

HAI 3930

Pa bliye 1804, Jean Casimir (2004)

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 *bòtipipòl*
(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	<i>boukan > boukanyè > boukannen > mayi boukannen > Boukan Ginen</i>
filibusters	<i>flibistye</i>
farmers	<i>abitan > bitasyon</i>
bondsmen	<i>angaje</i>

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

Reproduce Freeman ~ Laguerre page 384

Representation 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!

Irony 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).

1681 = 2,312 slaves

1789 = 620,999 slaves

“...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 kreyòl]
Esklav metye ~ skilled slaves... [Esklav kreyòl]
Esklav kiltivatè ~ farming slave [Esklav bosal]
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

Boukman ~ 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 fèy*

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

Suffered under the U.S. occupation

[Jean Dominique clip]

1930s Massacre of 20,000 cane-cutters

Becomes a medical doctor, directs a yams clinic

Négritude movement; Jean-Price Mars

Ainsi parla l'oncle > valorizing Haitian culture

Duvalier's candidacy 1951

Medical doctor

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 *cagouards* 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)

What errors does Greene say JCD made?

- Ignored the black middle class (that had ensured his father’s power)
 - 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*
 - 83% of government expenditures in PauP (46) *La République de PauP*
 - Duvaliers abscond with \$120 million when they leave Haiti
- What security apparatus did JCD expand?**

Tonton Makout: 10,000 >>> 25,000

Number of killings said to rise: 50,000 >>> 100,000 (42)

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 ...

15% of people own 66% of land

66% of people own 10% of land

The rest in 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 Gourge

Upload to WWW...

Family planning initiatives and Kalfounè peasants: what's going wrong Jennie Marcelle Smith (1991/1998)

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”
- Legitimizing unions
- Ever-present fear of losing children (10)

Acceptable sexual relations mentioned:

plasaj, *manmzèl*, 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 impoverishment (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... SOUNDS OPTIMISTIC TO ME...

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.
U.S.-led war on Iraq: \$150 billion and counting.
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-20th 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

Haiti: unions and fertility, Gisèle Maynard-Tucker (1996)

“Theory of demographic transition” citing Ashford (1995)

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)

Native American? Arawak? Polish? Hispanic? British? American? Congolese? Senegalese?

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”

Hierarchy of status:
+++Power *fanm kay*
++Power *manman pitit*
+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*

Haitian Gameshow.	<i>Mastèbrenn</i>	vs.	<i>Lougawou</i>
	<i>Chèlbè</i>	vs.	<i>Bòzò</i>
1. Token of marriage worn by wife			ring
2. The mass of people, married or unmarried?			unmarried
3. Longevity of <i>plaçage</i> versus marriage			equal
4. Must have for groom			house, field
5. Should have some of these too...			goats, pigs, beast of burden
6. Above, this must be shown by groom to parents			RESPECT!
7. The groom should be prepared to participate in			
8. this collective activity			<i>konbit</i>
9. In 1937, a “first class wedding” cost a peasant (a) 3,000 gourdes (b) 175 gds. (c) 47.5 gds.			(c)
10. What is wrapped around the envelope of the <i>lettre de demand</i>			Green silk handkerchief
11. One may turn to this if marriage proposal is rejected.			love charm
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 <i>lwa</i>			Damballa, Erzilie, Ogun, Aida Wedo
15. Where do some Haitians go in order to contact the dead regarding a marriage?			cemetery?
16. What <i>lwa</i> 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”
pè savann
21. In Mirebalais at the time of Herskovits visit (1930s), polygamous 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 pwen
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... inheritance
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

Paul Farmer. 1999. *Infections and Inequalities, the Modern Plagues*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

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)

Viera, J. 1985. The Haitian Link. In *Understanding AIDS: A Comprehensive Guide*, edited by V. Gong, pp 90-99. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press.

- “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
bisexual 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 troublous 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*

Of Worlds Seen and Unseen: The Educational Character of Haitian Vodou ~ Claudine Michel, 1996

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 calendar 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”

Introduction to *vodou* concepts via song: Azor, *Sanba Move* ‘Angry Poet’

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

M ap prale...

I'm going...

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

Bilolo!

Bilolo!

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

Kite m fè wout o!

Let me be on my way o!

4. Yaye o yaye, Ezile kanpe nan **baryè** a, pa sa antre

Yaye o yaye, Ezili stands at the gate, (and) can't get in

Wi, yaye priz sa a, wi yaye, yaye, o yaye... **Bizango** wi yaye...

Bizango

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

Bi – lo – lo

al pou chache l mennen l ban mwen, se vye granmoun o, pa ka fè anyen ankò la, al pou chache l mennen 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

Adje o!

Oh my!

M pral nan bwa, kote n ap rive misye...

I'm going to the woods, where are we going mister

Pral nan bwa ye!

Going to the woods yes!

8. Lwa **Simbi Makaya** oke

Lwa Simbi Makaya is okay

Bilolo!

Bilolo

W a lage **pwèn** 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 – oungan), if there is no life we're going to say we don't owe...

Adye! o ann al lage **pwèn makaya....**

Oh my! o let's go let the makaya 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

rhythm

Benn: Eske ou konn kèk chan pou Ogou, pa egzanzp?

O o, Ogou!

Ogou (Feray)

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 Works

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

