



UNIVERSITEIT VAN AMSTERDAM



Master Thesis

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Abstract

Five years after the 2010 earthquake in Haiti, Dutch aid organization Cordaid invited the Favelapainting foundation, known for their large-scale community art projects, to start up a painting project in Port-au-Prince. Critics on these kind of projects question the influence of art on those communities that have to deal with severe poverty. This conflicts with the common aim of community art programs to address local concerns through durable and accessible arts projects. Clammer (2015) even argues that the arts can contribute directly to economic and social development. Nevertheless, literature shows that most studied community art projects are initiated in deprived neighborhoods of western societies, not in developing countries. The project in Port-au-Prince serves as one of the few cases in which a community art project is initiated in a deprived neighbourhood in a developing country. Therefore this research aimed to find out whether in this context of severe urban poverty, a community art project of this scale contributes directly to the improvement of informal settlements. The research design used in this research is an explanatory case-study research design. The research was conducted with the use of qualitative research methods in order to measure the influence of the project on the improvement of the neighborhood. Amongst these methods were semi-structured interviews, with experts as well as interviews with residents of Villa Rosa. Supplemented with site visits, which provided data through field observations and informal interviews. The research proved that community art projects could be capable of improving a neighborhood in the context of severe urban poverty, be it under certain circumstances. Material improvements and community involvement proved to contribute strongly to improvement of the neighborhood. Although this outcome does not seem to advocate for the incorporation of art in these projects, the research showed that in a context of severe urban poverty, being seen and being a visible part of the community aids strongly to the place attachment of the residents. As place attachment was directly linked to the quality of life, art plays a crucial role in making people proud of their surroundings.

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1. Introduction

When Haiti is hit by a catastrophic earthquake with a magnitude of 7.0 in 2010, the devastation is not just physical, but also psychological. The capital, Port-au-Prince, is one of the areas that has been hit the heaviest. Despite foreign financial support and humanitarian relief, rebuilding the city turned out to be a slow process. Houses are reconstructed in a quick and simple manner, often leaving the outside brick walls unfinished. Five years after the earthquake, Dutch aid organization Cordaid invited the Favelapainting foundation, known for their large-scale community art projects, to visit Port-au-Prince and start up a painting project. The project was similar to the work that they had already done in Rio de Janeiro and Philadelphia – be it under completely different circumstances.



Figure 1: Detail of the painting project in Villa Rosa (Marc Nahum Leandre, 2016).

Favelapainting decided on the hillside and severely hit neighbourhood Villa Rosa as their project location. Just like other Favelapainting projects, the execution of the project was in large part in the hands of the local community. Even though Cordaid has left Haiti and is no longer involved in the project, Favelapainting continued their work in Villa Rosa with Cocread, a young Haitian NGO in 2016 and plans to continue the project in 2017.

Critics on these kind of projects question the influence of art on those communities that have to deal with severe poverty. Most aid organizations do not see art as a first priority in addressing the problems in these often impoverished areas. In this sense, art projects are criticized for their commodification of place instead of addressing the need for basic needs in these communities. In the field of development, art tends to be seen as a by-product or, at best, merely instrumental for development processes. Some have even critiqued community art projects for being used by local and national politicians to cover up persistent and growing economic and social inequalities among the population (Belfiore, 2002) or increasing “slum tourism”, a growing trend that generally has very negative effects on low-income areas (Rolfes, 2009).

This conflicts with the common aim of community art programs to address local concerns through durable and accessible arts projects. The main aim of these projects is to use art to empower marginalized communities. They aim to allow people in these communities to see themselves through a different prism, which is believed to be an important start for bringing about social change (Sloan, 2008). Clammer (2015) argues that the arts can contribute directly to economic and social development, and that stimulating creativity may lay the foundations for alternative development paths and sustainable forms of culture. Although these studies seem to prove the importance of art in development, Belfiore (2002) states that the little research on the effectiveness of socially orientated arts projects available has far from succeeded in presenting a strong case for the social impacts of the arts.

Furthermore, literature shows that most studied community art projects are initiated in deprived neighborhoods of western societies, not in developing countries (Lowe, 2000), (Newman et al., 2003), (Kay, 2000). This could be related to the previously mentioned need for basic needs such as water, food and shelter in the less developed areas of the world. Where developed countries seem to see art as a tool to revive their underdeveloped neighborhoods, the project in Villa Rosa serves as one of the few cases in which a community art project is initiated in a deprived neighbourhood in a developing country. Therefore the research aims to find out whether in this context of severe urban poverty, a community art project of this scale contributes directly to the development and uplift of the neighborhood. The research aims to discover whether the project is more than just

beautifying the underlying poverty that is present in the community. Therefore the research question is:

“How do community art projects contribute to the improvement of informal urban settlements?”

The research was executed in Haiti, the poorest country in the Western hemisphere and one of the poorest in the world (World Bank, 2016). Literature on the urban context in Haiti and more specifically Port-au-Prince, the largest urban settlement in Haiti, proved to be scarce. Therefore a research on a specific urban setting in Haiti might be helpful in extending the knowledge about urban settlements in the Caribbean and specifically the Haitian context. As Jaffe describes (2008): ‘Caribbean societies are inherently colonial, their social and cultural characteristics cannot be accounted for, or even described, without reference to colonialism’. This research aims to discover to what extent this specific urban context accounts for the changes in Haitian urban society and in particular the Villa Rosa neighborhood.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1. Research context

This chapter aims to describe the context in which the project is situated. It aims to discuss the literature about urbanization in Latin America and more specific in the Caribbean. Within this topic of urbanization, urban inequalities, but also urban poverty and marginality in the region are discussed. It is of importance to obtain a deeper understanding of the context, as the case to be researched and its effects would always be influenced by the context in which these processes take place.

As Davies (2013) describes in her book on ‘Caribbean Spaces’, the Caribbean as a region is hard to define, as Caribbean societies are not only present in the islands of the Caribbean sea. Influenced by a Caribbean diaspora over the past centuries, the Caribbean is also visible in the surrounding continental locations. Sociocultural aspects of this so-called “Caribbean Space” can be found in countries in North, South, and Central America. According to Davies (2013, pg. 2): “Caribbean spaces then are locations that preserve certain versions of Caribbean culture.” Keeping the influence of this diaspora on the surrounding areas of the Caribbean in mind, this research refers to the Caribbean as the islands in the Caribbean sea complemented by the certain land spaces that enclose this sea such as Guyana, Surinam, Belize and minor Caribbean communities in Venezuela and Colombia.

2.11. Urbanization in Latin America and the Caribbean

Similar to urbanization rates around the world, the Caribbean has also seen a major increase in their urban population. The only difference with the surrounding regions is that the phenomenon of urbanization in the Caribbean happened at a staggering pace. For example, in the period from 1960 until 2015 the urbanization rate in Haiti increased with 44% from 16% towards a current 60% of the population living in cities (World Bank, 2016). High rates of natural increase together with rural unemployment drove people to the major cities in the region. According to Clarke (1974), most of these migrants were young adults between the age of 15 and 45. As the younger generation, that is known for their reproductive capacity, expanded the urban population, the increase of labour force largely exceeds the pace of natural increase. This mismatch between the labour force and the jobs available within Caribbean cities is frequently expressed in high rates of unemployment often resulting in

so-called shanty towns. This phenomenon has some similarities with the development of slums as discussed by Nijman (2015, pg. 5), as he states that: “slums are considered as a structural outcome of constrained employment opportunities—they act as repositories where human bodies are sitting idle until they are casually recruited back into the labor force.”

The large influx of people into urban areas also had its influence on housing in these areas, as the industrialization did not keep up with the urbanization much of the migrants were compelled to high-density, deteriorated accommodation. The poor are concentrated in overcrowded accommodation near the city centre or in marginal squatting settlements. Most houses in these areas are run up from wood, metal and cardboard debris, somewhere similar to the favelas in Brazil. As in North America and Western Europe, the urban elite resides in suburban locations. According to Nijman (2009), most cities in the less-developed world generally have a long history of spatial fragmentation in terms of planned and unplanned areas and slum development.

These urban processes in the Caribbean region show some similarities with the spatial and social stratification on the mainland and especially Latin America. Similar to cities in Latin America, half of the employed population of the largest cities of the Caribbean is working in the tertiary sector. This sector accounts for half the jobs available. For most of the urban population living in the lower class, and many of the middle class, several low-paid jobs in this sector are the only solution to make ends meet (Clarke, 1974). Another similarity is the increase in the number of gated communities and other forms of residential fortification in the region. This phenomenon, that originated and is seen to a large extent in North and Latin America has been increasing in the primary cities of the Caribbean. Same as in the Latin American context, the crime and violence in an urban setting left the higher classes in fear and caused them to isolate themselves from the lower classes of urban society (Jaffe, 2008). In many cities in the Caribbean region, this socio-spatial fragmentation appears to be based on skin color, as the light-skinned elites separate themselves from the more dark skin lower-classes.

Although both Latin America as the Caribbean have seen a reduction in poverty levels. This reduction seems to not have led to decreased levels of social inequality and spatial

fragmentation. In fact, many cities are characterized by an even greater division between rich and poor residents than in previous decades. These inequalities are often related to feelings of insecurity, discrimination and everyday crime and violence (Klaufus & Jaffe, 2015).

2.12. Colonialism

From a historical point of view the Caribbean shares a common feature with Latin America, and especially with Brazil, and that is their colonial past. Colonialism determined, to a large part, the historical development but also the urban development of the region. It caused the destruction of a large part of the indigenous population, brought slavery and its consequences, but also caused movements for self-possession and independence (Davies, 2013).

Although there are several similarities to be found between the urban context in the Caribbean and the surrounding regions, there are some specific influences that make the Caribbean urban context explicitly different from the Latin American context. In regards to the colonialism as a determinant factor in development, it is clear that Caribbean culture could not be viewed without their colonial history. The Middle passage (the process of slave transportation from Africa to the Caribbean) has influenced the African diaspora and the inhabitants of the Caribbean heavily. As Jaffe describes (2008, pg. 3): ‘Caribbean societies are inherently colonial, their social and cultural characteristics cannot be accounted for, or even described, without reference to colonialism’.

Davies (2013) argues that the colonialism, imperialism and economic globalization all helped to shape the contemporary Caribbean. These historical processes ranged from genocide, enslavement and traffic in human bodies, ecological degradation, and exploitation of natural resources. This is underlined by Jaffe (2008) as she states that global flows and colonial powers have shaped the Caribbean in the past and that they continue to shape the region as is seen by the current dependency on nations as the US. Furthermore, the problems in the urban areas of the region still seem to be influenced by historical pathways. Although most Caribbean islands have no more than one city of importance, these cities are still coping with the same problems present in large urban areas in Latin America (housing shortages, unemployment, environmental degradation, crime and violence) and elsewhere. But next to

these problems, Caribbean cities are simultaneously coping with the specific socio-economic, spatial and cultural consequences of a Caribbean past coloured by colonialism, unfree labour and institutionalized racism (Jaffe, 2008).

2.13. Social and spatial stratification in Caribbean cities and Haiti

The legacy of colonialism in the region is also expressed in the development of Caribbean cities and although the islands were colonized by a variety of European states the cities show a lot of similarities in urban form. European colonizers started to develop urban areas prior to the rural hinterland. This is a process contrary to the usual development of cities, where a city comes from a strong rural background. These first urban settlements in the Caribbean were used as centres for defence and administration, from there on the rural areas were extended for the development of plantations. The gateway function of these urban settlements meant that all these cities developed as port cities and they still are important hubs for the flow of goods and people in the region. Furthermore, the urban form of the cities is characterized by an inner city that is constructed with a strong European influence, based on a certain grid. While the informal parts of the city display the influence of African and Indian cultures (Jaffe, 2008).

These general urban characteristics of Caribbean cities are also present in some cities in Haiti. These cities, like Cap-Haïtien the former capital, were built on a logic that was focused on human and territorial control. This logic provides a more esthetic urban form in which the city is much more geometrically organized. These cities were designed to control the population, so in case of a riot or demonstration the governing power could strike back easily. The current capital, Port-au-Prince, was built on a more market-oriented logic which was focused on the economical gains that were to be obtained from its location close to the sea. It was only until Port-au-Prince was assigned as the official capital in 1770 that the logic of territorial control was applied in the city. This mix of two logics, combined with several colonial oppressors that tried to impose different urban forms on Port-au-Prince caused the city to never embed a unique and specific urban design. The city could be seen as a mixture of many visions on urban development (Lucien, expert interview, 2017).

As touched upon before, the region is characterized by a past of pain and a history of oppression that is visible in the Caribbean in multiple ways and according to Davies (2013) this past is perhaps most visible in Haitian society. As Haiti was the first country in the Caribbean to become independent from their colonial oppressor and from then on has known a long struggle on their path of development. It had a long history of dispossession, subsequent economic difficulty brought on by horrible leadership and external actors such as the environment, climate, embargos and location. Overall this has led to Haitians to be an incredibly resilient and resistant people. As Beckles (2010) states: "Haiti did not fail. It was destroyed by two of the most powerful nations on earth at the time (France and the United States), both of which continue to have a primary interest in its current condition."

This is underlined by Lucien (expert interview, 2017), as he stated that after their independence, Haiti was isolated from the rest of the world for three decades. France also decided that the Haitians had to pay for their independence. As this process took place during the industrial revolution and France had a huge amount of capital to invest, they decided to loan Haiti the capital for their debt. This caused the whole economy of the country to be focused on reimbursing the debt they owed to the French. Only after the debt was reimbursed, they could start with rebuilding their infrastructure. Although the French made sure that only French engineers and materials were used in construction.

Furthermore, during the decades of occupation, under the French but also the US, Haiti was mainly used for its labour force, whereas colonies such as Cuba and the Dominican republic were exploited for their industries in sugar and coffee. The colonizer supplied these countries with finances to develop these industries and build machinery. As the Haitians were mainly used for labour force, no big industries were developed in the country. This made the country less attractive for a large part of the young population, there was no incentive to live in Haiti and there was no urban development to make sure the country was liveable (Lucien, expert interview, 2017).

Another reason Haiti's economy is in a disadvantaged state seems to be because of the political elite that tried to strengthen and remain their dominant position within the Haitian society. Part of their strategy to do so was to neglect infrastructural decay and leave the rural

areas isolated from urban areas. This fragmentation of the economic space and power provided an excellent vehicle for social and political control by this so-called: “political elite” (Clarke, 1974). This is underlined by Lundahl (1999) as he states that there seems to be a lack of interest and understanding for the urban poor among the political class in the city. Most of the urban dwellers depend on their own capacity and systems to secure their livelihood and little attention is paid to the need of this urban population. The only sector that can rely on a somewhat stronger political interest is the housing sector, because adequate housing could be used by the political elite to reward those loyal to their cause. The process of a failing government in regards to the precarious living conditions in Haiti’s capital, relates to the future challenges for human development as discussed by Nijman (2009). According to Nijman (2009), the rapid and continued urbanisation in the less-developed world and the absence of effective policies, living conditions in these cities become the main challenge to human development in future decades. The tragic of the country was captured by Trinidadian artist LeRoy Clarke in his 2011 painting series: *Eye Hayti... Cries... Everywhere* (see figure 2).



Figure 2: LeRoy Clarke paintings (from series *Eye Hayti... Cries...Everywhere*), (2011).

In Port-au-Prince, a large part of the urban population is being neglected. As in other major cities of the region and Latin America, the city is known for its strong spatial segregation between poor and rich and there are strong spatial associations between high population densities and low social status.

The urban insecurity in the city, resulting from the increasing number of disadvantaged neighbourhoods combined with a lack of urban planning, gave rise to uncontrolled urban sprawl and social and economic segregation of the population. This process of unplanned urbanization of Port-au-Prince could be linked to several historical developments (Bras et al.,

2016). As discussed before, the colonial oppressors imposing their different urban planning methods caused them to lose focus on a specific urban planning method. During the 1950's, Haiti was in a stable period and the politicians decided that the city needed to attract more foreign investments. Therefore, a city revitalizing project was initiated which displaced a large part of the poor urban population in order to make a clean start regarding urban development. The main focus of this plan was to attract tourists and investors through esthetics, but it completely neglected the social problems present in the city. The displaced part of the urban population started to build a new life in informal settlements all around the city (Lucien, expert interview, 2017). According to Clarke (1974) only 30 per cent of the sewerage system in Port-au-Prince was working. And these conditions did not improve strongly, as the work by Lundahl (1999) showed that the city still has an highly uneven distribution of water, with mainly high-income households receiving water via the official network while poor people have to pay high water prices.

According to Lucien (expert interview, 2017), Port-au-Prince is a city that faces many social challenges, more than any other city in Haiti. This is partly due to the lack of productive capacity of the rural areas surrounding the capital. As these areas can not meet the demand from the urban area in quality and quantity, the city is obligated to import services and goods from elsewhere. This inability of the rural areas to produce, made the city a host for social problems as people moved from the rural areas to informal urban settlements. This combined with a lack of political interest for the conditions in which many of the urban population lives in, had a devastating impact on the level of segregation in Port-au-Prince. This is underlined by Lucien (expert interview, 2017) as the stated that:

“This city is not really a city, but more a host for many social problems and challenges. It is just an area which gathers many poor people that try to survive. If you want to solve all the urban challenges, you should start by solving the social challenges first for the people. The problem is not to make the city look more beautiful, we have to be more beautiful.”

2.14. Initiatives for development in Latin America and the Caribbean

The urban problems that the region is struggling with are partly due to inadequate government institutions. For example, the political elite in Haiti seems eager to keep the status quo intact. Often in absence of the state to address the problems of urban poverty, marginality and segregation, non governmental organisations will come into place and provide aid to those problematized urban areas or slums. According to (Reilly, 1995. pg. ix) most municipal governments in Latin America are ill-equipped to address the problems that arise in their urban areas. This causes NGOs and grassroots social movements to take over and shape social policy.

This relates to Nijman's (2009) work on the slums in Mumbai, where he discusses the inability of the state to address the slum-related problems. This explanation focuses on the institutional conditions present in these countries, in this case the inability of the state or other institutions to provide standard housing and infrastructure. This also seemed to be the case in Haiti, after the 2004 coup it was left vulnerable to NGOs and business interests (Davies, 2013). This chapter sets out to deepen the knowledge about the process of community and neighborhood development in Latin America and the Caribbean and the role of NGOs in absence of the state. It aims to identify how NGOs try to develop and integrate disadvantaged neighborhoods within the context as described in the previous chapter.

Before setting out the role of NGOs in developing neighborhoods, it is important to make a clear distinction between NGOs coming from the Northern and Southern hemisphere. Northern NGOs are often non-profit organizations based in North America and Europe. They receive funding from governments and private actors to fund and implement development projects in a developing country. On the other hand, Southern NGOs are non-profit organizations based in Asia, Africa and Latin America that are mainly funded by Northern NGOs but also by Northern governments or international organizations. They are involved in implementing development projects to help out the poor. Next to that, they also serve as intermediaries between the grassroots, government, Northern NGOs, and international financial institutions (Macdonald, 1995).

NGOs in the region often find themselves in similar roles. According to Reilly (1995) the largest part of the NGOs present in Brazil stated that they see “advisory services” as their main activity. Although this is a somewhat vague definition, it signifies how NGOs seek out to advise the social movements already present with their expertise and how they try to aid the disadvantaged part of the urban population. In this respect, the services of these NGOs in Brazil could be viewed as intellectual support for social movements or popular organizations.

The large presence of NGOs in Brazil’s urban society is explained by the explosion of the urban population during the last decades and the inability of the centralized governments to cope with these overwhelming numbers. These governments mainly fail on areas such as solid waste collection and public transportation, two areas vital to the well-being of the urban poor. During the years, NGOs in Brazil alongside local governments started making cities more livable, especially focusing on these two aspects in disadvantaged neighborhoods such as the favelas. Strategies to accomplish this included the inclusion of the informal sector (in the case of the solid waste management) and a prioritization of collective rather than individual modes of transportation. Both strategies are focused on local-level initiatives and cherish the value of partnerships and associations (Reilly, 1995).

As NGOs are able to be somewhat flexible and innovative, they are often used as an alternative development strategy. Crucial in this strategy is the role of the NGO in the development of the community that is addressed. According to Macdonald (1995) , it is important that they follow the community in their decisions and not let the community follow them. This assumption is based on the fact that the people of these communities know the capabilities they possess and what needs to be done in their community. The idea that development is done by people, not to people. Furthermore, strategies like lobbying, development education and advocacy work around issues like trade, often better address the causes of underdevelopment and poverty (Macdonald, 1995).

According to Reilly (1995) NGOs present in Latin America and the Caribbean also changed in that respect. They found that only trying to establish a democratic transformation within these communities wasn’t sufficient to ensure a long lasting development of the community. Projects that could be replicated by popular organizations within the community, would reach

further. Also projects that incorporate the local government and had a greater openness to the state had the advantage of their proximity to the social base, the people and their organizations. Furthermore projects in which the local government, popular organizations and NGOs participate became reality and should be supported.

Although the absence of the state or a lack of governmental institutions in the region proved to be troublesome in development of disadvantaged neighborhoods, some cities proved to overcome these issues. In their strategies to counter poverty, insecurity and segregation, a couple of cities embraced the concept of 'social urbanism' policies. Examples of these policies are the investments in centrally located affordable housing in the city of Iquique, Chile. Or by developing transportation systems that connect disadvantages neighborhoods to city centres, such as the Metrocables in Caracas, Rio de Janeiro and Medellín. But according to Jaffe & Klafus (2015), not all these strategies proved to be successful. Urban regeneration policies targeting impoverished city centres in the region have seen debatable results. In cities such as Quito or Willemstad, historical city centres were made safer and livelier and it created new economic opportunities related to tourism. However, these processes often involve gentrification and sometimes violent displacement of low-income residents and their economic activities. As discussed by Lundahl (1999), government officials in charge in Port-au-Prince are defined by an overall lack in the well-being of the urban citizen. This tendency has given rise to a number of NGOs coming in from the Northern parts of the globe to aid these urban dwellers. Furthermore, the population developed its own socio-economic mechanisms to facilitate and ensure survival in this tough urban environment. One of these mechanisms is the so-called 'lakou', which could be seen as a traditional extended family structure. This tradition has been transplanted from rural areas to the cities and secures the urban inhabitants with a social safety net, sometimes involving more than one extended family (Lundahl, 1999).

Within this context of urban poverty and underdevelopment in urban areas of Haiti, clear strategies towards neighborhood improvement seem to be lacking. NGOs that try to improve disadvantaged neighborhoods in this context could focus on different aspects of development in their path to attain neighborhood improvement. From the literature a number of aspects of development came up that might add to the overall improvement of a neighborhood. One of

these aspects is the economic development of a neighborhood. If the number of jobs, businesses, investments, the productivity and the overall income of a neighborhood rises, the people of that community are likely to experience a positive individual change and a process of community building (Wilson, 1996). These developments point to improvement of the neighborhood.

Furthermore, the social development of the residents of a neighborhood could be seen as an important aspect of neighborhood improvement. According to DeFillipis (2001), the concept has been one of the principal concerns of practitioners as well as researchers in the field of development. The social development of a neighborhood, in this sense, refers to the changes in the social networks within the neighborhood and the level of self-determination of its residents. Increasing the social capital by empowering and strengthening the social networks that are already present in a neighborhood, allows the residents of that neighborhood to attain a level of self control. Empowerment is seen as the degree of autonomy and the ability for communities or people to represent their own interests (Rappaport, 1981). Empowerment in this sense leads power for the before powerless members of these networks and eventually to neighborhood improvement (DeFillipis, 2001).

Another aspect of neighborhood improvement that NGOs might focus on is the level of place attachment of the neighborhood's residents to the neighborhood. Place attachment is defined as the emotional bond between person and place. In this light, place attachment is related to development and neighborhood improvement as people that feel more bonded to a place, are more likely to invest and care about that place. According to Florek (2011), they tend to feel safe and comfortable with this place. As place is seen as an essential part of the personal identity, a positive place attachment could be used as a means to differentiate oneself from others and to build a positive self-esteem. The final aspect of development that could lead to neighborhood improvement are the changes in the physical environment of the neighborhood. Stedman (2011) argues that the physical characteristics of a neighborhood matter and that they are also able to influence both place attachment and neighborhood satisfaction strongly. Physical developments such as the development of infrastructure and also basic services, such as water supplies and sanitary services are likely to influence the overall improvement of the neighborhood.

3. Research design and methods

3.1. Research questions

As this research aims to measure the contributions of the community art project in the Villa Rosa neighborhood on the previous discussed aspects of neighborhood improvement, the main research question in this research is:

“How do community art projects contribute to the improvement of informal urban settlements?”

In order to be able to answer the research question thoroughly, several sub-questions are answered. These sub-questions are derived from the aforementioned aspects of improvement. These questions are:

1. *How has the community art project in the Villa Rosa neighborhood been organized and executed?*
2. *How has the physical environment of the Villa Rosa neighborhood changed since the project started and to what extent can these changes be ascribed to the project?*
3. *How has the place attachment by residents of the Villa Rosa neighborhood changed since the project started and to what extent can these changes be ascribed to the project?*
4. *How has the social development of the Villa Rosa neighborhood changed since the project started and to what extent can these changes be ascribed to the project?*
5. *How has the local economy of the Villa Rosa neighborhood changed since the project started and to what extent can these changes be ascribed to the project?*

3.2. Research design

The research design used in this research is an explanatory case-study research design. The choice to examine this specific project relates to the unique case-study design as described by Yin (2014). A unique case-study design is often chosen if the case seems to represent an unique event or if it seems to represent a critical test to the existing theory. In other words, it

aims to test whether a highly generalized or universal assumption is still valid in an unique setting. This seems to be applicable to the case in this research, as most literature on community development through art seemed to prove that it could spark development, but most research on this topic was done in developed countries. This case therefore represents an unique setting, as this project is one of the few large-scale community art projects initiated in a disadvantaged neighborhood in a developing country. The explanatory character of the research design fits the problem statement as explanatory case studies are often used in a field that is rich in theories, as is the case in this research. As discussed before, there is already a wide array of theories on neighborhood development and development through art. This research compares if the initially predicted results from this literature could be found in this unique case or whether alternative patterns are present. By analyzing the case study data an explanation about the case is formed and a set of causal links is identified. This makes this research a deductive research, as it puts to test the current theories on the topic.

Related to the previous, this research design was chosen because the unique case-study method is claimed to be useful for answering cause and effect questions. In this case, the way the Villa Rosa Tap Tap project has contributed to the development of the disadvantaged neighborhood of Villa Rosa. According to Yin (2014), other reasons for doing a case-study could be to allow the exploration and understanding of complex issues. This strength of case studies being a particularly robust research method when an in-depth investigation is required, makes it well applicable to the research done in this thesis as it aims to measure the level of development not only with statistics but also with in-depth qualitative data. Case studies allow researchers to go beyond the quantitative statistical results and understand the behavioural conditions through the actor's perspective.

3.3. Case Selection

The communal section of Villa Rosa is a 16000 residents counting area in Port-au-Prince. The area is filled with typical informal settlements, which means it is an area with poor quality housing, poverty, lack of water, electricity and waste disposal facilities, and a vulnerable area to disasters. People in Villa Rosa are living in poverty and insecurity and they are vulnerable to disasters. In 2010 a major earthquake struck the area and a large part was completely destroyed. Since then, the residents, assisted by many international organizations, are slowly rebuilding their neighborhood. The local municipality, the Favela Painting Foundation, and Cordaid came together in 2013 to explore creative ways to improve the living conditions of disaster- affected communities through a project later titled Villa Rosa Tap Tap. The innovative approach adopted from the feasibility study researches conducted in Haiti since 2010, aims to realize an integrated urban development project that combines reconstruction, art and entrepreneurship with measures to increase the resilience of the neighborhood. The project aims to create a true work of art on hundreds houses; make the community safe, proud and prosperous for touristic attractions and boost local entrepreneurships to provide social and economic value of the painterly-smart approach of tackling extreme poverty in the neighborhoods (Cocread, 2017).

3.3.1. Cocread and the Favela Painting Foundation

Cocread (Cocreating Development) is a Haitian social enterprise which mission is to boost entrepreneurship and development in disadvantaged neighborhoods and connect local entrepreneurs to the worldwide market in order to eradicate severe poverty in Haiti. The Favela Painting Foundation (from the Netherlands) turns public urban spaces in deprived places into inspiring artworks. Their art projects offer local youth education and job opportunities, while making their community a nicer place to live in. A strong social acupuncture that unlocks local potential, boosts pride and self-esteem, and sends a positive message to the outside world.

3.4. Operationalization

In terms of empirical observations, the following will define each specific part of improvement and will explain how this is measured. Yin (2014), describes this process of operationalization as specifying what kind of evidence is needed during the data collection phase.

As the research is mainly focused on neighborhood improvement, it is important to operationalize the concept of improvement and make it tangible by breaking down the concept of neighborhood improvement in clear and measurable pieces. The following aspects of neighborhood improvement, as derived from the theoretical framework, will be used as the main pillars of neighborhood improvement in this research:

- Physical development
- Place attachment
- Social development
- Economic development

3.41. Physical development

The physical environment is related to the level of place attachment. As Stedman (2011) argues that the physical characteristics of a neighborhood matter and that they are able to influence both place attachment and neighborhood satisfaction strongly. Therefore, the physical changes in the environment and the human uses of the environment are viewed as a separate part of neighborhood improvement. To measure these changes, information is needed from people involved in making the decisions on changes in the physical environment and from people that are dealing with these changes on a daily basis.

3.42. Place attachment

The level of place attachment people possess towards the place they live in is often measured by the use of two dimensions. These two dimensions as described by Vaske (2003) are place dependence and place identity. Place dependence is best explained as the functional attractiveness of the neighborhood. The more features or conditions (shops, markets etc.) are present in the neighborhood, the more a resident is likely to be functionally attached to the neighborhood. Place identity is more related to the emotional attachment to the

neighborhood. According to Vaske (2003, pg. 2) place identity is seen as: “ part of the self-identity that enhances self-esteem, increases feelings of belonging to one’s community.” Place attachment is best measured on the individual level as the extent in which people feel attached and identify with the neighborhood is experienced on an individual level. It is about the level of pride and identification of people with their neighborhood and how this is influenced by the project.

3.43. Social Development

The social development of a neighborhood is still a broad theme to measure. Therefore social development is divided into the following dimensions:

- Human capital
- Empowerment
- Sense of community

Human capital could be translated through a person as a process of skill learning, capacity building or gaining knowledge. So human capital is seen as a collection of skills, knowledge and talent developed by means of the project. Therefore the contribution of the project to the level of human capital in the neighborhood is measured on an individual level. Empowerment is seen in this research as the ability of the residents from Villa Rosa to respond in a responsible and self-determined way. According to Rappaport (1981, pg. 16), empowerment is measured by degree of autonomy and the ability for communities or people to represent their own interests in a way that could be best described as self-determination. It refers to the ability of the people in the community to overcome their sense of political powerlessness and their lack of influence.

Furthermore the sense of community could be measured on the individual level, but also on the neighborhood level. For the individual level, this are the residents whose houses were painted in the project and the residents that helped painting. But also the sense of community by the residents that were not involved in the project could still be influenced by the project. Sense of community is defined as the level of civic responsibility experienced in the community, but also the participation of residents in community affairs and whether they are experiencing an increase in the level of safety and security since the project is finished (Bhattacharyya, 2004).

3.44. Economic development

For the economic development of the neighborhood, two levels of scale could be distinguished. Economic development is measured by studying the changes in the employment opportunities for the participants in the project and also by studying the changes in employment in the broader neighbourhood. So, the individual level within this aspect of improvement focuses on the potential employment opportunities and the sources of income that the project might have sparked. For this level of scale, the interview subjects are the residents that were involved in the project and also local artists and painters that might have profited from the artistic developments in their neighborhood. In addition, economic development might be apparent in the changing economic structure, such as small shops, boutiques etc. So, on the neighborhood level the questions focus on whether local shops have profited and managed to develop as result of the project. This could also be related to tourism and the attraction of tourists to the area.

3.5. Methods

This research combines several qualitative research methods, in the following section each method is discussed in regards to the research question it aims to address.

The first sub-question aims to get more insight in how the project is organized and in that way get a better understanding of the way the community art project could have contributed to improvement of the Villa Rosa neighborhood. As an employee of the Favelapainting foundation, most of the background information on the project is accessible. Therefore, background information is partly derived from videos and texts related to the project produced by Favelapainting. These sources are considered as secondary sources. Interviews with actors from the involved NGO's (Cocread and Favelapainting) and also the interview with the Casec, the former head of the community, are used to get a deeper understanding about how the project was organized and how it was executed.

Furthermore, the second research question regarding the physical development in the neighborhood is measured by asking both experts and residents about the characteristics of the environment (physical) and the way they changed the use of their environment (human

behavior) (Stedman, 2011). Next to these semi-structured interviews with experts and residents, observations were made during site visits. Observations on site proved to be a suitable method for this theme as the infrastructural changes were thoroughly explained during a tour through the neighborhood. The people within the research context that were interviewed about the physical changes made in the neighborhood during the project timeline were:

- Residents of Villa Rosa
- Casec Raoul Pierre Louis Turgeau (head of the communal section)
- Cocread (Daphnee Charles and Ralph Emmanuel François)
- Favelapainting (Shari Ruppert)

For the third sub-question, which aims to measure whether the project contributed to the social development of the neighborhood, only semi-structured interviews with residents and experts were used as it was expected that changes in the social development of the neighborhood are hard to observe and derive from informal interviews. Interview subjects within the ‘human capital’-theme of social development are mostly the residents that were involved in the project, but also employees of Cocread and Favelapainting as they were present during the whole project and might have experienced these processes of human capital development of the participants during the project. Interview subjects most suitable for the aspect of empowerment were the residents of the neighborhood, involved as well as not involved in the project, a local government official, in this case the Casec and Cocread. Furthermore, for the individual level, residents whose houses were painted in the project and the residents that helped painting were considered suitable interview subjects to explain about the sense of community. But also the sense of community by the residents that were not involved in the project were interviewed about this subject. Summing up, the actors within the research context that were interviewed regarding the social development in the neighborhood were:

- Residents (involved and not involved in the project)
- Cocread (local NGO)
- Casec (head of the communal section Villa Rosa)
- Favelapainting (International NGO)

In order to answer the fourth sub-question, which aims to measure whether the project contributed to the economic development of the neighborhood, semi-structured interviews as well as observations and informal interviews were used. These semi-structured interviews were both expert interviews as well as interviews with the residents. Actors on the different levels of scale that were interviewed are:

- Residents (involved and not involved in the project)
- Cocread (local NGO)
- Casec (head of the communal section Villa Rosa)
- Favelapainting (International NGO)

For the fifth sub-question, which aims to measure the level of place attachment in the neighborhood, residents (participants and non-participants) were interviewed on their feeling of attachment and satisfaction. Furthermore, it is assumed that lead figures in the community are likely to have a sense of the level of place identification and how this changed in the neighborhood. Therefore this topic was discussed with the Casec and Ralph and Daphnee from Cocread. Thus, the interview subjects regarding the level of place attachment were:

- Residents (participants and non-participants)
- Casec
- Cocread

While writing the theoretical framework of this research, literature on the local urban context of Haiti proved to be scarce. Therefore an interview was conducted during the fieldwork with professor George Eddy Lucien, an expert on the local urban context as he is Professor and Director of the Center for Urban Policy Research and Support at Quisqueya University (Uniq). He holds a Ph.D. in Urban History from the University of Toulouse-Le-Mirail, and had just received a distinction from the Haitian studies association (HSA), which crowns his research in the social sciences. The following publication shows his scientific connection with the local urban context:

Bras A.; Kern, A.; Lucien, G.E. and Emmanuel, E. (2016) *Poor Neighbourhood and Natural Disaster, the Environmental Situation of the Cité l'Eternel in Port-au-Prince, Haïti*. Learning from the Slums for the Development of Emerging Cities Volume 119 of the series GeoJournal Library pp 81-91.

The following table aims to clarify all the different themes, actors, levels of scale and qualitative research methods discussed in the previous part.

Themes	Actors	Level of scale	Method
Sub-question 1: Project background	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Cocread ● Favelapainting ● Casec 	Neighborhood level	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Semi-structured interviews - Secondary sources
Sub-question 2: Physical development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Residents (participants and non- participants) ● Casec ● Cocread ● Favelapainting ● District authority 	Individual level Neighborhood level	Semi-structured interviews: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Expert interviews - Resident interviews Site visits: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Observations
Sub-question 3: Social development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Residents (participants and non- participants) ● Casec ● Cocread ● District authority 	Individual level Neighborhood level	Semi-structured interviews: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Expert interviews - Resident interviews
Sub-question 4: Economic development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Residents (participants and non- participants) ● Casec ● Cocread ● Favelapainting 	Individual level Neighborhood level	Semi-structured interviews: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Expert interviews - Resident interviews Site visits: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Observations - Informal interviews
Sub-question 5: Place attachment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Residents (participants and non- participants) ● Casec ● Cocread 	Individual level Neighborhood level	Semi-structured interviews: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Expert interviews - Resident interviews

Figure 3: Methods and level of scale of the research objects (Thamon van Blokland, 2017).

Most of the data for this research is collected with the help of the semi-structured interviews with both experts and residents. The qualitative data that was gathered by conducting these interviews was collected with a voice recorder. During the execution of the fieldwork, additional data rose during informal public interviews and direct observations. To make sure that all the data during these informal and fragmented conversations with residents or relevant actors was documented, notes were made in a field diary. Sometimes on the spot and sometimes at the end of the day. This allowed access to valuable off the record data that might shed a different light on the contributions of the project to the improvement of the neighborhood. By using these different research methods, the research ensured triangulation. Triangulation in this sense, is approached as the use of multiple methods or data sources in a research endeavour (Bryman, 2008). As the used method might have been imperfect as a single method, but combined with the other methods they provided interesting insights in the studied case. The itemlist used for the semi-structured interviews with residents and experts are included in the appendix of this research.

3.51. Methods of analysis

After a month of fieldwork, the gathered data was processed and analyzed. The first step in this process was transcribing the executed interviews from the data files recorded with the voice recorder. The data from the fieldwork provided a solid base of data for the next steps of the data analysis. The data was analyzed with the use of one method of analysis, as the transcribed data from the interviews were manually reviewed and analyzed. There are a couple of problems that could arise with this method of analysis. Interpreting the data from the interviews on your own could influence the results as my own opinion as a researcher and employee of Favelapainting could potentially influence the interpretation of the results. Therefore fellow students and friends were asked to go over some of the most used interviews in this research and check if he or she would come up with the same results as discussed in the results section.

3.52. Reflection on fieldwork

During the fieldwork some problems arose in obtaining the data correctly. These problems were due to some challenging conditions under which the research had to be executed. First of all, Haiti's official language is Creole and the second language French, therefore a translator was necessary in order to execute the interviews correctly. While my contacts in Haiti could have served as my translator, I kept in mind that my contacts in Haiti are both project managers of the Villa Rosa Tap Tap project. Therefore they could have steered the interview with them asking slightly different questions in Creole. Furthermore, because they are well known in the neighborhood, people might have reacted differently to their questions as they would on someone unknown.

Because having them as my translators might have jeopardized objectivity, they arranged an objective translator that was unknown by the community. My translator was a very friendly young student that studied at HELP (Haitian Education Leadership Program). HELP's scholarships and leadership training provides high-achieving students with an opportunity to fulfill their academic potential, become productive citizens and agents of change. Although he proved to be a very well-educated scholar and a good English speaker, it became clear that this was his first experience as a translator. Mainly his extensiveness in translating caused some really long Creole answers to be summarized to a couple of sentences. I had to interrupt the speaker a couple of times to ask my translator to translate the previous, but sometimes this caused some awkward situations which did not serve the flow of the interview.

Because I was concerned that I lost a lot of valuable data in translation, I asked a friend of mine that happens to speak Creole and lives in Amsterdam to go over these interviews and listen whether she found the same results as my translator. She found that Haitian people like to repeat and also that they can give quite extensive answers without hardly stating anything useful. This caused some 45 minute long interviews to deliver approximately 10 minutes of data. And also some of the interviews were quite short by itself. This was mainly due to the fact that many people of the people were in a rush during the day and just didn't have the time to sit down longer than 10 minutes. When interviewees were rushed it was hard to ask them a lot of follow-up questions, therefore only the most crucial questions were asked in these short interviews.

Secondly, a certain level of adaptiveness and flexibility by myself as a researcher was needed. As stated before, Haiti is a country struggling with political and, especially, economic instability. This made doing fieldwork in Haiti a challenging occupation, which asks for a certain level of adaptiveness and sensitivity for unexpected issues in data collection. This was translated, for example, in the way how Haitians treated appointments. Because there are so many factors that can influence travelling time in Port-au-Prince, most Haitians have a very flexible time-window on their appointments. This could cause a 10:00 pm appointment to be postponed to 15:00 pm without giving notice. Because Haitians are so used to delay, it is common to postpone or even cancel appointments in short notice. Delays could be caused by flooded roads by rainfall, traffic jams, car accidents, cars breaking down, a 3-hour waiting line at a government institution or just a shortage of fuel and not enough facilities to fill the tank again. This next to the fact that just driving around in Port-au-Prince fills your brain with so many impressions on a daily basis, that it's hard to adapt and absorb all these impressions, let alone process them. The high level of adaptiveness that is needed to work in Haiti was underlined by Shari Ruppert, who lived in Haiti for 4 years and worked 3 months for Favelapainting, as she stated:

“So again, you have to recognize that Haiti is so complex and it's really difficult to set up a project, to do a project, to continue the project and also to keep a project running without a lot of patience a lot of intuitive power. If you want to realize something, you have to really understand this culture. Haiti is so complex that you need time. If you want to focus on tourism, you really have to focus a few months on that. And that's really sad, but it's just like that. You need a team if you want to work in Haiti. So you need time and you need patience in Haiti and the problem is that that costs a lot of money”

This also relates to the way I had to adapt my role as a researcher to the color of my skin. In Haiti, white people, or ‘blans’ as they call them, are often seen as very wealthy people. This already places you in a certain position towards the residents, the minute you walk into the neighborhood. Regarding the research itself, sometimes it seemed that the people saw me as a representative of the project and would ask me to make sure to fix the water problem, the waste problem and to paint the houses that were left unpainted. There are two reasons that might have sparked this reaction. The first reason is the fact that the last time white people

came into their neighborhood, they were people from the project and they addressed all these issues. This relates to the reflection of my role as a researcher as discussed by Boeije (2010). My personal characteristics, in this case the color of my skin, might have affected the way people responded to my questions.

The second reason has more to do with the introduction my other team member, Richard, gave to my interviewees. Richard has been involved in the project since the beginning and as an active community member, he was crucial in introducing me to residents of the neighborhood. As Creole is similar to French, sometimes I could grasp the context of his introduction. From what I understood, it seemed he introduced me as an employee of Favelapainting, here to do an evaluation of the project and to see whether we can make a plan for the third phase. It seemed he did this because he tried to convince people to cooperate and if they knew I'm from Favelapainting, that they would be more willing to cooperate. Richard always started the voice recorder after the introduction, so I don't know for sure, but if this was true it might have influenced the results of some of the interviews. It most likely raised expectations for the people that were not part of the project yet. They might have thought that if they were positive about the project, that I would make sure that their houses will be fixed and painted during the next phase.

And lastly, I learned that in a overcrowded city like Port-au-Prince, there is never a dull moment. Some interviews were roughly interrupted by loud horns or sudden entrances of family members, others were filled with background noises from a nearby road. Nevertheless, spending a whole month extensively in the project area and in and around Port-au-Prince helped a lot to gain more insight in the case. And despite the challenging research conditions, I was able to execute 15 interviews with residents of Villa Rosa and 5 expert interviews.

3.6. Haitian context according to experts

In order to obtain a deeper understanding of the challenging conditions related to the local context, it is important to gain more insight in Haitian culture. The following builds on the knowledge derived from expert interviews that related to the local context. The CEO of Cocread, François (expert interview, May 2, 2017), emphasized that Haiti is in essence not a functional country. According to him, the country is just not designed like that. This is underlined by Ruppert (expert interview, May 20, 2017), in her mission to find funding for the project she found that the political instability in the country influenced the functionality. She stated that:

“At the time of elections, Haitians were very scared to give their money away. The main reason why they want to keep it is because you can never know what would happen in Haiti. It could be that tomorrow the whole country doesn’t work anymore or that there is a coup. So people are afraid to invest.”

According to professor Lucien (expert interview, April 27, 2017) the richest people in Haiti only invest in companies in which they get to be reimbursed as quickly as possible. Therefore they never invest in education, there is no time to wait until someone is educated, they want immediate results. Quick reimbursement of investments always has priority in Haiti. Therefore Haiti never had the time to develop and carefully think of their next steps. This is accompanied by an attitude of dependency on foreign aid and foreign assistance, people are still afraid to take their responsibility and don’t have trust in their fellow Haitians (Casec, expert interview, April 8, 2017). Nevertheless, there is a strong feeling of solidarity in Haïti, this feeling is captured in the word “Kombit”. The word Kombit originates from the rural areas, it is about showing solidarity and unifying. For example, in the agriculture a Kombit is done when one farmer needs help, then the other farmers help him to get his work done. It is about coming together and execute something with a clear goal, it is all about solidarity (Ruppert, expert interview, May 20, 2017).

4. Direct effects

4.1 Organization and goals of the project

The Villa Rosa Tap Tap project was initiated in the aftermath of the 2010 earthquake that left a devastating mark on the city of Port-au-Prince and in particular Villa Rosa. From 2010 and onwards, Favelapainting had been doing feasibility studies in Haiti and in 2014 they travelled to Haiti to start the project that was later named the Villa Rosa Tap Tap project. This section aims to get insight in how the community art project in the Villa Rosa neighborhood was organized and executed.

4.1.1. Selection of the neighborhood

The main reason why the Villa Rosa neighborhood was chosen as the designated area for the project was mainly related to visibility. As one of the promotional flyers of Cocread (2017) describes: “Its position along the main road of Canapé-Vert (district of Port-au-Prince) from and to Pétion-ville (business district), makes Villa Rosa a perfect location with high visibility for a live true work of art.” The decision was made by Favelapainting together with the local Cordaid employees Ralph Emmanuel François and Daphnee Charles and the Casec of the communal district Villa Rosa. Visibility of the project was a decisive argument to ensure exposure of the art project. Located on a steep hill side, the area had true potential to host such an project (Charles, expert interview, April 30, 2017). For budget reasons, they had to decide on one specific spot and to use that spot to attract visitors and make sure that more stakeholders got involved in the project (François, expert interview, May 2, 2017).



Figure 4:
Overview of
the project
(Favelapainting,
2017).

Another reason for them to decide on this area was the fact that since the earthquake in 2010, Cordaid had been working in the area. Therefore they already knew the neighborhood, the people and they gained a certain level of trust among them. And by that time, Cordaid already did some minor reconstruction jobs in the area and they assumed it would be good to build on what had been done already. Furthermore, five years after the earthquake, resources and financial means were still scarce. So the neighborhood welcomed the project, because it would at least trigger a flow of money into the community. If they would have been reluctant, thousands of dollars would be altered back to the Netherlands or another community. So this economic instability helped in the decision of the residents to participate in the project (Charles, expert interview, April 30, 2017).

4.12. First reception by the community: from scepticism to engagement

According to the Casec (personal interview, April 8, 2017), when the project was first proposed to the community, there was a lot of confusion and the community was unaware about what actually was going to take place in their neighborhood. First of all, people had to adjust to the method that Favelapainting uses in their projects. The way that Favelapainting normally executes its projects is by encouraging the people to become owners of the project that is going to take place in their neighborhood. They believe it is not feasible to enter the community with a predetermined plan, this plan is to be developed out of the community process. Therefore, it could be stated that when they came into the neighborhood, they also had no idea what was going to be the end result of their efforts. This caused a lot of uncertainty amongst the residents about the aim of the project.

Another factor that influenced the community's perception on the project was the presence of a somewhat similar painting project in Port-au-Prince. The project is often referred to as 'Jalouzi', and it was carried out approximately a year before the Villa Rosa Tap Tap project started and included the painting of a whole hillside slum in bright colors (see figure 5) .

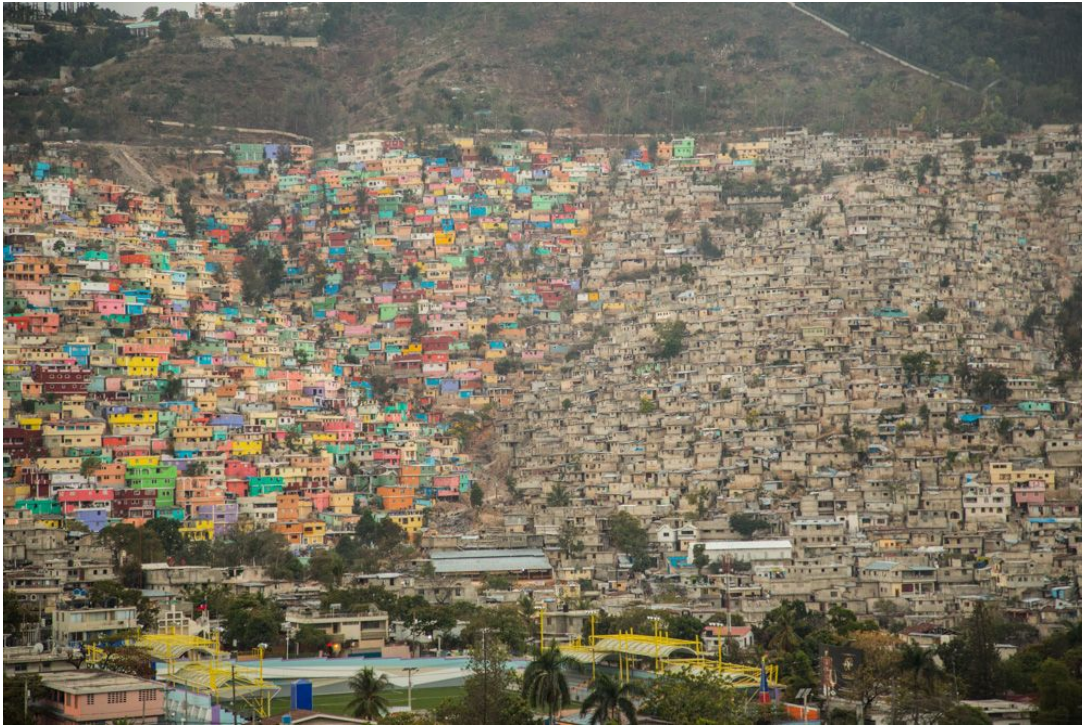


Figure 5: Jalouzi project in Port-au-Prince. (Thamon van Blokland, 2017).

The project in Jalouzi was initiated by the government and received a lot of criticism afterwards. Almost everyone, including the interviewed experts, believed the Jalouzi project was implemented to improve the view of the Oasis hotel, one of the only luxury hotels in Port-au-Prince, on the hill across from the Jalouzi neighborhood. The project was thought to only beautify the poverty that is underneath for foreign visitors. The project did nothing to combat the poverty in the neighborhood, the people were only given a bucket of paint and they were ordered to paint their houses. The project is viewed as a political project and because of the political instability in the country, this is not a positive development. There were concerns amongst the community that the Villa Rosa project was going to be similar to the one in Jalouzi. Charles (expert interview, May 30, 2017) said that a lot of people went up to her and asked her about the Jalouzi project. They wanted to know whether the project was going to be government led. One of the house-owners in Villa Rosa (resident interview, May 17, 2017) stated that:

“In the beginning with the project, I thought that it was a state or government led project. Or the government that was doing it, but as I know now it was not the government who did it and that makes me proud. If it was the government that did it, I would have had more problems with it.”

People noticed that a lot of money was spent in Jalouzi, but that it did not contribute to the improvement of the areas. So the project initiators had to make sure that the Villa Rosa Tap Tap project was presented fundamentally different from Jalouzi in order to change the perceptions of the people. This shows how local political context influences the outcomes.

The last factor that influenced the community's perception of the project was the fact that the people that worked for Favelapainting were foreign and white but had a different method than people were used to with foreigners. According to François (expert interview, May 2, 2017), it was the first time that foreigners actually worked in the field and did not care about the fact that they were doing the same low-paid job as the local population. Normally when foreigners run a project in Haiti, they would focus on overall strategic management and sending out orders and would leave the more practical jobs for the Haitians. But now the 'Blans' were working in the field, so the people could see that there was a difference between what happened in the past with NGO's and what was happening here. This changed the perception of the residents of Villa Rosa in a positive way, as they were able to identify themselves with these white people.

4.13. Successful community engagement

The process of community involvement proved to be an important part of the overall project. A lot of effort went into this process according to the involved experts. The process of community involvement started with Cordaid arranging meetings with the Casec and the 'platform', which is a group of representatives of different organisations within Villa Rosa. During these meetings they also expressed their concerns about the Jalouzi project and Daphnee Charles from Cordaid had to convince them of the advantages that the project could bring. People were sceptic about the project. They thought that if their house got painted that they would get displaced. The group of leaders from the platform made them understand the essence of the project.

After the project plan was approved by both the platform and other organizations within the community, a community meeting was organized in which a flatscreen tv was used to show the residents the work that Favelapainting did in the favelas of Rio de Janeiro and ghettos of Philadelphia. According to François (expert interview, May 2, 2017), the community

received this documentary with great enthusiasm. It wasn't until after the screening that a large part of the community committed itself to the project. In this same meeting, the Jalouzi project was also addressed and residents asked the organization not to only beautify the houses, but simultaneously solve the problems regarding accessibility and water security. While at the beginning the project was initiated as a tool to make people proud of their neighborhood and to engage them in the process of rebuilding the community, this community involvement process offered the residents a chance to express their concerns. The fact that the residents strongly advocated for investments in the build environment, reduced the budget available for painting. This caused the project to change their initial plan to paint 50 houses, to painting only 11 houses. These infrastructural improvements will be discussed in detail in the next chapter. That the project focused intensively on community involvement was underlined by one of the painted house-owners (resident interview, April 14, 2017) as she stated that: *"It was all so really well prepared, it was really for the people."* This feeling could be caused by Cocread's continuous presence in the neighborhood. As they are present in Villa Rosa multiple times a week, they have build up a level of trust in the community. As Charles (expert interview, April 30, 2017) stated:

" And I think that people really see that we are not here just for a year or two years and then leave, they feel that we are here for the long run and want to empower the community and to work with them"

4.14. Colors and design

After the community approved the project to take place in their neighborhood, the design process started with establishing the source of inspiration. Favelapainting invited local artists to participate in a workshop through which the design concept was established. The design was inspired by the elaborately painted Tap-Tap buses that are ubiquitous in Haiti (see figure 6).



Figure 6: Tap-Tap bus in the streets of Port-au-Prince (Favelapainting, 2015).

Together they decided on the official name of the project, Villa Rosa Tap Tap. According to the Casec (expert interview, April 8, 2017), the name ‘Tap-Tap’ represents movement as the Tap-Tap buses are associated with transportation. Same as the Tap-Tap buses, there is no clear destination, but it should lead to improvement, a better destination.



Figure 7: Color lab workshop in Villa Rosa (Favelapainting, 2015).

A separate workshop was organised with the house owners to determine the color palette for the transformation of the area (see figure 7). This so-called “color lab” workshop was a community validation session where they discussed the design, why they choose this design and what the added value was of the design. After that, a design was created for each individual house, which was then discussed with the owner and often adjusted to fit his/her taste, keeping in mind that the overall design should create a unified effect, connecting the houses with color (François, expert interview, May 2, 2017).

During these sessions, they also decided on a minimum of five colors for each house. In the second phase of the project, the colors were selected by the house-owners. This selection was send to the Netherlands where Favelapainting drafted designs for every house. This draft was shown to the house-owners and only when they gave approval on the design, the painting would start (Richard, expert interview, April 17, 2017).

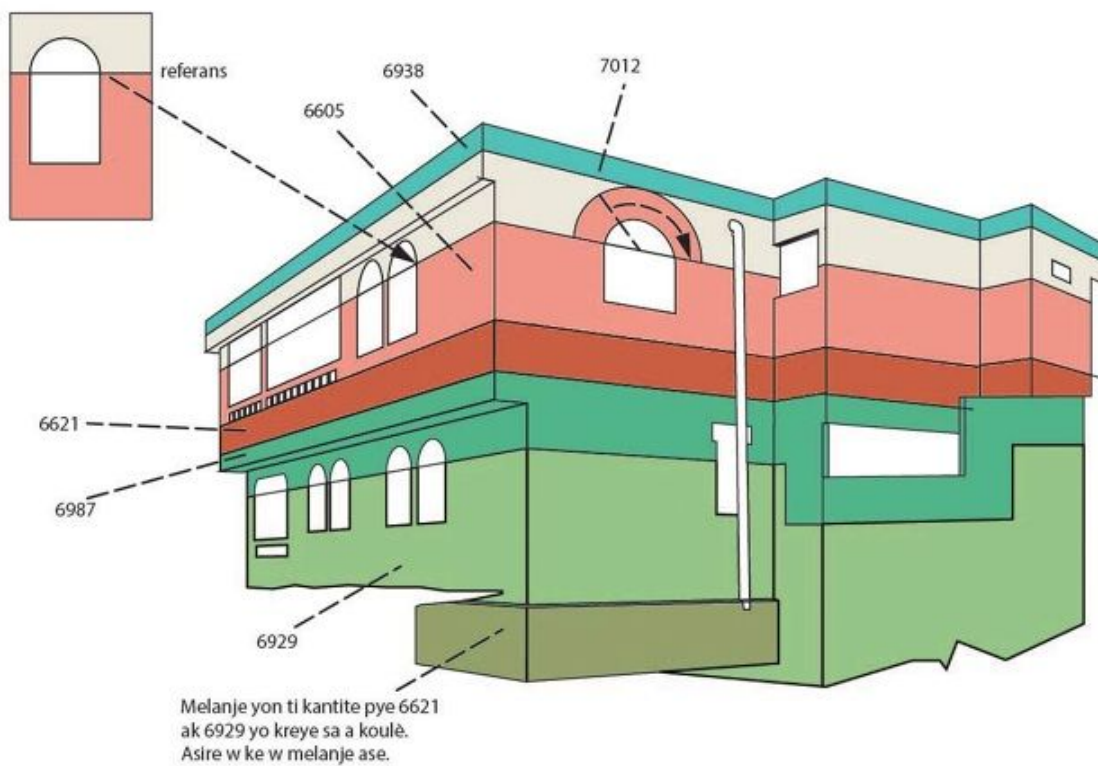


Figure 8: example of a proposed paint plan (Favelapainting, 2016).

In some of the interviews with residents whose houses got painted in the second phase, critical comments were made concerning the minimum requirement of five colors. Several house-owners indicated that, if it was up to them, they preferred to choose only two colors. As most of the residents included in the second phase of the project did not attend the first color lab workshop, they were not aware of the considerations that were made to decide on five colors. According to Richard (expert interview, April 27, 2017) this was mainly due to the wish of the community to distance themselves from the Jalouzi project as the houses there were painted in a singular color.

4.2. Material improvements

Apart from the obvious material effects - the painted houses - the project realized several other material improvements in the neighborhood that were addressed through the community involvement process.

4.2.1. (Re)construction of stairways and drainage system

Most of the experts referred to significant changes in the infrastructure of the neighborhood the last couple of years. Charles (expert interview, April 30, 2017) mentioned that one of the biggest changes in Villa Rosa was the reconstruction of the stairways throughout the neighborhood. The reconstruction started by repairing the stairs going up into the community which were extremely worn and dangerous to walk on. After this, small open/public spaces, water drainage channel and retaining walls were reconstructed (see figure 9). Most of the work was completed by the residents themselves. Only when the expertise on a certain reconstruction job was not present within the community, outside expertise was called upon. According to her, this improved the lives of the residents significantly as the feeling of safety and security increased. She gave the following example to illustrate this feeling:

“I know that there is an elderly woman in the neighborhood, she had a stroke and she is not able to walk properly and sometimes they have to carry her for example when they want to give her a shower. And I used to see them very difficult, struggling to walk with her. But now, I’ve seen them recently and there was only one person carrying her. And before there were two people and even people passing by that would help.”

According to François (expert interview, May 2, 2017), a lot of people in the community mentioned that the reconstruction was executed with a quality that is not seen often in Port-au-Prince. This was confirmed by the personal observations. When walking through the project area, it became apparent that the project really made a difference in terms of accessibility as almost all the major roads going uphill had new constructed stairs and roads. The area seemed to be even better constructed than some of the richer parts of Port-au-Prince.



Figure 9: Infrastructural reconstruction plan (Favelapainting, 2015).

Richard (expert interview, May 27, 2017) also referred to the infrastructural improvements as a cause of the increase in safety and the quality of life amongst the residents of Villa Rosa. According to him, people are closer to health care than before as the improved roads allows extremely sick residents to be transported downstairs quicker in case of emergency. Furthermore, the newly installed drainage prevents the streets to be flooded during heavy rainfall and avoids slippery situations that caused people to get injured in the past. Although Ruppert (expert interview, May 20, 2017) commented on this by saying that mainly the people living in and close to the painted houses saw an improvement in their quality of life because of the infrastructural improvements.

Because there is no water system present in the neighborhood, people have to get their water downstairs of the community. On a weekly basis, water is transported to the neighborhood. When the truck with water arrives, some people get payed to walk down and get buckets of water for the people that can afford to pay that service. Most experts mentioned the fact that the improved accessibility led to a reduction in water costs and that this was seen as a major change in the life of the residents.

That these infrastructural changes and their effects made a considerable impact on the lives of the residents was reflected in the interviews with residents. Almost all of them mentioned the infrastructural changes before they started to speak about the painting. If the residents were asked what the major changes were in the neighborhood the last couple of years, their answer would always start with the improvement in accessibility, followed by the construction of a drainage system. Only after those two were mentioned, residents started to emphasize that the houses in the neighborhood were reconstructed, plastered and painted. One of the painted house-owners (resident interview, April 15, 2017) serves as an example of the answer that was given in almost every resident-interview:

“The roads have changed significantly, before when there was water on the roads you couldn’t walk. Now the drainage is fixed and is no more water in the streets. The road is fixed, we can easily walk now, while before people got hurt. And also the stairs are constructed professionally, they have many levels and you can walk easily now. And also before they painted the houses they made sure to plaster them, so the houses were not only painted but also plastered.”



Figure 10: Improved accessibility in Villa Rosa (Thamon van Blokland, 2017).

4.22. *Still a lack of basic services*

Despite improvement, experts agreed upon the fact that there were still basic services and facilities missing in Villa Rosa. As Richard (expert interview, April 15, 2017) stated:

“The neighborhood has at least some of the essential facilities, but I can’t say that it is complete or that people have everything.”

The three major problems in the neighborhood that were often mentioned by both residents and experts were all related to the lack of basic services. The Casec (expert interview, April 8, 2017) mentioned waste management as one of the biggest problem. According to him, this problem was related to the overall lack of waste management and garbage disposal in Haitian society. The lack of waste management was also discussed by residents, but remarkably this was only mentioned by house-owners whose house wasn’t painted. Field observations confirmed that there was hardly any waste around the painted houses. The further from the painted area, the more waste was found. The other two problems related to water and electricity. As for now, the residents have no running water and steady electricity. Both these basic services have not changed in the last couple of years.



Figure 11: Children transporting water and food into the community (Marc Nahum Leandre, 2016).

5. Indirect effects

5.1. Place attachment

5.12. Increasing sense of pride through visibility and accessibility

There seems to be quite a strong place identity amongst the residents in the area. All the experts indicated that one of the most significant changes the project had accomplished related to the feeling of pride in the neighborhood. This was described by Ruppert (expert interview, May 20, 2017) with the following example:

“ Because it is beautiful and foreign people come to visit, this gave them a certain value about their lives. Being respected and being seen in Haiti is really important. So just this fact that white people come to the neighborhood is amazing for them. I believe that even kids will tell that in their schools, like: “I live in a neighborhood where white people come to visit”. And I believe that people tell that at their work, so it’s a huge value or image change for them. It gives them more value, it makes them feel more important.”

The high level of involvement of the community in the process also contributed to the feeling of pride amongst the residents, according to the Casec (expert interview, April 8, 2017). Because of their involvement they felt that they, as a community, accomplished something they could be proud of. The sense of pride about their surroundings is also reflected in the specific areas of waste disposal. As the whole area is a high density area, a lot of garbage is created and because of the lack of waste management in the area, most public spaces are littered with garbage. The main exception seems to be the project area, in which people seem to take more care of their surroundings. An example of this was observed when doing fieldwork, as a youngster was writing his name on one of the painted walls and next-door neighbors rushed to the scene to make him clear that this kind of behavior was not tolerated.

This feeling of pride was also confirmed by the fact that both François and Charles (expert interviews) get regular requests of residents that compliment their work and ask them to include their house in the next phase. Furthermore, during the interviews most house-owners that were not included in the first phases, asked to be part of the upcoming phase.

Figure 12: House-owner proud of his painted house (Daphnee Charles, 2016).



Overall, residents seemed to confirm the experts thoughts on their sense of pride. Almost every interviewed resident indicated that they felt proud when they walked through their neighborhood and that this feeling of pride was strengthened significantly due to the project. Most of them were satisfied with their neighborhood, but the project gave them an increased feeling of satisfaction. They indicated that this was mainly related to the design on the houses and how this influenced the visibility of their community from the main road. Another aspect that contributes to their sense of pride is the quality of the infrastructural improvements. One of the residents

(residents interview, April 14, 2017) described why this made him feel so proud:

“ I feel proud when I walk through the neighborhood. Before, when it was raining it was almost impossible to go downstairs of the community, but now I can walk easily. That is what makes me quite proud of my neighborhood, because you don’t see that in a lot of other neighborhoods.”

The community knew they needed to change, but they didn’t have the means to do it. The project offered them the opportunity to do so. The fact that the project choose their neighborhood as the designated area makes them very proud (Painted house-owner, personal interview, April 14, 2017). But not all the residents had experienced this increase in the sense of pride due to the project. Some residents stated that they were already proud of their neighborhood before the project started, as most of them mentioned the fact that: “there is no other place like home.”

Although the residents whose houses were not painted, did in fact experience an increased sense of pride, they remained critical towards the project. This could relate to a feeling of envy towards the people whose houses got painted. As some of them stated that the people that benefited the most of the project, did not really appreciate the project as they should have done. According to them (resident interviews, April 24, 2017), those people were involved to get employed and to beautify the area, but they did not show gratitude. Furthermore, one of the residents (resident interview, April 17, 2017) mentioned the fact that the neighborhood is still lacking an adequate waste management system. As long as the community is not able to combat this issue, his sense of pride would not increase. Nevertheless, the residents, participants and non-participants seemed to be equally enthusiastic about the art side of the project. They especially admired the colors and this seemed to link directly to the sense of pride that they had regarding their neighborhood. When the residents referred to the painting of the houses, the visibility of their community was seen as a major improvement. According to Ruppert (expert interview, May 20, 2017), Haitians are very proud people and to offer them an opportunity to be seen in their society boosts their proudness.

5.12. The lack of facilities

Field observations showed that the importance of the neighborhood in getting different types of resources, such as food, etc. seems to be rather limited. Nevertheless, almost all interviewed residents pointed out that although the facilities were not sufficient to meet their needs, they did spend a considerable amount of time in their neighborhood. Some products are available within the boundaries of the communal section, but for most of their daily needs, residents have to travel outside of the neighborhood. Residents did point out that the improved accessibility made it easier to reach certain facilities downstairs of the community (resident interview, April 14, 2017). This could be seen as a direct link between the project and the level of place dependence people experience. Due to improved accessibility, the relative proximity to certain facilities was increased. Moreover, according to some, the number of facilities increased due to the growing number of residents (resident interviews, April 24, 2017). As stated before, due to the project more people started to settle in or around the project area.

5.2 Social changes in the neighborhood

5.21. Empowerment through active community involvement

As described before, the community was involved in every step of the project. That their voice mattered was emphasized by the decision to focus on infrastructural improvements next to the painting, after it was strongly advocated by the community. During the expert interviews a couple of other strategies to empower the residents came forward. Ruppert (expert interview, May 20, 2017) emphasized the role of Cocread in this process. Most NGOs in the past were known to hand out things for free. Cocread tried a new strategy by asking every house-owner what they could offer the project in return. They asked for some sort of participation. According to Ruppert (expert interview, May 20, 2017), most of the residents at first thought: *“Ooh they are working with white people, so why do I have to give them something.”* But after people committed to a certain responsibility or task, it gave them the feeling that they were part of the project.

Furthermore, Cocread organizes community meetings on a regular bases in which they encourage people to speak up and because people feel comfortable in their presence, they are not afraid to do so (Charles, expert interview, April 30, 2017). This was confirmed by platform member Richard (expert interview, April 15, 2017) and the Casec (expert interview, April 8, 2017), who regularly attended these community meetings. According to them, people talk freely and speak their minds during these meetings. They are not afraid to ask questions that might embarrass the organization, but that are legitimate to ask. Nevertheless, Cocread pointed out that there is still room for improvement regarding empowerment. One of their main concerns is the influence of women in the neighborhood. To make sure the female voice is heard, they plan to involve girls actively, starting with the assembly of a female paint crew.

Residents had less to say about the level of empowerment in the neighborhood and how this had changed over the years as the experts. One of the platform members (resident interview, April 24, 2017) emphasized the difference between NGOs in other projects that try to implement their own strategy, whereas this project gave the people the chance to choose their own strategy.

5.22. Local increase in sense of community

A lot of painted house-owners indicated that their community became stronger when asked what had changed in the feeling of community over the last couple of years. According to them this was mainly due to their community becoming more beautiful, peaceful and more proud. The regularity of community meetings also had its influence on the feeling of community that residents of the neighborhood experienced. According to the Casec (expert interview, April 8, 2017), the meetings in Villa Rosa are attended more frequently than meetings in other parts of the area. A meeting in Villa Rosa is often attended by at least 10 people, whereas in other parts there are around 2 to 3 people attending community meetings. This represents the interest in community affairs and according to the Casec this has changed significantly since the project started. This might be related to the curious nature of Haitians as mentioned by Ruppert (expert interview, May 20, 2017) in the following quote:

“ You know the whole community, whole Haiti, they are so curious and they want to know everything. So even to attend these meetings and to talk about the project, that brings a lot of people together because they are really curious. They will all attend these meetings and if they won't be able to attend they would chat about it afterwards. If it's positive or negative, for sure they would talk about it. So this already unifies people.”

According to Richard (expert interview, May 14), the feeling of community is getting stronger over the years. This was represented by the fact that even the people whose houses were not painted, would always come to the meetings if he informed them about these meetings. Also Cocread played a crucial role in uniting the community over the years. One of their measures to do so included the creation of a whatsapp-group that included over 200 people that live in and around the project area. The whatsapp-group is used to inform the people about upcoming meetings and events and to get the community involved (Charles, personal interview, April 30, 2017).

Some examples of how the community became stronger through the project were given by Ruppert and Charles (expert interviews, May, 2017). The first example was related to one of the events that Cocread organized in the neighborhood. Kids from every part of the community, higher and lower class, were invited to attend a puzzle event with puzzles based

on the project's design. After this day, the kids told them that normally they would never talk to each other, but because of the event they did and they had built new friendships. This could be seen as unique in the highly segregated urban society of Port-au-prince. The second example showed that the project had a direct effect in bringing unity to the community. When a grandmother of one of the paint crew members passed away, the whole crew went to the funeral and they were all wearing the black t-shirt with the Villa Rosa Tap Tap logo on it.

But perhaps the most striking example, related to the feeling of community, was the story of two neighbors that never talked to each other because of an argument. Because of the way the lines in the design combine the houses, people had to collectively choose the colors. This gave them a feeling of connection with their next-door neighbors and they started to talk more with their neighbors. Therefore it could be stated that the design of the painting might have helped in increasing the feeling of community in Villa Rosa. Furthermore, residents referred to the creation of small public spaces as a valuable asset of the project, as people now had spaces to meet and this strengthened their feeling of community. According to one of the painted house-owners (resident interview, April 24, 2017), improved sense of community was also stimulated by the presence of the platform. If a problem would arise in the community, the platform would discuss the problems and mediate between the different sides. However, the platform already worked as such before the project. Therefore the community becoming stronger through the existence of the platform could not be ascribed to the project. Another resident mentioned that the earthquake influenced the solidarity and the feeling of community strongly. After the earthquake, people feel more connected and they are supporting each other more than they were used to do.

The feeling of the community becoming stronger was not widely shared throughout the community. Especially residents whose houses were not painted, did not refer immediately to the strengthening of the community when asked what had changed in the feeling of community the last couple of years. In fact, some felt that the project has undermined the feeling of community as the improved conditions made more people move to Villa Rosa and they felt that their neighborhood was becoming more crowded than before. One of these house-owners (resident interview, April 14, 2017) expressed his concerns about this development:

“We have more people now in the community and with more people there comes more issues. Sometimes these people do not really care about the community. The roads are dirty and also the drainage system gets filled up with garbage. And every time I have to go get the garbage out. I loved Villa Rosa as it was before, now.. more people, more issues...”

In addition, the majority of residents whose houses were not painted pointed out the level of individualism in the neighborhood. According to them there is not a lot of solidarity, people are more focused on their life and trying to improve their own lives before they start to think about others. This concern was also expressed by one of the platform members when he was talking about the feeling of community in his neighborhood:

“If the community was united or if it was strong, it would not have been Favelapainting coming all the way from Europe to invest in this country, but we would have done it ourselves. So yeah, if it was a strong community, it would not be them, it would have been us that did it.”

This quote shows that when the project started, the community was not considered strong enough to engage in these kind of projects without foreign influence. Although the project area seems to be kept cleaner and residents living in this area refer to a stronger sense of community, mainly the residents whose houses were not painted remain critical on this so-called “strong community”. Therefore it could be stated that the project very locally improved the sense of community, but that there is still space for improvement. The feeling that people had regarding to their sense of community was strongly influenced by their position in the neighborhood. If their house was painted, they were more likely to refer to the community becoming stronger than the people living in the unpainted houses.

5.23. Skill development for a limited group

For some individual residents, the project directly helped in developing their skills, knowledge and talent. Experts often mentioned team ‘Boyo’ as a clear example of a group that was able to develop their skills and knowledge through the project. Team Boyo is the nickname of the crew of about 10 to 20 men and women that participated actively in the painting of the houses. According to the Casec and Cocread, the skills of these participants

increased significantly. They are now able to paint professionally without guidance or supervision from Cocread or Favelapainting and they use a certain systematic paint approach



which is rarely seen in Haiti. Because of their developed skills and increased potential, Cocread is currently considering to set up a painting firm. This would offer them the chance to use their skills to paint professionally.

Figure 13: Team Boyo during the second phase (Daphnee Charles, 2016).

Furthermore, during the project Favelapainting invited filmmakers Romel Jean Pierre and Jon Kaufman, to train a local broadcasting team called ‘Tap-Tap TV’, to report on the project. The main idea behind these initiatives was to make the community more resilient against economic downturn. These newly trained filmmakers could then be hired in the continuation of the project to document every step (Charles, expert interview, April 30, 2017). Despite these promising goals, these filmmakers seemed to be far from active in the neighborhood during the second phase of the project.

Another strategy that led to skill and talent development in the neighborhood, was the decision of Cocread to invest part of their resources to support a local sandal company. This sandal company manufactures sandals based on the design of the houses. Currently, 5 women are being trained in manufacturing these sandals and machinery was bought in order to assemble these sandals quicker. According to Richard (personal interview, April 24, 2017), a lot of different products based on the design were made after the project and this offered residents the chance to master the needed manufacturing skills. Richard himself received a small contribution by Cocread to attend English classes, which could offer him the chance to work as a tour guide in the future.

The above proved that the project did in fact contribute to the development of human capital, but so far it remained limited to a certain group of people. The negligible impact on the human capital of the whole neighborhood was refuted by François (personal interview, May 2, 2017) as he stated that:

“The project made the community see that the power of their creativeness could go whole far. And they can actually improve their lives and they can make a step to make it better and they can improve their social mobility that comes with the creativeness.”

5.3. Economic development

5.3.1. Temporary employment opportunities

The development of human capital is related to the employment opportunities that were generated. Although most employment opportunities that were developed in the neighborhood the last couple of years were due to the project, these opportunities were mostly temporary. As discussed before, the construction workers that were hired to do the construction and the plastering of the walls were all local residents with the exception of the engineer and the foreman. In the first phase of the project, the local painting crew was also paid for their efforts. This caused a lot of unemployed young people to be able to work for the first time in their life and to temporarily make a living out of being a painter (Ruppert, expert interview, May 20, 2017). According to one of the house-owners (resident interview, April 24, 2017) that was living next to the painted houses:

“The biggest movement was that there was a lot of youth that was not working that were employed by the project. Young people got the opportunity to be involved, they gave them work and also payed them for it.”

An example of one of these people was Richard, who was able to develop his paint skills as a member of the paint crew and was paid a fair amount of money for his efforts. Furthermore, during the painting process, people from the neighborhood were paid to supply the paint crew with meals and also the shop that is making the sandals is on good track to employ around five people in the nearby future.

Despite the fact that the project encouraged a lot of people to start working and gave them the opportunity to be employed, most residents expressed the need to create jobs for the long-term. Nevertheless, most residents wanted the project to start again, because in Haiti a temporary job is better than no job. A lot of people were unemployed at the time and as most Haitians live from day to day, the project provided at least some activities for a certain period (Platform member, resident interview, April 24, 2017).

5.32. Economic activities: first steps towards entrepreneurship

People were temporarily able to gain some revenues from the project. Cocread organized several events on the 'Place Canape-Vert', a public square downstairs of the community. Residents were offered to sell locally produced products such as food, jewels, t-shirts and sandals in order to make some profit.



Figure 14: Public event organized by Cocread on Place Canape-Vert (Ralph Emmanuel François, 2016)

Some small economic activities have appeared in the neighborhood after the project was finished. For example, next to the spot where most visitors take a picture of the project a woman opened up a small shop that sells food and beverages. Furthermore, a woman living next to the renovated public space is selling beers and snacks to residents that come to play dominoes on the newly renovated public space. And, as mentioned before, a small sandal shop started producing sandals that are based on the design of the houses. According to

François (expert interview, May 2, 2017), they already sold more than 100 sandals that were based on the design. Although the shop opening up next to the touristic hotspot could be a matter of coincidence, the other two could directly be linked to the infrastructural improvements and the design painted on the houses.

5.33. Tourism: short and unspontaneous visits

Supporting tourism could be a strategy towards positive economic change, but both the Casec and Ruppert (experts interviews, April, 2017) indicated that there were no concrete changes regarding tourism in the neighborhood. The last couple of years there were more people visiting the neighborhood out of curiosity, but it is not about groups of tourists systematically going there to visit the project. As noticed in the introduction, the projects as these are often critiqued for and associated with encouraging slum tourism. However, the current situation regarding tourism in the neighborhood showed that the project has not inspired tourists to visit the area in massive numbers to see poverty. An opposing view on tourism in the neighborhood was given by Cocread's co-founder Charles (expert interview, April 30, 2017) when she stated that:

“Tourism is huge actually and that is one of the things that we will have to manage. Maybe we are having almost 50 visitors for this year coming already to visit. So maybe we are close to 60 now.”

As Charles and François are still responsible for accompanying visitors through the neighborhood, 60 visitors in 4 months might feel as quite a considerable amount. Until now, there is not someone within the community that speaks sufficient English to give visitors a tour through the neighborhood. And as most visitors seemed to be contacts from both their social networks, they felt obligated to be there at every visit. This points out to the fact that the tourism is not spontaneous. The small amount of tourists has so far proved to be insufficient to spark economic benefits for the residents. This inability to gain revenues from tourism is also caused by a lack of facilities to accommodate tourists in the neighborhood. Richard (expert interview, April 24, 2017) touched upon this when he stated that:

“The problem is that whenever we do have tourists coming, we have no way to take an economic benefit from it. They just come and go, we have no way we can attract them or that they can buy something that can benefit the community in general.”

This lack of facilities was underlined by almost every expert when they mentioned the need for a restaurant to sit down and have some food and beverages. According to Ruppert (expert interview, May 20, 2017) the development of these kind of facilities is essential to boost tourism. According to her, there is a lot of potential in the neighborhood for so-called ‘adventure tourists’. These kind of tourists want to see the real life, but they also don’t want to see the complete poverty. As Villa Rosa is a place where they are able to see the poverty but also the solution, this neighborhood features the perfect balance.



Figure 15: Tour through Villa Rosa with Ralph Emmanuel François from Cocread (Thamon van Blokland, 2016).

According to the residents, most Haitian visitors stay down in the car to watch the project from down the road (Painted house-owner, resident interview, April 14, 2017) and most foreign visitors come up to take a short hike through the neighborhood. Most of the residents saw the possibility of attracting a lot of visitors in the future, but they understand that in order to gain economically from this, things needed to change. The following quote of a resident of Villa Rosa illustrates the community’s thoughts on tourism in their neighborhood:

“I have seen some more tourists come, but the problem is that we are happy to sell them something when they come but there is no place for the tourists to stay really. They just walk through the houses, take pictures and then continue their tour. They will not buy stuff, simply because it is not offered to them.”

5.34. Economic potential of Villa Rosa

The Casec (personal interview, April 8, 2017) mentioned that despite of the people that were employed during the project, the off-spin in employment opportunities could have been far more if they had incorporated the long-term economic plan in the beginning of the project. This could be related to the fact that the initial plan was mostly focused on the painting of the houses and the infrastructural improvements. Long-term economic opportunities seemed to be perceived as secondary at the start of the project. It seemed as if, with the investments in the sandal company and the developments regarding tourism, they just started to think about the long-term economic benefits this project could spark for the neighborhood. The lack of economic spin-off could also be related to the economic instability as described earlier in this research. As tourists in general do not travel to Haiti often, it would be surprising if the project was able to attract mass tourism already.

According to the Casec the residents would have to become more involved in generating revenues from the painted houses in order for the project to be sustainable. Most experts referred to the fact that the project area offers a lot of economical opportunities since the second phase of the project is completed but that these opportunities have not yet been exploited properly. According to Charles (expert interview, April 30, 2017) the area has become attractive and this attraction should now be used to benefit the community:

“I mean art is art. And what art does, it attracts people. That is the thing what the most famous singers do, they make you pay to listen to them! A great movie star, they make you pay to come and watch. It is an open artwork in the community, it attracts people. So we should be able to get a little bit of money from these curious people.”

6. Conclusion

Art projects in impoverished urban areas are often criticized for their commodification of place instead of addressing the need for basic needs in these communities. According to Belfiore (2002), in the field of development, art tends to be seen as a by-product or, at best, merely instrumental for development processes. Some have even critiqued community art projects for being used by local and national politicians to cover up persistent and growing economic and social inequalities among the population. On the other hand, supporters of art projects emphasize the aim of these projects to use art as a tool to empower these marginalized communities. They allow people in these communities to see themselves through a different prism, which is believed to be an important start for bringing about social change (Sloan, 2008). Clammer (2015) even argues that the arts can contribute directly to economic and social development, and that stimulating creativity may lay the foundations for alternative development paths and sustainable forms of culture. This research aimed to find out whether in the context of severe urban poverty, a community art project would in fact contribute to the improvement of a neighborhood with informal urban settlements.

6.1. Discussion of findings

It was found that the active community involvement throughout the project and the method used by Favelapainting and Cocread, influenced the outcomes of the project significantly. As Macdonald (1995) stated that it is important that NGOs follow the community in their decisions and not let the community follow them. Residents were able to express their concerns in this community process and strongly advocated for the project to be fundamentally different from the government-led Jalouzi project. This reflects the political instability in the country, which causes residents to distrust any government initiated project. As discussed by Lundahl (1999), Haiti has seen a huge growth in the number of NGOs that aid to urban dwellers in absence of the state. But most interviewed experts referred to the growing level of distrust against these Western-led NGOs. The fact that the people that worked for Favelapainting were foreign and white, but were not afraid to do the same job as the residents made them able to build a level of trust in the community.

The fact that the residents strongly advocated for investments in the build environment, reduced the budget available for painting. This caused the project to change their initial plan to paint 50 houses, to painting only 11 houses. The rest of the budget was used for the reconstruction of the stairways throughout the neighborhood, the construction of small public spaces and a water drainage channel. These material improvements directly caused an increase in safety and the quality of life amongst the residents of Villa Rosa. Most experts mentioned the fact that through the improved accessibility, the price for transporting water was lowered. And when residents were asked about the major changes in their neighborhood the last couple of years, their answer would always start with the improvement in accessibility, followed by the construction of a drainage system. As the area was struggling with a lot of infrastructural problems and excessive rainwater, every infrastructural improvement could be seen as a major change in their lives. And although some basic services are still missing in the community, most of the material improvement could be directly ascribed to the project.

The project also seems to have had an impact on other aspects of residents daily lives. These changes could be seen as indirect effects of the project. Due to the improved accessibility, the relative proximity to facilities was increased. This could be seen as a direct link between the project and the level of place dependence people experience. Furthermore, the high level of involvement of the community in the process has strengthened residents emotional attachment to the neighborhood. Because of their involvement they felt that they, as a community, accomplished something they could be proud of. This feeling of pride was also confirmed by the fact that Cocread gets regular requests of residents to include their house in the next phase. Almost every interviewed resident indicated that they felt proud when they walked through their neighborhood and that this feeling of pride was strengthened significantly due to the project. Experts referred to the importance of feeling proud and being seen in Haitian society. As place is seen as an essential part of the personal identity (Florek, 2011), this positive place attachment seems to be used by residents as a means to differentiate oneself from others and to build a positive self-esteem. Although, other residents, whose houses were left unpainted, expressed envy, the residents, participants and non-participants seemed to be equally enthusiastic about the art side of the project. They especially admired the colors and visibility and this seemed to link directly to their sense of pride.

The project also indirectly influenced the social development of the neighborhood. A lot of painted house-owners indicated that their community became stronger when asked what had changed in the feeling of community over the last couple of years. According to them this was mainly due to their community becoming more beautiful and peaceful. It was found that the design of the houses also contributed to a stronger community. Because of the way the lines in the design combined the houses, people had to collectively choose the colors. This gave them a feeling of connection with their neighbors. The feeling of empowerment amongst residents of Villa Rosa was enhanced through the community involvement process of the project. That their voice mattered was emphasized by the decision to focus on infrastructural improvements next to the painting after it was strongly advocated by the community. But although the residents living in the project area referred to a stronger sense of community, mainly the residents whose houses were not painted remained critical on this so-called “stronger community”. The feeling that people had regarding to their sense of community was strongly influenced by their position in the neighborhood. If their house was painted, they were more likely to refer to the community becoming stronger than the people living in the unpainted houses.

Economically, the project has not sparked a lot of revenue for the neighborhood. Although most employment opportunities that were developed in the neighborhood the last couple of years were due to the project, these opportunities were mostly temporary. Despite the fact that the project encouraged a lot of people to start working and gave them the opportunity to be employed, most residents expressed the need to create jobs for the long-term. Supporting tourism could be used a strategy towards long-term economic change, but experts indicated that there were no concrete changes regarding tourism in the neighborhood. This inability to spark tourism was caused by a lack of facilities to accommodate tourists in the neighborhood. Community art projects are often critiqued for and associated with encouraging slum tourism (Rolfes, 2009). However, the current situation showed that the project has not inspired tourists to visit the area in massive numbers to see poverty. That the economic spin-off of the project could have been further developed by know was related to the fact that a long-term economic plan was not embedded strong enough in the first phase of the project. Also the economic situation of the country might have influenced the lack of economic spin-off.

6.2 Community art projects and neighborhood improvement

The active involvement of the residents proved to be a key factor in shaping the perceptions and the overall appreciation of the project. Furthermore, this high level of community involvement caused the residents to become owner of the project, made them proud and caused them to take more care about their surroundings. But although the Villa Rosa Tap Tap project was able to improve the neighborhood on several of the components of neighborhood improvement, the art component did tend to be seen as a by-product or merely instrumental for the development process as discussed by Belfiore (2002). Furthermore, the outcomes of the project seemed to be influenced by the place-specific context of economic and political instability in the country. The main components that were influenced by the art side of the project were immaterial, such as the social development and place attachment to the neighborhood. Whereas the other three components were mainly addressed by the material improvements. These components also had a different influence on the levels of scale examined in this research. The material improvements seemed to transcend the individual level, as the whole neighborhood was profiting from the improved accessibility. Whereas the level of place attachment mainly increased on the individual level. Socially, the participants of the project profited more from the project than non-participants, as they experienced a stronger sense of community and empowerment.

The research proved that community art projects could be capable of improving a neighborhood in the context of severe urban poverty, be it under certain circumstances. Material improvements and community involvement proved to contribute strongly to improvement of the neighborhood. Although this outcome does not seem to advocate for the use of art in these projects, the research showed that in a context of severe urban poverty, being seen and being a visible part of the community aids strongly to the place attachment of the residents. As place attachment was directly linked to the quality of life, art plays a crucial role in making people proud of their surroundings.

7. Reflection

One of the main points of reflection could be found in the place-specific context of the research. The outcomes of the research seemed to be heavily influenced by this place-specific context. The three place-specific factors that mainly influenced the impact of the community art project were the political, economic and cultural context of Haïti. Economically, the project has not been able to spark economic development, but this might be related to the overall weak economic situation of Haiti. As there is a lack of tourists and mass tourism in whole Haiti, it is understandable that the project was not able to spark mass tourism. Furthermore, the political instability in the country accompanied by a lack of trust in governmental institutions, caused the residents to express their concerns about the outcomes of the project and explicitly advocated the project to be different from another government-led community art project in Port-au-Prince. Culturally, the outcomes were influenced by the importance of pride in Haitian society. The high level of place attachment residents experienced was related to the importance of being seen in Haitian culture. As their community became more visible to society, their sense of pride rose.

This relates to the unique case study design and the difficulties to generalize the findings to other urban settings, as Port-au-Prince proved to be a city with rather extreme conditions. Although, these extreme conditions could also help in extrapolating the results to other cases. When a community art project contributes improvement of a deprived neighborhood in Haiti, chances of success in another developing country could be assumable. Theoretically, the research might contribute to the wider section of literature on community development through art. Furthermore, there seemed to be knowledge gaps within development literature on the Haitian urban context and also on the role of art in informal settlements. The research helps to overcome these gaps. It touches upon the public debate related to the impact of art in these communities and serves as contributor to the debate between artists and critics about the implications of art on deprived communities.

The findings could extend the knowledge on development strategies and in that way could serve as a guide for NGOs to steer their development strategies. The societal relevance of this research could be found in the fact that Favelapainting, as well as other artists working on community art projects in developing countries, could potentially use the results of the research in their projects. As the research showed that the close cooperation with the residents and the community involvement process used by Favelapainting, helped overcome scepticism regarding the project. Furthermore, future community art projects might consider integrating a long-term economic plan more firmly in the first phase of the project as this seemed to lack in the Villa Rosa Tap Tap project.

Future researchers travelling to countries similar to Haiti to execute their fieldwork have to consider the challenging research conditions present in these countries. These researchers should be aware of the value of local contacts and the cultural differences between local culture and western society. Furthermore, most painted house-owners were interviewed, but time constraints prevented me from interviewing more residents surrounding the area. In retrospective, I believe including more of the surrounding residents could have revealed additional data on the general perception of the neighborhood on the project. For future research on the influence of community art projects in informal urban settlements in developing countries, it is advised to consider studying a project that hasn't implemented infrastructural improvements. This would control for the positive perceptions on the project that residents had because of these improvements.

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Appendices

Itemlist interview residents (participants and non-participants)

Theme	Sub-theme	Possible questions
Background information respondent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Length of residence in Villa Rosa ● Years involved in the project 	<p>Since how long have you been living in Villa Rosa?</p> <p><i>For participants:</i> How did you come to be involved in the project?</p> <p>What is your role in the Villa Rosa Tap Tap project?</p> <p>Did you have any experience with art before you participated in this project?</p>
General changes	<p>Neighborhood level</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● What ● How ● Why ● Other changes <p>Individual level:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● What ● How ● Why ● Other changes 	<p>What do you think has changed in Villa Rosa the last couple of years?</p> <p>How has it changed?</p> <p>Why do you think it has changed?</p> <p>Can you think of something else that has changed in Villa Rosa?</p> <p>What has changed for you, living in the neighborhood?</p> <p>How has it changed?</p> <p>Why do you think it has changed?</p> <p>Can you think of something else that has changed for you living in Villa Rosa?</p>

<p>Economic development</p>	<p>Neighborhood level:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● General ● Sources of income: <i>Jobs, merchandise, art, investments</i> ● Tourism: <i>Local, international</i> <p>Individual level:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Employment opportunities 	<p>What do you think has changed economically in Villa Rosa the last couple of years?</p> <p>Do you feel that more people start to work with art in the neighborhood?</p> <p>What has changed regarding tourism in Villa Rosa? Local or international tourism?</p> <p>How has it changed?</p> <p>Why do you think this has changed?</p> <p>What has changed for you regarding employment opportunities in Villa Rosa?</p>
<p>Social development</p>	<p>Neighborhood level:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Empowerment: <i>Self-determination, autonomy, overcome powerlessness</i> ● Sense of community: <i>Level of civic responsibility, level of safety and security, participation in community affairs</i> 	<p>Do you feel that living in this neighborhood provides you with more chances (on jobs etc) than somewhere else in the city?</p> <p>How has this changed?</p> <p>Why do you think this has changed?</p> <p>Do you feel that Villa Rosa is a strong community and has this changed over the last years?</p> <p>How has this changed?</p> <p>Why do you think this has changed?</p>

	<p>Individual level:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human capital: <i>Skill learning, capacity building, talent development</i> 	<p>How did your life change the last couple of years regarding jobs, income and education/skill learning?</p>
Place attachment	<p>Neighborhood level:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Place dependence: <i>Functional attachment</i> • Place identity: <i>Emotional attachment</i> 	<p>Do you spend a lot of time in your neighborhood?</p> <p>Can you tell me why (not)?</p> <p>Has this changed?</p> <p>Why do you think this has changed?</p> <p>Do you feel a sense of pride when you walk through your neighborhood?</p> <p>Can you tell me why (not)?</p> <p>Has this changed?</p> <p>Why do you think this has changed?</p>
Physical development	<p>Physical characteristics</p> <p>Physical changes in the environment</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Infrastructure • Basic services 	<p>What has changed physically in Villa Rosa?</p> <p>How has this changed?</p> <p>Why do you think this has changed?</p>
General opinion on project	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Colors and design • Community involvement 	<p>Can you tell something in general about how you perceive the Villa Rosa Tap Tap project?</p> <p>What do you think about the colors and the design?</p> <p>What do think about the way the community was involved in the project?</p>

		What do you think the Villa Rosa Tap Tap project has contributed to the improvement of Villa Rosa?
Lessons	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community involvement • Physical changes 	Are there any lessons you have learned during the project? Or any advice for the organisation?

Figure 16: Itemlist for interview with residents (participants and non-participants). Thamon van Blokland, 2017.

Itemlist interview experts

Theme	Sub-theme	Possible questions
Background information respondent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Role • Years involved in the project • Previous occupation 	<p>What was your role in the Villa Rosa Tap Tap project?</p> <p>Since how long have you been involved in the Villa Rosa Tap Tap project?</p> <p>How did you come to be involved in the project?</p> <p>Did you have any experience in the field of community art before you started with this project?</p>
Project background	<p>Organization</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Structure • Process • Funding <p>Execution</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community involvement • Colors and design 	<p>Can you tell something about how the project was organized? Which parties were involved and how?</p> <p>Can you tell more about the collaboration with the involved parties? (Favelapainting, Cordaid, Cocread)</p> <p>Why did you decide on the Villa Rosa neighborhood as a project side?</p> <p>Has the community been involved in the project and if</p>

		<p>yes, how did you involve the community in the project?</p> <p>Can you tell more about the design process and the painting process?</p> <p>Can you tell something in general about what you think of the Villa Rosa Tap Tap project?</p> <p>What do you think about the colors and the design?</p>
General changes	<p>Neighborhood level</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● What ● How ● Why <p>Individual level:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● What ● How ● Why 	<p>What do you think has changed for the life of residents in Villa Rosa the last couple of years?</p> <p>How has it changed?</p> <p>Can you think of something else that has changed in Villa Rosa?</p> <p>What do you think has changed for an individual living in the neighborhood the last couple of years?</p> <p>How has it changed?</p> <p>Can you think of something else that has changed for an individual living in Villa Rosa?</p>
Economic development	<p>Neighborhood level:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● General <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Sources of income: <i>Jobs, merchandise, art, investments</i> 	<p>What has changed regarding the economic situation in Villa Rosa the last couple of years?</p> <p>How has it changed?</p> <p>Why do you think this has changed?</p> <p>What has changed in the sources</p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Tourism: <i>Local, international</i> <p>Individual level:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Employment opportunities 	<p>of income of the neighborhood?</p> <p>How has it changed?</p> <p>Why do you think this has changed?</p> <p>What has changed regarding tourism in Villa Rosa? Local or international tourism?</p> <p>How has it changed?</p> <p>Why do you think this has changed?</p> <p>What has changed regarding the employment opportunities in Villa Rosa?</p> <p>Can you tell something about the changes in employment opportunities for the participants of the project?</p> <p>And for non-participants?</p>
Social development	<p>Neighborhood level:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Empowerment: <i>Self-determination, autonomy, overcome powerlessness</i> ● Sense of community: <i>Level of civic responsibility, level of safety and security, participation in community affairs</i> 	<p>To what degree - in your opinion -do residents experience a certain level of empowerment?</p> <p>Has this changed in recent years?</p> <p>Why do you think this has changed?</p> <p>To what degree - in your opinion -do residents experience a sense of community?</p> <p>Has this changed in recent years?</p> <p>Why do you think this has changed?</p>

	<p>Individual level:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human capital: <i>Skill learning, capacity building, talent development</i> 	<p>In what way did the skills and talents of participants develop?</p> <p>In what way did the skills and talents of non-participants develop?</p>
Place attachment	<p>Neighborhood level:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Place dependence: <i>Functional attachment</i> • Place identity: <i>Emotional attachment</i> 	<p>What has changed in the facilities present in Villa Rosa?</p> <p>How has this changed?</p> <p>Why do you think this has changed?</p> <p>Do you think the identity of the neighbourhood has changed? If so in what way? How do residents experience this?</p>
Physical development	<p>Physical changes in the environment</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Infrastructure • Basic services 	<p>What has changed in the physical structure of Villa Rosa?</p> <p>How has this changed?</p> <p>Why do you think this has changed?</p>
General opinion on project	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Colors and design • Community involvement 	<p>How does art contribute to improvement of neighborhoods?</p> <p>What do you think the project has contributed to the improvement of the neighborhood?</p>
Lessons	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community involvement • Physical changes 	<p>Are there any lessons you have learned during the project or would you do something different next time?</p>

Figure 17: Itemlist for semi-structured interviews with experts (Thamon van Blokland, 2017)

Additional fieldwork images



An interview was conducted with Raoul Pierre Louis Turgeau, the Casec of Villa Rosa. Although after the recent elections of 2017 he is no longer the current Casec, he was the head of the communal section Villa Rosa at the time of the project and therefore an expert regarding community involvement and the community.



A painted house-owner in Villa Rosa. Although the interview started off with interviewing the older lady seen on this picture, her son soon started to engage in the interview and in the end her son answered most of the questions. Which was not really an issue, because he seemed to be well informed about the project and his mother seemed a little bit tired after visiting church in the morning.



A painted house-owner in Villa Rosa. This lady lived in one of the smaller houses that was painted and she seemed to be less wealthy than her neighbors. When we asked her to participate in the interview, she was a little bit reluctant because she had some other stuff to do. But I convinced her that it wouldn't take more than 10 minutes, eventually we spoke for about 8 minutes. It was a shame that I couldn't take more time with her because her opinion as one of the poorer residents of the project area was valuable for me.



A painted house-owner in Villa Rosa. This man lived in one of the bigger houses that was painted and his house is really at the centre of the project. He also didn't have much time, but he was willing to do a short interview for about 10 minutes. It was an interesting talk because apparently he owned a house with multiple floors, which is quite unique in this area. And therefore he could be seen as a rich, or wealthier man in the community.



A resident of Villa Rosa whose house wasn't painted in the first two phases of the project. This woman lived in a relatively small house together with her two children and her mother. Her house was situated right next to some of the painted houses. I had the feeling that she assumed that I was also part of the project and that I was the one that could make the decision to paint her house in the third phase of the project. I tried to be as objective as possible, but in the end of the interview I had to explain this also and had to apologize that I'm not the one that makes this decision.



A resident of Villa Rosa whose house was not painted in the first two phases of the project. This man lived in a relatively big house right in between two houses that were painted in the second phase of the project. He was still in the process of constructing his house, but by the size of the house I judged

that this man was relatively wealthy compared to other residents in the neighborhood. Also I found out later on that people speculated that he put an extra floor on his house, just so it would block the view to the painted houses behind it. This to make sure his house got noticed and painted too. But this was just speculation.



A resident of Villa Rosa whose house was not painted. But as he had a lot of experience as a painter, he was involved in the project since the beginning and did a lot of painting. His house was situated a couple of houses away from the project.



A resident of Villa Rosa. He was an older guy, probably around 60/70 years old and he lived in a house downstairs of the community. Close to some of the painted houses that were situated lower in

the community. It was also one of the poorer families, as most of them were sleeping in the same small room and when part of their house fell down because of stormy weather and they didn't have the money to fix it. After the first couple of questions I got some really confusing answers. It seemed like the guy did not really understand my questions and even after rephrasing the question sometimes the answers didn't make sense. I think he was also a little bit overwhelmed by the setting and spoke just about anything that popped up in his head when talking.



A painted house-owner in Villa Rosa whose house was painted in the second phase of the project. This man lived in a relatively big house and his house was on top of the hill. So he kind of overlooked the whole community. I had the feeling that this man had an important role in the community as he was a preacher and made the impression on me that he was an influential man. He lived in this house with his 4 children and his wife.



Residents of Villa Rosa. When we entered their house, we were supposed to do the interview with the owner of the house, but a friend of him was also visiting at the same time. As this man also lived in Villa Rosa and because they were both members of the community platform in Villa Rosa we choose to do the interview with the both of them.



Two residents of Villa Rosa living on top of the hill of which the whole Villa Rosa neighborhood is situated. They were talking on one of the stairways when we walked by, Richard introduced as and they were willing to do a small interview with us. I was glad they wanted to because the majority of my respondents were all a bit older, so it was good to speak with some of the younger generation about the project and the changes in the neighborhood.



Pierre Richard, he is a member of the Villa Rosa platform, the platform that organizes community meetings and has gatherings on a regular basis. He was my guide through the neighborhood as he has been involved in the project since day 1 and knows almost everyone in the community. Within the project he is responsible for community communication. He attended almost every meeting regarding the project and has spent days convincing people to participate in the project or helping people in choosing the colors for there house. It was very insightful talk to him about the community and the way the community was involved in the project.



Daphnee Charled, Co-Founder of Cocread, a haitian NGO that is currently working on projects that aim to boost local entrepreneurship and making disaster-prone areas socially and economically profitable. Cocread is the NGO that currently collaborates with Favelapainting on the Villa Rosa Tap

Tap project. Before that Favelapainting used to work with the dutch NGO Cordaid. At that time Daphnee was still working at Cordaid and was assigned to the project. Therefore Daphnee could be seen as an expert about the project, as she has seen and experienced the whole project from the start until now.



Ralph Emmanuel François, the Co-Founder and CEO of Cocread, a haitian NGO that is currently working on projects that aim to boost local entrepreneurship and making disaster-prone areas socially and economically profitable. Cocread is the NGO that currently collaborates with Favelapainting on the Villa Rosa Tap Tap project. Before that Favelapainting used to work with the dutch NGO Cordaid. At that time Ralph was still working at Cordaid and was assigned to the project. Therefore Ralph could be seen as an expert about the project, as he has seen and experienced the whole project from the start until now. For some reason it took us a while to set up an appointment and we ended up doing the interview on the way to the airport.



George Eddy Lucien, Professor and Director of the Center for Urban Policy Research and Support at Quisqueya University (Uniq). He holds a Ph.D. in Urban History from the University of Toulouse-Le-Mirail, and has just received a distinction from the Haitian studies association (HSA), which crowns his research in the social sciences. The interview was arranged for me by Daphnee (Co-founder of Cocread), who knew the professor from her university years. The interview was mainly focused on getting more insight in the Haitian context and why the city of PAP came to be the city that it is today. The professor knew a lot about Haitian history and explained me everything from the day that Haiti received its independence until the present.



Shari Ruppert, assigned by Favelapainting in 2016 to do fundraising and consulting for the Villa Rosa Tap Tap project and to support Ralph and Daphnee (Cocread) in the execution of phase two of the project. As she had been living in Haiti for multiple years before she started to work for Favelapainting and worked for almost 4 months on the project she could be seen as an expert about the project and someone that can give a foreign perspective on the local context. The interview was conducted two weeks after I returned from Haiti, which made it easier for me to understand her if she spoke about the Haitian culture and also for me to ask follow-up questions.
