

Picturing Aid in Haiti

A Work of Graphic Reportage by Isabel Macdonald



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at Concordia University*

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Picturing Aid in Haiti

{ The script for a graphic book }

INTRODUCTION
DRAWING ON THE NEWS IN HAITI

PAGE 1

Panel 1

(Map of Haiti showing the epicentre of the earthquake, close to Port-au-Prince, the Haitian capital.)

On January 12, 2010, Haiti was struck by a devastating earthquake...

Panel 2

(Panoramic image of Port-au-Prince, engulfed in a giant cloud of dust, as the main institutions of the Haitian government, as well as thousands upon thousands of homes fracture and collapse, crushing government ministers, judges and whole families. The word GOUDOUNGOUDOUN is visible rising through the dust, both expressing the sound of this catastrophe, and naming it in Kreyòl.)

...or, as this catastrophe has sometimes been called in Kreyòl, the language most commonly spoken in Haiti, the GOUDOUNGOUDOUN.

PAGE 2

Panel 1

(Image of buildings fracturing and collapsing, as Haitians of all ages run frantically to escape from the concrete blocks falling all around them.)

More than 100,000 Haitians died in the earthquake, which also destroyed 30 percent of the housing in Port-au-Prince, Haiti's most densely populated city.

Panel 2

(Image of a Haitian family putting up a makeshift tent, using some bed sheets they managed to rescue from the rubble of their destroyed home.)

In the days after the *Goudougoudoun*, as the earthquake's aftershocks continued to shake Haiti's fractured infrastructure, survivors took refuge on what seemed like every possible open patch of land...

Panel 3

(Image of dozens of homeless earthquake survivors sitting in one of these makeshift encampments, in Port-au-Prince's Champ de Mars park. Haiti's collapsed National Palace is visible in the background.)

...including public parks,

Panel 4

(Image of camp in the yard of a private boys' school.)

...school yards...

Panel 5

(Image of encampment in a vacant lot.)

...and vacant lots.

Panel 1

(Image of me--a white woman with glasses sitting at a desk in a comfortable home office--looking at a news image of a tent camp on my computer screen.)

In the initial weeks after the earthquake, these homeless earthquake survivors were quite visible to people like me, who had the luxury of following this catastrophe from afar, as "news".

Panel 2

(Scene at a hotel bar, where I am sitting in the middle of group of other white people. Details in the scene provide visual clues that those I'm sitting with are journalists. For instance, one has a reporters notebook beside him, and another has a large camera slung around his neck. Yet there are also signs that these journalists are here to socialize: many of them are holding drinks in their hands.)

Yet by the time I arrived in Haiti to begin my research for this graphic project, it was three years later.

Port-au-Prince, January 2013

An impromptu gathering of the international press corps in Haiti--and me, a PhD student from Concordia University, Montreal.

Panel 3

(Image zooms in on one of the journalists at the hotel bar.)

This guy is a reporter for one of the major agencies that supplies international news reports to media organizations around the world.

UNIDENTIFIED JOURNALIST: I mean what else can I say about tent camps?

Panel 4

(Panoramic view of a camp, showing displaced Haitians going about their daily business. Laundry is visible hanging out to dry in the sun, while a woman cooks and children play.)

By definition, news implies things that are new. And by 2013, these camps for Haitians displaced by the earthquake were already more than three years old.

Panel 1

(Image of an international TV crew filming in a camp.)

Haiti's camps had received a smattering of coverage the previous week, for the occasion of the three-year anniversary of the January 12, 2010 earthquake.

Panel 2

(Scene back at the hotel bar. One of the journalists I'm sitting with is scanning news headlines on his phone.)

But we were now already well into the second week of January, 2013, and the international news cycle was quickly moving on...

Panel 3

(Vertical split-screen image, half of which shows the same journalists sitting around at hotel bar, and half of which shows an American Airlines airplane taking off from the airport in Port-au-Prince)

...as were most international journalists. Several of these reporters for instance, would be flying outta here first thing the next morning.

I'd first met some of these reporters when I too was working as a journalist.

Panel 4

(The journalist who could find nothing else to say about Haiti's camps suddenly turns to me with a question that seems to catch me a bit off-guard.)

UNIDENTIFIED JOURNALIST: So what are you doing back in Haiti, Isabel? Are you working on a story?

ISABEL: Well, it's actually, er, a "comics journalism" project I'm making as part of my PhD thesis.

Panel 5

(Image of the unidentified journalist raising his eyebrows as he hears my answer to his question).

Panel 1

(Panoramic view of a street where collapsed homes are still visible.)

To this day, relatively little of the housing destroyed in the Haitian earthquake of 2010 has been rebuilt.

Panel 2

(Image of Haitians moving out of a camp).

Yet various agencies have been working to close Haiti's camps for "Internally Displaced People" (or "IDPs", as Haitians living in officially recognized camps for people who lost their homes in the earthquake are formally known in the humanitarian world.)

Panel 3

(Scene in a generic conference room, in which I am seated at a table across from another white woman.)

Like refugees, IDPs are defined as people uprooted from their homes by disasters like wars or earthquakes. Yet because they have not crossed any international borders, they do not have the same rights to basic humanitarian assistance and protection from the international community as those recognized as refugees.

Julia, a humanitarian professional involved in international programs to assist IDPs.

JULIA¹: In principle, they are the responsibility of their own government. Unlike refugees that become protected under international refugee law, IDPs don't have this status, don't have a legal status.

Panel 4

Yet those categorized as IDPs nonetheless fall under the mandate of the international agency for which Julia works.

That's the International Organization for Migration (IOM) -- a group based in Geneva, Switzerland, that defines itself as the "leading intergovernmental agency in the field of migration".

(Image of the IOM's headquarters, a large imposing building.)

¹ The name of this humanitarian professional has been changed in this project in order to protect this individual's identity.

Panel 1

(Image of IOM's offices in Haiti.)

When I met her, Julia was working as part of the IOM's Haiti Mission, at the agency's offices in Tabarre, a suburb of Port-au-Prince.

Panel 2

(Image of IOM staff registering people in camp.)

After the 2010 earthquake, the IOM's staff registered Haitians living in official IDP camps, issuing each family a registration card.

Panel 3

(Image of Julia sitting at table in conference room looking very official and serious, as if she is being interviewed on TV.)

When I interviewed Julia in 2013, the IOM and various other agencies were working to close Haiti's camps, through programs known as "rental subsidies", which offer eligible families who leave these camps one year of subsidized rent.

JULIA: Most of the camps can be targeted for rental subsidies, that's the easiest and quickest solution.

Panel 4

(Closer-up image of Julia, who now looks a bit doubtful.)

In its official press releases, the IOM has trumpeted the "progress" rental subsidies have achieved in Haiti.

Panel 5

Yet privately, many humanitarians acknowledge that these programs, which only offset the cost of registered IDP families' rent for 12 months, are...

JULIA: Not providing durable solutions.

Panel 1

(Image of a very nice-looking hotel.)

February 2013. The Kinam II Hotel in Petionville, a relatively wealthy suburb of the Haitian capital

Panel 2

(Image zooms down in on the Kinam II's lovely outdoor café-terrace, where I am sitting at a table across from a light-skinned Haitian man.)

Leslie Voltaire, an architect and former government official who long served as Haiti's planning minister.

Panel 3

(Image of Leslie pointing across the street.)

LESLIE: *Savez-vous qu'il y avait un camp juste là?*

[Did you know that there was a camp right there?]

Panel 4

(Image of me looking confused as I gaze out in the direction in which Leslie is pointing, and see only a nicely-landscaped park with a tall monument in the middle of it.)

Panel 1

(Flashback to a scene when the park was still a tent camp. The monument is engulfed in a sea of tarp shelters. A crew of TV journalists can be seen filming the camp.)

Indeed, from the hotel's lovely café-terrace, it had previously been possible to see a sprawling encampment of homeless earthquake survivors.

Panel 2

(Image of Haiti's former president Michel Martelly speaking at a press conference he convened in the park just after displaced Haitians had been relocated from this first camp targeted for rental subsidies. He is speaking into a microphone beside the monument in the park, with some white men in suits at his side. International and Haitian journalists surround the officials, holding up their own microphones and taking pictures.)

The camp across from the Kinam II Hotel was the very first encampment of displaced Haitian earthquake survivors closed through rental subsidies. These subsidies were first institutionalized by the government of former Haitian president Michel Martelly.

Panel 3

(Image of Leslie and me gazing out from the terrace of the Kinam II hotel at the park where the camp had been.)

The model instituted through this relocations program has since been used to close scores of other camps throughout Haiti.

LESLIE: *C'est une solution visuelle.*

 [It's a visual solution.]

CHAPTER ONE
VIEWS OF THE GOLF COURSE

PAGE 9

Panel 1

(Image of Haitians destroying a makeshift tarp shelter in a camp, as a white NGO worker, standing to the side, looks on.)

February 2013

Panel 2

(Silhouetted image of me sitting across from an unidentifiable Haitian woman under a tarp in a camp.)

When I met Marie-Pierre¹, an official humanitarian relocations program was just getting underway in the camp where she'd been living with her family for more than three years.

MARIE-PIERRE: *Pandan pa gen kote kibo ale yo mem, yo beswen teren an yo mem pou fe teren golf, ou kompran, pou fe afe pa yo!*

[There's nowhere for us to go! But they need the field themselves for their golf course, you understand, to do their own affairs.]

Panel 3

(Image of Marie-Pierre pointing at empty space in the camp).

MARIE-PIERRE: *Li anleve tout block sa pou fe teren golf.*

[They cleared that entire block for the golf course.]

Panel 1

(Panoramic image of the camp.)

In official statistics on Haiti's camps, the camp where Marie-Pierre lived was classified as *Terrain de Golf*, which means "Golf Course" in French. For prior to the earthquake, the site--one of the largest open areas in Port-au-Prince--had served as a private golf course for an exclusive country club.

Panel 2

(Image moves up the hill from the camp, showing a large clubhouse. In the foreground, a sign is visible bearing the golf club's name.)

Petionville Club

Panel 3

(Image of scene on terrace of clubhouse, overlooking camp down below, where I'm sitting at a table with a white man, who is identified in a caption beside my drawing of him.)

Don Moore, a shareholding director of the Petionville Club

DON: It used to be referred to as "the American club."

Panel 1

(Image showing Don continuing to talk to me.)

The club was first founded under the U.S. Marines' 19-year military occupation of Haiti (1915-34). Initially it served as an officers club for the occupying Marines, who attempted to institute Jim-Crow style racial segregation in Haiti, the world's first black republic. The club was then privatized near the end of the occupation, during which the Marines also rewrote Haiti's constitution to allow foreigners to own land in the country.

DON: Most of the people who used to be members were American. Not everybody was allowed to come here. Initially I don't believe [Haitians] could be members.

Panel 2

(Image of a Haitian man in a suit standing dumbfounded as white US marines block his entrance to the door of the clubhouse.)

Indeed, the club is perhaps best known amongst Haitians for initially having refused entry even to Haiti's then-president, Philippe Sudré Dartiguenave, who was appointed by the U.S. occupation authorities themselves.

Panel 3

(Wide-shot image of the terrace where I am sitting with Don, showing various other white and light-skinned people sitting at other tables, swimming in a large salt-water swimming pool, reading on deck chairs. In the background, we can see the camp below, whose residents are, in contrast, black.)

Membership in the once white-only club has since been extended to Haitians who can afford to pay the Petionville Club's hefty annual membership fee.

Panel 3

(Image zooms in on Don, showing the view of him I see from where I'm sitting, and in which the upper part of my body, seen from behind, is also visible in the foreground, as is my hand, which holds a bottle of Prestige beer.)

People like Don Moore himself, a wealthy businessman who recently sold the company that makes and bottles Haiti's "national" beer, *Prestige*, to the German company Heineken.

Panel 1

(Image of Don driving his large SUV down the winding road from the Clubhouse, which looks out over a large swath of Port-au-Prince.)

Don Moore is one of Haiti's most powerful landowners.

Panel 2

(Image of Don and me sitting at a table back on the terrace of the Clubhouse.)

DON: They always call me *Ti Don*.

Panel 3

Translated literally from *Kreyòl*, the nickname means "Little Don."

DON: Its like Junior. 'Cause my grandfather had the same name. So they always called me *Ti Don*.

Panel 4

(Image of a white man who looks similar to Don, attired in a 1920s suit, and carrying a briefcase, stepping off a boat in Port-au-Prince, with US Marines standing in the foreground.)

His maternal grandfather, a white Ohio businessman by the name of Don Mohr, arrived in Haiti under the US military occupation.

Panel 5

(Image of Ti Don's grandfather sitting across from a white woman at a table in the Clubhouse.)

Don Mohr, who stayed on in Haiti with his white U.S.-born wife (*Ti Don's* grandmother) after the Marines went home, was one of the original founders of the club.

Panel 1

(Back to the scene of my interview with Ti Don.)

It was from Don Mohr, and another wealthy white family involved in the club's co-founding, the Madsens, that *Ti Don* inherited his shares in the Petionville Club (as well as large swaths of prime real estate in Port-au-Prince).

Panel 2

(Image of Don taking a cigarette out of a pack of Marlboroughs as he gazes out in the direction of the camp.)

These inherited shares make *Ti Don* what is referred to as a "legacy member" in the exclusive club.

Panel 3

(Image of Don talking, with unlit cigarette in his hand)

DON: I'm legacy which means the shares you have are real shares in the club. Equity.

ISABEL: So, were you part of the decision to um host people down on what was the golf course?

DON: No, they just came on their own!

Panel 4

(Image zooms out to panoramic shot showing the Petionville Clubhouse surrounded by hundreds of tarp shelters. We see Haitian women carrying water, cooking, children flying kites.)

Panel 1

(Image zooms back inside the Clubhouse, showing a close-up shot of the flame that springs from Don's lighter as he lights his cigarette.)

Like most of Haiti's official IDP camps, the *Terrain de Golf* camp was officially classified as a "spontaneous" settlement.

Panel 2

(Panoramic image of Haitians erecting makeshift shelters out of bed-sheets on the golf course.)

Meaning that this encampment was not pre-planned by humanitarian agencies. Rather, it was formed by earthquake survivors themselves.

Panel 3

(Image of one of the Petionville Club's armed private security guards standing in front of a large concrete wall.)

DON: There was a wall...

Panel 3

(Image of wall collapsing, as guard flees in terror, against a backdrop of the mushroom cloud of earthquake dust and the rising Kreyòl word/sound that appears above the speech bubble in which Don concludes his sentence from the previous panel.)

GOUDOUNGOUDOUN

DON: ...but most of it fell down.

Panel 1

(Aerial image showing the golf course--a vast expanse of open grassy meadowland, which contrasts strikingly with the environment immediately surrounding it, where we see a mass of dilapidated, closely packed-together concrete buildings).

In contrast to many of the smaller parks, schoolyards, and vacant lots where earthquake survivors found refuge around Port-au-Prince, the Petionville Golf Course is one of the city's largest open spaces.

Panel 2

(Split-screen image, half of which shows Don talking, unsmiling. The other half of the image shows a crowd of dusty, injured and exhausted earthquake survivors of all ages arriving at the pile of rubble that had been the wall, and seeing the expanse of open space beyond it.)

DON: They just walked in.

Panel 3

(Split-screen image, half of which shows Don continuing to talk. The other half of the image shows armed U.S. soldiers standing in front of the Clubhouse, as Haitian families are seen in background clambering over the ruins of wall onto the golf course.

DON: That's why, luckily, we had, you know, why the [U.S.] military was up here!

Panel 4

(Large image showing Don taking a drag of his Marlborough, as he looks out at the camp down below.)

DON: Somewhat keeping the people at bay.

Panel 1

(Panoramic image of camp.)

English language media reports typically called the encampment of earthquake survivors who took refuge on the Petionville Club's golf course "Petionville Club Camp" or "Petionville Camp".

Panel 2

Yet when I spoke to Haitians living in this camp, they often referred to the place simply as *teren an*--which means "the land" in *Kreyòl*.

(Image of Marie-Pierre speaking to me in a tarp shelter in the camp.)

MARIE-PIERRE: *Bon, nou mem nou sou teren a. Nou te kompran ke kom se apre 12 janviye nou te veni sou teren a--nou te kompran ke teren a, te a pa t gen met. Kom nou pa gen kob pou nou anfeme kay, nou oblije rete si li--net!*

[As it was after the earthquake of January 12 2010 that we came on the land, we didn't think there was a landowner. As we don't have money to rent a house, we have to stay on the land!]

Panel 3

(Image of Marie-Pierre cooking in crowded apartment, surrounded by the members of her family, whose members are identified via captions.)

Even before the earthquake, it had been a struggle for families like Marie-Pierre's to afford the cost of rent. In order to cover the cost of renting a home, she lived with four of her adult children and her grandchildren.

Her eldest daughter, Lina, and her daughter's five kids.
Her daughters Therese and Sophia, plus Sophia's children.
And the kids of her fourth daughter, Rozalie, who'd died in childbirth.

Panel 4

(Images of fissure appearing the wall and concrete blocks beginning to fall as Marie-Pierre, her daughters and grandchildren run for the door screaming.)

Then the earthquake struck.

Panel 1

(Split-screen image, one part of which shows Marie-Pierre continuing to talk to me, while the other part shows Marie-Pierre, her daughters, and several grandchildren staring in shock at their collapsed home.)

MARIE-PIERRE: *Tout timoun te gen tan sove. Kouri nan lari...*

[The children just had time to get out.
They ran into the street...]

Panel 2

(Image of Marie-Pierre, looking anguished.)

MARIE-PIERRE: *Men mwen gen yon ki mouri kan mem.*

[But I have one who died anyway.]

Panel 3

(Marie-Pierre continues to talk to me, with a pained expression on her face, as she recalls how a concrete block, dislodged from the wall of her home, hurtled down towards the head of her daughter Sophia's baby.)

MARIE-PIERRE: *Mwen te gen yon petit de petit mwen ki mouri.*

[I had one grandchild who died.]

Panel 4

(Marie-Pierre's eyes are closed as she recalls this painful memory, of her daughter screaming as she ran to her baby.)

MARIE-PIERRE: *Yon bebe ki katoz mwa ki mouri.*

[A fourteen-month old baby who died.]

Panel 5

(Split-screen image, half of which shows Marie-Pierre, her eyes downcast, continuing to tell her story. The other half of the image shows the surviving members of her family standing in front of a tiny freshly dug grave. She has her arm around Sophia, who is sobbing.)

MARIE-PIERRE: *Mete li nan te. Apre nou vin rete sou teren.*

[We buried him. Then we came to stay on the land.]

Panel 1

(Panoramic image showing hundreds of weary-looking Haitian families walking onto the open grassy fields of the golf course. Some of them are erecting makeshift shelters out of bedsheets. A mother is nursing her baby.)

Panel 2

(Image zooms in on a middle aged Haitian woman walking onto the land with a boy dressed in a school uniform who looks like he's about 12 years old.)

Cassandra and her school-aged son also arrived here right after the earthquake, which badly damaged the home they rented.

Panel 3

(Image of Cassandra, seated on an upside-down plastic bucket in her makeshift tarp shelter. Her son is sitting on a mattress on the floor behind her. He is wearing his school uniform, which is noticeably more worn than when we saw him as he arrived in the camp with his mother. He is leaning over a notebook trying to do his homework).

CASSANDRA: *M la le 13, a 5 h di maten*

[I've been here since the 13th of January, 2010, at 5 o'clock in the morning.]

Panel 1

(Image zooms in to a closer shot of Cassandra, looking exhausted and noticeably older than in the scene in which we saw her arriving on the golf course.)

Like many of the residents of the camp, Cassandra had lost not only her home, but also her livelihood in the earthquake.

CASSANDRA: *M te gen bel pitit komes avan. Devan lakay mwen.*

[I had nice little business before. In front of my house.]

Panel 2

(Split-screen image, half of which shows Cassandra speaking to me, and half of which illustrates her recollections of her life prior to the earthquake. In the latter scene, she is talking to customers at a little stall front of her home).

CASSANDRA: *M te kon vand di ri, pwa, mayi moulè, spaghetti, tout bagay net. tout bagay net m kon vand.*

[I used to sell rice, peas, cornmeal, spaghetti, everything.]

Panel 3

(Split-screen image, half of which shows Cassandra speaking to me, and half of which illustrates her recollections of the earthquake. In the latter scene, we can see a giant crack that has fissured her home. Piles of rubble are the only traces of some of the buildings we'd seen around her home in the previous scene. People are running every which way, many screaming and crying. Some are carrying bags of provisions like water out of her store, through the rubble of destroyed buildings.)

CASSANDRA: *Pendan trembleman te a, yo te rentre, yo te pran tout bagay net. Tout m yo vide. Tout m yo tombe. Yo rentre, pa gen pot pou feme, anryen. Yo rantre yo pran bagay yo.*

[During the earthquake, people came and took everything. They emptied my place. There wasn't a door to close or anything. They came and took stuff.]

Panel 1

(Split-screen image, half of which shows Cassandra telling her story. The other half illustrates the situation she is recalling. In this latter scene, she is holding up a phone to her ear with a terrified expression on her face. In the background, we see the rubble of her home and store.)

Cassandra had paid for all of these supplies that were stolen with a loan from a microcredit agency. The creditor demanded that she pay the sum back.

CASSANDRA: *Yo rele m, yo jire m, menase m pou paye lajan.
M pa gen lajan: m pa gen travay.*

*[They called me, swore at me, and threatened me.
I had no money: I had no work.]*

Panel 2

(Image of Cassandra continuing to tell her story, looking exhausted.)

Since the earthquake, Cassandra has been looking for work.

CASSANDRA: *Mwen mache devan, tout kote yo konn yo gen, jwen
travay, men m pa trouve.*

*[I walk to everywhere I can think of to find work, but
I can't find any.]*

Panel 3

(Image of Cassandra waving goodbye to two children, who are looking back at her from out the back windows of a crowded, dilapidated bus.)

Already, she'd had to send two of her children away to live with adoptive families far from her home city of Port-au-Prince because she couldn't afford to care for them anymore.

Panel 4

And she struggled to pay the school fees for the one child she'd managed to keep with her.

(Image of Cassandra looking very stressed as she empties a thread-bare change purse into her hand, and a single Haitian dollar--worth about 25 cents Canadian--falls into her hand. Her son is visible in the background doing his homework.)

Panel 1

(Aerial image of the golf course and neighbourhoods surrounding it.)

Panel 2

(Image zooms into a view of Cassandra, when she was 20 years younger, walking out of her home).

For decades, Cassandra had lived near the golf course.

Panel 3

(Image of the younger Cassandra walking across what looks like an open field, studded with some trees.)

She often used to walk across the course, which she described to me as

CASSANDRA: *Yon bel gazon ver. M kon pase nan teren.*

[A beautiful green lawn. I used to pass through this land.]

Panel 4

That was before private security guards started guarding the premises.

CASSANDRA: *[Yo] mete sekirite. yo tire sou moun*

[They put in security. They shot at people.]

Panel 5

One of her neighbours had been shot by a security guard working for the golf course.

CASSANDRA: *Li pran plisye katouch. Li rentre nan teren. Yo tire.*

[He was hit by several bullets. He came onto the land, and they fired.]

Panel 1

(Image of Cassandra and I sitting under her tarp.)

CASSANDRA: *Men avan sa, te gen moun ki abite nan.*

[But before that, there were people who lived here.]

Panel 2

CASSANDRA: *Mesye li te mouri, kon vand anpil te. Moun ayisyen ki te achte l.*

[A man who has since died sold lots of land. There were Haitian people who bought land.]

Panel 3

CASSANDRA: *Blan yo di te pou li. Se teren prive ameriken. Se pa pou ayisyen li ye.*

[The foreigners said the land was theirs. It's private American land. It's not for Haitians.]

Panel 4

CASSANDRA: *Anpil am ak, truk t ap pase, krase kay. Sa te fe anpil eko.*

[There were tonnes of arms, trucks that came to crush the houses. This made many echoes.]

Panel 5

In my far-from-perfect Kreyòl, I asked Cassandra if she could show me where the houses had been.

ISABEL: *Ou ka pwente pou montre m?*

[You can point to show me?]

Panel 6

(Image of Cassandra pointing to a place behind the tents we see in the background.)

CASSANDRA: *Anpil kay*

[There were many houses.]

Panel 1

(Large panoramic aerial image of the camp, showing the entire camp from above.)

Panel 2

(Image zooms down on a small tarp shelter.)

Panel 3

(View showing the inside of this tiny shelter, where I am sitting with a Haitian man who looks like he's probably in his late 30s.)

When I met François, his family had been living for more than three years under a tarp in the camp. The 2010 earthquake had completely destroyed the house he rented in Port-au-Prince.

Panel 4

(Image of François, who faces me/the reader directly as he recalls his former home.)

Yet he says it was a disaster more than a decade earlier that destroyed the only home his family has ever really been able to call their own.

Panel 5

François had built his house himself, on a parcel of land he'd purchased with his life savings in the mid 1990s, from a local landowner.

(Image of François building the house.)

Panel 6

He was still finishing its construction when he moved in, with his wife and two young daughters.

(Image of his family moving in.)

Panel 1

The house was in an emergent middle class neighbourhood right beside the golf course that François described to me as

FRANÇOIS: *Yon bel zon.*

[A beautiful area.]

Panel 2

In all about 48 Haitian families lived there. Most of them had, like François, built their homes themselves, on land they'd purchased from the same Haitian landowner.

FRANÇOIS: *T ap fe komite nan zon la pou oganize sa, nou bat pou fe zon la bel.*

[We had been forming a committee in the area, and organizing to make it a nice neighbourhood.]

Panel 3

FRANÇOIS: *Nou prepare zon nan tout bon route la. Gen pwojè pou rentre limye nan zon la tou.*

[We were preparing to put in good roads, and there was a plan to install lights in the area too.]

Panel 4

Then one morning the golf course owners appeared.

FRANÇOIS: *Blan vin avek tout sekirite l, avek la polis ... preske 300 polisye, yo veni avek trakte.*

[The foreigners came with all their security, and with the police. Almost 300 police officers. They came with tractors.]

Panel 5

FRANÇOIS: *Nou te nan kay la, mwen mem, madam mwen, petit mwen, nan kay la. kuniya yo mete nou deyò, yo di kay nou yo veni krase la.*

[We were in the house, myself, my wife, my children. They put us outside, they said that they had come to demolish our house.]

Panel 1

FRANÇOIS: *Yo veni la, la polis veni kanpe, avek la gaz lakrimojen yo vide kay la.*

[The police came, they stood there, and with tear gas they emptied the houses.]

Panel 2

FRANÇOIS: *Yo vini biskile moun, krase kay la sou ou, yo gen baton, yo itilize baton.*

[They came and shoved people while your house was being demolished. They had batons that they used.]

Panel 3

One man who protested was shot.

FRANÇOIS: *Sekirite blan yo te tire sou li.*

[The white foreigners' security shot him.]

Panel 4

FRANÇOIS: *[Moun te] kouri -- depase 100 moun, 120 a 130 moun, timoun ave yo. Vye. Gen yon madam andikape, moun lakay li soti avek li.*

[People ran. There were more than 100 of us, 120 or 130 people, including the children, the elderly, a handicapped woman. She was taken out by others in her house.]

Panel 5

François recalled one of his neighbours screaming.

(Image of Haitian woman screaming as she stands in front of her house, her hands clasped together in a gesture of desperate appeal.)

NEIGHBOUR: *Bay nou yon ti chans! Pou demen si dye ve.*

[Give us a small chance! Until tomorrow, if God wishes it!]

Panel 1

FRANÇOIS: *Yo vide kay yo a te, san pa asume nou, pa rele nou oken kote nan tribinal.*

[They crushed the houses to the ground. Without warning us, without calling us before a tribunal, they demolished the houses.]

Panel 2

FRANÇOIS: *Nan twa jou yo krase 48 kay. Nan twa jou, yo bay zon la blanch.*

[In three days, they demolished 48 houses. In three days, they cleared the whole area.]

Panel 3

(Image of François, his wife and daughters staring at a pile of rubble where their home had been.)

François' family was left homeless.

FRANÇOIS: *Pa gen tan pou prend enryen. Tout bagay m pedi net. Tout bagay ki nan kay la pedi.*

[There wasn't even time to take anything. I lost everything. Everything that was in the house was destroyed.]

Panel 1

François told me that he and his neighbours consulted a lawyer.

(Image of François and his neighbours meeting with a Haitian man in a suit.)

Panel 2

The Haitian constitution bars landowners from evicting anyone without first proving before a tribunal that they hold title to the land in question. François says he and his neighbours had documentation of their title to the land they bought.

(Image of François and his neighbours looking hopefully at the lawyer as François pulls a pile of documents out of a briefcase.)

Panel 3

(Split-screen image, one half of which shows François talking. In the other half, he and his neighbours are talking animatedly with the lawyer, looking hopeful.)

FRANÇOIS: *Nou fin konnen blan pa gen papye.*

[We found out that the foreigners didn't have any documentation, they don't have documentation for the land.]

Panel 4

(Image of François and his neighbours suddenly looking discouraged, as they look at the bill the lawyer has just handed them.)

But he and his neighbours didn't have the funds needed to challenge the eviction in the courts.

Panel 1

(Split-screen image, showing François talking, while in the other half of the image, his family picks through the rubble of their home.)

FRANÇOIS: *Leta pa jamn endomaje nou.*

[The state never offered compensation.]

Panel 2

(François continues talking, while we see his family walking away from the pile of rubble, looking behind them in shock.)

FRANÇOIS: *Yo bay blan plis priyorite sou teren a.*

[They give the foreigners more priority over the land.]

Panel 3

FRANÇOIS: *Leta ayisyen se yon eta ki pa gen oken respe pour ayisyen pa yo, pa gen oken dwa!*

[The Haitian state is a state that doesn't have any respect for their own people, who have no rights.]

Panel 4

François and some of the others whose homes were demolished protested outside the studios of Haiti's public television broadcaster, *Télévision Nationale d'Haïti* (TNH).

(Image of the protest.)

Panel 5

(Split-screen image, half of which shows François talking. In the other half of the image, we see police arriving at the protest.)

FRANÇOIS: *Yo te arete nou tout net.*

[They arrested us all.]

Panel 6

FRANÇOIS: *Mwen mem m te nan prison.*

[I myself was sent to jail.]

(Split-screen image, one half of which shows François talking. In the other half of the image, we see François in a jail cell.)

Panel 1

(Split-screen image, one half of which shows François talking. In the other half, we see a big truck pull up.)

FRANÇOIS: *Mem kote krase kay yo, nan 15 jou, veni klotire te a net. Mete nou deyò.*

[Fifteen days later, in the same area where they'd demolished our houses, they put up a wall around all the land. To keep us out.]

Panel 2

(Split-screen image, one half of which shows François talking. In the other half, we see Dominican workers beginning to build a wall.)

FRANÇOIS: *Yo pa prand ayisyen yo, yo prand yon kompani etranje, San Doming. Mem kote krase kay yo.*

[They didn't use Haitians, they used a foreign company from Santo Domingo. They came in and enclosed the whole area.]

Panel 3

(Split-screen image, one half of which shows François talking. In the other half, we see the giant wall being completed.)

FRANÇOIS: *Nan 15 jours, yon kloti yo te monte, te net.*

[In fifteen days they had walled it all off with blocks. The wall was very high.]

Panel 4

(Image of the giant wall collapsing in earthquake.)

Until January 12, 2010...

GOUDOUNGOUDOUN

Panel 1

(Panoramic image of the Petionville Club in the moments after the earthquake. The wall lies in ruins. A white man is standing in front of the Clubhouse, looking around him in alarm, a cell phone in his hand.)

Before the ground had even stopped shaking, the golf club's CEO, who is an American citizen, called the US Embassy.

William "Bill" Evans III, Chief Executive Officer of the Petionville Club

Panel 2

(Image of Don sitting at a table on the clubhouse's terrace.)

DON: We've always had very close ties with the US embassy here. The US ambassador is an honorary member [of Petionville Club], it's almost a given.

Panel 3

(Aerial view of the tennis courts, where we see several army vehicles, and bunch of soldiers getting out.)

When the U.S. military arrived in Haiti in the aftermath of the emergency, the Petionville Club invited them to set up their base camp on the club's tennis courts.

Panel 4

(Aerial image showing larger panoramic layout of the area surrounding the Petionville Clubhouse, in which we see US soldiers setting up their tents on the tennis courts, as well as Haitians earthquake survivors using their bed sheets to make tents on the golf course down the hill).

ISABEL: So you guys at the Petionville Club told the U.S. military there was space here where....

DON: Yeah, for the military. Not for a refugee camp!

Panel 1

(Split-screen image, one half of which shows Don talking. The other half of the image shows soldiers all around the Clubhouse.)

DON: The US military were all up on top here, and even in the club...around the pool. It was a operating base for them.

Panel 2

(Image of a humvee pulling up beside the tennis courts, driven by the U.S. General who commanded the US military's response to the Haitian earthquake. US actor Sean Penn, sitting beside the general, surveys the scene from the passenger seat.)

DON: And as things started rolling, Sean came in...

Panel 3

(Panoramic image showing Don smoking, with the Petionville Clubhouse in the background, and the tent camp visible down below.)

Ti Don is not exactly the type one would expect to be moved by the humanitarian heroics of a liberal Hollywood actor. The businessman makes no effort to hide his beliefs that Haiti was better off under right-wing military dictatorships.

Panel 4

(Image of Don having dinner with "Baby Doc".)

Amongst his close personal friends were the late Haitian dictator Jean Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier...

Panel 5

(Image of Don chatting in a friendly way with another man)

...as well as Raoul Cedras, a military general who came to power in a violent coup d'etat that overthrew Haiti's first democratically elected government in 1991.

Panel 6

(Image of Don talking animatedly on the Petionville Clubhouse terrace.)

Yet when it comes to Sean Penn's work with displaced Haitians, his eyes light up.

DON: His story is a very admirable story.

Panel 1

(Split screen image, part of which shows Don talking, part of which shows Penn watching TV news.)

DON: He was in California, he saw what happened on TV, and he said, next day he's gotta get down to Haiti.

Panel 2

(Split-screen image, one part of which shows Don continuing to talk. In the other part of the image, we see Penn getting out of the US General's Humvee, and looking around him.)

DON: So he comes in. He was looking for a place to set up shop.

Panel 3

(Split screen image, one part of which shows Don continuing to talk. In the second part of the image, we see Penn setting up his own tent on the tennis courts as the US General looks on approvingly.)

DON: He ended up hooking up with the [U.S.] military as well, and worked in conjunction with them.

Panel 4

(Image of Penn posing at a press conference, wearing a t-shirt sporting a military-style stencil logo that says "J/P HRO". He is wearing sunglasses and army fatigues, and carries a glock pistol in his belt. The US General is at his side. The actor is surrounded by packs of journalists, many of them white, shooting video, taking pictures and holding out microphones.)

Soon after the earthquake, Penn co-founded a charity group, the Jenkins/Penn Haitian Relief Organization (J/P HRO), which was appointed as the Camp Manager of camp *Terrain de Golf* in spring of 2010.

Panel 5

(Image zooms out to a panoramic shot, in which the press conference depicted in the previous panel is visible off to the side. In the foreground of the image, we see Haitians going about their daily lives in the camp. Women are doing washing, hanging up clothes. Men and women are repairing a tarp shelter that has fallen down. People of all ages are waiting to fill up buckets of water.)

At the time, there were estimated to be more than 60,000 people living in the camp.

Panel 1

(Image of my face looking surprised and doubtful, as I look up at William "Bill" Evans III).

One day, the golf club's CEO offered to give me a tour.

Panel 2

(Image of me looking very uncomfortable.)

I was at first hesitant. Already I knew I was seen as a total outsider in the camp where I was trying to do this research project. Being seen parading around the camp with a wealthy white American landowner seemed like the very last thing I needed.

ISABEL: Um, er, you want to give me a tour of the tent camp?

Panel 3

(Image of Bill looking slightly impatient as he answers me.)

BILL: No! I want to give you a tour of THE GOLF COURSE!

Panel 4

(Image of me looking very bewildered, as I listen to Bill.)

He told me to bring along my camera. He said he wanted me to see the golf course's perspective.

BILL: We've also felt the pain of this earthquake!

Panel 1

(Image of Bill and I walking along a path, away from the Petionville Clubhouse. The camp, which is just down the hill from the path, is visible in the background.)

BILL: People were everywhere! I guess it was a free-for all.

Panel 2

(Image of Bill pointing to an area beside the path where the grass is all gone. The bare patch on the ground is strewn with garbage.)

BILL: People really started to encroach. They leave a lotta garbage. Don't even say thank you.

Panel 1

(Panoramic image of the landscape of the golf course-turned-displacement camp, showing Bill leading me further up the path, as well as the sea of tarp shelters that surrounds us.)

BILL: Look! Take a shot here.

ISABEL: Why?

BILL: We're standing at the eighth tee!

ISABEL: The what?

BILL: Where you shoot at the 8th hole from!

Panel 2

(Image of me holding up my camera, looking out the sea of tents, a confused expression on my face.)

ISABEL: But where's the 8th hole?

BILL: Right there. See?!

Panel 3

(Image showing Bill's hand and finger pointing down to the scene in the final panel of the page.)

Panel 4

(Tall vertical image. At the top, I am in the midst of taking a picture of what Bill calls the "eighth hole". But the hole is nowhere to be seen. Instead we see Haitians going about their daily lives in the camp. Women are washing clothes, and hanging them up to dry on a clothesline. Children are playing. Stray dogs search for garbage to eat.)

CHAPTER TWO
PICTURING LIFE IN A CAMP

PAGE 37

Panel 1

(Image of me sitting with an unidentified white journalist.)

After Sean Penn was appointed "Camp Manager" of *Terrain de Golf*, the camp received extensive international media attention.

JOURNALIST: Sigh. My editor always wanted the story of Sean Penn running a tent camp!

Panel 2

(Image of me sitting at my computer, and looking in dismay at a series of media images of the camp, in which Sean Penn is consistently featured very prominently, while Haitians living in the camp merely appear in the background, including the cover of a magazine in which the camp is referred to as "Camp Sean Penn".)

However the perspectives of camp residents themselves had generally been missing in this coverage.

Panel 3

So in my research for this graphic reportage project, I wanted to interview some of the displaced Haitians who lived in the *Terrain de Golf* camp.

Panel 1

However, I met only one Haitian in the camp who was willing to be identified in this project.

(Image of me standing in the camp shaking hands with a Haitian man.)

Panel 2

(Image of me interviewing the man at a large table in a small dining room.)

RENALD: *Je m'appelle Renald Romelus.*

[My name is Renald Romelus.]

Panel 3

(Image of Renald posing as I take photo.)

RENALD: *Post mwen te Koodonate Kan Petyonvil Klub.*

[My position was Coordinator of Petionville Club Camp.]

Panel 4

(Image of Renald standing beside Sean Penn in the camp.)

A former functionary at the Mayor's office, Renald served for more than a year as the head of the committee that acted as an intermediary between Penn's group and the camp's general population.

Panel 1

While many of the residents of the camp were unilingual Kreyol speakers, Renald also spoke perfect French, as well as some English, which made it easier for him to communicate with *blan* like me, as well as many visiting foreign journalists.

RENALD: *J'ai fait la visite avec les journalistes, dans tout le camp. Pour les montrer tous les personnes qui habitent dans le camp. Pour les montrer les avancements que l'organisation de Sean Penn a fait dans le camp. Beaucoup d'avancements. Ils ont aidé beaucoup, beaucoup beaucoup de personnes.*

[I've brought journalists to visit the whole camp. To show them all the people who live in the camp. To show them the progress that Sean Penn's organization has made in the camp. Much progress. They have helped many, many many people.]

Panel 2

(Image of Renald wearing a J/P T-shirt, standing on his front porch.

However, by the time I met Renald, he himself had long since moved out of the camp, after landing a job as the "Community Officer" at J/P HRO...

Panel 3

*(Image of the former camp leader showing a group of *blan* including Madonna and Sean Penn around the camp, with journalists with cameras in tow.)*

...where he helps give tours of the camp to visiting journalists, as well as various renowned *blan* who turn up in Haiti to admire Penn's work helping Haitians.

Panel 1

Nobody I spoke to who still lived in the camp felt it would be safe for them to be identified in this project.

Panel 2

(Silhouetted image of me and an unidentifiable Haitian woman sitting under a tent.)

CASSANDRA: *Konese se nan kan nou ye, fok ou pridan, ou komprann?*

[Know that we're in the camp, so you have to be careful, understand?]

Panel 3

CASSANDRA: *Le m kouche, m pa ka domi vre, paske nou pa gen sekirite nan kan. Mwen pe.*

[When I go to bed, I can't really sleep, because we don't have security in the camp. I'm afraid.]

Panel 4

CASSANDRA: *Se le ou leve, moun pote rapo, krase, tiye moun lan, peson konnen. Ti moun petit tire.*

[When you get up, people bring reports about how people have been killed. Small children are shot.]

Panel 1

Cassandra told me that a stray bullet had recently killed a child while she was sitting inside her parents' tent.

CASSANDRA: *Yon ti filet, li trop proch, tet li tout ouvri. opital l avel. se konsa li mouri.*

[A little girl. Her head split right open. She was brought to the hospital, but she died.]

Panel 2

CASSANDRA: *Ou pa gen sekirite nan prela. Paske yon kouto, yon gilette, yon moun ki flap dechire l, rantre, li fe sa li vle ave w.*

[You don't have security in a tarp. Because with a knife, a razor, someone can rip it, come in, and do what whatever they want with you.]

Panel 3

CASSANDRA: *Moun ka rantre nan tant ou, ak machet, baton, yo tiye ou! Ou chita andan tant ou, ou ka viktim.*

[Someone can break into your tent, with a machete and kill you! Sitting in your tent, you can be a victim.]

Panel 4

CASSANDRA: *Finalman, ou pa an sikirite.*

[In the end, you have no security.]

Panel 1

For this reason, she told me she generally avoided journalists who came into the camp.

(Silhouetted image of Cassandra talking.)

CASSANDRA: *M pa vle anregistre vwa mwen, pou defise sou televizyon, afiche m kom moun ki bay deklarasyon.*

[I don't want them to record my voice to broadcast on television, marking me as someone who makes declarations.]

Panel 2

(Close-up silhouetted image of Cassandra talking.)

CASSANDRA: *Gen bagay ou ka di l sou lezond, men gen bagay ou pa ka di l sou lezond.*

[There are things you can say on the air. But there are things you can't say on the air.]

Panel 3

CASSANDRA: *E mwen mem, m gen petit, papa l mouri deja, pa ka riske vi.*

[And I myself have children. Their father already died, I cannot risk my life.]

Panel 1

(Frontal view close-up image of Cassandra, who is looking directly out at me/the reader.)

However, if she'd been able to, Cassandra told me that she would have written her own report about everything she'd seen in the three years she'd lived in the camp.

CASSANDRA: *M pa fe klas. Pa kon li, ekrit. Men bondye ba m yon espri pou kompran. Bondye ba yon espri pou kompran moun. m gen tan kompran sitiyasyon. Mwen mem, si m te nan yon posisyon de fe l, nou k ap ba yon rapo fomel, yon rapo kle, san pati pri, bagay sou kan, depi 13. M p la le 12, mwen la le 13, a 5 h di matin.*

[I'm not an intellectual. I haven't studied. I don't know how to read or write. But the good Lord gave me the wits to understand. I've had time to understand this situation. If I myself was in a position to do it, we could give a formal report. A clear report, without any bias, about this camp, since the 13th of January. I've been here since the 13th, at five o'clock in the morning.]

Panel 2

(Silhouetted image of me and Cassandra under a tarp.)

And indeed, in the interviews I recorded with Cassandra, and others who lived the camp, these displaced Haitians did provide something like a report about what they'd observed of international humanitarian aid in their community.

Panel 1

(Image of Marie-Pierre sitting in her tarp shelter, looking straight out of the panel as if she is talking directly to the reader).

MARIE-PIERRE: *Le nou rive sou teren, pa t gen anryen. Pa t gen tant.*

[When we arrived on the land, we had nothing. We didn't have a tent.]

Panel 2

(Image of Marie-Pierre talking, looking down at an ID card.)

MARIE-PIERRE: *[Te gen] inskription. IOM te ba nou kat.*

[There was a] registration. IOM gave us a card.

Panel 3

She recalls that her family was also included in the camp census carried out by J/P HRO, or "JP", as Penn's group was more commonly known in the camp.

MARIE-PIERRE: *JP veni fe resensman, ave kat OIM, te ba sak ble, ti mamit.*

[JP came to do a census, with the IOM card. They gave us a sack of wheat, a small cooking pot.]

Panel 4

MARIE-PIERRE: *MSF veni. Yo bay nou prela. Mwen te fe tant.*

[MSF came. They gave us tarps, so I made a tent.]

Panel 5

But after months of exposure to the burning Caribbean sun, and tropical rainstorms, the tarps that had been distributed to families like hers soon began to wear out.

(Image of a substantial rip in a tarp.)

Panel 1

(Split screen image showing Marie-Pierre talking/ mosquitoes swarming into her family's tent through the rip in the tarp.)

MARIE-PIERRE: *Tant la vin pouri. Labou, dlo, fatra, moustik, tout jan bagay sa yo...*

[The tent rotted. There was mud, water, trash, mosquitoes, all these kinds of things...]

Panel 2

(Split screen image showing Marie-Pierre talking/ her family huddled under their leaking tarp.)

MARIE-PIERRE: *Domi ak 7 timoun, tout malad [ak] malaria.*

[I was sleeping with 7 children, all sick with malaria.]

Panel 3

Then a hurricane was announced.

(Image of hurricane.)

Panel 4

Marie-Pierre recalled that J/P HRO came around to evacuate the most vulnerable camp residents to shelters.

(Image of Marie-Pierre speaking directly at me/the reader, with a surprised/confused expression on her face.)

MARIE-PIERRE: *Men eske nou pa tout vulnerab?*

[But are we not all vulnerable?]

Panel 5

MARIE-PIERRE: *Yo pran granmoun, ak ti bébé. Yo pran fam ansent.*

They took the elderly, small babies, pregnant women.

Panel 6

But like the majority of displaced Haitians, Marie Pierre's family had to weather the storm with only a tarp for shelter.

MARIE-PIERRE: *Ou ka kouri, pa gen sa.*

[If you could run, there was nothing...]

Panel 1

(Scene in Cassandra's tent. Cassandra is sitting on her upturned bucket, explaining what happened to her family during another storm that hit the camp.)

CASSANDRA: *Siklon vin 24 septemb (2010), ki te pase, li krase tant mwen. Li te krase tant mwen net.*

[The storm of September 24 (2010) destroyed my tent. It totally destroyed it.]

Panel 2

(Split-screen image showing Cassandra continuing to recall how her tent was destroyed AND illustrating the scene she describes, in which water and tears are streaking down her face as she looks up in horror and sees her tarp "roof" has blown off in the storm. In the latter image, it is nighttime and we can see that Cassandra had been trying to sleep in the only "bed" she had (a mattress on the dirt floor of her tarp shelter). She is huddled under her sheet, which is drenched, while her mattress is being engulfed in a puddle that is beginning to look more like a lake. Her shredded tarp lies in tatters at her feet. Her son is visible in the background, in a similar predicament in his own "bed", and with a similar expression of horror on his face as he too realizes that what little protection they had from the elements is now gone.)

CASSANDRA: *Mwen te mwiye, tout bagay mwen ap mwiye. Tent la plen labou, tout pedi net ak dlo sal.*

[I was wet, all my stuff was wet. The tent was full of mud, everything lost in the dirty water.]

Panel 3

CASSANDRA: *Aprè 2 jou, m ale fe rapo an J/P, yo di m yo vin fe l.*

[After 2 days, I filed a report with J/P, they said they'd come (and repair my tent.)

Panel 4

(Image of Cassandra looking indignant.)

CASSANDRA: *Yo pa jam vin fe l! A nos jou, pa jam fe tant la pa m.*

[They never came! To this day, they never made me a tent.]

Panel 1

CASSANDRA: *Le m pa ka rete konsa, Se zami m, sa ba m yon 20 dola, sa ba mwen yon 10 dola, achte de tol nan men moun k ap pase k ap vand yo sou kan an.m achte bwa, m achte prela.*

[As I couldn't stay like that, friends of mine, they gave me 20 dollars here, 10 dollars there. I bought a sheet from someone selling them in the camp. I bought wood, I bought a tarp.]

Panel 2

CASSANDRA: *Le lot moun ap pase, nan lari, yo gade pou we, yon vev ki m ye, yon gran moun, k ap fe tant lan.*

[When other people passed by, they saw me, a widow, an elderly person, who was making the tent. They said, can't we do something for you?]

Panel 3

CASSANDRA: *Epwi yo komense ede m.*

[Then they started to help me.]

(Image of Cassandra's neighbours helping her and her son make a new tarp shelter.)

Panel 1

(Image of Cassandra continuing to tell her story, sitting on her upside-down bucket under her tarp, and looking very tired.)

CASSANDRA: *Siklon ki vin pase ane pase la, ane sa la, 2012, li krase tant mwen anko.*

[The storm that hit last year, 2012, it destroyed my tent again.]

Panel 2

(Split-screen image, one part of which shows Cassandra continuing to talk, exhausted. The other part of the image shows her tent collapsing for the second time, as another storm lashes the camp.)

CASSANDRA: *Kuniya la, m ap mwiye, m. Timoun mwen, tout bagay mwen te mwiye.*

[I was wet. My child, all my stuff, was wet.]

Panel 3

A J/P HRO Project Manager arrived.

(Split-screen image, part of which shows Cassandra talking. The other part of the image illustrates the scene Cassandra is recalling, in which the project manager, a white woman decked out in a large raincoat, is visible walking through the camp surrounded by some of J/P HRO's local Haitian staff.)

CASSANDRA: *Li vin la, ak tout ekip li, nan blok yo 5 h di matin.*

[She came, with her whole team, into the blocks of the camp at five o'clock in the morning.]

Panel 4

(Image showing Cassandra continuing to talk, as Marie-Pierre walks into her tent.)

CASSANDRA: *Yo jwen mwen trampe, tout prela vole, dekouvri m. M ap tramble.*

[They found me there, soaking wet, the whole tarp blown off, exposed. I was trembling.]

Panel 1

(Split-screen image, part of which shows Cassandra talking, while Marie-Pierre listens to her story in the background. The other part of the image illustrates what Cassandra recalls of her interactions with the J/P HRO Project Manager.)

CASSANDRA: *Li di, ooo sa terib! Vreman sa terib! Ki nimewo tant ou?*

[She said, ooh that's terrible! Really that's terrible! What number is your tent?]

Panel 2

(Image of Cassandra talking, as Marie-Pierre listens with interest.)

CASSANDRA: *Mwen di nimewo tant mwen. Li di moun ki ave li, pran nimewo tant. Yo pran foto m, yo di bon, y ap ba mwen prela. Di ke vin fe tant pou mwen.*

[I said the number of my tent. She says to the people who are with her, take the tent number. They took my photo, they said ok, they would give me a tarp, they would come and make me a tent.]

Panel 3

(Split-screen image, part of which shows Cassandra talking, with Marie-Pierre leaning closer to hear her story. The other part of the image shows J/P HRO's offices up on a hill, between the camp and the Petionville Clubhouse.)

CASSANDRA: *Epwi apre 3 ou 4 jou, yon ti kat ba mwen. yon ti kupon, pou monte an le.*

[Then, after 3 or 4 days, they give me a little card, a little coupon, to bring up there.]

Panel 1

(Split-screen image, part of which shows Cassandra talking, as Marie-Pierre listens intently. The other part of the image shows Cassandra rebuilding her tent with two new tarps.)

CASSANDRA: *Yo pa fe tant pou mwen. Se mwen ki achte bwa. M fe tant lan. Men yo ba m 2 prela. Se yon chans m jwenn li. Lot moun pa jwen li.*

[They didn't make the tent for me. It was me who bought the wood. I made the tent. But they gave me two tarps. It was luck that I even got them. Other people didn't get them.]

Panel 2

(Image of Marie-Pierre suddenly intervening in Cassandra's story.)

MARIE-PIERRE: *Se te chans pa ou! Blan ap pase! Li we ou. Men kimoun gen chans la anko?*

[You were lucky! The foreigner passed by! She saw you! But who else has such luck?]

CASSANDRA: *E se sa mwen di! Mwen mem m te gen chans!*

[That's what I said! I was lucky!]

Panel 3

(Image of Claudette arriving at the entrance of Cassandra's tent, and peering in at myself, Cassandra and Marie-Pierre.)

Cassandra's neighbour Claudette never received a single tarp from any of the agencies working in the camp.

Panel 1

(Image of Claudette, seated on Cassandra's upside-down bucket.)

Claudette was never officially registered as an "IDP", either by the IOM, which conducted the first registration campaign, and issued each family an IDP registration card, or by the Camp Managers, which issued photo ID cards to each registered IDP family.

CLAUDETTE: *Mwen pa enregistre nan anryen.*

[I'm not registered in anything.]

Panel 2

(Image of Claudette moving into her friend's tent.)

Claudette had arrived in the camp too late to claim a space to put up a tent, so she initially took shelter in the tent of a friend.

Panel 3

(Image of Claudette bringing her ailing son to the hospital.)

When the IOM came around to register the population of the camp, Claudette was at the hospital with her son, who had fallen ill.

Panel 4

(Image of the IOM registering Claudette's friend.)

So the IOM registered only Claudette's friend, who didn't mention to the agency that there was another family living in the tent.

Panel 5

(Image of Claudette moving out of her friend's tent.)

Eventually, Claudette's friend kicked her out of her tent,

Panel 5

(Image of Claudette moving into an empty tent.)

So Claudette had to move into the tent of a man who'd left the camp.

Panel 1

(Image of international humanitarians arriving at tent with a clipboard and forms.)

According to various agencies' official records, this man still lived in the tent he was subletting to Claudette.

Panel 2

(Split-screen image, part of which shows Claudette talking. The other part of the image shows the humanitarians taking a photograph of the tent's original owner.)

CLAUDETTE: *Yo fe komprand, se li mem ki fe tant li. Kuniya rele l anko. Chak le yo ka vini pa vin fe foto. yo rele l.*

[They think that it's *his* tent. So now they keep phoning him. Whenever they come to do the photos [for the ID cards], they call him.]

Panel 3

(Split-screen image, part of which shows Claudette talking. The other part of the image shows the man arriving at his real home, outside the camp.)

CLAUDETTE: *Pendan se te mwen anba tent, li nan kay li. Chak fwa bagay se li mem ki vin fe l. Mem le foto a fet, se li mem. Yo chita nan lakay mwen. Pandan se tan yo fin fe foto nan kay li.*

[While it's me under the tarp, he's in his house. When they made the photo, it was him. He sat in my place. When the photo was over, he went back to his house.]

Panel 4

CLAUDETTE: *Le yo te vin ba m prela pou kouvri tant mwen pou mwen, yo mande kat la,*

[When they came to give me a tarp to cover my tent with, they asked for the card.]

Panel 5

CLAUDETTE: *Yo di, yo di te pa bay kat la. yo retire prela pou kouvri yon lot tant ava l.*

[They hadn't given me a card, so they took back the tarp.]

Panel 1

By the time I met them in early 2013, the residents of *Terrain de Golf* had been through three hurricane seasons, as well as six rainy seasons in the camp.

(Image of Cassandra, looking distressed and exhausted.)

CASSANDRA: *Nou pa kapab resiste anba prela anko. Piti mwen pa kapab. Nou gen 3 an de sela, anba prela.*

[We're not able to endure under these tarps anymore. My child isn't able to. We've had three years of this-under tarps.]

Panel 2

CASSANDRA: *La jounee ou pran soley la, leswa ou glase. ou pran cho matin terrib, le swe ou gen fredri!*

[In the day, the sun hits you. The heat is terrible in the morning, at night you freeze. When you sweat, you get cold!]

Panel 3

CASSANDRA: *Se pa bon pou sante ou. Pa bon pou sante ou. ditou ditou ditou. Anba prela, ou trouve tout kalite maladi.*

[It's not good for your health. Really, really, really not good. Under a tarp, you find all kinds of sicknesses.]

Panel 3

CASSANDRA: *Eske ou pense moun pral viv? se bondye ki fe gras. Yon kan kibo pa gen travay, toutmoun se grangou ke gen, pa gen ed ki distribiye! Sa pa vi moun. w ap domi, mouye, sou vye kapet. se pa vi moun, se vi bet!*

[Do you think people can live? It's only by the grace of god. A camp where there's no work, everybody is hungry, there isn't aid distributed! It's not a human life. You are sleeping, wet, under an old rug. It's not a human life. We are living like animals!]

Panel 1

(Image of foul-looking water being poured into a river.)

Less than a year after the earthquake, a cholera epidemic broke out in Haiti, after a UN contractor dumped fecal matter from cholera-infected UN soldiers in one of Haiti's principal waterways.

Panel 2

(Image of Marie-Pierre talking.)

MARIE-PIERRE: *Te gen kolera nan tout blok yo [nan kan an].*

There was cholera in every block [of the camp].

Panel 3

(Split-screen image, part of which shows Marie-Pierre talking. The other part of the image shows Haitian women carrying a cholera victim on a stretcher.)

While deadly, cholera is preventable if one has access to clean drinking water and proper sanitation, and it is also treatable if detected early.

MARIE-PIERRE: *Mwen te men 10 moun nan lopital.*

I carried ten people to hospital.

Panel 1

(Image of women marching towards latrines with cleaning supplies).

Women living in the camp also organized brigades of volunteers to clean the latrines in the camp.

Panel 2

(Split-screen image, part of which shows Marie-Pierre talking, as a small toddler waddles up to her. The other part of the image shows Marie-Pierre staring in horror at a very dirty latrine.)

MARIE-PIERRE: *Blok pa m, nou mem fe volonte nou we twalet la twop sal. Men se ti petit nou ki saswa si twalet la se pitit pitit nou ki pral met men, ki pral mete men nan bouch. kuniya mwen di bon. m pran 9 moun, ak mwen mem, fe 10.*

In my block we did this ourselves, voluntarily. We saw the toilets were too dirty. Yet it's our children who sit on the toilet, our small children who can put their hands in their mouths. So I said ok, I'll take 9 people, with myself that made 10.

Panel 3

They asked the Camp Manager to help with supplies.

MARIE-PIERRE: *M mande klorox yo pa genyen. M achte klorox mwen mem. m mande bale. Yo pa genyen. M pran 5 goud nan men chak moun yo, m achte yon bale pou 5 dola.*

[I asked for bleach. They didn't have any. I bought the bleach myself. I asked for a brush. They didn't have one. I collected five gourdes from each person, and bought a brush for five dollars.]

Panel 4

MARIE-PIERRE: *Nou pwòpte zon sa. nou pwòpte twalet.*

[We cleaned up the area. Cleaned the toilets.]

Panel 1

(Image of me talking with Cassandra and Marie-Pierre under a tarp.)

One day I asked Cassandra and Marie-Pierre if they still saw journalists in the camp sometimes.

CASSANDRA: *Jounalis pa yo!*
 [Their journalists!]

Panel 2

(Image of me looking at Cassandra in confusion.)

I was confused. I mean, what did she mean by *their* journalists?

Panel 3

(Image of Cassandra telling me something in exasperation, while I stare back at her, looking even more confused.)

But when Cassandra tried to clarify this for me I got even more confused. For she just kept repeating what sounded to me like "*champagne*".

Panel 4

(Close-up image of my face, still looking confused.)

I mean, I was familiar with a range of terms implying a disconnect between journalists, particularly those at major commercial media outlets, and ordinary people. I had heard them referred to as the "elite press", the "establishment press", "the corporate media". And I'll be the first to admit that even those of us who see ourselves as doing some more independent form of reporting in Haiti tend to be very disconnected from the realities faced by people like Cassandra. Yet never before had I heard anyone talk about *champagne* journalists.

Panel 5

(Image zooms out to show Cassandra and Marie-Pierre saying, more forcefully, and looking exasperated:

CASSANDRA
and MARIE-PIERRE: *Jounalis pa Sean Penn!*¹

 [Sean Penn's journalists!]

¹ Pronounced in Kreyòl, the U.S. actor's name sounds remarkably like "*champagne*."

Panel 1

(Image of ID PR website showing featuring a picture of Penn standing in the camp in Vanity Fair magazine.)

Throughout the three and half years Penn's NGO managed the camp where Cassandra and Marie-Pierre were living, the Camp Manager's media relations were formally coordinated by ID PR, an entertainment publicity firm contracted to manage Sean Penn's image as a celebrity.

Panel 2

(Image of a journalist talking on the phone, looking surprised).

One Port-au-Prince-based photojournalist told me that when he tried to report on the camp, J/P HRO instructed him to call ID-PR's offices in L.A to get permission.

Panel 3

(Image of me sitting with the journalist, who is recounting this story.)

JOURNALIST: They told me that I was only allowed to take photographs in the camp that showed "progress".

Panel 4

(Panoramic image of camp.)

Moreover, he was told that the copyright for any photographs he took in this encampment of thousands of displaced Haitian citizens would be the property of Penn's group.

Panel 1

(Image of me sitting with Marie-Pierre under a tarp.)

By the time I visited the camp, most media representations of people living in this were produced by Penn's charity group itself.

MARIE-PIERRE: *Le li bay yon ed, yo fe foto!*

[Whenever they give any aid, they take photos!]

Panel 2

Marie-Pierre recalled that she once received a flashlight from J/P HRO.

MARIE-PIERRE: *Yo bay nou ti flash. Men nou beswen fe foto. Yo mete ou lun derye lot. Klak! Yo pran foto!*

[They gave us a little flashlight. But we had to be in a photo. They put you one behind the other. Clack! They take a photo!]

Panel 3

Another time, Marie-Pierre recalled that J/P HRO arranged to have a visiting dentist remove rotten teeth free of charge.

MARIE-PIERRE: *Dantist nan le ak JP rache dan pou ou, yo bay yon pat. Yo fe foto--klak! Montre kombien dan yo rache.*

[A dentist up at JP tears out your teeth, they give you toothpaste. They take a photo--Clack! To show how many teeth they tore out.]

Panel 4

However, Marie-Pierre observed that the Camp Manager seemed rather less eager to take photos of the work displaced Haitians did themselves to assist one another. For instance, she recalled that when women from the camp were carrying cholera victims to hospital, and working to clean up the latrines.

MARIE-PIERRE: *Jam vin filme nou.*

[They never came to film us.]

Panel 1

(Image of middle aged Haitian woman standing in front of a tent in the camp.)

One camp resident told me about a woman living in the camp who had tried to speak out about the conditions in Petionville Camp through a video made by J/P HRO itself.

Panel 2

(Image of Haitian woman seen from behind, facing a Haitian man wearing a J/P HRO t-shirt, who is holding up a video camera.)

November 2012.

A man from J/P HRO turned up in the camp and asked her to speak in a video.

MAN FROM J/P: *Pandan ou sou kan, di kisa ou we JP fe de bon?*

[Tell us about the good work you've seen JP do while you've been in the camp.]

Panel 3

(Image of woman speaking as man from J/P HRO films.)

WOMAN: *Bon, Jp li fe travay ki bon kan mem, paske li ede moun o nivo sante. Mem le li pa 100 pousen. Mem le, li 15 pousan, 10 pousan. Li fe l kan mem. Li ede moun la an lekol. Moun pa paye pou sa.*

[Well, JP does work that is good, because it helps people at the level of health. At the same, this help is not 100 percent. It's fifteen percent, 10 percent. But still. It helps people with the school. People don't pay for that.]

Panel 4

(Image of woman continuing to speak as man from J/P HRO lowers video camera, frowning.)

WOMAN: *Men o nivo sekirite, la nouriti pou fanmi yo ki sou kan, zero. Paske yo pa t fe anyen.*

[But at the level of security, of food for families in the camp: zero. Because they don't do anything.]

Panel 1

(Image of woman speaking, as man from J/P HRO stares at her frowning, with video camera pointing away from her.)

WOMAN: *O nivo sekirite, nou pa gen sa a. Mwen mem, espesialman, komensan endiran laj, m gen anpil pwoblem, paske m pa gen sekirite. M ap mal viv sou kan an. M ap viv ak yon timoun anba yon tant. E m pa ka viv konsa, pa ta viv konsa.*

[At the level of security, we don't have that. Myself, especially, I'm starting to get older, I have many problems because I don't have security. I live badly in the camp. I live with a child in a tent. I shouldn't live like this.]

Panel 2

MAN FROM J/P: *Non madam, JP pa dwe ou sekirite. Se presidan peyi ou ki dwe ou sekirite.*

[No madam. JP doesn't have to provide you security. It's the president of the country who should provide you security.]

WOMAN: *Wi m dako. Men JP gen yon part de responsabilite anve moun ki sou kan an.*

[I agree, but JP has some responsibilities towards people in the camp.]

Panel 3

WOMAN: *JP pa dwe yon pep ayisyen sekirite. Men li dwe yon pati moun ki viktim de yon delij ki pase nan peyi. Ki ke swa ki indike li vin pote sekou avek nou, li dwe nou sekirite paske li se manaje kan golf de petyonvil.*

[JP doesn't have to provide security to the Haitian people. But it does have responsibility for some of the victims of the catastrophe that occurred in this country, to anyone with whom they indicated they were working to help. They should provide us security because they are the manager of the Petionville golf course camp.]

Panel 1

(Man from J/P HRO, standing holding up video camera again and facing woman.)

MAN FROM J/P: *Bon, eske JP pa ba nou prela?*

[Well, does JP not give you tarps?]

WOMAN: *Wi, kek fwa JP kon ba kek gran moun prela, men pa tout moun ki jwen. gen kek gren moun ki jwen prela, men gen moun ki pa jwen ditou. Gen moun ki fe tou 3 an, pa jwen anryen di tou!*

[Yes, sometimes JP has given a couple of elderly people tarps, but not everyone got one. There are some individuals who got tarps, but there are people who didn't get them at all. There are people who've been here three years, and they've gotten nothing at all!]

Panel 2

MAN FROM J/P: *Ou pa konn JP fe anpil bagay? Se li mem ki bay lasante. Se li mem ki bay lopital. Se li mem ki bay prela, se li ki fe kay pou tout moun...*

[He said, don't you know JP does all kinds of things? It's they that provide for your health. It's they that offer the hospital. It's they that give tarps, that build houses for everyone.]

Panel 4

WOMAN: *Bon, m pa o kouran de tout bagay sa yo. Sa m we se selman sa m ap di.*

[Well, I'm not aware of all that. I'm only saying what I see.]

Panel 5

(Image of man from J/P HRO frowning at woman, looking frustrated, as he lowers his video camera.)

MAN FROM J/P: *OK, mesi boukou madam.*

[OK, thank you very much Madam.]

Panel 6

(Image of woman watching man from J/P HRO as he walks away.)

Panel 1

(Image of me looking at these J/P HRO's videos, which are titled "13 Stories for 2013", on my computer.)

A couple of months later, Penn's organization put out a series of videos on YouTube.

Panel 2

(Image of another Haitian woman speaking in video).

Nothing said by the woman who'd tried to speak out about her concerns had made it into the videos. But one video showed part of an interview with another woman who lived in the camp, who said something I had heard many residents of Petionville Camp say again and again.

OTHER HAITIAN WOMAN: *N ap mal viv.*

[We live badly.]

Panel 4

However J/P HRO had subtly altered the meaning of her statement in the English subtitles.

(Image of altered statement in subtitles, in which she is quoted as saying "We're not doing as well since the earthquake.")

Panel 5

I also saw that Penn's group had finally managed to find someone to speak in unequivocally positive terms about J/P HRO's work in the camp.

(Image of me continuing to watch the videos as Renald Romelus, identified as J/P HRO's Community Officer, suddenly appears on the screen.)

RENALD: The People applaud J/P HRO!

CHAPTER THREE

THE RETURNS

PAGE 63

Panel 1

(Image of destroyed homes in Port-au-Prince.)

As of summer of 2017, less than 16 percent of the housing destroyed in the 2010 Haitian earthquake had been rebuilt. However, various agencies working with displaced Haitians have been working to close Haiti's official camps for Internally Displaced People.

Panel 2

(Scene from my interview with Julia, in the generic conference room in the offices of the IOM's Haiti Mission.)

Such programs are formally known in the humanitarian world as "returns" projects.

JULIA: IDPs, after they have been displaced, they have options, in principle. They can either return to their place of origin, or be relocated to a 3rd location, or integrate locally. So these are the 3 official solutions for IDPs.

Panel 3

"Local integration" would in theory allow Haiti's displaced families to stay on the land where they'd been living since the earthquake.

JULIA: You can start providing services, to ensure these places are well organized, there's space among the tents.

Panel 4

However, humanitarian agencies have rarely pursued this option in Haiti, where over a thousand IDP camps were registered after the earthquake.

JULIA: There's only 1 example of local integration... It's always an issue of ownership of land [and the] willingness of private or public [landowners] to let that land go and to give a guarantee to the international community that these IDPs can stay.

Panel 1

Amongst various agencies and organizations working in Haiti, "relocating" Haitian IDPs has thus come to be defined as the main solution.

JULIA: All NGOs and agencies who work with IDPs, they all do these relocations, through rental subsidies mainly. These are the big programs that are ongoing now.

Panel 2

IOM is one of the agencies administering these subsidies, which are supposed to cover the cost of each eligible family's rent for one year.

JULIA: Our return teams start working with the families, for the families to find a house for rent. So it's the families who find the house for rent, negotiate the price with the owners. And then our teams go through a verification, that the house is safe, that there's some minimum standards. And then they assist the family to move. So we pay for transport and we go with them when they move to the new house. And then the tent in the camp is destroyed. When all the camp is emptied, the department of civic protection with the *mairie* comes, declares the camp closed, all the tents are destroyed.

Panel 3

JULIA: It's cheap, it's quick, it's efficient. You close the camp, and done! We do about 400 families a week. So that's a machine now, that has been put in place a year and a half ago, and now it's working basically automatically. So that's the easiest way.

Panel 1

In the immediate aftermath of the 2010 Haitian earthquake, the IOM had registered all the Haitians it classified as "Internally Displaced People".

JULIA: So in 2010 we registered, or censused, all individuals living in the camps that we had identified. Which means that basically, we have a registration form, we have a procedure: We go to the camps, we distribute tokens to the people in the tents, to the families. Then we tell them to go queue at the registration stations, and then we have agents who take all of the information from the head of the household, on the household.

Panel 2

This information, which in many cases includes cell phone numbers for individuals registered in 2010, is recorded on a master list of displaced individuals the IOM compiled during the registration process.

JULIA: Also there is a list of members who belong to the household. So we have an exact count of the number of individuals who are in each camp, and that belong to each family or household.

Panel 3

As part of the "returns" process, eligible families who lived in camps targeted for relocations were then "re-registered" by either the IOM or their Camp Managers.

JULIA: We need the updated list of families who live in the camp to be able to give them the grant.

Panel 4

JULIA: The methodology is kind of standard. We mark the tent, we number the tent, we give this token, we wake up people, and we say "who's the head of household?" So we give the token to the head of household--or to the self-declared head of household--and then we tell them to come at 6 am or 7 am and queue at the station. So they start queuing, they start coming. And the data collection agents, they start asking questions. So that's kind of the process.

Panel 1

(Image of camp at night, surrounded by a metal fence, as IOM employees arrive with big flashlights).

In order to prevent people the IOM does not consider to be eligible registered IDPs from benefitting from the program, the agency typically registers these families in the wee hours of the morning, after erecting a fence around the perimeter of a targeted camp.

Panel 2

(Scene back in the IOM conference room. Julia is speaking.)

JULIA: The problems we have, it's mainly with people that try to cheat. You have a lot of people that come late because they've been called. Because by then, by 8, when people start waking up, if there are empty tents--people keep tents as a base--and then when registration comes, the neighbors they call. And you start seeing people...

Panel 3

JULIA: That's why we have police normally, we go before to do a recognition visit to see the perimeter, to see where we can put agents, or police agents, so that people don't start coming to the camp at 6 and 7. You know, because then you would have to deal with the stories. They take you to see the tent. You have to see the tent. You have to decide if that person was really away the night because... for some reason. Or if that person lives there."

Panel 4

(Image of police standing guarding big metal fence.)

Julia grants that this is not exactly what many people imagine when they think of humanitarian work.

Panel 1

She herself was initially surprised at some of these procedures.

JULIA: The first operation when I arrived, it was a massive operation. [It] was an operation with 400 IOM staff, 200 police. It was a military operation. I mean to me, it just reminded me--I don't know, of Israeli tanks entering Beirut, and keeping all the Palestinians in separate shantillasIt was big. It was a difficult camp as well, full of weapons, full of violent crime. I wasn't even allowed to go, because it was like, no it's the first time, it's too much for you.

Panel 2

JULIA: So you have police entering first, with torches, can you imagine? With megaphones--at 3 am? I mean, it's a--But that's a rare case. I mean normally it's much more soft. Yeah, you go at 3 am but it's not like we start shouting, or with dogs...I mean, normally, you go early, but you're kind, you knock on the door. These agents are very sweet. But my first exposure to, to... I thought it was like a military operation. You see 500 cars. You have 200 cars leaving from here in a convoy in the dark...

Panel 3

JULIA: It was well planned, because it's 8000 families. And it was a major investment from donors. But normally it's not that traumatic. It's just when it's a dangerous camp, when there is a lot of pressure to finish on time, not to create problems.

Panel 4

ISABEL: Where did the pressure to finish on time come from?

JULIA: You don't want to leave it for 20 days, because then you have more cases of people who claim that they were there. So we plan 2 days, we finish in 2 days. You want to make sure that in 2 days you're done. You don't want to go back there and find another million families who claimed that they were there, but they...you know, they had stories.

Panel 1

(Image of me interviewing François.)

One of these "returns" programs was just getting underway in camp *Terrain de Golf* when I arrived there.

FRANÇOIS: *Se pa solisyon.*

[It's not a solution.]

Panel 2

FRANÇOIS: *Leve se impotant. Men jan yo leve nou se pa bon. Ou bay propriete, ou bay kob, pou moun ka deloje. e met kay la, propriyete la, voye kob la, w a l vese kob la, pap bay moun leve a kob la.*

[Getting out of the camp is important. But the way they are relocating us is not good. This money for relocating people is going to the landlords, not to the people being relocated.]

Panel 3

Yet as he didn't think his family had any better option, Francois was nonetheless planning to participate in the program.

FRANÇOIS: *Moun di ke nou pa pa ale. nou ka ale kan mem. Men li pa ka aide nou anryen. JP pa fe anriyen pou nou. Li ka aide blan, li ka ede met te. Men nou konnen yo pa fe anryen pou nou.*

[People say we can't not leave. We'll have to leave anyway. But this is not helping us at all! JP is not doing anything for us! It may be helping the foreigners, helping the landowners. But we know they are not doing anything for us.]

Panel 1

(Image of Cassandra sitting under her tarp.)

CASSANDRA: *Yon an yo ba ou 4000 dola. Le ou fin anfeme kay pou 4000 dola, ou pa t travay, ou pa gen komes, kisa ou pral fe?*

[For one year, they give you 4000 dollars. When the lease for 4000 dollars ends and you still don't have work, what will you do?]

Panel 2

CASSANDRA: *Yon an, se yon katastrof ki pral genyen nan peyi sa a! Apre yon an, tout moun, met kay yo pral komense mete yo deyo nan kay. Paske Si moun pa travay, pa ka paye kay!*

[In a year, there'll be a catastrophe in this country! After a year, the landlords will start kicking people out of their houses. Because if people don't have work, they won't be able pay!]

Panel 3

(Scene back in the IOM conference room.)

ISABEL: Is there any tracking of what has happened once the one-year subsidies run out?

JULIA: No, no there isn't. There was a study done. But it wasn't even completely released, because the NGOs didn't really like the results...Basically the study found out that there were no people going back to camps after the end of the rental subsidies, and the rental subsidy was very efficient in terms of closing the camps, but probably not in terms of providing durable solutions or other...I don't know. I mean, it's just basically putting the people back in the situation they were in before the earthquake.

Panel 4

(Image of Marie-Pierre with her arms crossed.)

Yet Marie-Pierre was skeptical that these subsidies are even doing that.

Panel 1

MARIE-PIERRE: *Blan di ke l ap bay nou 4000 dola [ayisyen] pou nou soti, pou ba l teren. 4000 pa ka feme yon kay. Men ti kob la li pa ka feme vrai.*

[The foreigners say they're giving us 4000 (Haitian) dollars to get us out, to give them the land. But you can't really rent a place with this amount of money.]

Panel 2

MARIE-PIERRE: *JP ap di yo bay 4000 dola, 4000 dola, 4000 dola, ale chache kay, pral we kay la, pendan m ale we l, m ap paye kob la, [?-7:52] lot bo a.... Kuniya met kay yo vin monte kay yo 6000 yon sel chamb. Yon sel cham kay vin monte 6000 dola. moun propriyete, le 2000, 3000. men le yo konnen se yon oganisasyon ki paye, devin 6000.*

[JP is saying they give 4000 dollars, 4000 dollars, 4000 dollars. I will go and see a place, but when I go to pay with this money from overseas, now the landlord raises the price of the house to 6000 for a single room. A one room place is up to 6000 dollars! It was 2000. But when they know it's an organization paying, it becomes 6000.]

Panel 3

(Scene back in the IOM conference room.)

ISABEL: So what's the long term solution after the rental subsidy runs out? What happens?

JULIA: They go back to paying for their own rent as they were doing before, supposedly.

Panel 4

ISABEL: But the prices of rent seem to have gone up, right?

JULIA: There's no study that shows that, it's just anecdotic evidence that prices may have gone up.

Panel 5

JULIA: Prices have gone up after the earthquake, because there were no available houses anymore. Now you can say, OK, but the owners are making a profit. Fair enough, the owners are making a profit, yes. The owners are making a profit.

Panel 1

(Image of me and Don sitting on the Petionville Club's terrace.)

In camp *Terrain de Golf*, the "returns" were administered by Sean Penn's J/P HRO, with the assistance of a grant from the World Bank.

ISABEL: Do you guys ever have discussions as shareholders of the club, about what the timeline is for JPHRO?

DON: They've mentioned, last year they said they'd have everybody out by the end of this year. They were a little short on funding, they got it reactivated. They're saying now--Sean said by December 2013 they should be outta here.

Panel 3

ISABEL: All of them?

DON: Yeah.

ISABEL: There's a lot of them.

DON: A lot more are gone. They moved a lotta people out. When you get to the end it's gonna be the harder part. Because it'll be, you know, "what are ya gonna give me"?

Panel 4

(Image of Don, eyebrows furrowed, and looking annoyed.)

DON: You're squattin on my land! I'm gonna give you a boot in the ass, if you ask me!

Panel 5

(Image zooms in to a close-up of the landowner's mouth, as he pronounces this word that looks like it's particularly distasteful.)

Don says that the club has long had issues with people he refers to as

DON: squatters

Panel 1

(Image of a group of Haitians pulling down a tarp shelter in the camp. Two Haitian men wearing t-shirts emblazoned with J/P HRO's logo are assisting them. A white person in a J/P HRO t-shirt, standing beside a white SUV that is also emblazoned with the J/P HRO logo, looks on.)

Panel 2

(Image of Bill and me looking down the hill, watching this scene from above.)

ISABEL: So what do you think of J/P HRO's work here?

Panel 3

(Panoramic image of a procession of Haitian families moving out of the camp, as J/P HRO staff look on approvingly. A sign saying Petionville Club is visible in the background. The families are carrying all their worldly possessions with them, as they leave the golf course where they had taken refuge. Some of their belongings are packed into giant battered-looking suitcases of the type commonly sold in Haiti's thriving markets of second-hand goods imported from countries like the US. A few of the families are also struggling to carry worn-looking mattresses, piles of pots and pans. Some children are looking back at the camp as they leave. Above this scene, Bill and I are visible, looking down at this procession of departing Haitian families.)

BILL: They're our saviours!

CHAPTER FOUR
HUMANITARIAN ENDS

PAGE 73

Panel 1

(Image of camp residents filling up buckets with water. An Oxfam water truck can be seen in the background, entering the camp.)

In the first year after the earthquake, various agencies delivered basic humanitarian services--including free drinking water--in many official IDP camps.

Panel 2

(Image of health clinic.)

And in *Terrain de Golf* camp, J/P HRO had established a health clinic that provided the residents of this particular camp with free primary healthcare.

Panel 3

(Panoramic image of a camp.)

Yet despite Haiti's ongoing cholera epidemic, such basic services had been terminated in Haitian camps in 2011, as part of the official strategy for relocating displaced Haitians.

Panel 4

(Image of Julia speaking to me in the IOM conference room.)

JULIA: The idea is that the more you offer assistance to camps, the more you create a distinction, because the problem is there's not the same amount of services in the communities. So these people in camps are actually better off than those in the communities. And you attract people to camps.

Panel 5

JULIA: You don't want to attract people to camps. So the strategy for relocation was to move all the services--except for the first year, and for some few baby tents, and places where mothers could go to deliver in the camp. Which makes total sense. You don't want to keep these camps, you don't want to make them permanent, by giving them services.

Panel 1

(Panoramic image of the Terrain de Golf camp).

When I met Marie-Pierre and Cassandra in February 2013, it had been more than two years since this aid cut-off in Haiti's camps.

Panel 2

(Image of me sitting under a tarp with Marie-Pierre and Cassandra.)

CASSANDRA: *Depwi 3 ans, nou jwen manje 2 fwa nan kan. Yon gallon wil epwi pwa frans. Se CRS ki bay sa, pi yon demi sak di ri pou chak 2 fanmi. Epwi gwo sak ble, gallon wil.*

[In three years, we've received food twice in the camp. A gallon of oil, and French peas. It was CRS that gave that, along with a sack of rice for every two families. And then a big sack of wheat and another gallon of oil.]

Panel 3

(Image of Marie-Pierre exclaiming, with her hands up in the air in a gesture of exasperation.)

But how on earth were people living in camps expected to feed their families?

MARIE-PIERRE: *Si nou pa gen kob, kisa nou ka p fe? Hein?*

[If we don't have money, what can we do?]

Panel 1

MARIE-PIERRE: *Le ou gen kob, pi gwo bagay si teren la k ap kembe nou se pen avek sik. Pen sik mamba.*

[When you have any money, the biggest thing that keeps us going is bread with sugar. Break sugar peanut butter.]

Panel 2

MARIE-PIERRE: *Achte yon pen a mamba.*

[Buy a roll with peanut butter.]

Panel 3

MARIE-PIERRE: *Pi ou achte yon sik pou fe dlo sikre. epi ou bwe sa.*

[Then you buy sugar to make sugar water. Then you drink that.]

Panel 4

MARIE-PIERRE: *Men eske ou ka viv avek sa?*

[But can you live on this?

Panel 5

From the time her family arrived in the camp, Marie-Pierre worried particularly about her daughter Lina, who had long suffered from anemia, and who was still breastfeeding her youngest child.

MARIE-PIERRE: *Li megri nan kan.*

[She lost weight in the camp.]

Panel 6

MARIE-PIERRE: *Tout kob, pen cheche, bwe dlo sikre. Se sa nou manje.*

[Any money [we had], we went to get bread, drank sugar water. That's what we ate.]

Panel 7

MARIE-PIERRE: *Li mem li fini manje, epwi li ba timoun tete.*

[She would finish eating, then she would breastfeed her child.]

Panel 1

MARIE-PIERRE: *L ap megri.*

[She was losing weight.]

Panel 2

MARIE-PIERRE: *Toujou tou tan pa le bon. Tout bagay li manje li pa ka desan nan estoma.*

[Everyday, all the time, she looked unwell. Everything she ate, it wouldn't go down into her stomach.]

Panel 3

MARIE-PIERRE: *Mwen te ale lopital ave li. Lopital JP pa kapab fe anyen pou li. Se lopital jeneral mwen te ale ave l.*

[I brought her to the hospital, the general hospital.]

Panel 4

The doctor said that Lina had a heart condition.

MARIE-PIERRE: *Ke l ap bat two fo. Tensyon te monte two wo, pa jam desend...*

[Her heart beat too hard. The tension rose too high, and never came down.]

Panel 5

MARIE-PIERRE: *Yo di pa mete li yon kote pou tande brwi. Dokte nan opital jeneral te di sa.*

[They said to put her in a place where she won't hear noise. The doctor at the general hospital said that.]

Panel 1

MARIE-PIERRE: *Yo te di, mete li yon koto kibo li pa tande brwi. Timoun pa fe brwi nan tet li. Pa tande klakson machin. Kote li byen.*

[They said, put her in a place where she won't hear noise. Children shouldn't make noise in her ears. She shouldn't hear the honking of cars.]

Panel 2

MARIE-PIERRE: *Se m rete anba tant, kibo mwen ka pa tande brwit.*

[But I live under a tent. Where is there that one doesn't hear noise?]

Panel 3

MARIE-PIERRE: *Tout jounè se kouri, machin fe brwi, POP POP POP! Neg la ap kouri. Nou tande neg la chire yon tant la. L ap kouri kouri, kouri. Louri deriye yo, yo mem y ap kouri, krase, raje a. Se tout mem ke sa te a.*

[All day, cars are making noise, POP POP POP! Everyone's running. We hear some guy ripping a tent, running, running, running. Others running after him, raging, breaking things. It's always been that way.]

Panel 4

MARIE-PIERRE: *Se tout joune ou tande brwi. Pafwa, mesye ak madam li --"AWEY, AWEY, AWEYYYY!" Ou toujou tande brwi, tout tan ou tande brwi machin. Se lamachin dlo pase, se lamachin fatra pase, se bo ri a nou rete.*

[All day you hear noise. Sometimes, a man and his wife --"AWEY, AWEY, AWEYYYY!" You always hear noise, always hear traffic. The water truck passing, the garbage truck passing.]

Panel 1

(Image of Lina moving into Therese's tent.)

Eventually Lina went to stay in her younger sister Therese's tent.

Panel 2

(Split-screen image, one part of which shows Marie-Pierre talking. The other part of the image shows a tent being blown about in a storm).

MARIE-PIERRE: *Epi se siklon te veni. Epi kuniya la la...*

[Then a cyclone hit. And then...]

Panel 3

(Image of Marie-Pierre, continuing to speak, her voice suddenly rising)

MARIE-PIERRE: KALAK KALAK BOOM!

Panel 4

MARIE-PIERRE: *Kon gwo brwi, yon gwo brwi! Kay la tombe ou mwen!*

[A huge noise, a huge noise. Like your house was falling on you.]

Panel 5

MARIE-PIERRE: *Le mwen leve mwen voye li mouri andan [la tant].*

[When I got up I saw that she had died inside (the tent)].

Panel 1

(Image of me sitting in a tent with Marie-Pierre and her daughter Therese).

ISABEL: _____ *Te malad depwi pisye mwa avan li mourì?*

[Was sick since many months before she die?]

THERESE: *Li malad longtan longtan longtan...Li te fe yon de, twa mwa kan mem.*

[She was sick a long, long long time. Two or three months anyway.]

Panel 2

MARIE-PIERRE: *Juska jou lapli vin tombe. pandan tan lapli, gwo lapli loray. Li tande brwi, epi...*

[Until the day the rain fell. During the rainy season, a big rainstorm. She heard the noise, and then...]

Panel 3

(Image of Marie Pierre gasping as she speaks)

MARIE-PIERRE: *...li esite.*

[...she hesitated.]

Panel 4

(Split-screen image, half of which shows Marie-Pierre talking, and half of which shows Lina taking a last gasping breath).

MARIE-PIERRE: *Epi li mourì.*

[Then she died.]

Panel 5

MARIE-PIERRE: *Therese rele m, Therese di maman, Lina kite sa a.*

[Therese called me. She said mom, Lina is gone.]

Panel 6

MARIE-PIERRE: *Monte la, te monte, mwen we li mourì.*

[I came up. I saw she was dead.]

Panel 1

MARIE-PIERRE: *Si ke nou pa ka veni sou teren an, li te pa pedi. w kompran? Se paske nou te vin rete si teren.*

If we hadn't come onto the land, we wouldn't have lost her.

Panel 2

MARIE-PIERRE: *Paske, le nou te nan kay, nou fe ti manje nou. Nou fe tout afe nou.*

When we were in our own house, we made our own food. We went about our own business.

Panel 3

MARIE-PIERRE: *Men le nou veni sou teren, n ap viv--nou gade moun kap mouri, moun ki blesse, nou gade tout bagay sa a. nou meton stress nan nou mem. nou meton stress nan nou mem. Nou vin sou teren an too, nou te pa gen kob. Nou pa gen chodiye pou fe manje. Nou pa byen manje.*

[But when we came onto the land, we saw people who were dying, people who were injured. We saw all this, and we put ourselves under stress. We put stress on ourselves. We came onto the land, we also had no money. We had no pot to cook in. We don't eat well.]

THERESE: *Ou pa ka domi...mem jan ou domi le ou anba kay ou app domi. Paske pa ka domi vre.*

[You can't sleep the way you can in a house. Because you can't really sleep.]

MARIE-PIERRE: *Tout vin fe pis, febles vin plis si li. Ou kompran?*

[All this made Lina weaker. You understand?]

Panel 4

MARIE-PIERRE: *Si ou te yon moun ki te deja malad, ou vin pi malad toujou. Tout jan bagay n ap viv yo, sak fe ou vin pi malad. Epi kuniya la mem mem, vin fe maladi a plus, se fini.*

[People live much worse in the camp. If you were someone who was already ill, you become more ill. All the kinds of things we've lived through, make you sicker. You become more sick. And then it's over...]

Panel 1

Lina was one of the individuals the IOM registered as part of Haiti's official IDP population in 2010.

(Image of Marie-Pierre's family being registered by the IOM.)

Panel 2

She and her five children were included on the registration card the IOM issued to Marie-Pierre.

(Image of Marie-Pierre looking down at her registration card.)

MARIE-PIERRE: *Nou te 7 moun.*

[We were 7 people.]

Panel 3

MARIE-PIERRE: *2e kat OIM te fet la m oblije retire l, paske li mouri, ou kompran?*

[The second card IOM made I was obliged to remove her, because she died, you understand?]

Panel 4

MARIE-PIERRE: *Li mouri, pa fe desyem kat la mete Lina. Men premye kat m jwen Lina ladann.*

[As she died, they couldn't put her on the second card they made. But she was included on the first card.]

Panel 5

(Long image of Marie-Pierre looking down at card.)

MARIE-PIERRE: *Se konsa...*

[So...]

Panel 6

(Image of card, identifying 7 members of Marie-Pierre's family.)

Panel 1

(Scene back in IOM offices.)

ISABEL: So in terms of how the registration concretely works, what happens if an individual dies in the camp? How does that get recorded?

JULIA: [It doesn't. On our side, we don't keep records of that.]

Panel 2

(Image of Julia working alongside others in an office.)

Julia worked as part of the IOM's Data Management Unit, whose reports constitute the main source of official statistics on people living in camps like the one where Lina died. This team of humanitarian professionals generates its data on Haiti's IDP population through a system formally known as the Displacement Tracking Matrix (or "The DTM" as it's more commonly known within the Data Unit).

Panel 3

The registrations the IOM carried out in Haiti's camps are one component of this "tracking matrix" system. However, the official data the IOM publishes about Haiti's IDPs is not based on the detailed information about families such as Marie-Pierre's that the IOM gathered when they registered (and re-registered) Haitians living in camps. Rather, this data is produced through what Julie refers to as a "separate component" of the IOM's "tracking matrix", which is called:

JULIA: The rapid assessment and counting of displaced people.

Panel 2

JULIA: So every two months we send our people to the camps, we go with our agents and we count the tents. If these are camps where we cannot go because of security issues, we have a drone, so we just flew the drone.

Panel 3

(Aerial view of my interview with Julia in the IOM conference room.)

JULIA: With aerial images, we can count the number of tents. And then we have a standard ratio to extrapolate the number of people.

Panel 1

In summer of 2010, the IOM counted about 1.5 million people living in Haiti's official IDP camps. There are now fewer than 47,000 Haitians living in these camps, according to the agency's latest Displacement Tracking Matrix report.

Panel 2

(Scene back in the IOM conference room.)

However only a minority of the displaced Haitians who are no longer living in camps left through an official "return" program. Most of the decline is the result of a phenomenon the IOM's Data Management Unit classifies as "spontaneous returns".

JULIA: So, over the years, we had 60 percent of people who returned spontaneously, meaning that they left the camps spontaneously. We don't know if they returned where they were. We just go back to a camp, the next time, and we find there's fewer people.

Panel 3

ISABEL: But is there any way of distinguishing between if someone returned, because maybe they found a job, and were able to move out of the camp on their own, a year ago, without the rental subsidy program, um, and someone who died, of cholera?

JULIA: No, we don't keep information on deaths, births, no. We have no information on people who died in camps. Not at all. Not at all. No, in our registration form, we don't even ask if any of the family members died. So we don't know.

Panel 4

(Image of Julia suddenly looking hesitant.)

JULIA: We have phone numbers. Yes in principle, we could call them.

Panel 1

JULIA: This was a humanitarian operation, this was an emergency situation. So I wouldn't even see IOM's mandate as being to count deaths.

Panel 2

JULIA: We're tracking living people, because we want to assist them. We are not tracking deaths.

We need to know how many people there are to give them assistance, this is what we do, so the deaths...

I mean, here, we don't really measure how a program is working with the number of deaths.

For us, the indicator is decrease of people in camps. Because we want to close camps.

Panel 3

However this context has often been missing in the IOM and other agencies' press releases, where the declining numbers of Haitians living in camps has been referred to as

(image of a press release in which IOM spokesman Luca Dall'Oglio referred to these figures as "hopeful signs that many victims of the quake are getting on with their lives")

(image of a press release from the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, calling these statistics "facts indicating clear progress")

(image of a letter by the former US ambassador to Haiti citing these statistics as evidence that ninety percent of displaced Haitians had, by January 2014, "found alternative housing").

CHAPTER FIVE
SIGNS OF PROGRESS?

PAGE 85

Panel 1

(Image of camp.)

According to J/P HRO, there were initially more than 60,000 residents of camp *Terrain de Golf*.

Panel 2

(Drawing based on a still from the video, showing a man wearing a J/P HRO t-shirt speaking directly to the camera/reader in Kreyol. The image also shows the English subtitles that appeared in the video.)

In November 2013, there were fewer than 500 families left in the camp, according to a fundraising video Penn's group posted on YouTube publicizing this decline in the number of people living in the camp.

MAN: *Avan nou te genyen plis ke 60,000 moun sou kan. Se te preske 65 mil moun ki te sou kan.*

[Before we had more than 60 000 people, almost 65,000 people living in the camp.]

Panel 3

MAN: *Si n'ap pale de pwogre, nou gen mwens ke 500 fanmi ki sou kan kuniya.*

[If we are talking about what progress has been made, there are now less than 500 families living in the camp.]

Panel 4

Nou ka di, pwogre anpil paske nou preske nan fin yo.

[We can say that we have made great progress, and we are nearing the end.]

Panel 1

(Image of Julia speaking in the IOM conference room.)

The IOM provided logistical assistance to J/P HRO as Penn's group was working to close the camp where Marie-Pierre's daughter died.

JULIA: Sometimes they ask us to fly the drone, to see what's the situation because they're relocating them very slowly, it's taking a long time. So we work with them.

Panel 2

Julia thinks that Penn's group likely already knows exactly how many others died in the camp.

JULIA: Listen, I assume that if an NGO or an agency is working in a camp for almost 4 years, has a committee presence there, they would know the families one by one by the end of that time. So of course they would know who died, who was born, and everything.

Panel 3

(Image of Julia continuing to speak, looking a bit uncertain.)

JULIA: Now I don't know what they do with that information. But I assume they know. Now if they use it for...programs, I--then again... They can use the births for maternity programs. Like, kids get vaccinated. But the deaths...

Panel 4

(Image of Julia, now looking even more uncertain, as she continues.)

JULIA: How do they use it? I don't know. So maybe they don't. I don't see the, the usefulness of, er... I mean, what do you do then?

Panel 1

(Image of Marie-Pierre talking.)

After her daughter died, Marie-Pierre says she informed J/P HRO herself.

MARIE-PIERRE: *M monte nan [biwo] JP. Te 6 h di matin.*

[I went up to J/P (HRO's offices). It was six o'clock in the morning.]

Panel 2

(Split-screen image, one part of which shows Marie-Pierre talking. The other part of the image illustrates the scene she is describing, in which she is talking to a guy in a J/P HRO shirt, pointing down to the camp.)

MARIE-PIERRE: *I said to J/P [HRO], mwen gen yon moun ki mouri la. Depwi kat e di matin, li andan an [tant].*

[I have a person who died there. She's been inside (the tent) since four in the morning.]

Panel 3

MARIE-PIERRE: *Yo di mwen, bon, si l gen tan mouri deja, se ambulans fok m rele pou vin pran l. JP pa responsab mo.*

[They told me, well, if she's already dead, it's an ambulance I need to call to come and collect her. J/P [HRO] is not responsible for the dead.]

Panel 1

As part of my research for this project, I formally requested an interview with a representative of J/P HRO. The Communications Manager of Penn's group, who I met in person during my first research trip for this project, initially seemed quite open to this request.

(Image of an email from J/P HRO's Communications Manager, whose subject header is "Greetings from J/P HRO", and which is dated 18/03/2013)

EMAIL: Dear Isabel,
I'm writing to follow up on your visit to Haiti and as you mentioned, you'd be coming back, I hope you give us a heads up.
I'd be happy to coordinate with my colleagues to assist you for any interviews or camp visits in the interest of furthering your thesis research.

Looking forward to seeing you back in Port-au-Prince!
Cheers,
Jacqueline

Jacqueline Koch

Communications Manager
J/P Haitian Relief Organization
Delmas 48, Port-au-Prince, Haiti
jacqueline@jphro.org
Haiti Mobile: [+509 4412 2987](tel:+50944122987)
Haiti Office: +509 2227 6676

Panel 2

(Image of me sitting at my computer, staring in panic at the screen. Only the back of my laptop is visible, but I have a stricken expression on my face).

I immediately responded, explaining that I was still figuring out the timing of my next research trip to Haiti. But about a week later, I received some alarming news that would massively alter my research plans.

Panel 1

I first learned this news from a man called Antoine, one of the only residents of Petionville Camp I was in contact with who sometimes had access to the internet.

(Image of email.)

EMAIL: *J/P ye gen yon gwo reyinyon yo te fet sou do e yo te moutre tout moun yo foto ou sou gran ekra, reunion sa te fet kote yo te invite tout leader nan kan an Delma 40 yo di ou se espyon e yon move moun rekomande leaders yo po yo plus vijilan kom mwen konnen wap vini nan mwa Avril fok ou we mwen avan pou nou pale avan monte teren an Isabel paske mwen pa swete anyen mal rive ou.*

The people at JP had a big meeting yesterday, and they showed everyone photos of you on a big screen, at a meeting held in the area of Delma 40 where they invited all the leaders of the camp. They said you were a spy and a bad person recommended leaders to be more vigilant as I know you are coming in April you should see me first we should speak before you go back on the land Isabel because I don't wish any bad things to happen to you.

These reports were later confirmed to me by one of the camp leaders, who had been present at the meeting.

Panel 2

(Image of me holding my phone to my ear, listening with a shocked expression on my face).

In his email, Antoine had said he didn't want anything bad to happen to me. But really, I think we both knew that it was people like him, who lived in the camp, and might have already been seen with me, who would be most at risk if there was any retaliation to my research. I immediately called him. On the phone, Antoine gave me more details.

Panel 3

(Image of poster. A picture of my face is visible. At the bottom of the poster, there are two phone numbers.)

Antoine and several other camp residents, as well as a camp leader, also reported seeing posters in two of J/P HRO's offices, with a photo of me, as well as my name, instructing anyone who saw me in the camp to immediately report to J/P HRO.

Panel 1

(Image of Antoine, holding the phone up to his ear with one hand, and looking concerned, as he reads out the numbers from a pad of paper, which he is holding in his other hand).

Antoine asked me to call J/P HRO myself, to find out what this was all about. He had copied out the telephone numbers the poster instructed people to call if they saw me in the camp, which he read out to me on the phone.

Panel 2

(Image of my hand writing out the phone numbers on a pad of paper.)

I copied down the numbers, and agreed to call J/P HRO immediately.

Panel 3

But I was sure this was some sort of terrible miscommunication. And I suggested to Antoine that the best way for me to clear it up might be for me to instead call J/P HRO's communications manager. After all, I had already been in contact with her. Antoine agreed, sounding relieved.

Panel 4

(Image of my hand, holding my phone, showing Jacqueline Koch's contact details, including 2 phone numbers.)

So I pulled up the communications manager's contact information.

Panel 5

(Image of me looking bewildered, as I look down at the pad of paper on my desk, where I'd written down the numbers Antoine had seen on the posters, and see the exact same two phone numbers: 509 4412 2987 and 509 2227 6676).

Panel 1

(Image of me holding phone up to my ear, looking very uncomfortable.)

Reached by telephone, J/P HRO's Communications Manager neither confirmed nor denied the existed of these "wanted posters". However, tellingly, the first thing she asked me was *who exactly had told me* about these posters.

ISABEL: Under the ethics regulations I'm required to abide by in this project, I have to protect the identities of all my research participants. So I'm actually not even *allowed* to give you that information.

Panel 2

J/P HRO formally declined to provide any comment for this graphic journalism project.

Panel 3

(Drawn image based on a screen-shot of a statement that appeared on a banner on the homescreen of J/P HRO's website.)

Penn's group claims that "All 60,000 residents of the Petionville Camp have been transitioned into housing."

Panel 4

(Image of Lina's coffin being lowered into the ground.)

Panel 5

(Image of the emptied camp.)

In February 2014, nearly two years after Lina's death, camp *Terrain de Golf* and its last residents were removed from the Displacement Tracking Matrix.

EPILOGUE

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Panel 1

(Image of me walking through the neighbourhood beside the camp.)

By the time I arrived back in Haiti, everyone I knew in the camp had heard about the posters that had been seen in J/P HRO's offices, as well as about the warnings that Penn's group had reportedly issued to the camp leaders.

Panel 2

(Closer up image, showing my face looking worried.)

In the wake of all these signs of the camp manager's disapproval, I anticipated that least some of the camp residents I'd interviewed might now wish to withdraw from my research.

Panel 3

(Image of me standing in a small room, talking on the phone as I draw the curtains).

So when I returned to Haiti, I decided to hold a debriefing meeting for the Haitians from the camp who'd agreed to participate in this project, to find out how they wished to proceed. So as not to put anyone from the camp who was involved in this research further at risk, it seemed wisest, going forward, for me to meet with these Haitians only outside of the camp, where there would be less chance of them being seen by J/P HRO or the leaders who'd been instructed to report back to Penn's group. So I phoned those I'd interviewed in the camp, and invited them to a debriefing meeting at a private residence outside the camp.

Panel 1

(Image of me setting up chairs in a circle in the small room.)

As the time at which everyone was due to arrive approached, my stomach was in knots.

Panel 2

(Image of me looking apprehensive.)

I figured the people I'd spoken to from the camp had every right to be mad at me.

Panel 3

(Image of me looking at watch.)

In fact, I half expected they wouldn't even turn up.

Panel 1

(Image of silhouette of Marie-Pierre)

Marie-Pierre was first to arrive.

Panel 2

Then her daughter Therese came.

(Silhouette of Therese arriving, visible but not identifiable through curtain)

Panel 3

Then Cassandra came with her neighbour Claudette.

(Silhouettes of Cassandra and Claudette arriving, visible but not identifiable through curtain)

Panel 3

Then another woman called Nadège, who I'd also interviewed in the camp, arrived.

(Silhouette of Nadège arriving, visible but not identifiable through curtain)

Panel 4

And so did another camp resident I knew called Patrice.

(Silhouette of Patrice arriving, visible but not identifiable through curtain)

Panel 5

I'd already met up with Antoine and Francois, and knew that neither of them was going to be able to make it to this particular meeting.

(Image of me looking up, startled, as I hear another knock on the door).

KNOCK! KNOCK!

Panel 1

(Image of me and Cassandra sitting on some steps, in front of a badly fissured home.)

From the beginning of my research, I had tried hard to avoid raising any false expectations about this project.

Panel 2

(Frontal image of Cassandra, who addresses me/the reader directly.)

June 2013, Port-au-Prince.

But near the end of my second research trip, Cassandra turned to me with a question.

CASSANDRA: *Epwi kisa inivesite ou pral fe pou nou?*

[So what is your university going to do for us?]

Panel 3

(Image of me looking taken aback.)

I had no idea what to say.

Panel 4

(Frontal image of Cassandra speaking, again addressing me/the reader directly.)

CASSANDRA: *Soti anfomasyon nan monde pral ede!*

[Getting information out to the world can help!]

Panel 5

(Aerial wide-shot image showing Cassandra and I on the steps, surrounded by damaged buildings. I am gesturing with my arms.)

I began to try to explain the likely very limited distribution prospects of a graphic project produced as part of a PhD thesis.

Panel 6

(Even more zoomed-out image, in which Cassandra and I are no longer visible. The view, from an aerial perspective reminiscent of that of the IOM's drone, shows a part of the city still badly damaged by the quake, in which the camp can be seen, but not any people.)

But then I remembered what Cassandra had told me, when we first met, about how she would have liked to provide her own report on humanitarian aid in the camp where she lived for more than three years.

Panel 1

(Image of me sitting at a computer, with headphones on, typing out the English translation of words that come streaming out of the headphones in Kreyòl.

February 2014. Montreal.

M pa fe klas. Pa kon li, ekrit. Men bondye ba m yon espri pou kompran. Bondye ba yon espri pou kompran moun. M gen tan kompran sitiyasyon. Mwen mem, si m te nan yon posisyon de fe l, nou k ap ba yon rapo fomel, yon rapo kle, san pati pri, bagay sou kan, depi 13. M p la le 12, mwen la le 13, a 5 h di maten.

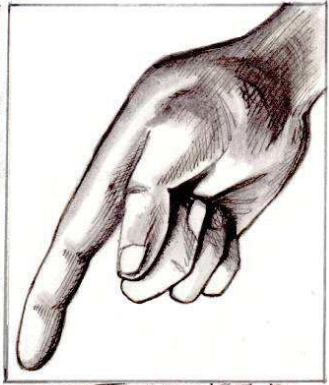
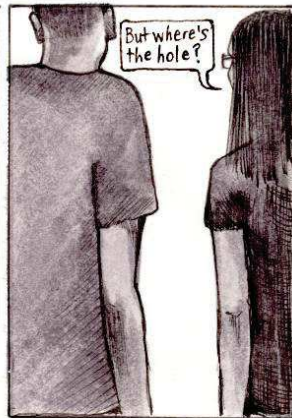
[I'm not an intellectual. I haven't studied. I don't know how to read or write. But the good Lord gave me the wits to understand. I've had time to understand this situation. If I myself was in a position to do it, we could give a formal report. A clear report, without any bias, about this camp, since the 13th of January. I've been here since the 13th, at five o'clock in the morning.]

Sample pages

Picturing Aid in Haiti

A Work of Graphic Reportage by Isabel Macdonald

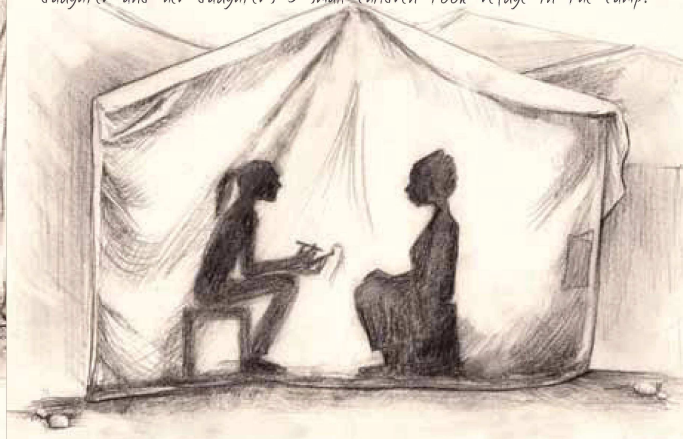




When I first met Marie-Pierre (whose real name cannot be disclosed), she'd been living for more than three years in Petionville Camp, one of Haiti's largest camps for people displaced by the earthquake of January 12, 2010.

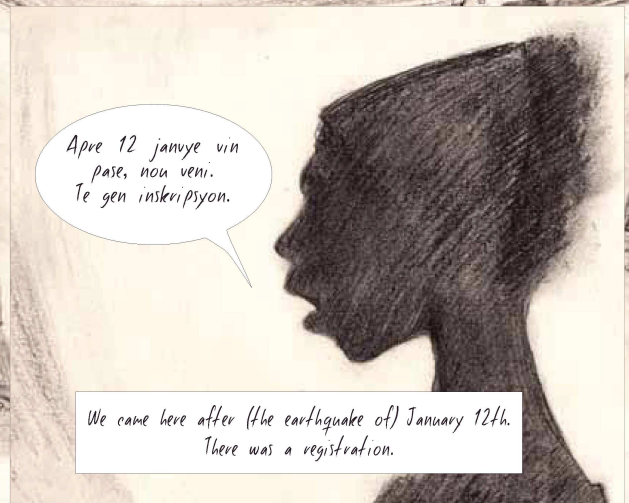


Her family's home had been destroyed in the earthquake. So she, her daughter and her daughter's 5 small children took refuge in the camp.

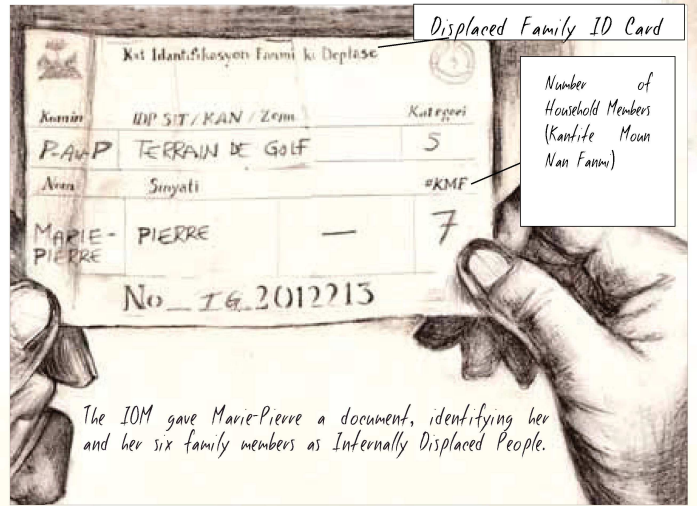
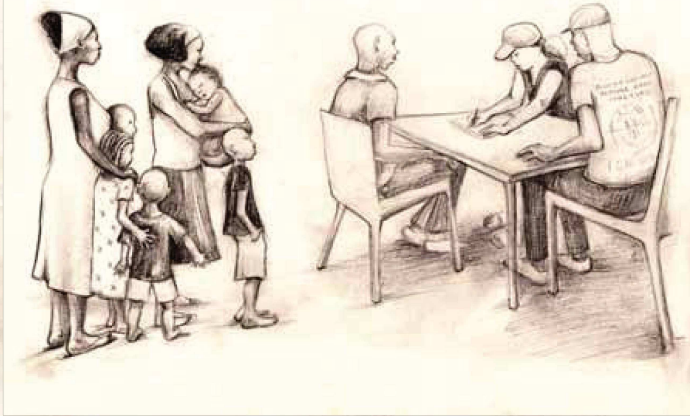


Aprè 12 janvyè vin
pase, nou vini.
Te gen inskripsyon.

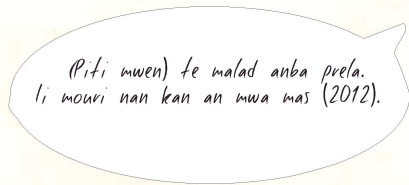
We came here after (the earthquake of) January 12th.
There was a registration.



Her family was officially registered as part of Haiti's earthquake-displaced population by the International Organization for Migration (IOM).



The IOM gave Marie-Pierre a document, identifying her and her six family members as Internally Displaced People.



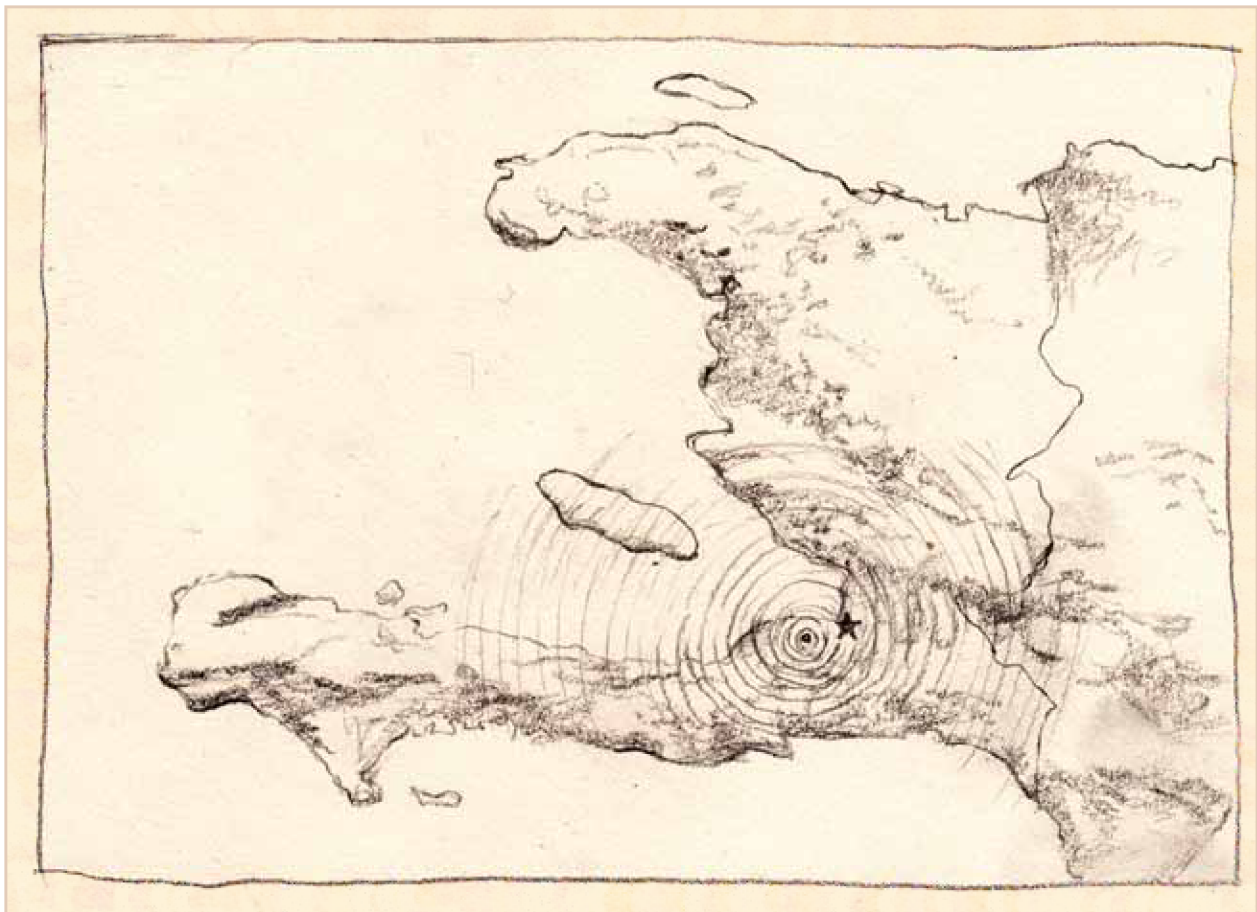
My daughter got sick under the tarps. She died in the camp in March (2012).



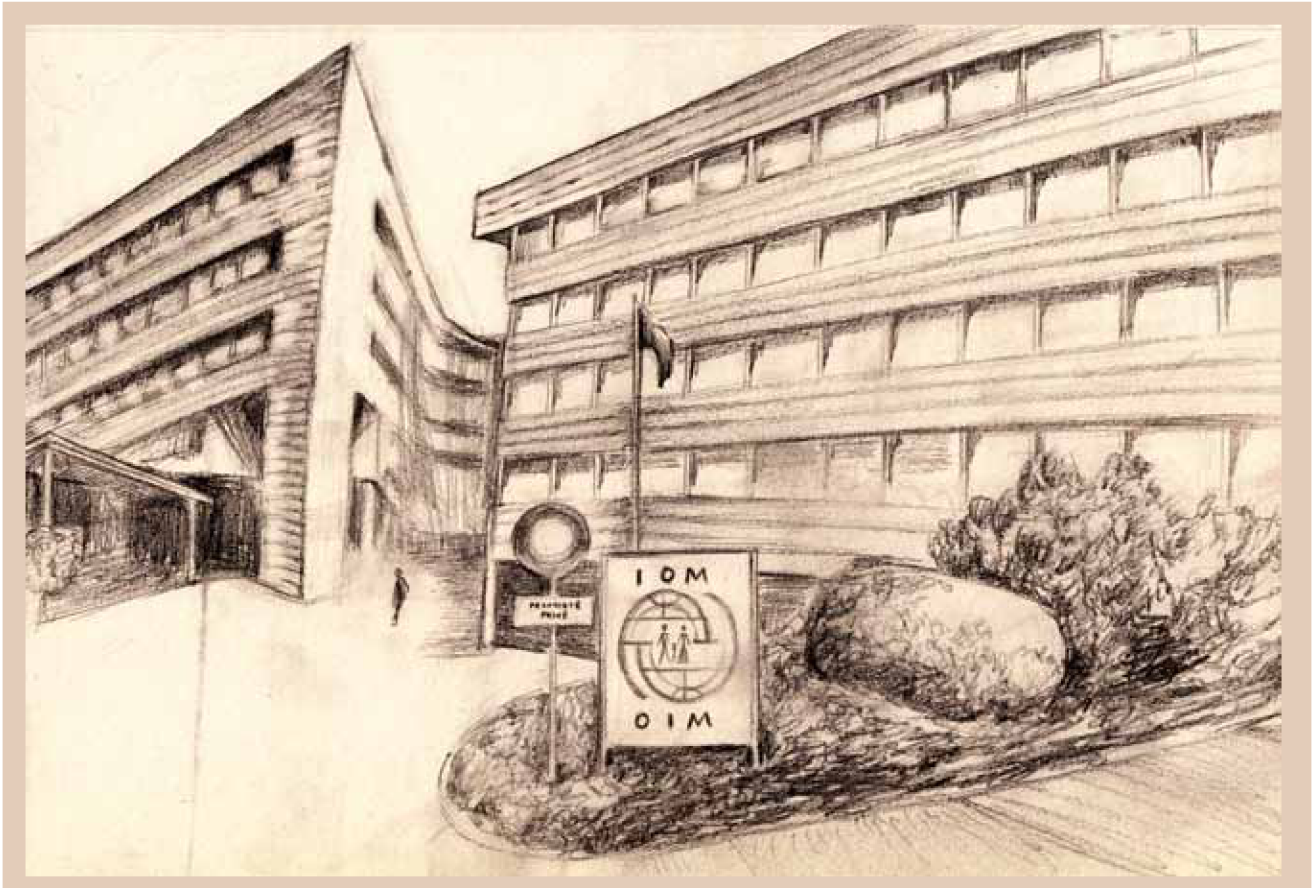
Drawings



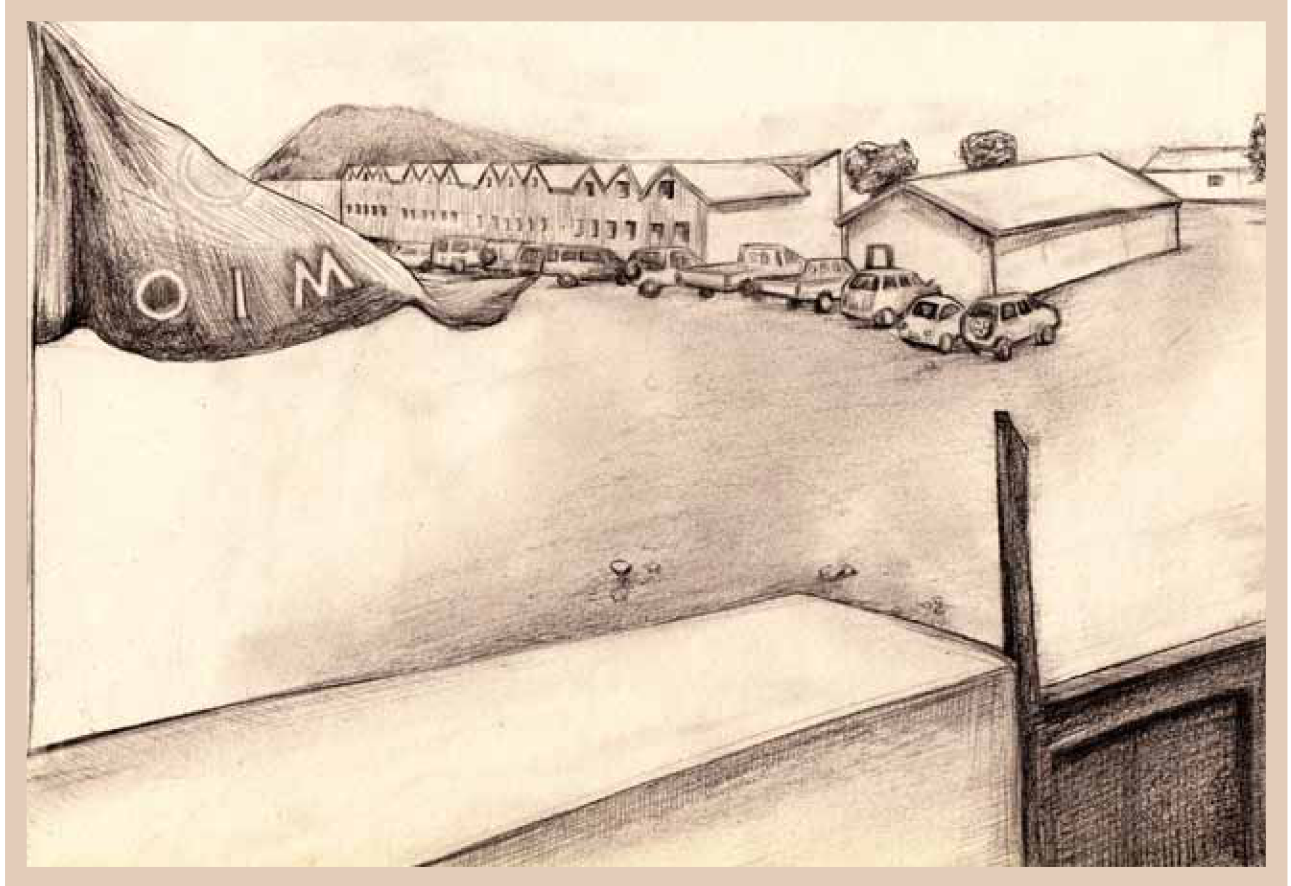
The 2010 Haitian earthquake on a map showing Haiti and surrounding countries.



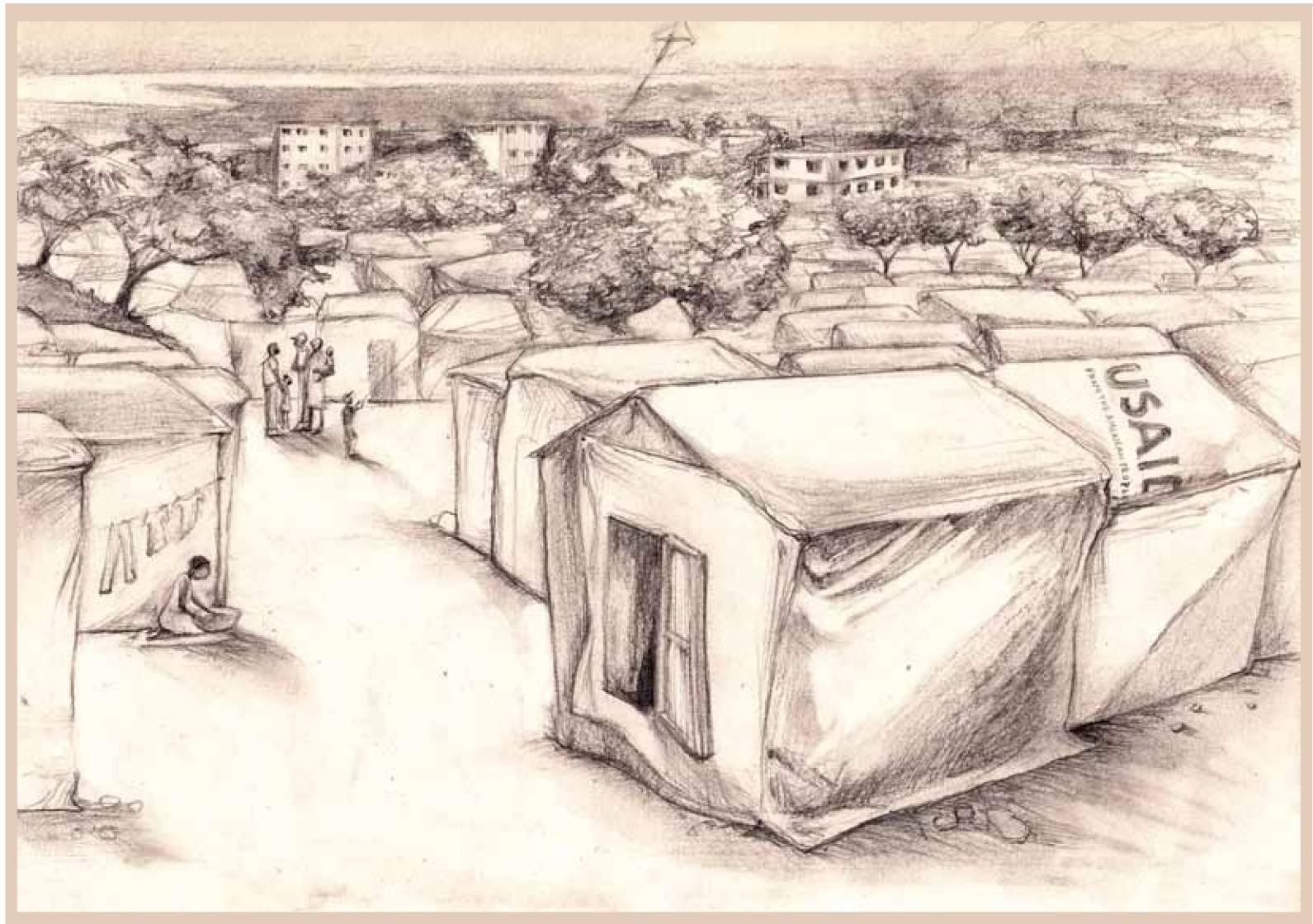
A map of Haiti showing the earthquake's epicentre.



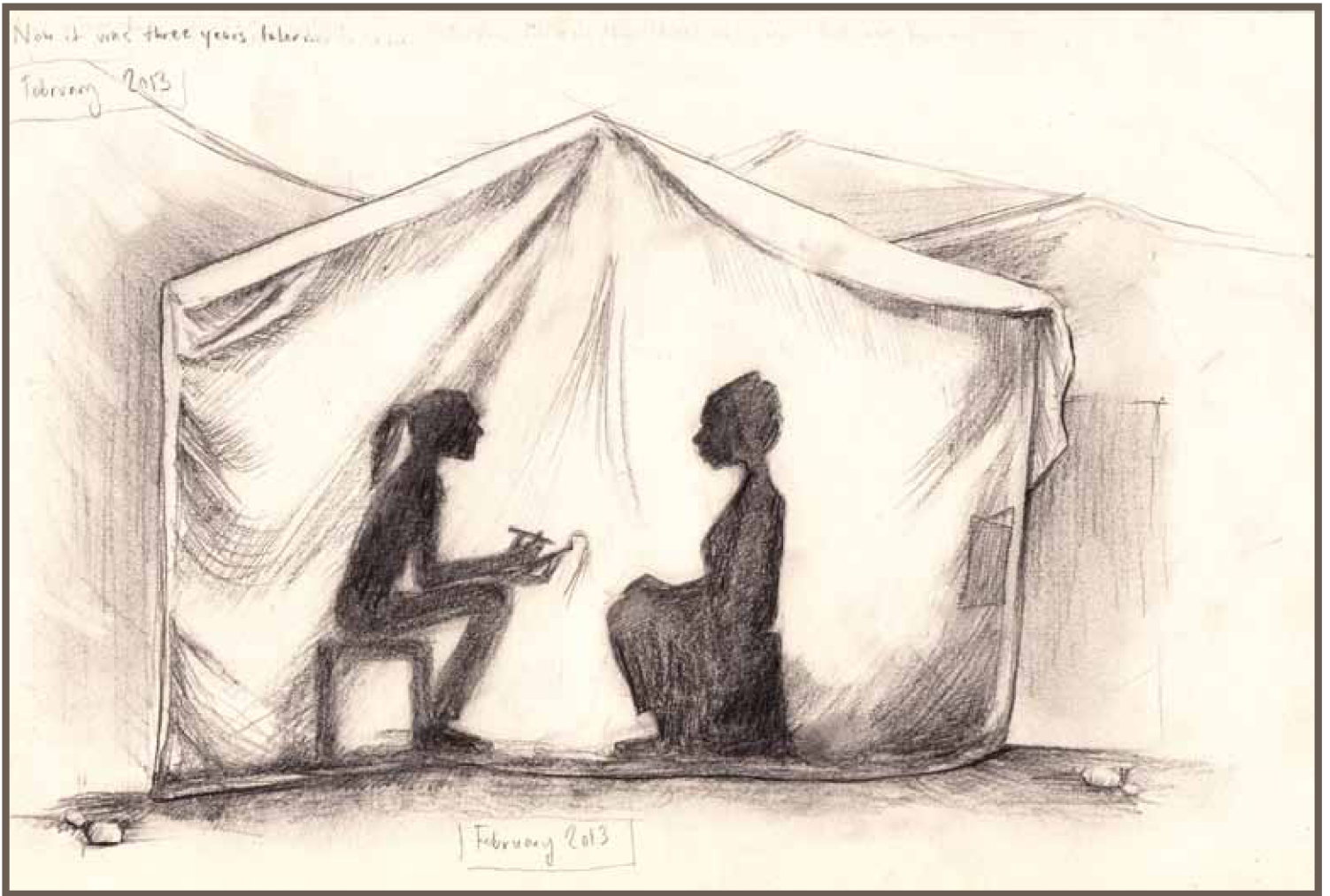
The International Organization for Migration's headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland.



The offices of the IOM's Haiti Mission in Tabarre, a suburb of Port-au-Prince.



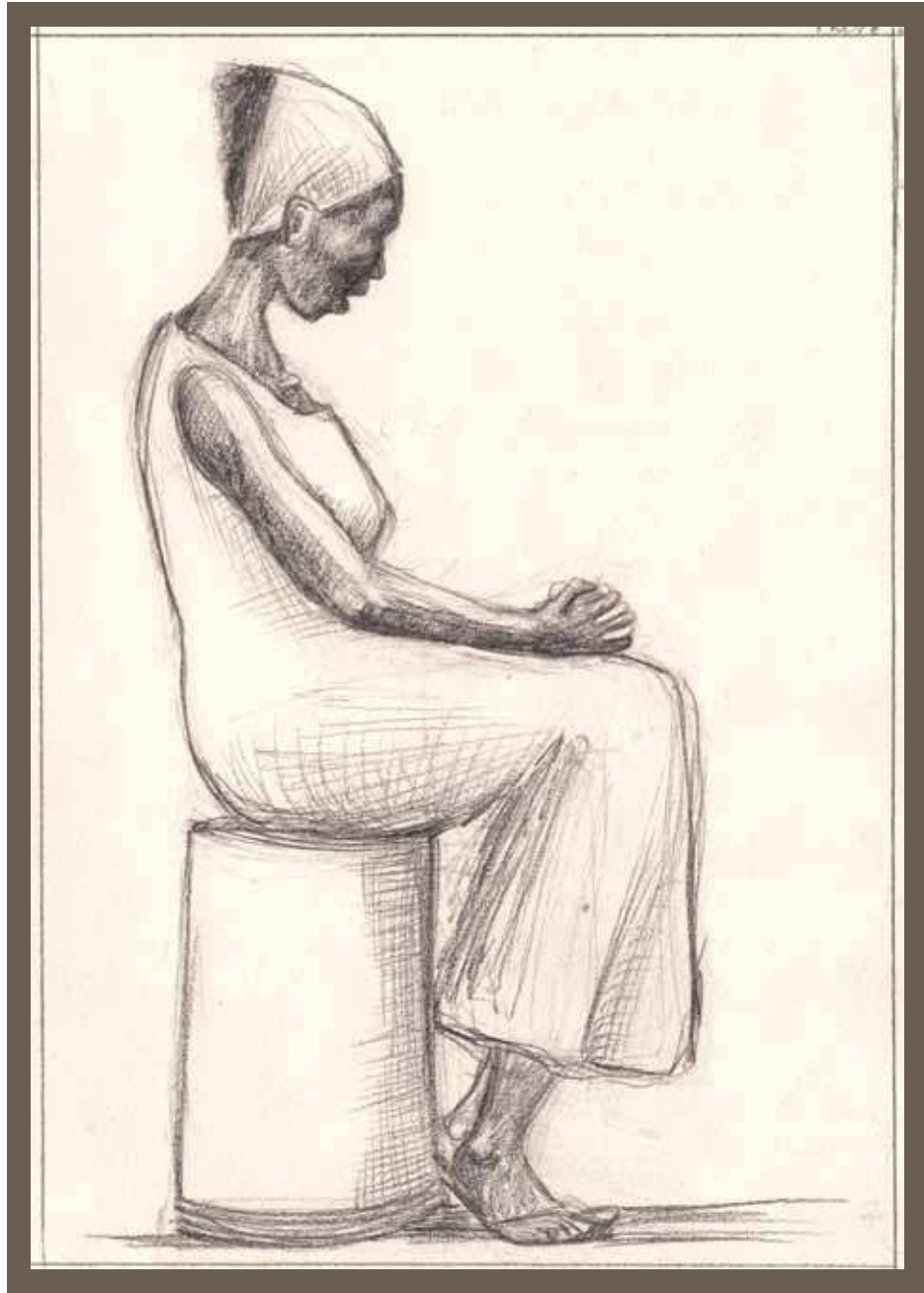
Kan Teren Golf



Me interviewing a displaced Haitian woman under a tent.



Displaced woman speaking.



Displaced woman sitting on an upside-down bucket.



Displaced woman sitting on an upside-down bucket 2.



Displaced woman sitting on an upside-down bucket 3.



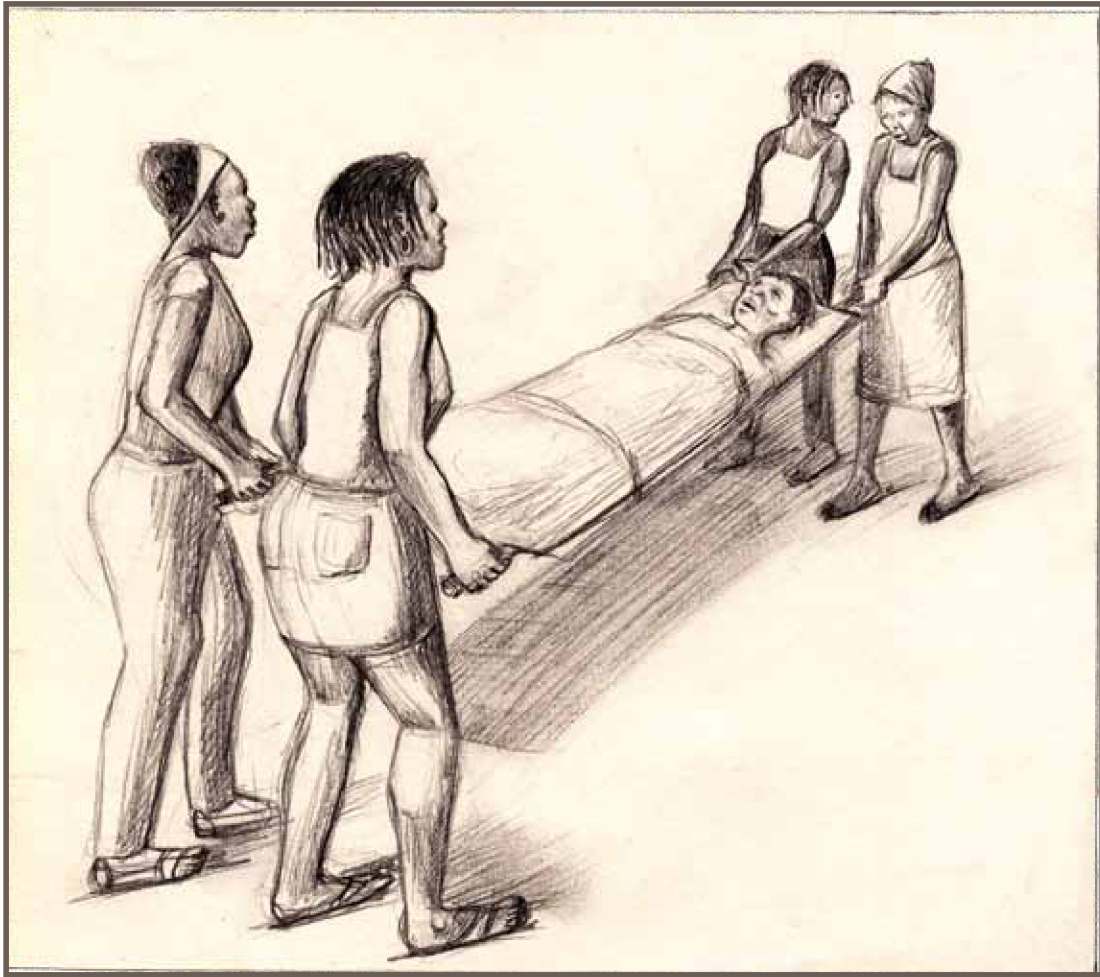
Hurricane.



Storm hitting the camp.



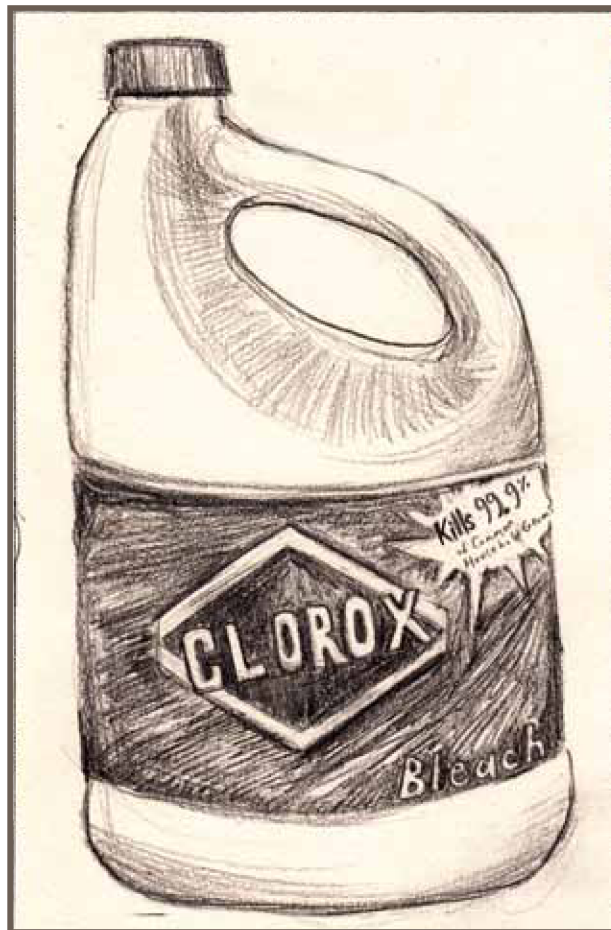
Displaced family weathering a storm under tarps.



Haitian women carrying a camp resident sick with cholera to hospital.



*Cleaning supplies purchased by camp residents 1
(Bucket and mop)*



*Cleaning supplies purchased by camp residents 2
(Bleach)*



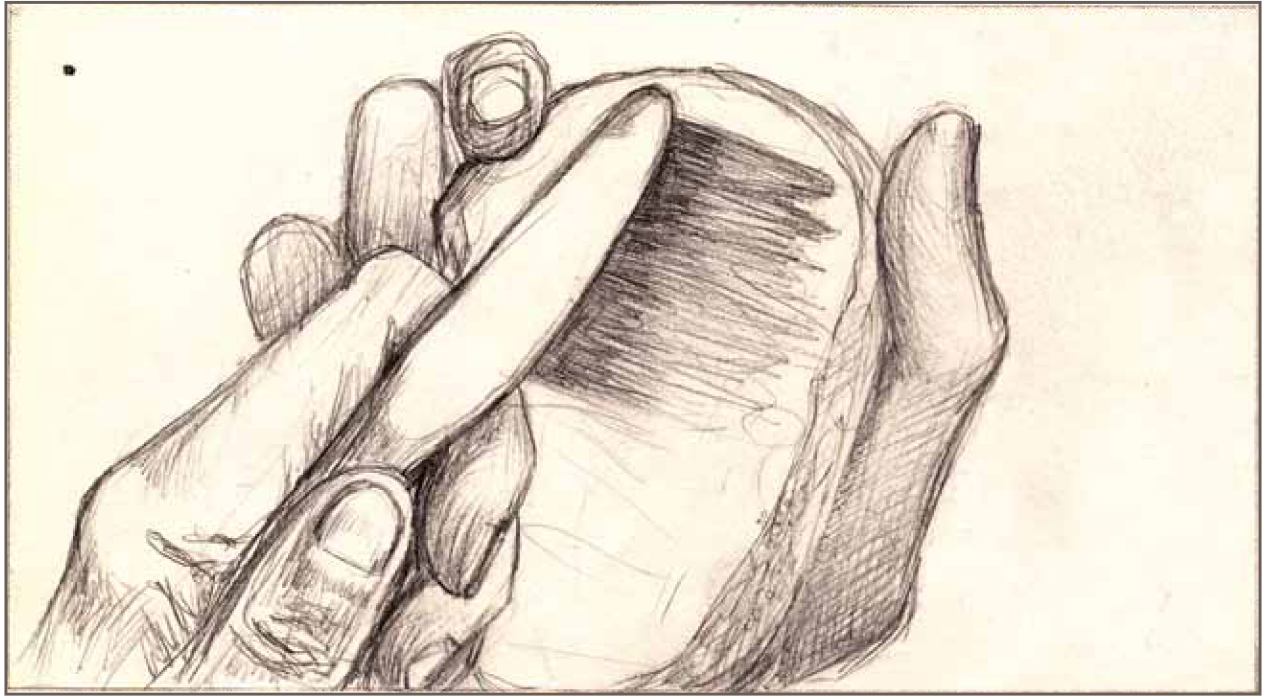
Woman gathering water in the camp.



*Camp residents' sustenance 1.
(Peanut butter)*



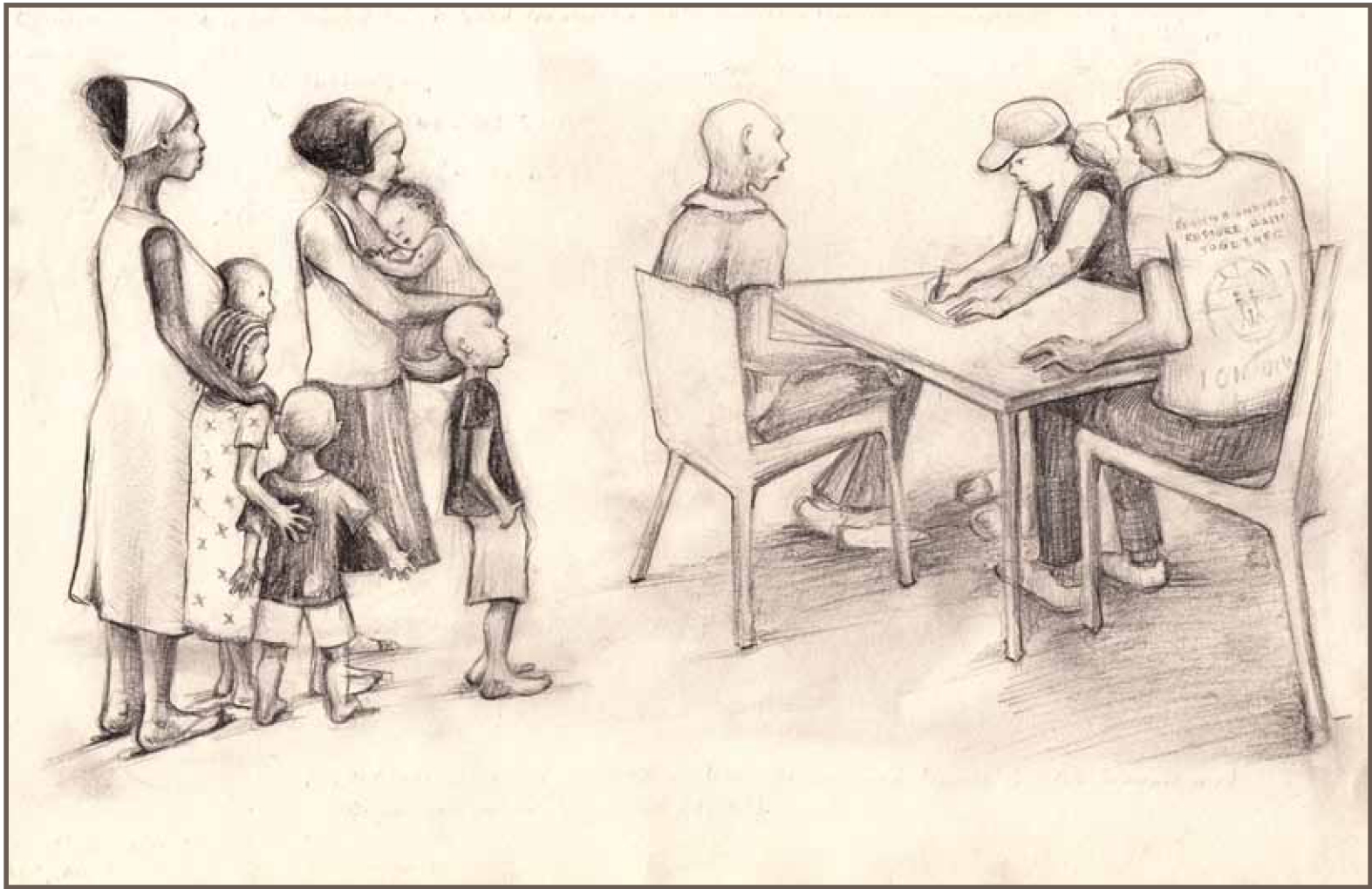
*Camp residents' sustenance 2.
(Sugar)*



*Camp residents' sustenance 3.
(Peanut butter on a roll.)*



*Camp residents sustenance 4.
(Sugar in water.)*



The registration.



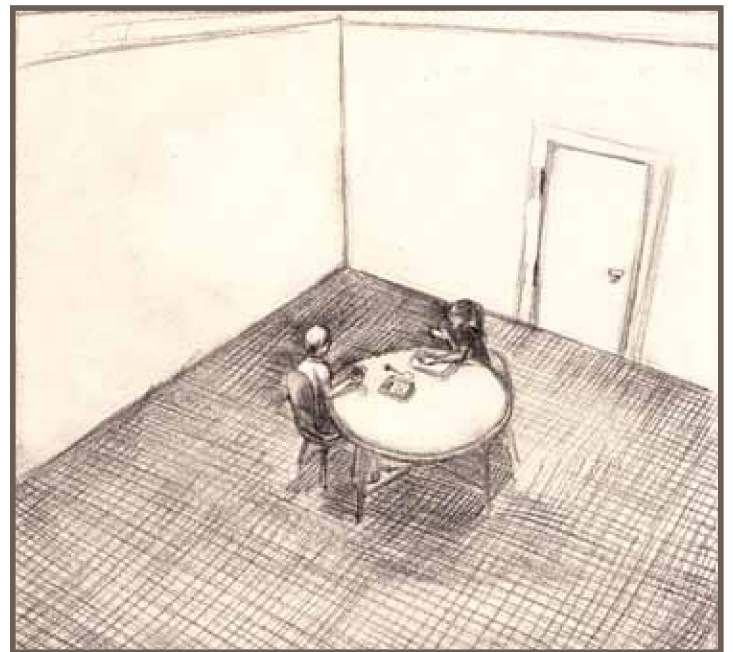
Marie-Pierre's family's registration card



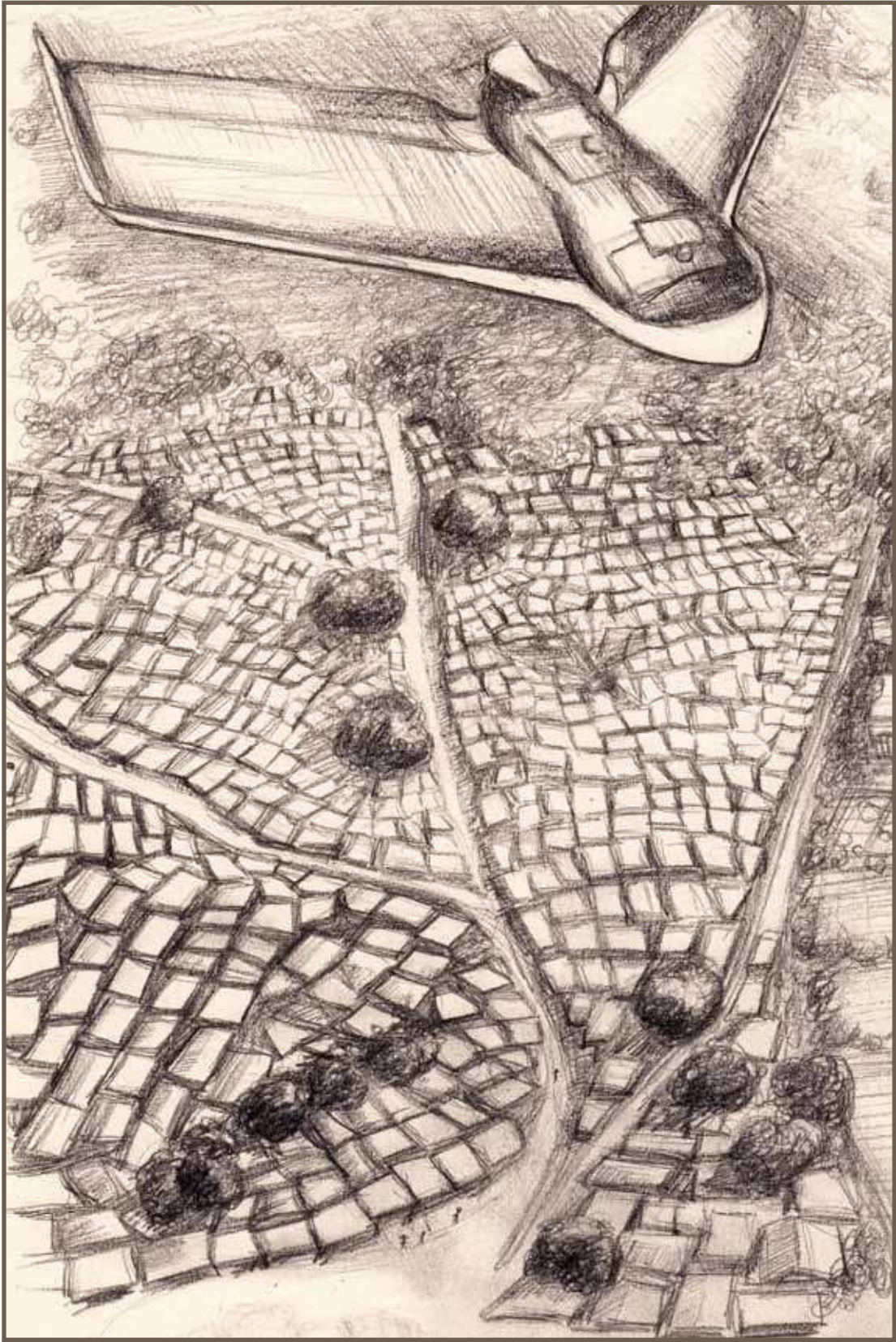
Anonymous IOM data analyst.



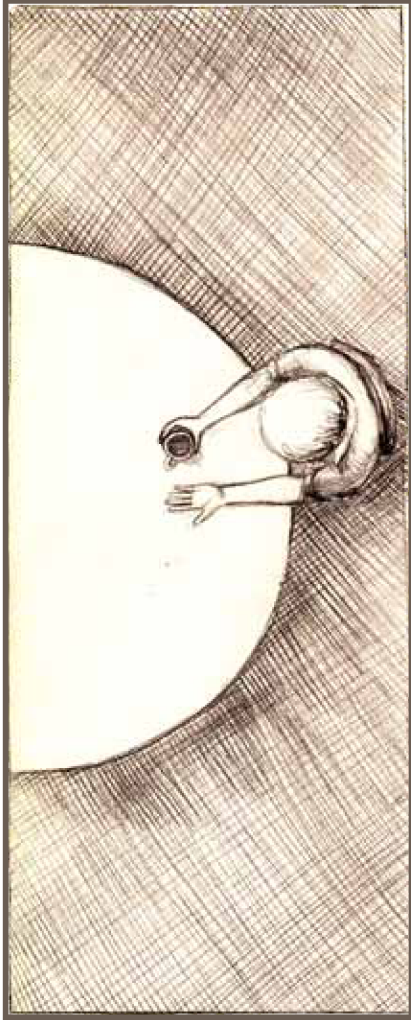
My question for the IOM.



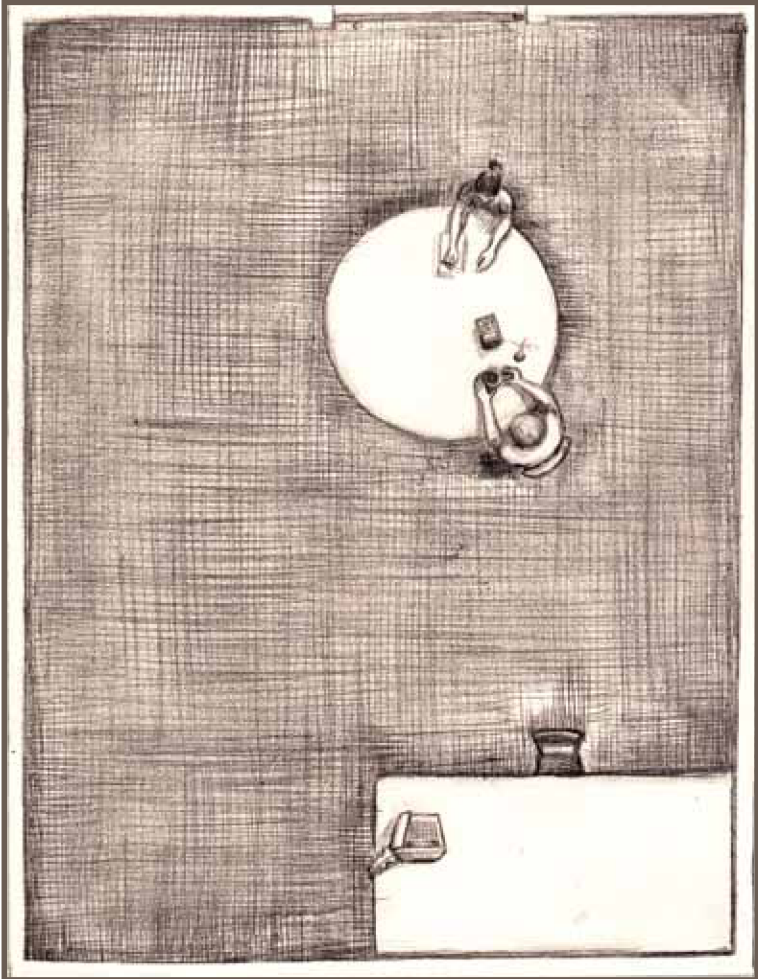
Scene from my interview with the data analyst.



The Rapid Camp Assessment.



Aerial view of the data analyst.



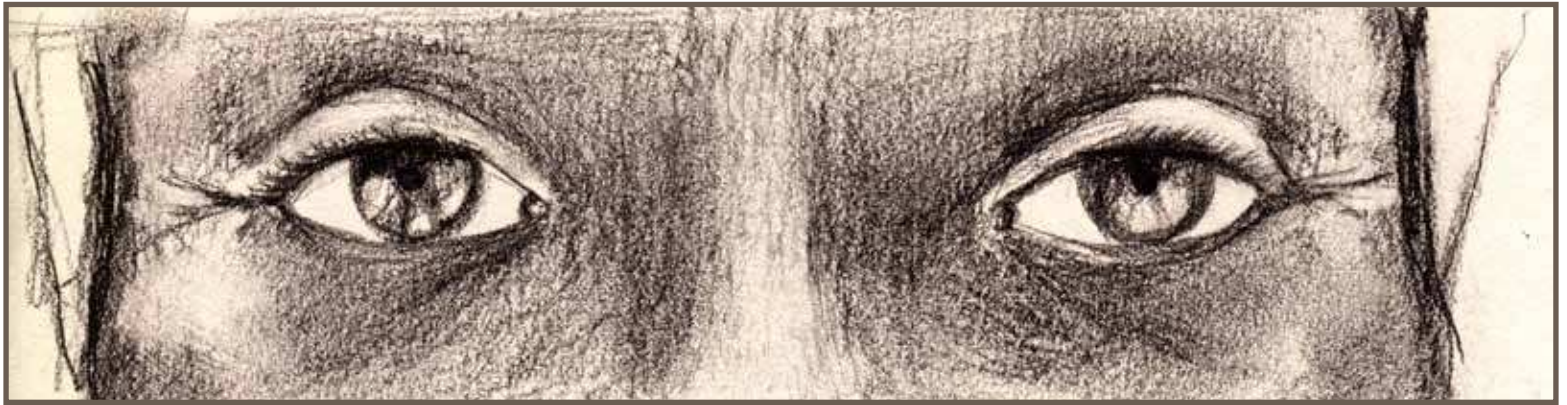
Aerial view of the IOM conference room.



IOM spokesman Luca DaOglio.



*Max Bellevive and Bill Clinton,
Directors of the Interim Haiti Recovery Commission*



The gaze of a Haitian woman