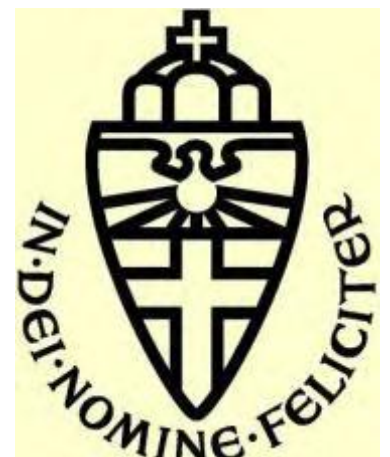


Neocolonialism, and development in Haiti: a case study on Development Aid and local struggles after the earthquake of 2010.



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Photo on the cover

Port-au-Prince: The capital of Haiti in the aftermath of the 2010 earthquake
URL: <http://www.kasavita.org/news/2011/1/13/one-year-and-one-day.html>

Abstract

All cultures tend to make representations of foreign cultures the better to master or in some way control them. Yet not all cultures make representations of foreign cultures *and* in fact master or control them.

Edward Said – Culture and Imperialism, 1993, p. 120

On June 12th of 2011 a major earthquake hit Haiti. Hundreds of thousands of people were killed, and thousands of people got homeless. More than a year after the earthquake hit Haiti, the progress of rebuilding Haiti can be evaluated.

This research examines in what extent development and reconstruction of a postcolonial underdeveloped country, which has been hit by a natural disaster, is influenced by neocolonial practices.

Using the dependencia theory and the theory of cultural imperialism this research supposed to look in what extent neocolonialism can be empirically determined in the progress of reconstructing Haiti. It tries to uncover signs of neocolonial practices on the basis of a geography of Haiti, the aftermath of the 2010 earthquake, and the outcomes of development aid. It will become clear that all these factors are woven into a complex situation that Haiti is facing right now with actors that all have different stakes and all have different forms and of involvement in Haiti.

This research gives a first look at the governance and handling in an underdeveloped country hit by an accumulation of disasters, namely Haiti.

Preface

This is a research on neocolonial practices in an underdeveloped postcolonial country. This Bachelorthesis is a project that can be seen as the completion of three years of studying Human Geography, at the Faculty of Management Sciences at the Radboud University in Nijmegen. As writers of a Bachelorthesis, every student was allowed to choose an own subject for this project, which they would have to deal with for half a year.

As students, we were confronted with doing an entire individual research for the first time. My choice fell on doing a research within the (neo)colonial discours. This is because Development Studies have always interested me, especially colonialism. This is because colonialism, in my opinion has had a major influence on the development of world history, and it still has these days. I have always wanted to know more about the world, especially the Third World. When the earthquake hit Haiti in January 2011, I immediately knew that I wanted to do my Bachelorthesis on colonialism in Haiti because both interests described above came together in one case.

At the course Spatial Action we were having a lecture from Olivier Kramsch about postcolonialism, in special Edward W. Said and David Gregory. That lecture interested me a lot, so I decided to approach Dr. Olivier Kramsch and I asked if he wanted to be my project supervisor during the research of my Bachelorthesis.

He directly agreed and he has helped me a lot during this research. I want to thank Dr. Olivier Kramsch for his excellent help during the research.

He gave me the opportunity to work out my own research goal and helped me getting back on the right track at moments when I was having some trouble or questions. When needed, he was available to discuss about the progress of the Bachelorthesis and about ideas.

I wish the readers of this thesis joy and I hope that I was able to contribute to the discours of neocolonialism.

Nijmegen, July 2011

Bas Boselie

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1. Introduction

1.1 Project setting

Haiti is the one of the poorest countries in the world (UNDP, 2011a). The country has a tumultuous history. In recent centuries, the country has had to deal with Spanish and French colonial domination and thereafter independency. The country has also been dealing with (military) coups, conflicts, economic and political instability, poverty, foreign interventions, and corruption. In the first half of the 20th century there was U.S. intervention due to economic and political reasons (Arthur, 2001, p.15). In 2004, a UN peacekeeping force stationed in Haiti to create peace in the country. This peacekeeping mission was called "MINUSTAH" (Mission des Nations Union pour la Stabilisation en Haiti). To date, the peacekeeping force is present in Haiti (UN, 2001c). In recent decades, Haiti has been exposed to severe natural disasters. A major earthquake in 2010 and hurricanes trough the decade have plagued the country. A combination of all these factors causes that the population of Haiti has a hard time. The population is poor, many Haitian people have no home because of the earthquake of January 2010, the economy is weak, and there are all kinds of epidemics such as HIV/AIDS and cholera. In the country there is much inequality between population groups. For example, there is a big distinction between a rich elite and a poor mass. Haiti can be called a developing country or Third World country because of all these factors. Since Haiti is a developing country, the country receives development aid.

Development aid is given in different ways and is given for different reasons. Development aid can be given in the form of direct foreign investment in e.g., the medical sector, industrial sector, agriculture, education etc., but also in the form of direct humanitarian aid. Countries and organizations can also provide funds to governments in the country that receives the development aid to invest these funds in the country. In countries with relatively high levels of corruption, however, this can result in a situation that money intended for development ends up into the pockets of stakeholders such as corrupt civil servants, companies, etc. This is in a certain amount also the case in Haiti. Corruption is a problem that has to be taken into account.

In Haiti, there is a wide variety of agencies, organizations, and governments that give development aid to the country. There are many NGOs and human rights organizations that provide development aid in various ways. But also the UN, USAID, the EU, and (wealthy) countries provide various forms of development aid to Haiti. There are several motives for giving development aid to a country. Development aid can be given because of empathy and compassion, but also by economic, political, cultural and social motives.

There are different explanations and reasons for the success or failure of the

provision of development aid to a country. Each developing country has an own demographical, cultural, economical, political, and ecological situation which determine the problems that the country is facing. Another aspect that determines the success or failure of the provision of development aid is the organization behind development aid and the intentions that lie behind the provision of development aid to a country. When the organization behind development aid is well arranged this can benefit to the success of the outcomes of development aid. It is also important to take the local demographical situation of the country that receives aid into account. When a country receives development aid this has different effects on different classes in society. This is especially the case in countries with many local inequalities. This is important to notice. This can namely result in the fact that people that need development aid do not receive the aid that is needed.

This research will focus on Haiti as a developing country after the earthquake of January 12th of 2010. Before the earthquake Haiti already was a developing country, but after the earthquake of 2010 the situation in Haiti got worse. Because of the disaster about 1.5 million people got homeless and estimates say that over 200.000 people were killed (UNDP, 2011b; CNN, 2010b; Oxfam, 2011). People who survived the earthquake have to deal with problems like a housing shortage, a shortage of clean water and food, diseases (HIV/AIDS, cholera etc.). This immediately raises questions like; How do the Haitians build up their lives again between the debris? How does the Haitian population deal with other problems like e.g. the shortage of clean water and diseases? What challenges has Haiti to face with?

After the earthquake of 2010 the whole world offered help and showed empathy with the Haitian society. Billions of dollars were collected to reconstruct Haiti. Individual countries, unions, (non-governmental) organizations, and individual people from all over the world gave money for this reconstruction. Now, almost 1,5 years after the earthquake it is good to strike a balance of the progress that has been made on development aid to Haiti. Because development aid is mainly given by the Western world and Haiti is a country that is strongly dependent on the Western world. It would be interesting to research to what extent the development aid and the rebuilding of Haiti, after the earthquake of 2010, is influenced by neocolonialism. Neocolonialism will be explained in the theoretical framework at the basis of two theories; the dependencia theory and cultural imperialism.

1.2 Research goal

The goal of this research is to obtain insight to what extent development aid in a postcolonial country is subjected to neocolonial influences.

By

Outlining the situation in Haiti concerning development aid and reflect this on the living conditions of the local Haitian population after the earthquake of January 12th in 2010 and by, on the basis of theory, empirically measure to what extent development aid and the process of rebuilding in Haiti is subjected to neocolonial influences.

1.3 Research question

To summarize this objective stated in the research goal, the next research question can be formed:

To what extent is the development aid and the process of rebuilding in Haiti, after the earthquake of January 12th in 2010, subjected to neocolonial influences?

This question will be central in the research. In order to answer this question, it is necessary to set up some sub-questions:

- What are the living conditions of the local population of Haiti before and after the earthquake of 2010?
 - What are the struggles that the Haitian society has to deal with?
 - What is the geography of Haiti?
 - What is the demography of Haitian society?
 - How does the local Haitian society try to build up their lives again among the debris?
 - Which part of the Haitian population is harmed the most due to the earthquake of 2010?
- What is development aid and why is it distributed to Haiti?
 - In what ways is development aid distributed and managed?
 - Who provides development aid to Haiti?
 - What are problems occurring in the process of the provision of development aid in Haiti?
 - Who benefits most of the development aid that is given to Haiti?
 - Does the development aid reach the people in Haiti who need it the most?
- What is neocolonialism?
 - What is cultural imperialism?
 - What is the dependencia theory?
 - How can neocolonialism be empirically determined in relation to development aid?
 - Can neocolonialism be determined in relation to development aid?
 - What is the impact of neocolonialism in Haiti on local and global scale?

1.4 Explanation of essential terms

In this paragraph the theories and key terms in that will be used frequently in this research will be explained.

The West / The First World:

The term 'the West' has got many definitions. Hartwick (2009) defines the First World as "Rich industrialized countries in the world". Mostly the West is seen as a symbol for the wealthy nations in the world, like the U.S.A, Europe, Canada, Australia, and other wealthy states. In this research the West will also be described as the U.S.A., Europe, Canada, and other wealthy nations, but also institutions like the UN, Oxfam, UNICEF, and other NGOs.

Third World:

The term 'Third World' has also got many definitions. In this research the Third World will be defined as underdeveloped countries that are (partly) dependent on development aid. Thus, Haiti is a good example of a Third World country.

Development aid:

In this research development aid can be mentioned in different ways. E.g. in forms of direct investment from a government or company, but also, humanitarian aid, development projects, political support, and funds that are provided by NGOs and nations.

1.5 Methodology

In this research two different theories about neocolonialism will be linked in a theoretical framework. With that as a base the content, that has been collected about the current situation in Haiti on development aid and the local population, will be analyzed to answer the research question. Due to the fact that it is impossible to travel to Haiti in the short period of writing this research, this research will be based on books, articles, websites of organizations and governments, and other available literature. It is possible to do a desk research because there is plenty information available about the case due to the actuality of the subject, namely neocolonialism, development aid, and the earthquake in Haiti.

The empirical data concerning the case will be mainly found on websites of NGOs, organizations like the UN, USAID, Oxfam etc. Due to the fact that a case study will be performed in the shape of a desk research, readers of this research must be aware that there is a chance that these sources are not totally objective. The intention of performing this research is not to claim one objective truth, but to nuance and to find out if there could be claimed that there are any signs of neocolonial behavior in Haiti.

To increase the objectivity in this research and the findings the writer has also

provided information by watching documentaries and reading reliable newspapers about Haiti and development aid after the earthquake of 2010. In that way it is possible to get an, slightly objective, image of the situation in Haiti and possible neocolonial behavior concerning rebuilding Haiti without actually going there.

A last important source for empirical information will be local news media. Local newspapers can uncover information that the writer otherwise would not get because reliable western media do not write about Haiti every day. By reading local newspapers issues concerning neocolonialism could be emerge.

1.5.1 Case study

This research will be a case study based on literature research. Therefore qualitative methods will be used to gather data and research material.

The research will be performed in the form of a case study. Verschuren and Doorewaard (2007) describe a case study as a strategy that gives an in-depth and detailed insight into one or a few specific processes or objects, which are bound into time and space. The data collection is labour-intensive and the strategy makes use of a selective sample and use of qualitative data and methods. This selective sampling and use of qualitative methods therefore must be well funded. There are different forms of case study research, e.g. explanatory case studies, descriptive case studies, and exploratory case studies (Streb, 2009). This research will be performed in the form of an exploratory case study. "The exploratory case study investigates distinct phenomena characterized by a lack of detailed preliminary research, especially by a specific research environment that limits the choice of methodology. This form of case study is very often applied as a preliminary step of an overall causal or explanatory research design exploring a relatively new field of scientific investigation in which the research questions have either not been clearly identified and formulated or the data required for a hypothetical formulation have not yet been obtained (Streb, 2009).

1.6 Relevance of the research

This research is scientifically and socially relevant because theories about neocolonialism will be empirically applied to a case study on development aid. There is much written about neocolonialism, though little has been written about the empirical application of theories about neocolonialism in relation to development aid. It will reflect on the neocolonial influences at development aid in a former colonial country that is underdeveloped. When there are signs of neocolonial influences on development aid, this has an effect on the whole living situation of the population in a country, in this case Haiti. The findings in this research could lead to a more nuanced view on the provision of development aid and neocolonial

influences on development aid.

This research is also socially relevant because Haiti was in the news several times almost everywhere in the world, especially after the earthquake of 2010. This makes the subjects of disasters and development aid in Haiti an actual and socially relevant subject. Many people also donated money to Haiti after the earthquake of 2010. This research could give an insight about what happened with that money, who managed the aid, and if the money that is donated is well spent. But also there will be an insight about the social impact of development aid and neocolonialism in a country.

1.7 Bookmaker

This thesis contains six chapters. This chapter explains the introduction, the research goal and the research question that will be central in this thesis, the methodology, and the relevance of this thesis. In chapter two the theoretical framework neocolonialism will be explained using two theories, namely the dependencia theory and the theory of cultural imperialism, which will be brought in dialogue with each other. In chapter three the analysis of the research will begin. Chapter three consists a geography of Haiti and a short illustration of the earthquake and the aftermath of the earthquake, which will give a profile and history of the country in order to know more about the context behind Haiti. Sequent to the geography of Haiti development aid will be explained in chapter 4. In this chapter a short description and a few examples of development aid in post-quake Haiti will be given, the management and governance behind the aid will be explained, criticism on the aid will be named, and possible solutions for problems in relation with development aid will be given. Chapter five will consist the case analysis of neocolonialism in Haiti. Signs of neocolonial practices in Haiti in the aftermath of the earthquake of 2010 will be explained in this chapter. Eventually, in chapter 6 conclusions and recommendations will be given and there will be reflected on the process of writing by the writer of this thesis.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1 Neocolonialism: An introduction

In this theoretical framework neocolonialism will be explained. Neocolonialism is a complex term within the discourse of colonialism. Neocolonialism has got many definitions and can be interpreted in various ways. It is a theory that has its roots in the academic discourse of (post)colonialism. The first person who explicitly used the term neocolonialism was the first president of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah, who was an important anti-colonial leader (Watts, 2009, p. 360). Kwame Nkrumah (1965) defined neocolonialism as: “modern attempts to perpetuate colonialism while at the same time talking about ‘freedom’”. In fact, this definition of neocolonialism is one example of the way in which neocolonialism can be implemented. In this theoretical framework neocolonialism is more than only perpetuate colonialism and talking about freedom at the same time. Neocolonialism can be carried out intentional and unintentional and is not only related to the ‘freedom’ Nkrumah is pointing out. In this research neocolonialism is defined as a domination of a state, group, or person over another state, group, or person on a cultural, social, or economical level.

In this research neocolonialism will be explained using the dependencia theory and the theory of cultural imperialism. It will become clear that both theories are in some ways in dialogue with each other, but that there are also differences between both theories. The dependencia theory is a Marxist approach on macro level and it mainly has an economical dimension. This is a theory that is close to the World-system theory of Immanuel Wallerstein. According to the dependencia theory the world is a system that is getting shaped by globalization in a capitalist way. The theory explains the underdevelopment and economical dependency of the Third World to the West. A key thinker of the dependencia theory is Andre Gunder Frank. His most important work is *the development of the underdevelopment* that he published in 1966 (Potter et. al, 2008, p. 108).

Cultural imperialism notices the globalization and the economical dependency on macro level, but the theory adds new dimensions to dependency. Cultural imperialism is a theory that explains that there can also be cultural influence from the West to the Third World due to dependency. Franz Fanon, who published *The wretched of the earth* in 1961 and *Black skins, white masks* in 1952, can be seen as one of the first writers about cultural imperialism. Edward Said is one of the key thinkers of cultural imperialism. In *Orientalism* (1978) and *Culture and imperialism* (1993) he emphasized critique on the Eurocentric and economical approach of development. Nowadays the work of Fanon and Said are as important as the dependencia theory of Frank. Both the dependencia theory as the theory of cultural imperialism will be further explained in the next paragraphs.

2.2 Dependencia theory

The dependencia theory (or dependency theory) is a theory that has been developed shortly after World War II. Dependency is a basic characteristic of the operations of power in space. Dependency theory is a part of a broader theory called the Marxist development theory (Potter et. al, 2008, p. 107). The main point of the theory is based on a division of a 'center' and a 'periphery'. The center exercises power over the periphery. The power of centers is derived from draining the peripheries of wealth and is exposed in knowledge and discourse, as capital investment and financial expertise, or as militaristic intervention and the occupation of countries (Hartwick, 2009, p. 91). The peripheries are dependent to the centers due to a historical path of development and underdevelopment in the global system (Potter et. al, 2008, p. 107). This means that possibilities are limited and choices are constrained due to the power relations with the center. Figure 2.1 (on the next page) shows the Marxist development theory and the position of the development theory.

Andre Gunder Frank has made an analysis on dependency and the center-periphery system in his work *the development of the underdevelopment* (1966). "He contends that the incorporation of Latin America into the world capitalist system (dating back to the colonial era) set in motion a metropolis-satellite relationship, or power structure, that permits the former to develop by expropriating economic surplus from the latter. This process inevitably leads to the 'development of underdevelopment' in the periphery" (Ayers & Clark, 1998, p. 89). There are scientists that argue that a periphery can turn into a center as result of a power shift, other scientists argue that dependency will always exists and that it is a fundamental characteristic of a periphery that will never disappear. They describe it as a basic inequality in human existence (Hartwick, 2009, p. 91).

At global scale in terms of center and periphery a distinguish between the 'First World' and the 'Third World' can be made. The First World can be described as the wealthy Western countries and the Third World can be described as underdeveloped countries. The First World can have a dominance over the Third World on economical, political, cultural and social scale. An example is that the West (the center) wants to exploit oil in peripheries because the center needs oil to maintain their welfare and their own development and strong position in the world. "The basic idea of the dependency theory is that the development of Europe and North America was predicated on the active 'underdevelopment' of the non-European world – that is, making Third World societies less developed than they had previously been" (Hartwick, 2009, p. 92). As a result of this, Third World countries get dependent on the First World for technology, capital, aid, loans, and grants (Hartwick, 2009, p. 92). Frank (1996) describes the 'Western paradigm' and dominance on development of underdeveloped countries in his work 'The Development of the Underdevelopment: "when a particular country was experiencing difficulties in achieving any progress in socioeconomic

and political growth the explanation invariably revolved around the lack of necessary ingredients for development, whether they are cultural, psychological-sociological, economic, or institutional”. Inequality can be explained through uneven development of capitalism in the world. The dependency theory is a tool to map and explain unequal (economical) relations between the First- and the Third World. As Fagen (1977) describes: “Dependency theory is in reality a conceptual framework, a set of concepts, hypothesized linkages, and above all an optic that attempts to locate and clarify a wide range of problems”.

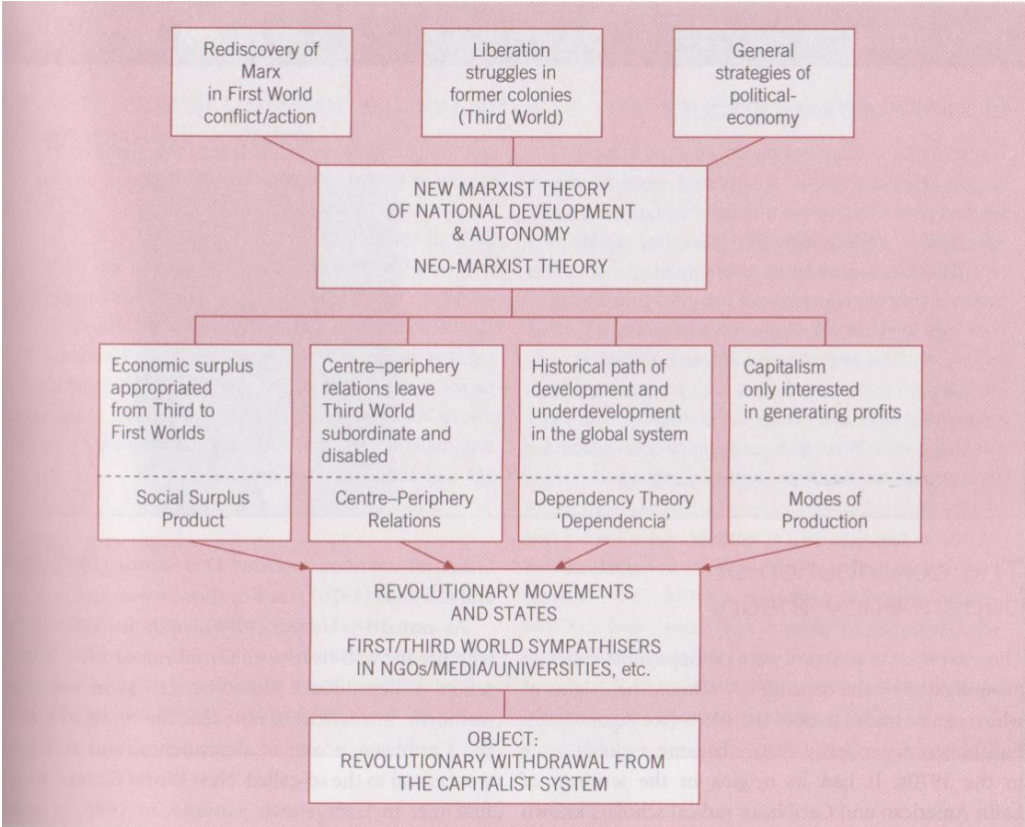


Figure 2.1: An overview of the Marxist development theory.
 Source: Preston (1996) in Potter et. al (2008, p. 107).

As mentioned before, one of the most influential writers about the dependency theory is Andre Gunter Frank. He wrote about dependency in Latin America in a context to the global world. Frank stated that development and underdevelopment were interdependent. He also stated that both development as underdevelopment are necessary to manifest the contradictions of a capitalist system of development (Potter, 2008, p. 110). With this theory Frank argues that the poor condition in developing countries is not the outcome of inertia, climatic conditions, chance, or misfortune, but that it is a reflection of the way of their incorporation into the global capitalist system (Potter, 2008, p. 110). Lumpenbourgeoisie and Lumpendevlopment (1972) was Franks clearest work about dependency and he divided his work into three parts (Jackson et. al, 1979):

I. The Conquest placed all of Latin America in a situation of growing subjection and economic dependence, both colonial and neocolonial, in the single world system of expanding commercial capitalism.

II. This colonial and neocolonial relationship to the capitalist metropolis has formed and transformed the economic and class structure, as well as the culture, of Latin American society. These changes in national structures have occurred as a result of periodic changes in the forms of colonial dependence.

III. This colonial and class structure establishes very well defined class interests for the dominant sector of the bourgeoisie. When a change in the forms of dependence modifies the economic and class structure, this in turn generates changes in the policy of the dominant class which further strengthen the very same bonds of economic dependence which produced the policy and thus aggravate still further the development of underdevelopment in Latin America.

In the subjects described above a colonial relation is playing a major role in the dependency of Latin America in relation to the global world. Jackson et. al (1979) conclude that the relation between Europe and dependent territories in Latin America were initially to impose capitalist class relations in these territories. "These class relations determine, in broad relief, the economic, political, and social conditions that fall under the umbrella of underdevelopment. At a subsequent time, the effect of contact with the core of the international system is to restructure class relations. This results in a new social reality again determined by the forces of international capitalism operating through the lumpenbourgeoisie" (Jackson et al., 1979).

In other words, trade, aid, and investment serve to strengthen the position in the peripheral society of those sharing common interests with foreign capitalists. In the pursuit of their interests, local capitalists produce an unbalanced, disarticulated economy as well as repressive and economically active central governments" (Jackson, et al., 1979).

2.2.1 The Marxist approach

The Marxist approach is an approach that Karl Marx has been developing and dealing with during his entire life. It can be seen as an approach that tries to explain global inequality and the economical structures in the world. These structures have an effect on culture and society. E.g. when a country is economically wealthy, production and consumption in that country will be different than in a country that is developing and poor. Therefore, economical behavior will have a different effect the construction of society in a wealthy country than a country that is less wealthy on economical level.

Therefore, the main thoughts of the Marxist theory that are mentioned in the previous paragraph can also be used to explain social, cultural, and economical inequalities and

differences. The Marxist approach can uncover structures of economic dependency from a region, a union, or a state in the periphery to a region, a union, or a state in the core. In such case the economic dimension of dependency can also be used to explain cultural dependency and inequalities.

2.3 Cultural imperialism

The next theory about neocolonialism that will be taken into account is the theory of cultural imperialism. Cultural imperialism is a theory that has its roots around the 1970s and it has had a big influence on (post)colonial writing. One of the most explicit writings about cultural imperialism is *Culture and imperialism* (1993) of Edward Said. Cultural imperialism can be seen as a critique on the discourses of dependency. The dependency theory has mainly an economical dimension, but writers about cultural imperialism noticed that the cultural dimension of dependency also has to be taken into account. Mains (2009, p. 322) defines cultural imperialism as: "Cultural imperialism is a process of disproportionate influence over social practices and ideologies by one sociopolitical group, over a politically weaker and less-wealthy group".

To give a good explanation of the term cultural imperialism it is best to explain the terms 'imperialism' and 'cultural' separately. The term 'imperialism' refers to the domination of a social group over another. A good example of this is a nation overruling another nation. Imperialism can occur through direct and indirect forces. That does not necessarily mean that there is a written policy or a formal control over foreign territories. "Imperialism involves a dominant influence by a particular authority through cultural, economic, and political practices, which facilitate the creation of hegemonic geographic powers" (Mains, 2009, p. 322). Therefore, imperialism can exist without formal colonialism.

Imperialism is related to globalization, dependency, and economic inequalities (Mains, 2009, p. 322). This is the aspect of the theory where the dependency theory and cultural imperialism have commonalities.

Cultural imperialism does not only take economy, dependency and globalization into account but also cultural dominance of a nation over another nation. The term 'culture' is broad and can refer to many things, e.g. social practices, identities, common interests, language, history, conflicts, arts, economic livelihoods, religion, educational systems, landscapes, politics etc. Culture has been broadly described by human geographers as the contexts in which people exist in space, and the sense of place that these different settings provide (Mains, 2009, p. 323). When colonized people try to liberate themselves from their colonizer this will also change the view of the colonized towards their culture and the manifestation of culture in the colonized country. A national identity that is formed by the colonized people due to the will of liberation from the colonizer causes this cultural

manifestation. "We believe the conscious, organized struggle undertaken by a colonized people in order to restore national sovereignty constitutes the greatest cultural manifestation that exists" (Fanon, 1963, p. 178). Not all colonized countries were able to perform this cultural manifestation and mostly they were not able to liberate themselves from their colonizers.

Combining the terms 'culture' and 'imperialism' makes that cultural imperialism is a specific form of broader imperialistic practices and refers to the unequal influence of a specific dominant power over the social, material, and economic context of another power. "Domination and inequities of power and wealth are perennial facts of human society. But in today's global setting they are also interpretable as having something to do with imperialism, its history, its new forms" (Said, 1993, p. 20).

Cultural imperialism is not necessarily good or a bad. Though, the way it manifests itself in a society or in relation between nations makes cultural imperialism is important. Namely, cultural imperialism is a powerful tool in the practice/maintenance of power. Cultural imperialism can be determined on local and on global scale. Therefore, in nations where cultural imperialism is implemented it can have different effects on different groups in society. For example the uneducated class of a country is differently influenced by cultural imperialism than an educated class of society.

Edward Said (1978) describes in his book 'Orientalism' that cultural imperialism was a key part of domination of foreign lands. Orientalism refers to the Eurocentric or Ethnocentric thoughts. Mains (2009) describes that Ethnocentrism is "a way of thinking and acting in which a specific ethnic group is privileged and believed to be superior over others." This means that the West looks to the world from their own western perspective and imagination. Eurocentrism in short means that the West sees themselves and their culture as superior to other cultures and societies. Western values therefore, have to be spread around the world. Eurocentrism led to the process of 'othering' and the forming of identity in the form of boundaries. This means that a power or society distinguishes itself from another power or society. A good example is the distinguish between West and East or the Global North and the Global South. These spatial and ideological divisions are subjective representations of the ways in which the world has been arbitrarily divided for academic, political, and economic purposes, usually serving the needs of wealthy nations such as the UK, France, Germany, and the US (Mains, 2009, p. 324).

Orientalism and the process of othering are shaped by images that people in society have of other societies. This is called imaginary geography. The image of the orient determines the way in which the occident responds to the orient. Nowadays the role of the media is more important on this aspect than before. The image that is drawn in media of a society, conflict, disaster, or culture determines in what way people develop an image, of the

orient. Whether this image is right or wrong, it determines in what way the occident will act or respond towards the orient. So the imaginary geography is an important aspect that is giving shape to cultural imperialism.

2.4 The dialogue between the dependencia theory and cultural imperialism

In the previous paragraphs it has become clear that the dependencia theory and the theory of cultural imperialism are related to each other. Predominantly the essence of the theories is similar: both theories are trying to explain and uncover structures, inequalities, and relations between a dominant and a subordinated power. The dependencia emphasizes on economical structures, inequalities and relations. The theory of cultural imperialism emphasizes on cultural structures, inequalities and relations. The cultural and economical dimensions are interdependent within the discourses of neocolonialism. Namely, economy influences culture and culture influences economy.

Something that has not been named yet, but also has had a major influence on current (unequal) relation between core and periphery, is history. E.g. historical colonial relations between a formal colonizer and the colonized often determined the current inequality between two countries. In the colonial era the European powers gained their wealth because of exploitation and colonization of the subjected countries. Those subjected countries had an economical, technological, and industrial arrears compared to the colonizers. This led also to cultural subjections and dependency due to the Eurocentric thoughts of the dominant colonial powers. From the moment these relations were created, economical and cultural inequality arose. To date, this inequality maintained.

The dialogue and interdependence between the dependencia theory and cultural imperialism is central in this research and it defines neocolonialism: *neocolonialism is an unequal informal relationship between a subordinated and a dominant power that is maintained through economical and cultural subjection of the subordinated by the dominant power.*

Cultural and economical subjection are necessary to maintain this unequal relationship. An example on economical level is capitalism. Said (1993) mentions a French writer called Lukacs. Said states that Fanon was inspired by Lukacs while he was writing his book 'Wretched of the Earth' (Said, 1993, p. 326). Lukacs wrote a book called *History and Class Consciousness*, in which he approached economy in a Marxist way. He concluded that the effects of capitalism were fragmentation and reification (Said, 1993, p. 326). This means that when there would be only existing cultural subjection of a subordinated by the dominant power this would mean that the subordinated has got the opportunity to get economically independent. This opportunity of economical independence does not give any reason for the subordinated to accept the dominance of the dominant power, both on economical and

cultural level. The unequal relation will eventually disappear, and the former subordinated will have the opportunity to become fully independent.

When there is only existing an economical subjection of the subordinated by the dominant power the subordinated has got the opportunity to create an own identity and that could lead to the desire of turning away and resistance towards the dominant power. At that point, total dependency would not exist anymore and the dominance in the relation that the dominant power wants to have would not be sustainable.

This is what happened during the anti-colonial period. In some colonies the subordinated formed a common identity that was translated in the will to expel the colonizer and become formally independent. Informally the former colony still remained subordinated because colonizers often only recognized the independence after receiving a major debt that was given to the former colony. So formally the colonized became independent, but actually the colonial relation maintained due to an informal colonial relation. This relation maintains due to economical dependency and cultural imperialism. In this respect the subordinated indeed is formally independent, but informally it still can be seen as a colony.

3. Analysis: Haiti

3.1 Historical overview and colonialism

Haiti is a country that is located at the island 'Hispaniola'. The other country on the island is the Dominican Republic. In 1492 the island was discovered by Columbus (CIA, 2011). The native inhabitants of Hispaniola were called the Taino Amerindians (CIA, 2011). After the discovery of Hispaniola the island was ruled by Spanish colonialists. In less than 50 years the Spanish colonialists killed almost all original inhabitants on the island (Arthur, 2001, p.7; CIA, 2011). Those who were not killed died from European diseases or tried to run to the mountains on the island. After that, in 1502, African slaves were deported to Hispaniola (Arthur, 2011, p.8). The Spanish colonial rulers were mostly interested in the Eastern part of Hispaniola. The western part (nowadays Haiti) was mainly inhabited by British and French pirates, who were active on the shipping routes between Europe and The New World.

3.1.1 French colonialism

In the second part of the 17th century the French interest in Hispaniola rose. In 1697, the Spanish gave away the western part of Hispaniola to the French (Arthur, 2001, p.9). Nowadays, the western part is called Haiti and the eastern part is called the Dominican Republic. During the French domination, Haiti was called Saint Domingue. The French developed a plantation economy, which is still important for Haiti today. In the centuries after the Spanish gave away Saint Domingue, both colonies on Hispaniola evolved differently. The French colony Saint Domingue (Haiti) became very rich and economically wealthy. The population increased rapidly because of the offspring of the thousands of slaves that were imported. Between 1690 and 1720 the population of slaves increased from 3000 slaves to 47.000 slaves (Arthur, 2001, p. 10). Within a few decennia the slaves on the plantations produces high amounts of sugar, coffee, rum, cotton, and indigo. Haiti (Saint Domingue) became the wealthiest colony of France, that produced more income than all other colonies of France together (Arthur, 2011, p.10). In the same period, the Spanish colony (Dominican Republic) was poor, relatively underdeveloped and the population hardly increased.

Ironically, due to the ideals of the French revolution this period came to an end because slaves revolted. During 12 years a guerilla war developed due to power vacuum. European colonialists from France, Spain, and Britain were fighting against the slaves and against each other to gain power over Saint Domingue. Eventually, in 1803, an army of former slaves defeated the colonialists and San Domingue became independent, but the country was not yet recognized as an independent state in the rest of the world. In 1803 the name San Domingue also changed in its current name: Haiti.

3.1.2 Independence and the roots of neo-colonialism

The years after 1803 Haiti developed itself in relative separation. The country consisted mainly small farmers. After a while, despite a diplomatic boycott that was forced against Haiti, European powers gained important economic influence in Haiti. "In fact Haiti was the first test area for neocolonialism: British, French, Spanish, German, and American traders caused that they had great influence in the ex-colony" (Arthur, 2001, p.14).

Before Haiti would be fully recognized as an independent state France demanded in 1825 that Haiti should pay 150 million francs (Arthur, 2001, p. 14). Years later, the debt of 150 million francs was reduced to 90 million francs. Nowadays that would be about \$21 billion USD (interest excluded) and it took Haiti 122 years to pay it to France (CNN, 2010a). So this debt caused that neocolonialism in Haiti was taking more shape. This repayment caused that Haiti was inhibited in its development. Namely, the debt of Haiti to France was ten times the national income of Haiti and could only be paid off in the form of a loan to European banks. At the end of the 19th century redemption of public debt and interest cost Haiti 80 % of its yearly national income (Arthur, 2001, p.14).

3.1.3 American occupation

In 1862 the United States accepted Haiti as an independent state due to a high demand for cotton in the U.S. at that time (Arthur, 2001, p. 14). Their interests in Haitian sugar, tropical fruits, transport, and banking rose in the beginning of the 20th century. When the Panama Canal opened and WW I started in 1914, the United States chose to assure their strategic and economic stakes. When president Vilbrun-Guillaume Sam was killed during a coup a power vacuum was taking place in Haiti. The Americans used this power vacuum to occupy Haiti with 2000 soldiers in 1915 (Arthur, 2001, p.15). According to Haitian sources, almost 3000 unarmed Haitian were killed during the occupation (Windows on Haiti, 2011).

During the occupation resistance against the American occupiers rose due to the fact that the Haitian farmers were forced to perform public labour, like building roads. In 1919, when a Haitian army officer, Charlemagne Peralte, tried to set up an army of farmers to compete against the American occupiers, he got betrayed and killed. The picture of the dead body of Peralte became a new symbol of the Haitian nationalism (Arthur, 2001, p. 15). Despite the unpopular occupation of the United States in Haiti, the Americans were able to stay 19 years, until 1934. The presence of the Americans had a big influence on the social-political development of Haiti. One of the most criticized American measures was the implementation of the abolition of the Haitian army and the replacement of an agricultural police reinforcement instead. This police reinforcement was meant to suppress domestic rebellions.

3.2 Haiti nowadays

Nowadays, Haiti is one of the poorest and most underdeveloped countries in the world. Millennium Development Goals Indicators, created by the United Nations conclude that Haiti can be categorized as one of the Least Developed Countries (LDC) in the world (UNSTATS, 2011). The fact that Haiti is an underdeveloped country, expresses itself in many ways. The underdeveloped situation of the country translated itself in demography, politics, economy, culture, and foreign dependency. In the next sub-paragraphs the situation in each dimension will be summarized to get a short and clear picture about the situation in Haiti right now. Issues and problems in the country that are necessary to know the context about Haiti will be explained. This is important, because it is necessary to know what going on in Haiti at the moment in order to understand why development aid is given to the country and in order to understand in which way neocolonialism is related to that aid and to Haiti in general. It is hard to know if the data that will be provided are 100% accurate. This is because organizations like the UN, USAID, UNICEF, Oxfam Novib, UNESCO, CIA World Factbook, World Bank etc. are known to be reliable sources for this statistical information, but at the same time they contradict to each other. So the writer of this research has attempted to gather as objective data as possible in this chapter by comparing all data and adopt which data will probably be the most reliable. The reliability of the data does not have any effect on the drawn conclusions that will be made, because the tendency of the provided data is the same.

3.2.1 Demography

In this sub-paragraph demographic facts will be given that can contribute to get a clear view on the current status that Haiti has in the world. The fact can also make clear what developing situation Haiti is facing.

Population

Haiti has got a population that is growing fast. In July of 2011 Haiti is estimated to have a population of 9.719.932 inhabitants (CIA, 2011). UNESCO (2011), World Bank (2011), and UNICEF (2011) say that the population in 2009 was estimated at 10.033.000 people. The population of Haiti consists 95% people of African origin and 5% Mulattoes (Ullmann, 2008, p. 394). Reasons for this can be found in the historical colonial period that Haiti has dealt with. Mulattoes are the children of white slave drivers and black female slaves. They became the new elite when the colonizers left Haiti (Arthur, 2008, p.23).

According to The CIA World Factbook (2011) 35,9% of the Haitian population has an age between 0 and 14 and 60,1% has an age between 15 and 64. This means that a majority of the Haitian population is not an adult. The reason that the Haitian people are

young can be explained by the fact that the life expectancy in Haiti is only 61 years (UN, 2011b; World Bank, 2011). The CIA World Factbook (2011) says that Haiti positions place 182 of the 222 in the world on the base of life expectancy. An interesting fact that Ullmann (2008) provides is the infant mortality rate of 63,8%. So demographically can be concluded that Haiti has got a relatively young population with high infant mortality rate.

Income, Education, and Religion

On the basis of income Haiti is ranked 171th of the 179 countries that are listed in the Human Development Index (HDI) (UNDP, 2011a). This means that Haiti is the poorest country in the western hemisphere and that Haiti can be ranked in the category of the poorest countries in the world. The GNP of Haiti is about \$450 US Dollars per capita (Ullmann, 2008, p. 394). This means that 77% or 78% of the population in the country has to live with less than one dollar a day, below the poverty line (World Bank, 2011; Coughlin & Lewis, 2011). Another aspect that has a great influence in Haiti is the rate of unemployed people. That rate is between 40,6% (CIA, 2011) and 54,9% (UNDP, 2011a). So Haiti is a country with high unemployment rate and a population that has a majority that lives below the poverty line.

In terms of education Haiti is underdeveloped too. Just between 47,1% and 52,9% of the population is literate (World Bank, 2011; Ullmann, 2008, p.394; CIA, 2011).

The Haitian population has its roots in Africa due to the former slavery by the colonizers. Officially 80% of the Haitian people is catholic, but most of them also commit voodoo. 16% of the Haitians are protestant and 4% has got another religion (Ullmann, 2008, p. 394).

3.2.2 Economy

Haiti is a country that is also underdeveloped on the base of economy. Before the US intervention it was mostly a plantation economy with small farmers who provided food for themselves and the people in the cities of Haiti. After the US intervention the economy of Haiti turned into capitalism. Since then, the economy of Haiti consists a free market economy with nowadays full access to the market in the United States (Lewis, 2010). Privatizations were the outcome of the Haitian economy turning into a capitalist system. Companies that were previously owned by the Haitian state came into the hands of multinational companies due to this privatization (Lewis, 2010). It made Haiti economically more dependent because now they are not self sufficient e.g. in industry anymore. Also in agriculture this is the case. Another reason why Haiti is not self sufficient anymore is the fact that they have free access to the US markets. This free access has advantages, because it gives opportunities for the country to expand their economic activity. But at the same time this opportunity does not

have much effect. This is because of the international competition on goods. Companies that are still owned by Haitian cannot compete with multinationals. So in this perspective Haiti does not have advantage of the opportunity to enter the market of the US. Together, agriculture and industry determine 49,6% of the economical activities in Haiti, the other 50,4% consists services (CIA, 2011). Nowadays, Haiti has to import many goods to provide food, clothes, buildings etc. to the Haitian society (Lewis, 2010).

Wealth and segregation

In Haiti, there exists a big gap between a rich small elite and a majority that is poor. The mulattoes and a small part of origin African people in Haiti form a small rich group in society and the majority of black origin African Haitians is poor (Arthur, p.23). This division in wealth has a great influence on society as a whole: in the rural areas a poor agricultural population and a poor population in the slums of the big cities, and in the cities, with a majority in the capital Port-au-Prince, a wealthy commercial and political elite of mainly mulattoes (Arthur, 2008, p.23). The small elite has got much power and influence in the country on economical and political level, while the rest of Haitian society is struggling to survive. This division of society leads to the fact that both groups have different priorities and different social worlds and lives. And thus, two groups with different identities. The presence of two totally different groups in Haiti, with both own identities causes that the stakes and priorities of the poor majority are not always in line with the policies of the elite.

3.2.3 Politics after WW II

In this research the political development of Haiti in the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century plays an important role. It explains why Haiti did not have any chance to develop itself during that period and in what way nations and unions reacted from abroad. It also explains interventions and influence from abroad that are still present in Haiti nowadays. This is why the most important events on the level of politics will be explained in this sub-paragraph.

After the US intervention between 1915 and 1934 Haiti has had to deal with a tumultuous political period. Between 1934 and 1957 a series of coups characterized the political climate in Haiti (Arthur, 2001, p.15). This period was a period of political instability that was mostly controlled by the mulatto elite in Haiti.

The Duvaliers

In 1957 the politics in Haiti made a radical twist. François Duvalier, who was called 'Papa Doc', was a doctor from the rural areas of Haiti who had political ambitions. He won the elections of 1957 due to his ability to create a bridge between the black middle class and

the black mass (Arthur, 2001, p.15). For the first time, a black elite was created in Haiti that was ruling the country. Black people were allowed to get a job at the government or at local governments. Duvalier had the support of the Haitian army, but still he created an own presidential army (Arthur, 2011, p.16). The presidential army was called the 'Tontons Macoutes'. The Tontons Macoutes were important for Duvalier to keep his power in Haiti.

Duvalier, who was thought to be a great leader in the beginning, evolved in the worst dictator Haiti has ever known and at least 30.000 people who were against Duvalier were killed (Arthur, 2001, p. 16). In 1964 dictator Duvalier declared himself 'president for life'. When he eventually died in 1971, his son - Jean-Claude Duvalier - who was also known as 'Baby Doc' - took over his place to continue the dictatorship of the Duvaliers. His economical policy was not different from the policy his father had. This policy was, to confiscate foreign development aid, to impose high taxes to the poor farmers in the rural areas of Haiti, and to obscure money that was gained due to corruption or illegal lotteries (Arthur, 2001, p.16). Although a small minority of the Haitian population, namely followers of Duvalier – who were called Duvalierists -, the elite and some people and some mulattoes in the middle class, was benefitting from the policy of Baby Doc, the majority of the Haitian people was suffering due to corruption and exploitation.

Revolution

In the mid-'80s the Haitian people started to revolt against the dictatorship of Baby Doc. They were supported by the upcoming progressive branch of the Catholic Church (Arthur, 2001, p.16). Protests spread across the country due to food shortages and the regime of Duvalier started to tear apart. When the resistance of progressive Christians, farmers, students, and workers grew, the Haitian military and the United States decided to drop before a revolution would occur. Without the support of those two important powers, Duvalier was not able anymore to maintain his dictatorship, so on the 7th of February 1986 he fled in exile to France (Arthur, 2001, p.16).

Haiti towards a democracy

After the exile of 'Baby Doc' Duvalier the United States supported a military council that was supposed to support the transition towards a democracy. The outcome of this, was a power struggle on different levels in society in the form of protests, strikes, and land seizures (Arthur, 2001, p.17). The people in Haiti demanded justice, economical progress, and the removal of the dominance of the Duvalierists. Every attempt to settle democracy in Haiti failed. In November of 1987 elections in Haiti ended up in one big massacre. Voters at polling stations were slaughtered by military soldiers and the resurrected Tontons Macoutes (Arthur, 2001, p.17).

Eventually, supervised by the United Nations, in 1990 free presidential elections took place in Haiti. Unexpectedly, the favorite candidate of the US, former World Bank employee Marc Bazin, was defeated by a catholic priest, named Jean-Bertrand Aristide who gained 67% of the votes (Arthur, 2001, p.17). Aristide applied himself as a candidate just a few weeks before the elections. He called his campaign 'Lavalas', which is creole for tidal wave. This triggered the imagination of Haitian society, because it implied the expulsion of the Duvalierists. Aristide promised to bring justice, a responsible government, and participation of the Haitian people in the future of the country (Arthur, 2001, p.18).

Coup of 1991

On September 30th 1991, just eight months after the inauguration of President Aristide, the Haitian military committed a coup. This coup is known as Coup d'État for the Haitians. After the coup, Aristide was expelled by the military army. During three years the Haitian population was plagued by random executions, tortures, arrests, and disappearances. In the period during the junta about 5000 people were killed, 400.000 people were hiding, and tens of thousands of people wanted to flee to the United States (Arthur, 2001, p.18).

In July of 1993, after mediation between the US and UN, the Haitian junta, and Aristide, an agreement was made and the international embargo on weapons and fuels in Haiti was repealed (Arthur, 2001, p.18). In trade for the removal of this embargo Aristide would be allowed to return to Haiti and become president again. In October 1993, a few days before Aristide would return, the minister of Justice was shot. At this point it became clear that the agreement was only used by the military junta to waste some time to gain weapons and fuel.

The crisis continued and the international community, led by the United States, condemned the military leaders of Haiti. But it never led to actual sanctions or intervention. Contrary, it seemed that renegotiations were used by the US to gain more concessions from Aristide too (Arthur, 2001, p.18). It lasted until 1994 before new stricter sanctions against the military regime in Haiti were proclaimed. Only then there was threatened with foreign intervention. All these measures did not work. The junta and the elite that supported them maintained their regime and power. The junta even used the situation to set up a contraband (Arthur, 2001, p.19). For the poor majority of Haiti the economic crisis, that arose due to the sanctions, was horrible. But still, the support for Aristide remained.

Intervention of the US/UN

Eventually, foreign powers intervened. Aristide promised neoliberal economical reforms when he would be back, to get the support from the United States. In September of 1994 the US sent, with authorization of the UN, 20.000 troops to regain control over Haiti and restore order (Arthur, 2001, p. 19). When Aristide returned back to Haiti, he immediately immobilized the military army. In March of 1995 the United Nations took over the responsibility for security in Haiti from the United States. Eventually in 2000 the UN-troops left Haiti (Arthur, 2001, p.19; UN, 2011c).

Together with the military intervention the international community gave 2.5 billion US dollars for aid, spread over 5 years. But despite this financial injection concrete economic results were not achieved on macro level, as the level of the poor in Haiti. The role that the IMF and the World Bank played during the development of the Haitian economical policy became a political issue in Haiti. According to a group of members of the Laval party Aristide was forced by international institutions to carry out a structural economic plan that was only applying to the stakes of foreign investors and the local Haitian elite (Arthur, 2001, p.20).

Presidency of Préval and the elections in 2000

In 1995 new elections were held in Haiti. Aristide was excluded due to a Constitution from succeeding himself and former Prime Minister René Préval won the elections with 88% of the votes (US Embassy in Haiti, 2011). In February of 1996 Préval was inaugurated. At the end of 1996 Aristide set up a new party that was named 'Laval Family'. He set up this party because he found that Préval and his government was too liberal oriented (Arthur, 2001, p.20). After the five years that Préval was president of Haiti, new elections followed in 2000.

The elections were won with 92% of the votes by Jean-Bertrand Aristide, which confirmed the popularity of Aristide in Haiti (Arthur, 2001, p.20). The election of 2000 was controversial because accusations of a flawed vote count, intimidation, and fraud charges (US Embassy in Haiti, 2011; Arthur, 2001, p.20). The government of Aristide refused to reconsider the outcomes of the elections, despite pressure from the US and EU to stop development aid. Despite all this, Aristide installed a new government in August 2000 (Arthur, 2001, p.20).

2000 - 2004

The years between 2000 and 2004 were drawn by the political crisis. The crisis of fraudulent elections, combined with the failure of international mediation, a weak economy, and political violence caused commotion in Haiti (US Embassy, 2011). A few weeks after the celebration of 200 years independence of Haiti, a rebellion took over a few cities in the north

of Haiti. Afterwards they reached to Port-au-Prince, the capital of Haiti. This leads to the resignation of Aristide on February 29th 2004 and he was sent in exile to the Central Republic of Africa (US Embassy, 2011). However, this resignation is controversial.

There are also stories that Aristide was deliberately resigned, by the West. The US would have played an important and prominent role in this theory (Democracy Now, 2004; Pitt, 2004). In an interview with Democracy Now! (2004) Aristide and his bodyguard tell that they were abducted by US military forces and transported to the Central Republic of Africa. Aristide called it “a new coup d’etat” or “a modern abduction”. An argument that he mentions is that the US forces used violence and that government Bush thought that Aristide was too left winged, and that the United States wanted the liberal oriented Préval for another term as president of Haiti. If this is true, this would be a classical form of neocolonialism.

Boniface Alexandre, who was the leader of the chief justice of the Supreme Court in Haiti at the time, gained authority to be interim president until the elections of February 2006 (US Embassy, 2011). As a result of the attempt to commit a coup the United Nations sent troops to Haiti to establish a stable transition of governments. This mission is called MINUSTAH (UN, 2011c). To date, MINUSTAH is present in Haiti. In the next sub-paragraph MINUSTAH will be further explained.

2004-2011

In 2006, former president Préval (between 1995 and 2000), wins the presidential elections (US Embassy, 2011).

In November of 2010 the first round in new elections were held. The run-off has been held between Michel Martelly and Mirlande Manigat at March 20th of 2011 (BBC, 2011a). At April 4th of 2011 Michel Martelly was named as winner. These elections were also controversial. Family Lavelas was excluded from the elections, and Martelley was only accepted in the run-off for president due to international pressure, mainly again the US government (Annis, 2011). Martelly is a popular music artist, composer, and businessman. He promised the Haitian people to provide free education to Haitian children, that he would take care of speeding up the reconstruction in Haiti after the earthquake, that he would develop the rural areas, and that he would build a new modern army (BBC, 2011b).

3.2.4 MINUSTAH

MINUSTAH, Mission des Nations Union pour la Stabilisation en Haiti, is a UN peacekeeping force that is present in Haiti since April 20th 2004. The mission was intentionally supposed to end in October of 2010, but due to the earthquake this period was extended until October 15th 2011 in the resolution of the UN Security Council No. 1944 (UN, 2011c). At April 30th 2011 the mission counts 8.734 military troops and 3.500 police forces. In total, 18 countries provide military troops and 48 countries provide police forces (UN, 2011c).

At the official webpage of MINUSTAH the UN (2011c) lists the reasons why the mission was set up:

- "MINUSTAH was originally set up to support the Transitional Government in ensuring a secure and stable environment.
- To assist in monitoring, restructuring and reforming the Haitian National Police.
- To help with comprehensive and sustainable Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) programs
- To assist with the restoration and maintenance of the rule of law, public safety and public order in Haiti.
- To protect United Nations personnel, facilities, installations and equipment and to protect civilians under imminent threat of physical violence.
- To support the constitutional and political processes.
- To assist in organizing, monitoring, and carrying out free and fair municipal, parliamentary and presidential elections.
- To support the Transitional Government as well as Haitian human rights institutions and groups in their efforts to promote and protect human rights.
- To monitor and report on the human rights situation in the country".

According to the UN (2011c), by 2010 the efforts of MINUSTAH paid off and Haiti "appeared to be on track to advance toward a more promising future for its people". The UN (2011c) reported that "violence had largely been removed from politics, and public security mostly restored with crime reduced. The media was operating freely and the economy was growing, despite the world economic crisis".

Despite the good intentions and the help of MINUSTAH there is also controversy and criticism on the mission. One of the biggest controversies is the cholera epidemic that stroke Haiti after the earthquake of 2010. Namely, the source of the spread of cholera was located near a MINUSTAH base, where Nepalese troops were stationed (CNN, 2011; CEPR, 2011). The direct link between the presence of the Nepalese troops and the cholera outbreak has not been adopted, but the "camp is a likely cause" of the epidemic (Reuters, 2011). Whether the outbreak of cholera is caused by the Nepalese MINUSTAH troops or not, it caused great

unrest within the Haitian society. Protest and riots against the peacekeepers was the result (Haitiwebs, 2011).

Another point of criticism was the role of MINUSTAH in the aftermath of the earthquake of 2010. The priorities of MINUSTAH would be too much focused on the maintenance of order and security in Haiti rather than the focus on quick delivery of humanitarian aid (Lewis, 2010; Global Research TV, 2011). The focus on maintaining order in Haiti in the first weeks after the earthquake implied that MINUSTAH was not giving priority to things that really matter for many Haitians (Lewis, 2010). According to Nicole Lee in Global Research TV (2011) says that there was no indication at all that security would be at stake in Haiti directly after the earthquake. People remained calm and tried to help each other. She adds that the priority of maintaining order was a tool to make sure that Haitians would not stand up for their rights and independence. Prime minister of Haiti, Jean-Max Bellerive, tells in Lewis (2010) that the approach of MINUSTAH (and the US army) in the aftermath of the earthquake of 2010 could “turn into a self-fulfilling prophecy. He concluded also that the population was calm enough, so that priority could have been given to urgent aid. In Lewis (2010) he adds that the point of view of himself on this subject, and thus the Haitian government, was not in line with the point of view of MINUSTAH and the US army.

Zanotti (2008) is also critical about the peacekeeping force MINUSTAH, its building of institutions, and “imagining democracy”. Zanotti (2008) says: “The failure of the UN to achieve its stated goals is appraised in the contingent modalities of the encounter between an ethnocentric political imaginary that takes for granted that modalities of government can be transplanted with benign effects and local conditions of extreme poverty. [...] while purporting to build an independent, democratic, and well-functioning state, unreflectively imported political models foster disorder and dependence. They also reinforce the instruments of control and conditionality in the hands of international actors, thus fostering the carceralization of international spaces.” Carceralization in this context is “a means for avoiding abuses in punishment” (Foucault, 1995, p. 302).

3.3 Natural diseases

“Natural disasters are essentially social phenomena. If a hurricane or an earthquake hits an unpopulated area, it is not a disaster but merely a natural phenomenon” (Kamel & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2004, p. 533).

Earthquakes

Haiti is a country that has always been vulnerable to natural disasters. Major earthquakes stroke the country in past, the 2010 earthquake included. This is because Haiti is laying on a fault line in the Caribbean (Eberhard et al., 2010, p.3). On January 12th of

2010 a magnitude 7.0 earthquake hit Haiti because the Caribbean plate collided with the North-American plate (Eberhard et al., 2010, p.2). The epicenter of the earthquake was located 25 km (15 miles) WSW of the capital of Haiti, Port-au-Prince (Eberhard et al., 2010, p.2). Except for this earthquake, no major earthquakes are recorded since the 18th century. In appendix 2.1, a map is shown which shows the location of the major earthquake of January 12th 2010 and the aftershocks that followed.

Hurricanes

Other natural disasters that threaten Haiti are hurricanes. Haiti part of the Caribbean, which is the gate to the Gulf of Mexico. In this area every year several hurricanes hit the area. This is because the tropical climate and the warming of the sea in the area of the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico. Mainly, the combination of these two factors determine the activity and frequency of hurricanes in the region (KNMI, 2011). Another factor that can have a major influence on hurricanes is climate change. The debate about climate change has been topical the last decade. Central in this debate is global warming. Global warming is a theory that temperatures in areas on the world will increase due to the greenhouse effect that is caused by emissions of carbon dioxide. There are models that say that global warming will also have effect on the Caribbean (BBC, 2009). When temperatures in the Caribbean will rise, this automatically means that the temperature of the sea is likely to rise too. This increases the chance of hurricanes in the region.

In the case of Haiti, hurricanes can be devastating. Especially after the earthquake of 2010, that caused hundreds of thousands people homeless. Haitian people who are still living in tents have to try to withstand the hurricanes in difficult circumstances. In November 2010, hurricane Tomas caused 21 deaths and 9 missing people in Haiti (USAID, 2010). At the same time, cholera started spreading around in the country (USAID, 2010; Reuters, 2010). The combination of a hurricane and cholera spreading trough water can be disastrous. The impact of hurricane Tomas was relatively low, because it only gazed the island (Reuters, 2010). The UN (2011d) predicted that Haiti will be better prepared to the annual hurricane season in 2011. A senior UN-official says that there is made an emergency equipment and stocks that are pre-positioned in case of a disaster (UN, 2011d).

Diseases

A last important threat to Haiti are diseases that are striking the country. As mentioned before, cholera is an epidemic disease in Haiti since October 2010. Another disease that afflicts Haiti for decennia is HIV/AIDS. "The Caribbean now ranks second only to sub-Saharan Africa among the regions that are hardest hit by HIV/AIDS, with a 2.3 per cent adult HIV prevalence rate. According to the Joint United Nations Programme on AIDS

(UNAIDS), the national prevalence levels in Haiti are at 5 to 6 per cent (UN, 2005)".

Thus, it can be concluded that Haiti is a postcolonial country that is poor *and* frequently hit by (natural) disasters.

3.3.1 The aftermath of the earthquake of 2010

The earthquake of January 12th of 2010 can be called one of the most devastating natural disasters that the modern world has faced. A country that already was suffering and that was already dealing with severe circumstances got hit by a heavy earthquake. The earthquake caused that over 200.000 people were killed, over 300.000 people were injured, and over 1,5 million people lost their homes (UNDP, 2011b; CNN, 2010b; Oxfam, 2011). Almost 200.000 houses were heavily damaged and over 100.000 houses completely collapsed (UNDP, 2011b). The people who lost their homes were sheltered in tent camps under severe circumstances. In general, in those camps women get raped, people do not have enough shelter in cases of hurricanes and other heavy weather, there is a lack of hygiene, and a chance of getting diseases (Amnesty International, 2011, p. 10; J/P HRO, 2011; NY Times, 2010).

One year later, a balance had been made by various NGO's, organizations, institutions, and media. According to Nicole Lee, head of the TransAfrica Forum, in (Global Research TV, 2011) still the situation of Haiti has not changed. The situation even got worse after the cholera outbreak in October of 2010. The NGO set up by actor Jean Penn, J/P HRO, (2011) reports that one year after the earthquake stroke Haiti still 800.000 people were living in tent camps under severe circumstances. UNDP (2011b), and other NGOs have developed year reports in which they evaluated what progress has been made a year after the earthquake they also evaluated the situation in Haiti a year after the earthquake. "According to authorities, it would take 12 hours a day during a year if Haiti would own a fleet of 1.000 trucks to remove the debris in Port-au-Prince" (Lewis, 2010). The reality is that even after a period of 16 months 80% of debris has not yet been removed (Knevel & Van den Brink, 2011). Thus, the Haitian people have to build up their lives again literally between the debris. The photo on the cover of this thesis confrontationally shows the streetscape in Port-au-Prince exactly a year after the devastating earthquake of January 12th 2010.

4. Development aid in Haiti

4.1 Development aid in post-quake Haiti

Haiti has been receiving development aid for decades since it already was a developing country before the major earthquake of 2010. The first months after the earthquake in Haiti in 2010 were characterized by humanitarian aid. Donors from all over the world offered money for humanitarian aid and the rebuilding of Haiti. But the process of the provision of aid the Haiti did not went without problems. For example, development aid in Haiti is received too late and the process of providing aid started slowly, NGOs and other institutions were not communicating (enough) with each other, they were not carrying out a common plan, and corruption was dragging down development aid (UN, 2010; J/P HRO, 2011; Transparency International, 2010). In this paragraph the biggest and most important organizations and institutions that provide development aid to Haiti after the earthquake of 2010 will be named that contributed to the rebuilding of Haiti. Further, in paragraph 4.2 management and governance related to development aid after the earthquake of 2010 and the effects of rebuilding post-quake Haiti will be taken into account throughout chapter 4.

Orgainzations

After the earthquake of 2010 the whole international world saw what misery hit Haiti. The international world massively responded to the disaster that took place. The international world offered help and promised money for development aid. Every country had its own reasons to offer economical, humanitarian, or structural aid to Haiti. For most of the nations that offered help, it partly remained only promises. The international community pledged over 10 billion US dollars of aid to Haiti (BBC, 2010). The Economic and Social Council of the UN (2010) reported that less than 2 percent of the 10 promised billion US dollars aid was received 6 months after the earthquake of January 12th of 2010 hit Haiti. The US and Venezuela promised both more than one billion US dollars into a fund, but none of that has received yet (CNN, 2010c). It can be concluded that this has played an important role in the failure of the process of providing (humanitarian) development aid. Namely, when Haiti would have received not just 2 percent a year after the earthquake, but for example 50 percent of the promised amounts of money a year after the earthquake, organizations and institutions that are distributing development aid in Haiti would have had a lot more opportunities to successfully implement the promised aid.

Beside nations many prominent NGOs are giving structural aid to Haiti for decades. Organizations like Oxfam, UNICEF, Amnesty International, the International Red Cross, UNDP, USAID, etc. are all active in Haiti, also before the earthquake of 2010. After the

earthquake, a flow of other organizations came to Haiti. E.g. even the IFAW, that stands for the well-being of animals went to Haiti to help dogs in Port-au-Prince (IFAW, 2010). This shows that the variety of organizations that all have their own priorities.

J/P HRO

One of the most striking NGOs that the writer of this thesis has encountered during the performance of this research is J/P HRO. J/P HRO is an NGO set up by actor Jean Penn in a response to the earthquake of 2010. The NGO was set up to provide humanitarian aid in forms of tent camp management, provision of medicines, to fight against the cholera epidemics, and removing debris from Port-au-Prince (J/P HRO, 2011).

In a report J/P HRO (2011) presented a factsheet in which the NGO describes what the NGO has accomplished in a year after the earthquake of January 12th of 2010. This factsheet gives a good insight what NGOs have been dealing with since January 12th of 2010:

- Founded immediately after the January 12th earthquake by Sean Penn, J/P HRO is effectively managing five vital programs in areas related to Camp Management, Medical, Rubble Removal.
- Facilitating Community Regeneration, Education, and Emergency Response Operations.
- J/P HRO manages two Internally Displaced Person (IDP) camps: Pétienville Camp and the adjacent Terrain Boulos Camp. As of January 12th, 2010 these two IDP camps house over 50,000 displaced people.
- J/P HRO has an in-country team of 15 international long-term staff, hundreds of rotating medical volunteers, and over 200 Haitian national staff including doctors, nurses, electricians, contractors, teachers and translators, community organizers and reconstruction teams.
- In the past 12 months J/P HRO provided medical treatment to over 75,000 Haitians and delivered 342 babies through our medical program, which consists of two primary health care clinics, a women's clinic, mobile clinics, a 24/7 emergency room, 24/7 maternity care, 24/7 emergency transport, and a 24/7 Cholera Treatment Isolation Unit (CTU).
- The cholera outbreak reached Port au Prince in October of 2010, and between October 2010 and January 2011 we treated over 140 cases of cholera within our camp, and over 250 cases of cholera from the surrounding neighborhoods at our Cholera Treatment Isolation Unit (CTU). Our medical staff and volunteers deployed throughout Haiti treated thousands of cholera patients and delivered over 100 tons of supplies to cholera treatment facilities. Currently J/P HRO maintains one of the largest incountry inventories of Oral Rehydration Salts, Ringers Lactate, IV tubing, catheters, and water filters to treat an additional 25,000 - 50,000 patients.
- Our cholera preparedness and response program has earned J/P HRO recognition as one

of the most effective Emergency Responders by the Haitian Ministry of Health and International Red Cross.

- A team of highly trained air, ground, and medical experts are on 24/7 Ready Alert supported by four helicopters in cooperation with the United Nations Humanitarian Air Service (UNHAS) and the Government of the Dominican Republic to respond to life saving missions J/P HRO manages each and every day.

- J/P HRO removed 55,000 cubic meters of rubble and debris from the streets, equaling an average of 25-30 trucks per day from the Delmas 32 area in Port au Prince. J/P has been recognized as an innovative leader in rubble removal and manual demolition, serving as a model for other international organizations working to achieve the same goal.

- The Pétionville Camp has been recognized as one of the most well managed camps in Port au Prince. While other organizations are shifting away from camp management, J/P HRO remains committed to the residents of the Pétionville Camp and will remain as camp manager until the last resident has been returned to their previous home or relocated to a permanent place of residence.

Bill Clinton Foundation

Another striking organization that the writer of this thesis has encountered during the performance of this research is a foundation that is set up by former US president Bill Clinton. The foundation of Bill Clinton is called 'The Clinton Foundation'. Since the earthquake of January 12th of 2010, The Clinton Foundation has received more than 16 million US dollars from more than 100.000 individual people who donated money to the foundation for reconstruction of Haiti (Clinton Foundation, 2010). The Clinton Foundation (2010) first offered help in forms of development aid. Nowadays more effective aid is given in forms of e.g. trucks (141), seeds for the planting season, tents (34.480), portable and mobile classrooms, 16,480 flashlights, medical supplies, and clothes. A remarkable thing that the Clinton Foundation also provided is the amount of 2.000 whistles. Those whistles are meant for women, who can whistle when they are getting raped in tents. Unfortunately this still happens in the tent camps.

4.2 Management and governance

There can be made a difference between two groups that provide aid after a disaster, like the earthquake in Haiti, a group of NGOs and other institutions that provide structural aid, which they already did before the earthquake, and a group of NGOs and organizations that provide short term aid due to the earthquake. As emerged in paragraph 4.1, it can be concluded that the implementation and the distribution of development aid cannot be called a success in the case of the earthquake in Haiti in 2010. There are multiple ways to explain the failure of the distribution of development aid to Haiti. One of the things that has had an important influence on that failure was management and governance related to the distribution of development aid. The first thing that shows the failure of this management and governance related to development aid has already been described in paragraph 4.1, namely the slow payment of amounts of money that is reserved for humanitarian and structural development aid. In this paragraph other aspects that have also contributed to the failure of development aid will be explained. There will be focused on two systems regarding development aid in Haiti after the earthquake: the failures of the system that provides foreign aid to post-quake Haiti and failures of Haitian society and the social system in Haiti itself.

Because of the wave of NGOs and institutions coming to Haiti, for distribution of humanitarian aid, with all their own interests and intentions this causes the problem that policies, organization, and management of aid distribution is slowed down or is not working at all. In the case of Haiti this has been a problem from the beginning of aid distribution in the aftermath of the 2010 earthquake, until present. The fact that every organization has its own priorities is a problem because there is a chance that organizations will massively take care of the same problems. E.g. when many NGOs have the priority to distribute food, water, and provide security in tent camps, sustainable development will not be realized. For example this could mean that debris will not be cleaned up or that infrastructure will not be built. A factor that can contribute to the sidedness of priorities that organizations have is the contentment of the people who are giving money NGOs. NGOs want to show the people who made a donation that they are really helping people, e.g. by showing food distribution, building houses, and other forms of reconstruction. Getting away debris does not fit in that image. Disaster experts in Padgett (2010) say: "rubble removal isn't sexy ". Thus, although NGOs are saying that they have the intention to help the Haitian population, their own interests and stakes make that actually the help they offer is not efficient and it does not have the effect on Haiti it is supposed to have.

There is a huge amount of NGOs and institutions that does not communicate and that in combination with the diversity of intentions causes that aid distribution gets fragmented and tangled. In figure 4.1 (on the next page) a cartoon clearly shows the current problems in

Haiti concerning development aid and the distribution. The cartoon implies a Haitian man that is killed because the infusion of Haiti is tangled, which causes disturbance in the provision of aid to Haiti. This cartoon explains clearly the current situation in Haiti concerning provision and distribution of the development aid.



Figure 4.1: A cartoon as a critique on the current situation of the distribution of development aid in Haiti. Source: "Helping Haiti". (Toonpool, 2011)

Criticism

Structural projects are projects that are supposed to be sustainable and help society on the long term. Somehow development aid does not always go to the people who really need it. One of the criticisms is that this is disturbing the process of sustainable development of the country that receives development aid, in this case Haiti. Kamel & Loukaitou-Sideris (2004, p.557) conclude that there was a structural failure in the distribution of development aid to households in L.A., after the Northridge Earthquake in 1994: "In a sense, the structure of existing programmes led to the 'marginalisation of the marginalized'". Kamel & Loukaitou (2004, p. 557) add: "We believe that this is the result of structural constraints embedded in federal programmes that, to a great extent, excluded very low-income households from the major sources of assistance". Structural constraints that exclude the poor part of society is also recognizable in Haiti.

Part of this problem can be explained due to the fact that "providers of aid in Haiti are not dealing with core issues and problems of today" (Nicole Lee in Global Research TV, 2011). This means that the organizations that provide aid are having wrong priorities and that they have to answer to the real needs of Haitian society.

Another critique on development aid in Haiti is that the international community, both governments and NGOs, say : "The international community believes that there is a certain

amount of misery and poverty that Haitians can live with” [...] “Before the disaster Haitians were already poor, so why lift them up out of poverty”? The results of not helping Haitian community are the spreading of diseases, social unrest, and all other problems that Haiti is dealing with right now, according to Nicole Lee in Global Research TV (2011). Lewis (2010) explains that after the earthquake of 2010, the management of reconstruction aid to Haiti came in the hands of the US and the UN, due to decreasing power of the Haitian government. But when there is not enough political will to improve the situation of Haiti society by the international community, it is not a good thing to let those people manage the recovery of a complete nation.

4.3 Solutions for current problems in Haiti concerning distribution of aid

The problems that Haiti is facing and the problems concerning development aid are complex. It is hard to find any country on the world that is facing such a severe situation and many different problems that are difficult to solve as Haiti. Though, this does not mean that Haiti cannot be helped. But in order to effectively help Haiti there have to be some structural changes in the approach of provision of development aid to Haiti.

At first, it is important that the international community does not see Haiti and the Haitian population as poor and sad people who are living in tragedy and need humanitarian aid and charity, but rather as people who need structural aid and solutions to build up their country effectively, so they can become independent and stand on their own (Patrick Elie in Lewis, 2010; Nicole Lee in Global Research TV, 2011).

Possible solutions for an overall successful distributions of development aid could begin with clearing the debris, building good new infrastructure, and building good houses, so Haitian people have a shelter. That would be a good base for reaching sustainable development of Haiti.

The step that should be taken afterwards is the implementation of good education and the transformation of the economic system in Haiti. It is called decentralization in Haiti (Nicole Lee in Global Research TV, 2011). Decentralization in this case means that people who have no future in the cities, like Port-au-Prince, should be able to move to the rural areas, where they can produce food and perform farming. In that way Haiti can be (partly) self sufficient again (Elie in Lewis, 2010; Global Research TV, 2011). Before the earthquake there already was made notion of decentralization, but currently it is vital (Global Research TV, 2011). Nowadays farmers in Haiti cannot afford to grow agricultural products like rice, because they have to compete with international markets. In for example the US and EU agriculture is subsidized and in Haiti it is not. This causes an unequal trade relation, which gives US and EU farmers the opportunity to provide rice cheaper than Haitians (Global Research, 2011). This means that the international community has to commit to a

sustainable agricultural system in Haiti, but right now such commitment does not exist (Nicole Lee in Global Research, 2011; Lewis, 2010). According to Lee, it is not likely that such commitment will ever come, because the stabilization of the international market depends on countries such as Haiti.

5. Case study: Neocolonialism in Haiti

5.1 Empirically measuring neocolonialism

It is not easy to empirically measure neocolonialism in order to prove that forms of neocolonialism are present in a country. Countries, people, unions, organizations, companies and groups that perform neocolonialism in a country will not easily carry out or say that they actually perform neocolonialism. In the case of Haiti, the writer of this research was able to locate signs of neocolonialism. Neocolonialism is performed in various ways by various actors. This does not necessarily mean that all forms of neocolonialism that will be provided in this chapter are fully proven or objective truths. That is something that the reader of this research has to decide for its own. In one case it will be clearer than another case that there is question of neocolonialism. More research and evidence is needed to actually prove that neocolonialism in Haiti is carried out concerning the forms of neocolonialism that will be discussed in this chapter. What the writer of this research wants to show is that there are at least signs that could suggest that forms of neocolonialism are performed in Haiti. The fact that there are signs of neocolonialism in Haiti could be a good reason to do more research about this subject.

The objective of this research is to obtain insight to what extent development aid in a postcolonial country is subjected to neocolonial influences. To summarize this objective stated in the research goal, the next research question is formed:

To what extent is the development aid to the Haitian people, after the earthquake of January 12th in 2010, subjected to neocolonial influences?

During the elaboration of the analysis to measure neocolonialism in Haiti it became clear that it is impossible to relate neocolonialism only to development aid after the 2010 earthquake. It became clear that neocolonialism affects all dimensions in society, and all sectors in a country. Those sectors (e.g. industry or agriculture) and dimensions (e.g. economy, culture, society, and politics) are all part of a system that shapes the country of Haiti and they cannot be seen separately from each other. Due to this interdependence between sectors and dimensions development aid is involved to the system in various ways, and as a result of this it cannot be seen as one separate phenomenon. This brings up the conclusion that neocolonialism cannot be determined in relation to development aid in itself, but rather the system as a whole and the sectors and dimensions that are related to and influenced by development aid. Said (1993) mentions that imperialism “is still a powerful force in the economic, political, and military relations”. Due to this conclusion in this research neocolonialism has to be seen as a discours that is part of a broader framework than just

development aid in itself. Neocolonialism, just as development aid, is woven into the system of Haiti. In the next paragraphs possible signs of neocolonialism in Haiti will be discussed.

5.2 Signs of neocolonialism in Haiti after the earthquake of 2010

In this paragraph different forms and signs of neocolonialism in Haiti will be discussed. The writer of this research has tried to find signals of different forms of neocolonialism in post quake Haiti that are carried out in different ways. Neocolonialism concerns stakes of companies, economical stakes of both companies as nations, as well as political and social/cultural stakes of the West to control Haiti. One thing that always emerges is the fact that most of the Haitian population in the end is always the victim of the neocolonial practices. Though, there are also advantages of possible neocolonial practices in Haiti. The writer has tried to give a most nuanced picture as possible about neocolonial practices in post quake Haiti.

5.2.1 Exploitation by foreign multinationals

After the earthquake of January 12th of 2010, Haiti was told that billions of dollars from all over the world would be sent to Haiti to rebuild the country. Every country and organization that offered help in the reconstruction of Haiti had its own priorities and interests (Lewis, 2010). The Haitian state used to own major agricultural and industrial companies, like cement factories, textile companies, rice and flower producers, coffee producers etc. "Due to decades of privatization in the country due to pressure from US and financial institutions the control of those businesses has moved off shore" (Lewis, 2010). Nowadays due to this privatization Haiti is dependent on foreign imports of food and other essential goods. Now that Haiti does not own those important companies anymore, they have less chance to take their future in their own hands. They fully became dependent. A good example of this is a case of a cement factory in Haiti that Lewis (2010) carries out in a documentary that has been made just a month after the earthquake of January 2010. According to a Haitian man that was interviewed a public Haitian cement company was privatized in 1997. Since the privatization decisions about the company are made by owners of multinationals. Their only interest is maximizing their own profits. According to Eduardo Almeida, an employee at the Inter-American Development Bank who was interviewed in the documentary of Lewis (2010), a company from Colombia and a company from Mexico deliver cement for the reconstruction of houses in Haiti. So the Haitians are not able to produce the cement in Haiti that is meant for the reconstruction of their own homes. They only import the cement and the clinkers into Haiti, and package them there.

The Haitian population would be really helped if the reconstruction would be in their own hands, because now development aid is needed to buy equipments and goods abroad

for reconstruction of buildings while the Haitian population is able to do it themselves if the multinational companies would not be present in Haiti. Because the huge investments in Haiti that are provided by the billions of dollars of development aid it is not likely that the multinationals will leave. In fact, there are more companies that approached the Inter-American Development Bank, tells Eduardo Almeida (Lewis, 2010). So the conclusion can be made that Haiti is big business for foreign investors.

The question now is, if the Haitian people can build up their own self sufficiency at the same time. Before January 12th 2010 there was a plan to rebuild the economy of Haiti. But that plan could only be executed on one demand: US involvement, like the access on the free market of the US (Lewis, 2010).

Wikileaks provides another example of neocolonial practices that are carried out by the US, by releasing cables that say that the US government is fully interfering in the Haitian economical politics (Al Yazeera, 2011; Coughlin & Ives, 2011). On the 9th of June 2011 Coughlin & Ives (2011) published an article in one of the prominent Haitian newspapers, Haiti Liberté, in which they revealed that they got possession of Wikileaks cables that revealed that the US government supported multinationals in the textile industry, like Levi's and Hanes, pure at the base of economical stakes. They did this by performing pressure on the Haitian government to cancel the plans to raise the minimum wage in Haiti from USD \$1,75 to USD \$3,13 for the textile industries and USD \$5,00 for all other industrial and commercial sectors in Haiti in the beginning of 2009 (Al Yazeera, 2011; Coughlin & Ives, 2011).

5.2.2 Foreign policy and development aid

As mentioned before, military occupations, like MINUSTAH, can be seen as a direct form of neocolonialism in Haiti. After the earthquake, Chancy (2011) also describes US interventions and presence in Haiti as "a neocolonial junta". The international community, in this case the UN set up different reasons for the presence MINUSTAH, while at the same time there are at least signs of other stakes by the same international community. For example it is a great advantage for the US if the people in Haiti cannot protest or speak for themselves. At the same time there are signs that the government and elections in Haiti are also influenced by the international community, again with stakes and a prominent role for the US.

But there are more signs of neocolonialism that are related to politics. Namely, development aid would be used as an excuse for strategic investments. Jean Saint-Vil, member of Canada Haiti Action, is interviewed by van Horne (2011). Saint-Vil in van Horne (2011) explains that: "A lot of money is used right now under the name of aid and development, when in reality, what it is doing, is strategic for businesses. It would not be so bad if it was just that, but it is actually for straight Coups d'États and other illegal things, like

removal of political leaders that are not liked by foreign powers”. If this statement is true, it would be going further than the example of neocolonialism in paragraph 5.2.1, because not only there is performed a strategy according to businesses, but also stakes of politics itself would be involved. It would imply that nations who provide these acts are not willing to help Haiti, but that they see Haiti and its people as objects that we can exploit for our own goods. This is why Saint-Vil in van Horne (2011) says that “unless a paradigm shift and acknowledgement is needed that our (Western) society was built on international crimes that is white supremacist” and that the Western society has to truly invest in human beings without just send out press releases.

5.2.3 Exploitation of gold and other minerals

Another human rights activist and lawyer that stands up for Haiti is Marguerite Laurent, the leader of Haitian Legal Leadership Network. She is also known as Ezili Danto (Danto, 2011). In an interview with a Canadian radio station in 2011 and on her website she does some interesting revelations.

Mines and minerals

The organization of Danto (2011) has been following foreign mining companies coming to Haiti. Danto speaks about at least three Canadian prospecting for gold, bauxite and copper in Northeast Haiti. This is possible, according to Danto (2011) because Haiti is under occupation right now and their voice is not being heard. The combination of these two factors makes Haiti a good place to take grated concessions on exploitations of minerals in Haiti. The reproach that Danto (2011) makes is that the government of Haiti is not representing the people of Haiti, but rather its own interests. The rights to exploit gold, copper, and bauxite were gained during the Coup d'États between 1990 and 1994. At that time, the regimes of Haiti offered rights to exploit those minerals to companies.

Danto (2011) and her organization want to show that Haiti does have minerals – despite the fact that not many people know that - and that they are taken away by big mining companies. She adds that the international community is not present in Haiti due to humanitarian help or caring about Haitian rights, but rather on the base of economic track. Various minerals are won in the Northeastern part of Haiti due to this economic motives to exploit minerals. She says that the companies who are present in the areas have based their choice to exploit minerals in Haiti on a research survey that researched what minerals are available in Haiti, done by the UNDP in the 70's and 80's. In 1997, under president Préval, got a contract for 25 years to win minerals in the mines in the Northern part of Haiti. The government would receive a part of the profit in return. After the Coup d'État in 2004, the

companies were not controlled anymore by the Haitian government because the power in Haiti is in control of the international community right now.

5.2.4 Media and imaginary geography

Media is playing an important role nowadays in relation to neocolonialism. Especially on the level of Orientalism that Said (1978) wrote. Media are providing an image that a person has of a country and vice versa, whether that image is correct or not. Solnit (2010) gives concrete examples of the influence that media can have: Cole (2010) showed a series of photos a few days after the earthquake. Each photo is labeled. One of the photos is labeled: "Looting continued in Haiti on the third day after the earthquake, although there were more police in downtown Port-au-Prince". But Solnit (2010) shows that these people are not necessarily looting, but rather removing debris, and looking for things that are not broken and could still be used. This concrete example of manipulation and twisting facts can occur everywhere in the media, intentionally, or unintentionally. The image that is shaped in media is also a perception of the writer or, in this case, the photographer. In the media all over the world Haiti is put down as a miserable place with piteous people who do not have any chance on a future. A second remark is that media are selective in what they post on the news about Haiti. If someone reads in the newspapers everyday that Haiti is poor and chanceless, readers and viewers of the news will eventually believe it.

Another good example is an action to raise money for the reconstruction of Haiti on Dutch television, organized by the SHO (2010), just after the earthquake of 2010. What the makers of the donor show did was actually quite efficient and clever. The direction that composed the show took pictures and videos of the devastation due to the earthquake in Haiti and the aftermath of it. With sad music in the background crying children who lost their parents, People digging in the debris, people living in tent camps, and collapsed buildings were all used to show how sad Haitian society was and that they really needed help.

During this research, the writer of this thesis often saw pictures in newspapers of helpless people that are only designated to the help of the 'mighty, modern, and civilized' West. But, as Lewis (2010) and Nicole Lee in Global Research (2010) pointed out, none of this is true.

According to them, and undoubtedly other people who know Haiti, the main thoughts in the West about Haiti are naïve and false. Not only media contribute to this sad image of Haiti and Haitian society, but also governments, companies, NGOs, and people who visited Haiti.

5.3 Profiteers and victims of neocolonialism in Haiti

The West

As became clear earlier in this research, mostly the West profits from neocolonialism. There are signs that governments are consciously contributing to neocolonial practices in Haiti and that companies are big profiteers of neocolonialism in Haiti. Indirectly the whole Western world benefits of neocolonial practices in Haiti, due to the economic advantages that the countries in the West have of neocolonialism.

But also cultural advantages are contributing to the benefits of neocolonial practices in Haiti. For example, forming a democracy in Haiti is a benefit of neocolonial practices through a Western view. Because democracy is one of the most important values of modern Western society. Another example is the, during the colonial period, implemented 'Western religion' that Haitians have, namely Christianity. A last example on cultural level the westernization of Haiti due to globalization. Haiti has got a privatized capitalist economy that is at least partly controlled by the West, mainly the US. That is one of the greatest benefits of neocolonial influence of the West on Haiti. Because this states that Haiti has become an experiment of the West of a nation building state. The West has got so much influence on Haiti that the country fully has become dependent on economical and cultural level.

Haitian elite

Another group that benefits from neocolonial practices in Haiti are the elite in Haiti. They provide the possibility of the West to implement their neocolonial practices. As a result of this, they also benefit from neocolonialism. Yet, the elite is controlled by the West, this does not mean that they cannot do whatever they want to do. The elite in Haiti has got so much power, that they can practice corruption, or do other illegal things. This gives them also a position in which they can benefit of the situation in Haiti, due to the neocolonial influences of the West on Haiti.

Victims

The victim of neocolonial practices in Haiti is obviously the poor majority in Haiti. Their voices are not heard, they have to accept circumstances that are inhuman, and above all, they get exploited. Human right watchers (like Amnesty International) and other NGOs are concerned about the situation of the people of Haiti in the aftermath of the earthquake, especially with the cholera outbreak, that is still spreading around. Lewis (2010) and Lee in Global Research TV (2011) say that the world has to stand up for the human rights of the Haitians and that the world has to stop exploiting the population. "People in Haiti want change" (Lee, in Global Research TV, 2011).

6. Conclusion and reflection

6.1 Conclusion

The goal of this research is to obtain insight to what extent development aid in a postcolonial country is subjected to neocolonial influences by outlining the situation in Haiti concerning development aid and reflect this on the living conditions of the local Haitian population after the earthquake of January 12th in 2010 and by, on the basis of theory, empirically measure to what extent development aid and the process of rebuilding in Haiti is subjected to neocolonial influences. This eventually led to the next research question: *To what extent is the development aid and the process of rebuilding in Haiti, after the earthquake of January 12th in 2010, subjected to neocolonial influences?*

In order to give a concrete answer on this question first has to be concluded that it is impossible to relate neocolonialism only to development aid after the 2010 earthquake. It became clear that neocolonialism affects all dimensions in society, and all sectors in a country. Those sectors (e.g. industry or agriculture) and dimensions (e.g. economy, culture, society, and politics) are all part of a system that shapes the country of Haiti and they cannot be seen separately from each other. Another important thing to notice is the fact that empirical examples of neocolonialism in this research are not fully proven, but that there is rather a strong sign that neocolonial practices take place in Haiti.

Throughout the 19th and 20th century signs of neocolonial behavior of the international community can be determined using different examples, e.g. American military intervention, political manipulation, UN intervention (MINUSTAH), economical exploitation, debts, the implementation of Western values into Haiti (like democracy or Christianity), exploitation of minerals etc. The fact that neocolonialism would be still present in Haiti would be, thus, assumable. Still, it is worth determining neocolonial influences because a major earthquake hit Haiti in the beginning of 2010. The question whether or not neocolonialism, and in what extent neocolonialism effected Haiti, after the earthquake was the question that was central in this research.

Neocolonialism in the aftermath of the 2010 earthquake

It can be concluded that in Haiti, in the aftermath of the 2010 earthquake, there is still question of neocolonial practices of foreign powers and companies. At least there are signs that there is still question of neocolonial practices of foreign powers and companies. Forms of neocolonial behavior that were present before the earthquake seem to continue in the aftermath of the earthquake. For example, multinationals are taking advantage of the earthquake that hit Haiti. Like the example of a cement factory from Mexico, that provides

equipment and cement to reconstruct buildings in Haiti. Due to privatization in the past, Haiti is not able anymore to provide their own cement, and now they have to import it out of foreign countries.

Another sign of neocolonial behavior in Haiti is revealed in Wikileaks in the forms of political pressure. Cables from Wikileaks showed that American multinationals like Levi's and Hanes did not agree with the intention of the Haitian government to increase the minimum wages to \$5 a day. Instead they told the US government that they would prefer a minimum wage of \$3 a day. The US government intervened and told the Haitian government that the minimum wage was allowed to increase to \$3 a day at max.

There are many other examples of foreign interventions in Haiti after the earthquake. MINUSTAH, which is a controversial mission of the UN is still present since 2004. Only that fact can be interpreted as a neocolonial, if not, colonial behavior. As a last example signs in modern history, since WW II, show that the US government has always been intervening in Haitian politics. It can be logically assumed, that the US is still controlling the situation in Haiti on that level during the reconstruction of Haiti.

The image of Haiti by the West and dependency

It may be said, that Haiti is more dependent than ever on the international community. At the same time the West is taking advantage of the situation in Haiti as mentioned earlier in this conclusion. A question that could be raised is why the people in Western countries are accepting the neocolonial behavior of their governments and companies. The question is whether the people in the West know what is going on and if they *want* to know what is happening. In addition the image of Haiti is shaped that it is a country that is poor and that the country is one big misery. Media have a major influence on this topic. Apparently the West has got an image of Haiti as an underdeveloped country that is not capable of doing anything effective and succeeding to escape from their struggle. In a certain point of view this is true, in my believes due to the neocolonial behavior of us, the West. But the reason why the majority of the people in the West has that image can, from the perspective of the writer, be mostly explained due to imaginary geography that has been created of the Orient (Haiti) by the Occident (the West). A prominent role in this case, as already said, is reserved for the media that shows pictures of poor Haitians, tent camps, and collapsed buildings and the selectivity in reporting about Haiti.

Neocolonialism in Haiti reflected on the theoretical framework

The dependencia theory and the theory of cultural imperialism formed the theoretical base of this thesis. Haiti is likely to be one of the clearest examples of a formal independent country that is dependent on the international community and international governments. The

dependencia theory has mostly an economic perspective and the theory of cultural imperialism focused more on the implementation of cultural dependence. The notion that signs of neocolonial behavior in Haiti are present raises new questions but also gives answers to previous questions concerning neocolonialism. This gives the opportunity to contribute to the discours of neocolonialism.

The case of Haiti teaches us that neocolonialism is a complex phenomenon that is woven into our world system, especially in the present globalized world. It manifests itself on different levels in society and the world itself. E.g. it can be said that people in Haiti get exploited by companies, but Haiti as a whole even gets exploited by foreign governments. Both are examples of a core-periphery interaction that affects both Haiti or Haitian society and the West or Western society. Whether you think neocolonialism is good or bad, it is clear that we, as the West, need neocolonialism to maintain our wealth. Consequences of the demand to maintain this wealth are that inequalities keep existing and that 'boundaries' and inequalities are shaped. These boundaries can be a distinction between mass and a small elite in Haiti but also the distinction between the First World and the Third World. Another thing that became clear, is that the Western society in general is having a wrong image about Haiti. The occident in the West see Haiti, the orient, as a poor miserable country with a society that is not capable to be independent. This is one of the reasons why development aid, that is unsustainable and distributed and managed in the wrong way, is provided to Haiti.

Another reason for this development aid could be the justification to actually perform our neocolonial behavior. It cannot be proven at base of this thesis, but it can be suggested that Western governments and societies are giving development aid to Haiti as a justification for the exploitation of Haiti. Development aid can also be used as a handy tool to actually perform neocolonial behavior. A good example is the case of the US multinationals that demanded US intervention in Haitian politics due to the raise of the minimum wage, in which the US threatened to stop the flow of development aid if the Haitian government did not answer to the demand of the US government to adjust the minimum wage to \$3 a day instead of \$5 a day.

So, it can be concluded that it is not a question if neocolonialism is present in Haiti and developing countries in general, but rather in what forms and at what scale neocolonialism is carried out, who the stakeholders are, what their stakes are, and at what price they manage to fulfill their stakes. Not only science can contribute to the answer of those questions, but also ethics. Haiti could be a good case to raise these questions. Ethics could help answering questions like why we, as the West, on the one hand are responding to a disaster in Haiti full of compassion and promise all the help they need, but on the other hand 1.5 years later almost no progress has been made. Do we really have the (political) will to help Haiti or are we just pledging help in order to continue exploitation? As the writer of

this thesis I am convinced that Haiti is able to sustainably develop and eventually *really* become independent. But in order to reach this, many changes have to be made in the system of (foreign) policy and governance, the system of providing aid, the image that exists in the West about Haiti, and the way the West approaches Haiti. Haiti has to be able to have an own voice again in order to get independent. It is the question of this will ever happen. As the writer of this thesis I got the strong feeling that the international community is doing her best to maintain the opposite, namely maintaining the dependent situation of Haiti (at any cost). So it is likely that neocolonial behavior in Haiti will always exist.

6.2 Recommendations

This research was meant to uncover signs of neocolonial practices in a postcolonial country that is hit by a natural disaster, namely Haiti after the earthquake of 2010. As said in the case analysis and the conclusion, it is clear that there are signs that neocolonial practices are carried out by foreign powers and companies. More research is needed to actually prove for 100 percent that these practices are carried out. Also more research could contribute to uncover more examples and evidence of neocolonial practices in Haiti in the aftermath of the earthquake of 2010. To concretely determine neocolonialism in relation to development aid it would be necessary to do a research on the process of forms of development aid in Haiti, the organizations and institutions that are involved, and in what ways they are involved.

To get these things done, it would be good to actually perform the research in Haiti itself. In that way the researcher is not limited only to literature and the internet. By actually performing the research in Haiti, the researcher will be able to get a more nuanced view on the current situation in Haiti, the researcher will be able to do own observations, and the researcher will be able to interview Haitian people, people from NGOs, people from foreign companies and governments that are located in Haiti, and people from the Haitian companies and government. This will all contribute to a more objective and nuanced view on the discourses of neocolonialism in Haiti.

6.3 Research evaluation

When I started with developing a research objective in the beginning of the second semester in this year, it was not easy to choose a good research goal and research question. It started with a brainstorm session where I decided that the research goal had to contain the subjects of neocolonialism, development aid, Haiti, and the earthquake of January 12th in 2010. After a while and after a few meetings with Dr. Olivier Kramsch, my supervisor, the research objective started getting shape. After a couple of adjustments of the research goal and the research question a research objective, explained in chapter 1, was completed. During the process of developing the research objective I learned a lot due to the iterative

process of creating my own research objective and doing my own research.

In the following four months I spent many hours on collecting information that I could use for the fulfillment of the thesis and many hours on writing the thesis. Now the thesis is complete, it gives much satisfaction to see the completed thesis. The fact that I wrote this Bachelorthesis in English was a good exercise as a preparation on my Master thesis (that probably also will be in English).

Despite backstrokes, limited possibilities writing this thesis because I was only dependent on desk research, and difficulties, I am satisfied with the result.

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Appendix 1: Abbreviations and place names

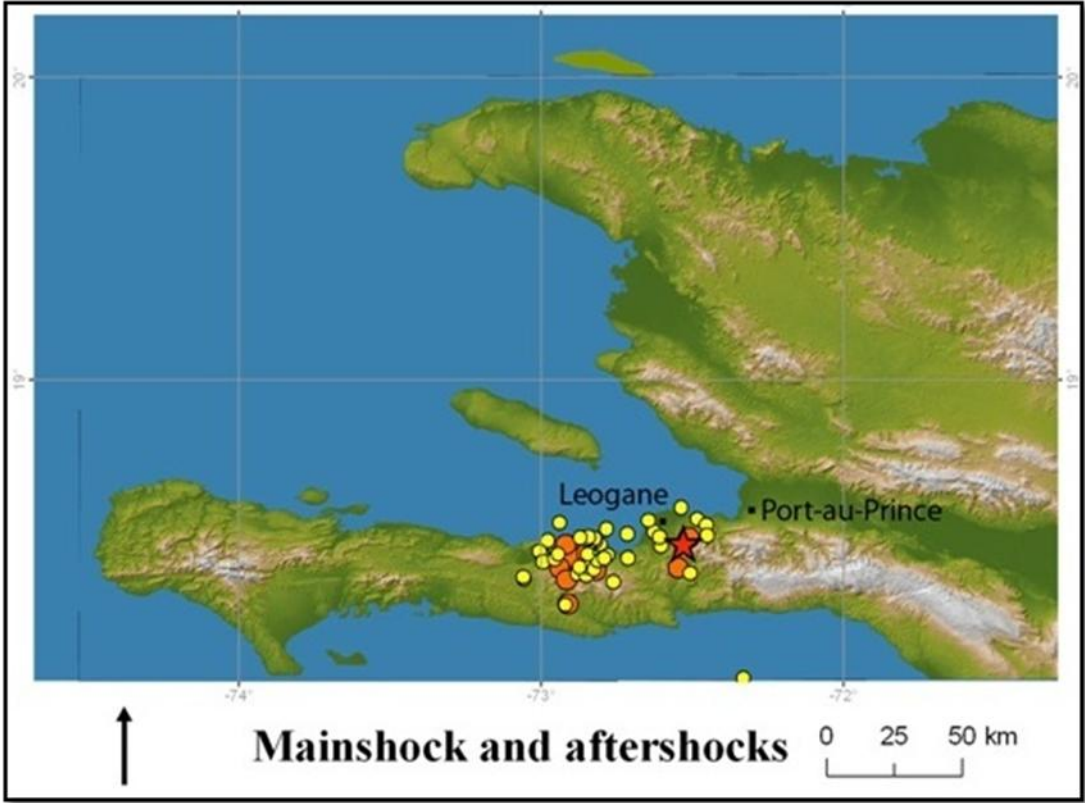
Abbreviations:

| | |
|------|--------------------------------------|
| EU | European Union |
| NGO | Non-governmental Organization |
| US | United States (of America) |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Programme |

Place names:

| | |
|--------------------|--|
| Caribbean | Region in Latin-America |
| Dominican Republic | The country that lays at the east of Haiti |
| Hispaniola | Island in the Caribbean. Haiti and the Dominican Republic are located at this island |
| Port-au-Prince | Capital of Haiti |
| Saint Domingue | The name of Haiti before independence |

Appendix 2: Map of the earthquake of January 2010



Appendix 2.1: A map with the earthquake of the major earthquake of January 12th 2010 and aftershocks (Eberhard et al., 2010, p. 4).