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Civic Engagement amid Civil Unrest: Haitian Social Scientists Working at Home

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Civic Engagement amid Civil Unrest:
Haitian Social Scientists Working at Home

by

Nadège Nau

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
with a concentration in Applied Cultural Anthropology
Department of Anthropology
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DEDICATION

This is dedicated to home — my dear Brooklyn that inspired this journey.

To my mother, friends, and loved ones who have positively shaped my experience at home.

To Haiti: as I familiarize myself with you, please be patient with me. I hope to strengthen our relationship and one day empower you the same way you have empowered me. *Lakay se lakay.*

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ABSTRACT

Unlike many of the autoethnographic accounts in world anthropologies discourse, this study employs critical educational ethnography to both address the geopolitics of Haitian anthropology while also spotlighting an understudied group: university faculty. This study addresses: What are the conditions of academic labor for anthropology professors working in Haiti? Moreover, what is the *price* of being an anthropology professor at the School of Ethnology at the State University of Haiti (UEH), and how do professors add meaningful value to their labor through sacrifice, ingenuity, and civic engagement? Despite professors' work-related challenges and Haiti's severe "brain drain" levels, for many professors, their labor represents a commitment to civic engagement and their desire to work at *home*.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Beyond its revolution (Trouillot 1995), Haiti's anthropological history has also been silenced from the mainstream canon (Fluehr-Lobban 2000; Ulysse 2015), much like other nations of the Global South. Given American anthropology's lack of ethnographic research on university faculty and critical educators, this study takes a novel approach by using critical educational ethnography to speak to world anthropologies discourse (which tends to be dominated by autoethnographic accounts).¹ Inspired by calls to highlight anthropologies from historically underrepresented groups, my research question addresses: **What are the conditions of academic labor for anthropology professors working in Haiti? Specifically, what is the *price* of being an anthropology professor at the Faculté d'Ethnologie (FE)² at the Université d'État d'Haïti³ (UEH), and how do professors add meaningful value to their labor through sacrifice, ingenuity, and civic engagement?** "Price," (an idiom in this case), is the consequence of being a Haitian intellectual *in* Haiti, a country where the ruling class devalues research, higher education, and the Haitian identity in its entirety. Thus my study focuses on how professors add personal value to their professional work by balancing their academic labor and civic engagement from the classroom to public demonstrations on the streets of Port-au-Prince.

¹ Autoethnography is both a research method and reporting style that balances introspection with external phenomena. The researcher centers their experiences when engaging with their own cultural group or sociocultural processes (McClaurin 2001; Chang 2007). This technique works in tandem with other ethnographic methods and data analysis (Chang 2007); it is followed by a first-person account of research findings.

² FE is "School of Ethnology" in English. In Haiti the school is also referred to as "Ethnologie."

³ State University of Haiti.

In order to critically engage with world anthropologies discourse, cultural and socioeconomic conditions that steer or stifle anthropological knowledge production outside of the Global North must be considered. Although I initially wanted to focus on research and publishing output, I also wanted to understand what makes Haitian anthropology unique; who are its practitioners? What types of projects are faculty and students working on? What are the central questions in the social sciences they are looking to address? Considering Haiti's severe "brain drain" levels (Noël 2019), I wanted to know about professors' motivations for staying in Haiti and how they balance their professional and civic obligations.

Embracing critical reflexivity, *critical educational ethnography* (CEE) served as the basis for my research design and analysis. CEE contextualizes the ways informal and formal educational sites reinforce broader systemic inequalities among its key stakeholders, while highlighting actors' agency to mediate unequal power dynamics through resistance and accommodation (Anderson 1989; Howard and Ali 2016). Through this lens, I discuss the strategic ways professors manage their roles as state employees and civically engaged Haitian citizens.

I am also aware of my own agency as a Haitian-American researcher. While I was in Haiti seemingly to learn about Haitian anthropologists, I found myself questioning the meaning of "home" and what it means to be a Haitian (-American) scholar. Thus my own reflections overlapped with my questions about Haitian professors' motivations for staying in Haiti. Experiencing this tension between being Haitian versus *diaspora*,⁴ I could empathize with formally educated Haitians, many of whom emigrate abroad, resulting in Haiti's severe loss of human capital.

⁴ "Dyaspóra" is the Haitian Creole (Kreyòl) spelling of "diaspora."

During my fieldwork from May 13th to June 6th, 2019, political protests demanding Haiti's President Jovenel Moïse to step down from office led to the university's closure. Rampant political corruption and what I refer to as *intra anti-Haitianism* ignited protests that could both push Haitian professors to emigrate or compel them to stay and push for change amid the ongoing battle between state and nation (Trouillot 1990b). Exploring their challenges, decisions, and strategies from an outsider perspective expands current world anthropologies literature surrounding academic politics and prestige. I argue that despite the many work-related challenges I detail below, for many professors, their labor and curriculum represent their commitment to civic engagement and desire to stay at *home*, where they can be directly involved in harnessing Haitian anthropology for the public good through both scholarship and activism. Likewise, given my challenges in the field, this study represents my attempt at delving deeper into my Haitian identity.

Brief Overview of Field Site

FE's mission is to valorize the Haitian being, the Haitian identity and the national culture by taking into account the phenomenon of acculturation without falling into cultural alienation.

(FE 2019)

Formerly the Institut d'Ethnologie, the Faculté d'Ethnologie was founded by Jean Price-Mars in 1941. Price-Mars (1876–1969), a doctor, diplomat, scholar, and activist (Delices 2018), established FE as a private entity with a public purpose (Byron 2016). In addition to its name change in 1958, Ethnologie becoming a School within UEH had political implications (Byron 2016). From the 1960s through 1980s, Ethnologie would be “one of the very sources of a

Duvalierist discourse of power” (Byron 2016, 47),⁵ which comprised the father and son dictators François “Papa Doc” Duvalier⁶ (1957–1971) and Jean-Claude “Baby Doc” Duvalier (1971–1986). Because of François Duvalier’s intellectual and personal ties to Price-Mars, *Indigénisme*⁷ would be linked to Duvalier’s *noiriste* rhetoric ” (Byron 2016).⁸ This would ultimately have grave effects on the Haitian anthropological tradition. Presently, FE is the only school that offers anthropology as a major study in Haiti, whereas sociology is more common. FE’s academic offerings include a joint Anthropologie-Sociologie undergraduate program, a master’s in Anthropologie Sociale, Psychology, and a master’s program in Development Sciences. Ethnologie’s location within Port-au-Prince is also of great importance. FE is situated near public demonstration sites such as Champ de Mars (*Chanmas* in Kreyòl) and the former national palace.

⁵ According to Byron (2016), Duvalier began to instrumentalize Ethnologie starting in 1960. At that moment, “this process coincides – and it is essential to emphasize this fact – with Price-Mars’s withdrawal from both intellectual and political life, after his eightieth birthday” (47).

⁶ Duvalier (senior) was a trained doctor (Trouillot 1990b; Ramsey 2011).

⁷ Spearheaded by Price-Mars, *Indigénisme* was a literary movement with political undertones. It arose during the US Occupation (1915–1934) to “revalue” (Wynter 1970, 34, as cited in Perry 2017, 49) Haitian folkloric culture that was denigrated due to the belief it undermined sovereignty.

⁸ *Noirisme* advocated for darker skinned Haitians to have more positions of power relative to their lighter skinned, or mulatto, compatriots because they *represented* the Haitian masses.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

It is important to examine the political conditions that eventually enervated *anthropologie Ayisyen* (Haitian anthropology), thus the first section of the literature review chronicles the historical precursors that have impacted FE's current state. The second section engages with world anthropologies discourse, including its epistemic challenges as well as the notion that the internet is leveling out the playing field for scholars based in the Global South. Lastly, within a critical educational ethnography framework, I conclude with a discussion on prevalent themes/currents in Anthropology of (Higher) Education such as the university as a public good, civic education, the neoliberal university, and critical pedagogy.

Historical Context

The refusal to accept ethnology's complex history in Haiti has had grave consequences not only for the discipline, but more importantly for the very conditions that were supposed to assure our country's transition to democracy in 1986 (a transition that we are still undergoing today). The popular democratic movements that arose after the fall of the Duvalier dictatorship were not accompanied by an intellectual dynamism, which was the case at the time of the resistance against the US-American occupation.

(Byron 2016, 48)⁹

This section traces the roots of Haitian anthropology's disciplinary decline at the Faculté d'Ethnologie, as well as the crisis of higher education in Haiti, particularly at the Université d'État d'Haïti (UEH) or the State University of Haiti. Despite having two separate histories, once

⁹ I cite Jhon Picard Byron frequently throughout this thesis due to his role as the former director of FE's Anthropologie-Sociologie program and current co-director of the Anthropologie Sociale master's program. He has written extensively on Jean Price-Mars and the Haitian anthropological tradition.

FE was annexed to UEH, their institutional setbacks would converge. Enervating Haitian anthropology and UEH, much of Haiti's broader systemic inequalities trace back to the Black republic's nation-building project.

Bovarysme Collectif: Identity Crisis and Intra Anti-Haitianism

Historical anti-Haitianism has thus merged with contemporary anti-immigrant xenophobia, demonstrating how, as Trouillot warned us, the past can persist in sustaining structures of power that create oppression.

(García-Peña 2016, 205)

The history of inquiry driving the formalization of anthropology in Haiti aligns with the creation of its national identity, a process that involved racialization for the nascent nation. While Haiti's founding fathers declared that "to be Haitian was to be Black" (Dayan 1995; Byron 2019), since its inception Haiti has not been Black on its own terms.

Haiti never had a cultural revolution following its successful slave uprising in 1804 (Ulysse 2015). Instead, 19th-century Haitian scholars endorsed cultural evolutionist principles (Dayan 1995; Marcelin 2005; Byron 2019). The Haitian elite, both *noires* and *mulaâtres*¹⁰ alike, sought validation for what colonial regimes believed to be a paradox: a Black republic achieving sovereignty and modernity (Marcelin 2005). Black pride would pale against Westernized notions of civilization that 19th-century Haitian elites conformed to. Early Haitian anthropologists branded the Black republic as exceptional (Trouillot 1990a), while popular culture including Haitian Creole and Vodou were "relegated to mere folkloric practices — when not represented as barbaric, retarded, or pathologies to be cured by civilization" (Marcelin 2005, 1136). This dichotomy of the Haitian bourgeoisie embracing Blackness while downplaying the very cultural and physical attributes that made them African planted seeds of what I refer to as "internal anti-

¹⁰ "Mulattos."

Haitianism” or “intra anti-Haitianism” in Haiti. I define this as the self-hatred towards African or African-inspired cultural attributes endemic to the Haitian identity such as Vodou, Kreyòl, and one’s physical appearance. It reinforces colorism and global White supremacy, declassing the Haitian masses that do not possess enough “French civility” and wealth as second-class citizens unworthy of fundamental human rights. Intra anti-Haitianism has played a part in limiting the country’s growth and anthropology’s institutional development.

Among crucial moments marking Haitian anthropology, 19th-century scholars felt compelled to debunk racist myths about African heritage and its supposed links to savagery (Marcelin 2005). In essence, Blackness was regarded as subversive to the nation-building agenda (Torres-Saillant 2000; Thomas 2004; Marcelin 2005). Haitian scholars such as Louis Joseph Janvier (1884), Anténor Firmin (1885), and Hannibal Price (1891) wrote counter-narratives to the dominant thesis of inequality of the races (Marcelin 2005). Written in both French and French discursive style (Dayan 1995; Marcelin 2005; Byron 2019), these counter-narratives did not counteract the racial and class tensions that stemmed from the social dynamics of the previous plantocracy (Remy 1974; Nicholls 1996; Midy 2006). The denial of Black identity was not explicit, yet everyday life in Haiti reflected colorism (Trouillot 1994). The ability to transcend Blackness socially contradicted the unapologetically Black image oftentimes associated with Haiti. The popular saying, “‘Neg rich se milat; milat pov se neg’ (The rich black man is a mulatto; the poor mulatto is a black)” (Trouillot 1994, 155), reflects that unlike the United States’ treatment of hypodescent à la the one-drop rule, “In much of Latin America, money whitens; hence a black man’s economic status can alter his racial classification” (Harrison 2002, 158).

Inspired by French scholar Jules de Gaultier, Jean Price-Mars, an eminent Haitian scholar, labeled the identity crisis in Haiti, portraying oneself other than what they truly are, as “*bovarysme collectif*” (Magloire and Yelvington 2005; Simeon-Jones 2010). “Within Price-Mars’ context *bovarysme collectif* was not only a reference to literature, but also an allusion to the lifestyle of the Haitian elite, many of whom were often educated in elitist schools in Haiti and pursued their college education in Europe” (Simeon-Jones 2010, 120) — the latter part of this description also applied to Price-Mars, a doctor of medicine, who pursued his preliminary studies in social sciences in France (Magloire and Yelvington 2005).

Without systematic exclusion, Haitian colorism did not entirely mirror Western hegemony (Trouillot 1994). *Noiristes* and *mulâtres* supported Black sovereignty in and out of Haiti, yet the two sides clashed over state power. *Noiristes* endorsed their authenticity to lead, asserting that their political interests and appearance resembled the darker skinned majority (Trouillot 1994; Nicholls 1996). To avoid backlash, *mulâtres*, who constituted about 5 percent of the population (Price-Mars 1956, as cited in Schuller 2007; Nicholls 1996; Trouillot 1994; Ramsey 2011), made no mention of color — thus their claim to legitimacy was not based on lighter complexion but the implication that mulattoes’ acquired their competency from French education (Trouillot 1994; Nicholls 1996). Rivals within the same class (Nicholls 1996), as demonstrated by François Duvalier, both *noire* and *mulâtre* elites have been adversaries to the masses amid their longstanding battle for hegemony. The sociocultural alienation and economic exploitation of the masses reproduced by several Haitian leaders (Simeon-Jones 2010; Byron 2019) reflect the state’s anti-Haitianism, which culminated during the totalitarian Duvalier regime and is evinced by the shameless state corruption today. Borrowing from Thomas (2004), I argue that without French refinement and incredible wealth, many Haitian citizens do not

currently possess “respectable citizenship” (20). In this context, “respectable citizenship” reflects the cultural apartheid¹¹ in Haiti and the Haitian elite’s Francophilia¹² (Yelvington 2011; Clorméus 2012). Deprived of resources and adequate access to social services, the urban and rural poor masses do not have respectable citizenship and are made to feel as if their conditions are a natural result of their appearance (darker skin, Afro hair texture) and/or cultural affinity. After emigrating elsewhere due to intra anti-Haitianism faced at home, Haitians encounter other forms of anti-Haitianism at their destinations, including the Bahamas, the United States, and the Dominican Republic (Fielding et al. 2008; Accilien 2010; García-Peña 2016).

Since people and their cultures are in constant flux (Ménard 2014), to clarify, the “Haitian” identifier does not equate to a fixed narrow set of features where if one does not meet all the criteria, they are not Haitian. While I use the term “intra anti-Haitianism,” my aim is not to assign authenticity to a specific population in Haiti — this is what the *noiristes* did and what other Haitian scholars and their non-Haitian counterparts have continued to do, as this would essentialize the Haitian people and their culture(s) (Ménard 2014). Consequently, there exists a need to debunk certain myths about Haitians — not all fair skinned Haitians are exploitative and champion French customs, and likewise, not all dark skinned Haitians actively reject them (Ménard 2014). It is also crucial to note that intra anti-Haitianism can be expressed in varying degrees subconsciously or consciously; it functions systematically and can thus be reproduced by actors on an individual level. For instance, someone can be anti-Haitian with dark skin; the two are not mutually exclusive. A less affluent Haitian can reproduce and enact intra anti-Haitianism

¹¹ Haitian-American linguist Michel DeGraff (2019) has discussed the linguistic apartheid in Haiti when it comes to Kreyòl’s inferior status compared to French.

¹² In the context of Haiti, Francophilia is the Haitian elite’s love of French culture, which if adopted, would civilize Haiti, whereas African culture is deemed as inferior (see Clorméus 2012).

as they seek social acceptance or mobility. Though its impact on subgroups is not uniform, among other things, intra anti-Haitianism operationalizes culture and class to the detriment of poor and working class Haitians of *all* complexions. Due to its repressive grip on Haitian society, middle class Haitians are certainly impacted by this self-hate because of the state's failure to adequately serve its populace. My use of the term reflects the ruling elite's misuse of power, which in many ways has prevented improved living conditions for the Haitian majority.¹³

Institutionalization of the Insitut d'Ethnologie

In response to the early 20th-century US occupation of Haiti (1915–1934), the literary and artistic works of the *Indigéniste* movement marked a crucial period in Haitian anthropology (Palisse 2014; Byron 2019). The US invasion worsened issues of colorism in Haiti by institutionalizing them (Trouillot 1994). During the occupation, there were visibly more mulattoes who held positions of power, which undermined the previous representation of both *mulâtre and noire* officials (Trouillot 1994). To offset US hegemony, key actors such as Jean Price-Mars and Jacques Roumain, co-founder of the *Revue Indigène* in 1927 (Trouillot 1994; Magloire and Yelvington 2005; Joseph 2017), felt a sense of urgency to reframe Haitian narratives, deviating away from 19th-century portrayals of the Black republic as merely a tropical microcosm of France, its former metropole (Remy 1974; Simeon-Jones 2010; Clorméus 2012). Because of their decimation in Haiti, “the Indigenist Movement did not respond or represent Taíno natives on the island” (Rodriguez Miranda 2018, 5), but was a metaphor that corresponded to “the liberation of popular culture especially that of the rural masses and workers” (Rodriguez Miranda 2018, 6). By promoting a collective consciousness among the elite and peasant

¹³ I do not claim intra anti-Haitianism to be the source of all the country's financial and societal woes. On the contrary, it has been compounded with other social phenomena and foreign intervention; or in some cases it may be totally irrelevant.

majority, *Indigénisme* was an attempt to bridge the color and class divide through a shared understanding of Haiti, while pushing Haitian folkloric popular culture to the forefront — transforming a sense of shame into a source of pride.

Anthropology in Haiti was designed to negotiate the boundary between shame and pride. Price-Mars “saw ethnology and anthropology (broadly conceived) as a means of achieving a patriotic education” (Magloire and Yelvington 2005, 4). Though he did not “belong to the generation of the first Haitian ‘ethnographers’” (Clorméus 2014, 22), Price-Mars’ intellectual stance was based on his engagements with earlier pioneers of Haitian anthropology such as Anténor Firmin, Duverneau Trouillot, and JC Dorsainvil (Célius 2005), as well as French scholar Émile Durkheim. Firmin’s *Of Equality of Human Races (Positivist Anthropology)* (1885) was a response to French theorist Arthur de Gobineau’s *Essai sur l’Inégalité des Races Humaines* (1853). Firmin recognized the need of positivist anthropology, a rigorous science based on observation; moreover, he wanted to modify the state of the field, which was preoccupied with unsupported ideologies based on physical attributes attached to “race” (Fluehr-Lobban 2007). A Haitian freemason, Duverneau Trouillot published the same year as Firmin (1885) (Clorméus 2014). Trouillot provided a historical examination of the presence of Vodou, which he characterized as a fleeting cult-like belief system in Haiti (Célius 2005). Though he depicted spirit possession as pathological in nature, Dorsainvil (1924) encouraged the empirical study of Haitian Vodou as a legitimate *religion* (Célius 2005). In his magnum opus *Ainsi Parla l’Oncle: Essais d’Ethnographie* (1928) (*So Spoke the Uncle: Ethnography Essays*), Price-Mars discussed African (chiefly Dahomian) cultural survivals such as Vodou. He also vocalized his opposition against cultural evolutionism and French elitism, which excluded popular culture (Magloire and Yelvington 2005). Clorméus (2012) argues that as Price-Mars mended the image of Vodou by

identifying it as a popular religion, the former presidential candidate¹⁴ was informed by Durkheim’s notion of “religion.”¹⁵

Roumain and Price-Mars essentially undertook salvage anthropology (Ramsey 2005; Palisse 2014) in response to the repressive anti-superstition campaigns by the Catholic Church against the practice of Vodou in the early 20th-century:

During the years 1941–1942, the Roman Catholic Church, supported by the government of President Élie Lescot, launched an anti-vodou crusade, officially called the “anti-superstitious campaign”, the first of which, a smaller operation, had already been launched in the 19th century. The Catholic clergy, then made up of foreigners (particularly Bretons), undertook to systematically destroy all the cult objects of the *oumfò* (Vodou temples). The practitioners were chased and forced to take a “card” indicating that they rejected their faith, hence the Kreyòl term “rejects” commonly used by the population to designate this campaign. These abuses revolted many Haitian nationalists, and some took action to defend popular religion. Jacques Roumain was one of them.

(Charlier-Doucet 2005, 2)

Roumain expressed the urgency of preserving tangible heritage tied to Vodou before they were eradicated by the campaign. Ironically, while President Lescot endorsed the church’s efforts, he was also concerned with the negative public reception of such repression (Birkenmaier 2016). Consequently, through his decree on March 10, 1941 (FE 2019), Lescot mandated the creation of the Bureau Nationale d’Ethnologie, founded by Jacques Roumain, and the Institut d’Ethnologie under the leadership of Price-Mars (Ramsey 2005; Birkenmaier 2016). While the Bureau would be dedicated to preserving and studying material culture, the Institut

¹⁴ Price-Mars ran for president in 1930 (Clorméus 2012; Byron 2016; Coates 2020).

¹⁵ French scholar Émile Durkheim is one of the founding fathers of sociology. He believed early religious rituals prompted individuals to form societies based on positive feelings associated with congregating for a higher purpose, as opposed to feelings of seclusion when individuals completed profane tasks. According to Durkheim, the collective representation of religion, expressed through sacred rituals and materialized in totems, gave rise to society.

d’Ethnologie was created as a “private higher education institution faculty for ethnological training” (Ramsey 2005, 2).

Meanwhile, a negative outgrowth of *Indigénisme* emerged when the Griots developed the *noirisme* ideology, which indiscriminately favored dark skinned Haitians in power. The collective consisted of Carl Brouard, the co-founder of the *Revue Indigène*, along with Lorimer Denis, Clément Magloire, and François Duvalier (Ramsey 2011; Simeon-Jones 2010; Byron 2019). They used *Revue Les Griots*, their literary platform established in 1938, to promote *noirisme*, while using ethnology to authenticate their vision of the ideal Haitian society:

Ethnology, they maintained in articles throughout the late 1930s and 1940s, scientifically corroborated the central noiriste political doctrine that Haiti’s social structure and political institutions should reflect what they identified as the biologically and psychologically African nature of its masses. State power, consolidated throughout Haitian history in the hands of the milat [mulatto] elite, ought instead, they argued, to be held by representatives of the black middle class, who shared the interests of the peasants and were uniquely capable of acting on their behalf.

(Ramsey 2011, 215)

Duvalier would eventually rise to power in 1957 after the emerging Black middle class’ dissatisfaction with his predecessor, President Dumarsais Estimé. To them, Estimé failed to significantly enforce the *noirisme* agenda during his presidency (Remy 1974; Trouillot 1990b).

Ethnologie’s Integration into UEH

Before the infamous Duvalier regime, the State University of Haiti was formerly the autonomous Université d’Haiti (UH), or University of Haiti (Nicholls 1996; Byron et al. 2020). Founded in 1920 (Deshommes 2014; Byron et al. 2020), UH became an aggregate of previously independent higher education (HE) entities that were established in the 19th and 20th centuries (Deshommes 2014). It initially included the School of Law (1860) and the School of Applied Sciences (1902) (UEH 2020). While Price-Mars became UH’s first chancellor in 1956 (Byron

2016), once in power in 1957, Duvalier instrumentalized higher learning for debased aims. In 1958, the Institut d' Ethnologie, "one of the early vehicles of Duvalierism" (Remy 1974, 56), became the Faculté d'Ethnologie and was annexed to UH (Byron 2016). Following a student uprising in 1960, UH became UEH, a state apparatus for Duvalier's despotism (Nicholls 1996; Deshommes 2014).

Haiti's infamous Duvalier regime (1957–1986) constituting the father and son¹⁶ totalitarian dictatorships (Glover 2010) not only imposed control over the nation's people, constraining citizens, but it exerted control over public narratives with *noiriste* rhetoric,¹⁷ distorting historical accounts in order to legitimize its power (Benedicty 2013). A deceptive ethnologist, François Duvalier was cognizant of how Haitian culture and history shaped its citizens' national identity (Benedicty 2013); hence Haitian intellectuals were viewed as imminent threats against the regime's propaganda (Glover 2010). A former student at UEH's École Normale Supérieure,¹⁸ in 1968 a young Michel-Rolph Trouillot along with other student activists fled Haiti due to the regime's repressive political measures and menacing threats to their safety (Woodson and Williams 2012). The Haitian-American, "perhaps the most influential black anthropologist in the world" (Price 2013, 717), is known more for his engagements with history than anthropology in Haiti (Byron 2016). Byron clarifies, "Facing the decline of the discipline of ethnology in Haiti in the 1980s and 1990s, Trouillot had to find interlocutors

¹⁶ The state would reintroduce the *mulâtrisme* agenda that favored mulatto representation in government affairs towards the end of Jean-Claude Duvalier's leadership (Trouillot 1990b).

¹⁷ Trouillot (1990) argues that François Duvalier aggressively endorsed *noiriste* propaganda, but with no real program or agenda. He argues Estimé was the "most *noiriste*" president (140). Remy (1974) writes that President Estimé introduced the "most progressive social welfare programs" (52).

¹⁸ ENS trains secondary and tertiary level teachers.

elsewhere. It is only now that his work in Haiti as an anthropologist is finally finding its rightful place” (2016, 39).

Duvalier weaponized Vodou, anthropology, and FE to impose tyranny through a carefully constructed national narrative. Through propaganda and brutality, he became a cultural gatekeeper, indoctrinating the notion that to be Haitian was to be a *Duvalierist* (Trouillot 1990b), which meant absolute allegiance to the state. As Trouillot (1990b) notes, Duvalier did not reconcile the nation, but he consolidated his own power, pitting the state against the nation.

To clarify, Duvalier never masqueraded as the quintessential model of the Haitian masses; he acted on behalf of the Black elite who were meant to shine as a beacon of refinement for the masses who lacked Eurocentric tastes (Remy 1974). Economic limitations that prevented Duvalier from creating an autonomous Black bourgeoisie eventually led to their collusion with mulatto elites, securing both group’s financial interests (Remy 1974; Trouillot 1990b).

Along with Trouillot, Duvalier’s reign of terror eventually led to the mass exodus of the Haitian upper class, who were labeled “Boeing people” since they had enough wherewithal to fly to their destination (Fagen et al. 2009, 12). As the economy declined in the 1970’s under Jean-Claude Duvalier, less affluent Haitians fled the country (Chierici 2004; Glick Schiller 2011; McMillan Howell 2018), oftentimes on “precarious boat journeys” (Dubois 2014). While the Haitian diaspora in Cuba and the Dominican Republic dates to the early 20th-century (Hume 2011), hundreds of thousands of Haitians began relocating to New York City, Miami, Boston, and Montreal by the 1980s (Esnard and Sapat 2011; Dubois 2014). The rate of Haitian migration to the United States decreased after 2000, and as of 2014 over half a million Haitian immigrants resided in the US (Migration Policy Institute 2014). Diaspora remittances accounted

for 30.7 percent of Haiti's gross domestic product in 2018 (McAuliffe, and Khadria 2019). As Yohn writes (2013, 7):

These movements were different from the pre-1957 movements in important ways. Whereas Haitian students to France in 1946 would expect to return after earning their degrees, students to North America and France in the 1960s and 1970s often overstayed their visas because it was not safe to return. And while Haitian laborers to Caribbean sites before 1957 were likely to be on specific contracts or terms with employers, laborers leaving under the Duvaliers were not. Duvalierist migration was a movement of exiles.

UEH and FE from 1987 Onward

In the immediate post-Duvalier period [1986], the quest for justice manifested itself in out-breaks of *dechoukaj* [uprooting]. *Ounfò* [Vodou places of worship] were destroyed and oungan and mambos [Vodou priests and priestesses, respectively] stoned, lynched, or burned alive by their neighbors. *Makout* and other government agents were hunted down and killed. On one hand, a new “anti-superstition” campaign emerged as Christians attacked not just the *makout* and the vestiges of the Duvalierist regime, but Vodou in general.

(Taylor 1992, 819)

Ethnologie's reputation suffered along with the Haitian people during the Duvalier regime. From the 1960s through 1980s, according to Byron (2019), FE would not produce any major anthropological works, and the institution itself would be associated with mysticism and dictatorship (Byron 2016, 2019; Palisse 2014). “Testimonies collected from people who knew FE before 1986 show that it was considered a ‘*fac duvaliériste*’ where those who served the regime could easily obtain diplomas” (Palisse 2014, 92). Based on research conducted in 2008, Palisse declared,¹⁹ “the courses truly anchored in the anthropological discipline are few and are not supported by a reflection on the discipline and its methods” (2014, 95).

¹⁹ Marianne Palisse is a social scientist trained in France; she was hired by UEH in 2008 to provide a program assessment of the Anthropologie-Sociologie classes before the program overhaul. She studied the history of Haitian anthropology and contributed a chapter to the *Production du Savoir et Construction Sociale: L’Ethnologie en Haïti (Knowledge Production and Social Construction: Ethnology in Haiti)* (2014) book published by UEH Editions and Université Laval.

The post-Duvalier state also came with a new set of laws. Though it was incorporated into educational settings in 1979, Kreyòl became an “official” language of Haiti with the arrival of the 1987 Constitution, (whereas French had already been legitimized in the 1918 constitution conceived by the American occupiers) (Trouillot 1994; Schieffelin and Charlier-Doucet 1994; Govain 2014; Robertshaw 2018). Historically, Kreyòl has been subjected to a situation of diglossia with French, coexisting within a relationship of disproportionate power.²⁰ To this day, Haitian elites still believe French is preferable in professional contexts and texts despite most Haitians being primarily fluent in Kreyòl²¹ (Schieffelin and Charlier-Doucet 1994; Govain 2009; Robertshaw 2018). It is important to note that Ménard (2014) dissects Haiti’s “linguistic landscape” (53), which encompasses not only Kreyòl and French, but Spanish and English as well. The UEH professor of literature distinguishes between monolingual speakers and monolingual readers, and sheds light on the myth that Kreyòl readers do not constitute those who also read in French. An oversimplification, oftentimes depictions of Haitian culture portray French as being for the *haves* while Kreyòl is relegated to the *have nots*, and nothing in between (2014). If this were true, once students from poor families attend school and grasp French, they would automatically become members of the dominant bourgeoisie (2014). This is very misleading for obvious reasons. She argues that “it is much easier to acquire a second or third language than it is to change socioeconomic status” (2014, 55), and the former does not

²⁰ During the Occupation, the *Indigénistes* promoted Kreyòl, yet they did not aggressively push it to the forefront (they only made Kreyòl references in texts, but primarily wrote in French). They prioritized combatting the imposition of English, a language encroachment, with French (Trouillot 1994; Govain 2009) and wanted the ability to disseminate their works to other Francophone countries (Robertshaw 2018).

²¹ This has caused those who are not elite, but are bilingual in French and Kreyòl to feel the same, i.e. Kreyòl is a colloquial language, while French is reserved for formal settings.

guarantee the latter. Ménard accounts for partial French fluency, which means in 2010, 42 percent of Haitians possessed some French language proficiency (2014).

As for the state university, before 1987, the 1983 constitution had granted UEH managerial autonomy, but left it heavily reliant on limited state funding (see Appendix A) (Deshommes 2014; Cela Hamm 2016). UEH's financial constraints due to empty promises from the state and a weak Ministry of Education (*AlterPresse* 2009; Cela Hamm 2016) were exacerbated after Haiti's 2010 earthquake. The tremors of this tragedy damaged and destroyed several Facultés at UEH (INURED 2010; Cela Hamm 2016), killing up to 200 professors and 6,000 students (INURED 2010). As a result, there was an impetus from local and diasporic stakeholders to rehabilitate the higher education sector as part of national (re)building efforts (Cela Hamm 2016).

World Anthropologies

[A]lthough these strides of inclusion in anthropology are laudable, there is more work to be done — especially in defining what constitutes anthropological citizenship. Who belongs at the center of anthropology's canon? Which texts get selected for core courses for both anthropology's graduate and undergraduate programs, and who is seen as the theorist who must be read by anyone planning on becoming an anthropologist?

(Ntarangwi 2010, 16)

Ntarangwi's statement underscores the main concerns of world anthropologies discourse. As it developed alongside anthropologies of the Global North, it also relates to Haitian anthropology's silencing in the mainstream canon:

Two Haitian giants, Anténor Firmin and Jean Price-Mars, should gain admittance to the mainstream of world anthropology and be assessed not only in their own right, but for their signal contributions to ethnology and anthropology. So far, the factor of race has been the main hindrance to their recognition.

(Fluehr-Lobban 2005, 17)

Yelvington (2011) unravels intellectual social formations and “academic politics” (71) based on American anthropologist Melville Herskovits’ scholarly exchanges with academics of color based in the US and abroad. Herskovits was lauded for his contribution to Africana studies, yet he did not cite his Black contemporaries, particularly Jean Price-Mars, who contributed to the intellectual social formation that led to Herskovits’s theory of African cultural survivals among New World Afro-descendants (Magloire and Yelvington 2005; Yelvington 2011). Consequently, world anthropologies discourse is necessary when discussing the silencing of Haitian intellectuals. Further, we must acknowledge anthropology’s role in exceptionalizing Haiti as the epitome of Blackness and alterity to formulate the Western identity (Trouillot 2003; Marcelin 2005). Historically, within the social sciences and humanities, Haiti has been portrayed as an enigma plagued by problems too unique to be solved with practical solutions (Trouillot 1990a; Marcelin 2005; Joseph 2017). According to Schuller (2016, 16), among US anthropologists “Haiti has been the site of theoretical experimentation with core concepts such as culture, creolism, and structural violence.”

With a mission to decolonize the field, advocates of world anthropologies aim to decenter anthropology from a Westernized epistemic framework through a critical understanding of the geopolitics behind knowledge production (Restrepo and Escobar 2005). Spearheading this movement, Gustavo Lins Ribeiro, from Brazil, and Arturo Escobar,²² from Colombia, aim to democratize the field by promoting equitable exchanges of knowledge production between dominant anthropologies (the United States, Great Britain, France, and Germany) and those outside the center as to highlight diversified depictions of human experiences (Ribeiro 2005). However, advocates of world anthropologies acknowledge the very real challenges that pose a

²² Both Ribeiro and Escobar earned their PhD degrees in the United States. The epistemic challenges of world anthropologies are discussed further in this section.

threat to highlighting alternative epistemologies in their autoethnographies that employ historical anthropology. Consequently, within world anthropologies discourse four prominent themes are: Anglocentrism, native anthropology, internal epistemic challenges, and forging an equitable pluriverse.

Anglocentrism

To critically assess world anthropologies, scholars must consider the hierarchies embedded in knowledge production, its language, and its dissemination within the global political economy. Within the publication world,²³ English rules. In general, there is a lack of foreign texts being translated into English compared to English texts being translated in other languages for worldwide consumption (Ribeiro 2005; Bošković and Eriksen 2008). To illustrate this point, Anderson-Levitt (2011) reveals, “Since 1932, over a million books have been translated from English into other languages, but only about 116,000 from other languages into English, whereas for most other languages, there is more import than export of translations” (14). While this section focuses on Anglocentrism, Faye V. Harrison (2009) has noted the “Anglo French axis” dominating the anthropological discipline (235). This is especially relevant to Haiti’s case since it is a Francophone country.

Within the world anthropologies framework, it is important to understand the distinction between “marginal” anthropologies versus “center” anthropologies to better evaluate the latter’s hegemonic positionality when it comes to global knowledge production. Through the 20th-century, the UK, France, and especially the US have become the dominant forces within the field (Ribeiro 2014). Peripheral anthropologies along with their languages are considered “marginal.”

²³ This includes literary genres around the globe, not just anthropological texts.

While promoting Anglocentrism, Anglo hegemony has enforced its customs and English as the standard for publishing and diplomacy efforts (Bošković and Eriksen 2008).

As an *outsider within*, Kenyan anthropologist Mwenda Ntarangwi effectively uses his anthropological training from an American university to *reverse the gaze* onto American anthropology's inner workings.²⁴ Specifically, due to its sheer membership size and resources, the highly influential and authoritative American Anthropological Association (AAA) reflects the United States' economic and political clout. Because of its positionality within global anthropology, this behemoth institution tends to reproduce Western epistemic anthropological narratives, while serving as a publishing gatekeeper for theoretical insights (Ntarangwi 2010). Despite establishing its World Council of Anthropological Associations (WCAA) in 2004 (Weil 2013) and its "World Anthropologies" section in 2014 (Weil 2013) within the AAA's flagship journal, the *American Anthropologist*, editors have acknowledged the publication's skewed North Atlantic perspective (Chibnik 2016). True to its name, it favors publications from anthropologists in the United States: "The journal is, after all, the 'American' Anthropologist, published by the 'American' Anthropological Association" (Chibnik 2016, 480). Yet as a response to AA's complicity in "discursive hegemony" (Bošković and Eriksen 2008, 592), its former editor Michael Chibnik recognized the lack of exposure given to scholars in peripheral non-Anglophone regions (2016, 480):

Issues from 2013–2015 have significantly higher portions of contributors from outside the United States than issues from 1993–1995. However, much — though far from all — of this internationalization comes from an increase in the number of authors from Anglophone industrial countries other than the United States. Moreover, the increase in international authorship comes mostly from peer-reviewed research articles and reports,

²⁴ I argue that Ntarangwi's *Reversed Gaze* (2010) belongs in the "center of anthropology's canon" (16) because of the way it critically evaluates the inner workings of American anthropology (making it the object of his inquiry) and the geopolitics of knowledge production.

book reviews, and the World Anthropology section. There has been considerably less change in international authorship in other parts of the journal.

On a macro level, parts of East Asia wield powerful positions within the global economy, yet due to preexisting historical tensions and linguistic barriers, Gordon Mathews does not believe East Asian anthropologies possess enough solidarity to dominate global anthropology (2015). Peripheral scholars tend to be proficient in both their native language and colonial tongue — the latter aiding in social mobility (Mathews 2015) — while it is not necessary for those in the core to learn the marginalized language (Bošković and Eriksen 2008). In East Asia, Chinese, Japanese, and South Korean anthropologists can speak their national languages but can often only communicate amongst one another using English.

Breaking down Anglocentric barriers takes more than just learning English, as non-Western anthropologists seeking to engage with American audiences must, according to Mathews, also “sound American” (2015, 369). Chibnik substantiates this claim by stating, “As a group, authors based outside of the industrial West are less likely than authors in core countries to be familiar with the literature regarded by reviewers as relevant and less able to write in conventional journal style — this is especially the case for authors who have not had graduate training in the West” (2016, 479). Although “conventional” depends on the context, by striving to resemble American scholarship, anthropologists in the peripheries alienate their native approaches of writing and doing ethnography (Mathews 2015).

Within global neoliberal universities in the South, the faculty face pressure to publish in mainstream journals that primarily target Anglophone or Francophone audiences in order to elevate their global university rankings (Mathews 2015; Domínguez and Metzner 2016). When Iranian anthropologist Soheila Shahshahani was interviewed for the “World Anthropologies” section of *AA*, she expressed that “International publications have great value. English is of

course the most important, then French, German... Of course, for certain fields Arabic is also very important... The International Scientific Indexing (ISI) journals are highly valued” (Domínguez and Metzner 2016, 361). In Taiwan, Ding-tzann Lii writes, “Professors... tend to choose research topics which show abundant market value... research activities here are indeed more related to the U.S. academy than to Taiwanese society” (Lii 2010, 169–170, as cited in Mathews 2015, 368). Similarly, Cameroonian anthropologist Francis B. Nyamnjoh (2004) details that African scholars “publish and perish” because they must compromise between global recognition and local relevance. According to the South Africa-based scholar, only the elite minority can read English, and books tend to be costly for the average student. Furthermore, African authors composing humanizing depictions of Africans deviate from Western tropes of the continent, going against the global publishing political economy defined by Western markets (Nyamnjoh 2004).

Along with the Eurocentric scientific method that dominates Western logic, Shu-min Huang reveals that presently the Anglophone publishing standard in mainstream anthropological platforms poses a real threat to “epistemological revolutions” (Domínguez and Metzner 2019, 497).

Native Anthropology

Michel-Rolph Trouillot notes that ‘up to the fourth decade of this century, native scholars from Haiti, Cuba or Puerto Rico were more willing than foreigners to apply the tools of anthropological analysis to the study of their own folk’ (Trouillot, 1992: 21). Had the rapport between northern anthropologists and their “informants” not been reduced to a relationship of condescension, even contempt, Haitian intellectuals might have enjoyed more renown; especially if the attitude of northern intellectuals had been more encouraging, rather than one that denied, even reduced to silence the intentions of the first Haitian anthropologists.

(Byron 2016, 40)

According to Restrepo and Escobar (2005), world anthropologies differs from native anthropology and peripheral anthropology because they do not claim a superiority of the speaker due to their origins tied to a specific geographic area (Restrepo and Escobar 2005). World anthropologies seeks to disrupt the field's exclusion of anthropological contributions outside of Northern prestige zones. Yet many of the anthropologies they seek to engage with in the Global South are *native* anthropologies. In fact, early traces of world anthropologies discourse can be found in articulations of native anthropology (Restrepo and Escobar 2005). The former connects scholars around the globe through dialogue about systemic inequalities in academia and anthropology, while the latter is more rooted in local contexts. "Native anthropology" is the practice of conducting ethnographic research in areas where anthropologists are members of the community (Jones 1970; Harrison 2017). This connection has profound implications: the specific region has more or less helped shape the anthropologist's identity; moreover, research conducted "at home" facilitates cultural sensitivity to local matters.

In the United States, African American anthropologist Delmos Jones (1970) wrote one of the earliest texts exploring native anthropology and its role in pushing the discipline forward. They may have more access to communities, but native anthropologists face disciplinary barriers since their theoretical contributions are discounted because they are accused of having an unfair advantage (Jones 1970). Jones refutes this by discussing the ways in which outsider perspectives²⁵ could also generate rich data and that being a native anthropologist does not guarantee a seamless research process. Both outsider and insider researchers have the potential to distort their findings. To Jones, native anthropology is a response to the dominant narratives shaped by Eurocentric barometers of civility. He asserts that native anthropology is necessary in

²⁵ That is to say, someone studying a community or culture where the researcher is not usually considered a member.

the decolonizing project in order to “set the record straight” about the Black experience and to revamp the field by embracing underrepresented voices (Jones 1970, 258).

“To be an anthropology which no longer serves the interests of the oppressors it must be one which actively serves those of the oppressed” (Gordon 1997, 155). Before Edmund T. Gordon’s “Anthropology and Liberation” (1997), Haitian anthropologist and activist Anselme Remy (1976) briefly outlined anthropology’s utility in aiding “Third World” populations amid their fight for freedom, while he practiced anthropology of liberation through his own applied work. Remy’s discussion of anthropology’s potential to empower marginalized groups coincided with global decolonization efforts. So apart from studying newly independent populations during the Cold War, he encourages Black anthropologists to study the Black bourgeoisie and the ways in which they resist and/or accommodate the oppression of other Black peoples in their own communities. It appears that due to his analysis of the “Duvalier Phenomenon” (1974) he was aware that “class interests are blurred by ethnic loyalties” (16, 1976).

Like others (Lévi-Strauss 1966; Gough 1968; Jones 1970; Ntarangwi 2010), Remy (1976) acknowledges the discipline’s numerous shortcomings, but ultimately believes that anthropology is an effective tool that can service liberation efforts (McMillan Howell 2018) because of its critical and holistic approach. After becoming one of *Ethnologie*’s first graduates in the early 1960s, the Caribbeanist scholar²⁶ sought refuge from Duvalierisme. Remy emigrated to Puerto Rico, then to the United States after acceptance into New York University’s MA anthropology program. While based in Washington DC, Remy was a staunch opponent of

²⁶ While he was a professor at Fisk University, a HBCU, Remy was afforded with opportunities to conduct research in various regions in the Caribbean including Haiti, Martinique, Barbados, Grenada, and the Dominican Republic (McMillan Howell 2018).

Duvalierism. He attempted to sway US policymakers, who at one time backed Duvalier,²⁷ to reorient their relations with Haiti. In 1981 Remy established the Haitian Center for Information, Documentation, and Social Action in the DC area dedicated towards research, lobbying, and community service (McMillan Howell 2018).

Because he did not finish his PhD program at Brandeis University, Remy has not been cited much.²⁸ He did not complete the program due to inability, but he was preoccupied with “scholar-activist” engagements, eventually returning to Haiti in 1986 after the fall of the Duvalier regime (McMillan Howell 2018). McMillan Howell declares “The lack of citation of Remy’s work, despite the proliferation of work on Haiti in recent years, should inspire continued reflection on the problematic stratification of scholars and scholarship within the political economy of the discipline of anthropology” (2018, 175). Furthermore “His race, nationality, and decision to work at minority-serving institutions contributed to his underappreciation” (180).

Unfortunately, Black anthropologists including those who study their own communities are still treated like the “other” within US academic anthropology, “a White public space” (Brodkin et al. 2011). McClaurin (2020) calls for a “new anthropology” and remarks that because of the lack of inclusion of scholars of color in graduate curriculum, “there is still a bias against ‘Native’ anthropologists, and Black anthropologists, despite the latter being the largest nonwhite subgroup in anthropology.” Consequently, while completing his PhD at John Hopkins University from the late 1970s to early 1980s, Michel-Rolph Trouillot did not conduct fieldwork in Haiti — although the region would be his unit of analysis throughout his career. Under the

²⁷ By vowing not to follow in the neighboring country’s footsteps, François Duvalier leveraged Cuba’s revolution and turn to communism to gain US support (McMillan Howell 2018).

²⁸ It is important to note that Gordon did not cite Remy in “Anthropology and Liberation” (1997) and Trouillot did not cite him in *Haiti: State Against Nation* (1990). This could have been due to a myriad of reasons.

direction of Sidney Mintz and Richard Price, JHU's Program in Atlantic History and Culture required Caribbean students to study islands outside their country of birth (Yelvington 2018). This led Trouillot to study in Dominica for his dissertation, which served to broaden his ethnographic purview and dispel the misconception that minority (non-White) anthropologists only serve to contribute to native anthropology (Bonilla 2013).

Outside of the United States, native anthropologists' theoretical contributions have also been devalued. Due to numerous factors, including limited resources and interests in national heritage, many of the anthropologies featured in Bošković's *Other People's Anthropologies: Ethnographic Practice on the Margins* (2008) were grounded in native anthropology (for example: Norway, Netherlands, Sweden, Brazil), even while anthropologists studied the "other" within their local contexts (2008). Irrespective if they are based in the North, Southern anthropologists' theoretical works have been overlooked. Within the global "discursive economy" steered by dominant anthropologies (Restrepo and Escobar 115), contributions from academics of color and native scholars are not valued at the levels of their White counterparts. In this regard, they are reduced to being "high-level informants" (Harrison 2011, 101) or "native sidekicks" (Ulysse 2015, xxv) instead of scholars involved in knowledge production (Restrepo and Escobar 2005; Ntarangwi et al. 2006).

In parts of the world, governing bodies have discouraged the practice of native anthropology through insufficient funding and suppression. Across West and Central Africa, anthropologists must rely on external funding from Western research philanthropies, development agencies, and IGOs (intergovernmental organizations) such as USAID, the World Bank, and the Rockefeller Foundation to execute their studies (Ntarangwi et al. 2006; Anderson-Levitt 2011), restricting them to research based on granting institutions' interests (often gender

issues) (Anderson-Levitt 2011). The politics of grant-making bodies extend to their home turf, as US-based scholars are beholden to the same agencies that seek to maintain the status quo (Remy 1976), while enduring (albeit different) barriers to produce knowledge. Apart from funding constraints, Anderson-Levitt (2011) acknowledges the ways in which research productivity has been deterred by repressive regimes in Argentina, Chile, and China. Anthropologies of education were perceived as potential threats to state authority in those specific regions.

Radical Cosmopolitics? Challenges Within

Scholars cannot critically discuss anthropology without mention of colonialism and cosmopolitics used to legitimize the field (Ribeiro 2005). When it comes to cosmopolitics, or discourse and politics surrounding diversity and global influence (Ribeiro 2014), Ribeiro frames anthropology as a cosmopolitan endeavor with a focus on alterity (2014). He distinguishes radical cosmopolitics, which is a critique of Eurocentrism, from imperial and liberal cosmopolitics; the former enforces hegemony while the latter complies with it. But due to the large number of anthropologists in the peripheries being trained in the centers (Ribeiro 2014; Huang 2015; Mathews 2015), to what extent can the world anthropologies framework be revolutionary? To what degree are new theoretical insights *world* anthropologies and not just replicas of their former metropolises?

At the 2003 *World Anthropologies: Disciplinary Transformations within Systems of Power* symposium in Italy, Ribeiro acknowledged that because of colonial ties, “endogenization” (Ntarangwi et al. 2006) – the process of developing something independently or internally without reliance on outside influence – was impossible within marginalized anthropologies. At the same symposium, Marisol De la Cadena discussed the notion of “epistemological tolerance” that would manifest into a thought realm that takes into considerations varied perspectives and

lived experiences, or “epistemological hybridity” (Ribeiro and Escobar 2003, 3). As Ribeiro has written elsewhere (2014, 492):

There is no doubt though that the WA’s [World Anthropologies project] founding figures are hybrids of progressive European, American, and Latin American cosmopolitanisms because they have different ties with the US academic milieu. Although educated in their home countries (De la Cadena did her undergraduate in Peru and two MA courses in Europe; Restrepo and Escobar did their BA degrees in Colombia; and Ribeiro did his BA and MA degrees in Brazil), all have doctoral degrees from American universities.

East Asian anthropologies face a similar issue with many of their founders being trained at prestigious institutions in the center, which aids in reproducing Western epistemologies. In the case of pioneers of Chinese anthropology, founding fathers such as archaeologist Li Chi trained at Harvard, ethnologist Ling Shun-sheng studied at the University of Paris, and social anthropologist Wu Wenzao earned a doctoral degree from Columbia University (Huang 2015).

Within an African framework, the term “radical cosmopolitics” is also questionable. Ntarangwi et al. (2006) dismantle the notion that colonization and decolonization are binary opposites, suggesting that African anthropologies free of their colonial pasts are not a realistic outcome of decolonization. Ribeiro clarifies that the world anthropologies project “is not a foundational movement, an effort to create a new discipline that disregards what was previously done — but it is highly critical of Eurocentrism and Anglo-American dominance because they are seen as an impoverishment of the discipline’s diversity of styles, contents, agendas, and politics” (Ribeiro 2014, 489).

Another challenge threatening the viability of world anthropologies is the fact that anthropology is not regarded as a legitimate field in many parts of Africa (Ntarangwi 2010; Harrison 2017). Like Haiti, the continent served as the archetype for alterity and thus as an object

of inquiry for some early Western anthropologists accommodating colonial aims;²⁹ hence anthropology does not naturally attract African scholars (Ntarangwi et al. 2006; Ntarangwi 2010). How “radical” can cosmopolitics be without the aid of the very region that would epitomize alterity in Western anthropology? Ntarangwi believes an applied approach can help elevate anthropology’s inferior status among the social sciences within the continent. But oftentimes, African anthropologists do not have the luxury of being able to simply teach and publish theories like their Western counterparts. Further, because of its association with colonialism in Africa, anthropology is often subsumed by other social science disciplines that recognize the importance of ethnography but detach the method from its field of origin. For instance, some trained anthropologists such as South African scholar Archie Mafeje prefer to align themselves with sociology due to anthropology’s colonial past³⁰ (Nyamnjoh 2004; Ntarangwi et al. 2006). Despite its status, Ntarangwi et al. (2006) note that a causal relationship between colonialism and anthropology, oversimplifies the disciplines’ development across the continent, while overlooking specific stakeholders and major players involved. Instead, it might be more worthwhile to evaluate how anthropology has changed over time (2006).

Currently, radical cosmopolitics may not seem as “radical” due to the numerous anthropologists based in the peripheries who received their training in the North. However, perhaps the World Wide Web, which embodies an alternative dimension of time and space, can buttress or house this pluriverse. Amid globalization and growing awareness of other

²⁹ According to Ntarangwi et al. (2006), during colonization anthropological work in Africa was not always nefarious and sometimes produced accurate depictions through ethnographic surveys. Despite anthropology transforming during post-colonialism, many Africans still distrust the field. Meanwhile, Africa’s relationship to its former metropolises, such as Great Britain and France, remains complex and intertwined (2006).

³⁰ Many African scholars work within sociology because of the “primitive” subject matter associated with anthropology, while the former probes more “complex” societies (Ntarangwi et al. 2006).

anthropologies (Restrepo and Escobar 2005; Yamashita 2015), some scholars believe in the power of the internet to alter power dynamics fueled by colonial regimes (Matthews 2015; Ribeiro 2014). The argument is that digital connectivity will make it easier for those outside the center to circumnavigate the hegemonic systems that dominate the physical realm (Ribeiro 2014, 489) due to unbounded data resources (open access journals) and publishing tools that allow for more equitable scholarly exchanges. In an effort to counter its Anglocentrism, in 2013 the AAA's World Council of Anthropological Associations established an online journal called *Déjà Lu (Already Read)* dedicated to republishing anthropological texts in any language with the option of getting the work translated into English (WCAA 2019; Ribeiro 2014). But as I will discuss in my findings, there are still serious questions about whether moving "online" will be inclusive or instead further historical patterns of exclusion.

Establishing a Pluriverse

In several parts of the world, anthropology has been used in the nation-building agenda (Ribeiro 2005). While developing national ideologies, state leaders have used it in the interest of consolidating control as they legitimized conquering native populations or "others" (2005). As advocates of world anthropologies argue for an alternative understanding of temporality and space, they seek to denationalize anthropologies by promoting a global lens. Thus WA operates as a *pluriverse* not a singular universe (Restrepo and Escobar 2005).

In order to foster diversity and heteroglossia within the field, Escobar believes that anthropology should not be linked to a single region. Because there are numerous epistemologies, "multiplicity" entails that no single anthropological tradition should dominate others. As Ribeiro and Escobar illustrate (2003, 3):

A 'world anthropologies' framework would suggest that it would no longer be possible to talk about, say, "Russian anthropology" or "Mexican anthropology" but "world

anthropologies” in Russia, or in Mexico, etc. This multiplicity –World Anthropologies – would be generated by a network of sites in an uneven, contested terrain. The resulting plural space would amount to a “post-anthropological era” (that is, post-anthropological in the singular).

As a discursive practice, Johannes Fabian urges for an anthropology without borders by expressing the need to do without Western notions of time of space by discussing the field not as a physical domain, but as a series of events. Consequently, this may subvert hegemonic practices within the field by expunging the spatial confines that incite exclusion. If anthropology is truly going to promote anthropologies, Fabian stresses the importance of utilizing the “world anthropologies” concept (Ribeiro and Escobar 2003).

According to Ntarangwi, world anthropologies can help move the discipline forward, yet the Kenyan anthropologist warns this is only possible if it does not reproduce new centers within those margins (2010). Verena Stolcke elucidated that the world possesses shifting centers, and questioned for instance, whether city dwellers in Brazil constitute local anthropologists if they study those in the Amazon. In the case of Japan, with its positionality as a colonizer instead of a colony, could there be multiple notions of the West? To Yamashita, “Japanese anthropology is a plural Westernized anthropology” (Ribeiro and Escobar 2003, 9).

Through his analysis of the World Anthropologies Network (WAN), Ntarangwi (2010) found that its members primarily hailed from the United States and Colombia. This could be attributed to the size of those anthropologies and the fact that Arturo Escobar represents both regions. Nonetheless, Ntarangwi highlights potential collaborative projects that could ensue due to WAN’s mission “to create ‘networked’ environments that will allow for a pluralistic discipline that thrives on both its localness and its dialogue across multiple place-based perspectives across the globe” (WAN 2005, 8).

Anthropology of (Higher) Education

Education-based problems are seen as a reflection of larger systems of injustice and inequity operating at both macro- and micro-levels of local, state, and federal government. Not only are schools seen as sites of “social and cultural reproduction mediated through human agency,” they and other spaces where learning occurs contribute to the production of particular social and cultural norms that differentially position individuals and groups of individuals engaging them.

(Howard and Ali 2016, 65)

Among anthropologists, the foundational concept of “culture” is characterized as learned behavior (Erickson 2011; Varenne and Koyama 2011; Howard and Ali 2016). Emphasizing its ongoing nature, Varenne and Koyama (2011) declare, “Culture is learning (and teaching)” (52). Naturally, schools are centers of cultural transmission, and are thus crucial sites for ethnographic inquiry (Erickson 2011).

With the lack of anthropological research being conducted within the confines of universities (Wisniewski 2000; Ntarangwi 2010; Mills and Berg 2010; Gusterson 2017), faculty are especially understudied and overlooked, particularly when it comes to how they respond to change at their institutions (Wisniewski 2000). Moreover, there is a void in higher education (HE) literature concerning those critical educators who challenge systemic inequalities through empowerment and critical pedagogy (Anderson 1989).

Underpinning my theory and methodology is critical educational ethnography (CEE). Critical educational ethnography calls attention to the inequalities imposed by systemic factors within education, while highlighting actors’ agency to mediate unequal power dynamics through resistance and accommodation (Anderson 1989; Levinson and Holland 1996; Forsey 2007; Howard and Ali 2016). CEE developed from scholarly traditions such as interpretivism, decolonization, neo-Marxist, and feminist theories, as well as the growing interest in how groups navigated and understood structural challenges that impeded their liberties (Howard and Ali

2016). The critical educational ethnographic framework melds all the theoretical paradigms this study engages with. As discussed earlier, world anthropologies calls attention to the geopolitics of knowledge production and academic prestige while highlighting underrepresented groups. Since CEE seeks to empower research participants/interlocutors (it uses research to inform liberation efforts), it was particularly fitting for my study. Specifically, critical educational ethnography seeks to empower underrepresented marginalized groups and stresses the importance of applied research. CEE also speaks to the anthropology of higher education and its focus on the ways faculty resist or accommodate sociocultural transmission within the university.

Critical educational ethnography's orientation towards structures and agency overlaps with Bourdieu's notion of habitus (1990), which are the set of behaviors imposed by structural inequalities that continue to reproduce themselves. Toni Cela Hamm (2016) adopted Bourdieu's habitus and capital framework to discuss the creative ways Haitian intellectuals in the diaspora share resources and knowledge with local actors in Haiti to help improve its HE sector. Yet the Haitian-American scholar acknowledges that diasporic capital can only achieve but so much; local Haitian stakeholders must be at the helm of reform efforts that address governance issues and inadequate investments in Haitian HE (2016).

The University as a Public Good and Civic Education

Higher education being branded as a public good relates to the political economy of the university in the United States (Pusser 2006). A public good constitutes goods, services, and/or knowledge that serve to benefit society at large not just private interests (Pusser 2006). Before the rise in college enrollment, only a privileged few (wealthy White males) had access to HE (Pusser 2006; Gumpert et al. 1997).

Within the US context, the massification of the university came after World War II. The change in student and faculty demographics derived from the waves of civil rights protests, a booming economy, and a growing middle class (Gumport et al. 1997). The high demand for HE caused an increase in the building of new institutions, and it marked the moment when the university was being framed as a public good, “worthy of public support” (Gumport et al. 1997, 12). HE was valued for its research output that could serve as a catalyst for innovation, economic development, and the overall betterment of society, in addition to its civic education, which produces an informed citizenry who will enact public service or create public goods themselves (Calhoun 2006; Crittenden and Levine 2018).

The political economy that developed US anthropology and area studies programs coincided with the massification of the university. After WWII, there was an increase in university matriculation of mainly White men due to the GI Bill (Patterson 2001; Ribeiro 2005); later in the 1970s there was an increase in women earning anthropology degrees. This demand for higher education created new opportunities for anthropologists; thus, this era saw an “explosion in the number of anthropologists” (Patterson 2001, 107). Due to the postwar agenda, funding for language and area studies of newly independent nations bolstered the field of anthropology for private firms and the US government, who sought to secure their interests abroad (Remy 1976; Patterson 2001).

The Civil Rights Revolution of the 60’s and the Black Revolution of the 70’s began to impact academia and the AAA. Black graduate students in the 60’s sought identifiable Afro-American role models in Anthropology. They were virtually nonexistent in academia prior to the 60’s (Drake 1978, 1985; Harrison 1979a; Stewart 1982). Only 13 blacks earned the doctorate in anthropology prior to 1980.

(Harrison 1987, 17-18)

When Harrison published his article, he noted that there were about 150 African American anthropologists, many of whom were members of the Association of Black Anthropologists (ABA). Before returning home to Haiti, Anselme Remy cofounded the ABA in 1975 (Harrison 1987; McMillan Howell 2018). Remy was ABA's first (interim) president, then he later served an additional term from 1978–1979 (Harrison 1987). ABA served to chronicle the contributions of Black anthropologists, provide a networking space for emerging and more established professionals, and convey the relevance of anthropology to the Black public.

Despite the increased demand for higher learning in Africa, research funds are very limited for African HE despite applied anthropology's potential to develop into a public good (Ntarangwi et al. 2006). To conduct research and remain economically afloat, African scholars must often resort to consulting work (Ntarangwi et al. 2006). Meager university salaries have given African anthropologists the daunting task of countering colonial anthropology with limited access to the most recent literature for research and teaching (Ntarangwi et al. 2006). Even this can only happen when African professors are not “overburdened with teaching” (36). The emphasis on teaching coincides with the paltry research funds available for academics at both public and private universities despite increasing student enrollment. Such conditions have pushed African intellectuals to emigrate elsewhere for more promising employment opportunities.

Those who do stay supplement their income with consultancies. Oftentimes their research output serves as raw data for academics in the center (Ntarangwi et al. 2006). Discussing consultancies, Ntarangwi et al. argue that long-term consultants could produce quality research and thick description. However, consultancies do not always equate to applied anthropology, since a researcher may not be hired to inform policy or their expertise may not be employed to

enact change. For instance, INGOs often hire consultants to produce knowledge for internal use, limiting the public's access (2006).

Macfarlane (2005) argues that the massification of the university, disciplinary specialization to elevate one's career, and the lack of faculty input in university governance has led to civic disengagement among British academics despite the growing popularity in citizenship education. He discusses the lack of scholarship about university professors' civic engagement and service due to the misconception that these duties are nonessential aspects of research professors' labor. Specifically, professors are recruited for their intellectual abilities, and thus anything else (i.e. administrative duties and student advisement) "carries negative connotations" (2005, 299).

According to Levinson (2011, 280), "much, if not all, education is citizenship education." He stresses the importance of understanding the ways both informal and formal education forge civic identities. Levinson also acknowledges the existence of non-democratic and democratic citizenship education. A "lifelong process" (Crittenden and Levine 2018), civic education is not confined to informal and formal learning sites within democratic republics. Fascist regimes have employed civic education to disenfranchise its citizens (Crittenden and Levine 2018). It has not been uncommon for ruling classes to abuse their power by corrupting citizenship education at the detriment of social welfare. This can involve identity formation, by imposing an inferior sense of self onto the public (Crittenden and Levine 2018).

The notion of identity is pertinent to civic education because it encompasses the degrees to which one feels a sense of belonging and connection to the public arena. From this rationale, Levinson concludes, "all education is identity formation" (280). What comprises justifiable acts of citizenship — are they limited to community service and political debates? Levinson

reveals that civil disobedience is not typically depicted as a justified demonstration of democratic principles. “Citizenship” is usually narrowly defined as service or passive acts of democratic participation without considering collective acts of protest and activism (Crittenden and Levine 2018). This characterization tends to discount expressions of “power and agency” as automatic disorder (Crittenden and Levine 2018). “The anthropological study of citizenship education would importantly link informal processes of identity formation to both the political–economic forces that sponsor and construct educational programs for creating ‘democratic’ publics, and the social groups and movements that create counterpublics” (Levinson 2011, 283). This is relevant to my discussion about critical educational practitioners in my sample and their uses of citizenship education to address Haiti’s identity crisis.

Civic education in Haiti centers identity. According to Cela Hamm’s research, a Haitian college student believes (2016, 108):

Universities, in general, should produce knowledge and transmit it. However, in the case of Haiti, given the state we are in now, it requires that we produce a particular knowledge for Haiti. We need to produce knowledge that will develop honest citizens in the country. We must produce a love of Haiti, a sort of *Haitienneté* [Haitianness].

As it fostered Haitian civic education (Pierre 2014), Trouillot’s *Ti Dife Boule sou Istoua Ayiti*³¹ (*Burning Issues in Haitian History*) (1977), the first written history in Haitian Creole (Dubois 2013), was his retelling of the Haitian revolution. The radical opus challenged the resistance narratives Duvalier appropriated and repurposed to assert his authority (Bonilla 2013). “Writing the history as if spoken orally to a gathering of contemporary rural Haitians” (Dubois 2013, 687), Trouillot made a political statement, transferring what many consider to be a vernacular speech (Ménard 2014) onto the pages of his first publication. Yet it also spoke

³¹ This was Trouillot’s first book, yet he is most known for *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (1995) (Price 2013) — which has been deemed as “one of the memorable works of late-20th-century anthropology” (Price 2013, 718).

volumes politically through its social commentary, revealing the peasant class' role in reshaping the island's political sphere. In terms of public reach, Trouillot published other works in French and English to engage audiences both at the center and the periphery. Despite being an unsung work in his canon (Dubois 2013), Trouillot took most pride in *Ti Dife* (Price 2013). Speaking to his civic engagement, Bonilla (2014) explains that the Haitian-American anthropologist did not draft an English and French version of this text for a reason. *Ti Dife* was composed with Haitians, specifically Kreyòl readers³² in mind, as he sought to engage and dialogue with this underserved group (Bonilla 2014). At the age of 28, Trouillot wrote this work while he lived in Brooklyn, NY to empower the peasant majority due to his “personal sense of responsibility for the Haiti he left behind” (Pierre 2014, 209). Because it was in Kreyòl, *Ti Dife* could be *read* and *understood* as a public good.

The Neoliberal University

On a global scale — from auditable performance metrics to state disinvestment (Shore and Wright 2000) — public universities have been grappling with neoliberal agendas that privatize public goods and services following the massification of the university (Gumport et al. 1997); Ntarangwi 2010). Within the American context, the Spellings Commission (2005) policy aligns with neoliberal agendas in Europe, which apply “free market” pressures to HE, imposing auditing and accountability measures that reward the few that meet the standards and employ austerity measures for those that do not (Greenwood 2009). Greenwood distinguishes between “output measures” such as student retention rates, learning outcomes, and employability, and “input measures” such as faculty credentials and program offerings — all of which are supposed to reflect the universities' overall performance. As opposed to qualitative quality assurance, these

³² This group also constitutes those who read French (see Ménard 2014).

metrics are gauged quantitatively, thus they fail to provide a holistic picture of the socioeconomic conditions that impact the university community. As a result, these parameters can stifle student success as well as faculty productivity (2009).

The neoliberal university exacerbates the pressures of “publish or perish” culture in academia. “In a globalized and neoliberalized university environment, output is typically measured by the quality of the journals in which professors publish, a quality measured in the social sciences by such markers as the Social Science Citation Index” (Mathews 2015, 368). As Mathews notes (2015), for anthropologists worldwide, it is as if their worth is contingent on being featured within this index based on how much administrators emphasize this to department chairs, who then must stress this point to faculty.

Due to the neoliberal agenda, cuts in educational funding have forced public universities to co-opt quasi-business models to remain viable, which in turn further alienates marginalized groups (Gusterson 2017). With the commodification of HE, students are being framed as rational consumers (Canaan and Shumar 2008). As Ntarangwi writes, “this customer-service model of higher education, which Faye Harrison ties to ‘a postcolonial corporate hegemony,’ is leading to the marginalization of the subaltern intellectuals who are unwilling to conform to these market forces” (Harrison 2008, 271, as cited in Ntarangwi 2010, 65-66). Despite university diversity initiatives, Navarro et al. (2013) have found that academics of color feel their contributions and affective labor go underappreciated. In “Constructing Fear in Academia: Neoliberal Practices at a Public College,” Dána-Ain Davis (2015) argues that the neoliberal agenda further increases the precarity of marginalized groups in HE — even those who serve as faculty. Based on her experience as a faculty member at a New York state university, area studies classes were racialized then marginalized in terms of their utility to learning and knowledge production.

While receiving very little funding, these fields and their courses had to be constantly validated via various metrics and were forced to rely on external funding and grants to remain relevant within the university.

Known as the “republic of NGOs” (Schuller 2017) due to its overreliance on private entities for social services, “Haiti has one of the most privatized school systems in the world” (Edmonds, 2013, 440, as cited in Stephenson and Zanotti 2017, 1). Stephenson and Zanotti (2017) explored the challenges faced by a private Haitian higher learning institution that seeks to transform the lives of rural Haitians. Apparently, the school was adhering closely to World Bank initiatives that promote autonomous privatized funding for higher education, or “academic capitalism.” Historically, the World Bank has not financed higher education as much as primary and secondary education (Vital 2015).

The market deregulation accompanying Haiti’s democratic transition following the 1987 Constitution came with an influx of unaccredited private universities with no accrediting agencies to vet them (INURED 2010; Deshommes 2014; Cela Hamm 2016, 6, 117). In total, Haiti has at least 180 higher education institutions (public and private) (Cela Hamm 2016). In 2014, a national assessment found that less than 35 percent of the 170 private higher education institutions were accredited institutions recognized by the Haitian government (Cela Hamm 2016). Furthermore, higher education oversight and reform have not been prioritized in the nation (INURED 2010; Fausner 2017; Noël 2018). Due to its adherence to the United Nations’ Education for All Initiative³³ (Cela Hamm 2016), the Ministry of Education’s meager budget, along with its minimal oversight of HE, has led to an influx of *borlette* (lottery) universities. Functioning as diploma mills, *borlette* schools are private unaccredited institutions staffed by

³³ Haiti’s Ministry of Education mainly funds primary education (see Downie 2012).

unqualified personnel (Deshommes 2014; Ely 2019; Louis 2020). According to Haitian sociologist Ilionor Louis (2020), these universities are labeled as borlette “because it is only by chance that their graduates can succeed in occupying a position in the labor market.”

Critical Pedagogy

According to Cho (2013), “The first premise that critical pedagogy challenges is the idea of schools as the ‘great equalizer’” (16). As the marginalization of academics of color demonstrates (Harrison 2017), the “education equals freedom” rhetoric has been debunked, as it assumes we live in a meritocracy (Cho 2013). Relevant to critical educational ethnography, “many teachers unfortunately have been destroyed by the dominant ideology of a society and they tend to impose that way of seeing the world and behaving on kids” (Freire 1985, 18).

According to Paulo Freire’s *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970), education can function as “the practice of freedom” (81, as cited in Pradhan and Singh 2016, 263). Freire asserted that students must be active in their learning process (1970). They cannot simply personify receptacles of information, or objects in the learning process. Students must be subjects in their lessons, which can inform the ways they will be actors in their own lives (1970). Reflective participation must precede activism, which echoes Hegelian idealism. German philosopher G. W. F. Hegel, who was informed by the Haitian revolution,³⁴ also influenced Freire’s framework. To Buck-Morss (2000), as former slaves defeated the French, British, and Spanish in the first successful slave uprising, the establishment of Haiti as the first Black republic solidified enlightenment ideals by granting freedom for all — at least initially.

³⁴ Buck-Morss (2000) argues that Hegel’s master-slave dialectic is likely to have been inspired by the Haitian revolution. Hegel’s master-slave dialectic posited if slaves were conscious of their human agency and ability to liberate themselves from their dismal state, they would be willing to die for their freedom (Buck-Morss 2000, 848). Hegel’s theory circulated just as the French colony, Saint Domingue, was transforming into Ayiti (Haiti),³⁴ the Black republic.

Freirean critical pedagogy steers away from monologue, empowering marginalized students to think critically about dominant forces that oppress them (1970). It promotes dialogue between educators and students as opposed to “banking education,” which involves rote learning and accepting what one is told instead of deep reflection. The banking model positions the teacher as a superior figure with valuable knowledge, while students are seen as dependent upon teachers for learning and incapable of thinking critically and independently. This structure can reinforce inequality and the transmission of problematic ideas into the classroom. Freire, who worked with illiterate peasants in Brazil, promoted “reading the world” to enhance one’s reading ability — i.e. developing a critical lens to evaluate the socioeconomic and political factors that preclude liberation and social mobility (Freire 1985; Crittenden and Levine 2018). According to Davis (2015), critical pedagogy is one remedy for the neoliberal university. Encouraging students to be critical of inequalities and the ways in which policies further marginalize historically oppressed groups fosters informed citizens (Davis 2015). Community-based class projects that interrogate space, place, and inequalities, in her view, create new epistemologies that challenge the status quo.

Conclusion

As illustrated throughout this section, there have been adverse uses of anthropology by both White *and* Black scholars as well as governments in Northern and Southern nations. In Africa, anthropologists are recovering from anthropology’s colonial past,³⁵ while Haitian scholars are trying to elevate the discipline from its ominous use under the Duvalier regime —

³⁵ By speaking to the past—one cannot “deny” colonialism’s role in anthropology, but it does not have to define contemporary discourse (Ntarangwi et al. 1006). If African scholars and their efforts to decolonize are placed at the forefront, this can counterbalance the overreliance on Western influence on knowledge production (2006).

this will be elaborated in the “Findings” section. As discussed in the “Anthropology of (Higher) Education” section, anthropology is a powerful tool that can be used to manipulate ideas or deepen an understanding of identity politics, values, and citizenship. For instance, the notion that ethnology should be used to commemorate and canonize Haiti’s African heritage before it disappeared, is telling of its role in civic education in Haitian society.

FE’s institutional history, world anthropologies, and anthropology of HE discourse have informed my project design. The overlap between these three topics is especially relevant to my research concerning the balancing act that constitutes FE professors’ labor, which the critical educational ethnography framework fuses in my methodology.

CHAPTER 3: METHODS

Introduction

They [critical educational ethnographers] should be able to articulate how particular voices are subjugated, marginalized or silenced, as well as amplified, centered, and legitimized by particular epistemologies, paradigms, and methods of inquiry.

(Howard and Ali 2016, 70)

“Conceptualized as both theory and method” (Howard and Ali 2016, 70), critical educational ethnography served as my theoretical framework and the basis for my research design and analysis. Critical educational ethnography contextualizes the ways informal and formal education sites reinforce broader systemic inequalities among its key stakeholders, while highlighting actors’ agency to mediate unequal power dynamics (sociocultural reproduction) through resistance and accommodation (Anderson 1989; Levinson and Holland 1996; Forsey 2007; Howard and Ali 2016).

Critical educational ethnography employs both traditional and nontraditional ethnographic methods (Howard and Ali 2016). Therefore, prior to Ethnologie’s closure in June 2019, my methodological approach encompassed a multimodal (Salmons 2018) mixed-methods toolkit (Plano Clark et al. 2010), comprised of participant observation, visual anthropology, time allocation, interviews, and a questionnaire.

The fundamental question of this study — what are the conditions of academic labor for anthropology professors working in Haiti, and how do professors add meaningful value to their labor through sacrifice, creative strategies, and civic engagement? — was meant to interrogate related themes central to Ethnologie professors’ labor. Through triangulation (Flick 2018), I

drew upon different techniques to articulate each of my research objectives, generating valuable findings during my 3.5 weeks in the field. Thus by observing their daily work routines, my methodology also explored how much time professors dedicated to teaching, research, and knowledge production (via time allocation, questionnaire, and interviews). Moreover, this study probed what projects faculty and students (past and present) have undertaken (historical anthropology, participant observation, questionnaire, and interviews). Although I initially wanted to focus on research and publishing output, I also wanted to identify the major components of Haitian anthropology (participant observation, interviews, and questionnaire). I wanted to get a sense of which scholars professors were citing and whether that reflected an existing Haitian epistemology (participant observation in classrooms, visual anthropology, syllabi collection, and interviews). With regard to students, what were their needs and how did they impact the faculty's workload (participant observation, interviews, and questionnaire)? Throughout this process, I sought to address work-related challenges and the rewards of working at Ethnologic (historical anthropology, participant observation, visual anthropology, interviews, and questionnaire). Finally, given Haiti's severe "brain drain" levels and professors' work-related challenges, I sought to understand professors' motivations for staying in Haiti (participant observation and interviews).

To analyze my data, since critical educational ethnography considers local problems within the framework of broader issues, I incorporated textual analysis of current events and university brochures, as well as historical anthropology, thematic coding, and critical reflexivity.

Sample

Although many critical ethnographies have attempted to address implications for practitioners, few have taken critical practitioners as objects of study.

(Anderson 1989, 257)

I first got acquainted with UEH professors in March 2019 at the *Island Anthropologies: Anthropological Knowledge Production in Haiti and Dominican Republic* workshop in Santo Domingo, DR. As a spectator and documentarian, the panels not only informed my research topic, but given the atmosphere in Haiti at the time, I was able to discuss the feasibility of pursuing my study with the panelists. Due to Haiti's Level 4 Travel Advisory, I was seeking reassurance for both my university and myself that it was indeed safe for me to conduct my research in Port-au-Prince. The UEH professors revealed conditions were stable and FE was open. Naturally, I took this as a good sign. In May, one of the contacts I gained at the workshop shared my Haitian Creole consent form via email with FE leadership a few days before my arrival. Adhering to my university's IRB Human Subjects Informed Consent protocol, the form outlined my research objectives and voluntary nature of my study.

Since the Faculté d'Ethnologie consists of 19 regular instructors (part-time and full-time) that teach anthropology, I intended on conducting a census study, which would include everyone willing to participate (Guest 2015). However, because of the voluntary nature of this research, professors' limited availability due to occupational multiplicity, and my difficulty recruiting faculty via email, I relied on purposive sampling via "snowball referral" (Guest 2015, 225). Although I had interactions with 13 faculty members to varying degrees, most of whom were men, I must note that only five of them signed my Haitian Creole consent form. I received verbal and written consent to sit in on class sessions, and three of the participants taught only sociology courses. Within my sample, ages ranged from 31 to 70.

My inclusion criteria required participants to be regular employees at Ethnologie — preferably those who taught anthropology courses. In the end, I had to be flexible, which reflects my findings concerning the lack of formally trained anthropologists in Haiti. Yet I am not

discounting any of my participants — their experiences and labor certainly speak to my research question and the state of anthropology in Haiti. My study excluded visiting professors whose experiences may deviate from regular faculty. Since many of the activities at Ethnologie centered on teaching, one of my main field sites included classrooms. There, I got to interact with students at both the undergraduate and graduate level. Because professors' labor was affected by teaching demands and student needs, I obtained verbal consent to interview one student.

Wiles et al. (2010) discuss the ethical challenges of studying researchers:

As researchers, we had to be mindful of and to attempt to distinguish between: 1) what was public knowledge in terms of our participants' expressed views in their presentations and their research; 2) what was data generated in our study for public consumption but which must be anonymized; and 3) what was private knowledge that we had gained from our research that we did not have individuals' consent to use, or knowledge gained from our personal contact with an individual.

(Wiles et al. 2010, 290)

I confronted these same issues when considering both the importance of anonymizing my sample *and* citing underrepresented groups in anthropology. I grappled with the use of pseudonyms to protect public intellectuals that I hoped to cite and celebrate. *Wasn't that the whole point of world anthropologies?* To empower marginalized groups, scholars argue (Anderson 1989; Howard and Ali 2016) that critical educational ethnographers must center their narratives as legitimate and integral to the research process. However, CEE has been typically used to articulate student experiences (Forsey 2007) and has been underutilized within the context of higher education (Wisniewski 2000; Gusterson 2017; Foster et al. 2018).

As my study took a novel approach at developing world anthropologies discourse and critical educational ethnography, I was also able to engage with “critical practitioners” (Anderson 1989), or educators who empower their students to understand the complexities of dominant sociopolitical forces via critical pedagogy (Freire 1970). In general, UEH professors

across several Facultés (Schools) have been quite vocal about the inefficiencies of the state university system, while providing meaningful recommendations.

Participant Observation and Visual Anthropology

Apart from Western anthropologies' overreliance on studying the "other" (Shumar 2004; Ferguson 2005; Hannerz 2010; Ntarangwi 2010; Byron 2016; Kawa et al. 2019), another defining feature of cultural anthropology is ethnography — particularly, its use of participant observation as a data generation method (McCall 2006; Forsey 2007; Ntarangwi 2010; Musante 2015). Grounded in empiricism, participant observation involves immersion into research participants/interlocutors' daily activities and specialized rituals so as to gain substantive insights into their lived experiences (Cohen 2000; Musante 2015). The "degree of participation" (Spradley 1980, as cited in Musante 2015, 248) varies based on the context of the study, the comfort of the researcher, and their rapport with the community (Musante 2015; Pole and Hillyard 2016). Limitations can also stem from characteristics beyond one's control — "Gender, age, class, and ethnicity may pose barriers to participation in some arenas important to research" (Musante 2015, 251).

Located in Port-au-Prince, Haiti, the Faculté d'Ethnologie was the central site for my participant observation. I utilized this method with nine faculty members in FE administrative offices, campus grounds, and eight class sessions over a 3.5 week period, from May 13th to June 6th, 2019. As far as resources at their disposal, I was particularly interested in the Faculté d'Ethnologie's Wi-Fi connectivity levels and how this affected professors' research and overall productivity. Focused on the geopolitics of knowledge production, initially, I believed it was necessary to observe labor linked to research output and publishing. However, I would soon find out that observing research and administrative duties was dull at times and lacked a participatory

component — which is not uncommon (Gorup 2016). Thus my participation was limited when observing certain work routines; I was the “passive” or “moderate observer” (Pole and Hillyard 2016; Musante 2015; Gorup 2016) and quite possibly a nuisance. At times, I felt as though I was in the way and that my presence (and questions) most likely impeded productivity. “Active participation” took place in classrooms.

The classroom was a site for lively discussions. Granted my presence may have impacted student interactions, the synergy between instructors (some of whom were still graduate students themselves), and students prompted my full engagement. As I played the role of visitor, student, and teacher, I got involved with the learning process by shedding light on my own views that were shaped by my identity and training in American anthropology. I do not want to over romanticize the classroom setting considering FE’s infrastructural limitations and students’ various insecurities that impact their class preparedness and engagement, (the same could also be said about professors). However, access into this space allowed me to observe how various instructors teach and advise their students — an aspect that has not been discussed extensively in world anthropologies discourse. Additionally, I was able to observe who professors were citing, which language(s) was spoken, and which *unique* insights were used to illustrate points. *Unique* in this sense, means epistemic deviations from what I have learned and how I have been conditioned in the United States. Moreover, my glimpse at Ethnologic’s inner workings enabled me to witness epistemic insights concerning Haitian identity (and citizenship) that conflicted with the state.

The classroom also provided a reprieve from the mundanities of office work that precluded active participation due to my lack of expertise and my attempt at not being too invasive. Witnessing faculty teach provided more exposure into the realm of Haitian social

science and HE that watching a professor send emails could not. One of my most rewarding experiences was performing participant observation while Anthropologie-Sociologie undergraduates learned the difference between direct observation and participant observation. During a lesson that distinguished the two methods, a female student posed an interesting question:

If a researcher passes out during an observation because a spirit possesses them, is that still participant observation? Because they don't have the same consciousness, does that count as participant observation?

As clamor filled the classroom, I thought, what a great question! Everyone spoke at once, while a few people raised their hands. A fellow classmate said, "It is not an observation because the person was not aware of what was happening to fully reflect on the experience." Alternatively, another student explained that it is participant observation because the researcher got immersed so much they experienced what the natives felt. This was a unique glimpse into the ways Haitian anthropology students discussed and understood ethnographic methods on their own terms and in their own language.

DeWalt (2011, 53) declares, "The greatest strength of the method [participant observation] is that the researcher attempts to gain the point of view of the participant." Compared to administrative offices, the classroom is a setting I am more familiar with, but mainly as a student learner. But by the second week, I was in the professors' shoes teaching two visual research methods sessions to undergraduates. This experience was also valuable because I was able to get a sense of what professors endure while teaching,³⁶ and it allowed me to forge connections with students.

³⁶ This will be elaborated in the "Findings" section.

Beyond Ethnologie's operations, accompanying professors to university-wide events outside of FE provided context to UEH's institutional setbacks and the ways it was working to ameliorate conditions. "UEH, citoyenneté et service public" (UEH, citizenship and public service) was the theme for UEH's 3rd annual open house, which showcased student projects encompassing an applied or civic component. A public forum, the Etats Généraux de l'UEH (Estates General) meeting assembled professors and students across UEH campuses to discuss ways to "transform our university into a modern, dynamic, and open institution" (UEH 2019).

Aside from consultancies, many of the professors within my sample held part-time positions at FE while teaching courses at other humanities and social science based Facultés such as the Institut d'études et de Recherches Africaines d'Haïti (IERAH), Faculté des Sciences Humaines (FASCH), and Faculté de Droit et des Sciences Économiques (FDSE). Due to occupational multiplicity, although I did not observe professors at other UEH Schools, I was able to observe a professor present at a conference at a private university in Haiti.

Throughout the research process, I took detailed field notes. While performing participant observation, the act of "being there" (Cohen 2000; Shumar 2004; Ntarangwi 2010), is legitimized through tedious note taking that chronicles the actions, behaviors, events, as well as explicit and implicit expressions relevant to a study. These field notes are later processed and analyzed to produce key findings (Musante 2015). Field notes represent tangible research output that social scientists craft into dissertations, conference presentations, and future publications (Jackson 1990). Fine (1993) acknowledges that especially in foreign contexts, it is unlikely graduate students are alert and aware of every single occurrence in the field. Coupled with language barriers and pure fatigue, being present while writing copious field notes can be strenuous on the researcher (1993), who may then as a result end up producing illegible notes

(Jackson 1990). An advocate for visual anthropology, Margaret Mead “criticized ethnographic inquiry that came to ‘depend on words, and words, and words’ and “admonished anthropologists for their passivity and resistance to using pictures in field research” (El Guindi 2015, 431). For Mead, a camera could be used to convey thick descriptions in ways text alone could not (Kharel 2015).

Embracing nontraditional methods, critical educational ethnography is also informed by audiovisual mediums that capture participants’ realities and their ways of knowing (Howard and Ali 2016). I employed multimodal visual research methods (Westmoreland 2017) through photography and video recordings along with written field notes, which strengthened my thick descriptions with illustrative examples. With its precision and vivid research output (if used properly), visual research techniques involve incorporating visual elements as a means to archive and record data (i.e. visual field notes), produce data to be analyzed, or disseminate research (El Guindi 2015). With professors’ consent, I was able to capture over 1,000 photos, which serve as visual field notes (Kharel 2015) and images for future publications. There were then moments when *I had to get creative*. Because it was difficult to print and copy documents at Ethnologic, I resorted to capturing pictures of files.

Because the purpose of world anthropologies is to highlight scholars in the Global South, giving Haitian anthropology professors another platform to speak for themselves would surely contribute to this initiative.³⁷ With permission (signed photo releases), I also recorded portions of lectures. These recordings not only produced visual field notes, but I generated data that could be edited into short clips. In addition to syllabi and interview data, my footage could be used to educate American scholars and (foreign) policymakers about Haitian anthropology, as well as

³⁷ This objective also applies to the *American Anthropologist*’s “World Anthropologies” section and aligns with critical educational ethnography.

professors' pedagogical practices. Surely, professors can record themselves — one professor was an active vlogger on social media curating content about Haitian culture and anthropology — and Haitian media outlets have already interviewed several of them. However, if captioned with English subtitles, these short clips can serve as applied outcomes. Perhaps if posted online, these videos would promote scholarly exchanges between Haitian and American social scientists.

Time Allocation: Shadow Method

With the time allocation method (Mueller 1999), I documented what was involved with being an anthropology faculty member at UEH during specific time intervals throughout their workday. Known as “fieldwork on the move” (Czarniawska, 2007, 20, as cited in Gorup 2016, 137), I employed the shadow method, which “involves following the subject throughout the day as a ‘shadow’ and recording data at certain time intervals, perhaps every five or ten minutes” (Mueller 1999, 76). I monitored activities every few minutes, but especially when I noticed professors were undertaking a new task or were in transit to another work area. Overall, I was interested in identifying their job duties and amount of time it takes to complete those tasks; whether any time was dedicated to conducting research; whether they set out time for breaks and meals. My intention was to assess workflow at a given period of time and to attempt to compare activities conducted at specific moments in time between faculty members.

Because the shadow method is not randomized, this time intensive practice is subject to recording bias (Mueller 1999; Gorup 2016). Also known as “one-on-one ethnography,” (Gill, 2011, 116, as cited in Gorup 2016, 136), in my view, it was an ideal approach given that I sought to identify nuances in professors' work habits while getting to know them in the process. While I tracked their activities, there were moments of dialogue that led to unstructured interviews, which altered their work routine. By following professors as they navigated their workday, this

method allowed for an experiential look at their routines and workplace challenges every step of the way.

Throughout the course of my fieldwork, I typically spent the day with one or two professors. I was able to employ this method to varying degrees with five faculty members. There was some overlap among professors when attending departmental functions, campus-wide events, or while they engaged in dialogue with one another. When I happened to cross paths with a professor and asked them what they were up to, I employed the random spot-check method (Mueller 1999).

Interviews and Questionnaire

A mixed-methods approach involves processes that generate both qualitative and quantitative data (Plano Clark et al. 2010). Among my other qualitative techniques, I incorporated interviews to yield qualitative results and questionnaires to produce quantitative data. I designed the semi-structured interview and questionnaire to complement each other so that their respective findings could be merged into a discussion (Plano Clark et al. 2010). Admittedly, both instruments were very long — each had over 30 questions.

I conducted over 15 unstructured interviews, or natural free flowing conversations, to guide my observations and analysis about FE and the political situation. This method is “used early in a study with the intention of generating a script for subsequent semi-structured enquiries” (Arksey and Knight 1999, 8). I conducted five semi-structured interviews (one entirely in English and the rest in Kreyòl). As the name implies, a semi-structured interview is a hybrid of structured and unstructured dialogue that incorporates guided questions, yet provides the interviewer with opportunities to probe and the interviewee the liberty to broach themes (Arksey and Knight 1999). This is crucial when considering the aims of critical educational

ethnography (Howard and Ali 2016). I conducted semi-structured interviews towards the end of May because I knew I would have very little time in the field. The interview instrument included questions concerning the professors' labor demands, Haitian anthropology and its trajectory, neoliberalism, and their general experiences at Ethnologie. Other topics included professors' research goals and current projects.

Completed by five faculty members, the questionnaires served to yield demographic data concerning educational background, number of articles published, number of student advisees, and other such questions. I also wanted professors' impressions of campus resources. For instance, I asked them to rate Wi-Fi connections on a scale from 1–100. Additionally, there were prompts asking them to list the challenges and rewards of working at Ethnologie. Not everyone I interviewed face-to-face completed the questionnaire. For those who had a reliable internet connection, the questionnaire allowed the flexibility for faculty to complete it while FE was closed or when I eventually left Port-au-Prince. Due to my small sample size (and low number of completed questionnaires), my questionnaire data is not generalizable, but I still gathered exploratory measures such as averages and frequency. By design, qualitative research relies on low sample sizes to generate profound insights regarding collective experiences and knowledge among groups involved in these studies (Guest 2015). In fact, “sample sizes of as small as six individuals are often adequate in this regard” (Guest 2015, 223). Nonetheless, I am content with my findings and the breadth of information I was able to address in a short period of time.

Analysis

The critical ethnographer also attempts to integrate and systematize two other forms of reflection-self-reflection (i.e., reflection on the researcher's biases) and reflection on the dialectical relationship between structural/ historical forces and human agency.

(Anderson 1989, 254)

Encouraging “critical wholism” (Anderson 1989, 254), the critical educational ethnography framework guided my data analysis and facilitated the discussion of my findings with the existing literature. Findings generated from interviews, field notes, syllabi, UEH and FE brochures, and Haitian news articles were thematically coded to identify salient categories regarding labor at Ethnologie (Saldaña 2009). As political turmoil erupted in Port-au-Prince, this lens was crucial when drawing connections to historical precursors that have manifested the current state of HE in Haiti. The structural limitations of a state entity such as UEH needed to be discussed in relation to broader systemic governance issues, shedding light on the political economy of HE and anthropology in Haiti. This framework enabled a discussion regarding the strategic ways professors managed their state jobs while attending to their civic engagements as Haitian citizens. Critical educational ethnography is an extension of critical ethnography, which derived from critical theory; thus, critical ethnography’s fundamental features informed my analysis. Essential to my research objectives, “critical ethnography integrates and systematizes self-reflection with structural and historical factors and human agency” (Allen and Hancock 2017, 130).

With “critical wholism,” critical educational ethnographers direct their gaze towards the underlying origins of societal issues that reflect the ongoing relationship between politics and economic policies that help propagate social reproduction within academia. These foundational issues are not ignored but are recognized as having a crucial impact on the inner workings of schools (Anderson 1989). I employed historical anthropology to excavate anthropology’s role in Haiti’s political history and to gain a comprehensive understanding of Haitian HE with respect to present conditions at Ethnologie and UEH. As a research method, historical anthropology involves the “historicizing of anthropology as well as an anthropologizing of history” (Lepenies

1976, 287). Historical anthropology of text can encompass references to literary accounts, histories, and ethnographic monographs while incorporating an anthropological theoretical lens for data analysis (Whitehead 1995).

At the forefront of CEE also lies a special focus on human agency (Anderson 1989). This study is an attempt at a more balanced and nuanced depiction of Haitian higher education. I make the distinction between challenges that strain and overwhelm professors' labor and the ways their civic engagement makes their work more worthwhile — the former has been incited by social reproduction, while the latter is marked by personal resistance efforts.

While analyzing professors' agency, it was imperative that I consider my own actions — from research design and execution to how I navigated my own limitations in the field. Reflexivity is central to critical educational ethnography (Anderson 1989; Howard and Ali 2016).

Within the context of (critical) educational ethnography reflexivity from a critical standpoint is an instructive approach as it emphasizes the “politics of location,” which includes a critical examination of “the political and social constructions that inform the research process... [and the] “interpersonal and institutional contexts of research” (Dowlings 2006, 12–13).

(cited in Howard and Ali 2016, 66)

My “self-appraisal” (Howard and Ali 2016, 66), or role that I played as a researcher, is outlined in the following section.

Positionality and Limitations

All too often, research methods texts remain relatively silent on the ways in which fieldwork affects us, and we affect the field.

(Coffey 1999, 2)

Dealing with the unexpected while feeling unprepared in the field is common among researchers (Simpson 2006; Pollard 2009; Williams 2011). While Magolda (2000) believes

“reflexivity is now ‘in’” (209) due to the postmodern turn and its push for our acknowledgment of power and interpretation in our data, he and others have highlighted that the personal pitfalls faced by researchers during fieldwork were often left out of ethnographic accounts in the mainstream canon (Clifford 1986; Chierici 1999; Cohen 2010; Ntarangwi 2010; DeWalt 2011). These omissions, according to Fine (1993), served to maintain mystique and disciplinary respectability within academic anthropology.

“(Critical) educational ethnography is bound to the process of unlearning notions of objectivity and ‘bias free’ research and situating oneself more firmly in transformative ways of knowing and being (as a researcher)” (Howard and Ali 2016, 71). As a critical ethnographer, in addition to my own positionality, I must divulge the structural constraints that threatened the feasibility of conducting research in Port-au-Prince. There were several factors out of my control — the biggest being political protests. Haiti had a Level 4 Travel Advisory (“Do not Travel”) in the months prior to my research (Charles and Dolven 2019; *HaitiLibre* 2019; Chappell 2019). Once it appeared safe to travel to Port-au-Prince, I was determined to pursue my study concerning Haitian anthropology faculty. Daily demonstrations outside of Faculté d’Ethnologie became the norm after two weeks into my research. Inevitably, the barrage of local protests nationwide turned into a national crisis.

On June 9, 2019, exactly one month after my arrival, the *peyi lok* (country lockdown) went into effect after a bevy of demonstrators marched against anti-corruption. Known as *manifestasyon* in Haiti, protests assembled activists and citizens demanding Haiti’s 42nd president, Jovenel Moïse, to step down from office. Amid inflation and no tangible sign of

infrastructural improvements from the PetroCaribe oil subsidy, the #PetroCaribeChallenge³⁸ movement has roused public outcry and manifestations since 2018 (Roth 2018; Charles 2019).

Haiti's political crisis became an integral part of my research, directly impacting the ebb and flow of the capital city, limiting the mobility of the masses — including the state university employees in my sample and me. Activities were suspended for two weeks at the Faculté d'Ethnologie from June 10 to 23, 2019. Aside from keeping in contact with professors, prior to FE's closure, I still managed to address my research objectives through methodologies grounded on critical educational ethnography. Seeking to contribute to world anthropologies discourse, as I integrated my richest findings within the context of my experiences and identity as a US-based student of Haitian descent, though I could not partake in autoethnography, I embraced *critical reflexivity* (Anderson 1989; Allen and Hancock 2017).³⁹

My data are not detached from me, but represents the culmination of my intellectual, physical, and emotional labor (Coffey 1999; Hannerz 2010). I am a research instrument (Jackson 1990; Coffey 1999; Espino 2018), and the other techniques I employ are an extension of my thought processes and strategies of generating data. My data represent the extent to which I gained access to the community of scholars at FE — the end-product being the development of relationships, while others did not quite flourish as planned. Moreover, it reflects my Haitian ancestry and my anthropological journey to understand the nation's culture beyond depictions of poverty and degenerative sociocultural practices (Celeste 2017).

As far as other limitations, due to my own naïveté, I had certain expectations concerning professors' job duties that did not apply to some of these scholars, signifying a flaw in my

³⁸ This will be discussed further in the "Findings" section.

³⁹ Though they overlap, the difference between autoethnography and reflexivity is based on the positionality of the researcher. Autoethnographers are native to their communities/research sites, whereas any researcher (native or not) can be reflexive (McClaurin 2001).

methodology. And I soon realized that being a young woman in a department consisting of mostly men added additional barriers to an already intense initial fieldwork experience, causing me to reflect deeply on gender dynamics within the department and my own positionality as a Haitian-American woman.

Insider Outsider Status

The anthropological enterprise depends on a precarious, liminal balance between being an insider and an outsider.

(Jackson 1990, 13)

Geographically based elsewhere, anthropologists temporally situated in their field site can experience a “liminal state between two cultures” (Jackson 1990, 11). Prior to pursuing anthropology, my hyphenated identity as a Haitian-American gave me a dual identity that I knew how to navigate in the United States given my upbringing in a Caribbean-American neighborhood in Brooklyn, New York. Yet when I was in Haiti, this hyphenated identity engendered my insider outsider status, and as a result, I had to maneuver a liminal existence in the field. This worsened upon hearing the news of my mother’s displacement from our home in Little Haiti, Brooklyn. While in Haiti, it felt as if my in between-ness was under scrutiny and I had to prove I was *Haitian* enough to belong.

In Haiti, my Americanness (outsider) appeared even more salient than the other half of my identity (insider) and I was constantly reminded that I was *diaspora* (diaspora). When devising this study, I did not feel my project involved something foreign or *exotic*, assuming Haiti would be familiar to me. Certainly, Little Haiti in Brooklyn is not *Haiti*, but I did not anticipate that my Blackness/Haitianess would be reappraised in Port-au-Prince. In Haiti, one’s social class or status as diaspora was seen as its own population of privileged individuals, myself included. Some of the professors and students did not think I was Haitian or at least seemed a

little surprised that I was Haitian. Naturally, how my research participants perceived me and my identity impacted the data I generated. Likewise, my upbringing and previous experiences with Haiti affected my expectations of the country and how others would receive me. This has been common among other “native” or diasporic anthropologists, many of whom “mention having to reconcile their preconceived assumptions about a link between themselves and people they would study, whereas others admit grappling with the ways they were locally constructed (unexpectedly) as racialized, gendered, and national researchers” (Slocum 2001, 140). Ultimately, I underestimated the degree to which my upbringing in Little Haiti, Brooklyn did not fully prepare me for research in Haiti. And in retrospect it was *not* supposed to. As other scholars have concluded (Chierici 1999; Naveed et al. 2017), I learned that “You only learn how to do fieldwork when you are *doing* fieldwork” (Pollard 2009, 18). My role in my research including the limitations and roadblocks I encountered served as data and points of departure, connecting to other aspects of my research.

While I grew up in Little Haiti understanding Haiti to represent a “home” away from home, my sense of belonging and identity were further challenged upon hearing the news of my mother’s displacement from our home in Brooklyn while in the field. Emotionally embedded in my identity, my Brooklyn neighborhood facilitated my personal connection to the Caribbean and it is what inspired me to be a Caribbeanist in the first place. While I was in Haiti ostensibly to learn about Haitian anthropologists, I found myself asking myself *where is home and what does it mean to be a Haitian (-American) scholar?* Experiencing this tension between being Haitian versus *dyaspora*, I could reflect on the experiences of formally educated Haitians who emigrate abroad, which has led to Haiti’s severe loss of human capital. I came to the realization that the questions I was asking myself were also the questions I wanted to ask the professors I studied —

why did they stay in Haiti? How do they negotiate the tension between staying in Haiti versus emigrating abroad and living among diaspora?

Studying Up?

While I think it is important that educational ethnographers shift what sometimes seems like an exclusive focus on subaltern groups, it is not enough to simply change the direction of our gaze. We need to pay attention to standing and moving in the ‘in-between’ spaces occupied by social groups. Such positioning can allow us to reflect upon the complex of horizontal, vertical, and perhaps even diagonal, relationships that constitute the social formations we call schools. Such positioning offers far more productive angles from which to explore the ways in which power is configured and impacts on people.

(Forsey 2007, 70–71)

Historically, it has been common for Western anthropologists to study the economically disadvantaged (Nader 1972; Forsey 2007; Hannerz 2010). This same practice of “studying down” is mirrored in school ethnographies, as students are the primary focus (Forsey 2007; Gusterson 2017). Ortner (1995) describes “ethnographic refusal” as thin ethnographic accounts that oversimplify the complex nature of resistance among marginalized groups (as cited in Forsey 2007). In the “The Strange Case of the Disappearing Teachers,” Forsey (2007) extends this notion to the lack of critical ethnographic studies concerning faculty. He argues “teachers are rarely the main subjects of critical accounts of schooling, because they tend to be viewed as protectors of the status quo” (Forsey 2007, 77). Because of their middle-class status, Forsey asserts, teachers are viewed as undermining collective resistance efforts against oppression. Hence, if researchers develop a strong rapport with their privileged subjects, they are seen as being elitists (Forsey 2007). Furthermore, when ethnographic studies do focalize teachers, researchers overly critique the elite without delving into nuances of their ideologies and behaviors that may indicate otherwise (Forsey 2007). The professors in my sample are *not* the

Haitian elite.⁴⁰ Consequently, when considering the professors' litany of challenges and my *own privilege*, was I "studying up?"

The "*professeur*" title in Haiti does not have same implications as it does in the US. Hence, it was not always entirely obvious whether I was "studying up." Because most of the professors in my study were men, gender played an important role in the power dynamics between us. Moreover, while they may not be well compensated at UEH (as state officials, full-time professors get paid comparable to Ministers in public administration, yet the Haitian gourde has been depreciating), the professors in my study have a lot of prestige and influence both in public affairs and among their students. A FE student, Grace, revealed to me that her peers said I was privileged because I had access to the air-conditioned administrative offices like the faculty, while the students dealt with the heat. My response was that because I was shadowing professors, wherever they worked, I followed (even if it meant some A/C!). With minimum qualifications to teach (at least a master's degree, but some have revealed otherwise, i.e. there are "*professeurs*" who hold just a bachelor's degree), the professors in my sample were more educated than I was, but not all of them had conducted fieldwork before. Due to their various backgrounds and interests, some of the professors tended to engage more with historical anthropology, which involves more library and archival research. Perhaps I was "studying through" (Wright and Reinhold 2011; Hannerz 2010), due to my interests in the connections between the state, HE in Haiti, and the underlying impact on UEH's knowledge production.

Yet due to my CEE theoretical lens, the term that best captures what I was doing is "studying in-between," (Forsey 2007). Studying in-between implies studying between groups who wield varying levels of power, i.e. studying up *and* down (between students and professors)

⁴⁰ Perhaps "ruling class" is a better term. Today, "Haitian elite" tends to refer to corrupt business people and/or wealthy families.

and employing *critical appreciation* — the convergence of critique and sensitive recognition that considers the complexities of educators’ lived experiences (Forsey 2007). Studying in-between is a way to diminish ethnographic refusals that depict teachers as mere agents of cultural reproduction by recognizing their politics may reflect commitments to social justice *and* social mobility. In this study, capturing a holistic picture of professors’ labor required attention to nuances, commonalities, and exceptions to the rule. I discuss their roles as state employees and Haitian citizens and whether or not these two identities contradicted each other.

Language

I did not “talk the talk” (DeWalt 2011) — at least not as fluently as I wanted to in the beginning of my research. In retrospect, my Kreyòl improved a lot at the end of my three-month trip, but unfortunately I could not go back to Ethnologic to demonstrate my improved language skills. Growing up, whenever my mother spoke to my siblings and me in Haitian Creole, we responded in English. So before my research in Haiti, I would hesitate to utter complete phrases in Kreyòl. I relegated my language skills to jokes with other Haitian-Americans. As awkward as I sounded, both faculty and students in Haiti were very patient with me (especially during interviews) and believed my Kreyòl would improve quickly. It would have been much easier to pursue a topic in the states or an Anglophone country, but this research has pushed me to improve my Kreyòl, so I am grateful for the experience.

Things got complicated when certain professors would alternate between Kreyòl and French or just speak very fast while teaching. Fortunately, I took two semesters of French in my undergraduate program and I have studied independently. My ability to read French was particularly useful when gathering Haitian texts to cite for my “Literature Review” and “Discussion” sections. While I did find some newspaper articles in Kreyòl, most publications

were written French. Throughout this process, when translating and transcribing interviews I tried to be mindful of nuances and asked for additional expertise for translations. I enlisted the help of friends and a professional Haitian Creole translator to verify and improve my translations — this certainly made a difference adding new meaning to my initial interpretations.

In the spirit of visual anthropology, I recorded myself while teaching my visual research methods session. I cringe as I watch the footage of me pacing in front of the classroom and trying to explain myself as best as I could in my awkward accent. During my lesson I featured the *National Geographic* clip of FotoKonbit (photo collective), a US and Haiti-based nonprofit that employs photovoice to “engage, educate and support Haitians in the telling of their own stories through photography” (FotoKonbit 2020). In this project, Haitian youth and adults were given cameras to capture *Haiti and Haitians on their own terms “as a place of pride and possibility”* to help dispel negative portrayals of the region (Fuller 2015). It was the first time such a project was featured in the publication/media outlet, so I thought it was especially relevant to the class. I captioned the video with Kreyòl subtitles so students could understand. The class was not equipped with a projection screen, so it was a little hard for them to read the captions. Fortunately, I made a Kreyòl handout to go with my presentation and had interested students sign up for me to email it to them. As students left class, one female student told me “Don’t forget!” This made me feel like I put together something useful in their eyes. I received many thank-you emails from students who appreciated the translation.

Recruiting

Within my first week in Port-au-Prince I was still operating on US Eastern time (which is the same time zone as Haiti) and wondered why I felt like I was always awaiting a professor’s

arrival. I had these expectations of prompt email responses and promptness in general, but I had to accept that I was working on their time, which always did not mean *on time*.

Guimaraes (2005) argues that the establishment of rapport in online, virtual settings is very similar to offline settings. He notes that the same skills “of knowing how to listen to an informant, learning the proper way to behave and so on are as valuable online as offline (151).

(cited in DeWalt 2011, 50)

Guimaraes’ assertion concerning online recruitment deviates from my experience developing a sample at Ethnologue. Within the first few days of conducting research, I realized that many of the professors that I reached out to did not adhere to the same culture of reading and responding to emails. Out of seven email introductions sent directly to professors, only one out of seven responded. After a second and third email introduction was sent to ten faculty members, no one responded. Based on my email exchanges with professors (or lack thereof), it seemed they were either not interested in my project or they simply did not bother to reply. Once I arrived at FE, I learned that in order to recruit professors, I had to meet them in person *then* provide them a physical consent form. On one occasion, I haphazardly recruited a professor the same night I went out for drinks with a friend. Allow me to explain:

May 18th is Haitian Flag Day, and this year [2019] it landed on a Saturday. Excited for the opportunity to celebrate the occasion in Haiti for the first time, I meet up with my friend Chantal. We do not have any concrete plans, but she invites her friend to join us. When we arrive to the venue, Chantal and Bernard are chatting away as I enjoy my nonalcoholic beverage while admiring the mural of Jean Price-Mars. Admittedly, I am so used to tuning out Creole when a conversation does not concern me or my research, that I do not pay very much attention to their dialogue. However, once Chantal explains who her friend *is*, at that moment they get my undivided attention. “This is Bernard Alexis,”⁴¹ says Chantal. Dumbfounded, I respond Bernard Alexis — you’re a professor at Ethnologue! His reply, “Ohhh so you’re Nadège, I saw your email.” Following our realization, he agrees to be involved in my study after I explain my research objectives.

⁴¹ I use pseudonyms throughout the thesis to protect professors’ identities.

I must note this was an exceptional case, and other professors were simply flagged down in the hall, or I was introduced to them while they passed by FE administrative offices. There was one professor who was very responsive via email after our in person introduction, but he eventually stopped replying to my emails. When email did not work, I resorted to sending messages via WhatsApp. When I texted certain faculty, only one check mark would appear instead of two, indicating the message had not been delivered. This would be for at least a few days or in some instances a few months. Apart from those who chose not to respond, some of the professors had limited internet access, which constrained my communication with them. This was a methodological challenge, but also speaks to the larger issue of telecommunications infrastructure and its effect on professors' ability to do their jobs.



Figure 1: A mural of Jean Price-Mars at Yanvalou, an outdoor lounge in Port-au-Prince. May 18, 2019.

Another recruitment issue involved a few faculty members insisting that it would be a waste of time observing them because they were not teaching a course that semester. I explained

I was also interested in other types of labor such as research and writing. I later realized that because their research and writing pursuits counted more as “personal work” (historically UEH contracts have prioritized instruction not research) and represented an outside duty (unless you are a member of a scientific laboratory), they did not consider this related to their labor conducted for the university.

Gender

It is difficult to discuss my intersectionality as a Black woman within the context of Haiti given how historically it has been epitomized as the “quintessence of difference and alterity” (Marcelin 2005, 1136). I am aware that I had certain privileges in the field. Yet my identity as a Haitian-American woman, my age, and appearance all overlapped to impact the data collection process, and thus my research findings in the field. Of all my characteristics, I believe it was my gender and particularly the way I was sexualized by men at various levels of society that imposed the greatest barriers to my data collection. Yet these experiences are data and speak to machismo in Haitian society. At the same time, as I was being gendered and racialized in Port-au-Prince — I was not simply a Black woman — but to some people, I was a novelty and thus I attracted unwanted attention.

For instance, the atmosphere was intense while I photographed a group of student protesters. My heart raced as I hurriedly captured my shots before the police arrived. Suddenly, I heard a kissing sound. As I peered towards my periphery, I saw this young man cat calling me, after which he asked if my hair was real. I thought *really?* This was not the right time for him to *shoot his shot*. Speaking of which, while heading to the Haitian National Pantheon Museum for lunch, a visibly armed officer holding an Uzi gun called me over to talk to him. I ignored him. About 45 minutes later, I saw the same officer on my way out. He said that I embarrassed him in

front of his colleagues and asked why was I so afraid to talk to him. I questioned whether I was obliged to talk to him, and that I did not feel comfortable with the presence of his weapon. He insisted, “You’re not afraid of the gun, you are afraid of me.” Unfortunately, these two vignettes were minor compared to other issues I faced at Ethnologie.

Navigating a predominately male anthropology department proved to be more difficult than I imagined. Out of 70 professors, there were five female professors between Psychology, Development Sciences, and Anthropologie-Sociologie — and only one in the latter department after the recent death of revered Haitian anthropologist Rachel Beauvoir-Dominique⁴² in 2018. I was told, “there were some female professors, but they left — but there’s another problem too with contracts. We cannot offer contracts because there’s no money. The state is lacking funds.” Within UEH, women accounted for only 27.58 percent of total personnel (Projet de Loi de Finances 2018). The number of these personnel who were professors and not administrative aids is unclear. I was able to interview one female faculty member but was unable to observe the impact of her presence at FE because she was on leave during my research. There were women who held administrative positions, but I did not come across any female professors within Ethnologie’s other departments. As for students, at most there would be three women present in a classroom filled with primarily young men. I was told that female students typically majored in Psychology. Consequently, I did not make many connections with budding and more established female social scientists at Ethnologie because there were just too few of them.

Problems arose when faculty seemingly ended their participation in my study because I did not give into their verbal advances. “At times, some of our interlocutors may agree to work with us because of the benefits they believe they can access through such a relationship”

⁴² This is not a pseudonym.

(Ntarangwi 2010, 144). I understand that there is a quid pro quo aspect of fieldwork with participants expecting something in return for their insights, but I did not think it would come to *that*. They were participants, but I also saw them as senior colleagues, which in my eyes worsened the situation. This was a voluntary study, so professors could withdraw at any given moment, but I felt disrespected and disappointed by some of the treatment. It is not the first time that a man has said something inappropriate to me, but I expected more from my colleagues who assumedly possessed a critical lens and understood how difficult it is to recruit participants for an ethnographic study (Musante 2015). And as social scientists, professors knew I was documenting their activities, so that made their behaviors and comments even more upsetting.

I was standing next to Serge Calixte, a professor in my sample, at a university-wide event when a colleague from another UEH school remarked, “If you are standing with a beautiful woman like her [referring to me] you’ll live five years longer.” I felt a little uneasy as a result. So after the colleague left, I told Serge there is a time and place for such comments. While acknowledging that in France and the United States you cannot compliment women about their physique and beauty in certain spaces, his response was: “But Haitian men do that everywhere, that’s in our culture.” My reaction was that I am not used to this attention. “That’s why I explained the context, there was no harm intended,” Serge replied. In hindsight, his claim cannot be taken lightly — coming from someone who as a social scientist is not necessarily a gatekeeper but possesses some level of cultural authority to speak on behalf of Haitian men. Was what he said true?

These obnoxious and brazen attempts at sexual acquaintanceship are part of the territory in a sexist world. Why should the female ethnographer be treated differently from any other female? One wonders, therefore, about male ethnographers and their female informants — are academics more moral than other social groupings?

(Fine 1993, 280)



Figure 2: A female student at Ethnologie in motion. May 21, 2019.

Cela's (2017) study involving students at 65 higher education institutions in Haiti reveal that sexual harassment penal codes do not exist within these organizations. Trying to uphold the principles of cultural relativism, I consulted with others to ensure I was not overreacting. I asked Haitians whether or not what I was facing was *both* the norm and deemed appropriate and acceptable to Haitian women. Their reaction was that some of the comments faculty made were indeed inappropriate. My experience prompted me to include the following questions in my semi-structured interview:

- What are your thoughts about the lack of female faculty?
- Were there many women in your graduate program? Culturally, how are women treated here in comparison to how they are treated abroad?

Inspired by #metoo anthropology (Williams 2017; Watt 2018), I felt it was necessary to discuss the sexism I encountered in the field not only to prepare future researchers, but if

Haitians are seeking transformative change, it must involve recognizing women's value as citizens as well (Charles 1995).

Naïveté

With the aim of fostering transformative change for marginalized groups (Anderson 1989; Howard and Ali 2016), critical educational ethnography stresses the importance of (applied) research that addresses socially relevant issues. As far as data analysis and applied outcomes for this study, before undertaking my research I proposed utilizing thematic codes to perform a SWOT analysis (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats; see Nolan 2003) in order to evaluate labor insecurity and the challenges that may stifle intellectual productivity. I was also interested in the rewarding experiences involved with being an anthropology professor at UEH. I did not take into consideration that others with far more expertise and time evaluating conditions,⁴³ including some UEH professors (critical practitioners), have already published works detailing the state of HE in Haiti. Based on the existing literature, most of these analyses were structured upon weaknesses, threats, and recommendations, overlooking Haitian actors' strengths altogether (INURED 2010; Gerard 2017; UMass Boston 2020).

My critical educational ethnography supports the findings expounded in these more extensive studies, yet it also focalizes professors' agency and ingenuity. When considering the magnitude of professors' work-related challenges, many of the issues debilitating UEH stem

⁴³ As I discussed, one of my biggest limitations was the amount of time I was able to spend in the field. However, Louis HERNS Marcelin and Toni Cela have conducted in-depth studies across Haiti concerning the state of higher education in collaboration with the Interuniversity Institute for Research and Development (INURED). Headquartered in Port-au-Prince, INURED was founded by Haitian-American anthropologist Louis HERNS Marcelin in 2007 (Bell 2015). INURED (2010) is a "think and do tank" that incorporates collaborative research among Haitian youth and more established scholars to address socially relevant issues in Haiti.

from Haiti's economic history, political corruption, and governance issues (not the state's inability to perform, but actors choosing not to). Hence, while I could recommend better Wi-Fi connections on campus, I do not want to oversimplify the issues and state the obvious.

Due to the severity of the problems, I initially felt powerless and disappointed about my inability to contribute any applied outcomes. Fortunately, I became aware of attainable and meaningful interventions that would benefit faculty and students such as translating texts into Kreyòl and transforming my visual data output into teaching resources. Further, I was able to learn a great deal about professors' motivations for remaining in Haiti despite the disadvantages (they still enjoy a great deal of social privilege and must supplement their income with outside, applied work). By identifying their agency, I was also able to focus on the strategies faculty have developed to deal with weaknesses and threats to their labor outside of their control. Thus one of the main contributions of this study is its emphasis on professors' agency and devotion to making things *work* at UEH.

Conclusion

Fieldwork is a site for identity work for the researcher.

(Coffey 1999, 114)

[W]hen I was a student, the fact that you had come back from the field... you could call full professors by their first name. The more esoteric, exotic [your fieldwork site was], the more you had passed your serious rite of passage.

(Jackson 2010, 13)

For anthropology students, conducting fieldwork is considered a rite of passage into the discipline (Jackson 1990; Chierici 1999; Cohen 2000; Pollard 2009; Hannerz 2010; Ntarangwi 2010). Conducting fieldwork in Haiti went beyond my professional aspirations; it involved self-discovery. Upon learning my last name, Professor Wilbert Volcy said, "Ohhh Nau — you have a

family of historians.” He was referring to the Nau brothers — Émile Nau, Ignace Nau, and Eugene Nau — whose pioneering contributions helped give rise to Haitian literature in 1836 (Simeon-Jones 2010; Fleury 2018). I was not sure if I was related to them — I revealed to him that I do not know my father very well. Wilbert’s response reinforced my motivations for completing this study: “You should know your roots — if not, you should find out. When I just got here [Ethnologie], it is the first thing that permitted me to understand my identity. That’s a big debt I owe to anthropology. It’s the reason why I am offering my services here.”

Though I seek to produce and circulate counter-narratives about Haiti (through rigorous scholarship), I do not want to romanticize the professors’ work as a labor of love. For some, it is out of necessity and/or prestige, while there are others who are more civic-minded — and there are certainly those who represent a combination of all three. My academic politics reflect my priority to cite Haitian scholars and scholars of color, which aligns with world anthropologies objectives of highlighting underrepresented intellectuals and the #CiteBlackWomen initiative. Admittedly, given the myriad of challenges that I faced in the field, I questioned whether I was meant to be a Haitianist. By discussing Haitian intellectuals and the challenges impeding anthropological knowledge production, perhaps my research represents my own attempt at civic engagement while studying myself and not the “*other*.”

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

Introduction

Throughout my critical educational ethnography, as I studied “in-between” I began to develop a critical appreciation (Forsey 2007) of the labor invested by Ethnologue professors. The professors’ work within the state university system could not simply be romanticized as a “labor of love.” I found a love-hate, or rather love-disenchantment, relationship that was not uniform across my sample. Some were more discouraged than others. Professors encompassed the full range from optimism to pessimism, sometimes simultaneously. On the one hand, I witnessed professors complaining to one another about their work conditions. I also witnessed lively classroom discussions led by professors with a command for teaching and critical pedagogy. Some faculty members appeared to be openly facing the odds, while others appeared to be awaiting the next best opportunity. My data demonstrate professors had many opportunities outside of the university, and they gained mobility by using their limited income on creating new opportunities through professional conferences and networking abroad. They felt their work was important and had value, but they were hindered by additional stress and the need to invest their own excess labor to sustain the university. This all came with minimal valor or surface value. But I have found that ultimately, as Haitian citizens, they loved their country but felt increasingly dissatisfied with the state. I discuss the ways professors expressed and articulated their civic engagement in a nation with disengaged state officials in the following sections.

While generally some actors at UEH, including Ethnologue, have chosen to exploit their position by not showing up to class or knowingly filling a teaching position without the

minimum credentials (INURED 2010; Cela Hamm 2016; Rousseau 2020), I found that most of the professors I observed in the classroom were critical practitioners applying critical pedagogy and/or civic education to their curriculum. Though their peers' reinforcement of inequalities led to extra work for the social scientists in my sample, this study focuses on the ways they mediated between work-related challenges and civic engagement. Admittedly, because I relied on snowball sampling, the professors in my sample probably did not refer me to their mediocre co-workers. I may have been introduced to (and received participation from) the professors who best fit my goals. At the same time, I do not want to romanticize these educators, especially considering some were *frekan* (fresh) and disrespectful with me. I am not oblivious to my own mishaps with professors and the implications of sociocultural transmission in the form of machismo/sexism within the Faculté.

Before I can engage with world anthropologies discourse, I must outline the structural challenges these social scientists endured as state employees at UEH, a site of sociocultural reproduction. Anthropology's arrested development in Haiti converges with the slow advance towards the professionalization of the research professor in Haiti. Thus we must consider both the *cultural* and *socioeconomic* conditions that stifle anthropological knowledge production for Ethnologie professors. The lived experiences of these educators speak volumes about the geopolitics of intellectual output. Taking a critical appreciation approach, I found that their strategies to offset their challenges featured both financial sacrifices and affective labor stimulated by civic engagement. But before describing their challenges and the nature of their insecurities, I briefly describe FE professors' job demands along with a brief description of the Anthropologie-Sociologie bachelor's Program and the Anthropologie Sociale Master's Program.

Following the detailed overview of the challenges impacting their overall productivity, financial security, and safety, I discuss how the professors' labor is mediated by civic pursuits and the desire to work in their *homeland*. With critical appreciation, commitments to social mobility and social justice do not have to be mutually exclusive (Forsey 2007). While having a source of income may be their main motivation for working at Ethnologie, for some professors being civically engaged derived from a sense of guilt, indebtedness to UEH, or a desire to ameliorate the nation's problems (or all of the above). At Ethnologie, civic engagement was expressed through civic education and critical pedagogy, and for some professors it culminated through activism against state corruption and the perpetual neglect of the masses.

Job Demands

At a minimum a professor has to teach 2 courses. In Ethnologie it's complicated for those 2 courses. In actuality, you're teaching 4 times a week because you teach the same course in the morning and in the afternoon. The professor has to have time for research, time for institutionalization, time for students, and time for him to go to other activities. That's the job. Now this is a whole process, which means that it cannot be a simple thing, it's institutional. There must be a decree that changes living conditions.

—Erickson Beaufils, FE Professor⁴⁴

What is the labor involved for anthropology professors at FE? I began to address my research questions by looking at the required job duties and voluntary acts performed by faculty, as well as the challenges they faced from structural constraints inflicted by the state's lack of investment in UEH and higher education. Along with the challenges of performing their regular job duties, their tacit work functioned as additional labor that was strategically utilized to meet job requirements. It is worth noting that job expectations were roughly the same for appointed⁴⁵ full-time and part-time faculty. Made explicit on their contracts, the required duties of full-time

⁴⁴ As stated earlier, pseudonyms are used throughout this section.

⁴⁵ When an educator receives an official appointment in Haiti, they have a long-standing contract with the state to teach specific courses.

and part-time appointed professors involved teaching courses, creating assignments, grading, advising students, attending departmental events/meetings, and their occasional attendance at university-wide events. Additional duties (i.e. undertakings they were not required to do), for my sample involved occupational multiplicity, publishing, being equipped with their own Wi-Fi, “being a library for students,” advising more than the required number of students (three), mentoring students beyond their academic pursuits, affective labor, critical pedagogy, and protest. These voluntary acts constituted their implicit labor, signifying professors’ volition (and attempts) to add meaningful value to their work — which came at a high *price*.

The Faculté d’Ethnologie, the only site where anthropology is a major study in the country, does not follow the US four-field approach to anthropology. This may have cultural and financial implications, and it also speaks to the shortage of anthropologists in the country. Of the major anthropological sub-disciplines, there was an emphasis on cultural anthropology at Ethnologie, while the Bureau Nationale d’Ethnologie and Musée du Panthéon National Haïtien (Museum of the Haitian National Pantheon) nearby focused on material culture and preservation.⁴⁶ With the anthropology concentration at FE, undergraduates could take courses on religion, heritage, art, ethnomusicology, linguistics, and medical anthropology, for example. There were not enough teaching personnel to split the Anthropologie-Sociologie program, but as one professor explained, students could unofficially have a concentration:

What students do within courses will determine whether they are more in anthropology than sociology, i.e. the work they do in the senior thesis and their overall methodology. But the diploma says they are licensed in “Anthropology and Sociology.”

FE faculty were primarily recruited to teach and advise students. For those students pursuing the Anthropologie-Sociologie degree, they were required to demonstrate their

⁴⁶ There are only 3 Haitian archaeologists; I met 2 of them during my study. Drake (1978) reveals there were few African American archaeologists in the late 1970s.

understanding of the following (for a more detailed description of the Anthropologie-Sociologie program, see Appendix B):

- *The great moments in the evolution of anthropology and sociology*
- *Methodological approaches to anthropology*
- *Data processing*

The general teaching posts at UEH are appointed full-time and part-time professors (they get appointed for life by the state university system to teach a certain course; it is difficult to fire them; they receive benefits), *vacataire* or temporary professors (their contracts range from two to five years; they are eligible for benefits), and contractual educators (they are the most vulnerable; they are not eligible for benefits; they are tantamount to adjuncts). As for visiting professors, according to one administrator, “Generally visiting professors are not contracted by the Faculté in which they come to teach, they are full-time professors at another UEH Faculté or a university abroad.” For the purposes of this study, I did not include visiting professors. Also my sample did not include temporary faculty or contractors. When asked about the difference between those who worked full-time and those who worked part-time, Wilbert Volcy told me, “the only difference is pay.” The subsequent sections elaborate the labor overlap between part-time and full-time professors.

Challenges: Insecurity and Lack of Resources

During a semi-structured interview with professor Jimmy Cadet, when I asked about his overall experience working at FE/UEH, his one-word response was “Catastrophic.”

He continued with a list of challenges:

FE is behind compared to what I did when I was abroad. The students have too many difficulties — conditions are not met. There are no computers, there are no recent books, and as for the ambiance, there are burning tires.

The challenges outlined above were not unlike what many Haitian intellectuals (Noël 2011; Deshommes 2014; Toussaint 2019, Louis 2020) have detailed from their extensive experiences within the state university system. I am only substantiating such claims with CEE and framing it within a world anthropologies context, contributing to global discourse surrounding the state of HE, the geopolitics of knowledge production, while spotlighting contemporary Haitian anthropologists/sociologists in the process.

Initially, the lack of resources I noticed at UEH were based on my US university experiences and expectations, thus I confirmed whether the absence or scarcity of certain resources was something they felt negatively impacted their labor and not just something *I* felt was lacking. An epistemic challenge within world anthropologies, it must be noted that the majority of professors (12 out of 13) in my study have trained abroad at some point during their schooling, so their impressions of resources could also be based on academic experiences in Canada, France, or West Africa.

I am not arguing that Haitian scholars were committing *career suicide* by staying in Haiti. But the onslaught of work-related challenges bled into one another, creating a magnified sense of struggle and insecurity among professors.⁴⁷ The main trigger (i.e. the lack of institutional support from the state) led to the recruitment of unqualified personnel and forced many professors in my sample to buy necessary teaching supplies and course materials to loan students. Financial insecurity also impacted research and publishing output because working several jobs left less time to undertake these endeavors. When they did publish, many professors had to use their personal funds to get their works disseminated abroad. Compounding budgetary

⁴⁷ Insecurity encompasses financial, safety, and health issues.

issues, the manner in which the Duvalier regime defined and politicized Haitian culture through the university has limited anthropology's current reception and popularity in Haiti.

Shortage of Anthropologists

The 2019 *Island Anthropologies* workshop in Santo Domingo was the prelude to what I would learn firsthand in Haiti. Panelist Jonas Eugène discussed the state of anthropology in Haiti by delving into its complex past — “The first Haitian anthropologists were merely political.” Based on the discipline's degradation towards the latter half of the 20th-century, many anthropologists do not believe there could be a revival similar to its golden age from the late 19th-century to mid 20th-century, hence “We can understand why in Haiti many anthropologists prefer to say they are sociologists.”

Culturally, anthropology is taboo in Haiti. It has not been considered a viable field due to its entanglements with Vodou. The ensuing stain left on anthropology following the Duvalier regime is still apparent today, as there is a negative cultural representation of both anthropology and Vodou in Haitian society, despite popular media's portrayals of the latter being fully embraced on the island. Its dark past has limited its development as a respectable profession and discipline capable of producing valuable research insights to ameliorate the country's condition. Haitian anthropology is also attached to a single institution, FE, whereas sociology is taught at other UEH campuses and is a more marketable profession. Recall in the “Methods” section, I mentioned Wilbert's debt to the discipline. In relation to his identity, Wilbert spoke on the contradictory notions surrounding Haitian culture and Vodou, and the implications of uncovering it with anthropology:

Most anthropologists in Haiti are attached to culture. You see more cultural and social anthropology in Haiti. People don't really like anthropology here because most anthropologists are promoting the Haitian culture, and when you say “Haitian culture” this implies Vodou, while the majority of us are actually Protestant when we finish high

school. Most people are Christian, Catholic, Protestant, all those things, yet they see Ethnologie as something diabolical. Anthropologists in the representation of society are hounsans [Vodou priests], even if it's not true. When I came here in 1999, I was a student. So when I came back there was a question in an exam: "Do you really think that someone who is into anthropology will become a hounsan? Please comment." They wanted to test the prejudice I might have at my return. Since my father is a Vodou priest, someone said, "You're going to become your father." Nowadays to do anthropology you have to know about the culture, yet the people themselves are alienated, estranged from the culture. Since my father was a hounsan and I am protestant, I didn't like to take anything from him. But when I came here, I started understanding who my father is and I started loving my father.



Figure 3: A painting of a Vodou ritual in the Anthropology lab. Ethnologie has been called "the home of Vodou" in a pejorative sense (FE 2019). May 20, 2020.

In recent years, Ethnologie has seemingly tried to deemphasize Vodou as this presumed cultural monolith in Haiti — as (Haitian) culture cannot be reduced to one thing.⁴⁸ While there were certainly those who specialized on Vodou's sociocultural presence, there were professors

⁴⁸ Byron (2016) implies that François Duvalier's essentialism of Haitian culture, which he personified — i.e. *noirisme* and Vodou — was "pathological" (44), while others have described his acts as masterfully calculated (Remy 1974; Trouillot 1990b), as he took advantage of "the gap between state and nation" (Trouillot 1990b, 192).

who articulated other aspects of Haitian culture in their research. This impacted the courses they may teach, considering they wanted to expose students to other subject matter. For instance, Ethnologie's course offerings such as *Economic Anthropology*, *Humanitarian aid and Politics*, *Anthropology of Tourism and Heritage*, engaged with current issues of globalization, neoliberalism, development, and migration. In reality, FE did empower Vodou, but it also emphasized other cultural developments occurring throughout the nation and the world. While observing his class, Pierre Juste, a professor at Ethnologie, explained this to his students:

Any space constitutes a field site for an anthropologist. For example, Nadège is doing her research on the teaching of anthropology at the Faculté d'Ethnologie, isn't that a field site? All the foreign anthropologists who were coming to Haiti around 2010 were studying Vodou and superstition. Haitians don't only have Vodou. Haiti cannot only represent Vodou — among other things, it has economic and commercial activities as well.

I went into my research assuming that the anthropology professors were trained anthropologists. I had to determine the overlap between who was an *anthropologist* and who was an *anthropology professor*, which were not one in the same. I was also unaware of the anthropologist shortage and sociocultural dynamics surrounding one's profession and their identity. For most of the professors, their undergraduate training reflected a foundation in Anthropologie-Sociologie. During my study there were trained sociologists who identified as such, who used ethnographic principles/anthropological methods; although it is a dual program, there was a sociologist who reluctantly taught an anthropology class because he felt he lacked the expertise; FE had one political philosopher who conducted ethnographic fieldwork; there was one professor who had graduate degrees in philosophy and anthropology/heritage who was only involved in historical anthropology; lastly there were three professors that have only trained in anthropology. The latter group was a minority in my sample, but evidently this was representative of the professors at Ethnologie, i.e. *anthropologists* (those who identified as

and/or trained in anthropology) were outnumbered by sociologists. Toussaint Alexandre, a professor and administrator, revealed, “In general most professors at FE have not learned anthropology since their undergraduate years. One day we intend on separating anthropology and sociology once we have professors who are trained strictly in anthropology or sociology only.”

Wilbert revealed the Haitian HE system reflected a university dynamic that deviated from the standard American structure:

I was debating with you about the approach, because we are not in a system that specializes in the bachelor's. It's about general knowledge — except for at a certain level you are an anthropologist and that's your job. In the US you need to study anthropology to be an anthropologist. In Europe you know what defines you? Your work. For example Émile Durkheim trained in philosophy and is recognized as a sociologist, while Claude Lévi-Strauss and Pierre Bourdieu were philosophers, yet they finished their careers in anthropology.

While understanding anthropology's importance in society, given its history and lack of support, the five professors I interviewed did not think anthropology was a strong discipline in Haiti.

Jude Bien-Aimé: No, on the contrary the discipline of anthropology is not strong. There's a huge void in anthropological teaching and research in Haiti. You find that most of the people who teach in the master's program have a doctorate in philosophy. As for me, I'm one of the people who is promoting that more students should research and study anthropology at the master's or doctoral level. Because I think if we don't see it that way, then soon we will have a huge problem teaching anthropology courses at Ethnologie. That's one of the biggest problems, but it won't be resolved today. When I say today, perhaps one can say in 5 years — we can do a 5-year or even 10-year plan to have true anthropologists who did their bachelor's, master's, and PhD in anthropology.

Another professor connected the state's role in weakening the discipline, while highlighting anthropology's potential to serve as a public good:

Anthropology is not a strong discipline in Haiti. And it must get stronger; it must be strong to aid this country. Because the state treats those who pursue the humanities and social sciences as those who want to disturb things. The state is a coup state; it's a state that doesn't want to advance. Since those people [social scientists] are criticizing them,

the state has never regarded them very well. But we've never had a state that understands the importance of the humanities and social sciences and the voice of anthropology.⁴⁹

For some students, their matriculation at Ethnologie was a huge sacrifice because there was no guarantee of a future job in Haiti and their parents disapproved of them studying anthropology. Grace, an undergraduate student, shared that some parents go as far as threatening to financially cut off their children if they pursued the discipline:

My parents don't like that I study anthropology. They accept it, but they don't like it. They'd prefer for me to study at the Faculté de Médecine, but I'm not interested. As for the reason why there aren't many other women at Ethnologie, a lot of the female students were raised in Christian households. Their family said, "As long as you stay at Ethnologie, I'm done! I will not take care of you anymore, there are certain things I will not do for you." So these students went to law, went to École Normale Supérieure and studied something else. There are many who believe that if you're not a doctor, lawyer, or engineer, you're not going to be successful.

Given its ominous depiction and the cultural notions surrounding success, what convinced professors in my sample to pursue anthropology? This is where the possibilities for agency and civic engagement have inspired Haiti's emerging anthropologists. Although school settings serve as sites of social reproduction (Anderson 1989), their main objective is fostering knowledge transmission. Pierre, who did not descend from a long line of intellectuals, became attracted to anthropology upon learning about Jean Price-Mars during his early undergrad years. Haitian society discouraged the training of anthropologists,⁵⁰ yet through his own agency and initiative he decided to pursue the field:

⁴⁹ According to Clorméus (2019), Haiti was filled with people thinking about the question of ethnography and ethnology, however these figures are not referenced as much. For example, Haiti's 14th president, François Denys Légitime, created an intellectual task force to push anthropology forward.

⁵⁰ It seems that anthropology is not encouraged in many parts of the world. African American anthropologist St. Clair Drake (1978) describes anthropology's depiction as a "luxury field" (91) during the Great Depression. Black middle class college students believed it had no practical bearing in mitigating racism in the US. A few scholars including Drake would turn to

Bourdieu had a theoretical approach when speaking of cultural capital's symbolic heritage. For instance, if your dad wasn't a professor, you could never become one. On the other hand, if your dad was a professor, there's a lineage and path traced for you. It's true. But listen there's something else that Bourdieu did not understand, my dad wasn't a professor and my mom wasn't an anthropologist [smiles].

Epistemological Implications. The goal of FE's master's program is to reinforce anthropological research at the graduate level. It is the first initiative towards establishing an anthropology doctoral program (FE 2019). However, due to the shortage of Haitian anthropologists, the Anthropologie Sociale program depended on 14 visiting professors⁵¹ (from Brazil, the United States, and France) to supplement their 17 regular faculty (three of whom are not based in Haiti) in 2019. Many of the regular faculty members were trained abroad, leading to challenges towards developing a truly Haitian epistemology. Due to intra anti-Haitianism, Kreyòl still lacks widespread legitimacy in the literary arena, and very few anthropological texts are written in Kreyòl. Even when considering French publications by Haitians, the shortage of anthropologists in Haiti poses limits on the number of Haitian anthropologists professors can cite and incorporate into their courses beyond the classic era.⁵² One must ask: can there ever truly be a *Haitian* anthropology?

During my interviews with professors I questioned what was unique about Haitian anthropology and whether there was an underlying Haitian epistemology. Though silenced by his French peers and powerful gatekeepers controlling the mainstream canon (Fluehr-Lobban 2005; Magloire-Danton 2005), Anténor Firmin, a member of a Parisian anthropological society,

anthropology for Black liberation efforts, but he was also interested in the field's theoretical musings that had nothing to do with the struggle or the Black experience (1978).

⁵¹ Drake (1978) details the shortage of African American anthropologists in the 1930s that led HBCUs such as Howard and Fisk to depend on white visiting professors to teach anthropology.

⁵² The classic era encompasses the 19th–20th century scholarship predating Duvalier's rise to power. Jean-Price Mars has been credited for stimulating the Negritude movement, which one professor identified as a *Haitian* thought.

introduced positivist anthropology (Fluehr-Lobban 2007). To Jimmy, positivist anthropology is not a Haitian contribution to the discipline, because positivism originates from French philosopher Auguste Comte. Jimmy declared, “Firmin didn’t say Haitian anthropology [referring to his book title]. He’s Haitian, but positivism isn’t.”

Just as professors had a love-hate (or love-disenchantment) relationship with their work experiences at UEH, there appeared to be a similar relationship with France. Wilbert acknowledged decolonization while simultaneously embracing Western influences:

There are two colonial relationships, there’s the love [*lamour*] relationship and disenchantment [*désamour*]. Disenchantment derives from slavery, but there is a love of French culture. We can critique Western epistemology, but no one would disagree with the idea of the university.

Other professors shared cultural aspects they felt shaped the Haitian mindset. Vodou is central to Haitian metaphysics with respect to how one understands the spiritual realm’s manifestation in the physical realm — even if most Haitians are not active practitioners, they believe in certain principles of the religion. When referring to a negative spirit or negative outcomes, oftentimes for many Haitians it is “*djab*” that is culpable,⁵³ not Satan. Pierre illustrated that Vodou impacted the lives of Haitians whether they liked it or not:

Even if a Haitian is an ordained pastor in the presence of foreigners, if while driving he comes across a *vèvè*⁵⁴ with an offering at a crossroad, he will avoid running them over. If there isn’t a way to avoid it, he’d rather turn the car around. Yet it’s an act: someone drew a *vèvè* at a crossroad and setup an offering basket, a little chair [type of offering], or a basket filled with different things. If you’re American and come across this, you’d think it’s garbage and you’d run over it. You’d think these people are *filthy and throwing garbage*. But for Haitians, symbolically it’s not garbage and they won’t run over it. It’s a social act and their culture says, “No, you cannot run over it.”

⁵³ The origin of this word is the French term “*diable*.” *Djab* tends to be characterized as an evil spirit, but essentially in Vodou it is a “wild spirit” that could be positive or negative. *Djabs* are summoned to “heal or to harm” (Filan 2007, 186).

⁵⁴ *Vèvès* are drawings of geometric patterns emblematic of spirits or *lwa* in Vodou (Mazama 2016).

Overall, some faculty believed that a Haitian epistemology does exist, but that it is largely unwritten. When most of the population only speaks Kreyòl, it is no wonder that a lot of their insights, expressions, and knowledge have been left out of the Haitian canon.⁵⁵ Pierre also considered the Haitian philosophy of sticking together (*kolé*) to be an epistemology and way of life. It is embedded in the culture, from the cuisine (*diri kolé*)⁵⁶ to dance (*plogé*).⁵⁷ This phenomenon has not been written down and deserves to be studied, and according to Pierre, as Haiti is increasingly marked by foreign influence it is important to capture it before the nation becomes a completely individualist society.

Currently, there are only a few Kreyòl anthropological texts to cite, but professors can reference Haitian songs because there is an abundance of them. During one interaction with Professor Jocelyne D’Haiti, she sang the lyrics of “Jacomel” (1999), RAM’s⁵⁸ classic hit, and explained its relevance:

Jacomel ki geyen leta
Geyen leta Minis Zaka⁵⁹
nan pwen jistiss o

Pretemm yon chez poum chita poum gade yo
Peyi’a pou yo
Ya fe sa yo vle

⁵⁵ *Akademi Kreyòl Ayisyen*, (Haitian Creole Academy) is a state organization dedicated to valorizing the language by promoting its integration in research and formal documents. Receiving less than 0.05 percent of the national budget, the academy only has 21 staff members (Projet de Loi de Finances 2018).

⁵⁶ Red beans and rice is one of Haiti’s national dishes.

⁵⁷ “Plogé” literally means plugging something, but in the context of Haitian kompa music, it is a dance technique that involves dance partners’ bodies pressed against each other in a sensual rhythmic fashion.

⁵⁸ With lead singers Lunise and Richard Morse, RAM, is a Vodou rock band that formed in 1990. RAM is one of Haiti’s preeminent bands incorporating traditional West African drum rhythms with electric guitar. Their live showcases at the Hôtel Oloffson attract Haitian spectators and tourists each week.

⁵⁹ Minis Zaka, aka Kouzen Zaka, is the nickname for the *lwa* (spirit) of agriculture/work.

There is a State
But there is no Justice

Lend me a chair so I can sit and observe them
The country belongs to them
They do whatever they want/they get away with everything

This song is telling us there is no government if there is no justice. That's a fact! You don't have to go to anyone's school to know this, singing is the way we transmit information. Sing the songs and you will be a genius! Trust yourself. Give yourself the freedom to study your own people!

Finances: *Insufficient Funds*

It's not only about anthropology — the state doesn't want intellectuals. Wherever there is a space that's training intellectuals, it's not good for the state. École Normale Supérieure is a school that trains most of the intellectuals in the country. But if you visit École Normale, you'll see that it's a pigsty.

—Professor

If the question of Haitian identity is complex, so is the characterization of the Haitian *professeur*. The valorization (or lack thereof) of the professor in Haiti has caused a human resources crisis within Haitian HE (Paul and Michel 2013; Cela Hamm 2016). Due to its affordability, UEH only accepts a small fraction of its applicants each year (Porter 2010). Yet this still amounts to a student body totaling 31,000 individuals with only 1,500 permanent professors throughout its 19 schools and campuses (UEH 2019). In 2013 there were only 140 full-time professors; within that same year a faculty strike took place with professors demanding fair wages and salary grades across UEH's Facultés (Deshommes 2015). FE had 12 full-time professors across its departments in 2013 (Deshommes 2015), which was slightly above average (10.77) compared to other Facultés in UEH (recall that in 2019 it had 70 professors in total). Uncompetitive wages, lack of research funding, and the general nomenclature surrounding professors in Haiti have cheapened and devalued the professor, resulting in the shortage of qualified personnel to teach within HE.

At UEH the title of full-time professor is a misnomer for a full professor (Byron 2014). In general, (responsible) full-time professors teach three courses per semester and are oftentimes overwhelmed by their teaching duties since they do not leave much time for research and publishing. On state offer letters, irrespective of one's teaching experience, publication output, and educational attainment, everyone receives the title of "*professeur*" (Deshommes 2015; Geffrad 2012). Those who are better qualified feel undervalued because their colleagues with lower credentials are called by the same title (Geffrad 2012). Coupled with professor absenteeism,⁶⁰ unqualified teaching personnel have enervated the HE faculty market, while qualified professors are being overworked and underpaid (Deshommes 2014). For instance, many professors in my sample performed extra work to compensate for the lack of investment in the state university system. Because of the minimal HE oversight, students are not always guaranteed a standardized curriculum within departments, as well as exposure to high quality instruction that stimulates critical thinking (INURED 2010; Moreau 2013; Deshommes 2014; Cela Hamm 2016; Fausner 2017).

Thus I use the term "insufficient funds" to demonstrate two things: it reflects the state's failure to adequately invest in HE, decelerating UEH's advancement into a robust research university; it also represents social transmission in the university, where certain professors mirror disengaged government officials by signing *bounced checks* resulting from insufficient funds — or inexperience in their case. Thus in some instances, unqualified faculty are like fraudulent checks given to students: they knowingly do more damage by not providing students with quality instruction and thus exploit the system for their own monetary gain (accommodation) (Geffrad

⁶⁰ Deshommes (2015) writes, that due to uncompetitive salaries "some of them [UEH professors] find it normal to neglect their academic and teaching responsibilities in order to devote most of their active time to the institutions where they work" (152).

2012). To make up for this, certain faculty in my sample invested extra labor to ensure their students get a quality education (resistance).

Everyone within my sample attained at least a master's degree (three had a MA; four were PhD candidates; six had PhDs); hence, they met the minimum education requirements that have been formally stipulated to teach undergraduate courses. At UEH only those faculty with doctorates are assigned to teach master's courses. For a long time UEH did not offer graduate programs (Cela Hamm 2016); the first UEH doctoral defense was in 2019 (Ladouceur 2019).⁶¹ "It's not a big problem at the university when people with a master's degree are teaching, because the university didn't offer a degree higher than a bachelor's," Wilbert said. "That's how it was, and starting from 2006 it started offering master's programs in several departments. Ethnologie was the only one to offer a master's in Development Sciences for a long time." While they were not included in my sample, teaching assistants were master's students "who can make interventions in a professor's course." Another professor explained, considering their obligations, teaching assistants often served as *Assistant Professors* because they fully teach as instructors on behalf of well-connected professors, although there is no official "Assistant Professor" title at UEH.⁶² One professor described his frustrations:

In Haiti there are professors who only have a bachelor's that are teaching in the university. It's not normal, but everyone calls them professor — master's degree, PhD degree — professor. Everyone is a professor. You ask yourself why are you making the effort?

⁶¹ Though the United States trains more doctoral students than Haiti, new graduates must navigate the looming job market, since the PhDs earned significantly outnumber the academic jobs available (Carey 2020).

⁶² According to Deshommes (2015, 159), it appears that teaching assistants are officially labeled *Monitors* that are "hired to support a teacher from the UEH in the practice of his teaching."

The issue of valorization is not isolated to UEH or Ethnologie, but stems from governance issues within the state (Deshommes 2014; Cela Hamm 2016). Institutionally, Haitian anthropology cannot thrive without better treatment of the research professor. Although in theory their job titles provided them with undeserved prestige, two faculty members within my sample whose highest educational attainment was a master's degree did not consider themselves as full professors. As one explained:

I think the word “professor” is a powerful word. It’s a word I don’t really like either because I am not a professor. Just because I teach, this doesn’t make me one — especially since it’s a process, it’s a career, and it’s a path. So because I teach today, this means I am already a professor? No! I would hope in the next 5 years FE would develop a program that permits it to find the means to have true professors and for those who are just getting started, there would be a path for them to become professors too. There must be a gradation in the profession of the research professor. Anyone cannot have the power to direct dissertations. But FE’s change will not happen outside the change of the country.

The Cost of Teaching

UEH has been autonomous from the state since 1983, but this autonomy would not be defined until the 1987 constitution (Deshommes 2014; UEH 2020). While it does have external partnerships and programmatic initiatives with universities and private entities abroad⁶³ (Cela Hamm 2016), UEH’s operations rely heavily on the national budget. Thus the biggest source of professors’ work-related challenges that inhibited their overall productivity was the lack of higher education funding. One professor revealed, “The state doesn’t care about the university as a whole. Simple way to verify: the budget. What’s the budget? What’s the percentage of the national budget for the university? 0.0.... The budget hasn’t changed. My salary has not changed in 22 years [laughs].”

⁶³ Despite historical tensions between Haiti and the Dominican Republic, following the 2010 earthquake, the Dominican government was responsible for building UEH’s Henri Christophe de Limonade Campus in northern Haiti (Downie 2012).

In the 2014–2015 fiscal year, the Haitian government (which was under the leadership of President Michel Martelly at the time) allocated 0.5 percent of its national budget to UEH (*Le Moniteur* 2014). During the 2017–2018 fiscal year, it increased to 1.1 percent (*Le Moniteur* 2017) and by 2018–2019 to 1.3 percent (Projet de Loi de Finances 2018). While this does indicate slight gains for the UEH budget, within the past five years, most of the additional funds went solely towards paying salaries, leaving no money for professional development (UMass Boston 2020).⁶⁴

“My salary at the State University of Haiti does not allow me to cover my expenses,” explained one professor. According to Jude, “Full-time professors get paid between 80,000–120,000 HTG per month” (at time of this study this equated to \$800–\$1200; whereas most Haitians live on \$2 a day). Based on Jude’s assessment, there was an inverse relationship between the increased value of the state university and the depreciating Haitian gourde:

Today compared to the American dollar, the value diminishes. But within the salary grade of public officials in Haiti, this salary range is comparable to what Ministers and Director Generals get compensated. So more or less, the university has better treatment in the eyes of public administration compared to a long time ago.

Jude was implying the status of the university has improved in society, but with the value of the Haitian gourde diminishing due to a failing state and external economic pressures, it still was not enough income for professors to cover their personal expenses. In other words, education was receiving more funding, yet faculty were making less money. Another full-time faculty member explained, “My salary used to be better. When I first got here, I got paid well — \$1,100 American each month. With the gourde that’s depreciating, now it’s down to \$600 [monthly].” While I was in Haiti, the gourde equaled about 0.011 of the US dollar. As of June 6,

⁶⁴ In general, most of the university’s budget goes towards personnel salaries (constituting 0.7 percent of the 1.1 percent UEH budget). Thus about 63.64 percent of the budget allocated in 2017–2018 (out of 1.1 percent) went towards compensating personnel.

2020, it had continued to drop to 0.0092 (Morningstar 2020),⁶⁵ meaning professors' salaries have only further depreciated in value since my fieldwork in 2019.

FE professors not only dealt with a depreciating currency, they also worried about *when* they would get paid. Towards the end of my study — around when my fieldwork got cut short — professors expressed they had not been paid yet for the month of May, and it was already June 6th. When I spoke to Wilbert on June 4th he declared, “There are days coming, and we don’t know yet if it’s just ten days late!,” this was followed by skeptical laughter. As state employees, all UEH professors were supposed to get paid on the 25th of each month. A professor who trained in philosophy but is a practicing anthropologist said that sometimes they get paid on “the 45th,” meaning the 14th or 15th day of the following month, i.e. 20 days late. According to Jude, this was not always the case. The late payments started in June 2018 right before the first PetroCaribe uprising. Ethnologie was closed during this period,⁶⁶ but professors were still compensated.

Complicating their economic situation, the status they got as professors was accompanied by the idea that they were independently wealthy or willing to live without pay because of their sense of civic responsibility and activism. As Wilbert put it, “It is as if since you’re an intellectual, you can live without money.” When it comes to social mobility, one professor explained, in Haiti it looks bad for a professor to seek additional compensation, while negotiating for better wages is frowned upon. As a result, professors were often forced to seek outside employment to supplement their income. According to Professor Erickson Beaufiles:

After 1986 [fall of repressive Duvalier regime] the question of money became difficult to manage in the university. After 1986 there are people here you can blame for the governance practices because they came to work in the university for free. When you’re working for the State university of Haiti you cannot appear as if you’re seeking money! Historically, they see it as wrong — which is why the professionalization of the professor

⁶⁵ Haiti’s current inflation rate of 23.3 percent has not been this severe since 2004 (Juno7 2020).

⁶⁶ I explain why FE was closed in the “Student Needs” section.

is a complicated thing. Truth be told, the integration of people inside the university is not done on the basis of money, oftentimes it is done on the basis of activism. When I started doing courses inside the university, I spent one year without getting paid! I worked at another place while working in the university. I spent one year coming to teach my course normally and everyone always thought I was getting paid, but I never got paid that year!

Far from ideal, professors' UEH salaries served as a base pay (or no pay in this case) that allowed for a certain level of job security despite all the challenges attached to the position. They still got paid, albeit late, even when the university was closed due to protests, political crises, or COVID-19. And despite what they felt as a lack of appreciation, being a *professeur* did come with some status and privilege. Their positions did allow them to top off their earnings with whatever freelance or consulting positions they could secure at UEH or other institutions.

Occupational Multiplicity

To be a state university employee, professors oftentimes must work *elsewhere* too. Hence, occupational multiplicity (Comitas 1973) was a strategy to subsidize their labor at UEH. By occupational multiplicity, I mean working multiple jobs simultaneously. Many of the professors in my sample worked part-time at Ethnologie while being employed at other UEH departments. Others worked as independent consultants, and many combined all three strategies.

In May 2019, Bernard Alexis expressed that he still managed to have a healthy work-life balance despite teaching five courses per week on top of his consulting work:

I offer a course Thursday morning and I have one in the afternoon. I have a class in FE, that makes three. I teach two classes on Fridays at École Normale Supérieure, that makes five. I lead some seminars at the embassy. I also do consultations at the rector's office.

One professor detailed his salary. As shown below, the extra income from other jobs helped cover the costs of basic needs and instructional material:

At FE I get paid 8,500 HTG each month. But in that 8,500 HTG, they take out taxes. That's the salary for all part-time professors, at least those who have *une chaire* [one course]. That is less than \$100 [laughs]. So it's because you love the profession. It's

because I love this. You cannot do anything with \$100. Let me tell you, I get paid from FASCH that's another check between 9,221 HTG–11,000 HTG. Plus I get paid 32,000 HTG as an appointed research assistant for UEH. That's my entire monthly salary from the university. It must be said, sometimes I give consultations outside of UEH. If not, I could not adequately meet my basic needs — eating, health expenses, buying books, etc. Seeing that I am a teacher, I have to stay up to date with the literature.

Securing a consulting position could significantly alleviate financial burdens that came with professors' employment at UEH. Despite the challenges of working at Ethnologie, Wilbert had turned down some offers, reflecting his agency and small sense of power over which jobs he chose to take:

The money I make consulting is equivalent to a four-month salary in Haiti. For example, I can do two days of training, then get paid \$500 American — that's a month's salary. These jobs are not always available, but I won't do them in every condition either.

Since it was normal for part-time professors to hold positions in other Facultés, part-time and full-time appointed professors earned about the same wages. Moreover, there was only a minor difference in salary between professors who have earned their PhDs and those who have only attained a master's degree:

The only difference between the two positions is pay. Because in terms of teaching duties, there are people who aren't full-time, but have three part-time positions — that's almost full-time. Do you see? If you have a PhD you get 70,000 HTG and if you have masters you earn 60,000 HTG. That's a difference of 10,000 HTG, which amounts to \$100 American. The difference between having a master's and PhD is \$100 [laughs].

At Université Quisqueya (UniQ), one of the premier private universities in Haiti, students pay between US \$1500–\$2,000 for tuition (Porter 2010) compared to about \$15 per year at UEH. Wilbert explained that “Graduates from Quisqueya are hired more easily by the private sector,” putting UEH alumni at a disadvantage. One professor in my sample worked full-time at UEH while teaching one course at UniQ. The latter is seen as a more prestigious institution than the former, yet many UEH professors teach there as well:

If you have a child here in Haiti, you will not have the reflex to send them to UEH. You would rather send them to Quisqueya, or to the Dominican Republic, the US, or elsewhere, and this affects the university. Yet who is providing courses in Haiti's private universities? It's the same people as the state university. Sometimes you have better people working in the state university than the private schools. There are more people that possess a better degree teaching courses at UEH than private colleges, because at UEH the minimum requirement to teach courses is a master's. And sometimes students working on their master's here are teaching courses at a private university. It's a prestige that's a little fraudulent.

Occupational multiplicity provided professors with multiple revenue streams, but it posed a potential threat to knowledge production and the university as a public good. Professors were left with little options due to limited wages, resulting in additional labor for them and potentially less time dedicated to research.

Research & Knowledge Production: Publish *and* Perish

We don't have "publish or perish" here. Oftentimes when people publish, it's not within the framework of the university. UEH only recruits professors to teach — the status of the researcher doesn't really exist. For example, there's a small effort being made to see if they can put a lab in place. As for me, I have a membership in a foreign lab; it's the foreign lab that requires me to publish.

—Professor

With my initial interest in research and publishing, recall that during the recruitment process certain professors were not comfortable with the idea of me shadowing them as they performed these tasks. The necessity for faculty to constantly balance their time impacted my research, while some professors declined to participate in my study since they were not teaching that semester. It was as if there was nothing for me to observe since research was not in their job description. I was surprised when Bernard told me he only worked 20 hours a week while teaching five courses and consulting. "What about research?" I asked. "Writing and research are part of this too?" he replied. "Ahh, I consider that to be personal, because it's not within the framework of the university." As a result, teaching and curriculum became the focus of my

study. However, when I asked Pierre why professors worked under such constraining conditions, he made me reevaluate my observations and my aim of gauging research output:

I don't believe they're working. You think they're working? I'm not saying professors are not working, that is to say not teaching courses — but the professor's job does not only encompass lecturing. I don't know if you understand — there are other obligations involved with it: conferences, colloquiums, etc. If you don't do this, you're missing something. Is there a place that recognizes this as work [laughs]? Where? We try our best, but I would hope one day they would treat the work of a professor as a real job. What I said is a little philosophical. Professors prepare syllabi, they teach courses, they give exams, they grade them — that's work, but the work of a professor is not finished here. That's not what it is. It is a lot more complex. This is just my position.

This demonstrates that faculty must adhere to responsibilities for which they were being paid; yet the university gave them very little opportunities to receive the professional development necessary for them to publish and engage Haitians as well as world academic communities. However, this does not mean that faculty have not obtained this themselves.

In the past, Haitian academics had to publish through international publishing houses. While this promoted global engagement that could lead to prestige in certain circles, it also came at a very high price (literally). Wilbert revealed that publishing in L'Harmattan⁶⁷ or CIDICAH (Centre International de Documentation et d'Information Haitienne Caraibéenne et Afro-Canadienne) could cost a few thousand dollars. “But in the end you will earn 10 percent or maybe just a few books, or you end up working for foreign bookstores and don't earn anything. So it's easy to get discouraged.” Despite the barriers of publishing, UEH has provided a platform specifically with Haitian academics in mind. Éditions de l'Université d'État d'Haïti (UEH Editions) began operating in 2008; in the past, it has received sponsorship from foreign universities (*Le Nouvelliste* 2008). But even with this option, it would not be feasible for UEH to require professors to publish. Exclusively producing knowledge for foreign audiences could

⁶⁷ Éditions L'Harmattan is a French publishing company.

ultimately impede decolonization efforts and professors' overall engagement with the Haitian public. One professor remarked:

Let me tell you, UEH could say that I must publish, but where? How? It's not an issue for me, I participate in seminars every year. I have written papers that will be published with the last seminar that I participated in, but it will be for a foreign university, not for UEH, you understand? When you have an article, it's not published here. You can consult CAIRN and find articles, but does CAIRN belong to us? I wonder how we can achieve a decolonization approach while we evolve in such a space, like you mentioned — a colonial space quote unquote — where we reflect. It's hard to know what a colleague is working on unless you read it in a book or a review. I have a co-authored book that's been with the UEH Editions board for over two years now, and it still hasn't been published. I work on humanitarian issues, NGOS, and politics, so it's difficult to publish outside of Western reviews. So I have a problem with decolonization. I have friends who have published in *Présence Africaine*.⁶⁸ It's easier to publish overseas and if you're looking for Haitian reflections in *Haiti*, it's difficult. You'll find it more in Canada or in the US. You would think Haitian scholars aren't doing research, but they're publishing elsewhere. When you publish in foreign journals, Haitian people don't read it, but foreigners do. It also contributes more to the foreign university reviews and absolutely nothing for UEH.

Ironically, as this professor griped about his book release being on hold with UEH Editions, that same day the book got released. Naturally, he was thrilled.

With the aim of stimulating a research renaissance at Ethnologie, the LADIREP (LAngeage DIscourse REPresentation) laboratory was established in 2012. This multidisciplinary lab includes scholars from other social science and humanities departments at UEH. Its research axes include heritage, cognition and language, and anthropological knowledge production. Jude shared that because the lab receives some additional state funding, it requires affiliated academics to conduct their own research. For him, this environment “puts the researcher in a situation that is more dynamic.” Still, LADIREP researchers often choose to affiliate their works with UEH to promote the university despite sometimes having to rely on

⁶⁸ In 1947 Senegalese scholar Alioune Diop founded *Présence Africaine*, a literary magazine, in France (*Présence Africaine* 2020).

private or foreign institutions (Noël 2017), revealing some of the complicated choices faculty are forced to make.

While the idea of “publish or perish” may not apply to UEH faculty (because their jobs as “research professors” have not been developed in the same manner as in the Global North), there was also awareness that it was easy for many academics to publish a large number of low quality articles. This led to further skepticism regarding publishing frequency among faculty. As Erickson explained:

I must tell you that productivity has its downside too — because I also read a bunch of garbage. Around the world I see many people writing — whether they are French, Canadian, or American — a lot of articles because they must publish three times a year. It’s a very neoliberal thing. Sometimes once people give you an initial article, next year they will give you the same text with a different title. But when you read it, you see it is the same exact thing.

Technical Difficulties

Internet Access. In this day and age, there’s no teaching or research without the internet. It’s fundamental to have it. And if you don’t have it, it’s even harder to advance forward.

—Pierre Juste, FE professor

One theme that has emerged from world anthropologies discourse is the notion that the internet is leveling out the playing field, facilitating connections among global communities of scholars (Matthews 2015; Ribeiro 2014). In connection to its high-speed internet, Haiti is lagging behind other Latin American and Caribbean countries (*HaitiLibre* 2014). In 2014 the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) ranked Haiti’s broadband internet last in the region. According to IDB, the internet can serve the public good by stimulating economic development while diminishing inequality (*HaitiLibre* 2014). Neighboring islands such as Antigua and Barbuda had a 75 percent internet penetration rate in 2012, while Haiti’s rate was just 10.9 percent, much of which was consumed by city dwellers (2014).

I went into Ethnologie seeking to gauge Wi-Fi connections and the extent to which it facilitated research and allowed faculty to connect with local and international networks. As the study unfolded, I either noticed or was notified of other essential resources that were in low supply at FE such as class projectors and screens, along with reliable printing and copying services. These shortages required professors to do more work than they were obligated to do and/or affected efficiency, as tasks took them longer to complete. This only compounded faculty's time constraints.

As discussed in the "Methods" section, the limited Wi-Fi connectivity at FE and professors' homes made it difficult to start the recruiting process from Tampa. Professors' connectivity issues prevented some of them from regularly checking and replying to emails. For some, it was an activity that they did not see as central to their job duties. When they did have internet, most professors accessed it via their phones — making it difficult to keep up with international academics on laptops with high-speed internet. Towards the beginning of my study, François Metellus critiqued my recruiting strategy:

You have to go see Pierre [in person]. Not everyone uses the internet. As for me, I receive 50–60 emails every day. I don't have internet at home; the internet doesn't work in my area. When I arrive to the Faculté, I am working. There could be two to three weeks when I'm not on the internet at all. It's only on WhatsApp people can reach me, or they come here to find me. I think it's probably the same situation for almost everybody. You'll find that when someone doesn't respond to an email, they are not responding to anyone.

Ethnologie's private internet connection typically worked consistently in one administrator's office, but this was also the only place where I was given the institutional Wi-Fi password. Perhaps because of his administrative position and office equipped with Wi-Fi, Jude Bien-Aimé was more prone to responding and sending out emails compared to others in my sample (for example: *Time Allocation: 10:45–11 am Bien-Aimé writing emails*). It was routine

for Jude to be working on administrative tasks on his touchscreen HP laptop provided by FE after his personal laptop, which contained all of his research, was stolen out of his car in 2018. Sometimes other professors would work in his office, completing quick tasks on their computers. During my time on campus, there was only one instance when the internet did not work in Jude's office. This threw him off while he prepared for his class — he ended up being late that day.

As part of their additional labor, professors had to be resourceful utilizing their own portable internet devices to complete tasks at Ethnologie. During my study, three professors used their mobile phones as wireless hotspots to power the internet on their laptops. Because the internet service was not always reliable within certain areas at FE, people like Pierre carried personal Wi-Fi. He detailed, "I have internet service on my phone, and I have a modem. A cellular data plan costs 1,000 HTG. The modem, which is more powerful and can connect to multiple devices, is 3,600 HTG per month." Hence, supplying their own internet connection at Ethnologie took additional personal investment from faculty.

There were also instances when FE's networks within range were locked. Professor Serge Calixte could attest to this. Serge did not have the passcode to the networks in his shared office space. He allowed me to connect to his "Cool_Smart" mobile hotspot, as he prepared the syllabus for his first day of class. My time allocation log indicates:

11:28— Serge is trying to send an email, but he states, "It is taking too much time."

11:34 — Serge gives me his mobile hotspot name and password because the FE "FE_recherche" Wi-Fi connection doesn't work in his office. It appears that it only works by the dean's office. He doesn't use the university's Wi-Fi. "The Wi-Fi [here] is too slow."

Based on questionnaire responses, Wi-Fi ratings were 0, 22, 55, and 60 on a scale of 100. According to Pierre, who rated it 22, "It doesn't work well. Its functioning depends on where you are in the very space of the Faculté. For example, when you are in the library it does

not work.” While his office had the most consistent connection that I observed, Jude rated the Wi-Fi 55. Wilbert rated it 60 stating, “When there’s electricity, there’s internet.”

Wilbert’s response came with a clear point: Wi-Fi doesn’t matter if there are constant power outages. While obvious at the surface level, his comment shed light upon a luxury that I took for granted as a partial outsider, and this served as an example of the broader infrastructural issues at the national level. Because of the sunrays beaming through his office window, I did not notice the power outage. When I remarked that the internet was not working in his office, Wilbert corrected me:

There is internet. It works with electricity. When there’s no electricity, there’s no internet. You can imagine what kind of difficult conditions — before it wasn’t like this. It’s during this presidency — during this government things have degenerated.

Jude Bien-Aimé elaborated on the issue of power outages:

EDH [Electricité d’Haiti] doesn’t have the capacity to provide the population with electricity. For those who can, they must have another source of energy at their homes — for example, inverters or solar panels. For those who have solar panels, the problem is not as bad, because at the same time when there is no electricity, it fuels the inverter. I only have an inverter, so when my battery is charged it lasts six or seven hours. After that, if EDH doesn’t supply electricity for two days, I have six hours of electricity. If there’s no electricity, I have to wait for it. That’s the reality.

In the face of this infrastructural issue, these educators managed to find a way to make things *work*. Some had gone as far as purchasing two cellphones. I noticed that three professors in my sample had at least two phones: one smartphone for internet use and mobile hotspot capabilities and one regular cellphone dedicated to phone calls (the latter had excellent battery life). Some professors opted to pay for home internet service even though Wi-Fi connections there were regularly interrupted by power outages. Not being able to rely on home internet left some professors with no choice but to execute most of their tasks at Ethnologie, even when this was not always the most efficient option for them. According to Jude:

In general, I think I could be more productive. For example, I typically prepare courses from home, but at my house the internet isn't good. And now I can say there's practically no internet at my house. Thus I encounter a challenge. If I want to verify a document or information, I must wait until I get to my office to do so. I think I could go faster in another milieu, and sometimes when I come here the internet is slow or doesn't work at all.

Beyond day-to-day administrative duties, as Jude indicated, the internet is an essential research tool. Other professors in my sample acknowledged the importance of the internet for their research pursuits. While François expressed his discontent with UEH's nonoperational digital library, he still managed to conduct research through his network of scholars based abroad:

You see JSTOR and Cairn, these databases, we don't have that. That means every time I need a text, my friends abroad have to send it to me. It's not normal! It's my friends who teach in France, and other friends left and right, that I must write and call. They know that it's something I need and have no problem helping me. But it's not normal, it's something that needs to be reorganized and reconstructed.

Requesting texts from friends may require more labor, but it represents a creative strategy to get work done. It is important to note that within their global academic network, when professors' colleagues — which included the Haitian diaspora based in the “center” — emailed them scholarly texts, this also involved added labor for those peers as well. Jocelyne was critical of the geopolitics of knowledge (in this case IP addresses). While she conducted research at her private foundation, Jocelyne shared a similar strategy of relying on individuals based in the North to share data:

When we're doing research, we need someone to find information on X,Y,Z, because as you know there is injustice in everything including the internet. Many times in Ayiti, if I'm looking for something the page will say “This information is not available in your area.” But if I am in the US, I can access the information. So we do need volunteers in many ways.

For those students who could not afford a portable internet device, connecting to the public Wi-Fi near Ethnologie would have been more than ideal considering they did not have

access to internet on campus. Internet access would eliminate some of their expenses, leaving them with more money to spend towards more urgent necessities such as food. At the end of 2018, the media announced the free public Wi-Fi initiative by President Moïse and Conseil National des Telecommunications (CONATEL) would be available around Channmas, a large public square near the former national palace, and neighboring areas including FE (*HaitiLibre* 2018). I never connected to the public network while in the field, however, I asked a student whether he had issues connecting to this free “public” Wi-Fi. According to Jackson Augustus, a second-year student at FE, “For now the Wi-Fi does not work. If you try, you can connect to it, but it’s not good.”

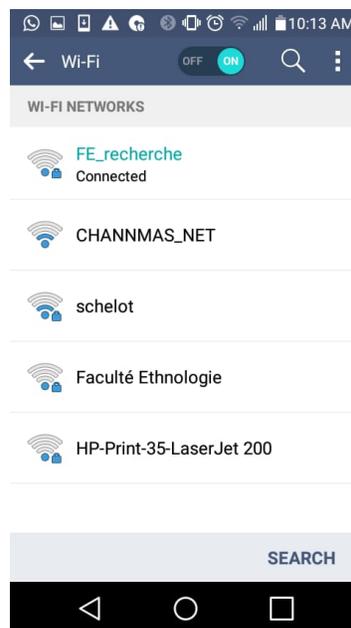


Figure 4: A screenshot of available Wi-Fi networks at FE. May 15, 2019.

The Projector. Initially, I was so focused on Wi-Fi connections that I almost overlooked the other technologies essential to faculty and their work. As I complained that professors did not have internet access to send me their completed questionnaires, Pierre reminded me that professors could share them with me via USB flash drive — “That’s technology too.”

Given that research and publishing were not explicitly required of faculty, the lack of projectors at FE was a pressing issue because it directly impacted classroom teaching. During my study there was only one projector at the Faculté d'Ethnologie, and none of the classes where I performed participant observation were equipped with projector screens. Yet of the eight class sessions observed, there was only one instance when a professor did not use the projector. Compounding the problem, scheduling overlaps meant that multiple instructors wanted to use the single projector simultaneously. As a result, classes have been delayed because professors were trying to secure the projector for their lectures. For example, one day I observed Bernard arriving ten minutes early for his 2 pm master's class. The class was delayed because the projector did not arrive until 2:10 pm.

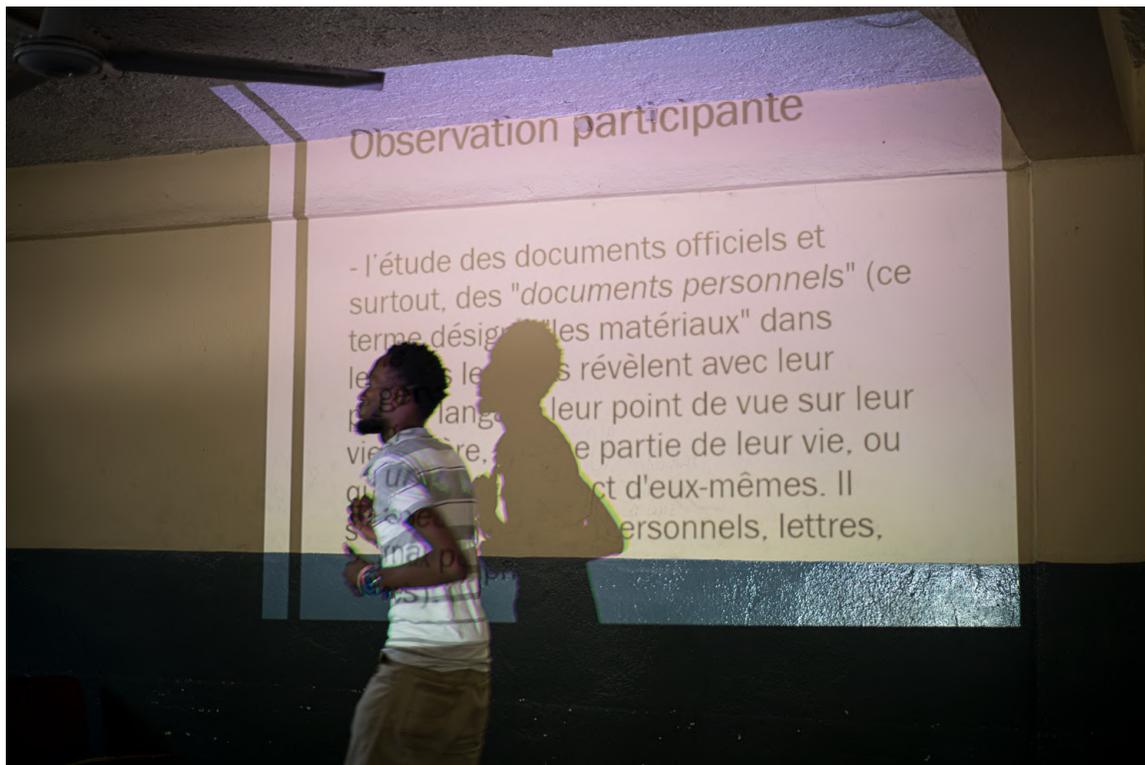


Figure 5: Participant observation in a *Research Methods* course. May 15, 2019.

In another example, Arnauld Joseph did not have such a smooth start on the first day of his *Medical Anthropology* class. As the time allocation data show:

3:11— Class was supposed to start at 3 pm; Arnauld tries to get the projector; it's not available.

3:21— Class starts. There's a ruckus outside. He tries to quiet students down, but he is not very audible; there are about 25 students.

3:25— Arnauld discusses the syllabus and course expectations.

3:38 — A staff member comes in with the projector. Students shuffle around so Arnauld can set it up. I feel an air of excitement as if someone came and saved the day! The class pauses. Students start talking again and carrying on. While the projector is being setup, a student jokes that he should leave the projection pointed towards the ceiling. Once the projection is adjusted, appearing more confident, Arnauld declares, "This is better."

As with the internet, two professors opted to purchase their own mini projectors for course instruction. In 2013, Pierre spent \$400 for his own personal projector. The value of the Haitian gourde was higher in 2013 (0.023 of the US dollar compared to 0.011 in 2019), but if he were to have bought a similarly priced projector last year, it would have cost him 80 percent of his UEH monthly salary.⁶⁹ As with Wi-Fi, without electricity, projectors are useless, and all faculty must be ready to teach without technology at a moment's notice.

Printing and Copying. Most professors who did not hold administrative positions had to pay for copier and printing services at Ethnologie. Professors who participated in my study rated printing as 85, 30, 20, and 0 on a scale of 100. Copying and printing were important for faculty and students considering professors were the main source of texts for both undergraduate and graduate students. If an article or book was not digital, they needed access to a reliable printer/copier to reproduce these texts. The copy service was, at least, inexpensive (FE charges 1

⁶⁹ Note: I specifically mentioned the UEH salary only, because as discussed in the "Occupational Multiplicity" section, it is common for professors to supplement their UEH income with earnings from other jobs.

HTG per page, so about \$0.01 at the time of the study). However, I found that the copier did not always work. When it was out of order, I resorted to taking high-resolution pictures of administrative documents and course schedules. But faculty and students were in a much tougher situation.

Library/Texts

Pierre shared that as a professor, one of his job expectations was being well informed about anthropological literature. He explained, “I know that as a professor I have a course to teach. I know every day I have to read to stay up to date with new research done within the field so that I can see whether I can integrate the new material into my classes for the upcoming year.” However, FE’s library selection did not make this a seamless undertaking, causing professors to do extra work to secure course materials.

Professors rated the library with scores 62, 30, 15, and 5 (out of 100). Ironically, the professor who gave it a 62 rating revealed:

It has some quality works and an available reading room, but it’s very insufficient according to the following points: the number of individuals who can frequent it; the small number of classical texts it has; we don’t have access to specialized online journals in the humanities and social sciences.

Out of the litany of challenges they faced as educators, Wilbert felt the dearth of selections at the library was his biggest work-related challenge because “the professor becomes a library for his students.” Wilbert, who struggled to read English texts, had a collection of e-books, but his personal library consisted of 5,000–6,000 physical books that he purchased with his own money. He allowed students to make copies of his books, but at times he lost a few selections because they did not return the books despite his name being written on them. Yet he still felt compelled to share his collection with students:

On the first day of class students asked, “Are you travelling?” I came with a carry-on suitcase filled with books because I brought all of the texts in my syllabus to distribute to them. The library doesn’t buy specialized texts; it stocks books that are more general. How are you going to work in a field — you buy books with the small salary they give you! I got back from France and bought about 200 euros worth of books.⁷⁰ When you’re a professor in Haiti you’re a library too. Students who work in your research area need books and you’re the only one that has them. They can’t buy them.

Because of the issue of affordability, all the professors I interviewed explained they had to supply students with texts, which contributed to their tacit, additional labor. Though not in his official job description, Pierre provided his students with readings in multiple formats to ensure class participation and full student engagement:

I give it to them on a flash drive — that makes one. I send it via internet, that makes two, plus I give them a physical kit — I assemble all the documents of the course in the form of a notebook for them. Despite this, they complain. They get too much support. When I was in Canada, if a professor provided the syllabus, it was up to us students to obtain the readings. I knew you couldn’t tell the professor “I don’t have it.” But here the question of a bookstore is difficult. So I provide a way to make the texts available for students.

Launched in 2011 (*HaitiLibre* 2011),⁷¹ UEH’s now defunct digital library aimed to deal with some of these issues, but its journal and database subscriptions have been cancelled, forcing faculty and students to find alternative ways of securing texts. Within my study, those professors enrolled in a doctoral program relied on their foreign university affiliations to access texts. *Érudit* (Canadian open access database) and *ResearchGate* (German open access database) accommodated those professors who were not enrolled in school. Thus, open access databases somewhat alleviated the costs of downloading books and articles for the time-being.

⁷⁰ I now understand why Ntarangwi (2010) was baffled when a Kenyan colleague prioritized filling his luggage with American clothing over bringing back home books during his visit to the US.

⁷¹ The digital library was sponsored by Bibliothèques Sans Frontières (Libraries Without Borders), University of the French West Indies and Guiana, and “20 online partner publishers” (BSF 2017) following the aftermath of the 2010 earthquake that damaged most of UEH’s libraries. It is unclear whether the digital library was supposed to be maintained by UEH and/or its partners.

L'ambiance: Physical Space, Safety, and Health Concerns

Offices. Ethnologie consisted of three buildings, one of which was a nonoperational cafeteria. The remaining two two-story buildings housed a total of nine classrooms, 19 offices, three laboratories, one research room, and one conference room. The atmosphere at Faculté d'Ethnologie was not always conducive to maximum productivity, as illustrated by its technical limitations. This has led to more reliance on physical infrastructure and in-person interactions. In total, FE had 70 professors and 35 administrative personnel (FE 2019). But despite the shortage of professors at UEH, the university did not have enough offices to accommodate its 1,500 permanent professors. Being a professor alone did not guarantee that faculty members would have a designated office space at their disposal.

Pierre had an office because he held an administrative title, not because he was a part-time professor at Ethnologie. According to him, the office issue was prevalent throughout the UEH system: “That’s why I said they never thought of a professor as a professor [laughs].” He was referring to the lack of value assigned to faculty — in this case many are not afforded with offices. Pierre used his office for administrative duties, class preparation, and research. However, an office with AC and Wi-Fi was a luxury at Ethnologie. Serge’s office space only had a fan. Deans’ offices were more inviting with fresh paint and air conditioning, and I noticed a more senior official had a personal printer.

When asked to list the resources needed to perform his tasks successfully, Renauld Jacques input: “A desk as a full-time teacher with a printer” as his first requirement. When it came to labor challenges, he mentioned the lack of working and meeting rooms for teachers.

Safety. For some faculty, the poor physical infrastructure was a major safety concern. Although FE was damaged by the 2010 earthquake (INURED 2010), the features that marked

the space as uninviting ten years later had more to do with recent events. As I recorded in my early field notes:

After getting clearance from FE security in a somewhat dim entry space, once I enter the light, at a first glance, the front of Ethnologie appears to be a cross between a junkyard and gang territory. The soft pastel colored painted façade on the two-story buildings (marked by graffiti) juxtaposed to the rusted vehicles is a jarring contrast. These burnt cars are frightening remnants of the 2017 student uprising, which caused FE to be closed for almost a year and a half.

In June 2017, a group of FE students who got expelled for trespassing and raiding the rector's office, demanded to speak with administrators concerning their grievances and reenrollment. To prevent an administrator from leaving, students decided to lie on the ground forming a barrier. As one administrator tried to flee the scene on a UEH minibus, one of the students did not have a chance to move out of the way and was run over. Violence ensued as enraged students burned professors' vehicles.



Figure 6: A look at Ethnologie. June 5, 2019.

During my study, faculty and students were split on their interpretation of events. Some have said that the group of students were belligerent, attacking the administrator as he tried to exit, then in a frantic state, the administrator did not see the student lying on the ground and accidentally ran him over (luckily he survived). Others have characterized the student as a kamikaze who wanted to get severely injured. Others believed the administrator acted with intent, and none of this would have happened had he stayed and dialogued with students.

This event and FE's ensuing closure impacted the professors' labor — how could they effectively do their jobs if the school was closed and students were burning their cars? Ethnologie officially reopened in October 2018 (a year and four months later). However, because of national political protests, FE started its semester in March instead of February 2019. Beyond his official job responsibilities, to make up for the time when campus was closed, Jude offered additional classes at Ethnologie on Saturdays to cover more topics with students. As he shared, “There's no vacation this year because of the closure.”

Sentiments were mixed among professors when it came to their general safety and comfort at Ethnologie. One professor explained that he felt very secure: “When I'm at Ethnologie, I don't think I'm insecure. I think after my house, it's one of my favorite places.” Another professor described that he was “*tres cool*” with students, so he did not feel threatened by them. However, after discussing the 2017 uprising when students set fire to vehicles, he described the space as “hell.” Because of the volatile nature of the area surrounding Ethnologie, Bernard worked from home or at an internet café. He was open about his discontent with the workspace, and after being asked whether he would still be at Ethnologie in another year, he answered, “*Map gadé*” (“I'll see”). He continued:

Firstly, the space is always chaotic — there are *kawo* [burning tires] [laughs]. I'm not going into something like that. I have my home office that's tranquil and calm.

Compounding their inability to cope with risks, the state health insurance coverage did not guarantee care. Hence, if a professor fell sick, they had to pay out of pocket (and hopefully get reimbursed), magnifying other economic insecurities. Adding more turbulence, FE's location near the former national palace made the area a site for public demonstrations. During my study, the impacts of protests ranged from obstructing traffic to class cancellations.

“*Gaz la rive*” (“The tear gas has arrived”), Wilbert interrupted as I interviewed him. Two and half weeks into my research, it was common for classes to be cancelled due to the tear gas fired by the Haitian police in an effort to subdue political protesters. As he chewed his Vitamin C tablet, Wilbert shared:

The tear gas is not too bad for me — but that's just one thing. But say you don't have money to move, and you get sick, though you have health insurance, it's a make-believe insurance. There are places that don't even accept the state insurance because they don't trust it. And it's not just me — there are several more people, even high officials, complaining about insecurity. Between financial insecurity and public insecurity, you have to do your best not to fall sick.

A student disclosed that Professor Jocelyne D'Haiti was on leave because of the burnt car remnants at the school entrance. Supposedly, this caused her feelings of anguish. When I met Jocelyne off-campus, she explained that it was not the mental trauma that kept her away from Ethnologie. She just wanted to avoid the health risks associated with inhaling automobile rust:

The cars are right there in the yard and they think — the actual administration think — you know I don't know, maybe the school yard is a museum and they should stay there for whatever purpose. I don't know what for you know. So no, it's not about being traumatized. But when iron is going bad, to the point that it is rusting and puts out a gas, it's very bad for people's health. So I told them, “I am elderly and I take care of myself, so if you're not willing to take care of us, I'm not going to come here six hours a week to inhale toxic rust.” There's no reason for it.

Classrooms. Because most of the UEH budget pays faculty salaries (*Le Moniteur* 2014; *Le Moniteur* 2017), little has been invested towards the ongoing rebuilding efforts that are still incomplete following the 2010 earthquake (Cela Hamm 2016; *HaitiLibre* 2020). Professors were

primarily recruited to teach, yet this explicit job duty entailed providing instruction in classrooms without doors, projectors and projection screens, internet, and air conditioning. Without drinking fountains and running water in bathrooms,⁷² I was not sure how professors and students managed to stay at Ethnologic for hours. The open windows in classes provided plenty of sunlight, but that coupled with the lack of doors, made it easier for noise to enter classrooms, distracting professors and students. Unregistered undergraduates often poked their heads inside classrooms to see what was going on. There were three occasions when Jude had to quiet students in the halls because the noise they were making overpowered him. As a result, faculty often strained their voices to be heard as they competed with students and the blaring *blokus* (traffic) noise and honking that made it hard, at least, for me to focus.

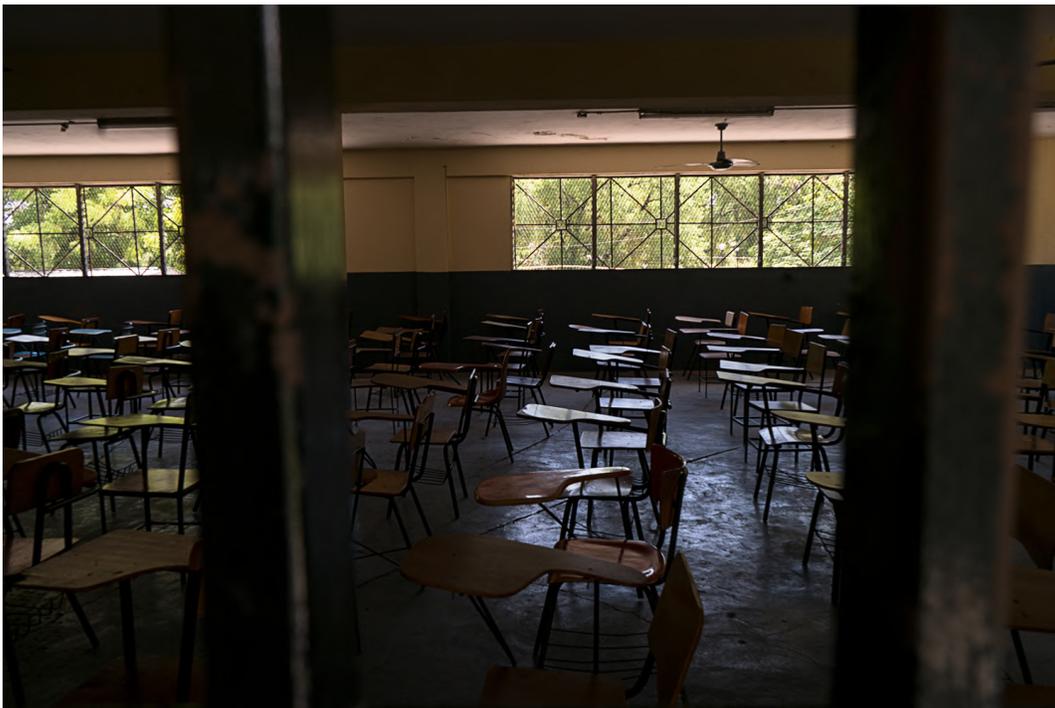


Figure 7: Class not in session. May 24, 2019.

⁷² Cleaning staff kept large basins filled with water inside bathrooms so that people could flush the toilets.

Student Needs

Students are generally deprived of the minimum conditions for studies: food, work, pocket money, a library to facilitate their research, and student life. This impacts their performance.

—Jude Bien-Aimé

The myriad of challenges faced by the faculty at Ethnologie were all compounded for students who did not possess the same privileges as them. For example, when it came to the national crisis of electricity, Jude explained, “Everyone is in the same boat. The only difference is that you’ll find professors who have an inverter at home, which guarantees a few hours of alternative electricity. But the majority of students don’t have this.” Many of the students that did not have adequate electricity at home charged their phones in class. Once I saw as many as eight phones plugged into one extension cord. According to Grace, without an inverter or solar panel, power outages severely impacted students’ working conditions at home:

Some people only have electricity for two to three hours a week. It depends on where the person lives.

Much of the extra effort invested by professors went directly towards supporting students. Many professors accommodated students by providing them with texts, lunch money, rides, advice, and extra academic advising. As of 2019, FE had 219 Anthropologie-Sociologie students and 30 Anthropologie Sociale master’s students. Among its other programs, Ethnologie had a total of 631 students. While my focus was largely in-class interactions, I was able to formally interview one student who spoke further about their needs and relationships with faculty.

Food Insecurity. Food insecurity was a major issue for university students. Ethnologie’s cafeteria, which was supposed to provide free meals for students, had been closed

since 2016. Grace, the student I interviewed, believed the state had allocated money to UEH to reopen the cafeteria, but the funds had gone unaccounted for.⁷³

Due to the broader issues of insecurity that plagued the urban and rural poor in Haiti, the challenges that students faced both inside and outside the campus impacted Ethnologic professors' teaching and advising load, as well as personal expenses they incurred to help students alleviate the burdens of their food insecurity. According to Jude:

You know we are in a very difficult country. There has been no cafeteria for three years. There are students that come by you and say, "Ah my dear, today it's you that can save me." Thus if you have something, you must share it with them. In one week, you'll find this happen on three or four days. You always need to have some money to share with students. Thus, it's a situation that's not easy at all. But we live with it.

Based on my exchange with Wilbert, there may have been some cultural implications as to why the professors in my sample extended themselves to students to the extent of giving them money. It had to do with Pierre's reference to *kolé* in Haitian culture:

W: If students come my way and have problems, if I have the money, I give it to them. There are students who come here and say they haven't eaten. If they come by you and say this, what are you to do?

N: There are people who won't do anything.

W: No, but I'm not White.

N: [laughs]

W: Because in the White system there's distance, but in the Haitian system it's about sticking together. There's a certain distance sure, but for the students perhaps the university is the only place where there are people who listen to them. Even if you see them acting up over here, when they go home they behave like young children. Some people here are 35, but they're still like kids living with their parents. It's tough, it's a very difficult situation for students. Some come to see me and I talk to them, I listen to them. But if you act like a foreigner distancing yourself, you will fail over here. It was anthropology that taught me that.

⁷³ Regarding the tragic accident at FE, Grace shared that preexisting food insecurities prompted the students to take such extreme measures to raid the rector's office in order to get UEH administration's attention.

“*Yo pa gen kob*” (“They don’t have money”) seemed to be the rationale behind professors extending their labor to provide students with course materials and basic necessities. Grace believed that a lot of her peers were unemployed. One professor shared, “I think most of us have given students money. Well I don’t know — I can’t imagine a teacher at the Faculté who never once had to give a student transportation money or something.”

Academic Needs. As mentioned above, from mid 2017 to the end of 2018, Ethnologie was closed. But professors still got paid. This provided some monetary cushion for them while they sought work elsewhere. Yet while classes were in session, I was told there were professors who took advantage of this by being excessively absent during their scheduled classes. Unfortunately, there was no system for students to evaluate the faculty, and it is very difficult to fire appointed professors. This reinforces unequal power dynamics among professors and students. An administrator in charge of dealing with student academic issues told me, “There are professors who get paid, but don’t show up to teach their courses — this happens.” He continued that in response to this:

I file a report with the deanship. I listen to students — if a student wants to work on something such as their senior thesis project, I check which professors can accompany them. I prepare the jury for students to defend their thesis.⁷⁴

According to Grace, the “*professeurs*” at UEH who were hired without teaching credentials negatively impacted students. When professors did not show up for classes or could not provide adequate instruction due to lack of subject mastery, students were delayed.⁷⁵ When

⁷⁴ Undergraduate students are required to defend a thesis to earn a *license*, bachelor’s degree, at UEH (INURED 2010; Gerard 2017).

⁷⁵ According to a World Bank report (2017), students take about twice the time to earn their undergraduate degrees in Haiti and Honduras compared to other Latin American and Caribbean countries.

they did advance to higher-level courses, they did so without the proper foundation and struggled to perform. Qualified professors must then do extra work to help students catch up on the material.

Due to the lack of valorization of the professors and UEH resorting to hiring unqualified personnel, critical pedagogy was not guaranteed in every class. While another student confirmed that there were professors who only showed up to four of the 15 sessions in each semester, I was also told:

During the four sessions the professor actually does show up to, he doesn't assign exams where students can think. He asks the students "What did you think of the course, was it good? Yes, ok 80/100."

While faculty could pursue occupational multiplicity as a strategy, students were at a disadvantage. Grace complained, "There is not enough aid; those who could help you, do not have enough time because they're teaching courses at other Facultés."

I must admit, the faculty I shadowed seemed very dedicated to teaching. During my brief time observing them, the only time a professor did not show up was when tear gas was fired at nearby protests and rumor spread that Ethnologie was closing anyway. Beyond academics, I witnessed professors in my sample imparting valuable information onto students. During an observation in Jude's class, he regularly spoke off-topic to share life lessons. Jocelyne had gone as far as hosting an etiquette class for students at her foundation:

I used to do a Saturday course here for my students [laughs]. I taught them how to drink red wine so that the first time the Ministry would take them to a restaurant, they'd be prepared and everybody wouldn't say "Uh uh." My students were taken care of on many levels [laughs].

Advising. Full-time professors were required to advise a minimum of three students.

Because of the shortage of teaching personnel at UEH, professors generally ended up advising students outside their area of expertise because of their various appointments across different

Facultés. Thus many of the professors in my sample were advising more than the minimum number of students. As they explained:

Jude: I have one here [FE]; I have four in IERAH; I have three at Limonade. That makes eight.

Wilbert: Between graduate and undergraduate students, I advise at least ten students. At the master's level I have two and I advise four undergraduates — that's already double. I'm not obligated to, but there aren't enough professors to do it. You work more than you have to. You can see I also hold office hours for students, but they come anytime. If I say ten until noon, at noon it's over. But no — they come, and come, and come. I put my phone number on the door, and they know there are limits on when you can call someone. They call you any time — “Excuse me I know I shouldn't be calling you this late, but I have a scholarship that I don't want to lose. Can you write me a letter of recommendation?” Sometimes you must get on your computer at 11 pm at night to type up a letter.

All in Vain? Only 1 percent of Haitians graduate from college in Haiti (Downie 2012).

Wealthier students generally move or study abroad (Paul and Michel 2013; Louis 2020) or they attend Université Quisqueya or Université Notre Dame, Haiti's accredited private institutions.

Faculty were aware their best students could leave and study elsewhere. Jude prepared his courses with this reality in mind:

Academically, I think that if I'm speaking of my experience teaching courses, one of the things that I am satisfied with is that before I teach a course, I do background reading and research. The texts they are reading are different, but I prepare my course to assure that the students in front of me — whether they go to a Canadian university, a French university, or an American university — at least have the same profile as a student who takes a class like this at those universities. At least I make this effort. It's not to congratulate myself, but I told myself at least this is one of the guarantees I can give them.

With the overall sociopolitical climate, class cancellations due to political unrest precluded students from graduating on time. Two students at FE told me they were a year behind. At the end of my trip in August, I asked Grace if she had gone back to school. She replied, “Things are not stable. There's class, then there isn't class, and it makes me late for work. My plan is to go back to hotel management school in the fall.”

“Citizenship and Public Service”

Jacques Roumain said, “If I were an arriviste, I would still be an official. I’ll never be an official of any government.” Nonetheless, in September 24, 1942, Roumain accepted the appointment of Charge d’affaires d’Haiti to Mexico. He would explain in a letter to Nicole, his wife, dated March 29, 1943, that “*J’ai accepté ce poste comme un grand sacrifice, un service à rendre à la cause de mon pays*” (“I accepted this position as a great sacrifice, a service to render to the cause of my country”).

(Joseph 2017, 84)

In the “Introduction,” I discussed how this project probes what it means to be a Haitian scholar. Despite their work-related challenges, for the professors I interviewed, being a Haitian intellectual based in Haiti involved proclaiming one’s citizenship and participating in public service. Admittedly, I was partially inspired by UEH’s 3rd annual open house theme: “UEH, citizenship and public service.” The institutional initiative reflected UEH’s efforts to exhibit student and faculty applied research projects to better society. UEH executive officials called it a “process of change” that signaled the university’s “desire to strengthen the attachment of UEH to ethical and civic values” (Noël 2019). I argue that some professors in my sample embodied these principles at the individual level, and their commitment to civic engagement made their additional labor and extra investments more worthwhile.

Ideas of Haitian citizenship were also a factor, as professors’ investment also involved an obligation built into their sense of Haitian identity. Moreover, their research reflected their pursuit of understanding/identifying sociocultural developments throughout the country. Despite their status as state employees and the accompanying lack of security, many professors used their extra effort and resources to help students. In other words, they *resisted* social reproduction (reinforcing inequality at UEH) by accommodating students. Like Roumain, their labor represents not just sacrifice, but their agency and desire to help improve conditions in Haiti for the Haitian people.



Figure 8: “UEH, citoyenneté et service public.” A professor and me on our way to UEH’s open house. May 17, 2019.

With a failing state that placed little value and investment on public goods like higher education, the professors’ embodiment of ethical citizenship contrasted starkly with the disengaged citizenship represented by the Haitian government and ruling class. For some professors, their service to the university and research endeavors helped tackle intra anti-Haitianism through a love and devotion to their country. Even those professors who appeared less enthusiastic about the extra work needed to do their jobs felt a sense of guilt to give back to UEH after training abroad. For instance, Jimmy Cadet (the professor who described his work his experience as “Catastrophic”) felt indebted to FE because he had a scholarship during his undergraduate career. For another professor, his sense of debt owed to UEH had finally been paid off:

I did two master's here. I said I would give the university some time, but I've reached a moment when I'm done. It's as if I borrowed money from a bank and I paid it back. My conscience is clear.

As actors and social scientists critical of the country's condition, faculty made a *conscious decision* to undertake this profession in a nation that does not place a high value on research professors or the anthropological discipline. Especially considering most of them attended Ethnologie during their undergraduate years, the professors understood the risks involved with becoming a professional anthropologist in Haiti. They wanted to be valorized as professors, but if they wanted to be rich they would have pursued another profession. As Wilbert explained:

When I returned to Haiti, I found an NGO that was paying \$2,000 American, but I declined the offer. I didn't want to work in an NGO. I was very critical of that relationship, so I didn't work with them. Someone told me "You must not be fond of money."

On that same note, Jocelyne spoke about her experience working at Ethnologie:

Well first of all it's a choice, it's not a job. If I was doing it for money, Ethnologie is not where I would be. It's a choice. This is the only place where you can justify really learning about identity — even if most people there aren't aware that this is the primary reason this institution exists. So over the years we fought for every course that we have taught there. For example, one of the first courses I taught was People of So-Called Americas of Civilization (POSA). Of course when students read the text, they want to say pre-Columbian times, but who was Columbus for him to determine the time?

I was concerned that professors working in such unfavorable conditions would contribute to the Haitian resilience trope (Trouillot 1990a; Clitandre 2011). Some of the professors had an attitude of, *if not us then who?*

Pierre: Who's going to change it for us? I think it's up to us to change it. There's a position of defeat that Haitians must leave and go to another country. They think in the foreign states they can change Haiti, but no, this doesn't exist. That's my point of view. If it stays like this I may get discouraged, but the discouragement bug hasn't bit me yet.

Jude had a similar perspective and felt his labor was positively impacting Ethnologie:

Let me tell you, I could have made another choice like lots of other people have. Until this day, I get a lot of pressure from my family because when I decided to come here in 2012 all my family disagreed. But I said to myself, first off I don't feel trained for a foreign country. I don't feel I have the training that would allow me to live abroad. I said to myself that given the conditions here, if everybody chooses to run away from it, we won't have a country anymore. I said to myself that however little I can contribute, it can make a difference. So because of that, sometimes I take some extra time to go beyond the scope of the class to counsel the youngsters on what they should do with their life, how they should perceive themselves, on relationships they should develop with people,

and that sort of thing. I might not be able to measure the impact of my work, but I think it makes a difference.

Due to their civic engagement, professors had lost some of their bargaining power by willingly working for free. According to this lively exchange between two Ethnologie professors, while they described their job as a choice, refusing to work under these conditions would lead to the demise of the university:

Professor 1: The former director of the Anthropologie-Sociologie called me and someone else to ask if we could participate in supporting the department at Ethnologie. I told him, "You know all the problems I have." He said, "I know you're not interested in money." That's the thing, they always tell teachers, "Ahh, I know money is not important to you, I know you're interested in what you're going to do." Let me tell you something else that's going on at the university. Say the university hires you as a full-time teacher, next they issue a full-time hiring letter. As soon as they issue that letter, that's your bread and butter. But as soon as they hire you, they start flooding you with work as a full-time teacher. However, in the come and go between the department and the director's office, and later between the director's office and the financial department, your hiring is not approved for that year. Legally, you could sue the university and claim that they had you working for one year as a full-time teacher, but you didn't get paid as a full-time teacher. So they come to a settlement with you to pay you just for the classes you have given. That's an activist settlement, and by activism, I mean having the will to do something. Professors work one full year under a certain status...and within that one year you end up losing twice as much — economically and career wise. It's a lost year.

Professor 2: No no, here is what the law says, "You have to give more time before you go."

Professor 1: Some teachers have lost three years of their career — three years of coming and going between the director and the dean's offices — because the dean might want to hire you, but many difficulties arise at that very moment and the budget doesn't allow them to.

Professor 2: But yet the students need the class. There's no budget to pay the professor for the course, and you as a teacher are not supposed to want money too much so you end up teaching the classes.

Professor 1: FASCH [School of Human Sciences] had a year where at least 25 of their teachers did not get paid for a full year — they call that community service. You want to know what the problem is — I'm not saying that the dean is dishonest with us, the dean sits down with all the teachers to talk. He pulls out his budget papers and shows us mathematically that he cannot pay us. So what do we do?

Professor 2: And we cannot let the department fall apart!

Lakay se Lakay: A Critical Appreciation of Home

Nan ti péyi sa'a sé la mwen gen ti sè
Nan peyi'm m'ap tounen
Nan ti péyi sa'a sé la si'm tombé ma levé
Nan peyi'm m'ap tounen
Nan ti péyi sa'a sé la si'm grangou ma manjé
Nan peyi'm m'ap tounen
Nan ti péyi sa'a sé la si'm malady a treté'm
Nan peyi'm m'ap tounen
Menen'm alé, m'alé, m'alé, m'alé, m'alé, m'alé, m'alé, m'alé, m'alé, m'alé
Nan peyi'm m'ap tounen

I have little sisters in this small country
I will return to my country
In this small country if I fall I rise
I will return to my country
In this small country if I am hungry I eat
I will return to my country
In this small country if I am ill they will treat me
I will return to my country
Take me away, I will go, I will go.
I will return to my country

“David” by Ti Manno (1979)

I was unfamiliar with this classic Haitian song until Pierre explained its irony and sociocultural context:

It's an example that I always use with the students — one example of how culture and social are intertwined. Do you know a Haitian konpa singer named Ti Manno? He was in the US in the 1980's and got sick. He was an internationally famous Haitian singer, and

while he was in the US he'd ask to be taken back home ... "Take me home, my country is where I can be treated if I'm ill." Yet the US is where medicine is most advanced, and if you're sick in Haiti you should ask to be taken to the US, but no... That's where you see how much influence culture has on the social. He's ill in the US and he's asking to be taken home, can you imagine that? People that are sick in Haiti will get killed by the hospital — when I say this I mean from a lack of care. Recently a young man was shot in Carrefour, he had the strength to drive to a hospital. They did a first intervention for him, but it wasn't enough. Then he went to another hospital and they wouldn't give him care because they said they don't accept people who have been treated at another hospital. He eventually died of a hemorrhage, so it's really Haitian hospitals that killed him. If there was a proper justice system, his parents could sue both hospitals and a judge would investigate both hospitals. If this happened in the US, they wouldn't do that...but in Haiti! And despite that, the singer asked to be taken home to be treated if he's sick.

Perhaps some of the professors in my study could relate to Ti Manno. Like him, FE professors were not permanently fixed to Haiti: they have studied at foreign universities; they have engaged in international conferences; they have family and friends based abroad. But regardless of where they went, their roots remained in *Ayiti*. With critical appreciation in mind, as actors, professors should not be seen as willing victims. They are not victims; they are individuals who were genuinely trying *to make things work at home*.

Lakay se Lakay literally means "home is home" in Kreyòl. I have seen others insert "sweet" in their translations (i.e. home sweet home, or there's no place like home). But I prefer the bare yet substantial implications of *home being home*, irrespective of its qualities. Home may not be sweet all of the time, but as civic-minded professors they desired for things to improve so that they did not have to be distant and dislocated from their homeland. Despite the challenges, demands, and magnified sense of insecurity, they opted to live in Haiti (at least for now).

In 1986 Anselme Remy returned home after having a lucrative career as an activist scholar in the United States, where he lectured at Fisk University, the University of the District of Columbia, Howard University, and Clark University. Initially, he was disenchanted by

Ethnologie's decline since the time he graduated in 1960. Remy said it "had been reduced to endless examinations of Vodou" (McMillan Howell 2018, 184). Since then he served as Dean of the Faculté d'Ethnologie and Faculté des Sciences Humaines. Remy, who is in his eighties, only retired in 2014 from his full-time professorship at FASCH. Ultimately, "Anselme Remy's activism and scholarship are rooted in a love for his home: Haiti" (McMillan Howell 2018, 175).

Based on the questionnaires, there was a general consensus among the professors that they did not feel as rewarded for their labor as they felt they deserved, especially given their additional labor and their continually "giving back" to the UEH community. Though they were not compensated for this extra work (i.e. the *price* of being a professor at UEH), for Renault, given his Haitian identity and civic inclinations, the benefits of working at UEH involved the comfort of working at home and playing an active role in society:

I am at home and I contribute to the training of young people in my country.
I also get to teach students in my mother tongue.

Wilbert considered himself to be an intellectual *mélange* of French and Haitian insights, but he would rather live Haiti:

Why am I here still? Because I studied here for free, I owe it service. But I think that — I've thought about this a lot, I wouldn't like to live abroad either. There are two places I could imagine myself living in besides Haiti and they are Miami or Paris. But Paris is too far. I love Haiti — when I'm in Haiti, I feel good. I left Paris. Recently, I went there for a conference, and I already felt like I couldn't stay. I had to come back, but when I got back I didn't know what to do. When I'm in Miami I feel more or less closer, the flight isn't too expensive, the temperature is not too different. Maybe I could live near my mom, but the area where she lives doesn't really have jobs.

As Wilbert implied, there is the reality that things may appear better somewhere else when this is not the case. It is quite possible that professors' sense of value may be reduced abroad. For one participant, it was less burdensome to work several jobs as a *professeur* and

consultant in Haiti than to be underemployed in the US, which would cause him even more discomfort:

Let me tell you something, there's nowhere I would be called a professor with only a master's [laughs]. But perhaps in Canada I could have gotten a job in a laboratory. But if I go to the US, I'd be cutting grass. I would have to start at zero. So I'm scared to go to the US. They'll treat me as if I have no degree or any schooling.

Professors and Students' Projects

The Haitian school of ethnology, oriented toward folklore, has not touched on the complex relationship between culture and power. Only recently have a few works of cultural anthropology, published abroad, begun to sketch out paths of inquiry in this area.

(Trouillot 1994, 171)

I believe since Trouillot's critique in 1994, engagement with mainstream theoretical debates have expanded at *Ethnologie*. Before his untimely death in 2012, according to Byron (2016), Trouillot became aware of its improvements as he started building connections with anthropologists based in Haiti (Byron 2016).

Mirroring the sense of urgency felt during the US Occupation, within the past decade Haitian anthropology's revival was in response to tremors of crisis. The impelling need to transform anthropology into a public good followed the impetus to highlight culture and power for post-earthquake rebuilding efforts (UEH 2012; Ladouceur 2015). The 2012 colloquium entitled "Ethnology and the Construction of the Political Nation, the People, and the Citizen in Haiti," framed anthropology as being crucial to informing policy and applied research geared towards infrastructural developments (UEH 2012). This symposium led to the creation of *Production du Savoir et Construction Sociale: L'Ethnologie en Haïti (Knowledge Production and Social Construction: Ethnology In Haiti)* (2014). The work was published by UEH Editions and Presses de l'Université Laval and featured contributions from Haitian social scientists and foreign Haitianists.

Byron elucidates (2016; Byron et al. 2020) that in addition to colloquiums that foster interdisciplinary and international exchanges at the university, UEH's programmatic expansion (including developing additional master's programs, launching the Doctoral School in 2013, and establishing research laboratories) has led to an increase in students pursuing anthropology. To facilitate novel units of inquiry, visiting scholars based abroad imparted/imported their expertise and skillsets onto budding Haitian social scientists as they developed their careers and ethnographic insights gained from what they have learned from the Haitian people, reflecting an exchange between Haitianists and Haitians — not simply the latter benefiting from the former. Ethnologie has also been aided by its younger generation of Haitian professors that harness their global research networks as they produce knowledge (2016). A model of excellence, Michel-Rolph Trouillot's academic labor served as a major source of inspiration for Ethnologie (2016). Positioning himself as a Caribbeanist anthropologist, historian, activist, and an accomplished educator, Trouillot's critical scholarship — grounded upon excavating the geopolitics of knowledge production — shook the foundations of Western history and anthropology, transforming these fields in the process (Dubois 2013). Byron writes (2016, 38–39):

Such renewal is due in large part to the Department of Anthropology/ Sociology's desire to foster a substantial dialogue between Haitian ethnological thought and the varied approaches to the discipline of anthropology worldwide. As a result, we are actively bringing together scholars from the "Global North" and "Global South," not only in regard to the places in which we conduct fieldwork, but also the methodologies and theoretical lenses with and through which we do our work. As such, we heed the call and follow in the footsteps of Michel-Rolph Trouillot, the first contemporary Haitian anthropologist to reflexively interrogate traditional North/South relations as defined by the more prominent ways of practicing anthropology (whereby the "North" studies the "South," and rarely the other way around) (Trouillot, 1992, 2003).

As mentioned earlier, some professors still managed to produce and circulate knowledge even with very little research support. When considering Renault's frequency of publishing, his productivity levels were not a far cry from scholars based in the Global North with more

institutional backing: “I write articles in newspapers several times a year; I produce scientific articles at least once a year; a book irregularly — it’s been three years already. Recently, I have published a textbook on Sociology.” Louis (2020) notes in “Criticism of the Criticism of the Haitian University,”⁷⁶ “Some Haitian universities, even with few resources, have produced serious studies in the field of agricultural sciences, humanities and social sciences. Most of our brilliant intellectuals were trained at the State University of Haiti.”



Figure 9: UEH Editions book sale. Most of the selections were by UEH faculty with a few works by foreign Haitianist scholars. Books ranged from 350 HTG to 2,100 HTG (about \$3.85–\$23.10 at the time of the study). While *Knowledge Production and Social Construction* was 1,050 HTG, unfortunately I did not purchase the book during my fieldwork. I paid \$33.86 after ordering it online, which is almost 3 times the sticker price in Haiti. Professors may choose to publish their works in Haiti as a civic act, enabling the Haitian public to have increased access and affordability to obtain their texts. Even if students do not have the means, professors can buy

⁷⁶ The original title is in French: “Critique de la Critique de l’Université Haïtienne.”

copies to share with them because they are a fraction of the price being sold abroad. May 15, 2019.

Generally, faculty research at FE have reflected both applied and theoretical orientations. Research topics have included historical anthropology concerning Haitian anthropology and colonial law; student insecurities at UEH; NGO presence in Haiti; Haitian commerce; museology, memory and heritage; and the heroines of the Haitian revolution that often get overlooked. Fieldwork is not confined to rural settings in Haiti, and one professor in my sample conducted research in Senegal while others were involved in international professional associations and research collectives based in Ecuador, France, and the United States. Applied works have included collaborative projects involving faculty such as “Voices from the Shanties, a Post-Earthquake Rapid Assessment of Cité-Soleil, Port-au-Prince” (2010) and *NGOs in Haiti* (2019). Theoretical projects by FE professors have included *Capital losses. Essays on Social Processes and the Haitian Political Field* (2015); *Haiti, CARICOM, and the Caribbean: Questions of Political Economy, Economic Integration, and International Relations* (2018); “Gender, Economy, and Labor Market in Port-au-Prince Haiti” (forthcoming).

Prior to the earthquake, in 2008, UEH Editions’ first work came from a collection of papers from a FE roundtable concerning Jacques Roumain (*Le Nouvelliste* 2008). Continuing Roumain’s legacy, the *Revue L’Indigène* is FE’s student-led literary platform that was (re)launched in 2012 by two professors in my sample when they were upperclassmen. Their mission was to provide students with an outlet to dialogue with other scholars. As far as undergraduate thesis projects, I believe “Curriculum for Citizenship Education and the Sense of School among Students” and “Class Struggle in the History of the New Haitian Feminist from 1995-2015” deserve mention. By highlighting faculty and student projects, I am not only demonstrating that there is more to Haitian culture than ominous depictions of Vodou and

poverty, but it reveals that Ethnologie, while rooted in native anthropology, has increasingly engaged with global theoretical debates.

Critical Pedagogy

Critical pedagogy is inclusive: “This pedagogy to end oppression must be forged *with*, not *for*, the oppressed” (Freire 1970, 48). Moreover, it considers marginalized groups’ realities, pushing them to deepen their understanding of their condition by getting to the root of the problem (Freire 1970, 65). Critical practitioners at Ethnologie added value to their classroom experiences. While some professors employed this technique, it served as an act of solidarity with students by fostering “culture circles,” as teachers and students exchanged ideas. Because they build off each other, this not only benefited students, but professors gained new insights as well. However, faculty in my sample had a lot of work to do when it came to reversing certain learning habits that undermined liberation (Louis-Juste 2004).

Historically, in primary and secondary school, and even at the tertiary level in Haiti, youngsters are accustomed to rote learning (Vital 2015). According to Grace, this limited their full engagement and critical thinking within the university setting:

In Haiti students are used to repeating what they are told. This is what prevents us from moving forward! As in all domains, we just study and repeat. We are not looking to go beyond that. When the professor assigns a text, although there are many students who read and do research, the student just wants to pass the course to graduate. And they think after graduating it’s over, they don’t think of going any further.

Critical practitioners like Jocelyne worked to combat this. “If you don’t have freedom you can’t begin to think about sovereignty. Freedom has to be the number-one element in all curriculum. Freedom preceded Western thinkers and has transcended them,” she declared. Generally, the classes I observed at FE included dialogue designed to motivate students to think critically. To help offset their years of rote learning, Jocelyne’s strategies mirrored Freire’s

model of critical pedagogy. She fostered “reflective participation” (Freire 1970) in her classes to stimulate thought provoking dialogue concerning global history, Haitian society and culture, as well as controversial issues such as the objectification of Black bodies in the name of science:

First of all, I think it’s totally unreal to impart much in two hours a week for 13 weeks. How much can students learn in there? With no books support, there’s no time for any kind of research. The structure itself is not really aiming for knowledge to be imparted. So those teachers who do manage to transmit something are teachers who I call military. That’s what I say to students, I say “You’ve come into General Jocelyne’s army camp” [laughs]. So you have to have a strategy because everything is against learning. You have to go war against ignorance. So we go through very very practical things and it starts to get the mind going, instead of reciting things. Then we can get into some fundamental principles throughout anthropology. For instance, we often have a conversation that starts a heated debate in the classroom. I say “Well the Europeans went to Egypt and stole even bodies, went into the cemeteries, removed the coffins and the bodies and brought them to Europe.” Students claim, “No that’s impossible!” Then I respond “Well what do you call Tutankhamen and all the other stuff that they did?” “But it’s for scientific purposes!,” they say. Then I reply “Oh good so I want to go get Napoléon’s remains⁷⁷ because I have some scientific tests that I need to do.” You know how many of us think it’s not the same thing. They’ve been conditioned as such. Conditioning is what it is.

Dialogue was central to Pierre’s teaching philosophy. Urging students to debate over an author’s authority, he was an advocate of research assignments that stimulated critical thinking:

A better way for the students to understand the material is by them touching upon who the authors are. They need to read, they need to debate between themselves and with professors the authority of the author — this is more ideal. I don’t like exams; to me research papers allow students and professors to learn more.

Though Grace was fed up with FE’s inefficiencies, she felt her Anthropologie-Sociologie coursework made her critical of society, teaching her an invaluable lesson:

How can I explain this? I like it in the sense that it allows me to see things differently. Those who study social science and anthropology will never see things the same way as someone who studies medicine or other “exact” sciences. Often they are constantly criticizing Ethnologie and social science students. But there are a series of things going on in front of you that you can’t turn a blind eye to. Based on what you are studying, you

⁷⁷ Haiti defeated Napoléon’s French army during its revolution. However, the remains of Toussaint L’Ouverture, the general who was instrumental in its victory, are still in France after he was imprisoned and died in jail (an administrator at the National Pantheon Museum shared this with me).

have come to understand how people are supposed to live. I love it for that. It allows me to think and not to accept everything.

As Freire (1985) put it, “reading the world” involves “studying reality” (18), which is central to what cultural anthropologists do — they examine how actors⁷⁸ occupy their realities. Essentially, Grace developed a critical lens from *studying reality* in the Anthropologie-Sociologie program. Hence, despite the challenges faced, her experience at Ethnologie was not bereft of critical engagement.



Figure 10: *Step Up Revolution* (2012). May 23, 2019.

During a class on visual anthropology for the *Anthropology of Social Change* course, Pierre played the *Step Up Revolution* (2012) film with French voice-overs. Initially, I was a bit puzzled as to why he was showing an American dance film to students. But the film demonstrated how a group of talented youngsters utilized dance to protest a development project

⁷⁸ In the past, US anthropologists have not always identified their research participants as actors with agency.

that would completely alter their community. The film was followed by a student-led discussion about the ways social change could be mobilized in Haiti. Here are a few of their comments:

Student 1: Change requires a lot of engagement and determination. Change is something you push for; it's not a gift. Change needs to be conceived and planned.

Student 2: In Haiti it is up to us to see how we can make the association between culture and change — yes, it's possible. For example, let's look at Carnival. It's a cultural factor that can bring about change. When people look at Carnival, they think it's about Haitians spending money, they don't see it as a means of attracting tourists to generate revenue.

Student 3: The marriage between change and culture in Haiti appears to be difficult. We have a cultural reservoir — our personal culture — can we marry it to bring about change? Already, everything that we envision derives from outside of us. Outsiders impact our cultural reservoir. How do we take American culture with local culture to bring about change in Haiti that would be a *Haitian* change suited for us?

Given these comments, it appeared that Pierre's use of the film was very successful. But the key to his technique was allowing students to do most of the discussing and teaching. This enabled them to make the classroom a space where they could actively produce new ideas in collaboration with their peers, instead of serving as passive recipients of information. As they discussed different strategies to improve their country's condition, critical pedagogy was the perfect technique to empower these underserved youngsters to brainstorm ways to bring about transformative change in Haiti (even with its epistemic challenges).

Civic Education and Civil Disobedience

Comparative Cultural Alienation. Civic education at Ethnologie articulated Haitian citizenship in a manner that conflicted with the state and ruling elite's demonstration of citizenship as *civic disengagement*. Professors added value to their labor disrupting intra anti-Haitianism within their lessons. At its core, intra anti-Haitianism is anti-African. According to

Pierre, “The image of the Congo⁷⁹ [or Kongo] in Haitian history derived from Africa. It is a pejorative term. When people use the word, they are badmouthing someone else – ‘look at your face looking like a Congo.’ It implies that a person lacks culture and is a rural peasant. This term is important in our history and identity as a people.”

In the Haitian imaginary, the “Congo” identifier represented subordination and treason. Yet, it also symbolized marronage, i.e. maroons escaping slavery (Midy 2006). Though many of the enslaved in Saint Domingue came from various West and Central African regions, the large number coming from the Central African region around the mouth of the Congo River (currently Angola, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and the Republic of Congo) led planters to use the generic label of “Congo.” Even as late as 1804 (Haitian independence), over 60 percent of the region’s population was African-born (Bellegarde-Smith 2004; Ramsey 2011; Perry 2017). As a result, post-revolution Kreyòl elites used the “Congo” label to justify their need to rule and subjugate the masses, who in their eyes represented the negative implications of “Congo” (i.e. disloyalty to their country and subordination). Used as profanity, calling someone “Congo” today is considered an insult in certain parts of Haiti. Even today, as Jackson (FE student) told me, mainly Haitians in disadvantaged communities currently use this term to insult someone’s intelligence:

Kongo is used to trivialize people. When a person is called ‘Kongo’ it means the individual knows nothing. He/she is an idiot.

Gordon (1997) argues achieving anthropology of liberation is not feasible because exploited groups reproduce hegemony since oppression has been normalized to the extent that it

⁷⁹ “Congo” has other implications in Haitian society that are not negative. It denotes the West African drum rhythms used in Haitian Vodou and folklore culture (see RAM’s 2019 “Kongo Ede’m Priye” [“Kongo Help Me Pray”] music video) and community. There is a Société Congo (Sosyete Kongo), which is a labor cooperative in La Gonâve, Haiti (Burnett Hall 1929).

has become “common sense” to them (Gordon 1997, 163). According to Freire, marginalized individuals harbor the “oppressor consciousness” (Crittenden and Levine 2018). If left untreated, not only is freedom impossible, but they will possess a dual identity resembling both the “oppressor and oppressed” (Crittenden and Levine 2018). Thus when peasants reach a position of power, they may become crueler than the original oppressor (Freire 1970).

With a mission to uplift the image of the Haitian peasantry, the Faculté d’Ethnologie was designed with this identity work in mind. While discussing postcolonial epistemologies, Professor Yves St. Fleur highlighted the shared intersubjectivity among former colonized groups. Wearing a Haiti necklace, Yves shared a speech with students by Senegalese historian and anthropologist Cheikh Anta Diop (available in Appendix C). Described as the “modern champion of African identity” (Rashidi 2020), Diop discusses colonialism’s lasting epistemic effects that are rooted in cultural alienation. Western hegemony denies Africans historicity, dismissing their theoretical insights, while only Western thoughts are legitimate. Excavating pre-colonial African history involves introspection. By celebrating Africa’s contributions, particularly Egypt’s contributions to civilization, there would be no need to rely on Western “truths” imposed on the African psyche. Ultimately, throughout his career, Diop sought to push Africa to the “center of world history” (Williams, 2018 95).

Yves then followed with a discussion on cultural alienation:

Can anyone propose a definition of cultural alienation? It is the act of leaving one’s own culture for the benefit of the other at the expense of one’s own culture. It is a real consequence of colonization and slavery, which causes an identity of crisis of the people. Do you understand? Cultural alienation is what Dr. Jean Price-Mars called *bovarysme collectif* in *Ainsi Parle l’Oncle*. So what Cheikh Anta Diop calls cultural alienation Price-Mars calls it *bovarysme collectif*. So there was someone here who spoke of the same concept under another name. Well the reality is no different from the African countries that were former French colonies, Senegal being one of them.

Perhaps it is only coincidental that about 100 years before Diop’s speech (1984), Firmin incorporated Egyptology into his seminal work, *The Equality of the Human Races* (1885). “As a true positivist, he [Firmin] conducted his own research, appropriating the idioms of Egyptology, and used a multiplicity of sources and approaches, such as the critical use of linguistic sources linking ancient Egyptian language to those of Africa, a method also used by Cheikh Antia Diop a century later” (Magloire-Danton 2005, 159). Though Firmin did not debunk the idea of “race” (Delices 2018), his work laid the foundation for Pan-Africanist thought, which employs “race” to promote solidarity among subjugated groups of African descent (Fluehr-Lobban 2000; Magloire-Danton 2005).

#PetroCaribeChallenge. The greatest challenge to my labor is the instability and political insecurity, which increasingly weaken our university institution and the country in general. The politics and economy discourages people. Food isn’t expensive in Cuba or Brazil. Food is a luxury in Haiti.

—Professor

Civil disobedience and activism, while overlooked, also constitute acts of citizenship (Levinson 2011; Crittenden and Levine 2018). During my brief study, it was clear that many professors were frustrated by their work-related challenges that stifled productivity. Some also vocalized that many of UEH’s governance issues derived from the national government that did not value higher education, intellectuals, and research. Many of the issues outlined in this chapter echoed broader inequalities in Haitian society that got reproduced at UEH. Embroiled in such matters, professors’ willingness to work in such conditions speaks volumes. Many professors had to negotiate their love for their homeland with active threats of systemic intra anti-Haitianism that could push them to leave. As political conditions worsened during my fieldwork, it became clear that professors’ commitment to civic engagement also involved activism. As actors, many chose to work in Haiti in an effort to serve as agents of change. They were critical of the current

social order not only because it impeded their productivity as civil servants, but these conditions, resonant throughout much of the nation, also plagued many of their fellow Haitian citizens. Ultimately, while they found value in their labor through civic engagement, this contrasted with the lack of value the state saw in HE and applied research. Unlike the professors, the state has maintained its power by perpetuating social disparities to reduce the opposition and social mobility of other Haitians. Unfortunately, the recent PetroCaribe movement served as yet another reminder of the injustices imposed by governing officials.⁸⁰

On August 14th 2018, Haitian-Canadian filmmaker Gilbert Mirambeau Jr.'s tweet went viral, spurring reactions on social media that immediately mobilized Haitians at the national level. Mirambeau simply tweeted a photo of himself blind-folded holding a cardboard sign that said “*Kot Kòb Petwo Karibe a???*” (“Where is the PetroCaribe money???”) (Charles 2018; Marmouyet 2019).

The #PetroCaribeChallenge (#PCC) protests seek accountability from the Haitian state in relation to the US\$3.8 billion oil subsidy provided by Venezuela since 2006 (Roth 2018; Nugent 2019). PetroCaribe is a discounted low interest loan that Haiti is supposed to pay back within 25 years (Nugent 2019). Revenues generated from oil sales in Haiti were supposed to be allocated to social welfare programs, i.e. serving the public good (Nugent 2019).

A month before Mirambeau's tweet, a sudden hike in gas prices⁸¹ led to public uproar (Roth 2018). By August, the #PetroCaribeChallenge only added fuel to the fire. The first demonstration on August 24th, 2018 demanded a government audit (Marmouyet 2019). During

⁸⁰ Foreign influences have a lot to do with this as well: reparations paid to France; the US Occupation; the Duvalier regime was backed by the US; the Obama administration did not want Haiti to raise its minimum wage (see Francois 2019).

⁸¹ A 38 percent increase in gas prices and 50 percent increase in kerosene prices (see Roth 2018).

my study,⁸² the *Miami Herald's* report on the 656-page internal audit incriminated 15 state officials including president Moïse (Charles 2019; Marmouyet 2019), claiming they were involved with money laundering and embezzlement. "It [Haitian government] claimed to have funded around 400 such projects using almost \$4 billion dollars raised by PetroCaribe oil between 2008 and 2016" (Nugent 2019). Based on Transparency International's "Corruption Perceptions Index" (2019), Haiti is among countries ranked as most corrupt, listed as 168th out of 198 countries. Seeking accountability, Haitians questioned what became of other lost funds that were supposed to finance projects that never came to fruition (Charles 2018). As state officials drained resources and publicly accused each other of theft (Charles 2018), most Haitians continued to live on less than US \$2 a day⁸³ (Stephenson and Zanotti 2017; Charles 2018).

The ensuing #PetroCaribeChallenge confronted state impunity in the face of shameless corruption. According to a tweet by Haitian activist France Francois, it is Haiti's first viral movement, a form of "cyber activism" (Charles 2018) that has motivated public demonstrations throughout the nation and among diaspora in New York and Montreal (Marmouyet 2019).

#PCC does not only represent disgruntled citizens. Political organizing has been crucial to the movement:

The Petrochallenge movement is comprised of two groups: Nou Pap Dòmi, or "We keep our eyes open," which is focused on government accountability in the short term; and Ayiti Nou Vle A, or "The Haiti we want," a group that encourages ordinary citizens to get involved in shaping Haiti's long-term future by encouraging civic engagement, online and offline.

(Karas and Bracken 2019)

⁸² The *Miami Herald* released the article on June 4, 2019.

⁸³ Stephen and Zanotti report that 76 percent of Haitians live on \$2 a day, while Charles reports that it is two-thirds of the country.

Despite Haiti's high-speed internet lagging behind neighboring Caribbean countries, Mirambeau's tweet got close to 4 million views in 2018 (Charles 2018). Many of these views could have derived from areas outside of Haiti. However, during my fieldwork, Haitians also took to WhatsApp, converting it to a citizen news platform during the *peyi lok*. I constantly received messages about areas to avoid due to violence/bedlam, slated protests, and graphic images of some of the brewing chaos.⁸⁴

The PetroCaribe funds were meant to develop housing, sanitation, roads, health care — things that Haitians need desperately. But most of the money is gone, vanished into political pockets and, through various kinds of nepotistic zombie contracts, into the wallets of good friends of the current administration and its predecessor.

(Wilentz 2020)

Unemployment pushes many Haitian college graduates to emigrate, yet the state has issued zombie checks potentially worth millions (Dirksen 2020). A participant informed me that *chèk zombi* are payments made out to deceased former state officials that are given to other people who have never worked for the state. Alternatively, they are checks paid to (living and breathing) inactive civil servants:

This is corruption. Young people from the state university or at any university can't get a job. They always say "There is not enough money in the budget to hire people," yet there's all this corruption! That's why there is a group called Unemployed Academics of Haiti. You will find that it has been ten, 15 years since people have graduated from the university, yet they have never worked!

The day before I arrived in Haiti, *Le Nouvelliste* reported 85 percent of Haitians with diplomas eventually relocate elsewhere for more job opportunities.⁸⁵ Pierre described "brain drain" as a hemorrhage that "aggravates Haitian society every day." According to the World Bank, Haiti has the 2nd highest percentage of tertiary educated emigrants after Guyana (World

⁸⁴ At one point, protesters were burning state vehicles. Before the *peyi lok*, I would frequently get rides home in the UEH state marked vehicle.

⁸⁵ This was based on an assessment by l'Agence Universitaire de la Francophonie.

Bank 2016, 9). About two and a half weeks into doing research, I became familiarized with the phrase “*Yo bay gaz!*” (“Tear gas has been fired!”). Towards the end of May, former FE and UEH students protested against the misuse of PetroCaribe funds outside of Ethnologie. A play on words, the group called themselves “UEH,” in this case meaning Universitaires Sans Emploi d’Haïti (Unemployed Academics of Haiti). They were a group of young adults who graduated from UEH but were unable to find jobs since earning their degrees. These young adults demanded the resignation of President Jovenel Moïse. Because demonstrators obstructed traffic with stones and burnt tires, police eventually fired tear gas. Causing panic within Ethnologie, this led to class cancellations just as I was in the middle of my research.



Figure 11: Three days before the country lockdown, UEH protesters stand outside of FE. Their sign reads, “Unemployed Academics of Haiti, Studying is a Duty; To be Employed is a Right. It’s time for the Diploma to Have Value in Haiti.” One protester declared, “We’re not going to stop

fighting until this system stops exploiting the young people in this country. It has no integrity to create a system where the youth can find jobs.” June 6, 2019.

Because HE is not always seen as a public good in Haiti, this has forced Haitians to question the value of higher learning (and formal education in general) when it does not benefit society as intended. During our interview, Jocelyne told me a story of a Haitian mother who refused to learn to read and write because she felt her children’s college degrees rendered them “stupid and lazy.”⁸⁶ Whenever she asked for help around the house, they responded, “No, I can’t do that I’m a philosopher.” Since these college graduates were unemployed, they felt they were not reaching their full potential, and they did not want to waste their energy on house chores. To their mother, this made them both jobless *and* useless.

Jimmy, who identified as a liberal, described the economic situation in Haiti. To him, neoliberalism was an oversimplification of the nation’s condition, or rather, it was irrelevant to Haiti’s case:

In Haiti we don’t have liberalism — we don’t even have capitalism in Haiti. Capitalists are investors — they invest — in Haiti there isn’t even investment. We have rentiers and a state that is an accomplice to this system. Why doesn’t capitalism in the US, France, and Canada make them degenerate? It pushes them forward. Capitalism has its problems, but you can resolve problems to advance society. What we have here, there’s no name for it. You can’t even name what’s happening here. It’s a bouillon. If tomorrow I decide to invest in the importation of rice, they would eliminate me. If tomorrow I decide to invest in production here, they’ll kill me. Certain industries are monopolized in Haiti. There’s no free competition in Haiti, there’s no free enterprise in Haiti, and there’s no state regulator in Haiti.

One of the outcomes of intra anti-Haitianism is having a governing body that is unwilling to provide basic human rights for its populace. Jude shared a similar argument as Jimmy:

⁸⁶ This mother eventually changed her mind and rose to prominence in her community, helping to set up businesses and organize women. “But she already had it in her; learning how to read and write just facilitated things,” stated Jocelyne.

You feel like it's worse than neoliberalism. For example, even neoliberalism has restrictions. Here you fall into things you don't even understand. You don't know when the markets are stable and whether the state has control of the market. You don't know when it's the ruling class that regulates the market. This has a severe impact on Haiti's most vulnerable populations. It creates a deregulated economic system that forces people to live in inhumane conditions.

Along with other dissatisfied citizens, some professors protested alongside activists and citizens demanding for Jovenel Moïse to step down from office. Professor Jude Bien-Aimé sent me photos of himself in a crowd of protesters at June 9th's mass demonstration against anti-corruption. Wilbert Volcy informed me that he has protested alongside students against government corruption. When asked about the violent nature of some of the protests, Jocelyne said emphatically:

There's violence in the US. A few burning tires is not bad — the violence is an earthquake shattering half the country and \$6 billion dollars going to the Red Cross and they take 60 percent of it.⁸⁷ That's the violence. A new president won't solve anything. After two months, it'll be the same thing. The people are ready for change.

When it comes to identity, Ethnologie is analogous to the nation itself. My exchange with Jocelyne illustrated that overcoming intra anti-Haitianism and corruption will take sacrifice:

N: Where do you see Ethnologie five years from now?

J: If we don't make a drastic change as far as identity, nowhere.

N: Identity in what sense though?

J: Identity doesn't have a whole lot of sense, you're either who you are or you're not!

N: So in terms of embracing it or seeking to know who you are?

J: If you're not who you are, then obviously you need to go search who you are, and then build from there.

N: Besides lack of resources, what's holding things back at FE —

⁸⁷ This year marked the 10th anniversary of the earthquake and Haiti has little to show for the \$6 billion in humanitarian aid that went to International Nongovernmental Organizations (INGOs).

J: Haiti is rich!⁸⁸ There is no lack of resources! There are lots of resources being stolen! I called a cat a cat. What is it that Ayiti doesn't have? Ayiti has gold diamonds, iridium, uranium, and platinum. The question is why must they always put jerks at the head of government so they can do whatever they want to do?

N: OK, sorry. Why do you think there is no push to dig into this identity?

J: Ignorance. If I don't know that I don't know, then of course.

N: Do you think those in positions of power don't want you to know who you are, because if you know who you are, then you won't stand for these inhumane conditions —

J: Precisely. Well then you need to figure it out or die period!

⁸⁸ The root of Haiti's financial woes can be traced back to its external pressures and desire to be recognized as a sovereign nation by the rest of the world (Accilien 2010). As France's richest colony, and the richest colony in the Americas (Midy 2006), it profited heavily from Saint Domingue's plantation system as it supplied incredible amounts of sugar and "60 percent of all the coffee sold in the Western world" (Trouillot 1982, 337). Depleting its finances, while Jean-Pierre Boyer presided, in 1825 the new republic agreed to pay reparations to France totaling 150 million francs. The funds derived "largely" from exporting its mahogany to pay this debt, contributing to Haiti's deforestation (Tarter et al. 2016). Daut (2020) calls it "The greatest heist in history."

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

Summary of Findings

Thus far, I have discussed how professors maneuver being state employees and Haitian citizens through required job duties, additional labor, and civic engagement. I have also discussed how they manage to spend their personal wages earned from occupational multiplicity to accommodate their students while engaging with a global community of scholars despite inadequate institutional support and internet access. Moreover, I have demonstrated how their labor challenges misconceptions about Haitian anthropology and the Haitian identity, as anthropology professors no longer solely examine Vodou's cultural presence. Some professors take on important Haitian identity work through critical pedagogy, citizenship education, and activism, which represents their commitment to civic engagement. By serving the public good, their actions exemplify what constitutes being a *civic* state employee. The *price* they pay as professors at Ethnologue not only directly impacts themselves and their students, but it will help future generations of Haitian intellectuals who seek to work at home. Essentially, professors have invested in the future of Haitian anthropology and the future of their country.

Through critical appreciation, I captured nuances of their labor without totally characterizing these intellectuals as poor victims bereft of agency. This deviates from post-earthquake narratives that push the resilience trope, depicting Haitians as having the “exceptional ability to suffer” (Clitandre 2011, 151). The overreliance on the resilience trope oversimplifies their lived experiences and normalizes Haitian suffering and their ability to endure never-ending tragedy (Trouillot 1990a; Clitandre 2011), instead of spotlighting the creative ways people are

working to dismantle the oppressive system and triumph. Meanwhile, the Haitian government and ruling class have capitalized off Haitian exceptionalism. While they continue to exploit the masses, they reinforce portrayals of Haiti being inevitably too poor or degenerative to bring about real transformative change and economic development. This makes it appear as though Haiti has unique challenges too impractical to be solved by regular means (Trouillot 1990a), deflecting from the state's misuse of funds. Hence, the state's hegemonic agenda does not align with FE's mission of promoting cultural and national cohesion. As Duvalier demonstrated, being a *noiriste* does not guarantee patriotism. As a result, professors had to rehabilitate the university after the fall of his regime. Their activism has come at a high *price* since, even till this day, professors have willingly worked up to a year without compensation.

Haitian professors' civic engagement deviates from the disengaged British academics discussed in the "Literature Review." Yet both work in university systems where service is not valued nearly as much as instruction⁸⁹ (Macfarlane 2005). As a result, teachers often maintain the status quo, undermining resistance efforts (Forsey 2007). Although FE professors are primarily recruited for teaching, given students' insecurities and challenges, they feel compelled to accommodate students instead of reinforcing inequalities at UEH. This relates to the *kolé* or sticking together model in Haiti. As Wilbert explained, you cannot distance yourself. The professors' additional labor is essential for the functioning of the department. Although they pay a high *price* for being Haitian intellectuals in Haiti, with the shortage of anthropologists, they cannot afford to be disengaged academics. If they detach themselves, the department would cease to exist.

⁸⁹ The British university system, does however value research a lot more than the Haitian HE sector. As I mentioned before, UEH has been promoting citizenship and public service, but this probably does not translate into higher wages for professors.

As a state university, it is easy for UEH to be a site of social reproduction. Though it is autonomous, it depends heavily on the national budget. The state imposes its deficit model onto UEH and purports that it does not have sufficient funds, constraining faculty, personnel, and students with its lack of investment and HE oversight. With the *chèk zombi* scheme continuing, the state does not mind paying unqualified officials or those who do not show up at all to teach their courses, as illustrated by certain professors (civil servants) employed at Ethnologie. Considering I did not witness the tragic accident that occurred at FE in 2017, I feel it is not my place to choose a side. But it appears that professors and students are all easy targets for each other when their common enemy is the state. However, during my study I witnessed faculty and students working together pushing for change and a more critical social consciousness.

My findings show that, while popular in Western academic circles, the concept of the “neoliberal university” may not be appropriately applied to HE in Haiti. As the professors explained to me, Haiti’s economic situation is very complex and a product of more than simply shifts toward privatization and free markets. As in the US in 2020, the government corruption and power of racist and classist political ideology make neoliberalism an overly simplified lens through which to understand situations in Haiti and other former colonies struggling for equal representation in global academic circles.

The *State* of Haitian Anthropology

It is important to note that studying Haitian folklore can certainly entail rigorous scholarship. The problem was the manner in which Duvalier used it to consolidate his power and limit the scope of Haitian anthropology. Denying the importance of folkloric studies would

further downplay the work of Haitians and public scholars such as Katherine Dunham⁹⁰ and Zora Neale Hurston.

As far as Haitian anthropology's current status, it appears that things have improved in terms of curriculum since Palisse's evaluation of the Anthropologie Sociologie program in 2008. In the past, anthropology was instrumentalized as a national project for private gain. Duvalier's manipulation of Haitian culture and narratives has limited the discipline's current reception in Haiti as much as (if not more than) budgeting constraints. Anthropology needs to be valorized so it can truly serve as a public good in Haiti. The discipline's benefit to society is twofold, 1) it can help dispel intra anti-Haitianism by presenting the richness of Haitian culture and 2) applied projects can help inform solutions to regional problems. Overall, I believe that combatting intra anti-Haitianism would help confront many of the challenges discussed throughout this thesis. Ultimately, if a crisis led to the *Indigéniste* movement (Haiti's intellectual golden era), and the earthquake led to a renaissance in anthropological knowledge production (Delices 2018), perhaps the #PetroCaribeChallenge will lead to a significant leap in scholarship and documentation of a Haitian epistemology in the near future.

World Anthropologies

Epistemic challenges

To contribute to world anthropologies discourse I could have simply focused on professors' central job duties, whether anthropology is a strong discipline in Haiti, and whether there is a Haitian epistemology. However, there were many roadblocks that discouraged knowledge production that could not be ignored. As a formal discipline attached to FE, it does not seem that anthropology can thrive in Haiti without first developing the role of professors; i.e.

⁹⁰ According to Ulysse (2015), Dunham, who conducted research in Haiti, published in popular magazines before fellow American Anthropologist Margaret Mead.

clearly delineating the status/positions of assistant professors, associate professors, and research professors. At the same time, while focusing on curriculum, I demonstrate the manner in which certain professors act as critical practitioners incorporating critical pedagogy and civic education into their lessons. I believe this a significant contribution to world anthropologies discourse.

As with many *other* anthropologies in the Global South, Haiti does not have a *pure* (Haitian) anthropology free from colonial influences. In Haiti's case this is due to its shortage of anthropologists, the fact that many of Ethnologie's practitioners trained abroad, FE's dependence on visiting professors for its master's program, and the existence of very few Creole anthropological texts. Historically, early Haitian anthropologists engaged with dominant anthropologies from the center as they both developed alongside each other. Considering early Haitian anthropologists were influenced by their engagements with the French, one could argue that this constitutes a pure Haitian anthropology because French culture is built in the Haitian identity. Since the French silenced pioneering Haitian anthropologists such as Anténor Firmin, who was a member of a Parisian anthropological society, I do not believe this is the case. Due to Vodou's syncretic nature in Haiti (and the Caribbean in general) (Magloire and Yelvington 2005), perhaps Price-Mars and Roumain thought that by studying Vodou and identifying it as a legitimate religion, this could help unify the elite with the masses. But despite these efforts, some faculty members have acknowledged a clear Haitian epistemology that continues to materialize in everyday life, even amid political crisis.

Native Anthropology

By design, native anthropology was central to Ethnologie's mission. FE was established to reconcile the elite and masses by embracing Haitian culture in its entirety. Hence, it arose to combat intra anti-Haitianism through ethnographic studies on Haitian people to better understand

cultural nuances among groups as to stimulate a collective identity based on equality, as opposed to oppression. By not studying the “other” and focusing on the self, the Haitian identity was the *subject* not the object. Haitian anthropology was meant to empower Haitians unlike dominant anthropologies that initially studied their conquests to reinforce control. In my view, the negative implications imposed on native anthropology reflect that hegemonic systems appraise both local and foreign insights emerging from academics of color as not as valuable to Western knowledge production — perhaps because they would undermine it.

Subject VS Object

Historically, Haiti had a critical impact on theory and the anthropological imagination by representing the subaltern “other” from which Western anthropologists could distinguish themselves (Magloire and Yelvington 2005; Marcelin 2005). Even though I acknowledge the shared struggles and alterity imposed on Haitians and Africans, this is not to say there is a singular Black or African experience — it is layered and multifaceted. However, since Haitian social scientists face similar challenges as African scholars (Ntarangwi et al. 2006; Nyamnjoh 2004), there is real potential for Haitian and African anthropologists to learn from one another. For instance, as in Haiti, research in Africa is not valorized, and anthropology professors must resort to working consulting jobs to supplement their income. Anthropology also suffers in Africa because of its association with colonialism in the eyes of the public (Harrison 2017). But unlike most African anthropologists, Haitian anthropologists still have to deal with being perceived as Vodou priests and priestesses.

As far as publications, since professors in my sample did not have much of a choice but to publish with foreign journals until 2008, it appeared as if Haitians were not producing knowledge, putting Haitian academics in the same *publish and perish* situation described by

Nyamnjoh (2004). If it was expensive for Haitian professors to purchase their own books published abroad, the expense was even greater for Haitian students and the public. Fortunately, UEH has taken steps for Haitians scholars to publish their works in the country.

Ultimately, the shared intersubjectivity between African and Haitian social scientists, illustrated by Price-Mars and Diop, speaks to cultural alienation and intra anti-Haitianism I describe in this thesis. Both are rooted in anti-African sentiments. The “Congo” term represents an epithet in Haiti, while also signifying a sense of community. Along with their shared roots, the latter characterization of “Congo” has the potential to facilitate future exchanges between Haitians and their fellow Africans on the continent, even if these connections and collaborations are only in their infancy.

Critical Pedagogy

Since they work with the same epistemologies as dominant anthropologies, particularly French intellectual traditions, the knowledge gained at UEH were transferable to universities in the center. If UEH had a doctoral anthropology program, would professors have left Haiti in the first place? I cannot answer this. What I do know is that some of them got a scholarship to attend FE, and upon graduation they were afforded with opportunities to study abroad. This indicates a few things about Ethnologie: 1) unless these students were just exceptional, they received a quality education at FE in terms of global standards to be able to thrive at more “prestigious universities” in the center; and 2) there were quality professors at UEH who did not follow the banking education model. Despite the challenges of studying and living in Haiti, professors returned home because of their civic inclinations, thus they represent the brains *retained/regained* by the nation.

Cultural Capital

While my research focuses on local stakeholders in Haiti, it complements Cela Hamm's (2016) research on the Haitian diaspora's efforts to improve the higher education sector in Haiti. She admitted that even with diaspora's civic engagement and agency, it is up to Haitians in Haiti to enforce changes — which is exactly what the professors in my sample argued. However, I do not want to downplay the significant contributions of the Haitian diaspora in relation to scholarship in Haiti. As a youth, Pierre did not readily possess the cultural capital tied to becoming an anthropologist. But upon hearing about Jean Price-Mars' civic engagement, Pierre pursued the discipline. I also acknowledged that Haitian professors utilized their diasporic support system to retrieve texts, since they could not afford to directly access certain journals and databases themselves. Though challenges remain and the worldwide web imposes restrictions on data access, this speaks to the potential of the internet in furthering Haitian anthropology's development.

As a member of the diaspora, did Trouillot's cultural capital and networks gained in the United States help him become “the most influential black anthropologist” (Price 2013, 717)? Would this not have been possible had he stayed in Haiti?⁹¹ Aside from Trouillot's upbringing in a professional middle class family⁹² (Taleb-Khyar 1992; Bonilla 2013), one must consider how

⁹¹ Trouillot writes (1996), “had I stayed in Haiti or moved on to France, I would probably hold a degree in philosophy or perhaps in history” (as cited in Price 2013, 718).

⁹² Born into a distinguished Haitian family, Trouillot's personal and academic pursuits were shaped by his family's intellectual endeavors. As he put it, “history sat at the dinner table” (Bonilla 2013, 82). Trouillot's metaphorical depiction of his relatives is far from an understatement considering that “his father Ernst practiced law and was an avid historian and journalist,” and “his paternal uncle Hénock directed the Haitian National Archives and was one of the most important historians of his generation” (Price 2013, 717).

cultural capital attached to Anglocentrism comes into play.⁹³ Recall that *Ti Dife Boule sou Istoua Ayiti* (1977) is Trouillot's first book, yet he is most celebrated for his English text *Silencing the Past* (1995). In this book, Trouillot argues the Haitian revolution was deemed unimaginable to colonial powers, who then as a result excluded this uprising from the global mainstream canon. *Silencing the Past* was critical in pushing the Haitian revolution to the forefront and needed to be circulated around the world, whereas *Ti Dife* had a civic purpose, speaking to Creole readers. Although Trouillot did not gain as much praise for *Ti Dife*, this more personal work served to empower his fellow Haitians during Duvalier's totalitarian regime as it connected him to them during his forced exile. It is, however, of no surprise that it received little acclaim from the dominant world academy.

Conclusion

Novel Contributions and Applied Implications

This thesis is not only a corrective account on Haiti — as several Black scholars have felt the need to set the record straight about Black communities by providing more nuanced depictions (Jones 1970; Harrison 1987; Gordon 1997; Ulysse 2015; Delices 2018) — but it also focuses on an understudied group in anthropology of higher education, i.e. intellectuals/university faculty (Forsey 2007; Gusterson 2017). I build on world anthropologies discourse by looking at anthropologists in the Global South while addressing political and economic issues that impede productivity for these academics. By interrogating the geopolitics of anthropological knowledge production, my research reflects an initial attempt at investigating the political economy of Haitian anthropology. While contributing to world anthropologies discourse, I deviated from autoethnography that dominates the literature by performing critical

⁹³ I must note that although Anselme Remy has published works in English, he is not cited as much as others. Is it because he returned to Haiti in 1986? This requires more probing.

educational ethnography on Haitian social scientists. A dynamic research method and theory, CEE still allowed for critical reflexivity, which became crucial to this study since discussing one's positionality is integral in world anthropologies discourse. However, personal experiences must be contextualized within broader structural factors. For instance, WA scholars have discussed the positive impact the internet can have on facilitating exchanges and access to data, but have not extensively explored specific infrastructural limitations that challenge such optimistic and Western views of technology as savior to social ills. Although professors have smartphones, this study addresses Haiti's electricity issues and FE's institutional setbacks that can make connecting to high-speed Wi-Fi an arduous undertaking. Further, my findings question the emphasis in much of the literature on neoliberalism in Haiti because, as professors told me directly, the imposed "neoliberal" label may not apply to the situation there — in fact some did not know what to call the nation's state-dominated economic system.

Critical educational ethnography allowed me to frame professors as actors despite structural issues, a repressive state, and continued social reproduction of inequalities at UEH. While I found world anthropologies inspiring and important, I focused on Haitian social scientists' teaching practices (critical pedagogy and civic education), which has not been discussed extensively within the "World Anthropologies" section of the *American Anthropologist*.⁹⁴ These curricula can reinforce problematic norms and academic politics, but I found teachers also found ways to resist and engage in new ways through their pedagogy and curricula. Like Arif (2016), I urge world anthropologies scholars to delve more into classroom

⁹⁴ Outside of AA, Ntarangwi devotes a chapter to this in *African Anthropologies History, Critique and Practice* (2006); Harrison (2012) discusses this in "Dismantling Anthropology's Domestic and International Peripheries."

dynamics and whom professors choose to cite in their courses and publications, since this can reinforce academic politics if students, or future anthropologists, internalize a lack of diversity.

Critical educational ethnography also allowed a discussion of the ways Haitian anthropologists add value to their labor, oftentimes by doing additional work, given all the hardships they face. I was also able to take a novel methodological approach by analyzing the power dynamics that are shaping research (between investigator and community) and interactions in school settings (between faculty, students, administration, and staff). I did not, however, achieve this by “studying up.” Instead, I studied in-between (Forsey 2007) by employing a critical appreciation of professors’ labor throughout my discussion and analysis, while also capturing students’ needs, which have a direct impact on their workload. My data illustrates that valuable academic labor is not confined to academia when value is defined by the academics themselves. Academics and their students also value activism and affective labor, leading Haitian anthropologists to keep working in Haiti while resisting the reproduction of problematic state bureaucratic systems at UEH.

In terms of this study’s applied implications, I identify numerous faculty and student grievances also noted by others (INURED 2010; Cela Hamm 2016; UMass Boston 2020). These are useful to highlight for future improvements at FE. However, while the current literature already emphasizes UEH’s weaknesses and threats, I found it essential to highlight actors’ agency and ingenuity to troubleshoot their own problems so as to not frame them as simply victims. Because UEH has been at times debilitated (and underfunded) because of Haiti’s economic history (involving foreign interventions), political corruption, and governance issues, faculty have had to subsidize their labor at UEH with other jobs. They must deal with the stress of political crises, all while trying to revive the anthropological discipline. Applied interventions

can go directly towards helping these faculty in ways they find useful. In an effort to alleviate some of their burdens, I can volunteer at Jocelyne's foundation to help retrieve texts and verify information. Aside from my "Visual Research Methods" handout, I can also translate selected anthropological texts from English into Creole for both professors and students to read. As discussed earlier in the thesis, through visual anthropology, I am able to help integrate my photos and videos into instructional materials or UEH university-wide presentations that discuss the institution's current (or past) state.

By evaluating the conditions of academic labor for anthropology professors working in Haiti, I address the *price* — additional labor, not enough time for research, safety issues, and financial insecurity — that these educators must *pay* to work at UEH. However, as illustrated throughout this thesis, academics at Ethnologie find higher value in their labor than their state employers. Despite their work-related challenges, for many professors, their labor and curriculum represent their commitment to civic engagement and the value of staying at *home*, where they have been directly involved in harnessing Haitian anthropology for the public good through both scholarship and activism.

Afterword: Embracing Critical Reflexivity

Making a Value Statement

As I complete this thesis amid COVID-19, lockdowns in the US, social distancing, and protests give me flashbacks to my experiences in Haiti during its *peyi lok*. As I write this thesis, the recent killings of unarmed Black people including Elijah McClain, Ahmaud Arbery, George Floyd, and Breonna Taylor are sparking national — or rather global outrage. From Santo Domingo to South Africa (Deibert 2020; O'Dowd and Hagan 2020), Black peoples and their allies are taking to the streets against racism and police brutality because the shared oppression

among Black/African peoples goes beyond borders. What these people are fighting for is not unlike what Haitians are demanding from their state. They are tired of being treated as inferior citizens while their exploitation drives economies and maintains global power structures. The use of tear gas on protesters just blocks from my apartment in Tampa (Welch et al. 2020), while President Trump ordered armed forces to release tear gas against demonstrators outside the White House (Hauslohner et al. 2020) hit close to home. It mirrored my fieldwork experience in Haiti and saddened me that my fellow Americans were being treated this way too. Like many others, this led me to feel anguish and despair, but also solidarity with others around the world who are also part of a shared struggle.

I also found hope from my research. The Haitian revolution represents more than a paradigmatic shift; it reified freedom, changing the course of colonial history by disempowering global hegemonic forces. But obviously, it did not disarm global White supremacy completely. *Haiti is still paying the price for its freedom* (Trouillot 2011; Ulysse 2015). As a friend always reminds me, “Education does not equal freedom, freedom equals freedom.” The education equals freedom model has long been problematic in former colonies still under the control of repressive state systems or international financial organizations. My findings speak to this issue considering what Black academics must endure in both Haiti and the United States. As with my sample, Black scholars in the North feel their academic and affective labor is undervalued (although to varying degrees). To this day, despite their credentials and publications, why are Black women not being cited as much as their peers (McClaurin 2001)?⁹⁵ Historically, in the United States the culture of anti-Blackness has been reproduced in American anthropology (Brodkin et al. 2011;

⁹⁵ Christen A. Smith, who is an American anthropologist, started the Cite Black Women campaign in 2017. You can learn more at <https://www.citeblackwomencollective.org/>.

Ntarangwi 2010; Ulysse 2015; McClaurin 2020). But despite these challenges, Black anthropologists in the US and Haiti are among those at the forefront pushing for change — even if it means dealing with additional challenges and paying additional costs. I am inspired to be a part of this.

As with education, internet access does not guarantee freedom. However, Black people globally are finding creative ways to access networks and conversations from which we have long been denied entry. While my own struggles are both similar yet different from activists of color, we are united by our fundamental belief that we cannot be silenced anymore! We are using social media to narrate our future by chronicling our present and engaging with our past (histories) to speak out against racism and oppression. The question of value is pervasive among Black academics and Black people in general. Irrespective if someone is an intellectual or formally educated, I leave you with this: Black Lives Matter.

Homecoming

Very often when I am on the plane going back to Haiti, I listen to other passengers. Many of them are immigrants who left Haiti behind and are working very hard to find their place in the United States or Canada, or the French Antilles. They are usually coming home for a family affair: funerals, weddings, and so forth. All through the flight, they do not stop complaining about what is wrong with Haiti: corrupt politicians, power shortage, high prices, and insecurity getting worse every day, and the list goes on and on. I listen patiently since I know what will inevitably happen. The moment the pilot announces that the plane is getting ready for landing, the atmosphere changes. While the seat belts are put on, there is a silence so full of thoughts and feelings that I feel its impact inside me. And then, with a heavy sigh, I hear one, two, three voices, saying almost like a prayer *Lakay se lakay*, there is no place like home. *Lakay se lakay*.

(Trouillot 2018, 14)

Trouillot (2018) vividly describes a typical flight to Haiti. The Haitian diaspora can be heard bemoaning the country's afflictions — from its electricity issues to corruption and the

growing insecurity — but inevitably, once the plane lands, those same individuals murmur, “*Lakay se lakay.*”

This account comes from Évelyne Trouillot, the sister of the late, great Michel-Rolph Trouillot. The novelist is a celebrated scholar in her own right, holding professorships at both UEH and Université Caraïbe.⁹⁶ She returned to Haiti in 1987 after the fall of the Duvalier regime (HSA 2018). Trouillot shared a photo of her brother with the *American Anthropologist* for his obituary. Unlike any image I had ever seen of Michel-Rolph Trouillot, in this photo he can be seen enjoying a glass of wine on his sister’s couch in Haiti. Trouillot, donning his vibrant orange dress shirt, looks comfortable, at ease, and at *home*.

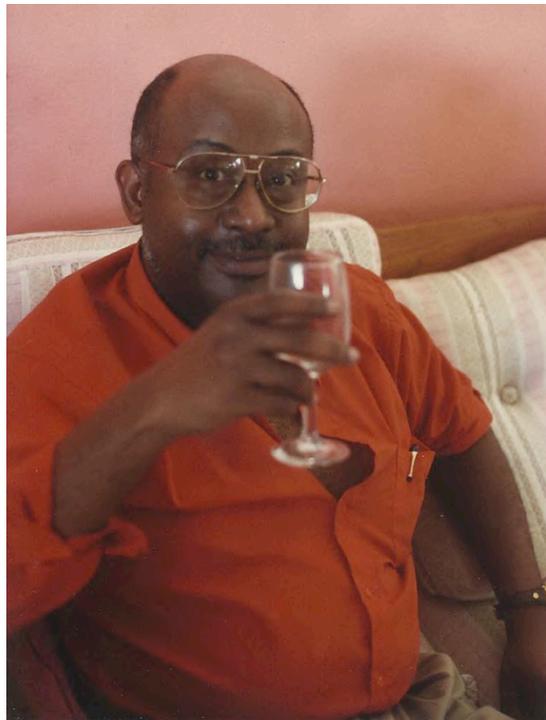


Figure 12: Michel-Rolph Trouillot in Haiti (2001).
Photo courtesy of Évelyne Trouillot.

⁹⁶ She was not in my sample.

As I detailed in my “Methods” section, I had an existential crisis after my study in Haiti. I lost my sense of home and I questioned whether I was meant to be a Haitianist. I felt powerless. Critical educational ethnography encourages researchers to empower their participants, yet I felt the challenges that professors faced in Haiti were far beyond anything I could do. A SWOT analysis would not help them, and as social scientists, they were already critical of their reality. In retrospect, I realized that both faculty and students empowered me. They imparted so much knowledge onto to me in a matter of 3.5 weeks in the field, and they were more than willing to address any of my unanswered questions even a year after my fieldwork. They deepened my understanding of Haitian culture and its political situation, and for that, *I value them immensely*.

Admittedly, on my first trip back to Haiti since conducting fieldwork, I initially had anxiety. But then a sense of comfort filled my spirit. Perhaps like Pierre, the discouragement bug has not bit me yet either.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Haiti's 1987 Constitution Higher Education Laws

Article 208

Higher education is free. It is provided by the University of the Haitian State (Université d'Etat d'Haiti), which is autonomous and by the superior public schools and the superior private schools accredited by the State.

Article 209

The State must finance the operation and development of the Haitian State University and the public superior schools. Their organization and their location must be planned from the perspective of regional development.

Article 210

The Establishment of research centers must be encouraged.

Article 211

[Amended by the Constitutional Law of 9 May 2011 / 19 June 2012]

A public organ is created responsible for the regulation and the control of quality of the superior education and of the scientific research throughout the territory. This organ exercises its control over all the public and non-public institutions working in these two domains. Each year, it publishes a report on the quality of the training and establishes a list of the performing institutions. The law determines the denomination, and establishes the mode of organization and the functioning of this organ.

Article 211-1

The universities and the private and public superior schools provide academic and practical instruction adapted to the trends and requirements of national development.

Article 212

An organic law regulates the establishment, location and operation of university and public and private superior schools in the country.

Article 213

A Haitian Academy shall be established to standardize the Kreyòl language and enable it to develop scientifically and harmoniously.

(Constituteproject.org 2012, 57-58)

Appendix B: Faculté d'Ethnologie Program Objectives

Anthropologie-Sociologie

Profile of the graduate in Anthropology-Sociology with a concentration in anthropology

Mastery:

The great moments in the evolution of anthropology and sociology

Methodological approaches to anthropology and ethnology

The universal characteristics of man

Differential characteristics of man

The biological, social and mental mechanisms of human interactions with their environment

The great moments of anthropology in Haiti

The basic features of the Haitian ethnicity

As a result of their training, students are cable of:

Producing systematic reflections authorizing Haitianity in particular domains (political, economic, educative, intellectual, artistic...)

Performing research on the constraints, the facilities, as well as the eventualities linked to Haitianity, on the occasion of investment project or social intervention

Advising heads of institutions (public, private, international, NGO) on social issues, both internal and external to Haiti

Anthropologie Sociale Master's Program

The master's program is a continuation of the license in Anthropology and Sociology offered by the School of Ethnology. This program is linked to the project to strengthen anthropological studies at the Faculty. It represents a stage in the establishment of a Doctorate in Anthropology in concert with the doctoral school of the UEH. This program aims to train not only researchers and future teachers with a view to strengthening the faculty, but also competent professionals who will enter the job market. Because of its importance in the humanities and social sciences, anthropology can help actors and institutions to pose and resolve the many problems facing Haitian society. The School of Ethnology therefore has a leading role to play in the mobilization of this discipline.

Objectives

- *Allow the student to grasp the dominant theoretical and methodological approaches in Anthropology and in the social sciences;*
- *Develop their capacity to mobilize them and apply them in a relevant way;*
- *Develop the student's ability to process social and cultural data.*

Appendix C: Cheikh Anta Diop's Speech at the 1984 Niamey Conference

Je crois que le mal que l'occupant nous a fait n'est pas encore guéri. Voilà le fond du problème! L'aliénation culturelle finit par être partie intégrante de notre substance, de notre âme et quand on croit s'en être débarrassé on ne l'a pas encore fait complètement. Souvent le colonisé ressemble un peu, ou l'ex-colonisé lui-même, à cet esclave du XIX^e siècle qui libéré, va jusqu'au pas de la porte et puis revient à la maison, parce qu'il ne sait plus où aller... Depuis le temps qu'il a perdu la liberté, depuis le temps qu'il a appris des réflexes de subordination, depuis le temps qu'il a appris à penser à travers son maître.

C'est un peu ce qui est arrivé à l'intelligentsia africaine quand on l'entend parce que toutes les questions que vous m'avez posé reviennent à une seule: quand est-ce que les blancs vous reconnaîtront-ils? Parce que la vérité sonne blanche!

Mais c'est dangereux ce que vous dites parce que si réellement l'égalité intellectuelle est tangible, l'Afrique (et la diaspora africaine) devrait sur des thèmes controversés (tels que l'origine africaine de la première civilisation humaine), être capable d'accéder à sa vérité par sa propre investigation intellectuelle et se maintenir à cette vérité, jusqu'à ce que l'humanité sache que l'Afrique ne sera plus frustrée, que les idéologues perdront leur temps, parce qu'ils auront rencontré des intelligences égales qui peuvent leur tenir tête sur le plan de la vérité historique. Mais vous êtes persuadés pour qu'une vérité soit valable et objective, il faut qu'elle sonne blanche!

English Translation

I believe that the harm that the occupier has done to us is not yet healed. That is the root of the problem! Cultural alienation ends up being an integral part of our substance, of our soul and when we believe we have got rid of it we have not yet done it completely. Often the colonized looks a little, or the ex-colonized himself, like this 19th-century slave who, released, goes to the door and then comes home, because he does not know where to go... Since the time he lost his freedom, since the time he learned reflexes of subordination, since the time he learned to think through his master.

That's kind of what happened to the African intelligentsia when you hear it because all the questions you asked me come back to one: When will white people recognize you? Because the truth sounds white!

But it is dangerous what you say because if indeed intellectual equality is tangible, Africa (and the African diaspora) should on controversial themes (such as the African origin of the first human civilization), be able to access its truth through its own intellectual investigation and maintain this truth, until humanity knows that Africa will no longer be frustrated, that ideologists will waste their time, because they will have encountered equal intelligences that can stand up to them on the level of historical truth. But you are convinced for a truth to be valuable and objective, it must sound white!

Appendix D: Photo Release Form

I, _____ (the “Releasor”) grant permission and consent to Nadège Nau (the “Releasee”) for the use of the following photograph(s) or video footage as identified below of the presentation under any legal condition, including but not limited to: publicity, copyright, purposes, illustration, advertising, and web content (the right to take, slightly edit, alter, copy, exhibit, publish, distribute and make use of any and all pictures or video taken of me to be used and/or for legally promotional materials including, but not limited to, newsletters, flyers, posters, brochures, advertisements websites, social networking sites and other print and digital communications, without payment or any other consideration):

Description: Photos taken at or around the School of Ethnology or previously published personal photos of mine

Payment:

I understand that there shall be no payment for this release

Royalties:

I understand that no royalty, fee, or other compensation shall become payable to me by reason of such use.

Revocation:

I understand that with my authorization below the photograph (s) may never be revoked.

I, the Releasor and Releasee, understand and agree to the aforementioned terms and conditions.

If the releasor or photo subject is under 18 years old, a parent or legal guardian must sign

Releasor’s Signature _____ Date _____

Releasee’s Signature _____ Date _____

Appendix E: IRB Certification of Approval



RESEARCH INTEGRITY AND COMPLIANCE
Institutional Review Boards, FWA No. 00001669
12901 Bruce B. Downs Blvd., MDC035 • Tampa, FL 33612-4799
(813) 974-5638 • FAX (813) 974-7091

May 6, 2019

Nadege Nau Anthropology Tampa, FL 33613

RE: Exempt Certification

IRB#: Pro00040258

Title: The Labor Demands of Professors in the State University of Haiti's Anthropology Department

Dear Ms. Nau:

On 5/6/2019, the Institutional Review Board (IRB) determined that your research meets criteria for exemption from the federal regulations as outlined by 45 CFR 46.104(d):

(2) Research that only includes interactions involving educational tests(cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures, or observation of public behavior (including visual or auditory recording) if at least one of the following criteria is met:(i) The information obtained is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that the identity of the human subjects cannot readily be ascertained, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects; (ii) Any disclosure of the human subjects' responses outside the research would not reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, educational advancement, or reputation; or (iii) The information obtained is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that the identity of the human subjects can readily be ascertained, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects, and an IRB conducts a limited IRB review to make the determination required by 45 CFR 46.111(a)(7).

As the principal investigator for this study, it is your responsibility to ensure that this research is conducted as outlined in your application and consistent with the ethical principles outlined in the Belmont Report and with USF HRPP policies and procedures.

Please note, as per USF HRPP Policy, once the exempt determination is made, the application is closed in ARC. This does not limit your ability to conduct the research. Any proposed or anticipated change to the study design that was previously declared exempt from IRB oversight must be submitted to the IRB as a new study prior to initiation of the change. However, administrative changes, including changes in research personnel, do not warrant an Amendment or new application.

We appreciate your dedication to the ethical conduct of human subjects research at the University of South Florida and your continued commitment to human research protections. If you have any questions regarding this matter, please call 813-974-5638.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Kristen Salomon', followed by a horizontal line.

Kristen Salomon, Ph.D., Chairperson
USF Institutional Review Board