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Rethinking Humanitarian Aid from a Postcolonial/Decolonial Perspective
Shelter Policies after the 2010 Haiti Earthquake

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Contents

List of Figures

List of Maps

List of Acronyms

AFD	Agence Française de Développement
APNRDH	Action Plan for National Recovery and Development of Haiti
DPC	Direction de la Protection Civile
CCCM	Camp Coordination and Camp Management Cluster
GNI	Gross National Income
HDI	Human Development Index
IASC	Inter-Agency Standing Committee
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IFRC	International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies
IHRC	Interim Haiti Recovery Commission
IOM	International Organization for Migration
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OCHA	Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
OHCHR	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
PDNA	Post-Disaster Needs Assessment
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programs
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Emergency Fund
USD	United States Dollars

Acknowledgements

Abstract

Haiti is often labelled as "the *poorest* country in the western hemisphere" (CNN, 2010; World Bank, 2020), one of the "least developed countries" (UN DESA, 2018; UNCTAD, n.d.), upholding a certain level of hierarchical relations between the Global North and Haiti. While resources and humanitarian aid have contributed to the country's recovery from various disasters in the past, Haiti always remains as the 'poorest', the 'least developed' or 'dependent on foreign aid'.

This research explores colonial forms of domination and power in the humanitarian sector. The research entails a joint perspective of postcolonial studies, decolonial thinking and dependency theories. Synthesizing these three theoretical frameworks, this research paper exposes that a) the humanitarian aid sector is not a set of neutral/independent/impartial practices as defined by the humanitarian fundamental principles. Rather it is embedded in the complex politics of power structures and the impacts the social structures of the affected societies; b) through the practices of aid, the hierarchical relations of 'providers' and 'beneficiaries' are perpetuated between the former colonizers and the colonized; c) aid practitioners see 'the object' of aid through the colonial gaze.

Taking the shelter and housing policies after the 2010 Haiti Earthquake as study cases, a critical discourse analysis of policy documents was conducted. This shows that the colonial systems of domination are indeed perpetuated by the means of humanitarian aid, despite the undoubtably good intentions of international organizations providing the aid. First, it turns out that the humanitarian efforts were dominated by the international organizations, in terms of leadership and decision-making, coupled with the exclusion of Haitians from the institutional system. The discourses epistemically and decisively construct the Global North as superior and Haiti as inferior, by imposing the epistemology of the Global North, by muting

the voices and the agency of the affected people, by repressing the subjectivities of the affected people and by depicting Haitian authorities and the affected people with a set of deterministic and universalistic ideals.

Relevance to Development Studies

Postcolonial intellectuals and decolonial thinkers have been pointing out the legacy of colonization and the colonial power which continue operating even long after the former colonies gained their independence from the colonial administrations. This thesis applies and synthesizes postcolonial studies, decolonial thinking and dependency theories and contributes to the research on colonialism in the sphere of humanitarian aid. By analysing policy documents, this research aims at unravelling the power relationship between the so-called Global North and the so-called Global South (here represented by Haiti) and at contributing to help international organizations carry out their work with the best results by taking an initial step to decolonize humanitarian aid.

Keywords

Humanitarian aid, Haiti, postcolonial studies, decolonial thinking, dependency theories, power, hierarchy, domination, discourse, shelter

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1   Haiti after 12 January 2010

On 12 January 2020 at 16:53 local time, a magnitude 7.0 earthquake lasting for 35 seconds devastated Haiti (OCHA, 2010b). The earthquake's epicenter was located less than 10 kilometers deep and 17 kilometers southwest of the capital, Port-au-Prince, thus the earthquake struck the metropolitan area where estimated 3.5 million people were living at that time (OCHA, 2010b; 2011c). The earthquake left over 220,000 people dead and over 300,000 people injured (Government of Haiti, 2010b). The total value of the material damage and loss is significant as estimated at 7.804 billion USD which is equivalent to more than the country's GDP in 2009[1] (Government of Haiti, 2010b). Following the earthquake, aid flows to Haiti increased significantly. To illustrate this, it is estimated that the net Official Development Assistance (ODA) has tripled from 1.12 billion USD in 2009 to 3.28 billion USD in 2010, which was more than four times the government's internal revenue available to support its 2010 annual budget[2] (UN Office of Special Envoy for Haiti, 2011).

Since the earthquake, evaluations of relief and recovery programs have been extensively reported by the Haitian civil society and the international community. Accordingly, on the one hand, relief resources and humanitarian aid programs have contributed to the country's recovery from the disaster, and on the other hand, a great deal of dissatisfaction with programs provided by the international community have also been testified among affected people. Picking up a few amongst many, an officer from the *Ministère de l'Economie et des Finances* (MEF, Ministry of economy and finance) stated:

> We have only very little, overall information on aid. We are required to be transparent. […] All we ask is for the same transparency from our donor friends, which should help both us and them (Cited in Walz and Ramachandran, 2012).

Similarly, a Haitian technical coordinator in Léogâne says:

> In the Republic of NGOs, Léogâne is the City of NGOs. […] Our priorities are not the same as theirs, but theirs are executed. In theory, NGOs come with something, but not with what the population needs. We have no choice but to accept what they bring us. But then, when it doesn't work and it's not what we need, the state is blamed, not the NGOs (cited in Klarreich and Polman, 2012).

What can be observed from those testimonies is not mere dissatisfaction with humanitarian efforts, but also, a testament to a form of uneven power relation in which the international community is at the position of sovereign and dominant while Haitians are subordinated and at the position of catching up despite the humanitarian efforts for themselves. Similarly, a Haitian economist argues that "billions of dollars in earthquake aid have further marginalized the Haitian state, Haitian social organizations and Haitian business" (cited in Klarreich and Polman, 2012).

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[1] Estimated 6.836 billion USD (UN Office of the Special Envoy for Haiti, 2011).
[2] Estimated 753.8 million USD (World Bank, n.d.).

1.2   Presentation and justification of research objectives and questions

This research proceeds from an assumption that uneven power relations between Haiti and the Global North are perpetuated by the means of humanitarian aid. I argue that the relationship between Haiti and the Global North or donor organizations is characterized as a relation of dependent and dominant. More precisely, the social structure in the humanitarian aid sector is constituted as the Global North is the one which inherits their knowledge, technique and properties to Haiti based on the belief in a liner path to development and Haiti is the one who is subordinated to the former and depends on it.

This thesis entails a postcolonial/decolonial perspective for a critical analysis of forms of domination and hierarchies upfolded in the sphere of humanitarian aid. The postcolonial perspective that I refer to in this research is described by postcolonial intellectuals who denounce outcomes of colonization and its effects on colonized societies and culture and work so as to make colonized and subaltern knowledge explicit (Davis and Walsh, 2020). Correspondingly, the decolonial thinking that I use in this research is influenced mainly by scholars from Latin America and Africa, who question the colonial power which keeps oppressing colonized subjectivities and struggle to delink them from western/northern epistemology. Furthermore, this thesis relates dependency theories to conceptualize the relation of dependent and dominant.

Postcolonial studies and decolonial thinking are two different trends. Nevertheless, both deal with continuing colonialism and colonial legacies left even long after the independence of colonized territories from their colonizer was gained, and overlap each other with the aim of social transformation (Mignolo, 2011b, pp.xxiii-xxxi). Therefore, this research does not stick to one of postcolonial studies, decolonial thinking or dependency theories, rather it tacks among three stances.

This thesis focuses on humanitarian aid in Haiti, which was formerly occupied by the Spanish colonial administration in a first period, and then by the French one until it finally gained its independence in 1804. This research takes the humanitarian aid in shelter and housing sectors following the 2010 earthquake as a study case. The two main objectives of this research are:

a. To critically analyze shelter and housing policies from a joint perspective of postcolonial studies, decolonial thinking and dependency theories;
b. To explore hierarchical relationships between the affected Haitian society and foreign humanitarian agencies in the sphere of the humanitarian aid;

Based on above, the research question which guides this research is as follows: **in what ways have humanitarian policies and practices perpetuated colonial systems of domination in Haiti?** Supporting this query, sub-questions are the following:

a. How do humanitarian policies depict Haitian and affected people?
b. In what way are colonial forms of practices embedded in the policies?
c. How does the Global North situate themselves and the affected people?

1.3   Explanation of methodology

This research applies a critical discourse analysis as its methodology. Due to the limited time and resources as well as my positionality (as will be explained in the subchapter below), the analysis exclusively engages in critical discourse analysis, and materials used in this research are derived mostly from online sources. Yet, following the claims by decolonial thinkers that colonial legacies manifest discursively, institutionally, structurally and systematically (Kothari,

2006a), as well as the claims by postcolonial theorists that power is constituted through discourse rather than the discourse being simply a representation of the power, I believe that the hierarchical power relations can be unfolded not only through ethnographic research or interviews but also through discourses.

Following Michel Foucault, Stuart Hall argues (1997, p.44) that discourse is a "system of representation" and a production of knowledge through language. 'Representation' is to present, to depict and to produce particular perception and understanding of the world[3]. Hall also argues that every individual and institutions has own way of making sense of the world and each meaning is given through representation[4]. Therefore, discourse does not present a whole narrative for one subject. Rather, discourse re-presents one particular understanding of a world.

Critical discourse analysis is a problem-oriented methodology to a study of discourse (Wodak, 2009). Critical discourse analysis sees discourse as socially produced. Norman Fairclough and Ruth Wodak, some of the founders of critical discourse analysis argue that:

> Discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s), which frame it: the discourse event is shaped by them and by it also shapes them. That is, discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned – it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people (cited in Wodak, 2009).

Critical discourse analysis explores "the role of discursive activity in constituting and sustaining unequal power relations" (Fairclough and Wodak cited in Phillips and Hardy, 2011, p.24). Critical discourse analysis focuses on how a certain text "structures the social space within which actors act" and "privileges some actors at the expense of others" (Phillips and Hardy, 2011, p.24).

Therefore, this research aims at exploring power relationships among different actors by examining 'representations' of social actors and policies. For this, I choose four policy documents drafted by three international organizations engaged in shelter and housing recovery efforts following the 2010 earthquake. A detailed explanation regarding the methodology used in this research will be further provided in Chapter 4.

1.4 Researcher's positionality

Researchers cannot completely be neutral or objective in relation to their research subject. The researcher is positioned in a web of power relations which shapes all aspects of his/her research (Nast cited in Crossa, 2012, p.114). Also, research is always shaped by the researcher's socio-historical locations, biography and personal characteristics (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Similarly, Haraway (cited in Rose, 1997, p.308) claims that "positioning is the key practices grounding knowledge, because position indicates the kind of power that enabled certain kind of knowledge". Knowledge is thus positioned, situated, and produced by specific circumstances and locations (Rose, 1997). Therefore, it is essential to reflect on how a researcher's positionality to the research subject may influence the data collected and knowledge produced by the researcher.

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[3] Stuart Hall, (2006) Representation and the Media. Producer & Director: Sut Jhally; Editors: Sanjay Talreja, Sut Jhally and Mary Patierno.
[4] Stuart Hall, (2006) Representation and the Media. Producer & Director: Sut Jhally; Editors: Sanjay Talreja, Sut Jhally and Mary Patierno.

In the case of this research, my interest in humanitarian aid as well as postcolonial studies, decolonial thinking, and dependency theories are admittedly influenced by my previous work experience in Haiti. This research proceeds from this experience in which I witnessed that the aid projects were embedded in a complex web of politics and power relations and were far from pure 'aid' projects emerging from compassion for the suffering of people. I also observed that after all years and time spent to Haiti in the framework of humanitarian/development aid, the social structure in which the international community is the one who holds knowledge, technique and fund to give to Haiti, and Haiti is the one who needs of them, remains in everybody's mindset.

After I started to engage in 'development studies' in the International Institute of Social Studies in The Hague (The Netherlands), I encountered the work of decolonial thinkers and postcolonial scholars, which echoed what I observed in Haiti. Therefore, I decided to pursue a postcolonial/decolonial perspective in studies of humanitarian aid.

As stated in the previous section, the choice to apply a critical discourse analysis in this research is partly influenced by my positionality. First, amid the current propagation of the COVID-19, it would not be ethical to conduct a field research, which entails a risk to be infected and to infect others. Second, considering the time and resources given to a student in a master's program, it is practically difficult to conduct an ethnographic research which requires researchers to live in the world of the research subject over the course of a year or more in order to integrate into its society and interpret its practices and meanings (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007).

Lastly, given my positionality and being influenced by decolonial scholars, it is my will to refrain from conducting remote interviews or field research. While evaluations of and research on humanitarian actions are viewed as a valuable tool to learn lessons and improve humanitarian actions, these also cause serious drawbacks (Haver, 2011). Haiti has been caught as a subject of research, notably since the 2010 Earthquake, and a significant number of interviews and evaluations has been carried out. As a result, "the ongoing parade of evaluations" led to not only duplication of evaluations, but also staffs in Haiti and affected population to be overwhelmed and frustrated to organize visits and interviews and to respond multiple times to the same kind of questions without any immediate benefit (Haver, 2011, p.14). Furthermore, I have learned from postcolonial scholars and decolonial thinkers that it is an aspiration for 'colonized people' to "tell our (their) own stories, write our (their) own versions, in our (their) own ways, for our (their) own purposes" (Smith, 1999, p.28). Being a Japanese, having lived only two years in Haiti, having an intention to represent (reproduce) research outcomes in a master thesis paper, not being fluent in Haitian Creole, I reason that it is not my place to ask questions, to interpret with my own gaze whatever I observe in Haiti and whatever Haitians tell me and to reproduce further such representations in a research paper. Based on these reasonings, I decided to engage in critical discourse analysis of policy documents drafted by the international community.

1.5 Outline of the paper

The rest of this paper opens with the background to this research (Chapter 2), a description of damage and impacts of the earthquake, followed by an overview of responses provided by the Government of Haiti and the international community as well as a brief illustration of its evaluations. Chapter 3 is composed of theoretical frameworks and conceptual frameworks. It starts with a presentation of debates surrounding postcolonial intellectuals, decolonial thinkers and dependency theorists. It continues with a discussion of colonial forms manifested in the humanitarian aid sector. Chapter 4 consists of critical discourse analysis on shelter and housing policies. Lastly, Chapter 5 brings together some concluding remarks on

the analysis carried out in Chapter 4, reflecting on the theoretical framework discussed in Chapter 3.

Chapter 2 Context

This chapter provides a context to my research. The chapter opens with a description of damages and impacts of the earthquake, with a particular attention to the housing sector and internally displaced persons (IDPs). Subsequently, Chapter 2.2 provides a summary of humanitarian efforts taken by the Government of Haiti and the international community, notably the United Nations (UN) cluster system. This chapter ends with presenting some evaluation of the humanitarian actions.

2.1 Damage and impact of the earthquake

A magnitude 7.0 of earthquake, followed by 51 aftershocks of more than magnitude 4.5 hit Haiti on 12 January 2010 (OCHA, 2010d). The earthquake caused damages in the metropolitan area, including the capital Port-au-Prince, Carrefour, Léogâne, Jacmel, Petit-Goâve (Map 1). The situation for a few weeks after the earthquake was particularly critical: no or only limited electricity was available (OCHA, 2010c); communication was extremely limited (OCHA, 2010e); difficulties in transportation and logistics due to debris and lack of fuel caused a serious obstacle to the distribution of relief material including food and non-food items (OCHA, 2010b) The damage to the infrastructures was also massive: the Presidential Palace was seriously damaged (OCHA, 2010f); most of the governmental buildings were demolished (Government of Haiti, 2010b); the main port in Port-au-Prince was not operational for over a week (OCHA, 2010c); the flight control center at the international airport was seriously damaged and remained operational only for a few humanitarian and military flights (OCHA, 2010h); more than 80% of the schools in the affected area were damaged or destroyed (Government of Haiti, 2010b); over 50 hospitals and health centers collapsed or became unusable (Government of Haiti, 2010b, p.6).

Housing was the most affected sector (Government of Haiti, 2010b). Per an assessment by the Government of Haiti (2010b, p.74) by the end of March 2010, it is estimated that 105,369 houses were completely destroyed and 208,164 were damaged. The value of the damage and losses in the housing sector is estimated to 3.07 billion USD, or approximately 40% of the total damage and losses[5]. Furthermore, in total, 1.5 million people are estimated to have lost their house and become IDPs (IOM, 2017). As of the end of February 2010, a governmental institution, the *Direction de la Protection Civile* (DPC, directorate of civil protection), provided the information that a shocking 1.3 million people were living in spontaneous settlement sites and 604,215 people had fled to non-affected areas (cited in OCHA, 2010i). The number of IDPs, which was 361,517 households or 1,536,477 persons at the peak in July 2010 has seen a significant decrease over the past five years (Figure 2.1). Nevertheless, according to the latest analysis of January 2019, 8,646 households or 34,508 individuals were still living in 23 open sites (IOM, 2019).

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[5] The Government of Haiti defines 'damage' as "the replacement value of physical assets wholly or partly destroyed, built to the same standards as prevailed prior to the disaster" and 'losses' as "the economic flows resulting from the temporary absence of the damaged assets" (Government of Haiti, 2010b, p.6).

Map 1 Map of Haiti

Source: OCHA 2010 Haiti – Population exposed and exposure level

Figure 2-1 IDPs caseload over time

Source: IOM 2017 DTM report
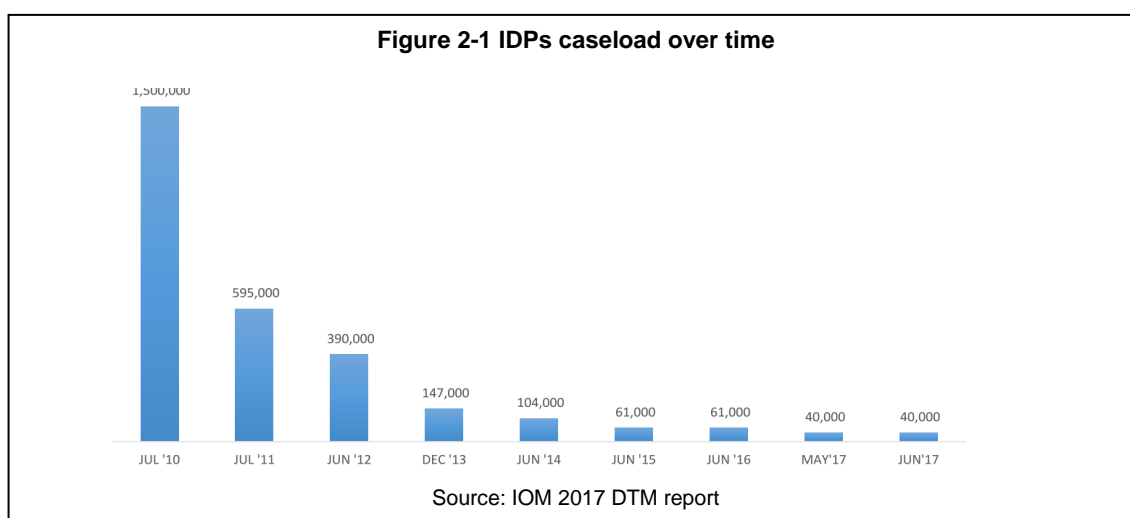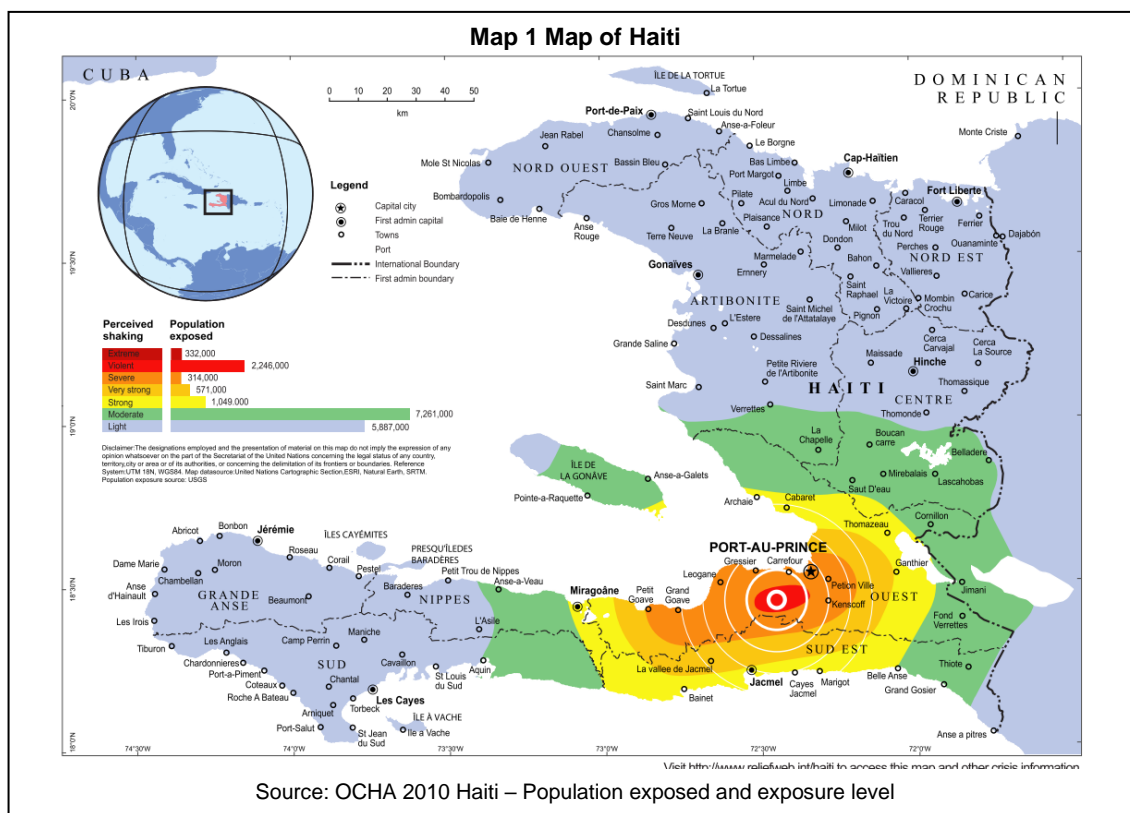
2.2 Shelter and housing polices after the earthquake

On the day of the earthquake, the Government of Haiti and Haitian civil society as well as members of the international community initiated their emergency responses (UN Office of the Special Envoy for Haiti, 2011).

As regards the international community, the UN-managed cluster system was activated immediately after the earthquake and provided a coordination framework for implementation of relief and recovery programs (OCHA, 2010c). Briefly illustrated, the cluster system is an approach which forms groups of humanitarian organizations by main sectors (i.e. water, health and logistics), in order to facilitate coordination and to provide clear leadership and accountability in humanitarian emergencies (OCHA, n.d.b).

In relation to the housing sector, the responsibility was divided between at least the following four groups (OCHA, 2010g; Fan, 2012; World Bank, 2016):

a. Camp Coordination and Camp Management Cluster (CCCM) led by the International Office for Migration (IOM) for camp site selection, camp planning and management, IDP tracking and coordination of basic services in campsites;

b. Shelter and Non-Food Items (NFI) Cluster led by the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC)[6] for the provision of emergency and transitional shelter, NFIs and supports for host families;

c. Early Recovery Cluster led by United Nations Development Programs (UNDP) for debris, house repairs, permanent housing and settlement planning[7];

d. Protection Cluster led by the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) for advocacy concerning forced evictions, protection for renters and resettlement.

The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) worked to coordinate inter-cluster issues and to develop operational frameworks and policies, involving needs assessments, planning, monitoring and evaluation (Figure 2.2). OCHA launched the Haiti Flash Appeal[8] for 562 million USD in January 2010 and a revised the Appeal for 1.4 billion USD in February 2010 (OCHA, 2010f). Subsequently, the OCHA issued a Humanitarian Action Plan/Humanitarian Response Plan every year and a Transitional Appeal in March 2015.

Figure 2-2 Haiti: Humanitarian Coordination Architecture

Source : OCHA Humanitarian Response
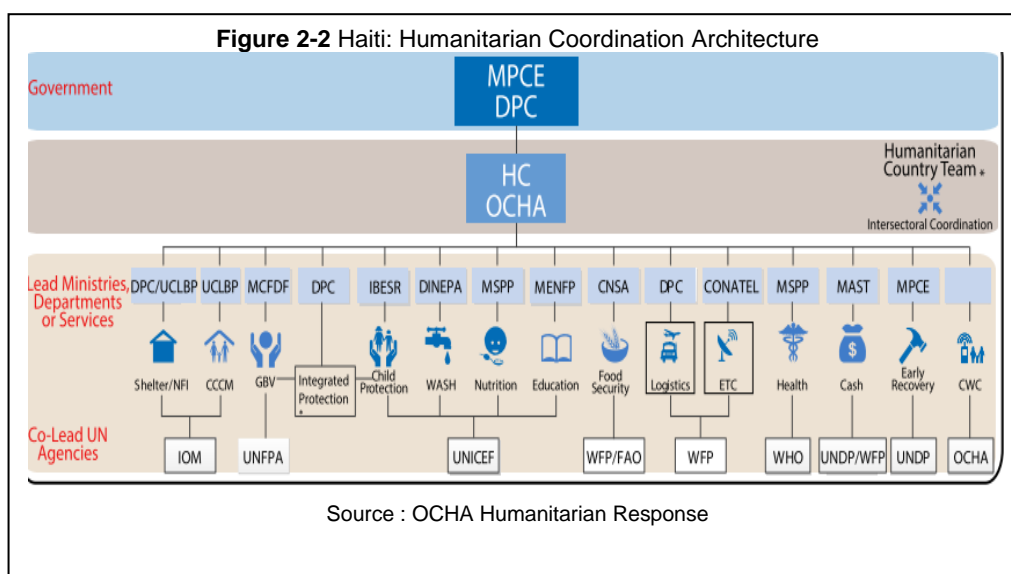
The Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) created by the UN General Assembly resolution, was an inter-agency forum for coordination, policy development and decision-

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[6] The leadership was transferred from the IFRC to the UN-Habitat in November 2010 and transferred again from the UN-Habitat to the IOM in September 2011, and the Shelter Cluster was merged with the CCCM Cluster (World Bank, 2016).

[7] The Cluster was dissolved in May 2010 at the request of the UNDP and responsibility of the debris management was turned over to the *Ministère de la Planification et de la Coopération Externe* (MPCE, the ministry of planning and external cooperation), but the Cluster was reactivated in August 2010 (World Bank, 2016).

[8] The Flash Appeal is a document prepared in consultation with "key humanitarian actors" for structuring a humanitarian response for the first three to six months of an emergency crisis, containing an analysis of the crisis, humanitarian needs, response plans, cost estimates and statements on roles and responsibilities (IASC, 2006)

making in humanitarian actions (OCHA, n.d.c). The IASC aimed at ensuring a coherent and effective response involving various agencies and issued several policy documents, including the following (World Bank, 2016):

a. Shelter Sector Response Plan in February 2010;
b. Transitional Shelter Technical Guidance in February 2010;
c. Host Family and Community Needs Assessment Guidelines in April 2010;
d. Transitional Shelter Parameters in April 2010;
e. Return and Relocation Strategy in January 2011;
f. Shelter and CCCM Needs Analysis and Response Strategy in February 2012.

Regarding the response by the Haitian society, the Government of Haiti presented its Post-Disaster Needs Assessment (PDNA) and the Action Plan for National Recovery and Development of Haiti (APNRDH)to the international community at the end of March 2010, and set out a general framework and costs estimates for recovery and development (Schwartz et al., 2011). Additionally, from February 2010 for over a year, the *Ministère des Travaux Publliques, Transports et Communications* (MTPTC, ministry of public works, transportation and communication), supported mainly by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) conducted a building assessment and color-coded green for safe to return, yellow for unsafe to inhabit but repairable and red for unsafe to enter or damaged beyond repair (Schwartz et al., 2011).

Efforts were regularly made by the government to take the leadership in the shelter and housing responses. Nevertheless, it did not last for long. First, the Interim Haiti Commission for Shelter and Reconstruction (IHCSR) was created in January 2010 by the President for co-chairing the Shelter Cluster. Moreover, the Secretariat for the Committee on Return was created in May 2010. However, both organizations somehow disappeared a few months after their creation (World Bank, 2016). Second, the Interim Haiti Recovery Commission (IHRC) was created as a joint national/international entity in June 2010 for an 18-months mandate. Yet, internal disagreements about the IHRC's role impeded it from establishing a coordination performance (World Bank, 2016). Lastly, the government established the Inter-ministerial Housing Commission (IHC) in October 2010 for information exchange among different ministries, nonetheless, it did not take over any leadership in the shelter sector (World Bank, 2016). Afterwards, following the dissolution of the IHRC in late 2011, the government created the *Unité de Construction de Logement et de Bâtiments Publiques* (UCLBP, housing and public buildings construction unit), and it presented a *Politique Nationale pour le Logement et l'Habitat* (national policy for shelter and habitat) in 2014, defining strategic axes and five focus domains (UCLBP, 2013).

Before ending, this sub-chapter outlines various types of responses seen in the shelter and housing sector. Besides UN agencies, a large number of international NGOs provided various shelter and housing programs to Haiti. The number of organizations involved in humanitarian action is not confirmed, but as of May 2010, it was roughly estimated that around 1,000 international humanitarian organizations were on the ground (Grünewald and Binder, 2010). Shelter and housing humanitarian actions concern many phases and take various forms. For example, it entails a) distribution of tarp, tents, plastics sheets; b) provision of transitional and fixing material kits; c) identification of sites for camp and transitional shelter plots; d) management and assessment of campsites; e) assessment of damaged buildings; f) registration of IDPs; g) decongestion and closure of campsites; h) provision pf transitional and permanent shelter/house; i) rental subsidy; j) housing repair and (re)construction; k) support for host families in non-affected areas and for rental agreement settlement between IDP renters and landlords.

2.3 Evaluation and consequences

Since the 2010 Earthquake, evaluations of humanitarian aid programs have been reported by various organizations, research institutes as well as journalists. So far, the author consulted 9 evaluation reports and more than 20 evaluation articles in news media.

Accordingly, the initial emergency shelter responses were viewed as relatively effective and successful (Haver, 2011), given that the distribution of emergency shelter materials reached 1.5 million people in four months (EPYPSA, 2011) and that the search for survivors by the international Search and Rescue (SAR) teams recorded a total of 134 people rescued, which was the highest number of live rescue by a SAR teams (IASC, 2010).

To the contrary, shelter practices in recovery and rehabilitation phases notably received substantial amount of critiques. For one thing, while most of the programs were focusing only on the provision of emergency and transitional shelter, a negligence of engagement in other shelter solutions has been observed, including construction of permanent shelter and repair of survived houses (EPYPSA, 2011). Similarly, emergency shelter actions tended to focus only on protracted hazards such as hurricanes and the cholera outbreak, therefore the strategic plans were not really integrated into a mid- and long-term and comprehensive strategy (EPYPSA, 2011). Furthermore, with a dramatic decrease of budget and human resources in the international humanitarian community, construction of transitional shelter, which was focused on the most, got significantly delayed (Sherwood et al., 2014), leading also to a delay in construction of permanent shelter and house repair programs (Figure 2.3).

Figure 2-3 Comparison of planning and actual achievement in shelter solutions

Source: An Evaluation of the Haiti Earthquake 2010 by the EPYPSA
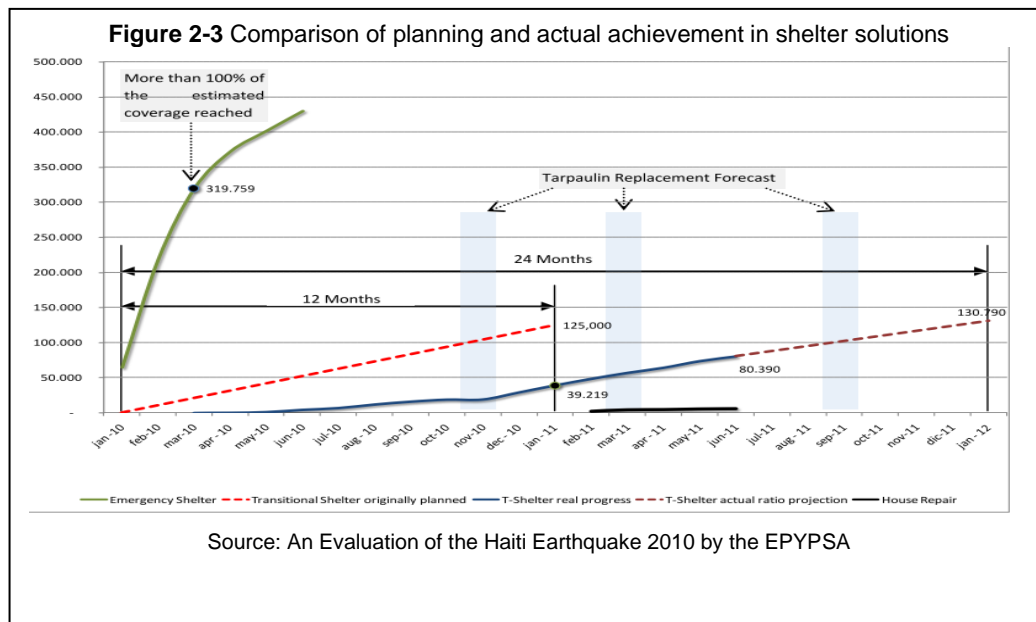
Additionally, some issues at individual levels were also reported. For example, a) IDPs who had received rental subsidies could not afford to continue paying after the end of the provision program because of a high rents and continued unemployment (iDMC, 2012); b) even though some people had the chance to access an alternative housing, lack of control of the resistance of buildings made people hesitate leaving the campsites (Charles, 2020); and c) due to the complex land tenure challenges, some IDPs were forcibly evicted from campsites even though they were not ready to leave (Sherwood et al., 2014).

Lastly, a point which was substantially observed among different reports is that the humanitarian efforts were dominated by the international community, and the Haitian

authorities as well as national organizations were marginalized (Klarreich and Polman, 2012; Murphy, 2020). Some of the examples include as follows: a) it was only 1% of the humanitarian relief that the government could obtain (UN Office of the Special Envoy for Haiti, 2011); Haitians were excluded from the humanitarian meeting held by donors (Klarreich and Polman, 2012); the direction of the recovery process was determined by the international community (World Bank, 2016).

Chapter 3 Colonial systems of domination in humanitarian aid

This chapter clarifies the theoretical and conceptual frameworks which will be a ground for the policy analysis in Chapter 4. As briefly mentioned in Chapter 1, this research joints post-colonial literature, decolonial thinking and dependency theories. This chapter thus first introduces debates surrounding each three of the theoretical frameworks (Chapter 3.1). The Chapter then follows with a discussion as regards colonial systems of domination in humanitarian aid. Chapter 3.2 conceptualizes mainly three arguments: problematizing the principles of humanitarianism (Chapter 3.2.1); intersection between colonial administrations and aid (Chapter 3.2.2.); and colonial gaze in humanitarian aid (Chapter 3.2.3). Throughout this chapter, I aim at conceptualizing colonial systems of notions, perspectives and practices in the humanitarian sector.

3.1 Theoretical framework

This research paper analyzes the power relations between the international community and Haiti in the humanitarian sector. To conceptualize 'colonial systems of domination', this sub-chapter traces it back to processes of colonization. It presents differentials from the perspectives of postcolonial studies, decolonial thinking and dependency theories.

Colonization can be traced back to the so-called 'discovery of the Americas by Christopher Columbus' in 1492. Since then and until most of the colonized areas gained their independence, such territories were occupied by imperial nations. Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni defines colonization as an event in which "people (colonists) come, conquer and dominate other people at a particular moment, and administrate people colonially until the colonized fight and push them back" (cited in Omanga, 2020). Colonization is a civilizing project which creates institutions and structures that privilege colonizers over colonized, by imposing class formation (slavery, semi-serfdom, labor), "system of politico military organizations", "international division of labor of core and periphery", and racial/ethnic, sexual/gender, spiritual, epistemic and linguistic hierarchy (Grosfoguel, 2007, pp.216-7).

Correspondingly, colonialism refers to a political project which enforces the "colonial situation" (Grosfoguel, 2007, p.220) and imposes the ontology and epistemology of colonizers and displaces all others (Kothrai, 2006a). For instance, colonialism erases and displaces colonized people's pre-existing knowledge ("epistemicide"), language ("linguicide") and culture ("culturecide") (Ndlovu-Gatsheni cited in Omanga, 2020).

During the nineteenth century, colonialized areas in most of the areas in the Americas and the twentieth century for those in Asia and Africa, gained their independence and became their own nation-states. However, impacts of, and power relations established during the colonization and colonialism did not suddenly disappear with independence.

Impacts of colonization and colonialism have been extensively discussed from different angles by various scholars and thinkers. The following sub-subchapters approach these processes from the perspective of postcolonial studies, decolonial thinking and dependency theories.

3.1.1 Postcolonial studies

Derived from post-structuralism, postcolonial studies emerged and developed as a diasporic intellectual movement in the Middle East and South Asia since the mid-twentieth century.

Postcolonial studies are intellectual projects that seek to denounce impacts of colonization on colonized society and culture, to deconstruct the cultural hegemony of Western and Eurocentric knowledge and to fully recognize knowledge and agency of excluded non-Westerns, as captured by Spivak's work aimed at letting the subaltern speak (Gandhi, 1998).

Ashis Nandy, a postcolonial intellectual claims that

> colonialism colonizes minds in addition to bodies and its releases forces within the colonized societies to alter their culture priorities once for all. In the process, it helps generalize the concept of the modern West from a geographical and temporal entity to a psychological category. The West is now everywhere, within the West and outside; in structures and in minds (Nandy, 1983, p.xi)

Said, the author of Orientalism, the "principal catalyst and reference point for postcolonial theory" (Gandhi, 1998, p.25) also argues that

> the experience of being colonized therefore signified a great deal to reasons and peoples of the world whose experience as dependents, subalterns, and subjects of the West did not end, […] when the last white policeman left and the last European flag came down. […] The colonized people freed themselves on one level but remained victims of their past on another (Said, 1989, p.207)

Argued as such, postcolonial theories see colonialism as a process in which the West cancels and negates the cultures and the values of the non-West (Others), as opposed to the West's (Self) normative epistemology and rationality (Gandhi, 1998). Similarly, postcolonial theory argues that colonialism is not a mere historical experience of domination in the sphere of political economy, but it also divided the world into a dichotomy of better and lesser. Also, colonialism upholds a belief in the absolute superiority of the West over the non-West, the human over the non- and/or subhuman, the modern or progressive over the traditional and/or the savage, fixing the colonized societies and people as dependent, periphery, stigmatized, underdeveloped and less-developed (Nandy, 1983; Said, 1989). Therefore, postcolonial theory attempts to deconstruct the cultural hegemony of Western knowledge and to make explicit and bring silenced and excluded subjects back (Davis and Walsh, 2020).

3.1.2 Decolonial thinking

'Decolonization' originally meant freeing a colony from colonization to allow it to become self-governing or independent (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018). However, by the 1990s, scholars pointed out the failures of decolonization in most of the independent countries where the patterns of colonial power continued operating both internally and in relation to global structures (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018). It also turned out that although colonies were decolonized physically, if they were not decolonized epistemically, the colonialism would not disappear (Ndlovu-Gatsheni cited in Omanga, 2020). In fact, the objective was no longer for ex-colonies to be building their own nation states but engaging in an "epistemic and subjective reconstruction" (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018, p.120).

Decolonial thinking emerged and was explored mainly by scholars from Latin America and Africa since the 1990s (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018). While the postcolonial theory concerns the aftermath of colonization in formally colonized societies and cultures, decolonial thinking relates to the modern world system and the global structure (Mignolo, 2002; Bhambra, 2014).

Aníbal Quijano, a leading decolonial thinker introduced the concept of 'coloniality' in the 1990s. The term has been developed further mainly by, but not limited to, the modernity/coloniality/decoloniality group, including Walter D. Mignolo, Nelson Maldonaldo-

Torres, Ramon Grosfoguel, María Lugones and Arturo Escobar (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018; Omanga, 2020).

Among others, quotes from two decolonial thinkers, Maldonado-Torres and Grosfoguel, greatly help in defining coloniality. Indeed, they define coloniality as the:

> long-standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism, but that define culture, labor, intersubjective relations, and knowledge production well beyond the strict limits of colonial administration (Maldonado-Torres, 2007, p.243)

> the continuity of colonial forms of domination after the end of colonial administrations, produced by colonial cultures and structures in the modern/colonial capitalist/patriarchal world system (Grosfoguel, 2007, p.219)

Thinkers from the group regard the discovery of 'the new world' during the fifteenth century as the moment where modernity, coloniality and capitalism came together and as the foundation of the modern/colonial world-system (Mignolo, 2002). They consider coloniality as the "darker side of" and "constitutive dimension of" Western modernity. Thus, there is no modernity without coloniality (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018, p.4; p.111). 'Modernity' emerged in the wake of Enlightenment and has its roots in a debate in France between 'les anciens (ancients)' and 'les modernes (moderns)' (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018). The 'ancients' was a classification invented by a perspective of those who consider themselves as modern and see 'the ancients' as "behind and backward" as compared to the "present time" (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018, p.110). The modernity/coloniality/decoloniality group argues that along with the modernity, the colonized areas of the world were the targets of Western civilization, development, modernization and the "new marketplace as the project of modern world-system" (Mignolo, 2002, p.84).

Quijano also introduced the notion of 'coloniality of power'. Accordingly, there are two fundamental axes of power operating since the emergence of : "codification of the differences between conquerors and conquered in the idea of race, a supposedly different biological structure that placed some in a natural situation of inferiority to the others"; and "the constitution of a new structure of control of labor and its resources and products (Quijano, 2000, p.533-4). Decolonial thinkers argue that the interrelation of exploitation and domination based on 'race' and 'division of labor' is systematically structured in the modern world system (Maldonado-Torres, 2007).

Following the concept of coloniality of power, Mignolo and Maldonado-Torres among others have further expanded the decolonial thinking to the sphere of philosophy, subjectivity and knowledge. Namely, the 'coloniality of being' denotes "the lived experience of colonization and its impact on language", and 'coloniality of knowledge' refers to the "impact of colonization on the different areas of knowledge production" (Maldonado-Torres, 2007, p.242). Correspondingly, what arrived in the Americas with the colonization was not only an economic system of capital and labor, but also a modern/colonial model and pattern of power, or coloniality. Accordingly, the sphere of coloniality includes political and economic imperial designs; class formation (e.g. slavery, wage labor capitalist, core, periphery); racial/ethnic/gender/sexual hierarchy; knowledge production (e.g. eurocentrism); spirituality (e.g. Catholic and Protestant); linguistic (e.g. European knowledge); and "life in all its aspects, from human life to the life of the planet" (Grofoguel, 2007; Mignolo and Walsh, 2018, p.127). Maldonaldo-Torres (2007, p.243) also claims that "we breath coloniality all the time and everyday".

Lastly, while the postcolonial project concerns subject/object distinctions, the aim of decolonial thinkers is an epistemic disobedience to coloniality (Mignolo, 2011a). Decoloniality involves a struggle to delink subjectively, epistemically and programmatically from the colonial matrix of power and to engage in building a new praxis of doing, thinking, sensing

and living (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018). In this sense, decoloniality is not a project of "improving" the rewesternization or engaging with deweternization. Rather, it takes a third path to delink from both, to undo the damages caused by modernity and coloniality and to construct otherwise for thinking, sensing , believing and doing (Mignolo, 2011a; Mignolo and Walsh, 2018).

3.1.3 Dependency theory

Before moving on the discussion of colonial systems in humanitarian aid, this sub-subchapter presents arguments surrounding dependency theories to conceptualize a relation of dependence and domination. Although there is abundant literature, definition and argument concerning dependency theories, due to the limited length of this paper, this sub-subchapter selectively presents arguments for the purposes of the following discussion in Chapter 3.2 and Chapter 4.

The dependency theories emerged in the late 1940s and 1950s (Fischer, 2015). The dependency theories was developed partly as an alternative to theories such as mainstream development theory which used to urge that all developed countries were once underdeveloped and that the uneven wealth gap between developed and underdeveloped countries would diminish as the latter evolve by tracing the same linear path to development, as theorized by Rostow's stages of growth (Dos Santos, 1970). Therefore, the causes and failures of development in underdeveloped countries used to be assumed as slowness or failure to adopt the patterns of modernization or development (Dos Santos, 1970). Moreover, coupled with the modernization paradigm, it used to be argued that the West or developed countries should diffuse knowledge, skills, values, and technology to underdeveloped countries (Nash cited in Kay, 2011). However, such arguments do not account for the historical contexts or different roles assigned to each developed and underdeveloped areas (Kay, 2011). Thereupon, the dependency theories emerged as a response to the critiques regarding the development theory and in search for other potential causes of underdevelopment in Latin America.

Theotonio Dos Santos, one of the leading dependency theorists, defines the dependency theory as follows:

> By dependence we mean a situation in which the economy of certain countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy to which the former is subjected. The relation of interdependence between two or more economies, and between these and world trade, assumes the form of dependence when some countries (the dominant ones) can expand and can be self-sustaining, while other countries (the dependent ones) can do this only as a reflection of that expansion, which can have either a positive or a negative effect on their immediate development (dos Santos, 1970, p231).

Among others, some arguments of dependency theories are characterized as follows. First, one of the primary components of the theories is the distinction between dominant/center and dependent/periphery (Kvangraven, 2020). Dependency theories concern, in one way or another, the colonial history which created the "divergence of the periphery from the center" and shaped "peripheral structures of production" (Kvangraven, 2020). Although the distinction is sometimes understood as between the core developed and the periphery underdeveloped countries, it is not limited to such spatial distinction (Fischer, 2015), rather the forms of peripherality relate to social and political structures (Kvangraven, 2020).

Second and related to the dichotomy of the center or developed countries and peripheral or underdeveloped counties, dependency theorists refute the diffusionist idea of development theory which emphasizes 'backwardness' and 'underdevelopment' in the periphery

countries. Rather, they argue that the causes of underdevelopment in the periphery roots in the colonial histories and the polarising tendencies of capitalism, more specifically how the periphery is included in the world's economic structure. Therefore, underdevelopment is not a temporary condition in the stage of a 'traditional society' or 'preconditions to take-off' as theorized by Rostow, but a persistent condition (Namkoong, 1999) that is not meant to evolve. From the period of colonization, the periphery part depended on the export of raw materials and agricultural commodities. Later on, following the changes in terms of trade, the periphery part had to increase the quantity of export materials so as to be able to import the same amount of industrial commodities and in pursuit of economic development, confining further the periphery as producers of primary commodities (Prebisch cited in Kay, 2011). Additionally, given the unequal economic exchange between the core and the periphery through unequal wage rates, profit rates and labor power, the global economic structure favors certain economies at the detriment of other economies, leading to the subordination of the latter to the formers and limiting the development of the latter (Dos Santos cited in Namkoong, 1999). Furthermore, the external factors operating through transitional corporations, foreign assistances, and the international division of labour among others contribute to the polarization (Groplogo, 2013).

Third as regards class formation, the world structure became so complex that it is not based on mere external forms of exploitation and domination, but has something to do with coincidences of interest between local dominant classes and international ones (Cardoso and Faletto cited in Namkoong, 1999). Some of the dependency theorists pointed out that with independence from the colonial administration, the same colonial forms of social organization originally implemented by colonizers continued to exist and were internally operating (Maldonado-Torres, 2016). Since the mid-1960s, the theory of internal colonialism has emerged (Groplopo, 2013). The internal colonialism theory argues that the dichotomy of development and underdevelopment is maintained not only by the core – developed countries, but also supported by the interests of ruling classes in the periphery (Groplopo, 2013). The internal colonized are excluded from participation in the political, cultural and other institutions of the society or face discrimination on the basis of their race, ethnicity or class (D. Johnson cited in Kay, 2011). Pablo Gonzáles Casanova, one of the inventors of the theory argues that the relation of domination and dependent is perpetuated through unequal exchange, exploitation and discrimination within a state (cited in Kay, 2011), just as dependency theorists pointed out the relation of developed and underdeveloped countries.

Lastly, Mignolo (2005) defines the dependency theory from a decolonial perspective. He thinks that the dependency theory exposes the "epistemic differential within an imperial geopolitics of knowledge" (2005, p.13). He adds that the colonial histories produced a homogeneous concept of history, by mainstreaming a certain narrative while marginalizing certain knowledges, languages and beings with the construction of racism (Mignolo, 2005, pp.15-6).

This subchapter presented three theoretical frameworks: postcolonial studies, decolonial thinking and dependency theories and attempted to conceptualize colonial power as well as relations between dominant and dependent. Put briefly, postcolonial intellectuals expose the fact that the hegemonic knowledge production by the West and contribute to the make colonized, excluded, silenced, or marginalized subjects and voices clear. Decolonial thinking goes beyond the subject/object or Western/non-Western distinction and exposes the fundamental patterns of power which continue operating both globally and internally regardless of the independence of a formerly colonized country. Decolonial thinkers engage in the struggles and pain of racialized and colonized subjectivities and commit to undo the harm and to create a new logic or otherwise way of living, thinking and sensing. Lastly, dependency theories point out the interdependence between the developed core parts and the underdeveloped periphery parts, benefitting the development of the former at the detriment of the

latter. Dependency theorists refute the linear absolute path to development and question the way in which peripheries parts are incorporated into the world system.

The three theoretical frameworks are indeed different trends given their genealogy, periodization, arguments, points of views and positions from which each group addresses the issues. Nonetheless, except for certain criticisms, the three theoretical frameworks do not necessarily negate each other, rather complement each other in relation with the status of the disfavored population and society in the period that follows the era of colonization in an attempt to cause a social transformation. This thesis does not stick to or reflect on each one of the theoretical frameworks, rather it aims at bringing three them together. The following sub-chapter moves on to the sphere of humanitarian aid and makes arguments as regards colonial systems of domination.

3.2 Conceptual framework - Colonial systems of domination in humanitarian aid

The very idea of humanitarianism is regarded as a "movement centered on the relief of suffering engendered by the inhuman practices" (Skinner and Lester, 2012). Similarly, at the individual level, people in the humanitarian sector genuinely and altruistically commit to action with their humanity and the desire to alleviate the suffering of people in a crisis (Hilhorst, 2018). However, contemporary humanitarian action or foreign aid can be far from the uncomplicated acts of pure altruism or natural compassion for distant people (Baughan and Everill, 2012; Moore cited in Sueres, 2016).

The following sub-subchapters address humanitarian aid from a joint perspective of postcolonial studies, decolonial thinking and dependency theories in order to conceptualize colonial forms of power and domination. From the perspective of postcolonial studies, I particularly pay attention to the western/northern hegemony of knowledge production in the humanitarian sector. More specifically, what kind of ideas and points of view are considered as mainstreamed on the one hand, and silenced or ignored on the other hand. From the perspective of decolonial thinking, I aim at approaching how the subjectivity of the affected people are oppressed, and how the logics behind humanitarian aid uphold forms of coloniality. From the dependency theories, I examine how the relations of dominant and dependent are perpetuated in the humanitarian aid sector.

The next sub-subchapter problematizes the fundamental principles of humanitarian aid, namely humanity, impartiality, neutrality and independence. The subsequent sub-subchapter points out the developmental ideology in the aid sector. The last sub-subchapter constitutes a discussion of the colonial gaze in the humanitarian sector, shedding light on the racialized prejudice in the sector.

3.2.1 Problematizing the principles of humanitarianism

Although the idea of charity, philanthropy or humanitarianism has a rich and varied history, today's international humanitarian values and actions are heavily linked to western history, thoughts and values (Skinner and Lester, 2012).

Starting this section with the history, the history of the modern idea of humanitarianism that Barnett, the author of 'Empire of Humanity', names "emergency humanitarianism" traces back to the creation of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) influenced by Henry Dunant's experience in the battle of Solferino in Italy in 1859 (Skinner and Lester, 2012, p.730; Labbé and Daudin, 2015). The movement led to the later adaptation of the first international humanitarian law, in 1864, the first Geneva Convention for the

Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded in Armies in the Field (Skinner and Lester, 2012). The intention of the humanitarian action which emerged out of the committee was to protect and alleviate the suffering of the individuals' bodies in a critical situation rather than to address the causes of the illnesses (Skinner and Lester, 2012).

Over the following decades, the ICRC and its partners established an ethical and operational framework for humanitarian action and adopted its fundamental principles in 1965 (IFRC, n.d.; Labbé and Daudin, 2015):

a. Humanity "to protect and alleviate human suffering wherever it may be found";
b. Impartiality "to relieve the suffering of individuals, being guided solely by their needs" without "discrimination as to nationality, race, religious beliefs, class or political opinion";
c. Neutrality "not to take sides in hostilities or engage at any time in controversies of a political, racial, religious or ideological nature"; and
d. Independence to maintain authority, "while auxiliaries in the humanitarian services of their governments and subject to the laws" of the respective countries.

These pillars have become a central component of the contemporary humanitarian systems. For instance, the UN General Assembly adopted its resolution 46/182 and recognized the principles for international humanitarian action under the UN system (Labbé and Daudin, 2015). These apolitical principles were further justified by the need of relief engaging in the displaced or marginalized groups of people in contested regions (Skinner and Lester, 2012).

However, even though the international humanitarian movement is predominantly influenced by the above principles, these indeed contradict the reality of the humanitarian sector. For one thing, humanitarian aid is often influenced by a broader political agenda, hence is rarely apolitical (Davey, 2012). In fact, rather than being purely impartial, humanitarian aid is often instrumentalized as part of a foreign policy in a global area where donors are competing for their interests (Hilhorst, 2018). For instance, the Official Development Assistance (ODA) provides grants to humanitarian emergencies, and such aid is used for a promotion of 'soft power' (Sueres, 2016) or as a tool for diplomatic negotiation or as part of a security agenda based on the reasoning that investments in the world stability are beneficial for their own security (Maguruza, 2017).

Besides, it is reasonable to assume that humanitarian organizations work not only on the basis of the aspiration to alleviate the suffering of people 'wherever it may happen', but also based on the desire to maintain their operations while facing challenges to receiving funds and seeking the 'impact' and 'success' of their projects (Gaillard, n.d.; Cornish, 2019). However, it should also be noted that although international humanitarian agencies leave the affected society at the end of their mandate, due to the change in priorities of the organization or following an improvement of the situation, the actual recovery from a humanitarian crisis may take years and "complex emergencies" tend to continue for a long period of time (Bakewell, 2000, p.104), leaving local humanitarian agencies who rely on support from international northern-funded humanitarian organizations to deal with the complex emergencies (Paccitto and Fiddian-Oasmiyeh, 2013).

Furthermore, despite the fact that humanitarian aid agencies are embedded in the affected society, they have the tendency to place themselves outside the complex realities at stake while claiming to remain neutral and independent (Bakewell, 2000). Nevertheless, whereas agencies "do not exercise a mastery" over affected people, they do constitute and reproduce power, interlock with social, economic and political processes in society and shape and transform institutions and lives (Li cited in Balaton-Chrimes, 2017; Serrano cited in Hilhorst, 2018). Affected people are not passive recipients or objects of programs, and aid agencies do not operate outside the social structure (Hilhorst, 2018). Rather, affected people

actively respond to and engage in aid programs as well as with humanitarian aid actors (Bakewell, 2000). Notwithstanding, notions such as neutrality or independence might lead humanitarian aid agencies to fail seeing their own role in shaping the realities in which they operate.

Consequently, rather than insisting to be purely 'humane', 'impartial', 'neutral' or 'independent', it may be worth recognizing and accepting the fact that humanitarian aid is not a mere gift meant to simply cover the needs caused by a crisis. Indeed, the motivation to engage in humanitarian action is not limited to pure intent to alleviate the suffering, rather, there may be interests for agencies to commits in aid. Furthermore, humanitarian activities are in fact embedded in the social structures of the affected society and in the complex politics of the humanitarian sector administrated by power weighted in the North. Nevertheless, the humanitarian fundamental principles seem to mask the power dynamics among humanitarian agencies and affected society and justify the position of humanitarian agencies to remain apart from the global power relation.

3.2.2 Intersection between colonial administration and aid

This sub-subchapter addresses the ideology of 'aid' and 'development'[9] by looking at its history and rationale.

First, tracing back to the history of 'development', the intersection of development and colonial administration reveals itself. The idea of committing to aid distant people has its origins in the era of colonization. For instance, in the case of the United Kingdom during the late 1940s, throughout the 1950s and following the establishment of the Colonial Development Corporation, the colonial administration was indeed engaging in development activities such as the providing of advice on agricultural practices, water use, health care and social welfare in the colonial territories (Kothari, 2006b). According to a former colonial officer, the colonial administration was not only about law and order, but also about economic and social development, particularly at the later stage of the colonization (Kothari, 2006b). Moreover, following the independence of colonies, many colonial officers who had lost their position in the colonial administration started working for a multilateral agency such as a UN agency, the World Bank or the UK Department of Technical Cooperation (which is currently the Department for International Development), and went back to former colonial territories (Kothari, 2006b).

Similarly, in France the current public foreign development institution, Agence Française de Développement (AFD) was created in 1941 as the Central Fund for Free France (CCFL) and had its field offices in the colonial territories (AFD, n.d.). Since then, the institution has provided state grants and supports for the economic and social development of the overseas territories, and later in 1998 became the current form of the AFD (AFD, n.d.). Therefore, 'aid' or 'development' intersected with colonial administration and were continued projects regardless of the state of colony or independence of the concerned country.

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[9] Although some scholars distinguish the activities of 'humanitarian aid' and 'development', since the 1990s, the debates within the humanitarian sector has been focusing on how to bridge the domains of emergency relief and development together. Many agencies have in fact realized that many crises were protracted and started engaging in linking relief to rehabilitation to development (Skinner and Lester, 2012; Hilhosrt, 2018). The shelter and housing program which will be analyzed in the case study in Chapter 4 also take both humanitarian relief aid and development into consideration. Additionally, immediately after the earthquake in 2010, the Government of Haiti (2010a, p.8) presented 'Action Plan for National Recovery and Development Haiti "to the international community and urged that 'we (the Government of Haiti) will rebuild Haiti by turning the disaster on 12 January 2010 into an opportunity to make it emerging country by 2030".

Furthermore, after the independence, 'development' worked as a key concept to sustain the relationship between the former colonizers and the former colonized. The colonial hierarchical relation was transformed to a relation between the 'developed' or 'First' and 'underdeveloped', 'developing' or 'Third' world, and 'development' was served as a political apparatus to justify various forms of intervention in former colonial territories (Escobar cited in Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012). To illustrate this, as an explanation of its activities in the history, the AFD publicly states that "against the backdrop of the Cold War and of the emergence of new independent countries, France sought to maintain a privileged relationship with its colonies" (AFD, n.d.).

Additionally, decolonial thinkers as well as post-development intellectuals pointed out an issue with the nature of 'aid' or 'development'. The rationale behind 'aid' or 'development' is based on the assumption of a series of 'lacks' and 'deficits' which justifies a position of need for 'improvement', 'progress', 'correction' or 'interventions' in the developing country (Escobar cited in Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012). Furthermore, the need of developing underdeveloped countries is often associated with a premise that development would be possible only with the assistance of the developed world (Omar, 2012). Likewise, the ideas of 'progress' or 'improvement' reinforce the stand of development agencies as institutions that are more powerful and capable of improving the lives in need of them (Balaton-Chrimes, 2017). This rationalizes the absolute linear path to the development and 'delivery of a "pedagogy development"' from those in the position of 'developed' to those in the position of 'developing' (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012, p.9).

In fact, through development projects, practitioners impose their values such as "planned over unplanned", "formal over informal", "right over any other ways" (Balaton-Chrimes, 2017, p.58). Quijano also argues that 'aid' or 'development' reproduces goals and standards of the Global North, which reconstruct the epistemic hierarchies between the Global South and the Global North (cited in Balaton-Chrimes, 2017). Similarly, Kothari (2006b, p.125) argues that the "shift from colonialism to development represents a process involving a redistribution of ideas, institutions and people. Put differently, it involves redistribution of power, control, and knowledge".

This sub-subchapter revealed an intersection between colonial administrations and ai and demonstrated how the hierarchical relation between colonizers and colonized has been maintained by means of 'aid' or 'development' between the 'developed' and those in 'need of development'.

3.2.3 Colonial gaze in humanitarian aid

The last argument concerns the colonial gaze in humanitarian aid. The worldwide Black Lives Matter or All Lives Matter movements shed a fresh light on racism in the humanitarian sector and revealed the fact that the racial colonial gaze did not "magically disappear with colonization" (Barnett, 2020).

The articulation of 'race' emerged during the era of colonization where people of color were seen as slaves or uncivilized primitives, and the scientific racism during the nineteenth century further legitimized the hierarchies of racial superiority and inferiority (Bonilla-Silva, Banton and Miles cited in Kothari, 2006a). Following the independence of colonized territories, the racial distinction was partly maintained through the projects of 'development' as discussed in Chapter 3.2.2. Besides, since the 1990s, the humanitarian sector have increasingly emphasized the importance of 'knowledge', 'expertise, 'professionalism' and 'competence' (Barnett, 2020). In this sense, it can be inferred that techniques of development using science and technology have been grounded on the notion of superiority (Kothari, 2006a).

Racism is institutionally, epistemically and discursively manifested in the contemporary humanitarian sector. First, the power imbalance between the so-called 'locals' and foreigners is structurally embedded within international humanitarian organizations. For instance, organizations often apply a two-tier employee system in which international staffs mainly hired from the Global North work at a management level, while the so-called 'national staffs' or 'locals' are hired locally and seen as tools for project implementation (Majumdar, 2020). Additionally, the differences of working and living conditions between 'internationals' and 'nationals' are another typical manifestation of racism. For example, in contrast to 'internationals" who are provided a separate and well-furnished office and better housing conditions with a better welfare system, 'nationals' are provided with less means for work, usually in open-space offices and are often ordered to go to high-hazard zones for project management without any security measures implemented, which 'internationals' refrain from doing (Hujale, 2019; Mwambari, 2019). Moreover, while foreign outsiders are often considered as 'experts in field' and given a better position in the decision-making process, locally hired employees are mere 'field assistants' and sometimes excluded from access to certain information or meeting, rather than being seen as people with knowledge of their own who can participate more actively in the decision making process (Hujale, 2019; Leon-Himmelstine and Pinet, 2020). Furthermore, based on the racialized prejudice which is particularly common among northern aid expatriates in affected society in the South, national staffs are often referred to as vulnerable to corruption, lazy or incapable and are excluded from management positions or accountability (Majumdar, 2020).

Related to this point, the 'racist' assumption of the Global South as inferior might lead humanitarian agencies to engage in infantilized and paternalized policies (Barnett, 2020). The 'capacity building' approach is a symbolic example of the bias based on racism. International organizations come to emergency site with the assumption that affected people do not have the capacity to intervene in an emergency and recover from the disaster, and assess 'what is missing' and 'what needs to be done', rather than to treat the people as 'survivors of', or 'the first responders to', a disaster and to recognize and reinforce existing specific strengths (Jones, 2019). These assumptions and attitudes are an issue, considering that everyone has the capacity to survive and respond to a disaster, even though they may not possess enough access to resources (Baguios, 2019). Moreover, the rhetoric of 'capacity building' fails to acknowledge the possibilities of mutually learning from each other regardless of the position of northern or southern peers and affected society or humanitarian agencies (Hilhorst, 2018). Furthermore, in line with postcolonial studies, the 'capacity' is assessed as "the capacity of locals to meet humanitarian performance standards set by the internationals" (Salvador-Antequisa cited in The New Humanitarian, 2019b). Global discourses do not always coincide with the discourses of affected communities (Bakewell, 2000), and such assumption is a form of imposing its epistemology and objectivity on the affected society, while what needs to be taken into consideration is the subjectivity of the affected society.

Similarly, the labeling of people in the Global South with notions such as 'vulnerable' or 'incapable' or assessing them by statistics such as life expectancy or poverty rates fail to provide a full understanding of why such statistics are relatively lower than in the Global North (Juha, 2020). Such mere label and statistics mask historical narratives and facts which perpetuate vulnerability and social and racial inequality, thus ahistorical (Trouillot cited in Juha, 2020).

Last, but not least, this sub-subchapter also touches upon the hegemony of humanitarian action. That is, the fact that the humanitarian system is dominated by UN agencies and certain international NGOs which are predominately led by westerners (Cornish, 2019). Similarly, it happens often particularly in the Global South that local institutions including authorities, organizations and affected societies in general are rendered invisible and do not

possess the hegemony of their own response to and recovery from the disaster (Hilhorst, 2018).

This is partly due to the fact that voices of the affected people are submerged under the noise of the emergencies (Jimba et al., 2011) or that domestic actors are not generally in a state to deal with damages and losses by on their own, particularly at an immediate phase, thus external assistance is critical (Cornish, 2019). However, this also relates to the fact that even though the implementation of humanitarian action is in the South, the power remains in the North in terms of decision-making and funding (Hujale, 2019). To illustrate this, the headquarters in the North often provide staffs deployed in the affected society with proposal and project frameworks based on the organization's priority and means, and staffs in the field are tasked with their implementation, leaving little room for adjustments depending on the voices and the needs of affected society (Hujale, 2019). Furthermore, there is a tendency for northern humanitarian agencies to treat local institutions with mistrust or prejudice towards locals as being in need of capacity building (Hilhorst, 2018). As a result, they bypass local institutions and directly implement the projects. Additionally, northern institutions usually select English-speaking partners and personnel with academic and professional experiences in well-known institutions (Leon-Himmelstine and Pinet, 2020). This leaves behind partners who only the speak local language and are less renowned but may have more knowledge on the local situation.

Following the criticism regarding the exclusion of local partners in humanitarian action, the international aid sector has broadly committed to an agenda for 'localization of aid', leaving more of the leadership of the humanitarian action in the hands of the locals, particularly after the first Humanitarian World Summit in 2016 (The New Humanitarian, 2019a). Nevertheless, the reality remains that, as described above, the meaning of 'partnership' or 'localization' comprehended by northern humanitarian institutions is arguable, as local personnel is usually hired as 'project assistant' and the hierarchy between 'internationals' and 'nationals' is racially institutionalized.

This subchapter proceeded from the premise that humanitarian aid is not composed only of acts of pure altruism or compassion for the suffering of people and explored it by focusing on three different aspects. As a result, it has revealed that the humanitarian aid sector is embedded in an extraordinarily complex web of social structures and power dynamics, and that humanitarian activities are contingent upon the western power and epistemology. Reflecting upon the theoretical framework discussed in the previous subchapter (3.1), a) the world is still more or less divided into the developed part and the underdeveloped part, although the structure is much more complex than during the 1960s when dependency theorists pointed out such division; b) the hierarchical relation between northern/western countries and institutions and southern ones is maintained through the aid system, in which the former is viewed as being equipped with knowledge, capacity and funds and the latter is seen as being in need of the former; c) while the sphere of humanitarian action is dominated by western and northern institutions which have control over personnel, decision-making and funds, the voices and agency of the affected people are marginalized or silenced; d) even though the core and the nature of humanitarian aid is differentiated from modernization theories or development theories, the knowledge and experience of the aid practitioners from the Global South are considered as components of a linear path to humanitarian recovery.

Chapter 4 Policy Analysis – humanitarian aid in shelter and housing sectors

The previous chapter revealed several forms of the colonial practice in the humanitarian sector. This chapter applies a critical discourse analysis and analyzes shelter and housing policies from a joint perspective of postcolonial studies, decolonial thinking and dependency theories. The next sub-chapter provides a detailed explanation regarding the methodology of the analysis. The following sub-subchapters carry out a policy analysis by applying a critical discourse analysis and explore various forms of domination of power in line with three aspects: relation, intention and representation.

4.1 Methodology – Critical discourse analysis of humanitarian aid

As briefly explained in Chapter 1, this research operationalizes critical discourse analysis of policy documents drafted by international organizations in the shelter and housing sector. Before moving on to the findings, this subchapter explains the steps that I followed for the analysis.

First, among a great number of organizations involved in the shelter and housing sectors, I have chosen the following three representative organizations to analyze:

a. the UN Offices for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs ('**OCHA**') which was in charge of the coordination among different clusters and between the clusters and the Government of Haiti;
b. the Inter-Agency Standing Committee ('**IASC**') which was a forum among different agencies for policy-making;
c. the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies ('**IFRC**') which led the Shelter Cluster.

The main documents applied for the policy analysis are as follows:

a. Consolidated Appeals Process (CAP): Haiti Revised Humanitarian Appeal drafted by the OCHA in 2010 (here after the '**Humanitarian Appeal**')
b. Haiti: Earthquake Emergency Appeal no. MDRHT008 drafted by the IFRC in 2010 (here after the '**Emergency Appeal**')
c. Haiti Recovery Operation Summary of the Plan of Action drafted by the IFRC in 2010 (here after the '**Plan of Action**')
d. Shelter Sector Response Plan drafted by the IASC in 2010 (here after '**Response Plan**')
e. Shelter & CCCM Needs Analysis and Response Strategy drafted by the IASC in 2012 (here after '**Needs Analysis and Response Strategy**')

The choices of both the organizations and the documents were made primarily on the basis of availability of documents. Furthermore, these documents were some of the key operational frameworks which were widely applied by other international organizations, notably those that were part of the cluster system such the IOM, the CARE and the DPC (World Bank, 2016). Furthermore, this analysis is also complemented by evaluation reports.

With respect to the methodology, critical discourse analysis entails an analysis of structures of discourse that are specifically involved in the reproduction of power abuse (Dijk, 2009). Following one of the renowned cultural theorists, Stuart Hall, I focused on

'representation' in the discourse throughout this analysis. Discourses are diverse representations of how differently positioned social actors see and represent a world differently (Fairclough, 2001). According to Hall (1997, p.15), "representation connects meaning and language to culture. […] Representation is an essential part of the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture". In addition, postcolonial scholars argue that researching and understanding is not an innocent practice, but it is an exercise which occurs in a set of political and social conditions (Smith, 1999). Each organization interpreted the damages and the needs more or less differently and decided the response plans using the way they make sense of the world as an organization. Pursuing these, I aimed at analyzing how each organization represents contexts, needs, directions and frameworks in the matter of shelter responses in the policy documents. More precisely, by reading the documents closely, I paid attention to the following three aspects: relation, depiction and intention.

First, regarding 'relation', I focused on how each organization situates itself, the affected people, and the Haitian authorities, by paying attention to who they work with, what they do based on whose demand and what they assign to do to whom. According to Norman Fairclough (2001, p.4), "social actors within any practice produce representations of other practices, as well as ('reflexive') representations of other practice". Through discourse, different social actors represent, shape and recontextualize their own and others' practices differently depending on how they are positioned within the practice. Therefore, "representation is a process of social construction of practices, including reflexive self-construction" (Fairclough, 2001, p.4). Following this, I analyzed how each organization represents, shapes and recontextualizes its own as well as other actors' practices.

With regards to 'depiction', I looked at the texts referred to Haiti, the Haitian authorities, the affected people and the international organizations, and examined how each organization depicts Haitians as well as itself. According to Hall (1997, p.16), representation is "the production of the meaning of the concepts in our minds through language". Representation does not tell a whole narrative of one subject, rather it reproduces a particular understanding of a circumstance from a particular perception.

Third, as regards 'intention', I examined what kind of programs are provided to whom, for what kind of purpose, based on what kind of evidence as well as what is considered as evidence. Each individual and institution has its own ways of making sense of the world, and each meaning is given through discourse (Hall, 1997). However, critical discourse analysts understand knowledge as a power resource (Dijk, 2009). Therefore, some ways of making sense of meaning are dominant or mainstream while others are marginal or alternative (Fairclough, 2001). Therefore, I looked at 'intention' with the purpose to reveal the ways of 'making sense' each organization uses.

Last and related to the third aspect, throughout the process of this critical discourse analysis, I paid attention to what is not said, silenced or discredited in the policy documents. Fairclough (2001, p.4) argues that "social practices networked in a particular way constitute a social order". In other words, particular ways of making sense of the world become dominant and a part of the legitimizing commonsense which sustains relation of domination, while others are marginalized or even silenced (Fairclough, 2001). Taking this into account, I paid attention to which discourses or justifications are treated as mainstream or commonsense, and which are ignored or erased.

4.2 Policy analysis of shelter and housing responses – critical discourse analysis

4.2.1 Relation

First with regard to 'relation' between each organization and the affected people, it can be characterized as a relation that is one-way, distant and a connection only by the means of shelter solutions. For instance, the Response Plan of the IASC (2010b, p.4), set up the "displaced persons objective" as to "deliver at least minimum shelter support for the entire population"; similarly, the Humanitarian Appeal by the OCHA (2010a, p.2) also established "the priority needs" as "shelter provision to IDPs through identification of safe sites, distribution of shelter materials, and water and sanitation". These illustrate the social structure in which the international organizations are the ones who provided shelter solutions, and the affected people are the ones who received it. The actions of "providing for" (IFRC, 2010a, p.8) or "distribution to" (IASC, 2010b, p.10) contradict the postcolonial claim that humanitarian actions should be programmed 'with' the affected people, not provided 'for people', 'to people' or 'on people' (Rejali, 2020). Furthermore, a "key message" in the Needs Analysis and Response Strategy by the IASC (2012, p.3), that "the cluster will continue to advocate for funding for an additional 20,000 T-Shelters primarily targeted towards camp based beneficiaries", describes the distance between the cluster and the affected people.

As a matter of fact, the Plan of Action of the IFRC (2010b, p.4-5) included a "beneficiary communication project" in order "to communicate with disaster affected communities using media". Nevertheless, an evaluation report which synthesizes and evaluates various reports drafted by different institutions, reveals that the majority of evaluations were exclusively conducted with agency staffs due to the accessibility and the convenience in terms of language and culture (Haver, 2011). In other words, an open-ended discussion with local staffs or affected people was rare (Haver, 2011). Additionally, a survey conducted by the ICRC with Haitians uncovered that while over 70% of the respondents did not know how to make suggestions or complaints, over 90% of them did not feel that their opinions were taken into consideration anyways (ICRC, 2018), testifying that the voices of affected people who should be the ones to carry out at least a substantial part of the humanitarian efforts were excluded.

Second, the commitments of the organizations in humanitarian aid are justified by the statements reframing the Haitian authorities as incapable and deficient. Particularly, the OCHA's Humanitarian Appeal strategically associates Haiti's vulnerability to the needs of intervention by the OCHA. The document begins a presentation of the "basic humanitarian and development indicators for Haiti (pre-earthquake)" listing indexes indicating Haiti as a 'poor' and 'underdeveloped' country, such as the Gross National Income per capita (GNI), and the UNDP Human Development Index (HDI) score among others (OCHA, 2010a, p.4). However, such indicators represent a mere outcome calculated based on a certain phenomenon picked from a certain perspective. For instance, it is arguable that the GNI counts properly economic activities in informal or underground sectors. Moreover, it is indirect money metric which does not take social and cultural dimension into account (Fischer, 2018). On the other hand, the HDI is a multi-dimensional index, yet it is still universalistic and arbitral considering that the index such as life expectancy and school enrollment rates are the deterministic values to classify different countries with different history and culture.

The document then moves on to Chapter 2 "Context" and then to Chapter 3 "Needs Analysis", which opens with the subchapter titled "pre-existing situation and underlying risk and vulnerability", spelling out again a deterministic and negative description of Haiti spreading over a page, including statements such as:

> Haiti had the unenviable status of being the least developed country in the western hemisphere" (OCHA, 2010a, p.21),

> the vulnerability that prevailed in Haiti's population before the earthquake make it certain that community capacities and coping strategies will not suffice to avert continued mortality, morbidity and living without dignity among earthquake-affected people (OCHA, 2010a, p.21), and

> the displacement of people out of Port-au-Prince,… has contributed to increasing vulnerability in an already desperately poor country requiring the attention and resources of an over-stretched Government and aid community (OCHA, 2010a, p.22).

These do not represent the 'needs' of the affected people, but 'needs' conceived by the OCHA which are decisively constructed as if they were the evident needs. Such deterministic and negative representations are followed by presentations of the 'required international supports' (OCHA, 2010a, p.27; p.29; p.32), strategically connecting the 'needs' to the 'international support'. The chapter then discusses the priority needs and the strategic objectives of humanitarian action. This method of argumentative structure not only rationalizes their intervention by constructing evidence from the organization's epistemology, but also conceptualizes the position of the IDPs as 'unenviable' components contributing to the 'vulnerability' in the 'already' 'desperately poor country' as well as the stand of the OCHA which can afford to help it out.

Other documents also apply a similar rationale. Among others, the Needs Analysis and Response Strategy drafted by the IASC (2012, p.7) states that "rental assistance initiatives aimed at facilitating access to rental housing for families with limited mean". It also adds

> due to the vulnerability of these settlements, repeated rounds of emergency assistance will be required simply to ensure basic security, sustain health and maintain the current level of sub-standard shelter and infrastructure (IASC, 2012, p.11).

The effective use of specific adjectives, verbs and adverbs further emphasizes the relation between Haitian people with 'limited means' who 'require' an intervention by the aid community being 'simply' able to ensure the 'sub'-standard 'basic' security.

Third, each organization puts an emphasis on the collaboration with the Government of Haiti and advocates their role as "an auxiliary to the Government" (IFRC, 2010b, p.8), yet their actual plans do not describe the 'auxiliary' role of the organizations. In other words, while each organization acknowledges the importance of the 'localization of humanitarian aid', each plan situates the organization as in the position of 'leadership', 'supervisor' or 'management', by constructing their role as being in a 'coordination' position in the shelter response.

For instance, on the one hand, the Response Plan by the IASC (2010b, p.8) claims that "the objective of the strategic framework is to support and assist the Government of Haiti", on the other hand, it states that "the cluster strategy aims to play a critical role in assisting to define the overall strategic direction of the relief and recovery effort" (p.9). While using the expression "collaboration" with "the Government of Haiti" (IASC, 2010b, p.5), their 'critical' role is set up as 'defining' the strategy and the direction and "ensuring" the information management to be "appropriate, consistent and comprehensive" (IASC, 2010b, p.10). This characterizes a position of supervisor of the activities in the Shelter Cluster and that of deciding what is 'appropriate' and 'consistent' to whatever they decide.

Similarly, the Humanitarian Appeal by the OCHA (2010a, p.12) also emphasizes the Government of Haiti and Haitian people as those "who in many cases formed the first line of humanitarian response". However, the OCHA (2010a, p.39) defines one of the "criteria(s) for selection of projects" as follows: "wherever possible, the project shall include national

NGOs and other national partners", implying a social structure in which national NGOs and partners are the one who are included, rather than the agents of including the international organizations. Furthermore, the OCHA (2010a, p.15, p.44) describes one of its activities as 'supervising' and "managing" camp sites. Additionally, it frames the objective of 'coordination' as "to ensure that governmental and humanitarian stakeholders in the response participate in a single coordination structure" (OCHA, 2010a, p.41). This underlines the fact that the OCHA operates through the practices of governmentality (Li cited in Balaton-Chrimes, 2017).

Moreover, the OCHA and the IFRC clearly state that "the UN is and should be the main coordinating body" (OCHA, 2010a, p.95) and that "strong and pro-active inter-cluster coordination is essential, under the leadership of the Humanitarian Coordinator [10] with OCHA's support" (IFRC, 2010a, p.4). Furthermore, both teams mobilized by the IFRC: the Field Assessment Coordination Team (FACT) and the Emergency Response Units (ERUs) are formed exclusively by international personnel and operate in the 'secured base camp' close to the UN Logistic Base and the International Airport. This correlates with the reports claiming that Haitians barely had access to the area which became the center of the international humanitarian aid, given that an invitation from someone inside as well as identification documents were required to access it (Bolton, 2011; Klarreich and Polman, 2012). Besides, in such places where internationals gather, the common language was often English, rarely Creole or even French, meaning that only a few Haitians with considerable global connections and international educational and professional experiences were able to be part of the system in such places (Bolton, 2011; Klarreich and Polman, 2012). This illustrate that decolonial thinking that the 'connection with international personnel' and 'international experiences' are considered as substantial. Furthermore, the IFRC (2010a, p.4) reveals that the International Federation's Pan American Disaster Response Unit (PADRU) located in Panama, was "coordinating planning with operation partners to ensure the time delivery of assistance", in collaboration with the OCHA. Although it often happens that nationals were rendered invisible with the magnitude of a crisis (Hilhorst, 2018; The New Humanitarian, 2019a), such institutional structure illustrates that the decision-making and the power remains weighted outside Haiti. The hierarchy and the exclusion within the institutional structure not only affect the outcome of humanitarian aid, but also reinforce existing hierarchical power relations and may disempower locals (Rejali, 2020).

This sub-subchapter revealed that each organization situates itself as being in the position of the provider of shelter solutions 'for' affected population and who 'defines' the 'direction' and 'strategy' of the shelter response. The position of such organizations as givers is naturally and strategically justified by the thought of Haiti 'lacking the capacity" and being 'underdeveloped'. In other words, their hierarchical position is sustained and rationalized by reframing Haiti and the affected people with a particular deterministic narrative.

The analysis of the relation also reveals the domination by, and the hegemony of, international organizations. The interactions between the organizations and the affected people hardly even exist. Putting appropriately, the interactions do exist, but ritualistically with power differentials. The shelter response is led 'by' these organizations 'for' the affected people, rather than the organizations 'aid' the Government of Haiti or the affected people, or the affected people recover from the disaster 'with' the aid of the international community. With the rhetoric of 'coordination', each organization situates itself as in a position of 'guiding', 'managing' or 'supervising' the activities within the Shelter Cluster as well as the affected

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[10] Humanitarian Coordinator is a UN official who is responsible for "leading and coordinating the efforts of humanitarian organizations" if "required" (OCHA, n.d.a)

people in campsites. In addition, they conceal their practices of governmentality by using the word 'coordination' instead.

4.2.2 Depiction

This sub-subchapter examines how each document describes and labels Haitian people as well as itself. First, whereas some of the organizations occasionally use expressions such as 'affected' families', 'displaced people' or 'affected Haitians', each organization continuously labels them as "beneficiaries" (IASC, 2010b, p.5, 8, 9; IFRC, 2010b, p.5, 8, 9; OCHA, 2010a, p.40, 44). Providing more concrete examples, the IFRC (2010b, p.4) defines their "most important stakeholders" as "beneficiaries", and the OCHA (2010a, p.42) and the IASC (2010b, p.13) presents one of their activities as 'monitoring beneficiaries'. Labeling of the affected people as 'camp-based beneficiaries' or 'earthquake victims' upholds the organizations' mindset that conceives the affected people as passive recipients of shelter solutions or the sole objects of the aid, as if they were mere 'victims' with little agency and subjects to external interventions (Bakewell, 2000). Contrary to this mindset, the affected people are actually the first responders to the disaster and the subjects of humanitarian actions (Bakewell, 2000; Fan, 2012). Yet, the documents conceptualize the affected people as 'victims' and 'recipients' of aid, making it difficult to uncover their agency and leaving them with little or no control over the humanitarian recovery effort provided by the international organizations (Bakewell, 2000).

The second issue concerns the tendency of positive self-depictions as well as negative other-depictions. As also described in the previous sub-subchapter, each organization repeatedly refers to Haiti as a 'vulnerable' and 'impoverished' country. Similarly, the depiction with adjectives, such as 'special' assistance to 'vulnerable' or 'poor' families with 'little resilience' implies a certain level of dependency and a lack of agency (Rejali, 2020) and emphasizes the privilege of their capacity to provide a 'special' assistance. Additionally, the essentialized depictions of Haiti as 'desperately poor' and 'impoverished' are tied with universalistic indicators such as poverty rates or the Vulnerability and Crisis Index[11]. However, such depictions do not tell the history and the structural system which conceptualize Haiti as 'poor' as argued by dependency theories, thus being a-contextual and ahistorical (Kothari, 2006b). Particularly, the IASC (2012, p.11) mentions a "country (Haiti) vulnerable to natural disaster, cholera and civil instability", yet, this ascribes Haiti's vulnerability and conceals the fact that the cholera was brought by a UN agent as well as the history of colonization and colonialism which led to the country Haiti is today

By contrast, when it comes to self-depictions, each document is prone to repeatedly use positive adjectives such as "success" (IFRC, 2010b, p.4), "significant", "essential" (OCHA, 2010a, p.95), "effective" or "focal" (IASC, 2012, p.13, 17), approving and giving values to their own activities. However, I would be fairer for the 'accomplishment', 'substantiality', 'indispensability', or 'effectiveness' of the humanitarian aid to be judged by the subjects of humanitarian action, thus the affected people. These discourses also describe the picture in which the international organizations "speak for the oppressed subject", echoing the claims made by postcolonial intellectuals (Rejali, 2020).

Additionally and related to the third point in the previous sub-subchapter, the role of 'coordination' is supported by subjective expressions such as 'clear', 'once again', 'underlined' and 'very slow' as illustrated in the following sentences: "the clear value of good coordination of international relief efforts has once again been underlined"; and "the absence of a

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[11] Prepared by the European Commission Humanitarian Aid Office (ECHO).

coordinating cell has led very slow mobilization of assistance, confusion and duplication" (OCHA, 2010a, p.12-3). Lastly, the documents have the tendency to apply the "strategic use of numbers" (Dijk, 2009, p.65), when it comes to the vulnerability of the affected people. Some examples include the "precarious living conditions of hundreds of thousands of people living in crowded temporary shelters" (OCHA, 2010a, p.24) and the "tens of thousands are feared dead" (IFRC, 2010a, p.1). The use of an indefinite but vast mathematical expression highlights the vulnerability of Haitian people and connotes the needs for intervention by the organizations.

Third and related to the point explained above, positive self-depictions are often strategically associated with negative depictions of Haiti or the IDP. For instance, the Needs Analysis and Response Strategy states the following:

> "the significant challenges related to camp based beneficiaries selection for permanent housing programmes are recognized along with the efforts of many organizations to increase targeting of this population group" (IASC, 2012, p.12); and

> "Despite an allowance for a significant increase in the delivery of permanent housing solutions, the cluster recognizes a continued need for T-Shelter and other Semi-Permanent assistance" (IASC, 2012, pp.12-13).

The above statements combine a decisive and negative description of Haiti using expressions such as 'significant challenges' and 'continued need' with a positive self-description using expression such as 'efforts of many organizations' and 'allowance for a significant increase', contrasting and emphasizing the two descriptions. Besides, the statement in the OCHA's Humanitarian Appeal (2010a, p.1) that "a massive international relief effort was rapidly put in place in spite of extraordinary logistical challenges", not only contrasts the 'efforts' by the international community with 'challenge' posed by Haiti, but also mutes the efforts of the Haitians who "in many cases formed the first line of humanitarian response" according to the OCHA (2010a, p.12) as presented in the previous sub-subchapter.

In conclusion, the analysis of the discourses in the various depictions revealed that on the one hand, each organization employs positive adjectives and adverbs apropos of self-depictions, and on the other hand, when it comes to Haiti as well as IDPs, the depictions not only accompany negative images but also frames them as victims and passive recipients of aid with little agency. Furthermore, it is found that positive self-depictions are strategically coupled with negative Haiti's depictions, which highlights the social structure of the organizations as more powerful in improving the shelter conditions among powerless IDPs, reinforcing the epistemic hierarchy between the Global North and Haiti.

4.2.3 Intention

Analyzing the 'intentions' of each organization reveals that the will and the agency of the affected people are ignored or forgotten and uncovers the prevailing and deterministic epistemology of the organizations.

The first remark is that the documents are drafted along with 'internationally respected' standards. For one thing, the OCHA (2010a, p.34) sets one of the CCCM (Camp Coordination and Camp Management Cluster)'s targets and expected outcomes as "international protection and assistance standards for IDPs in camp and camp-like situations are management". Such references not only construct the objective as if it were the universally applicable standards, but also mute the agency and the subjectivities of the affected people (Rejali, 2020). In reverse, silencing the voices of the affected people conceptualizes the international standards

as the universal benchmark without possible challenges to the conception. In addition, the OCHA imposes a similar top-down objective, leaving no room for taking the subjectivity of the affected people into account, as illustrated in the following statement:

> criteria for selection of projects: The project must be consistent with the cluster strategy, and must contribute towards the achievement of one or several of the strategic objectives agreed upon by the HCT (Humanitarian Country Team)[12] for the humanitarian operation (OCHA, 2010a, p.39).

Likewise and related to the discussion of depictions detailed in the previous sub-sub-chapter, the IASC (2010b; 2012) rationalizes their response plans, by muting the voices of the affected people coupled with deterministic expressions such as 'should be', 'this is necessary to', 'it is recognized that', 'it is imperative that' and 'remaining the most effective'. Besides, comparing 'internationally recognized standards' to the Haitian context, the documents continuously frame Haiti's poorness and inferiority. Some evidences include the OCHA's statement: "it is clear that the capacity to meet minimum international standards is not there, and no quick and easy solution presents itself" (2010a, p.24); and the IASC's one: "the majority (referring to camps) are overcrowded settlements failing well below any recognized humanitarian standards" (2012, p.8). Repeatedly, those representations are tied with adjectives such as 'clear', 'minimum', 'well' and 'any'. Imposing and contrasting these with 'internationally recognized standards' reproduces the global hierarchy and reconstructs the epistemology as regards Haiti being inferior and lacking capacity (Quijano cited in Balaton-Chrimes, 2017). Furthermore, the following sentence by the OCHA (2010a, p.22): "ironically, many of the neighborhoods which suffered the most in the earthquake were not Port-au-Prince's poorest" illustrates their epistemology according to which the poorest should be the one who suffer the most by a disaster through the use of the word 'ironically'.

Second, the notions of techniques and knowledge are racially symbolized as part of the superiority. For one thing, the IFRC constructs the distinction between itself and Haiti as follows: the IFRC is the one which holds and diffuses knowledge and Haiti is the one which is imparted. For instance, the Emergency Appeal (IFRC, 2010a, p.9) constructs some of the planned activities as "advocat(ing) to local authorities on cost-effective safe shelter solutions and environmentally aware settlement planning" and "provid(ing) long term advocacy strategy on shelter and settlement risk". Moreover, the OCHA's Humanitarian Appeal (2010a, p.41) establishes one of the Shelter Cluster's objectives as follows: "risk mapping, and vulnerability and capacity analysis should be completed for all". These statements demonstrate that the organizations conceive the shelter needs through racialized colonial gaze in which the international community is progressed and developed compared to Haiti which is backward and a recipient of the knowledge. Concretely, the Humanitarian Appeal by the OCHA (2010a, p.32) mentions that "most likely scenario (is that) continued low capacity of the government to provide basic services, pay salaries and prepare for and respond to natural disasters". This demonstrates the discussion in Chapter 3 that aid practitioners come to the fields with a mindset to seek 'what is missing' and 'what needs to be done', "underlying sentiment that 'I (OCHA) am (is) better able to manage this problem than you (Haiti)" (Jones, 2019). This epistemology is also obvious from the discourses, In which expressions such as "provide a pool of expertise" (OCHA, 2010a, p.34), "support and technical assistance provided to relevant government of Haiti authorities (OCHA, 2010a, p.45), "resources and technical support" (IASC, 2010b, p.4) are used, emphasizing expert knowledge and techniques as a clear symbol of superiority.

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[12] The HTC is a strategic and operational decision-making forum, composed by representatives from the UN, IOM, international NGOs, the Red Cross (OCHA, n.d.b)

Besides, particularly the IFRC and the OCHA refer to 'lessons learned from the past. For instance, the Emergency Appeal by the IFRC (2010a, p.3) states that "it is important to draw on lessons from previous, similar incidences in order to draw up a framework for analysis and inference", and the OCHA's Humanitarian Appeal (2010a. p.12) mentions that "the lessons learned from previous disasters and applied through the process of humanitarian reform are paying off". By legitimizing their activities with 'lessons learned from the past', 'knowledge', and 'technical expertise', each organization reproduces the hierarchical relations between them and Haiti and masks the voices of the affected people, whereas lessons from the past are objective compared to opinions and knowledge of the locals and affected people. which are subjective (Barnett, 2020).

The third element concerns the fact that the affected people are treated as "statistical figures to be moved up and down in the chart of progress" (Escobar, 1995, p.44). First, the needs for shelter response are assessed using mere statistics. This includes not only the OCHA's assessment by GNI, poverty rates and Human Development Index as described in Chapter 4.2.1 and 4.2.2, but also the fact each organization develops their plan based on simple statistics including the number of population living in self-settled sites and planned sites, of renter families, or of red and yellow red house owners. Moreover, the outcomes are set to be measured also by indicators, such as the "number of people moved of sites identified as hazardous" (OCHA, 2010a, p.34) and the "coverage of families receiving support for durable housing" (IASC, 2010, p.12). Furthermore, as regards the IASC and the OCHA, the documents arrange their shelter responses on the basis of "planning purposes" (OCHA, 2010a, p.14) and a "balanced approach" (IASC, 2012, p.7), blinking at the voices and the agency of the affected people. The evidence is as following:

> For planning purposes, this (referring to around 1.2- 1.3 million people who need a shelter) has been broken down into 15% with host families, 10% non-displaced damaged homesteads, 65% in self-settled transitional settlements in urban locations close to their original homes and 10% in planned settlements outside the capital new sites (OCHA, 2010a, p.14); and

> the cluster coordination unit has estimated a figure for camp based beneficiaries as follows": "transitional solutions" for "22%", "house repairs" for "25%", "rental assistance" for "100%, "housing construction" for "36%" (IASC, 2012, p.9).

Such reasoning and representations illustrate the organizations' mindset in which the affected people are considered to have little or no agency and as statistical figures, thus dehumanizing them.

Lastly, it is important to note that the OCHA and the IASC frame the affected people as a cause for Haiti's underdevelopment. For instance, the OCHA's Humanitarian Appeal (2010a, p.22) states that "the displacement of people out of Port-au-Prince […] has contributed to increasing vulnerability in an already desperately poor country", and the IASC's Needs Analysis and Response Strategy (2012, p.8) mentions that "camps represent one of the most significant obstacles to Haiti's post-earthquake recovery preventing the full transition from the Emergency to Early Recovery and Development". These discourses humiliate the subjectivities of displaced people and conceptualize them as the agents of 'contribution to the vulnerability' and the 'obstacle' to the transition. Furthermore, this contrasts to the discourses in which each organization sets itself as the agent of humanitarian aid, with examples such that the "CCCM will support", the "CCCM will conduct" (OCHA, 2010a, p.45), "the cluster coordination unit will assist" (IASC, 2012, p.16).

Based on the above analysis of 'intention', it is found out that, by referring to 'internationally respected' standards, 'lessons learned from the past', 'knowledge' and 'techniques', the documents reconceptualize the stands of the organizations as a position of 'superiority'

and as 'givers' as well as that of Haiti and the affected people as 'backward' and 'passive recipients'. This is further perpetuated as the universal evidence and justified by muting the voices and subjectivities of the affected people. Furthermore, looking at the use of statistics, it appears that affected people are treated as mere statistic figures whose agency and subjectivities were omitted.

4.2.4 Documents drafted by the Government of Haiti

Before moving on to the conclusion, this sub-subchapter looks at two following documents drafted by the Government of Haiti:

a) Haiti Earthquake PDNA: Assessment of Damages, Losses, General and Sectoral Needs drafted in March 2010 (here after '**PDNA**'); and

b) Action Plan for National Recovery and Development of Haiti. Immediate Key Initiatives for the Future in March 2010 (here after '**APNRDH**')

The choice of documents is again made on the basis of its availability. Furthermore, the PDNA and the APNRDH were the most frequently applied by the organizations in the shelter and housing sectors among the policy frameworks drafted by a local institution (World Bank, 2016). The main findings of the critical discourse analysis are as follows.

First, one of the main differences compared to the documents by the OCHA, IFRC and the IASC is that the Government of Haiti explicitly demands the Haitian leadership in the humanitarian action. For instance, the APNRDH (Government of Haiti, 2010a, p.5) states that "Haiti expects the international community to do so (referring to support the country) with respect for the Haitian leadership". Similarly, the PDNA (Government of Haiti, 2010b, p.20) mentions set one of its objectives as "take over as quicky as possible from humanitarian aid". This desire is also clear from the agents of sentences, such as "We must build on this new solidarity" (Government of Haiti, 2010a, p.5), "Haiti asks its international partners" (Government of Haiti, 2010a. p.6), "the government reacted to the earthquake by implementing a coordination mechanism for the international community" (Government of Haiti, 2010b, p.27). Another considerable difference is that while the international community describes Haiti as 'desperately poor country', the Government of Haiti states (2010a, p.5) that "the situation that the country if facing is difficult but not desperate". It also considers an 'opportunity' to unite all the Haitians to 'rebuild the country'.

Nevertheless, there are substantial similarities between the two documents (PDNA and APNRDH) and the five drafted by the international community (OCHA, IFRC, IASC). First with regards to depiction, the Government of Haiti itself relates Haiti and the affected people to a series of negative and decisive descriptions such as "disastrous", "disorganized", "unbalanced", "Haiti's under-development" (2010a, p.5), "the country's extreme vulnerability" (2010b, p.24), "Most Haitians have no retirement provision, no social security, no savings" (2010b, p.26). On the contrary, each document frames 'international partners' as providers of 'technical supports' (Government of Haiti, 2010a, p.7-8).

Moreover, while each document expresses their motivation to 'respond to the communities needs', the needs of humanitarian efforts are assessed by mere statistics such as 'Human Development Index', 'human poverty index', numerical losses and damages caused by the earthquake, and the number of persons who lost their house. This illustrates that the Government of Haiti also accepts the universalistic idea of development which can be measured by such indexes, just like the rationale of the international organizations. Additionally, with respect to the PDNA (2010b, p.20), "the building assessment" was heavily relied on "space remote sensing techniques", an analysis with images and aerial photography by using the techniques such as Google and NOAA. This echoes the documents analyzed in the previous chapter which considers the affected people as mere statistic figures. Similarly, with regards

to 'relation', whereas there are discourses which network and contextualize ministries' practice, there is no mention regarding the agency and voices of the affected people, but their 'vulnerability' conceived by the ahistorical and a-contextual numbers.

Lastly, the Government of Haiti (2010a, p.5; 2010b, p.1) reveals that each document was drafted with the support of international organization such as the UN, the World Bank, and the European Commission. As regards the APNRDH, the document is indeed the "outcome of a meeting held by donors" (Government of Haiti, 2010a, p.5). This echoes the claim by the internal colonialism theory that the coincidence of the interests of the global core class and the ruling local national class exclude the participation of marginalized (internally colonized) people.

Chapter 5 Conclusion

For a critical analysis of the humanitarian aid sector, this research paper applied the following three theoretical frameworks: postcolonial studies, decolonial thinking and dependency theories. Also, taking the shelter and housing policies presented after the 2010 Haiti Earthquake as study cases, the critical discourse analysis explored discursive and epistemic colonial systems of domination in the sector.

From the perspective of postcolonial studies, the humanitarian aid is inferred to relate to western history, values, and thoughts. Furthermore, the humanitarian sector is dominated by western/northern institutions and personnel in terms of needs analysis, decision-making, resources, and language.

The empirical analysis in Chapter 4 proved that the organizations were the ones which possessed the power in the decision-making processes, as represented using the rhetoric of 'coordination', whereas the voices and the agency of the affected people were strategically erased and muted.

Reflecting decolonially, humanitarian aid is not a neutral or independent practice, rather it is political and embedded in a complex web of politics and power relations. Aid practitioners impose the epistemology of the Global North, such as the needs of 'improvements' and 'progress' and the absolute linear path to the development, reflecting an image of redistribution of ideas, power and knowledge from the Global North to the Global South. Furthermore, the colonial gaze based on racialized assumptions prevails in the humanitarian aid sector, as shown by the assumption of 'internationals' as experts and superiors as compared to 'nationals' shown as 'incapable' and 'inferior'.

The critical discourse analysis revealed that the interactions between the organizations and the affected people hardly exist, but their relationship is construed through a differential of power, as the former are in the 'givers' position and the latter are in the 'beneficiaries' position. Moreover, the superiority of the organizations was justified by framing Haiti as a 'desperately poor' country with universalistic, deterministic, a-historical and a-contextual indicators. Framing Haiti as inferior is also epistemically legitimized by comparing the Haitian context to the 'internationally respected standards', as well as by describing the organizations' activities as 'expert knowledge' and 'techniques' compared to the Haitian authorities' 'incapability'. Additionally, the subjectivities and the agency of the affected people are often suppressed, as they are not only labelled as 'passive recipients' or 'objects' of the aid, but also calculated by the mere statistical figures and framed as agents contributing to the 'obstacle' and 'vulnerability'.

From the point of view of the dependency theories, since the end of the colonization, the relationship between the colonizers and the colonized has been transformed and sustained as that of 'developed parts' and 'underdeveloped parts' by the means of aid, based on more or less mutually existing interests. Since the emergency of the movement towards 'localization of humanitarian aid', there were efforts by the international aid agencies to include the local authorities and civil society. Nevertheless, while the personnel from the Global North remains at a position of decision-maker, the locals are included only as mere 'assistants'. The examples provided in Chapter 3.2.3 characterized the needs of humanitarian aid from the Global North to the Global South, and the needs of 'assistant' personnel from the Global South for the Global North, illustrating a relation of interdependence.

The critical discourse analysis of the documents drafted by the Government of Haiti revealed that its mindset has substantial similarities to that of the international organizations.

The analysis also exposed the correlation between the Government of Haiti and some international organizations, which together mute the agency and the voices of the affected people.

The following research question was set up herein: in what ways have humanitarian policies and practices perpetuated colonial systems of domination in Haiti?; as well as the following sub-questions: How do humanitarian policies depict Haitian and affected people?; In what way are colonial forms of practices embedded in the policies?; How does the Global North situate themselves and the affected people?

This research paper closes by summarizing the findings and reflecting on the questions as follows: a) humanitarian policies depict Haiti and the affected people with a series of negative expressions such as 'incapable', 'poor' and 'vulnerable'. This is further articulated by constructing universalistic and deterministic evidence, by imposing epistemology of the Global North and by muting the voices and the agency of the affected people; b) colonial forms of practices are embedded in the policies through colonial gaze which conceives Haiti as inferior and the Global North as superior based on the mere race and prejudice. Epistemic and institutional hierarchies were perpetuated through an exclusion of Haitians from the decision-making process, and an imposition of the epistemology of the Global North as well as the repression of the subjectivities of the affected people; c) the Global North situates itself as a supervisor and leader with the rhetoric of 'coordination', while the Haitians authorities are subordinated to it, and the affected people barely exist in the discourse; d) the colonial systems of domination are perpetuated by constructing systemically and epistemically the hierarchical relationship between Haiti and the Global North. This is done not only through the hegemony of the humanitarian efforts, but also with the depictions using universalistic and deterministic values, with the imposition of the epistemology of the Global North, with the colonial gazes, and with the muting of the voices, agency and subjectivities of the affected people.

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