Could Haitians have produced a better result in the past 200 years? Haitian history far more successful than the scholars acknowledge Haitian history has progress in it even if the elites [nèg anwo yo] have not yet realized it

When Haiti was a “wealthy Nation” and was called “Saint-Domingue” its workers were as “poor as Job and more miserable than dogs” (17)

When the Revolution ended in 1804, the nation was formed of a population of moun vini, - first generation people, or the children of first generation people. (24)

Conflict between farmers abitan and the elite gwo zouzoun

Forced labor in a plantation gives rise to a desire to destroy the plantation; there is never a desire to improve the plantation (29)

Captive workers are like “tools that speak” (30)

The indigenous army [lame natifnatal] joined forces with the rebel runaways rebèl mawon yo to make 1804 possible (32).

- mawon ~ maroon, escaped slave...
- mawonnaj ~ n. fleeing, hiding out; custom of forming community of escaped slaves
- mawonnen ~ to thieve, pilfer
- bal mawon ~ stray bullet
- mawonyè ~ n. looter, marauder; fugitive, runaway (Freeman/Laguerre 2000)

No economic system had ever grouped 200, 300 or 500 people together to produce merchandise prior to the slave trading of African peoples.

The sale of Africans lavant Nèg nwè is preceded and followed by the

- angaje
- brasewo [Panama Canal; Cuban sugar industry; today the Dominican Republic, Florida citrus industry...]

Trans-frontier human traffic continues with the boat-people bòtpipòl (36)
In the slavery period a highly diverse group of slaves lived isolated on plantations in rural areas.

This hell was foreseen in the *Code noir* of Louis XIV in 1685

For the captives of Saint-Domingue Louis XIV is eternally “lagrandyab”

For the *Blan* the person taken into slavery is like an “envelope of the real merchandise.” *Strength* is the merchandise (39-40).

The creature the colonist was trying to create was something like a robot. Violence and abuse were deemed the most efficient and economical means of control (41)

The planters produced legal and religious books to justify the power they seized in society.

The creolization of the *Nèg nwè* was a necessity to the Colonial system of domination...

Milat and *Nèg nwe* struggled with each other to attain degrees [degre] that France defined for them (46).

Ojè and Chavàn, who fought for the rights of the Milat, never realized that “freedmen” [afranchi] were like slaves on vacation. Their freedom is like “a station of the Cross” on the Calvary of their lives (48)

The *Nèg natif* or *Nèg kreyòl* is the most skilled individual with regard to the rules and the economy of the plantation.

*Nèg kreyòl* versus *Nèg bosal*

Creolization

Since the 18th century [1700s] the knowledge of all the captive nations on the plantations wound together to find a way to get out of the *kraze brize total sa a*.

A new knowledge was an essential ingredient.

The influence of the captives who were born in Africa was essential since they had experience of a society other than the plantation society. The African-born population had no difficulty imaging a different society and formulations for life (63).
Herskovits

1681 European colonialists outnumber African slaves 3 to 1.
1781 1 to 11.3

- A few issues with Herskovits 1971
  “both gives, and each takes” (32) = highly idealized
  “Negroes retained much of their African culture, they also freely took over and adapted the customs and behavior of the Europeans among who they lived.” (32)

  What was freely accepted?

The “Corps of Adventurers” in 1632:

buccaneers       boukan > boukanyè > boukannen > mayi boukannen > Boukan Ginén
filibusters      flibistye
farmers          abitan > bitasyon
bondsmen         angaje

  blan mannan       blan mannan mouri anba lakal batiman an
  the poor white dies down in the hull of the boat

Ex-convicts, escaped criminals, discharged soldiers and deserters (33)

In the earliest times the Spaniards sold Black and White slaves (34)

Nobles established the plantations ~

The masonic lodges [interesting paper topic]

  The letter of Vassière

  “...our life is so closely identified with that of these unfortunates that, in the end, it is the same as theirs” (39).

INSERT PAGE 38

What was the life of a white planter’s wife? Who was she?

  “concubine...cooked his food...shared his confidences, and reported to him any disaffection on the part of the Negro slaves” (38).
Why does Herskovits not mention whether the slaves could marry or not?

Absentee ownership characterized Santo Domingo

krèp kreyòl ~ pancake dipped in salt water and rolled with peanuts and watercress (384)
zam kreyòl ~ hand-made revolver

Representations of women in Herskovits

“like their men, they were creatures of passion” (41).

Herskovits, all humans are “creatures of passion”
“the supreme achievement for a European being to have himself served” (41)

More bare foot domestic slaves that diners on big plantations

Meat, French wine... “whiteness of domestic’s clothing, and the beautiful kerchiefs in the Créole manner elegantly arranged about the heads of the women”

Churches were used as threshing floors as well as places of worship; earthen walls and floors, thatch roofs (43).

Letters and books written at the time of the colony attest to widespread corruption (45)

Overall Herskovits seems pessimistic about Haiti and overly interested in the European populations (possibly due to sources).

He does recognize that the French colonialists were from the “extremes” of French society... but... is a prostitute or an ex-convict really extreme or just downtrodden?

Herskovits oddly entertains the thought that French “civilization” might be “partially” responsible for the “graciousness, the hospitality, and the generosity of the Haitian of today” (46). Pure wishful thinking.

News Flash:
Jean-Bertrand Aristide asked France for 21 billion dollars in 2003
In late 2004 Boniface/Alexandre are getting ready to send France a bust of Toussaint Louverture!

Ironic of ironies: both Toussaint Louverture and Jean-Bertrand Aristide were forced into exile. And France was involved on both occasions.
The State in Haiti ~ Ann Greene 1993
for Wednesday read Greene 27-55 from the U.S. Occupation

“Haitian history since independence has continued to resemble the colonial experience” (21)

Native Americans:
Ciboneys
Arawaks
Tainos
Caribs

In 1492 between 60,000 and 600,000 native Americans

Treaty of Ryswick 1697: Spain cedes the Western third of Hispaniola

Prostitutes and the mentally ill: insane asylum La Salpetrière

African slaves replaced angaje because they had “more stamina” (22)

indigo / sugar / coffee / tobacco

In 1789 Haiti responsible for 40% of French trade

Lesklizif ~ “The Exclusive (Law)”

Between 1783 and 1789 production doubled on the island “creating more wealth than the rest of the Caribbean islands combined or the thirteen North American colonies” (23).

\[
\begin{align*}
1681 &= 2,312 \text{ slaves} \\
1789 &= 620,999 \text{ slaves}
\end{align*}
\]

“...there was a complete turnover of slaves every 20 years” (23)

According to Greene, the Code noir was about providing a measure of protection to slaves, but the Code was ignored (24).

Social structure:
Lotorite ~ Gouvènè; Entandan Finans; fonksyonè (Fombrun 1989)
Gwo blan ~ planters; industrialists; leaders of commerce, business community
Ti blan ~ shop keepers, blacksmiths, shoe makers, sellers...
Esklav domestik ~ domestic slaves... butlers, cooks, handmaids...
Esklav metye ~ skilled slaves...
Esklav kiltivatè ~ farming slave
Komandè
(Fombrun 1989)

The French Revolution 1789:
Lanoblès = Nobility and Royalty
Gwo Legliz = Catholic elite
Tyèzeta = mercantile classes, poor priests, the masses (Fombrun 1989: 48))

Afranchi VERSUS Whites
Early 1791: Oje and Chavan took up arms to fight for expanding the rights of the mulatto
in accord with the principles of the FRENCH REVOLUTIONS 1789

After winning their first battle, they were killed in their second battle in 1

Seremoni Bwa Kayiman
Boukmann ~ August 14th 1791.
1,000 whites and 10,000 slaves killed
1,200 coffee estates and 200 sugar plantations destroyed (Greene 24)

Approximately 12 years of war that culminated in Le Clerc’s 1802 “expedition” to re-establish slavery under Napoleon’s orders. 20,000 French troops.

Kidnapping of Toussaint Louverture. Died in France.

Independence:
Jean-Jacques Dessalines 1804-06
Henri Cristophe 1807-1820 (North)
Alexandre Pétion 1807-1818 (South)

The 19th century in Casimir’s work

19th century developments: Forts
Large standing army
Legal limits on the ability of whites and foreigners to own land
Switched to a subsistence economy

These developments “deprived the new nation of valuable foreign economic expertise and entrepreneurship” (27). [Sounds like a late 20th century assessment!]
War of independence: Organization and hierarchy in the Haitian army

January 1, 1801
Boisrond-Tonnerre: To write the Act of Independence we need the skin of a white, his skull for an ink well, his blood for ink and a bayonet for a pen (115)

Dessalines and Boisrond Tonnerre and Juste Chanlatte order the execution of the remaining whites in Haiti (119)

- The nation needed to avenge itself
- Seize the wealth of whites
- Protect itself since certain French citizens had declared the army would return
- France was still practicing slavery
- The massacre stretched from les Cayes to Port-au-Prince and was led by Dessalines (121)

19th Century
Re-establishment of the importer/exporter industries (who was Haiti trading with in the 19th century?)
Formation of the Lakou family culture in rural Haiti
Development and establishment of Vodou in rural Haiti
Emergence of Haitian herbal healing arts: doktè féy kòve involuntary community work
konbit voluntary community work culture and its oral/musical culture
Official Roman Catholic Church totally absent until 1860s
Unofficial Roman Catholic present (pè savann)
Protestantism minimal (???)
Freemasonry
Thomas Madiou 1845
Georges Sylvain 1905 (Creole translation)
Schools and institutions in the 19th century [Awesome paper topic!]
Road construction
Population growth 350,000 > 2,000,000

From Ayiti Cheri, Jean Casimir 2000
“From 1804 to 1915, Haiti almost didn’t receive any immigrants. Nonetheless the population grew from about 500,000 to almost 2,000,000. This is because working conditions in Haiti were a million times more tolerable than in other countries. In all nations in the blessed earth, the Haitian race and the other races in the Caribbean, they are the last people who would forget about the conditions in which slaves, brasewo and agricultural workers were living in the 19th century. It is also true: Haitians committed
their share of abuses in all the fighting they got involved in the age of bayonets. But in Latin America or in the Civil War in the U.S., to which add the extermination of Native Americans, those are disasters that don’t compare to the mean things Haitians do.” (Casimir 2000: 56)

**US Occupation 1915 – 1934**

2,000 men, martial law, changed the constitution, selected presidents and lesser officials... etc. (Greene 28)
Reestablished the *kòve* (Greene 28)
*Kanpay rejete ~ Anti Vodou campaigns*
[see *Tonton Liben* for an account, Carrié Paultre]
François Duvalier
Father from Léogâne
1944 Michigan State, incomplete
Witnessed and suffered under the U.S. occupation
1930s Massacre of 20,000 cane-cutters

Becomes a medical doctor, directs a yams clinic

Member of the négritude movement; Jean-Price Mars
*Ainsi parla l’oncle* > valorizing Haitian culture

Duvalier’s candidacy 1951
International connections
Pro-black, pro-Haitian | His supporters: the army
Pro-Voodoo | His opposition: Church & Mulatto elite

Wins by a large margin democratically.

He collected a $50 finder’s fee from the pay of each cane-cutter in the D.R. (20,000) *(Greene 31)*
Promoted junior black officers to thwart coup and gain loyalty of the black middle class
Established the *cagoulards* and the *tonton macoutes*
Strategic executions
Vodou: did he use Vodou or did Vodou use him? Populist appeal

How did Duvalier extract funds from the U.S.A.? The threat of communism
Greene’s assessments: “...attrition of the population through exile and murder was a terrible blow”
30,000-60,000 from 1951 – 1971 [1,500 - 3,000 per year]
Baby Doc 1971 – 1986

*Ti tig, se tig.* Really?

What did Jean-Claude Duvalier do to impress U.S.A?

Fire his ministers “bring in well-regarded young technocrats” (34)
Error of Jean-Claud Duvalier 1971 - 1986 (Greene, Ann 1993)

- Ignored the black middle class (that had ensured his father’s power)
- Ignored Duvalierists, the army, the Volontaires de la Sécurité Nationale
- Stoked resentment among the elite by allowing “palace charities”
- Ignored the voodooists
- Married a wealthy mulatto: “insult to Duvalierists” (37).
- Spending and corruption scandals
- Drugs trafficking (39)
- Human rights violations

Improvements during the Carter administration 1976-80
Decline after Reagan (1980-8)

- Prisoners held incommunicado, torture... 100 deaths at Fort Dimanche in 1978...
- Ongoing prison violence
- Patronage, not skill-set (46). Moun pa culture
- 83% of government expenditures in PauP (46) whence the motto: La Republique de PauP
- Duvaliers absconded with $120 million when they left Haiti

What security apparatus did JCD expand?

Tonton Makout: 10,000 >>>> 25,000
Number of killings said to rise: 50,000 >>>> 100,000 (42)

Notes:
What interested the U.S. in Haiti most in the 80s?
- Facilitating repression against communists.
- U.S. Embassy provided money and names (43)
- Swine fever ... drought ... Hurricane Allen ... hunger ... unemployment ...
  1. 15% of people own 66% of land
  2. 66% of people own 10% of land
  3. 24% is government owned (45)

U.S. Policy to Haiti: Ambassadors have been people on the verge of retirements and who serve short tours and do not learn the local languages. (55)
Greene’s sources: Ambassadors, Gérard Gourse
Family planning initiatives and Kalouno peasants: what’s going wrong

When so many foreigners are providing FREE “family planning” techniques:

- pills, condoms, IUD’s, foams, diaphragms, Depo-Provera, Norplant, tubal ligations and vasectomies (6)

Why is family planning so rarely practiced in Haiti?

In rural, agrarian Haiti, children are a household essential

- Chores / Labor / Selling at market...
- Culture of promoting child-bearing.
- Children make life joyful and fulfilling (8)
- Premium placed on female and male fertility
- Model of the fertile family and “head of the household”
- Children legitimize unions
- Ever-present fear of losing children (10)

Acceptable sexual relations mentioned:

*plasaj, manmzel*, consecutive *plasaj*, multiple partners (9)
The New Refugees – Environmental Exodus

22 million refugees

Refugee disaster is here and climate change will make it worse (1)

Vast majority of earth’s next billion will live in impovrishment (1)

Deforestation > Fuel-shortage
  Desertification threatens 1/3 of earth’s land surface
  Soil-erosion
  Water deficits and droughts
  Salinisation and water logging

Developing countries with 80% of the world’s population have just 21% of global GDP (2)

Measles

Dr. Bert Bolin
“most of the damage due to climate change is going to be associated with extreme events, not by the smooth global increase of temperature that we call global warming”

16 fold increase in urban dwellers from 1950 – 2025

“Vast numbers in the margin of existence”

Yesteryear’s news in Haiti...

Signs of climate change:
  Sea level rise
  CYCLONES, STORM SURGES
  changes in agricultural production: cotton, citrus, etc. move north...
  loss of biodiversity
  extension of the range of disease carrying pests

Caribbean: 5 million destitute and fleeing...

Doesn’t this put Haiti and Haitians on the forefront of finding solutions with major global import?!

What can be done?
• R & D on renewables and efficiency. Energy paradigm shift.
• SOLAR – already widely used in Haiti. Solar revolution needed.
• WIND (turbines)
• Donor nations need to step up.
  $9 billion can eliminate deaths from famine and reduce hunger.
  RE-THINK THE ARMS RACE. Arms form twice the expenditure as health and education in many nations facing environmental catastrophes.
• Spend on soil conservation and tree-planting
• Promote projects with multiplier effects:
  Example: treeplanting is good for what?
  • fuelwood and timber
  • protects soil and watersheds
  • provides crop and windbreaks and carbon sinks for greenhouse
  • Information is needed to combat ignorance ...
Herskovits 1971 (much earlier)

*Birth, Childhood, and Adolescence*

Church, State, and African tradition (family structure, religion, folklore, class structure, social status)

- Charms ~ djòk, maldjòk... rad maldjòk, kolye maldjòk, etc.
- Food traditions
- Protection sought from family deities just before parturition:
  - *kouvè sèk*, *manje sèk* = vegetarian meal (Freeman/Laguerre)
  - *manje dyò* = food and drink offered to Voodoo spirits involving no animal sacrifice (Freeman/Laguerre)
  - *manje djak* = food offering including meat (except pork)

  Pater Noster, Ave Maria

Those serving Danbala add a chicken sacrifice; dress in the sacred color of the *lwa*

What types of actions are taken after the birth of a child in this rural, mid-20\(^{th}\) century setting described by Herskovits?

- Nostrils pinched
- Bathed in tepid water, kept warm
- Placenta is buried in hole in the room, **salt** is added
- Mother is bathed in water with calabash leaves (93)
- Prior to baptism: *gen chwal nan tèt*. “Have the horse in the head”.
- Baptism: *wete chwal nan tèt* “Take the horse out of the head”

What are some features of a child’s upbringing?

- Carefully protected
- Instructed early
- Physical punishment saved for later
- Potty-trained fairly quickly
- Breastfed to 18 months. Describe weaning. *lalwa* = aloe

The role of godparents in a child’s life = parenn, marenn

In Mirebalais a Church marriage had to be approved by the Archbishop!

The mechanisms of education and control operate better because...
...they are exercised by a fairly large group of persons (101)
mother, father, aunts, uncles, brothers, sisters, grandparents, cousins...

When a rural boy is able to tend a garden, what happens with the profit generated
from selling the produce?

    His mothers saves it for his marriage.

How is sex education imparted?

    Peers, observation... “play-life”

Mention of restavèk culture


emergent = no growth rate; birth and death balance each other out
transition = soaring growth; high birth rate, low death rate due to medicine
advanced = slow growth due to spread of health services...

“Western values” of small family size in conflict with fertility culture

- Links to social position and economic survival
- Polygamous relationships promote anxiety and fear; correlate with children
- Children are seen as tying a partner’s affection (1387)
- “children are the life goals of the woman and define her role and place in society” (1386)
- Loss of a partner leads to a quest for replacement and children in the new relationship

Types of relationships are closely linked to socio-economic factors:

marye, plase, renmen, fyanse, antant, flirte, wikenn

Fertility culture is seen by author as a cultural barrier to contraception (1386)

Migrant culture is seen as promoting transient sexual partnerships

What are motivations to obtain contraception in the city?

Employment and unstable relationships

How is pèdisyon analyzed by Murray (1976)?

- Perdition is blood loss from the uterus. Used as excuse for low fecundity.
- “Culture-bound syndrome” shows importance of fertility (1381)

Approaches to family planning suggested by the author:
- Training curriculum on physiology, method instructions, side-effects, sensitivity
- Working relationships
- Volunteer instructors
- Involvement of men and women
- Home visits
**Conjugal Unions Among Rural Women**, Williams, Murthy, Berggren (1975)

“two cultural influences were bound to **impinge** on Haitian family formation: those of Africa and France...” (1022)


1889 British traveler describes “a well-to-do black lives openly with several women as wives...” (1022)

Passive acceptance of polygamy

**Plaçage ~ Plasaj**

“Land was inherited in widely scattered areas, and Haitians became mobile in their struggle to keep it productive.”

It becomes advantageous for the man to find a “female consort” to manage his mountain land holdings and one to manage his valley holdings.

**What rituals accompany plasaj?**

Ceremonies at the girl’s parents home.

*Plasaj* unions often endure as long as recognized church marriages (1023)

Noted by Price-Mars (1928)

“Almost the same preparation as marriage”

++Power

fanm kay

++Power

manman piti

+Power

fanm plase ~ intermittently share a bed; she works a garden

fanm avèk ~ cohabits for pleasure without economic ties

What method did the authors use to assign date of birth to their subjects?

Significant events

How did the authors begin to probe private issues such as sexual lifestyle?
Ask about migration patterns

Why are rural Haitian women so mobile?

Gardening, selling in markets

Authors admit that the most mobile members of the rural society were unavailable for their research. This may be bias in their research (1025)

When are *plasaj* unions most unstable?

Early and late. 25 – 44 is stable.

Average age to enter into union: 20 years old

*Plasaj* is generally more unstable than legal marriage
This correlates directly with the number of children

**Births in Stable versus Unstable: Charts**

**“Importance of unions in population dynamics”**

*Stable union = more children; Unstable = less*

Has the rural exodus and rapid urbanization contributed to more or less stable unions?

Women outnumber men in Haiti. 6 to 5 (???)

**With respect to family planning...**

- Target couples in stable unions
- Women in unstable unions may be more resistant
- Education should offset rumors: target 15 – 19 year olds before union
- Health risks to mother and child from union dissolution (1030)
Quiz 2

1. What are some things Jennie Smith noticed about the Haitian families in Kalfounò? Why does contraception often not catch on in certain Haitian communities? [4 pts]

2. Do you think that “family planning” and contraception can improve the lives of Haitians in general? State why. [3 pts]

3. Describe an **economic** aspect of the plasaj ‘common law marriage’ practice [3 pts]

4. Why are so many Haitian women mobile (i.e. moving around?) [2 pts]

5. From a demographic point of view, what is a major difference between legal and plasaj [plaçage] relationships? [3 pts]

6. What are some suggestions Roper (1996) and Myrlene, our guest speaker, made regarding potential solutions to environmental problems in Haiti (and elsewhere)? [4 pts]

7. Describe the “theory of demographic transition” cited in Maynard Tucker’s article. What are the roles of medicine and health care? Key terms: emergent; transition; advanced [4 pts]

8. List a few environmental issues facing the world as noted in Roper 1996 [4 pts]

9. Climate change is going to be associated with what kind of events according to Bolin in Roper 1996 [3 pts]

10. Extra-credit [1pt]: What 3000-level Haiti-related class do you think UF undergraduate students would enjoy?
Herskovits 1971, *Mating and Marriage*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Haitian Gameshow</th>
<th><em>Mastèbren</em> vs. <em>Lougawou</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Chèlbè</em> vs. <em>Bòzò</em></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

1. Token of marriage worn by wife  
   - ring
2. The mass of people, married or unmarried?  
   - unmarried
3. Longevity of *plaçage* versus marriage  
   - equal
4. Must have for groom  
   - house, field, goats, pigs, beast of burden
   - RESPECT!
5. Should have some of these too...  
   - konbit

6. Above, this must be shown by groom to parents  
7. The groom should be prepared to participate in  
   - this collective activity
8.  
9. In 1937, a “first class wedding” cost a peasant  
   - (a) 3,000 gourdes (b) 175 gds. (c) 47.5 gds.  
10. What is wrapped around the envelope of the  
    - lettre de demand  
    - (c) Green silk handkerchief
11. One may turn to this if marriage proposal is rejected.  
12. Name a couple things required of the bride.  
   - cooking utensils, knives, forks, horse, animals
13. A fatherless child is well cared for in Haiti: true  
   - (a) true (b) false
14. Voodooists will perform rites to what *lwa*  
   - Damballa, Erzilie, Ogun, Aida Wedo
15. Where do some Haitians go in order to contact the dead regarding a marriage?  
16. What *lwa* preside over the cemetery?  
   - Baron Samedi Gede = handyman of Bawon Samdi
17. Marriages rarely take place in these months.  
   - Nov. / Dec.
18. Why? “Month of the Dead” “Fèt Gede” Nov. 1 & 2

19. This can be heard after a Haitian wedding Clanging church bell

20. Unofficial priest “Bush priest”

21. In Mirebalais at the time of Herskovits visit (1930s), polygynous households were common. True or False? False, none found

22. Rival “wives” [not living under the same roof] may sing these derisive songs if to meet by chance is a market

23. Haitian attitudes toward homosexuality at this time can best be captured in which word:
(a) derision (b) vindictiveness

24. Children born outside of legal marriage have no right to their father’s name. True or False? True

25. How are the children of various types of matings most strongly differentiated...

26. Children born outside of legal marriage have no right to their father’s land. True or False? True

27. Some men believed that placing this under the tongue during intercourse could prevent pregnancy...

28. Many Haitian Voodooists/Catholics make pilgrimages to this sacred places like...

Saut d’Eau Sodo
AIDS and Haiti: A lecture on Paul Farmer’s work


Racist and outlandish speculations erupt in 1982 and continue into the mid-80s

“this may be an epidemic Haitian virus that was brought back to the homosexual population in the United States” (99 citing the U.S. National Cancer Institute in December 1982)


- “Magic ritual provides a means for transfer of blood and secretions from person to person”
- Female followers of Erzulie are said to add menstrual blood to food to prevent straying
- Voodoo priests ritualize homosexual acts...
- After a brief visit to Haiti, MIT Physicians declare: “It seems reasonable to consider voodoo practices a cause of the syndrome” (99 citing *Annals of Internal Medicine* October 1983)

A camp of U.S. scientists immediately blamed Africa and Haiti for the origin of AIDS... a media bandwagon publicized the claims in a string of popular press articles in the early 80s...

“...I knew that science, cultures, and transnational inequalities were coming together in a volatile mix” (96)

**Haiti’s tourism was devastated and has not recovered**

Theory behind Farmer’s research
Farmer’s contribution is **biosocial**:
ethnographic work is linked to critical epidemiology

epidemiology = a branch of medical science that deals with the incidence, distribution, and control of disease in a population [see epidemic] (Webster’s)

Research questions: why AIDS so quick to spread in urban Haiti and by what routes would it reach the countryside? (97)

-----------------------------------------------

AIDS in Haiti
Between 1979 – 1982, 61 cases

In 1983 a team of Haitian doctors led by Pape published research that began to shed light on the real origins and nature of AIDS in Haiti

- 74 % of men with infections live in P-au-P (home to 20% of all Haitians)
- 33 % of AIDS patients live in Carrefour, neighborhood known for prostitution at that time
- The earliest population with AIDS in Haiti also included individuals who had lived in the US and Canada.
- At least 7 men who said they were homosexual also noted that they had sexual contact with North American men in Haiti and the U.S. (102)
- Plus, at least half of the allegedly heterosexual men had either lived or traveled outside Haiti (104)
- All denied sexual contact with persons from Africa, in fact most had never met a person from Africa. But several admitted to having sex with U.S. tourists.

Emerging picture: AIDS spread from the U.S. and went to Haiti

More evidence... Farmers studies the spread of AIDS in Haiti “through the study of HIV seroprevalence in asymptomatic populations” (107)

Chart from page 108
Highest seroprevalence rates among Haitian sex workers, reaching 41.9% (107)

Children with HIV

Chart on page 109

Speed of spread: sera stored in 1977-1979 was HIV-free (109)

**Phase 1: “The American Phase”** of the urban epidemic in Haiti (110)

1970: 100,000 tourists visit Haiti
1979: 143,000 tourists
winter 1981-2 75,000 tourists

-- Haitians blamed for AIDS --

the year 1983: 10,000 tourists... 6 hotels fold,

Pape’s team found that throughout the Caribbean “the major risk for the spread of AIDS was homosexual contact with a partner from primarily the U.S.”

“sufficient data now exist to support the assertion that economically driven male prostitution, catering to a North American clientele, played a major role in the introduction of HIV to Haiti” (120)

*Spartacus International Gay Guide* wrote in 1983: “handsome men with a great ability to satisfy are readily available ... there is no free sex in Haiti, except with other gay tourists you may come across. Your partners will expect to be paid for their services but the charges are nominal” (123)

An ad in the gay-advocacy magazine, *The Advocate*, wrote that Haiti is where “all your fantasies come true” (123)

**Phase 2: The feminization of AIDS in Haiti**

All the male Haitian AIDS patients admitted to being **bisexual**
This paved the way for rapid dispersion through the Haitian population

Table 4, p. 114

Table 5, p. 115

**Phase 3: HIV moves into rural Haiti**

In 1986-7 seroprevalence rate for HIV was 3%

Chief risk factor in rural Haiti turns out to be **profession** of partner and not the number of partners (134)

Soldiers and truck-drivers are the **bridge** between urban and rural communities (135)

**Recap:**
U.S. origin homosexual sex-tourists > bisexual Haitian sex workers  
bi sexual Haitian sex workers > infect the general urban population  
soldiers and truckers > infect the general rural population
Further notes from Farmer (1999)

“Cultural, economic and social factors are not of equal significance in all settings” (137)

“We can identify differently weighted, synergistic forces that promote HIV transmission” (137):

**Population pressures:** P-au-P grows from 12% of total population in 1950 to 27% in 1980

**Economic pressures:** 27% of population, 80% of state expenditures (139)

**Patterns of sexual union:** *plasaj*, i.e. ‘pre-existing sociocultural institution speeds the spread of AIDS’

**Gender inequality:** first note that Haiti’s women “have a higher proportion of economically active women than any other developing society except Lesotho” (141).

Example: female *plase* partners do not have the authority to demand condom use (141)

**Political disruption:** for example in the 1991 coup d’état one half of the residents of Cité Soleil fled to rural Haiti, thereby increasing the spread of AIDS.

**Inaccessibility of medical services:** hospitals, providers and drugs out of reach
Property, Wealth, and the Family, Herskovits 1937

Haitian family has a wide range of relatives, both direct and collateral, on both sides of both parents...

African and French family traditions prevail in Haiti
  French tradition: “...custom binds children with equal strength to the families of both parents” (123)

Major transition in the life of the peasant:
  Moving from habitation of his parents to his own house on land received from his father (124)

Peasant family’s major pursuit is the acquisition of land

  Rarely does he live with his wife’s family; this will lower his status.

Husband expected to procure food through farming; wife sells surplus food. With profits she may buy:
  • Clothing
  • Animals for transport, food or breeding
  • Saved for land
  • Saved for mass or (Voodoo) ceremony (125)

Women perceived as more thrifty = she’s the bank (125).
  [Remains true]

  Women also do 30% better on the U.S. stock market, apparently because they are more cautious.

Peasant consults the elders about everything; “family head” has special authority...

A widow holds the land of her husband until her death; land is held in trust for the children (if they are minors) should they both parents die (126)
Deities of the *vodun* cult are believed to be inherited in family lines... (126).

- “pronouncedly African trait”
- “inheritance of the soul within the family” (126)
- “adds its sanction to help maintain the inner cohesion of the group” (126)

Oldest male member of the family
Consulted for secular and spiritual matters

Group loyalty

“All relatives help one who, for example, has run afoul of the law because of attendance at a forbidden *vodon* dance and needs a certain sum to pay a fine” (127)

Great subordination is shown by peasants to their elders

Duty-bound relationships enforced by notions such as:
- Curses (bad-luck in life)
- The dead will deeply resent an injustice (130)

“...the dead can enforce the discharge of this duty by sending illness, bad fortune, and death to those of their descendants who are remiss” (134)

>>> Consequently a *placée* wife is cared for if left with nothing

The pursuit of land is an obsession (135)
In troubulous times money is buried in jars...

The wealthy are **not ostentatious** to avoid arousing...
Jealousy...

Herskovits provides a valuable look at rural life in the 1930s; while some things have changed, much remains the same.
Herskovits continued, “The Setting of Haitian Life” (1937)

Agriculture: the small cultivator holds center stage
   Land acquired through inheritance, purchase or rent

Who has land to rent in Haiti?
   The state

Dawn  ~ wife rises to prepare coffee
      ~ husband works from sunrise to sunset except when the sun
         is hottest
      ~ wife works nearer home, pounds grain in mortar, takes
         care of home tasks, might farm a home plot; sells on
         market days
      ~ farmer typically eats twice per day, midmorning in the
         field and early evening, alone, after work

Sunday, mass; occasionally on Saturdays a vodou dance occurs into
   the night.

Hard field work abates from December – February (dry season) when
   repairs and roof thatching takes place.

   Dances and cockfights are popular in that season

Life cycle of a (traditional) Haitian farming plot:
   No crop rotation.
      3 successive crops are introduced until fallow
         Finally cotton is planted.
            Lastly animals are sent to graze on the land until
            renewed.

Communal labor:
mira ~ “small konbit” (6-10 men)
koutmen ~ slightly larger group
konbit, sosyete kongo ~ strenuous labor:

see page (70)

chèf eskwad makes an invitation in the form of kleren
simidò ~ leads the singing and uses a ‘European’ drum; drum rhythm
regulates the work and also signals the konbit;

Call and response song structure at the konbit
• “Theme” and “response” (74)
• Songs convey news and gossip
• Details are alluded to somewhat scrupulously
• “love of gossip and patterned relish for oblique public
  statement of individual shortcomings” (74)

“The simidor is a journalist, and every simidor is a Judas!” (74)

• Travelers in Haiti often confuse konbit drumming for vodou
drumming! (72)
• Participation in konbit is also a form of insurance; should a loyal
  participant fall ill, his own land will often be tended by a konbit
• Konbit of up to 75 participants is described
• Large konbit can be competitive, i.e. 2 competing groups are
  formed.

• Prayers and invocations protect fields, Mèt Sous (Simbi)
• Cranium of a horse, wooden cross
• Sacred trees are rewarded for their care over the field
• “In the main garden magic is directed toward protective rather than
  malevolent ends” (81)

Market rules and conventions:
Women retain a given place in the market
Women generally specialize their product: meat or baskets...
Money, not barter is found
Vendors adjust prices through the day
Vendors must pay a small fee to sell at the market in Mirebalais
Taxes are collected on all animals sold live or for the butcher

Women will sell goods on off-market days, too. At crossroads, cock-fights, etc.

Specialization in Mirebalais in 1934 (see p. 85)

Social class: pòv ~ malere ~ klas mwayèn ~ gran nèg
Comparative religion assumes that the search for meaning is universal
  (Charles Long, Karen McCarthy Brown, Patrick Bellegarde-Smith)

- Religion has been an instrument in the West to dominate people
- In some forms: contact and conjunction for marginalized peoples

Vodou adapts African practices to New World Realities (280)

European & Catholic       African & Voodooist

  but: African & Catholic  (Congo see Terry Rey)

In the colonial period clandestine nature of Vodou increased its prestige
Revitalization... channel to organization and resistance...

**Syncretic fusion: why according to author?**

  “sociopolitical realities impelled Haitians to integrate such Catholic
  elements such as prayers, hymns, and the Gregorian calender into Vodou
  cosmology” (281)

Vodou is **not** sorcery and witchcraft
Vodou differs from Christian traditions in:

  dogma         >>>> teachings, ritualized words, phrases
  phenomenology >>>> understanding of the world, phenomena
  hierarchy     >>>> organization of power
  monumental structure >>>> places of worship, objects

no prescriptive code of ethics in Vodou
  but moral principles are self defined, wisdom of ancestors,
  communication with spirits (282)
  Moral coherence through **cosmological understandings**
Vodou is concerned with:
Search for purpose
Making life whole
Interpreting and giving meaning to the universe

Quote p. 282

Protestantism is problematic? Why?

**Family and Temple Vodou**
Temple is informal; crossroads; cemetery; oceans; rivers; waterfall (Sodo), markets, compounds...
What are signs and symbols of Vodou?
Candles, icons, lamp, flags, bottles, jars, rosaries...

**Urban temple Vodou**
“they remain the center of urban life where devotees recreate family left behind by migration and continue their quest for religious and moral values” (285)

**Teaching Methods and Instructional Strategies**
Vodou is a way of life.
Ceremonies
Vodou participants
While interacting with spirits
in homes
in everyday activities...

Vodou is African cosmological understandings and American and Creole realities

Symbiotically taught via spoken language with action and aesthetics [synergy]

Learner-centered; teachers are guides and facilitators; democratic foundation
Priest is a ritualizer, a “technician of the sacred”

“help community find cohesion and teach Vodou adepts how to avoid the source of moral decay: imbalance.” (288)

“race and nationality never factors in deciding whether a person is included” (288)

Artists, sculptors and painters

Vodou “emphasizes the common good over individual satisfactions” (290)
“collective self developed through elision of individual self” (291)
“everyone dances in a quest to find a rhythm and balance...”
“Confidence, liveliness, relevancy, flexibility, endurance, musicality and rhythm enhance beliefs, rituals, experiences and healing”
Haitian Culture and Society, HAI 3930
Introduction to vodou concepts via song: Azor, Sanba Move ‘Angry Poet’
Transcriptions by Ben Hebblethwaite

1. Maladi pa tonbe sou lwa, sou kretyen l tonbe
   Illness doesn’t fall on lwa, on humans it falls

   Lè y ap fè maji yo, m di yo m pa anmède yo
   When they are doing their magic, I tell them I don’t bother them

   Lè y ap trase vèvè yo, m di yo m pa anmède la...
   When they are tracing their cosmograms, I tell them I don’t bother there...

2. Rele gwo wòch o, se mwen yo rele gwo wòch o
   Call big rock, it’s me they call big rock

   Di Ogou fèy, Ogou feray o, Ogou fèy la, Ogou feray o...
   Say Ogou fèy, Ogou feray, Ogou fèy, Ogou feray o

   ankò mwen inosan, ankò mwen inosan papa,
   again I’m innocent, again I’m innocent father,

   yo fè konplo la pou yo tiye chwal mwen...
   they have made a plot in order to kill my horse

3. Feray o m pral fè on wout o, ann ale avè mwen...
   Feray o I’m going to be on my way, let’s go together

   Di Feray o, kite m fè wout o, ann ale avè mwen,
   Say Feray o, let me be on my way, let’s go together,

   ou mèt tande tire, piga ou vire gade, ann ale avè mwen
   you may hear booms, don’t turn around and look, let’s go together

4. Yaye o yaye, Ezile kanpe nan baryè a, pa sa antre
   Yaye o yaye, Ezile stands at the gate, (and) can’t get in

   Wi, yaye priz sa a, wi yaye, yaye, o yaye... Bizango wi yaye...
   See Chanpwèl

   O yaye pwen sa, wi yaye, Ezile kanpe nan bayè sa l pa sa antre

5. Feray o nan men ki moun w a kite badji a la
   Feray o in whose hands will you leave the badji (inner sanctuary of voodoo temple)

   Ay sobadji a la, m ap prale... Feray o...
   Ay the sobadji is there, I’m getting going... Feray o

6. ...mennen l ban mwen
   bring her/him to me

   al pou chache lennen l ban mwen, se vye granmoun o, pa ka fè anyen ankò la, al pou chache lennen l
   go in order to find her and to bring her to me, she’s an elderly person o, can’t do anything more here, go in order to find her and bring her for me...

   ban mwen, tande [de]manbre
   give me, listen demanbre

7. Mwen nan bwa ay, sèvi maji lakay mwen
   I’m in the woods ay, to practice the magic of my house

   M pral nan bwa ye, m pa konnen kote m ap tonbe
   I’m going to the woods ye, I don’t know where I’m going to stop

   M pral nan bwa, kote n ap rive misye...
   Pral nan bwa ye!
I’m going to the woods, where are we going mister
Going to the woods yes!

8. Lwa Simbi Makaya oke
Lwa Simbi Makaya is okay

**Bilolo!**

W a lage pwen an nan men timoun yo, si gen lavi,
You will leave spell in the hands of the children, if there is life,

n ap dwe gangan yo, si pa gen lavi n ap di yo nou pa dwe...
we are going to owe the gangan (male priest – oun gan), if there is no life we’re going to say we don’t owe...

Adye! o ann al lage pwen makaya....
Oh my! o let’s go let the mákaya charm loose

---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

**Songs recorded by Ben Hebblethwaite, January 10th 2000 in Bèl Rivyè, south-eastern Haiti**

**Bawon Lakwa**

Bawon konnen moun yo, konnen Bondye
Baron knows people, knows God

Bawon an, Bawon Lakwa, konnen moun yo, konnen Bondye
The Baron, Baron of the Cross, knows people, knows God

Bawon an, Bawon Lakwa, konnen moun yo, konnen Bondye
The Baron, Baron of the Cross, knows people, knows God

Bawon papa konnen moun yo, konnen Bondye
Baron knows people, knows God

---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

**Mimwòz: Sa se rit rasin ginen**
**Benn: Eske ou konn kèk chan pou Ogou, pa egzanp?**

O o, Ogou!

**Ogou (Feray)**

M ap vole,
I’m flying

M pral rele Ogou o, m pral vole
I going to call Ogou o, I’m going to fly

Lè m vole, m vole twò wo,
When I fly, I fly too high,

Si ou pa pare, pa rele Ogou sa! Abobo!
If you’re not ready, don’t call that Ogou! Abobo!

**Ogou Travay**

Ogou travay o, Ogou pa manje!
Ogou works o, Ogou doesn’t eat

Ogou travay o, Ogou pa manje! (x2)
Ogou works o, Ogou doesn’t eat

Ogou sere lajan l pou l achte yon bèl rechany
Ogou saves his money to buy a nice suit

Bèl rechany o, Ogou dòmi san soupe
Nice suit o, Ogou sleeps without supper

---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Alex de Sherbinin, “Human Security and Fertility: The case of Haiti”

Lack of social order, especially governance, is the cause of high fertility
- Lack of governance increases desire for large family.
- Large family = economic security in Haiti

Population-Poverty-Environment Spiral

- Land fragmentation and tenure discourage soil conservation, planting of tree crops over annual cropping which leads to declining yields
- Loss of vegetative cover and topsoil leads to decreased absorption of rainfall and increases run-off

Big picture: Decrease in quality and quantity of resources
+ Population growth
+ Inequal access to resources
+ No socially responsible governmental institutions
= Conflict (Homer-Dixon cited in de Sherbinin 31)
Institutional factor argued as most important

Other major factors: Linguistic and cultural isolation; unfair terms of trade/debt; economic embargos; low wage assembly industries (see page 34)

Household economic security: the case of African swine fever
- In 1978 African swine fever detected in Haiti’s native pig population
- U.S. swine industry pumped $23 million into swine eradication in Haiti
- Replacement program was a total failure because of ‘the pampered pig’ that was introduced
- Deeper crippling of the Haitian peasant’s economic strategies

Recapitulation:
Large families improve RESOURCE CAPTURE (Panyatou); number or children is decisive
The elderly without children face major difficulties
Land inheritance and tenure practices can raise productivity
Lack of social order creates context in which fertility remains high
**Pawòl granmoun, Jeanty and Brown 1996**

1. Madichon pa pè nan nwit ‘Atoufè pa pè anyen’
   Curses are not fearful of the night

2. Nèg sòt se chwal malentespri
   The stupid guy is the horse of the evil spirit

3. Konplo pi fò pase wanga
   A plot is stronger than an amulet

4. Kote zonbi konnen ou, li pa fè ou pè ‘Menm nan lanfè gen moun pa’
   Where the zonbi knows you, he won’t make you scared

5. Tout maladi pa maladi doktè ‘There are other ways to get healed’
   All illnesses are not medical illnesses

6. Jijman Bondye vini sou bourik
   God’s judgment comes on a donkey

7. Nèg di san fè, Bondye fè san di
   Humans say without doing, God does with saying

8. Lavi se kòd sapat; ou pa ka konte sou li
   Life is a sandal string; you can’t count on it

9. Nan benyen nanpwen kache lonbrit
   In bathing there is no hiding the naval

10. Lamepriz vo mye ke larepons
    Scorn is worth more than responding

One dedicated to Jean-Claude Duvalier and Jean-Bertrand Aristide:

11. Egzile miyò pase fizye
    Exile is better than the firing squad
Haitian Culture and Society

Wed. = 2 pages + Bibliography. Please see format at back of class packet.
Read: - “Work and gender in Rara,” McAlister 2002

Arab-Haitians, review of Miami Herald article

Lebanese-Haitian: “All of my core values, what I believe in, my basic education, I got them in Haiti”

201 out of 214,893 Haitians in S. Florida identify themselves as Arab Haitian. Notable Haitians of Arabic decent: André Apaid, T-Vice (?)

- Sold textiles to the masses
- Struggle for inclusion over generations in Haiti...
• Expelled through anti-Arab laws
• Arabs saw progress under Duvalier, he named Carlo Boulos as health minister

The downside: “Frankly, they don’t have a good track record of affirming their Haitian-ness, of actually contributing to the social, political and cultural growth of the island they claim to be their homeland” – Gepsie Metellus

Anecdote: P-au-P Lebanese shop with stickers on cash register reading: “Haiti: no electricity, no water, we love it!”

Gabriel’s drumming in Baudin, south-eastern Haiti
Drumming concepts: rit tanbou kase

Rhythm:

Side 1           Side 2
Nago             Bal
Sanmmba / Samba  Afwo
Kongo            Afwo
Yanvalou         Afwo
Djoumba          Afwo
Vals             Afwo
Igbo             Afwo
Kontredans       Afwo
Nago (again...)  Afwo
Rara             Afwo
Mayoyo, ‘simpleton’
Tcha tcha tcha
Dawomen

Work and Gender in Rara (McAlister 2002) / The Haitian family (Rey 1970)

“work values” = “learned as the most important feature of the extended family” (89)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Control the household</td>
<td>Dominate the street corner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respectability</td>
<td>Reputation and maintenance</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
What are the features of Upper Belair (and La Saline)?

- crowded
- cohesive population in terms of interactions
- social integration
- *lakou vodou* > “trees inhabited by Vodou spirits”  
  [*repozwa lwa*]
- gossip at the well...

Laguerre’s focus: **community structural dependency**
- humans and habitat
- we shape and are shaped by environment
- humans live in **niches**, they are socialized in niches

Laguerre looks at the **detail** of life in Belair. He examines both mundane and exceptional features of the community. He opens up Haiti for outsiders:

- Devotes a paragraph to lamp varieties used in Belair
- Water containers ~ *kanari*
- *Latanye* ~ tropical palm; *atèmiyò* = ‘on the ground is better’;  
  *djakout/ralfò*; *tetyè*
- *Malèt* ~ important documents; Sunday clothes
- *Twa wòch difè* ~ ‘three fire stones’ = metaphor the basics
- The folkloric imagination. *baka*; *zonbi*;
  UFOs don’t mean much to Haitians!
- The *bayakou*  
  [‘Dem a payaka’]
- Vodou: “One temple was found as a place where an expression of homosexuality and Voodoo piety are observed equally”
[Of Gods and men]

- *fritay* stalls: see the interplay of social relations between men and women
- *bolèt*
- Interdependence of *lakou* people
- The seismic threat

Trades and the “informal economy”
- Marketers and pratik 6 a.m. to 4 p.m. in the corridor
- Charcoal vendors
- Shoe-shiners
  - *fritay* women
  - prostitutes
- US-owned factory workers

**Citation on page 32, final paragraph:**

Press clippings on Belair
Diglossia and language conflict in Haiti, Albert Valdman 1988

5% of Haitians are balanced bilinguals in French and Haitian Creole

Relationship between French and Creole is complex

French symbolizes the social and political privileges of dominant bilingual elite.
Conversely, Creole symbolizes the social and political exclusion of the monolingual masses

The role of Creole is schools. The beginning of the debate: late 70s

Opponents: don’t want to be denied the linguistic avenue of social advancement and access to outside communities and nations
Proponents: insure effective teaching

Bilingualism and diglossia:

Bilingualism is inappropriate in describing the Haitian situation.

Haitian Creole and French don’t really have a diglossic relationship:

1. Both are distinct languages (they are more genetically removed from each other than even French and Latin)

Example, the French versus Haitian Creole relative clause:
   la personne qui est venue a laissé ça
   moun ki te vini an te kite sa
   the person who came left that
2. Bilingual Haitians acquire Haitian Creole and French at home, unlike the typical diglossic scenario with the LOW language acquired at home and the HIGH language acquired at school.

   High German and Swiss German

3. French *does* serve some vernacular functions among bilinguals
   No communicative function is exempt from Creole (whereas
   in the classic model of diglossia [Ferguson 1959] some
   functions are excluded the LOW language...

New model of linguistic functions for the languages of Haiti needed:

   Vernacular ~ Everyday communication and expression with
   intimates

   Vehicular ~ Communication to external groups

   Referential ~ Transmission of cultural heritage

   Magico-religious ~ seek mediation from divine

   Membership in social groups ~ Elite versus Mass

   Symbolization of power relationships ~
   French as a means of escaping poverty and low status
   French as a means of excluding the mass; French is used as
   a “filtering device to keep people in their place” (70).
Valdman 1988 continued...

Universal Grammar interlude...

Language conflict in Haiti, page 70

Dominance/Subordination relationship inherently engender
linguistic conflict

Social differentiation and unequal power cause the
majority to have “minority behavior and attitudes” (examples
Occitan/French; Catalan/Spanish; Creole/French)

• Ambivalence toward vernacular
• Self-hate toward own group
• But attest strong loyalty and emotional attachment to language
• Feel alienated from dominant group, but will invest in
acquiring French due to its symbolic function, role in
economic and social advancement
• French as *achte*
• French as *lang blan* and *baryè*
• Creole seen as symbolic of *san enstriksyon*
• Haiti is still a LINGUISTIC COLONY

JEAN CASIMIR interlude

Valdman’s evaluation of Creole’s *evolving* functions:

1. Creole as lingua franca between *white colonial establishment* and
acculturated *Creole slaves* and the *Bossal slaves*. Function: vehicular.

2. Creole as subject to ‘repidginization,’ i.e. waves of new slaves
continually reduced and restructured the Creole they found
Classic example: the Possessive + Definite Noun Phrase
The earlier Northern variety:
Kay an mwen / Kay an m = ‘my house’
‘the house of mine’
Frè ran mwen / Frè ran m = ‘my brother’
‘the brother of mine’

The repidginization from the immigration waves
(c. 1750-c. 1790):
Kay mwen an /
Frè mwen an / Frè m nan

3. Creole as marker of Social Identity. For colonist: Symbolic of Colonial life in contrast to ‘metropolitan’ life

4. For ‘servile population’: Gradual replacement of African languages by Creole; extension of Creole into domains previously carried out by means of African languages (Vodou). Creole as dominant language over African languages.

Irony: Independence won by Creole speaking warriors followed by re-establishment of linguistic symbol of white colonial rule.
Resolution of language conflict:

Substitution: Shift to dominant language; demise of subordinate language

Normalization: Up-grading of subordinate language through becoming Vehicular
Referential (dictionaries)
Stable spelling
Lexical expansion
Standardization
Instrumentalization
Solutions:
(1) Vernacularization of French
(2) Extension of French

Solution 1 is COST-INEFFECTIVE; Haitian schools are inadequately equipped to pursue this
Solution 2 is COST-EFFECTIVE
   - Spelling system is efficient and logical
   - Language is more or less unified in Haiti
   - Language is increasingly home to VENERABLE and PRESTIGIOUS culture institutions like art and religion

But: depreciative attitudes and other complexities hinder any immediate change.

Only social transformation and political evolution can bring about the advancement of Creole in Haitian institutions.
Haitian Creole Language and Bilingual Education in the US: Problem, Right, or Resource? ~ Flore Zephir

- Flood of immigrant students in US schools
- 1968 Bilingual Education Act
- Bilingual Education as “transitional” toward English
- Seen as remedial

- Originally more “politics than pedagogy” = channel funds to SW

- **Gradual legitimization** of bilingual education

Haitians Creole speaker are the third most numerous linguistic community in NY City School system... Second in Miami?

“**Home language instruction as a problem**”
- Claims that such students face “cognitive problems”
- Cultural fragmentation or disruption, poor self-image and self-esteem...
- “ill advised and threatens the social and political stability of the US” (cited in Cummins 1991)
- Roosevelt: “We have room for but one language here, and that language is English”
- Thorough acquisition of English advocated as the solution

But the validity of these claims can be challenged!

In fact: “**developing bilingualism and biliteracy within a ‘strong’ bilingual education situation is educationally feasible and can lead to the obtaining of higher achievement across the curriculum for minority language children, the fostering of self-esteem and self-identity, and the formation of a more positive attitude toward schooling**” (Baker 1993)

“**Home language instruction as a right**

Language as a fundamental human right
1,800 Chinese students versus San Francisco Board of Education:

“If these students could not understand the language used for instruction, they were, indeed, being deprived of an education equal to that of other students” (226)

Citation

Under US federal law, immigrant children who do not speak English are entitled to a *meaningful* educational experience
Flore Zephir continued...

Second language instruction and maintenance as a RESOURCE:

- They can be exploited for cultural, spiritual, educational, economic and political gain.
- USA: heedless monolingualism (Strategic) language acquisition as a major US foreign policy objective (if we don’t understand the world, how can we make peace with it?)
- Common Underlying Proficiency model of bilingualism: basic skills are transferable in another
- A student who is confident and recognized in her or his primary-group relates more positively to school and society
- Use of home language facilitates the development of critical thinking
- Promotes metalinguistic awareness. Metalinguistic awareness refers to knowledge on the structure and organization of language.
- Facilitates earlier reading acquisition, leading to higher achievement.

Lessow Hurley’s 1996 findings (p. 228):

- Transfer of skills from L₁ to L₂
- Primary acquisition facilitates second language acquisition
- Students need time to develop!
- Bilingualism/biliteracy has positive effects on achievement
- Enhances self concept

Zephir’s evaluation of bilingual programs:

- Poor quality, lack of commitment and understanding
Language is a central part of a person’s being, IT SHOULD NOT BE DISCARDED

Dangerous labeling in schools.

- ‘...it is an absolute fallacy to regrad all Blacks as a homogeneous population’
- Haitians consider themselves ethnically distinct
- Haitians consider themselves to be multiracial
- Linguistic assimilationist model has failed
- Zephir argues that Haitians do not see assimilation as a viable alternative.

Status assigned to Creoles... deviant... dialects... underdeveloped... NO!

**Chomsky’s Universal Grammar (1981, 1995):**

---

\[
I\text{’}m \text{ watching the film:} \\
\left[ I \left[ I \text{ am} \left[ V \text{ watching} \left[ D \text{ the} \left[ N \text{ film} \right] \right] \right] \right] \right]
\]

\[
M \text{ ap gade fim nan:} \\
\left[ M \left[ M \left[ V \text{ gade} \left[ D \text{ fim} \right] \right] \right] \right]
\]

---

Educators must realize: “this Black population has its own ethnic identity and that its full-fledged language, Creole, is a strong component of its ethnicity

Using Creole takes the foreignness out of school
Lowers the affective filter, i.e. the emotional filter that can block learning

Do we spend more now preparing people for academic success or more later rehabilitating people?
We have the highest percentage of incarcerated people per capita in the world: I GUESS WE’VE ALREADY MADE OUR CHOICE.
**Wyclef Jean:**

Symbol of **hope and pride** for many Haitian and Haitian-American youths and adults.

Wyclef’s exuberant display of the Haitian flag at his Grammy-win was symbolic of the Haitian potential in U.S. cultural and economic life

Dramatically symbolic of (a certain type of) American dream, i.e. the BIG bucks

Song-writer, poet, multi-instrumentalist, entertainer...

Mastery and practice of various musical genres, i.e. rap, konpa, twoubadou, regga, reggae, gospel, rock... and fluently bilingual...

Wyclef’s collaborative and unifying spirit:

T-Vice *Live 2002: on the road,* “MVP Compas,”
Dega *Ba li gazzz,* “I don’t want to know”

Wyclef promotes the unity and equality of the “races” living in Haiti and the world.

Wyclef provides popular entertainment and education through music.
- Pan-African philosophy (Marcus Garvey)
- Haitian awareness and promotion of Haiti
- Conscious of social and historical injustices (sequencing Jean Dominique)
- Lessons through narrative (stories).
- Master of pithy and catchy narratives that leave some room for reconstruction and interpretation in the imagination. But remember: we might read a good essay or poem several times, but we listen to Wyclef oh so many times!
- Some gangster and sexist metaphors: “guns,” “bitches”... (but this does not predominate...)
- Where is our female Haitian mega-star
Take home quiz on the portrayal of Haiti and Vodou in Hollywood and Harvard... (Anmweey!) 

1. List some things about the film that makes Haiti appear appealing.

2. List some things about the film that makes Haiti appear unappealing.

3. What different sectors of Haitian society are represented? Lower/Middle/Upper Class.

4. According to the film, does traditional Haitian religion and medicine have something to offer the world?

5. What exploitative/unnecessarily negative/false images on Haiti/Vodou are used in the film?

6. What are some of the places featured in the film?

7. What mythological/folkloric figures appear in the film? What are American parallels?

8. Explain the concept of zonbi developed in the film, i.e. is the zonbi a monster or a victim? Explain why.

9. What political issues does the film raise?

10. What kind of link does the film make between Vodou and politics?

11. What are the strengths and weaknesses of this film?

12. Why do you think my first Haitian friend (a voodooist) loved this film so much?
Notes on *Serpent and the Rainbow*:

What features of vodou culture were exhibited?

- Vodou wedding involving *zotolan* (doves)
- Govi
- Pilgrimages to natural and historical landmarks
- Syncretism with catholicism
- Candles
- “Petwo”
- Poison and potion arts ~
  - Makandal’s 6,000 victims (Davis 1985: 162)
  - Poison in African secret societies and royalty
  - Maroons: between 1764-1793 48,000 cases of maroonage officially reported
  - In 1786 of 10,000 slaves imported, 2,000 escaped (Davis 1985: 158)

Playful entertainment, pointless vilification of Haiti... both?

Métraux: *Voodoo in Haiti, The Supernatural World*

Great *lwa* of African Guinea: Legba, Zaka, Ezili, Danbala...

Local spirits varying in name and attributes from community to community: “Ti bout koulèv”

The *loa* might have been expelled from heaven, but not before they acquired many powers.

*lwa*  ‘spirits’ (let’s do it right first)  *dyab*  ‘devils’ (by any means necessary)
*men dwat*  *men gòch*  
*oungan/manbo*  *bòkò/chòche & oungan/manbo* (?)
English word ‘god’ fails to capture the ‘snooping and comic’ spirits who cheer up ceremonies.

*Papa Bondye* as IMPERSONAL DIVINE  
*Lwa* as PERSONAL DIVINE

Where do the *loa* come from?

*lwa ginen*  
*lwa kreyòl*

Promotion of an individual to the status of *lwa*: *Makandal > Makanda*  
Promotion of an individual to the status *nanchon*: *Dom Pedro > Petwo*  
Promotion of *lwa* through dream-revelation  
Promotion of wife’s “maiden *lwa*” into husband’s family

Types of major ceremonies:

Petwo  
*fwèt kach* (whip cracks)  
*kimanga*  
*bilolo*  
Originating in Haiti  
or outside of Dahomey

and  
Rada (=Arada)  
*ayibobo*  
Originating in Dahomey/Nigeria - gentle  
Or outside of Dahomey  
Great force, roughness, ferocity...  
Helpful and ‘human-eating’ spirits

*Rada* is well-viewed; *Petwo* is viewed with some apprehension

**Possession**

The devotee expresses the character of a spirit in her/his *movement* and *attitude*

Learning about the *lwa* requires watching the possessed.  
Possession replaces statuary and holy images...

Vodou’s heterogeneous origins create a diverse make up in the field.
The power of the *loa* ~ Métraux continued...

What powers do the *loa* have?

Suggest **remedies**

**Hope and consolation** in times of hunger

**Warn** of machinations of those who wish wrong

**Protection** from elements and bad situation

**Vengeance** in killing an enemy

“Possession states”

*Loa* asks for a job for the possessed.

Banker *loa* who lend money to devotees (???)

Money given by possessed brings luck

Money a priest receives due to the services of a *loa* must be used for the *loa* (except profits that accrue)

Money obtained from administering Zaka’s services can be spent on peas....Gede loans of interest...

How do you win favor with the *loa*

Sacrifice, offerings... vow, participation in rites, compliance with orders of the *loa* (See sacrifice in Hebrew religion)

Neglecting *loa* has consequences;

(See punishment and reward in Hebrew religion)

*Loa* are proprietors. The spared goat is still belongs to a *loa*.

Did you know?

Ezili can possess 2 people and her 2 incarnations can speak to each other...

One can be the butt of an angry *loa*; punishment varies

One is obliged to serve root-*loa*, but one can wait until financially prepared

Punishment:

Illness, madness, persistent bad luck
Laënnec Hurbon (2001), “The Catholic Church and the State in Haiti, 1804 – 1915 with added notes from:

- *Pwomès kominis ak esperans legliz pou Ayiti*, Dr. Jules Casséus (1987)
- Bon Nouvèl, April 1986, December 1986, etc.

Haiti’s international isolation includes the Catholic Church from 1804-1860

Hurbon’s goal in historiography is to “present a new understanding” (155).

- Few French priests survive the war and Dessalines
- Many French priests were slave owners
- Churches sacked, objects destroyed

Haiti’s 1805 constitution (Dessalinian constitution):

p. 156...

Destroy church’s privileges; marriage and divorce a civil affair

Note: Toussaint and the Church

- Roman Catholic
- He installs priests loyal to (the pro French revolutionary priest) Abbé Grégoire. (Famous in French Linguistics for promoting universal French-only education and for doing a survey of the patois languages spoken in France in the 1790s).

Pétion ~ adopts Toussaint’s pro-catholic constitution
Christophe ~ seeks in vain for priests

**Boyer (1818-43)**

- Seeks an agreement with the church
- He wants his own clergy, seminary, to appoint his own bishop of Port-au-Prince, unconditional support from the priesthood...
Rome refuses to “betray” (???) [read: do the right thing and reject]
French/international diplomacy (158)

Soulouque (1847-59):
His fall from power opens the way to the Concordat
France wanted to send French priests to Haiti

PAGE 159

Role of Church for the Haitian state: “civilization” and “pacification”

Ideological control and acknowledgement of Haiti’s independence

Anti-voodoo
Church as “defense mechanism against racist attacks”

Civil strife was sometimes linked to Voodoo activists:
- Boyer’s decision to pay the debt to France angered peasants and several rebellions broke out:
- Voodooist Jean Jacques Aca in 1843
- The Church could quell this (162)

Background:
Support for the “schismatic” Church in Haiti is based on the failings of the official Catholic Church in Saint Domingue.

The Church seen as ally to the colonists, and it was

The Church itself was content with itself in the 19th century and is partly to blame for the long separation
Voodoo flourishes: lakou, ounfò

The Casséus (1987) review of Catholic history in Haiti
Native Americans, Zemès
Kristòf Kolon 1492 at Mòl Sen-Nikola, he plants a cross
Las Casas
Catholic religion is promoted in constitutions of 1806, 1907, 1816, 1846, 1849, 1950

Konkòda 28 Mas 1860: “fè lidè politik kowonpi yo kontan” (32)

Major contribution of Catholic Church:

Education.
“li vize sèlman yon ti minorite”
The Church over-emphasizes the ruling class.
However, liberation theology has been instrumental in various ways Literacy, TKL, Bon Nouvèl...
Hurbon continued (p 164)

Church needs State to establish itself as prestigious power
State needs Church to consolidate itself internally and externally

Major issues
• The “schismatic” Church’s legacy in Haiti
• The Christian-Voodoo “confusion” in Haiti (Msgr Robert)
• But in reality the Christian-Voodoo syncretism in Haiti began at the beginning of the slave period (circa 1690 or 1640...)

Soulouque OUT, Geffrard IN
The Church in Haiti, 1860-1915
• Archbishop of P-au-P, Msgr Testard du Cosquer and 24 priests in 1860.
• Suspended or priest not in agreement with Rome forced out.
• Church wanted to be a peacemaker in political conflicts.
• Given right to control its finances, sacraments and educational system.
• Elite education...
• Mark of period: persecution of the church
• Church wanted to keep Soulouque out of power
• Soulouque and black followers saw the concordat as tool of the mulattoes

Suspended priests cause conflict
Church did not give preferential treatment to mulatto or black political leaders.
The Church resisted revolutionary movements and supported the establishment

• Seen as foreign power
• Easily manipulated
• Church expected autonomy but expected the Haitian state to pay priest salaries
• Government help organize parishes and bishoprics (170)
• Black intellectuals started emerging from Catholic schools; they expressed support for Freemasonry, divorce...
1900 ~ Situation “normalizes” (172)
Several dioceses formed
Seminary in France
150 priests in 78 parishes
**States signs education agreements with the Catholic Church**
Period of prosperity, but:
  Church marriages don’t increase
  Illegitimate children don’t decrease
1864 *Le Moniteur* publishes a letter by Geffrard advocating the elimination of Voodoo (especially in the city)
Church confronts syncretism: banishing of Saint statues

p. 177, paragraph 1
Jan Rabèl 23 jiyè 1987
Gwoupman Tèt Ansanm
**Ekip Misyonè** ~ Church groups composed of lay people
~ Church upkeep and administration
~ Literacy
~ Small scale credit; cooperative
~ Farm supplies
~ Training:
~ Organized a pilgrimage of 3,000 peasants over 30 kilometers to visit *E esti Lasent Vyèj*.

The conflict in Jan Rabèl:
Their faction gained control of the hospital
Farm supplies impacted merchants’ profits
Land disputes dating generations
Led law suits against *grandon* over their *fèmaj* on State-owned land
Reactionary sector of the Church, US embassy collude with *grandon*
Yon jou pou chasè, yon jou pou jibye

Tropes in Haitian (political) music

(Thematic currents)

Haitian social and musical life is steeped in DIVISIVENESS. “A deeply rooted habitus...”

Bands display factionalism internally and externally

Rivalry
- Heightens fan loyalties
- Drama during kanaval
- Topics for adversarial song lyrics
- Spurs creativity and reaching new levels

“These synchrony experienced by audience members at a Haitian concert, dance, carival or other events is largely based in the expectation of (and desire for) collective participation and for alignment with an event that ‘heats things up.’”

Mete men nan lè
Agòch, adwat!
Kenbe selilè nan lè (Miami)
Sketch of *konpa* history

- 1937: Ricardo Widmaïer
- 1930s-1950s: Harold Courlander [HOMEWORK] on *Folkways Records*
- 1950s: Magnetic Tape!
  - 78s start appearing
- 1956: Nemours Jean-Baptiste
- Mid-1960s: Joe Anson gives Haitian industry a transnational structure (NYC)

**Business itself:**

Royalties versus Lump-sum system

Implies continuing ownership in artistic product

Cuts the tie

**SACEM** = Syndicat des Auteurs, Compositeurs, et Editeurs de Musique

Bootlegging eclipses legal sales 4 to 1 in the insular market

“Pirate industry feeds large demand for cheap musical commodities under conditions of intense poverty”
Sound:

ochan = Pay hommage in song
koudjay = Street party
tenèb = “Sound as power”
rara
oungenikonn
simidò
twoubadou
chan pwen/chante pwen
mereng
sanba