

TERRITORIES OF HERE AND THERE

Spacing [trans]migratory
rhythms in Hispaniola



Territories of Here and There:
Spacing [trans]migratory rhythms across Hispaniola


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P2 Report

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"The everyday establishes itself, creating hourly demands, system of transport, in short, its repetitive organisation. Things matter little; the thing is only a metaphor, divulge by discourse. Divulging representations that conceal the production of repetitive time and space. The thing has no more existence than pure identity (which the thing symbolises materially). There are only things and people"

Lefevre, H. Rhythmanalysis, p.7

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PREFACE

In this report I document the theoretical, analytic, contextual, methodological and design process of my master graduation project at TU Delft within the Chair of Design as Politics of the Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment. The Graduation Studio that holds this project is called "Cities of comings and goings" and addresses migration, the built environment and the agency of design to steer the current state of the socio-spatial dynamics regarding the ancient human practice of moving across spaces and borders.

A thesis is a humbling and teaching endeavour. That is why chosen to work back home: having distance myself for a while, I have fresh eyes to be more critical and paradoxically, more benevolent. Understand the territory and address some of the issues that I have ignored so far. Maybe as a way to better form my identity, to explain it, to teach myself what I have never been told. Mainly, with this project I aim to fill some gaps that I have neglected for far too long.

This project is a personal exercise on redemption. Coming from a divided island, I have never been curious enough to engage with the other part of the territory. I have learned English, and French, but I have never been curious to learn Creole. I have never tried their food; it took being in The Netherlands and visit a food festival to have a first look of Haitian food, and pleasantly noticing the commons elements in our cuisines. I have travel to US and Latin America and moved all the way to Europe, but have never visit my neighbouring country. This academic project is an opportunity to alter such path and start to engage with the insular territory as a whole. Moreover, to create a new spatial discourse distant from social conflict and opposition and in favour of interrelations, bi-directionality and mutual support.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks to my mentors, Mike and Luisa, for their time, words and encouragement. I am grateful to my Design as Politics fellow students for the discussions and support. I would very much like to thank, Shaney, Jorge and Elia, for their contributions and inspiration. I am also grateful to my friends *here* and *there* for making the endeavour enjoyable and most importantly, to my family for their support beyond measures, allowing me to be here in Delft, to discover, learn and grow.

Thanks to all.

INTRODUCTION

Without any intention of sounding fatalist, people come and go, not in a disposable or mortality way of thinking, but in a permanent transient framework. What I mean, is that migrants come and go. Not different migrants, the same ones; they are as permanent as mobile; they are actually transmigrant. They have loyalties towards several communities and inhabit different places. They are individuals of here and there. *Here* where they live and form new ties and *there*, where they have lived and still engage with. They are in a constant dialectic of movement and permanence. The places they simultaneously inhabit and thus transform is what I shall call *territories of here and there*.

In this times, what Bauman calls Liquid modernity, what Baudrillard refers to as times of accelerated cycles and what Hannerz addressed in the sixties, as dynamic culture, an urgent task of the urbanist is to identify what spatial configurations accommodate these lifestyles. Now we ought to engage with the mobile and thus, the territories correspondent to flows and movements, to the concept of transit and rhythms and to understand how it incorporates with other more stable activities with a slower frequency.

In the context of Hispaniola, an island shared by Haiti and Dominican Republic, transmigration is not only a fact, but also an opportunity to promote bi-directionality, reframe the understanding of migration and address its potential of actors moving across the territory. Moreover, these transnational practices have different temporalities. Some migrants come and go on a daily or monthly basis, while others do it every year, but always maintaining ties with both communities and thus modifying the spaces they inhabit.

In the research component of my graduation project that I present in this report, I seek to understand the spatial implications of the different temporalities of Hispaniola's transmigrants, the movement and the difference in each of their travels; what remains and what is incorporated. In this project I aim to recognise the agency of Haitians and Dominicans transmigratory actors and validate their lifestyle, in an era of evermore fluidity, movement and nomadism, this project collaborates with this framework. However, I do not

intent to highlight nomadism, assimilation, incorporation inclusion or exclusion, but to understand the spatiality of the dialectic nature of simultaneously being at home and elsewhere. It is also a case to test designing with time and rhythms of the transmigratory nature. This implies working with several sites to be able to grasp the impact.

To engage with this academic exercise, I describe the context of Hispaniola and Haitian-Dominican relations, along with migratory patterns and the territories of the movement, paying attention to the border region and metropolitan area. I continue this report with some notions of transmigration and transnational urbanism under a rhythmic framework of constant transit. This conceptual work, I illustrate with the island and the frequency of movement across the border line.

Since the largest migratory movement is evident between the two capital cities of the island, I am curious about transmigration along this corridor. There are several sites through it where transmigration is palpable. I am focus on the border an both capital and where I am eager to design and take advantage of the potential for spatial transformations within a rhythmic, dialectic framework.

A territory that is bound together and therefore interdependent, should make efforts in accommodating the practices that result from this interdependency. More importantly, should engage with the time condition and the permanence and movement it implies. This could serve to not only expand the shown benefits of these activities, but also to approach migration in this context without the traditional narrative of conflict.

MOTIVATION

Animosity and contention is what defines the popular discourse around Haiti and Dominican Republic. Rightfully so, since in the last few years, the ongoing social conflict has heightened due to increasing migration patterns from one side and the limited reception on the other side.

Part of my family has lived in rural communities with Haitians, allowing them to see more than the myths, knowledge they have transmitted to me. Slowly, I have been able to expand this information, learn about unfair preconceptions, reflect on the context in which I grew up and challenge that thinking and the ideas about Haitians in Dominican Republic. This has been reinforced, with the opportunity of being away. Here, I have been able to grasp the many efforts this society has to do to step away from fears and repressions that no longer exist and that constrict the way we think and dream. Now, I have tried to shed that mindset and relearn; reimagine.

These two countries have complex historic relations, with similarities and differences while both struggling to find ways to promote a much needed dialogue. In that sense, coming from this context, one of the drivers of this project is to create a different narrative for the countries of Hispaniola. To provide spatial responses and reframe the way we see migration, thus understanding the potentials and not viewing as a problem waiting to be solved.

In the same way that other fields have given awareness about our cultural and folkloric background or portrait the treatment towards each other (Figure 1), I aim to discover ways in which the spatial realm can be part of the conversation about migration between Haiti and Dominican Republic. The other incentive that drew me to this project is my fascination about movement, walking, fluidity and thus the implication in space. Working with migration is an opportunity to deeply engage with theory about moving and the significance in time and space.

The agency of design is the reason of choosing this graduation studio. Another effect of coming from this context is being curiously eager to see what design can do, what are its limitations and how to validate human practices in space; concerns that I aim to fulfil with this project.



■ Figure 1: Critical contemporary painting used as inspiration for this graduation project.
Source: Nazario, L. (2013). Perejil siglo XXI: A critic against dominican contemporary racism and "nationalism". Retrieved from <https://goo.gl/Wv7u2T>



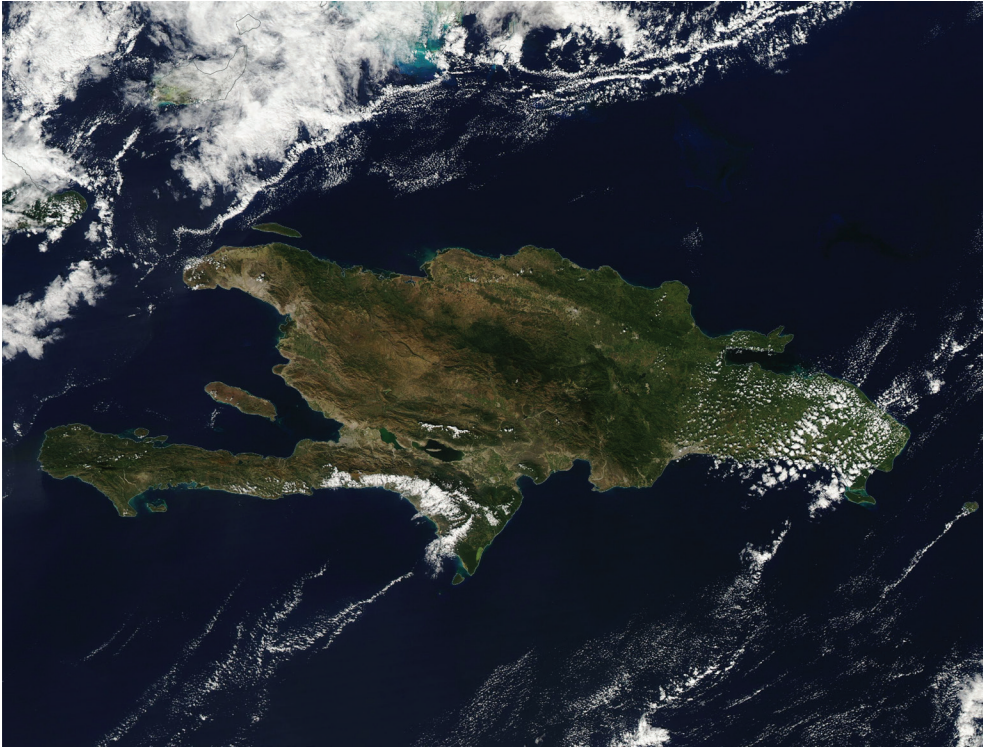
I. ON CONTEXT:
HISPANIOLA HAS
TWO COUNTRIES

A CASE OF SHARED INSULAR TERRITORY

It is a rare condition of islands to be shared by more than one nation state. Some examples are Ireland, with Republic of Ireland and United Kingdom, New Guinea with Indonesia and Papua Guinea or Cyprus, with Cyprus and Northern Cyprus. In the Caribbean, Hispaniola is a 76.192 KM² island shared by Haiti on the west side and Dominican Republic on the east part. These countries have disparate economies and differences in cultural, political and social aspects, but coincidentally share many traits.

To mention some differences, on surface area, Haiti occupies 27.750 KM² while Dominican Republic, 48.730 KM². On economic terms, Dominican Republic has a GDP of 71.5 USD billions, Haiti has an 8 USD billions GDP. In Haiti, Creole is the most spoken language and to that follows French; the Dominican side has only one language, Spanish. As a result of this divergence, the countries see and manage themselves as two separated entities, two isolated countries. However, due to their proximity, practices have cross the border. For instance, many figures of Haitian voodoo religion have a counterpart in Dominican expressions of Catholicism. Along with that, centuries of oppression have given these countries a complex history.

Since they share the same insular territory, natural systems, mountain ranges, river basins, wildlife ecosystems and the intrinsic vulnerabilities of our changing climate are common to both countries. Water bodies on each side of the island depend on the forest cover on the other side; the Artibonito river, the most important Haitian river forms in the mountains of the national park "Nalga de Maco" in Dominican Republic (Martínez, 2015). The same geomorphology has shaped the island, what used to be two really small islands in the Paleocene, constitutes now the complete Hispaniola (Hernández, 2008). In other words, mountain systems and valleys extend across the territory. This phenomenon also produced the formation of similar lakes on both sides. Lakes Azuei and Enriquillo are located in what was a maritime canal between these two mini islands (León, 2011). Now, they have similar conditions and have experienced sudden growth in the last decade. After the lakes expanded, agricultural land and rural communities were completely flooded on both countries, each a mirror of their vulnerabilities.



■ Figure 1.1: Satellite imagery of the island Hispaniola shared by Haiti on the west and Dominican Republic on the east.
Source: NASA Visible Earth. Adapted by author

METHODS: Mapping using satellite imagery, tracing and GIS data sets

Apart from the natural systems, strong economic dynamics have been forming between Haiti and Dominican Republic. In the recent decades, the economic exchange has increased making Haiti the only trade partner, which with Dominican Republic has a positive balance (Bosch, 2016). In other words, 30% of Haitian imports come from Dominican Republic, which at the same time represents 10% of Haitian GDP (World Bank, 2012).

In the early nineties, the embargo in Haiti triggered an important cross-border economic exchange along the Haitian-Dominican Border. With this, bi-national markets were created. Today there are fourteen of these markets – twelve in Dominican territory and two in Haitian territory– and they have proven to be an economic success. These borderland commerce points generate around one billion USD on the formal economy and around two billions USD on the informal economy.



METHODS: Literature Review

■ Figure I.2: Bi-national markets along the Haitian-Dominican border. **Source:** Dilla, 2015. Adapted by author

According to Dilla (2015), this intense commercial activity has created four insular corridors through which goods, information and people circulate. In his description, in each of the cross-border economic systems there are cities with different hierarchical roles: dominant cities, the final destination of goods and where the accumulation of earnings is allocated; secondary cities: are in the periphery of the corridors and receive secondary benefits from the activity along them, and factory cities (situated as urban pairs), which are terrestrial ports, crossing points and the location of bi-national markets, but they receive minimal financial rewards. As a result, some Dominican policies have encouraged the economic development on the border region, although with little success. However, the augmentation of the commerce between both nations is an opportunity for the development of the border region and to promote less conflicted Haitian-Dominican relations.

These economic benefits have been more evident on one side, the Dominican one, and consequently, Haitian migration has been linked to Dominican development. Economic migration from Haiti to Dominican Republic started in the early 20th century and it has continued since. Most of them moved to work on rural economic activities, like sugar cane production; but after the sugar crisis, the consequent economic transformation also diversified the destination of the migrants.

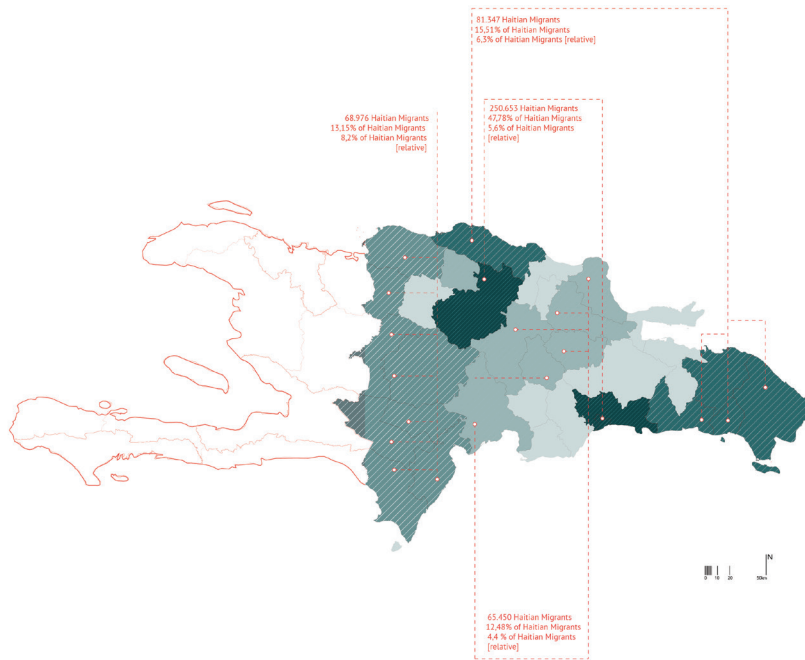


■ Figure 1.3: Map of economic corridors in Hispaniola, marking also points of contact and important cities along the corridors.
Source: Dilla, 2015. Adapted by author

METHODS: Literature Review and mapping using GIS data sets, literature and photographs.

Many moved to agricultural areas in which rice is produced, to urban areas to be part of the construction economic activity or to work in the informal economy (Alvárez & Lozano, 2015). In other words, the tradition of Haitian migrants moving to isolated rural communities, drastically changed in the last few decades and their presence is more evident, since they are part of the urban population.

Currently, there are 500.000 to 1.000.000 Haitians living in Dominican Republic, meaning 87.3% of the migrants are Haitians (ONE, 2013). In contrast, only 10.000 to 15.000 Dominicans live in Haiti (ADDREH, 2015). Most Haitians move from the capital and other main cities to the Dominican capital, to other large cities, border cities, or sugar cane producing communities.



■ Figure I.4: Map of Haitian population living in Dominican Republic by type of province. The drawing shows the total of migrants per category, the percentage they represent in absolute and relative terms. **Source:** Oficina Nacional de Estadística, 2013. Adapted by author

METHODS: Literature Review,
Quantitative data and mapping

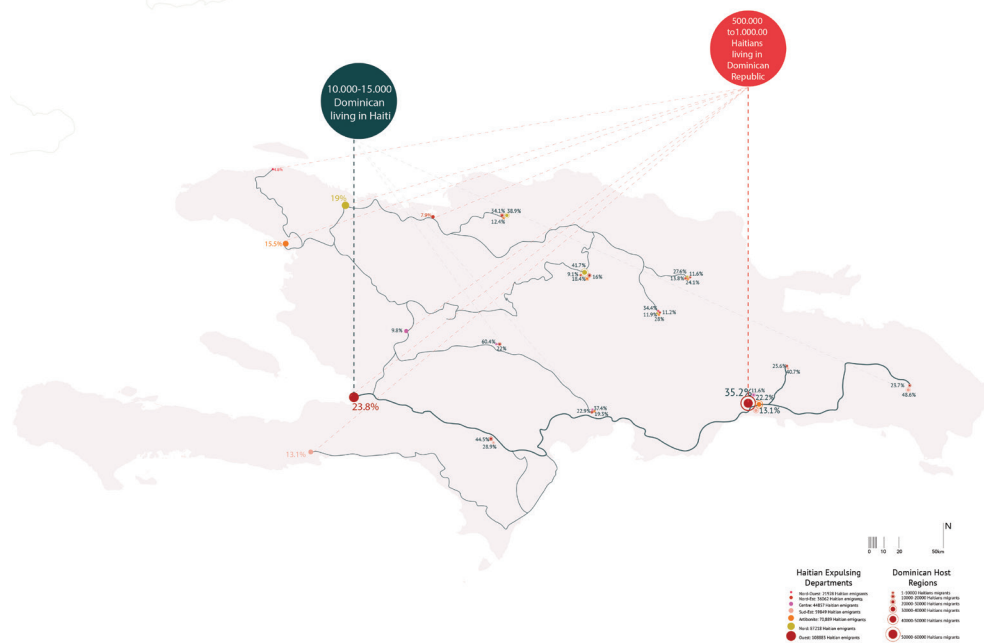


Figure 1.5: Map of population flow in Hispaniola. Most Haitians come from the capital city and move to the Dominican capital.
Source: Oficina Nacional de Estadística, 2012. Adapted by author

METHODS: Literature Review,
 Quantitative data and mapping



MIGRATION: CONFLICT AND BENEFITS

With the court ruling, the anti Haitian sentiment exacerbated the conflicts between the two countries, and today, many Dominicans see Haitian migration as an urgent problem and an imminent threat. In the past few years, powerful conservatives groups have been overt to their opposition and large parts of the population follow the myths. This is aggravated by the economic restrains, lack of basic services, low salaries and unemployment. Therefore, to a certain extent is understandable that many Dominicans feel Haitians might hinder their access to services and opportunities. According to Martínez (2003), it is precisely this framing of migration that elites in power use to distract from the other unaddressed social, political and economic issues of Dominican Republic. He also argues that the main Haitian-Dominican conflict is not over the territory of the island, but over migration and who is in power of the more “cheaper, more easily disciplined labour”.



Figure 1.6: News articles with opposing opinion about Haitian-Dominican relations

METHODS: Literature Review including news articles.

One of the biggest arguments is the economic cost that migrants impose on the scarce Dominican social services, however, Haitian migrants only benefit with 2.9% of Dominican social expenses, and due to their migratory condition, do not have access to government welfare systems. The Dominican opposition to Haitian migrants brings with it a strong hypocrisy; the number of Dominicans abroad exceeds the number of Haitians in Dominican Republic, and likewise, moves to other countries to access better services and opportunities (Bosch, 2016).

Across scales, inclusion and exclusion dynamics are often found. On the local scale, the large number of Haitian migrants disturbs residents of the Dominican side of the border region, while others try to engage and include them in daily life. On the economic dimension, both populations understand the significance of the bi-national markets and the cross-border exchange, without them the economic reality of the region would be different.

On a national level, Dominicans feel Haitians demand resources that the Dominican state can barely provide to them, but the growing economy depends on Haitian workers for low wage. In addition, decision makers on both sides have acted against cross-border interaction, and a physical wall narrative comes every so often. At the same time, Haitian officials have made claims to Haitian population promoting relations with Dominican Republic (Mejía, 2015b) and condoning the violation of rights within the current Dominican migratory system (Reyes, 2017). Similarly, Dominican government officials have also started campaigns on how they have welcome Haitians to their territory.

Apart from the economic challenge of migration, a racial discourse also explains the sentiment; racist comments and hostile treatment towards Haitians is common (Martínez, 2003). The historian Moya Pons, argues that the difference in the treatment of slaves, a sugar cane brutal system in contrast to the cattle ranching economy in which the slave could also ride a horse, constructed an image and a racial identity of Dominicans in relation to Haitians (Gates, 2011). The treatment and the consequent identity, has been reinforced with neocolonialism and dictatorships through the history of these countries.

Although the strong conflict, the population flows from west to east of the island, have an important economic value, since working Haitian migrants contribute with 5.4% to the Dominican GDP (UNFPA, 2013). The agriculture and construction fields rely heavily on low wage Haitian laborers, meaning that part of Dominican development has depended on Haiti. These migrants support the growing Dominican economy with young low-wage workers (World Bank, 2012)

In addition to their contributions, many of these working migrants, 49% of them (ONE, 2013), make enormous efforts to support relatives in natal Haiti via financial remittances. These represents 11% of all remittances send to Haiti and more recently, have helped Haitians living in extreme poverty after the earthquake. With this entrance of foreign exchange, families have been able to access health and education in Haiti (World Bank, 2012).

Not only financial remittances show the presence of Haitian migrants in Dominican Republic back in Haiti, some cultural activities have cross the border, in what Samers & Collyer (2017) define as "social remittances". They are less documented but some examples exist, as the Haitian "*konbit*" [a tradition in which people invite neighbours to help with harvest or household construction in exchange of food, drinks and dancing] comes from, the first Spanish, then Dominican tradition of "*convite*". Another case is the change of name of a border region town called initially *Juana Méndez*, that later changed to *Ouanaminthe* after this are change to Haitian administration.

Today, it is unclear how the relations between Haitians and Dominicans are when they have frequent contact; since it is not common for them to exchange on equal matters. On the large scale, generalised perceptions abound, but in close encounters, the feelings are different. Experiences from *bateyes* [settlements for sugar cane workers] and informal settlements indicate that Dominicans living in these settings are less likely to show disrespect or express offensive, racist, xenophobic sentiments. In addition, is mostly the elites that struggle more to adapt or bridge the language barrier between Haiti and Dominican Republic, while the working class tend to be more tolerant (Martínez, 2003).

METHODS: Literature Review

500 YEARS OF HAITIAN-DOMINICAN RELATIONS

“Dan ak lang pa jan m gen pwoblem”

Tongue and teeth bite each other. Haitian popular expression referring to people living together have occasional conflicts.

So far, I have described the material and population flows across Hispaniola, but their complex history of “mutual fascination and repulsion” (Martínez, 2003) is what gives this project an important social dimension. For this, I would provide a historic overview of the island and the interrelations of the countries.

Much of the repeated history between Haiti and Dominican Republic is based on their existing tensions across all socio-economic strata, but mutual cooperation is also part of their narrative. Their folklore and daily practices overlap, they share culture, beliefs and values. Other important remark is that the tension mainly comes from a Dominican obsession with Haiti (Martínez, 2003).

Colonialism, slavery, neo-colonialism, racism and dictatorships have shaped these countries and most importantly, the interactions between them, since many prejudices dominate their relations. The same history helps to explain the uneven development that has force many Haitians to move to the Dominican side, which many Dominicans see as a “pacific invasion”.

Hispaniola was the first island where Columbus settled in his quest for the Indies, making the island a Spanish colony. Decades after, France occupied a portion of the island and disputes between France and Spain stopped after the Aranjuez Treaty [1777]. In this agreement, Spain officially gave the western part of the island to France. The French colony was under an extreme brutal regimen towards slaves, making Saint Domingue one of the richest colonies. Behind this success, there is also massive import of slaves and an extensive degradation of the natural soil. In contrast, Santo Domingo, the Spanish colony, was in a deep economic crisis, and most of their economy relied on cattle ranching, which was exported to Saint Domingue. This also meant less extreme abuses against slaves.

METHODS:
Historic literature review

Later, due to the military and economic shortages of Spain, the crown gave the entire island to France [1795] and shortly

after that, Haiti became the first black nation to reach independence [1804], act that later cost the new nation an enormous debt that is in part responsible for Haitian slow development. Other reasons are their economy dependent on coffee cycles and countryside self-consumption economy with the added factor of import prohibition (Ceara-Hatton, 2017).

Years after the Haitian revolution, the now Dominican nation had an ephemeris independence, claiming the name *Haiti Español*, [Spanish Haiti]. Shortly later, this new nation invited Haitian authorities to govern and they were well received due to the economic crisis (Ibid.). At this time, the resentment from elites and the catholic clergy started, in contrast, most Dominicans felt an improvement and appreciated the abolition of slavery institutions (Martínez, 2003). Soon after, this ruling across the island became violent and economic expectations were not met, which urged Dominicans to seek independence. Even though the Dominican military had low resources, they were able to achieve independence [1844], because Haitian groups had not real desire for combat. More over, in subsequent fights against Spain and other dictatorships and invasions in the late 19th and 20th century, Haitians and Dominicans have fought alongside (Bosch, 2015).

In the early 1900, as part of the “banana wars”, US invaded both countries of the island, arguing that customs payment was potentially in danger due to the political instability. With this occupation, an important flux of Haitian labour workers migrated to Dominican Republic to work on sugar cane plantations promoted by the United State government, since they saw the opportunity of low prices of Dominican land to grow sugar and the low wages they could pay to Haitian workers (Henríquez y Carvajal, 1931).

Few years after the occupation, a brutal dictatorship ruled on the Dominican side with fierce propaganda and strong anti-Haitian sentiment. This can be exemplified with the 1937 “Parsley Massacre”; that October, the repressive government murdered 5.000 to 20.000 assumed Haitians [based on skin colour and manner of speech] living on northern part of the border region and forcing Dominicans living in the area to do the same. After that, the once porous border had restrictive crossings (Dilla, 2015). I should also highlight that the genocide was not performed against Haitians working on sugar cane plantations owned by the repressive government.

METHODS:
Historic literature review, drawing
and mapping.

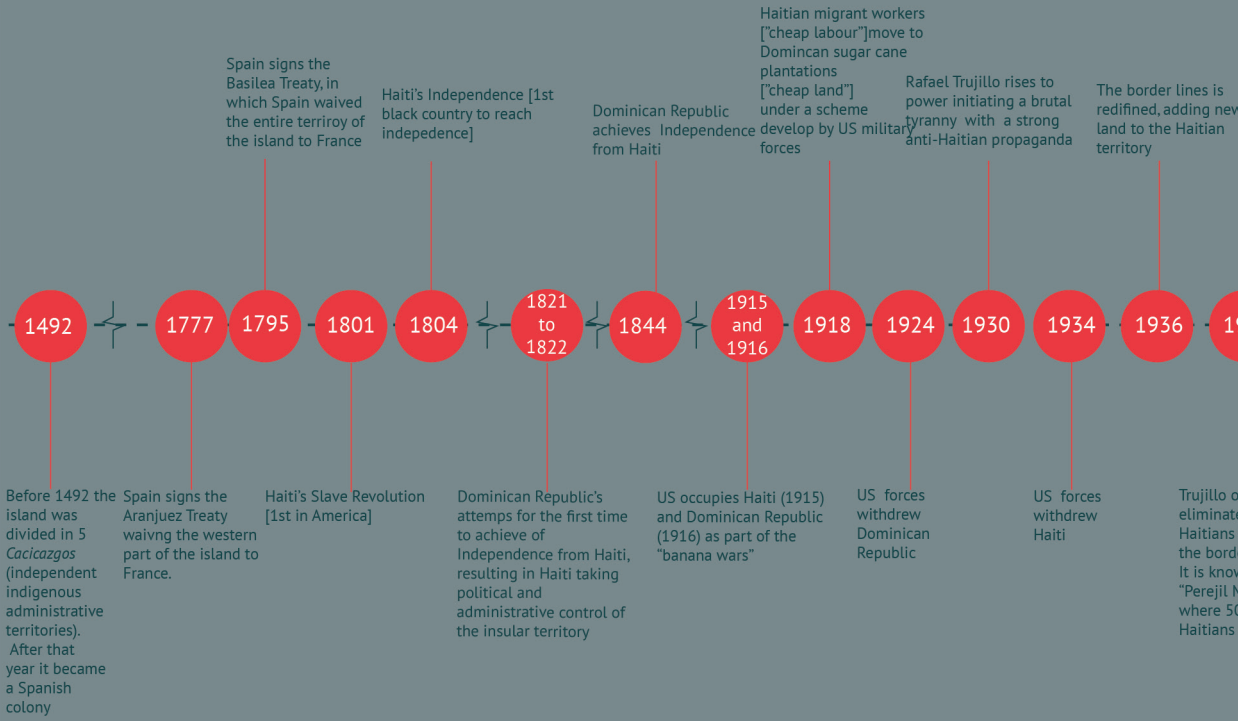
In Haiti, political instability continued and shortly before the dictatorship ended in Dominican Republic, a brutal repressive dynasty started in Haiti. Although the border was a porous entity again, the anti-Haitian sentiment has remained on the east side and powerful forces have used it for their convenience on various occasions for political and economic purposes. After the dictatorship years finalised in Haiti, political instability followed, occupation and embargos as well, hindering the economic development of Haiti, while Dominican Republic was able to recover at a faster rate and start, although precarious, a development process.

Violent and repressive governments have ruled both sides of the island, allowing many irregular and unfair exchanges and manipulation from both groups; from dictatorship times until today. One example is the payment from Dominican officials to the Haitian dictatorship in exchange of Haitians labourers (Guerrero, 2015), mainly to work on sugar cane plantations, and after the sugar crisis, in agriculture or construction industries. Although the dictatorships have ended in both countries, these migratory practices continued without regulations or understanding of the rights involved. Therefore, creating an scenario which conditions promote human traffic, over exploitation and contraband (Alvárez et al., 2015).

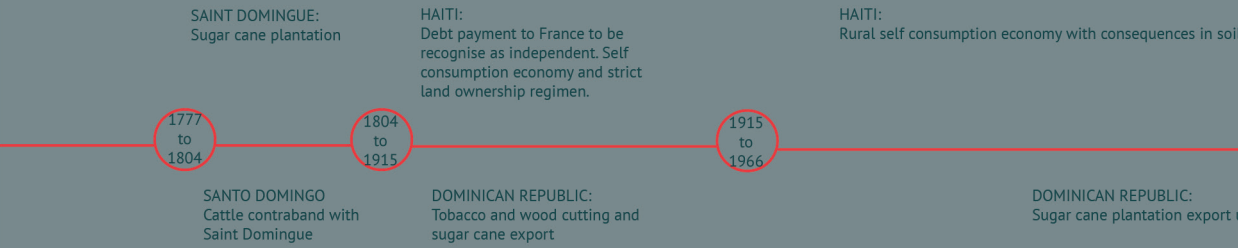
Fast-forward to 2010, after the devastating earthquake in Port-au-Prince, Dominican Republic was one of the main agents in terms of humanitarian aid and reconstruction process, and many Dominicans were more flexible to Haitian migration. However, in 2013 a court ruling revoked the Dominican nationality of people from Haitian origin, retroactive to 1929. After this, and the consequent international pressure, Dominican Republic was forced to start a process to formalise their migration policies and practices, something that was never formally address before, even thou this movement has existed for decades.

METHODS:
Historic literature review, drawing
and mapping.

SOCIO-POLITIC



ECONOMY



TERRITORY



Figure 1.7: Timeline of Hispaniola and Haitian - Dominican relations



THE TERRITORY OF MIGRATION

Border region

Both Haitians [the largest sum] and Dominicans [a reduced group] move across the island. An unavoidable territory in this movement is the border region.

The perception of the border region differs from Haitians and Dominicans. This can be explained in the asymmetry between them, which at the same time is the reason why the relation between these two disparate countries emerges in the first place. Only under sufficient degree of inequality, border cities engage in intense stable interrelations (Dilla, 2015 a).

In general terms, for Haitians the border is an attraction; the proximity to the frontier is an opportunity to health and education services, and to commerce, jobs or agricultural land to harvest. In comparison, for Dominicans they feel completely different from Haitians and the border is a dangerous area (Mejía, 2015 a). Is either a transit point for goods or a far, non-accessible region defined by poverty in its extreme forms, which numbers contrast with other regions in the country. Following the argument of Dilla (2015 b), for both groups, the utilitarian condition of their economic exchange is of high relevance, however there is also a strong otherness process and distance from each other.

This interdependency has created inner migratory patterns in both countries, impacting the urban structure. Haitian cities near the border are the ones that have grown the fastest in recent years. They have experienced sudden growth, in size and population, while the Dominican urban settings in the frontier are currently in a demographic low, only 5.2% of the population has remained in this region (PNUMA, 2013). For years they have been moving to more prosperous cities, mainly located farther east.

The asymmetries are well perceived on the national scale, at the border, people living in the border area, share socio-economic conditions as well. The documentary "*Fronterizas*" (2014) shows the living situation of women from this region in which they reflect and realise they had the same fears about each other, but more importantly, they have the same obstacles to develop their lives and that of their families. After their cooperation started, they were also comfortable to move back and forth and to engage in social activities.

In the globalised world, new spaces have been forming, in which ideas and goods move and define new identities without the physical constraints of traditional geography. In that sense, border regions are areas of demographic and urban growth. In most cases, the cities that emerge within frontiers are interdependent and defy national limits (Dilla, 2015).

METHODS: Literature Review [academic papers and reports]. Observation via documentaries

Nonetheless, the same video shows the political and spatial configurations, in which the trade is executed. The bi-national markets for example show the deficient infrastructure and spatial arrangements in which they exist and the limitations it poses for a growing social and economic exchange.

Their current location and continuous expansion have also caused sanitary and environmental concerns (PNUMA, 2013). These two instances illustrate a typical feature of the border, the minimal space and quality that do not promote transnational activities. Apart from this example, there are other cases of bottom-up local scale cross-border cooperation. Local authorities all over the border region are highly aware of the interdependence of both countries and make efforts to create cross-border governance. On the larger scale, top-level authorities of Haiti and Dominican Republic understand the importance of bi-national agreements, but on both scales, the impact has not been substantial.



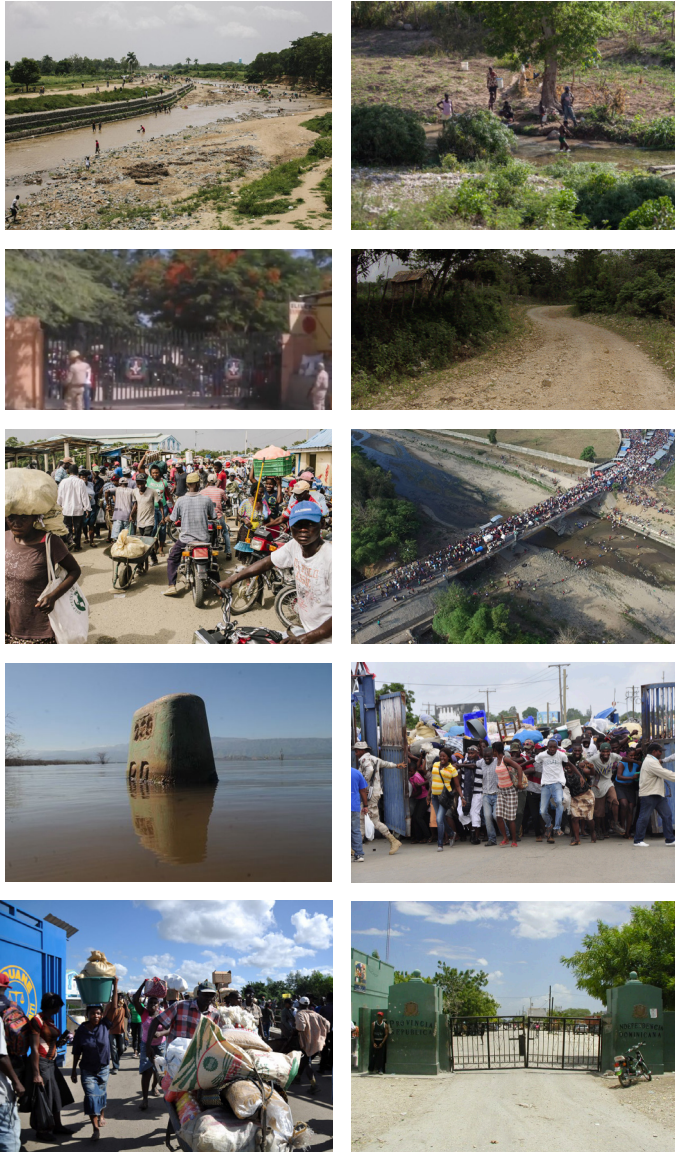
Figure 1.8: Snapshots showing limitations of economic exchange in the border region.

Source: Fronterizas [Documentary]. Adapted by author

A liminal character is often found in these type of regions and thus understood as "fringes", "marginal spaces", "terrain vagues" and "wastelands". Border are in between two conditions, where two spatial logics meet. Therefore, suggesting "openness, porosity and transformation" (Avermaete, 2010). For Doron (2010), the border is a "no (man's) place, a "non-place", following Augé's definition of the term.

METHODS: Literature Review [academic papers and reports]. Observation via documentaries

The Haitian-Dominican border is physically defined by important river basins, an international road and some concrete artifacts along the 381 km long porous border. The landscape contains elements of binational economic process in combination of local dynamics between both sides of the region. Dilla (2015 b) argues that points along this border are non-places. For instance, Malpasse is the crossing point through which the biggest share of goods circulates from country to country however, he refers to this area as a and consequently the city where is embedded a passage.



■ Figure I.9: Photographs of the border region.
 Source: Diario Libre, Vice News, Cadena de Noticias. Adapted by author

METHODS: Observation using photographs and films

Along the border there are, economically interdependent urban pairs characterised by proximity, demand of similar resources and complex social relations. They are also part of the aforementioned insular economic corridors, share a diverse range of services and develop governance relations between them (Dilla, 2015). One common feature of these pairs is the density of the Haitian cities; they are estimated to be two to four times denser than their Dominican counterpart and with a faster growing rate (Dilla, 2015; PNUMA 2013). Given that the Dominican side of the border is the least developed of the country, the growth or frontier Haitian cities adds pressure to the facilities, infrastructure (Mejía, 2015a) and spatial structure on the Dominican part and to the shared ecological resources (Dilla, 2015).



Figure 1.10: A) Satellite imagery of the urban pair Ounaminthe-Dajabón, zooming in to the crossing area/market and B) of the urban pair La Source-Jimani, zooming in to the crossing area/market.
Source: Google Earth Pro.

These urban pairs are intertwined as one functional entity, thus generating cross-border commuters with different temporalities. Some cross on a daily basis, while others weekly or monthly. These commuters, from kids to seniors, cross to Dominican Republic to buy goods, go to school or get medical services, participate in the bi-national markets, go to work on agricultural areas or participate in the illegal charcoal activity (PNUMA, 2013; Mejía, 2015a).

these points are inserted in cities that although some being relatively distant, are highly interdependent. This formation is what Dilla (2015 a) calls *cross-border urban complexes*. Other scholars, such as Herzog (1998), conceptualise the spatial configurations around the border as *transfrontier metropolitan regions*, meaning territories with central settlements around a border that with time have become one functional entity; intertwine settlements with overlapping ecosystems. The intersection of border cities is also referenced as *cross-border conurbations*. Moreover, border cities are units of analysis that allow a horizontal relation between international high level and local level public policy (Peña, 2008).



■ Figure I.11: Photographs of the cross-border commuters of the border region.
Source: Diario Libre. Adapted by author

METHODS: Literature review and observations via photographs

Rural land

Historically Haitians migrants have move to Dominican Republic to work on sugar cane plantations. Although this industry has decreased significantly, some remaining plantations employ Haitian workers who settle and form communities known as “*bateyes*”, where not only Haitian migrants live, but also their Dominican counterparts. Most of them are located on the Dominican eastern region.

Apart from sugar cane, in recent years, rice plantation and other crops are now a motive for Haitian migration. They also create other communities in rural areas that depend on the agricultural industry.



■ Figure I.12: Photographs of Haitian migrants in Dominican Republic working on agriculture activities.

Source: Aljazeera and Acento.com



■ Figure I.13: Photographs of batey Angelina.

Source: Martínez (2015). Retrieved from: <https://goo.gl/XzUWNv>

METHODS: Literature review and observations via photographs

Urban destinations

Most migrants move to improve their life conditions and have access to job opportunities. Being cities a powerful setting for emancipation, both Dominican and Haitians move to each other's cities to create better lives for themselves and due to the proximity of the cities, travel with frequency.

Dominicans from rural impoverish communities have found in Haitian big cities, such as Port-au-Prince or Cap-Haïtien, entrepreneurial opportunities, created small businesses or are part of the work force. Parallely, Haitians from different areas of Haiti have move to Dominican cities such as Santo Domingo or Santiago. This pattern is a recent one, as I explained before, after the sugar cane crisis, Haitian migrants started to move to the most important Dominican urban areas. Since the 1990, urban setting became the new destinations. Considering they move to major cities - Santo Domingo and Santiago- this made their presence more visible for groups that have historically opposed Haitian migrants.

Once in these metropolitan areas, they engage in the construction industry or the informal economy even thou it implies extremely low wages. With their movement, they have created communities where migrants alike live and gather. In the case of Santo Domingo, *Pequeño Haití* [Little Haiti] is the most prominent Haitian settlement in Dominican Republic. This location has a convenient condition, is on the vicinities of the most relevant market in the city and serves as a commercial destination for Haitian public. As a result of the history migration conflict, once Haitians move to Dominicans cities they encounter fierce rejection. This is in part to their economic practices. Informal economy in form of street vendors occupies the scarce open public space that exists in Dominican cities, they relay on streets, sidewalks, pedestrian bridges. Dominicans perceive this as a transgression, an invasion of the territory, as "haitianisation" of space.

Contrary to Haitian migrants, Dominican migrants in Haiti do not face discrimination or the opposition they counterparts face in Dominican Republic. They are able to insert themselves in the Haitian work force, they are part of small businesses and are able to applied their technical skills; as hairdressers, skilled construction workers or doctors. Most Dominican migrants in Haiti move to Port-au-Prince; specifically, Pétion Ville, the most affluent part of the city and an opportunity to find jobs.



■ Figure I.14: Photographs of Haitian working migrants in Dominican urban settings.
Source: Listín Diario, El Nacional, El país, Acento. Adapted by authors

METHODS: Observation usign
 photogrpahs



■ Figure I.15: Haitians in Santo Domingo
Source: El Nacional. Adapted by author



■ Figure I.16: Dominicans in Port-au-Prince
Source: CDN. Adapted by author

METHODS: Observation via photographs and documentaries

IN SUMMARY

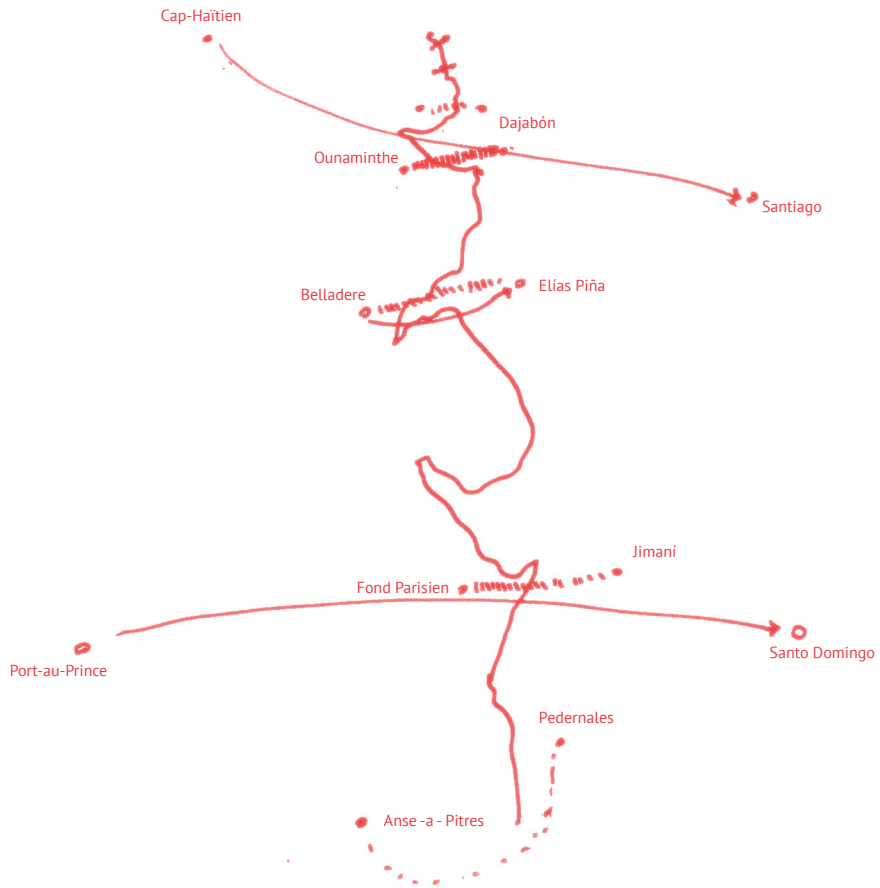
Haiti and Dominican Republic share a confined territory, meaning, they are highly interdependent. As a result of the asymmetry between them, for Haitians, migration to Dominican Republic is an opportunity to access services and jobs, and for Dominican Republic, the desire of Haitians to work under low wages is a way to a faster development. However, the historic conflict exacerbates with migration and has created a context that overlooks the economic significance and the potentialities of migrants moving between both countries of Hispaniola.

Both population find opportunities while migrating and both appreciate the proximity of the countries, which enables them to travel frequently. However, there is a great ordeal of inequality, specially for Haitians and the territories they inhabit.

The border, as the first territory of encounter receives different migrants. Cross-border commuters go to school or sell at the border on market days. This means, that the frontier territory has different uses in time. Daily, people cross it for mundane activities, but every week the dynamic changes when the border is open and markets dominate the day. But this region also faces a crisis of infrastructure that hinders the socio-economic exchange. As presented in *Fronterizas*, entrepreneur women from both sides, often cannot meet due to the minimal spatial configuration and quality of the borderscape.

Moving away from the border in search of emancipation, urban destinations such as Santo Domingo, Santiago, Port-au-Prince or Cap-Haïtien, experience spatial modifications by these -under certain economic constrains- frequent travels. These practices implies many durations, movement and therefore creating and demanding new spaces.

One similar characteristic is that once they move they create communities around their work activities and consumption of goods. However, there are also differences between migrants in Dominican cities and migrants in Haitian cities. Haitians are active in public open space as part of the informal commercial activities and the main reason of contested space. This differs from Dominicans use of Haitian open public space.



■ Figure 1.17: Migration Temporalities
Source: Drawn by author



II. ON THEORY: [TRANS]MIGRATORY RHYTHMS

[TRANS]MIGRATION

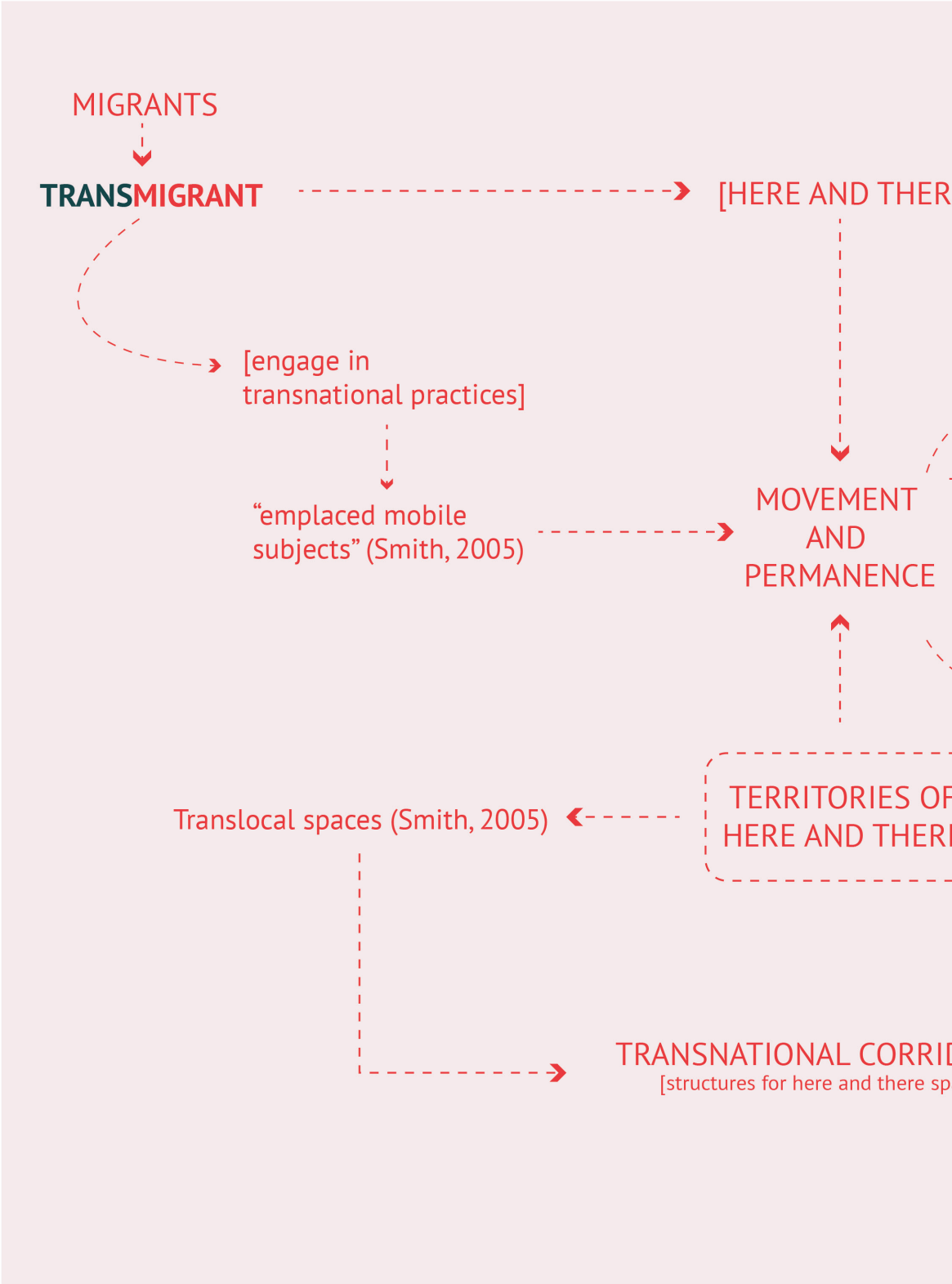
Transnational migration is the process by which immigrants forge and sustain simultaneous multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement".
Glick, Basch and Szanton (1995)

Migration rarely implies a clean new slate, is a twofold process of engaging with a new territory and keeping ties with the old one. According to Glick, Basch and Szanton (1995), migration is a transnational practice and part of the phenomenon of globalisation in its second wave (Smith, 2005). Migrants are in reality transmigrants, "rooted" in their new destination but also maintaining links with their place of origin. For this authors, transmigrants are "*immigrants whose daily lives depend on multiple and constant interconnections across international borders and whose public identities are configured in relationship to one or more nation-state.*" They argue that transmigrants are "*simultaneously embedded*" in multiple societies, since they "*maintain connections, develop institutions and influence local and national events in the countries from which they emigrated.*"

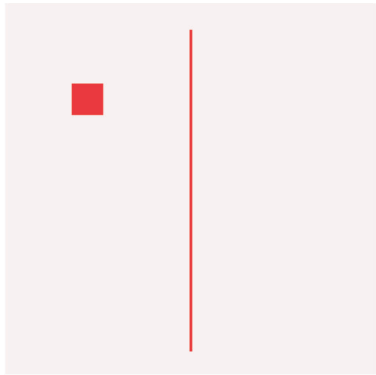
Frequent travel and exchange of means defines transmigratory practices. For Lefebvre (2004), repetition is part of rhythm, the one cannot exist without the other. He argues that difference is a the result of repetition, since they cannot be identical, there will be a change; an addition.

Transmigration brings with it inequality (Peter Smith, 2005). Once migrants move, they encounter economic crisis that limits their ability to engage with the territory of origin (Glick et al, 1995).

Transmigrants are mobile subjects yet socially and spatially situated (Peter Smith, 2005). This author argues the spatial-spatial dynamics around them depend on social networks of translocal spaces. In this type of settings they are able to maintain links with their places of origin.

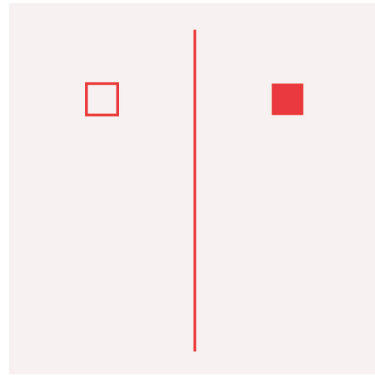






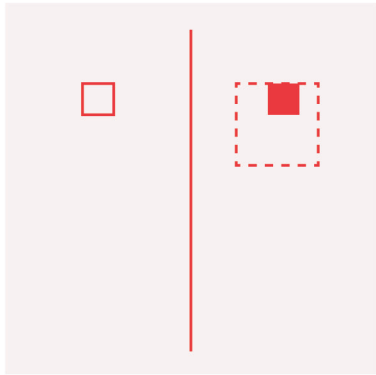
| 1 |

"A" wants to migrate



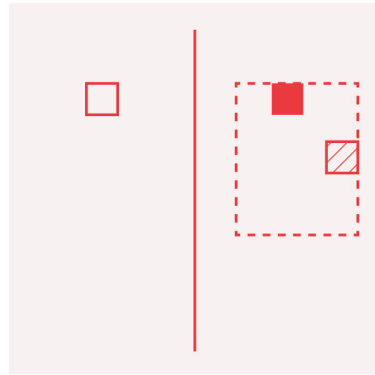
| 2 |

"A" migrates and has ties at home



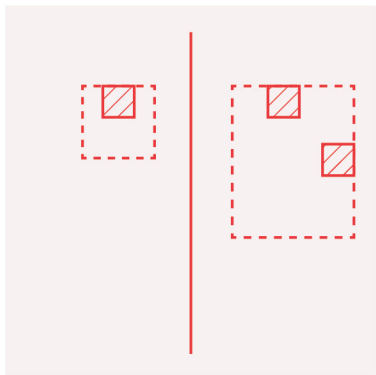
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"A" migrates, has ties at home and creates new links



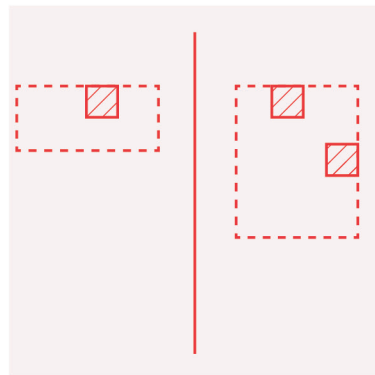
| 4 |

"A" migrates, has ties at home and creates links that form new communities



| 5 |

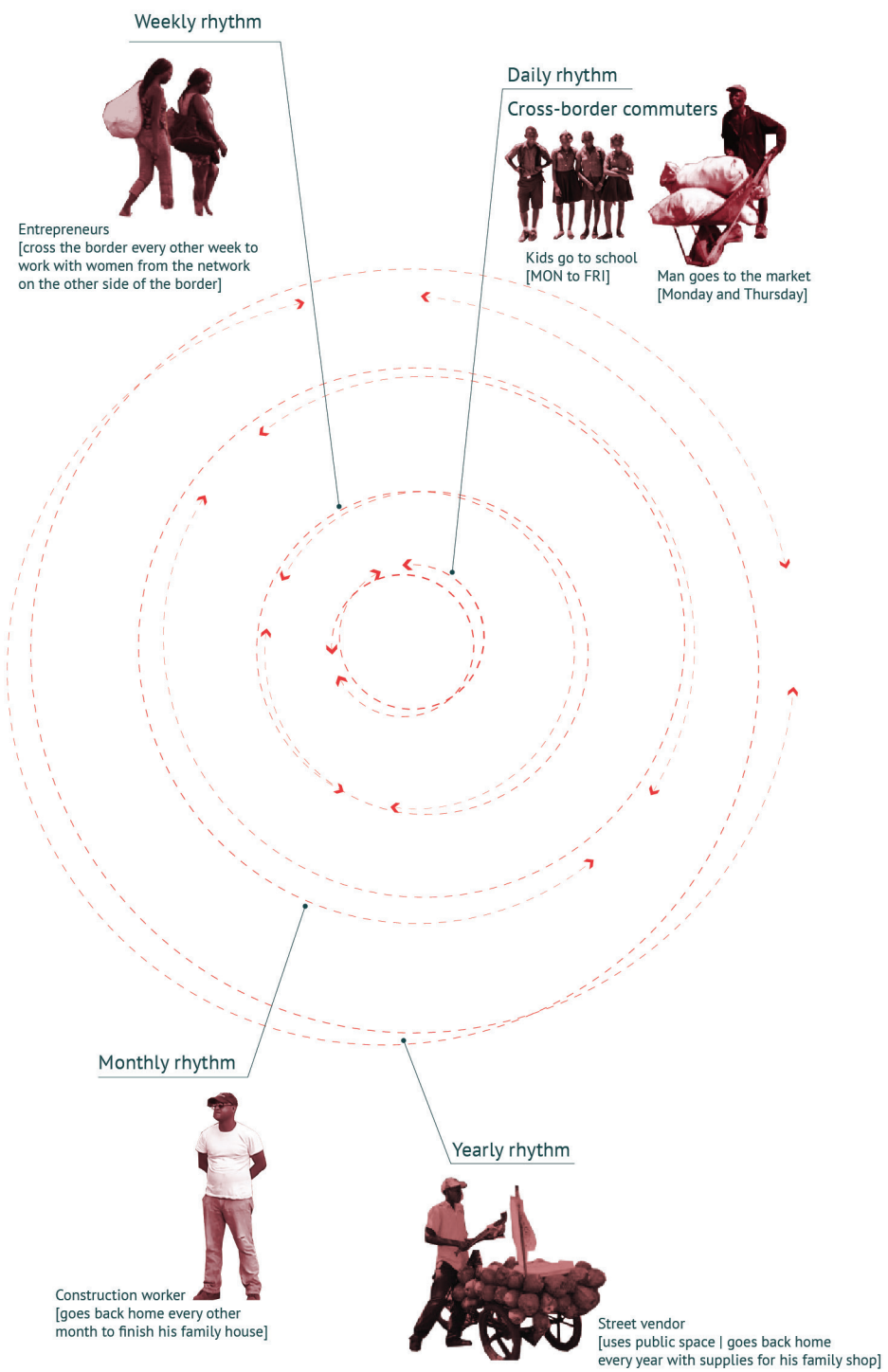
"A" goes back home for a period, reinforces the home community, thus being part of two places



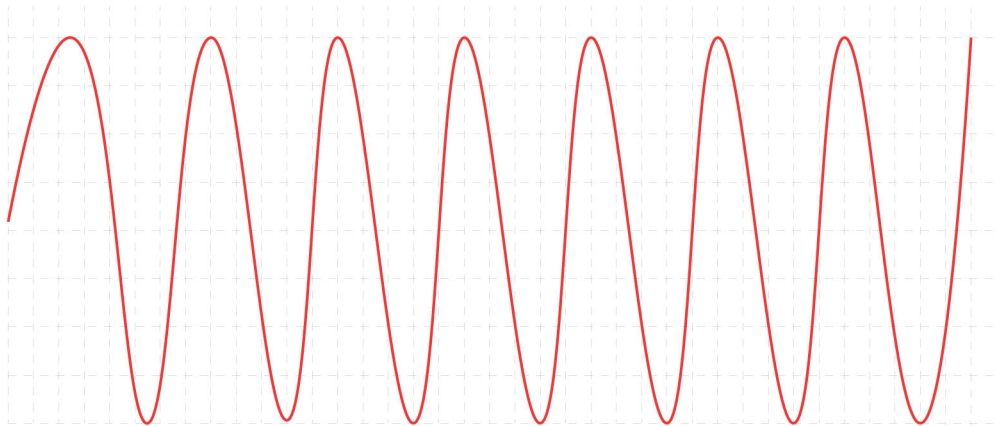
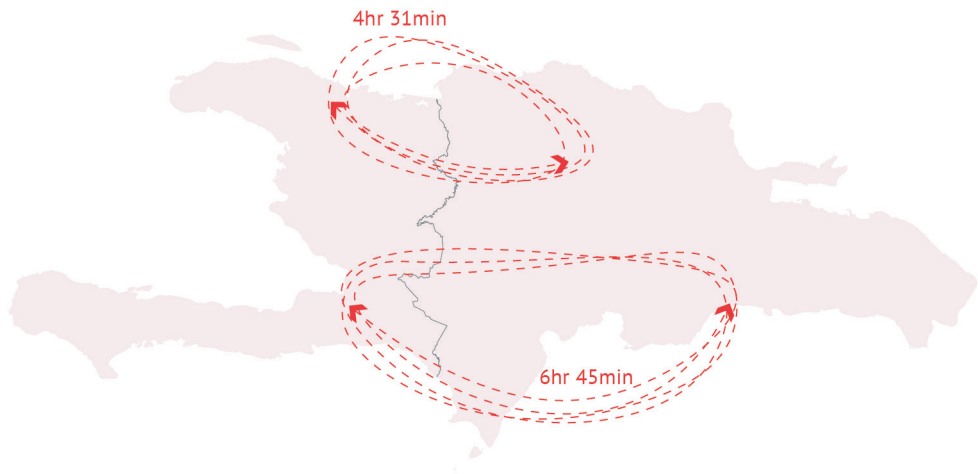
| 6 |

"A" lives here and there, has communities in both places and, simultaneously, demands spaces

■ Figure II.2: Abstract diagram of repetition and difference in relation to transmigration



■ Figure II.3: Diagram of trans migratory rhythms of the island



[YEAR]

■ Figure II.4: Diagram of rhythms



**III. ON METHODOLOGY:
APPROACHING TRANSMIGRATION
BETWEEN HAITI AND DOMINICAN REPUBLIC**

PROBLEM STATEMENT

Migration is a phenomenon across the island. Both Haitian [in larger sums] and Dominicans cross the border in search for better opportunities. By engaging in these movements, migrants become transmigrants, with loyalties and communities in two places. In the case of the context, most of them send remittances¹ and travel frequently back home, in daily, weekly, monthly or yearly cycles, implying a rhythmic nature and dialectics of permanence and movement. For the territory, this means changes in how is used. The current spatial configurations overlook transnational activities of migrants. In addition, the translocal spaces that migrants form are defined by inequality and thus its precarious spatial conditions hinder the capacity of transnational migrants.

Two key characteristic concern my interest in transmigration across Hispaniola,

Rhythm: Haitian and Dominican migrants engage in frequent travels across the island in daily, weekly, monthly or yearly rhythms. However, these practices occur on spatial configurations aimed for linear activities, thus overlooking the rhythmic uses of space and its potential. This means that the territory is not able to support both linear and rhythmic activities.

Inequality: The translocal spaces created by migrants in Hispaniola are defined by detrimental spatial conditions which hinders the capacity of transnational practices, of being here and there.

HYPOTHESIS

The rhythmic bidirectional nature of transmigrants is an opportunity to create new spatial configurations that recognises and support permanent and mobile lifestyles, while defining new narratives for migration in Hispaniola.

RESEARCH QUESTION

How to design urban structures that accommodate the multiple uses of space following the different rhythms of trans migratory practices between Port-au-Prince and Santo Domingo?

SUB RESEARCH QUESTION

1. What are the transmigratory practices in the Port-au-Prince | Santo Domingo corridor?
2. What spatial requirements do they demand?
3. How is the use of space changed in each rhythm along the corridor?
4. How is inequality manifested in the translocal spaces along the corridor?
5. What program/spatial setting can promote transmigratory practices?

METHODOLOGY

Urbanism is a field of many dimensions and in order to recreate and understand the complex conditions of a problem is necessary to evaluate information in multiple ways. Throughout this academic endeavour I will use “mixed methods”, in other words, I will combine mainly qualitative information with some quantitative data.

Although Berta, Botero and Ferreti (2016) and other authors refer to “constructivist” as the approach dependent on qualitative information and “pragmatic” as the method that focus on the problem and uses multiple sources to collect and analyse data; given the context is hard to collect equal number of qualitative and quantitative information, therefore qualitative data will be more present in this thesis but I still define it as a mixed methodology.

The use of mixed methods tends to enhance the process, often leads to sounds conclusions and different ways of gathering information are embedded in the research: inductive, deductive, constructivism, relativism. In addition, I will approach my research with “critical pluralism” (Klakegg, 2015), meaning taking many sources but also highly critical of the relation to the project and the specificity of the context.

Literature Review

For this project I have develop questions that link theory with context which will be informed by literature review. For this, I read, analyse and reflect on books, essays, academic papers, reports and other publications that address globalisation, spatiatities of transnational practices and its dialectic of permanence and movement, rhythms, migration and border regions. Using these tools I can create conclusions about theory that is useful for the context and the project. In addition, I refer to news articles and critic pieces that are relevant for the context.

Rhythmic Analysis

Given the nature of trans migratory practices and the frequency of traveling, I observe and identify the different uses of space in relation to the duration of the permanence and movement. This implies, differences in approach on each site, since it depends on the temporalities present on the locations.

Mapping

Much of the information about transnational activities and networks is easier to understand through maps and other spatial representations. For this, GIS data sets, satellite images, tracing, analytical maps and representative drawings are tools to use and construct the spatial reality of the context.

Observations

General observation will also help to develop an ethnographic analysis (Xerez & Fonseca, 2011). Moreover, it contributes to grasping the dynamics of each site. Photo journals, documentaries, photographs and other audiovisual data are my useful techniques in this project.

Field Trip

A thorough visit to the site[s] along the corridor will help to get information about the uses of space and evidences in changes as a result of migration.

Conversations

Migration stories are personal and generate valuable knowledge about movement and use of space. I use conversations with locals and migrants to recreate and identify the spatial transformation of trans migratory practices across the island.

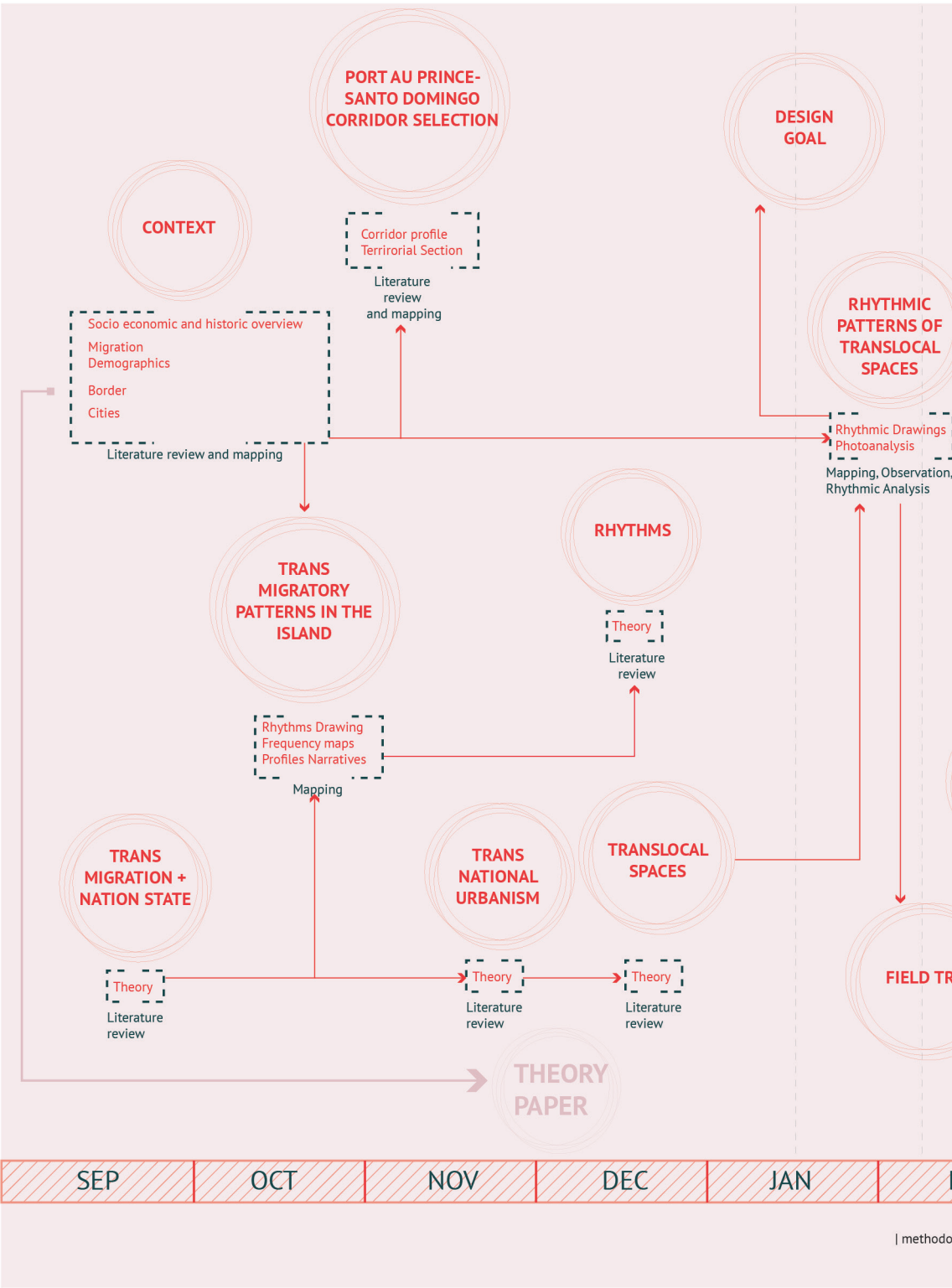
Interviews

Structure dialogues with experts on migration on both sides of the island and with actors engaging in transnational practices.

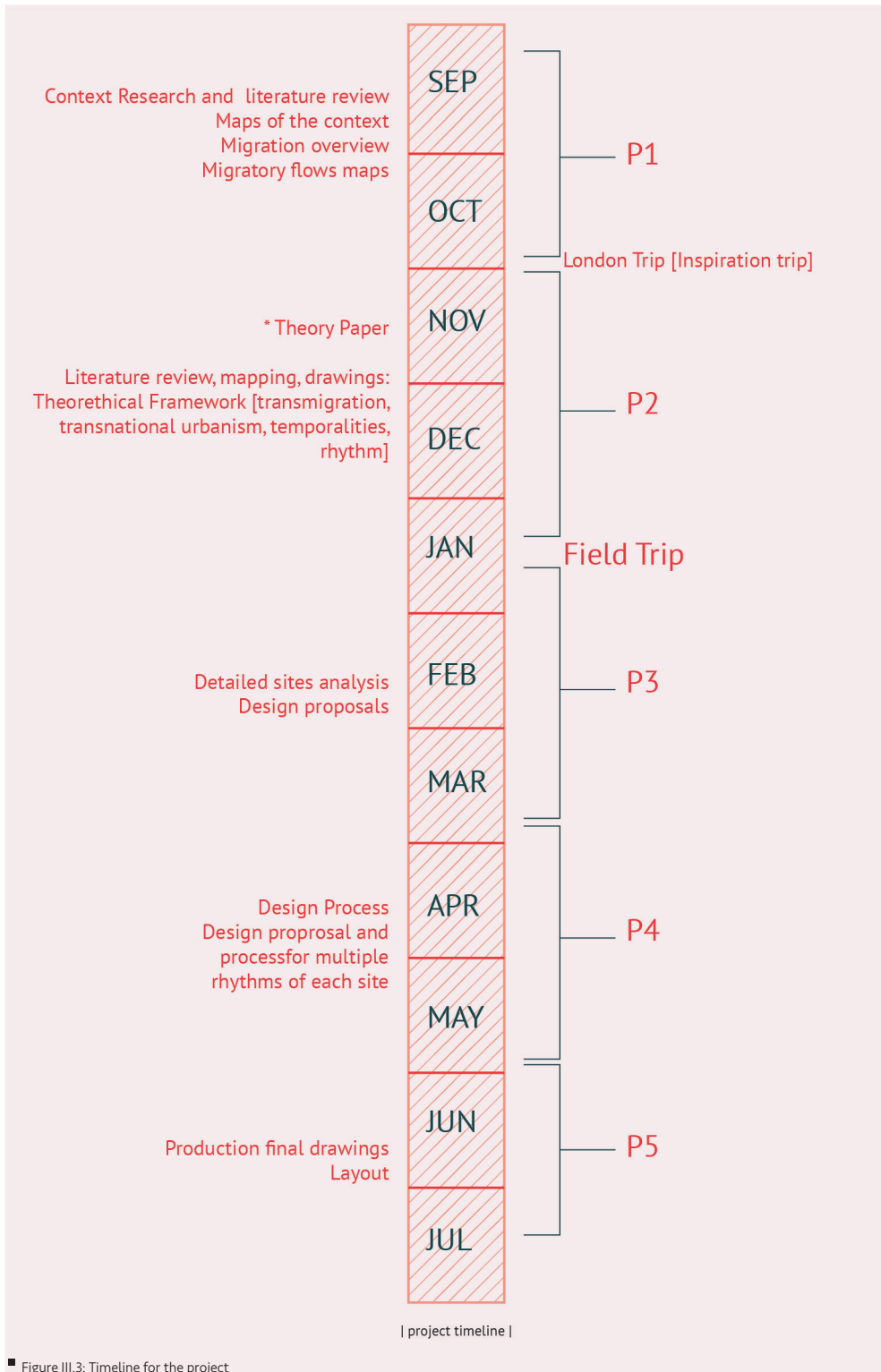
How to design urban structures that accommodate the multiple uses of space following the different rhythms of trans migratory practices between Port-au-Prince and Santo Domingo

methods	research approach questions			
<p>LITERATURE REVIEW</p> <p>Books, essays, reports, news, papers</p>	<p>1. What are the trans migratory spatial practices in the Port-au-Prince to Santo Domingo corridor?</p>	<p>2. What spatial requirements do they demand?</p>	<p>4. How is inequality manifested in the translocal spaces along the corridor?</p>	<p>5. What program/spatial setting can promote trans migratory practices?</p>
<p>MAPPING</p> <p>Satellite Imagery, tracing, GIS data sets, drawings</p>	<p>1. What are the trans migratory spatial practices in the Port-au-Prince to Santo Domingo corridor?</p>	<p>4. How is inequality manifested in the translocal spaces along the corridor?</p>		
<p>RHYTHMIC ANALYSIS</p>	<p>3. How is the use of space changed in each rhythm along the corridor?</p>			<p>5. What program/spatial setting can promote trans migratory practices?</p>
<p>OBSERVATION</p> <p>Audiovisual data, photojournal</p>	<p>1. What are the trans migratory spatial practices in the Port-au-Prince to Santo Domingo corridor?</p>	<p>3. How is the use of space changed in each rhythm along the corridor?</p>		<p>4. How is inequality manifested in the translocal spaces along the corridor?</p>
<p>FIELD TRIP</p> <p>site visits</p>	<p>1. What are the trans migratory spatial practices in the Port-au-Prince to Santo Domingo corridor?</p>	<p>3. How is the use of space changed in each rhythm along the corridor?</p>		<p>4. How is inequality manifested in the translocal spaces along the corridor?</p>
<p>INTERVIEWS/ CONVERSATIONS</p>	<p>1. What are the trans migratory spatial practices in the Port-au-Prince to Santo Domingo corridor?</p>	<p>2. What spatial requirements do they demand?</p>	<p>3. How is the use of space changed in each rhythm along the corridor?</p>	<p>5. What program/spatial setting can promote trans migratory practices?</p>

Figure III.1: Diagram of research approach







■ Figure III.3: Timeline for the project

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In order to satisfy my research questions and to underpin the ideas, proposal and conclusion for this graduation project I will relay on different authors and thinkers that have addresses, transnational practices, transmigration, rhythms and the transit nature of migratory movements.

HISPANIOLA

The context of the island is rarely approach as one territory, therefore I relay on some information to be able to frame it as an one functional entity.

- Los Complejos Urbanos en la frontera dominico-haitiana. Written by Haroldo Dilla. 2015

"[...]it changed in 1990'd [...] it activated a growing cross-border and bi-national traffic.

[...]

The intense economic activity has lead to the creation of four economic corridors, defined as transfrontier axis..."

MIGRATION

Since the main topic of my graduation studio is migration and its relation with the built environment, I have some essential questions about movement of people and their loyalties to the place their place of origin and the place they move to, specially because, I am interested in the idea of transmigrant and what effect can they have in their natal land and for the overall insular territory.

- From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration. Written by: Schiller, N., Basch, L. & Szanton, C. 1995

"Transnational migration is the process by which immigrants forge and sustain simultaneous multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin ad settlement".

- After Belonging: The objects, spaces and Territories of the Ways We Stay in transit. Edited by LluísAlexandre Casanovas Blanco, Ignacio G.Galán, Carlos Mínguez Carrasco, Alejandra Navarrete Llopis and Marina Otero Verzier. Oslo Architecture Triennale 2016

“Sheltering temporaniness explores the different permanence spans [...] and the infrastructure, network and spaces supporting these forms of cooperation”

“Technologies for a life in transit reflects upon modes of organisation shaping contemporary network geographies”

RHYTHM

Given that transmigration implies repetitive frequent traveling, I use Lefebvre’s work on rhythm to relate the territory with the migrants lifestyles.

Rhythmanalysis: space, time and everyday life. Written by Henri Lefebvre. 2004

“Everywhere where there is interaction between a place, a time and an expenditure of energy there is a rhythm. Therefore: a) repetition...”

“For him [the rhythmanalyst], nothing is immobile.”

TRANSNATIONAL URBANISM

One of the consequences of migration is their emplacement and their transnational lifestyles. Smith creates a framework to see migrants as agents that are active simultaneous in different places.

Transnational Urbanism revisited. Written by Michael Peter Smith. 2005

“The study of transnational urbanism thus underlines the socio-spatial processes by which social actors and their networks forge the translocal connections and create the translocalities that increasingly sustain new modes of being-in-the-world”.

EXPECTED OUTCOME

The design exercise I have challenge myself with in this project has several dimensions that correspond to the characteristics of each site and the rhythms found on each of them.

- Malpasse: Design and redefine the border security crossing point and market area as a space that combines economic and security practices with social exchange and recreation while taking advantages of the natural landscape. More importantly, is space to be designed for both markets days of intense activity as well for daily commuters crossings, therefore addressing the different rhythms and trans migratory practices.
- Pequeño Haití: Design an urban block for Haitian trans migratory lifestyles in Santo Domingo. This site should incorporate the program that support these types of practices and addresses the inequality of the spatial infrastructure.

Some general objectives from the projects are:

- Creates spaces that accommodate Haitian and Dominican trans migrant with different temporalities in their travels and improve the precarious spatialities of the territory and design responses that can absorb the differences in use and capacity.
- Design spatial structures that supports the simultaneity of trans migratory practices and that facilitates this lifestyle and where trans migrant can develop new spaces that being here and there.
- Address the unequal conditions of translocal spaces, in an effort to reduce the limitations of migrants in the new places of settlements.
- Highlight the dialectic nature of trans migrant and the benefits for Hispaniola.

DESIGN GOAL

With this project I aim to develop spatial responses that contribute to the ongoing debate about Haitian migration in Dominican Republic. To achieve this one of my objectives is to understand transnational and cross-border systems in Hispaniola to find common patterns that spatially link both countries of the island, therefore promoting a territorial and spatial framework for planning and design regarding shared dynamics. This will also mean using space, place and territory as a way to encourage cooperation between Haiti and Dominican Republic. Another goal of this thesis is to test the agency of design and the territory in this particular context, define the challenges, opportunities and limitations.

One of my more theoretical objectives with this graduation project regards to defining transmigratory practices and how they shape the territory in relation to the dialectic nature of permanence and movement that migrants engage with.

From this project I expect to portray migrants of Hispaniola as agents, instead of the current narrative of conflict that dominates Haitian-Dominican relations.

RELEVANCE

Today, population flows and other transnational streams embedded in the global system, are challenging the way in which territories and nation-states are understood. It has created socio-political conflicts, but also concerns about economic dynamics and the added pressure to ecologic systems that are administrated by different authorities.

First, with the social-political conflicts, migration in particular is a much debated process, but one creating tensions and humanitarian crisis. As in the case of this project, Hispaniola, systematised Haitian migration has been occurring for over 100 years, but Dominicans see it as a transgression of borders and a “pacific invasion”. However, Haitian migrants have been an anonymous, yet important force behind Dominican development.

In more scientific terms, there is a big demand of re-territorialising global phenomena and for the understanding of local spatialities of global processes (Herzog, 2014). In that sense, the case of Hispaniola serves as a laboratory to understand transnational practices in a confined territory and evaluate the local implications. This is also the reason why this project topic fits the graduation studio “Cities of comings and goings” from the Urbanism Chair Design as Politics; it gives an example to understand migration and the transformations cities have to undertake to accommodate influx of people and goods at different scales and with different temporalities in a context of much conflicts.

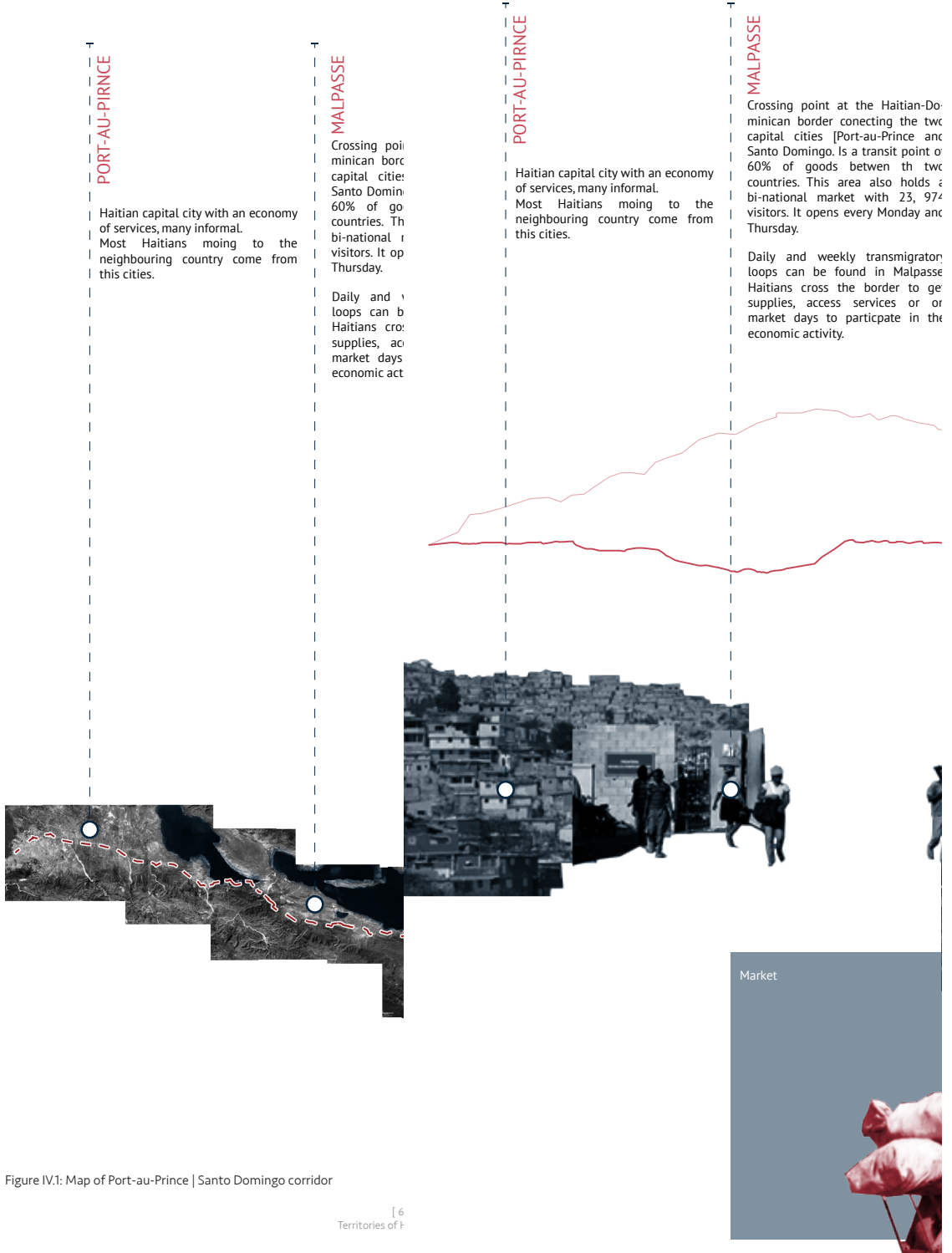
In this times, what Bauman calls Liquid modernity, what Baudrillard refers to as times of accelerated cycles and what Hannerz addressed in the sixties, as dynamic culture, an urgent task of the urbanist is to identify what spatial configurations accommodate these lifestyles. Now we ought to engage with the mobile and thus, the territories correspondent to flows and movements, to the concept of transit and rhythms and to understand how it incorporates with other more stable activities with a slower frequency.

IV. ON SITE[S]:
BETWEEN PORT AU PRINCE
AND SANTO DOMINGO

PORT-AU-PRINCE | SANTO DOMINGO CORRIDOR

The corridor between connects both capital cities and the largest share of formally traded goods is transported via this corridor.

There are different cities along it. Starts with Port-au-Prince, the Haitian capital. To that, follows Fond Parisien until Malpasse; the border checking point and location of bi-national market. Jimaní, is the first city on the Dominican side of the island, which Dilla (2015 b) describes it as a non-place. Going east other secondary cities that receive indirect benefits from the activity are part of the corridor until reaching Santo Domingo, the Dominican capital. After, sugar cane tourism industry territories complete the cross-insular line.



■ Figure IV.1: Map of Port-au-Prince | Santo Domingo corridor



MALPASSE

This is the crossing point that connects both capital cities, Port-au-Prince and Santo Domingo. It is also the intimidate point for the biggest share of formally traded goods across the island.

This is one of the places where to appreciate transmigratory rhythms. Every week, two times a week, one of the biggest bi-national markets occupies the street linking both countries. The rest of the week, Malpasse operates as a security check point, where cross border commuters and other migrants move across the border for several objectives, going to school, doctors appointment, work or access to goods. Therefore, this area host two distinct activities with drastic changes; some days crowds, some others few strollers.



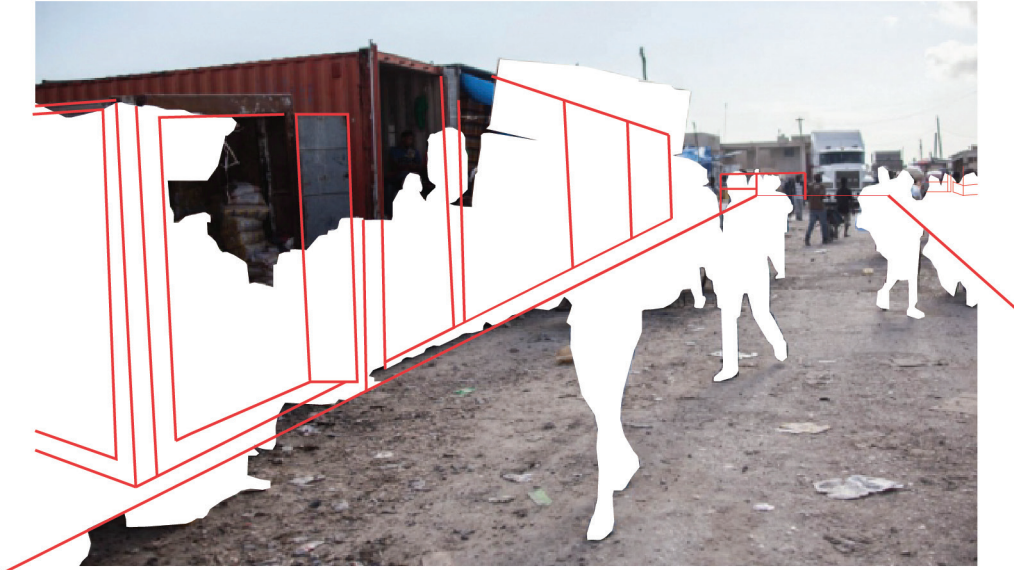
■ Figure IV.3: Photograph of Malpasse gate. Source: <https://www.alvamooses.com/fence-stencils/>



■ Figure IV.4: Comparison of Malpasse market before and after the gates open. Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/mdelcid/17741771483>







■ Figure IV.6: Comparison of Malpasse market with and with market conditions. Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/mdelcid/17741771483>



■ Figure IV.7: Comparison of Malpasse on regular day and market day.
Source: <https://www.voanoticias.com/a/haiti-deportaciones-dominicana-nueva-york-washington/2832313.html>
<http://lenouvelliste.com/lenouvelliste/article/140216/Malpasse-les-transporteurs-haitiens-reclament-leur-part-du-gateau>

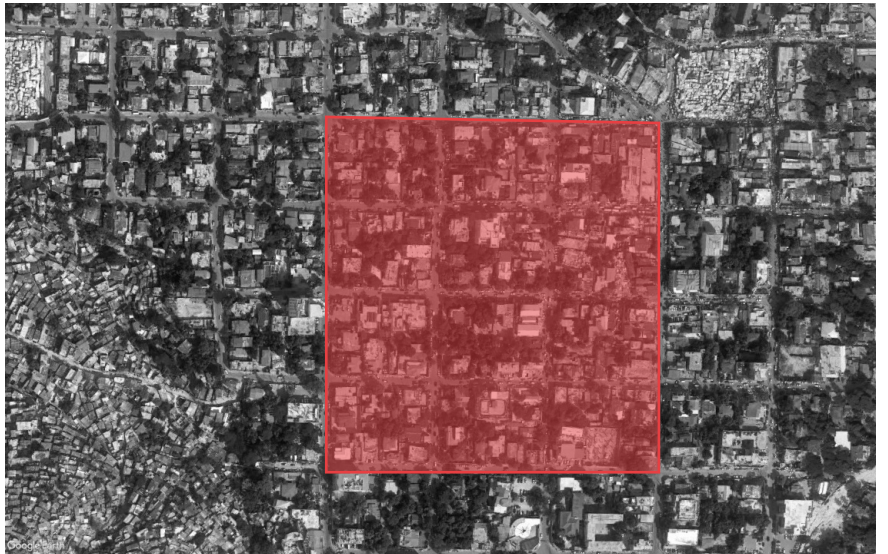
PÉTION VILLE, PORT-AU-PRINCE

Pétion Ville, Haiti: Is the translocal economic space of Dominican migrants in Santo Domingo. Dominican migrants travel frequently back home and thus is a case to test the changes in spaces due to permanence and movement.





■ Figure IV.8: Streetscape of Port-au-Prince
Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SGRuz1-T6TA>





PEQUEÑO HAITÍ, SANTO DOMINGO

Pequeño Haití, Santo Domingo: Is the translocal commercial space of Haitian migrants in Santo Domingo. This urban area receives many migrants, with different lengths of permanence [weekly, monthly], but the site is unfit to accommodate the practices of their transnational lives, which then limits their possibilities to maintain ties with Haiti.

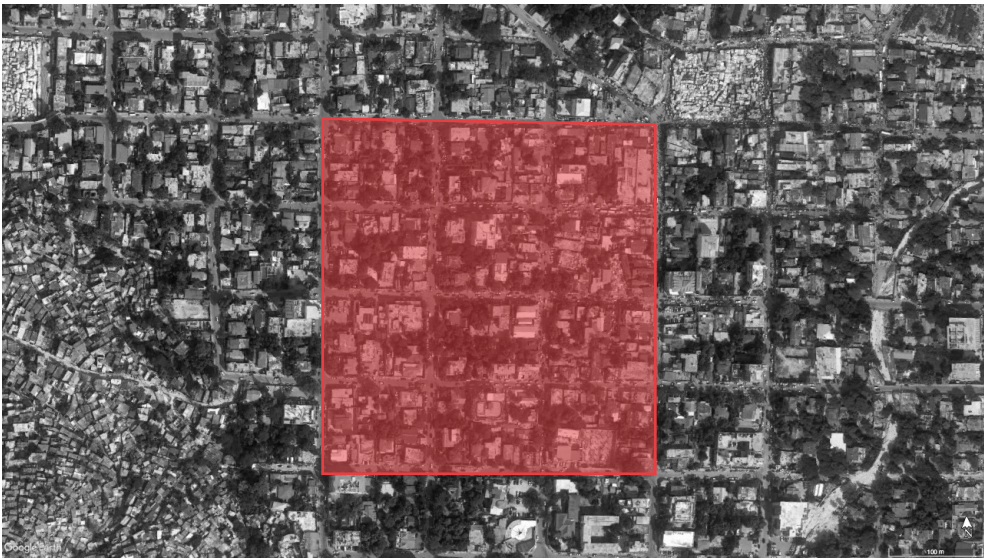


■ Figure IV.10: Satellite Imagery of Santo Domingo
Source: Google Earth



Figure IV.11: Streetscape of Pequeño Haiti

Source:
<http://hoy.com.do/residentes-del-pequeno-haiti-en-rd-hablan-sobre-crisis-politica-de-su-pais/>
<https://www.listindiario.com/la-republica/2017/08/20/478955/el-pequeno-haiti-se-agranda>





V. FINAL REMARKS

ETHICAL REFLECTION

Migration itself is a contested topic, and migrants, especially labour migrants, are rarely the winners of this narrative or at least, their role as actors is given any high importance, therefore this aspect is one to navigate in my graduation project.

Another ethical consideration in my project regards to my position as designer and researcher. As a Dominican, my views on the Haitian-Dominican conflict might be biased, but is also the tool that gives me a more nuanced understanding of the situation, that I can use to create and communicate a comprehensive argument.

This condition also has some influence in my research. Evidently, I have more access to Dominican information, than Haitian, and this is one of the constant struggles of this process. So far, I have encountered some limitation in regards to data gathering, since information has either not been collected or is not available, which at the same time brings opportunities for other methods of representation. In addition, a challenge is also to understand the literature in the particular context of Hispaniola and discern what is appropriate to apply and transfer.

One of my questions is to what extent theory notions relate to the sites. For this reason, the field trip is a method to test the reality of the theory. Even though I am familiar to the context, it is essential to confirm the findings of distant research.

A clear mindset I have for this academic exercise is to see the context with fresh eyes and not only read it from the inequality perspective, but instead from other dimensions. For that I create a theoretical framework for the temporal notion of trans migratory practices. This provides new approaches to migration in the context of Hispaniola that redefine the perception of migration and values its potentials.

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APPENDIX

IMAGINING THE HAITIAN - DOMINICAN FRONTIER

Notions for planning cross-border territories in Hispaniola

Abstract:

The current global character that dominates socio-economic practices increases the pressure on the established nation-state construct as “container” of the territory and its administration, which tends to overlook the functional relations across territorial boundaries. On this paper I focus on border territories as essential points in transnational networks. Borders are interdependent regions, which economic, social and ecological dynamics have different modes of manifestation on the territory. I present several definitions of cross-border spatial arrangements along with the processes and spaces that characterise them, in order to highlight the conditions that demand cross-border cooperation. I address, the existing challenges and opportunities of cross-border planning and governance, with examples of US and Mexico, due to their socioeconomic disparity and Ireland for its insular condition. Given the environmental crisis, the rapid urbanisation and the growing economic exchanges along the Haitian-Dominican borderland in the island Hispaniola, I will use it as a case for the urgency of cross-border planning. I conclude this paper with the spatial responses that can contribute to cross-border cooperation in the border region between Haiti and Dominican Republic.

Keywords: cross-border planning, border territories, formal-informal, global-local, material infrastructure

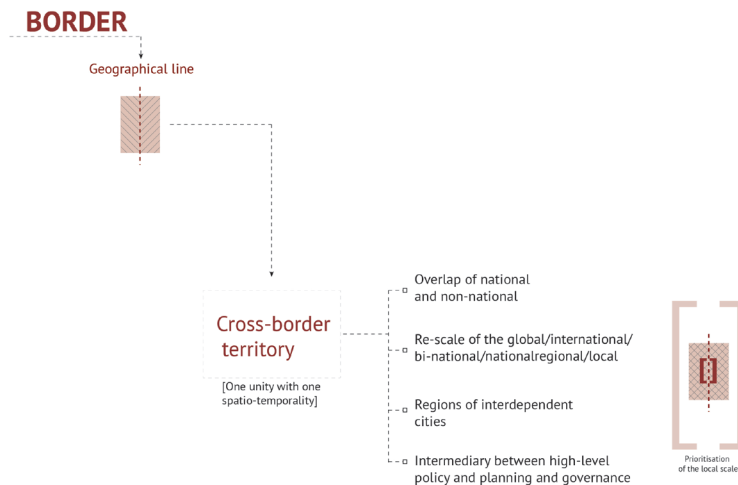
Border Territories

From the uniquely physical perspective, a border is a line separating one side from the other. As many scholars studying borders have noted, a deeper analysis of such line will indicate that it actually creates a region, involving all areas that the line separates. Borders also imply the contrast between the national and the rest, the non-national. This line frames [physically and metaphorically] the concept of nation states as the container inside which planning and governance usually play a role. However, as Sassen (2000), the nation-state container as one spatiotemporality has never been satisfied by any current nation-states, in fact is a notion challenged by the omnipresent global practices.

Apart from a separating symbol, a border is a zone of social contact and intermediate points in the global circulation of goods, ideas and people. These points are inserted in cities that although some being relatively distant, are highly interdependent. This formation is what Dilla (2015 a) calls *cross-border urban complexes*. Other scholars, such as Herzog (1998), conceptualise the spatial configurations around the border as *transfrontier metropolitan regions*, meaning territories with central settlements around a border that with time have become one functional entity; intertwine settlements with overlapping ecosystems. The intersection of border cities is also referenced as *cross-border conurbations*. Moreover, border cities are units of analysis that allow a horizontal relation between international high level and local level public policy (Peña, 2008).

Since border regions are places of contact, they are shared territories where the national, the global and the local coexist. In Dilla's (2015 a) analysis of Bob Jessop, he highlights the re-territorialisation, re-scaling and the emergence of new spatial hierarchies, where border regions are of special relevance due to vital role they now play. This global condition in which social and economic practices are currently embedded, have shaped new dynamic spaces and created new definitions of time that concomitantly belong to the national and to the global; one does not exclude the other, they overlap and operate at different scales (Sassen, 2000).

With global trends defining flows, and climate change impacting without geographical restrictions, the tradition of planning inside the national territory demarcated by boundaries becomes obsolete; adjacent territories are integral to each other. For instance, the US-Mexico border is a clear example of interdependency with Tijuana-San Diego or Ciudad Juárez - El Paso being agglomerations where binational families live (Herzog, 1998).



Figure# 1: Diagram of border territories characteristics. Made by author.

The urgency of cross-border planning in a transnational framework

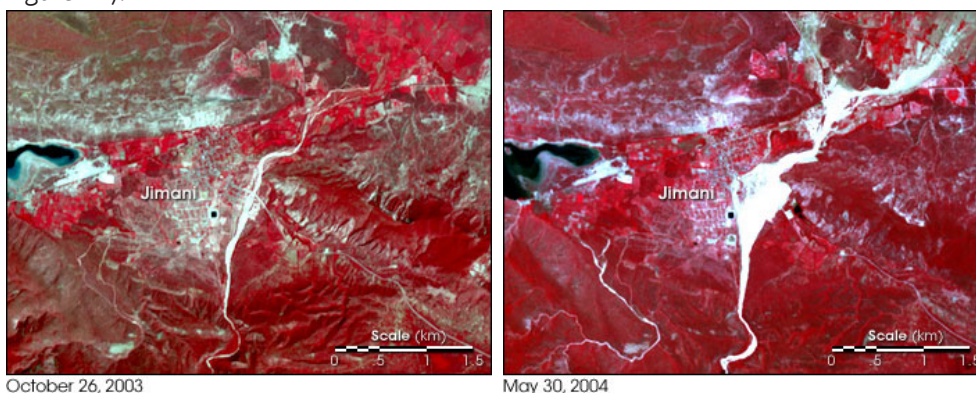
The national is not absolute. Spaces allocated in the national territory are shaped by dual purposes; global processes depend on material infrastructure within national borders and national demands are satisfied by the same infrastructure. Therefore, these trends challenge the assumption of exclusively national space (Sassen, 2000). Material and population flows follow a geography that crosses the border region and extends beyond the national.

Urban settings along the border are part of *transnational corridors* (Herzog, 1998; Dilla, 2015 a). This refers to the interaction between cities of different hierarchies and roles. Therefore, border cities are sensible regions of such concatenations, they guarantee the continuity of material and idea flows along the corridor. Conversely, international boundaries and the region around them have been buffer zones between nation states, and hence avoided as places of production, development and settlement. Most prominent cities have been in areas distant from the territorial national boundary and the uncertainties that the other side might present (Herzog, 2001). For instance, in Dominican Republic the poorest cities and the ones experiencing demographic decline are in the border region.

Proximity is related to interdependency, and on the territory, even in cases with strong physical boundaries, economic, ecological or social flows will still operate, generating a special dynamic that requires an equally specific management. That is when cross-border spatial planning and cooperation come into play. The built environment

is the mediating force between human and nature. It is the spatial dimension that needs special attention in cooperation across borderlines (Herzog, 1998).

Nature is the clearest example of systems crossing borders; river basins, mountain systems or biodiversity ecosystems influence territories without knowledge of boundaries. In the current environmental crisis, borders are vulnerable points that can have catastrophic impacts. The interrelation in border regions is not always obvious and tangible, for example, soil erosion and deforestation on one side can create devastating flooding on the other side (See Figure #2).



Figure#2: High-resolution satellite images showing Jimani before and after the flood event in 2004. That year heavy rains overflowed the Soliette River, (deforestation in Haiti erodes the soil and the capacity of water retention). It caused flooding and fatalities in Jimani, on the Dominican side. In these false-color scenes, red represents vegetated land surface—the darker the red, the denser the plant canopy. Black areas are bodies of water and blue-gray areas show bare land surface or human settlements. The thin, bright white ribbon snaking northward from bottom centre of the May 30 scene is the Soliette River bed, now filled with highly reflective gravel swept downstream off the Massif de la Salle and overrunning portions of Jimani.

Source: Allen, J. ASTER Science Team. Retrieved from: <https://goo.gl/P7xp9c>

Bi-national and global economic practices are also reflected in the geography of border lines. On these territories, cross-border economies are defined by the activities along and across the dividing line. For Herzog (1998), those are transfrontier labour markets, consumer markets, services, housing and land markets and ecosystems. This implies a particular relation with the territory; people commute across nations and the landscape becomes ambiguous entity, since it takes characteristics of each side. There is a spill over effect reflected in the built, human and natural environment; any change on side A has immediate consequences on side B.

Continuing with the geographic argument, an example is Ireland. After 1998, Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland united efforts to make the island one single functional unity. These attempts started after recognising the existing and potential links across the island and thus creating a spatial rationale for cross-border cooperation (Walsh, 2013).

Quantitative data is also a way to understand the urgency of cross-border cooperation in planning and governance across the world. Using GIS analysis, Peña (2008), identified around 300 border and 1000 border cities, 59% of them, small cities [less than 50,000 inhabitants]. This reflects a tendency in borders to be formed by cities with low hierarchies and perceived minor roles in the national scheme. Some of these border cities form cross-border conurbations and 30% of those are contrasting cities with completely different socio-economic conditions, as Ounaminthe and Dajabón in the Haitian-Dominican border or Tijuana and San Diego in the US-Mexico border.

The landscape of the border is also a reason for cross-border agreements. Since on these territories multiple scales overlap and asymmetries are the drivers to initiate contact, the space of border territories is shape by global and local demands. To demonstrate, in Tijuana, assembly factories are allocated in informal settlements to attract workers. At the same time, as Tijuana grows, it incorporates elements of San Diego urban settings, but with differences in materials and socio-economic dynamics (Cruz, 2010). This relates to the liminal character often found in these type of regions and thus understood as “fringes”, “marginals spaces”, “terrain *vagues*” and “wastelands”. Border are in between two conditions, where two spatial logics meet. Therefore, suggesting “openness, porosity and transformation” (Avermaete, 2010).

For Doron (2010), the border is a “no (man’s) place, a “non-place”, following Augé’s definition of the term. To illustrate, in the Haitian-Dominican border, Malpasse is the crossing point through which the biggest share of goods circulates from country to country. Dilla (2015 b), refers to this area as a “non-place”; the point and consequently the cities where is embedded constitute only a passage (See Figure#3). Borders were created to protect what is inside. Whether physical



Figure #3: a) Road between Jimaní (DR) and La Source (HT) and b) Crossing point in Malpasse
Sources: A) Mejía, M. (2015, May 29). Especial: La vida en la frontera. Diario Libre. Retrieved from: <https://goo.gl/UHcnoB> Blackwell, R./AP. (2015). REBECCA BLACKWELL/AP. Retrieved from: <https://goo.gl/QHWNg3>

From border to frontier: Challenges and opportunities in creating cross-border territories

"Borders can become transformed into frontiers [...] where people or groups who have traditionally kept themselves distant from each other, make the first attempts at contact and interaction, creating a mixture of cultures and hybridity of identities".

Newman, 2006

barriers or mental barriers, their perception is engraved in the social construction of the national; tradition that is used and abused. The historicism surrounding borders, inhibits the collective and the individual to engage in socio-economic transfrontier networks (Schoonderbeek, 2010). Following this argument, Newman (2006) explains that imaginaries hinder the possibility to redefine borders as bridges and transition zones, even though global economic networks or ecological systems push for a more open configuration.

Creating frontiers would imply, creating a transition zone, a buffer between different cultures, economies and ways of living and cultural hybridity. An ease of movement, transnational spaces and identities can be generated. To achieve this, a physical opening of the border is not sufficient (Ibid). Peña (2008) suggest that the goal of cross border planning is the creation of norms to face global and local requirements of border regions. Therefore, the biggest task is to create rules for collective decision-making, which will allow the implementation of infrastructure to handle material and population flows and to manage the use of common resources.

The concept of *soft spaces* is a strategy that reacts to the new spatial orders in borders. These are territories of frontiers, where physical boundaries and cross-border governance interact. It is a pragmatic tool to engage spatial challenges across borders that recognises the environmental, social and economic functional relations and responds to the limitations that formal agreements often have on innovation towards the territory (Walsh, 2013).

Borderland cooperation requires special type of agreements. In contrast to metropolitan regions that also need cooperation between different administrations, they operate under the same regional and/or national norms. In most cases, in cross border conurbations, nation-state notions dominate international relations and there is no major authority to circumscribe to and force cooperation. This

then only translates in high policy agreements that overlook local conditions, which is one of the paradoxes of cross border planning. Due to the scale of border cities, most of their issues concern local government, but because of their geographical position and role in global flows, they require a transnational frame (Peña, 2008).

Many of the challenges of cross-border planning come from the effort of aligning different socio-economic logics for spatial arrangements, which hinders collaboration (Peña, 2008). Some difficulties are found in the formatting, classification, agendas and definition of goals. Moreover, differences in culture, language and objectives are barriers to create frontiers. Another paradox of the borders is also reflected in cross-border planning, the contact and collaborative work creates frictions that reinforce nationalist sentiments. As in the case of public officials in US and Mexico, with language and cultural differences, which then translated to lack of initiative from both sides (Herzog, 1998).

Borders bring together nations at different points of economic development, and these basic asymmetries are at the center of border relation between disparate countries (Herzog, 1998). However, the asymmetries are also the reason why contact emerges in the first place. Only under sufficient degree of inequality, border cities engage in intense stable interrelations (Dilla, 2015 a). The bi-national markets along the Haitian-Dominican border are a consequence of the embargo pose in Haiti in the early nineties. In the border between Colombia and Venezuela, a process of strong interdependence started in the eighties between the cities San Cristóbal and Cúcuta. At the beginning it was due to the advantages of the exchange rate between Venezuelan and Colombian currency, but as economic conditions change, it has evolved and taken different modes of exchange and immerse in different dynamics, yet remaining interdependent (Valero, 2008).

Some times beneficial, some times not, extreme divergence in borderlands impacts the exercise of planning. Instruments, regulations, codes, tools, mechanisms or lack thereof can hinder cooperation (Herzog, 1998). Under those circumstances, is clear that each side has different modes of relating to the built environment and consequently different modes of knowledge production, with its own demands (Pereira, 2017). Therefore, imposing the same path in planning and governance across border is not a guaranty to success. Convergence at some essential issues is a better strategy.

Even when attempts towards the built environment are similar and follow an international umbrella of norms, technical details and standards, the approaches that each side believes relevant, are not

comparable to the other side. To illustrate, the efforts in Ireland operate under a common European framework and even then, aligning values and future visions proved to be a challenge. Thus, creating a shared vocabulary and selecting key thematic areas was essential to cooperation (See Figure #4)(Walsh, 2013).

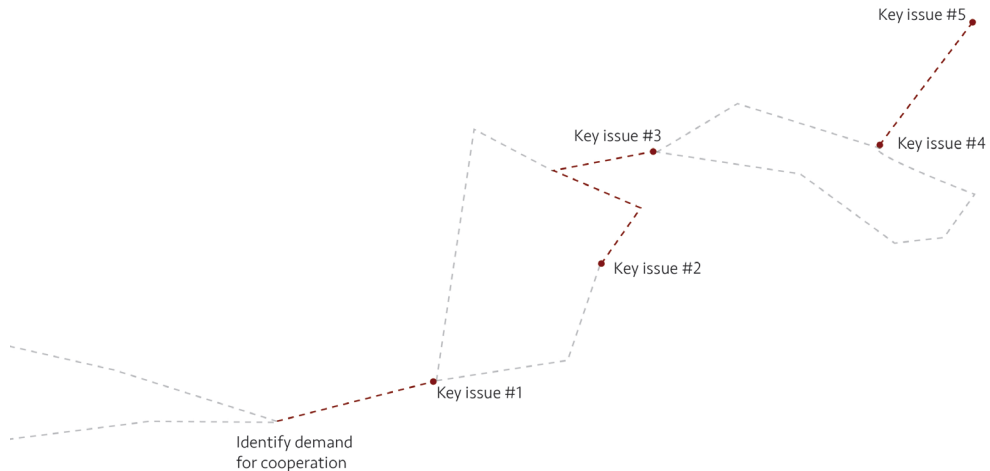


Figure #4: Cooperation in border regions recognises different approaches on how to use the built environment and selects key issues for agreement . Created by author

Experience has shown the success of informal arrangements between local officials and entrepreneurs for cross border cooperation; the best interactions are the ones face to face. These efforts are aimed to address local scale concerns and are much easier to conceive than on the national scale with formal mechanisms (Herzog, 1998; Peña 2008). Walsh (2013) echoes this idea by arguing that informal policy has created a space for joint action at local levels. Cooperation in border regions also entails less participation from government institutions. Local actors and non-state organisations create networks to deal with the most cross-border pressing issues, (Dilla, 2015 a).

However, there are limits to local scale actions. Once the scope of the issue surpasses local capacity and once the activities and relations grow becoming more complex, formal binding practices should be incorporated (Herzog, 1998; Peña 2008). For Van Assche, Beunen and Duineveld (2014), planning will always require the combination of formal and informal mechanisms, since solely informal planning is a susceptible realm. Moreover, formal and informal institutions transform each other, they exist in a constant dialectic. Thus formal planning the agency informal practices to be effective (Ibid.)

Common interest and common threats, such as water management, pollution, facilities, governance and cross-border commerce and trade are a good point to start cooperation, due to the little controversy around them. Peña (2008) suggests that master plans and other large scale projects tend to fail in cross-border cooperation. Therefore, local scale actions with actors that experience daily life at the border are well suited for these types of regions.

Due to the major role of the local, the collection of narratives and experiences of individuals and communities living nearby, is a good method to explain any border (Molnár, 2005). The bordering process follows a demarcation process. This is where the border is constructed, mentally or physical, and different categories are determined by social and political elites (Newman 2006). Therefore, this human, personal and intimate knowledge of the border is an essential tool in the understating on how such line, with its intrinsic activities around and across it, affects peoples daily lives (See Figure #5).

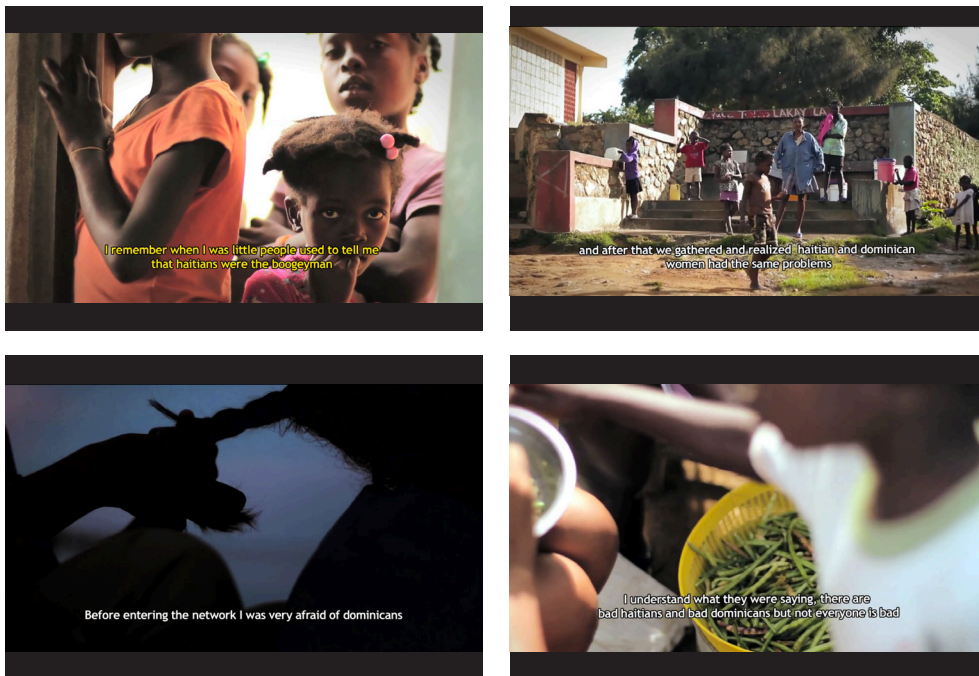


Figure #5: Snapshots of the documentary *Fronterizas*. Ethnographical methods, such as film and pictures are a good resource to understand the experience of the border. The documentary *Fronterizas* showcasing women along the Haitian-Dominican border, gives a clear image of their perceptions, the restrictions of the spatial arrangements and the often similarities between them. **Source:** González, L. (Producer) & Durán, L. (Director). (2014). *Fronterizas*. [Documentary]. Dominican Republic: Circomental & El Nido. Retrieved from <https://vimeo.com/99779695Arthus->. Adapted by author

Towards the Haitian-Dominican Frontier

The Haitian-Dominican border separates two distinct economies. The Human Development Index is an indicator that can show these differences. In Haiti, the HDI is 0.471, while in Dominican Republic is 0.700, meaning that if Haiti wants to reach the Dominican HDI, its effort should be 1.5 times bigger (Ceara-Hatton, 2017). But this line also approximates cultural similarities, which creates a complex relation of “mutual fascination and repulsion” (Martínez, 2003) with many paradoxes.

Three of the main characteristics of this region are: the lack of strong governance, the environmental crisis that makes the border population vulnerable to food insecurity and natural disasters, and the economic exchanges from bi-national markets as the main income of border dwellers (PNUMA, 2013; Traub-Werner, 2008).

That growing economic platform, has inspired in the last few years, large scale private initiatives between Haiti and Dominican Republic. These pay attention to manufacturing, export, agriculture, renewable energy and tourism (CEBN, 2015). From the public sector, Dominican Republic has started a convoluted process of spatial planning from high-level institutions, with the aim of creating national, regional and municipal norms for the territory. Although much needed and still in its initial stages to evaluate, is not a flexible instrument. It implies coordination, master plans and guides that for some communities requires efforts beyond their capacity, making their spatial planning process more challenging and more dependent on state-bound institutions.

The pilot plans for this multi-scale spatial experiment have been towards impoverish communities, coincidentally allocated at the border¹. However, these plans have been under an exclusive top down approach, meaning complex instruments for the urgent local demands. This, in an attempt to formalise the field and fulfil the Dominican “development needs”. A desire to make sense out of the territory does not imply following foreign mechanisms that do not comply to local structures (Escobar, 1992).

¹Hondo Valle and Juan Santiago are municipalities in the Dominican border region, which spatial planning documents have been elaborated by high-level institutions as a test to the guide for municipal spatial planning, named “*Guía Metodológica para la Formulación del Plan Municipal de Ordenamiento Territorial*”. It is meant to be a methodological instrument for municipalities to address territorial issues under the national umbrella of planning. However, is an intricate guide for some municipalities, such as the aforementioned examples, since the coordination and capacities it requires are not compatible with the local mechanisms these municipalities practice and the urgency of their extremely basic demands.

While private entrepreneurs have acted under a state of cooperation, the Dominican high-level planning officials have not succeed in bi-national agreements. Nonetheless, both engage in top-down and large scale ventures with little flexibility. Instead, I argue that both initiatives should engage with local demands and recognise the knowledge from the border inhabitants and informal mechanism they have created.

The border between Haiti and Dominican Republic is porous, with rivers, border stones, roads and several gates demarcating the line. Thus, the spatial differences are as evident as diffuse. In cases, erosion and deforestation can be perceived on both sides, but human settlements have contrasting spatial arrangements. Rural Haitian communities follow the *lakou*² rationale, while Dominican rural areas do not. For urban settings, on the Dominican side cities follow a grid pattern oppose to the informal logic in Haitian border cities (See Figure #6).



Figure #6: Satellite Imagery of Ouanaminthe, Haiti on the left and Dajabón, Dominican Republic on the right. **Source:** Google earth Pro V 7.3.0.3832. (January 16, 2017). Ouanaminthe-Dajabón, Hispaniola. 18° 32' 56.74"N, 71° 43' 02.34"W, Eye alt 5 KM. DigitalGlobe 2017.

Since the early nineties both communities have been depending on the bi-national markets. They have been increasing in use, popularity and revenue, but decreasing in spatial quality and capacity to absorb the vast demands. According to PNUMA (2013) its current spatial configuration with minimal infrastructure is contributing to the environmental distress of the region; water streams are the main area of waste disposal for this commercial activity, which then becomes a health risk.

²Lakous are traditionally Haitian community spaces shaped as circular gardens around which houses pertaining to different generations of the same family are allocated (Holl, 2010).

These markets serve global and local purposes. They are in between the transit of goods that cross the island and extend to other lands, such as US. But locally, they are the main economic resource for the remaining residents of the Dominican side of the border and the reason for the expansion of the Haitian border cities; both survive on the markets. This dual purpose requires material infrastructure for the operation of the global and the local in the Haitian-Dominican border territory.

Infrastructure is an agent in the “production of territories” (Velikov& Thün, 2017a). These authors argue that infrastructure is one of the fundamentals of the territorial process in combination with social, economic and political dynamics. Therefore it transforms over time, grows and adapts to the society; is in constant adjustment. Moreover, it has an utilitarian and structuring role and is a political and economic device (Velikov et al., 2017b).

Historically, the infrastructure along this border has had a strong focus on security and its apparatus as a reaction of nation-state ideas. The existing facilities mainly consist on gates, immigration offices or detention centres and customs warehouses. Even with the national acknowledgement of bi-national trade, transport infrastructure is extremely fragile. Given this crisis of infrastructure, this materiality could be a path to promote frontier conditions and address the precarious environmental quality of this territory. But, infrastructure beyond its traditional engineering sense; it is multifunctional materiality that embeds the framework of ecology in its conception (ibid.). In other words, is changing and evolving while incorporating biophysical, human, material and energy systems.

For the Haitian-Dominican border this would imply spatiality and materiality that supports bi-national trade while at the same time, defining urban structures for weekly markets and its visitors. It would also value the differences in urban and rural spatial configurations on each side of the line, and work around them. Most importantly, joint actions should first address cross-border water systems and natural ecosystems that threats food security. Therefore the spatial task is to create infrastructure that generates a new socio-spatial character to this border territory, where the utilitarian nature of the exchange could be expanded to social relations.

If infrastructure with an ecology frame can shape territories, imagining this frontier entails Haitians and Dominicans participating in a territory that is productive, with their bi-national markets, promote social links and bi-directional crossings, along with a combined effort towards the management of resources.

Conclusion

Borders constitute regions and gateways for the overlap of the national and the non-national. The complexity of these territories derives from their many paradoxes. Mental and physical barriers overlook the growing fluidity of goods, people and ideas, while reinforcing historic differences and conflicts, that consequently inhibits motivation for cooperation. Even cases of joint actions, the perception of the border is extremely strong and its presence dominates the practice of planning and governance.

The asymmetries that the border presents, serves not only to initiate contact, but to recognise the differences and the often contrasting spatial rationales. That calls for a formal/informal dialectic, less intervention from state bound officials and more validation of informal, face to face agreements. Moreover, it implies the selection of key non-controversial themes to promote cooperation and the strengthening of local scale initiatives.

In the Haitian-Dominican frontier, public-private efforts and informal mechanisms in combination with flexible formal practices are methods to initiate cooperation. Given that infrastructure can create territories, and border territories depend on material infrastructure for a myriad of purposes, imagining this frontier materialises with infrastructure spaces that support the ecologies of this region.

To achieve this, decentralisation, which still needs to be research in this context, could enable local actors to engage in cross-border planning and validate informal and local scale practices. In addition, detail analysis of this border line is needed to identify the different ecologies of this territory and its infrastructural demands.

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