Investigating Kreyòl's Portrait in the Classroom and Haitian Students' Beliefs About Its Use in Instruction

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Dedication

To Mom— you didn't let me down; you stuck around to see the end of this journey.

To Carl and Lynda—literally and figuratively, you weathered all the horrible Montreal storms with me, always by my side without fail.

Teaching, learning, and having a blast at a primary school in La Gonave, Haiti.
Photo taken by Christine Low.

Exchanging, gaining wisdom, and producing knowledge with fellow Haitian educators in Limbé, Haiti. Photo taken by Gérald Jean-Baptiste.

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Abstract

Students are incontestably important stakeholders in the schooling process, and they are not blank slates. Even before they start school, they have already acquired a wealth of knowledge, experiences, and many other invaluable attainments (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1990; Riches, 2000). One of these precious resources is the language that they learned from their primary caretakers, which linguists specifically refer to as the mother tongue (MT). The essential role that MT plays in the learning process cannot be overstated (Garcia, 2009; Riches, 2000; Winer, 1982). More than 60 years of research in the field of learning and teaching science have established the importance of the MT, especially in the first years of schooling (Bamgbose, 1976; Cummins, 2009; UNESCO, 1953). Even in multilingual settings, the MT plays a key role in the success of the development of all languages (Riches & Curdt-Christiansen, 2010). Therefore, ideally, educators should invite and welcome the MT into their classrooms to optimize the learning experiences of learners (Dejean, 2010; Riches, 2000). Regrettably, a country like Haiti has yet been able to take full advantage of the benefits of MT instruction in its schools because it is still grappling with its colonial past and neocolonial present (Bellegarde-Smith, 1980; Lubin & François, 2017; Orelus, 2014; Trouillot, 2006). For example, there are schools in Haiti which explicitly ban Kreyòl, which is the MT of almost all Haitians (Spears, 2010) and the only language that 95% of the Haitian population knows (DeGraff, 2013).

Working within a pragmatism paradigm, this sequential-exploratory mixed methods study was conducted within the framework of a critical pedagogy perspective with a twofold purpose: (a) to capture Kreyòl's portrait in classrooms where it is allowed or overtly disallowed to see if it is used at all in classes that prohibit it and to explore for what purposes and what effects it has on learning when it is used; and (b) to probe the beliefs of Haitian

students regarding the use or nonuse of Kreyòl in classroom instruction. The findings of this study guide a set of recommendations made to Akademi Kreyòl Ayisyen (AKA, Haitian Creole Academy), which is a state institution with a constitutional mandate to ensure that the linguistic rights of all Haitians are respected, regarding all matters having to do with Kreyòl.

Résumé

Les élèves sont incontestablement des acteurs très importants dans le processus de scolarisation, et ils ne sont pas non plus des ardoises blanches. Même avant de commencer l'école, ils ont déjà acquis une richesse de connaissances, d'expériences et de nombreuses autres acquisitions inestimables (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1990; Riches, 2000). L'une de ces ressources précieuses acquises de leurs gardiens primaires est la langue, spécifiquement appelée par les linguistes la langue maternelle. Le rôle essentiel joué par la langue maternelle dans le processus d'apprentissage ne peut pas être surestimé (Garcia, 2009, Riches, 2000, Winer, 1982), car plus de 60 années de recherche dans le domaine science de l'apprentissage et de l'enseignement ont établi l'importance de la langue maternelle, surtout dans les premières années de scolarisation. (Bamgbose, 1976 ; Cummins, 2009 ; UNESCO, 1953). Même dans les contextes multilingues, la langue maternelle joue un rôle majeur dans le développement de toutes les langues (Riches & Curdt-Christiansen, 2010). Par conséquent, idéalement, les éducateurs devraient inviter et accueillir la langue maternelle dans leurs salles de classe pour optimiser les expériences d'apprentissage des apprenants (Dejean, 2010, Riches, 2000). Malheureusement, un pays comme Haïti n'a pas pu profiter pleinement des avantages de l'enseignement de la langue maternelle dans ses écoles parce qu'il est toujours aux prises avec son passé colonial et son présent néocolonial (Bellegarde-Smith, 1980; Lubin & François, 2017 ; Orelus, 2014 ; Trouillot, 2006). Par exemple, il y a des écoles en Haïti qui interdisent explicitement le créole, qui est la langue maternelle de presque tous les Haïtiens (Spears, 2010) et la seule langue que 95% de la population haïtienne connaît (DeGraff, 2013).

Travaillant dans le paradigme de pragmatisme, cette étude de méthodologie mixte séquentielle exploratoire a été menée dans le cadre de la pédagogie critique avec un double objectif: (a) capturer le portrait de créole dans des salles de classe où il est autorisé ou ouvertement rejeté pour voir si le dernier est utilisé dans les classes qui l'interdisent et

explorer à quelles fins et quels sont les effets sur l'apprentissage quand il est utilisé ; et (b) sonder les croyances des étudiants haïtiens, concernant l'utilisation ou la non-utilisation de créole dans l'enseignement. Les résultats de cette étude guident un ensemble de recommandations faites à l'Akademi Kreyòl Ayisyen (l'Académie créole haïtienne), qui est une institution étatique dotée d'un mandat constitutionnel visant à assurer le respect des droits linguistiques de toutes les Haïtiennes et tous les Haïtiens en ce qui concerne tout ce qui a trait à créole.

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List of Abbreviations

AKA.....Akademi Kreyòl Ayisyen (Haitian Creole Academy)

BR……..Refòm Bèna (The Bernard Reform)

CP……...Critical pedagogy

AF…….....Opposition to Kreyòl Academy

CUC…….. Collège Université Caraïbe

EFL……....English Foreign Language

EGRA…….. .Early Grade Reading Assessment

FCC……...L1 Facilitates Comprehension of Content

FIC…….Frères de l'Instruction Chrétienne (Brothers of Christian Instruction)

FMD…….....L1 Facilitates Meaningful Discussion

FSM…….....L2 Facilitates Social Mobility / L1 Impedes Social Mobility

FUP……..L1 Facilitates Unrestrained Participation

GED…….General Educational Development

AK…….Kreyòl Friendly Academy

LKM…….Lekòl Kominote Matènwa (Matènwa Community School)

LEP……...Limited English Proficiency

LOI……Language of Instruction

LOL……. ….Language of Learning

LOT……...Lananguage of Testing

L1……..First Language

L2……..Second language

MDJ …….Maison des Jeunes

MM……...Mixed Methods

MT……Mother Tongue

MTB…….Mother Tongue Books

MTI……..Mother Tongue Instruction

NSF……..National Science Foundation

RHI…….....L1 Reinforces Haitian Identity

UNESCO……The United Nations Educational, Social and Cultural Organization

USAID……United States Agency for International Development

Foreword

Powerful words oftentimes lead to powerful reactions. I was nine when Sister Eugenia Calabrese, then the principal of Holy Spirit Junior High School, summoned my mother for a conference to discuss my undesirable, unacceptable behavior in school. After my mother had listened attentively to the nun, with a firm, brisk tone of voice transported in her heavy Haitian accent, she added her two-cents: "Junior, you go to school, good job like Sister Eugenia; you no go, factory like me." Though not as eloquent as, say, one of my models, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., her admonition nevertheless achieved its goal. It provided me with an unbending purpose: pursue education at any and all costs.

Pressured by his fervent followers and his moral conscience, Dr. King mustered the courage to make explicit his position on the highly politicized Vietnam War of the 60s. So, on the morning of 4 April 1967—precisely a year before he was assassinated—in the presence of an anxious congregation at the Ebenezer Baptist Church, the ordained Baptist minister delivered what is arguably his most controversial sermon: *Why I am Opposed to the War in Vietnam*. In that speech, Dr. King buttressed his oppositional stance with the following subjective, though very captivating, rationale: "I agree with Dante, that the hottest places in hell are reserved for those who, in a period of moral crisis, maintain their neutrality."

In the same spirit of pursuing truth, justice, and liberty, the plainspoken sharecropper from Mississippi, Fannie Lou Hamer, made it plain as to what her standpoint was vis-à-vis Southern-U.S. apartheid in the 60s with the following famous Civil Rights movement mantra: "I am sick and tired of being sick and tired." These simple words—yet gripping—would inspire an untold number of individuals to risk their lives to have helped change the sociopolitical landscape of the southern parts of the United States. In turn, this made the United States a better place to live for all its residents.

My mother is right. Unlike her and most Haitians, I reap the benefits of an education every single day of my life. Ms. Hamer is right, too. She is right for believing that all humans have unalienable rights, which must be respected by others, including and especially by governments. Education, I strongly believe, is one of them, and I am sick and tired of being sick and tired that most Haitians cannot exercise that right. Dr. King's call for justice is just and humane. It resonates with my conscience, and I refuse to stand by and do nothing about the educational injustice that goes on daily in my native land Haiti.

Simply put, it is a combination of my mother's exhortation and the riveting words of the two-aforementioned prominent African American freedom fighters that best encapsulate the spirit which undergirds my burning desire to see an effective, accessible Haitian schooling system—one that acknowledges and works to honor the educational rights of *all* Haitians.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Nested Contexts of the Study

Despite all the good intentions of some Haitian leaders like Haiti's Founding Father Jean Jacques Dessalines, Haiti has never succeeded in establishing a schooling system[1] that adequately addresses the educational needs of all Haitians (DeGraff, 2009, 2010a, 2010b, 2013; Dejean, 2006, 2010; François, 2015; Hurbon, 2004; Joint, 2006; Lubin & François, 2017; Logan, 1930; Madhere, 2010; Orelus, 2009; Tardieu, 1990; Trouillot, 2006). Since its creation in the early 1800s, the Haitian schooling system has been problematic in that its philosophical underpinnings are pro-European-French culture and anti-African-Haitian culture (Hurbon, 2004; Fils-Aimé, 2007). This means that the system has always excluded the overwhelming majority of Haitians, for 95% of them are of African ancestry (Laguerre & Accilien, 2011).

The condition of Haiti's primary and secondary schools is the worst in the Americas (Crane et al., 2010). Haiti, for example, is one of only 10 countries in the world and the only country in the Americas that has an adult literacy rate that is below 50% (UNESCO, 2013). In terms of the system's ability to graduate its students, it is egregiously internally inefficient[2] (Locher, 2010). For instance, 50% of school age Haitian students (technically ages 6 to 19) do not attend school (World Bank, 2013), and recent longitudinal evidence indicates that only one third of children who attend school reach the fifth grade, and only 4% complete nine

[1] Critical pedagogy education framework (CP) is the framework for this study. CP holds that education should primarily be concerned with alleviating human suffering and liberating students' capacity to think critically. Historically, schools in Haiti have done the contrary; that is, in general they continue to be purveyors of human suffering and discourage critical thinking. Therefore, from a CP perspective, the word "education" is inappropriate to describe the activities and functioning of schools in Haiti. "Schooling" is a better choice in this regard, and this is why "schooling system" is used throughout this study instead of "education system."

[2] Internal efficiency refers to the capacity of a schooling system or a school to produce student learning and graduates in a cost-effective manner.

years of primary school and thereafter enter secondary school (Crane et al., 2010). This is why Locher (2010) also posited that dropouts are the main product of the Haitian schooling system, a system that is "characterized by a series of very high-stakes national pass/fail examinations" (Baker & Riches, 2017, p. 2). Not to mention, these national exams are seriously flawed in terms of their content and construction (Baker & Riches, 2017).

With nearly 80% of Haitian teachers having never received preservice training, 50% of public school teachers lacking basic teaching qualifications (USAID, 2015), and about 25% of Haitian teachers having never even attended high school (Groupe de Travail sur l'Education et la Formation, 2010)—Haiti's educational prospects do not look too promising. This latter point cannot be overemphasized when one takes into consideration that 90% of Haiti's primary schools are managed by religious, community, or non-governmental organizations (USAID, 2007), not to mention the Haitian state is considerably weak due to a "repugnant elite" (Fatton Jr., 2002), color hierarchies (Fatton Jr., 2007), sustained political instability and widespread government corruption at every level (Fatton Jr, 2007; Fouron, 2010; Saint Paul, 2015).

In the words of Hebblethwaite (2012), "Economic, historical, sociolinguistic, and demographic factors are [also] a part of the explanation for Haiti's low educational achievement. Another important but often ignored factor is educational language policy" (p. 255). That is, while the overwhelming majority of Haitians speak only Kreyòl[3], French is by and large the language of the Haitian schooling system (Hebblethwaite, 2012). This practice can be traced all the way back to the mid-17th century when French colonizers first

[3]Kreyòl is a French-based creole language. It is the mother tongue and first language of almost all Haitians living in Haiti. Some linguists and speakers of the language also refer to it as *Haitian, Haitian Creole, Haitian-French Creole,* or just *Creole*. Kreyòl is used consistently throughout this paper to refer to the language of Haiti and the Haitian people.

instituted Catholic religious instruction in the colony of Saint Domingue (modern day Haiti) as a means of controlling the enslaved black population (François, 2015; Hurbon, 2004).

This study grows out of professional and scholarly interest in contributing significantly toward efforts to improve the quality of education in Haiti. Its central concern is to help shape language policy that in turn makes the schooling process a meaningful, worthwhile experience for all Haitians.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

In Haiti, there are two official languages: Kreyòl[4] and French. Kreyòl, one of several French-based creoles, is the MT and first language (L1) of virtually all Haitians living in Haiti (Spears, 2010). French (L2), on the other hand, is the language of Haiti's former colonizers, the French. Only about 5% of Haitians speak French at varying degrees (DeGraff, 2013); yet, it is unequivocally the language of power and prestige in Haiti (Joseph, 2010). Beyond that, though the overwhelming majority of Haitian students lack competence in French and most Haitian teachers are not qualified to teach in French (Hebblethwaite, 2012), for the most part, it is the language of instruction (LOI), language of learning (LOL)[5], and language of testing (LOT) in the Haitian schooling system.

Scholars like Dejean (2006, 2010), DeGraff (2009, 2010a, 2010b, 2013), and Hebblethwaite (2012)—not unaware or dismissive of the economic, historical, sociolinguistic, political instability, widespread government corruption, and demographic factors which

[4] "Kreyòl" is how the Haitian people refer to their language. As such, throughout this dissertation, I will use the word "Kreyòl" to refer to the language of Haiti instead of the ways which it is written in the English language, notably "Creole" or "Haitian Creole."

[5] There is a significant difference between language of instruction (LOI) and language of learning (LOL), and the distinction between the two is an important one, especially in the Haitian context. The former refers to the language that pedagogues use to impart knowledge and information to students, and the latter refers to the books and other educational resources that students read and use in class or to learn on their own. Even in schools where Kreyòl is an official LOI, it is commonplace that the books and other educational resources are primarily in French.

contribute to Haiti's educational problems—have argued that the unacceptable state of the schooling system is to a great extent the aftermath of a long-standing educational problem: While most Haitian students have competence only in Kreyòl, they are instructed, tested, and must try to learn new materials in French. What is more, considering that most Haitian teachers are not even fluent in French, this is why Chaudenson and Vernet (1983) reported, and as was observed during this study, many Haitian teachers have to either read directly from their notes or recite memorized passages to transmit content during instruction. In part, the arguments of Dejean (2010), DeGraff (2013), and Hebblethwaite (2012) are based on what UNESCO since 1953 has established and made explicit: Learning and instruction occur best in pupils' MT (Bamgbose, 1976). Incontestably millions of people the world over are being successfully schooled and even educated in a second or third language; however, as Dejean (2010) and Hebblethwaite (2012) have pointed out, the literature on LOI indicates that first-language educational systems are more successful than second-language systems or trilingual systems, such as in Luxembourg. And critically important, Haiti does not have the resources to mount such multilingual educational programs, particularly not during the first years of schooling. Research also shows that in multilingual settings the MT plays a key role in the success of the development of all languages (Riches & Curdt-Christiansen, 2010).

Additionally, according to Coulmas (1992), comparative international data on educational policy have demonstrated that the use of a second language to instruct students in countries with a similar profile to Haiti correlates with illiteracy as well as poverty. Instruction in French in a schooling system where the overwhelming majority of students are monolingual Kreyòl speakers is a major impediment to Haiti's political, economic, and social development (DeGraff, 2010a, 2010b; Dejean, 2006; De Regt, 1984; Hebblethwaite, 2012). If the quality of education in Haiti is to improve, the age-old language of instruction dilemma, as complex as it is, cannot be overlooked and must be settled. This study endeavors to contribute

to this essential settlement by gaining better understanding of the implications for teaching and learning when only the L2 is the only LOI allowed to instruct Haitian students, and the pedagogical as well as symbolic role that the MT continues to play in such situation.

1.3 Researcher's Stance

I completed a terminal project on schooling in Haiti for each of the two masters that I earned at Teachers College, Columbia University. In the first, I surveyed and examined some of the enduring issues in Haitian education, notably in the area of curriculum and instruction, and based on my examination, I made recommendations on some of the outstanding problems that needed to be addressed. In the second, an extension of the first, I explored the role of leadership in organizational change and recommended transformative (or transformational) leadership as the variety of leadership that would be arguably most conducive to effectuate changes in a system that seems to be irresponsive to change (Lubin & Roselor, 2017). The language of instruction dilemma in Haiti surfaced repeatedly and saliently during the completion of both projects. Meaning, at the time I was a classroom teacher with a background in teaching and curriculum, and it was inconceivable to me that meaningful learning could take place if students were being instructed in a language that they neither speak nor understand. And though I was not familiar with the literature on language of instruction, I intuited that mastery of content was impossible under those terms. So, for the next ten years, after I had completed my first master's, I went about with a head full of questions about what seemed to me a maladroit practice to say the least. The questions haunted my thoughts, and, over the course of time, they precipitated reflections on seven separate but related experiences that—combined with my unwavering conviction that education is an unalienable right that *must* be respected—are the impetus for this study. The seven experiences upon which my reflections are based on are as follows:

- My personal experience as a schoolboy in Haiti (1971-1975);

- my observations as a veteran educator who has a relatively long history of working with Haitian immigrant students in the U.S.;
- my experience as a teacher educator/trainer who has trained and interacted with a significant number of Haitian educators teaching in Haiti;
- my experience as a current resident of Montréal (a francophone city, though also significantly multilingual);
- my experience as a French learner (as a third language);
- my first serious contact with the literature on Kreyòl as a viable language in Haitian schools; and
- my informal observations of Haitian students learning in Kreyòl prior to my formal observations of Haitian schools for this study.

1.3.1 Reflections on My Experience as a Schoolboy in Haiti

The first three or four years of my schooling experience took place in one of the prestigious Catholic congregational schools in Port-au-Prince, Haiti. Compared to even the time I spent in the U.S. Marine Corps boot camp, my experience as a schoolboy in Haiti was more tormenting. In fact, to date, it is the harshest, most dehumanizing situation that I have ever lived.

At boot camp, my drill instructors did a lot of yelling, but never once lifted a finger to strike me. True, my drill instructors made me do things with my body that I would never have willingly done (e.g., 200 pushups in one shot). I even had to memorize things like the codes of conduct and the names of certain American military heroes (e.g., Smedley Butler) and the dates of some of their so-called heroic accomplishments (e.g., on 17 November 1915, Smedley Butler and the Marine soldiers under his command massacred 51 Cacos, Haitians who resisted and fought against the U.S. occupation of Haiti, 1915-1934). But that does not even approach the torture that went on in my "good" school in Haiti.

Except for Fridays and Saturdays, every afternoon after school I would have to memorize pages, word-for-word, to-the-letter, of irrelevant and pernicious lessons (e.g., how the intrepid Christopher Columbus and his men subdued and wiped out the savage Tainos and Arawaks). Every morning, Monday to Friday, I had to recite these lessons—and would be literally whipped like a slave boy, kneeling for about an hour afterwards, and not allowed to play during recreation time for missing even an article or a pronoun.

Arguably the most confusing part about this harsh practice was that the lessons to be memorized were in French, a language that I neither spoke nor understood. This went on every day at school. If on a particular day I was spared from the cowhide whip (called *igwaz*) because I did not miss a word, I would still be traumatized by watching some of my classmates being bludgeoned one after the other.

At least in the Marines I was allowed to speak English, a language that I speak fluently. In my school in Haiti, I dared not speak Kreyòl, though it was the only language I knew then. To speak it, meant more whipping and more psychological violence. To speak the little grammatically incorrect French—known throughout Haiti as *franse mawon*—that I and most of my classmates spoke, meant more beating and more degradation. So, the smart thing to do was to practice selective mutism, say nothing or as little as possible. On most days I was mute, confused, very lost, and in pain; each second that ticked, my spiritual and emotional nerve endings were increasingly dying.

I survived Marine Corps boot camp. In fact, I thrived. I am not sure, however, that I would have been one of the miraculous survivors of the Haitian schooling system. I probably would have done what most Haitian students do before completing elementary school: drop out (Locher, 2010).

1.3.2 Reflections as a Veteran Educator

I taught in the New York City public school system for more than 12 years. For two of the 12 years, I taught General Educational Development (GED) high school math in a partnership program between the Brooklyn Job Corps and New York City Department of Education. There, I had the opportunity to observe, evaluate, and teach many Haitian students in the program who had recently immigrated to New York City from Haiti. All of the ones I worked with had completed primary school and were already in secondary school when they lived in Haiti, and, in many cases, some had nearly completed secondary school before immigrating to New York City. I called them the miraculous survivors.

It is important to note that seldom, if ever, were any of these students proficient in French. For example, though the GED was and still remains available in French, *not one* of these students—though categorized as limited English proficiency (LEP) students—was willing to take the exam in French. As LEP students they had the option of taking the exam in French, but they all preferred taking it in English, as invariably all of them lacked the confidence to take it in French.

Another important observation I made while working with these miraculous survivors was that they excelled in rote learning and preferred doing activities that required memorizing and recalling information, which in essence are low-order thinking skills (Bloom, 1956) or concrete, factual-knowledge competences (Anderson & Krathwohl, 2001). For example, though they did not have to memorize the formulas, as they are provided in the GED booklet, almost all of them memorized all formulas. In general, they loathed and performed poorly in activities that challenged them to use high-order thinking skills (Bloom, 1956) or perform relatively cognitively complex tasks such as analysis and evaluation of information (Anderson

& Krathwohl, 2001). In general, they had great difficulty conceptualizing information, and when I would discuss the importance of the latter skills with them, they would frequently point out that primary and secondary school in Haiti is for the most part all about *bat pakè* ('learning by heart'). Recalling my years as a primary schoolboy in Haiti, I knew exactly what they were talking about: in general, a so-called excellent student in the Haitian context is one who is capable of memorizing content and regurgitating it word-for-word in French—not one who demonstrates comprehension of what he or she reads.

1.3.3 Reflections as a Teacher Educator

As a graduate student and member of a McGill University delegation, under the leadership of Dr. Beverly Baker, I travelled to Haiti in December 2011 to provide professional-development workshops to more than 100 educators. While there, through casual conversations and workshop discussions, I seized the opportunity to probe the teachers' perceptions on instruction being carried out in French in Haitian schools. Their sincere, unanimous response is best encapsulated by the following words from a high school math teacher: "Menm nou menm pwofesè se fòse n ap fòse pale franse; ou pa menm bezwen mande pou elèv yo." ('Even we teachers are struggling to speak French; let alone the students'). In a classroom of about 100 educators, I was somewhat taken aback that the teacher's remark went uncontested. Not only has French been in that geographical space now called Haiti for almost two centuries, it is also cultural capital in Haitian society. That is, in Haiti, French is the language of the economic, political, and intellectual elites intellectual, and educators are supposedly members of the intellectual elite class. Therefore, I thought that teacher had opened Pandora's Box with that comment. However, not one educator present in the room attempted to refute the statement of this teacher. Invariably all acquiesced.

1.3.4 Reflections as a Resident of Montréal

As a former member of the board of directors of Maison des Jeunes (MDJ), in the Côte des Neiges district of Montréal, I had the opportunity to observe, talk to, and work with a number of at-risk young people, many of whom are Haitian-born. Also, I have personal relationships and am in contact with several adult Haitian political refugees who live in the Montréal area. What I find to be relevant is that most of the Haitian youths that frequent MDJ lived and attended school most of their lives in Haiti and did not speak French prior to immigrating to Montréal, but within a year or two of living in Montréal, they were fluent in French. Also germane is that some of the adult refugees that I refer to here are either illiterate or functional literates and certainly did not speak French when they lived in Haiti, but surprisingly many of them— after living in Montréal for just two, three, or four years— learned to do what even many Haitian university graduates cannot do and what Haitian society had demanded of them, but which for various educational and socio-economic reasons they could not do most of their lives: speak, read and write French.

1.3.5 Reflections as a French Learner

I studied French for four consecutive semesters during my undergraduate studies at New York University (NYU). I had excellent French teachers and was very committed to learning the language. Notwithstanding my French teachers' prowess and my level of commitment, after four semesters, I still did not feel confident about my ability to have a conversation in French. In fact, I avoided having French conversations. That changed in 2011, when I moved to Montreal, the second largest French-speaking city in the world after Paris. In less than one year after moving to Montréal, I felt very confident to hold a conversation in French—a goal I had attempted to no avail when I lived in New York City. The difference, in my opinion, is simple: New York City—unlike Montréal where French is ubiquitous—is not the ideal linguistic milieu to learn French. I did not have adequate opportunity to practice what I was learning, as I do in abundance living in Montréal. This is the case for the

overwhelming majority of Haitian students living in Haiti who receive instruction in French: once they leave school grounds, there are not much opportunity for them to practice speaking French (Dejean, 2006, 2010).

1.3.6 Reflections on First Contact with the Literature on Kreyòl as a Viable LOI

Michel DeGraff's (2005) article convinced me that Kreyòl was the most suitable LOI in Haitian schools. From a pedagogical standpoint, my mind was made up: French is definitely not the ideal LOI in Haitian schools, for too few Haitians speak it. Also, there are not enough qualified teachers to either teach French or use it as a medium of instruction, at least not in Haiti. Admittedly, I was not sure that Kreyòl was a better choice either. While Kreyòl is the MT of Haitians, I harbored two erroneous beliefs about Kreyòl: (a) that compared to French, it lacked expressive power, and (b) used as an LOI, it might negatively impact cognitive ability. In other words, like many prominent Haitian intellectuals and dignitaries—e.g., former Haitian minister of education Dantès Bellegarde (Bellegarde, 1949), father of Haitian ethnography Jean Price Mars (Tontongi, 2007), one of the most renown living Haitian writers René Depestre (Tontongi, 2007), former president of Haiti Leslie Manigat (Zéfi, 2011)—I worried that certain important ideas and concepts in subjects like science and mathematics could not be expressed in Kreyòl; therefore, while I believed it would certainly facilitate comprehension among monolingual Kreyòl speakers, I also thought that it might make learners less "smart" compared to those learning in French. That changed.

In November 2009, I attended a Kreyòl conference for the first time. In what I often describe as a "prophetic episode," Massachusetts Institute Technology linguist Michel DeGraff gave a mutual acquaintance, Dr. Marie Lily Cerat, a hardcopy of one of his articles to give to me. That was strange, I thought. Why would someone I never met send me such a relatively voluminous, 60-page article? That article, "Creole Linguists' most dangerous myth:

The fallacy of Creole exceptionalism," published in 2005 in the journal *Language in Society*, changed my thinking on Kreyòl profoundly. It erased all reservations that I held about the French-base language as a practical LOI in Haitian schools. It also persuaded me that it is an erroneous and "dangerous myth" that Kreyòl as well as other creoles, compared to European languages, are "inferior" languages so to speak. Above all, it convinced me that I can say whatever I want or need to say—and teach—in Kreyòl. I have never looked back since that time, and I had ample opportunities to see Kreyòl being used for different purposes, including to instruct students, prior to this study.

1.3.7 Reflections on Informal Observations of Students Learning in Kreyòl

December 2012 was the first time that I saw teachers teaching and students learning in Kreyòl. Dr. DeGraff, through his contact Christine Low, facilitated my visit to Lekòl Kominote Matènwa (Matènwa Community School). I stayed there a whole week, and from sunrise till sunset, I observed. I peeked through classroom windows. I sat in classes. I watched from afar. I saw entire lessons, even lessons to teach French, taught in the MT. I saw youngsters very eager to answer questions in the only language that they know. I saw students asking questions and contesting the answers of their classmates. Unbelievably rare in a schooling system that is known for its adoption of what Paulo Freire calls the *banking* model of education, I even saw students evoke their personal experiences to challenge their teachers. I saw six and seven year-olds writing their own books and confidently sharing their works with classmates in the only language they knew. I saw no beatings. I witnessed something very different from the terror that I lived as an innocent schoolboy in Haiti. I saw Haitian students learning in a language that they know. They were not mute and scared to talk or ask questions, as was my situation during my three years of schooling experience in Haiti. In fact, the classes were quite lively.

According to Hebblethwaite (2012), Haiti's educational language policy is very much responsible for Haiti's low educational achievement. My above reflections are in agreement with Hebblethwaite's foregoing argument. What is more, they have led me to hold the following position: while French and other foreign languages such as English and Spanish have an important role to play in the schooling process of Haitian students, Kreyòl has to be the main LOI in Haitian schools because it is the L1 and the only language of the overwhelming majority of Haitian students. The aim of this study is in line with this position. If Kreyòl is not allowed in many classrooms in Haitian schools, as was the case in the school I attended when I lived in Haiti as little boy, how do students who only speak Kreyòl provide answers and get their questions answered, for example? How do teachers make sure that students understand the lessons they teach in such situation? And very importantly, how do students feel about such a practice? This study investigates the foregoing questions.

1.4 Definition of Key Terms

Certain words and terms were used throughout this thesis. They were defined according to definitions commonly used by linguists and educators in academic settings or my personal experience based on my comprehension of observed phenomena. They are defined below, but not listed in alphabetical order because it made more sense to group closely-related terms together. For example, words such as *pidgin*, *creole*, *Creole*, and *Kreyòl* were grouped together since their definitions are connected and build upon each other. And terms such as *mother tongue*, *native language*, *first language*, and *second language* were listed one after the other for the same reasons.

pidgin is defined as a highly "reduced" language used for facilitating

> communication between speakers in limited-contact situations who do not share a common language (Winer, 1982).

creole is defined as when a pidgin—usually an elaborated version of the pidgin—survives and

stabilizes over a time period in a particular context and actually becomes the first language of a new generation of speakers. The creole is then elaborated "to fulfill all the functions of a full natural language" (Winer, 1982, p. 29).

Kreyòl is considered as one of the French-based creole languages. In 1987, along with French, it became Haiti's co-official language. It is spoken by all Haitians living in Haiti and most Haitians living abroad. It also has other names: "Haitian Creole," "Haitian French Creole," "Creole," and "Haitian" (Spears & Joseph, 2010, p. XI).

creolist is defined as a linguist that specializes in the study of creole language (Spears, 2010).

creole exceptionalism according to DeGraff (2009) are erroneous, unscientific theories, beliefs, and descriptions about the formation of creole languages put forth by certain members of the linguistic community. For example, it is a myth that the development path of creole languages is different than, say, European languages.

creole exceptionalist are linguists who hold the view point that Kreyòl and other creoles' developmental paths are unique in the history of language development; that is, the creation and development of creoles like Kreyòl are exceptionally different than Germanic languages like English, Romance languages like French, etc.

language of instruction (LOI) is defined as the language that instructors use to instruct students during formal instruction.

language of testing (LOT) is defined as the language used to evaluate students.

language of Learning (LOT) is defined as the language of the books and other educational resources that students read and use in class or other venues.

mother tongue (MT) is defined as the language one learns from his or her primary caretakers from birth.

mother tongue instruction (MTI) is instruction carried out in the language that a student learned from his or her primary caretakers as a baby.

native language is defined as a language one learns as a child and is fluent in that language.

first language (L1) is defined as the language that a speaker is fluent in and feels most comfortable to speak. First language can change, depending on where one lives and which language one speaks the most.

second language (L2) is defined as a language that is not the native language of a speaker, but is used and spoken in that person's locale and is spoken by that person.

diglossia, according to Ferguson (1959), is a type of bilingualism within a particular society, whereby two closely related language variants—one with high prestige ("H") and the other with low prestige ("L")—are used for different purposes in that society. This form of diglossia is also referred to as "classic diglossia" because other scholars such as Fishman (1967) and Fleischman (1983) have elaborated and expanded on Ferguson's (1959) definition of diglossia.

orthography is an official established writing system.

1.5 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is (a) to capture a portrait of the use of the L1 in classrooms at two Haitian private schools where the L1 is allowed in one of the schools and disallowed in the other, and (b) to probe the beliefs of Haitian students regarding the use or nonuse of the L1 in instruction. That is, given my above reflections on my personal experiences, I wanted to examine the nature of teacher-student interaction and student engagement in the classroom. More precisely, "capture a portrait" means that—through observational method—I looked to see and noted if whether or not the L1 was used by teacher and student participants in the following ways during instruction:

- Students used the L1 to ask questions.
- Students used the L1 to participate in lessons by providing explanations and elaborating on their answers.

- Students used the L1 to compare answers to exercises and tasks.
- Students used the L1 to share their opinions, including talking about topics and subjects that are unrelated to lessons.
- Students used the L1 to challenge their peers' and (or teachers') positions.
- Students used the L1 to joke around with their peers as well as their teachers.
- Students used the L1 to cooperate in groups to compare and correct answers to exercises or tasks.
- Teacher used the L1 to introduce new materials.
- Teacher used the L1 to explain difficult ideas, words, and concepts.
- Teacher used the L1 to give complex instructions.
- Teacher used the L1 to encourage student participation.
- Teacher used the L1 to check for comprehension.
- Teacher used the L1 to challenge students to use higher order thinking skills.
- Teacher used the L1 to help students feel more comfortable and confident.
- Teacher used the L1 to explain classroom methodology at basic levels.
- Teacher used the L1 to summarize material already covered.
- Teacher used the L1 to joke around with students.
- Teacher used the L1 to define new vocabulary items.

Simply put, capturing a portrait means observing if teachers—especially in classrooms where the L1 is excluded—at times challenged the no L1 policy, and if they did, how so and for what reasons. It is also appreciating if students were resisting discourses of power or not even aware of them. Therefore, this mixed methods examination was conducted within the framework of critical pedagogy education.

While the vast majority of Haitian students who attended school do not even complete primary school (Crane et al, 2010; Locher, 2010), there are an unknown number of them—

from homes and communities where the L1 is practically the only language they hear and speak—who manage to learn enough of the L2 to go beyond and even go on to complete rigorous university programs in Haiti as well as in other countries in the world. Perhaps these students are just exceptional L2 learners. The literature, however, demonstrates that the appropriate use of the MT or L1 in instruction, including in the L2-medium classroom yields great benefits in that it facilitates both teaching and learning (Atkinson, 1987; Schweers, 1999; Riches, 2000; Riches & Curdt-Christiansen, 2010; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1990; Winer, 1982, 1990). The benefits of the use of the MT in second-language education are well documented (Cummins, 2001, 2009; Riches, 2000; Winer, 1982). Furthermore, Haiti's national policy on the language of schooling stipulates that Kreyòl must be used as a language of instruction at the primary level of schooling (Dejean, 2006, 2010; Hadjadj, 2000; Prou, 2009). However, the use of Kreyòl as a medium of instruction is actively discouraged and often forbidden in many Haitian schools, especially in the Catholic congregational schools, which are considered the elite or very best schools in Haitian society (DeGraff, 2009). For example, Académie Française (AF), a pseudonym given to preserve the anonymity of the school, a Catholic congregational primary and secondary school, and one of the two participating schools in this study, has a zero-tolerance policy for Kreyòl. Teachers are not allowed to use it to instruct students, and students are actively punished for using it on school grounds. Do teachers and students obey this policy, or do they at times go around this policy? This study investigates why they obey or disobey.

As such, classes were observed at AF, and the beliefs of its students about Kreyòl and its use in instruction were surveyed in this study. For comparative purposes and broader understanding of the use of Kreyòl in classrooms, classes at Akademi Kreyòl (AK), a pseudonym given to preserve the anonymity of this participating school, a lay private primary

and secondary school, were also observed, and the beliefs of its students vis-à-vis Kreyòl were surveyed as well. Both schools are situated in the northern part of Haiti.

1.6 Significance of the Study

To my knowledge, no other study thus far has examined when and if Kreyòl is used especially in Haitian classrooms where it is forbidden, why and for what reasons is it used. This is important to study because it should shed light especially on what students who are not competent in French do to comprehend what is being taught. It should also illuminate what teachers in this situation do to help their students who are proficient only in Kreyòl to understand what they are teaching, and whether or not Kreyòl facilitates teaching and learning when it is used in the foregoing settings. Also, while Jean-François (2006) in a study investigated Haitian teachers' attitude towards Kreyòl, no study has surveyed the attitudes or beliefs of students regarding Kreyòl, particularly its use or nonuse in instruction. Students are arguably the most important stakeholders in the schooling process; therefore, their input matters and their linguistic rights must be respected (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1990), as will be argued in more detail in the discussion chapter. For example, knowing in which language they feel most comfortable to learn the various subjects is important information in the creation and shaping of language policy. That information, for example, can help policy makers to predict aggregate student performance on certain subjects. That is, in general, students are more likely to perform better in a particular subject if their preferred LOI is used to teach that subject.

This study operates within a pragmatism paradigm, which is compatible with mixed methods methodology (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). Working within pragmatism paradigm and against the backdrop of the knowledge of the crucial role that the L1 plays in the successful acquisition and development of other languages (Riches & Curdt-Christiansen, 2010; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1990), this study obtained both a portrait of the use of Kreyòl in

French-medium classrooms where Kreyòl is not allowed, and in classrooms where instructors are free to use Kreyòl, French or both during instruction. Also, the study examined the beliefs of Haitian students about the use or nonuse of Kreyòl in their classrooms and in instruction in general.

1.7 Research Questions

The two over-arching research questions of this study are directed toward (a) capturing the use of Kreyòl in classrooms where it is permitted as well as in classrooms where it is forbidden, and (b) investigating the beliefs that students have about Kreyòl, especially regarding its use or nonuse in their instruction. Therefore, the research questions guiding this study are as follows:

- What is the portrait of Kreyòl in classrooms at private Haitian schools where it is allowed or openly disallowed?
- What are the beliefs of Haitian students regarding the use or nonuse of Kreyòl in their classrooms and as a LOI in general?

These two over-arching research questions are best answered by a mixed methods approach. This study is a sequential-exploratory design. It is hoped that this investigation will reveal the extent to which the L1 is used in both schools, whether students believe the L1facilitates their learning, and the beliefs that students hold about the L1 and the L2.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for this study is critical pedagogy (CP) education framework. CP is a humanitarian educational movement that seeks to help liberate students' thinking (Freire, 1983) so that they are conscious of how dominant groups dominate without having to use force (Gramsci, 2011). It is also about empowering and enabling students to

take concrete action to transform their undesired, wretched reality (Giroux, 2010). To a great extent, this education framework informs how I view and evaluate educational policies and pedagogical practices. As such, the principal tenets of CP guided the conceptualization, instrument creation, data collection and data analysis for this study. In Chapter 2, CP is operationally defined, its historical roots were traced, and some of its major concepts were defined. CP was also discussed along five axes:

- how critical pedagogues perceive knowledge and their epistemological approach to discovering it,
- the position of critical pedagogues on what the role of education should be,
- what critical pedagogues believe the curriculum must be,
- what critical pedagogues believe teaching and learning should be about, and
- what critical pedagogues argue the relationship between student and teacher ought to be.

1.9 Summary of the Data Collected

As this is a mixed methods study, both qualitative and quantitative data were collected. During the first phase of the study, a total of ten classes (n= 10) at two private schools, five classes at each school, were formally observed and audio recorded. Next, in the second phase, a mixed-data questionnaire, comprised of four quantitative and three qualitative questions, was piloted to 11 students (n=11), and subsequently administered to 141 (n=141) students. Thirty-four questionnaires were put to the side and not used in the data analysis because they were either blank or the students' responses were completely ineligible. As such, 107 were analyzed. Descriptive (data summary) and inferential statistical analysis (chi square and independent t-test) were used to analyze the quantitative questions and thematic analysis method for the qualitative questions.

1.10 Organization of the Study

Chapter 1 presents a discussion of the statement of the problem of language of instruction in Haitian education and the important role of L1 in education. It addresses the significance of this study to the scholarly community and poses a twofold over-arching question nested in a critical pedagogy education framework. Next, a brief summary of both the qualitative and quantitative data collected is presented, and then followed by a brief the definition of key terms used throughout the study.

Chapter 2 consists of a review of six connected bodies of literature. They are as follows: (a) critical pedagogy education framework (b) Kreyòl's history and development (c) the history of Haitian education, (d) MTI's benefits, (e) worldwide creole language educational programs, and (f) Kreyòl's use in Haitian education.

Chapter 3 presents the research design and methodology of the study. It consists of a discussion of the following components: (a) the research questions, (b) the rationale for using a mixed-methods approach, (c) a description of the research design, (d) detail on the sampling approach used to select the participants, (e) a description of the research participants and the two participating schools, (f) an elaboration on the data collection methods and instruments used, and (g) the procedures for the data analysis.

Chapter 4 presents the results of this mixed methods study. Both qualitative and quantitative data collected from audio-recorded classroom observations and student questionnaires, consisting both quantitative and qualitative questions are presented. The chapter begins with a presentation of the results for the audio-recorded observations. Next, the results for the quantitative questions on the questionnaire are presented, followed by the results for the qualitative questions, which through thematic analysis are discussed in terms of the following five primary themes:

- L1 Facilitates Comprehension of Content (FCC)

- L1 Facilitates Meaningful Discussion (FMD)
- L1 Facilitates Unrestrained Participation (FUP)
- L1 Reinforces Haitian Identity (RHI)
- L2 Facilitates Social Mobility / L1 Impedes Social Mobility (FSM)

Lastly, an integrated summary of the results for both kinds of data on the questionnaire is presented.

Chapter 5 begins by presenting a meta-analysis—guided by the two main research questions of this study—of the results from all data sources. This is followed by an integrative discussion of the findings, employing the following six CP concepts to focus the discussion: (a) hegemony, (b) banking concept of education, (c) liberatory education, (d) generative themes, (e) cultural capital, and (f) praxis. The chapter concludes with three recommendations and two suggestions for the successful implementation of the recommendations made to the Akademi Kreyòl Ayisyen (AKA, Haitian Kreyòl Akademi). The principal objective of the recommendations is to highlight Kreyòl's usefulness in instruction in Haiti's schools as well as to advise AKA on how to assure that Haitian students at all level of schooling receive instructional services in Kreyòl.

Chapter 6, the final chapter, presents the conclusion of this study. My final thoughts are primarily based on reflecting on the seven reflections that precipitated this study. I discuss the limitations of this study, notably (a) not being able to capture the use of the L1 during the observations with fine-tuned precision, (b) potential problems with the student survey, and (c) not having permission to use some of the important and relevant comments made by staffers during informal conversations. Certainly, some of the comments would have lent further support to some of my findings. I present the four areas of knowledge that this study contributes to and discuss five areas which I believe need more research. I conclude the

chapter with an afterword, emphasizing what the students at both schools—my teachers—taught me about the use of the L1 in instruction and in education in general.

CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

2.1 Overview

This review examines six bodies of literature that were essential to conceptualizing, adopting a framework, grounding, and carrying out this study in creative and productive ways. It begins with a discussion of critical pedagogy education framework, the metaphoric glue that holds the various parts of this study together. Next, to set the context and frame the study, the review focuses on Kreyòl's history and development before examining the history of schooling in Haiti to obtain a solid understanding of why historically various Haitian sectors have revered French, conversely opposed Kreyòl and adamantly rejected it as a LOI. Next, the review proceeds to survey reported academic and other benefits of MTI and moves on to examine the state of worldwide creole language educational programs. This is to gain insight of the successes and failures of creole programs in existence. Finally, it hones in on the use of Kreyòl in Haitian education to locate the Kreyòl movement in terms of what has worked, what is not working, and appreciate the work that remains to be accomplished for the movement to flourish.

2.2 Theoretical Framework: Critical Pedagogy

As noted above, CP is the theoretical framework for this study. Drawing from the contributions of scholars who work within the tradition, in this section CP is defined and its historical origin is also explored. Next, some of the major concepts in CP that steer the reflections and practices of critical pedagogues are also defined. Then, CP is discussed along five axes: (a) how critical pedagogues perceive knowledge and their epistemological approach to discovering it; (b) their position on what the role of education should be; (c) what they believe the curriculum must be; (d) what they believe teaching and learning should be about; and (e) what they argue the relationship between student and teacher has to be. This

discussion of CP along the foregoing axes will serve as a theoretical lens to conduct a meta-inference of all data sources in Phase III of this study.

2.2.1 CP's Definition and Historical Roots

CP is broadly defined by Giroux (2010) as an "educational movement, guided by passion and principle, to help students develop consciousness of freedom, recognize authoritarian tendencies, and connect knowledge to power and the ability to take constructive action" (para 1). In a similar vein, Shor (1982) provided a somewhat operational definition of this education framework as follows:

> habits of thought, reading, writing, and speaking which go beneath surface meaning, first impressions, dominant myths, official pronouncements, traditional clichés, received wisdom, and mere opinions, to understand the deep meaning, root causes, social context, ideology, and personal consequences of any action, event, object, process, organization, experience, text, subject matter, policy, mass media, or discourse. (p. 129)

CP is rooted in the Frankfurt School of Critical Theory (Kincheloe, 2008). Formally, it was described first by Brazilian educator Paulo Freire (1921-1997), then further developed by a number of scholars such as Henry Giroux, Stanley Aronowitz, Michael Apple, bell hooks, Donaldo Macedo, Ira Shor, Peter McLaren, Antonia Darder, and Joe Kincheloe (Kincheloe, 2008). As Kincheloe (2008) noted, there are a number of scholars that played an important role in shaping the tradition even before Theodor Adorno, Herbert Marcuse, Max Horkheimer, and Walter Benjamin established critical theory. Notably, the works of John Dewey (1859-1952), W.E.B. Dubois (1868-1963), Carter G. Woodson (1875-1950), Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937), and Lev Vygotsky (1896-1934) are undeniably in line with the tradition and the above definitions of CP. For example, in his *Mis-education of the Negro*, first published in 1933, Woodson critically examined and exposed various injurious aspects of

the United States' schooling system with regard to Blacks. He noted, for instance, in both explicit and implicit ways how school curricula across the U.S. denigrate Blacks and their culture as a strategy to justify and preserve inequalities between Blacks and Whites in U.S. society. Woodson's motive for critiquing the American schooling system is consistent with major goals of CP: raising awareness and rejecting discrimination against human beings (Shor, 1982) as well as enabling students to take concrete, necessary actions to ameliorate their life conditions (Freire, 1970).

2.2.2 Major Concepts in CP

The following key CP concepts and their definitions informed the conceptualization of this study, and, as a theoretical lens, they assisted in the framing, analyzing, and discussing of data collected from recorded classroom observations, questionnaires, and informal conversations.

- *Banking concept of education* is a practice whereby teachers are the know all and their role is to deposit their knowledge into the heads of students, as students are viewed as empty vessels (Freire, 1983).
- *Liberatory education* refers to an educational experience that outright discourages the *banking* concept of education. Instead, *liberatory* education encourages learners to question teachers, traditional knowledge, conventional wisdom, historical "facts", scientific methods, concepts with embedded oppressive tendencies, any form of injustice and power relationships in society (Kincheloe, 2008). In *liberatory* education nothing is too sacred to be questioned.
- *Generative themes* are the topics of exploration, which come directly from the questions raised by students during classroom discussions (Love, 2012).
- *Cultural capital* consists of knowledge, behaviors, and skills that one has accumulated over a period of time that can be evoked to demonstrate cultural competence as well as

social status within a particular society (Bourdieu**,** 1984**).** In any given society, there are kinds of knowledge that the elites of that particular society value (Love, 2012), and, to a great extent influence the non-elites to value those knowledge as well (Bourdieu, 1984). For instance, both the dominant elites and non-elites of Haiti place a high value on speaking French. Therefore, being fluent in French accords the speaker cultural capital, which translates into power and privileges that monolingual-Kreyòl speakers in Haitian society do not have. For example, in most cases, one has to speak French to secure a good-paying, prestigious job in Haiti.

- *Hegemony* is the process by which those in power manipulate public opinion, societal norms, access to information, and rights to produce and disseminate knowledge in order to maintain power (Gramsci, 2011). It is a perpetuation of social injustices (e.g., classism, racism, sexism) via agents of socialization—namely school, church, family, media, and political systems. Hegemony works best when the public employs dominant views of seeing the world as *common sense* (Apple, 1996). In that way, the masses or oppressed groups participate in their own oppression. Love (2012) have identified four manifestations of hegemony: (a) *legitimization* is when domination is seen as "just" and "fair"; (b) *reification* is when domination is seen as "normal" and "natural"; (c) *fragmentation* is when members of an oppressed group are divided and turned against one another; and (d) *dissimulation* is when domination is concealed.
- *Praxis*, as defined in Freire's (1983) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, requires that oppressed groups engage in serious reflection to become critically aware of the forces that are oppressing them and to take well-calculated action aimed at the oppressive forces to be transformed.

2.2.3 Perception of Knowledge and Its Discovery

The principal aim of CP is to alleviate human suffering (Kincheloe, 2008). Historically, some of what has passed for "science" (e.g., the theory that Blacks are genetically inferior compared to Whites) or "knowledge" (e.g. French is a language and Kreyòl is not) or "common sense" (e.g., Kreyòl cannot be used to teach science and mathematics) have caused human suffering, for they are indeed oppressive along the lines of race, ethnicity, class, gender, and so forth (Spears, 1999). Critical pedagogues are mindful that some "knowledge" and "sciences" are nothing more than mere constructions of dominant groups in order to justify and maintain societal power imbalances. For this reason, critical pedagogues challenge themselves to excavate cultural capital and the social, political, and economic meanings that are hidden underneath knowledge, knowing that knowledge is never neutral, and may at times advantage some at the expense of others (Shor, 1982). All knowledge and values are situational and are subject to verification and change as new discoveries are made. Hence, the critical pedagogue is in a constant state of learning, unlearning, and relearning (Wink, 2011).

2.2.4 Education's Role

The critical pedagogue is well aware that education is never an apolitical activity (Apple, 1996). No matter where it is taking place—be it in a representative democracy or an authoritarian state—there is always a dominant group (or an individual) that decides what the curriculum is, who will teach it to whom, how outcomes will be measured, and how performance will be rewarded. Given that, CP's position on what the role of education *must* be is straightforward: education must be about liberating the consciousness of learners (Freire 1983, 1998). CP holds education must neither be manipulative nor oppressive (Carr & Lund,

2007). It must not be hurtful or injurious to students (Giroux, 2010; Kincheloe, 2008; Winks, 2011). Instead, education must be transformative in that it empowers students to transform an unwanted reality (McLaren, 1995). An experience that manipulates, denigrates, or oppresses is not qualified to be called education; it is plainly *mis-education* (Woodson, 1933).

2.2.5 The Curriculum

Because reality is not stagnant and knowledge is not permanent and frozen in time, the curriculum cannot and *must not* be static. As the learner's environment evolves, as new problems arise, so, too, must the curriculum evolve to match the learner's new reality and culture (Freire, 1983, 1998). For example, it does not make much sense to a critical pedagogue that Haiti's national curriculum is modeled after France's old national curriculum, one that France itself no longer uses. The endpoint of such a practice is alienation of learners from themselves and their culture (Freire, 1983).

Also, the critical pedagogue is acutely aware of the manifestations of each of the three types of curriculum:

- *Mainstream curriculum*, the one that is explicit, e.g., students will learn French grammar starting in the 5th year of school.
- *Hidden curriculum*, the one that carries an implicit message and has hidden objectives, e.g. students are complimented when they speak in French and punished when they speak in Kreyòl.
- *Null curriculum,* messages that are silenced or omitted, e.g., there is no mentioning that the indigenous peoples of Haiti, or the fact that the Africans who replaced them once they were annihilated were not savages, but had a system of governance in place at the time of their enslavement.

Being keenly aware of especially the effects of both the hidden and the null curricular is key in avoiding the pitfall of unintentionally reproducing socio-cultural hegemony. As posited by

Ghosh (2008), "More destructive and insidious than the formal curriculum is the 'hidden' curriculum" (p. 28).

2.2.6 Teaching: An Exchange between Teacher and Students

The critical teacher is *not* a knower of all things. He or she is also a learner, who acknowledges that students are not blank slates or empty vessels, but are experts in their own rights and have knowledge and experiences that must be respected, validated, and welcomed in the classroom (Kincheloe, 2008; Shor, 1982). Here, the role of the teacher is to guide the students in bringing forth these experiences and knowledge in the form of generative themes (Freire, 1983, 1998). Indeed, it is the teacher's role to assist students to cultivate critical thinking.

Also, the critical teacher is what Gramsci (2011) referred to as the *organic intellectual*, an individual who resists hegemony by deconstructing and unveiling the hidden intents behind mainstream thinking and making them known to fellow citizens or students in this case. This approach is radically different from, say, that of traditional intellectuals who function to help preserve existing unjust power relationships (Gramsci, 2011).

The CP perspective is preoccupied with identifying, unveiling, describing, explaining, and analyzing oppression in whatever shape it comes in order to demystify, and, above all, bring it to an end (Kincheloe, 2008). For example, it is inconceivable that a critical pedagogue would fail to pose the following questions about the language practices of Haiti's schooling system:

- If 95% of the Haitian population only speak Kreyòl and no more than 5% speak French fluently (DeGraff, 2013), why is it that French—not Kreyòl—is the principal LOI, LOT, and LOL at all levels of Haiti's schooling system?
- Are there, for example, certain elements of Kreyòl that need to be supported or developed for its successful use in instruction?

- Does Kreyòl not have a writing system?
- Which Haitian sectors oppose Kreyòl and why?
- Does the literature on MT (or first language) education show that it is educationally beneficial or unbeneficial to learners?
- Are there places in the world that use creole languages to instruct students? If so what are the reported outcomes?
- Are there Kreyòl programs in Haiti? If so, what are the reported outcomes?

Within the framework of CP, the foregoing questions guide the five remaining sections of this review of literature.

2.3 Literature on Kreyòl's History and Development

European exploration and colonial expansion during the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries gave rise to many contact opportunities between European and non-European peoples, e.g., French and African peoples. The need for communication between different indigenous peoples and European traders, settlers, or colonizers gave rise to numerous pidgins. Pidgins are simplified speech used to communicate between two or more group of speakers in limited-contact situations who do not have a common language and often served as *lingua francas*, a language used to facilitate communication between people who do not share a MT (Winer, 1982). This is why, according to Velupillai (2015), pidgins, which are "stable linguistic systems" (p. 41) can evolve in a variety of contexts insofar there are repeated contact between speakers of different languages. When a pidgin survives and stabilizes over a time period in a particular context and actually becomes the first language of a new generation of speakers or becomes *nativized*, linguists classify that new language as a creole language (Hall, 1966; Winer, 1982). The creole is then elaborated "to fulfill all the functions of a full natural language" (Winer, 1982, p. 29). Note, the word creole is not capitalized when it refers to the

group of languages called creoles, but is capitalized when it is referring specifically to one of the creole languages, such as Creole spoken in Martinique or Guadeloupe (Spears, 2010).

There are different creoles in various parts of the world. For example, there is Patwa in Jamaica, Gullah in the United States, Creolese in Guyana, Kriol in Belize, Bislama in Vanuatu, English Creole in Trinidad (which Spears and Joseph [2010] refer to as "Trini"[p. XI]) in order to distinguish it from other English-based creoles), and so forth. There are even non-European language-based creoles. For example, Nubi, spoken in Uganda, is an Arabic-based creole. With well over 10 million speakers, creolists—linguists who specialize in the study of creole languages—agree that Kreyòl has the largest community of creole speakers (DeGraff, 2009; Spears, 2010).

Linguists have long established that Kreyòl is a full-fledged language (Berry, 1975; DeGraff, 2009; Dejean, 2010; Jean-François, 2006; Lefebvre, 1998; Spears & Joseph, 2010). It is neither a pidgin nor a broken, corrupt form of French. It is a French-based creole; however, "[it] is a separate language governed by its own grammatical rules, just as French is separate from Latin and other Romance languages, and has its own grammatical rules" (Spears, 2010, p. 2). Along with French, Kreyòl is the co-official language of Haiti since 1987 and is spoken by all Haitians living in Haiti and most Haitians living abroad. It also has other names: "Haitian Creole," "Haitian French Creole," "Creole," and "Haitian" (Spears, 2010). There are different varieties, or dialects, of Kreyòl just as there are different varieties and dialects of French or any other languages (Valdman, 2010). For instance, the Kreyòl dialect spoken in some northern parts of Haiti is significantly different than the selected Kreyòl standard spoken in Haiti's capital, Port-au-Prince (Spears, 2010). Because Kreyòl is a French-based creole, it is important to retrace the appearance of French in Saint Domingue (modern Haiti) in order to appreciate Kreyòl's birth.

2.3.1 The Appearance of French in Haiti

In December of 1492, Christopher Columbus and his crew landed on the northwestern shores of an island that its indigenous peoples the Tainos and Arawaks called *Ayiti*. Upon arrival, Columbus claimed the island for Spain and named it *Hispaniola*, translated to Little Spain. The Spaniards wasted no time in establishing a system called *encomienda* on the island. The objective of that system was to subjugate the natives and use their free labor to extract gold in the territory. Within just 50 years of the Spaniards' arrival, the native population and pre-Columbian civilization disappeared from the island.

Around 1630-1640, French pirates known as *flibustiers* (or freebooters) had begun to settle on the Tortuga Island, an island located in the northwestern waters of Haiti. The freebooters ferociously preyed on passing vessels and were feared by the Spaniards. Increasingly, they moved into the mainland and successfully threatened the Spaniards' domination (Zéphir, 2010). Their success prompted France, in 1665, to boldly claim the territory, renamed it Saint Domingue (modern day Haiti), and assigned Bertrand d'Orgeron as its governor. The freebooters, who were primarily from the Oïl region of France, spoke the diverse dialects of French of that particular region. It should be noted that the French dialects spoken by the freebooters are significantly different than, say, the variety of French spoken by French colonists from the noble class, mainly from l'Île de France, who came later once Saint Domingue had become a prosperous colony (Chaudenson, 1992, Zéphir, 2010).

Additionally, in 1697, the French captured Barcelona and forced Spain to sign the Treaty of Ryswick, a treaty whereby Spain kept the eastern part of the island (modern day Dominican Republic) and officially ceded the western part of the island to France (Fouron, 2010). Thereafter, on the French part of the island, the French established a system known as *exclusif*, or *le Colbertisme* named after Jean-Baptiste Colbert, who was minister of finance

under Louis XIV. The *exclusif* economic model stipulated that Saint Domingue could only buy from and sell goods to France, and France set all the prices. Needless to say, the French implemented that model to effectively exploit the colony's natural resources, as their predecessors the Spaniards had done. The French also wasted no time in introducing new crops (e.g., tobacco, cotton, sugar) and importing Africans from West Africa and enslaving them to work for free on the back-breaking plantations in Saint Domingue. In addition to their cultures and folklores, the Africans also brought along their various languages (Lefebvre, 1998; Trouillot, 2006). It is the contacts and subsequent synthesis of the regional varieties of French and those African languages—Ewe, Fongbe, Kikongo, Mandingo, and so forth—that gave birth to Kreyòl (Baker, 2000; Chaudenson, 1992; Lefebvre, Magloire-Holly & Piou, 1982; Lefebvre, 1998; McWhorter, 2005).

Before exploring different theories on Kreyòl's development, there are certain salient facts about the relationship between French and Kreyòl in the Haitian context that requires careful consideration. The following are five examples:

- French has been present on the island of Hispaniola (modern day Haiti and the Dominican Republic) for almost 400 years (Zéphir, 2010).
- Roughly 90 percent of Kreyòl's lexicon is of French derivation (Fattier, 1998).
- French was made Haiti's official language in Article 24 of the 1918 Constitution, and, 69 years later, Kreyòl was made a co-official language in Article 5 of the 1987 Constitution (Dejean, 2010).
- Almost all government documents are written exclusively in French (DeGraff, 2013).
- Some Haitians, though a tiny minority, do speak French (Valdman, 1984); yet, the greater majority of Haitian students are being schooled in French (Dejean, 2006).

2.3.2 Is Haiti Bilingual or Diglossic?

The foregoing facts have led some scholars to posit that Haiti is bilingual (e.g., Sylvain, 1936) and that French is a heritage that Haitians must fight to keep (e.g., Mapou, 2009). Some other writers have contended that Haiti is also a diglossic case (e.g., Ferguson, 1959). To answer whether or not Haiti is a bilingual country and a diglossic case, I draw primarily on the works and positions of Albert Valdman (1984, 2010) and Yves Dejean (1983, 2006, 2010) to determine if Haiti is a bilingual country and diglossic case. Arthur Spears (2010), a notable senior creolist in the field of creole studies himself, has written what follows about the two foregoing creolists:

> Dejean is the leading scholar of Haitian Creole who is also a native speaker of the language, having been born and raised in Haiti. Valdman is the senior scholar in the field and has trained at Indiana University not only Dejean, but also a host of other scholars now working in Haitian Creole studies and other fields dealing with French variaties, French-lexifier creole languages, second language acquisition, and applied linguistics. (p. XV)

Suzanne Comhaire-Sylvain was the first Haitian person to graduate with a linguistics degree in Haiti and the first Haitian woman to earn a doctorate. In her work on the morphology and syntax of Kreyòl, Comhaire-Sylvain (1936) posited that "[all] Haitians are more or less bilingual" (p. 7). In that descriptive study, she identified three categories of bilinguals in Haiti: (a) the Haitian elite, often raised in France and speaking perfect French; (b) the urban masses, who mostly speak Kreyòl but can also express themselves in French because they learned it in school; and (c) the peasants who do not speak French, but if they are important person in terms of status, then they can speak very basic French.

Dejean (1983, 2006, 2010) vehemently disagrees with Comhaire-Sylvain (1936). According to Dejean (2010), the false belief that Haiti is a bilingual country was started by Comhaire-Sylvain (1936) and has thus provided a mathematical-logical argument to demonstrate the problem with her postulation. He has argued that from the time of Comhaire-Sylvain's birth in 1898 to when Charles A. Ferguson published his seminal work on diglossia in 1959, the following is the case: (a) no more than 3,000 (or significantly less than 1 percent in 1959) Haitians of Haiti's total population were raised in France; (b) in 1941, six years after Comhaire-Sylvain's publication, Haiti had the lowest rate of school attendance in the western hemisphere, which meant that only a small percentage of the urban masses attended school and had the opportunity to be in contact with the French language; and (c) in 1935, 95% of the Haitian population were peasants and had even less contact with French than the urban masses.

Both Valdman (1984) and Dejean (1983, 2010) have argued that modern day Haiti is a monolingual, not a bilingual country given that not more than 5 percent of the Haitian population are balanced bilinguals[6], and that 90% of the population can only communicate in Kreyòl. Agreeing with both of the foregoing scholars, Védrine (2004) has maintained that it must be corrected each time someone says Haiti is a "French-speaking country" (p. 7). Furthermore, it is not just because only a relatively small percentage of Haitians speak French that the foregoing scholars consider Haiti to be a monolingual country; it also has to do with the status of the two languages in the Haitian context.

Canada, for instance, is a bilingual country. Its official languages are English and French. The majority of Canadians are monolinguals, and there are not necessarily many opportunities for all Canadians to practice French outside of Quebec; however, both

[6] Balanced bilingual refers to a person whose mastery of two languages, e.g., French and Kreyòl, is roughly the same.

respective languages—legally and in principle—share the same status, rights, and privileges in terms of their use in all federal-level institutions. This is not the case in Haiti. Not only are there very few opportunities, besides school, for the majority of Haitians living in Haiti to hear, learn and practice French (Chaudenson & Vernet, 1983; Valdman, 1984), Kreyòl—constitutionally an official language of Haiti—suffers a subordinate status to French (Joseph, 2010; Trouillot, 2010). This is evident in that almost all government documents are written only in one of Haiti's two official languages: French (DeGraff, 2009; Zéphir, 2010), and French is the de facto language of courts and government offices (Dejean, 2006, 2010).

According to Valdman (1984) and Dejean (1983, 2010), not only is Haiti not bilingual, it is not diglossic in the strict sense nor in the current understanding of the terms. Dejean (2010) has contended that the inaccuracy of Comhaire-Sylvain's above claims prompted accounts such as Ferguson's (1959). To Ferguson (1959), diglossia (also known as classic diglossia) is a type of bilingualism within a particular society, whereby two closely related language variants—one with high prestige ("H") and the other with low prestige ("L")—are used for different purposes in that society. For example, Ferguson has posited that in the Haitian case, while French—the H—is used for most formal communications (e.g., communication at a government office), Kreyòl—the L—is used for less formal ones (e.g., conversation at home).

Working within a diglossic framework, Fishman (1967) expanded the meaning of "classical" Fergusonian diglossia to include the use of genetically related or unrelated languages as high (H) and low (L) varieties within a specific speech community. As such, he offers a fourfold taxonomy, acknowledging that there are various complex cases within each major category: (a) H as classical, L as vernacular, the two being genetically related (e.g., classical and vernacular Arabic); (b) H as classical, L as vernacular, the two not being genetically related (e.g., textual Hebrew/Aramaic and Yiddish); (c) H as written/formal-

spoken and L as vernacular, the two being genetically unrelated to each other (e.g., Spanish and Guaraní in Paraguay); and (d) H as written/formal-spoken and L as vernacular, the two being genetically related to each other (e.g., High German and Swiss German) (Fishman 1980, p. 4).

Like Dejean (1975, 1983, 2006), Valdman refuted Ferguson's (1959) position that the relationship between French and Kreyòl in Haiti is one of his four prototypical diglossic cases. Valdman (1984) explained that Haiti is not a diglossic country in the classic sense because of the following three reasons. First, French and Kreyòl are two distinct languages and not varieties of the same language. Second, in a diglossic situation, the low language (e.g., Kreyòl) is acquired at home, while the high language (e.g., French) is acquired in more formal settings such as school. However, most Haitian bilinguals–as is the case in bilingual countries—acquire both French and Kreyòl at home and perfect the high language in school. (It must be noted that most Haitians do not have the opportunity to perfect the French they know in school because the overwhelming majority of Haitian teachers lack competence in French and are not qualified to teach in French (Dejean, 2006; Hebblethwaite, 2012; DeGraff, 2009, 2013.) Third, in Haiti, there is no functional complementation between French and Kreyòl as in truly diglossic contexts such as Spanish and Guaraní in Paraguay (Valdman, 1984). That is, whereas 87% Paraguayans speak Spanish (the high language) and more than 90% speak Guarani (the low language), only about 5% Haitians speak French (the high language) and almost 100% speak Kreyòl (the low language). As Valdman has noted, the tiny population of Haitian bilinguals uses French for all functions (even during informal contacts), although at any given moment Kreyòl can intrude. Conversely, in rural Haiti and among the urban masses—where relatively few speak French—Kreyòl is used for all expressions of intellectual, psychological, and social needs.

According to Dejean (1983, 2006, 2010), Haiti cannot be characterized as a diglossic country if 95% of the Haitian population are monolingual Kreyòl speakers who *cannot* use different languages—notably French—in different situations. In a similar vein, Valdman (1984) conceptualizes Haiti as one nation with two linguistic communities. And evoking the same Fergusonian framework, Fleischmann (1983, 1984) proposed a concept that he refers to as the "*fantasme* of *diglossia*". Agreeing with and citing Fishman (1972), he further posited that since in Haiti French is the prestigious language and Kreyòl (as Fishman (1972) views Kreyòl) is neither a "language of wider communication" nor a "language of great tradition" (pp. 101-102), Haitians—of whom the overwhelming majority lack proficiency in French—have been "ideologically prepared to aspire to competence in French since the time of slavery" (p. 102).

In conclusion, it is not uncommon for Haitians who cannot speak French to find themselves in circumstances whereby they have to try to communicate in French to no avail. For example, it is commonplace for workers at banks, airports, courts, governments offices, and so forth to initiate conversations with clients in French instead of Kreyòl. In fact, an untold number of Haitians avoid certain institutions and events, fearing that they might be spoken to in French and will not be able to answer and, therefore, feel humiliated and embarrassed. In general, Haitians who live in Haiti who cannot speak French, tend to be perceived by other Haitians living in Haiti as uneducated or, at best, poorly educated (Joseph, 2010). (I emphasize "Haitians living Haiti" because this is not necessarily the case for Haitians who live abroad, say, in anglophone countries like the United States.)

In Haiti, French is indeed the language of the numerical minority; nevertheless, it is a dominant force and occupies a major role in Haitian society. Moreover, it has been there since before the country's conception and formation, and is undoubtedly an essential element in the formation of Kreyòl (Fattier, 1998). Thus, any description or analysis of languages in the

Haitian context must take into consideration the process of language creation and development as well as French as a dominant force in Haiti. In other words, without French, there would be no Kreyòl in Haiti.

2.3.3 Theories on Kreyòl's Development

According to Zéphir (2010), by 1665, there were already more than 14,000 enslaved Africans on the island of Hispaniola. D'Ans (1968) and Holm (1989) posited that the genesis of Kreyòl was during that period. Chaudenson (1979, 1992), Chaudenson and Mufwene (2001), Fleischman (1983), and Lefebvre (1998) have argued that Kreyòl went through various stages of development. Chaudenson (1992), for instance, suggested that Kreyòl developed at a later stage, as its birthplace, Saint Domingue, went through two major socioeconomic phases: *société d'habitation* (homestead society) and *société de plantation* (plantation society). In the former phase, argued Chaudenson (1992), white colonialists and enslaved blacks were in constant interaction since they lived together; hence, blacks spoke some approximation of French. In the latter phase, plantation slaves had minimal interactions with whites so that the target language for the newly arrived slaves became the approximate varieties of French that the slaves of the homestead era spoke (Chaudenson, 1992). According to this viewpoint, Kreyòl is then the result of the approximation of different versions of French.

Similarly to Chaudenson (1992) and Chaudenson and Mufwene (2001), Lefebvre (1998) have also argued that a socioeconomic shift in Saint Domingue gave rise to Kreyòl. However, unlike them, Lefebvre posited that African languages (e.g., Fongbe, Ewe, Mandingo, Kikongo) played a more critical role than French in the origin of Kreyòl. Lefebvre's (1998) explanation is that Saint Domingue's economy shifted from a tobacco and cotton economy to a more intense slave-labor sugar economy; as a result, by the 1700s, more than 87% of the colony's population was of African descent. What is more, the birth rate of

the slaves was relatively low and the death rate relatively high because of the dangerous work that is characteristic of colonial-era sugar plantations, and this meant that a constant flow of recently arrived slaves from Africa was the order of the day. Hence, Haitians of African descent had limited access to native speakers of French. For Lefebvre (1998), Kreyòl was the creation of adult native speakers of West African languages; they used "properties of their native lexicons, the parametric values and semantic interpretation rules of their native grammars" (p. 9) to create Kreyòl. This process is known as relexification, whereby a particular language replaces the bulk, if not all, of its lexicon (vocabulary words) with that of another language, but retains its grammar structure (Velupllai (2015). To DeGraff (2005, 2009), this view of how Kreyòl came into existence is a *creole exceptionalist* view point, meaning that Kreyòl and other creoles' developmental paths are unique in the history of language development.

According to Velupillai (2015), Derek Bickerton's Language Bioprogram Hypothesis (LBH) is arguably the most renowned and controversial creolization theory. The LBH holds that, for various reasons, adult slaves (or indentured labourers) had to communicate on the colonial plantation with their masters and other slaves. Thus, to facilitate communication, the slaves created simplified, unstable contact vaieties of the lexifier, e.g., enslaved Africans in Saint Domingue created reduced varieties of French. Unlike their parents, children of those slaves had no other languages as MT and had little or no contact with native speakers of the colonial language (e.g., French) and were thus exposed to only the simplified variety spoken by their parents. And because the reduced variety that their parents transferred was referentially inadequate to meet their basic linguistic needs, the innate, genetic capabilities of those children enabled them to produce a new fully, functional language within just one generation (Vellupillai, 2015). To Bickerton (1984), this human inborn linguistic ability

accounts for the similarity of creoles though they may developed in different locations and have different histories.

Contrary to Bickerton's LBH, the Gradualist Model of creolization, primarily associated with Jacques Arends, maintains that creoles gradually developed instead of abruptly emerged in just one or two generations (Velupilai, 2015). He proposes the concept of "transcreolization," which in essence contends that the creolization process occurs incrementally across several generations. As such, "What Jacques Arends, John Singler, and others strongly advocate for is to base any theory on the development of a given creole on solid historical data" (Velupillai, 2015, p. 184). Thus, Arends suggests a case-by-case approach of the study of creole languages. In stronger terms, the Guadeloupeen-born creolist Marie-Josée Cérol[7] (1992) has posited, "Much too often, creolists have made strong but unbsubtianted claims, or have accepted without any thorough investigation a number of preconceived ideas on which they have built fragile hypotheses concerning the genesis of creole languages" (p. 63).

2.3.4 Creole Exceptionalism

In line with Cérol's (1992) critique of some creolists, DeGraff (2005, 2009), working within a post-colonial discourse, analyzed the pervasive anti-creole sentiments harbored by many, including native Kreyòl-speaking Haitians. In doing so, he argued that while linguists, by virtue of their expertise, are well-situated to help bring to an end certain erroneous beliefs about creole languages, ironically some of the theories and descriptions of the formation of creole languages put forth by certain members of the linguistic community have played a central role in the maintenance of these beliefs. For example, to DeGraff (2009), it is a myth that the development path of creole languages is different than, say, European languages. For

[7] Marie-Josée Cérol is presently known as Ama Mazama. She is Associate Professor and Director of the Graduate Programs of the Department of African American Studies at Temple University.

example, he has noted that very little direct grammatical equivalence exists between Kreyòl and African languages or French for that matter. He refers to these beliefs held by some linguists as "creole exceptionalism," which according to him is "a set of socio-historically rooted dogmas with foundations in (neo-)colonial power relations, and not scientific conclusions based on robust evidence" (p. 137). He has argued that the origins of these beliefs date back to the 19th century and have been transmitted over time by linguists, and historically have been a means for former colonial nations to maintain power. According to Hebblethwaite (2012), exceptionalism ideology is contrastive to "uniformitarianism," which "holds that all languages—as parameterized instantiations of Universal Grammar—are fundamentally *equivalent or uniform* across the species" (p. 262).

DeGraff (2009) argued his case by identifying and surveying the theoretical and empirical arguments of three different groupings of creole *exceptionalists*' arguments and exposed their flaws. The first and the most common *exceptionalist* view is that creole languages are "broken" varieties of European languages. For example, this view holds that Kreyòl is "broken French". This opinion is rooted in the conventional wisdom of comparative-historical linguistics of the 17th through 19th centuries. For example, DeGraff (2009) pointed out the postulations of this degeneracy viewpoint in works such as Larousse (1869), where creole is defined as "corrupted French" (p. 127); in Meillet (1924), who posited creoles are deficient in their grammar, pronunciation, and lexicon; and in Bloomfield (1933), who viewed creole as a form of "baby talk" or an "inferior dialect of the masters' speech" (p. 127).

A second *exceptionalist* view is one that sees creoles as hybrid languages; that is, "African grammars clothed in European-sounding words" (DeGraff, 2009, p. 128). He traced this position back to Lucien Adam (1883), who regarded Cayenne Creole grammar as simply a West African grammar. Adam (1883) believed African grammatical habits prevented

African peoples from acquiring French grammar, implying that the African languages are too 'primitive' and 'children-like' (cited in DeGraff, 2009, p. 128). According to DeGraff (2005), proponents of this brand of discourse include scholars such as contemporary linguist Claire Lefebvre (1998) who offered a relexification hypothesis of creole. As discussed above, to Lefebvre (1998), creole was created by adult African language learners who adopted and adapted words from the *superstrate* or *lexifier* language, French, and superimposed them on the syntax and semantics of their *substrate* languages, West African languages.

By examining lexical and morphological comparative data, DeGraff (2009) concluded that there is no blockage for lexical and morphological development in the history of creoles; that is, it is an erroneous view that the original languages that adult Africans spoke was so deficient in vocabulary and how the words in those various languages are formed that they borrowed and modified words from colonial languages and overlaid them onto the grammar of their West African languages. Both the degenerate and hybrid tropes are unsubstantiated (DeGraff, 2009). By comparing the lexicon and morphology of Kreyòl with English's, DeGraff (2005) demonstrated that English, a so called genetic language, "out-creoles" Kreyòl, a so called non-genetic language. For example, in terms of its morphology and lexicon, modern English, a Germanic language, is more 'mixed' than Kreyòl, a French creole (DeGraff, 2009). Lexically, 65% of English's words are of non-Germanic origin, while the etymology of Kreyòl's lexicon is more than 90% French. Morphologically, almost all Kreyòl affixes have cognates in French affixes, while English has many affixes that are of non-Germanic origins (DeGraff, 2009).

The third *exceptionalist* view holds that creoles are the aftermath of an abnormal break in the transmission of morphology, lexicon, and syntax from the pidgin-to-creole life cycle. Like the first two views, this third one is rooted in 19th-century creole studies, starting with Saint-Quentin (1872/1989 cited in DeGraff, 2009) and includes advocates such as Hjemslev

(1938), Jespersen (1922), McWhorter (1998), Seuren (1998), Seuren & Wekker (1986), and in the most stunning argument, Bickerton (1984) posited that creoles are a recapitulation of the most basic evolutionary stages of language evolution.

Based on his examination of lexical, morphological, and syntactical evidence, DeGraff (2009) refuted the claims of the third view as well and contended:

> [These] patterns in Haitian Creole history do not instantiate any sort of 'discontinuity' that would set 'creolization' apart from other instances of language development/change over time. The…data thus dismantle the exceptionalist claim that the kind of discontinuity manifested in creole genesis is of a significantly distinct nature in comparison to the kind of discontinuities manifested in the history of so-called 'normal' or 'genetic' languages. The…discontinuities in the history of English seem as spectacular as, or perhaps even more spectacular than, those in the history of Haitian Creole. (p. 136)

As argued by DeGraff (2005, 2009) the developmental paths of Kreyòl and other creoles are not so exceptional after all, as some linguists previously argued. It must be acknowledged, however, there is not consensus among linguists how creoles developed. It is still an unresolved linguistic issue. Nevertheless, Kreyòl is indeed a viable language that has developed over time as all language do (Spears, 2010). It is fully functional and valid choice for education (Madhere, 2010; Plaisir, 2010).

2.3.5 Kreyòl's Orthography

Kreyòl has a well-established writing system, which facilitates the transmission of types of knowledge in written form (Berry, 1975). The first Kreyòl orthography was based on the International Phonetic Alphabet and was developed in the 1940s by Ormande McConnell, an Irish Methodist minister, and Frank Laubach, a North American literacy expert. That original version was met with resistance, as it was viewed by Haitians as too "American"

(Faraclas et al., 2010). In the 1950s, another effort was made by two Haitian natives, philologist Charles-Ferdinand Pressoir and educator Leilo Faublas. Their initiative moved Kreyòl's orthography closer to French, and this remained in use until 1975 (Faraclas et al., 2010). Subsequently, in preparation for introducing Kreyòl as an LOI in Haitian schools, as was mandated by the Bernard Reform (BR) discussed below, Pressoir and Faublas's Kreyòl orthography was revised by the Institut Pédagogique National (IPN) and a Kreyòl research study group called Gwoup Rechèch pou Etidye Kreyòl Ayisyen (GREKA) or Research Group to Study Haitian Creole. The IPN-GREKA version included features of both of the previous systems and was granted official status in September 1979 by the Haitian Ministry of Education. Also, the ministry sanctioned and encouraged its use as a means of instruction and a subject of study in Haitian schools (Farclas et al., 2010).

So, in addition to being one of the most studied and best described creole languages (Valdman, 2010), Kreyòl has a standardized orthography (Farclas, Spears, Barrows & Piñeiro, 2010). It has well over a dozen bilingual dictionaries (Valdman, 2010), dating back to Jules Faine's 1937 publication, *Philologie Creole*, and since the 1970s, Kreyòl publications in various disciplines have skyrocketed (Hebblethwaite, 2012; Védrine, 2004). Its orthography is in accord with two linguistic representational principles that Winer (1990) refers to as "pronunciation based spellings" and "consistency"; that is, in the official Kreyòl's orthography, there is a way to represent every phonemic sound and each symbol represents only one sound, respectively. There are no silent letters in Kreyòl orthography. The following are the 32 letters or letter combinations of the Kreyòl alphabet: a, an, b, ch, d, e, è, en, f, g, h, i, j, k, l, m, n, ng, o, ò, on, ou, oun, p, r, s, t, ui, v, w, y, and z. Note, Kreyòl does not have letters c, q, u, and x.

2.3.6 Summary of Kreyòl's History and Development

In summary, Linguists have firmly established that Kreyòl is a full-fledged language like any other developed language (Spears, 2010). It has a well-established standardized orthography. It is the only language that 95% Haitians speak and understand. This is why, on one hand, every attempt to repair the Haitian schooling system has endorsed Kreyòl as an LOI—including more contemporary initiatives such as the Bernard Reform (BR) of 1970s and 1980s, the National Plan of Education and Training (NPET) of 1997; the Program for the Improvement of the Quality of Education (PARQE) of 2003; and the latest post-earthquake Operational Plan of 2010-2015. On the other hand, despite the government's authorization and requirement of Kreyòl's use as an LOI (Fass, 1988; Prou, 2009; Trouillot-Lévy, 2010), and though the Kreyòl movement has made significant gains (Dejean, 2006, 2010; Trouillot, 2010), it continues to be resisted by a number of influential sectors in Haitian society (DeGraff, 2009). This begs the question: Who opposes Kreyòl as an LOI and why? This is a pertinent question that requires a relatively thorough examination of the history of the Haitian schooling system, especially to accurately answer the why part of the question.

2.4 Literature on the History of Haiti as it Relates to Education

Up until when Haiti gained its independence from France in 1804, as alluded to above, slave labor was the fuel that kept the engine of the *exclusif* system running. Military domination was insufficient to control the enslaved blacks, whose population vastly outnumbered that of the whites. As such, the white colonialists also needed to put in place a mechanism to indoctrinate the blacks to accept their wretched condition. The words of

Antoine Pierre Joseph Marie Barnave, a French deputy to the constituent assembly, best encapsulated that need:

> Saint-Domingue en même temps qu'il est la première colonie du monde, la plus riche et la plus productive, est aussi celle où la population des hommes libres est en moindre proportion avec ceux qui sont privés de liberté. À Saint-Domingue, près de 450 000 esclaves sont contenus par environ 30 000 blancs…Il est donc physiquement impossible que le petit nombre de blancs puisse contenir une population aussi considérable d'esclaves, si le moyen moral ne venait à l'appui des moyens physiques. Ce moyen moral est dans l'opinion qui met une distance immense entre l'homme noir et l'homme de couleur, entre l'homme de couleur et l'homme blanc (Saint-Domingue, while it is the world's first colony, the richest and most productive, it is also one where the population of free men is also proportionally less than those who are deprived of their liberty. In Saint-Domingue, close to 450,000 slaves are contained by about 30,000 whites…It is, therefore, physically impossible for such a small number of whites to contain such a sizeable population of slaves if moral means are not used to support the physical means. These moral means consist of cultivating a great distance between blacks and colored men and between colored men and whites.) (Gauthier, 2010, para. 59)

Suffice it to say that the Haitian schooling system was *not* designed to serve the interest of the overwhelming majority of Haitians (Trouillot, 1990); instead, from the beginning, instruction in Haiti has always been about perpetuating hegemony, which is how dominant groups control subjugated groups without necessarily having to use physical force (Gramsci, 2011). The literature on the history of the Haitian schooling system demonstrates as follows: (a) the system was created in the early 1800s by an alienated Haitian elite who historically has been anti African-Haitian culture and conversely in awe of European-French

culture; (b) France, in the 1820's, planned taking control of the Haitian elite's schooling as a strategy to re-colonize Haiti; (c) not long after Haiti declared its independence in 1804, the same elite invited French clergies circa 1810 to come and run Haiti's fledgling schooling system, and, in turn, the French clergies shaped the system to support France's neocolonial mission in Haiti; and (d) historically the small elite population of Haiti has aligned itself with the Catholic Church and its congregational schools and because of the privilege that the elite enjoys from the current system in place, it resists any deep-seated changes to the system. In the remainder of this section, Haiti's history of education is divided into six periods— notably (a) instruction during the colonial period, 1680s-1803; (b) schooling during the post-colonial period, 1805-1860; (c) schooling during the post-colonial period, 1860-1915; (d) schooling reform during U.S. Occupation, 1915-1934; (e) the Dartige Reform in the 1940s; and (f) the Bernard Reform of 1970s and 1980s.

2.4.1 Instruction during the Colonial Period, 1680s-1803

Le Code Noir of 1685 (*The Black Code of 1685*) was drafted and implemented in the colony exactly for what colonialists like Deputy Barnave reasoned: to control the blacks in the colony without having to use or rely on physical force alone (Sala-Molins, 2003). It is the first and only legal document during the colonial period that called for provision of some sort of instruction to the slaves. For example, of its 60 articles, the first four make it explicitly clear that the slaves should only receive instruction in Catholicism and in no other religious faiths. French clergies—many of whom were also slave owners—were recruited to baptize and instruct the slaves (Gisler, 2000). This is why, noted former Haitian priest and sociologist Laennec Hurbon (2004), there were hundreds of Catholic missionaries in the colony of Saint Domingue to dispense religious instruction in French.

The colonial administrators' priority was basically usurping the colony's wealth, not educating the residents (Logan, 1930). Besides religious catechism, formal schooling was at

best neglected in the colony. Consequently, the whites and the *affranchis*[8] (free mixed-race and non-mixed race blacks) who could afford to, often sent their children to France for formal schooling (Tardieu, 1990). This reality went on for more than a 100 years until it was disrupted in 1791. Commencing in 1791, the blacks of Saint Domingue went to war for their freedom. After a 12-year bloody war, they prevailed and eventually expelled their French oppressors from the island in November 1803. On 1 January 1804, Haitians claimed their independence from France. Under the direction of Jean Jacques Dessalines, the principal hero of the Haitian Revolution, the liberated Haitians renamed the island *Ayiti,* as its original occupants had called it. They also drafted the Haitian Constitution of 1805 to serve as a blueprint, which included a mandate to educate the population.

2.4.2 Schooling during the Post-colonial Period, 1805-1860

The 1805 Constitution demonstrates that Dessalines—a staunch devotee of Vodoo—acknowledged and prioritized the importance of education. In particular, two articles in this constitution expressed the priority that he gave to both education and vocational training. Article 19 in the subsection titled "General Dispositions," for example, straightforwardly states that a public school shall be established in each military division to instruct young people. Article 11, in a similar vein, in the subsection titled "Preliminary Declaration" stipulates that every citizen must possess a trade. Alas, despite the stately intentions of Dessalines, his ambitious educational goals failed to materialize. Fellow Haitian combatants murdered him on 17 October 1806.

After Dessalines's death, the country was divided into two major camps until 1820: Henri Christophe, a black Grenadian-born Catholic with no formal schooling, ruled the north with an iron fist like a European monarch; Alexandre Pétion, a mulatto Haitian-born Catholic

[8] *Les affranchis* were the free mixed-race blacks or non-mixed-race Haitians in the colony of Saint Domingue. It should be noted that the overwhelming majority of *affranchis* were mixed-race Haitians, whose fathers were white.

with some formal schooling in France's Military Academy, commanded the south and the west like a despotic commander in chief. Between 1807 and 1820, Christophe established a Royal Academy and created a number of elementary schools modeled after the British Lancastrian system in his dominion. Pétion, circa 1816, established Haiti's first public secondary school in his jurisdiction modelled after the French *Lycée*. As Trouilllot (1990) pointed out, both of Dessalines's successors created schools in their territories mainly for the elite, but not for the masses. This is especially true of Pétion, considering that he created a high school when there were no elementary schools in the territory he ruled. (Whites and affluent affranchis received primary education at home or in France). This also means that Pétion's school was not intended for the children of ex-slaves, for these youths had never attended or completed elementary school.

Critically important, both Christophe and Pétion—unlike Dessalines—opposed Vodou and took concrete measures to make it disappear on the island (Fils-Aimé, 2007), but to no avail, as Vodou is an element that is virtually inseparable from Haitian culture (Fils-Aimé, 2007). According to the afrocentric scholar Molefi Kete Asante (2011), any thorough analytical examination and narrative of the Haitian Revolution must assign Vodou its rightful place and space: Vodou is a central "organizing principle for the masses" (p. 280). Along the same line, Haitian scholars Accilien Cécile and Jowel C. Laguerre (2010) cogently summarized the importance of Vodou to an incalculable number of Haitians (and non-Haitians as well) when they write as follows:

> It is not clear the number of people who practice Vodou. Vodou is an African-based religion as well as a way of life for many people. Haitians generally spelled the religion Vodou to differentiate it from the negative and pejorative "voodoo" often used in the United States to denote something obscure or bizarre. This religion and culture is reflected in Haiti's vibrant art, sculpture, language, and daily life. For many

> Haitians, Vodou is a life force, a poto mitan (a center pole), by which they try to understand Haiti's complex history, its myth, and its capacity and ability to survive in the face of adversity and to find meaning for what may often appear to be meaningless. (p. xvii)

Describing the integral role that Vodou plays in Haitian way of life and survival, Claudine Michel (2006), another Haitian scholar, posited,

> A serious analysis of the Vodou religion as practiced in Haitian society and abroad reveals that Vodou is a broadly encompassing worldview, a comprehensive system that shapes the human experience of its adepts in their search for higher grounds and purpose in life. Despite an apparent absence of a formal church and clergy, of written dogma and other such publication or instructional material, the Vodou religion is omnipresent, pervasive, strong, and performs key functions in all aspects of Haiti's social and political life. As such, the ancestral religion represents a key element of Haitian consciousness and provides moral coherence through common cosmological understandings. (p. 28)

Pétion died in 1818 from yellow fever, and Christophe committed suicide two years later in 1820. Vodou—though it continues to be stigmatized and its adherents continue to be oppressed and disfranchised—is ever present in Haiti and in shaping the psyche of an untold number of Haitians (Fils-Aimé, 2007).

Upon Pétion's death, his protégé Jean-Pierre Boyer, also a mixed-race Haitian-born Catholic formally schooled in France, succeeded him as president and ruled Haiti for 25 years. Boyer reunited the north and south of the country in 1820. He also unified the Haitian schooling system when he created the Ministry of Public Education in 1843 and appointed Honoré Féry to lead the ministry as Haiti's first minister of education. Paradoxically, however, education suffered tremendously under Boyer. For example, according to Viélot

(1975), “Boyer had an aversion to schools, and after the pacification of the North he shut down all [the schools] Christophe had built in his state” (p. 116). To Boyer, an unschooled populace was less troublesome than an educated one (Fass, 1988).

Boyer is remembered by Haitians for closing schools in a country where schools were already scarce and for delivering arguably the most crippling blow to date to Haiti’s economy: On 11 July 1825, he agreed to pay France 150 million francs as a condition for France to cease its threat of invading Haiti and to recognize the fledgling nation’s independence. France’s economy was devastated at the time. First, as mentioned above, the end result of being at war with an army of mostly enslaved Blacks for 12 years was that at the end of the war in 1803, France lost possession of Saint-Domingue—its most prized colony that accounted for 66% of its overseas trade at the time (James, 1989). Second, France had used up a lot of resources, fighting other European countries in the Napoleonic Wars, which lasted 16 years.

So, endeavoring to bring back Haiti under its control, France entered into a series of agreements with Boyer’s government. Besides agreeing to pay France an exorbitant indemnity, he also gave French merchants special customs privileges at Haitian ports. Finally—more than 20 years later— France recognized Haiti’s independence in 1825. It also seized the opportunity to send French emissaries to Haiti to carry out reconnaissance missions and advise the French monarchy on the best strategies to establish a neocolonial regime in its former colony (Brière, 2007). Arguably the most noteworthy of these emissaries was a young French diplomat named Gaspard-Théodore Mollien (Brière, 2007).

In 1825, Mollien, a monarchist, was sent to Haiti to represent France as vice-consul of the northern Haitian city Cap-Haïtien. Though he was under 30 when he was assigned the post, he had previously been on several missions in Africa, served in the French Foreign Service, and represented France in Colombia, not to mention he was a crew member of the

renowned shipwrecked Medusa in 1816. During the six years that the proslavery conservative served in Haiti—he thoroughly explored the country, observed and interviewed residents from different parts of the territory, and used his collected data to write detailed reports which he sent to his superiors in France (Brière, 2007). According to Lubin and François (2017), the extensive reports included instructional-related measures, which Mollien recommended that France adopt to make Haiti a French neocolonial regime. Among other strategies that Brière (2007) reports, Mollien recommended the following instructional-related recommendations:

- Send French clergies and teachers to carry out the instruction of especially the Haitian elite, who at the time were mostly mixed-race Haitians.
- Avoid sending young Haitians to France so that they do not come in contact with revolutionary ideas, as Mollien believed that would destroy their admiration for France.
- Concentrate on making Haitians believe that they are French.
- Train the Haitian mind to consume only French products.
- Create a French newspaper in Haiti that reinforces France's supremacy project, and assign a black person to run it.
- Do not do anything to upset the mixed-race Haitian who are lovers of French culture and thus natural allies of France; instead, reinforce their position so that they may continue to be promoters of French culture and interest in Haiti.

Boyer who was still the president of Haiti at the time of Mollien's recommendations, was very accommodating to France; however, he was ousted in 1843. After his departure, Haiti's politics went through a period that historians called *la politique de doublure.*

According to Hoffmann (2007), this brand of politics was a concocted political strategy of the ruling mixed-race class. The strategy consisted of putting into office old, dark-skinned, illiterate, incompetent, and, above all, men they believed were controllable. While

Faustin Soulouque, who was president from 1847 to 1859, matched all the other foregoing descriptions, he was anything but a puppet.

Viélot (1975) wrote: "Soulouque consolidated his rule with their blood" (p. 117), and as the writer further noted, Soulouque appointed Minister of Public Education Félicité Lysius Salomon, Jr. Salomon, Jr., with the full support of his president, was able to lay the foundation of rural education in Haiti. Viélot (1975) identified the following practical accomplishments of the Soulouque's regime in rural education: (a) it created national schools on rural plantations, and these schools instructed students in Catholic religion and basic reading, writing in French, and arithmetic (the 3Rs); (b) it apportioned land to each rural school for students to cultivate in order to generate income to pay in whole or in part the cost of their education; (c) it founded three high schools and three teacher training schools; and (d) it imposed penalties on the parents of students whose children failed to complete the prescribed seven-year cycle of schooling. Soulouque was ousted in 1859, and his education minister accompanied him into exile. He was replaced by Fabre Nicolas Géffrard, and Geffrard's ascendance to power ushered in a new major era in the history of schooling in Haiti.

2.4.3 Schooling during the Post-colonial Period, 1860-1915

The mixed-race Géffrard and both of the ministers of education who served in his cabinet, J.B. Damien and Elie Dubois, were devoted Catholics who were enamored by French culture and adamantly opposed Vodou. It was unacceptable to Géffrard that Haiti not have normalized, diplomatic ties with the Vatican. Beyond that—as Mollien had wished and recommended to his superiors—Géffrard wanted Haiti's schooling system to be under the control of French Catholic clergies. To that end, his regime signed a concordat with the Holy See in 1860. Vatican—after 56 years—had finally recognized Haiti's independence.

The *Concordat of 1860* made Catholicism the official religion of Haiti, and the Church of France was entrusted with a twofold mission: evangelize the Haitian people and take control of teaching Haiti's youth. To fulfill its mission, the Church dispatched to Haiti mainly clergy educators from a pro-slavery, monarchist, anti-French revolution region in France called Bretagne (Delisle, 2003). Unappreciated in post-revolution France because of their conservative, royalist stance, a number of Bretton clergies saw this as an opportunity to create a *Bretagne noire* or a black Bretagne in Haiti (Deslisle, 2003).

The principal role of the French clergies in Haiti was to perpetuate French culture in Haiti, and they did so by not only controlling the schooling of the Haitian elite, but by also dominating, directly or indirectly, the entire schooling system (Viélot, 1975). For example, they ran well-built, well-equipped national congregational schools as well as state subsidized private parochial schools for the children of elite families who could not send their children to study in France (Pressoir, 1935). For example, they established private elite institutions such as Les Frères de l'Instruction Chrétienne (FIC) for boys and Soeurs de la Sagesse for girls. Around the same time, most Haitian children were either not in school or were attending dilapidated, ill-equipped schools. Such is still the case today at the time of this thesis. And since the signing of The Concordat till present, the private parochial schools have set the tone for almost all, if not all, other Haitian schools (Joint, 2006). What is more, Haitian parents, in general, aspire that their children attend these schools, which are inherently pro-French culture and, in general, are in opposition with fundamental aspects of Haitian culture. Lubin and François (2017) have identified the following main characteristics and practices of these schools from the time they were established to the present day:

- Compared to most other schools, they are well administered, adequately staffed, and have sufficient teaching materials and physical space.
- Compared to other schools, their passing rate of national exams is high.

- The administrators and instructors are tough disciplinarians who will not hesitate to use corporal and psychological punishment to keep things under control.
- The curriculum and books used are written by Les Frères de l'Instruction Chrétienne (FIC) as well as imported from France and Québec. Also, the FIC's input is weighty in the creation of the national exams.
- The instructors are able to teach their subjects in French; however, this does not necessarily mean that all of them are fluent in French.
- Instruction is in French, and the use of Kreyòl on campus is generally forbidden and punished.
- French culture, values, and mannerisms are upheld (e.g., competence in French, prayers to European saints) to reinforce what is commonly referred to as *La mission civilisatrice Française* (French civilizing mission).
- In addition to the banning of Kreyòl in school, many other essential aspects of Haitian culture are also prohibited (e.g., to do, say or display anything that is perceived as having to do with Vodou is *totally* banned).
- Students are well trained in *bat pakè* (rote learning or memorize lessons by heart).
- Group work is rare, if ever.
- Catholic schools are the principal manufacturers of the Haitian economic, political, social, and intellectual elites. Though, in recent times, more and more elite families (who can afford it) are sending their children to school abroad or what are known as international schools (e.g., anglophone Union School, francophone Lycée français).
- They employ a relatively rigorous process to select students. During the process, they try to determine socioeconomic profile, prioritizing mixed-race and affluent Haitians. For example, some of the methods that they use to select students are as follows:

interviews to determine socioeconomic status, preference given to alumni's children, letter of recommendations from notables, and admission tests.

Géffrard was disposed in 1867, and after his departure, apart from the creation of the 1874 Constitution, which required free and compulsory primary education, not much occurred in the schooling system due to ongoing political mayhem. Public education virtually disappeared in Haiti.

In 1879, Lysius Félicité Solomon, Jr. returned to Haiti from exile in France to become president. He was member of the tiny black elite of the south, and, as mentioned above, also former minister of education in Soulouque's cabinet. From the time he entered office until he was forced to resign in 1888, he was in a constant battle with political adversaries. Nonetheless, he endeavored to restart public education. To that end, he built several urban and rural public schools and imported a number of French, Catholic teachers to staff the national high schools (Viélot, 1975). Pressure from oppositional forces caused him to return to Paris, and for the next 20 years or so, public school, especially in rural Haiti, progressively deteriorated.

In August 1912, Tancrède Auguste replaced President Cincinnatus Leconte. Tertulien Guilbaud served as minister of education in Leconte's cabinet, and Auguste decided to keep him in the same post. Gilbaud lamented the degenerate condition of public schools, especially in the rural parts of Haiti. In an attempt to improve what he inherited, according to Viélot (1975), the Auguste regime took three significant measures:

- Signed a contract with the Roman Catholic Church to organize rural parochial schools, but the Church neglected teaching the 3Rs and primarily concentrated on teaching catechism.
- Created a teacher training school for women, which was handed over to a French woman to run.

- Started the Elie Dubois Trade School for girls, and its administration was entrusted to Belgian nuns.

Auguste died in May 1913, and from his death until the American occupation in 1915, four different presidents had come to power. Under the pretext that Haiti was politically unstable—which it was—and unable to pay its external debts to European countries like France and Germany, United States marines invaded Haiti on 28 July 1915. It is during the occupation that the first serious attempt to bring fundamental changes to the schooling system occurred (Prou, 2009).

2.4.4 Schooling Reform during U.S. Occupation, 1915-1934

U.S. officials handpicked a Catholic mixed-race Haitian named Philippe Sudre Dartiguenave to be president, and he was installed on 12 August 1915. Cognizant that public education was in a deplorable state, Dartiguenave, in 1921, called on Dantès Louis Bellegarde, also a Catholic mixed-race Haitian, to spearhead public schooling. Bellegarde, a product of the French classical schooling model, was an assimilationist in that he strongly believed that Haitians should adopt French culture, language, and Roman Catholicism. Bellegarde's stance and wishes, to a great extent, diametrically opposed what the American occupiers had in mind.

The occupiers embarked on a project to reform the system's administration, curricula, and pedagogy. According to Pamphille (1985), the curriculum shifted from "classical to vocational emphasis" (p. 108). They believed that this approach was necessary to animate Haiti's economy. This is why, for example, American education administrators who were based in Haiti dismantled a number of schools that followed a classical French curriculum, and, in turn, built several industrial schools (Vièlot, 1975). Haitians, notably the Haitian elite, had their own ideas on how to improve their schooling system; however, their input was unwelcome (Pamphille, 1985). This is one of the major causes, from its inception, the reform

had no chance of surviving (Pamphille, 1985). As such, the invaders along with their administrators who attempted to take control of the schooling system, encountered all around resistance (Heinl & Heinl, 1996).

In general, Haitians reasoned that the main underlying assumption of the reform was that Haitians are best suited for vocational training, and, as such, the Americans were attempting to eliminate the French classical schooling model (Pamphille, 1985). For obvious reasons, the Catholic Church, historically the main purveyor of French imperialism and culture in Haiti, resented the changes. The French-speaking elite, mainly the byproduct of French Catholic schooling, also resisted. And the Haitian masses, who covet the lifestyle and privileges of the Haitian elite, believed the reform was a ploy to create a two-tiered system—one for the urban elite and another one for the rural poor. Haitians continuously fought the American invaders until finally, in 1934, they left and their implemented educational initiatives progressively faded away. Their direct imposition of their intellect on the Haitian people for 19 years yielded a mere 2.5 percent increase in the nation's literacy rate; from 8.2% it increased to 10.7% (Viélot, 1975). The Americans, however, did indoctrinate and leave behind a number of disciples to continue to take up the cause. One of the more prominent ones was Maurice Dartigue who continued the battle in the educational arena.

2.4.5 The Dartigue Reform in the 1940s

Dartigue, trained in the United States, had served as Director of Rural Education during the final year of the US occupation. And from 1941 to 1945, post-U.S. occupation during the Élie Lescot presidency, he had also served as Minister of Public Instruction, Labor and Agriculture. He believed that the Haitian elite's excessive dependency on French clergy educators and exaggerated glorification of French culture prevented them from developing their own culture and seriously engaging in nation building (Verna, 2007). Hence, he strongly advocated for an American vocational-agricultural model instead of a French classical model

of education. What is more, he believed that Kreyòl should be a language of instruction in the early years of schooling. Dartigue's initiatives met serious opposition, especially from the French-speaking elite.

Both Dartigue and President Lescot were accused of being supporters of American imperialism, attempting to sell Haitians an "old wine in a new bottle" (Prou, 2009, p. 33). Needless to say he encountered great hostility. Fearing for his life, he went into exile. Thereafter, once again, the Haitian schooling system gradually returned to its original state—French curriculum, textbooks written in French expressing French culture and content, and French educators defining what it meant to be a well-educated Haitian. This also meant that the same other age-old problems—insufficient schools, poorly supervised system, untrained and poorly-trained teachers, irrelevant curriculum, outdated pedagogical methods—remained intact. The foregoing plaguing woes and the attempt to align Haiti's schooling system with the demands of both national and international labor markets, led to yet another major attempt to repair the system in the 1970s and 1980s known as the Bernard Reform.

2.4.6 The Bernard Reform of 1970s and 1980s

The Bernard Reform (BR from here on) is arguably the most popular and controversial schooling inititiative to ever take place in the history of Haitian education. Like all educational initiatives—no matter where they were implemented—the BR did not occur in a socio-politco-economic vacuum. As such, to start, I will briefly summarize the socio-politico-economic context that spawned the BR before I expound on the resistance that the reform encountered and the eventual causes of its failure.

François "Papa Doc" Duvalier came to power in 1957, and using Machiavellian tactics and sheer brutal methods, moved rapidly to establish an authoritarian dynasty in Haiti (Arthus, 2014). Upon his death, at just 19, his son Jean Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier became "president for life" and ruled Haiti until he was ousted in 1986 (Arthus, 2014). The Bernard

Reform was named after Joseph C. Bernard, a minister of education who served during the son's regime. The effort technically and officially began in 1979, and was in large part another attempt to modernize and move the schooling system away from the rigid French classical model (Hadjadj, 2000). Foreign reformers as well as Minister Bernard—who was then Vice-Chairman of the Meeting of Education Ministers in Mexico in 1979—Like Minister Dartigue maintained that this shift was critically necessary "to change the nation's schooling system from one contributing to the reproduction of the mechanisms of under-development to one centered around development" (Hadjadj, 2000, p. 22). This in essence became the stated purpose of the reform.

Lubin and François (2017), in their chapter in a publication titled *Education in Mexico, Central America and the Latin Caribbean* expounded on the soio-politico-economic context in which the BR evolved. They posited the following:

> Against the backdrop of an economy run into the ground by a licentious US-France supported dictator, Jean Claude 'Baby Doc' Duvalier, foreign and local reformers collaborated in the 1970s and 1980s—once again—to try to repair the system. The reformers, like the ones of the two previous reforms, maintained that a reformed schooling system was necessary to give the downtrodden Haitian economy a much needed push to get it rolling on the road of 'development'. Though not for the right, moral or progressive reasons, the dictatorial regime saw the reform as the perfect opportunity.
>
> It was an opening for the despotic government to calm growing tension, emanating from various oppositional sectors throughout different parts of the country. It also served to mollify watchdog organizations that had been very critical of the regime's egregious human rights violation record. Arguably above all other things, it was an occasion for the corrupt government to secure relatively huge sums of aid from

> international institutions such as the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), which had been pressuring the Haitian government to align its schooling system with the demands of both national and international labour markets. (p. 321)

The reform had educational motives as well.

According to Lubin and François (2017), in addition to deep-seated educational problems rooted in colonialism and neocolonialism, the reformers had the following age-old technical, educational problems to resolve:

> insufficient schools, scarce teaching materials, untrained and poorly trained teachers, low graduation rates, high retention rates, high drop out rates, malnourished students, outdated pedagogical methods, irrelevant French curriculum and, at best, a poorly supervised system. (p. 321)

As a strategy to broaden access, improve pedagogy, increase literacy rate, and produce balanced bilinguals, the reform called for Kreyòl to be the LOI during the first four years of schooling. In this regard, Prou (2009) contended as follows:

> [While] the Bernard reform brought some innovations in the areas of bilingual education, curriculum renewal, and school re-organization, the use of [Kreyòl] as an official language of instruction to meet the linguistic needs and realities of the majority of Haitian learners was constantly under fire, and became the most controversial feature of the reform. (pp. 29-30)

The reform, as the two previous ones, was met with widespread resistance, and thus failed to accomplish its stated purpose. This begs the question: who are the resisters, and what were their specific reasons for resisting Kreyòl as an LOI—though the BR stipulates that it is only at the elementary level that it should used as an LOI.

2.4.7 Opposition to Kreyòl as an LOI

As the above literature on reforms in the Haitian schooling system demonstrated, every attempt to bring changes to the system has required directly or indirectly the use of Kreyòl as an LOI. In fact, dating back to the early 19th century, there had already been visionary thinkers like General Gérin who had a clear understanding of the importance of Kreyòl in schooling and in connecting with the masses (Hebblethwaite, 2012). Even before the famous BR, forward-thinking educators and writers like brothers Paul and Yves Dejean, Carrié Paulte and Frankétienne were already teaching and producing literary as well as pedagogical materials in Kreyòl (Hebblethwaite, 2012). Nonetheless, for various overlapping reasons, the opposition to Kreyòl as an LOI persists.

2.4.7.1 The Church's opposition to Kreyòl as an LOI. The Catholic Church—the most dominant and influential force in Haitian education and also an ardent agent of French culture in the Haitian context—embraced and further solidified the schooling system that the Haitian elite established after Haiti had gained its independence in 1804 (Jean-François, 2006; Hurbon, 2004; Prou, 2009; Tardieu, 1990; Joint, 2006). After Haiti gained its independence from France, it took almost 60 years for the Vatican to officially recognize Haiti as a sovereign nation, in the Concordat of 1860.

The Concordat reinforced the Catholic Church's sphere of influence over the entire Haitian schooling system (Tardieu, 1990; Hurbon, 2004; Joint, 2006; Prou, 2009). And, like the Haitian elite, the Church elevated French culture above Haitian culture (Hurbon, 2004). As Hurbon (2004) pointed out, the Concordat of 1860 occurred in a context where France was planning to acquire colonies in Africa and to bring Haiti, its most lucrative colony, back under its control.

Fass (1988) also reported on the Catholic Church's proclivity for French and disapproval of Kreyòl. Hadjadj (2000) and Fass (1988) detailed how local and foreign reformers collaborated during the BR in the 1970s to move the Haitian schooling system away from a traditional, static curriculum in French in an attempt to promote literacy and sustainable economic development. However, Fass (1988) explained the Catholic Church stood firmly in the way of that shift.

According to Fass (1988), Kreyòl was unmistakably the language of the 1985-86 rebellion that swept Haiti and helped to bring the Duvalier dictatorship regime to its end. He stated that the Catholic Church—motivated by its political interests—played an important role in this movement in terms of promoting literacy via the usage of Kreyòl. For instance, in the dioceses where this movement was allowed to operate freely, literacy rates of 80 to 90 percent became commonplace, reported Fass (1988). He further notes, however, that the Church never wanted Kreyòl to replace French; they simply wanted to "give the language semiofficial sanction as a valid language [while maintaining their position] that French was the ideal pathway to enlightenment" (p. 261). In this regard, the Church has been tremendously successful in transmitting European-French values to especially the Haitian elite (Joint, 2006). That France should concentrate on making Haitians, especially the elite, believe they are French was one of the abovementioned recommendations that Gaspard-Théodore Mollien made to his superiors who endeavored to establish a neocolonial regime in Haiti (Brière, 2007).

2.4.7.2 The Haitian elite's opposition to Kreyòl as an LOI. Historically, the Haitian elite has always had a penchant for and a vested interest in French culture and has steadfastly taken an oppositional posture against Kreyòl (DeGraff, 2010a, 2010b; Dejean, 2006, 2010; Joint, 2006; Tardieu, 1990; Trouillot-Lévy, 2010). As discussed above, Haiti's colonial history was not ideal for the development of a schooling system (Logan, 1930). Recall during

the colonial period that catechism was the only form of instruction that the *Le Code Noir* mandated, and its principal purpose was to serve as an instrument to control—without having to rely on physical force—enslaved blacks whose population outnumbered the white population in the colony.

Catechism instruction alienated both blacks and mixed-race Haitians from themselves and their realities (Hurbon, 2004). On one hand, it taught them that the masters' European culture was superior and was the only way to salvation and to inherit the afterlife (Tardieu, 1990). On the other hand, it taught them to despise their African roots (Hurbon, 2004). Also recall the aforementioned logic of the French deputy, Antoine Pierre Joseph Marie Barnave: that blacks must be deliberately taught that they are morally inferior to the mixed-race Haitians, and the mixed-race Haitians must be instructed that they are inferior to whites. One of the very few books in the colony that was used to instruct youths was the *syllabaire,* a spelling book. According to Fouchard (1953), enslaved blacks were forbidden to learn how to read and were especially banned from being in contact with the *syllabaire*.

As for the white colonialists and the *affranchis*, there were practically no schools in the colony for them to attend (Logan, 1930), for the principal motive and concern of the colonial administrators was taking the wealth of the colony via the exploitation of the labor of enslaved blacks (Fouchard, 1953). Schooling was, therefore, neither a priority nor a concern of the French colonial masters (Logan, 1930). To illustrate the gravity of his point, Logan (1930) cited Steward (1914) in the following terms:

> In all its history from its settlement until its destruction…, the French colony of Saint Domingu[e] contributed but one book to French literature; … its whites, it left not a single name of renown in art, literature, science, law, or arms. (p. 406)

This fact prompted Logan (1930) to further write:

> The conclusion seems inevitable, then, that the colonial government did practically nothing to establish [even] an elementary school system. There was consequently no tradition, no preparation, no comprehension, practically no legacy of educational achievements. (p. 407)

Because of this lack of schooling opportunities in the colony, white colonialists and wealthy *affranchis* often went to France to study (Logan, 1930; Tardieu, 1990).

It is important to note that—because of colonial law that prohibited *affranchis* from holding certain posts such as schoolmaster or public office or from practicing certain professions such as law or medicine—many mixed-race Haitian natives who studied in France, before and after the Haitian revolution, remained there permanently. However, some prominent mixed-race Haitian leaders such as Pétion, Ogé, and Chavanne did return. And, as the French-educated Haitian elite, they established schools which vigorously promoted French and French culture as ideals to be attained at the expense of Haitian culture (Hurbon, 1987, 2004; Joint, 2006; Tardieu, 1990, 2007).

By doing so, they succeeded in maintaining a divided and disparate Haitian society (Price-Mars, 1919; Tardieu, 1990; Joint, 2006), which continued the reinforcement of the elitist class structure that existed in Haiti during the epoch of French colonialism (Tardieu, 1990). In essence, as Prou (2009) noted, "The polarization between the elite and the masses created a type of 'social apartheid,' which has continued to permeate all facets of Haitian society and most certainly the educational system to this very day" (p. 31). And as Fass (1988) pointed out, this unequal system advantages the mixed-race Haitians, who are a numerical minority, while it disadvantages the non-mixed race Haitians, who are overwhelmingly the numerical majority.

At the center of this separate and unequal societal arrangement is the use of French as a principal barrier (DeGraff, 2010a). That is, although only a tiny minority of Haitians speak

French—no more than 5%—it is the language of power as well as the language to access the halls of power. Sociologist Carol Meyers-Scotton (1993) coined the term *elite closure* to refer to this social mobilization strategy that the Haitian elite employs to preserve its powers and privileges via linguistic choices. To a great extent, Haitian educators and parents—poor, low and middle income ones—wittingly or unwittingly collaborate with this strategy. Indeed, the Haitian case illustrates well what Mazama (2003) has argued: "It is a well-established fact that language policies are part of larger political orientations and, as such, serve the interests of those who seek to consolidate their hegemony" (p. 378).

2.4.7.3 Haitian educators' and parents' opposition to Kreyòl as an LOI. In general, Haitian parents and educators desire for themselves and their children the power, privilege and respect that are accorded to members of the elite class in Haitian society. As such, they tend to engage in what psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud refers to as *goal-oriented identification*. Meaning, they perceive the elite to be successful, they idealize the elite's success, and thus believe if they imitate the elite (e.g., learn French), they will in turn move up into the elite class and be successful as well. What is more, they are cognizant of the fact that to speak only Kreyòl in Haiti invokes a set of negative judgments that hardly anyone welcomes (Jean-François, 2006; Joseph, 2010). In DeGraff's (2010a) words, "[To] this date, Haiti is a state of 'linguistic apartheid.' Haitians who speak only [Kreyòl] are often treated as second-class citizens" (para. 6). In part, this is why there is a tendency among Haitian parents to take issue with the idea of Kreyòl as a medium of instruction (Trouillot-Lévy, 2010), and for Haitian educators themselves to have negative attitudes towards Kreyòl (Jean-François, 2006). Understandably, given the current configuration of Haitian society, Haitian parents and educators tend to judge that the mastery of French is *sine qua non* for upward mobility within Haitian society (Fass, 1988; Trouillot-Lévy, 2010). The failure of the BR to enforce Kreyòl as the main LOI in all primary schools in Haiti is illustrative of the foregoing points.

For instance, even though the BR called for Kreyòl to be an LOI all through fundamental[9] education (Hadjadj, 2000) in order to facilitate the acquisition of French (Jean-François, 2006), elite parents, wishing to conserve the status quo, resented Kreyòl instruction (Fass, 1988). Kreyòl as an LOI was also unpopular with both high-and-low income educators and parents who viewed this as the creation of a two-tiered system, whereby the traditional curriculum would remain for schools serving the affluent while the new would be for the poor and would further serve to disenfranchise and marginalize the poor (Fass, 1988). As Joseph (2010) has noted, "Interestingly, some monolingual Haitian Creole speakers, most of whom are among the poorest, opposed these reforms as one more ploy to restrict their access to social mobility" (p. 235). In fact, posited Hadjadj (2000), even government officials actively participated in sabotaging the reform, as discussed below.

2.4.7.4 Haitian government officials' opposition to Kreyòl as an LOI. McGill sociology professor Uli Locher is one of the very few scholars that has conducted field research on the outcomes of the BR. During one of the several personal conversations that I had with him in the summer of 2012, he confirmed what Hadjadj (2000) reported. For example, he explained that a number of Haitian education policy elites were very upset with him for pointing out some of their acts of sabotage (e.g., discarding or not distributing reform books) that he discovered during his investigations. Like Locher, Prou (2009) acknowledged the difficulties of implementing the use of Kreyòl as the LOI in the Haitian schooling system whe he wrote as follows:

> [The] Bernard education reform, from its inception, had no chance to succeed, because the actors and agents responsible for implementing the reform undermined the process. In other words, the Bernard reform was doomed to failure due to a lack of

[9] The first nine years of school in Haiti is called "fundamental education"; it consists of 3 cycles, and each cycle is 3 school years.

commitment, ownership, and political will on the part of foreign actors as well as local agents. (p. 30)

2.4.7.5 Some scholars' opposition to Kreyòl as an LOI. Lastly, there is the argument that speaking only Kreyòl is a sure path to both regional and international isolation; hence, according to Dutcher (1995) it is an unjust act to deprive Haitians of French, an international language. This is why sociolinguists such as Nadine Dutcher (1995) have argued that Creole-speaking nations such as Haiti need support from an international language (e.g., French), which facilitates wider communication. This position has been contested by Bébel-Gisler and Hurbon (1975) and Bébel-Gisler (1976).

Similarly, Dejean (2010) has taken issue with this position by arguing as follows: (a) you cannot deprive someone of something that they never had, implying that the greater majority of Haitians, given Haiti's limited resources, never had the opportunity to learn French; (b) not only will most Haitians live their entire lives without ever having the need to use another language, "[t]he number of Haitians today speaking some foreign language would be sufficient to ensure communication between, not only a country twenty times larger and more populated than Haiti, but also all the nations of the world" (p. 213); and (c) it is economically and socially impractical to pursue the idea of making all or most Haitians bilingual.

Dejean's (2010) argument is in accord with DeGraff (2010a; 2010b). First, DeGraff (2010b) takes into consideration that Haiti—unlike certain countries especially in Africa and Asia who have two, three, four or more languages or even nationalities with very distinct languages (e.g., Singapore)—Haiti does not have a common language issue; all Haitians living in Haiti speak Kreyòl. Second, to DeGraff (2010b), since its foundation in 1804, Haiti has neither had an adequate linguistic nor a passable pedagogical milieu that would allow Haitians to learn French. Third, DeGraff (2010a) maintains that it is French—not Kreyòl—

that would isolate Haitians from their neighbors, for there are more creole speakers than French speakers in the Americas, and that French-based creoles, after Spanish, has the second highest number of speakers in the Caribbean. For example, though English and Trinidadian English Creole are the main languages of Trinidad, there are a small number of older people in Trinidad who feel more comfortable speaking French Creole (their first language) (Winer, 1982). Also, there are several other mutually-intelligible, French-Creole speaking countries besides Haiti—notably Martinique, Saint Martin, Saint Barthelemy, French Guiana, Dominica, Saint Lucia, and Guadeloupe with its three dependent surrounding islands: Les Saintes, Marie-Galante and La Desirade. Thus, bearing in mind that there are more French-Creole, English and Spanish speakers than French in the Americas, DeGraff (2010a) maintains that in addition to Kreyòl, pragmatically it is English or Spanish—not French—that would be most useful to learn for international communication purposes. That is Kreyòl is useful for communication within the Caribbean with the foregoing speakers of other French Creoles in the region. And Spanish and English are more useful than French otherwise, in terms of neighbors in the Americas (except that French might be somewhat useful in French Guiana, Martinique and Guadeloupe, countries still belonging to the overseas departments of France).

Alluding to the failure or the lack of political will of Haitian authorities to enforce Kreyòl as an LOI as mandated by the BR, DeGraff (2010a) contended,

> [There] are countries with populations smaller than Haiti's, such as Albania, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Iceland, and Norway, whose native languages are the languages of discourse within these respective nations. French should be taught as a *foreign* language for Haitians, with Creole as the language of *instruction*. That way, all academic subjects could be adequately taught. (para. 7-8)

This last point implies that instruction in such contexts is best carried out in students' MT, a position long established by decades of research and long adopted by the international community (Dejean, 2006, 2010; Yeshi, 2001).

Another critical reason why some people oppose Kreyòl as an LOI is what Makoni, Smitherman, Ball & Spears (2003) have posited: Kreyòl is a stigmatized language because Haitians are a stigmatized people. To a great extent, this is because of the connection of Haitians and other peoples of African descent to chattel slavery and other forms of degrading and dehumanizing treatment in the Americas and elsewhere (Makoni et al., 2003). As remarked by Spears (2010), "Language attitudes are almost always attitudes about the groups of people who speak them" (p. 3).

In summary, the powerful Catholic Church continues to fulfill its French imperialist mission in Haiti, a mission that is inherently anti Haitian culture (François, 2015). To a great extent, the Church is successful in its mission because, through especially its schools, it has a monopoly on shaping the thinking and behavior of the Haitian elite (Lubin & François, 2017). Its schools are the leaders of Haiti's schooling industry; thus, the overwhelming majority of other schools in the system—both religious and non-religious—follow their lead. Suffice it to say then, that the two most powerful agents of socialization in Haitian society—the Church and the schooling system—teach Haitians to revere French and revile Kreyòl. In all fairness, however, there are Haitians (and non-Haitians, too) who support Kreyòl, and from a pedagogical standpoint, agree that Kreyòl is a more effective LOI to teach students who only speak Kreyòl.

2.5 Literature on MTI's Benefits

According to Bamgbose (1976), MTI first gained international support at a UNESCO specialists meeting in 1951. The report from the meeting was published in 1953, and UNESCO's position on MTI was that instruction occurs best in pupils' MT; therefore, pupils

should begin their schooling in their MT in post-colonial societies (Bamgbose, 1976). Since UNESCO's adoption of its MTI policy, there has been a number of studies conducted on MTI. There is a solid body of evidence that demonstrates the positive effects of MTI on cognitive development (e.g., Carrasquillo & Rodriguez, 1996). Not only is MTI a sound pedagogical practice (Valdez, 1990; Garcia, 1991), its advantages are manifold and extend beyond academic benefits.

2.5.1 Academic Benefits of MTI

There are a number of studies conducted on MTI's educational benefits, especially in nations with similar colonial pasts and economic profiles to Haiti. According to Hebblethwaite (2012), "First-language educational systems are more successful across-the-board than second-language school systems like Haiti's" (p. 256).

Gudschinsky (1971) studied the effect of MTI on the acquisition of a second language in Mexico, South Vietnam, and Peru. The author reported that initial literacy in MT lessens educational culture shock and increases the child's sense of worth and expectation to succeed. Prophet and Dow (1994) found that students in Botswana showed better understanding of simple science concepts if they received instruction in their MT, Setswana. For example, students taught in Setswana outperformed the students instructed in English, their second language. Brock-Utne (2007) drew on a set of studies conducted on language of instruction in Tanzania and South Africa (LOITASA) research project to make the case for MTI. According to Brock-Utne (2007), the results of the studies showed that students express themselves well when they are allowed to use their African language instead of English, a language that they hardly hear or use outside of school. Another major finding is that when English is used as the language of instruction, there is a much larger spread in test performance. Her interpretation of this critical finding is that a small group of students—who have access to English resources, e.g. English CDs and who speak English at home with their

parents—succeed, while the vast majority fails. She contended that this occurrence further widens the gap between the affluent and the underprivileged in the aforementioned African societies. This is exactly what obtains in the Haitian context (Dejean, 2006).

The literature indicates other examples of worldwide studies that illustrate the positive effects of MTI on educational attainment. For instance, studies of first language to second language transitional programs at the primary level of schooling by Corvalan (1984) in Paraguay and Fitouri (1984) in Tunisia are illustrative of this. Similarly, the research of Mikes (1984) in Yugoslavia at both the primary and secondary levels of education is also demonstrative of this. As posited by Padilla, Fairchild and Valdez (1990) and Garcia (1991), MTI is not a hindrance to students' achievement, but a facilitator of academic success and should therefore be used in the schooling process. This is consistent with Mehrotra's (1998) reporting on the similar characteristic of developing nations that target the poor and have the highest literacy rates: "The experience of the high-achievers has been unequivocal; the mother tongue was used as the medium of instruction at the primary level in all cases" (p. 479). Coulmas (1992) maintained that comparative data on educational language policy demonstrates that the use of a second language to instruct students, especially at the primary level of education, correlates with high illiteracy rates and poverty, while Cummins (2009) posited that the exclusion of creoles in instruction counters what most educational research suggest: MTI contributes to reducing dropout rates and educational underachievement.
Even in the process of acquiring a second language, first language plays a major role (Riches, 2000; Riches & Curdt-Chritiansen, 2010). This why academics such as David Atkinson (1987) and William Schweers, Jr. (2003) in their research have reported their use of the MT in their English as a foreign language (EFL) classes to facilitate comprehension, participation, give instruction, and so forth. According to Akinnaso (1993), effective literacy as well as second-language proficiency depends largely on first-language proficiency. That is why

scholars like Heugh (2006) have suggested that MTI should be used for the first six years of formal education. That is, it is helpful to develop skills in first language and then transfer them to second language (Dehaene, 2007, 2009, 2011).

2.5.2 Other Benefits of MTI

MTI also has other benefits besides educational ones. For example, it lends itself to ethnic pride and the awakening of nationality consciousness, as in the case of Kazakhstan's struggle to liberate itself from Russian domination (DeLorme, 1999). It is a way to preserve language and cultural identity, as in the case of Hmong refugees in California (Lee, 1999). Lastly, according to Pattanayak (1981), MTI promotes resistance against foreign domination, as in the case of India's fight against British imperialism.

India's language situation is relatively complex. On one hand, unlike the Haitian case, there is a practical reason for this language choice; on the other hand, similar to the Haitian case, India's colonial past does play a role as well. India is a culturally diverse country, and there are a number of different languages spoken across the country; thus, there is the need for a common language that can facilitate transactions as well as unite the Indian people. The Indian Constitution, for example, recognizes 22 different regional languages. With 22 officially recognized languages and many more not recognized by the Indian Constitution, it makes practical sense to have a well-established language such as English alongside Hindi (the MT of 20% of Indians) as an official language.

On the other hand, once India became independent, the effects of British colonialism did not just disappear. Pigg (1992) posited that oppressed peoples may explicitly protest against their oppression, yet will engage in behaviors that seem to condone and perpetuate their oppression. Memmi (1965) made a similar point when he argued that in general while the colonized adamantly condemns colonization, paradoxically he or she nevertheless internalizes and upholds colonialism discourse and values. Both the Indian and the Haitian

case lend support to both Pigg's (1992) and Memmi's (1965) remarks. For example, it is commonplace to find Indian and Haitian elites trying to be more British than the British and more French than the French, respectively. This pattern is not uniquely an Indian or a Haitian experience. Rather, this pattern is commonplace in most, if not all, former colonies of European nations, as they are trapped in development discourse (Escobar, 1995; McMichael, 1996).

To summarize, studies demonstrate the advantages and effectiveness of MTI. And for many world nations, varieties of creoles are indeed the only MT and often the only language that everyone in those particular nations has access to. In Haiti's case, while Kreyòl, in general, is battled and rejected especially by the Haitian elite, it is the *only* language that the entire Haitian population speaks. Given what the literature on MTI shows, creole-speaking countries—with all other requisites satisfactorily in place (e.g., qualified teachers, well-written textbooks)—can improve their schooling system with well-planned and well-executed creole programs. This is true for schooling systems in all other countries as well. On an optimistic note, while the glass may not even be half full, it is not completely empty either; there are indeed a number of notable, successful creole educational programs worldwide.

2.6 Literature on Creole Programs Worldwide

According to Migge, Léglise, & Bartens (2010), though the last three decades have seen a steady increase in the use of creoles in the media, political campaigns, health and vocational education—the landscape of formal schooling in creole communities has not changed much; that is, most creoles, including Kreyòl, are still viewed by many stakeholders in the education process as unsuitable means of instruction. In spite of this reality, different types of creole educational programs can be found in various parts of the world.

2.6.1 Types of Creole Programs

All creole educational programs are not the same. Consequently, when looking at creole programs it is necessary to identify the objectives of policy makers, program initiators, and program implementers. To that end, Siegel (1999, p. 515) has identified and explained three broad types of creole program models: (a) *awareness raising*, (b) *accommodation*, and (c) *instrumental*. While all three types seek to incorporate creoles into formal education, they vary in terms of the different roles they assign creoles in the schooling process (Siegel, 1999).

2.6.1.1 Awareness raising programs. These programs vary in how they are structured and implemented. However, in general, they do not use creoles as an LOI; instead, they primarily seek to raise awareness about and cast a positive light on the students' home language and culture. Some also attempt to point out differences and similarities between the home language and the LOI, especially in cases where the two are closely related. Awareness raising programs are often the initiatives of and financed by grass-roots activists who are attempting to right certain educational disadvantages. Accordingly, their efforts are frequently aimed at changing negative perceptions and attitudes that teachers and the general public may have about a particular local language. As Migge, Leglise & Bartens (2010) noted, many valuable educational products that can be used in formal education and teaching materials that can be used in teacher education programs have been generated from awareness programs. Various types creole awareness programs can be found throughout the world—namely in Chicago, USA (different types of Caribbean creoles); Hawaii, USA (English-based Hawaii Creole); Martinique, Guadeloupe, French Guiana, and La Réunion (French-based Creole); Saint Lucia (French-based Kwéyòl); the Philippines (Spanish-based Chabacano); Australia (English-based Krio); London, UK (English-based Caribbean Creoles); and French Guiana (French-based Nengee and Easter Maroon Creole) (Migge, Leglise & Bartens, 2010).

2.6.1.2 Accommodation creole programs. In these programs creoles are accepted or tolerated in classrooms, but are not used officially as LOIs. Usually students are allowed to use them to participate in various classroom activities until they have acquired enough knowledge in the LOI, which is usually a European language. Also, the home language is used to make content accessible to students who do not speak the European language at all. The accommodation model is commonplace, especially at the primary level of schooling, in most Caribbean countries (Migge, Leglise & Bartens, 2010).

2.6.1.3 Instrumental creole programs. These programs, unlike the other types above, use creoles as mediums of instruction to teach school subjects such as math and social sciences (Migge, Léglise & Bartens, 2010). In fact, some instrumental programs, like the one instituted at Lekòl Kominote Matènwa (LKM) in La Gonave, Haiti, use creoles to teach all subjects and perform all other school-related activities. In this kind of configuration, the European language is taught as a second language. Though there are relatively few instrumental programs or projects in formal education worldwide, there are some countries that have them. Migge, Léglise and Bartens (2010) have provided a list of the following countries that have such programs: Haiti (primary, grades 1-6, in Kreyòl); Jamaica (pilot study in primary, grades 1-4, in Jamaican Creole); Miami, USA (primary bilingual classes in Kreyòl); Boston, USA (primary bilingual classes in Kreyòl and Capeverdean); Curaçao (pre-primary and primary, grades 1-8, in Papiamento); Nicaragua (primary in Kriol); Brazil (primary in Amapa French Creole); Colombia (pilot study in primary, grades 1-4, in Saintandrewan); Seychelles (primary and part of secondary in Seselwa); Sierra Leone (pilot study in 10 primary schools in Kriol); Papua New Guinea (primary in Tok Pisin); Injimoo, Australia (preschool and primary, grade 1, in Torres Strait Creole); Barunga, Australia (primary, grades 1-5, in Krio); and Vanuatu (University level in Bislama).

Research on the use of creoles in education is underdeveloped, and most of the studies in the field examine instrumental creole programs that use creoles as the principal or only medium of instruction (Siegel, 2002 cited in Migge, Leglise & Bartens, 2010). There are even fewer studies that investigate the outcomes of accommodation and awareness programs. Migge, Leglise and Bartens (2010) summarized the reason for this lack of research in the following terms: (a) only some of the projects have built-in research components, (b) some of the projects are still at the beginning stages, (c) funding for these kind of studies is unavailable at present, and (d) researchers that can carry out such investigations are currently unavailable. Despite these constraints, there are some studies that have examined the performance of pidgins and creole programs (Siegel, 1996).

Murtagh (1982), in the Northern Territory of Australia, investigated whether or not a bilingual program that uses both Kriol and English as LOI facilitated the learning of English as well as Kriol. To do so, he compared several measures of oral language proficiency in Kriol and English of students in the first three years of schooling at two different schools—a Kriol-English bilingual one at Barunga and a monolingual English one at Beswick Reserve. It should be noted that Kriol is the MT of both groups. The results showed that students in the bilingual program had greater English proficiency than those in monolingual English programs. In short, the use of the MT as an LOI did not impede the acquisition of standard English; it instead facilitated its learning.

The work of Ravel and Thomas (as cited in Fleischman, 2008, p. 181) in the Seychelles also confirmed the advantages of MTI. The researchers reported that the academic performance of students who acquired literacy in Creole first were better than those who acquired literacy in English. For example, the Creole-instructed students outperformed their English-instructed counterparts in mathematics and even in English literacy (cited in Fleischmann, 2008, p. 181).

In conclusion, there are different types of creole programs all around the world. Unfortunately, however, there are not too many of them that enjoy the support of their hosting governments, as, say, in Curaçao, where Papiamentu is included through the university level (Devonish & Carpenter, 2007). Governmental support is critically important for the success of MTI creole programs (Devonish & Carpenter, 2007), and the benefits for such support outweigh the associated costs. For instance, first language programs help to improve literacy rates, content comprehension, graduation rates, and reduce dropout rates (Cummins, 2009; Hebblethwaite, 2012). As noted above, there are instrumental creole programs in Haiti, such as LKM, which I visited in December 2012. However, the accommodation model is by far the most prevalent of the three abovementioned types in Haiti. This next and last section of review of literature will examine the outcomes thus far of the use of Kreyòl in Haitian education.

The vast majority of monolingual Kreyòl-speaking Haitian students continue to be schooled and tested in French, a foreign language that they often neither speak nor understand. However, there examples of some schools in Haiti who use Kreyol as an MTI to instruct Haitian students (Trouillot-Lévy, 2010). For example, Fass (1988) reported about the Catholic Church's effort to curtail illiteracy in some parts of Haiti. As already mentioned above, in some of the dioceses where Kreyòl was used to promote literacy, literacy rates in Kreyòl were as high as 90% in some instances. Then there is what Trouillot-Lévy (2010) reported about Collège Université Caraïbe (CUC).

CUC is a private K-12 school in Port-au-Prince that was founded in the 1980s by former Haitian exiles or Haitians fleeing the hostile dictatorship of the Duvalier regime. They returned to Haiti with innovative educational ideas and were firm advocates of bilingual education and "creolizing" (p. 220) the curriculum. Because some of the founding

parents/educators had children who had also acquired English, they adopted and advertised a trilingual mission.

Interestingly, the writer explained, many parents thought the three languages would be French, English, and Spanish and were very disappointed upon learning that Kreyòl, not Spanish, was one of the three languages. Trouillot-Lévy (2010), however, reported that test scores on national exams served as justification for the use of Kreyòl in instruction. For example, 65% of CUC students performed above the national average. This was especially the case of students who had begun attending CUC at the kindergarten or first grade level. While assessment showed higher scores in Kreyòl than in French, "a significant percentage of the students' performance scores in all subjects, including French, were above average. This has been a consistent trend for the past twenty years," (p. 221). It should be noted that Trouillot-Lévy (2010) did not report on how exactly the three aforementioned languages are used in instruction. For example, her report neither stated the percentage of time allocated to each of the three languages nor did it state what language is used to teach which subject. The remainder of this section will summarize the outcomes of four formal MTI studies, three conducted in the 1980s and a relatively recent one carried out from 2010 to 2013.

2.6.2 Outcome of Bernard Reform MTI Policy

Pertaining to the MTI policy of the BR, Locher (2010) asked two relevant questions: (a) has the implementation of MTI made schools more effective? And (b) Are the students who are exposed to reformed teaching and curriculum learning more? To answer these questions, Locher drew on the findings of one large-scale study conducted in 1987 and three smaller ones (1982, 1984, and 1985). Put simply, the answer is *not really* for both questions, and Locher (2010, p. 180) summarized the findings of the 1982, 1984, and 1985 relatively

small scale studies that investigated the performance of fourth graders who participated in reformed teachings:

- MTI helped to produce Kreyòl literacy among a majority of students. However, proficiency in written Kreyòl was so weak that learning in other disciplines must suffer.
- It was uncertain whether Kreyòl literacy helped or hurt the acquisition of French competency.
- Progress in learning French was generally very slow. After four years of MTI, students were not yet capable of following simple instructions given in French (p. 180).

The third point lends support to what Chaudenson and Vernet (1983) noted: Most Haitian teachers are not fluent in French and certainly lack the competence to teach French; consequently, many of them read straight from books during lessons.

The 1987 study was a much larger one, with a sample size of nearly 10,000 students. Controlling for residence (urban vs. rural) and school management (religious vs. lay), Locher and his colleagues, compared the math, French, and general studies performance of fourth and sixth graders who, in one shape or form, received reformed schooling as mandated by the Bernard Reform to those of the traditional system. Locher (2010) summarized the findings as follows:

- Overall performance in reformed schools was significantly worse than in traditional schools.
- Urban students did better than rural students.
- Students in religious schools did better than students in lay schools.
- By grade six the difference in French competency, though still favoring traditional schools, was not large. MTI did not have an adverse effect on French acquisition. (p. 180)

Data from the only four studies demonstrated that "Creole instruction in Haiti does not seem to live up to the ideal of MTI elsewhere" (p. 178). Locher (2010), however, acknowledged that it is not the case that MTI is ineffective, but that the reform has not been implemented as it was planned. He posited, "Probably not a single student in Haiti has ever been taught exclusively according to the reform plans" (p. 179). Further, he noted this is because there has been an absence of political will to support the reform, and, above all, the overwhelming majority of schools who implemented the reform are egregiously poorly managed schools.

2.6.3 Michel DeGraff's Investigation of MTI in Haiti

In a study funded by the National Science Foundation (NSF), titled "Kreyòl-Based and Technology-Enhanced Learning of Reading, Writing, Math, and Science in Haiti," Michel DeGraff, from 2010 to 2013, investigated if active learning in Kreyòl improved education. He conducted his investigation at the Lekòl Kominote Matènwa (LKM) in La Gonave, Haiti. As mentioned above, LKM has an instrumental Kreyòl program, whereby instruction is exclusively in Kreyòl in all subjects. From 2010 to 2011, using the Early Grade Reading Assessment (EGRA) tool, DeGraff and his team of researchers evaluated the reading performance of LKM students in the first, second, and third grades. The results showed that early graders at LKM—instructed exclusively in Kreyòl—outperformed their counterparts who learned how to read in French who were evaluated in a World Bank-USAID study. For example, on average LKM students read 60 words per minute whereas their counterparts read on average 23 words per minute.

LKM has a mother-tongue books (MTB) program that encourages and teaches students how to create their own books in Kreyòl. LKM received a grant from USAID, World Vision, and Australian Aid to train five other schools in employing the MTB model. The EGRA-based evaluation tool showed that MTB model helped to narrow the literacy-

proficiency gap between LKM and the five other participating schools within one and a half years.

The study also evaluated outcomes in mathematics and reported the following results:

- Computer and Kreyòl-based interactive pedagogy made learning fun and thus facilitated deeper interest in mathematics;
- exit interviews with both teachers and students suggested that the intervention engendered self-pride and more positive attitude toward mathematics;
- teachers reported better understanding of difficult concepts; and
- participants reported friendlier teacher-student relationships due to collaborative play during instruction (DeGraff, National Science Foundation, 2015)

As in the case of CUC and LKM—two relatively well-managed schools with Kreyòl programs—the results are promising, and thus must be further investigated (see NSF's website for a more detailed account of DeGraff's 2015 study).

2.6.4 Summary of Literature Reviewed for the Study

In conclusion, I examined six different bodies of literature in the following order: (a) critical pedagogy education framework, (b) Kreyòl's history and development, (c) the history of Haitian education, (d) MTI's benefits, (e) worldwide creole language educational programs, and (f) Kreyòl's use in Haitian education.

The principal reason for my examination of the literature in these six areas was to focus on a specific issue that falls under the category of improving the quality of the Haitian schooling system, namely resolving the language dilemma in Haitian schools. This problem, as well as the overall quality of Haiti's schools, has plagued the system since its inception in that it makes learning an almost unreachable goal for most students in the system. As such, the purpose of my study is to help create sound education language policy that makes learning an accessible, meaningful reality for the 90 percent or more of monolingual Kreyòl-speaking

Haitian students who are trapped in schools that not only thwart their potential, but systematically kill their dreams and thus facilitate, inch-by-inch, the withering of Haiti's future. Thus, the aforementioned exploration was tremendously helpful in several important ways to this study.

First, given the purpose of the study, the review of literature affirmed that CP—an education framework that is concerned with demystifying oppression, fostering critical thinking, and enabling students to actively participate in positively transforming society —is an excellent choice of framework to frame, guide, and hold together the study because as a critical pedagogue, I am interested in finding out whether or not students and teachers are complying or counteracting, especially the no Kreyòl policy of one of the participating schools in this study.

Second, the literature on the history of schooling in Haiti illuminated the root cause and complexity of a Haiti's long-standing language problem, especially how that problem manifests and marginalizes the overwhelmingly monolingual Kreyòl-speaking students in Haiti's schooling system. Through the Church and Haiti's elite, France's neocolonial project, articulated in the early 19th Century, is still very much in application in Haiti's schooling system.

Third, in terms of Kreyòl's history and development, as DeGraff (2009) puts it and as explained above, Kreyòl's evolutionary path, compared to French or English, or language development in general, is not spectacular or so different at all. It is a full-fledged language that can be used to do anything that any other recognized languages can do. This means it is adequately equipped to be an LOI.

Fourth, data collected on MTI, for the most part, seem to be pointing in one direction: students learn best, especially in the early grades, in their MT or L1 if their L1 is supported.

Furthermore, the literature demonstrates that the benefits of MTI is not limited to educational recompenses.

Fifth, my review of the literature on worldwide creole programs provided the opportunity for me to see why MTI data collected for the Bernard Reform in Haiti is incongruent with those collected in some other countries in the world. Unlike in Curaçao, many creole programs in the Caribbean, including Kreyòl programs in Haiti, lack the support of their respective governments. Why is this so? The reasons can be summarized in the following threefold way: (a) neocolonialism discourse remains prevalent in most (if not all) Caribbean nations, and that discourse is one that says if it is not of European origin, it cannot possibly be good; (b) unchallenged and unexamined 'policy of elitist sanctity' (Winford, 1985, p. 354) is the order of the day; and (c) the minority elite's practice of elite closure emboldens and advantages them at the expense of the masses. Simply put, real governmental support (or the lack thereof) can make or break a creole language program.

Also, the review brought to light the connections between the Haitian language struggle and those of other peoples the world over, and, very importantly, what these other peoples are doing to cope with and perhaps resolve their language woes that Haiti can draw lessons from. For example, in implementing creole language programs, implementers and evaluators should ideally pose the following lucid questions: Do the stakeholders really understand and believe in the intentions of the program? Are there enough qualified administrators and teachers who subscribe to the program in order to correctly implement it? Are there enough appropriate books that are aligned with the goals and objectives of the program?

Sixth and taking me back to the main purpose of my query (which is to help craft education language policy that makes learning a reachable goal for *all* Haitian students), the review strengthened my conviction that Kreyòl must be the principal LOI, LOL and LOT at

the primary, secondary, and tertiary levels of education since that it the only language that the overwhelming majority of Haitian students speak. However, while the literature also addresses many important questions about the legitimacy of Kreyòl as a viable LOI, there is an absence of literature on what students and teachers in classrooms that ban Kreyòl do to facilitate learning. For instance, do students who only know the L1 remain mute during lessons? Do teachers break the no Kreyòl rule to address the learning needs of students who only know the L1? And if teachers and students go against the policy, for what purposes? As mentioned above, is it for similar purposes that Atkison (1987) and Schweers (2003) have reported?

Additionally, while there is literature on Haitian teachers' attitude towards the use of Kreyòl in schools, there is absence of literature on how students feel about the use or nonuse of Kreyòl in their classrooms and in Haitian education in general. This is essential because because are important stakeholders in the schooling process; therefore, their input matters, especially as it relates to creation and implementation of policy on language of instruction. This study contributes in both of the foregoing areas.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

3.1 Overview

In this chapter, I present the following: (a) the guiding questions for my study, (b) an explanation of the mixed methods approach and the rationale for taking that approach to conduct the study, (c) an elaboration of the research design, (d) a description of the instruments used to collect data, (e) the participants in the study, and (f) the procedures employed to collect and analyze data.

3.2 Research Questions

In chapter 2, the review of literature provided the context of Haitian education and delved into the pertinent issues to lay the groundwork. For example, the review shed light on why even monolingual Kreyòl speakers resist Kreyòl as an LOI in Haitian schools. The review underscored a number of important, relevant points that researchers of Haitian education and policy makers must take into account. It equally revealed or implied areas which still requires further investigation, especially if the principal aim is to help foster sound schooling language policies and improvement in the quality of education. In this regard, two specific areas which require examination are as follows: (a) the use of the L1 and for what reasons it is employed in especially classrooms where it is banned and (b) the beliefs of students regarding the use of the L1 in their classrooms and in instruction in general. I am interested in looking for evidence of the benefits of MTI—even in places where teachers and policies are in opposition to MTI. What is more, as students are the recipients of instruction, I am interested in obtaining their perspectives on MTI. From the standpoint of a critical pedagogue, the input of students should also inform language policy, as they are important stakeholders in the schooling process. Also, the survey of the three education reforms in Haiti surveyed in the literature review above have suggested that it is an inherently problematic

approach to attempt to make, change, or implement policy without first understanding the beliefs of the people on the ground. Along these lines, this study is guided by the following two over-arching questions:

1. What is the portrait of Kreyòl in classrooms at private Haitian schools where it is allowed and openly disallowed?
2. What are the beliefs of Haitian students regarding the use or nonuse of Kreyòl in their classrooms and as an LOI in general?

These two main questions are best answered by mixed-methods methodology, as will be explained below.

3.3 Methodology

Differences exist among the following three essential concepts—paradigm, methodology, and method (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). Understanding these differences is a concern for mixed methods (MM) research, as the field has had a history of confusing definitions of basic vocabularies (Brewer & Hunter, 2006). I am also mindful and cautious of the possibility that confusions and contradictions of these terms may exist in other fields as well; consequently, for reasons of clarity and consistency, I offer a definition for each of the three terms, adopted from Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009). Next, I use the definitions to summarize the distinctions as I understand them and adhere strictly to the definitions offered when referring to each term in this study.

- "Paradigm (i.e., post positivism, constructivism, pragmatism) may be defined as a 'worldview, complete with the assumptions that are associated with that view'" (Mertens, 2003 cited in Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009, p. 341).
- "Methodology [(e.g., quantitative, qualitative, mixed methods)] is a broad approach to scientific inquiry specifying how research questions should be asked and answered.

This includes worldview considerations, general preferences for designs, sampling logic, data collection and analytical strategies, guidelines for making inferences, and the criteria for assessing and improving quality" (p. 339).

- "Methods include specific strategies and procedures for implementing research design, including sampling, data collection, data analysis, and interpretation of the findings" (p. 339).

To summarize, a paradigm is a worldview. Equipped with its particular set of assumptions, philosophical and sociopolitical underpinnings, a paradigm influences, to a great extent, what and how a researcher observes, structures and asks questions, and how he or she interprets the data and reports the results. A paradigm greatly influences which methodology and methods a researcher uses to pursue his or her investigation. For instance, quantitatively-oriented researchers generally work within a positivist/postpositivist paradigm and mainly use quantitative methods (e.g., quantitative surveys) which facilitate the collection and analyses of numerical data; qualitatively-oriented researchers principally function within a constructivist paradigm and primarily use methods that make possible the collection and analysis of narrative data (e.g., answers from open-ended interviews); and mixed methodologists operate chiefly within the pragmatist paradigm and use methods that lend themselves to the collection and analysis of both narrative and numerical data (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). As mentioned before, the methodology of choice for this study is MM.

3.4 Rationale for an MM Approach

An MM approach is a research methodology that is situated within a pragmatism paradigm (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). According to Tashakkori and Creswell (2007), a pragmatism paradigm allows an investigator to collect and analyze data, integrate findings, and draw inferences using both qualitative and quantitative methods in a single study. There

seem to be three areas where MM research methodology is superior to single methodologies research:

- "MM research can simultaneously address a range of confirmatory and exploratory questions with both the qualitative and the quantitative approaches.
- MM research can provide better (stronger) inferences.
- MM can research provide the opportunity for a greater assortment of divergent views" (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009, p. 33).

Consider the two over-arching questions which guide this study. For practical reasons, I have judged that the first question is best answered via qualitative methods while the second is best captured using both quantitative and qualitative methods. In the pragmatist paradigm, questions drive research methodology and methods (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). MM methodology allows researchers unrestricted freedom from using only quantitative or qualitative research methods to collect, organize, and analyze data from various sources.

Bearing in mind the complex language situation in Haitian schools, I believed combining quantitative and qualitative methods was the best approach to pursue my investigation. As noted by Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009), "The ultimate goal of any research project is to answer the questions set forth in the beginning of the study" (p. 33), and I concur with the authors when they posit that "[t]he main reason for using [a mixed methods] approach is to provide a better understanding of the phenomenon under investigation" (p. 286). The quantitative data collected enabled me to capture whether or not the participants want the MT to be used in their classrooms; however, I also needed to appreciate what is happening in the minds of students when the lesson or the task is in the L2 versus when it is in the L1. I needed to know, for example, in which language(s) they feel comfortable learning new and familiar materials. This sort of appreciation did not come about by merely examining quantitative data, it required employing qualitative methods (i.e., asking open-ended questions

on a questionnaire) to tease out genuine feelings, beliefs, and positions. This is why, given the complex nature of the language situation in Haitian society and especially in Haitian schools, a thorough exploration necessitates the combining or mixing of different strands, which in essence my research design represents.

3.5 Research Design

The research design for this study is a sequential exploratory mixed methods design (QUAL → quan), which is an MM multi-strand design variety (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). The research design is visually presented in Figure 1. Sequential mixed designs are MM studies "where the phases occur in chronological order, with one strand emerging from or following the other…." (p. 145). In this case, informal observations and chats with teachers and administrators (though not collected data) and preliminary analysis or inferences drawn from collected data in the form of audio-recorded observations from the first strand will lead to the formulation of the different components of the next strand. The results of both strands are then incorporated into the final conclusions drawn.

The first phase of this study is qualitative data driven. The symbol for the qualitative phase (QUAL) is written first and in all capital letters, followed by an arrow and then the quantitative phase, which is expressed in non-capitalized letters (Qual—quan). Said differently, the research design is sequential exploratory because qualitative data was collected and analyzed in Phase I, and subsequently a mixture of both quantitative and qualitative data were collected and analyzed in Phase II. Had the quantitative phase preceded the qualitative phase, the design would have been named a *sequential explanatory* and most likely quantitative data driven (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009).

As shown in Figure 1, this study has three phases. The arrows indicate how data collected and analyzed at each stage impacts data collection and analysis in subsequent stages and phases. the research methods and activities carried out in each phase are indicated in each

of the three round-edge rectangles. Phase I consists of collaborating with school administrators from both schools to set up the formal audio-recorded observations and generating fieldnotes from touring the campuses of both participating schools, visiting classrooms at both schools, and chatting with teachers and administrators from both schools. Phase I also consists of carrying out formal digitally audio-recorded classroom observations (n=10) as well as analyzing collected qualitative data to inform the creation of the instrument used for data collection in the second phase. Phase II comprises developing a student questionnaire, piloting the questionnaire, and administering it to students (n=141) from both participating schools. The second phase also involves analysis of quantitative and qualitative data obtained from the questionnaires. The last phase, Phase III, consists of meta-inferencing of results of analyses of all data sources.

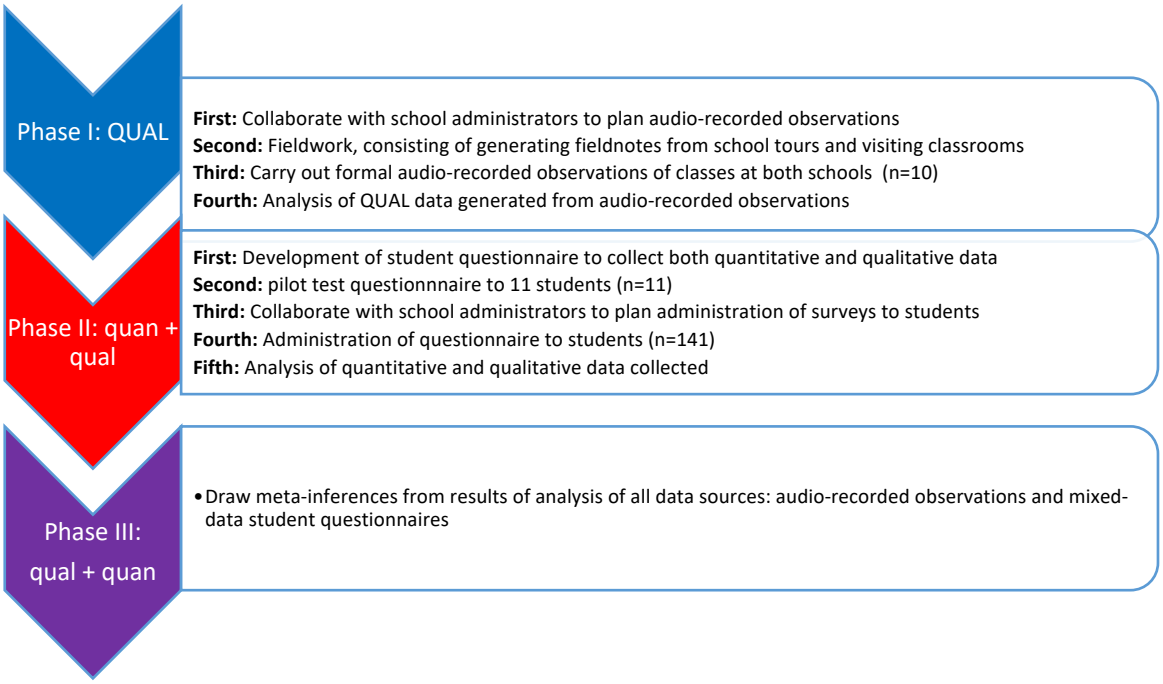

Figure 1. Mixed methods research design for the study: Sequential Exploratory

3.6 Instruments

This section presents and describes the instruments used to collect both qualitative and quantitative data. The instruments described below yielded multiple sources of data, which include:

- Transcribed, translated from French or Kreyòl to English, and coded digitally audio-recorded classroom observations (n=10)
- Survey results, consisting of quantitative responses and qualitative comments (n=141)
- Fieldnotes which were taken during the observational sessions

The qualitative instrument is described first, followed by the description of the mixed-data instrument.

3.6.1 Qualitative Data Instrument

Within the context of teaching English foreign language (EFL) monolingual classes over a period of ten months to students who had taken between 0 and 200 hours of English, David Atkinson experimented using the MT for various purposes in his EFL classes. He noticed that certain uses of the MT were very useful in that they helped to facilitate learning in L2 classes. As such, Atkinson (1987) formulated a list of those useful techniques and activities. Going into 10 different classrooms to collect qualitative data, using observational method, I did not know what to expect. That is, I did not know whether or not teachers and students would use the L1 in the L2 classes, and, if they did, for what purposes. This why to guide the exploration, I used an adapted version of David Atkinson's list of suggested uses of the MT in the EFL classroom (1987) (see APPENDIX A for the complete adapted list).

The list was adapted to serve as an instrument to facilitate data collection during the audio-recorded observations at the two participating schools. According to Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009), observations may be recorded as running narrative in two basic ways: "[T]he observer takes field notes and records as many interactions as possible, or observations may be recorded using instruments or protocols with a specified, structured format including numeric scales" (p.220). What follows are the nine techniques or activities on Atkinson's (1987) original list:

1. Eliciting language

2. Checking comprehension
3. Giving instructions
4. Co-operation among learners
5. Discussions of classroom methodology
6. Presentation and reinforcement of language
7. Checking for sense
8. Testing
9. Development of useful learning strategies

What follows is how I modified Atkinson's list to have developed the instrument that in part facilitated data collection during the observations:

- Item Number 8, "Testing," was removed. Based on my conversations with administrators at both schools, I knew beforehand that the students are never tested in Kreyòl, nor are Kreyòl words, phrases, or sentences ever used in tests at either one of the schools.
- The following three items were added to the questionnaire: (a) "Teacher used the L1 to encourage student participation," (b) "Teacher used the L1 to challenge students to use higher order thinking skills," and (c) Students used the L1 to compare answers to exercises and tasks. The foregoing items were added because the literature review revealed absence of the L1 in instruction at some schools impedes the development of higher order thinking skills (DeGraff, 2013) and student engagement (Dejean, 2010).
- The language format for each item was changed so that each technique and activity was direct in terms of who should be doing what. For instance, "eliciting language" was reformatted to "Students used the L1 to ask how to say something in the L2." Thus, this change specifies that it students who are engaged in the act of eliciting.

- "Yes" and "No" categories were added after each item, enabling rapid checking of any of the items on the list observed.

Figure 2 illustrates how Atkinson's (1987) list was adapted and converted into an instrument and how, along with recording and taking notes as running narratives, it facilitated data collection for one of the five observations conducted at AK school. More details will be provided when I discuss procedures for data collection.

Observation of 4th Year Secondary Math Class at AK

Observation Item	**Yes**	**No**
Students used the L1 to ask how to say something in the L2.		✓
Students used the L1 to compare answers to exercises and tasks.	✓	
Teacher used the L1 to encourage student participation.	✓	
Teacher used the L1 to give complex instructions.	✓	
Teacher used the L1 to explain classroom methodology at basic levels.	✓	
Teacher used the L1 to check for sense if students write or say something in the L2 that does not make sense; have them try to translate it into the L1 to realize their error.		✓
Teacher used the L1 to check for comprehension.	✓	
Teacher used the L1 to help students develop circumlocution strategies.		✓
Teacher used the L1 to challenge students to use higher order thinking skills.	✓	
Students (co-operating in groups) compared and corrected answers to exercises or tasks in the L1.	✓	
Teacher used translation to highlight a recently taught item/language item.		✓

Figure 2. Qualitative data collection instrument and example of use

3.6.1.1 Rationale for formal observations, chats, school tours and classroom visits

The principal of AK, gave me a full tour of his school. We visited the different parts of the campus, and he showed me all the classes and introduced me to the students and the staff members at his school. The assistant principal at AF, also took me around AF's campus and showed me some classes as well as introduced me to only the teachers of the classes that I was scheduled to observe. These school tours (and chats) were helpful, as they helped me to get a better sense of the physical space of where I would be conducting the observations, and especially where I could sit and set up my observation checklist and recorder so as to be as less intrusive as possible.

Observations, in general, allow researchers to see how participants function in their daily activity contexts (Patton, 1990). Once a researcher has the opportunity to observe the behavior of participants, the researcher is in a relatively better position to ask them meaningful questions about some of the behaviors exhibited during observations (Patton, 1990).

Initially, formal interviews were planned with both teachers and administrators; however, upon learning that Kreyòl was explicitly banned on the school campus at one of the participating schools, and teachers who spoke it on school grounds or use it to instruct students could potentially be terminated, I abandoned that plan. Nonetheless, I had informal conversations with some teachers and administrators. These informal chats helped to clarify certain behaviors that I had observed during the formal recorded observations, and in turn, were very helpful in the creation of the student questionnaire.

3.6.1.2 Rationale for questionnaire

During the several informal conversations with the administrators of both schools, it was concluded that Haitian students are generally shy and untrusting of strangers, and that most of them would be afraid to talk to a stranger about their beliefs regarding Kreyòl. This was especially the case for students in the Catholic congregational school who feared being punished for speaking Kreyòl during school hours, as Kreyòl is banned on the school's campus. Therefore, in consultation with both administrators, I determined that it was best to administer a questionnaire instead of interviewing student participants face-to-face.

3.6.2 Mixed-Data Instrument

The instrument designed to collect quantitative data is a mixed-data questionnaire. Researchers use questionnaires in studies to provide participants the opportunity to self-report in order "to express their attitudes, beliefs, and feelings toward a topic of interest (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009, p. 232). The first part of the questionnaire is intended for collection of quantitative data, while the second part is for collection of qualitative data. Both parts help to answer the second of the main research questions of this study mentioned above. That is, the questions are designed to provide insight on what the beliefs of student participants regarding the use of the L1 in their classrooms and in instruction in general. The questionnaire is an adapted version of C. William Schweers, Jr.'s (1999) questionnaire of "the Use of Spanish in the ESL/EFL Classroom" (see APPENDIX B and C). The questionnaire was adapted in the following ways:

- The original version (Schweers, Jr.'s, 1999) is written in English and is designed to obtain the viewpoint of Spanish L1 students in English as a foreign language (EFL)

classes on the use of Spanish (the MT) in their classes. My adapted version, written in French, is designed to collect data on the beliefs of Haitian students about the use of Kreyòl in their classrooms—in French-medium classes as well as classes that are free to use Kreyòl or a combination of the two. Very importantly, the questionnaire is not designed to collect data on whether or not students prefer one LOI over the other. Rather, as Jean-François (2006) in his study investigated the attitude of Haitian teachers (whom 80% lack competence in French) towards Kreyòl, the principal purpose of this questionnaire is to facilitate my investigation of the beliefs that private school Haitian students hold about Kreyòl. What I seek to find out is the extent to which students—especially those in monolingual-French classrooms—believe that the MT should be used in their classrooms and in their schools in general. If so, why? And if no, why not?

- The first four questions (all quantitative) on both the original and adapted versions are the same. However, the language was reformatted to suit the context. For example—Question 1, a dichotomous "yes" or "no" item—"Should Spanish be used in the classroom?" was changed to "Should Kreyòl be used in the classroom?"
- Question 5 on the original version is a Likert-type question with three different answer options. In the adapted version, the three options are removed; thus, Question 5 is converted into a qualitative, open-ended question, which reads as so: "If you prefer the use of Kreyòl in your class, write why?
- Question 6 on the original version is removed because it is irrelevant to this study, and two qualitative questions, Questions 6 and 7, respectively are added to the adapted version. (See APPENDIX C for the adapted version that was used in this study.)

The first part of the questionnaire, questions 1 to 4, is intended to collect quantitative data for the purpose of both descriptive (data summary) and inferential statistical analysis (chi square

and independent t-test). Question 1 is dichotomous-type of question, Questions 2 and 4 are Likert-type questions, and Question 3 is a multiple-choice type. The second part is comprised of three open-ended qualitative questions—namely questions 5, 6, and 7.

Initially a Kreyòl and French version of the questionnaire was drafted and piloted to 11 Haitian students—six fifth-year secondary, three third-year secondary, and two fourth-year secondary students who are not students of either of the two participating schools in this study. An assistant administrator at AK, helped to recruit the students. Also, the assistant administrator provided a sunny-bright and private room for the students to complete the questionnaire. All 11 students completed the Kreyòl as well as the French version. Subsequently, the Kreyòl version was discarded and the French version was retained because all 11 students reported that they were able to read and understand the French version better than the Kreyòl. Also, through the chats I had with the school administrators, I learned that although the student participants from both schools speak and understand oral Kreyòl better than French, they prefer to read materials in the L2 since that is the language they are accustomed to reading important, formal, and schooling materials. The student questionnaire is designed to probe information such as what follows: Should the L1 be used in instruction? If so, when and for what purposes? And do participants believe the L1 facilitate learning? Below is an English translation of the questions in the questionnaire:

1) Should Kreyòl be used in the classroom?
____Yes ____No

2) Have you liked or would you like your teacher to use Kreyòl in class?
____Not at all ____A little ____Sometimes ____A lot

3) When do you think it's appropriate for your teachers to use Kreyòl in your classes? Check all appropriate answers.
___To explain difficult ideas, words, and concepts
___To introduce new material
___To summarize material already covered
___To give tests
___To joke around with students
___To help students feel more comfortable and confident

___To check for comprehension
___To carry out small-group work
___To explain the relationship between Kreyòl and French
___To define new vocabulary items

4) What percent of the time do you think Kreyòl should be used?
___0% ___25+% ___50+% ___75+% ___100%

5) If you prefer the use of Kreyòl in your class, write why?

6) Do you believe using Kreyòl in your classes helps you to learn what the teacher is teaching? If yes, why?

7) In your opinion, how do you think instruction can be improved in your school?

3.7 Participants

3.7.1 The Schools

The participants in the study are from two participating schools: Opposition to Kreyòl Académie Français (AF) and Akademi Kreyòl (AK). Both schools are situated in Northern Haiti. Both have pre-kindergarten, elementary, and secondary school programs. AF is a private Catholic congregational school. Residents in the area consider this school as one for the elite. Parents who can afford the school fees and meet other stipulated conditions usually send their children to AF, believing that school is the best school in the area. For example, in addition to declaring acceptance and support for AF's no Kreyòl policy, they must also declare that they are not adherents of Vodou and have absolutely nothing to do with it. AK is also a private institution, and it is run by one of its cofounders. The school does not discriminate against Kreyòl or Vodou. In the region, AK is known for its innovative pedagogical practices. Both schools have the same grade and class structure. Minus pre-K, which is not compulsory, the schools have the following nine grades at the primary level, which are referred to as *niveau fondamental* (fundamental level):

- First Year Fundamental

- Second Year Fundamental
- Third Year Fundamental
- Fourth Year Fundamental
- Fifth Year Fundamental
- Sixth Year Fundamental
- Seventh Year Fundamental
- Eighth Year Fundamental
- Ninth Year Fundamental (though referred to as a fundamental, both schools treat this grade as the first year of secondary or high school).

The secondary grades, referred to as *segondaire*, are as follows:

- Troisième (2nd Year Secondary)
- Segonde (3rd Year Secondary)
- Rhéto (4th Year Secondary)
- Philo (5th Year Secondary)

The schools were selected for four reasons. First, as private institutions, they are representative of Haiti's schooling reality. Haiti has about 14,400 private schools and around 1,200 public schools. This means that more than 90% of all schools are non-state schools, and most do not receive government subsidies. Also, very unusual for a country of Haiti's economic profile (the country with the poorest economy in the western hemisphere), more than 80% of school students pay and receive no government subsidies to attend private, fee-based schools.

Second, both schools are relatively well-administered and supervised. That is, they have teachers who actually report to work with lesson plans to teach; they actually have curriculums and class schedules that teachers and students adhere to and follow, respectively; their teachers are supervised and compensated; they provide training and professional

development to their teachers; and they have established policies and mechanisms to manage the behaviors of students.

Third, since one of the study's principal objectives is to investigate the use of the L1 and its impact on teaching and learning in the L2 classroom, AF was an ideal venue to carry such an investigation, for French, the L2, is the medium of instruction in invariably all its classes, though, according to the assistant principal, the overwhelming majority of its students lack competence in French. It was assumed that since most learners lack competence in the L2, teachers perhaps used and encouraged students to use the L1 during lessons to facilitate both teaching and learning. Thus, AF's classrooms were ideal for this kind of observation. It offered the opportunity to observe why and for what purposes the L1 is used in L2 monolingual classrooms, if and when it is used.

Fourth, at AK, teachers at all levels are encouraged to use the L1 to teach, and students are free to express themselves in the L1. This is in stark contrast to AF, where teachers can be dismissed for using the L1 and students are punished for using it. The contrastive nature of the L1 situation at these schools offer an excellent opportunity for comparing behaviors, attitudes, beliefs, and especially the tacit value of the L1 which are best evaluated qualitatively.

3.7.2 The Teachers and Their Classes

A total of ten teachers (n=10), five from each school, participated as participants in the study. They consented to the formal observation of their classrooms. (See APPENDIX D and E for the English and French versions, respectively, of the teacher consent form). For comparative purposes, it was important to obtain a balanced representation of student levels from each school. As such, two upper-level (secondary) and three lower-level (fundamental) classes from each school were observed. Below is a breakdown of classes that were formally observed and digitally audio-recorded at AF:

- 5th and Terminal Year Secondary ("Philo"), Math
- 5th and Terminal Year Secondary ("Philo"), Social Science
- 6th Year Fundamental, French
- 5th Year Fundamental, French
- 9th Year Fundamental, Civic Education

The following classes were formally observed and digitally audio-recorded at AK:

- 4th Year Secondary ("Rhéto"), Math
- 2nd Year Secondary, Chemistry
- 9th Year Fundamental, Math
- 9th Year Fundamental, Writing Production
- 1st Year Fundamental, Writing

3.7.3 The Students

A total of 141 students from the two above participating schools voluntarily completed surveys, 75 from AK and 66 from AF. According to Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009), a volunteer sample is one of the two convenience sampling techniques—the other being a captive sample—"in which individuals willingly agree to participate in the study." (p. 171) The participants were not from the classes that I observed, as I wanted participation from as many students as possible from both schools and also to reduce the possibility of the effect social desireability (see APPENDIX B and C for the survey that students completed). Table 1 presents a breakdown of the distribution of students who voluntarily agreed to complete the questionnaire at both schools. The students were selected based on their availability and willingness to complete the survey.

Table1

Distribution of students who completed the questionnaire at both schools.

School	9th Year Fundamental	2nd Year Secondary ("Troisième")	3nd Year Secondary ("Segonde")	4th Year Secondary ("Rhéto")	5th Year Secondary ("Philo")	Total Students
AK	7	20	14	15	5	61
AF	10	9	11	6	10	46
AK +AF	20	29	25	21	15	107

3.8 Procedures for Data Collection and Analysis

The duration for data collection and analysis of data was twelve weeks (or 60 business/school days), and the procedures for collecting and analyzing both qualitative and quantitative data were carried out in three separate but related phases.

3.8.1 Phase I

3.8.1.1 Planning and executing the observations

During the first phase, fieldwork was necessary to plan, in collaboration with the administrators of both schools, the data collection process. Planning entailed determining which teachers were willing to be observed, establishing and fine-tuning the procedures for the observations, and scheduling the observations. Also, during this phase, fieldnotes were obtained from school tours, classroom visits and informal chats with school administrators. These informal visits and chats, though not research data, were very helpful in preparing the formal digitally audio-recorded observations of a total of ten classes, five from each school. Each class was observed once. Through these visits and chats, it was determined that I should be as nonintrusive as possible during the formal observations since both Haitian students and

teachers are relatively shy and even somewhat distrusting of especially English-speaking strangers[10]. For this reason, during the formal, audio-recorded observations, I usually sat on the side or in the back of the classes, away from the students and teachers. It was suggested that I neither sit next to the students nor ask them any questions during the observations, as that would probably intimidate them or make them suspicious that my intentions might even be "malicious," as explained by one of the collaborating administrators that I chatted with.

Before each observation, I met with each teacher individually for about 15 to 30 minutes to give him or her a general idea of the aim of the study and to obtain their signature on the teacher consent form (see APPENDIX D and E for the English and French versions, respectively, of the teacher consent form). Teachers were not told that they were being observed to see whether or not they used the L1 in their classes because I wanted them to be as natural as possible and to do what they normally do on a daily basis. I sat either on the side or in the back of the classroom. Once seated, I began to record and write notes as running narratives, using the Atkinson's adapted list to focus the observations. According to Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009), observations may be recorded as running narrative in two basic ways: "[T]he observer takes field notes and records as many interactions as possible, or observations may be recorded using instruments or protocols with a specified, structured format including numeric scales" (p. 220). I used a combination of the two methods to have captured as many behaviors and interactions as possible. Each class lasted for about an hour.

After each observation, the digital recordings were downloaded and stored on my password-protected computer. This enabled the deletion of the recordings from the recorder

[10]This distrust of English-speaking foreigners by Haitians is arguably the result of a combination of unfortunate historical conflicts between the US and Haiti—notably the American occupation of Haiti described in chapter 2, the constant meddling of the US in Haitian politics, several US military incursions in Haiti, US overt support for corrupt Haitian politicians, US led and financed coup d'états in Haiti, President William Jefferson Clinton's confession of destroying Haiti's rice industry, the US-dominated United Nations' admission of being responsible for bringing cholera to Haiti, and so forth.

right away. Observation notes were manually entered into a Word document after each observation and password protected with only me having access to the identifiable data.

3.8.1.2 Procedure for analyzing data from observations

According to Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009) "thematic analysis refers to different types of strategies for the analysis of narrative data, whereby resultant themes are identified" (p. 345). Also, Spradley (1979) has identified two major principles in thematic analysis: (a) the similarity principle and (b) the contrast principle. Evoking the former principle, the researcher can discover the meaning of a symbol by finding out how it is similar to other symbols, while with the latter, the researcher determines meaning of a symbol by examining how it differs from other symbols. Employing the similarity principle of thematic analysis, analysis of notes and audio recordings of the observations were conducted. This consisted of listening to the recordings and going over my notes, looking for patterns and themes. I especially focused on hearing and seeing if the teachers and students at both schools used the L1, and, if they did, for what purpose. As previously mentioned, an adapted version of David Atkinson's (1987) list of suggested uses for the L1 in the L2 medium classroom was used to guide my exploration during the observation, and complete results are presented in the next chapter.

3.8.2 Phase II

3.8.2.1 Planning and administering the questionnaire

Whereas the studies of scholars like Jean-François (2006) have looked at the attitude of Haitian teachers, the attitudes and beliefs of Haitian students are absent in the literature. Consequently, I really wanted to know how students felt about the use or nonuse of the L1 in their classrooms. Once the questionnaire was ready, separate meetings were held with the principal of AK and the asistant principal of AF. The objectives of the meetings were

fourfold: (a) give the administrators a general idea of what the questionnaire was about, (b) go over the procedures of how I would administer the questionnaires to the students, (c) create a schedule for the completion of the questionnaires, and (d) determine the best spaces for the administration of the questionnaires.

As planned, the questionnaires were administered at both schools, on four separate occasions at AK and three separate occasions at AF. The same procedures were executed each time. The procedures were as follows: first, jointly the collaborating administrators and I asked the students to voluntarily participate in a study which aims to better understand the effects of language on teaching and learning. If the students agreed, they were escorted to the classroom reserved for administering the questionnaires. The administrator who gave me access to the room was asked to leave the room, and was told that he could not be in the classroom until all questionnaires were completed and collected, and until all students had left the classroom.

Second, once all the participants were seated in separate seats, the instructions for completing the questionnaire were read to them. The rules, regulations, and the actual survey are written in French, as it was determined that French was the preferred language since students are accustomed to reading important, formal, and learning materials only in French and rarely ever in Kreyòl. However, the rules and regulations were explained in Kreyòl, the language that all the students understand and speak. The following rules and regulations were explained to them (see APPENDIX B and C for the English and French versions, respectively, of the student consent form and questionnaire):

- Their participation was completely voluntary, and they could change their mind and withdraw from the study at any moment;
- They would not be identified, their names would not be mentioned in the research, and they should not write their names anywhere on the survey;

- All their answers would be anonymous and kept confidential;
- No one, including their teachers and school administrators, would know their answers;
- Only I would have access to the questionnaires;
- There are no known or foreseeable harms or risks in participating in this study; and
- If they had any questions about the questionnaire, they should not hesitate to ask me.

Third, each student was given one questionnaire. They were instructed not to talk and remain seated until they were instructed to bring forward the questionnaire. They were invited to write their responses in Kreyòl or French (even though AF students are not allowed to speak Kreyòl when they are in school, but were allowed to write in Kreyòl just for this study). Some students responded in Kreyòl, some in French, and some a mélange of Kreyòl and French. Also, they were given 30 minutes to complete the questionnaire. After everyone in the room was done, students were reminded that their names should not be written on the questionnaires, and were asked, one row at a time, to come up and insert the questionnaires into a big yellow envelope placed on a desk in front of the classroom. Lastly, students were thanked for their participation and allowed to leave the classroom.

Along with the observation notes, field notes, and consent forms, the questionnaires were put inside the same briefcase and locked with a key secured by me. Thirty-four of the surveys were either indecipherable or the bulk of the questions were not answered. For this reason, they were put to the side and not used in the data analysis. The following day, analysis of the data began.

3.8.2.2 Procedure for analyzing data from completed questionnaires

Analysis of the questionnaires consist of activities in the following order:

1. I did a first round of reading of all the questionnaires to get a very broad feel of the responses. As mentioned above, during the first round of reading, 34 surveys were put to the side because they were either illegible or flagrantly

incomplete. For example, 18 of the questionnaires had just scribbles or gibberish and 16 were totally blank. As questions 1to 4 are quantitative, I coded the responses, entered the coded responses in Excel, and created descriptive statistics tables with the data.

2. The identity of every student participant is anonymous, and each completed questionnaire was given a code. I did a first round of reading of both the quantitative and qualitative responses to get a general feel of the responses. As mentioned above, some students responded in Kreyòl, French, or a mixture of both. Hence, for each questionnaire, I translated the students' responses into English and then organized them in a Word document.
3. Subsequently, in collaboration with a colleague, Dr. Roselor François, I did a second round of reading, focusing on the qualitative questions, questions 5 to 7. Evoking thematic analysis, separately we began to look for patterns and themes. During this round of reading, I came up with ten themes. That is, I was able to assign each comment to one of 10 categories. The themes were color coded and given a three-letter acronym. The acronyms are as follows:
    - L1 Facilitates Comprehension of Content (purple, FCC)
    - L1 Facilitates Meaningful Discussion (green, FMD)
    - L1 Facilitates Unrestrained Participation (pink, FUP)
    - L1 Improves and Strengthens Instruction (black, ISI)
    - L1 Protects Haitian Identity (brown, PHI)
    - L1 Reinforces / Represents Haitian Identity (blue, RHI)
    - L1 is Inferior to French (red, ITF)
    - L1 Impedes Social Mobility (orange, ISM)
    - L2 Facilitates Social Mobility (yellow, FSM)

- Make Education Practical (grey, MEP)

4. Dr. François read independently and came up with six categories that are similar to FCC, FMD, FUP, RHI, ISI and FSM. Alone, I did a third round of reading, looking for other themes and combining categories. During this round of reading, no new themes emerged, and it was noted that the students responses were repetitive. PHI was removed from the list of themes since it closely resembles theme RHI. MPE was removed because it only emerged from the responses of a few senior AF students. Also, ISI merged with FCC, as they are very similar. Both ITF and ISM were incorporated into FSM due to their close resemblance. Thus, five final themes emerged as follows:
    - L1 Facilitates Comprehension of Content (FCC)
    - L1 Facilitates Meaningful Discussion (FMD)
    - L1 Facilitates Unrestrained Participation (FUP)
    - L1 Reinforces / Represents Haitian Identity (RHI)
    - L2 Facilitates Social Mobility (FSM)
5. Next, the coded questionnaires were sorted by grades, and because the responses were repetitive, 50 questionnaires were selected, the first five from each of the following grades: 5th and Terminal Year (*Philo*), 4th Year Secondary (*Rheto)*, 3rd Year Secondary, 2nd Year Secondary, and 9th year Fundamental. Lastly, the responses were organized into tables to facilitate their reporting in the results chapter (see APPENDIX F).
6. In collaboration with a colleague, Shujiao Wang, quantitative data generated from the first four questions of the questionnaire were further analyzed. Question 1 is a Yes/No question, and is thus considered categorical data. Chi-square analysis was used to explore if there is a significant difference in how

students from the two different schools answered. Question 3 is a multiple answer question; consequently, a comparison bar graph was generated to visualize the distribution and to compare the responses of students from both schools. Also, independent t-tests were conducted for Questions 2 and 4 to explore group differences. Excel and SPSS 22.0 were used to analyze the foregoing data, and Ms. Wang assisted me with the analysis.

3.8.3 Phase III

3.8.3.1 Meta-inference of all results

Phase III consists of a meta-inference of all results obtained from analyzing data collected from different sources. Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009) define meta-inference as follows: "[Meta-inference] is a conclusion generated by integrating the inferences obtained from the [qualitative] and [quantitative] *strands* of a [mixed methods study]" (p. 338). Thus, in the process of conducting the meta-inference, I combined the results of the classroom observations and the mixed-data questionnaire, looking for insights into the two main research questions:

- What is the portrait of Kreyòl in classrooms at private Haitian schools where it is allowed or openly disallowed?
- What are the beliefs of Haitian students regarding the use or nonuse of Kreyòl in their classrooms and as a LOI in general?

To summarize, this third chapter, the main research questions for this study was discussed. Next, the mixed methods approach was explained as well as why I opted for that particular methodology. I then presented the research design for this study, which is a sequential exploratory mixed methods design. Next, I provided a description of the instruments used to collect data along with a description of the participants in the study.

Finally, I discussed the procedures employed to collect and analyze data from both strands. The results for the analyzed data are presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS

4.1 Overview

This fourth chapter reports on the results of this sequential exploratory mixed methods design study, which has the following purposes: (a) obtain a portrait of the use of the L1 in classrooms where it is allowed and in classrooms where it is explicitly forbidden, and (b) examine the beliefs of Haitian students, regarding the use or nonuse of the L1 in their classrooms and in the schooling process in the Haitian context. Qualitative data—obtained from audio-recorded observational method—was collected and subsequently analyzed in Phase I of the study. Then, in Phase II, a questionnaire consisting both quantitative and qualitative questions was used to collect mixed data, which were then categorized and analyzed.

As such, this chapter presents the results in the order that the data from both strands were collected, categorized, and analyzed. Figure 3 illustrates how the results and analyses for this study are presented in this chapter: (a) results for the audio-recorded observations, (b) an integrated summary of the observations, (c) results for the quantitative questions on the questionnaire, (d) results for qualitative questions on the questionnaire, and (e) an integrated summary of the results for both Phase I and II are presented to conclude the chapter.

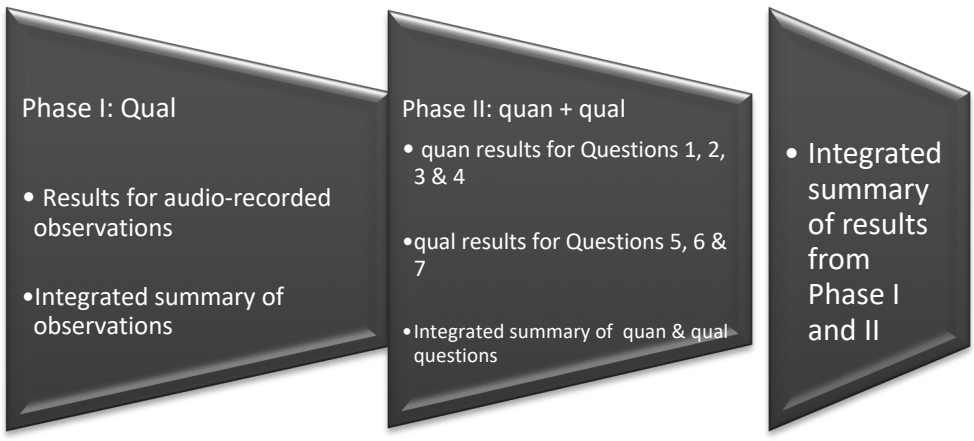

Figure 3. Sequence of qualitative and quantitative results presented in Chapter 4.

4.1.1 Phase I: Results for Audio-Recorded Observations

Recapping the data collected in Phase I, ten classes, five from each school, were observed. Each observation, lasting for about an hour, was audio-recorded. An adapted version of David Atkinson's (1987) list served as the protocol which facilitated note taking in the form of running narratives for all ten observations. (see APPENDIX A for the adapted version of the David Atkinson's list.) The following classes at AF were observed:

- 5th / Terminal Year Secondary ("Philo"), Math (Instructor: Teacher A)
- 6th Year Fundamental, French (Instructor: Teacher B)
- 5th / Terminal Year Secondary ("Philo"), Social Science (Instructor: Teacher C)
- 5th Year Fundamental, French (Instructor: Teacher D)
- 9th Year Fundamental, Civic Education (Instructor: Teacher E)

The following classes at AK were observed:

- 4th Year Secondary ("Rhéto"), Math (Instructor: Teacher F)
- 9th Year Fundamental, Math (Instructor: Teacher G)
- 2nd Year Secondary, Chemistry (Instructor: Teacher H)
- 9th Year Fundamental, Writing Production (Instructor: Teacher I)
- 1st Year Fundamental, Writing (Instructor: Teacher J)

The results for the observations are presented in the order that each class was observed. To preserve the confidentiality of the teachers, each teacher is given a title such as "Teacher A," "Teacher B," and so forth. Also, the gender of the teachers are not disclosed. This is why pronouns such as "he" or "she" are not used when referring to the teacher participants. Table 2 provides a summary of a list of activities that students and teachers at both schools used the L1 to carry out.

Observation 1

5th / Terminal Year Secondary Math Class at AF

Seventeen students were present, 12 boys and 5 girls. For the first 15 to 20 minutes of class, the teacher (Teacher A) wrote notes in the L2 on the board, then greeted the students, using the L2. The lesson was on defining polynomials, and, from start to finish, was in the L2. The teacher asked only close-ended questions, such as "What is the value of Y?" and "What is the final answer?" The students always responded with one-word or one-number answers. The students did not ask questions, nor did they offer comments or suggestions. The teacher practically did all the talking. Neither the teacher nor the students used the L1 during the lesson.

Observation 2

6th Year Fundamental French Class at AF

Fifty-three students were present, 32 boys and 21 girls. For the first 15 to 20 minutes of class, the teacher (Teacher B) wrote notes in the L2 on the board, and in the L2 asked the students to copy the notes into their notebooks. The lesson, a French grammar lesson, was on identifying the different types of past participles and how to use them correctly in sentences. The teacher asked for the grammar rules and called on students to answer. Every time a student gave the correct answer, the teacher directed the other students to clap, praising the student who provided the correct answer. The last 15 minutes of class consisted of independent seat work, as the teacher went around the room to check the students' notebooks. The entire lesson was in the L2, and the L1 was not used at all. The students did not ask questions, nor did they offer comments or suggestions.

Observation 3

5th / Terminal Year Secondary Social Sciences Class at AF

Seventeen students were present, 12 boys and 5 girls. For the first 15 to 20 minutes of class, the teacher (Teacher C) wrote notes on the board, using only the L2. The lesson's aim

was “Reflexion sur le code rural de Boyer” (Reflections on Boyer’s Rural Code). The teacher used the L2 to ask the students to share their reflections and what they know about the code. No one did. Consequently, to encourage participation, still speaking in the L2, the teacher told the students that they could use the L1 to answer or elaborate to no avail. Thus, using only the L2, the teacher asked only close-ended questions, such as what follows: “En quelle année le code a-t-il été institué?” (In what year was the code instituted?) and “Can you state three problems with the code?” (Pouvez-vous indiquer trois problèmes avec le code?) Some students responded mostly with one-word answers. The students did not ask questions, nor did they offer comments or suggestions.

Observation 4

5th Year Fundamental French Class at AF

Forty-five students were present, 29 boys and 16 girls. The teacher (Teacher D) wrote the lesson’s aim on the board. It read as follows: “A la fin de la leçon tu seras en mesure de faire la différence entre un participe présent et un adjectif verbal” (At the end of the lesson, you will be able to differentiate between a present participle and a verbal adjective) . Using the L2, the teacher asked the students to read the objective out loud. Next, the students were instructed to take out their French grammar books and read from them. In the L1, the teacher asked for the grammar rules and called on students to answer. Every time a student gave the wrong answer, as a punishment, the teacher directed the student to stand up and to remain standing until the end of the class. The students standing up were also ridiculed by their classmates. Lastly, the teacher instructed the students to do the exercises in their grammar books, while going around to check the students’ work. The teacher also went over some of the flagrant errors, and collected the notebooks of the students who had all correct answers. The entire lesson was in the L2, and the L1 was not used at all. Students did not ask questions, nor did they offer comments or suggestions.

Observation 5

9th Year Fundamental Civic Education Class at AF

Twenty-seven students were present, 18 boys and 9 girls. The teacher (Teacher E) greeted the students and asked them how they were doing in the L1. Most of the class replied, using the L1. Using the L2, the teacher told the students that the lesson was on Haiti's independent governmental institutions. The teacher read from her notes, which were in the L2. Using the L2, Teacher E lectured on the notes on the board. Then, the teacher proceeded to exchange with the students in the L1. For example, in the L1, Teacher E said, "Si peyi sa a ap janm vin yon pi bon peyi, gouvènman sa a ak tout lòt gouvènman k ap vin aprè l, ap oblije bay tout enstitisyon leta yo jarèt." (If this country is ever going to become a better country, this government and all other governments that will come after, will have to strengthen all of the state institutions.) Some students, using the L1, commented, answered questions, and asked questions about the different governmental institutions. For example, a student said that it is a waste of time to try to strengthen Haiti's governmental institution because all the institutions are too corrupt. Another student chimed in, and said that "Nou ta dwe eklate tout enstitisyon yo, e ranplase yo pa lòt." (We should blow up all the institutions and replace them with new ones.) The teacher and some students laughed. About 45 minutes into the lesson, almost near the end of class, the priest who runs the school came and stood in the doorway of the classroom and gave the teacher a mean, icy stare. He shook his head, as though he was disappointed, and walked away. The teacher stopped teaching, and the class came to a complete silence. A few students chatted with their friends in the L1, while most of them sat quietly for about 3 to 5 minutes before going to their next class.

Observation 6

4th Year Secondary Math Class at AK

Seventy-two students were present, 45 boys and 27 girls. The teacher (Teacher F) walked into the classroom and immediately began writing notes on the board. Using the L2, the teacher wrote the following aim: “Le somme égal à zéro” (The sum is equal to zero). After the students copied the notes, the teacher asked them to solve the following trigonometry problem: *sin 3x + cos x + sin 5x = 0 – I – R.* Some students worked on the problem independently and in groups, while most, not the doing the assignment, talked with their friends, using the L1. (It took about 15 to 20 minutes for the students to write the notes that the teacher wrote on the board). About 25 minutes into the class, the teacher began to teach, using a highly *frenchified* form of Kreyòl that some creolists refer to as “mesolectal Kreyòl.” For example, looking in the direction of a few students who appeared to be distracted, the teacher said,“Lè n gen yon pwoblèm sérieux devan n comme celui la, il faut que nou fikse tèt nou sou zepòl nou pour être capable le résoudre dans une mannière tèt frèt et méthodiquement. (When we are presented with a serious problem such as this one, we must fix our heads on our shoulders to be able to solve it cool headedly and methodically.) Note, in the foregoing untranslated assertion, while the following phrases or words are Kreyòl: “Lè n gen yon pwoblèm,” “devan n,” “nou fikse tèt nou sou zepòl nou,” “tèt fret,” “e”; the following French phrases or words are included in the same statement: “comme celui la.” “il faut que,” “pour être capable le résoudre dans une mannière,” et méthodiquement. ” Then the teacher used a combination of the L1 and L2 to go over the math problem and to ask comprehension questions to the students. For example, in the L1 the teacher asked the students the following question: “E si m ta mete yon 4 devan X sa a olye 3 sa a?” (What if I were to put a 4 in front of this X instead of this 3?) He paused for a few seconds, in the L2, he followed up with the following question: Quel sera la nouvelle réponses? (What will be the new answer?) The class was very noisy and lively, as students freely used the L1 to either participate in the lesson by

giving answers and asking questions or chat with their friends. The chat was somewhat disruptive at times, as some students were also playing around. Some worked on the problems and compared their answers, while others continued to goof off. The teacher had to stop teaching on three occasions to instruct some students to stop talking and pay attention.

Observation 7

9th Year Fundamental Math Class at AK

Fifteen students were present, 9 boys and 6 girls. The teacher (Teacher G) walked into the classroom and used the L1 to greet the students and to ask them how they were doing. The teacher then proceeded to write notes in the L2 on the board, taking about 20 minutes to do so. The students wrote along. Teacher G wrote in the L2 that the objectives of the lesson were for students to know how to correctly trace different types of triangles and to calculate their areas. The teacher then read what was written on the board and explained it to the students in the L1. The teacher then used the compass and ruler to draw a right triangle on the board. The teacher said the math problem in the L2 and invited the students to use the L1 to participate. Some students compared their answers while the teacher was going over the problem. Using a combination of the L1 and the L2, Teacher G guided the students in solving the problem on the board. They drew on all their linguistic resources to communicate their knowledge. Using a combination of the L1 and the L2, students shouted out answers. For example, in the L2, one girl answered, “C’est un triangle isocèle.” (It’s an isosceles triangle.) Another girl provided her answer in the L1, answering “Se yon triyang ekilateral paske li gen twa bò ki egal.” (It’s an equilateral triangle because it has three sides that are equal.) The teacher, in the L1, concluded the lesson by telling the students that they shall never see a problem on the national exam that is as difficult as the one they went over and instructed them to start preparing for the national exam. One student, in the L1, told the teacher if they will never see a problem like that on the national exam, why did he give them such a problem to solve.

Jokingly, the teacher replied: “M ap travay misk sèvo w yo pou lè w rive nan egzamen pou wè se jwèt ti bebe.” (I am working the muscles of your brain so that when you take the exam it will be child’s play to you.)

Observation 8

2nd Year Secondary Chemistry at AK

Twenty-five students were present, 16 boys and 9 girls. The teacher (Teacher H) walked into the classroom and used the L1 to ask the students how they were. The teacher did not have an aim or notes on the board. Teacher H wrote formulas such as “CH4” and “Nacl” and chemistry words in the L2 on the board (e.g., “L’électron porte une charge negative”), not mixing languages, and as he spoke he asked the students questions mostly in the L1. However, when the teacher said or explained theories and formulas, that was done in the L2. From a Bloom’s Taxonomy perspective, the teacher asked the students a mixture of lower order thinking questions—notably *knowledge, comprehension,* and *application* questions. Throughout the lesson, the teacher often said certain French words like “varier” (vary) and asked the students if they knew what the word meant in Kreyòl. Teacher H also invited the students to ask questions. Student participation was relatively high, and student-teacher exchange was also very high. Two students even challenged the teacher’s answer, and the teacher admitted being wrong, and jokingly, Teacher H said, “I wanted to see if you all were paying attention.” Both the teacher and some students burst out laughing. Some students worked by themselves, while some formed groups of threes and fours and compared their answers, using the L1.

Observation 9

9th Year Fundamental Writing Class at AK

Fifteen students were present, 9 boys and 6 girls. The teacher (Teacher I) walked into the classroom and immediately, without first greeting the students, started to write on the

board. In the L2, Teacher I read out what he wrote on the board: “Le processus de planification comporte trois phases: l’introduction, le développment, et la conclusion.” (The planning process has three phases: introduction, development, and conclusion). In the L2, Teacher I invited students to brainstorm. The students were very quiet and looked somewhat confused, as though they did not understand what the teacher had asked them to do. In the L1, one student asked the teacher to “clarify.” Using the L1, the teacher provided the student an explanation, and the student responded in the L1, saying he understood and knew what to do now. The same student, using the L1, proceeded to explain to two other students sitting next to him the teacher’s explanation. One of his peers seemed to be in disagreement about something either the teacher said or he said. The teacher, in the L1, then asked the students to stop playing around and to begin writing their introduction. Some of the students formed groups of twos and threes to work on the assignment, comparing what they wrote. As the students worked on their introduction, writing in the L2, the teacher went around the room, looking at their work and offering comments, praises, and corrections in the L1. In the L1, one of the students in a joking manner told the teacher what her partner had written “resembles the conclusion and not the introduction.” The class burst out laughing. Lastly, using a mixture of the L1 and L2, the teacher asked for volunteers to share what they had written. One student was in the middle of explaining, in the L1, what he wrote when the bell rang, signaling the end of class.

Observation 10

1st Year Fundamental Math Class at AK

Eighteen students were present, 12 boys and 6 girls. A teacher (Teacher J) led the class. Also present was an assistant who carried a stick. When I entered the self-contained classroom, the lesson on writing the letters of the alphabet had already begun and was about to end. The students were cheerful and very happy to see me. The assistant, in a joking tone,

told two boys that they were going get hit with the stick if they did not calm down. The assistant distributed the notebooks, as the teacher wrote on the board, in the L2, what follows: “Vous allez écrire les chiffres en lettres” (You are going to write the numbers in letters). In the L2, the teacher told the students that they must be able to distinguish numbers and written numbers. Using the L1, the teacher pointed to the numeral four (“4”) and four written in French (“quatre”) and asked the students to explain how are they different, and how are they the same. A little girl shouted out, in the L1, that they are always the same because they always have the same value. Another little girl said that is not true because one is a word and one is a numeral. The teacher said “you both are right,” as the teacher tried to calm the class down. Then, the teacher proceeded to give the students basic instruction in the L1. I noticed that five students, four boys and one girl, were not writing; therefore, I curiously (and very discretely) asked the teacher why was this the case. The teacher told me it is because the five students did not have pencils. I took the initiative to ask the other students who visibly had extra pencils to share with their classmates. They did. Next, in the L2, the teacher asked the students to write the numbers 1, 2, and 3 in words. They appeared not to understand; therefore, the teacher explained to them what to do in the L1. They complied. Using a mixture of the L1 and the L2, the teacher and the assistant went around the room to assist the students to write the word numbers in their notebooks. In the L1, the students asked both the teacher and the assistant questions. They used the L1 to compare their answers. They used the L1 to joke and fool around with each other. From time to time, the assistant, using the L1 and the L2, in a joking manner, threatened to use the stick on the students who were talking and not writing.

4.1.2 Integrated Summary of Observations

An integrated summary of all ten observations is presented in this section. If the L1 was used in any of clasees observe, Table 2 provides a summary of the reasons students and

teachers used the L1.

Table 2

Summary of the use of the L1 at both schools.

Class and School	Students Use of the L1	Teacher Use of the L1
5th Yr. Sec. Math- AF	• No use of the L1	• No use of the L1
6th Yr. Fund. French- AF	• No use of the L1	• No use of the L1
5th Yr. Sec. Soc. Sci.- AF	• No use of the L1	• No use of the L1
5th Yr. Fund. French- AF	• No use of the L1	• No use of the L1
9th Yr. Fund. Civ Ed.-AF	• To ask questions • To participate in lessons, providing explanations and elaborate answers • To challenge their peers'or teachers' positions • To joke around with their peers or their teachers • To say whatever is on their mind, including talking about topics and subjects that are unrelated to lessons	• To encourage student participation • To give complex instructions • To explain classroom methodology at basic levels • To check for comprehension • To challenge students to use higher order thinking skills • To explain difficult ideas, words, and concepts • To introduce new materials • To summarize material already covered • To joke around with

		students • To help students feel more comfortable and confident
4th Yr. Sec. Math- AK	• To ask questions • To compare answers to exercises and tasks • To participate in lessons, providing explanations and elaborate answers • To challenge their peers'or teachers' positions • To joke around with their peers or their teachers • To say whatever is on their mind, including talking about topics and subjects that are unrelated to lessons • (Co-operating in groups) use the L1 to compare and correct answers to exercises or tasks	• To encourage student participation • To give complex instructions • To explain classroom methodology at basic levels • To check for comprehension • To challenge students to use higher order thinking skills • To explain difficult ideas, words, and concepts • To introduce new materials • To summarize material already covered • To joke around with students • To help students feel more comfortable and confident
9th Yr. Fund. Math- AK	• To ask questions • To compare answers to exercises and tasks • To participate in lessons, providing explanations	• To encourage student participation • To give complex instructions • To explain classroom

	and elaborate answers • To challenge their peers 'or teachers' positions • To joke around with their peers or their teachers • To say whatever is on their mind, including talking about topics and subjects that are unrelated to lessons • (Co-operating in groups) use the L1 to compare and correct answers to exercises or tasks	methodology at basic levels • To check for comprehension • To challenge students to use higher order thinking skills • To explain difficult ideas, words, and concepts • To introduce new materials • To summarize material already covered • To joke around with students • To help students feel more comfortable and confident
2nd Yr. Sec. Chem- AK	• To ask questions • To compare answers to exercises and tasks • To participate in lessons, providing explanations and elaborate answers • To challenge their peers'or teachers' positions • To joke around with their peers or their teachers • To say whatever is on their mind, including talking about topics and subjects that are unrelated to lessons	• To encourage student participation • To give complex instructions • To explain classroom methodology at basic levels • To check for comprehension • To challenge students to use higher order thinking skills • To explain difficult ideas, words, and concepts • To introduce new

	• (Co-operating in groups) use the L1 to compare and correct answers to exercises or tasks	materials • To summarize material already covered • To joke around with students • To help students feel more comfortable and confident • To check if students understand certain key vocabularies stated in the L2
9th Yr. Fund. Writing-AK	• To ask questions • To compare answers to exercises and tasks • To participate in lessons, providing explanations and elaborate answers • To challenge their peers'or teachers' positions • To joke around with their peers or their teachers • To say whatever is on their mind, including talking about topics and subjects that are unrelated to lessons • (Co-operating in groups) use the L1 to compare and correct answers to exercises or tasks	• To encourage student participation • To give complex instructions • To explain classroom methodology at basic levels • To check for comprehension • To challenge students to use higher order thinking skills • To explain difficult ideas, words, and concepts • To introduce new materials • To summarize material already covered • To joke around with students • To help students feel more comfortable and confident

1st Yr. Fund. Math	• To ask questions • To compare answers to exercises and tasks • To participate in lessons, providing explanations and elaborate answers • To challenge their peers'or teachers' positions • To joke around with their peers or their teachers • To say whatever is on their mind, including talking about topics and subjects that are unrelated to lessons • (Co-operating in groups) use the L1 to compare and correct answers to exercises or tasks	• To encourage student participation • To give complex instructions • To explain classroom methodology at basic levels • To check for comprehension • To challenge students to use higher order thinking skills • To explain difficult ideas, words, and concepts • To introduce new materials • To summarize material already covered • To joke around with students • To help students feel more comfortable and confident

The findings of the ten above observations can be summarized as follows:

- Teacher E is the only AF teacher who used the L1 to (a) encourage student participation,(b) give complex instructions, (c) explain classroom methodology at basic levels, and (d) check for comprehension. The other four AF teachers—Teachers A, B, C, and D—used only the L2 to instruct students.
- All five AF teachers, including Teacher E, used only the L2 to write notes on the

board and to dispense content. However, Teacher E used the L1 to elaborate on and explain content. For example, as noted above, Teacher E used the L1 to make statements such as what follows: If this country is going to become a better country, this government and other governments after will have to strengthen the state institutions of Haiti." The teacher went on: "As Haitian citizens, you are also responsible for helping to strengthen the governmental institutions."

- At AF, except for Teacher E's class, student participation was at best minimal. Students in the other AF classes remained quiet unless they were answering their teachers' closed-ended questions, which required one-word or short answers. Only students in Teacher E's class asked questions, offered comments, and expressively exchanged with their peers and their teacher in the L1. For example, when Teacher E told the students that as Haitian citizens it was their responsibility to help improve Haiti's governmental institutions, a student replied that it is a waste of time to try to strengthen Haiti's governmental institutions because all the institutions are too corrupt, while another student added that "all the governmental institutions should be blown up and be replaced with new ones." That exchange occurred in the L1.
- All five AF teachers expressed themselves competently in the L2; however, the students, even in the upper classes, were very quiet, and this might have been because of their low abilities in French relative to Kreyòl or their fear of punishment even if they mixed the L1 and L2. For example, all teachers at AF lectured, commented, and asked questions to the students in French. Even Teacher E who mostly used the L1, used the L2 to lecture on the notes and was able to go back and forth between the L1 and the L2. As mentioned above, except for Teacher E's class, the students were relatively quiet perhaps as they were not allowed or encouraged to speak in the L1.
- All five AK teachers—Teachers F, G, H, I, and J—used the L1 to teach their classes.

- All five AK teachers used the L2 to write notes on the chalkboard and mostly used the L2 to verbally transmit content to students. For the most part, the teachers either had notes written in the L2 or appeared to have memorized the contents in the L2 and thus appeared more comfortable or capable at saying, reciting or writing them in the L2 than the L1. However, all AK teachers used the L1 to elaborate on and to explain content.
- In all five classes, AK students participated actively, using the L1 freely. They asked questions, offered comments regarding the lessons' content, and exchanged meaningfully and joke around with both their peers and teachers. Some students even challenged their teachers' and their peers' positions and assertions. For instance, when the chemistry teacher, Teacher H, said that carbon is the most abundant element in the human body, a student quickly raised his hand and told the teacher that he disagreed because 60% of human body weight is oxygen; therefore, it is impossible for carbon to be the most abundant element in the human body. The teacher jokingly replied that the comment was to see if they, the students, were paying attention. Another student refuted both the teacher and her peer, arguing that "oxygen constitute 65% of human body weight, not 60%." The teacher replied by saying "bingo," as the class burst out laughing. That exchange occurred in the L1. Of the ten observations, it is only in that class that, using the L1, the teacher checked to see if students comprehended certain key vocabulary items related to the lesson that he said in the L2 (e.g., "varier").

4.1.3 Phase II: Mixed-data Results for Questionnaire

The seven-question questionnaire is designed to collect mixed data that answers the abovementioned second of the two over-arching research questions for this study. Questions 1 to 4 are for the collection of quantitative data for the purpose of descriptive analysis (data summary) and inferential statistical analysis (chi square and independent t-test). Questions 5

to 7 are open-ended qualitative questions for the purpose of qualitative analysis (coded thematic analysis). Initially, I thought about not reporting the results for Questions 1 and 2 because combined they might viewed as biased: Since students were not given the option to stop after they answered the first question, the second question is arguably leading. Nonetheless, the results for the two aforementioned questions are reported with a strong caveat: the students' responses are not to be interpreted or viewed as strong evidence for their preference for instruction in the L1 over the L2, or vice versa. Instead, the purpose of the questions is to determine if the student participants—who according to the literature, school administrators and teachers at both schools lack competence in the L2—indicate a general preference for the L1 to be used in their classrooms as well as if there is any marked difference between the two schools in terms of this preference. This concern with the possibly leading nature of the initial questions of the survey is further discussed in the limitations section. The results for each question are presented in the order that the questions appear in the questionnaire. Since the quantitative questions appear first, they are presented before the qualitative questions, and they are as follows:

- Q1: Should Kreyòl be used in the classroom?
- Q2: Have you liked or would you like your teacher to use Kreyòl in class?
- Q3: When do you think it is appropriate for your teachers to use Kreyòl in your classes? Check all appropriate answers.
- Q4: What percent of the time do you think Kreyòl should be used?

4.1.3.1 Results for quantitative questions

Q1: Should Kreyòl be used in the classroom?

The raw results and percentages for Q1 are shown in Table 3. The results show that the majority of participants from both schools believe that Kreyòl should be used in the classroom. Furthermore, 100% of the participants from the three upper grades at both schools

responded that Kreyòl should be used in class. (This does not necessarily mean that the participants who believe that Kreyòl should be used in the classroom believe that French should be excluded as an LOI.) Chi-square test of independence was calculated comparing how students from AK and AF responded to Q1. The result indicates that there is no significant interaction found ($\chi 2(1) = 1.30, p > .05$). This means that there is no statistical difference between the two groups in terms of their penchant for the use of the L1 in the classroom.

Table 3

AK and AF Students on the Use of Kreyòl in the Classroom

School	Grade	Yes	%	No	%
AK	5th Secondary	5	100%	0	0%
	4th Secondary	15	100%	0	0%
(N=61)	3rd Secondary	14	100%	0	0%
	2nd Secondary	16	80%	4	20%
	9th Primary	6	86%	1	14%
AF	5th Secondary	10	100%	0	0%
	4th Secondary	6	100%	0	0%
(N=46)	3rd Secondary	11	100%	0	0%
	2nd Secondary	6	67%	3	33%
	9th Primary	6	60%	4	40%

Q2: Have you liked or would you like your teacher to use Kreyòl in class?

Because of the double barreled nature of the question, it is not clear when students answer yes if they are answering yes to the first part of the question, the second part, or both. However, it is still useful to give a very general indication of a positive or negative attitude towards the use of Kreyòl in the classroom. It provides a suggestion of their preference. Table 4 shows the frequency count results for the second question (Q2). Participants are asked to respond to Q2 by selecting only one of the following choices: (a) not at all, (b) a little, (c) sometimes, and (d) a lot. The responses indicate that most of the participants from both schools have liked or would like Kreyòl to be used in class. (The participants' positive response for Kreyòl does not indicate that they do not like the L2 or that they like the L1

better than the L2.) A chi-square test of independence was calculated comparing how students from AK and AF responded. A non-significant interaction was found ($\chi 2(3) = 4.09, p > .05$). Therefore, there is no significant difference in how the two groups responded. This means that students in classrooms where Kreyòl was regularly used, and in classrooms where it was expressly banned, indicate a similar general preference for the inclusion of Kreyòl in instruction.

Table 4

AK and AF Students on Whether or not They have Liked or would Like for Kreyòl to be Used in Class

School	Scale	Frequency	%
AK	Not at all	3	4.9%
	A little	13	21.3%
(N=61)	Sometimes	22	36.1%
	A lot	23	37.7%
AF	Not at all	1	2.2%
	A little	13	28.3%
(N=46)	Sometimes	22	47.8%
	A lot	10	21.7%

Q3: When do you think it is appropriate for your teachers to use Kreyòl in your classes?

Check all appropriate answers.

For Q3, students are asked to select as many of the 11 different options as to when they think it is appropriate for their teachers to use Kreyòl in their classes. The eleven options are as follows:

- To explain difficult ideas, words, and concepts (Q3-1)
- To introduce new material (Q3-2)
- To summarize material already covered (Q3-3)
- To give tests (Q3-4)

- To assign writing assignments (Q3-5)
- To joke around with students (Q3-6)
- To help students feel more comfortable and confident (Q3-7)
- To check for comprehension (Q3-8)
- To carry out small-group work (Q3-9)
- To explain the relationship between Kreyòl and French (Q3-10)
- To define new vocabulary items (Q3-11)

Tables 5 and 6 show the frequency of responses to the 11 options for AK and AF students, respectively. (During data entry, if a participant checked an option, it was marked as "yes". If, however, they did not check it, it was marked as "no". Yes equals to 1, and No equals to 0). Table 7 indicates the percentage of people who marked "yes" for both groups; and Figure 4 provides a picture of the distribution of their responses. Percentagewise (see Table 7) and saliently visible (see Figure 4), both schools have the same four highest options, which are follows:

- (Q3-1) To explain difficult ideas, words, and concepts chosen by 93% of AK students and 96% of AF students.
- (Q3-7) To help students feel more comfortable and confident (87% and 76% for AK and AF, respectively)
- (Q3-8) To check for comprehension (72% and 76% for AK and AF, respectively)
- (Q3-11) To define new vocabulary items (62% and 63% for AK and AF, respectively)

They also have the same two lowest items:

- (Q3-5) To assign writing assignments (23% and 11% for AK and AF, respectively)
- (Q3-2) To introduce new material (28% and 15% for AK and AF, respectively)

Table 5

Frequency of Responses for AK Students

Grade	Q3-1	Q3-2	Q3-3	Q3-4	Q3-5	Q3-6	Q3-7	Q3-8	Q3-9	Q3-10	Q3-11
5th YS N=5	5	2	2	3	4	2	5	4	1	3	4
Mean	1	0.40	0.40	0.60	0.80	0.40	1	0.80	0.20	0.60	0.80
4th YS N=15	15	3	6	7	3	3	15	13	8	6	9
Mean	1	0.20	0.40	0.47	0.20	0.20	1	0.87	0.53	0.40	0.60
3rd YS N=14	12	5	9	7	5	4	13	11	4	10	10
Mean	0.86	0.36	0.64	0.50	0.36	0.29	0.93	0.79	0.29	0.71	0.71
2nd YS N=20	20	4	4	5	2	7	15	12	6	14	11
Mean	1	0.20	0.20	0.25	0.1	0.35	0.75	0.60	0.30	0.70	0.55
9th YF N=7	5	3	2	1	0	4	5	4	5	3	4
Mean	0.71	0.43	0.29	0.14	0	0.57	0.71	0.57	0.71	0.43	0.57

Table 6

Frequency of Responses for AF Students

Grade	Q3-1	Q3-2	Q3-3	Q3-4	Q3-5	Q3-6	Q3-7	Q3-8	Q3-9	Q3-10	Q3-11
5th YS N=10	9	2	6	4	1	5	9	9	1	2	8
Mean	0.90	0.20	0.60	0.40	0.10	0.50	0.90	0.90	0.10	0.20	0.80
4th YS N=6	6	1	5	6	3	5	6	5	4	0	5
Mean	1	0.17	0.83	1	0.50	0.83	1	0.83	0.67	0	0.83
3rd YS N=11	11	3	2	3	0	5	7	7	2	7	5

Mean	1	0.27	0.18	0.27	0	0.45	0.64	0.64	0.18	0.64	0.45
2nd YS N=9	8	0	5	1	0	4	5	7	2	2	3
Mean	0.89	0	0.56	0.11	0	0.44	0.56	0.78	0.22	0.22	0.33
9th YF N=10	10	1	4	3	1	6	8	7	1	2	8
Mean	1	0.1	0.4	0.3	0.1	0.6	0.8	0.7	0.1	0.2	0.8

Table 7

Percentage of Students at Each School Who Chose Each Responses

	Q3-1	Q3-2	Q3-3	Q3-4	Q3-5	Q3-6	Q3-7	Q3-8	Q3-9	Q3-10	Q3-11
AK	93%	28%	38%	38%	23%	33%	87%	72%	39%	59%	62%
AF	96%	15%	48%	37%	11%	54%	76%	76%	22%	28%	63%

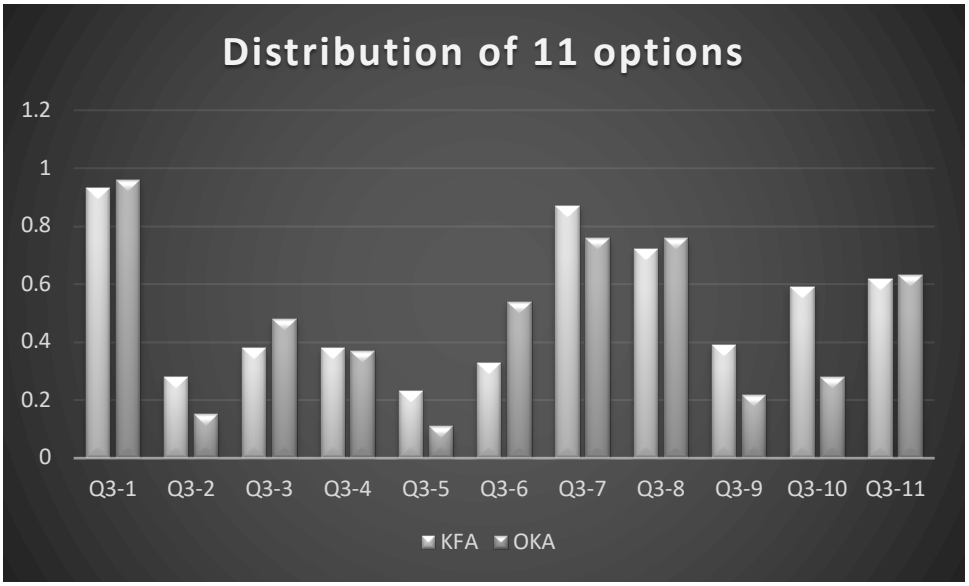

Figure 4. Comparison of responses to the 11 options for the two schools

Q4: What percent of the time do you think Kreyòl should be used?

Table 8 shows the frequency results for Q4. This question asks participants to respond by selecting one of the percentages on a five-point scale, comprising the following options

represented in terms of percent: 0%, 25%, 50%, 75%, and 100%. T he overwhelming majority of participants from both schools believe Kreyòl should be used. For example, only one (an AK student) out of the 107 students selected the 0% option, indicating that Kreyòl should not be used at all. It should also be noted that only three students (one AK and two AF students) chose the 100% option, which specifies that Kreyòl should be used all the time. A chi-square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency of responses to Q4 of AK and AF students. A non-significant interaction was found ($\chi 2(4) = 6.75, p > .05$). Thus, there is no significant difference in how the two group of students responded.

Table 8

AK and AF Students on the Percent of Time that Kreyòl Should Be Used

School	Scale	Frequency
AK (N=61)	0%	1
	25%	12
	50%	24
	75%	23
	100%	1
AF (N=46)	0%	0
	25%	18
	50%	12
	75%	14
	100%	2

4.1.3.2 Results for qualitative questions

This section presents the qualitative data collected from the mixed-data questionnaire. As mentioned above, the purpose of the three qualitative questions on the questionnaire is to qualitatively answer one of the two main research questions for this study, notably: What are the beliefs of Haitian students regarding the use or nonuse of Kreyòl in their classrooms and as an LOI in general? Questions 5, 6, and 7 are the qualitative questions on the questionnaire and are as follows:

- Q5: If you prefer the use of Kreyòl in your class, say why?

- Q6: Do you believe your teachers' explanation in Kreyòl can help you to better understand? If yes, why?
- Q7: In your opinion, how can instruction be improved in your school?

Five themes emerged from the students' responses to the foregoing three questions. (see APPENDIX G for the transcript of students' responses). The themes are as follows:

- L1 Facilitates Comprehension of Content (FCC)
- L1 Facilitates Meaningful Discussion (FMD)
- L1 Facilitates Unrestrained Participation (FUP)
- L1 Reinforces / Represents Haitian Identity (RHI)
- L2 Facilitates Social Mobility (FSM)

The next section presents the qualitative questions and the themes which emerged from their analysis. Some of the themes emerged from the responses of more than one of the three questions. For example, themes FCC and FUP emerged from the responses of all three questions. Table 9 summarizes the three qualitative questions and the themes that emerged from each one.

Table 9

Qualitative Questions and Corresponding Themes

Questions	Emerged Themes
Q5: If you prefer the use of Kreyòl in your class, say why?	• L1 Facilitates Comprehension of Content (FCC) • L1 Facilitates Meaningful Discussion (FMD) • L1 Facilitates Unrestrained Participation (FUP) • L1 Reinforces /Represents Haitian Identity (RHI) • L2 Facilitates Social Mobility (FSM)
Q6: Do you believe your teachers' explanation in Kreyòl can help you to	• L1 Facilitates Comprehension of Content (FCC)

better understand? If yes, why?	• L1 Facilitates Meaningful Discussion (FMD) • L1 Facilitates Unrestrained Participation (FUP)
Q7: In your opinion, how can instruction be improved in your school?	• L1 Facilitate Comprehension of Content (FCC) • L1 Facilitates Unrestrained Participation (FUP) • L2 Facilitates Social Mobility (FSM)

4.1.4 Qualitative Questions, Responses, and Themes

- *Q5: If you prefer the use of Kreyòl in your class, why?*
- *Q6: Do you believe your teachers' explanation in Kreyòl can help you to better understand? If yes, why?*
- *Q7: In your opinion, how can instruction be improved in your school?*

As shown in Table 9, all five themes emerged from the responses provided by students to Question 5—namely FCC, FUP, FMD, RHI, and FSM. On first sight, readers might be confused and wonder why FSM emerged from a question such as Questions 5. The reasons appear to be that students are keenly aware of the power and importance of French in Haitian society; consequently, several students responded to to Question 5 by writing that they prefer instruction in Kreyòl, but they are also lucidly aware of the prominence of French in Haiti. I discuss this point more extensively below, but here is a quick example of how an AF student, 91AF, responded to Question 5: "I prefer the use of Kreyòl for explaining certain things, but French is opportunity." Three of the five themes emerged from Question 6—notably FCC, FMD, and FUP. For Question 7, the following three themes emerged: FCC, FUP, and FSM. Also FCC and FUP emerged from all three questions. The responses for the students are coded. For example, response "T3AF" below indicates that it is student number 3 in his

terminal year at AF school. What follows, are the themes, their definitions, and response examples that illustrate each of the five themes:

L1 facilitates comprehension of content (FCC). Some student participants believe that the L1 as an LOI helps them to understand what their teachers teach. As a result, some participants report that they are able to grasp and retain content with less effort when teachers use the L1. Several students from both schools reported that they prefer the use of Kreyòl in class because the L1 facilitates comprehension of content (FCC) better than the L2. The following responses are illustrative of this:

-T3AF: I prefer the use of Kreyòl in class to better understand and learn the notions once and for all. Once we learn something in Kreyòl it's hard to forget it…

-T2AK: I prefer to use Kreyòl in class because when the teacher uses Kreyòl, we understand better.

-T3AK: I prefer Kreyòl. The teachers give exams in French, and even though I know the lesson, but I'm unable to do it in French.

-R1AF: To help students understand better, and so that they don't feel embarrassed because they don't know the good French.

-R1AK: Because there are certain things that you can't know or understand if they're not in Kreyòl.

-R2AK: I always understand better when the lessons are in Kreyòl. I understand sometimes when it's in French.

-R5AK: I prefer Kreyòl all the time. That's my language and the one I understand better.

-32AF: Yes, because the school has an obligation to make sure everybody understands.

-31AK: I prefer Kreyòl because I don't need to do a lot of things to understand.

-25AF: It facilitates comprehension much better than French.

-T2AF: In fact, yes, because Kreyòl is our mother tongue. We use it to communicate with our friends and parents at home. Therefore, we would understand better if explanations were in Kreyòl.

-T3AF: Yes, I think explanations in Kreyòl will help us to better understand because the examples will be more current, and in this regard comprehension will be easier and faster.

-T4AF: Sometimes explanation in Kreyòl must take place, for there are certain subjects like math, physics, etc. that requires explanation for students to have a good understanding.

-T5AF: Practically, yes because the time we spent speaking Kreyòl is much more compared to French. Once we're at home, it's Kreyòl. It will be better to explain in Kreyòl.

-T3AK: I believe the explanations in Kreyòl help us to understand more. And we don't have any problems to answer any questions.

-T4AK: Yes, the students will easily understand, and they will be able to get rid of discrimination that exists in the French language.

-T5AK: Yes, we've been speaking it at home since we were little. So, school should use it so that we understand better. Thank you.

-R2AF: Yes, the explanations in Kreyòl helps me to do my homework better. It also allows me to absorb the lessons better.

-R5AF: Yes, because all the students understand much better.

-31AF: Our teachers are not allowed to speak Kreyòl. If they speak, we will understand better.

-33AF: Yes, when the teachers speak Kreyòl the information goes directly into my brain.

-34AF: Explanation in Kreyòl make things clearer for the students. That's always the case in Haiti.

-35AF: Yes, because we can really understand and appreciate the information we are learning.

-34AK: Sure. The students can understand everything that's going on. All the teachers already know that.

-35AK: Everything is clear like coconut water when my teachers explain especially all the math in Kreyòl.

-24AF: Explanation in Kreyòl can help us to get it faster.

-25AF: Kreyòl makes it every easy to absorb. You understand everything that everybody is saying.

-91AF: Yes, everybody understands better when you speak a language they know.

-95AF: The students spend a lot of time to understand the lesson when and because it's in French. I know we are scared.

-95AK: Yes, I understand Kreyòl a lot and French a little bit. I want to do my homework every day because education is my future.

-T1AK: Haiti will go nowhere if the education system doesn't use the language that all Haitians speak. Speak Kreyòl, everybody understands. Speak French, everybody is afraid. The teachers are afraid, too.

-T4AF: French is obligatory in instruction. That's a problem for comprehension. The courses could be well dispensed if there weren't ambiguities with the French language. This is why I vote instruction should be 50/50 at the level of both languages to facilitate the teachers and students.

-T4AK: There's no major improvement that can occur in Haitian education if all the books are not written in Kreyòl and education stops being under the control of foreign countries.

-T5AK: Based on principle, instruction should start early on for the future of the country. It's Kreyòl that we speak, so they should use it to teach us.

L1 facilitates unrestrained participation (FUP). Some student participants reported that the L1 enables them to say whatever they want to say at any point during a lesson. Their assertions do not necessarily have to be relevant to the lesson and can show that students understand or do not understand what is being taught. Also, students are not afraid of committing grammar errors, as some are when they are challenged to use the L2 to participate in lessons. The comments of several students denote this theme. For example:

-T1AK: I prefer Kreyòl. I can say anything that I want to say because I'm not afraid about

making mistakes.

-R1AK: You can feel like a dummy if you don't understand what the teacher is trying to explain. You can't say what you want to say. You have to keep your mouth shut.

-R1AF: …so that they don't feel embarrassed because they don't know the good French.

-22AK: I prefer to use Kreyòl because it help me to participate in school.

-23AK: I have no problems in Kreyòl.

-94AK: Yes, I prefer Kreyòl because I can always do the work and talk more.

-95AF: The students don't want to be scared of the teachers. They want to say whatever they want to say. They can only do that in Kreyòl.

-T3AK: I believe the explanations in Kreyòl help us to understand more. And we don't have any problems to answer any questions.

-R1AK: You can feel like a dummy if you don't understand what the teacher is trying to explain. You can't say what you want to say. You have to keep your mouth shut.

-R2AK: Yes, because I'm free to say anything. I can think better. It's more happiness for me.

-21AF: Yes, because we will be ready to learn when they do that, and we'll have many things to say.

-22AK: Yes, because I can comprehend and say everything that's on my mind.

-35AF: My school can improve instruction if it gives everybody the opportunity to share

what's on their mind in the language they understand.

-32AK: We can improve instruction by speaking the language of the people so they can talk when they want to talk.

-22AF: I would like to have more participation because students have important things to say. Use more Kreyòl.

-95AF: The students don't want to be scared of the teachers. They want to say whatever they want to say. They can only do that in Kreyòl.

-93AK: I like good explanations in Kreyòl. Give the students a chance to say what's really on their mind.

L1 Facilitates Meaningful Discussion (FMD). Some student participants believe that the L1 as an LOI enables them to intelligibly exchange with teachers and peers during lessons. While this theme overlaps with FUP, there is an important difference. Unlike FUP, students' statements, questions, refutations, and so forth during exchanges must be relevant to the subject or topic at hand, whereas unrestrained participation means that students can say whatever is on their minds, and what they say does not have to be related to either the subject or the topic being discussed or taught. For example, the following responses shed further light on the theme FMD:

- T4AF: According to me, Kreyòl should be recommended in the classroom, especially in Haiti because it's a means to help the students feel more comfortable and to help the teachers to better clarify their ideas.

-R2AF: With Kreyòl, we are at ease to ask our questions.

-T1AK: When the teachers speak Kreyòl, the students can speak also because they understand. They have questions on their minds.

-34AK: I prefer Kreyòl because I can contribute something.

-22AF: Yes, the students can talk to the teachers and ask important questions.

-T1AK: When the teachers speak Kreyòl, the students can speak also because they understand. They have questions on their minds.

-R3AK: Yes, students can ask questions and have a little dialogue with the teachers.

-21AF: Yes, because we will be ready to learn when they do that and we'll have many things to say.

-92AK: Yes, because I'm able to ask questions and understand better.

L1 Reinforces / Represents Haitian identity (RHI). Some student participants believe that usage of the L1 either reinforces or represents their Haitian identity. Additionally, students acknowledge that Kreyòl is the language of Haitians and are proud to be Kreyòl speakers. The following responses illustrate this theme:

-T5AK: Yes, I like the utilization of Kreyòl because fundamentally that's the language we speak.

-R4AK: Yes, Kreyòl is the language of the Haitian people since slavery.

-35AK: I prefer Kreyòl because I speak it with my friends and family.

-23AF: It's my language since I was a little baby. I can speak Kreyòl very well…

-25AF: I prefer the utilization of Kreyòl because it's the mother tongue language; hence, we

don't learn it. We use it everywhere in the country.

95AK: I love Kreyòl. It's the language of my mother, my father, my big brother, and my little sister.

L2 facilitates social mobility (FSM). On one hand, some students believe knowledge of the L2 is necessary to move up in Haitian society; on the other hand, while they prefer that the L1 be used in instruction, they believe knowledge of only the L1 gets in the way of upward mobility in Haitian society. The following comments demonstrate this belief:

-T1AF: I prefer the use of Kreyòl for explaining certain things, but we live in a poor country, so we must learn languages like French and English.

-T3AF: But French is the power in Haiti.

-T4AK: The masses speak Kreyòl and the books, exams, university, good jobs, prestige are all in good French.

-R4AF: I love Kreyòl, but the job interviews for the good jobs are never in Kreyòl, but always in French.

-R5AF: I like Kreyòl because it's a direct language. No lies. But French is a superior language. My teachers always say it's an international language.

-31AF: I like Kreyòl, but everybody in Haiti knows French is more important.

-91AF: I prefer the use of Kreyòl for explaining certain things, but French is opportunity.

-R3AF: You cannot go to university if you only speak Kreyòl.

-35AF: Kreyòl is my beautiful language. Other people will discriminate you if you don't

speak French. You have to know French, the correct French.

-24AF: Kreyòl is a good language. We understand it well, but Haiti can't get rich with Kreyòl. Only with French and English. Maybe Spanish.

-R3AF: We have to be realistic. More good French teachers for better opportunities.

-R1AK: In Haiti, the majority of books in schools are in French. The exams are only in French. So, explanations should be mostly in French, and Kreyòl should be used at home.

-R3AK: School can teach in Kreyòl. The government can give people who speak Kreyòl good jobs like they give to people who speak French.

-24AF: We can make instruction better by teaching the international language better and have good technology.

4.1.4.1 Integrated summary of quantitative and qualitative results from questionnaire

- Most of the student participants from both schools, especially students in the upper grades, responded "Yes" that the L1 should be used in their classrooms (see Table 3). There is no significant statistical difference in how the two groups responded.
- Most of the student participants from both schools responded that they have liked or would like Kreyòl to be used in their classes (see Table 4). There is no significant statistical difference in how students from the two schools responded.
- Given 11 options to choose from, as to when the L1 should be used, participants from both schools have the same four items as their highest options, notably (a) "To explain difficult ideas. words, and concepts"; (b) "To help students feel more comfortable and confident"; (c) "To check for comprehension"; and (d) "To define new vocabulary

items." They also have the same two lowest items: (a) "To assign writing assignments" and (b) "To introduce new material." (see Table 5, 6, 7, and Figure 4.)

- Most of the student participants from both schools believe that the L1 should be used a percentage of the time during class (see Table 8). There is no statistical difference in how the two groups of students responded.
- Student participants from both schools tend to believe that the L1 as an LOI is beneficial, as it facilitates comprehension, unrestrained participation, meaningful discussion as well as reinforces or represents Haitian identity.
- The most frequent rresponse is that the use of the L1 facilitates comprehension (FCC), followed by the L1 facilitates unrestrained participation (FUP).
- Student participants from both schools reported that the L2 facilitates upward social mobility in Haitian society, and the L1 does not.
- Student participants from both schools reported that using the L1 as an LOI is a way to improve instruction in their schools since the L1 facilitates both teaching and learning.

In the next chapter, I present a meta-analysis of all results from both Phase I and II, followed by an integrative discussion of the findings. Also, I provide three recommendations that are based of the efficacy of Kreyòl as LOI in Haitian schools.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION, RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Overview

Guided by the two main research questions, this chapter first presents a meta-analysis of all results that was carried out in the third phase of this study. Then, as previously mentioned, CP is the framework which holds the various parts of this mixed-methods study together, and in Chapter 2, the following six CP concepts are defined: (a) hegemony, (b) banking concept of education, (c) liberatory education, (d) generative themes, (e) cultural capital, and (f) praxis. The six concepts serve as the theoretical lens which focuses an integrative discussion of the findings. To conclude the chapter, three recommendations and two suggestions are made to the Akademi Kreyòl Ayisyen (AKA, Haitian Kreyòl Akademi). The three recommendations are based on the findings of the study, and the two suggestions have to do with strategies of implementing the three recommendations. Together, the principal aim of the three recommendations and the two suggestions is to underscore Kreyòl's usefulness in instruction in the Haitian context as well as to advise the AKA on tactics of ensuring that students receive instructional services in Kreyòl at all levels of schooling.

5.1.1 Phase III: Meta-inference of all Results

The two main research questions that this study seeks to answer guide this meta-inferencing of the results obtained from the analysis of all data sources. The results that are included in this meta-analysis are as follows: results from observation of classes and results from the mixed-data questionnaires administered to students at both schools.

Research question one: What is the portrait of Kreyòl in classrooms at private Haitian schools where it is allowed or openly disallowed?

Five classes at AF were observed. Except for Teacher E who used the L1, the other

four AF teachers—Teachers A, B, C, and D—conducted their classes strictly in the L2. Since the L1 is not allowed at AF and based on my above-noted observation, the school principal of AF appeared to be upset that he witnessed Teacher E using the L1 to exchange with and instruct students. All five AF teachers, including Teacher E, used only the L2 to write notes on the board.

When Teacher C of AF saw that his students were not participating in the lesson on the Boyer's Rural Code, the teacher used the L2 to invite them to use the L1 to no avail. Teacher C instructed his students as follows: "Vous pouvez vous exprimer en créole." (You can express yourself in Creole.) That approach did not work, and perhaps Teacher C's invitation failed because of what AF student, 35AF, responding to Question 5 on the questionnaire said, "Other people will discriminate you if you don't speak French."

The student's comment suggest that Haitians, including Haitian students, who cannot speak French face discrimination in Haitian society, and, in general, Haitians are embarrassed to let others know that they do not speak French (Joseph, 2010). As one educator explained to me during an informal conversation, everybody pretends that the students from his school speak French, but, in reality, the students have a lot of limitations in French. The teacher added that students believe others will see them as "idiots" if they speak Kreyòl instead of French. This point as well as the above responses of the students are in line with Fleischmann's (1983, 1984) concept of "*fantasme de diglossie*," (fantasy of diglossia), which was discussed above in the literature review. That is, from the colonial period, Haitians have been brainwashed to fantasize (even fetishize) speaking French competently. Students from both schools are not excluded from the brainwashing that gives rise to this fantasy of being able speak French competently. Student R5AF acknowledges this brainwashing when he says "French is a superior language because his teachers always say it's an international language." Similarly, student TAK notes while the masses speak Kreyòl, the books, exams, university,

good jobs are written and conduced in French.

Although most Haitian teachers lack competence in French, all five AF teachers were able to competently express themselves in the L2; however, they were unable to have meaningful exchanges with their students in the L2. That is, while the teachers are fluent L2 speakers, during the planning phase of the observations, the administrators from both schools explained that invariably all the students, not excluding even the terminal year students at AF, lack the self-confidence to ask questions and to exchange with teachers or their peers in the L2. An AF staffer further explained that this is especially the case when AF students are in the presence of strangers, meaning that the students fear saying something that is grammatically incorrect in the L2 and being ridiculed by everyone.

The above comments strongly suggest that the rules or regulations to use of only the L2 is the main reason which prevented the students from commenting on the content of the lessons, asking questions, and meaningfully exchanging with their teachers and peers. For example, as noted above, only Teacher E at AF used the L1 in her class, and of the five classes observed at AF, only that teacher's students offered comments, asked questions, and expressively exchanged with their peers and that particular teacher during the lesson. Furthermore, the above comments also suggest this is the reason why the AF teachers observed—except for Teacher E—asked their students only close-ended, *knowledge* questions (Bloom, 1956), which requires short answers with no elaborations. The portrait of the use of the L1 looked different at AK.

The classes of five AK teachers were also observed: Teachers F, G, H, I, and J. All five teachers used the L1—instead of the L2—to conduct their classes. Similar to AF teachers, all five AK teachers used the L2 to write notes on the chalkboard and to dispense content. However, the AK teachers used the L1 to expound on the notes as well as to

exchange with students.

In invariably all five classes, AK students commented on the lessons' content, asked questions, exchanged meaningfully with both their teachers and peers. Some students even challenged their teachers' positions and assertions. Contrary to the classes observed at AF, the classes observed at AK were very lively, and, in some instances, somewhat disruptive. Educators at both schools admitted during our chat that discipline at AF is better because instruction is in French, implying that the L2 relatively mutes the students. That is, the students, using the L1, can freely express their feelings and emotions and what is on their minds, something they cannot do in the L2. A AK teacher acknowledged that as well when he told me that his students would not be as lively if they were AF students, since they cannot speak French, and that children cannot be lively and happy if they cannot talk. An AF staffer expresses a similar point when he says that there is less noise and trouble at AF than there is at AK due to AF's language policy, a policy which stipulates that only the L2 is allowed on campus. My observations of classes at both schools as well as touring the campuses of both schools confirm the foregoing point.

The observations suggest that the students—including AF students who are supposed to receive instruction only in the L2—have serious limitations in the L2. Therefore, meaningful student participation is both impeded and wanting when classes are conducted only in the L2. That is, students are afraid of taking risks and being made fun of, and so they keep their answers short, and say as little as possible if they must express themselves in the L2 (as they are required to at AF). In this sense, the L1 seems to be the solution for student participation at both schools. For example, the written responses of several students on the questionnaire indicate that students from both schools strongly believe this is the case. AK student, 34AK, summarized this belief succinctly on the questionnaire: "I prefer Kreyòl because I can contribute something." An AF student does same with the following words:

"With Kreyòl, we are at ease to ask our questions." It is, therefore, understandable why the overwhelming majority of students who completed the questionnaire say Kreyòl should be used and have liked or would like the L1 to be used in their classes (see Tables 2 and 3).

Administrators as well as teachers from both schools are aware that not only does the L2 impede expression and interaction between students and students and students and teacher, it also gets in the way of comprehension. For instance, AK is known in the region for its innovative pedagogy, and the following statement from a AK's staffer sums this point well when he asserts that if AK teachers do not use the L1 to instruct students, students will not grasp the content of lessons and will perform poorly on the state exams. In other words, AK teachers use the L1 to ensure comprehension of content. This begs the question: If the L1 facilitates participation, free expression, comprehension, why do Haitian schools like AF still have a French only policy in this day and age?

Based on my observations, some of the student participants' responses on the questionnaire, and informal conversations with staffers at both schools, the reason appears to be twofold. First, the L2 appears to be a substitute for sound behavior management practices. A French only policy keeps the majority of students, if not all, relatively quiet, even mute, as most of the students at both schools do not have sufficient knowledge of the L2 to say what they really want to say when they want to say it. The following comments from students illustrates this point:

-T1AK: I prefer Kreyòl. I can say anything that I want to say because I'm not afraid about making mistakes.

-95AF: The students don't want to be scared of the teachers. They want to say whatever they want to say. They can only do that in Kreyòl.

The foregoing comments are in line with an AF staffer who told me that he believes AF's language policy curtails student misbehavior in the school when he says: There is not much noise and trouble at AF because of AF's French only policy. Agreeing with the educator, another AF staffer told me that Kreyòl would enable students to be disrespectful to teachers and others. In a similar vein, another AF staffer holds the same position when he asserted that while banning Kreyòl may not be the ideal solution, that practice certainly prevents the students from being insolent and acting "crazy." Even Teacher E, who risked getting into trouble for using the L2 to teach her class at AF, asserted that discipline is better at AF than at AK where the LOI is mainly the L1.

Second, educators at both schools are keenly aware of how Haitian elites define success and what those elites prescribe for Haitians living in Haiti to do in order to become or considered successful. As the review of literature in the second chapter of this thesis shows, French has been major cultural capital in Haiti, dating back to the 17th Century. Haitians are expected to go to school and learn how to read, speak, and write French "well" in order to move up and be "successful" in Haitian society. This reality comes across when a AK pedagogue, though an ardent advocate of Kreyòl instruction and pedagogical best practices, says his son is in a Catholic French congregational school—which has a French only policy. According to him, the congregational schools teach French well, and Haitian students need French to study at a good university in Haiti and to eventually succeed in life. To a great extent, what the school administrator said makes a lot of sense. Except for a few English speaking universities in Haiti— university applications and entrance exams are in French, job resumés must be written in French, and job interviews for good-paying, prestigious jobs are usually conducted in French. Several students made that point in their responses on the questionnaire as well. In a Garry Becker (1971) sense, employers, clients, and coworkers in especially Haiti's primary labor market have taste aversions for monolingual Kreyòl speakers.

In other words there is all around discrimination in Haiti against Haitians who only speak Kreyòl, which accounts for about 95% of the population. The administrators, teachers, and students at both schools who participated in this study are astutely aware of this reality. AK also acknowledge another reality: The L1 must be used in the Haitan context if student engagement is the goal.

Thus, if one visits the classrooms of AK that allows and even encourages teachers and students to use L1, one will see, as I observed in this study, Kreyòl being used by both students and teachers in the following ways (see the results of Observations 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10 and the observation tables in APPENDIX F):

- Students used the L1 to ask questions.
- Students used the L1 to compare answers to exercises and tasks.
- Students used the L1 to participate in lessons, providing explanations and elaborate answers.
- Students used the L1 to challenge their peers' and teachers' positions.
- Students used the L1 to joke around with their peers as well as their teachers.
- Students used the L1 to say whatever is on their mind, including talking about topics and subjects that are unrelated to lessons.
- Students (co-operating in groups) use the L1 to compare and correct answers to exercises or tasks.
- Teachers use the L1 to encourage student participation.
- Teachers use the L1 to give complex instructions.
- Teachers used the L1 to explain classroom methodology at basic levels.
- Teachers used the L1 to check for comprehension.
- Teachers used the L1 to challenge students to use higher order thinking skills.

- Teachers used the L1 to explain difficult ideas, words, and concepts.
- Teachers used the L1 to introduce new materials.
- Teachers used the L1 to summarize material already covered.
- Teachers used the L1 to joke around with students.
- Teachers used the L1 to help students feel more comfortable and confident.
- Teachers used the L1 to define new vocabulary items.

With the exception of Teacher's E classroom, Kreyòl's portrait is in sharp contrast to the AF classrooms that I observed (see Table 2). The foregoing description of Kreyòl's portrait at AK, is a similar description of what I observed during my observation of Teacher's E lesson on civic education. Also, another AF teacher, Teacher C, invited his students to use the L1 to participate in his lesson on Boyer's Rural Code to no avail. As such, it is safe to say Kreyòl was totally absent in the other four classes that I observed at AF.

Research question two: What are the beliefs of Haitian students regarding the use or nonuse of Kreyòl in their classrooms and as an LOI in general?

Most student participants from both schools responded that the L1 should be used in their classrooms. This is especially the case for the students in the upper grades. For example, 100% of the students from the three upper grades—3rd, 4th, and 5th year secondary—of both schools responded "Yes" that Kreyòl should be used in class. Statistical test, chi-square, comparing the responses of participants from the two schools, shows that there is no statistical difference between the two groups in this regard. This means that whether or not Kreyòl is allowed, students view its use as important to their instruction (see Table 3).

Most of the student participants from both schools also responded that, at varying degrees, they have liked or would like Kreyòl to be used in their classes (see Table 4). Here, as well, there is no significant statistical difference in how participants from the two schools responded. Given 11 different options to select from, as to when they think it is appropriate

for their teachers to use Kreyòl in class, student participants have the same four highest options, notably:

- To explain difficult ideas, words, and concepts (93% and 96% for AK and AF, respectively)
- To help students feel more comfortable and confident (87% and 76% for AK and AF, respectively)
- To check for comprehension (72% and 76% for AK and AF, respectively)
- To define new vocabulary items (62% and 63% for AK and AF, respectively)

Similarly, they also have the same two lowest items:

- To assign writing assignments (23% and 11% for AK and AF, respectively)
- To introduce new material (28% and 15% for AK and AF, respectively)

The foregoing results suggest that participants from both schools—even at AF, which has a no Kreyòl policy—prioritize comprehension of content and being able to participate in lessons, and they believe that the L1 can facilitate those two things. Drawing on the results of the observations, in the five classes at AK and the one class at AF where teachers used the L1 to do the four abovementioned things, student participation and overall engagement were noticeably much higher than in the four classes at AF that did not use the L1 at all.

In terms of how frequently the L1 should be used, most student participants from both schools believe that the L1 should be used a percentage of the time, be it 25%, 50%, and so forth. Here again, chi-square test confirms that there is no statistical difference in how the two group of students responded. Only one (an AK student) out of 107 selected the option that the L1 should not be used at all (0% of the time). At the other extreme, only three students (one AK and two AF students) expressed that the L1 should be used 100% of the time. On one hand, the results suggest that student participants from both schools acknowledge the multiple

benefits of the L1 in instruction; on the other hand, the results also suggest that students are mindful of the important role that French plays in Haitian society.

A number of the student participants from both schools reported that they prefer the L1 to be used in their classes because it helps them to learn what is being taught, as the L1 facilitates comprehension of content, meaningful discussions in class, unrestrained participation, and it also reinforces Haitian identity. The following comments, regarding the critical role of the L1 in instruction, posited by a terminal year AK student sums up well the expressed beliefs of most of the students from both schools who completed the survey:

-T1AK: Haiti will go nowhere if the education system doesn't use the language that all Haitians speak. Speak Kreyòl, everybody understands. Speak French, everybody is afraid. The teachers are afraid, too.

The foregoing statement is in line with the wish expressed by some AF students who believe that education should be more practical (see the last column of APPENDIX G). This call for making education more practical in order to improve instruction begs this rhetorical question: Is it even possible to make education more practical or hands on if the only LOI used is one that the overwhelming majority of students do not really comprehend and cannot use to meaningfully engage their teachers and peers?

5.3 Integration of Findings through A CP Theoretical Lens

5.3.1 Hegemony

In general, Haitians are mentally colonized (Aristide, 2016; Orelus, 2014; Trouillot, 2006), and, to a great extent, Haiti's schooling system facilitates the neocolonization of the minds of Haitians (Orelus, 2014; Lubin & François, 2017). That is, historically it has aided and abetted colonizing forces such as the French and their Haitian collaborators to maintain hegemonic control over Haitian thought processes without having to use physical force. In a

Carter G. Woodson (1933) sense, this process is primarily achieved through the "mis-education" of the Haitian elite in especially Haiti's Catholic congregational schools (Lubin & François, 2017). In those prestigious schools, the Haitian elite is trained to be in awe of French culture and to despise key elements of Haitian culture, notably Kreyòl and Vodou, two fundamental pillars of Haitian life (François, 2015). To a great extent, this brainwashing process happens unobstructed especially in the elitist congregational schools where instruction is supposed to and usually occurs in the L2. And it is well-established that most Haitian students cannot use the L2 to say what they really want to say (DeGraff, 2013), let alone critically challenge the prevailing doxas of the day. However, in this study, students showed evidence of resistance, in that they had many ideas of ways that the L1 could be used productively. What is more, and surprisingly to me, they did not show any evidence that they despised Kreyòl. The students who participated in this study, through their responses, demonstrate that they are mindful that the use of Kreyòl gives Haitian students like themselves voice, as it did in Teacher's E class at AF and all the five classes at AK. That is, they talked more, they joked, they provided elaborate answers, they asked questions, they challenged the positions of their peers as well as their teachers, they contributed to collaborative knowledge production, and they even raised controversial issues (e.g., All the Haitian governmental institutions should be "blown up and replaced" by new ones). Suffice it to say the voices of students tend to disturb the banking concept.

5.3.1 Banking Concept of Education

In this study it was observed that the banking concept is the mode of operation at AF and to a lesser degree at AK. That is, teachers function as authorities of knowledge who are present in classrooms just to make deposits into students' brains. Arguably, this teaching approach is to be expected in situations where the LOI is one that even senior students in the upper grades lack competence in, and, therefore, are reluctant to participate in lessons. As

pointed out by a teacher during our chat, students at AF, for the most part, do not participate in lessons because "[e]verybody pretends that the students speak French, but, in reality, they have a lot of limitations in French." The first part of the foregoing statement, "everybody pretends that the students speak French" is an exaggeration, for not everyone pretends the students are competent in the L2. In fact, the responses of several student participants indicate that they are well aware that they have serious limitations in the L2 because, in part, once they leave the school, they also leave French behind and thus have very little opportunity to speak and hear French. My observations and student's admissions confirm the limited proficiency of students in the L2. The practice of using an LOI that students are not competent in, while banning the use of the L1, clearly invites as well as reinforces the banking concept—a practice that is antithetical to both creativity and critical thinking.

For example, as is illustrated above in the results of observations 1, 2, 3, and 4, AF Teachers A, B, C, and D, respectively, used only the L2 to instruct their students. In such a situation, the teachers are really the only ones who are capable and confident enough to express themselves in the L2. Thus, the teachers of those classes, independent of their wishes, do most of the talking and ask all the questions. As the results of the observations indicate, the students asked no questions, made no comments, and, at the most, only provided one-word answers to mostly closed-ended questions asked only by their teachers.

5.3.3 Liberatory Teaching / Education

Teacher E, going against AF's no Kreyòl policy, used the L1 in their civic education class. Consequently, her students not only answered questions, but they also asked relevant questions as well as offered their viewpoints throughout the lesson. At AK, all five teachers used the L1, and as a result, the portraits of those classes are similar to Teacher E's class (see Table 10-19 in APPENDIX F). From a CP perspective, one cannot say what went on in those six classes are exemplars of liberatory teaching, but the fact that the students are allowed to

use the L1, their voices challenged the application of the banking concept. For example, as mentioned in the above example, Teacher C said as follows: “If this country is going to become a better country, this government and future governments will have to strengthen the institutions of Haiti.” One student challenged her and said that would be a futile exercise, as Haiti’s governmental institutions are too corrupt, while another student quickly added “all the institutions should be blown up and be replaced by new ones.” Simply put, in those six classes it was not the case that students were empty vessels who had nothing to give back in return. On the contrary, the L1 liberated their thoughts, as it enabled them to speak and share their thinking. In the Haitian context, the L1 liberates the thoughts and feelings of students and thus helps to alleviate suffering. This means any form of liberatory teaching in Haiti has to use Kreyòl—the only language that all Haitian students know and can, therefore, use to liberate their thoughts and ideas.

5.3.4 Generative Themes, Cultural Capital, and Praxis

Generative themes are integral to liberatory teaching, as they are topics, issues, and questions that learners believe are important and are, therefore, worth exploring and answering; thus, learners raise questions to provoke meaningful exchanges in the classroom. While some students in the classes which used the L1 raised important questions and provided their opinions that could have been easily converted into generative themes (e.g., blowing up and replacing all the Haitian governmental institutions), during this study it was not observed that the teachers at AF or AK seized the opportunity to convert those important questions and opinions into generative themes. It is difficult, if not impossible, for teachers and students to come up with generative themes in contexts where it is customary for notes to be written on the board in the L2 at the beginning of every class, and for teachers to either read the notes off the board or to impart content in the L2 as though they are reciting from memory. What usually occurs is such a teacher-centered classroom environment, the order of things is preset,

thus leaving few, if any, opportunities for students to really raise their concerns and have their raised concerns be given due treatment. In other words, it is tremendously difficult, if not impossible, for students to come up with generative themes in a teacher-centered classroom, even when the L1 is allowed. The disallowing of the L1 in a classroom where student are only competent in the L1, makes it even more difficult. Here again, the L1 plays a crucial role in liberatory style of education, which is in direct opposition to the banking approach. How can learners possibly call into question traditional knowledge, conventional wisdom, historical "facts", and so forth if they are not allowed to do that in the only language that they really know?

As the results of this study demonstrates, student participants from both schools believe that they learn best when the L1 is allowed in the classroom. Their responses also demonstrate that they are lucidly aware that French is cultural capital and Kreyòl is not in Haitian society. And, therefore, if they do not know enough French, they will most likely not be among the relatively small percentage of students who successfully complete secondary school and enter university. It also means that they will most likely not qualify for employment in Haiti's primary labor market either. As mentioned above, employers, employees, and consumers, especially of the Haitian primary labor market, have taste aversions (Becker, 1971; Bergman, 1996; Blau & Ferber, 1998) for Haitians who are monolingual Kreyòl speakers. The unfortunate issue here is that students are not offered the opportunity to reflect and debate on these important matters, which have direct implications on their learning and future success as citizens.

Sound praxis necessitates that students—with the guidance of teachers—not only engage in reflection on the oppressive structures to be transformed, but become agents of change who are willing to take concrete actions to bring about evolutionary or revolutionary change. This study afforded students this opportunity, as I was interested in harnessing the

power of the next generation of teachers to learn to reflect upon and then change existing power of structures.

5.4 Recommendations

A total of three recommendations and two suggestions for their implementation are presented in this section. The three recommendations are based directly on the findings of this study, and the two suggestions are deemed helpful for successful implementation of all three recommendations. The principal objective of the recommendations is to answer the following question: Given this study's insights into the usefulness of Kreyòl in instruction in the Haitian context, as part of a broader strategy to improve the quality of schooling in Haiti, what useful tactics should be employed to assure that students receive instructional services in Kreyòl at all levels of schooling?

As discussed in the literature review above, the Kreyòl movement has made some important gains in the realm of schooling, e.g., the creation of Lekòl Kominote Matènwa, a school with a relatively successful instrumental Kreyòl program. However, education reformers and authorities to this point have not been able to guarantee that Haitian students receive instructional services in Kreyòl. This goes against national policy which stipulates that Kreyòl should be an LOI all through primary schooling in Haiti (Hadjadj, 2000). It also goes against the fact that on January 6, 1990, the Haitian government signed the United Nations' Convention of November 20 1989, relating to children's rights, which includes the protection of children's linguistic needs and rights (Dejean, 2010).

Ideally, the recommendations should be for the Haitian Ministry of Education (Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale et de la Formation Profesionelle or MENFP). Pragmatically, however, I have decided to direct them to the AKA for the reasons below.

First, the AKA is constitutionally a state institution with a declared mission to assure that the linguistic rights of all Haitians are respected, regarding all matters having to do with

Kreyòl. Furthermore, one of its principal roles is to function as watchdog that assures the Haitian population receives all services that it needs in Kreyòl. In this regard, presently the linguistic rights of an incalculable number of Haitian students are being violated because they are not receiving instructional services in Kreyòl, the only language that they know. What is more, some schools still corporally punish students for speaking Kreyòl. Since its first 33 academicians were installed in 4 December 2014, the AKA has been actively promoting Kreyòl throughout Haiti. In its promotional initiatives, it has been demonstrating that Kreyòl is indispensable to Haiti's economic and social progress and is a key solution to Haiti's educational woes. Thus, the recommendations are compatible with the AKA's mission, roles, projects, and ongoing activities.

Second, Haiti is relatively politically unstable. For example, the recommendations come at a time where Haitians—including teachers and students—are regularly taking to the streets in different parts of the country to protest and ask for the current president, Jovenel Moïse, as well as the current education minister, Pierre Josué Agénor Cadet, to resign. The president and several members of his cabinet, including his chief of staff, have been accused in two senatorial reports of being involved in what is called the PetroCaribe Fund scandal, where allegedly close to $4 billion was corruptly misused. Given Haiti's history of coup d'états, economic volatility, and the current tensed political climate on the ground, one cannot be certain that the foregoing politicians will be able to serve out their terms in office; anything can erupt at any time. In the mix of all this political turmoil, the AKA has a clean slate and appears to be politically neutral. Thus, it is in a good position to help bring about important changes to Haitian society, especially to Haiti's schooling system.

Third, historically, political discontinuity has been the norm in Haiti (Fass, 1988). Since the expulsion of the French in 1804, Haitian politics has basically been a political tug-of-war between different factions, e.g., an urban-based mulatto commercial elite versus a

rural-based black military elite (Fass, 1988). The factions seek dominion, not to benefit and include the Haitian masses, but to secure and advance their own interests (Fatton Jr., 2007; Fouron, 2010). To achieve this goal, the factions continuously and systematically engage in political discontinuity by dismantling whatever the previous regime put in place (Fass, 1988). Consequently, newly formed Haitian governments are forever starting from scratch (Trouillot, 2006). This means that in Haiti it is commonplace for new governments, especially at the level of the education ministry, to come into office and to shelf or completely discard what the previous government (or minister of education) had in place or had been working on. The three major education reforms explored in the review of literature for this study—the reform under U.S. Occupation of 1915-1934, the Dartigue Reform, and the Bernard Reform—cogently illustrate this point. Thus, aware of Haiti's history and the reality on the ground, I am inclined to believe that the more sagacious thing to do is to make my recommendations to the AKA. At this point in time, the AKA sits on more stable ground than MENFP. In this regard and more direct, the recommendations are centered on the following question: What should the AKA do to guarantee that all Haitian students at all levels of schooling receive instructional services in Kreyòl?

5.4.1 Recommendation One

As principal stakeholders, students should be playing a leadership role in the Kreyòl movement. This study strongly suggests that Haitian students—including students in schools with a no Kreyòl policy—know the importance of Kreyòl in their schooling experience. Monolingual Kreyòl-speaking students are the ones most affected in classrooms that use a foreign language that they do not understand. It is their learning that suffers and their future that is compromised. This is why I recommend that the AKA actively recruit student leaders, provide training and development to them, and develop a strategy to incorporate them into the leadership of the Kreyòl movement. As the responses of the students in this study show, the

students are not naïve, and for the most part, they are not anachronistic in their thinking. They are suffering, and they have almost infinite energy that the AKA can put to good use to help fulfill its role of making sure that all Haitians—including students—receive needed services in Kreyòl. Furthermore, incorporating the students at the helm of the movement would certainly make the movement more *autopoietic* in the sense that students would become even more conscious of their reality as well as the definers and actors of that reality and not mere reactors who are trapped in an oppressive situation.

5.4.2 Recommendation Two

Ideally, every lesson should engage students. This means that teachers must intentionally exhibit certain behaviors to in turn get students to display certain desirable behaviors. For example, in general, teachers might wittingly do a combination of the following to engage learners in lessons: try to motivate students to want to learn what they are teaching, connect what students already know with what students do not know yet, check to see if students understand what is being taught, question students about what they are learning, put students at ease to ask questions about and to challenge what is being imparted, invite students to share their thoughts and ideas, encourage students to exchange with classmates, joke a bit with students, and so forth. This study shows that in classrooms where Kreyòl was not used, student engagement was practically nonexistent. Conversely, in classrooms that used Kreyòl—including the one classroom at AF where the teacher went against the school's no Kreyòl policy—the teachers used it in the following ways to engage the students in the lessons:

- To introduce new materials
- To explain difficult ideas, words, and concepts
- To give complex instructions
- To encourage student participation

- To check for comprehension
- To challenge students to use higher order thinking skills
- To help students feel more comfortable and confident
- To explain classroom methodology at basic levels
- To summarize material already covered
- To joke around with students
- To define new vocabulary items

In turn, in the classes that used Kreyòl, students exhibited the following behaviors, suggesting they were engaged to a certain degree:

- Asked questions
- Participated in lessons by providing explanations and elaborating on their answers
- Compared answers to exercises and tasks
- Shared their opinions, including talking about topics and subjects that are unrelated to lessons
- Challenged their peers' and (or teachers') positions
- Joked around with their peers as well as their teachers
- Cooperated in groups to compare and correct answers to exercises or tasks

Furthermore, the students themselves discussed certain types of behaviors that they felt would be facilitated by Kreyòl, notably:

- Contribute to knowledge production
- Be more productive in class
- Grasp content more easily
- Exhibit less effort to retain content

- Not feel embarrassed or afraid to share their toughts and ideas

Assuming that student engagement is a desirable goal that educators aim for during lessons, as it contributes to better and more effective learning, I recommend that the AKA develops a plan to share this component of the study with schools throughout the country. For instance, the AKA can create brochures and other literary materials that encourage teachers, using Kreyòl, to incorporate the above practices in their lessons to engage students, including students in L2 classrooms.

5.4.3 Recommendation Three

During the observations, I observed that in invariably all the classrooms that did not use Kreyòl, students were practically mute. What is more, several students wrote in the questionnaires that they cannot express verbally what they really want to if they are not allowed to do so in Kreyòl. Several of the students' responses suggested that they are afraid to share their views in French, fearing that they may commit grammar errors when they speak French and be ridiculed by others. Furthermore, during several informal conversations with staffers from both schools, some educators said things such as French keeps the students "under control" and from "disrespecting teachers and others." As such, one of the findings of this study is that French, to some extent, is used to manage the behaviors of students in lieu of sound behavior management techniques. Not only is this practice oppressive, as discussed above, it also lends itself to the banking concept of education. For this reason, I recommend that the AKA promote the idea that French is a language, not a substitution for sound behavior management technique. To do so, AKA should purchase radio airtime since this is arguably the most effective medium to market products and ideas to Haitians, and since the AKA already uses that medium to communicate some of its messages. Furthermore, the AKA should collaborate with (or even pressure if necessary) the Haitian Parliament to pass

legislature that makes it illegal for French to be used to control and mute students.

5.5 Suggestions for Successful Implementation of the Recommendations

The two suggestions, in a way, serve as a supporting cast, and they hinge on two important factors. The first factor is what the literature on education reforms in Haiti reveals. That literature shows that in invariably all major attempts to reform the Haitian schooling system, the actors knew what they wanted to change (Prou, 2009). However, drawing from the works of O'Toole (1995) and Burke (2002), they did not know how to lead or carry out the change they desired. My experience on the ground—working, collaborating, and consulting with different groups and individuals in the education sector—confirms the difficulty of implementing change in the Haitian schooling system. Certain nuances and aspects of the system (e.g., the system's neocolonial history) cannot be neglected if change is to be carried out successfully. The second factor is based on a combination of my previous work on Haitian education as a graduate student and my background in organizational change. I completed two master's projects on Haitian education at Teachers College, Columbia University. In the first project, I surveyed and examined what the literature says on aspects of the system that need to be reformed. Aware that all attempts at reforming the system have failed, in the second master's project, under the supervision of W.W. Burke, I evaluated what strategies and brand of leadership are necessary to bring change to the system. The knowledge acquired and the lessons drawn from completing the two projects, in part, guide Suggestions 1 and 2.

5.5.1 Suggestion One

In order to implement the above recommendations, the AKA will need a way to be financially independent. The AKA is a governmental institution; therefore, it presumably has a viable mechanism in place to request, receive, and account for earmarked funds from the

government. However, critically important, it should not rely solely on funds from the state. Instead, it must develop the capacity to raise funds independent of what it is supposed to receive from the state. This recommendation is precipitated by three reasons.

First, not only does Haiti have a weak economy, the budget allocations towards education of the present and the two previous Haitian governments have demonstrated that education has not been a priority of the Haitian government, let alone pushing forward the Kreyòl agenda.

Second, as mentioned above, Haiti is a relatively politically unstable country, and historically its politics has been marred by political discontinuity, despotism, and massive corruption (Fatton Jr., 2002, 2007; Heinl & Heinl, 1996; Saint Paul, 2015). Given this history, it is not impossible for a new government that comes to power to put an end to or to funnel elsewhere funds earmarked for the AKA's functioning. According to several accounts that Fass (1988) provides, it is routine for monies that international donors and the Haitian government allocate to specific projects to go unaccounted for.

Third, the French-speaking Haitian elite runs the Haitian government (François, 2015). And because of its passionate love of French culture, ties to France (Lubin & François, 2017) and practice of elite closure (DeGraff, 2013)—it may intentionally withhold or block earmarked funds allocated to the AKA to sabotage initiatives taken by the fledgling institution. For example, one of the causes of failure of the Bernard Reform was that some Haitian elites who worked in the government sabotaged the reform, as they believed Kreyòl had no place in Haiti's schools (Hadjadj, 2000; U. Locher, personal communication, June 12, 2012). Simply put, I recommend that the AKA intentionally work on creating a relatively robust monetary reserve to ensure that the lack of financial support from the government never becomes a cause that prevents it from fulfilling its goals and objectives. For example, it needs funds to finance its Kreyòl awareness campaigns throughout Haiti, to carry out

scientific researches on matters of Kreyòl and disseminate the findings, to continue to operate, and so forth.

5.5.2 Suggestion Two

I recommend that the AKA seek the assistance and collaboration of individuals who have expertise in organizational change and who also possess knowledge of Haitian history and fine-tuned understanding of Haitian culture to help it with its initiatives. Here is why: knowing what to change and that change must occur, does not guarantee that actors will take action to bring about required change, nor does it mean they will welcome change either (O'Toole, 1995). The reason for this is that motivation does not equal performance, nor is it a guarantor of performance (Burke, 2002). In fact, change, be it evolutionary or revolutionary, inevitably engenders resistance, as it conjures feelings of anxiety and ambivalence in those who must change to accommodate change (Fullan & Steigelbauer, 1991). Also critically important, is that those who resist change the most are those who have the most changing to do (O'Toole, 1995). Therefore, it is not an easy matter for individuals—not excluding victims of oppression—to overcome the tyranny of custom (O'Toole, 1995). Paradoxically, victims of domination often find comfort in situations that they know are tyrannical (O'Toole, 1995).

The foregoing line of reasoning connects well with what Haitian-born, retired Howard University Professor Dr. Serge Madhere advised me, regarding my recommendations to AKA. Dr. Madhere, the author of several important texts in Kreyòl and with more than 30 years of experience in the Kreyòl movement, cautioned me to never lose track that the Haitian elite, in general, is "anachronistic" in its thinking. He added: the Haitian elite has failed to realize that time has changed, and, thus, without consulting French history to see that the French has never accommodated other languages, it unwisely continues to make special accommodations for the French language at the expense of Haiti's interests (S. Madhere, personal communication, December 15, 2017). Taken together what the reality on the ground

is and the knowledge that “change is a process and not an event” (Fullan & Steigelbauer, 1991, p.49), the AKA will have to work closely with professionals who truly know and understand the Haitian reality as well as how the process of change works to assure that the linguistic rights of all Haitian students are respected.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION, LIMITATIONS, CONTRIBUTIONS, AGENDA FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

6.1 Overview

In this final chapter, against the backdrop of seven separate experiences that led to a set of reflections which then occasioned this study, I begin by presenting my final thoughts. I then discuss the limitations of this study, four areas of knowledge that this study contributes to, and three areas which I believe need more research.

6.2 Conclusion

This study, to a great extent, is the aftermath of a list of looming questions pertaining to the quality of schooling in Haiti that followed me around in both my student and professional life and preoccupied my thoughts for a number of years. In the course of time, the questions morphed into a set of seven reflections. These reflections coupled with my conviction that education is an unalienable right are the driving forces which undergird this study. Going full circle, I bookend this study by revisiting my reflections which led to this investigation of Haitian education via a language of instruction approach.

Gaspard-Théodore Mollien, as discussed at length in the review of literature, was assigned the mission in the 1820s of advising his superiors on the most suitable strategy for France to recolonize Haiti (Brière, 2007)—a colony which accounted for two-thirds of France's overseas commerce in that epoch (James, 1989). After living in Haiti and studying Haitian life for a period of six years, the young diplomat advised his seniors to adopt a neocolonial, non-military stratagem, which in part entailed sending to Haiti proslavery, monarchist clergies—mostly from Bretton, France—to "mis-educate" (Woodson, 1933) the Haitian elite. Mollien's recommendation came to pass, and is still very much in application

today. Thus, while Haiti was the first nation to break away from European colonialism, it was also the first country to know the pernicious ploys of European neocolonialism (Bellegarde-Smith, 1980). Reflecting on my reflection as a schoolboy in Haiti, I know why my mother tongue Kreyòl and other aspects of my culture (e.g., Vodou) were banned in my elitist French Catholic congregational school. As Mollien sought after, the objective was to make me love French culture more than my own so that my allegiance would be to France—not to Haiti. The colonizer does not only seize natural resources, it also takes hold of the minds of the colonized to facilitate the theft of natural resources (Dei and Kempf, 2006).

I also understand very clearly why I, like some of the students who participated in this study, practiced selective mutism only on school days. I wanted to avoid the physical pain of being whipped as well as the psychological pain of being ridiculed by my classmates and teachers for speaking "bad French." To express "basic needs, ideas, thoughts, joys, sorrows, and other feelings" (Pattanayak, 1981, p. 61), I was not allowed to use the language that cuddled me to sleep and comforted me in moments of distress as an infant. I, therefore, bear witness to what Pattanayak has convincingly argued: "If one has to give up one's mother tongue, one may remain intellectually alive but grow emotionally sterile" (p. 61). Each day before entering school, I had to reject and leave outside what I had been learning since birth. Very important links between home and school were broken and discontinued, though effective pedagogical practice requires that teachers use what learners already know and have in order to teach them the unknown and thus help them build upon what they already have (Riches, 2000). This in essence requires that the MT be necessarily drawn into the classroom (Riches, 2000), lest learning (and learners) seriously suffer. I suffered a lot as a schoolboy in Haiti, and from this study I know many Haitian students are still going through what I have been through.

It is no longer an enigma to me why my Haitian students at the Brooklyn Job Corps—schooled in French most of their lives and at the time were considered limited proficiency English speakers—preferred taking the GED test in English instead of French. My classroom observations and the responses of several student participants shed light on why this is so. What I saw and some participants reported is in alignment with Dejean's (2010) argument that the fact that most Haitian students are taught and tested in a language they lack proficiency in is the chief reason why *only* 20 to 30% of Haitian students who take Haiti's final high school exam succeed (Dejean, 2010). As De Regt (1984) has called our attention to, it is not the content of education that is the major obstacle in the path of the majority of Haitian students; rather, it is the LOI that gives rise to massive dropout rates and an out-of-control over-aged school population and hinders advancement.

Also critically important, and speaking to the same point, is that in Haitian society and in diverse other Haitian circles (e.g., Haitian churches in Haiti or in the Haitian diaspora), it is somewhat pardonable for a Haitian person to commit obvious grammar mistakes when speaking a foreign language other than French (e.g., using the pronoun "he" to refer to a female when speaking English); however, it is considered very bad by Haitians schooled in French when a Haitian speaking French makes even a relatively unobvious grammar mistake, such as using the article "le" instead of "la" in front of a feminine noun like masculinité.

As some students alluded to on the questionnaire, they do not want to be made fun of for not knowing "the good French." And to not know "the good French" in a society where from the time of slavery the people have fantasized being French speakers (Fleischman, 1984), can potentially bring psychological pain (e.g., be ridiculed or humiliated) and even physical pain, as in the case of students who are trapped in schools that still corporally punish students for speaking Kreyòl. Reflecting on the reflection of my Haitian GED students, I am aware that, in general, Haitians who are schooled in Haiti tend to avoid saying or writing

anything in French unless they are absolutely certain what they are saying or writing is free of grammar errors. I believe the main reason for this is that most Haitians schooled in Haiti learned whatever level and quality of French they know in problematic, often hostile, conditions and environments (e.g., in schools where French is promoted and Kreyòl is downplayed). Schools that do not promote French at the expense of Kreyòl—wittingly or unwittingly—are very rare gems in Haiti.

Admittedly, I was surprised—then—when during a workshop in a public high school in Northern Haiti, a math teacher made the following statement: "Menm nou menm pwofesè se fòse n ap fòse pale fransè; ou pa menm bezwen mande pou elèv yo." ("Even we teachers are struggling to speak French; you do not need to ask about the students"). What shocked me is that in a classroom of about 100 educators, the teacher's remark went uncontested. French has been in Haiti for almost four hundred years; yet, what the teacher asserted corresponds with what DeGraff (2010a) has posited: that the vast majority of Haitian teachers—who supposedly use French as the medium of instruction—lack competence in French. Why is this so? DeGraff (2010b) has provided the following answer:

> Compare with, say, Spanish-speaking Haitians in the Dominican Republic, English-speaking Haitians in the U.S., French-speaking Haitians in Montreal, German-speaking Haitians in Germany, etc. The issue is clear: in Haiti for the past two centuries there simply has not been any adequate linguistic or pedagogical milieu that would allow Haitians to learn French. (para 6)

DeGraff's (2010b) explanations are consistent with my experience and observations as a current French learner in the francophone city of Montreal versus when I was a French learner in New York City. Furthermore, his explanation is convincing of what is required for Haiti to become a bilingual country. Referring to his training in linguistics and experience in language learning in different contexts, he posited the following statement:

> [F]luency in any language is impossible without a certain minimum of exposure to data from that language. In Haiti, there [are] simply not enough fluent French speakers or competent French teachers to ensure such required exposure to French. The only linguistic immersion in which most Haitians find themselves is Kreyòl.
>
> Haitians in the Dominican Republic, in the U.S., and in Montreal routinely learn Spanish, English and French, respectively—much better than they ever manage to learn French in Haiti. This seems to me clear evidence that Haitians can indeed learn any language once they are immersed in the adequate linguistic milieu. (pars. 21-22)

Satirically, the linguist has added that for Haiti to achieve total bilingualism, it would have to at the very least import hundreds of thousands of competent French teachers or millions of fluent French speakers and drop them off in different parts of Haiti. Only then would the vast majority of Haitians who speak only Kreyòl would, "one day, become perfectly bilingual in Kreyòl and French." (pars 23) Here I must point out that Haiti, the country with the lowest gross domestic product per capita in the western hemisphere—mired in corruption—has major difficulties retaining its educated class (e.g., more than 80% of Haitian college graduates live outside of Haiti), let alone importing hundreds of thousands of French teachers or millions of fluent French speakers. Realistically, that possibility is not viable.

Given Haiti's reality at this point in time, I believe the best option to educate Haitian students is what this study demonstrates: use Kreyòl as the principal medium of instruction—if the aim is to engage students in lessons. The classroom observations and the statements of the participants strongly suggest that when the L1 is used, including in classrooms where the L1 is not allowed—student comprehension, participation, and interaction with their peers and teachers are higher versus when the L1 is not used at all. This study also indicates that

students are *critically aware* of the foregoing reality. That is, while they are mindful of the pedagogical importance of Kreyòl in their learning, they are equally attentive to the power of French in Haitian society and in Haitian life in general. Students are cognizant that it is only on paper and symbolic that Kreyòl and French are co-official languages of Haiti, but in reality it is only French which functions as the official language in Haiti. "The official language, it must be remembered, is the key to power, for it is the language whose mastery is required for upward social mobility" (Mazama, 1994, p. 17). Haitian students are keenly cognizant of this truth, and thus this is indicative that—as important stakeholders—they are ready and ought to be playing a leadership role in the Kreyòl movement. Students ideally should be on the front line in the fight against elite closure, a pernicious linguistic strategy that hinders the effective functioning of Haiti's schooling system and the wellbeing of the vast majority of Haitians. After all—it is their future, their country, and their education that are at stake.

6.3 Limitations

This study has three limitations. The first one has to do with the research instruments and use, in particular the checklist used during the observations to check off whether or not student and teacher participants used the L1 to exhibit or carry out certain behaviors or activities, respectively. I did not count the number of times participants exhibited the behaviors or carry out the activities. If they used them once or a hundred times, they just got a check for "yes." This is a limitation, because there is a difference between doing something once or a hundred times. Things were going by too fast, and I was only able to observe if the L1 was used for a certain reason, but not how many times it was used for each reason, and that would have been a helpful addition to my analysis.

Another limitation relates to concerns about the construction of the survey instrument, which were unfortunately not caught during the piloting process. Participants who answered "no" to Question 1 should have been given the choice to stop and not go on to the other

questions. Because that option was not presented in the survey, some participants may have perceived the rest of the questionnaire assumes a "yes" to Question 1. Also, even though the first question, I believe, was a good idea, it nonetheless presents somewhat of a forced-choice bias because some participants perhaps may have wanted to answer something more nuanced like "it depends." Another problem is that Question 2 is a double-barrelled question. Thus, it is not clear when students answer yes if they are answering yes to the first part of the question, the second part, or both. However, it is still useful to give a very general indication of a positive or negative attitude towards the use of Kreyòl in the classroom. Despite the issues with the potentially leading nature of the survey, the choices of the activities that are helpful to perform in the L1 still have value, as they are in part what was used to compare the types of activities the teachers actually did in the classroom in the L1 during my observations of their classes.

Lastly, the final limitation of this study is not being able to report some very important information that I learned from the participating teachers. That is, I chatted with some of the teachers after the observations to gain further understanding and appreciation of what was happening while they were teaching. While the conversations were very interesting and informative and would certainly enrich the analysis of the data collected, this was not research data and thus cannot be reported here.

6.4 Contributions

The results of this study contribute mainly to four areas of knowledge. First, it captured portraits of the use of the L1 in schools where its usage is encouraged, such is the case at AK and discouraged, as it is at AF. In the latter, the use of the L1forbidden and students are punished for using it anywhere in the school, including and especially in classrooms during lessons. Of the five classes observed at that particular school, one teacher resisted the no Kreyòl policy in order to engage her students. In turn, the portrait of that

teacher's class looked similar to those of the five classes observed at Kreyòl-friendly AK. That is, in those six classes both teachers and students used the L1 to do various things, such as to check for comprehension and ask for clarifications, respectively. Consequently, the students were more engaged than in the four other classes that did not use the L1 at all. Second, the input of students is very important in the schooling process. After all, schools are intentionally created for the purpose of schooling them; yet, prior to this study no study had examined the beliefs that Haitian students hold regarding the use (or lack of use) of their MT in their instruction. Though Haitian society and the majority of schools in Haiti socialize Haitian citizens to have negative beliefs about Kreyòl, this study shows that student participants at both schools view Kreyòl in a positive light. This is contrary to what Jean-François (2006) found in his investigation of Haitian teachers' attitude towards Kreyòl and what Trouillot (2010) reported about Haitian parents at Collège Université Caraïbe. Third, this study sheds further light on the pedagogical role and benefits of the MT in teaching and learning in general. The L1 has its place even in the L2 classroom; it facilitates student engagement and thus essential in the development of all languages (Riches & Curdt-Christiansen, 2010). Fourth, it also has implications for formulating language policy in education and language planning, especially in developing countries with a similar profile to that of Haiti that are still wrestling with their post-colonial or neocolonial linguistic legacies.

6.5 Agenda for Future Research

The literature and research on MTI is relatively robust and plentiful. While Kreyòl is the most researched of all the creole languages (Spears, 2010), and while the works of scholars like Yves Dejean, Michel DeGraff, Serge Madhere, Leslie Jean-François, Jocelyne Trouillot-Lévy, Benjamin Hebblethwaite, and this study as well demonstrate and emphasize the importance of Kreyòl in Haitian schooling, I believe more research is needed in notably the following three areas:

- The outcomes of instrumental Kreyòl programs on learning and teaching. That is, more studies like the one in Matènwa conducted by Haitian scholar Michel DeGraff (2015) are needed to establish the link between Kreyòl instruction and performance in all subjects.
- The use of French to regulate student behavior in Haitian schools. One of the findings in this study is that a French only policy constitutes a substitute for sound behavior management techniques. That is, French keeps most Haitian students quiet.
- The psychological underpinnings of Haitian francophilia and self-hatred. For example, moving beyond mere descriptions of colonial and neocolonial brainwashing, what are the psychological explanations for phenomenons such as *fantasme of diglossia* that Fleischmann (1984) advances in his elaboration of Fergusson's (1959) theory of diglossia? This sort of information is critically important for crafting sound educational and language policies. It will enable policy makers to predict, understand, and appreciate the deeper causes of resistance to MTI and thus how best to respond to inevitable resistance.
- The two participating schools in this study are located outside of Port-au-Prince, Haiti's capital. Economic status, parental education level, and school attendance rate are determinants of school success in Haiti (Locher, 2010). All three factors are significantly higher in Port-au-Prince. Therefore, future replications of this study should include private schools in the capital to increase generalizability of some of the findings (e.g., students tend to participate in lessons more when the L1 is used) and also to compare some of the findings (e.g., will students in the congregational schools in the capital be as quiet during lessons as students were at AF when the L1 was not used). I believe student engagement—in terms of the level of student participation, comprehension, and interactions with their teachers and peers—might be visibly and

significantly higher in the congregational schools in the capitals than those in rural or semi-rural towns. The reason for this is because economic status and parental education level are major determinants of access to educators who are proficient in French and resources in French that can facilitate learning French (e.g., books, movies, CDs in French). In other words, researchers can expect to find many more students who are proficient in French in the capital than in parts outside of the capital, and, therefore more comfortable at participating in lessons than the students outside the capital.

- A comparative study of the presently Church-dominated Haitian schooling system and the Catholic Church-dominated Quebec schooling system before *La Révolution tranquille* (The Quiet Revolution). When governments abrogate their responsibilities and allow religious institutions to direct the schooling process of young people, there appears to be certain patterns which necessitate exploration (e.g., suppression of indigenous culture, stagnant or shrinking economy).

6.6 Afterword

This study yielded some very interesting findings, some I expected while others, admittedly, surprised me. I expected, for example, the viewpoints of AK students regarding Kreyòl would have been more positive than those of AF students since the use of Kreyòl is encouraged at AK and seriously downplayed at AF. That was not the case. Unlike the educators in Jean-François's (2006) study, both groups have positive beliefs about Kreyòl. I did not expect for students who are not pedagogues—and all their lives have been socialized to dislike and disrespect Kreyòl—to believe and cogently argue that the Haitian schooling system will continue to be problematic, "will go nowhere" until it fully incorporates the L1 as the principal LOI.

Students are human beings in their full range; they are emotional as well as rational thinkers (Noddings, 1984) who must pose serious life questions (Freire, 2012) and solve real problems to transform plaguing aspects of their societies, which tourment their existence (Dewey, 2012). In a Maxine Greene (2003) sense, the immense contributions of the student participants to this study is evidence that they have to a great extent questioned some of the practices of the Haitian schooling system and have imagined a system that is more student-centered. Their voices are sober and indeed a beacon of light in the midst of this drawn-out dark period in the schooling history of Haiti, reminiscent of "The Great Darkness" period in Quebec's schooling history. Their viewpoints also demonstrate that the efforts of Albert Valdman and former Haitian priest Yves Dejean (who recently passed away in March 29, 2018)—the senior and the leading scholars in the field, respectively (Spears, 2010)—were not in vain.

The Quebec schooling system is very far from being a utopia (Carr & Lund, 2007). However, just as a significant number of Quebecers listened to the voices of truth-telling personalities, such as Jean-Paul "Brother Anonymous" Desbiens and agreed with statesman Jean Lesage that "things must change," and thus committed themselves to help transform Quebec's schooling system, I hope that this study combined with the abovementioned agenda for future studies will further vindicate the belief expressed by the overwhelming majority of the students who participated in this study. In many different ways, they said as follows: At this point in time, Kreyòl is indispensable in educating Haitian students—if the aim is quality education for *all*. As Paulo Freire (2012) reminded us, all human beings are "unfinished and incomplete" (p. 385) and are thus constantly in the state of becoming. This, therefore, means educators, policy makers, and government officials should be inclined to unlearn certain knowledge and be willing to learn especially from students who are also teachers and irreplaceable stakeholders in all matters that have to do with education.

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Appendices

APPENDIX A: Suggested Uses for the L1 in the L2-Medium Classroom (Adapted from David Atkinson's 1987 list)

1. Eliciting language "How do you say 'X' in French?"
2. Checking comprehension
3. Giving complex instructions to basic levels
4. Co-operating in groups; learners compare and correct answers to exercises or tasks in the L1
5. Explaining classroom methodology at basic levels
6. Using translation to highlight a recently taught item/language item
7. Checking for sense if students write or say something in the L2 that does not make sense; have them try to translate it into the L1 to realize their error
8. Testing Translation items can be useful in testing mastery of forms and meanings.
9. Developing circumlocution strategies when students do not know how to say something in the L2, have them think of different ways to say the same thing in the L1, which may be easier to translate.
10. Challenging students to use higher order thinking skills

APPENDIX B: Student Consent Form and Questionnaire (English Version)

Questionnaire on the Use of Kreyòl (L1) in French-medium (L2) Classroom (Adapted from Schweers, Jr., 1999)

Name of Study: The effects of language on teaching and learning

PhD Student: Pierre M. Lubin, Jr.

Thesis Supervisor: Dr. Lise Winer

Department of Integrated Studies in Education, Faculty of Education, McGill University

Contact Information: pierre.lubin@mail.mcgill.ca; 514-652-1618

You are invited to participate in this research on language of instruction in the Haitian classroom. As part of a larger study aimed at better understanding the effects of language on teaching and learning, you are asked to participate in this study by completing a questionnaire. Your participation is completely voluntary and you may change your mind and withdraw from this research at any time. You will neither be identified nor will your name be mentioned in this research. All your answers will be anonymous and will be kept confidential. No one, including your teachers, will know your answers. Only I, Pierre Lubin, and maybe my supervisor, Dr. Lise Winer, if necessary, will have access to your consent form and questionnaire. If you have any questions about this research, you can ask me, Pierre Lubin.

If you agree to participate, please complete the questionnaire.

Survey Questions:

Please take 20 to 30 minutes to answer the questions.

1) Should Kreyòl be used in the classroom?
____Yes ____No

2) Have you liked or would you like your teacher to use Kreyòl in class?
____Not at all ____A little ____Sometimes ____A lot

3) When do you think it's appropriate for your teachers to use Kreyòl in your classes? Check all appropriate answers.
___To explain difficult concepts
___To introduce new material
___To summarize material already covered
___To give tests
___To joke around with students

___To help students feel more comfortable and confident
___To check for comprehension
___To carry out small-group work
___To explain the relationship between Kreyòl and French
___To define new vocabulary items

4) What percent of the time do you think Kreyòl should be used?
___0% ___25+% ___50+% ___75+% ___100%

5) If you prefer the use of Kreyòl in your class, say why?

6) Do you believe using Kreyòl in your classes helps you to learn what the teacher is teaching? If yes, why?

7) In your opinion, how do you think instruction can be improved in your school?

APPENDIX C : Formulaire de consentement et questionnaire de l'élève

Nom de l'étude : L'effet de la langue sur l'enseignement et l'apprentissage
Doctorant: Pierre M. Lubin, Jr.
Directeur de thèse: Dr Lise Winer
Département d'études intégrées en éducation, Faculté d'éducation, Université de McGill

Coordonnées: (Courriel) pierre.lubin@mail.mcgill.ca (Téléphone) 514-652-1618

Dans le cadre d'une vaste étude visant à mieux comprendre les effets de la langue sur l'enseignement et l'apprentissage, vous êtes invités à participer à cette étude en remplissant ce questionnaire. Votre participation est entièrement volontaire et vous pouvez changer d'avis et vous retirer de la recherche à tout moment. Vous ne serez pas identifié. Votre nom ne sera pas mentionné dans cette recherche. Toutes vos réponses seront anonymes et seront gardées confidentielles. Personne, y compris vos professeurs, ne saura vos réponses. Seulement moi, Pierre Lubin, et peut-être mon superviseur, le Dr. Lise Winer, si nécessaire, auront accès à votre questionnaire. Si vous avez des questions au sujet de cette recherche, vous pouvez m'en demander.

Si vous acceptez de participer, s'il vous plaît remplir le questionnaire.

1) Le créole doit être utilisé dans la salle de classe?

____Oui ____ Non

2) Avez-vous aimé ou aimeriez-vous que vos enseignants utilisent le créole en classe?

____Pas du tout ____ Un peu ____ Parfois ____ Beaucoup

3) Quand pensez-vous qu'il est approprié pour que vos enseignants utilisent le créole dans vos classes? Mettez un X à côté de toutes les réponses appropriées.

___Pour expliquer des idées, des mots ou des concepts difficiles

___Pour introduire de nouveaux éléments

___Pour résumer la matière déjà couverte

___Pour donner des examens

___Pour donner des rédactions

___Pour plaisanter avec les élèves

___Pour aider les élèves à se sentir plus à l'aise et plus confiant

___Pour vérifier la compréhension

___Pour effectuer des travaux en petits groups

___Pour expliquer la relation entre le créole et le français

___Pour définir de nouveaux éléments de vocabulaire

4) Quel pourcentage de temps pensez-vous le créole doit être utilisé?

___0 % ___ 25 % ___ 50 % ___ 75 % ___ 100 %

5) Si vous préférez l'utilisation du créole dans votre classe, pourquoi?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

6) Croyez-vous que les explications de vos enseignants en créole vous aident à comprendre ? Si oui, pourquoi?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

7) À votre avis, comment l'instruction peut-elle améliorer dans votre école?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

APPENDIX D: Teacher Consent Form

Name of Study: The effects of language on teaching and learning

PhD Student: Pierre M. Lubin, Jr.

Thesis Supervisor: Dr. Lise Winer

Department of Integrated Studies in Education, Faculty of Education, McGill University

Contact Information: pierre.lubin@mail.mcgill.ca; 514-652-1618

Description: As part of a larger study aimed at better understanding the effects of language on teaching and learning, you are asked to participate in the study by allowing the researcher, Pierre Lubin, to observe and audio record your class. Only I, Pierre Lubin, and my supervisor, Dr. Lise Winer, if necessary, will have access to the observation notes and your recorded voice. Here are the conditions of participation:

- There are no known risks involved in participating in this study.
- You may change your mind and withdraw from this study at any time, by contacting Pierre Lubin at the following email: pierre.lubin@mail.mcgill.ca. If you have any questions about this study, you should also contact Pierre Lubin at the same email: pierre.lubin@mail.mcgill.ca. If you have any concerns about your participation in this study, you can contact the McGill Ethics Officer at 514-398-6831 or Lynda.mcneil@mcgill.ca.
- All audio recordings will be destroyed after the study is completed. While the name of the participating schools will be mentioned in the dissemination of this research, your name will not be used in any publications or presentations of the findings.

If you agree to the terms of participation, please sign and date this consent form.

Signature:_____ Date:_____

APPENDIX E : Formulaire de Consentement de l'Enseignant

Nom de l'étude: L'effet de la langue sur l'enseignement et l'apprentissage
Doctorant: Pierre M. Lubin, Jr.
Directeur de thèse: Dr Lise Winer
Département d'études intégrées en éducation, Faculté d'éducation, Université de McGill
Coordonnées: (Courriel) pierre.lubin@mail.mcgill.ca (Téléphone) 514-652-1618

Dans le cadre d'une vaste étude visant à mieux comprendre les effets de la langue sur l'enseignement et l'apprentissage, vous êtes invités à participer à l'étude en permettant au chercheur, Pierre Lubin, à observer et à enregistrer de l'audio de votre classe. Seulement moi, Pierre Lubin, et peut-être mon superviseur, le Dr Lise Winer, si nécessaire, auront accès aux notes d'observation et votre voix enregistrée. Voici les conditions de participation:

• Il n'y a pas de risques connus liés à la participation à cette étude.

• Votre participation est entièrement volontaire, et sous pouvez changer d'avis et se retirer de cette étude à tout moment, en communiquant avec Pierre Lubin à l'adresse suivante: pierre.lubin@mail.mcgill.ca. Si vous avez des questions au sujet de cette étude, vous devriez également communiquer avec Pierre Lubin à la même adresse courriel: pierre.lubin@mail.mcgill.ca. Si vous avez des préoccupations au sujet de votre participation à cette étude, vous pouvez contacter le responsable de l'éthique à l'Université de McGill 514-398-6831 ou Lynda.mcneil@mcgill.ca.

• Tous les enregistrements audio seront détruites une fois l'étude terminée. Alors que le nom des écoles participantes sera mentionné dans la diffusion de cette recherche, votre nom ne sera pas utilisé dans toute publication ou présentation des résultats.

Si vous acceptez les conditions de participation, s'il vous plaît signer et dater ce formulaire de consentement.

Signature: _____ Date:_____

APPENDIX F: Portraits of Observations

Table 10

Observation of 5th / Terminal Year Secondary Math Class at AF (Teacher A)

Observation Item	Yes	No
Students used the L1 to ask how to say something in the L2.		✓
Students used the L1 to compare answers to exercises and tasks.		✓
Teacher used the L1 to encourage student participation.		✓
Teacher used the L1 to give complex instructions.		✓
Teacher used the L1 to explain classroom methodology at basic levels.		✓
Teacher used the L1 to check for sense if students write or say something in the L2 that does not make sense; have them try to translate it into the L1 to realize their error.		✓
Teacher used the L1 to check for comprehension.		✓
Teacher used the L1 to help students develop circumlocution strategies.		✓
Teacher used the L1 to challenge students to use higher order thinking skills.		✓
Students (co-operating in groups) compared and corrected answers to exercises or tasks in the L1.		✓
Teacher used translation to highlight a recently taught item/language item.		✓

Notes: Seventeen students were present, 12 boys and 5 girls. For the first 15 to 20 minutes of class, the teacher (Teacher A) wrote notes in the L2 on the board, then greeted the students, using the L2. The lesson was on defining polynomials, and, from start to finish, was in the L2. The teacher asked only close-ended questions, such as "What is the value of Y?" and "What is the final answer?" The students always responded with one-word or one-number answers. The students did not ask questions, nor did they offer comments or suggestions. The teacher practically did all the talking. Neither the teacher nor the students used the L1 during the lesson.

Table 11

Observation of 6th Year Fundamental French Class at AF (Teacher B)

Observation Item	Yes	No
Students used the L1 to ask how to say something in the L2.		✓
Students used the L1 to compare answers to exercises and tasks.		✓
Teacher used the L1 to encourage student participation.		✓
Teacher used the L1 to give complex instructions.		✓
Teacher used the L1 to explain classroom methodology at basic levels.		✓
Teacher used the L1 to check for sense if students write or say something in the L2 that does not make sense; have them try to translate it into the L1 to realize their error.		✓
Teacher used the L1 to check for comprehension.		✓
Teacher used the L1 to help students develop circumlocution strategies.		✓
Teacher used the L1 to challenge students to use higher order thinking skills.		✓
Students (co-operating in groups) compared and corrected answers to exercises or tasks in the L1.		✓
Teacher used translation to highlight a recently taught item/language item.		✓

Notes: Fifty-three students were present, 32 boys and 21 girls. For the first 15 to 20 minutes of class, the teacher (Teacher B) wrote notes in the L2 on the board, and in the L2 asked the students to copy the notes into their notebooks. The lesson, a French grammar lesson, was on identifying the different types of past participles and how to use them correctly in sentences. The teacher asked for the grammar rules and called on students to answer. Every time a student gave the correct answer, the teacher directed the other students to clap. The last 15 minutes of class consisted independent seat work, as the teacher went around the room to check the students' notebooks. The entire lesson was in the L2, and the L1 was not used at all. The students did not ask questions, nor did they offer comments or suggestions.

Table 12

Observation of 5th / Terminal Year Secondary Social Sciences Class at AF

(Teacher C)

Observation Item	**Yes**	**No**
Students used the L1 to ask how to say something in the L2.		✓
Students used the L1 to compare answers to exercises and tasks.		✓
Teacher used the L1 to encourage student participation.		✓
Teacher used the L1 to give complex instructions.		✓
Teacher used the L1 to explain classroom methodology at basic levels.		✓
Teacher used the L1 to check for sense if students write or say something in the L2 that does not make sense; have them try to translate it into the L1 to realize their error.		✓
Teacher used the L1 to check for comprehension.		✓
Teacher used the L1 to help students develop circumlocution strategies.		✓
Teacher used the L1 to challenge students to use higher order thinking skills.		✓
Students (co-operating in groups) compared and corrected answers to exercises or tasks in the L1.		✓
Teacher used translation to highlight a recently taught item/language item		✓

Notes: Seventeen students were present, 12 boys and 5 girls. For the first 15 to 20 minutes of class, the teacher (Teacher C) wrote notes on the board, using only the L2. The lesson's aim was "Reflexion sur le code rural de Boyer" (Reflections on Boyer's Rural Code). The teacher used the L2 to ask the students to share their reflections and what they know about the code. No one did. Consequently, to encourage participation, speaking in the L2, the teacher told the students that they could use the L1 to answer to no avail. Thus, using only the L2, the teacher asked only close-ended questions, such as what follows: "In what year was the code instituted?" and "Can you state three problems with the code?" Some students responded mostly with one-word answers. The students did not ask questions, nor did they offer comments or suggestions.

Table 13

Observation of 5th Year Fundamental French Class at AF (Teacher D)

Observation Item	Yes	No
Students used the L1 to ask how to say something in the L2.		✓
Students used the L1 to compare answers to exercises and tasks.		✓
Teacher used the L1 to encourage student participation.		✓
Teacher used the L1 to give complex instructions.		✓
Teacher used the L1 to explain classroom methodology at basic levels.		✓
Teacher used the L1 to check for sense if students write or say something in the L2 that does not make sense; have them try to translate it into the L1 to realize their error.		✓
Teacher used the L1 to check for comprehension.		✓
Teacher used the L1 to help students develop circumlocution strategies.		✓
Teacher used the L1 to challenge students to use higher order thinking skills.		✓
Students (co-operating in groups) compared and corrected answers to exercises or tasks in the L1.		✓
Teacher used translation to highlight a recently taught item/language item.		✓

Notes: Forty-five students were present, 29 boys and 16 girls. The teacher (Teacher D) wrote the lesson's aim on the board. It read as follows: « A la fin de la leçon tu seras en mesure de faire la différence entre un participe présent et un adjectif verbal » (At the end of the lesson, you will be able to differentiate between a present participle and a verbal adjective). Using the L2, the teacher asked the students to read the objective out loud. Next, the students were instructed to take out their French grammar books and read from them. Tin the L1, the teacher asked for the grammar rules and called on students to answer. Every time a student gave the wrong answer, as a punishment, the teacher directed the student to stand up and to remain standing until the end of the class. The students standing up were also ridiculed by their classmates. Lastly, the teacher instructed the students to do the exercises in their grammar books, while going around to check the students' work. The teacher also went over some of the flagrant errors, and collected the notebooks of the students who had all correct answers. The entire lesson was in the L2, and the L1 was not used at all. Students did not ask questions, nor did they offer comments or suggestions.

Table 14

Observation of 9th Year Fundamental Civic Education Class at AF

(Teacher E)

Observation Item	**Yes**	**No**
Students used the L1 to ask how to say something in the L2.		✓
Students used the L1 to compare answers to exercises and tasks.		✓
Teacher used the L1 to encourage student participation.	✓	
Teacher used the L1 to give complex instructions.	✓	
Teacher used the L1 to explain classroom methodology at basic levels.	✓	
Teacher used the L1 to check for sense if students write or say something in the L2 that does not make sense; have them try to translate it into the L1 to realize their error.		✓
Teacher used the L1 to check for comprehension.	✓	
Teacher used the L1 to help students develop circumlocution strategies.		✓
Teacher used the L1 to challenge students to use higher order thinking skills	✓	
Students (co-operating in groups) compared and corrected answers to exercises or tasks in the L1.		✓
Teacher used translation to highlight a recently taught item/language item.		✓

Notes: Twenty-seven students were present, 18 boys and 9 girls. The teacher (Teacher E) greeted the students and asked them how they were doing in the L1. Most of the class replied, using the L1. Using the L2, the teacher told the students that the lesson was on Haiti's independent governmental institutions. The teacher red from her notes, which were in the L2. Using the L2, Teacher E lectured on the notes on the board. Then, the teacher proceeded to exchange with the students in the L1. For example, in the L1, Teacher E said, "If this country is going to become a better country, this government and future governments will have to strengthen the institutions of Haiti." Some students, using the L1, commented, answered questions, and asked questions about the different governmental institution. For example, a student said that it is a waste of time to try to strengthen Haiti's governmental institution because all the institutions are to corrupt. Another student chimed in, and said that "all the institutions should be blown up and be replaced by new ones." About 45 minutes into the lesson, almost near the end of class, the priest who runs the school came and stood in the doorway of the classroom and gave the teacher a mean, icy stare. He shook his head, as

though he was disappointed, and walked away. The teacher stopped teaching, and the class came to a complete silence. The students sat quietly for about 3 to 5 minutes before going to their next class.

Table 15

Observation of 4th Year Secondary Math Class at AK (Teacher F)

Observation Item	**Yes**	**No**
Students used the L1 to ask how to say something in the L2.		✓
Students used the L1 to compare answers to exercises and tasks.	✓	
Teacher used the L1 to encourage student participation.	✓	
Teacher used the L1 to give complex instructions.	✓	
Teacher used the L1 to explain classroom methodology at basic levels.	✓	
Teacher used the L1 to check for sense if students write or say something in the L2 that does not make sense; have them try to translate it into the L1 to realize their error.		✓
Teacher used the L1 to check for comprehension.	✓	
Teacher used the L1 to help students develop circumlocution strategies.		✓
Teacher used the L1 to challenge students to use higher order thinking skills.	✓	
Students (co-operating in groups) compared and corrected answers to exercises or tasks in the L1.	✓	
Teacher used translation to highlight a recently taught item/language item.		✓

Notes: Seventy-two students were present, 45 boys and 27 girls. The teacher (Teacher F) walked into the classroom and immediately began writing notes on the board. Using the L2, the teacher wrote the following aim: “Le somme égal à zéro” (The sum is equal to zero). After the students copied the notes, the teacher asked them to solve the following trigonometric problem: $sin\ 3x + cos\ x + sin\ 5x = 0 – I – R$. Some students worked on the problem independently and in groups, while most, not the doing the assignment, talked with their friends, using the L1. (It took about 15 to 20 minutes for the students to write the notes that the teacher wrote on the board). About 25 minutes into the class, the teacher began to teach, using a highly *frenchified* form of Kreyòl that some creolists refer to as “mesolectal Kreyòl.” The teacher used a combination of the L1 and L2 to go over the math problem and to ask

comprehension questions to the students. The class was very noisy and lively, as students freely used the L1 to either participate in the lesson or chat with their friends. The chat was somewhat disruptive at times, and the teacher had to stop teaching on three occasions to instruct some students to stop talking and pay attention.

Table 16

Observation of 9th Year Fundamental Math Class at AK (Teacher G)

Observation Item	**Yes**	**No**
Students used the L1 to ask how to say something in the L2.		✓
Students used the L1 to compare answers to exercises and tasks.	✓	
Teacher used the L1 to encourage student participation.	✓	
Teacher used the L1 to give complex instructions.	✓	
Teacher used the L1 to explain classroom methodology at basic levels	✓	
Teacher used the L1 to check for sense if students write or say something in the L2 that does not make sense; have them try to translate it into the L1 to realize their error.		✓
Teacher used the L1 to check for comprehension	✓	
Teacher used the L1 to help students develop circumlocution strategies		✓
Teacher used the L1 to challenge students to use higher order thinking skills	✓	
Students (co-operating in groups) compared and corrected answers to exercises or tasks in the L1.	✓	
Teacher used translation to highlight a recently taught item/language item.		✓

Notes: Fifteen students were present, 9 boys and 6 girls. The teacher (Teacher G) walked into the classroom and used the L1 to greet the students and to ask them how they were doing. The teacher then proceeded to write notes in the L2 on the board, taking about 20 minutes to do so. The students wrote along. Teacher G wrote in the L2 that the objectives of the lesson were for students to know how to correctly trace different types of triangles and to calculate their areas. The teacher then read what was written on the board and explained it to the students in the L1. The teacher then used the compass and ruler to draw a right triangle on the board. The teacher said the math problem in the L2 and invited the students to use the L1 to participate. Using a combination of the L1 and the L2, Teacher G guided the students in solving of the

problem on the board. Using a combination of the L1 and the L2, students shouted out answers. The teacher, in the L1, concluded the lesson by telling the students that they shall never see a problem on the national exam that is as difficult as the one they went over and instructed them to start preparing for the national exam.

Table 17

Observation of 2nd Year Secondary Chemistry Class at AK (Teacher H)

Observation Item	Yes	No
Students used the L1 to ask how to say something in the L2.		✓
Students used the L1 to compare answers to exercises and tasks.	✓	
Teacher used the L1 to encourage student participation.	✓	
Teacher used the L1 to give complex instructions.	✓	
Teacher used the L1 to explain classroom methodology at basic levels	✓	
Teacher used the L1 to check for sense if students write or say something in the L2 that does not make sense; have them try to translate it into the L1 to realize their error.		✓
Teacher used the L1 to check for comprehension	✓	
Teacher used the L1 to help students develop circumlocution strategies		✓
Teacher used the L1 to challenge students to use higher order thinking skills	✓	
Students (co-operating in groups) compared and corrected answers to exercises or tasks in the L1.	✓	
Teacher used translation to highlight a recently taught item/language item.		✓

Notes: Twenty-five students were present, 16 boys and 9 girls. The teacher (Teacher H) walked into the classroom and used the L1 to ask the students how they were. Next, the teacher prefaced his chemistry lesson by explaining the importance of Haitians communicating in Kreyòl. For example, Teacher H told the students that "Kreyòl is the only language that all Haitians have in common, and that Kreyòl is the only language that all Haitians can use to express their true emotions and thinking." The teacher did not have an aim on the board, nor did he have notes on the board. He wrote formulas such as "CH4" and "Nacl" on the board, as he spoke and asked the students questions mostly in the L1. However, when the teacher said or explained theories and formulas, he did so in the L2. From a Bloom's

Taxonomy perspective, the teacher asked the students a mixture of lower order thinking questions—notably *knowledge, comprehension,* and *application* questions. Throughout the lesson, the teacher often said certain French words like "varier" and asked the students if they knew what the word meant in Kreyòl. He also invited the students to ask questions. Student participation was relatively high, and student-teacher exchange was also very high. Two students even challenged the teacher's answer, and the teacher admitted being wrong, and jokingly, Teacher H said, "I wanted to see if you all were paying attention." Both the teacher and some students burst out laughing. Some students worked by themselves, while formed groups of threes and fours and compared their answers, using the L1.

Table 18

Observation of 9th Year Fundamental Writing Class at AK (Teacher I)

Observation Item	**Yes**	**No**
Students used the L1 to ask how to say something in the L2.		✓
Students used the L1 to compare answers to exercises and tasks.	✓	
Teacher used the L1 to encourage student participation.	✓	
Teacher used the L1 to give complex instructions.	✓	
Teacher used the L1 to explain classroom methodology at basic levels	✓	
Teacher used the L1 to check for sense if students write or say something in the L2 that does not make sense; have them try to translate it into the L1 to realize their error.		✓
Teacher used the L1 to check for comprehension	✓	
Teacher used the L1 to help students develop circumlocution strategies		✓
Teacher used the L1 to challenge students to use higher order thinking skills	✓	
Students (co-operating in groups) compared and corrected answers to exercises or tasks in the L1.	✓	
Teacher used translation to highlight a recently taught item/language item.		✓

Notes: Fifteen students were present, 9 boys and 6 girls. The teacher (Teacher I) walked into the classroom and immediately, without first greeting the students, started to write on the board. In the L2, he wrote and read that the planning process has three phases: "introduction, development, and conclusion." In the L2, Teacher I invited students to brainstorm. The

students were very quiet and looked somewhat confused, as though they did not understand what the teacher had asked them to do. In the L1, one student asked him to "clarify." Using the L1, the teacher provided the student an explanation, and the student responded in the L1, saying he understood and knew what to do now. The same student, using the L1, proceeded to explain to two other students sitting next to him the teacher's explanation. One of his peers seemed to be in disagreement about something either the teacher said or he said. The teacher, in the L1, then asked the students to stop playing around and to begin writing their introduction. Some of the students formed groups of twos and threes to work on the assignment, comparing what they wrote. As the students worked on their introduction, writing in the L2, the teacher went around the room, looking at their work and offering comments, praises, and corrections in the L1. In the L1, one of the students told the teacher what her partner had written "resembles the conclusion and not the introduction." The class burst out laughing. Lastly, using a mixture of the L1 and L2, the teacher asked for volunteers to share what they had written. One student was in the middle of explaining, in the L1, what he wrote when the bell rang, signaling the end of class.

Table 19

Observation of 1st Year Fundamental Math Class at AK (Teacher J)

Observation Item	**Yes**	**No**
Students used the L1 to ask how to say something in the L2.		✓
Students used the L1 to compare answers to exercises and tasks.	✓	
Teacher used the L1 to encourage student participation.	✓	
Teacher used the L1 to give complex instructions.	✓	
Teacher used the L1 to explain classroom methodology at basic levels	✓	
Teacher used the L1 to check for sense if students write or say something in the L2 that does not make sense; have them try to translate it into the L1 to realize their error.		✓
Teacher used the L1 to check for comprehension	✓	
Teacher used the L1 to help students develop circumlocution strategies		✓
Teacher used the L1 to challenge students to use higher order thinking skills	✓	
Students (co-operating in groups) compared and corrected answers to exercises or tasks in the L1.		✓

Teacher used translation to highlight a recently taught item/language item. ✓

Notes: Eighteen students were present, 12 boys and 6 girls. A teacher (Teacher J) led the class. Also present was an assistant who carried a stick. When I entered the self-contained classroom, the lesson on writing the letters of the alphabet had already begun and was about to end. The students were cheerful and very happy to see me. The assistant, in a joking tone, told two boys that she was going to hit them with the stick if they did not calm down. The assistant distributed the notebooks, as the teacher wrote on the board, in the L2, what follows: "Vous allez écrire en chiffre et en lettre" (You are going to write in numbers and letters). In the L2, the teacher told the students that they must be able to distinguish numbers and written numbers. Using the L1, the teacher pointed to the numeral four ("4") and four written in French ("quatre") and asked the students to tell him how are they different, and how are they the same. A little girl shouted out, in the L1, that they are always the same because they always have the same value. Another little girl said that is not true because one is a word and one is a numeral. The teacher said "you both are right," as he tried to calm the class down. Then, the teacher proceeded to give the students basic instruction in the L1. I noticed that five students, four boys and one girl, were not writing; therefore, I curiously (and very discretely) asked the teacher why was this the case. The teacher told me it is because the five students did not have pencils. I took the initiative to ask the other students who visibly had extra pencils to share with their classmates. They did. Next, in the L2, the teacher asked the students to write the numbers 1, 2, and 3 in words. They appeared not to understand; therefore, he explained to them what to do in the L1. They complied. Using a mixture of the L1 and the L2, the teacher and his assistant went around the room to assist the students to write the word numbers in their notebooks. In the L1, the students asked both the teacher and the assistant questions. They used the L1 to compare their answers. They used the L1 to joke and fool around with each other. From time to time, the assistant, using the L1 and the L2, in a joking manner, threatened to use her stick on the students who were talking and not writing.

APPENDIX G: Data Obtained from Qualitative Questions on the Questionnaire

The Three Qualitative Questions:

- Q5: If you prefer the use of Kreyòl in your class, say why?
- Q6: Do you believe your teachers' explanation in Kreyòl can help you to better understand? If yes, why?
- Q7: In your opinion, how can instruction be improved in your school?

Five Running Themes Based on Students' Responses:

- L1 Facilitates Comprehension of Content (FCC)
- L1 Facilitates Meaningful Discussion (FMD)
- L1 Facilitates Unrestrained Participation (FUP)
- L1 Reinforces Haitian Identity (RHI)
- L2 Facilitates Social Mobility (FSM)

Terminal Year Secondary (Philo): AF and AK

Student Code: **Grade** **Student #** **School**	**Question #5:** **If you prefer the use of Kreyòl in your class, say why?**	**Question #6:** **Do you believe your teachers' explanation in Kreyòl can help you to better understand? If yes, why?**	**Question #7:** **In your opinion, how can instruction be improved in your school?**
T1AF	I prefer the use of Kreyòl for explaining certain things, but we live in a poor country, so we must learn languages like French and English. FCC, FSM	Yes, it's my mother tongue. I hear it everywhere. There's no mystery to this language for me. FCC	Instruction of students is usually very theoretical and needs to be practical as well. _____

T2AF	Yes, to make sure all students comprehend. FCC	In fact, yes because Kreyòl is our mother tongue. We use it to communicate with our friends and parents at home. Therefore, we would understand better if explanations were in Kreyòl. FCC	We need it to better orient the students by encouraging them to go into the subjects that they are good at. Use Kreyòl to a maximum level, and be more practical. FCC
T3AF	I prefer the use of Kreyòl in class to better understand and learn the notions once and for all. Once we learn something in Kreyòl it's hard to forget it. But French is the power in Haiti. FCC, FSM	Yes, I think explanations in Kreyòl will help us to better understand because the examples will be more current, and in this regard comprehension will be easier and faster. FCC	We know a lot of theories, but in terms of practice, that doesn't work at all. We say the things theoretically, but at the practical level, we know nothing at all. The language also poses a problem. FCC
T4AF	According to me, Kreyòl should be recommended in the classroom, especially in Haiti because it's a mean to help the students feel more comfortable and to help the teachers to better clarify their ideas. FCC, FUP, FMD	Sometimes explanation in Kreyòl must take place, for there are certain subjects like math, physics, etc. that requires explanation for students to have a good understanding. FCC	French is obligatory in instruction. That's a problem for comprehension. The courses could be well dispensed if there weren't ambiguities with the French language. This is why I vote instruction should be 50/50 at the level of both languages to facilitate the teachers and students. FCC

T5AF	I prefer both. I speak both, but I speak and understand Kreyòl more. That's why I want more French, and our school use only French. No Kreyòl. That helps me a lot. FCC, FSM	Practically, yes because the time we spent speaking Kreyòl is much more compared to French. Once we're at home, it's Kreyòl. It will be better to explain in Kreyòl. FCC	First of all, we need books that are more precise. We need to change the system of learning by making it more practical and using laboratories. ____
T1AK	I prefer Kreyòl. I can say anything that I want to say because I'm not afraid about making mistakes. FUP, FMD	When the teachers speak Kreyòl, the students can speak also because they understand. They have questions on their minds. FCC, FMD, FUP	Haiti will go nowhere if the education system doesn't use the language that all Haitians speak. Speak Kreyòl, everybody understands. Speak French, everybody is afraid. The teachers are afraid, too. FCC
T2AK	I prefer to use Kreyòl in class because when the teacher uses Kreyòl, we understand better. FCC	Yes, because my reflections come very fast. FCC, FUP, FMD	We can improve teaching by using the maternal language. FCC
T3AK	I prefer Kreyòl. The teachers give exams in French, and even though I know the lesson, but I'm unable to do it in French. FCC	I believe the explanations in Kreyòl help us to understand more. And we don't have any problems to answer any questions. FCC, FMD, FUP	To ameliorate instruction in school, the Kreyòl language must be prioritized. FCC
T4AK	If the majority of schools in the country instruct the students	Yes, the students will easily understand, and they will be able to get	There's no major improvement that can occur in Haitian education

	in Kreyòl, it will be difficult to evaluate the masses, the poor. The masses speak Kreyòl and the books, exams, university, good jobs, prestige are all in good French. FSM	rid of discrimination that exists in the French language. FCC	if all the books are not written in Kreyòl and education stops being under the control of foreign countries. FCC
T5AK	Yes, I like the utilization of Kreyòl because fundamentally that's the language we speak. We should use it because it will be good for the country's future. RHI	Yes, we've been speaking it at home since we were little. So, school should use it so that we understand better. Thank you. FCC, FUP, FMD	Base on principle, instruction should start early on for the future of the country. It's Kreyòl that we speak, so they should use it to teach us. FCC

4th Year Secondary (Rhéto): AF and AK

Student Code :	**Question #5 :** **If you prefer the use of Kreyòl in your class, say why?**	**Question #6 :** **Do you believe your teachers' explanation in Kreyòl can help you to better understand. If yes, why?**	**Question #7 :** **In your opinion, how can instruction be improved in your school?**
R1AF	To help students understand better, and so that they don't feel embarrassed because they don't know the good French. FCC, FUP	Yes, because the French language poses a lot of difficulties for students, and Kreyòl is our language.	There should be more audiovisual presentations, installation of laboratories, and they should instruct us in

		FUP, FCC, FMD	Kreyòl and give us homework in Kreyòl. FCC
R2AF	With Kreyòl, we are at ease to ask our questions. FMD, FUP	Yes, the explanations in Kreyòl helps me to do my homework better. It also allows me to absorb the lessons better. FCC	We can improve instruction by making Kreyòl obligatory because we are more comfortable in it. FCC
R3AF	I don't have preference for Kreyòl because it's not a language. It's a dialect. I have never seen a Kreyòl grammar book. You cannot go to university if you only speak Kreyòl. FSM	Certainly, we are Haitians. (not clear)	We have to be realistic. More good French teachers for better opportunities. FSM
R4AF	I love Kreyòl, but the job interviews for the good jobs are never in Kreyòl, but always in French. FSM	Student did not answer this question.	We can have a good balance of French and Kreyòl. That's the intelligent way although all the students understand better when instruction is in our language. FCC, FSM
R5AF	I like Kreyòl because it's a direct language. No lies. But French is a superior language. My teachers always say it's an international language. FCC, FSM	Yes, because all the students understand much better. FCC	The system has to prepare students to better function in the economy. So, the teachers have to make sure the students get everything they teach. FCC
R1AK	Because there are certain things that you can't know or	You can feel like a dummy if you	In Haiti, the majority of books in schools are

	understand if they're not in Kreyòl. FCC	don't understand what the teacher is trying to explain. You can't say what you want to say. You have to keep your mouth shut. FCC, FMD, FUP	in French. The exams are only in French. So, explanations should be mostly in French, and Kreyòl should be used at home. FSM
R2AK	I always understand better when the lessons are in Kreyòl. I understand sometimes when it's in French. FCC	Yes, because I'm free to say anything. I can think better. It's more happiness for me. FUP, FMD	We have to make the students comfortable in all the subjects. FCC (?)
R3AK	I am Creole. RHI	Yes, students can ask questions and have a little dialogue with the teachers. FMD, FUP	School can teach in Kreyòl. The government can give people who speak Kreyòl good jobs like they give to people who speak French. FSM
R4AK	Yes, Kreyòl is the language of the Haitian people since slavery. RHI	Yes, believe me. (not clear)	Yes, believe me. Kreyòl is the best way. French is very difficult. It's only good for the French people. FCC
R5AK	I prefer Kreyòl all the time. That's my language and the one I understand better. FCC	Yes, we know it better than French and English. FCC	The leaders of Haiti must know what it means to be educated. (not clear)

3rd Year Secondary: AF and AK

Student-School-Grade	**Question #5 :**	**Question #6 :**	**Question #7 :**

	If you prefer the use of Kreyòl in your class, say why?	**Do you believe your teachers' explanation in Kreyòl can help you to better understand. If yes, why?**	**In your opinion, how can instruction be improved in your school?**
31AF	I like Kreyòl, but everybody in Haiti knows French is more important. FSM	Our teachers are not allowed to speak Kreyòl. If they speak, we will understand better. FCC	We have to be more serious about education. The young people prefer music and other activities. (not clear)
32AF	Yes, because the school has an obligation to make sure everybody understands. FCC	Most people in the country cannot understand French and the other important languages. FCC	More practical and less beautiful theories. _____
33AF	Yes, I learn more. FCC	Yes, when the teachers speak Kreyòl the information goes directly into my brain. FCC	The teachers must remember that they are preparing the students for the future. (not clear)
34AF	I am very comfortable when I am thinking and speaking in Kreyòl. It is difficult to think in French FCC	Explanation in Kreyòl make things more clear for the students. That's always the case in Haiti. FCC	Education needs more technology and we need more practice. _____
35AF	Kreyòl is my beautiful language. Other people will discriminate you if you don't speak	Yes, because we can really understand and appreciate the	My school can improve instruction if it gives everybody the opportunity to share what's on their

	French. You have to know French, the correct French. FSM	information we are learning. FCC	mind in the language they understand. FUP
31AK	I prefer Kreyòl because I don't need to do a lot of things to understand. FCC	Thank you for explaining in Kreyòl. FCC	We understand more in Kreyòl. FCC
32AK	I prefer to use Kreyòl. FCC	Yes, there is less risk. I'm afraid to speak bad French, and all goes well. FUP	We can improve instruction by speaking the language of the people so they can talk when they want to talk. FUP
33AK	I prefer Kreyòl ever since I was a little boy. RHI (?)	Kreyòl makes us feel better because it's our language. We know it like water. FCC	Haitians who love Haiti have to give education a chance. (not clear)
34AK	I prefer Kreyòl because I can contribute something. FMD, FUP	Sure. The students can understand everything that's going on. All the teachers already know that. FCC	Student did not answer this question.
35AK	I prefer Kreyòl because I speak it with my friends and family. FCC, RHI	Everything is clear like coconut water when my teachers explain especially all the math in Kreyòl. FCC	All instruction in Kreyòl will improve instruction. We know that language. FCC

2nd Year Secondary: AF and AK

Student-School-Grade	**Question #5 :** **If you prefer the use of Kreyòl in your class, say why?**	**Question #6 :** **Do you believe your teachers' explanation in Kreyòl can help you to better understand. If yes, why?**	**Question #7 :** **In your opinion, how can instruction be improved in your school?**
21AF	The teachers explain better in Kreyòl. We understand better. FCC	Yes, because we will be ready to learn when they do that and we'll have many things to say. FCC, FUP, FMD	We need better teachers who can help the students to get better opportunities. (not clear)
22AF	Yes, the students can talk to the teachers and ask important questions. FUP, FCC, FMD	Yes, because I can do more things. (not clear)	I would like to have more participation because students have important things to say. Use more Kreyòl. FUP
23AF	It's my language since I was a little baby. I can speak Kreyòl very well, but I'm not allowed to speak it when I'm in school. RHI, FCC	I can learn more and have more confidence to help my family and my country in the future. (not clear)	I don't think we can improve instruction in my school. Too much politics, and the government doesn't care about the little Haitians like me. (important point)
24AF	Kreyòl is a good language. We understand it well, but Haiti can't get rich with Kreyòl. Only with French	Explanation in Kreyòl can help us to get it faster.	We can make instruction better by teaching the international language better and

	and English. Maybe Spanish. FSM	FCC	have good technology. FSM
25AF	I prefer the utilization of Kreyòl because it's the mother tongue language; hence, we don't learn it. We use it everywhere in the country. It facilitates comprehension much better than French. RHI, FCC	Kreyòl makes it every easy to absorb. You understand everything that everybody is saying. FCC	Instruction needs to give the students more time to practice what they learn. Everything is theory. _____
21AK	I already know it in Kreyòl. FCC (?)	Yes, because I don't want to be lost about the subjects. All the subjects. FCC	Instruction must help students get more better ideas. (not clear)
22AK	I prefer to use Kreyòl because it help me to participate in school. FMD, FUP	Yes, because I can comprehend and say everything that's on my mind. FCC, FUP	We can make instruction better if the teachers respect the opinion of the students. (?)
23AK	I have no problems in Kreyòl. FCC, FUP	Really because I don't always understand every French grammar. FCC	Teach me everything in Kreyòl. (?)
24AK	When you use Kreyòl, everybody understands. FCC	Kreyòl is the most easy language in the world. Anybody can see that. FCC	The government has to make sure everybody understands the language when teachers are teaching.

			FCC
25AK	Because I want to know the lessons to do my homework. FCC	Individuals have to understand things when they're in school. If they don't, they can't succeed. You understand? FCC	I say the same thing. (not clear)

9th Year Fundamental: AF and AK

Student Code :	**Question #5 :** **If you prefer the use of Kreyòl in your class, say why?**	**Question #6 :** **Do you believe your teachers' explanation in Kreyòl can help you to better understand. If yes, why?**	**Question #7 :** **In your opinion, how can instruction be improved in your school?**
91AF	I prefer the use of Kreyòl for explaining certain things, but French is opportunity. FCC, FSM	Yes, everybody understands better when you speak a language they know. FCC	I prefer a good future for everybody that lives in Haiti. (not clear)
92AF	Yes, because I want to understand all the time. FCC	I am Creole and Kreyòl is my language. I want the best education like English.	Schools need better books for the students.
93AF	Kreyòl is good because you can understand. FCC	Student did not answer.	My school gives me good instruction to succeed in life. (not clear)

94AF	We have to understand better. FCC	This gives the students control of their lives. (not clear)	Instruction needs to show the students how to take control of their actions and future. (not clear)
95AF	I prefer Kreyòl, but I can't write it. (?)	The students spend a lot of time to understand the lesson when and because it's in French. I know we are scared. FCC	The students don't want to be scared of the teachers. They want to say whatever they want to say. They can only do that in Kreyòl. FUP
91AK	I prefer Kreyòl because you only have to show it to me one time. FCC	Yes, because we don't have enough documents to do research. And even when you encounter a word and you research it, you still don't understand sometimes. (not clear)	We should have more documents to do good research. My friends want that also. (not clear)
92AK	Of course I prefer Kreyòl, mister. (not clear)	Yes, because I'm able to ask questions and understand better. FCC, FUP, FMD	Ameliorate the students understanding. (not clear)
93AK	I prefer Kreyòl. It's easy to understand. FCC	I like good explanations in Kreyòl. FCC	I like good explanations in Kreyòl. Give the students a chance to say what's really on their mind. FCC, FUP
94AK	Yes, I prefer Kreyòl because I can always do the work and talk more.	I just prefer to communicate in Kreyòl. (not clear)	I prefer when the communication is in Kreyòl.

	FCC, FUP, FMD		FCC
95AK	I love Kreyòl. It's the language of my mother, my father, my big brother, and my little sister. RHI	Yes, I understand Kreyòl a lot and French a little bit. I want to do my homework every day because education is my future. FCC	Student did not answer this question.