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 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 Ginen
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

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

Native Americans:
Ciboney
Arawak
Taino
Carib

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 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

Sermoni 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 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 köve (Greene 28)

*Kanpay rejetè* ~ 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 cain-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 *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 assesments: “…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 Republique 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
Family planning initiatives and Kalfounò 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”
- Legitimizing 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... 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-20\textsuperscript{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”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hierarchy of status:</th>
<th>fanm kay</th>
<th>manman piti</th>
<th>fanm plase</th>
<th>fanm avèk</th>
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*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)
Haitian Culture and Society, Name: ___________________________
Ben Hebblethwaite

**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.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mastèbrenn</th>
<th>vs.</th>
<th>Lougawou</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chèlbè</td>
<td>vs.</td>
<td>Bòzò</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

1. Token of marriage worn by wife
2. The mass of people, married or unmarried?
3. Longevity of *plaçage* versus marriage
4. Must have for groom
5. Should have some of these too...

6. Above, this must be shown by groom to parents
7. The groom should be prepared to participate in
8. this collective activity
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*
11. One may turn to this if marriage proposal is rejected.
12. Name a couple things required of the bride.
13. A fatherless child is well cared for in Haiti: true (a) true  (b) false
14. Voodooists will perform rites to what *lwa*
15. Where do some Haitians go in order to contact the dead regarding a marriage?
16. What *lwa* preside over the cemetery?
17. Marriages rarely take place in these months.

ring
unmarried
equal
house, field
goats, pigs, beast of burden
RESPECT!

konbit

(c)
Green silk
derinkerchief
love charm
cooking utensils, knives, forks, horse, animals

Damballa,
Erzilie, Ogun,
Aida Wedo

cemetery?

Baron Samedi
Gede =
handyman of
Bawon Samdi
Nov. / Dec.
18. Why?

“Month of the Dead” “Fêt 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
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 Hait’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
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 conjuncture 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; cemetary; 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 kreyten l tonbe
   Illness doesn’t fall on *lwa*, on humans it falls
   Lè y ap fè *maji* yo, m di yo m pa annède 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 annède 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
   M ap prale...
   Call big rock, it’s me they call big rock
   Di Ogou féy, Ogou feray o, Ogou féy la, Ogou feray o...
   Say Ogou féy, Ogou feray, Ogou féy, 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...
   Bilolo!
   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
   Kite m fè wout 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... 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
   *Bi – lo – lo*
   bring her/him to me
   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
   M pral nan bwa, kote n ap rive misye...
   I’m going to the woods, where are we going mister
   Adje o!
   Oh my!
   Pral nan bwa ye!
   Going to the woods yes!
8. Lwa Simbi Makaya oke
Lwa Simbi Makaya is okay

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 – oungan), if there is no life we’re going to say we don’t owe...

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

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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

--- Ogou Works ---

Ogou works o, Ogou doesn’t eat
Ogou saves his money to buy a nice suit
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