“WE’VE BEEN FORGOTTEN”
CONDITIONS IN HAITI’S DISPLACEMENT CAMPS
EIGHT MONTHS AFTER THE EARTHQUAKE
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report presents findings from a five-month follow-up of 90 Haitian families displaced by the January 12, 2010 earthquake. The initial survey was conducted in six displacement camps in February 2010. The resulting report, Neglect in the Encampments: Haiti's Second-Wave Humanitarian Disaster, was presented to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights in Washington, D.C. on March 23, 2010.

A second survey conducted in July compared how living conditions in the camps measured against human rights standards set forth under the Haitian Constitution and international law on the treatment of displaced persons. Fifty-two of the original families were located and interviewed, yielding the following evidence of systematic human rights violations:

- **Food.** 75% of families had someone go an entire day without eating in the past week and over 50% indicated that their children did not eat for an entire day

- **Clean Water.** 44% of families primarily drank untreated water

- **Sanitary Environment.** 27% of families defecated in a container, a plastic bag, or on open ground in the camps

- **Housing.** 78% of families lived without enclosed shelter

- **Health.** There were 245 independently listed health problems among 45 families

- **Protection From and During Displacement.** 94% of families felt they could not return home while 48% had been threatened with forced eviction since the earthquake

- **Self-Sufficiency.** 37% of families did not have a single family member with a full-time job, a part-time job, a cash-for-work arrangement, or self-employment

Our results indicate that aid has slowed and even stopped in each of the six camps surveyed, making life far worse for most of the families. This report makes the following nine recommendations:

1. **Quickly disburse aid** necessary to achieve and maintain a life of basic dignity

2. **Follow the UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement**

3. **Promote participation** from camp residents in needs assessment and aid distribution

4. **Require that donors be accountable to aid recipients**

5. **Coordinate** with the Government of Haiti

6. **Encourage self-sufficiency through employment opportunities**

7. **Source food aid locally** to support local economy

8. **Improve and expand provision of sturdy, safe shelter** for camp residents

9. **End the policy and practice of forced evictions**

We encourage the Government of Haiti, donor states and international aid agencies to allocate more of their resources to meet the basic needs of Haitians living in camps and adopt a rights-based approach to relief and reconstruction.
INTRODUCTION

Eight months after the January 12, 2010 earthquake, over 1.3 million Haitians continue to live in approximately 1,300 makeshift camps in and around Port-au-Prince. Under the Haitian Constitution and international law, these displaced Haitians have individual and collective rights to a basic standard of living, which includes adequate shelter, water, food, sanitation, and health, as well as employment, education, family unity, and freedom from discrimination on the basis of gender or displacement status.

In February 2010, a survey of 90 families chosen at random from six internally displaced persons (IDP) camps indicated that residents' basic human rights were being violated. The report concluded, “Almost universally, those surveyed in the camp stated that the distribution of aid was totally lacking, incomplete, or seemingly arbitrary.”

In July 2010, 52 of the 90 original families were located and interviewed a second time to document changes in their living conditions and family's circumstances over time. The survey found that daily life remained a struggle and their basic rights to housing, food, water, and an adequate standard of life continued to be comprehensively violated.

While the Government of Haiti bears the primary duty to protect the economic and social rights of its citizens, donor states and relief agencies must also meet certain standards in carrying out assistance to Haiti. This obligation arises from international law but also from the extent of devastation to the Government’s capacity to perform many of its core functions; the levels of assistance being pledged ($5.3 billion for immediate reconstruction at the March 31, 2010 donors' conference); and the fact that the international community now maintains a significant role in providing basic services in Haiti.

At minimum, donor states have a duty to respect the human rights of all Haitians by adopting a rights-based approach to assistance. Moreover, member States of the Organization of American States (OAS) have binding human rights obligations while acting in Haiti under the OAS Charter, the American Declaration on the Rights and Duties of Man, and the American Convention on Human Rights. All those involved in relief efforts have a duty to ensure their actions inflict no harm by meeting basic standards for transparency, accountability, participation, capacity building, and non-discrimination.

Instead, the July survey confirmed piecemeal coordination, sluggish aid, and inadequate protection of displaced Haitians. Camp residents suffer relentless heat during the day compounded by lack of clean drinking water and limited access to medical care for chronic and acute medical conditions. Their tents and tarps are too small to contain the families, some of whom have been forced to live apart.

People are not consulted about their needs and aid has trickled to a halt in most camps. People cannot find enough to eat and there are limited opportunities for people to work and support their families. The recurrent threat of eviction only adds to stress. Despite the massive outpouring of international aid, in the words of one man, “It’s as if we are forgotten.”

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Initial Survey – February 2010

This report is in follow-up to Neglect in the Encampments: Haiti’s Second-Wave Humanitarian Disaster, which presented data from a study conducted six weeks after the January 12 earthquake. In February 2010, the LAMP for Haiti Task Force interviewed 90 family heads selected at random from six internally displaced persons (IDP) camps in and around Port-au-Prince:

- 22 families in Place St. Pierre in Pétionville
- 23 families in Acra camp in Delmas
- 11 families in Diquini / Adventist University of Haiti (ADUH) in Carrefour
- 12 families in Champ de Mars in Port-au-Prince
- 9 families in Bouzi camp in Croix-des-Bouquets, and
- 13 families in Parc La Couronne in Cité Soleil.

One of the study’s chief objectives was to measure the international community’s effectiveness in delivering aid by interviewing a small cross-section of families living in IDP camps. The resulting report was presented to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights in Washington, D.C. on March 23, 2010.

Another, more fundamental objective was to give voice to people whose suffering is compounded by their exclusion from decision-making, including about how aid should be distributed. To that end, the February survey laid the groundwork to follow the same individuals over time and track changes in their family’s physical, social, and economic well-being. The 90 respondents were not viewed as anonymous subjects but people to whom short-term and long-term accountability was owed.

Follow-Up Survey – July 2010

From July 12-19, 2010, a second team of investigators followed up with the original 90 families. In preparation for the interviews, the original survey was redesigned to reflect knowledge gained in February, evolving facts on the ground in Haiti, and insight from post-quake surveys administered by other organizations. The July survey sought to obtain the following information:

- Access to adequate food and drinking water
- Bathing, hygiene and sanitation arrangements
- Shelter and living arrangements
- Adequacy of recent aid distribution efforts
- Health status and access to medical services
- Sense of physical safety and security
- Displacement status, including forced evictions
- Current and future job prospects, including cash-for-work programs
- Sense of civic and political participation
- Household composition and cohesion

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4 Thomas M. Griffin, Esq., the Director of the LAMP for Haiti Foundation, supervised 14 Haitian college students from the Haitian Education & Leadership Program (HELP). For more information on February survey methods, see Neglect in the Encampments, supra note 2.
5 “Family” was defined as “everyone who regularly sleeps, eats, and lives together as a family unit in the place where you are currently staying.”
6 In late March, the number of IDPs living in the six selected communes was estimated at 100,000 to 130,000 people, according to the International Organization for Migration/Camp Coordination and Camp Management Cluster Haiti (CCCM Cluster). It is difficult to obtain current estimates from the CCCM Cluster since public access to its website is limited.
7 Nicole Phillips, Esq., UDH Staff Attorney and coordinator of the Haiti Human Rights Program at the University of San Francisco School of Law (USF), supervised the July investigation. The team consisted of seven of the original Haitian college students from HELP, two U.S. and Haiti-based attorneys, one law professor, and four law students. Names and respective institutions appear under Appendix A: Acknowledgements.
CONSENT

A team of Haitian students attempted to contact all 90 families by telephone to arrange in-person interviews. Of the 90 original families, just 52 could be located (57%):

- 11 of 22 who had been in Place St. Pierre (50%)
- 12 of 23 in Acra (52%)
- 8 of 11 in Diquini/Adventist University of Haiti (73%)
- 9 of 12 in Champ de Mars (75%)
- 5 of 9 in Bouzi (56%)
- 7 of 13 in Parc La Couronne (54%).

All participants consented to be interviewed and were told that they would not be compensated for participating in

DATA COLLECTION

Forty-three interviews were conducted in-person at the camps. Nine respondents were unavailable and their interviews were conducted by phone. Each interview team consisted of at least one HELP student, who read the survey questions to the respondent in Haitian Creole and then translated the responses into English, and one USF law student or lawyer who recorded the responses in English.

The investigative team obtained permission to enter each camp and interview residents from at least one member of the camp committees in Place St. Pierre, Acra, Diquini/Adventist University of Haiti, and Parc La Couronne. At Champ de Mars, the team was unable to locate a camp committee and permission was obtained from representatives of KOFAVIV, a woman’s organization with a leadership role in the camp. At Bouzi, permission was obtained from the property owner.

DATA ANALYSIS

The survey results were entered into Microsoft Excel and analyzed by the Inspire Team, a volunteer group of Boston consultants working with the Institute for Justice & Democracy in Haiti (IJDH).9

Despite the limited sample size, the survey revealed a number of factors contributing to the families’ ongoing sense of displacement and disintegration. The degree of loss to follow-up suggests ongoing disruption caused by the earthquake and subsequent policy decisions at national and international levels.

Legal Framework of Human Rights

**International Law**

The Haitian government has ratified the following international human rights instruments bearing directly on the rights of displaced Haitians: (1) the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR); (2) the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW); and (3) the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). As a member-nation of the Organization of American States (OAS) Haiti also is bound to uphold the tenets of the American Convention on Human Rights (ACHR). While Haiti is not a signatory to the International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), the following analysis invokes certain provisions to the ICESCR based on the wide-spread recognition and respect afforded ICESCR conventions by members of the international community. Likewise, the following analysis draws on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), which provides one of the bases for international human rights standards.

**Constitution of Haiti**

In addition to all of the international and regional human rights instruments, Haiti has enshrined in its Constitution certain basic human rights, for example, the right of every citizen “to decent housing, education, food and social security.” The Constitution also provides that international treaties or agreements that have been approved and ratified are self-executing and automatically become part of the law of the country. Accordingly, Haiti’s constitutional protections should be interpreted consistent with its international human rights obligations.

**Human Rights Norms and Standards for Displaced Persons**

Both the Guiding Principles on International Displacement (Guiding Principles), published by the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, and the Sphere Project’s Minimum Standards in Disaster Response (Sphere Standards) are designed to guide governments, international organizations and other relevant actors in providing assistance and protection to Internally Displaced Persons. Though neither the Guiding Principles nor the Sphere Standards operate alone to bind State actors, these canons amplify prevailing international practices and are increasingly included in restatements of binding international law.

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11 Haiti ratified the ACHR in 1977. See http://www.cidh.oas.org/Basicos/English/Basic.TOC.htm.

12 1987 Constitution of Haiti, Article 22 [hereinafter Constitution].

13 Id. at art. 276-2.


### 1. THE RIGHT TO ADEQUATE FOOD

Access to food is necessary for survival and therefore fundamental to an adequate standard of living. Haiti codifies this basic principle in the above-quoted text of the Constitution, stating, "[t]he State recognizes the right of every citizen to decent housing, education, food and social security."\(^{17}\)

Likewise, the UDHR guarantees a human being's right to food and to freedom from hunger.\(^{18}\) The CRC specifically asserts the importance of "nutrition" to ensuring the rights of children to an adequate standard of living. The Guiding Principles state, "[a]t the minimum, regardless of the circumstances, and without discrimination, competent authorities shall provide internally displaced persons with and ensure safe access to: (a) Essential food and potable water . . . "\(^{19}\) Similarly, the Sphere Standards demand that "[p]eople have access to adequate and appropriate food and non-food items in a manner that ensures their survival, prevents erosion of assets and upholds their dignity."\(^{20}\)

Despite these provisions, on March 8, 2010, Haitian President, Rene Préval, asked that the international community stop sending food and water to Haiti for fear that it would "undermine Haitian national production and Haitian trade."\(^{21}\) Consistent with this request, our study confirmed that as of July, food aid largely stopped for the families surveyed. One person commented that while aid organizations came to deliver food right after the earthquake, in the last several months not a single organization had come with food aid. Only five families surveyed had received any food aid from relief agencies or charities in the past 30 days. Forty-four families bought their own food. Sixteen respondents stated that they received food from friends or neighbors, while eight went looking for food.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key Findings: Food</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>94% of families had someone abstain from eating an entire day in the past week (29) or who reported hunger or malnutrition as a health problem (29) (49 total)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46% of families had all members abstain from eating an entire day in the past week (24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85% of families primarily obtained food by purchasing it (44)</td>
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<tr>
<td>55% of families had materials to cook and prepare food with (29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9% of families had received food relief in last 30 days (5)</td>
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</tbody>
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17 Constitution, supra note 12 at Art. 22.
18 See, e.g., Universal Declaration on Human Rights, Article 25(1) (stating, "Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control")). Universal Declaration of Human Rights, G.A. Res. 217A, U.N. GAOR, 3d Sess., 1st plen. mtg., U.N. Doc. A/810 (Dec. 12, 1948) (hereinafter UDHR).
The World Food Program estimates that 2 million Haitians, particularly children, are vulnerable to malnutrition. Our study found that three out of four respondents stated that someone in their family had gone a full day without eating in the week prior to being surveyed. Twenty-four said the entire family went without, 3 said just the household head, 9 said just adults, and 3 said just children. Over half of the families indicated that their children did not eat for an entire day.22

Families consistently stated that they did not have enough food. Many were forced to eat food with next to no nutritional content. One person ate meals of bread and sugared water. Another family stated that when they could not find food, they “fill up with water”. One woman was surveyed in Place St. Pierre at 1:40 p.m.; her children had not eaten yet that day. Dizziness and stomachaches were reported as a result of not eating. A mother in Bouzi stated she had resorted to eating and feeding her family mud cakes.

Despite the millions of dollars pledged to help displaced Haitians, our study found that families living in IDP camps, including children, do not have access to enough food. The right to food is perhaps a moral issue that we can all relate to. But it is also a fundamental human rights issue that is being violated. One family in Acra summarized their situation, “Sometimes we have coffee on Monday and nothing more for the rest of the day. We have no food, only hope.”

2. THE RIGHT TO CLEAN WATER

Key Findings: Drinking Water

73% of families paid for drinking water at least once a week (38)

50% of families paid for drinking water every day (26)

44% of families primarily drank untreated water (29)

9% of families had received drinking water relief in the last 30 days

Clean, safe water for drinking, cooking, and hygiene is as basic to human survival and human dignity as the air that we breathe and the food that we eat.\(^{23}\) Additionally, access points should be close enough to enable regular household use.\(^{24}\) International human rights law and standards guarantee the right to potable water and demand that those in need have regular and ready in access to such water.\(^{25}\)

The right to water cannot be understood in isolation; it is a keystone right upon which other rights, such as the right to life and the right to a basic standard of living are built. Indeed, the right to clean, safe water is important for all people, but, as our data shows, it is essential to the health of the young and enfeebled.\(^ {26}\)

Our survey found that potable water was only available to residents who could pay for it and 61% of our survey respondents listed purchased bottled water as their main source of drinking water. This finding begs the questions: (1) how are families able to generate sufficient funds to purchase bottled water, and (2) what other basic necessities are neglected as a result.

Some of the 39% who did not have access to bottled water described drinking water from cisterns or tanks, even though they feared the water might be contaminated.

These respondents stated that they drank non-potable water out of necessity, treating the water when they had the money to buy chlorine tablets or fuel to boil prior to consumption. Many families complained that the water they drank made their families sick.

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\(^{24}\) Sphere Standards, supra note 16 at Water Supply Standard 1.

\(^{25}\) See generally UDHR, which guarantees all people a right to a standard of living adequate for their health and well-being. UNDHR, supra note 18, at art. See also Article 12 of the ICESCR, which recognizes “the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health.” ICESCR, pt. III, art. 8(1)(a), opened for signature Dec. 16, 1966, 993 U.N.T.S. 3, 6 (entered into force Jan. 3, 1976) [hereinafter ICESCR].

Families with children faced particular hardship. A mother of a newborn child stated that soon after the earthquake she received tablets to treat water. However, this aid ceased in March and consequently she has difficulty buying water to give to her child. In Acra, the families stated the water provided by the International Red Cross made them sick. Despite the human and public health implications of this widespread contamination, aid agencies have failed to provide adequate means for treating the water since February. In Champ de Mars, the families surveyed stated that the water stations were difficult to access. On the occasions that the water could be reached, children suffered diarrhea and skin infections as a result of drinking it.

When asked to comment on the state of their families’ drinking water supplies, survey participants provided four primary responses:

1. Agencies provided untreated water
2. Clean drinking water had to be purchased or treated
3. Families did not always have money to treat or buy water
4. Untreated water made respondents sick

Lack of access to clean, safe water imperils the basic security of Haitians living in IDP camps from waterborne parasites to physical assault. The denial of clean, safe water is a denial of life, dignity and health. The continued deprivation of this basic human right warrants continued attention.
3. THE RIGHT TO A DIGNIFIED SANITARY ENVIRONMENT

Key Findings: Toilets

69% of families had access to latrines or pit toilets (36)

27% of families used a container, a plastic bag, or open camp ground to defecate (14)

28% of families owned toilet paper

57% of families felt that toilet facilities were unclean, unsafe, or overcrowded (30)

69% of families had no access to separate toilet facilities for men and women (31)

48% of families felt it was unsafe for women and children to use the toilet facilities (25)

Sanitation continues to be an urgent health and human rights concern. When camp residents do not have access to safe and clean bathrooms and bathing areas, their right to sanitation, health and an adequate standard of living are violated. The Sphere Standards call for sufficient access to acceptable hygiene facilities and an environment uncontaminated by waste. The relevant human rights instruments recognize that basic standards of living correlate with the health and well-being of displaced populations.

Our survey found that access to and quality of toilet facilities varied within and among the various camps. Regardless of the location, the conditions were inadequate. Thirty-four families used latrines, pit toilets or flush toilets while eleven used a hole in the ground, a plastic bag, or whatever they could find in which to defecate.

Because latrines were not regularly cleaned, many families felt they presented a risk of infection, particularly to women, children and the disabled.

At Parc La Couronne, one family indicated that the camp latrine was emptied only every two to three weeks, and often reached capacity within the first week after cleaning; another family stated that people defecated in the showers for lack of an adequate alternative. At Place St. Pierre, two families used a ravine. One family surveyed traveled to another IDP camp where they paid to use the toilet.

27 Both the CRC and the Guiding Principles declare a basic human right to sanitation. See CRC, supra note 26 at art. 24 (“environmental sanitation”); see also Guiding Principles, supra note 15 at Principle 18.
28 See Sphere Standards, supra note 16 at Chapter 2: Minimum Standards in Water Supply, Sanitation and Hygiene Promotion 56 (stating, “People affected by disasters are generally much more susceptible to illness and death from disease, which are related to a large extent to inadequate sanitation, inadequate water supplies and poor hygiene.”)
Key Findings: Bathing

75% of families had no access to bathing facilities (39)

44% of families owned soap

36% of families were concerned about the lack of privacy while bathing (19)

40% of families felt it was not safe for women and children to bathe (21)

One family in Croix-des-Bouquets stated, “there is only one bathroom facility for the entire community and we often must wait long periods to use the restroom.” Another family stated, “sometimes young men try to keep women locked in the toilet”. Many families also feared that children could fall inside the latrine holes. Twenty-five respondents did not feel it was safe for women and children to use the toilets.

A recent report from the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies concludes that the sanitation situation “is considerably worse now than it was before the quake”. The report notes that “the numbers of toilets come nowhere near meeting Sphere Standards.” Our independent findings confirm this conclusion. Indeed, most of the camps we visited provided a few portable toilets to be shared by hundreds, sometimes thousands, of residents.

Seventy-five percent of the families did not have access to bathing facilities and several reported skin rashes from bathing in untreated water. Many reported that unmanaged waste water, mud and raw waste seeped into the tents at night. One woman said her family took turns sleeping on the mattress at night. Another said she had to hold her nose at night to fall asleep because of the odor.

These conditions run contrary to the basic human rights provisions and erode dignity. The Haitians we interviewed were struggling to survive and to preserve some sense of decency amidst the squalid sanitary conditions of their new home.

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20 Id.
The Haitian Constitution recognizes the right of all Haitians to “decent housing”, which includes adequate infrastructure, space, privacy, lighting, ventilation, security, and proximity to work and basic facilities. The Guiding Principles and the Sphere Standards require that family members stay together and that there be separation between individual shelters. Housing is understood as critical to an adequate standard of living and emblematic of the fundamental right to live in security, peace and dignity.

With over 1.3 million Haitians living in displacement camps, the right to adequate housing is one of the most imperiled rights in Haiti. Many of the estimated 1,300 camps are at constant risk of flooding and landslides during the hurricane season. As Médecins Sans Frontières/Doctors Without Borders (MSF/DWB) recently noted, “By far the biggest threat to people’s living conditions is the failure to provide any substantial, robust shelter.”

Despite reports that relief agencies have distributed over 600,000 tarps and nearly 100,000 tents, only 21% of the families in our survey had a tent and all others lived under tarps. These makeshift shelters do not withstand Haiti’s high temperatures and heavy rains. Consequently, residents often spend their days and nights standing, trapped by the rain pooling above them and the mud flowing beneath them. The life span of these tents and tarps, even absent the adverse weather, is a few short months. As recently as June, the Shelter Cluster reported that nearly one third of all tents and tarps might have reached the end of their usefulness.

The plastic tarps and tents offer minimal protection from the rain and absorb and trap the sun’s heat. A family in Place St. Pierre stated, “Some of us must sleep on the ground; however when it rains, the ground inside our home becomes wet and we are unable to sleep. Also, our tarp gets very hot during the day so the family has nowhere to rest.” Few families had access to electricity and one resident explained that the lack of such access forces some to attempt connection directly to the power lines. He recalled that a camp resident had recently died doing this.

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31 Constitution, supra note 11 at art. 22.
33 Guiding Principles, supra note 15 at Principles 7.2 and 18.
34 See, e.g., UDHR, supra note 18 at art. 25; ICESCR, supra note 25 at art. 11.1; CRC, supra note 26 at art. 27; and Guiding Principles, supra note 15 at Principle 18.
35 General Comment No. 4, supra note 32.
Beyond the structural inadequacies of Haiti’s makeshift shelters, these “homes” are inhospitable. Less than half of the families surveyed had access to bedding materials. Just 29 owned cooking material, just 23 possessed soap, and only 15 had access to toilet paper. Most of those surveyed appear to have secured these meager supplies from a combination of relief agencies, independent purchases, and scavenging.

One family in Place St. Pierre bought their shelter and other materials themselves. While some aid organizations came to their camp five months ago to distribute aid, this family did not receive anything because the aid distribution devolved into chaos before the entire crowd could be served. The respondents added that the men of the family were unavailable on the day of the distribution, and the women of the family were reticent to go alone for fear of attack. Again and again, the interviews depicted the failure of those involved in the relief response to safely provide adequate housing to displaced families.

Despite constitutional guarantees and international protective norms, none of the respondents lived in security, peace or dignity; none had “decent housing.”
5. THE RIGHT TO HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE

Key Findings: Aid

69% of families felt aid could be distributed in a better manner (36)
63% of families felt the current card-based distribution system was unfair or discriminatory (33)
31% of families expressed concern over fighting, theft and long lines for aid (16)
37% of families had seen aid organizations at their camps in the last 30 days (19)

The Guiding Principles require the Haitian government to "provide internally displaced persons with and ensure safe access to [humanitarian assistance necessary to the protection of basic human rights]." Likewise, international humanitarian organizations are called upon by international law to take all appropriate measures while providing assistance to protect the needs and rights of displaced Haitians. 38

Despite these clearly articulated responsibilities, the delivery of aid remains a consistent problem. Seventy-four percent of the families surveyed in February had received some form of aid in the 40 days immediately following the earthquake. By contrast, barely 19% of the families surveyed in July had received aid during the comparable 30-day period prior to being interviewed.

Moreover, with the exception of untreated water and some food for children, aid was not delivered regularly but rather arrived in massive drop-offs. One woman in Croix-des-Bouquets stated, "When they give aid, I stay in line all morning. Eight to ten hours and then we get aid. Last time we got aid was May." Another family in Acra indicated they had not received aid since March. In Diquini Carrefour, a family estimated it had been "three or four months" since they had received relief, suggesting they may not have received assistance since the previous survey.

The overwhelming majority of families interviewed in July felt that aid distribution was arbitrary, chaotic, and insufficient to meet their basic needs. In all the camps but Diquini, families needed cards to get aid. An Acra respondent summarized how aid delivery had evolved: "Before, when aid was distributed, only men could receive the aid because the people often had to fight for it. Then, only those with cards could receive aid. Even when cards were given to a woman, she never received a card because her tent was in the middle of the camp and cards are typically distributed to the friends of those distributing them."

Others in Acra and Croix-des-Bouquets highlighted the fact that, despite the card system, fighting continued due to large lines and desperate need for aid. In some cases, people would come from other camps and the surrounding community to get or steal supplies.

38 Guiding Principles, supra note 15 at Principles 3 and 27.
While the card-based system of aid distribution may have been designed to promote order, it resulted in **severe disparities in access to aid**. Families reported that some camp residents received one or more cards based on their personal connections or their geographic proximity to card distribution points. At the same time, other families got one card despite their large size. According to one resident of Croix-des-Bouquets, “[The process] discriminates against families like ours, which have two or three families living together in the same tent. We are treated as one large family and our ability to get aid is limited.”

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**Relief Obtained vs. Relief Needed: Comparing Families’ Responses**

*“What type of aid have you received?”* Medical care and supplies (9 respondents); shelter materials (5); drinking water (5); food (3); cooking supplies (2); soap or toothbrushes (2).

*“What is the most important aid you need?”* Housing (36 respondents); food (29); employment (22); money (14); education (10); water (6); health care (6); sanitation (4); clothing (4); security (3); household supplies (1); and change in government (1).

In comparing these lists, two things are striking. First, **despite the fact that international donors have pledged $5.3 billion in aid**, displaced Haitians still desperately need food, water, shelter and the basic necessities guaranteed by international human rights law. Secondly, displaced Haitians are trying to plan for their own futures, even though the international community has proceeded

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In addition to the chronic lack of aid, the systems and procedures for distributing relief appear to be ineffective. Aid cards are concentrated in too few hands and supplies are not reaching families in need. Those unable to wait in long lines or unwilling to fight with others to get supplies are especially disadvantaged. Although 33 respondents indicated that information about aid was provided in Kreyòl, one family in Diquini stated, “We often get information about aid organizations that is fake. We go to receive it and it isn’t there.”

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6. THE RIGHT TO HEALTH AND MEDICAL CARE

Key Findings: Health

245 independently listed health problems among 45 families

94% of families reported hunger or malnutrition (39) or had someone abstain from eating an entire day in the past week (29) (49 total)

33% of families reported vaginal and reproductive problems, including pregnancy complications (17)

31% of families reported stress or depression or trouble sleeping (16)

Key Findings: Medical Care

21% of families stated they received no medical care because it was unavailable or too costly (11)

17% of families had received free medical care or supplies in the last 30 days (9)

The earthquake has exacerbated existing health problems and created new health concerns, including mental and physical trauma. A right to health is universally recognized in the Haitian Constitution and under international law, including the right to those factors that determine good health, such as access to potable water and adequate sanitation, a sufficient supply of safe food, nutrition and housing. The Guiding Principles recognize the right to “essential medical services” as a part of the right to an adequate standard of living. Women in particular have a right to access female health care providers and services including reproductive health and counseling for victims of sexual and other abuses. Any failure to meet the reproductive, psychological, or physical medical needs of IDPs is a violation of their right to health.

Investigators suspect that the respondents underreported their health conditions. For example, only 29 families reported “hunger or malnutrition” as a health problem yet 39 families said that someone in their family had gone an entire day without eating in the past week. Similarly, only 16 families reported “stress or depression” as a health problem yet 41 families described their living situation as “very bad” or “terrible” due to heat, overcrowding, mosquitoes, mud, lack of food, lack of water, lack of income, general malaise, or some combination thereof. The conflation of these factors suggests that camp conditions have deteriorated to the point that unacceptably poor health has become indistinguishable from daily life.

40 Constitution, supra note 11 at art. 23.
41 See UDHR, supra note 18 at art. 25 (providing for a “right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and family, including medical care”); see also CRC, supra note 26 at art. 24 (providing that children have the right “to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health and to facilities for the treatment of illness and rehabilitation of health”).
43 Id. at Principle 19.
Thirty-four respondents described how their poor health affected their life in the camps, including how lack of money and lack of medical care affected their ability to obtain employment and cope emotionally.

A woman in Croix-des-Bouquets summarized the cascading effects on her family:

“**My husband died in the earthquake. I am the sole provider and when I get sick the whole family suffers.**”

Overwhelmingly, the families expressed concern for the future. They did not know how they would get medical care, pay for treatment, and “live in peace” as a family. Health needs are exacerbated in IDP camps and the failure to meet residents' needs is a violation of their right to health and their right to life.
Key Findings:
Safety and Security

37% of families reported some security presence by Haitian police or foreign military (19)

48% of families felt that security in their camp was inadequate (25)

27% of families were aware of someone getting physically attacked or threatened in their camp (14)

13% of families were aware of someone getting sexually assaulted or threatened in their camp (7)

21% of families felt their only reliable source of protection in the camps was God (11)

In addition to the duty of Haiti’s law enforcement to keep its people safe from violence, the Guiding Principles establish a right to security for IDPs. Displacement must not occur in a way that violates the security of the displaced, and other principles protect the life and physical well-being of IDPs from acts of violence or other actions that threaten their safety. Additionally the Sphere Standards call for an environment that preserves the “security, health, safety, and well being” of the displaced persons.

Some security measure was reported at each camp: local police presence (18 reports), foreign military or MINUSTAH presence (9 reports), community self-policing (15 reports), and camp-arranged security (5 reports). Fourteen respondents had heard of someone being physically attacked and seven had heard of someone being sexually assaulted or threatened. Thirty-three respondents said that people were willing to report crimes, six said people were not, and 11 did not know.

Feelings were mixed about the adequacy of these measures: 24 respondents felt they were adequate while 25 felt they were inadequate. Twelve respondents stated that they relied on “God” for security: “There is no security in the camp. There is only God. The police themselves are bad and take advantage of the people.” Another stated, “[Only] God – we have no one. We will have to protect ourselves with rocks.”

When asked why security was inadequate, one respondent stated, “It is possible for almost anything bad to happen within the camps”. Others indicated that police presence was not enough because police “just look at them and don’t do anything”, because “you can still be a victim when the police are around”, and because they felt the police actually brought thieves into the camp.

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44 Id. at Principles 8, 10, 11, 12 and 15.
45 Sphere Standards, supra note 16 at Shelter and Settlement Standard 1.
When asked whom they would report a crime to if they were victimized, 35 said local police, eight said local official or community leader, two said friend, neighbor or relative, and four said no one (eight said “other” and one did not know). Theft seemed to be a particular concern among those asked to elaborate about security measures: it was reported that people regularly cut into other people’s tents and stole items like lights, clothes, washing supplies, phones, and food. However, one respondent despaired, “[I would only report crime] to God. Even if I turn the criminal into the police, this guilty person will simply buy their freedom—what is it worth to turn someone in?”

Entire families, including women and girls, bathed outside their tents using buckets of water.

Public bathing was a particular concern to families in Champ de Mars and Place St. Pierre, which are surrounded by busy streets and lack any privacy between overcrowded tents.

Thirty-six respondents stated there were no separate bathing areas for men and women, and 21 stated that it was unsafe for women and children to bathe.

The subjection of Haitian IDPs to insecure living conditions makes it difficult, both physically and psychologically, for them to rebuild. Camp residents must devote some portion of their scant resources to simple survival. The Haitian people are entitled to protection during this vulnerable period, which neither the Haitian government nor the international community is providing.
8. THE RIGHT TO PROTECTION FROM AND DURING DISPLACEMENT

Key Findings: Displacement

58% of families from original pool of February respondents could be located in July (52 of 90)

42% of families were lost to follow-up between February and July (38 of 90)

19% of families interviewed in July were no longer living in the same camp as February (10)

81% of families felt they could not leave their camp because they did not have the resources (42)

48% of families had been threatened with forced eviction since the earthquake (25)

94% of families felt they could not return home (49)

The right to housing and shelter encompass the freedom to choose a residence and freedom of movement.47 Human rights standards provide that displaced persons should be provided with the means to return voluntarily to their homes or places of habitual residence or to resettle voluntarily to another part of the country. “Special efforts should be made to ensure full participation of internally displaced persons in the planning and management of their resettlement and reintegration.”48

Yet ongoing structural damage in pre-earthquake homes and lack of resources to relocate left many respondents with nowhere to go. At the same time, respondents were also seeing aid withdrawn as a way to pressure them to leave. Additionally, 48% of families had been threatened with or subjected to forced eviction. Forced eviction is defined as the permanent or temporary removal against their will of individuals, families and/or communities from the homes and/or lands which they occupy, without the provision of, and access to, appropriate forms of legal or other protection.49 This definition includes informal settlements as well as IDP camps.

Forced evictions are to be carried out: (1) only in the most exceptional circumstances; (2) after all feasible alternatives to eviction that address the exceptional circumstance are explored in consultation with the affected community; and (3) after due process protections are afforded the individual, group or community.50

Forced evictions can constitute a gross violation of other human rights and are prohibited under international law.51 Minimal procedural requirements include advance notice, consent, and provision of an alternate location to protect IDPs from arbitrary evictions.52

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47 See, e.g., UDHR, supra note 18 at art. 13; ICCPR Article 12; CEDAW Article 15; ACHR Article 22; and Guiding Principles, supra note 15 at Principle 14.
48 Guiding Principles, supra note 15 at Principles 6, 7 and 28.
50 Id.
51 These rights include, inter alia, the right to life, the right to humane treatment, , the right to be free from arbitrary or abusive interference with the family and home, the rights of the family, the right to property, and freedom of movement and residence, all protected under the ACHR and ICCPR.
Protection From Displacement

Fifty-one of 52 families said they remained at their current camp because their home was still damaged. Twenty-two also explained that they had no money for rent and 15 said they had no resources with which to move. Of the 52 families surveyed, forty-two were still living in the same camps while 10 had relocated to a friend or neighbor’s home, to a makeshift shelter on privately-owned land, or to a public place. Twenty-eight people interviewed wanted to return to their pre-earthquake home, but only one respondent had returned home.54

When asked why they were unable to leave their current location, people gave similar reasons but in different proportions. Thirty-nine stated that their home was still destroyed, while 35 had no money for rent and 26 had no resources to move with. Five indicated they would not leave until they had somewhere permanent to go. One family’s experience was common: “Our house was still standing after the earthquake, but we heard that the quake wasn’t finished, that there would be aftershocks that might bring our house down. So we moved to the camp for safety originally. But now we have no money and cannot return to our home because we were renting.”

53 Id. at Principle 8.
54 It is possible that some of the 38 families we were unable to reach had returned home. It should be noted that the phone numbers of 27 of them were out of service or had passed to someone else, possibly indicating that they could no longer afford to maintain cell phone coverage.
Protection During Displacement

Nearly half of all those surveyed (25) reported that someone had tried to force them to leave their camp. Some eviction attempts in the camps we surveyed were relatively structured and transparent. For example, one family in Acra Sud, which is on public land, stated that the International Organization for Migration (IOM) had given them cards indicating they should leave but the community had not complied because they were not offered another place to live. The camp committee at Acra Sud confirmed that they had attempted to block eviction attempts by IOM and the Haitian government. The committee understood that the government was trying to move out Acra residents to make room for residents they wanted to relocate from another camp, Champ de Mars. It appeared that none of the residents had been evicted.

Many attempts at forced eviction have been coercive, even threatening.

- At Croix-des-Bouquets, all four of the families stated they had been asked to leave because the landowner wanted the land back. The landowner confirmed to investigators that in April she transported all 200 families living in the camp to other land she owned because the camp was in a flood zone. A music stage and bench seating was being built on the land when Investigators toured the site in July. Residents complained that they were moved to a more remote area and that aid stopped as soon as they moved.

- At Place St. Pierre, five families stated the Pétionville mayor, whose office is across the street from the camp, had been sending people to shake and tear down tents. One member of the camp committee stated that the mayor had offered money to any family to leave the camp. She said that few had taken the offer because it was not enough money for a family to relocate.

Additionally camp residents perceive that aid withdrawal has become a leverage point to pressure desperate families to leave.

- At Champ de Mars, one family stated the Haitian police cut electricity to the camp in April to encourage them to leave. There were also no showers available in the camp of over 16,000 residents, unlike all the other, smaller camps.

- At Diquini, five families stated that aid had been cut off, though the aid organization tied to the University, the Adventist Development and Relief Agency (ADRA), had stockpiles of food they were giving to other camps.

- Two Diquini families had been forced to move because they didn’t know the “right” people. The Adventist University admitted working with IOM to offer each family a kit of building supplies if they would agree to relocate. Approximately 500 of the 4,000 families took the kits and relocated. The University wanted all displaced persons to leave before school started in the fall.

It is unclear based on our survey results and interviews with camp committees and landowners whether the procedural requirements under the Guiding Principles and other international law were followed in these eviction attempts. The fact that evictions had been threatened in all six camps, however, raises concerns among residents about their future security living in these camps. It is also clear that their lack of resources to relocate make them vulnerable to forced displacement.
Haitians have a human right to work. Under the Haitian Constitution, a citizen not only has the freedom to work but also has an “obligation to engage in work of his choice to meet his own and his family’s needs”. The right to work is implicit in having the means to achieve the right to an adequate standard of living yet neither the Haitian Government nor the international community has been able to provide this opportunity to them, especially to those citizens who are IDPs.

Key Findings: Employment

37% of families did not have a full-time job, a part-time job, a cash-for-work arrangement, or self-employment (19)

35% of families estimated they earned 1000 Haitian dollars ($25 USD) or less a month (24)

61% of families felt there were no work opportunities available (23 of 38 who answered)

Lack of money and work opportunities was a constant source of stress for respondents and affects whether they are able to buy basic necessities.

In March, when President Préval asked the international community to stop all food and water aid, he also asked that they move “towards creating jobs so people are paid, and so they themselves step in to help Haiti.” The plan was to replace food aid with jobs, such as on community improvement projects clearing rubble and installing drainage.

Only one out of the 52 families surveyed reported participating in a cash-for-work program envisioned by the President. Instead, Haitians in our survey were largely under-employed. Thirty-nine families reported some form of employment: full-time jobs (6); part-time jobs (21); self-employment (11); and cash-for-work programs (1). The more formal opportunities generally existed well beyond the camps: teacher, accountant, mechanical engineer, plumber, truck-driver, dockworker, and construction worker. By contrast, the more informal income-generating activities took place just outside the camps: selling coffee, food and candles and washing clothes. Many described work as “irregular” and “not dependable”. Thirteen families did not report any form of employment.

55 The UDHR Article 23 and CEDAW Article 11 recognize a right to work and the free choice of employment. The ICESCR further specifies “the right of everyone to the opportunity to gain his living by work which he freely chooses or accepts.” ICESCR, supra note 25, at art. 6.1. It also recognizes the right of everyone to favorable working conditions that ensure a decent living for themselves and their families. Id. at art. 7(a)(ii). Finally, the Guiding Principles articulate a right to an adequate standard of living. See Guiding Principles, supra note 15 at Principle 18.
56 Constitution, supra note 11 at art. 35.
57 Access to work is considered a gateway right because a job facilitates access to money, food, clean water, and a safe place to live. If the Haitian Government is not ensuring that IDPs are provided with basic necessities, it should at minimum provide them with opportunities to work. The Sphere Standards support the principle that income generation and employment are necessary for earning a living wage and food security. See Sphere Standards, supra note 16 at Food security standard 3: income and employment. To facilitate this, an “understanding of local human resource capacities, a market and economic analysis, and analysis of demand and supply for relevant skills and training needs” are needed. Id.
58 Halt to Food Aid, supra note 18.
The 39 positive responses only indicate that someone was working in each family, not that enough was earned to sustain the entire family. Moreover, the urgency of the families' needs suggests lack of opportunities to support themselves. One Champ de Mars family stated there were street cleaning jobs within the camp but even those were hard to get. Only one man interviewed in Place St. Pierre had been able to obtain a cash-for-work job: it lasted 15 days and was already over by the time he was interviewed. Several families indicated that agencies took names of potential workers but never followed up.

The lack of structured work opportunities exacerbates the families' situation in three ways. First, it deprives the families of resources to meet their basic needs in the camps or to save to return to their former homes. Second, it makes the families increasingly dependent on their strained networks of friends, family and neighbors for financial support. Third, it encourages families to give up hope. One family in Diquini stated, "cash-for-work is not consistent and therefore we get discouraged."

When asked about income plans for the next three months, families gave a mixture of hopeful and apathetic responses. Many agreed with the statement of a family in Acra, "No plan because of no opportunities to find a job." However, others stated simply they would look because they needed to provide for their families, and many expressed hope they could return to the jobs they had before the earthquake. Ironically, the lack of employment opportunities is trapping these families on the very lands they are being urged to leave.
Between February and July, there was a notable improvement in children’s school attendance. In February 65% of respondents had at least one child who was not attending school because of the earthquake. By July 72% of families with school-aged children had sent their child back to school. Among the 28% who had not, almost all stated lack of money as the reason. One family stated that the school was still destroyed.

Like the right to health, a child’s right to primary school education is a human right universally recognized by the Haitian Constitution and international law and standards. The Haitian Constitution requires compulsory primary school and free classroom facilities and teaching materials. The UDHR, IESCR and CRC also guarantee a child’s right to free and compulsory primary education. The Guiding Principles note the importance of free education to displaced populations.

While there was an improvement in school attendance since February, over a quarter of families with school-aged children were unable to send all their children to school, mostly for lack of resources. Over 80% of the schools in Port-au-Prince were destroyed in the earthquake and most of these existing schools are being held in tents, which is unsustainable.

Sending children to school in Haiti was a challenge even before the earthquake. Only 50% of school-aged children were enrolled in school in 2009. The international community and Haitian government have the opportunity to allocate reconstruction resources to build schools and improve children’s access to education.
11. THE RIGHT TO PARTICIPATION

Because IDPs are usually housed in temporary spaces and shelters, the Guiding Principles outline certain provisions for the manner in which IDP resettlement should take place. Principle 28 states, “Special efforts should be made to ensure full participation of internally displaced persons in the planning and management of their resettlement and reintegration.”63 IDPs should be provided with the means to allow them to return voluntarily, in safety and dignity, to their homes or places of habitual residence, or to resettle voluntarily to another part of the country.64

The internally displaced that were interviewed repeatedly asserted that they were not involved in the decision-making regarding their lives in the camps. They were not consulted regarding aid distribution, what kind of aid was needed, and other fundamental matters affecting their lives. The Guiding Principles demand that Haitians be consulted on resettlement and reintegration; a system of resettlement and reintegration that is imposed on Haitians violates their rights. Haitian IDPs must have a seat at the table and the opportunity to share their wants, needs, and hopes for rebuilding their lives. Within Sphere’s minimum standards common to all sectors, it is crucial that the people of all ages within the affected population actively participate in the “assessment, design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the assistance program.”

Political Participation and Sense of Government

Our survey found that some of Haiti’s most vulnerable citizens are being left behind in rebuilding efforts. Their exclusion from participation or planning in the rebuilding undermines Haiti’s progress. With the presidential and parliamentary elections approaching, respondents were asked, “When are the next national elections?” as a measure of their general political engagement. Just 19 knew the elections were in November; of them, just five could give a date. The rest did not know or did not care. Ten respondents felt it was “extremely important” to vote in these elections, 15 felt it was “somewhat important”, and 19 felt it was “not very important”. One man in Champ de Mars indicated the elections were “not important unless I am out of the camps”. Another man in Parc La Couronne stated he would want to vote but “life is so terrible it seems not to matter”.

When asked what the government had done well, 39 of 47 respondents said “nothing”; four listed something positive the government had done, such as building roads or installing security; one person stated he was indifferent; and one person declined to answer. One Acra resident stated, “The government does not take care of us, all of our lives. They do not care if we eat or die.” A Diquini resident felt there were too many things the government had done poorly to list. “Everything. They have only distributed water to us but have otherwise forgotten us.”

64 Id.
65 Id.
The investigative team’s most disturbing finding was the lack of access to food and water in the camps. Three out of four respondents stated that someone in their family had gone a full day without eating in the week prior to being surveyed; over one-half of the families indicated that their children did not eat for an entire day.

At the request of the Haitian government, food aid was to be faded out, replaced by more work opportunities so that camp residents could become self-sufficient. But our survey showed that while the food aid stopped in April and May, there are few work opportunities to fill the gap. Only 59% of families had at least one person working, often feeding the entire family. Sixty-one percent of families felt there were no work opportunities available. By contrast, many of these respondents had been self-sufficient before the earthquake, but were still unable to find work in July.

The result is that as aid has stopped and people are forced to buy food and water, those without income are relying on the generosity of their neighbors or not eating at all. Without the ability to buy potable water, families are often drinking untreated, non-potable water. It is clear that life is far worse for most of our respondents in IDP camps than before the earthquake.

The Haitians we interviewed wondered where all the money coming into the country was going, because they had not benefitted from any of it. To date only 20% of money pledged for 2010 has been disbursed and 23% of those funds have been committed. While portions of those funds may be designated for long-term development or in case of another disaster, the immediate needs of people in the camps are desperate and must be prioritized.

Disaster-relief non-governmental organizations have also collectively received millions of dollars in donations for earthquake recovery. Our interviews with residents also lead us to ask where those resources are being spent. Other than the provision of non-potable water and portable toilets, there were little signs of resources allocated in the 6 camps we visited.

The lack of sturdy, safe shelter was also troubling. Only one resident we interviewed had returned to his pre-earthquake home. Everyone else could not return because their home had been destroyed and/or they did not have the resources to return because they could not afford the rent. There appeared to be no plans in any of the camps we visited to build transitional shelters that could protect against the weather. Instead, people’s tents and tarps were worn and falling apart.

The investigators were astounded at the strength and resilience of the families we had the privilege to interview. But people’s patience is wearing thin like their tarps. The Haitian government, Donor States and Aid Agencies must allocate more of their resources to meet the basic needs of those living in IDP camps.
ADOPTING A RIGHTS-BASED APPROACH TO RELIEF AND RECONSTRUCTION

1. Quickly disburse the aid necessary to maintain a life of basic dignity
Haitians living in camps, especially children, urgently need better access to food, potable water, shelter materials, bedding, clean toilets, showers, and medical services. This should include free food distribution where families have no alternative means of acquiring adequate food. Increased security and lighting in the camps must be provided immediately to prevent thefts, assaults and rape.

2. Follow the UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement
We encourage the Government of Haiti, Donor States and Aid Agencies to protect and respect the civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights of all Haitians when providing assistance in Haiti. The UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement should be consulted and integrated into all policies and procedures relating to aid distribution, resettlement and disaster reconstruction.

3. Promote participation from camp residents in needs assessment, planning, and aid distribution
The camps’ residents know more than anyone else what it is they need yet many residents reported having no voice in the distribution of aid. We encourage the Government of Haiti, donor states and aid agencies to formally integrate consultation with camp residents into their written plans and policies for needs assessment evaluation and aid distribution.

Aid workers should be encouraged to walk the camps and personally meet with people, especially mothers and the elderly, infirm and disabled, to assess the needs to the community. They should also be encouraged to listen to and work with residents in devising systems for distributing aid. Resources should be allocated to provide Kreyòl translators and transportation and security for aid workers when necessary.

4. Require that donors be accountable to aid recipients
Transparency and accountability are central to a rights-based approach, which must be ensured throughout all stages of aid planning and distribution. We encourage Donor States and Aid Agencies to provide and publicize effective mechanisms to allow aid recipients to make complaints, have their complaints investigated, and receive redress when their rights are violated.
5. Coordinate with the Government of Haiti
Donor states and international aid agencies are encouraged to coordinate among themselves and with the Haitian government to develop a strategy to address the basic needs of the individuals affected by the earthquake. Working to build the capacity of the Haitian government is essential to a sustainable solution and larger.

6. Encourage self-sufficiency through employment opportunities
What people wanted most of all was a job. Donor States and Aid Agencies working in Haiti should encourage the hiring of Haitians whenever possible. But they must also ensure that their Haitian workers are trained, paid fair wages, and provided all necessary occupational health and safety protections.

7. Source food aid locally to support local economy
We recommend developing a more flexible approach to food aid for Haiti, such as including local and regional procurement of food where appropriate. Such an approach could help make foreign assistance efforts more effective and accountable, while supporting Haitian farmers and citizens.

8. Improve and expand provision of sturdy, safe shelter for camp residents
Sturdy shelter is critical to protect families from rain, floods and hurricanes, as well as to keep women and girls safe from break-ins and sexual assault. Donor states and aid agencies providing shelter assistance are encouraged to coordinate with the Haitian Government to build sturdy, transitional shelter. Additionally, while looking for more permanent alternatives, we recommend working with community leadership to find ways to effectively protect their right to housing and avoid further displacement.

9. End the policy and practice of forced evictions for camp residents
The Government of Haiti should stop all evictions in internal displacement camps until it adopts and implements a comprehensive resettlement policy that provides alternative shelter to those evicted and complies with the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, and Haiti’s obligations under domestic and international law. Donor states and aid agencies should refrain from any activities that directly or indirectly encourage or support forced eviction, including the withholding of aid to encourage residents to move out.
APPENDIX A: ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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1. Place St. Pierre in Pétionville

**Family Profile: The Julien Rosenel Family**

Julien makes food to sell and her husband is a plumber. Before the earthquake, they were self-sufficient and could afford to take care of their four children, aged eight to 20. Now they depend on others and only get by on the money and food sent by friends and family members. The children are tired and weak from hunger and someone in the family goes without food almost every day. They urgently need food, school, clothes and shoes.

The Rosenels have two beds for six people. Like others, the family feels the toilets make people sick from bacteria and prefers to use the ravine. The family bathes in large wash basin placed in the dirt in front of their shelter and often cannot afford soap. There is little privacy in the crowded camp for anyone. Both Julien and her husband suffer from depression and don’t see any future for themselves. They say their “hands are empty”, indicating they have nothing.

The investigative team visited Place St. Pierre, a traditional public park in Pétionville with narrow cement walkways and several upscale hotels, restaurants and shops nearby. Approximately 10,000 individuals were living in the camp, or 1,727 families.¹ Nine of the original 22 families were interviewed.

- **Shelter.** The families lived in makeshift tarp structures because they had not received tents from relief agencies. The families lacked bedding materials and had no place to rest or relax. Their shelters grew unbearably hot during the day and leaked when it rained, forcing them to sleep on the mud at night.

- **Food.** Eight of the families had someone who went at least one day without eating in the past week. An international agency had provided food until March or April but the relief had stopped. The families reported that some camp residents were dying of malnutrition.

- **Water and Sanitation.** Most families drank non-potable water provided by the Haitian Red Cross because they could not afford bottled water or chlorine tablets. Toilet facilities were maintained by MSF but so dirty that people preferred to relieve themselves in a ravine near the camp. Families bathed in the open, heavily trafficked areas in front of their shelters.

- **Aid Provision.** Just two families had received aid in the last 30 days: bottled water from Yéle Haiti to commemorate the six-month anniversary of the earthquake. Families reported purchasing all shelter, food, and household necessities themselves. Past aid distribution efforts had been chaotic and marked by nepotism and food-for-sex. Families recommended that future aid be distributed directly to families in a tent-by-tent fashion.

• **Health and Medical Care.** All nine families suffered health problems, most notably hunger and malnutrition, fever, body aches, stress and depression, and difficulty sleeping. Only three respondents reported having been to a hospital to address their physical or mental health problems.

• **Safety.** Security seemed to be less of a concern at Place St. Pierre, which was located across the street from the local police station. Interviewers also observed at least one large light illuminating the camp at night. However, one respondent had been physically attacked and another respondent’s sister had been sexually harassed within camp grounds.

• **Displacement Status.** Several families reported that the Pétionville mayor, Claire Lydie Parent, had been sending people from her office to pressure residents to leave the camp. They had been offered money to relocate but had refused because the amount was inadequate. They also speculated that the mayor had been withholding permission for aid organizations to operate in the camp.

• **Future Plans.** Eight families felt they could not return to their former home because it had been destroyed in the earthquake. Six families were sending their children to school but the other three could not afford to.

### 2. Acra Camp in Delmas

**Family Profile: The Joseph Uline Family**

Mr. Uline and his wife live with eleven people, including four children and extended family. Mrs. Uline, the family’s sole provider, sells coffee to passersby but business is drowning. The family purchased their tent after a thief stole their original one. They eat what they can and buy their own drinking water. Although they bathe in their tent, Ms. Uline stated, “It’s like animals. We need a safe place to regularly wash.” The local health center offers no consultations and the family often use traditional medicines. The family has not received besides the non-potable Red Cross water in the last month.

The family urgently needs food, water, clean toilets and education for their children, who do not attend school. Mr. Uline said that everything has gotten worse since February and there is less and less aid from NGOs. Mr. Uline hoped elections would show that the “government does not help, or get out the information that life gets worse for them everyday.” Mrs. Uline said that if nothing is done within the next six months they will die.
The Acra camp is located on a large hill in the Delmas 33 neighborhood of Port-Au-Prince. “Acra Nod” contains approximately 24,000 people and is on public land. “Acra Sud” contains approximately 7,500 people and is on private land owned by the Acra family. Unlike February, there is now local organized camp leadership. Each section is run by its own committee which sends delegates to a camp-wide commission. Twelve of the original 23 families were interviewed.

- **Shelter.** Six families had received tarps from relief agencies and the rest purchased their own shelter materials. Families took turns sleeping on bedding or the muddy floor. The rain, heat, and insects made them miserable. There was no access to electricity but some residents tapped into the local utilities. Recently one man had died doing so.

- **Food.** Eight families said that within the past week, at least one person had gone without eating; four said the entire family had not eaten. Nearly all had to purchase their own food. One mother said, “the children cannot go without food.”

- **Water and Sanitation.** Ten families purchased their own drinking water. Although non-potable water was delivered to the camp, half had never received any and the others used it to wash and bathe. The heat and filth required frequent bathing but exposure to unclean water caused skin infections. Women in particular felt exposed while bathing in public. Latrines were small and dirty and considered unsafe for children. Many residents simply defecated into plastic bags.

- **Aid Provision.** Most families had not received any aid since May but described a time when an aid truck came and dumped supplies on top of the hill separating both sides of the camp. As a result, a fight broke out between residents of Acra Nod and Acra Sud over the aid.

- **Health and Medical Care.** Seven families reported health problems: aches, fever, colds, headaches, and hunger. Nearly all reported undernourishment, poor sanitation, and stress from trying to cope. Most families had received access to medical care through mobile clinics or health centers.

- **Displacement Status.** Even though a MINUSTAH station is located down the road, there is no security presence in the camp. Several residents complained of thieves stealing from their tents at night. The residents knew they would need to live at Acra for a long time but were aware it was private land. Investigators felt the organization and activity among residents seemed geared toward forming the camp into a semi-permanent community. Families wanted more paying work. The few who were employed shared their resources among the families.

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Family Profile: The Silvie Versaint Family

Silvie Versaint was pregnant with her first child when the earthquake hit. Her husband, Kesner, taught at a local Port-au-Prince school and was able to provide a middle-class living. They lost everything and now have no way to support themselves. In April, her family was moved to a lower part of the camp near the latrines. When it rains, the school diverts the water so that it floods this area of the camp as opposed to other areas of the camp. For-profit school services are now run where the family used to live. Camp officials have told her family they will have to move again and Silvie has a constant fear of being evicted.

ADRA stopped providing water aid in March. Since the family has a newborn child, they purchase drinking water instead of walking 20-minutes to the school’s potable water source. Silive also walks back to her former home with her landlord’s permission to shower and use the toilet. Silvie’s husband has lung problems and depression; Silvie has knee pain and her son has constantly dry, itchy eyes. However, they do not have money to see a doctor. Her husband is working intermittently because jobs are scarce. The family has no future plans but would like to make enough money to rent their own home again.

The camp is located on the grounds of the Adventist University of Haiti (ADUH) in the Diquini neighborhood of Carrefour. There are approximately 14,000 displaced residents living in the camp, or 3,500 families. Six of the 11 original families were interviewed.
Camp Management and Safety. The Adventist Development Relief Agency (ADRA), an American aid organization, runs the camp. However, residents distrusted both ADRA and ADUH officials because they felt pressured to leave the camp. In February the residents lived in a clearing the size of several soccer fields. Today, UNICEF classroom tents occupy the area and residents have been displaced to smaller, more remote sites scattered throughout the camp. Although there was an organized security presence at the camp, residents felt tension with the authorities. Nevertheless they addressed their problems to the camp’s committee because police would not enter the camp without the committee’s permission.

- **Shelter.** All the families purchased their own basic shelter, bedding, and household materials or received them from family and friends. They did not receive any of these items from relief organizations.

- **Food and Aid.** Food relief stopped two or three months after the earthquake. The Center for International Studies and Cooperation (CECI) began distributing food in April but had stopped as of July, citing ADRA’s responsibility for the camp. The families believed ADRA maintained food stores on site but withheld aid to force residents to leave. Several families indicated that access to shelter and aid depended upon who one “knew” within the camp administration.

- **Health and Medical Care.** All six families reported health problems, including fever, hunger and malnutrition, diarrhea, body aches, and breathing problems.

- **Displacement Status.** Many families had been relocated against their will and felt they would be ultimately forced to leave. ADUH officials told the investigative team that each family had been offered a housing kit if they would agree to relocate: 13 pieces of plywood, three sacks of cement and two to three gallons of paint. Approximately 500 families relocated but the rest declined because they had nowhere else to go. The University was frustrated that thousands of displaced families remained on their campus and hoped they would leave before classes started in the fall.

- **Future Plans.** Despite living within ADUH grounds, none of the families sent their children to attend the school, noting the prohibitive cost of tuition and the fact that ADUH officials had not offered any scholarships to camp children.
Family Profile: The Wildone Saint Joseph Family

Wildone Saint Joseph used to support his wife, seven daughters, two sons, and six grandchildren by working at a vegetable oil manufacturer. Wildone lost his home and his job in the earthquake. Now the family supports itself by selling its belongings and borrowing money from friends. The extended family has had to separate into two different areas of the camp but 13 people still live in one shelter space.

The family purchases all its food and if there is no money, the children do not eat that day. They get water from a nearby cistern but have never received potable water from the government or relief organizations. They bathe outside their shelter but consider it unsafe for women and children because of a lack of privacy and the unsanitary conditions.

The Saint Joseph family has many health problems that require them to visit the hospital every day. In addition to hunger and malnutrition, the children often get fevers and colds, while Wildone suffers from heart problems and hypertension. The family’s living situation has worsened since February and they urgently need money, food, clothes, and housing.
Champ de Mars is located on a large public plaza in downtown Port-au-Prince next to the now-destroyed National Palace. Busy boulevards intersect the crowded, chaotic and noisy camp. Across the street, the upscale Plaza Hotel accommodates relief agency workers and reporters. Approximately 16,105 individuals, or 3,897 families, live in the camp. Four of the 12 original families were interviewed.

- **Camp Management.** There is no camp management or relief agency affiliated with the camp. Several residents noted that even though MINUSTAH and the Haitian National Police ostensibly patrol the camp, they fend for themselves. *Days before the interviews, a 13 year-old was gang-raped in the camp.*

- **Shelter.** Most families continued to live under tarps. One family cobbled together an enclosure made of scavenged wood and tin scraps which leaked when it rained. No one had received shelter materials from aid organizations or the government; materials were purchased outright, scavenged from the street or brought from destroyed homes. Just half had bedding materials and all reported exposure to rain and mud while they slept. Six families never had access to electricity.

- **Food and Water.** All families purchased their own food and most had gone at least a whole day without food in the previous week. *None had received any food relief in the past 30 days.* Families relied on a combination of bottled water and non-potable cistern water for drinking.

- **Sanitation.** Action Contre Faim and Service Metropolitain de Collecte des Residus Solides maintained portable latrines throughout the camp but they were overfilled with excrement. Residents felt they were unsafe for children and noted *that young men had also locked women inside the latrines.* Investigators also observed residents defecating just outside shelters on the street. Two or more times daily, families bathed with buckets to clean off the dirt, dust, and bacteria that permeate the camp.

- **Health and Medical Care.** Families suffered from hunger and malnutrition, aches and pains, fevers, colds and the flu. Most reported receiving medical care at nearby General Hospital or from clinics run by Médecins Sans Frontières. Past care was free but now they had to pay or go without.

- **Future Plans.** None of the families had full-time work and most were trying to make ends meet by working outside the camp or selling goods in the street.

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4 *Id.*  
5 CCCM Cluster Haiti *Port-au-Prince Yellow Pages*, July 6, 2010.
Family Profile: The Marie Chery Family

Marie is 47 year old woman who lives in Aux Ambères with her three daughters. She used to live on the soccer field in Bouzi but was forced to relocate on April: “Only the most desperate families [from that camp] came here.” Marie and her family live in a large tent and owns a floor mat, a few things for cooking, and two small beds. The wind tears at the tarps, causing them to leak when it rains. Mud seeps in and the sun makes the tent unbearably hot during the day.

Marie used to support her family by selling clothing. Now she and her daughters often go without eating. When there is money she feeds her family soup; otherwise, they go looking for food. The family drinks untreated Red Cross water when have no money to buy clean water and bathe outside the tent. Marie states, “There is no privacy, we always wear some clothes. It’s not good.” The family used to get medical care at Bouzi but now relies on traditional medicine. She says that they sometimes have stomach and digestive problems.

Marie got her tarp and cooking materials from World Vision, although some people got nothing and she had to buy the poles herself. Most other supplies she gets herself. She knows she could provide for her family if she could start selling clothes again but now she earns one Haitian dollar on a good month. Since the family relocated, they receive much less aid and things have gotten worse. She is afraid many people are starting to have psychological problems. She says of the future, things “may improve or get worse.”

After the earthquake, thousands of Haitians fled to Croix-des-Bouquets, a large rural town outside Port-au-Prince. The Bouzi camp was erected on a soccer field next to a collapsed school, both of which are owned by a Haitian-American couple, Mr. and Mrs. Collins. Residents were evacuated due to flood concerns and resettled onto more remote parcels of land. Five of the original nine families were interviewed. Two now live in Aux Ambères, another camp owned by Mrs. Collins.

- **Displacement Status.** Many of the camps were smaller and more scattered. They lacked the organizational sophistication that has developed at other camps and people had been forced to relocate by private landowners.

- **Shelter.** Tents were very far apart and residents had a lot of space. People had acquired basic tent and tarp shelters, an improvement from February’s pinned-up sheets. However, items were being stolen at night through holes cut in the tents. This caused the shelters to leak even more in the rain.

- **Food.** Respondents were particularly concerned about their immediate survival and did not know where their next meal was coming from. A mother and her family of daughters routinely went looking for food. Another was ashamed to admit she had resorted to eating and feeding her family mud cakes.

- **Water and Sanitation.** Non-potable water was still delivered to both camps but residents faced challenges obtaining clean drinking water. The Aux Ambères water site was far away and one mother did not feel comfortable sending her children to fetch water. The families did not know if a ground-water well installed by Life Outreach International was safe to drink from. Both camps appeared to have access to latrines which were regularly cleaned by Jedco. Even though there were fewer residents and more space between tents, lack of privacy for bathing was still a concern.
Family Profile: The Joseph Antony Denis Family

Joseph lived with his wife Marie, their two children and Joseph’s brother in nearby Sarthe. Since their home was destroyed, all they own are a tarp, some cooking utensils and one makeshift chair. The family has to purchase food with the 200 Haitian dollars (US$25) Joseph earns each month. When they don’t have money, they simply do not eat – this is a regular occurrence for them. They are also unable to purchase clean water and rely on untreated water from the camp cistern.

The family does not use the latrines at night. Although there are separate bathing facilities, this area is also used as a toilet. The family reports a multitude of health problems including heart issues, eye problems, headaches, stress and depression, diarrhea, asthma, fever and flu, as well as hunger and malnutrition. They have access to a Red Cross mobile clinic but no money to pay for health services.

Joseph is currently looking for more work but has been unable to find any. Food and a house are their biggest priorities. Marie would like to see the government take responsibility by at least providing her children a proper tent. The family notes that their situation has worsened in the past six months – they have not received aid since February. The family would like to relocate to the countryside but they have no means to move from the camp.
Parc La Couronne is situated on a soccer field next to La Couronne soda factory in Cité Soleil. The camp is run by an organized committee of male residents who meet to discuss issues in a large tent near the entrance. Approximately 5,749 people, or 1,900 families, live in the camp. Six of the original 13 families were interviewed.

- **Shelter.** None of families had a tent, only makeshift tarp structures. These materials were largely provided by the Red Cross. Although most been able to procure essentials like soap and toilet paper, only a few had bedding materials. One family had spent a large part of its meager income on renting a room in a nearby home for nights when it rained, an option unavailable to the others.

- **Food.** Only one family had received food aid in the past 30 days. Six of the families reported that someone had gone an entire day without eating in the past week. Another family had borrowed money for food and had been threatened with police action if they did not pay the money back.

- **Water and Sanitation.** The camp kept a large water bladder filled for use but families noted it was not safe to drink from: **potable water had to be purchased and those who could not afford it drank untreated water and got sick.** Latrines were maintained twice a month by the Red Cross and filled up after a week of use. Residents stated the latrines were extremely dirty and the stench was overwhelming. They felt they children might fall in, especially because of lack of lighting. Women and children were prone to infections because of the unsanitary condition. Bathing facilities were available but not free.

- **Aid Provision.** Families appeared unsure whether camp committee members were responsible for the infrequency of aid being distributed by the Haitian Red Cross. Food cards were issued but distribution was uneven, arbitrary, and inadequate.

- **Health and Medical Care.** All but one family reported serious health issues, including hunger and malnutrition, stress and depression, diarrhea, aches and pains, vaginal and reproductive health issues, heart problems, fevers and flu. Most residents had access to mobile health clinics.

- **Safety.** Unlike most other camps, Parc La Couronne was enclosed by a high stone wall. Security consisted of camp committee members working with the Haitian National Police. **One family reported that the camp committee caught a resident in the act of raping an 8 year-old girl.** The man was handed over to the police and remains incarcerated. Despite this, families reported that security was ineffective at night and items were regularly stolen out of tents.

- **Displacement Status.** All families reported their former homes were damaged or destroyed in the earthquake and they did not have money to relocate. One family moved out of a home that they were renting because of the aftershocks. However, they lost their income and had no rent money to move back in.

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Appendix C: Food in February vs. July 2010

Food relief has decreased substantially and 75% of households have at least one family member who abstains from eating for an entire day.

What is your family’s main source of food?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>February</th>
<th>July</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beans</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Starchy foods</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fruits and vegetables</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

How many people require urgent food relief (Feb)?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>February</th>
<th>July</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-2 people</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3+ people</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Did someone in your household go a day without eating in the past week (July)?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>February</th>
<th>July</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: Sample size for February survey: 90; Sample size for July survey: 52; *July answers can have more than one answer.

Appendix D: Water in February vs. July 2010

Since February, more people must buy drinking water and water relief from aid organizations has decreased.

% of respondents who purchase the majority of their drinking water

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>February</th>
<th>July</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>38</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

% receiving any water from relief organizations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>February</th>
<th>July</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>52</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most common method of obtaining water continues to be individual purchase, while respondents are receiving less from relief organizations.

Notes: Sample size for February survey: 90; Sample size for July survey: 52.
Appendix E: Housing in February vs. July 2010

In February, 15% of household lived completely exposed to the elements…
In July, 77% still need enclosed shelter to protect them from the sun and rain…

As of July, all but 1 of the families contacted had either a tent or tarp…
…but most families have makeshift tarps, not tents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>% of families living in open air</th>
<th>% of respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>July</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have Tarp</td>
<td>Have Tent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

98% of families now have some type of shelter but most still don’t have tents, which was identified as one of the highest needs in February

Notes: Sample size for February survey: 90; Sample size for July survey: 52

Appendix F: Assistance in February vs. July 2010

Respondents are getting less support from relief organizations, including basic necessities such as shelter, food and water

As of July, respondents still did not feel they had received adequate support…
…at the same time, aid organizations have decreased their presence within camps

Could Aid be better distributed?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>February</th>
<th>July</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>74%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[Over the last ~30 days] have you received any type of aid? Over the last 30 days, have any aid organizations come to your site?
Appendix G: Displacement in February vs. July 2010

81% of respondents still live in the same camps as February…
Of those who left, only one has returned to the land they previously owned

Are you living at the same camp?

If you have moved since February, where do you live now?

Notes: Sample size for February survey: 90; Sample size for July survey: 52

Appendix H: Income Earned in February vs. July 2010

Responses of families with income information suggest that income has increased, but most families in camps are still living below the Haitian poverty level

distribution of earnings per day

$2.50 USD a day amounts to:
1 family member earning minimum wage to support an average family size of 6

Note: Total July sample size = 43 (Total Feb sample size = 51 (38 did not have income data available). Feb and July respondents do not represent the same population (as denoted by the differences in color scheme). 2.5USD = 20 haitian dollars = 100 haitian gourdes.

Median earnings per day

Feb
July

$0 USD
$1.80 USD
Since February, respondents do not feel their lives have improved. Instead, there is despair in the camps and a continued sense of downward progression. More families purchase food and fewer receive food aid. Additionally, nearly one of ten families have been displaced from their February locations.

“It has gotten harder.
It has gotten worse.
There is no aid.”

Although some July respondents felt neutral or positive about the future, the overwhelming majority indicated that life had gotten progressively worse since the earthquake: “[it] continues to cause problems to the family, [we] don’t live in peace.” Respondents cited the living conditions, lack of employment, lack of education for children, forced displacement and lack of resources. Rumors and threats of forced eviction in the camps have increased dramatically. Respondents also reported that monitors were now coming to the tents to ask them how many people were inside.

Aid distribution and upkeep in facilities has been severely curtailed, almost becoming nonexistent. Access to clean water for drinking and food is becoming more difficult, “hunger and malnutrition is the main problem […] [we] are weak […] we] have depression […] things are getting more difficult.” The restroom facilities available for camp dwellers are not kept clean and accessible, “there are lines everywhere to use the toilets [and any] aid [given].” There are no prospects for jobs and the added pressures of lack of aid, no jobs and no prospects for a future create an atmosphere of hopelessness, “[our] problems multiply.”

The accumulated months without work and aid have depleted already scarce savings: “[we] have less money and no means to make more.” When asked about their plans for the next six months, respondents gave answers which reflected a sense of hopelessness in the camps. One woman described her feelings about how her children will not go to school when it starts in fall because she has no money. The majority of the camp dwellers stated that without a change they didn’t see much hope in the next six months. The hopelessness cultivates abandonment, as the camp dwellers feel forgotten, “things are worse now because the international community has forgotten about us.”