue that the tendency to strengthen people's sense of a common purpose and commitment is more given within a poorer or homogeneous society (Bhalla&Lapeyre 1999: 36-38). People in the camp share similar situations and challenges. Especially during the arrival period of some residents, their future neighbors had been helpful towards them. Luis remembers asking people for food leftovers in the beginning. Furthermore, people showed him around, how to get to the mountains, cross the borders and search for some wood to sell (Interview Luis: 9th March 2017). Also, Elias affirms the support between the camp residents, giving the asking for food as an example. Living in these conditions, he thinks, makes it necessary to stick together and help each other out (Interview Elias: 21st March 2017). Pastor 2 describes himself as a person people come to talk about their problems and difficult situations and he tries to help them wherever he can. He mentions helping two people cross the border a few days before our interview to accompany them to the hospital in Pedernales and receive some health support (Interview Pastor 2: 14th March 2017).

Notwithstanding that the people in the makeshift settlements have established some common sense of community behavior, primarily they need to provide for their own family and themselves in the camps. Having little to nothing, without a regular income or family ties in the surroundings, it is even more challenging to support each other. This leaves people in the camps mainly dependent foreign or humanitarian aid.
Very few organizations give support to the Haitian border camps. GARR describes their assistance as "[…] grossly inadequate, irregular and generally unsuited to their needs" (GARR et al. 2016: 10). During my observations I saw one action, namely of clothes distribution by some nuns passing through the camps (Personal observation:

21st March 2017). Additionally, I experienced only two more present organizations, the Batey Relief Alliance and the IOM, during my one-month fieldwork. The Batey Relief Alliance held workshops in the camps about clean drinking water and distributed water purifiers and medicines to the people (Personal observation: 7th March 2017; personal observation: 21st March 2017). At the time of conducting fieldwork, Pastor 2 was carrying out the registry of people arriving from the Dominican Republic and crossing at an informal crossing point. This task has been assigned by the IOM for a period of 15 days (Interview Pastor 2: 14th March 2017). Furthermore, in February 2016, the IOM executed a relocation plan, providing subsidy for one-year rent and transportation allowance to the area they would live. By May 2016, more than 570 families had been relocated (Amnesty International 2016: 16). Many of the camp residents however expressed concern or disagreement about the relocation plan (GARR et al. 2016: 9). Nana, Pastor 1's neighbor, criticizes that many of the people do not have any roots in those areas and therefore have no relations with the places they moved to. She tells of people even returning to the camp. Furthermore, she argues that after these months of support people will encounter even more precarious situations, still unable to pay rent, start a small business or provide for their families. She summarized that, even though it is very basic and of bad material, in the camp people have at least something they can consider their own, where they do not need to pay and what they had built themselves. (Interview Nana: 8th March 2017).

In general, help from organizations is perceived to be deteriorating to almost non-existent. Lidia talks about organizations and people who came to the camps to support them with food or soaps, but that they've stopped. She expressed herself with anger, 'nos dejaron aqui', which means 'they've left us here' and added the lack of support from the government (Interview Lidia: 8th March 2017). Pastor 2 perceives that help is reducing and organizations were more present in the beginning of the camp evolvement. He puts up the issue of short-term help and argues that people sometimes do receive support, but only for a few days rather than in the long-term run (Interview Pastor 2: 14th March 2017).

The Haitians and Dominico-Haitians living in the camps suffer from social exclusion on various levels. They lack basic social services that also cannot be balanced economically as there is no existing steady income. Some of them furthermore do not have any social ties to family members in Haiti and have limited contact with the ones more far away in the Dominican Republic. The community within the camps seems to be the only tie left, and the interviewed people perceive a community sense between the neighbors. Nevertheless, poverty and precarious situations also challenge the support of each other to a certain extent, which basically leaves them dependent on humanitarian aid. The little assistance they get might help the camp residents on a temporary basis, but due to insufficiency they still are not spared by their harsh reality.

Turning the focus now on a more political level, the next section will go deeper into the deprivation of certain human and political rights as well as Haiti's position on a country and regional level.

5.3 Deprivation of basic rights and incomplete citizenship

As mentioned before, what distinguishes social exclusion from the concept of poverty is its multidimensional context, which adds the political aspect as the third dimension. The *political dimension* describes human and political rights deprived from certain groups. Examples of these rights are freedom of expression, equality of opportunity, minimum health care or personal security (Bhalla&Lapeyre 1999: 22-26).

While a minority of the camp residents came from other areas of Haiti possibly because of extreme poverty, drought and hunger as push factors, more than 80% of the camp inhabitants arrived from the Dominican Republic (Amnesty International 2016: 12). Haitian migrants and Dominico-Haitians have experienced discriminatory measures against them in the Dominican Republic. They faced obstacles to gain birth certificates, suffered from restrictive legal interpretations and ultimately resulted in a situation of mass statelessness due to legal changes, especially the changes in the Dominican constitution about gaining nationality and its retrospective application. Throughout all the changes in Dominican legislation, especially the right to

nationality, the right to be recognized before the law and the right to an identity have been restricted (Amnesty International 2015: 5-6). The right of nationality due to the fact of being born on a state's territory, 'jus soli', had been replaced by 'jus sanguinis', where citizenship is dependent on the nationality of the parents (Kosinski 2009: 380). The conflict between these two principles of obtaining nationality disproportionally affected Dominico-Haitians and left generations stateless (Amnesty International 2015: 5-6).

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, UNHCR, issued the Convention relating to the status of stateless persons in 1954, where it defines stateless persons as people that are"[…]not considered as a national by any State under the operation of its law" (UNHCR 1954). Not being a national or citizen implies being denied certain rights. In their book "Citizenship and Migration. Globalization and the politics of belonging", Castles and Davidson use T. H. Marschall's *categories of citizenship rights.* First, they mention *civil rights*, including freedom of expression, religion or personal liberty. The second group of rights include *political rights*, such as the right of information or the right to vote. Third, *social rights* offered social and economic wellbeing through, for instance, the right to work or access to welfare services. The three different types of rights are interdependent, which means that one cannot fully enjoy certain rights when others are restricted (Castles&Davidson 2000: 105-108). Inferential, when nationality comes along with other rights, that, when people are rendered stateless, these rights become unavailable (Kosinski 2009:378).

> "No nationality means identity documents conferring legal personality and the rights that go with this--access to health care, education, property rights, freedom to leave and return to your country--are simply not available. […]. Births and deaths may not be registered. In many ways these people simply do not exist" (Kosinski 2009: 378)

This quote implicates that without having documents, certain rights are not accessible. Stateless people are impaired to perform their role as a member of

society, which has impacts on a psychological, socio-economic and socio-cultural level (ibid.: 379).

These circumstances lead us to Bhalla's&Lapeyre's notion of *incomplete citizenship*. Besides the denial of the before mentioned rights, incomplete citizenship may also be a form of social exclusion within the political dimension: "Deficiencies in citizenship rights may be due to poor enforcement of these rights by the State and the inability of the individuals, social groups and organizations to defend their rights" (Bhalla&Lapeyre 1999: 26).

The Dominican Republic is legitimizing its decisions based on the Haitian constitution, saying that children born abroad to one Haitian parents are entitled to Haitian nationality. Nevertheless, people need to proof that they had not chosen or enjoyed another nationality at an earlier point in order to not lose this right. This is particularly difficult as Dominico-Haitians were born on Dominican soil and at that time of the old Dominican constitution entitled to Dominican nationality by law, even if having faced difficulties in obtaining it. Furthermore, as many Haitian migrants lack documents, it is more difficult to prove a Haitian background if somebody wanted to apply for Haitian nationality (Amnesty International 2015: 20-21).

After the end of the Regularization Plan by the Dominican Republic, Haiti officially stated to receive its Haitian nationals coming from the other part of the island with dignity. At first, people who were deported or returned spontaneously were registered by the Haitian authorities. This measure nonetheless ceased soon due to internal political difficulties. Besides the existence of informal border crossing, even the formal lists of deported people were not verified with Haitian authorities, what contributed to unauthorized deportations of people who would have been entitled to stay in the Dominican Republic (Amnesty International 2016: 26).

Bhalla and Lapeyre mention the notion of the state within the political dimension of exclusion. On the one hand, they argue, the state develops certain programs and policies to support sponsors specific groups or classes within a society. This means that the state is not considered neutral. On the other hand, as the state is also

granting basic and civil rights, it can help to work against social exclusion. Either can the state support in building a new framework, where social organizations take over some of the government functions, or the state helps more directly through legislative decisions and interventions (Bhalla&Lapeyre 1999: 28).

Even though Haiti has not signed or ratified the Convention relating to the Status of Stateless Persons (United Nations Treaty Collection 2017a) or the Convention of the Reduction of statelessness (United Nations Treaty Collection 2017b), the country has the obligation to guarantee human rights to every individual. The UDHR is considered as customary international law and therefore also Haiti is obliged to follow. This means that, irrespectively of the citizenship status of the camp residents, the country needs to ensure the free fulfillment the resident's human rights.

Haiti additionally is obliged to meet the criteria of the treaties it did ratify, such as the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights 1966 and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights 1966 including their additional protocols, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination or the Convention on the Rights of the Child 1999 (United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner 2014).

When examining the situation of the people in the makeshift settlements, their limited options, their precarious situation regarding health, education or living, and the resulting denial of certain human and political rights, it shows the inability of the country to provide for the necessary means that human rights can be fully enjoyed.

The lack of verification of deported people is only one example of the limited capacities of the Haitian authorities. Another one is the promise of shelter construction at the Haitian border by the government, which never have been realized (Amnesty International 2016: 26). The perception of the government's support by the camp inhabitants is similar to the results of organizational reports as from Amnesty International or GARR.

Frustration shows off, for example when Pierre talks about gaining or regaining nationality. According to him, as the parents are usually Haitian, it should be easier to receive that nationality. Still, it is a difficult endeavor. Many people do not have

documents to prove their Haitian background. Even though he remembers the old president saying that everybody needs to gain a nationality in the country, the government is not supporting the people in the camps in any way and all of them need to look for themselves, starving, having nothing to do and possessing no money (Interview Pierre: 23rd March 2017). Lidia talks about the president visiting with his wife only once without any results and leaving them nothing (Interview Lidia: 8th March 2017).

Pastor 2 mentions the mayor of Anse-a-Pitres during the interview. He recalls the mayor's confirmation to help but also indicates that no travels to the camps actually took place (Interview Pastor 2: 14th March 2017).

My interview with the mayor of the Haitian border town Anse-a-Pitres, Harry Byuno, then opens up another perspective on the situation at the border: Byuno has been in his position for nine months by the time of the interview. The major talked about several difficulties. First, he mentioned Anse-a-Pitres. He explained that the town was facing various challenges itself, giving problems with electricity as one example. Second, he confirmed the willingness to help in the makeshift settlements, but also mentioned the lack of funds. Haiti elected a new president by the end of last year, meaning that measurements by the government regarding the border situation are awaited. Furthermore, Buyno expressed his dissatisfaction with the NGOs. He talked about several times when he has had terrible experiences with aid workers coming in to the camps, taking pictures, and going back to their offices or countries without leaving any support or positive impacts. Additionally, he confirmed the gradual decline of the NGOs going into the camps over the past few years (Interview Byuno: 22nd March 2017).

Limited resources and lack of the state's capacities contribute to camp residents not being able to enjoy their entitled rights on various levels. First, many of the camp inhabitants do not have documents and/or have been deprived of their nationality, hence they are rendered stateless. Through the non-provision of adequate solutions

of both countries, the Dominican Republic and Haiti, people have been denied various citizenship rights, be it civil, political or social rights. Second, regardless one's citizenship status, Haiti falls short in providing proper assistance to ensure people's human rights, which it is obliged to do due to the UDHR and other ratified treaties.

5.4 Concluding remarks

The different dimensions of the concept of social exclusion are all interrelated. If a person, for example, is able to exercise his rights, it can motivate him and result into a higher productivity and contribution to economic growth, which then helps to overcome his situation of exclusion (Bhalla & Lepeyre 1999: 28). The other way round would be income and economic stability, as it partly, but not purely, can facilitate access to health, education or other human rights (ibid.: 34).

The consequence then is, when people like Lidia, Luis, Elias or the pastors who live in the makeshift settlements at the Haitian border, face severe deprivations on various levels, then the opposite sets in and they are left more and more excluded. The factors of lacking economic options and hence income, the lack of social services and social ties with families and the deprivation of human and political rights provide them little possibilities to escape this cycle of social exclusion. Besides not being able to exercise their basic rights and living under harsh conditions on a daily basis, they are excluded from the rest of Haiti's society through their location, citizenship status and non-provision of basic services.

During the time of conducting fieldwork, the scope of finding reasons and dynamics why people are in this excluded situation has been limited to the people I talked to, their stories and perceptions. There can be many more reasons why people end up in this situation and are stuck within. The chapter nonetheless aimed to give insights in people' struggle at the border camps and the dynamics that lie beyond.

After having established an understanding of the situation of the interviewed people in the camps, I now turn to the results of being stuck in within them and how it affects daily camp life.

6. EXPERIENCING LIMINALITY AND CAMP LIFE AT THE HAITIAN BORDER

In this chapter, the situation of the camp residents is first analyzed through the lens of liminality. Through acknowledging the liminal phase the people are experiencing, one will be more aware of the aspect of temporality of camps and legal statuses. Furthermore, the concept of liminality enlightens the threatening possibility of being stuck in a permanent liminal and thereby possible limited situation. Finally, the camp is viewed from the inside. It sheds light on how people feel being in their situation, how they deal with it, but also how they navigate within their limited options and possibly encounter it.

6.1 Liminalities in the camps

In his chapter 'Revisiting liminality. The danger of empty spaces' in Andrews' and Robert's book 'Liminal Landscapes', Thomassen describes *liminal landscapes* as spaces that are in-between, whereas the term liminal implicates a boundary. Liminality is a situation or an object that is betwixt and between (Thomassen 2012: 21). The *concept of liminality* was first introduced by Arnold van Gennep and later by Victor Turner. Van Gennep was looking at thresholds and liminal states at religious rituals. He focused on the threshold from childhood to adulthood, where people are separated from the village, resolve certain dangers through a religious ceremony and then are re-integrated in their society with a new status (Bigger 2009: 209). These rites of transition are separated in three phases, namely the phase of separation, where a person is detached from a certain fixed condition or state, the phase of margin, in which the liminal period does not show any or only few characteristics of the past or future state, and lastly the phase of aggregation, where the transition is completed (Turner 1987: 5). Turner turned his focus away from religious rites towards more general rituals and transitions as well as people's coping with their thresholds (Bigger 2009: 209). He refers to any possible change from one certain state to another one and possible concerns of entering a new status (Turner 1987: 5). Turner identifies a state as a stable condition and gives profession, rank or

legal status as some examples. The transition between two states is then considered as the period of liminality (ibid.: 4).

I argue that people in the camps are living exactly this period of liminality for several reasons. First, the camp itself can be considered as a space in-between. The UNHCR considers camps as a temporary measure and a necessary exception (UNHCR 2017). The aspect of temporality implies that there has been another status before entering and living in the camp, as well as there is a status expected after having stayed in a camp on a temporary basis. As Thomassen also relates the term 'liminal' to boundaries, the location of the camps at the Haitian-Dominican border illustrates a threshold place. People have left the Dominican Republic. They are in Haiti, still at the very border of it, in a remote area, where liminalities are more dynamic than fixed.

Second, the Dominico-Haitians from the camps, who've lost their Dominican nationality or never obtained it in the first place even though entitled to, are in the before mentioned phase of margin, the liminal position. In the situation of these people, the phase of separation implies the loss of Dominican citizenship. The phase of aggregation then would mean the gaining of another status, in this case, the Haitian nationality. Being in the liminal phase, people neither have characteristics from the old status, nor have they yet achieved any of the new one.

Third, from a social and economic position, it can be argued that people find themselves on the threshold again. Having lost ties to families, either wrested from their environment or having left it, and lacking now options of regular income within this liminal landscape they live in, they have not yet obtained another economic or social status in Haiti and are stuck between positions.

Based on van Gennep's and Turner's concept of liminality, Thomassen creates different types of liminalities. First, he differentiates between three types of subjecthood: Starting with single individuals, he then defines social groups such as minorities and finalizes with entire societies or populations as possible types. Second, he distinguishes between moments like sudden events, periods like weeks or years and epochs like decades or generations as possible temporal dimensions of his concept of liminality (Thomassen 2012: 23-24). The spatial dimension can be

divided into three categories, namely specific places or thresholds like doorways, areas or zones like a border area and countries and continents (ibid.: 26).

In the case of the camp inhabitants, one could classify them as not only individuals, but also a social group experiencing the liminal phase. It is Dominico-Haitians, born in the Dominican Republic, as well as Haitians, who at some point migrated to the Dominican Republic for work, family, etc., whereas both have been deported to the border or returned spontaneously. The camps at the Haitian border have been existed since June 2015 (GARR et al. 2016: 2), but the discrimination of people with Haitian background and cases of deportations have been rising for decades (Amnesty International 2015: 5). Therefore, the temporary dimension of the liminal phase will be regarded as periods, as it has been going on for years. The spatial dimension, as examined already, would be considered as an area, as it is located at the border of Haiti and the Dominican Republic.

When Thomassen writes about certain groups, such as stateless people or illegal immigrants, being in a liminal position, he compares them to Turners *neophytes*, who do not live in a social, but purely physical reality and therefore need to be hidden, as they should not be in this place (Thomassen 2012: 26-27). Turner argues that the structural invisibility of neophytes many times results into isolation from culturally defined states, no possessions and lack of exercising their rights (Turner 1987: 8).

This argument has been illuminated throughout Chapter 4. Their social reality has been minimized as no stable economic options, basic services and facilities and social ties are given. The state does not have the capacities to provide people's fulfillment of their rights. As mentioned before, there have not been proper registration and support from authorities and social organizations have been ceased or declined. Furthermore, citizenship has not been granted for the people in the camp on a large scale, which means that they still are stuck in the liminal phase. All these factors then make these people invisible on a structural basis and leaves them as neophytes.

Thomassen emphasizes the transitional part of the concept of liminality as utterly important and how these transitions influence the affected people. When individuals or groups are in this transitional part, they are considered of no longer being in the position of the old state, but not yet in a new one. They are in between positions, neither here nor there (Wels et al. 2011: 1).

What kind of dangers the situation of being stuck between positions and not having obtained a new status, is elaborated in the following section.

6.2 Temporality of camps and the danger of a permanent liminality

Thomassen points at the possible difficulties in passing certain transitions. If then the temporal and spatial dimensions of liminality become fixed, it then shifts into a *permanent liminality* (Thomassen 2012: 28). Szakolczai compares this in his article 'Living Permanent Liminality: The Recent Transition Experience in Ireland' to certain situations of time standing still like an acute illness that was supposed to cease after a few days or a war that is still continuing after years instead of lasting for a few months. He sheds light on a liminal situation as a temporary moment between two fixed states. This temporary moment, Szakolczai argues, sometimes can extend and last longer than expected and therefore turn into a permanent state (Szakolczai 2014: 34).

This transition from a temporary liminal state to a permanent situation can also apply for camps. In her book 'Camps. A Guide to 21st-Century', Hailey describes camps as resulting "[...] from the exceptional circumstances of conflict, natural disaster, displacement, and marginality with increasing frequency and ever-greater facility" (Hailey 2009:1). Camps are usually considered as limited in time and having a finite duration. Sometimes, however, the duration can be unknown and camps persist (Hailey 2009: 4). Also, Diken and Laustsen explain camps being built as a temporary, transitory means in their working paper 'Camping as a Contemporary Strategy – From Refugee Camps to Gated Communities'. These exceptional spaces, though, sometimes become permanent places, turning days into years and prolonging the state of temporariness. This situation leads refugees to live on a day-to-day perspective and let despair grow (Diken&Laustsen 2003: 14-15).

If the temporary state of the camps at the Haitian border is prolonged or transforms into a permanent liminal situation, this brings certain implications with it. The spatial and the temporal dimensions of the liminality become fixed, which means that also their underlying conditions do. People living there, who are experiencing exclusion already on several levels, namely on the economic, social and political level, will have difficulties in establishing a stable, dignified life. Being neither attached to one or the other country by their national legislation through lacking documents and citizenship, people will continue to be structurally invisible and lack human rights.

If Haiti is not able to provide with adequate solutions, people will be stuck in various ways and thus social exclusion will continue or even increase. They will be stuck physically in this place, including little possibilities of economic options or bad housing. Without having a stable income, it will be more difficult to improve the physical living conditions.

Another aspect is the situation about health. Hailey explains that self-settled camps occur when immediate shelters are needed. Because of the urgency of these settlements, sometimes densities inside the camps, bad hygienic conditions or hostile reception in the host country are not considered (Hailey 2009: 342).

This leads also to the next point. People will be stuck on a social level and psychological, not having access to social services or showing their ability of being productive and dignified humans. Howard and Ibrahim confirm this progressive destruction in their chapter 'Threat and suffering. The liminal space of ´The Jungle´' in Andrews and Roberts's book 'Liminal Landscapes': When occupied in an in-between space, a liminal situation between having detached from an old but not yet being attached to a new structure, they argue that sometimes destructive spaces occur where occupants face physical, psychological and social suffering and vulnerability (Howarth&Ibrahim 2012: 201).

Without having the final phase of the liminal concept, which is the phase of aggregation or reintegration, the liminal phase can become a dangerous challenge. People do only exist to a certain extent, being detached from any characteristics of

the statuses, and are being restricted to execute their rights. Then, a permanent liminal situation can thus become a very limited one.

After having examined the liminal position of people living in the border camps, resulting in the threat of being stuck in a permanent limited situation, the next section focuses on the camp life viewed from the inside. It shows what it means for the interviewed people themselves to live in an undesired liminal state.

6.3 Camps as places of despair and social death

The makeshift settlements at the Haitian border have been existed for roughly two years. At this point it is early to say certain trends. This should also not be the focus of this section. It rather aims to provide an understanding of possible consequences of daily life in a camp over time. Having done extensive fieldwork, the case of Simon Turner is an interesting example worth taking a closer look at.

In his book ' Politics of Innocence. Hutu Identity, Conflict and Camp Life', Simon Turner writes about Burundian Hutu refugees who fled to the Lukole camp at the Tanzanian border after violent events in Burundi in 1993 (Turner 2010: 1). Part of his research reflects on the refugees' interpretations of their camp life, experiencing the *camp "[…] as a place of social and moral decay"* (Turner 2010: 65). When Turner discussed changes since people had been living in the camps, it appears that morals and social behavior had turned into something worse than before and was compared many times with the contrasted life in Burundi. Decay was equated with no respect, no hierarchies, no loyalty and no sexual morals (ibid.: 65-66). The interviewed men perceived that women are losing respect towards their husbands, as they are not able to provide for them and instead the UNHCR is giving them food or clothes. They referred to the organization also as the white men, which the Burundian refugees needed to beg for. Begging for food meant losing one's pride and respect (ibid.: 67-68). The customs of Burundi are getting lost, people drink too much in the camp and fight, and women dress inappropriately. Furthermore, problems such as prostitution, violence towards women, underage sex and underage marriage are perceived amongst the Burundian refugees. Turner emphasizes that he cannot

confirm numbers of prostitution cases, underage marriages, etc. actually rising, but that he rather is focusing on the relevant perception of the refugees in the camp (ibid.: 69-70).

These perceptions are relevant information to understand how people are coping with their lives in the camps and how they feel in their daily situations. Having acknowledged and highlighted that every camp is different due to its own history, background and development, sometimes similarities between them can be drawn upon. The general impression of how people in the Haitian border camps are experiencing their conditions, is not emotions of fear for moral decay but rather one of *despair and frustration*.

During my interviews, I heard two complaints over and over again: First, that there is nothing to do in the camps or in the area and second, that they do not receive help from neither the government nor organizations and that they are left behind (Interview Lidia: 8th March 2017; Interview Pastor 2: 14th March 2017, Interview Elias: 21st March 2017, Interview Pierre: 23rd March 2017).

Figure 13: Camp inhabitants facing limited options (picture: Alea Pleiner)

Elias mentioned that cutting the wood, for example, is what some people do in order to sell it, earn some money and provide for their families. He nevertheless does not engage in this as it is a dangerous endeavor and he is afraid of mistreatment if he would get caught. He points out the factor that there is nothing to do several times, showing his frustration. The consequence of no work is poverty, which he stresses out as a main problem several times as well (Interview Elias: 21st March 2017).

Also Pastor 2 is worried about the living circumstances. When talking to him, he points his hand towards the surroundings, confronting the harsh conditions they face in the camps. His emotions reflect through the problems he mentions, bad shelter, health risks, hunger and little options of income. Pastor 2 sees the conflict on the long-term run: He explains that there is very little support from organizations, and if they receive some, it lasts for a few days and then people face the same challenges again (Interview Pastor 2: 14th March 2017).

Pierre is frustrated with the government, as he says they would not do anything to help or support them. He said people suffer, they do not have work and are left hungry with their families. They would need to see by themselves how they survive (Interview Pierre: 23rd March 2017).

Luis talks about a very specific emotion he experienced, namely embarrassment. It is comparable to Turner's interviewed refugees how they feel of losing respect and pride as they need to beg for food at the organization. Luis talks about the time he arrived with his family. Because of the deportation and the journey to the camp, he and his family arrived exhausted. They did not possess anything in the beginning of their camp life and needed to beg for example for some leftovers, which made him feel embarrassed (Interview Luis: 9th March 2017).

All these moments described and conditions experienced show a picture of the challenges the interviewed people face in the Haitian border camps on a daily basis and the emotions they encounter. I argue that these people might suffer a social death, introduced by Vigh in the following.

In Christiansen's, Utas' and Vigh's book 'Navigating youth, generating adulthood', Vigh focuses his study on youth and mobilization in Guinea Bisseau in his chapter

'Social death and violent life changes'. His study in Guinea-Bissau shows how urban youth is engaging in conflict, using *social navigation* as a way to escape social death and extending their possibilities in life (Vigh 2006: 31). The concept of youth can be understood as a position or a demarcated group itself, as well as a certain stage or period in one's life, growing from childhood into adulthood (ibid.: 34). Due to scarcity of resources, youth in Guinea-Bissau is dependent on the support of their family as well as on the goodwill of their society's elders who are in possession of the already limited resources. Without these, young men are not able to provide for an own family and gain independence, hence they are stuck in the phase, not achieving the status of adulthood (ibid.: 38). Vigh describes this situation as experiencing *social death*. Having no options of turning into a meaningful social being in the future, people's life seems to be unworthy (ibid.: 45).

If we take the concept of youth as a certain period in one's life, the situation of the people in Guinea-Bissau can be compared with the one of the camp inhabitants in Haiti. As analyzed before, people in the camp are living in the liminal period through various reasons. The youth of Guinea-Bissau cannot escape from the transition from childhood to adulthood, whereas the people in the camp who are stateless do neither have characteristics of their old citizenship status anymore, nor do they have achieved a new status yet. Vigh's interviewed people face scarcity of resources, so do the people I interviewed in the camp. Social exclusion unfolded the restricted access to work, social ties and basic rights, which leaves the people in the camp, as the people in Guinea Bissau, stuck in their position. Having no security of getting out of the transitional phase, the threat of a permanent liminal experience leads to emotions like frustration or despair due to their present and unknown future, resulting in experiencing social death.

Additionally, people do not only face social death, but are also in danger of a physical one, as hunger is a daily companion in the camp.

6.4 Navigating within the social moratorium

Vigh explains the difference in youth between North and South. Whereas in Northern countries people are able to enjoy their possibilities during youth and therefore see it

as a social position they would like to stay in, in Southern countries youth seem to be confined within their status, not being able to turn into the next phase of adulthood. Experiencing liminality in a way related to marginality, people find themselves stuck in a *social moratorium* (Vigh 2006: 35-37). The author elaborates on the social moratorium as being destituted economically, restricted access to different resources and therefore limited to possibilities (ibid.: 37).

People living in the makeshift settlements at the Haitian-Dominican border are as well confined in their phase, as many of them have not received another nationality or any identification documents. Not possessing any papers means that certain rights are not accessible. But not only are people in the camps excluded on a political level, they also have restricted access on an economic and social dimension. Having little to no possibilities of work, people lack income, the satisfaction of their basic needs or access to education, health or sanitation facilities. Social ties for support is not available and people are restricted to be recognized as a productive human being. All these factors contribute of being socially excluded, as described in chapter 4. Social exclusion therefore also means living in a social moratorium.

Vigh explores three ways the youth in Guinea-Bissau tries to free themselves from their social moratorium, their phase of youth they are stuck in. The first one is migration, which is, though most desired, the most difficult one to achieve. The next one is the reliance on family members and friends, whereas the last one is trying to access a patrimonial network, where a wealthy patron can share his resources in exchange for receiving favors and loyalty (ibid.: 47-48).

Through navigating within networks, the young men find a way how to best live and react in certain life situations. This is called *Dubriagem* in Guinea-Bissau, which is, as Vigh describes it, the counterpart of the concept of social navigation (ibid.: 51). The *concept of social navigation* is being used when people face unstable situations, a changing environment or insecurities. It provides a framework of analyzing ways people move and navigate within these circumstances (Vigh 2009:419).

Executing Dubriagem means being able to survive and navigate in one's changing social environment on the one hand, and then on the other hand working towards an imagined different future with more possibilities, and therefore escaping the social moratorium (Vigh 2006:51-52).

I argue that all the factors of social exclusion make it difficult for people in the camp to escape the social moratorium completely. Nevertheless, with the concept of social navigation or Dubriagem it can be shown how the people move and act within their circumstances and their given possibilities.

On the economic dimension of social exclusion, restricted possibilities of finding work have been presented. Nevertheless, some people decide for example to work in the mountain area to cut wood besides the danger of being caught or mistreated. Others try their luck to cross the border and find small day jobs in the Dominican border town Pedernales. Some again have their little stands to sell daily products or walk around the camp area and try to sell. So even though economic options are limited, people try to do their best to survive on an economic level.

Figure 14: The international market in Pedernales as an economic possibility (picture: Alea Pleiner)

These people are called *liminal experts* by Simon Turner. He argues that the Lukole camp in Tanzania cannot purely be seen through the UNHCR's organized camp structure or the people's tales of social and moral decay. He writes about liminal experts or the big men, people who use the liminal character of the camp and try to recapture it into a lived space. He presents different people who try to cope with and make the best out of their situation, for example in becoming leaders, workers for non-profit organizations or small entrepreneurs (Turner 2010:85-87) Turner nevertheless also sheds light on the many people who did not become liminal experts and rather tried to find other ways to cope with their lives in the camps, like sitting around, playing cards or engaging in a church (ibid.: 104).

These *coping strategies* are also present in the daily camp life at the Haitian border.

When visiting the camp sites outside the Haitian border town Anse-a-Pitres, it was interesting that, besides the obvious precarious situation people are in due to lack of income, health circumstances, etc., scenes of normal everyday lives came up. An example was the day I went to Parc Cadeau 2 with BRA to have the water purification workshop. Close to the event at the church, I saw a small, simple house close by, what turned out to be a colmadito, one of the small shops where they sold some chewing gum and other basic products outside. Next to this colmadito a small table and some plastic chairs were situated. I observed four, and later three people playing domino for a few hours. They already had started when we arrived at the camp site and still were playing when we left (Personal observation: 7th March 2017).

I had a similar observation when we came back to the camps at a later point. We returned to a house in Parc Cadeau 2 where we had been distributing medicine another time. This time we saw some of the camp inhabitants sitting together, playing domino and having fun. Besides the heat and the unhealthy conditions, one could think of a normal situation around midday between neighbors or family.

Figure 15: Everyday life scene: People playing domino (picture: Batey Relief Alliance)

As we knew where some of them lived, we concluded that is not only direct neighbors gathering, hence some of the people seem to have started in engaging in friendships at the camp site. At the time of taking my field notes I remarked my perception of a small community evolving (Personal observation: 21st March 2017). This note assembles the analysis of the second dimension of social exclusion. People in the camps do not have access to social ties as family outside the camps. They are mainly dependent from foreign aid and are excluded from their surrounding and from the rest of society. Having no other social connection and being in a quite homogenous situation, a sense of community has emerged. People spend time together, know their neighbors and can enjoy little moments besides living under harsh conditions.

This sense of community is also shown in following examples. When arriving at the camps, it seems that the existing camp residents try to facilitate the process of settling in. When Lidia came to the camp sites at the Haitian border with her six children, people gave her some material so that they could build their houses (Interview Lidia: 8th March 2017).

Luis was being shown around in the mountains, how to search for wood and how to cross the border. After he learned from his friends and neighbors, he says, that he was able to earn a bit of money and buy food by himself. In the beginning, he needed to beg for leftovers in the surroundings. He also borrowed cooking utensils from his neighbors as he did not have anything himself (Interview Luis: 9th March 2017).

Elias tells me that some people even sometimes try to teach other adults to learn how to read and write as, some people, like himself, do not know how to write their own names. He said to him feeling embarrassed does not have space in the camp, adding asking for food as an example. Asking each other and helping each other out is the way they survive and according to Elias, it works between each other in the camp. In his opinion, due to their bad conditions they have, they need to stick together in order not to get into a chaotic situation (Interview Elias: 21st March 2017).

Having established two little churches show religious engagement in the area. As previously mentioned, the churches have been used for teaching children as well. Even though there are currently no classes, it shows the attempts of people in the camps to establish some basic facilities that they and their children have been restricted to. Pierre even somehow managed to get his youngest child into a private school close to Parc Cadeau 1 and works on finding transportation every day (Interview Pierre: 23rd March).

One day during a visit, I encountered a house bigger and constructed in a more solid way than the others. The woman found there explained that this was a bar, opened every Saturday where people sometimes come to have beer after work or dance. The place includes some sitting possibilities, an old domino playing table and a small dancing floor (Personal observation: 9th March 2017).

Like Simon Turner stated, people search for different coping strategies in a camp, which is shown through all these examples above. Being aware of their situation, people seem to find ways and little loopholes where it is possible to get a glimpse of normal life, within their framework. Socializing, helping each other out and establishing basic facilities and places to hang out can be considered as strategies to

reduce their feeling of social death. It also can be seen as a way of surviving within the social moratorium, their liminal phase they do not know when they will leave.

As the camp inhabitants are furthermore excluded on a political level due to statelessness and the lacking provision of the full enjoyment of their rights, basic structures and rules have emerged and being formed among themselves. In this realm, the position of the camp churches and new village leaders are relevant.

Pastor 2 describes himself as a person people come to when they have problems or face difficult situations. He then tries to help them and talk a lot to them. When doing the interview, he gave me an example of crossing the border with two people who needed to go to the hospital in Pedernales. As they do not have documents, he paid some money at the controlling point for them to get them pass. He furthermore tells me about reunions he has with people in the camp from time to time, where they then walk around in the area and talk to people, including ways of living in the camps. He tries to create images in people's mind such as if it would be their own daughter that would get robbed and how they would feel about that. According to him, there luckily have not been any deaths, robberies or sexual assaults until now and people generally have been calm. This is necessary as it would be a mess if everybody would just do what they wanted (Interview Pastor 2: 14th March 2017).

Pierre confirms me Pastor 2's point of view. His neighbors would not steal the wood he cut from the mountain area and stored next to his house. He also talks to people about how to live together in harmony. In Pierre's opinion, there are more problems in the other part of Parc Cadeau 2, where the other pastor lives, as this one would not participate in people's life that much (Interview Pierre: 23rd March 2017).

Comparing these two interviews, it illuminates the importance of the presence of the pastor in the camps, consequently their churches and the possibility to have someone one can go to when having problems. It also shows some agency to walk and actively talk to people about certain topics.

Luis' story is emphasizing this argument. He is one of the people who could be called village leaders, in the bigger part of Parc Cadeau 2, who meet together from time to

time to have reunions. When then for example organizations would come to support people, they could join these reunions and participate in the talks about people's problems in the camp. He says that the situation was different before and that the people went to the pastor when they had problems. His argument is that the pastor would not be honest with them, apparently having contained them from money of some private donors and keeping it to himself (Interview Luis: 9th March 2017).

As I did have the interview with Pastor 1 at an earlier point, I could not ask him about his opinion of this conflict going on at the camp site. However, through telling me his story, I gained another perspective of the situation. Pastor 1 explains that he has lived in the Dominican Republic for many years, before returning to Haiti. He reads this as a sign of god, him coming back, especially to this area outside Anse-a-Pitres. He built his house in that remote surrounding in 2002 and therefore had been the first one. When people came from the border, they passed by his house and got in contact with him. He helped them on how to settle down in the area and wrote down their names he then handed over to organizations or authorities so that they know how many people would need support. He narrates that nowadays people who come do not ask for him or his opinion anymore. The leaders are mentioned, not really elected, but rather making them leaders themselves. So when people would arrive in the camps, they now would consult with these leaders rather than with him. Several times Pastor 1 confirmed that this would be fine with him (Interview Pastor 1: 8th March 2017).

As his neighbor was listening to a part of the conversation, she later confirmed the situation with the pastor and the camp inhabitants as well (Interview Nana: 8th March 2017).

All the interactions between either the pastors or the village leaders with the rest of the camp inhabitants and even the described conflict show, that a regular camp life seems to be emerging. Certain key positions feel in charge of ensuring a peaceful living together and feel responsible to help and talk to people. It appears that these camp inhabitants, despite suffering from all the consequences and factors of being excluded, somehow build their own structures.

Horst is pointing to the sensitivity of labeling people and the subsequent perception of these. She presents her research about Somali refugees coping with their refugee life in the Kenyan camp Dadaab in her book 'Transnational nomads'. She argues that, even though classifications of refugees have a useful character, one needs to be careful on how to use them, as they will leave certain impacts of people. Creating certain images through labeling refugees will leave an impact on how the public forms its opinion, furthermore on a more political level it influences the classification on who is entitled to certain rights (Horst 2006: 12-14).

Horst underlines the importance of being cautious with classifications so that alternative approaches still can find their space. She perceives the notion of refugees many times as being "[…] pure victims or cunning crooks" (Horst 2006:11). Rather than continuing with this kind of representation of refugees, she adds them the character of having agency and power, which means being able to act either one way or the other and thus having choices within their situation. She adds that the conditions for making a choice can in some situations lead to the confinement of options (ibid.: 11). Horst illustrates the example of a female refugee in the Dadaab camp of not being purely a victim, who sells food at the market in order to be able to provide for her family (ibid.: 17).

The situation of this female refugee is also pictured in the makeshift settlements at the Haitian border. Some people find ways to run a small business like the colmadito or walk around in the camp and try to sell some basic products. I agree with Horst that even though certain conditions can reduce the options people have, still they are able to decide within their possibilities. However, these conditions also form the framework for experiencing social exclusion explained in previous chapters, leaving the people in the camp in a vulnerable position and making it hard for them to escape this cycle all by themselves. Horst is writing about the labeling of refugees. The people in the camps are not labeled likewise, but still perceived as either victims or a threat. Having a choice to a certain extent does not enable them to fully leave their liminal phase, as external factors need to support here, but maybe move away from

the notion of the passive victim and towards an actor that can decide on how to navigate within his social moratorium.

Even though people are impacted by the various levels of social exclusion, some still would decide to stay in the area, which again, shows agency the people possess. Micheline says that there are people who want to move away and start a new life, but other would prefer to be where they are now. Despite the little support the camp residents get, it is something and people are otherwise left with nothing in their hands (Interview Micheline: 4th March 2017).

Imagining different conditions in the future, some of the interviewed people would consider staying at the border close to Anse-a-Pitres. Lidia for example mentions the international market at the Dominican side of the border and the proximity to the border itself as reasons to stay, if there would be appropriate housing for her and her family (Interview Lidia: 8th March 2017).

Also Luis, after a short discussion of identity, citizenship and belonging, argued that, even he has lived in the Dominican Republic for all of his life, he could imagine living in the area if some would help to build proper houses (Interview Luis: 9th March 2017). Pierre also wishes to establish a life in Haiti and mentions his going back and forth to the Dominican Republic as consequences of the necessity to earn some money (Interview Pierre: 23rd March 2017).

Elias confirmed his stay in Haiti, but for a different reason. He argues that even he would consider himself more as a Dominican than a Haitian, he would not want to return to the Dominican Republic as people treat others with Haitian background so bad there (Interview Elias: 21st March 2017).

The option of staying in the camp area if there were different conditions brings us back to the concept of Dubriagem. Dubriagem is not only the ability to navigate in the present situation, but also working towards an imagined future that could be different. So with leaving the option for another future for themselves and their family open and considering to stay and therefore actively deciding, they leave their position as passive victims and turn into actors that navigate within their given opportunities.

6.5 Concluding remarks

The concept of liminality refers to a geographical and sociocultural marginality (Wels et al. 2011: 2). Staying at the border, the camp inhabitants are at the threshold of both countries, Haiti and the Dominican Republic, but apparently belonging to neither of the two through lack of citizenship. Furthermore they can be considered living at the margin as the area of Anse-a-Pitres is a very remote one in Haiti with limited access to it. On a sociocultural level, people face restrictions and difficulties in gaining access to resources, an income or nationality. People in the camp are in a liminal phase, which is a transitional phase from one status to the next one, having no characteristics of neither of the two. Within this phase, they experience several deprivations and social exclusion. Are they then stuck in a permanent liminal situation, they face the danger of being even more excluded as their limiting conditions become fixed as well. People do not know when their phase of aggregation will end. The interviewed people are frustrated and sometimes desperate. Not seeing a worthy future life means experiencing social death and they are stuck in their social moratorium. What is worth mentioning is the way people try to navigate within their limitations and to cope with their circumstances. Horst argues that many times the refugees are presented as a problem itself rather than light being shed on the problematic causes that led to their situation in the first place (Horst 2006:13). Through examining the conditions and consequences of the camp inhabitants' possibly permanent liminal phase, structures and dangers can be unfolded and possible strategies to encounter or at least to cope be revealed.

7. CONCLUSION

At this point the thesis has reached its conclusive chapter. Besides the concluding remarks within the two analytical chapters, I now summarize my main points I found throughout the thesis.

Since June 2015, six makeshift settlements along the Haitian border to the Dominican Republic have emerged in the very South-East of the country, inhabiting more than 2,200 people. Some of them are Dominico-Haitians, others are Haitians.

More than 90% of the camp inhabitants have lived parts or their whole life in the Dominican Republic. Due to changes of the Dominican legislation, many have been left stateless. People had been deported to the border or returned spontaneously to Haiti, now facing several challenges in the camps.

At the beginning of my thesis, following research question was set out to be answered:

Why are people of Dominican-Haitian background inside the camps at the Haitian border stuck within a limited situation and how do they navigate their daily (socio-economic) life within those boundaries?

To answer this research question, I conducted fieldwork at the Haitian border camps and stayed at the border for a months. The results of nine interviews and participant observation illustrate my findings.

I argue that the interviewed people in the camp are stuck in this position because they suffer from social exclusion. Social exclusion means people being deprived of certain rights and basic human conditions on several levels. First, they face difficulties on an economical level, having little option to earn money or get a regular job and consequently are affected by bad housing and poor health conditions. Second, the social dimension of being excluded implicates the lack of access to basic facilities, such as education facilities or health facilities. Furthermore it contains the missing social ties to families in the surroundings. The only tie left is the emerging community in the camp itself. Because of the harsh conditions nevertheless people are dependent from outside. This then leads to the political level of exclusion. Besides the loss of citizenship and its rights that come along, the two countries furthermore are not fully providing or able to provide them their full enjoyment of human rights, which every one of the camp residents is absolutely entitled to.

All these deprivations are related to each other and make it even more difficult to leave this cycle, hence people get more and more excluded and have little chance to free themselves. The concept of social exclusion enables to unfold the several layers of limitations the camp inhabitants face. Realizing the interconnection between them

makes the concept a useful tool to understand the economic, social and political landscape the deportees and returnees are embedded in and furthermore shows the complexity of the limited options of getting out of this cycle of exclusion. Throughout the analysis, the concept has offered a view beyond the poverty dimension.

All aspects of exclusion are happening in a liminal phase. The concept of liminality shows another lens to scrutinize the exclusions faced by the people living in the makeshift settlements and why the people are limited. The liminal phase is understood as the transitional phase from one status to the other and should bring the camp inhabitants, who lost their citizenship, to the status of obtaining a new one. It furthermore should lead them to the possibility of a new economic and social status. Despite camps being characterized by their intended temporary nature, many times their existence prolongs. If the situation of the camp inhabitants turns into a permanent liminality, this then implies that also the conditions and dynamics of the experienced social exclusion continue. With the concept of liminality the danger of its possible permanent implications could have been revealed. It demonstrates the importance of the temporal characteristic of the camp resident's transitional or liminal face. Showing the possibility of being stuck in a period for an unknown time that should have been only temporary with the concept of permanent liminality, it underlines the continuance of social exclusion.

What this then does to the interviewed people in the camp, is the experience of different emotions such as frustration about their situation to sometimes despair. Aware of the scare resources and the aspect that they are stuck, they experience a social death and live in a social moratorium, a phase they cannot leave. Social death has been put in relation to the feelings experienced by the people living in the makeshift settlements, whereas the social moratorium set a framework where people are stuck in. It is, in some way, another lens for acknowledging the liminal phase in which people are excluded by society.

However, people seem to have found a way to establish copying mechanisms and navigate within their boundaries. Social navigation or Dubriagem as a concept helped to understand the emerging structures and mechanisms emerging in the camps.

Whereas few of them made it as liminal experts, starting small business to secure some income, others have focused on more social aspects in the camps, such as engaging in the church, playing dominos, chatting with neighbors or hanging around. There is an impression of a community sense emerging, and the priests from the church in the camps and some village leaders are taking over the position of ensuring a peaceful living together.

Even though it is a very limited scope because of the excluding factors and dynamics in the camps, people are the ones who decide on which navigation strategies to take over and therefore get back a little bit of agency. Seeing the people in the makeshift settlement from a different perspective, namely not of passive victims but rather agents, allows to navigate towards a different imagined future.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Basic interview guideline for people living in the camp

Camp visited several times in March 2017

Camp e historia

- Que parte del acampamento?
- Por cuanto tiempo ya es aquí?
- Con quién? Familia en otra parte?
- Porque?

Navegación/hacer su vida

- Un día típico
- De donde/como recibe agua, comida, ropa?
- Escuela para niños/trabajo para adultos?
- Amigos en el acampamento? Que hacen juntos?
- Que son los problemas más grande en su opinión

Sexo/Gender

- Hay una situación difícil aquí para mujeres/hombres jóvenes?
- Violencia?

Identidad

- Como piensan en su mismo de identidad/nacionalidad?
- Como se sienten con la situación - tienen poder/podencia?

Futuro

- Como influye la ley su vida?
- Que opciones hay para el futuro/que quieren ellos?

Appendix 2

Interview guideline for the major in Anse-a-Pitres

Interview held on 22nd March 2017

- Desde cuando existe el encampamento?
- Porque se desarrolló en este lugar especialmente en su opinión?
- Como ha cambiado su ciudad desde el encampamento?
- Que son los cambios/influencias/etc. En Anse-a-Pitres? Algo malo/positivo?
- También afectan los encampamentos mas afuera a la ciudad?
- Que influencia tiene la ciudad al encampamento?
- Hay proyectos de apoyo de la ciudad allá?
- Porque/porque no?
- Quien es la gente que vive allá? (dominicanos/haitianos/ gente de Anse-a-Pitres/ de otra ciudad/ de qué?)
- Sería una opción integrales en la ciudad o en otro lugar?
- Hay planes del gobierno de Haiti o de la Republica Dominicana?
- Que le desea para el futuro y para su ciudad?

Appendix 3

Summaries of the interviews

Interview 1

Name: Maria Micheline – BRA project coordinator in Haiti

Date: 4th March 2017

Location: Micheline's house

Duration: approximately 15 minutes

Topics:

First we were discussing possible sub-questions for my fieldwork. Then Micheline told me about the camp in general and then went on to some parts of the daily life of people living in the camp. She mentioned the market at the Dominican side of the border, where some of the camp inhabitants try to make some living and also talked about the challenges with people who do not move away from the camp.

Interview 2

Name: old pastor – Pastor 1

Date: 8th March 2017

Location: in front of his house at the Camp, Parc Cadeau 2

There were also some children present, as well as Micheline, BRA's project coordinator, who translated my questions for me in Creole.

Duration: approximately 15 minutes

Topics:

The old pastor told us about his way from Haiti, to the Dominican Republic and back to the border. He described the development of the camp, as he has been living there as the first one since 2002. We asked about his participation, his help to the people and he talked about the current relationship he and the camp inhabitants have. Furthermore I asked about the little church and its possible usage as a school.

Interview 3

Name: Nana *devised name - old pastor's neighbor, living in the camp

Date: 8th March 2017

Location: in front of the old pastor's house, Parc Cadeau 2

When we had the conversation with the old pastor, at some point his neighbor joined and we ended up also having a conversation with her.

Duration: approximately 10 minutes

Topics:

We continued our talk from the pastor, where also the woman confirmed the current situation with the pastor and the inhabitants of the camp. Then she gave us some examples of relocation that was implemented with some people from the camps, done by the IOM. The woman explained the challenges and problems about relocating people to places where they do not have routes anymore or never had them in the first place, as well as problems that occur when the support is stopping. Finally she explained me the heritage of people that live in the camp.

Interview 4

Name: Lidia *devised name – a woman living in the camp

Date: 8th March 2017

Location: next to a colmadito, at the first houses when entering Parc Cadeau 2

We were surrounded by some children and women, as well as Micheline, who was giving some information about the medicines and vitamins we distributed.

Duration: approximately 30 minutes

Topics:

The woman took her time to explain me her situation in the camp, starting from her children and why she is in the camp today. She gave me examples on the little possibilities people have to make money, what kind of food they can afford and how they get to water. She talked about people and organization that supported during

the emergence of the camp and how it is today. Furthermore she described the difficulties with receiving documents for her little daughter and why she would not want to go back to the Dominican Republic.

Interview 5

Name: Luis *devised name – a man living in the camp

Date: 9th March 2017

Location: in the middle of Parc Cadeau 2

Micheline and I distributed anti-parasitic medicines, where some of the women and men came with their children. Afterwards, we asked for someone who spoke Spanish. We were surrounded by some children and the woman I spoke to once before.

Duration: approximately 25 minutes

Topics:

Luis told me about his family, the kind of work he is doing and the difficulties and dangers it brings with it. He told me about his background in the Dominican Republic and how he got deported a year ago. Luis listed the biggest problems in the camp in his opinion and explained how he figured out to build his own house with nothing as well as how to get food. He told me a bit more about the relationship between the old pastor and the people living in the camp and we also tried to define his identity, what he feels himself.

Interview 6

Name: Young pastor, living in the camp – Pastor 2

Date: 14th March 2017

Location: at the first part of Camp Cadeau 2

We were sitting in some chairs next to some women and children, directly at the small road.

Duration: around 40 to 45 minutes

Topics:

We talked about his current work at the IOM and the crossing points and reasons. Then he told me a bit about his personal backgrounds and the biggest issues in the camps in his opinion. We talked about the possibilities to find work, how they treat people without documents, the bad housing conditions and expensive food at the Haitian side of the border. We also discussed the identity of the people living in the camp and what the state, organizations are and/or are not doing to help.

Interview 7

Name: Elias *devised name - young man living in the camp

Date: 21st March 2017

Location: at the first part of Parc Cadeau 2

Micheline and I checked for children who still needed some medicine and then asked for somebody who would speak Spanish. This young man offered and I sat with him in front of his house. Most of the time I was sitting alone with him.

Duration: approximately 30 to 35 minutes

Topics:

We talked about his time, what was most of his life, in the Dominican Republic and how he met his wife in the camp in Haiti. We were discussing the mistreatment of Haitians in the Dominican Republic, whether it would be on the streets, at work or at the border. We talked about the non-existent possibilities to find work in the camp area and the dangers of going to the mountains. Furthermore we talked about nationality and that people loss their embarrassment if they want to survive in the camp. When we talked about water, we ended up purifying it together with Micheline.

Interview 8

Name: Harry Byuno – major of Anse-a-Pitres

Date: 22nd March 2017

Location: in one of the offices at the authorities

As I had problems with crossing the border this day, we were late for the meeting. Nevertheless, the major could see me and Johnny, one of BRA's health promoters who accompanied me, in between to other meetings a bit later.

Duration: approximately 20 minutes

Topics:

The major told me about some of the problems they face in Anse-a-Pitres. Furthermore he expressed his anger with the many organizations that come to the area but do not help them in the end and leave them alone. He talks about his concerns when people cross the border and stay in his town and his wish to give them money to support them to move to another area.

Interview 9

Name: Pierre *devised name – elderly man, young pastor's father, living in the camp

Date: 23rd March 2017

Location: in the second part of Parc Cadeau 2

Micheline and I were searching for somebody to speak Spanish and he offered us a seat in front of his house.

Duration: approximately 25 minutes

Topics:

This man told me about his family and his time in the Dominican Republic. He explained how he sometimes crossed the border to find simple jobs on the Dominican side and the consequences of his loss of his ID card. He talks about the only and dangerous option of getting money, cutting and selling wood. He describes

the difficult situation people in the camp experience and why it is so difficult to receive nationality.