

An Investigation of Catholic Education and the Predicament of Democracy in Haiti

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October, 2015

**A Thesis Submitted to McGill University in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

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Abstract

The purpose of this sequential transformative mixed methods study is twofold: (a) explore in-depth the nature of the Catholic congregational school pedagogy in Haiti, and (b) critically examine how such pedagogy impacts democracy in Haiti. For the transformative paradigm used in this research, the interpretive standpoint of the results has been purveyed by the postcolonial theory which brought out the importance of Haitian Vodou and Creole in the matter of educating for democracy in Haiti. Particularly, the theory of hybridity from Homi K. Bhabha acknowledges Vodou and Creole as two basic historical elements that would foster democratic learning spaces in the school context and empower the Haitian student. By considering that "different histories and cultures produce different democracies" (Koelble & Lipuma, 2008, p.1), the study stressed that educating for democracy should be based on these "hybrid cultures."

However, since the signing of the Concordat of 1860 between the Vatican and Haitian State, Catholic congregational schools have borne the responsibility for educating the Haitian elites. The whole result of the study revealed that these schools are a model of anti-Vodou and anti-Creole colonial school established within the framework of a French neocolonial project engineered by Gaspard Theodore Mollien to reconquer Haiti. Both the qualitative and quantitative findings strongly drew attention to the total exclusion and marginalization of Haitian Creole and Vodou by Catholic school leaders. Through this type of "mis-education" (Woodson, 1933), the congregational schools prepared a type of subaltern, alienated, racist, autocratic, and violent elites that have always served the interests of the West while oppressing and marginalizing the Vodouists and Creole

speaking Haitian masses. In 1994, such "mis-educated" women and men were considered the "most repugnant elites" by the U.S Embassy (Fatton Jr., 2002).

Thus, since the literature and theoretical framework of the study are in line with the fact that the predatory nature of subaltern indigenous elites has been molded in colonial schools, this research has established a significant relationship between this type of colonial education promoted in Catholic congregational classrooms and the absence of democracy in Haiti. In light of the findings, the present investigation advocates for a radical change in the whole Haitian educational system.

Résumé

Cette dissertation est une recherche mixte transformative qui comprend deux parties conduites de façon séquentielle et qui a le double but (a) d'explorer en profondeur la nature de la pédagogie des écoles congréganistes catholiques, et (b) d'examiner de façon critique l'impact d'une telle pédagogie sur la démocratie haïtienne. À cause de la nature transformative de l'étude, la théorie postcoloniale a été placée au centre de toute la démarche méthodologique. En particulier, la théorie de l'hybridité de Homi K. Bhabha a fait ressortir l'importance du vodou et de la langue créole dans le domaine de l'éducation pour la démocratie en Haïti. S'appuyant sur cette perspective critique, cette étude transformative a présenté le vodou et le créole comme étant deux éléments historiques de base qui peuvent créer des espaces d'apprentissages démocratiques dans les écoles haïtiennes et aussi fortifier mentalement l'élève haïtien. Considérant que "different histories and cultures produce different democracies" (Koelble & Lipuma, 2008, p.1), l'étude a montré que toute éducation pour la démocratie doit être impérativement basée sur ces cultures hybrides.

Cependant, grâce à la signature du Concordat de 1860 entre le Vatican et l'État haïtien, les écoles congréganistes catholiques étaient devenues responsables de la formation académique des élites haïtiennes. Les résultats de la recherche ont révélé que ces écoles congréganistes représentent un modèle d'école coloniale anti-vodou et anti-creole qui a été établi en Haïti dans le cadre d'un projet néocolonial français conçu par Gaspard Théodore Mollien pour reconquérir Haïti. Les résultats des deux phases qualitative et quantitative ont fortement souligné l'exclusion et la marginalisation du créole et du vodou par les leaders de ces écoles catholiques. Au moyen de cette forme de

"mal-éducation" (Woodson, 1933), ces écoles congréganistes ont formé une classe dirigeante subalterne, aliénée, raciste, autocratique et violente qui a toujours servi les intérêts des occidentaux tout en opprimant et marginalisant les masses créolophones et vodouisantes haïtiennes. En 1994, de telles femmes et de tels hommes "mal-éduqués" ont été qualifiés de "most repugnant elites" (Fatton Jr., 2002) par l'ambassade américaine en Haïti.

Ainsi, se basant sur un cadre théorique et une littérature qui supportent le fait que les écoles coloniales ont grandement contribué à fabriquer la nature prédatrice des élites indigènes subalternes, cette étude a pu établir une relation significative entre le type d'éducation coloniale dispensée dans les écoles congréganistes catholiques et l'absence de démocratie en Haïti. Dans cette optique, la présente recherche plaide pour un changement radical dans l'ensemble du système éducatif haïtien.

Dedication

To my lovely mother, Lorilia Pierre—my first teacher.

To my precious wife, Dieudonne Monplaisir, for her radical and unending love.

To my daughters: Monica and Dashka, also Stephane, Mona, and my sister Joliette for
their unconditional love and support.

To the great majority of marginalized Haitians who inspired this thesis.

Acknowledgements

First of all, I would like to give my greatest gratitude to the Almighty God who has granted me good physical and mental health to conduct this investigation. God has additionally put in my path a set of relatives, classmates and friends, and good mentors who have respectively embraced my cherished dream, encouraged, and supported and worked with me to successfully complete this dissertation. Specifically, I would like to express my gratitude to my doctoral committee formed by Dr. Spencer Boudreau, Prof. Daniel Cere, Dr. Carolyn Turner, and Dr. Kevin McDonough. I could never have completed this dissertation without the participation of all the members of this committee who played a key role through their respective contributions.

Firstly, I would like to express my immense gratitude to my two supervisors, Dr. Spencer Boudreau and Prof. Daniel Cere, for their continuous guidance, dedication, and patience as well as their brilliant advice and constructive feedback. Secondly, I would like to give gratitude to Dr. Carolyn Turner for her invaluable methodological support. Not only did her class of research inspire me to utilize a mixed methods approach in this dissertation, but also, she joyfully shared with me her great skills and knowledge beyond the classroom. Last, but not least, I am so grateful to Dr. Kevin McDonough for his critical feedback during my doctoral examination which helped me to look at other perspectives and make important changes in the second chapter. Such changes had a considerable impact on the entire dissertation.

In addition to my doctoral committee, I thank kindly all my teachers from McGill University who have inspired, mentored, and inculcated in me the sense of doing critical

research and academic works. I am also thankful to the Ph.D. candidate Shujiao Wang for making the statistical part of the study easy for me.

Moreover, the completion of this dissertation would not have been possible without the unconditional support and critical reading of Madam Pascale Doresca. By challenging my thinking, she made me improve some aspects of my thesis. Also, many thanks go to Myrène Bruno, Fanel Mervil, and Pierre Lubin for their suggestions and comments in the area of editing.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge the love, friendship, encouragement, and great support of Dr. Greger Figaro and family, Louis Gerson Richemé, and Adler Michel. In a similar vein, I would like to thank kindly several individuals such as Alex Turnier, Calherbe Buteau, Daphney Beaudouin and family, Florence Maurice, Gérald Jean Baptiste, Jacques-Michel Gourgues, Lydie Misère, Nadine Louis, Raulin Cadet, Rozefort Verlaine, Yves Fausner Paul, Wadner Cadet, and Wakiss Celestin. I would not have been able to finish this dissertation without the support of each of these good people.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Nested Contexts of the Study

Haitian history is unique. This uniqueness can be underlined by some major contradictory facts. On the one hand, in 1804, Haiti, wrote one of the most glorious chapters in modern history by becoming the western world's first Black empire, the first Latin American and Caribbean state, the "first American republic to favor the power of Blacks, workers and local self-rule" (Sheller, 2000, p. 71), and the second independent country in the Americas. Haiti gained its freedom through the first successful slave revolt in modern history. In addition to being the "first autonomous non-European state to carve itself out of Europe's Universalist empires, Haiti has been central to the very concept of socio-political modernity" (Glover, 2010, p.vii).

On the other hand, in 2015, two hundred and eleven years later, the same Haiti is considered as the poorest country in the western world, as measured by its annual gross domestic product. Indeed, since its independence, the social, economic, political and ecological situation of Haiti has been problematic. Fatton Jr. (2007) explains that "From its very inception as an independent republic in 180[6], Haiti has been characterized by powerful patterns of authoritarianism" (p. 2). Today, Haiti is often referred to or portrayed in the international and national media as one of the poorest societies in the occidental hemisphere and one of the countries whose political culture is most rooted in dictatorship (Fatton Jr., 2002 & 2007).

During the last three decades, Haiti has been considered as the most vulnerable country in the Americas. In 2008, following the season of the hurricanes, Luis Moreno, the President of the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), called Haiti "the most

fragile of IDB's member countries," saying that "no other nation in Latin America and the Caribbean is as vulnerable to economic shocks and natural disasters as is Haiti" (Maureen, 2010, p. 2). Statistics published by the World Bank before January 2010 are illustrative of this: 54% of the population lives in households below the extreme poverty line of US\$ 1.00 per person per day; 78% (over 6 million people) live below the poverty line of US\$ 2.00 per person per day; 81% of the population do not have the minimum daily ration of food (Maureen, 2010); meanwhile, only "4% of the population own 66% of the nation's wealth" (PAHO, 2010, p. 4). According to Luzincourt and Gulbrandson (2010), "70% of the country's population receives only 20% of educational expenditures" (p. 4).

To make matters worse, on January 12, 2010, Haiti was struck by a 7.0 magnitude earthquake. The damages were of apocalyptic proportion. In the aftermath of this disaster, the last *Human Development Report* published in 2013 by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) situated Haiti among the lowest human development countries ranked 161th among 186 countries.

Today, in some places in Haiti, conditions of life for many citizens are inhuman, even unimaginable. Thousands of children are deprived of fundamental rights and freedom which any child should enjoy. An incredible number of Haitian children do not have access to school. They lack even some basic necessities such as good drinking water, proper health care, electricity as well as the conveniences of modern life. Haiti has the highest maternal mortality and the highest general mortality rate in the Americas (12.1 per 1,000 population), and the shortest life expectancy in the Americas (61.5 years)

(PAHO, 2010). What a horrible and sad picture for a country which is called the first Black republic in the world!

Anyone who analyzes past and contemporary Haitian history would easily understand that present life conditions in Haiti are, in part, the product of chronic sociopolitical crisis or a culture of coup d'état that has prevailed for more than two hundred years. In this regard, Fatton Jr. (2007) asserts: "In reality, despotic regimes, racial hierarchies, and class divisions have been the hallmark of Haiti's history ..." (p. 4). In Haiti, the people's voice has neither been counted nor heard because most of the governments were military, repressive, and dictatorial. If Abraham Lincoln defines democracy as "the government of the people, by the people and for the people" (cited in Sherk, 2004, p. 56), Haitian politicians have always limited political representation to the government of the minority, by the minority, for the minority, and for the purpose of the minority's own interests. "Politics [...] has always been nothing but the prebendary acquisition of public resources for individual gain (Fatton, Jr., 2007, p. 5). To preserve their interests, this minority—composed of intellectual, political and economic elites—inspired fear among the population. These elites have been so corrupt, heartless, and inhuman in their abuse of power that, in 1994, the U.S Embassy labeled them the "most repugnant elites" (Fatton Jr., 2002). They have always failed to respect the democratic process and the basic democratic principle of one vote, one voice. In that regard, Robert Fatton Jr., a member of the Haitian elite—an academic at the University of Virginia (USA)—speaks from his personal experience:

Born into the Haitian elite and having deep personal ties of affection to it, I am well acquainted with its behaviors, mentality, and prejudices. ...I am disturbingly

familiar with the elite's profound contempt for the people. I know it fears democracy, and I know the hostility it harbors toward the full exercise of universal suffrage (2002, p. xii).

In another study, Fatton Jr. (2006) adds:

Haiti's predicament is not rooted in the absence of a nation, but rather in the ruling class's incapacity to construct an "integral" state. The construction of an integral state should not be confused with the concept of "state building." While the latter imply implies a technocratic "creation of a new government institutions and the strengthening of existing ones," the former is deeply embedded in the processes of class formation, struggles, and compromises (p. 115).

Accordingly, Haitian elites cannot succeed by themselves in building effective democratic structures and institutions for the country. Their failure has been obvious and long-lasting in their negative impact on Haitian political culture. As Fatton Jr. (2007) says, "These bleak realities have prompted some to advocate for an international protectorate or a "cooperative sovereignty" that would take temporary control of Haiti" (p.7). As a matter of fact, today, a United Nations peacekeeping force is in Haiti under the pretext of attempting to introduce and uphold a sustainable form of democracy.

Is there something intrinsically wrong with Haitian elites? What prevents them from governing democratically? No one has ever systematically looked for an answer. However, this thesis gives focused attention to the hypothesis idea that "formal education is almost without exception the strongest factor in explaining what citizens do in politics and how they think about politics..." (Nie, Junn, & Stehlik-Barry, 1996). Furthermore, considering the wide body of research on the schoolroom "as a space for fostering

democratic citizenship" (Dejaeghere, 2009)—there is a serious case to be made for an investigation of the educational background of the Haitian elites who, as educational history shows, have received a particular form of Roman Catholic education (Delisle, 2003; François, 2010; Hurbon, 2004; Joint, 2006).

One of the best theoretical tools for investigating educational cultures within societies shaped by European colonial power is to engage the work of postcolonial and anti-colonial theorists, critical pedagogues, Latin American and Asian Subaltern Studies, and others to seek to examine the continuing impact of colonialism and neocolonialism in post-colonial societies like Haiti. Theorists such as Bhabha (*The Location of Culture*, 1994), Dei and Kempf (*Anti-Colonialism and Education*, 2006), Fanon (*Black Skins and White Masks*, 1993), Freire (*Pedagogy of the Oppressed* and *Pedagogy of Hope*, 2007 & 2004), Memmi (*The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 1991), Rodney (*How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, 1973), Said (*Orientalism*, 1978), Spivak (*Can the Subaltern Speak?*, 1993), Woodson (*The Mis-education of the Negro*, 1933), Young (*Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction*, 2001), among others, can be used as critical lenses to question and challenge the legacy of colonialism in these countries. For instance, in such an investigation, it is very important to recognize that "the colonizer did not only seize land, but also minds" (Dei & Kempf, 2006, p. ix). Researchers also have to pay attention to Ngugi Wa Thiong'o's (2003) emphasis on the critical importance of colonization of the mind, as well as political and military imperialism:

Colonialism imposed its control of the social production of wealth through military conquest and subsequent political dictatorship. But its most important area of domination was the mental universe of the colonized, the control through

culture, of how people perceived themselves and their relationship to the world. Economic and political control can never be complete or effective without mental control. To control a people's culture is to control their tools of self-definition in relationship to others (p. 16).

In other words, "Colonialism is insidious: it invades far more than political chambers and extends well beyond independence celebrations. Its effects shape language, education, religion, artistic sensibilities, and increasingly, popular culture" (Gilbert & Tompkins, 1996, p. 2).

As one can see, these theorists offer very useful perspectives for the study of the multiple incarnations of colonialism in the former colonies, particularly its effects on their educational systems. As Dei and Kempf (2006) put it, "...when information is also colonized, it is essential that the resistance must interrogate issues related to education, information and intellectual transformations" (p. ix). In that vein, the Roman Catholic Church—considered as the main ideological apparatus of French colonialism in Saint-Domingue or colonial Haiti (Huron, 2004; Tardieu, 1990)—must be taken into consideration, and its role as an agent of socialization must be examined.

Statement of the Problem

Studies conducted by Berger (2004), De Tocqueville (1835), and Woodberry and Shah (2004) showed that modern democracy in North America and Western Europe has been historically shaped by Christianity. Scholars and researchers like Berger (2004), Lipset (1994), Lipset and Lakin (2004), Lipset, Seong and Torres (1991), Woodberry and Shah (2004), among others note the major role played by Protestantism in the rise and development of Western democratic culture and modernity. On the other hand, almost all

of them seem to support the thesis according to which Catholicism in pre-World War II Europe and Latin America appeared antithetical to democracy. In addition, Berger (2004), Lipset (1994), Lipset, Seong, and Torres (1993), Woodberry and Shah (2004), etc. more specifically predicate a link between Catholicism before the Second Vatican Council and non or anti-democratic beliefs, behaviors and practices. Similarly, Catholic scholar Michael Novak in 1989 wrote that "Catholic cultures seem on the whole rather more vulnerable to the traditional style of single-person leadership, as in the monarchies of old and in the dictatorships of today." Finally, in a similar vein, former Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau, also a Catholic, regarding the issue of Catholicism and democracy stated in 1960 that Catholic countries "are authoritarian in spiritual matters; and since the dividing line between the spiritual and the temporal may be very fine or even confused, they are often disinclined to seek solutions in temporal affairs through the mere counting of heads" (cited in Bell, 2008, p. 4).

Thus, there is no more doubt that the relationship between Catholicism and democracy is very critical. Considering the positions of Novak (1989) and Berger (2004), the Roman Catholic Church with its central authority was opposed to democracy until "the big turn with the Second Vatican Council" from 1961 to 1965 (Berger, 2004). From "the Second Vatican Council, the Catholic Church underwent a great transition in ecclesial thinking" (Denig & Dosen, 2009, p. 141). In addition, according to G. Emmett Carter, "The whole preoccupation of this historic meeting (the Second Vatican Council) has been the adjustment of Christian thinking to the modern world" (cited in Boudreau, 1999, p. 27). However, despite this great change, it is also well known that in some places the Catholic Church remains more conservative than in others. In this connection,

Edmonds (2010) says: "Although the Catholic hierarchies of many Latin American countries played a role in the third wave of democracies there were also countries where the church complied with authoritarianism or was silent in the face of authoritarianism" (pp. 58-59). What about Haiti?

In Haiti, Roman Catholicism is historically and culturally associated with European colonialism. The presence of this Church on the island dates from 1492 with Spanish colonizers and from 1625 with French colonialists. The Roman Catholic Church is arguably the dominant "ideological state apparatus" (Althusser, 2001) in the Spanish and French colonial proslavery systems that have greatly contributed to maintaining a colonial oppressive system in the colony (Peabody, 2002). After the proclamation of the national independence in 1804, the Vatican state did not recognize the new Haitian state (Castro-Klaren, 2008); and, even though some churches still remained in place, the Pope's legal representatives officially left Haiti (Nicholls, 1970). Fifty six years later, Vatican diplomatic negotiated the signing of the Concordat of 1860.

The year of 1860 was a significant and determinant date in Haitian history. Several researchers from Haiti and overseas, such as Delisle (2003), De Verger (1999), Castro-Klaren (2008), Greene (1993), Hurbon (2004), Joint (2006), Nerestant (1994 & 1999), Pressoir (1935), etc. saw the signing of the Concordat of 1860 between Vatican and the Haitian state as a critical moment in Haitian history, particularly in the education sector. From that period onwards, the whole educational system, in particular the education of Haitian elites became officially Catholic.

With the signing of the Concordat in 1860, the Roman Catholic Church reinforced its dominance and became the major tool in the social construction of Haitian society.

The Concordat of 1860, according to Castro-Klaren (2008), is "a fact that had a significant impact on the Haitian system of popular education as well as on its relations with Latin America" (p. 264). This agreement authorized the arrival of Catholic clerical teachers, further emphasizing the influence of the French school system and the developing of the urban elite, especially in the development of prestigious elementary and new secondary schools (Delisle, 2003; Haggerty, 1989; Hurbon, 2004; Joint, 2006; Nicholls, 1970). From 1864 to 1990, forty-three Catholic congregations, including twenty five from France arrived in Haiti to work in educational fields (Nerestant, 1999).

Ironically, these religious French teachers were the offspring of former colonizers. Most or the great majority of them came from Bretagne, a French area known as fundamentally royalist, colonialist and proslavery (Delisle, 2003; Nicholls, 1970). From that point on, Haitian memory and history were written and taught according to a French colonial point of view (Nicholls, 1970). In other words, the history of colonial oppression would be taught by the former colonizers. Until today, the Haitian curriculum is based on the old French model. While the majority of the people (more than 90%) speak only Haitian Creole, French is used as the main language of instruction. Thus, education became elitist and monopolized by a cultural and linguistic minority.

Moreover, from the colonial periods until now, the Catholic Church became and remained the educational "ideological state apparatus" (Althusser, 2001) in Haiti and many Latin American and Caribbean countries. Education is the most powerful ideological state apparatus, for "no other apparatus in society has the obligatory audience of the totality of children" and also, because education "has the power to construct the world views of the students and teachers operating in the schools" (Althusser, 2001 cited

in Walsh, 2006, p. 66). More than one hundred and fifty-five years later, the spirit and the letter of the Concordat of 1860 are still strongly operational in the Haitian educational system. Until today, educational policies and politics are greatly controlled and influenced by the Roman Catholic Church. Current statistics indicate that almost all the Haitian elites are educated in Catholic schools, in particular, in Catholic congregational schools (Joint, 2006). For instance, Saint-Martial, one of the "major and distinguished" Catholic congregational boys school run by the Fathers of Holy Spirit has educated a good number of Haitian politicians. According to Father Max Dominique, "Nombreux sont les intellectuels, les responsables politiques et religieux d'Haïti qui y ont été formés" (cited in Joint, 2007, p. 353). Father Micial Nerestant (1994), a Catholic priest and scholar, recognizes that the church has through its schools trained a kind of Eurocentric urban intellectual elite very supportive of wealthy classes that cares little for Haiti.

In such context, is it a pure coincidence that Haiti—a country whom its ruling elites always "looked to France and to Catholicism for its cultural and religious identity (Sanders, 2008, p. 4)—is situated among the countries whose political culture is most rooted in authoritarian forms of dictatorship? Is there a relationship between Catholic education and the predatory nature of its ruling class? What is the responsibility of Catholic education in the current predicament of democracy?

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this Two-Phase, Sequential Transformative Mixed Methods Research (Creswell, 2003) is twofold: (a) explore in-depth the nature of the Catholic congregational school pedagogy in Haiti and (b) critically examine how such a pedagogy impacts democracy in Haiti. The first phase of this study is a qualitative exploration of

the pedagogical practices in Catholic congregational schools in Haiti for which in-depth interviews data was collected from a group of Catholic alumni purposely selected. Findings generated from the first phase are used to inform the development of a survey instrument that was utilized to collect data from a larger and different sample of Catholic alumni. The quantitative data are utilized to illustrate, clarify, complete, and even enhance the qualitative results (Greene et al., 1989). In this respect, the second phase of this study is a quantitative exploration of the way Catholic schools alumni talk about pedagogical school practices—namely methods of teaching, school discipline, school climate, school culture, classroom management, and textbooks as well as Haitian Creole and Vodou (the two pillars of Haitian culture)—compared to core democratic values such as diversity, gender equity, equality, respect, cooperation, common good, justice, liberty, and tolerance.

Next, qualitative and quantitative data were combined in the final analysis to provide a more complete description of the role of the Catholic congregational schools in the development of the damaged democratic culture in Haiti, specifically their connection with the predatory nature of the Haitian ruling elites. In addition, the transformative perspective was used in this research because it is "a framework for examining assumptions that explicitly address power issues, social justice, and cultural complexity throughout the research process" (Mertens, 2007, pp. 212-213). It is an effective framework for capturing issues which are not in the mainstream. The issues of Haitian Vodou and Haitian Creole as well as the population of Catholic congregational alumni also considered in this dissertation fit into this category. In this study, the transformative framework has been used as an ideal approach to point out the consequences of the

exclusion of Haitian Vodou and Haitian Creole, both marginalized by the Catholic school system in the Haitian education context.

As a sequential transformational strategy, postcolonial theory is fundamental to the design implementation of the thesis. Specifically, the theory of *hybridity* from the postcolonial theorist Homi K. Bhabha (1994) is used as a theoretical and critical lens to examine the role of Catholic education in the predicament of democracy in Haiti. The postcolonial theory framework acknowledges that "different histories and cultures produce different democracies" (Koelble & Lipuma, 2008, p. 1). Vodou and Creole are two major cultural pillars that have played a central role in Haitian history. Therefore, according to postcolonial theory, educating for democracy must be based on Haitian Vodou and Haitian Creole, two "hybrid cultures" that are capable of fostering democratic learning spaces in the school context.

Research Questions

This mixed methods investigation answered the following overarching question: How have Catholic congregational schools educated Haitian students? And, is there a relationship between Catholic congregational school teaching and the democratic deficit in Haiti?

In other to investigate this, the overarching mixed methods question was divided into the two following qualitative sub-questions:

1. What are the main characteristics of Catholic congregational schools in Haiti?

2. How do Catholic congregational alumni describe common pedagogical practices such as methods of teaching, classroom management, school discipline, Catholic textbooks, school climate, and school culture?

The questions of the second phase emerged as a result of the results of the first phase (Tashakkori & Creswell, 2007). The following quantitative questions are informed by the qualitative results and also guided by the theoretical framework of the study:

1. To what extent do pedagogical practices (methods of teaching, classroom management, school discipline, textbook contents, school climate, and school culture) of Catholic congregational schools reflect and promote core democratic values in Haiti?
2. How does the way Catholic congregational school alumni talk about behaviors and practices of their school staff convey core democratic values such as diversity, gender equity, equality of chances, respect, cooperation, common good, justice, liberty, tolerance?
3. How does the way Catholic congregational school alumni talk about Haitian Creole convey core democratic values such as diversity, liberty, respect, tolerance, and equality?
4. How does the way Catholic congregational school alumni talk about Haitian Vodou convey core democratic values such as diversity, liberty, respect, tolerance, and equality?

According to Tashakkori and Creswell (2007), "...mixed methods studies benefit from a dynamic process in which the component (strand) questions are reexamined and reframed as the two strands of the study progress" (p. 210).

Significance of the Study

It was impossible to study all dimensions of the Haitian educational system; thus, in this dissertation, focus was restricted to "les écoles congréganistes qui donnent le ton et qui décident ce qui doit changer ou non dans le système éducatif" (Joint, 2006, p. 313). More specifically, this study addressed the issue of Catholic education and the predicament of democracy in Haiti. The issue of Catholic congregational schools has been never examined as it relates to democracy in Haiti. There is no significant research regarding the role of Catholic education in the construction of the present state of Haiti. Critical studies exploring any aspect of the relationship of Catholic education to democracy in Haiti are rare. Accordingly, Haitian leaders, policy makers and practitioners, in general, are unaware of the consequences of such an education in shaping behavior and attitudes of students who will be part of the social, political, and economic elites of Haitian society. This dissertation provides just an investigation.

In addition, there is a considerable need for conducting both quantitative and qualitative inquiries in this area of education. The review of literature revealed that from 1860 to the present day, only one qualitative research was conducted in 2006 by Auguste Joint. This researcher studied and worked for many years in Catholic schools; thus, he approached his study of Catholic schools from an insider's point of view. Consequently, there was a lack of both critical research and explanation from an outsider's perspective. As such, a mixed methods design is an appropriate approach to understanding the role of Catholic education in the predicament of democracy in Haiti.

After the 2010 fateful earthquake that hit Haiti, the most popular expression was "rebuilding Haiti." In just about all current speeches, Haitian leaders, international

donors, NGO's, and Haitian citizens have acknowledged the crucial role of education in the process of reconstruction. However, this widespread consensus begs the critical question: What *quality* of education is necessary to rebuild a new, stronger Haiti? Today, given recent developments, the climate, both in national and international contexts, is more than favorable to raising important questions regarding the Haitian education system. The present research proposes several trajectories that could be followed by politicians, policy makers and educational leaders to re-frame educational policies for social justice.

Another significant aspect of this study relates to the extreme seriousness of the Haitian case. Like Quebec, at an earlier stage of its evolution, Haiti urgently needs its own "*Quiet Revolution*", and education is the most important medium that can be used to achieve such a revolution. In a similar way as it happened in Quebec few decades ago, Haitian leaders must be a catalyst for change in the Haitian educational policies and politics. In his overview of the transformation of Quebec education, Boudreau (1999), notes that "In order to standardize education and make it available to all Quebecers, the government shifted authority away from local boards and the Church and centralized it in the Ministry of Education" (p. 21). This research suggests the need for a similar transformation of the educational system in Haiti. It highlights the fact that within the contemporary context of the colonial and postcolonial Haiti, Catholicism has played—and continues to play—a central role in shaping the educational, spiritual, cultural, social, and political landscapes. Accordingly, in this context, any significant change in the whole education system must firstly take into consideration the power and influence of the Catholic congregational school subsystem.

Finally, theories such as critical race theory (CRT), afrocentrism, subaltern studies, postcolonialism, and queer studies are almost unknown to Haitian intellectuals, scholars, and academics, most of whom did their postgraduate studies in France, where such theories are not welcomed, indeed even ignored and marginalized (Bertaux, 2011; Clavaron, 2008; Forsdick & Murphy, 2009; Mbenbe, 2006; Moura, 2008; Sibeud, 2007; Smouts, 2007; Stam & Shohat, 2012; Young, 2011; Zancarini-Fournel, 2012). Recently, historian Emmanuelle Sibeud criticized French scholarship for its lack of attention to postcolonial studies (Bertaux, 2011). In addition, Haitian writers, "with the exception of the Haitian-American Edwige Danticat, are all products of Parisian training in the *Sciences humaines*" (Nick Nesbitt cited in Glover, 2008 p. 276). That may be one of the main reasons why the Haitian academic world is not familiar with such theories, in particular with postcolonial theory. Therefore, this study intends to promote postcolonial studies as one of the best theoretical lens with which to better examine spiritual, social, political, economical, legal, cultural, and educational issues in Haiti and their impact on democracy.

Limitations of the Study

Some of the potential limitations involved in this type of mixed methods research are as follows:

Some alumni, according to their accounts, could not fully recall their learning experiences due to the long period of time between their school experiences and the time in which the interviews and survey were conducted.

Another significant limitation is the inescapable problem of personal bias. Merriam (1998) states, "The investigator as human instrument is limited by being

human—that is, mistakes are made, opportunities are missed, personal biases interfere" (p. 20). I am an educator with a certain religious and educational background, and I admit to more than once harboring in the past strong bias against Catholic schools. However, thanks to my educational experience at McGill University, I am able to confront some of these prejudices, and hopefully transcend them. Today, for instance, I am capable of seeing that some Protestant or non-religious schools are in Haiti just as undemocratic in their practices, if not worse, than Catholic schools. My exposure to critical methods of research has allowed me to focus on core problems bias to reduce the problem of personal bias against Catholic schools, or the problem of bias towards other faith-based or secular systems.

Finally, the major limitation of this research was its quantitative sample. Generally, using a mixed methods design tend to increase validity. As Hunter and Brewer (2003) posit, "The more diverse the methods, the more likely one is to sense that similar results increase the validity of the research findings" (p. 581). Although mixed methods research provides greater generalizability, limitations regarding generalizability still exist within this research. The quantitative portion of this study has not been conducted with a traditional random sampling, but, rather with a convenience sample. Such a sampling used in a quantitative section is often problematic. The validity of the quantitative phase would have been greater if a random sampling could be used, and also if alumni from all the generations were included. Consequently, generalizability to the whole population of Catholic congregational school alumni might be limited and these results may not be regarded as generalizable.

Organization of the Study

This investigation is organized into five main chapters. Chapter one introduces the study and sets out the statement of the problem, the purpose, the research questions, significance, limitations, and organization of the study as well as the definition of terms. Chapter two is composed of two parts. In the first part, I define and expose a postcolonial theory framework that will guide the present investigation. I provide an overview of the postcolonial theory literature with special focused on the theory of hybridity. This discussion concludes with an application of the colonial discourse theory in the Haitian context. In the second part, the concepts of education and democracy are also examined according to a postcolonial perspective. It emphasizes the three main functions of school in a society and pays a special attention to the power of schooling in Haiti. It presents a historical overview of Catholic education respectively in the colonial and post-colonial Haiti. More specifically, it underlines the principal mission of Catholic congregational schools in the French neocolonial project. Chapter three describes the methodology that was utilized to address the research questions in this study. It provides descriptions of both qualitative and quantitative data collection methods. Chapter four discusses the qualitative results and quantitative findings. Finally, chapter five provides the results of the combination of the qualitative and quantitative data and presents the conclusions of the study as well as the implications and suggestions for future research.

Definition of Terms

In order to avoid confusion and misunderstanding, some terms often employed in this dissertation deserve to be defined with precision. This definition of terms is thus submitted for the purpose of clarity.

Catholic Congregational Schools

As it is reported in a National Survey of Catholic Schools in Haiti published in 2012, "Catholic Congregational schools, as the name implies, are affiliated with a religious congregation. There are two types of congregational schools: public and private. As with national presbytérale schools, publicly funded congregational schools receive government funding" (p. 9).

Colonialism

It is the classical form of imperialism, that is to say, the direct political, economic, educational, and cultural control of one country over another (Altbach, 1971).

Democracy

In this study, democracy is defined in its radical form, namely, from its roots or original meaning, it is the rule by the people. In other words, democracy is founded on the following principle: more people mean more power (Minieri & Getsos, 2007).

Haitian Creole

DeGraff, (2005) notes a number of Caribbean Creoles, which can be described as different varieties of languages created by people of African descent who now lives in the Caribbean. Haitian Creole—originally spelled *Kreyòl*—is a French-based language developed by the former African slaves of Saint-Domingue (colonial Haiti). Neyfakh (2011) argues that the Haitian Creole born about 300 years ago is a combination of French and several other languages. Specifically, it is a language with a syntax of African influence, and French phonetic and vocabulary (85%) and Caribbean, Spanish, English, Taino, and African (15%) (Barros, 1982). Haitian Creole is with French one of the two

official languages of Haiti. Today, there exist around the world about 12 million Haitian Creole speakers.

Haitian Vodou

The word *Vodou* in Creole—spelled *vaudou*, *vaudoux*, *vodû*, *vodoun* or *vodou* in French and *Vodoun*, *Voudoun*, or *Voodoo* in English—comes from the *Fon* language *Vodun* (Ackermann et al., 2010). The spelling *Vodou* is adopted in this dissertation because it is "the now-canonical" (Dubois, 2001) and as well the most widespread in the literature (Ackermann et al., 2010). Vodou is generally found in various forms and designations such as *Santeria* in Cuba, *Obeayisme* in Jamaica, *Candomblé* in Brazil, and various other systems (Hurbon, 1991). The Haitian Vodou is a mix of Taino, West African, and Christian elements, and from many different people and traditions. It is opened to foreign influences from all sources (Ackermann et al., 2010). Vodou is a way of life and a system of beliefs of the great majority of Haitians (Sanders, 2008). According to Hurbon (1991), "la notion de vodou renvoie à un certain nombre de pratiques relevant de la croyance en l'intervention d'êtres invisibles ou de "génies" dans la vie quotidienne de l'individu" (p. 45). These genius called *lwa* are not gods, but intermediate spirits between the "good God" (*Bon Dye* or *Gran Mèt* in Creole) and humans. In this sense, these *lwa* (about 4,200) are very similar to Catholic saints (Ackermann et al., 2010).

Hegemony

Hegemony is a concept introduced in the literature by Antonio Gramsci. According to Morozov (2013), it is a political process by which a particular identity is made to epitomize the whole. In other words, "Hegemony is a struggle in which the powerful win

the consent of those who are oppressed, with the oppressed unknowingly participating in their own oppression" (Darder, Baltodano, and Torres, 2009, p. 67). Specifically, "In the field of education it is the power to define what is valued knowledge" (Musgrove, 1978, p. 102).

Marronage

Marronage is a phenomenon where slaves run away from the plantation and hide in the mountains or forests of Saint-Domingue (colonial Haiti) as a means to keep alive their African culture and practices (Mocombe, 2010). In this dissertation it is used as synonym of struggling for freedom.

La Réforme Bernard

An educational reform led in the late 1970 and early 1980 by the Minister of Education Joseph C. Bernard who intended to culturally and pedagogically re-orientate the Haitian school system. Several key elements of that reform consisted of re-organizing the academic cycles, making learning more dynamic, introducing more contextualized materials rooted in the Haitian realities, and specially utilizing Creole as an official language of instruction (Prou, 2009). Haitian educational authorities wanted to use the mother tongue in most school activities while keeping intact learning French. According to Jean-François (2006), the introduction of Creole language in the schooling system was for Haitian education authorities one of the best way to make Haitian students learn French more effectively and efficiently. Briefly, that educational reform was characterized by some innovations in the areas of bilingual education, curriculum renewal, and school re-organization (Prou, 2009).

Neocolonialism

The term neocolonialism, sometimes written "neo-colonialism," is used as a policy agenda of western powers to maintain their grip upon developing nations, or as simply a continuation of past colonial practices with profound influence on the educational systems, policies and intellectual life of developing areas (Altbach, 1971).

Post-colonial

In this investigation the word post-colonial (hyphenated) means after colonization or Third World society. Here, the *post* means "after."

Postcolonial

Here, the *post* in postcolonial (without hyphen) means "beyond."

Postcolonial Theory

Postcolonial theory also called colonial discourse theory is a critical theory from the global South. During (1987) described it as a theory where current and former nations or groups, victims of imperialism focused on the need to create an identity free from Eurocentric concepts and images. Thus, it is the theoretical framework that challenges Eurocentrism and its dominant ideas from non-European culture, identity, education and science. It is also used as a critical lens to "examine the processes and effects of, and reactions to, European [specifically French] colonialism from the sixteen century up to and including the [French] neo-colonialism of the present day" (Ashcroft et al., 2007, 169).

CHAPTER TWO: THEORY AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Overview

The overall purpose of this chapter is to review the status of research related to the issues of postcolonial theory, democracy, and Catholic education. This review of theory and literature focuses on six main areas that are very significant for the research topic. The topic areas are as follows: (a) the relevance of postcolonial theory; (b) a definition of postcolonial theory; (c) the theory of hybridity; (d) democracy in post-colonial societies; (e) education in post-colonial societies; and (f) Catholic education in Haiti. These six areas are divided in two major parts—postcolonial theory and education and democracy—with each part exploring the three related topic areas.

The first part shows why postcolonial theory is increasingly perceived to be one of the indispensable theoretical framework for interpreting Haitian social and political reality. It discusses the complexity of postcolonial studies, clarifies the specific definition of postcolonialism posited in this study, and reveals the status of postcolonial theory within the Haitian academic world. The first part also explores the theory of *hybridity* advanced by postcolonial theorist Homi K. Bhabha as the particular theoretical framework that guides the present investigation. Finally, this section concludes with the application of hybridity theory to the Haitian context.

Then, in part two, the concepts of democracy and education are examined from a postcolonial perspective. It provides a critical examination of democracy in post-colonial societies with emphasis on liberalism and neoliberalism. Then, it exposes the main functions of the school in a society including a special attention to the power of schooling in Haiti. It also presents a historical overview of Catholic education from its early roots in

the French colony of Saint-Domingue to its ongoing development in the newly independent Haiti. More specifically, it underlines the principal mission of Catholic education in colonial and post-colonial Haiti.

Part One: Defining a Theoretical Framework

The Relevance of Postcolonial Theory

Escobar (2008) has underscored the relevance as well as the importance of using an appropriate theoretical framework for analyzing specific social and political realities:

There is always a close connection between social reality, the theoretical frameworks we use to interpret it, and the sense of politics and hope that emerges from such an understanding. Our hopes and politics are largely the result of the particular framework through which we analyze the real (p. 132).

In light of this statement, this study draws upon the theoretical framework of postcolonial theory as a critical lens through which the role of Catholic education in contributing to the democratic crisis in Haiti is examined and interpreted.

What justifies the employment of postcolonial theory in this context? Haitian social thought and institutions are shaped by a colonial past marked by several hundred years of domination of and struggles against French imperialism—in its two practical forms: colonialism and neocolonialism—and, to a lesser extent, by the American occupation from 1915 to 1934. According to Patrick Smith-Bellegarde (1980), a Haitian academic from the University of Wisconsin, "If Haiti was the first "Third World" country to achieve a semblance of independence in 1804, it became the first to suffer neocolonialism" (p. 33). Nick Nesbitt (2005), a researcher focused on Haitian studies at Princeton University, is in full agreement with Smith-Bellegarde's statement. Nesbitt

maintains that "two of the processes that came to distinguish the twentieth century were invented in Haiti: decolonization and neocolonialism" (p. 6). Indeed, on the one hand, on January 1st, 1804, through the proclamation of its independence from the imperial France led by Napoleon Bonaparte, "Haiti was the first to demonstrate that the colonized can take hold of their own historical destiny and enter the stage of world history as autonomous actors, and not merely passive, enslaved subjects" (Nesbitt, 2005, p. 6).

On the other hand, Nesbitt (2005) notes that Haiti experienced patterns of cultural development that would be called neocolonialism. The ruling elite class—mulattoes and the black bourgeoisie alike together with the military and the merchant class—engineered an unstable balance of power in the country. In 1806, two years after independence, Jean-Jacques Dessalines, Haiti's founding father (Ramsey, 2013), "a forerunner to Malcolm X and Frantz Fanon" (Jenson, 2011, p. 98) and "the dominant leader of the mass of former slaves whose participation in the struggle had been necessary for achieving freedom" (Smith-Bellegarde, 1980, p. 14) was assassinated by Affranchis mulattoes (Hallward, 2004; Mocombe, 2010). This assassination put an abrupt and untimely end to the process of decolonization in Haiti. According to Smith-Bellegarde (1980), 1806, the year of Jean-Jacques Dessalines's assassination, was the year that ended any hope of creating a model of government that diverged from the West.

Thus, the event of 1806 might be considered as a crucial moment in the emergence of a neocolonial situation in Haiti (Smith-Bellegarde, 1980; Trouillot, 1990). Young (2001) notes that the ruling class operated in complicity with the international community to help itself in the neocolonial environment. As a matter of fact, from 1806, a Paris-trained ruling elite, mostly composed of *mulattoes* and *black bourgeois* took the

power in the newly independent nation, and "carried a very Franco-centric vision of what Haiti should be" (Mongey, 2012, p. 46). Haitian politician and writer Demesvar Delorme (1870) clearly expressed the neocolonial vision in these terms: "Our young nation will be the founder of a new French civilization in the New World" (cited in Hoffmann, 1984, p. 61).

Unlike Dessalines who had strong sympathy for the masses (Smith-Bellegarde, 1980), these new leaders, were "mis-educated" (Woodson, 1933) in France (Dorsainvil cited in Pressoir, 1935), and acted for the interest of their own class at the expense of the masses. They entrenched racist policies that marginalized the great majority of Haitian people—so called *bossales* because of their direct African descent. "Like the colonizers, this class, often supported by the West, has proven to be oppressive to the poor masses and its opponents while in power" (Orelus, 2010, p. 26). In reality, they reproduced in Haiti a neocolonial system. Therein, Benoit Joachim (1969) cited in Célius (1997) "soutient qu'en Haïti le néo-colonialisme succède au système de type féodal mis en place depuis l'abolition" de l'esclavage (p. 9). This means that the Haitian people "continue[d] to be surrounded by and subjected to colonial practices through many public and private institutions such as schools, churches, families, workplaces, and the mass media" (Orelus, 2010, p. xiii).

Therefore, for Haitian post-colonial subjects, colonization was—and is still—not over (Orelus, 2010). As Robin Kelly has underlined, "The official apparatus might have been removed, but the political, economic, and cultural link established by colonial domination still remain with some alterations" (cited in Orelus, 2010, p. xiii). Haitian

independence "did not [...] bring a decolonization of consciousness or culture" (Go, 2013, p.6). In short, there was no decolonization, but rather a neocolonial regime.

As a new and different form of imperial domination, neocolonialism is more dangerous because it is even more insidious (Nayar, 2010; Orelus, 2010). Kwame Nkrumah presented neocolonialism as "the worst form of imperialism. For those who practice it, it means power without responsibility and for those who suffer from it, it means exploitation without redress" (cited in Young, 2001, p.44).

In the case of the neocolonialists, such irresponsibility lies in their "bad faith that underpinned [the] notion the 'good colonizer'" (Albert Memmi cited in Forsdick & Murphy, 2009, p. 2). In this respect, Sartre (2001) argued that neocolonialists believe in two categories of colonists, the good and the bad ones, and put the blame only on the latter for creating a deteriorating situation. By that, neocolonialists refused to take any responsibility for the current social, economic and political predicament of the former colonies. As for the victims of neocolonialism, they are not psychologically free because of their cultural alienation (Fanon, 1967; Memmi, 1965). They are "just as enslaved as the colonized" (Orelus, 2010, p. 23).

Neocolonized people, particularly their elites, are obsessively fascinated by the way of being and living of the former colonizers. Haitian ruling elites are a prime example of this. According to Haitian politician Demesvar Delorme (1870), "Our country waged a long war against France, and yet the country we like best is still France" (cited in Hoffmann, 1984, p. 61). Typically, Haitian leaders uncritically think and act like their former colonizers. Consequently, they cannot remove the colonial structures left by them, and even less, reject neocolonial institutions established by the imperial nations.

Haiti is thus a good model of a post-colonial neocolonized society. Neocolonialism "est partout, non seulement dans les structures mais aussi, voire "surtout, dans les consciences" (Gallié, 2012, p. 2). It intervenes in many important aspects of Haitian life. Although Haiti is subject to the political and economic power of North-American imperialism, Haitian social thought and political institutions are still fundamentally French-centered. Institutions such as schools, churches, families, workplaces, libraries, media, and political parties are excessively Franco-centric. As a member of *La Francophonie*, Haiti, through the voice of its elites, always proudly expresses its fascinating Francophilia (Pressoir, 1933).

As such, Fatton Jr. (2007) observes what follows:

Haiti's crisis is [...] profound and systematic, and there are few signs that it will be resolved in the foreseeable future. The dominant forces at both the domestic and international levels are unwilling or incapable of extricating the country from its severe underdevelopment and its authoritarian predicament (p. 9).

Thus, considering Haiti's historical context, which is heavily marked by colonialism and neocolonialism, postcolonial theory may be considered as an appropriate theoretical framework to better study any kind of social, political, economic, cultural, racial, and historical issues concerning Haiti since this theory "addresses matters such as colonialism, race and ethnicity, identity, inequality, and global structures" (Go, 2013, p. 3).

Furthermore, "postcolonial theory highlights the processes of colonization and decolonization and seeks to 're-narrativize' events from the perspectives of formerly colonized peoples" (Holmes & Crossley, 2004, p. 201). In this perspective, this theory

"offers a way to seek new possibilities and to resist forms of control, no matter how hidden or subtle they might be" (Viruru, 2005, p. 9).

Xie (1997) has also remarked that "neocolonialism is the condition of the possibility of postcolonialism" (p. 8), and accordingly, the fact that there are still neocolonial conditions in Haiti makes postcolonial theory an uncontested framework to critically examine issues of education in a post-colonial neocolonized society since in Haiti the school is a central site of neocolonialism.

Thirdly, after more than two hundred and nine years of trials and error with all kinds of theories developed in the global North—"understood as political community rather than a geographic entity" (Morozov, 2013, p. 1)—it is now time to look at other worlds from another perspective, "especially in those loci where decolonization is an issue" (Ribeiro, 2011, p. 285). In other words, because all the modern solutions proposed by western theories such as liberalism, neo-liberalism, developmentalism as well as Marxism have truly failed in Haiti, there is an important "need to examine knowledge production in relation to location and subject position" (Ribeiro, 2011, p. 285). In this context, Santos (2012) notes that "the social theories produced in the global North [or the West] are not necessarily universally valid, even when they purport to be general theories" (p. 45). He further explains:

The theories produced in the global North are best equipped to account for the social, political and cultural realities of the global North and that in order adequately to account for the realities of the global South other theories must be developed and anchored in other epistemologies – the epistemologies of the South (p. 45).

Epistemologies of the South are a kind of "decolonial epistemology that overtly assumes the decolonial geopolitics and body-politics of knowledge as points of departure to a radical critique" (Grosfoguel, 2007, p. 215). They are thus all these "epistemologies and knowledge systems from different traditions [...] systematically treated as inferior (Burman, 2012, p. 101); or similarly the "subaltern knowledge of exploited and oppressed social groups" (Escobar, 2007, p. 180). In other works, those epistemologies include "different types of knowledge on the basis of the practices of the classes and social groups that have suffered, in a systematic way, the oppression and discrimination caused by capitalism and colonialism" (Santos, 2012, p. 51). Therefore, epistemologies of the South come from those "social scientists and humanists in many parts of the world who, because of epistemic racism/sexism, are silenced or ignored or inferiorized by the canon of Western male tradition of thought" (Boidin et al., 2012, p. 3).

Actually, postcolonial theory is among these social and cultural theories of the global South that re-valorized such epistemologies. Even though its major leading figures have been working within the Western academy, they are all scholars located in the global South. They are thus voices of the "subaltern" (Aboul-Ela, 2004, p. 262). Because, according to Santos (2012),

The global South is [...] not a geographical concept, even though the great majority of these populations live in countries of the Southern hemisphere. The South is here rather a metaphor of the human suffering caused by capitalism and colonialism at the global level, and a metaphor as well of the resistance to overcome or minimise such suffering. It is, therefore, an anti-capitalist, anti-colonialist, and anti-imperialist South. It is a South that also exists in the global

North, in the form of excluded, silenced and marginalised populations, such as undocumented immigrants, the unemployed, ethnic or religious minorities, and victims of sexism, homophobia and racism (p. 51).

Finally, postcolonial theory is focused on "the need, in nations or groups which have been [and are still] victims of imperialism, to achieve an identity uncontaminated by universalist or Eurocentric concepts and images" (During, 1987, p. 33). As Go (2013) cogently puts it, "Postcolonial theory here finds motivation. As the cultures of imperialism persist, new and different sorts of knowledge must be produced to help decolonize consciousness" (p. 6).

Postcolonial Theory: A Complex Field of Inquiry

Postcolonial theory is a relatively new and complex field of inquiry (Stam & Shohat, 2012) that arouses more and more interest in the Western academy (Go, 2013; Mbenbe, 2006). Today, it is widely accepted that postcolonial theory emerged in 1978 with the publication of Edward Said's *Orientalism* (Ahluwalia, 2001; Carter, 2004; Chandra, 2013; Collignon, 2007; Farris, 2010; Gandhi, 2011; Kapoor, 2002; McLeod, 2007; Subedi & Daza, 2008; Viruru, 2005; Young, 2011; Zancarini-Fournel, 2012). According to Lunga (2008), "postcolonial" is a term that sparks considerable confusion, for it is used to describe a wide range of experiences. In fact, postcolonial studies have sparked great debates among writers, thinkers, critics, scholars, and intellectuals from various academic milieus and disciplines (McLeod, 2000; Xie, 1997). As Xie (1997) posits, it has engendered vigorous debates among its protagonists as well as with its antagonists.

Similarly, since its launching within the North-Atlantic academic world (Collignon, 2007; Riesz & Porra, 2008; Salvatore, 2010), postcolonialism has known its fair share of critique and challenge both from the outside as well as from within. Criticisms have come from the left-wing neo-Marxists as well from the right-wing ultraconservatives (Rizvi et al, 2006). But, the majority of attacks against postcolonial theory come from the European academic milieu, particularly from French scholars. For example, two European scholars Neil Lazarus and Jean-Francois Bayart, respectively from Great Britain and France, have launched in 2011 a major attack against the postcolonial theory.

In two separate articles respectively titled: "What Postcolonial Theory Doesn't Say?" and "Postcolonial Studies: A Political Invention of Tradition?", Lazarus and Bayart call postcolonial theory into question. While the former challenges certain ideas and assumptions predominant in postcolonial theories, the latter is somewhat provocative and more polemical (Khanna, 2011). Albeit the French scholar admits that postcolonialism is generating huge interest in France and overseas, but he argues that postcolonial studies are sterile (Bayart, 2011) and challenges its existence; consequently, his radical position has provoked strong responses from Robert J. C. Young, a distinguished British theorist in contemporary postcolonial studies as well from her own compatriot Sandrine Bertaux. In his article titled "Bayart's Broken Kettle," Young (2011) challenges Bayart's argument in an ironic way:

In performing this little ritual with some gusto, Bayart has shown that far from standing outside it, he has in fact acceded to the field, albeit somewhat late in the day. For whatever its drawbacks in his eyes, at the very least one minor

achievement of postcolonial studies is that Bayart is now focusing on colonialism. When he stops his ridiculous general polemics and gets round to talking about the multiple modalities of colonialism, or its global reach, though hardly as innovative a topic hitherto unnoticed as he imagines, he is quite interesting. M. Bayart, welcome to the field! (p. 175).

As for Bertaux (2011), she reminds us of Bayart's confession arguing "to be[ing] a novice to postcolonial studies" and goes a bit further to explain his attitude towards postcolonial theory. She affirms that "The yardstick against which Bayart reads postcolonial studies remains the small Parisian scene that disqualifies any criticism suspected of appealing to identity, a preemptive disqualification that constantly reasserts the universal" (p. 202).

Moreover, most of postcolonial theorists and specialists agree that labels such as postcolonial theory, postcolonial studies, postcolonial critique, colonial discourse theory, postcolonialism or even tricontinentalism are synonymous. Robert Young (2001) is among those who refer to postcolonialism as tricontinentalism since it originated in three southern continents, namely, Africa, Asia, and Latin America/Caribbean (Viruru, 2005). However, as Viruru (2005) has argued, "Whether labelled postcolonial or tricontinental, the purpose remains the same: addressing the legacy of colonialism imposed by western attempts to dominate the globe over hundreds of years" (p. 8).

Another serious polemic among postcolonial thinkers and critics revolves around the meaning of the prefix "post" in the term postcolonialism. In this respect, Dei & Asgharzadeh (2001) observed that "in the contemporary ideological and theoretical marketplace, perhaps no "post" is as problematic as the one in post-colonialism" (p. 304).

Indeed, such a prefix has generated conflicts and contradictions as well as has offered a lot of possibilities and new avenues for the Western academy.

First of all, the term "postcolonial" itself is problematic and generates much misunderstanding and confusion (Subedi & Daza, 2008, p. 1). Until recently, postcolonial writers, critics, and intellectuals cannot even agree on the spelling of the term postcolonial (Bayart, 2011; McLeod, 2000). Should we write it with or without a hyphen? In other words, "Should we write postcolonial or post-colonial?" asks Bayart (2011, p. 55). On the one hand, Akhil Gupta cited in Bayart (2011) uses "postcolonial to describe what comes chronologically after colonization", and "post-colonial" when we need to "think the postcolonial as all that proceeds from the fact of the colonial situation, regardless of temporality" (p. 55). On the other hand, McLeod (2000) asserts that we should write this term "as a single word: postcolonialism" (p. 5). According to the latter, "the hyphenated term 'post-colonial' seems more appropriate to denote a particular *historical period or epoch* like those suggested by phrases such as 'after colonialism', 'after independence' or 'after the end of Empire'" (p. 5). To avoid confusion, and for the purpose of this study, *post-colonial* sometimes hyphenated means the period following the independence while *postcolonial* without the hyphen refers to the theory or studies.

In addition to the debate about spelling, many critics question the 'post' to raise new and critical questions, but not to necessarily deny its theoretical validity (Dei & Asgharzadeh, 2001). Indeed, if 'post' has been often read as the end of colonialism or as a strict historical periodisation (McLeod, 2000), it has been also seen as "aspiration where multiple ideas and processes of 'postcoloniality' struggle to be articulated within the context of social transformation" (Lavia, 2007, pp.285-286). Postcolonialism considered

as an 'aspiration' is a rejection of the notion that colonialism is over or non-existent (Lavia, 2007). To that, Dei and Asgharzadeh (2001) add that "there is nothing 'post' about colonialism" (p. 304).

Additionally, three other authors participate in this debate. First, Subedi and Daza (2008) profess that "the 'post' in postcolonial is 'not to be understood as a temporal register as in 'hereafter', but as a marker of a spatial challenge of the occupying powers of the west by the ethical, political, aesthetic forms of the marginalized'" (p. 2). Smouts (2007) goes further by adding this:

Le "post" ne renvoie pas une notion de séquence avec un "avant" et un "après". Il englobe toutes les phases de la colonisation : le temps des empires, le temps des indépendances, la période qui a suivi ces indépendances, le temps d'aujourd'hui. Il exprime également un "au-delà" qui est à la fois une résistance, une visée et une espérance : résistance aux représentations étouffantes de l'Autre comme semblable mais inférieure (p. 33).

Rather than immersing itself in these polemics, this dissertation takes its stance from Robert Young's argument. To Young (2001), these polemics would "be resolved if postcolonial is defined as coming after colonialism and imperialism in their original meaning of direct-rule domination but still positioned within imperialism in its later sense of the global system of hegemonic economic power" (p. 57).

Despite all these critics, attacks, and ongoing polemical debates, postcolonial theory has found its space in the academic world. As "a critical idiom" (Gregoriou, 2004, p. 241) for radical change, it is becoming a popular theory, especially in non-Western societies. However, what makes postcolonial theory attractive for some people at the

same time is the target of criticism for others. In this regard, Schwarz and Ray (2005) point out that postcolonialism in essence is a critical examination of contemporary non-Western societies, an approach that had long been equated with being sympathetic to and biased in favor of communist ideology.

In a similar way, Young (2003) also reports as follows:

A lot of people don't like the term of 'postcolonial': now you may begin to see why. It disturbs the order of the world. It threatens privilege and power. It refuses to acknowledge the superiority of western cultures. Its radical agenda is to demand equality and well-being for all human beings on the earth (p. 7).

More recently, Young (2011) adds: "In the humanities and social sciences, it is typically the appearance of new forms of theory that touches the raw nerve of the status quo in this way" (p. 167). Although postcolonialism is not monolithic (Zembylas & Avraamidou, 2008), postcolonial theorists share a common commitment to reconsider and redefine the narrative on the colonial encounter and its aftermath, especially on its continued impact on the formerly colonized peoples of the world (Crossley & Tickly, 2004). They also use in common this "appropriate form to critique the social, cultural, economic and political impact of colonialism" (McLeod, 2007, p. 162).

In this research, it was not a top priority or even a necessity to stay focused on the misunderstandings, confusions, contradictions, complexities, controversies, and polemics regarding postcolonialism that continue to unfold in the academia. In some circumstances, it is better sometimes to not engage in any battle of legitimacy between theorists, thinkers, critics, activists, and so on in any academic field, as this kind of debate is never closed, and, most of the time, it generates new forms of controversies and

polemics. Here, the priority lies somewhere else because the focus is on the continuing impact of colonialism on the economic, social, political, "cultural, ideological, epistemic, or even psychological structures" (Go, 2013, p. 5) of post-colonial societies like Haiti. Nevertheless, it is "one of postcolonial theory's distinct contributions" (Go, 2013, p. 5).

Hence, it is time to rather answer the following questions:

1. How is postcolonial theory defined in this study?
2. What is the situation of postcolonial theory in the Haitian academia?
3. What particular notion in the colonial discourse theory can be useful for critically putting into question the role of Catholic education in the dilemma of democracy in Haiti?
4. And, how does postcolonial theory define the notions of education and democracy in post-colonial societies?

Definition of Postcolonial Theory

According to Lunga (2008), "A single definitive definition of postcolonial (sometimes hyphenated) is difficult if not controversial and impossible" (p. 192). However, this literature review attempts to offer a rationale for disregarding the difficulties and controversy around the impossibilities of defining the term. Indeed, as previously stated in the beginning of this chapter, the review of literature is focused on five main areas (including postcolonial theory) that are significant for the research topic. For this reason, definitions of postcolonialism considered as important for the research topic should be taken into consideration.

In a broader sense, postcolonial theory could be defined as "the theoretical and intellectual arm of the postcolonial condition" (Nayar, 2010, p. 4). From this perspective,

postcolonial theory is considered as a "Theoretical resistance to the mystifying amnesia of the colonial aftermath. It is a disciplinary project devoted to the academic task of revisiting, remembering and, crucially, interrogating the colonial past" (Gandhi, 1998, p. 4). In other words, postcolonialism fundamentally "refers to a mode of reading, political analysis and cultural resistance that negotiates with the native's colonial history and neocolonial project" (Nayar, 2010, p. 4). In addition, still according to Nayar (2010), postcolonialism "is a set of critical approaches, ideas and critical methodologies that enable us to read colonial/colonizing practices and structures" (p.4). Particularly, the label postcolonial "evokes ideas of social justice, emancipation and democracy in order to oppose oppressive structures of racism, discrimination and exploitation" (Nayar, 2010, p. 4).

Furthermore, Omar (2012) underlines the relevance of postcolonial studies for approaching the issue of development in postcolonial societies:

Based on its continuous engagement with the legacies and effects of colonialism in (post) colonial societies, postcolonial studies has also contributed significantly to this on-going critique and rethinking of development by foregrounding the concerns and views of those most affected by its practices and discourses (p. 43).

To achieve its goals, postcolonial theory borrows a set of various analytical lenses from several theories such as post-structuralism, postmodernism, neo-Marxism, feminism, psychoanalysis, critical theory, cultural studies, and so on (Burnell & Randall, 2007; Faille, 2012; Gyssels, 2007; Smouts, 2007; Young, 2011; Zecchini & Lorre, 2010). Accordingly, postcolonial theory has been heavily influenced by the distinguished group of thinkers known as "French Theorists" which includes names such as Albert Memmi,

Frantz Fanon, Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, Gilles Deleuze, Jacques Lacan, Jean François Lyotard, among others (Bayard, 2011; Collignon, 2007; Faille, 2012; Gyssels, 2007; Smouts, 2007; Young, 2011; Zecchini & Lorre, 2010). These post-structuralist and postmodern thinkers are important to the work of Edward Said, Gayatri Spivak, and Homi Bhabha, considered as the three major exponents (Ashcroft et al., 2007; Syrotinsky, 2007), the three major figures (McLeod, 2007), the postcolonial trinity (Hawley, 2010), or the holy trinity (Clavaron, 2008; Young, 1995) of colonial discourse theory.

Finally, postcolonial studies engage a wide-range of disciplines such as literature, history, sociology, anthropology, geography, education, and so on to analyze different issues (Mukhongo, 2010; Rizvi et al, 2006). Key concepts of the postcolonial theory include diverse forms of notions such as *nationality* (Fanon, 1963), *representation and otherness* (Said, 1978), *globalization* (Young, 2001), *identity and hybridity of cultures* (Bhabha, 1994), *marginalization of subaltern voices* (Spivak, 1994 & 2010), among others.

Therefore, adopting a specific "definitive definition" in this study is based on what postcolonialism is, and specially, on the fact that the research topic is about approaching the issue of educating for democracy in the Catholic congregational school which is a cultural institution with a Eurocentric and neocolonial foundation.

Accordingly, for the purpose of this study, postcolonial theory is defined as an intellectual movement that offers new theoretical perspectives for those who wish to challenge Eurocentrism and its dominant ideas from non-European culture, identity, education and science. For example, it is inherently problematic that Haitians view Europe, and specifically France, as their model. Furthermore, postcolonial theory seeks to

"examine the processes and effects of, and reactions to, European colonialism from the sixteenth century up to and including the **neo-colonialism** of the present day" (Ashcroft et al., 2007, 169). Specifically, it "raises troubling questions in regard to issues of curriculum, pedagogy, and research, especially concerning Euro-centric and US-centric knowledge biases" (Subedi & Daza, 2008, p.4).

In addition to such an examination, postcolonialism "attacks the status quo of hegemonic economic imperialism, and the history of colonialism and imperialism, but also signals an activist engagement with positive political positions and new forms of political identity in the same way as Marxism or feminism" (Young, 2001, p. 58). Subedi and Daza (2008) concur that the question of imperialism is an integral component in the field of postcolonial studies in education, as it enables scholars, educators, pedagogues and so forth to understand and appreciate "the historical context of knowledge production and how past colonial practices [...] are interconnected to present neo-colonialism" (pp. 2-3).

What is more, Subedi and Daza (2008) affirm the following:

postcolonial theory is concerned with questions of agency and how marginalized subjects are capable of interrupting or resisting dominant discourses. The topic of agency is significant in educational research since agency is connected to the ability of student-subjects to contest dominant educational practices that often place them in marginalized positions" (p. 3).

Finally, Young (2012) explains:

Central to postcolonial critique has been the observation that implicit in the idea of "the other" is a distinction between the modern (the same) and the residue that

is nonmodern (the other). Yet people regarded as being outside modernity, or outside the West, are still frequently described and categorized in terms of the concept and the term of "the other" (p. 36).

That is the reason postcolonial theory, in its endeavor to produce a more just and equitable relation between the different peoples of the world, actively seeks to alter thinking and behavior (Young, 2003). That is also why postcolonialism "raises self-consciousness which revolutionizes the minds of the colonized and the colonizer to build a new society where liberty and equity prevail" (Rukundwa & Van Aarde, 2007, p. 1190).

Postcolonial Theory in the Haitian Intellectual World

Haiti has always modeled—and still models—its cultural and social thought on France. According to Smith-Bellegarde (1980), "From its inception, [...] Haitian social thought had been prejudiced in favor a Western European norms of social organization" (p. 28). For having been formerly colonized by the French, Haitian intellectual elites have whole-heartedly assimilated these "Western European norms" through France. This continues to be the present reality.

As noted earlier, Haitian ruling elites have always cultivated an excessive form of Francophilia. Even though 100 percent of Haitian people speak Creole and only "less than 10 percent of the population is fluent in French" (Smith-Bellegarde, 2006, p. 103), Haiti defines itself as a "Francophone country." French is primarily the official language of academic, administrative, legal, cultural, and political affairs, and all the educational, cultural, social, judicial, and political institutions are Franco-centric. Due to an active and culturally-oriented cooperation, France preserves such a cultural hegemony. Today, in

most of the Haitian public and private universities, most of the faculty members have received,—and still continue to receive—their academic degrees in Paris. In a similar way, most of the Haitian writers and intellectuals like "certain French-speaking post-colonial writer-intellectuals are unwittingly trapped within the boundaries of Paris" (Glover, 2008 p. 276). Accordingly, the Haitian intellectual thought is a French reproduction, and the influence of the French academia must always be factored into any postcolonial study of Haiti. Therefore, any discussion about the status of postcolonial theory in Haiti must necessarily include the influence of French academia.

Broadly speaking, the year of 2005 marks the postcolonial turn in France (Bancel, 2013). Nicolas Bancel (2013), in his very recent article titled "France, 2005: A postcolonial turning point", lists some critical events which have favoured such a turn in the French society. Among them, there is the law of 23 February 2005, the appearance of new actors such as *Conseil Représentatif des Associations Noires (CRAN)* and the *Indigènes de la République* on the political stage, the riots in the outer suburbs of Paris, and so on (Bancel, 2013). However, 2006 seems rather to be a landmark date in the development of postcolonial studies within French academia. Indeed, the debate on postcolonial studies officially began in May 4-5, 2006 with the great symposium led by Marie-Claude Smouts (Bancel, 2012; Gounin, 2008; Smouts, 2007). Actually, the results of this symposium became the subject of a book titled *La Situation Postcoloniale en France* edited by Marie-Claude Smouts and published in 2007 (Bancel, 2002; Collignon, 2007; Gounin, 2008; Smouts, 2007). According to Gounin (2008), this book constitutes a major event in the French social sciences. Gounin (2008) explains that "Pour la première fois en France, des philosophes, des anthropologues, des politologues, des sociologues,

des historiens, des professeurs de littérature ont débattu avec une communicative alacrité de la définition, des méthodes et des enjeux de cette approche novatrice" (p. 145).

At this point, it is significant to point out the fact that postcolonial theory came into the French intellectual world twenty-eight years later after the publication of Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978), a fundamental book which marked the launching of postcolonial theory in the North-Atlantic academic world and overseas. This fact raises some important questions.

Since its launching in 2006, what has happened to postcolonial theory in the French intellectual world? "Has the French academy finally discovered and adopted postcolonialism?" (Moura, 2008, p. 264). Still according to Moura (2008), "Not exactly, but some (limited) progress is being made" (p. 264).

Today, there is enough literature from both Anglophone and Francophone writers that may be consulted to have an objective evaluation of the evolution of postcolonial theory within French academia. But, in this case, having such an evaluation requires more data from the French.

Therein, Jean-Marc Moura (2008) is one intellectual who draws a good picture of the postcolonial situation in the hexagonal world. In his 2008's text, "The evolving context of postcolonial studies in France: New horizons or new limits", Moura (2008), a French scholar from the University Charles-de-Gaulle-Lille 3, states that "the French academy has been almost completely uninterested in postcolonial theories" (p. 263). While since 2003, francophone postcolonial studies have been adopted as a new field of study in the Anglophone world (Forsdick & Murphy, 2009, p. 6), Moura (2008) remarks

that "there is not even one Chair of Francophone Postcolonial Studies in French universities" (p. 264).

In addition to the Moura's observations, Beatrice Collignon, another French intellectual, (2007) has also noted "la nette réticence de la majorité des chercheurs français face à ce nouveau courant" (p. 2). And, previous to Collignon, Archille Mbenbe (2006), a distinguished French academic, meaningfully went further stating:

To a large extent, French academia, French public culture (and the Francophone world) do not seem to have measured in its true worth, the profound significance of the recent turns in the human sciences in general, and in political and cultural critique in particular. Indeed, in the last quarter of the twentieth century, four intellectual currents—postcolonial and subaltern studies, critical race studies, diaspora studies, feminist and queer studies—have, more than any other discipline, placed a lasting imprint on the manner in which society, politics, and culture are thought. This revolution has been felt in different fields of knowledge, including philosophy, history, visual arts, and literature (p. 144).

On the Anglophone side, Robert Stam and Ella Shohat (2012), two faculty members from New York University, also made their own observations and analysis. Regarding the attitude of French academia towards postcolonialism, they pointed out that "Until recently, postcolonial theory has formed a kind of structuring absence in French intellectual discourse" (p. 84). In their analysis, Stam and Shohat (2012) have extended their observations in this way:

Here we find a contrast not only with the Anglo-American intellectual world and other parts of Europe (for example, the Netherlands and Scandinavia), but also

with many parts of Asia, and in a different way, with Latin America, i.e. sites where postcolonial studies have been a significant presence for decades. It is only in the twenty-first century that we find a major visible engagement in France with what has variously been called 'postcolonial theory', 'postcolonial critique' and 'postcolonial studies' (p. 84).

Therefore, although the "French Theorists," a distinguished group of French postmodernist and poststructuralist thinkers, played a significant role in the foundation of postcolonial theory, French intellectuals generally do not really like this theory. Any researcher who reviews the literature proposed by French writers regarding postcolonial studies, particularly, some special issues of French academic journals such as *Labyrinthe*, *Herodote*, *Mouvements*, *Esprit*, and *Rue Descartes* can note a strong dislike of postcolonial critics. Several words should attract his or her attention. Indeed, themes such as "anathema" (Bertaux, 2011), "antipathy" and "academic opposition" (Bancel & Blanchard, 2008), "longtemps ignorées" (Gounin, 2008), "critiquées et rejetées" (Gyssels, 2007), "restées à l'écart" and "retard" (Zancarini-Fournel, 2012), "nette réticence" (Collignon, 2007), "intérêt tardif" (Sibeud, 2007), "limited progress" (Moura, 2008), and so forth have been used to characterize the situation of postcolonial theory within the French academia. Eventually, all these words will lead the reader to one major conclusion: postcolonial studies are generally not welcome within the French academic world.

Suffice to say that the evolution of postcolonial theory in France has been relatively slow at best. Moura (2008) explains such slowness in this way: "Unexpectedly, this evolution was largely inspired by the actions of certain right-wing French politicians,

who attempted to enact legislation that would impose an official (and positive) interpretation of the French colonial past" (p. 264). In addition, Bertaux (2011) asserts that "Even before having fully landed on French soil, the term postcolonial is anathema to France: it is associated with a diminished space of discussion, and the debate over its usage has nationalistic undertones" (p. 201).

All things considered, there is still a colonial France. The myth of "good colonist" is still alive and continues to heavily influence the French academic life. For example, the neocolonial law of February 23, 2005, regarding the benefit of colonization as well as the Nicolas Sarkozy's address on Africa on July 26, 2007 is great signals that clearly expressed such ideas. In this respect, Bancel and Blanchard (2009) have noted that

"over the last decade there has [...] been a desire to 'rehabilitate' the colonial project, to deny the link between colonialism and racial hierarchies by proposing a humanist vision of France's colonial activity. This denial has formed the basis for the reactivation of a discourse regarding France's 'civilizing mission'" (p. 301).

In conclusion, it is obvious that the situation that exists within the French academic context heavily impacts the Haitian intellectual life. For being mostly trained in and influenced by the French universities, in general, Haitian scholars, intellectuals, thinkers, academics and writers completely ignore postcolonial theory. Similar to its French counterpart, and even worse, Haitian academia totally ignores the existence of postcolonial studies and others studies such as post-developmentalism, afrocentrism, subaltern studies, critical race theory, feminism, diaspora studies, and queer studies. During my numerous visits and stays in Haiti, I often searched all over the libraries, bookstores and universities for books, journals, reviews, and other academic publications

in the social sciences and humanities that deal with postcolonial theory, and other critical and radical theories to no avail. In several intellectual discussions and exchanges with some university scholars and students, I concluded that they have never heard of such theories.

Such ignorance has inevitably a huge price for Haiti. Postcolonial theory proposes new epistemologies and methodologies that can favour the development of new perspectives and discourses in Haiti, for any external analyst or intellectual outsider who visits this country will most likely note a significant lack of appropriate discourse for posing the Haitian problems. In this regard, as an external analyst of Haitian issues, American sociologist Lee Chance (2008) affirms:

Quelle que soit la lecture que l'on fasse de la société haïtienne; quelles que soient les prédispositions idéologiques et discursives que l'on adopte on ne peut pas nier que la société haïtienne est malade. Un cancer est en train de ronger les fondations de cette société depuis plusieurs décades et ce qui trouble le plus l'analyste extérieur que je suis, c'est l'absence d'une discursive constructive qui permette à la fois une prise de conscience sur les maux dont souffre notre patient mais plus fondamentalement une prise de conscience sur la nécessaire médication qu'il faut instituer. L'absence de discours n'est pas simplement un manque mais c'est un manque significatif d'une faiblesse de capacité des intellectuels de ce pays de prendre en main la production d'une rhétorique active (para 1).

Defining a Theoretical Framework

In this research, postcolonial theory has been introduced as the most appropriate theoretical framework to critically examine all kind of complex and critical issues in a

post-colonial neocolonized society such Haiti. Following the introduction of postcolonial theory, this section specifically defines the postcolonial theoretical framework for the dissertation by setting out the theory of hybridity and its application to the Haitian context. Therefore, the theory of hybridity advanced by the postcolonial theorist Homi K. Bhabha (1994) is presented as the theoretical framework that serves to guide the overall nature of this study.

The term *hybridity* is rooted in biology and botany (Hutnyk, 2005). Originally, it "means more generally a transgression of 'natural' or 'original' species and the consequent production of a new variety, with multiple origins, formed from the interaction between what were previously distinct and separate types" (Syrotinsky, 2007, p. 26). However, while drawn from the natural sciences, the concept of hybridity used in the context of a theory of culture has little to do with its biological or zoological origin. In regard to the field of postcolonial studies, hybridity is understood as the aftermath of contacts between different peoples. "In its more general and static sense, hybridity would point to the cultural, racial, political, and religious *mixture* that such encounters provoke" (Ortega, 2011, p. 1). In this perspective, postcolonial theorists posit hybridity as a radical alternative for hegemonic theories of cultural identity like monoculturalism, racial purity, nationalism, and so on.

Today, the concept of hybridity has become very popular across many spheres of cultural research, and remains "the most often cited terms in the contemporary lexicon of cultural studies" (Aboul-Ela, 2004, p. 261). Actually, in various disciplines, "writers and critics have generated a seemingly infinite range of 'hybrids' (theories of the hybrid, or hybrid theories)" (Syrotinsky, 2007, p. 26). Similarly, hybridity has also a central place in

postcolonial studies (Meredith, 1998; Syrotinsky, 2007). It is arguably the most widely employed and disputed (Ashcroft et al., 2007), and is the subject of varied interpretations and debates (Syrotinsky, 2007) in the postcolonial intellectual community. In this regard, Acheraiou (2008) has observed that "the deployment of the concepts of hybridity and 'third space of enunciation' to question binary interpretations of the colonial fact has become the model of analysis in postcolonial and anthropological studies" (p. 2).

Postcolonial theorist Homi K. Bhabha (1994) elaborates on his concept of hybridity from the field of literary and cultural studies in order to shed light on the construction of culture and identity resulting from the conditions of colonial antagonism and inequity (Meredith, 1998). Bhabha's conception of hybridity emerged from the view that culture is not pure. In his popular book, *The Location of Culture* (1994), Bhabha developed his theory of hybridity around notions of *ambivalence* and *mimicry* to "describe ways in which colonized peoples have resisted the power of the colonizer, a power that is never as secure as it seems to be" (Huddart, 2006, p.1).

Bhabha (1994) introduces the concept of hybridity as "the process by which the colonial governing authority undertakes to translate the identity of the colonized (the Other) within a singular universal framework, but then fails producing something familiar but new" (Meredith, 1998, p. 2). That is why Bhabha (1994) places emphasis on the fact that "it is significant that the productive capacities of this third space have a colonial or postcolonial provenance. For a willingness to descend into that alien territory [...] may open the way to conceptualizing an international culture" (p. 38). Taken from this perspective, hybridity would be a strategy for the cohabitation of a space by different ethnic groups which must negotiate their identities in a "third space of enunciation" or

"in-between" where they negotiate difference as well as cultural plurality (Bhabha, 1994, p. 37). Unlike Said (1978) in his *Orientalism*, "Bhabha (1994) has focused not upon the obvious binaries of colonized and colonizer but on the intermingling of the two" (Viruru, 2005, p. 142). Therefore, in the Bhabha's conception, hybridity is an "in-between" term that refers to a "third space" (Hutnyk, 2005, p. 80), "an interstitial or in-between space, a threshold area" (Ashcroft et al., 2007, p. 117) also called "the liminal space" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 4).

Furthermore, another important concept in Bhabha's theory is *ambivalence*, which initiates the process of hybridity. While ambivalence is generally used "in psychoanalysis to describe a continual fluctuation between wanting one thing and wanting its opposite" (Ashcroft et al., 2007, p. 10), Bhabha defines it as "the complex mix of attractions and repulsion that characterizes the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized" (Ashcroft et al., 2007, p. 10). But, ambivalence, according to Bhabha, is also "a source of anti-colonial resistance" (McLeod, 2000, p. 55). In the fourth chapter of *The Location of Culture* titled, "Of mimicry and, man: The ambivalence of colonial discourse," Bhabha clearly explains how paradoxically the ambivalence of the colonized subject is in essence a direct threat to the authority of the colonizers via the effects of mimicry (McLeod, 2000). In Bhabha's view, mimicry is one of the most deceptive strategies of colonial power and knowledge. While the main objective of colonial discourse is to produce compliant subjects who reproduce its assumptions, habits and values (mimic the colonizer), it instead "produces ambivalent subjects whose mimicry is never very far from mockery" (Ashcroft et al., 2007, p. 10). In other words, as noted by McLeod (2000) "this important aim is *never fully met*" (p. 52). Thus, from this perspective, mimicry

refers to an anti-mimetic process or a kind of re-invention. As Jenson (2004) has noted, "In Bhabha's paradigm of the colonized mimic man, imitation has many creative virtues" (p. 102). Additionally, mimicry is an implementation process without adaptation. It is a process that never ends and highlights the impossibility to build a mono cultural identity.

Bhabha's concepts of "in-between", "third space of enunciation", and "negotiation" have had deep implications for the concept of identity, culture or nation. Through these concepts, people can learn that they cannot build a cultural relativism in the sense of "we place Ourselves in the position of the Other" in forgetting the difficulties of the cultural difference. As Bhabha (1994) puts forth,

It is only when we understand that all cultural statements and systems are constructed in this contradictory and ambivalent space of enunciation that we begin to understand why hierarchical claims to the inherent originality or "purity" of cultures are untenable, even before we resort to empirical historical instances that demonstrate their hybridity (p. 37).

In this respect, postcolonial theory, particularly the theory of hybridity, shows that no culture is truly pure (Huddart, 2006), in other words, all cultures are hybrid. Accordingly, the idea of a unitary, stable and unified identity is totally false. According to Bhabha's point of view, identity is complex and heterogeneous, thus always hybrid. Identity always involves location and relationship with others (Bhabha, 1994), thus, the notion of a pure identity has never existed. Both identity and difference are anthropological phenomena that were from the outset contaminated, and that is why every act of communication is an act of reciprocal action in which sender and receiver must leave their traditional territory. And, it is precisely here that hybridity has its source or origin.

Through the theory of hybridity, postcolonial theory challenges "the myth of purity and essentialist discourses sustaining both colonialist and nationalist narratives" (Acheraïou, 2008, p. 2), and offers a dynamic reading of identity that moves beyond the liberal understandings. As Hall points out, "Rather than being a stable, fixed and one-dimensional/essentialist entity, identity in a postcolonial sense is "a process never completed always 'in process' [...] a process of articulation, a suturing, and an over-determination" (cited in Manathunga, 2006, p. 22).

The Theory of Hybridity in the Haitian Context

As explained above, hybridity, ambivalence, and mimicry are central to the postcolonial debate. These concepts developed by Homi K. Bhabha (1994) have deep implications in the construction of nationhood and identity within conditions of colonial antagonism and inequity (Meredith, 1998, p. 2). As such, they provide useful explanations regarding the way in which colonized peoples have exercised their creative resistance to break down the colonial power (Huddart, 2006). They are thus important for understanding the construction of a culture of liberation within the operations of colonial discourses.

In this section, I propose for illustrative purpose the case of colonial Haiti, then called Saint-Domingue, since in the matter of struggling against colonialism-imperialism, the Haitian revolution (1791-1804) remains the main reference. As Thomson (2000) said, this revolution was a turning point in history. Actually, Saint-Domingue (colonial Haiti) "was the first major site of African enslavement in the Americas" (Asante, 2011, p. 277). In addition, it was also in this French colony that there was "the most widespread and successful slave revolt in history" (Asante, 2011, p. 277).

Today, substantial evidence exists in support of the notion that in the modern era, Haiti is the first example of an anti-imperialist revolt, and remains one of the most unique acts of collective anti-colonial resistance. In this regard, Hutton (2011) meaningfully argues that

The *raison d'être* of the Haitian Revolution, the end of slavery, placed Haiti in a uniquely modernist historical position. It was the first authority in a global historical context to assert that a person's right to his/her body was sovereign and inviolable: so too, was the collective right of a people to self-determination, which the Haitians proclaimed on 1 January 1804 (p. 542).

Likewise, Asante (2010) reminded us that "when America was the king of the enslavement of Africans, Haiti was free and was a beacon to an African world still on the clutches of the whites" (p. 185). And, to be more specific, he added that Haiti "was the first black republic during the time that Africans were still being enslaved in the US, Mexico, Brazil, Jamaica, Trinidad, Cuba, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and a dozen of small Islands in the Caribbean" (p. 182). For these reasons, Afro-American abolitionist Frederick Douglass (2013) evoked the impact of the Haitian revolution as follows:

We should not forget that the freedom you and I enjoy today; that the freedom that eight hundred thousand colored people enjoy in the British West Indies; the freedom that has come to the colored race the world over is largely due to the brave stand taken by the black sons of Haiti ninety years ago. When they struck for freedom, they built better than they knew. Their swords were not drawn and could not be drawn simply for themselves alone. They were linked and

interlinked with their race, and striking their freedom, they struck for the freedom of every black man in the world (p. 203).

Moreover, the Haitian people extended the revolutionary ideals far beyond their border. They gave money and troops to Francisco Miranda and Simon Bolivar in support of the liberation of Latin America from Spanish oppression, and "Haitians even fought in the American revolution against British" (Asante, 2010, p. 183).

Therefore, as the greatest site of anti-colonialism, French Saint-Domingue (modern Haiti today) provides a significant case of hybridity. What happened in colonial Haiti at the end of the 18th century offers a practical example of how the ambivalence of the African slaves became a direct threat to the authority of French colonizers through the effects of mimicry (McLeod, 2000). The theory of hybridity teaches how phenomena such as transplantation, dislocation, and segmentation of African slaves have engendered the birth of Haitian institutions in the French colony of Saint-Domingue. In other words, the theory of hybridity offers a critical lens to envision the making of the Haitian people.

Furthermore, people used to refer to Haiti as the "Pearl of the Antillean". However, they often forgot to ask themselves when, how, and for whom Haiti has been such a "Pearl". In this respect, Thomson (2000) underlined some major facts regarding the so-called prosperity of Saint-Domingue. He wrote as follows:

In 1789, on the eve of the French Revolution, St. Domingue was the world's most prosperous colony. It was "an integral part of the economic life of the age, the greatest colony in the world, the pride of France, and the envy of every other imperialist nation." Its plantation economy produced an abundance of crops, of which sugar was by far the most important. At its peak, St. Domingue produced

more sugar than all the British Caribbean islands put together and was responsible for forty percent of the overseas trade of France (p. 76).

To sum up, Saint-Domingue was the "richest colony in the world through the production of sugar" (Mocombe, 2010, p. 32). The production of sugar was central for the prosperity of France and the other European empires. However, such a production rested on the shoulders of several millions Africans slaves brought in slaves ships. Thus, as the most exploited colony of the world, Saint-Domingue inevitably became the first major place of African enslavement in the Americas (Asante, 2011).

Médéric Louis Elie Moreau de Saint-Méry (1797) and various contemporary researchers such as Philip D. Curtin (1969 & 1976), Paul. E. Lovejoy (1982), David Geggus (1989), Jean Suret-Canal (1973), and many others have investigated "the origins, numbers, and destinations of people who moved out of Africa [...] up to that time" (Curtin, 1976, p. 595). Today, thanks to data from census, plantation inventories, shipping records and others sources, one can get a better look at the population that lived in the French Saint-Domingue which has become the modern Haiti. They came from multiple African regions such as Senegambia, Sierra Leone, Windward Coast, Gold Coast, Bight of Benin, Bight of Biafra, Congo-Angola, Central Africa, South-eastern Africa and others (Geggus, 1989; Suret-Canal, 1973). For instance, based on "data from French shipping and plantation records" Geggus (1989, p. 23), Geggus (1989) analyzed two large samples of slaves. In his analysis, he specifically outlined multiple ethnic groups among the most known in Saint-Domingue. They were: Mandingue (Malinke), Caramenty (Akan-Ga), Poulard (Fulbe), Sosso/Tini (Susu), Timbou (Jalonka), Sierra Leone, Mesurado/Canga, Mina, Arada (Ewe-Fon), Aoussa (Hausa), Gambary (Hausa),

Taqua/Tapa (Nupe), Nago (Yoruba), Cotocoli (Tem), Adia (Ewe-Fon), Thiamba/Kiamba (Chamba), Barba (Bariba), Foeda (Hweda), Fond (Ewe-Fon), Igbo, Bibi (Ibibio), Congo, Mozambique, Mondongue, Bandia (Guang) Bambara (Banmana and others) (Geggus, 1989, p. 32).

These French ships carried on board not only men, women, and children from multiple regions and ethnic groups, but as well multiple beliefs, habits, customs, and folklores. Each ethnic group had indeed its own culture and language. According to Trouillot (2006), "Africans brought to the Caribbean during the slave trade spoke a wide variety of African languages" (p. 11). However, since "The objective of colonial discourse is to construe the colonized as a population of degenerate types on the basis of racial origin, in order to justify conquest" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 70), the strategy of both the repressive and ideological apparatus was to completely erase their original cultures and collective memory. That is why upon arrival, they were separated from their family of origin and lineage (Florent, 2004; Hurbon, 1991). As an important strategy, the colonizers used to sever all family relationships among their slaves (Bastide, 1967). In fact men and women who came from the same ethnic group were usually not found together (Bastide, 1967; Hurbon, 1991).

Serious attempts were made by the colonial masters to eradicate the original cultures of the slaves (Bastide, 1967). To a great extent, the colonial masters succeeded in disconnecting the slaves from their historical roots (Florent, 2004). For instance, all the slaves were forced to adopt the Roman Catholic faith. Then, after their baptisms they received a new name (Ackermann et al., 2010; Florent, 2004).

The ferocity of the system dehumanized them. In this respect, the considerable body of research and studies conducted on the Atlantic slave trade indicate how much the colonial system was ferocious, savage, cruel, inhuman, and dehumanizing. During more than two hundred years, the slaves suffered daily physical, psychological, and ideological violence, and all other forms of oppression. Nevertheless, in spite of all, the slaves constantly and strongly resisted through an array of strategies including suicide, abortion, poisoning, maroon and guerilla activities, etc. They were able to break down this infernal system by liberating themselves and creating a new country. But, here, an essential question is how did they make it possible?

In this perspective, postcolonial theorist Gayatri Spivak affirmed that "the construction of a collective identity is a strategy to organize those who have been oppressed to fight for their own liberation" (cited in Ortega, 2011, p. 46). According to Bhabha's theory of hybridity discussed earlier, such a construction is made in the "in-between spaces" also called "third spaces" or "hybrid spaces". Bhabha (1994) explained that these in-between spaces are breeding grounds for elaborating and asserting strategies of selfhood—singular or communal—which in turn give rise to new identity, creative collaborations, and contestations in the act of defining the idea of society itself. In the same vein, Bhabha (1994) added that cultural hybridity is a process that "gives rise to something different, something new and unrecognizable, a new area of negotiation of meaning and representation" (p. 211).

In the case of French Saint-Domingue, the forced meeting between African slaves and French colonizers generated "in-between" or "hybrid spaces" where new cultural identities emerged. As Orelus (2010) argued, culture defines who we are and who we are

not. Further, it shapes how we view the world. Thus, within the colonial plantations, the birth of a new culture defined the birth of a new nation: it was the Haitian nation. As Montilus has noted, "l'interaction avec le nouvel environnement multidimensionnel [...] a donné naissance aux institutions majeures du pays, notamment la langue créole, la religion et spiritualité du vodou, la famille, l'économie locale et l'art" (cited in Hector & Hurbon, 2009, p. 197).

Celucien (2012) argues that Haitians developed a new culture in Haiti, and that new culture was neither African nor French but a seamless merger of African and European cultures. Therein, he quotes Jean Price-Mars (1959), a distinguished Haitian social scientist, in these terms: "From this social alchemy derives an original culture that was neither African, nor French, but a harmonious synthesis of both whose development continued and has continued under our eyes for 150 years of gestation in the Americas" (p. 627).

Furthermore, aligning with the thrust of Bhabha's theory, Aboul-Ela (2004) attests that "finding and celebrating in-between, interstitial, hybrid spaces is the essence of cultural resistance" (p. 274); and, in a similar way, Managan (2006) argues that the 'third space' is a space which values and encourages subversive acts. Within this line of reasoning, "hybridity has thus emerged as a kind of fluid, catch-all counter-hegemonic means of reaffirming identity over and against [the] essentializing discourses of [...]" the slavery system (Syrotinsky, 2007, p. 27). In response to the new colonial environment, those numerous groups of African ethnics forged a new culture that completely changed their worldview, then, reinforced their motivation to break down the colonial system. Also, the process for overturning French colonialism started with the development of the

Creole language on the plantations, resulting from the forced contacts between the French colonizers and the African colonized (Schieffelin & Doucet, 1994). Having drawn from many sources to reflect new artifacts (Smith-Bellegarde, 2006), the Creole language provided a new worldview for the slaves. Considered from an ideological, historical, and political angle, language is essentially linked to ideology, culture, and power relations (Orelus, 2010). Accordingly, in colonial Haiti, Creole was a powerful tool that initiated the "process of overturning dominant ways of seeing the world, and representing reality in ways which do not replicate colonialist values" (McLeod, 2000, p. 22). As a new cultural tool, this language served as a counter discourse that challenged the whole colonial order. In addition, in the complex colonial landscape, the Creole language was an identity marker (Jenson, 2004). "As an identity marker, it collapses together the different identities [...] on which colonial hierarchies were based" (Jenson, 2004, p. 93). According to Jenson (2004),

Albert Valdman describes the generalized use of Creole as the "colonial vernacular" in Saint-Domingue, citing Moreau de Saint-Méry's statement that "'It is in that language ...that Creoles [of all colors] like to converse and Negroes do not use any other language among themselves' (p. 93).

Moreover, language is the principal medium through which people interact and stay connected with their identity and community (Orelus, 2010). In this sense, the Creole language facilitated a total cohesion among the community of slaves. That was a fundamental need in their revolutionary struggles. Thanks to their new language, they were able to communicate their desire of freedom.

Similar to the Creole language, Haitian Vodou is always in flux as it draws from many sources and traditions as it responds to changes in the world, as well as to the necessities and imaginations of its followers (Brice, 2007). Thus, like the Creole language, Vodou provided a new vision that could radically overturn the predominant colonial worldviews. For having been the philosophical foundation of the national will to freedom (Asante, 2011), Vodou has offered new strategies and ideological discourses to challenge the various colonial cultural and social oppression enforced by Catholic religious education (Tardieu, 1990). For example, Hutton (2005) reported that the slaves "made public use of Catholic rituals, saints and biblical prophets and deities to mask and give public access to the much proscribed Vodou, its rituals and deities" (p. 46). In this respect, Nicholls (1970) indicated that in Haiti nearly all Vodou practitioners dub themselves Catholics; likewise, most Catholics are adherents of Vodou. Hybridity masks and mimics while creating sites of resistance. Further, Hutton (2011) based on his precedent assertions added that the Vodou rituals "shaped and engendered a radical anti-slavery ethos in the agency of the enslaved and a culture of respect, discipline, cohesion, trust, community, security, viability and organization that became an organizational basis of the Haitian Revolution" (p. 547).

Therefore, Haitian Vodou and Haitian Creole among others emerged from the "in-between spaces" where all Haitians could realize the national motto: "L'union fait la force." To have materialized their motto, Haitian Creole and Haitian Vodou were fundamental because they represented the forces which bound all the slaves together to challenge the slavery system. In this regard, Smith-Bellegarde (2006) made the following remark:

Significantly, language and religion were inventions of the Haitian peasants that permitted them to face the power deficit between master and slave, oppressor and oppressed, and a dominant Europe and a subaltern Africa. In both Haitian language and Haitian religion, one finds the necessary compromises and subterfuges that the weak use to survive [...]. Kreyòl and Vodou are, in the final analysis, organized responses to oppression (p. 103).

In addition, Bhabha (1994) argued that the third space is where histories are displaced and new structures of political authority and initiatives emerge. In this regard, research findings demonstrate that both Haitian Creole and Vodou played a central role in the political liberation of the slaves in 1804 (Ackermann et al., 2010; Brice, 2007; Fils-Aimé, 2007; Hutton, 2011; Michel & Smith-Bellegarde, 2006; Price-Mars, 1928; Sanders, 2009). In other words, Haitian Creole and Haitian Vodou provided the cultural bases and impetus for the Haitian Revolution and thus Haitian liberation (Hutton, 2011). In fact, in the great political and religious meeting called "Le Congrès du Bois-Caiman" that inaugurated the slaves' revolt, Creole and Vodou were respectively the means of communication and the main tool that whipped up consciousness. In this respect, the historical prayer pronounced by Dutty Boukman, one of the slaves' leaders, is very significant. Indeed, according to Buck Morss (2009), on the night of August 14th, 1791, Boukman addressed the following prayer in those Creole words:

Bon Dje ki fè la tè. Ki fè soley ki klere nou enro. Bon Dje ki soulve lanmè. Ki fè gronde loray. Bon Dje nou ki gen zorey pou tande. Ou ki kache nan niaj. Kap gade nou kote ou ye la. Ou we tout sa blan fè nou sibi. Dje blan yo mande krim. Bon Dje ki nan nou an vle byen fè. Bon Dje nou an ki si bon, ki si jis, li ordone

vanjans. Se li kap kondui branou pou nou ranpote la viktwa. Se li kap ba nou asistans. Nou tout fet pou nou jete potre dje Blan yo ki swaf dlo lan zye. Koute vwa la libète k ap chante lan kè nou. [The God who created the earth and the sun which gives us light from above; God that makes the sea rise and the roaring thunder. Our God who has the ears to listen. You, who hides in the clouds that watches over us from where you are. You see all the suffering that the white man has brought upon us. The God of the white man inspires him with crime, but the God in us wants us to do well. Our God who is so good, so just, orders us to revenge. It is he who will direct our arms to victory. It is he who will assist us. We all must throw away the portrait of the white god that thirsts the tears from our eyes. Listen to the voice of liberty, which sings in our hearts] (cited in Mocombe, 2010, pp. 36-37).

In sum, the development of Creole and Vodou were central to the foundation of the Haitian nation. They are both fundamental elements in the construction of the Haitian culture and identity. Vodou, in particular, is the basic culture of Haiti (Fils-Aimé, 2007). It touches all dimensions of Haitian life. Marcelin (1947) points out the multifaceted aspects of Vodou as follows: "Les sanctuaires vodous ou houmfors sont à la fois des églises, des hôpitaux, des clubs, des salles de danse et des théâtres. Le hougane et la mambo sont des conseillers spirituels et des praticiens" (p. 52). From this standpoint, Vodou is more than a religion (Fils-Aimé, 2007; Procopio, 2009). It is, for the most part, a way of life for the overwhelming majority of Haitians in Haiti and throughout the diaspora. Family and community are key elements in Vodou. Similarly, great emphasis is placed on the spiritual and emotional well-being of its adherents (Procopio, 2009).

Today, anyone who would like to learn about Vodou can do so easily because there is a huge body of literature provided by scholars and researchers from various disciplines in the social sciences and humanities. Some of authors mostly cited are Jean Price-Mars (1928), Melville J. Herskovits (1937 & 1971), Louis Maximilien (1945 & 1982), Milo Rigaud and Louis Maximilien (1953), Odette Mennesson-Rigaud (1958), Alfred Métraux (1959), Harold Courlander (1966), Rémy Bastien (1966), Roger Bastide (1967), Henock Trouillot (1970 & 1983), Laënnec Hurbon (1972, 1979, 1987, 1988 & 1996), Gerald Murray (1980), Robert Farris Thompson (1983), Joan Dayan (1998), Françoise Florent (2004), Claudine Michel and Patrick Smith-Bellegarde (2006), Jean Fils-Aimé, (2007), Anne Leslie Brice (2007), Hans-W. Ackermann, Maryse Gautier, and Michel-Ange Momplaisir (2010), and many others.

Bhabha's theory of hybridity buttresses my efforts to understand the how and why of dilemma of democracy in Haiti. Paraphrasing Bhabha (1994), I posit that during more than two hundred years, the French colonial power undertook to translate the identity of the African slaves within a singular French universal framework, but then failed and Haitian *Creole*, *Vodou*, *Lakou*, *Konbit*, *Proverbs* and other new Haitian institutions emerged. Then, based on the tenet of Bhabha's theory of hybridity I argue that democracy cannot be possible in Haiti without these national institutions that reflect the total reality of the Haitian people. Because, as Boris Frankel affirms, "a society which has no national institutions also has no real chance of establishing a democratic public sphere" (cited in McLaren, 1995, p. 227). Equally, Martineau (1993) speaks up as follows:

La démocratie, dans son histoire comme dans son esprit, est [...] intimement associée à la culture et à la langue. "Sans les mots, on n'est pas capable de décrire

sa situation, et de la transformer... C'est le langage qui engendre la démocratie" (Watson 1989). D'ailleurs, comme l'a déjà montré Paolo Freire (1973), le pouvoir du citoyen réside en grande partie dans les outils culturels dont il dispose (p. 423).

From this point of view, "different histories and cultures produce different democracies" (Koelble & Lipuma, 2008, p. 1). In the case of Haiti, for its historical and cultural particularity, democracy in its Western liberal form is not suitable for the Haitian reality, for liberal democracy is sustained by an essentialist discourse that fundamentally excludes the great majority of Vodou followers and Creole speakers. Likewise, as a neocolonial institution, the one-side-only French model school system banishes Vodou and Creole from the classroom. Catholic leaders built a school culture where Haitian knowledge and ways of perceiving and interacting with the world are misrepresented and suppressed as superstitious, evil, and even satanic (Désir, 2011). Their Western form of education marginalized the spiritual, intellectual, psychological, social and cultural ways of life that are the sustaining force of the Haitian majority (Désir, 2011). In short, the pedagogy of Catholic schools has established a form of cultural "purity" in Haiti. Accordingly, Catholic congregational schools prepare an alienated ruling elite that guarantees social, political, economical and cultural statu quo. Therefore, in Haiti, schooling is mostly an instrument of marginalization and polarization for the overwhelming majority of Haitians. In this respect, Gouraige (1974) has observed that

L'enfant haïtien entre à l'école pour apprendre à oublier qu'il est noir. Et chaque fois qu'il gagne la rue, c'est pour mesurer sa solitude et compter les pas qui l'éloignent de ces illettrés, de ces vodouisants dont il aura peut-être un jour à régler le destin (p. 82).

The theory of hybridity thus offers a novel lens through which policy makers and school leaders can redefine the purpose of Haitian education. Notions such as hybridity, ambivalence, mimicry and cultural identities provide theoretical tools to appreciate the vital importance of Haitian Creole and Vodou in the Haitian educational system.

Today, education is considered as a tool for the creation of social outcomes, such as human development, social cohesion, peace and especially democracy (Education for All, United Nations). Democratic attitude is, at first, built and learned in school. The classroom, as a 'contact zone' of relations, should foster a democratic culture. According to Gutierrez et al. (1999), "analysis of third spaces has shown that learning contexts are immanently hybrid that is, polycontextual, multivoiced, and multiscripted" (p. 287). Therefore, democratic classrooms require the promotion of cultural diversity and hybridity. Hybridity and diversity are viewed as important cultural resources in children's development (Cole, 1998). They can serve as the building blocks of third spaces (Gutierrez et al., 1999). Democratic "learning zones are promoted and sustained by hybrid language and schooling practices that bridge home and school" (Moll & Greenberg cited in Gutierrez et al., 1999, p. 288). Educating for democracy is imperative; however, education in Haiti must first be decolonized, and democracy must also be re-conceptualized. Haitian democracy should be a product of values grounded in the Haitian history and culture. Then, democracy has to be a radical democracy. Here, radical signifies going to the determinant or the root (Minieri & Getsos, 2007). And, radical democracy means, ruling by the people (Minieri & Getsos, 2007). Then, teaching for democracy must be a critique of any form of unilateral thought in order to advance multiple alternative visions (Conway & Singh, 2011). The vision that should be reflected

in the national curriculum should include Haitian Creole and Vodou since Haitian Creole is the only medium through which the teaching/learning process can favor a democratic classroom, and Vodou can challenge the Eurocentric view of the elites. Haitian Creole and Vodou are like "third spaces" or zones of development for a democratic Haitian community. They are "in-between" spaces or "transcultural spaces in which strategies for personal or community self-hood may be elaborated" (Ashcroft et al., 2007, p. 117). They must be the two central elements of Haitian education as well as that of Haitian democracy. Democracy cannot be possible in Haiti without introducing Creole and Vodou within the educational context. With a curriculum based on Creole and Vodou, the Haitian classroom would become a "liminal space", or an "in-between space" where Haitian democracy could be learned and constructed. From this perspective, there cannot be democratic schools in Haiti without the national institutions that authentically reflect the reality of the nation.

Finally, Haitian Vodou and Creole are invaluable tools for unsettling social binaries, such as *nwa/milat* (black/mulatto), *moun lavil/moun andeyo* (urban people/rural people), *moun anwo/moun anba* (higher class/lower class) that prevail in Haiti. An effective Haitian school should be a "third space" for creating "mixedness" or an "in-between space" in which students can create innovative sites of collaboration.

Part Two: Democracy and Education in Postcolonial Societies: The Case of Haiti

Democracy in Post-colonial Societies

This section of the literature review provides a critical examination of democracy in post-colonial societies from the perspective of postcolonial theory. This part of the literature review proceeds in five steps. Firstly, I set out the ontological and epistemological change that took place in the Third World. This evolution has generated new critical knowledges, decolonization projects and activities, and social movements for the struggle against imperialism. Secondly, the notions of colonialism and modernity are examined through an exploration of a major example of a decolonial project in mainstream academia. Thirdly, democracy is critically examined from a non-Eurocentric perspective. To be more specific, the review examines the deconstruction of claims to the universality of democracy and liberalism. I follow with a critical examination of the relationship between liberalism, neoliberalism, imperialism, and democracy. Fourthly, I underline the importance of considering the notion of colonial difference in post-colonial societies. Finally, I propose a definition of democracy for the Haitian context.

The central idea of the literature presented in this section is that the model of Western liberal democracy is an aspect of coloniality. From its origin in the West, liberal democracy in its different forms has been imposed to maintain the hegemony of the West over the Third World. Consequently, this literature shows the necessity to decolonize democracy in post-colonial societies. Decolonizing democracy means to rescue or to "delink" it (Mignolo, 2007) from the Euro-American conception, particularly from the neoliberal "market democracy" (Mignolo, 2007). I argue that decolonizing democracy is

above all a decolonial epistemic shift that would lead to another universality, that is, to a pluri-versality as another universal project (Mignolo, 2007).

The Epistemological Turn in Post-colonial Societies

The last 60 years can be considered as salient moments for Tri-continental or Third World peoples. Specifically, these decades have marked a central turn in the struggles against imperialism and its by-products, particularly against neocolonialism and neoliberalism. Events such as the Bandung Conference of 1955, the publication of *Orientalism* by Edward Said in 1978 among other important contributions to postcolonial theory were fundamental for the Third World. From then on, many researchers, intellectuals, thinkers, and activist-scholars within the Global South became increasingly aware that their fight was above all in the area of knowledge-production. This is what Ramon Grosfoguel (2007) calls "the epistemic decolonial turn." As Hutton (2011) argues, "'Who can know?' is a central theme in modern Western thought, culture and social psychology" (p. 531). Further, he adds that this question is central in the epistemological and ontological construction of blackness/otherness by whites. According to Alatas (2000), "imperialism is not confined only to the political or economic aspects of the historical process. We have to consider imperialism as a cluster, comprising different aspects of human undertakings" (p. 23). In this regard, an important example of this epistemic imperialism may be the Project Camelot, a militarized-sponsored initiative considered to be "the largest social science project in US history" (Solovey, 2001, p. 171). Western intellectuals have advanced this form of imperialism when they "mis-educated" (Woodson, 1933) non-Western peoples to believe that Truth and Universality can be achieved through only one single epistemic tradition (Grosfoguel, 2007). Alatas

(2000) calls this phenomenon "intellectual imperialism." Such a belief put the West in a hegemonic position.

Thus, for these reasons, a critical stance toward knowledge was imperative for Third World intellectuals. Accordingly, during the last decades, there was a growing awareness of the urgent necessity to struggle against this epistemic or "intellectual imperialism" (Alatas, 2000). Southern intellectuals have consciously acknowledged the pressing need to question and critically examine perspectives, conceptualizations, and theories produced from the North including conceptual frameworks developed by Leftist intellectuals. At the same time, they also felt "the need to take seriously the epistemic force of local histories and to think theory through from the political praxis of subaltern groups" (Escobar, 2007, p. 185). As Andraos (2012) puts it, "thanks to many new voices of scholars on the cultural "margins," as well as in mainstream academia, the boundaries of the discourse on [...] the production of knowledge have expanded in many ways" (p. 3).

As a result of this growing consciousness, many critical and progressive studies adopting this counter-hegemonic theoretical stance have been developed by activist-scholars (Morozov, 2013; Ponniah, 2006). Among the best known are theology, philosophy, and psychology of liberation, the world-system analysis, dependency theory, postcolonial theory, post-developmentalism, feminist development theory, Chicana feminist theory, critical race theory, new historicism, anti-colonialism, subaltern studies, Afrocentricity, African philosophy, and so on.

Additionally, many other initiatives have emerged within the academia. One of the most remarkable was the conference/dialogue between the South Asian and Latin

American Subaltern Studies Groups organized in October 1998 at Duke University (Grosfoguel, 2007). In regard to these developments, Grosfoguel (2007) points out that "the dialogue with the Latin American Subaltern Studies Group as well as with the South Asian Subaltern School made evident the need to epistemologically transcend, decolonize the Western canon and epistemology" (p. 211). More recently, in May of 2004, there was also the project entitled modernity/coloniality from Duke University and University of North Carolina that favored the development of a wide body of critical literature in cultural studies, social theories, and other important fields of study.

Some of the important participants of these research projects are Anibal Quijano, Arturo Escobar, Walter D. Mignolo, Ramon Grosfoguel, Immanuel Wallerstein, Catherine Walsh, Dipesh Chakrabarty, Partha Chatterjee, Ranajit Guha, Sousa Santos Boaventura, Nelson Freya Schiwy, Nelson Maldonado-Torres, among others. Academic journals such as *Nepantla*, *Boundary 2* or *South Atlantic Quarterly* have devoted significant attention to these movements. These theories favored the rise of new social movements which are so central for struggling against imperialism in non-Western societies. One of the most important of them was the World Social Forum with its motto: "Another world is possible." This forum in its different sessions has provided an alternative to the "democracy market" (Mignolo, 2007) promoted through liberalism and neoliberalism.

Ponniah (2006) argues that "All of the counter-hegemonic theories aim to radicalize democracy such that it includes all classes, cultures, genders, in all major social decisions" (p. 76). Indeed, as Schiwy notes, "Languages and perspectives that had been marginalized and dismissed are now entering into public debate" (p. 744).

Overall, as one can see, the growing influence of these theories over the last decades in the Third World was—and still is—significant. The 2013 Human Development Report titled *The Rise of the South: Human Progress in a Diverse World* provides a practical example of such a change. In the foreword, Helen Clark points out that "The Report notes that, over the last decade, all countries accelerated their achievements in the education, health, and income dimensions as measured in the Human Development Index (HDI)" (p. iv). Besides, she adds that "many other countries across the South have seen rapid development, and their experiences and South–South cooperation are equally an inspiration to development policy" (p. iv).

Most of the counter-hegemonic theories are critiques of Western modernity. According to Ponniah (2006), most of these theories "agree that modernity has been classist, imperialist, patriarchal and hegemonic. They especially concur in terms of the critique of the cult of the elite" (p. 73). For instance, Escobar (2007) reports that the Modernity/Coloniality program offers "another way of thinking that runs counter to the great modernist narratives (Christianity, liberalism, and Marxism); it locates its own inquiry in the very borders of systems of thought and reaches towards the possibility of non-Eurocentric modes of thinking" (p. 180). Researchers and scholars from this project deeply explored the issue of colonialism and its aftermath. They critically examined the relationship between modernity and colonialism. Because of this examination, the concept of *coloniality* has been added in the lexicon of cultural studies and is used today by many researchers and writers.

Colonialism, Coloniality, and Modernity

Maldonado-Torres (2007) establishes a clear difference between colonialism and coloniality. On the one hand, colonialism refers to a political and economic relation where the sovereignty of a nation or a people depends on another nation or empire. On the other hand, coloniality concerns what emerges as by-products of colonialism, and it goes well beyond the strict limits of colonial administrations. In addition, Maldonado-Torres (2007) explains that coloniality survives in books, in culture, in academic performance, in how we see ourselves, in our aspirations, and in so many other aspects of our life experience. In a sense, as citizens of this modern world, coloniality is part of our existence (p. 243). Similarly, Grosfoguel (2007) adds that "Coloniality allows us to understand the continuity of colonial forms of domination after the end of colonial administrations, produced by colonial cultures and structures in the modern/colonial capitalist/patriarchal world-system" (p. 175).

Today, thanks to these critical studies, one can begin to comprehend the very close links between coloniality and modernity, namely, that coloniality is an integral facet of modernity (Mignolo, 2007). While for Escobar (2007), "there is no modernity without coloniality, with the latter being constitutive of the former (in Asia, Africa, Latin America/Caribbean)" (p. 185), Grosfoguel (2007) affirms that they are "two sides of a single coin" (p. 173). Similarly, Mignolo (2007) reasons by deduction as follows: "If coloniality is constitutive of modernity, in the sense that there cannot be modernity without coloniality, then the rhetoric of modernity and the logic of coloniality are also two sides of the same coin" (p. 464). But, one can consider coloniality as the other phase of modernity, without necessarily spurning the positive sides of modernity (Grosfoguel,

2007; Mignolo, 2007). In addition, being the constitutive facet of modernity, coloniality remains invisible (Quijano & Ennis, 2000). It is "an invisible power structure that sustains colonial relations of exploitation and domination" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012, p. 1). The Haitian ruling elites, being unaware of such a phenomenon, cannot even see many current aspects of colonialism in their way of life.

Questioning the Western Meaning of Universal Democracy

Before I go further, I wish to be more specific about the fact that I am not encouraging people to close their minds to any kind of knowledge. On the contrary, with Alatas (2000) I suggest that we should open

our minds to genuine knowledge from any part of the world. We should assimilate as much as possible from all sources, from all parts of the world, all useful knowledge. But we need to do this with an independent critical spirit, without turning our backs on our own intellectual heritage (p. 27).

In addition, I also affirm the principle to elucidate that democracy in its original meaning—rule by the people—is a fundamental form of political order that promotes a wide range of core values such as diversity, gender equity, equality, respect, cooperation, common good, justice, liberty, and acceptance. As we are political beings, democracy allows for a fuller participation and development of the political nature of human existence (Morozov, 2013) even though, as, Grosfoguel (2006) warns, Eurocentric thinking presents democracy as an achievement uniquely Western. Non-Western peoples who embrace this Eurocentric view are tempted to perceive democracy as something alien to their cultures and traditions. Yet, according to the same author, a large number of the elements we think of as democratic modernity were formed in the contact between the

West and non-Western cultures. In addition, a lot of the Utopian and democratic forms of thought cherished today by Europeans were taken from non-Western historical systems in the colonies and were adjusted and integrated into Western modernity (p. 178).

Therefore, democracy in its original meaning is not an exclusive property of the West, it concerns all humanity. As Morozov (2013) underlines, "democracy today is precisely [...] an empty signifier—it refers to the totality of humanity as a whole, and thus directly to human nature. Being non-democratic in contemporary political discourse comes very close to being non-human" (p. 6). He goes on to say that "because of its privileged position, democracy is used and abused by all kinds of political forces trying to fill it in with their particular historical content" (p. 6). Now, "there is no way to signify the universality other than by using some particular terms, which, being elevated into the signifiers of the universal become emptied of any particular content" (Morozov, 2013, p. 6). As Escobar (2007) says, universality is always designed from a given local history.

Consequently, the concept of democracy's universality currently promoted is typically a Western construction resulting from the hegemonic position of the West in global politics (Morozov, 2013). For this reason, there is a serious need "firstly, to adopt a much more critical position vis-à-vis the mainstream language of democratic theory, and secondly, to pay much more serious attention to non-Western experiences" (Morozov, 2013, p. 5). There is a great necessity "to revisit the foundations of the global democratic consensus" (Morozov, 2013, p. 1), and the impact of colonialism-imperialism on the current thinking about democracy should be taken into consideration. Thus, in the post-colonial context, the meaning of liberal democracy should be critically questioned.

Questioning the Universal Meaning of Liberalism

In the literature about democracy, the great majority of political scientists writing on democratization mostly employ liberal and procedural definitions of democracy (Zuern, 2009). In these writings, democratization is generally conceived as an extension of a process of political liberalization, commonly measured by a relatively minimal procedural definition that focuses on institutions and freedoms (Zuern, 2009). Consequently, there is a huge body of literature on procedural and liberal definitions of democracy. But, the priority here is not to review these definitions. For the purpose of the study, there will be a brief focus on liberalism and neoliberalism.

The word liberalism is usually used for indicating a political position in favor of individual human freedom (Braedley & Luxton, 2010), and collective action for social justice. Even though McDonough and Feinberg (2007) meaningfully distinguish three forms of liberalism which are the classical, contemporary, and affiliation liberalism, all these distinct forms ideologically and legally stress individual rights, civil liberties, and freedom of association (Fatton Jr., 1990). John Locke, Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill, John Dewey, John Rawls, John Maynard Keynes, and others are some of the key liberal philosophers cited by McDonough and Feinberg (2007). Fundamentally, liberalism starts with the notion that society is composed of individuals, each with rights and interests that they seek to defend and protect. In liberal societies, rules are needed to ensure that these rights and interests peacefully coexist. On the economic level, the economic market is the right answer. As Sandel (2009) put it,

markets promote the welfare of society as a whole by providing incentives for people to work hard supplying the goods that other people want [...] markets

respect individual freedom; rather than impose a certain value on goods and services, markets let people choose for themselves what value to place on the things they exchange (p. 6).

On the political level, a government is needed to protect citizens from abuse they may suffer from other citizens. The election is a necessary condition but not sufficient for this protection.

Since coloniality is the constitutive facet of modernity (Quijano & Ennis, 2000), Western modern democracy is presented here as a colonial construction. Liberalism, as a modern construction, is deeply rooted in all the facets of the Euro-American ways of life. In this respect, French sociologist Emile Durkheim (1898) put it as follows:

libéralisme [...] n'est pas simplement une théorie de cabinet, une construction philosophique; il est passé dans les faits, il a pénétré nos institutions et nos mœurs, il est mêlé à toute notre vie, et si, vraiment, il fallait nous en défaire, c'est toute notre organisation morale qu'il faudrait refondre du même coup (p. 7).

In the same vein, Morozov (2013) points out that "Western liberal democracy [...] comes out as inevitably particularist, being conditioned by the historical experiences of Western civilization" (p. 5), namely, liberal democracy was also conditioned by colonialism, slavery, racism, violence and exclusion. While the liberal perspective stresses equality, liberty and justice for all, the politics of universalism excludes some categories of people. For illustrative purposes, the case of the French and American Revolutions may be evoked.

Hallward (2004) reminds us that affirmation of the natural, inalienable rights of all human beings was the principle that inspired both the French and American

Revolutions. However, in these two revolutions, the reference "human beings" was clearly limited to a specific category. In the case of the former, Jenson (2011) states that "The universalism of French revolutionary "Rights of Man"—with "Man" representing an exclusively delimited category—was openly challenged in the Haitian Revolution" (p. 84). In the case of the latter, admittedly, democratic values such as equality, life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness were promoted by the U.S. Declaration of Independence. And yet, these values were not inclusive because women, African slaves, and Native Americans were treated as inferior categories. Challenging the universality of the Pledge of Allegiance, Macedo (1993) points out that in United States of America, slavery was legal, women's rights were denied, and there was the near genocide of the Native Americans. In the case of the Native Americans he adds that

If we did not suffer from historical amnesia, we would easily recall that once upon a time, the Massachusetts legislature promulgated a law that provided monetary rewards for dead Indians: "For every scalp of male Indian brought in ... forty pounds. For every scalp of such female Indian or male Indian under the age of twelve years that shall be killed...twenty pounds" (p. 185).

As to underline "the obvious hypocrisy contained in the Pledge of Allegiance" (p.184), Macedo (1993) further reminds us that

Even the abolitionist President Abraham Lincoln did not truly uphold the U.S. Declaration of Independence propositions of equality, life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, when he declared: I will say, then, that I am not, nor ever have been in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white

and black races... I as much as any other man am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race (p. 185).

These so-called universal values were established in a particular cultural structure (Postero, 2010) fundamentally marked by colonialism, slavery, racism, sexism, and violence. The freedom, equality and happiness promised by liberalism did not—and still does not—include everyone. The current model of Western liberal democracy is grounded in fundamental systemic inequalities created by several hundred years of colonialism, slavery, and all forms of violence. In addition, these inequalities are maintained and reproduced by the presence of coloniality. That is why most of contemporary democracies have a deceitful nature characterized by feeble democratic institutions and unjust, asymmetrical power relations (Macedo, 1993).

As a result of its historical and philosophical roots, the current Western democratic model is naturally elitist in that it assures the continuity in power of a self-selected minority (Esteva, 2009). In this form of democracy "the collective experiences function in the interest of the dominant ruling elites" (Macedo, 1993, p. 186) whose decision-making is a major source of calamity for the whole planet. As Nesbitt (2005) has shown,

Western liberal democracies have fostered a culture of consumption to compensate for popular disenfranchisement, as oligarchies of the elite make their own decisions regarding war, the environment, and social justice in the name of those they are supposed to represent (p. 7).

This is what Mignolo (2007) and other critical intellectuals called "democracy market".

As Noam Chomsky most eloquently portrayed,

Democracy in the United States rhetoric refers to system of governance in which elite elements based in the business community control the state by virtue of their dominance of the private society, while the population observes quietly. So understood, democracy is a system of elite decision and public ratification (cited in Macedo, 1993, p. 187).

In the late 70s, a new version of "market democracy" was imposed by the West. It was the logic of the neoliberal democracy market. According to Mignolo (2007), modernity and modernization, together with democracy are being sold as a package ticket to happiness, a paradise blessed by neoliberalism and promoted by the media. In this land of happiness, one can no longer own property because it is limited or controlled by the wealthy. When people do not buy into the package at will or have alternative views on the economy and how society ought to be organized, they become the prime target for violence. In this context, the meaning and substance of the neoliberal democracy conceived by Western imperialism "tend to be tailor-made to fit specific types of regimes or systems" (Ezeanyika, 2011, p. 5).

Built upon the principles of and strongly rooted in liberalism, as elaborated by Locke, Hume, Smith, and Mill (Braedley & Luxton, 2010), neoliberalism was introduced to the Global South via the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank (Ponniah, 2006). If in liberalism, the logic of the market is only an economic issue, in neoliberal thought, such logic is in every aspect of social life; besides, this is the main difference between liberalism and neoliberalism (Braedley & Luxton, 2010).

No sooner dictated than adopted by most of Third World countries as an alternative for underdevelopment, neoliberalism was and still is very damaging for their peoples. As

Braedley and Luxton (2010) explain, neoliberalism stresses that people make choices, but what we see is people choosing under conditions they did not generate. Such conditions are often shaped by decisions made by the ruling elite.

A Critical Look at Liberal Democracy in Third World Countries

Mouffe and Laclau, critics of liberal democracy, declare that "there is no radical and plural democracy without renouncing the discourse of the universal and its implicit assumption of a privileged point of access to 'the truth'" (cited in Ziai, 2004, p. 1057).

As one can see, in Mouffe and Laclau's philosophy, "Universalism is rejected but particularized" (Mouffe, 2005, p. 36). Thus, they totally disagree with the universal tendencies of liberalism.

On the other hand, while in liberal democracy, the essentialist approach of identity has a central place, Mouffe (2005) disagrees with any kind of purity in the notion of identity. In regard to this issue, she argues that "Radical democracy demands that we acknowledge difference—the particular, the multiple, the heterogeneous—in effect, everything that had been excluded by the concept of Man in the abstract" (p. 36). Similarly, she further specifies that "there is no identity that is self-present to itself and not constructed as difference" (Mouffe, 1989, p. 141).

However, because there is no real difference between new theories and the one they criticize (Ufel, 2012), Mouffean radical democracy normally has to share some characteristics with liberal democracy. Indeed, Conway and Singh (2011) argue that "Mouffe and Laclau's history of the democratic revolution and project for radical democracy is situated squarely within a history of Western modernity, and its dominant political tradition of liberal democracy" (p. 692). According to them, in the Mouffean

perspective, radical democracy signifies radical liberal democracy. In this project, there is no perspective for the creation of a completely distinct kind of society (Conway & Singh, 2011). As Grosfoguel (2006) points out, democracy—liberal or radical—can be accomplished only when colonial/racist dynamics no longer maintain the majority of the population in a position of second-class citizen.

Like liberalism, radical democracy from the Mouffean perspective does not pay attention to the issue of coloniality. In fact, Conway and Singh (2011) have observed that the Mouffean tradition of radical democracy has not taken into consideration the questions related to coloniality. This form of radical democracy has been criticized by postcolonial theorists for not taking into account the unique nature of the Western character of liberal democratic revolution and its colonialist practices. It has excluded the West's colonial history and global hegemony, and the role of the state in this history and hegemony. This is particularly problematic for the Third World.

Democracy and Colonial Difference

Being one of the most important creations of Western modernity, liberal democracy is at the center of the modern Western imperial project. It was—and still continues to be—a critical part of the colonial package delivered by the Euro-American imperial globality. As Conway and Singh (2011) argue, Western-style democracy is exported by the United States as the only legitimate mode of global governance and a precondition to be allowed to trade with Western countries. It constitutes one of the facets of imperial globality. However, broadly speaking, concepts such as colonialism, coloniality and colonial difference are not taken into consideration in critical studies conducted on democracy in Third World countries. In respect to this question, Bernhard,

Reenock, and Nordstrom (2004) argue that even if it is known that colonialism is harmful as far as the possibilities for democracy are concerned, little attention is paid to this aspect in the latest discussions about democratization.

In Haiti, because of the lack of awareness from Haitian elites, colonialism through coloniality is alive to a greater extent. Consequently, Haitian researchers do not pay attention to colonial legacies in any discussion regarding democracy. Now, democracy cannot be seriously studied in post-colonial societies without situating it within the Western imperial project. In this sense, the notion of colonial difference is fundamental to understand issues such as modernity, democracy, development, education, human rights, citizenship, and so on in the Third World. Koelble and Lipuma (2008) state that democracy and governance would be understood differently in the scientific community if the perspective and the historical genesis of the governed were not minimized.

For a better understanding of this issue, this dissertation builds on Koelble and Lipuma's (2008) contention the type of "knowledge that is essential to grasping the character of the post-colonial democracies" (p. 3). Their article titled "Democratizing Democracy: A Postcolonial Critique of Conventional Approaches to the 'Measurement of Democracy'", provides some interesting considerations and "presuppositions" for any study of democracy in post-colonial societies, and deserves close attention.

Koelble and Lipuma (2008) offer a number of key arguments to explain why "the conventional approaches to the 'measurement of democracy'" (p. 1) is epistemologically inappropriate.

First of all, they challenge the way 'Bertelsmann Transformation Index' (BTI)—a group of widely published well-established social scientists from Europe and the United

States—proceed for using a conventional paradigm to quantify and measure the democratic character of nations. The authors point out that countries mostly situated in the Middle East and Africa—without forgetting the Caribbean zone—organize elections but do not respect adequately individual rights. Terms such as "illiberal democracies", "deficient or defective democracy", and "virtual democracy" are used to express the "democratic gap" in these regions.

Historically, post-colonial countries have a sociopolitical reality that is fundamentally different from the Euro-American nations. While European nationhood engendered "equality through a sequence of events that starts with the emergence of civic rights, followed by the flowering of a broader ensemble of social, political, and economic rights" (Koelble & Lipuma, 2008, p. 4), post-colonial states failed to grant citizenship to their subjects "who were to be subjugated and governed over, rather than incorporated into the body politic." For instance, the Rwandan genocide was largely inspired by the issue of identity cards established by Belgian colonizers. Such cards "gave apartheid-like privileges to an emergent Tutsi ethnic minority at the expense of the Hutu majority" (Koelble & Lipuma 2008, p. 4).

Similarly, the case of Haiti is another relevant example. In 1804, Haiti became the first Black nation in history to break down the French slavery colonial system. At that time, a French military expedition led by Napoleon Bonaparte's brother in law, General Charles E. Leclerc, came to Haiti with a sophisticated multinational force that included soldiers from France, Poland, Belgium, and the Netherlands. The Haitian people challenged European colonialism, defeated the most powerful European army, and "created a larger threat to the institution of slavery" (Désir, 2011, p. 279). In response, the

United States and European empires, including the Vatican did not recognize Haitian independence. The same political forces, under the United States and France's lead, blocked Haiti from international trade during fifty years through an embargo (Désir, 2011; Orelus, 2010; Sheller, 2000), and in 1825, the French government required an exaggerated indemnity of 150 million French francs (estimated today to about 17 to 23 billion U.S. dollars) to recognize Haiti's independence. The new minority of Haitian land masters, in particular mulatto rulers, accepted to pay this "controversial indemnity" (Sheller, 2000).

Behaving like representatives of the French state, the Haitian "wealthy mulatto" elite introduced the *Rural Code of 1826* that prescribed a special legal status for the Haitian peasants. The latter were limited to a fixed perimeter. They labored intensely like slaves to provide money to pay the indemnity of 150 million French francs. The new feudal system provided peasants with a birth certificate different from the urban people. The feudal state defined peasants as a special social and racial group and fragmented the Haitian population into ethnic categories "rather than to create a broad sense of national identity" (Koelble & Lipuma 2008, p. 4). The new political and cultural elite, "mis-educated" (Woodson, 1933) in a French school model, played a major role in maintaining the traditional French system in Haiti. This system perpetuated and reproduced the old scheme and "habitus" of the colonial state. As a result, Haitian peasants were totally marginalized, and today, polarization is extreme in this country (Diamond, 2006). Accordingly, there are two Haitis: the insiders (urban residents known as *neg lavil*) and outsiders (rural residents known as *neg andeyo*) (Price-Mars, 2002).

As Koelble and Lipuma (2008) argue, such a polarization seriously impacted the legal definition of citizenship and civic rights, and the distribution of resources. These historical developments have considerably shaped the formation of states on both sides, namely, on Third World and Euro-American countries. Consequently, Euro-American, as well as post-colonial countries "exhibited a great amount of variation based on their very different colonial experiences [...] in great part because this difference was constituted of Euro-American state formation" (Koelble & Lipuma, 2008, p. 4).

As one can see in the case of Rwanda and Haiti, colonial differences reveal that imperialism has altered the conceptual construction of democracy in both Western imperial and post-colonial states. Accordingly, the assertion that democracy can be conceptualized from and founded on universal principles and tenets, and then adapted to any society must be considered as suspicious.

In short, defining democracy in studies conducted in post-colonial context calls for "re-formulating how democracy is understood, and, more important, how it may become more empowering for marginalized group and all peoples" (Carr, 2010, p. 2). Democracy is more often formulated as a Euro-American concept and form of governance, and epistemologically and ontologically, it "fails to adequately capture the differences that are (and have been) shaping the character of post-colonial democracies" (Koelble and Lipuma, 2008, p. 3).

Defining Democracy

As Garcia Linera, Bolivian intellectual and vice-president of Bolivia, argues, neutrality is nonexistent when it comes to words or concepts; social powers determine their true meaning. Behind every word or discourse there is a wordless war to establish

the true forms of meaning in the world (cited in Schiwy, 2011). Here, in these phrases, Linera tacitly means that knowledge is hugely powerful and always partial (Grosfoguel, 2007), and "all knowledge is local" (Steinberg & Kincheloe, 2006, p. 48). Like modernity, development, human rights, citizenship, and so on, democracy is a typical case that gives meaning to Linera's affirmation. Indeed, democracy in its current universal meaning is a Western construction that has been imposed with a "god's eye view" that always hides its local and particular perspective under an abstract universalism" (Grosfoguel, 2006, pp. 168-169).

Escobar (2007) notes that "most European and Euro-American theorists seem unwilling to consider: that it is impossible to think about transcending or overcoming modernity without approaching it from the perspective of the colonial difference" (p. 186). But, fortunately, according to Mignolo (2007), "The concept of coloniality has opened up, the re-construction and the restitution of silenced histories, repressed subjectivities, subalternized knowledges and languages performed by the Totality depicted under the names of modernity and rationality" (p. 451). Thus, today, concepts such as modernity, democracy, development, education, and others that are associated can be apprehended from a non-Western perspective.

Talking about defining democracy, George Orwell speaks as follows: "In the case of a word like democracy, not only is there no agreed definition but the attempt to make one is resisted from all sides" (cited in Lummis, 1996, p. 14). In fact, just briefly reviewing a few writings reveals how complex and tricky defining the concept of democracy can be. An overview of the literature also indicates that different people have

different and conflicting views on what democracy is (Cook & Westheimer, 2006; Koelble & Lipuma, 2008; Ugwuozor, 2009).

Additionally, according to Soder (1996), "it is customary to begin an examination of the meaning of democracy [...] with the more questionable historical claim that what is meant today by democracy is of ancient Greek origin" (p. 2). Thereupon, Schemel (2000), based on the conclusion of a critical book *Black Athena* from the British scholar Martin Bernal and other critical historic sources, has questioned the ancient Greek origin of democracy. In his paper titled "Democracy before Democracy?" he reported the fact that "Greece's roots were now traced to Africa, whose semiotic and spiritual inventions had been channeled to the Aegean sea by Egyptian boats" (p. 99). After critically reviewing ancient history, Schemel concluded that "compared to ours, Egyptian and Mesopotamian regimes were democratic because they tried to conciliate rivals or foes rather than allow them to express discontent" (p. 116).

However, in spite of Schemel's objection to the Greek origin of democracy, most of the time, in academic work, people talk about democracy with the etymological observation that the term democracy—rule by the people—comes from the ancient Greek word (Kratos) for rule and (demos) for people (Soder, 1996). Democracy is government of the people by the people in a given society. In this case, democracy involves a process of party systems and choice of representatives (parliament and government) that will represent the interests of the people in the governmental structures. Such an understanding of democracy is dominant in many Western societies, and of course, as well as in most of post-colonial societies which often reproduce the Western norms and values. This form of democracy exclusively boils down to the application of the

following principle: one vote, one voice. In other words, modern democracy is constructed through voting behavior, manipulating public opinion, and particularly electing government through electoral processes. Briefly, democracy refers to a government elected by people whether it is direct or representative. In most of these cases, people "operate within existing electoral practices without critically examining who benefits and who suffers from those practices" (Walsh, 2008, p. 57). Usually, in this simplistic form of democracy, "individual freedom is pitted against respect-in-community, and democratization is seen to pose an opportunity to pursue individual agendas, sometimes violently or illegally, without regard to the rights of others or the good of the community" (Cummins, 2010, p. 913). Thus, as Carr (2010) cogently points out, "Elections are but a very small part of democracy" (p. 2). Democracy is even more than the working of a "governmental machinery" (Kaufman, 1956, p. 1060).

According to Canache (2012), "In the past few years, major cross-national surveys (e.g., the Post-Communist Citizen Project, Afrobarometer, East Asian Barometer, Latino barometer, and Americas Barometer) have asked what is on the minds of citizens when they think about democracy" (p. 1133). Canache (2012) affirms that this research has revealed that people in many regions of the world can and do define democracy and also people in most nations adopt a liberal definition of democracy. This is a fact that certain people understand democracy primarily in terms of liberty, while others stress social and economic outcomes (Canache, 2012). According to the study reported by Canache (2012), in most countries, democracy is conceived in terms of liberty and freedoms. And, Canache (2012) further asserts that many studies conducted on popular conceptions of

democracy have shown the prevalence of "liberty, freedoms, and civil rights" responses in Latin American countries and other parts of the world.

It is important to clearly define democracy from a liberal perspective and for that purpose John Dewey's definition is relevant and authoritative. According to Dewey (2001), "A democracy is more than a form of government; it is primarily a mode of associated living of conjoint communicated experience" (p. 91). As one of the major philosophical figures of contemporary liberalism (McDonough & Feinberg, 2007), Dewey (2001) conceptualizes democracy in the broadest sense. Indeed, as defined previously, democracy in Dewey's approach is much more than electing ruling political elites to govern. Democracy is rather "a way of life" which is governed by personal faith in daily collaboration between individuals.

In other words, democracy may be understood as a form of associational behavior of men and women or a "form of associated living that approaches most nearly the ideal of social organization" (Alemán, 2001, p. 383). In Dewey's opinion, a democracy is as follows:

The extension into space of the number of individuals who participate in an interest so that each has to refer his own action to that of others, and to consider the action of others to give point and direction to his own is equivalent to the breaking down of those barriers of class, race, and national territory which kept men from perceiving the full import of their activity (2001, p. 91).

Briefly, democracy is a connected lifestyle. Seen from that angle, it is a form of "social arrangement, in which intersubjectivity is mutually beneficial, and in which the egalitarian communication of knowledge is necessary for both individual and communal

growth" (Alemán, 2001, p. 384). Such a conception of democracy points to all types of relations between human beings in a given society.

In Dewey's model, democracy is founded on the faith of the capacity of men and women to achieve cooperation in addressing and solving common problems. That means individual growth is vital for democracy. Thus, it is so important that democratic institutions promote the development of individuality. Dewey underlines the individuals' particularity and uniqueness as the most important element of democracy (Alemán, 2001). According to him, individuals are not individualistic. "The idea that individuals are inherently individualistic, that is, egocentric and narcissistic, was a product of cultural conditions that he called the 'cultural individualistic movement' characteristic of 18th-century liberalism" (Alemán, 2001, p. 387). The ethics of such individualism is based on what Kincheloe (1999) calls "the myth of individual achievement" (p. 53). And, he strongly opposes this old-fashioned individualism. In his book titled *Individualism, Old and New* published in 1930, he reaffirms the importance of community and cooperativeness. Dewey (2001) considers such individualism as "nonsocial or even as antisocial" (p. 96), and adds that "these nonsocial individuals might secure a greater amount of private happiness for themselves" (p. 96).

Like any other liberal philosopher, Dewey's conception of democracy is in line with the essentialist discourse of Euro-American liberalism that expresses the hegemony of the West. While Euro-American democracy is founded on individualism, Haitian democracy must be founded on a form of collectivism that includes everyone. Whatever the type of liberal individualism, it is in opposition with the historical and cultural experiences of the Haitian people where collectivism or communitarism prevails over

individualism. For example, Haitian Vodou, Lakou, Proverbs and others Haitian institutions generally point out the natural spirit of Haitian collectivism. The Haitian motto is: *L'union fait la force*. When a Haitian uses the following proverb: *You sel dwèt pa manje kalalou* [Oka cannot be eaten with one finger], he/she shows his/her collective spirit. Through these words Haitian people are speaking to the power of collectivism, the necessity of the collective in achieving a singular goal. Here, community is what is most important.

In line with the theory of hybridity which embraces an anti-essentialist perspective, this study adopts an anti-liberal conception of democracy which is actually a radical conception of democracy. Not radical democracy in the Mouffean sense, but radical democracy which means linking or going to the source or the root of democracy (Lummi, 1996; Minieri & Getsos, 2007). In other words, taking democracy in its original meaning, i.e., rule by the people, radical democracy is founded on the following principle: more people mean more power (Minieri & Getsos, 2007). According to Esteva (2009), radical democracy argues that the people should exercise real power in and not merely develop a constitution. The people can exercise power in the democratic life through political bodies. Esteva (2009) further adds that

There are no clear models of this; for a hundred years we stopped thinking, obsessed with ideological dispute. But if we search, we find a variety of urban or rural communities and new reformulations of the nature of the State. Communities appear as an alternative because they restore the unity of politics and place, and the people acquires a framework in which it can exercise its power without having to hand it over to the State (p. 51).

In regard to this form of radical democracy, Lummis (1996) points out that "A classic way to escape the radical implications of this meaning is to narrow what we mean by "the people" by excluding slaves, certain races, women, the poor, some other groups" (p. 15). Thus, following Lummis's words people in radical democracy must include Vodou adepts and Creole speakers, Catholics, Protestants, black, mulattoes, and white Haitian people. This is the model of radical democracy presented by Minieri and Getsos (2007)

people at the base of society participate in all aspects of the political system, from holding elected officials accountable to running for their local planning boards. Radical democracy is ordinary people participating in active community institutions where they discuss politics and ideas as they work for a better neighborhood, city, state, nation, and beyond (p. 19).

Furthermore, such a radical democracy is a decolonial project that aims to decolonize the Haitian mentality and re-construct the Haitian community. Here, decolonization is a political, epistemological, and economic project of liberation (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012). In this perspective, paraphrasing Conway and Singh (2011), I argue that radical democracy is rooted in the Haitian majority's practices and life worlds which have been suppressed by the inclusions of Euro-American capitalist modernity. The worlds of the Haitian majority are: Haitian food ways, Haitian life ways, Creole language, Haitian life projects, and the Haitian modes of communal governance rooted therein. "Together these do not form a coherent theoretical project, but rather an ensemble of practices and sources of alternative radical democratic imaginaries" (Conway & Singh, 2011, p. 695).

Finally, as an alternative to liberal governance, radical democracy promotes the concept of collective leadership (Schiwy, 2011).

Why such a model of radical democracy for Haiti?

As previously discussed, radical democracy refers to the source or the root of democracy, namely, the people. In the struggle for democracy, the Haitian people are a leading historical example. Castro-Karen (2008) asserts that Haiti is not an accident resulting from an uncontrollable political explosion; it is instead the results of the plans of warriors who desired to gain freedom for the group and themselves and to establish a state where they could carry out their ideas of democracy. In fact, it is the Haitian revolution (1791-1804) that inaugurated the true democratic modern era (Buck-Morss, 2009; Castro-Karen, 2008; Fischer, 2004; Geggus, 2001; Hallward, 2004; Hutton, 2011; Jenson, 2005 & 2011; Nesbitt, 2005 & 2008; Sanders, 2008; Trouillot, 1995). Unlike the French and American Revolution "The Haitian Revolution implemented a radically new conception of freedom" (Nesbitt, 2005, p. 14). The Haitian Revolution guaranteed liberty for all. In regard to this issue, Hallward (2004) declares that,

Of the three great revolutions that began in the final decades of the eighteenth century—American, French and Haitian—only the third forced the unconditional application of the principle that inspired each one: affirmation of the natural, inalienable rights of all human beings. Only in Haiti was the declaration of human freedom universally consistent (p. 2).

Nick Nesbitt (2005) similarly but more meaningfully argues that

This universal idea was first put forward two hundred years ago in the Haitian Revolution. It initiated the world's first radical democracy of transnational scope. Haiti told the world a message few in 1804 could hear: freedom did not mean leaving landowners alone to enjoy their property, human or otherwise. It moved

beyond mere national and civil rights, those of the "citoyen" of 1776 and 1789, to press the universal claims of the rights of "Man." Haiti presented freedom to the world as an absolutely true logic, one that must be made, in turn, universal reality: no humans can be enslaved (pp. 7-8).

Therefore, modern democratic values such as liberty, equality, justice, fraternity, individual rights, inclusion, and others have had their full universal meaning thanks to the Haitian Revolution (1791-1804).

As Nesbitt (2005) reminds us, Haiti "initiated the world's first radical democracy". Thus, we need to revisit the Haitian revolution "narratives in order to foster a kind of decolonized vision of democracy and citizenship" for Haiti. Historically, politically, sociologically, psychologically, and culturally, the model of radical democracy defined during this foundational period is the one that fit the Haitian reality.

Moreover, Sanders (2008) points out that Haiti began its role as a leading voice for justice and democracy when Vodou was used to unify the slaves on the territory and lead toward victory against colonialism and bondage. That means that Vodou cultural values must be the fundamental ethical basis for the Haitian democratic state. As Sanders argues, in general, Vodou tends to be tolerant toward other religion views, feminism, the key role of women as religious leaders, the right to use contraceptives, and equality for gays and lesbians despite the negative views people have of that religion.

To conclude, the current universal meaning of democracy must be reconsidered and critically re-examined. As Postero (2010) explains, "the universal is a contested term subject to cultural variability but also that the scope of what different peoples consider universal is only partly articulated and under ongoing redefinition" (p. 70). Thus, today,

universality must be thought as pluri-versality. For the well-being of democracy, people must be aware that "different histories and cultures produce different democracies" (Koelble & Lipuma, 2008, p. 1) and it is up to the post-colonial peoples to choose their democratic project. In such a project, education has the most important place.

Education and Colonialism in Post-colonial Societies: The Haitian Case

Based on the results of studies conducted on education and colonialism, Orelus (2010) states that "through schools, occupied and neocolonized people have been mis-educated to internalize and reproduce old western values, beliefs, and norms at the expense of their own" (p. xv). Likewise, Hudson and Mayo (2012) assert that "As a site of struggle, education has constituted as a key vehicle for the 'colonisation of the mind'" (p. 3). One of the results of this "mis-education" (Woodson, 1933) is that consciousness and mind have been domesticated. As Macedo (1993) argues, "This type of Education for domestication which borders on "stupidification", provides no 'luminal' space for critical students who question the received knowledge and want to know the reasons behind the fact" (p. 190).

Furthermore, Crossley and Tikly (2004) have observed that "many existing education systems still bear the hallmarks of the colonial encounter in that they remain elitist, lack relevance to local realities and are often at variance with indigenous knowledge systems, values and beliefs" (p. 149). In the same vein, Holmes and Crossley (2004) have noted that "Yet, in many formerly colonized societies, the knowledge, perspectives and agendas of outsiders continue to dominate educational development plans and projects" p. 198). In other words, in many post-colonial societies, schools continue to provide an instrumental education, and children continue to learn

mechanically without developing critical thinking and creativity (Freire, 2007; Kincheloe, 2008; Macedo, 1993).

Studying post-colonial contexts deeply marked by colonialism and building on the work of Macedo, Viruru (2005) argues that "unless the legacies of colonialism are examined within the field of education, "our minds, if not our hearts will remain colonized"" (p. 7). In a similar vein, Hudson, (2006) suggests that

...deconstructing the manifestations and implications of Eurocentrism and racism in the post-colonial world, should frame the study of education and its specialized components. How racism has distorted knowledge, socio-cultural relationships and economic patterns is clearly visible in the curricula and structuring of educational institutions worldwide and there is a moral imperative for teachers, students and other citizens to challenge them (p. 204).

Additionally, Holmes and Crossley (2004) assert that "Accessing local knowledge within such contexts is [...] increasingly being recognized as one way of improving the design of educational innovations and reducing intellectual dependency on former colonial powers" (pp. 198-199). In this context, to achieve the goal of long-lasting development, the mind of the colonized must be radically decolonized and changed.

In the French colonial project in Haiti the Roman Catholic church was one of its main ideological architects. In post-colonial Haiti, the Concordat of 1860 officially gave authority to Catholic missionaries originating from France to educate Haitian children. Accordingly, it is crucial to critically explore the legacy of this education regime for Haitian society. In this section of the literature review, the status of Catholic education in

colonial and post-colonial Haiti is critically explored. This exploration continues to be informed by the critical lens of postcolonial theory.

As Go (2013) explains,

one of the key elements of postcolonial theory is that it critically discloses the cultural logics attendant with empire. In fact, it examines all types of discourses, epistemes, cultural schemas, representations, and ideologies that were part and parcel of Western imperialism—whether embodied in everyday discourse, novels, works of art, scientific tracts, or ethnographies (p. 6).

Thus, postcolonial theory challenges any form of colonial education, and calls for radical transformation in the whole educational system resulting from the colonial legacy.

According to Crossley and Tickly, (2004), "...much of the critical edge of comparative education owes a debt to the thinking of anti-colonial and postcolonial scholars and activists over the years" (p. 150). Within postcolonial theorists' works, critically analyzing education and its historical connection with colonialism and imperialism has always been a fundamental issue. In this case, "education has a systematically ambivalent relation" (Rizvi, et al., 2006, p. 257) to the colonial discourse theory; that is, in addressing educational issues postcolonial theorists and activists consider "schools as sites for cultural reproduction and indoctrination" (Macedo, 1993, p. 187) as well as places "to reveal and resist colonialism's continuing hold on our imagination" (Rizvi et al., 2006, p. 257).

Schooling and Socialization in Haiti

Current empirical researchers attribute to the school system at least three main functions: instruction, socialization, and qualification (Francois, 2010; Legendre, 2008).

According to Francois (2010), the first function refers to the quantity of knowledge that the child must acquire. The second, not always visible, aims to educate individuals adapted to the society in which they live. Finally, the function of qualification assigns them their social positions. By means of these three functions, "l'école produit la société" (Francois, 2010, p.11). However, before going deeper in the role of school in the process of social construction, it may be useful to underline the importance of self-determination in the making of a society.

There exists a wide body of literature on self-determination theory (SDT) that does not need to be examined thoroughly here. For the purpose of this study, it suffices to consider the central notions of self-determination theory developed from the Edward L. Deci and Richard M. Ryan's works whose names have been more often associated with the development of this concept in the field of psychology.

According to Deci and Ryan (2002), "SDT begins by embracing the assumptions that all individuals have natural, innate, and constructive tendencies to develop an ever more elaborated and unified sense of self" (p. 5). By that, they mean that "people have a primary propensity to forge interconnections among aspects of their own psyches as well as with other individuals and groups in their social worlds" (p. 5). The self-determination theory posits that human beings have three basic needs that must be satisfied in the social context (Calvo et al., 2010). According to Calvo et al. (2010), the first fundamental need is feeling autonomous in executing an activity, the second one is perceiving relatedness with other individuals in the community of involvement, and the third basic need is the perception of competence in relation to the activity. In addition, Calvo et al. (2010) also points out that "Self-determination theory distinguishes among three types of behavioral

regulation that are associated with varying degrees of self-determined motivation (p. 678). The three types of motivation are: intrinsic motivation, extrinsic motivation, and amotivation. As Calvo et al. (2010) assert, individuals who are intrinsically motivated consent to engage "in specific activities for their own sake and for the pleasure, fun, and satisfaction inherent in their participation" (p. 678) while in extrinsic motivation they "engage in activities because they value the associated outcomes. Such outcomes could include extrinsic rewards, and public recognition and praise" (Calvo et al. 2010, p. 678). Finally, the third type of motivation, called amotivation is "a psychological state in which people lack either a sense of efficacy or a sense of control with respect to attaining a desired outcome (Calvo et al., 2010, p. 678).

On the other hand, Deci and Ryan (2002) accentuate the other side of self-determination theory in the following manner:

although SDT accepts this general integrative tendency as a fundamental aspect of human life, [this theory] posits that there are clear and specifiable social contextual factors that support this innate tendency, and that there are other specifiable factors that thwart or hinder this fundamental process of human nature (p. 5).

As a matter of fact, Ryan and Deci (2000) affirm that scholars have repeatedly demonstrated that extrinsic prizes can enfeeble intrinsic motivation. They further argue that "research revealed that not only tangible rewards but also threats, deadlines, directives, pressured evaluations, and imposed goals diminish intrinsic motivation" (p. 70). Similarly, studies conducted on self-motivation revealed that instruction can be used to promote self-determination (Palmer & Wehmeyer, 2003). For example, "Doll, Sands,

Wehmeyer, and Palmer (1996) examined the developmental progression of the component elements of self-determined behavior and, based on their research findings, identified school- and family-based interventions to support the development of self-determination across various age ranges" (cited in Palmer & Wehmeyer, 2003, p. 115). Based on the results of these studies, Palmer and Wehmeyer (2003) concluded that "There is a growing acknowledgement that instruction to promote self-determination needs to begin early in life" (p. 115). In addition, other studies realized in the past by Bray (1993) had indicated "the irreversible impact of colonialism" on the self-determination of peoples in the South Pacific. In his article titled "Education and the Vestiges of Colonialism: Self-Determination, Neocolonialism and Dependency in the South Pacific", Bray (1993) concluded that colonial schools have undermined self-determination of these colonized peoples.

Therefore, it is obvious that the school has a very special power in the making of any society. From this perspective, one of the major objectives of the school is socialization. According to Agyepong (2010), "Many critical educators argue that educational institutions are the primary socializing agents in society and have a vital influence on how we view the world, others and ourselves" (p. 17). There can be no doubt that other socializing agents—family, mass media, religion, the work place, peers, etc.—play a major role in shaping the individual; however, "School is formally charged by law as a legitimate agent of socialization to educate our children" (Richardson cited in Evans & Davies, 2000, p. 255), and Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) explain that the school's role in the reproduction of the social system is key. As Perrenoud (1993) notes the majority of students spend the most important decades of their lives within a school

organization. For instance, every week, the average student spends a minimum of thirty five hours or thirty to forty weeks per year within an educational institution. It is where they experience an important part of their formative experience. It is where they naturally forge a significant part of their personality and their cultural background (Perrenoud, 1993). In addition, Hess and Torney (1967) further explain: "So powerful are these early influences on future citizens that some researchers believe that basic adult orientations toward politics are formed before the end of elementary school" (cited in Palonsky, 1987, p. 492). Justice John Paul Stevens (1985) agrees with these authors when he states that "The schoolroom is the first opportunity most citizens have to experience the power of government....the values they learn there, they take with them in life" (cited in Schimmel, 2003, p. 17). In the same vein, Magendzo (1997) goes further in his analysis by emphasizing the weight of the school curriculum in social construction. As he argues,

Dans son rôle d'agent de reproduction sociale, l'école a renforcé les discriminations à l'œuvre dans la société. N'oublions pas que, si on attribue au système éducatif la capacité d'influencer intentionnellement les autres, de façonner une conscience et de développer une attitude morale, on peut conclure que l'élément de pouvoir est mis en branle. Le curriculum, dans sa structure même, gouverne les possibilités présentes et futures des personnes, c'est-à-dire qu'il exerce un pouvoir (p. 139).

In fact, Elliot W. Eisner (1997 & 2002), a distinguished expert in curriculum studies, considers the curriculum as the pivotal element in any educational enterprise. In his view, curriculum is the principal ingredient that defines the school project of the society. McCutcheon (1982) more explicitly explains that the school curriculum embraces all

what students learn from both hidden and overt set of courses; they gain knowledge from what is planned as well as what is omitted from the lessons (cited in Cherryholmes, 1988). In other words, Kentli (2009) affirms that in addition to their explicit didactic aim, school curriculum teaches students to learn by formality and by lack of planning also. In sum, the curriculum includes what students have to know, need, experience, do, be, become, share, contribute, and wonder (Schubert, 2009).

In addition, Eisner (1997) and other curriculum scholars generally distinguish two main categories of curriculum, that are, the official or formal curriculum and the unwritten or informal curriculum which includes the hidden or implicit curriculum, the null curriculum, and the curriculum shadow. The formal or official and also called explicit curriculum is taught through lectures, texts, and tests. For being a political act (Apple, 2004; Freire, 2007), education is not a neutral enterprise (Apple, 2004), thus, the formal or official curriculum is always very important for educational, religious, economic, social, and political leaders and policymakers. As Eisner (2002) argues, by defining the curriculum of a school or a classroom, the policy maker and educational theorists determine the development of the mind through an agenda.

Moreover, according to Slattery (2013), since the foundation of Curriculum and Pedagogy Conference in 2000 as well as the creation of the Journal of Curriculum and Pedagogy in 2004, there is "A rise of interest in curriculum and pedagogy and an effort to think about the reconceptualization of curriculum in relation to schools and classrooms" (p. 12). In fact, today, "Cultural Studies [especially the area of postcolonial studies] leads us to think about curriculum beyond the official texts, involving it in the domains of the power, action, and knowledge networks of school routine that are woven in a field of

cultural significance" (Lopes (1999) cited in Pinar, 2011, p. 98). In addition, many researchers and scholars in curriculum issues started to pay more attention and place more emphasis in their studies to the null curriculum and the curriculum shadow, and to a greater extent, to the hidden curriculum. For instance, Hemmings (2000) found that researchers have emphasized how social lessons in hidden curriculum serve to perpetuate social inequalities.

The British scholar Philip Jackson (1968) is the one who coined the term hidden curriculum "to refer to the unofficial 3 Rs—Rules, Routines, and Regulations—which structure life in classrooms" (Hemmings, 2000, p. 1). In other words, this informal curriculum is transmitted through school rules, punishments, procedures, and norms (Schimmel, 2003). In this regard, Uhrmacher (1997) asserts that discussion about hidden curriculum among educators tend to involve matters such as social control, covert actions, and non-academic consequences of schooling. By extension, the hidden curriculum is about "ideological values, class relations, and structures of social power—racial and sexual as well as politico-economic" (Apple, 2004, p. 1).

The next informal curriculum, namely, the null curriculum, focuses on what is consciously or unconsciously excluded from the instructional process. According to Uhrmacher (1997), "The null curriculum explicitly calls our attention to that which is not there, and as a linguistic tool it reminds us that the neglected may be very important" (p. 320). Elliot W. Eisner (1994) who invented this concept defines it as the "content which the curriculum does not teach" (p. 97). Eisner (1997) explains "its pernicious effects on the mind of the learner" (p. 97) as follows:

It is my thesis that what schools do not teach may be as important as what they do teach. Ignorance is not simply a neutral void; it has important effects on the kinds of options one is able to consider, the alternatives that one can examine, and the perspectives from which one can view a situation or problems (p. 97).

Finally, the curriculum shadow was coined by Bruce P. Uhrmacher (1997) "to refer more precisely to aspects sometimes viewed as what is commonly called the "downsides" of curricula" (p. 317). In his view, the concept of the shadow helps to look into how curricula can destroy ideas, skills and topics that could actually make the curriculum better.

Admittedly, both formal and informal curricula are powerful because teachers as well as parents transfer learning through words and actions (Schimmel, 2003).

Furthermore, one of the primary tasks of school is to teach the child to critically resist the views of others from all sides, including the influences of his/her parents (Meirieu & Guiraud, 1997 cited in FAPEO, 2008). And, as Palonsky (1987) posits, "Schools can reinforce or amend the patterns of political learning children acquire at home in dramatic and enduring fashion" (p. 492). Thus, the school culture, being the ruling class's culture, has the strength and power to undermine the familial culture. As such, it plays a principal role in defining success and the means for achieving it.

Additionally, the power of schooling can be more remarkable in some places than others. In countries like Haiti, the school exerts so much influence on society that it possesses a form of mythical power. Regarding the matters of education, democracy, and socialization—the school is the institution which has the last word (Joint, 2006).

According to Paul Cozigon, a French adviser close to the Haitian ministry of education,

in Haiti, perhaps more than anywhere else, school provides a quasi-mythical hope of social and cultural transformation (Joint, 2006). Joint (2006) reinforces this point of view by adding:

L'école n'est pas seulement lieu d'instruction, mais représente l'accès à la culture, aux bonnes manières, au pouvoir. C'est le lieu de transmission de valeurs morales et d'une éducation sociale. Ces critères peuvent être considérés comme les caractéristiques d'une « bonne éducation » qui sont surtout transmises à travers des écoles privées religieuses, notamment les écoles congréganistes qui donnent le ton et qui décident ce qui doit changer ou non dans le système éducatif (p. 313).

Hence, when it is a matter of educating for democracy in Haiti, Catholic schools deserve a critical look.

Catholic Education in Haiti: An Historical Overview

Although the legacy of Western colonialism is very perceptible in Haiti, the majority of Haitian scholars, intellectuals, researchers, teachers, and school leaders neglect its study within academia. In this respect, Orelus (2010) argues that

it is obvious that imperialism and what I would call neocolonialism affects the political, social, and educational system of Haiti. But, it seems to me people who are doing political analysis on Haiti don't seem to focus much on the educational aspect of this country (p. 39).

Nevertheless, studying the history of colonialism and its aftermath could provide a better comprehension of the Haitian drama. Because, as Bloch (1952) says,

"L'incompréhension du présent naît fatalement de l'ignorance du passé" (p. 27).

From this perspective, since the western model of gospel preached by white missionaries have been utilized as an ideological instrument to colonize and dominate people living in many Third World countries (Orelus, 2010), the Roman Catholic educational institutions deserve close and critical scrutiny. In this regard, a historical overview of Catholic education in Haiti is indispensable to better understand the present reality of the Haitian people. As Joint (2006) points out,

Pour comprendre les caractéristiques actuelles de l'éducation haïtienne, il convient de rappeler ses origines. Elle est marquée par un double héritage. Elle est avant tout influencée par l'éducation coloniale dont la fonction était l'intégration des esclaves noirs ou des affranchis (noirs et métis) dans le système colonial et la formation d'une partie de la main-d'œuvre, nécessaire pour la production au profit des colons blancs (p. 47).

It is also important to take into consideration the impact of the Catholic Church through the Concordat of 1860 which served to reinforce the influence of French cultural values in the whole Haitian educational system (François, 2010; Hurbon, 2004; Joint, 2006; Nicholls, 1970; Pressoir, 1933; Tardieu, 1990).

Catholic Education and French Colonialism in Colonial Haiti

Colonialism in Haitian history has some special characteristics. From 1492 to the present day, Haiti —or Ayiti which means in Taino language "land of high mountains"— has been successively under the yoke of Spanish, British, French, American, and United Nation armies. In 1492, with the arrival of Christopher Columbus and the Spaniards, the island of Haiti was inhabited by about 1,600,000 to 2,000,000 (Danroc, Hurbon, Richard,

& Verdier, 1991) or about 3,000,000 to 4,000,000 (Mocombe, 2010) Native Americans, principally the Tainos and Ciboneys.

After fifty years, those Natives were completely decimated as a result of foreign diseases, intense labor and organized massacres (Mocombe, 2010). According to Brother Gilles Danroc et al. (1991), "Aujourd'hui, il ne reste plus rien de cette civilisation qui a fait pourtant Haïti. Outre la population, les plantes, le paysage, les animaux ont tous disparu pour être remplacés par des importations" (p. 13). It was the Spaniards who introduced African slaves to the island. However the Spaniards retreated to the eastern side of the island, Hispaniola (which is today the Dominican Republic), and ceded to France the western side or Saint-Domingue (which is today the Republic of Haiti) in 1625 in a treaty known as the Treaty of Ryswick. From that moment, the Spanish, British and French struggled for the control of the island. Finally, French colonizers came out with the big part for having "profited from three centuries of stolen labor" (Klein, 2010 cited by Orelus, 2010, p. 14). Despite the United States occupation that lasted nineteen years (from 1915 to 1934), today, Haiti is well known as a former French colony and is a current member of the La Francophonie.

From the seventeenth century, French colonizers developed a huge sugar industry in Saint-Domingue, and became at the same time the first colonial power in modern times to legalize the enslavement of African peoples (Danroc et al., 1991). Through the Black Code of 1685, they institutionalized the slave trade or triangular trade between Europe, Africa, and America. On the eve of the Haitian revolution, in French Saint-Domingue, there were 500,000 to 700,000 slaves for only 28,000 freed mulattoes—including 1,500 Blacks, and 30,000 to 40,000 White settlers (Adrien, Danroc, & Laurent, 1992; Brutus,

1948; Hector & Hurbon, 2009). Saint-Domingue became rapidly the richest, the most exploited and productive colony of all its colonies; the slaves' blood was the price (Danroc et al., 1991). The Black Code viewed the slave as an object for whom the French slavery system was the hell on the earth.

There was, however, a dilemma in the working order of such a system. Despite the presence of the army and militia forces, quantitatively, there was too much of an imbalance between masters and slaves. As per Gauthier (2010), nearly 690,000 Saint-Domingue slaves were to be contained by only about 30,000 Whites. Consequently, another force was thus essential to ensure the survival of the system. Antoine Pierre Joseph Marie Barnave, a deputy to the Constituent Assembly, defended the maintenance of slavery and color prejudice in these terms:

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 (Gauthier, 2010, p. 3).

Similarly, the French abolitionist Victor Schœlcher reported that

Le préjugé de couleur était indispensable pour une société où l'on introduisait des esclaves dans une autre espèce d'hommes...celle des maîtres. Le salut des maîtres blancs disséminés au milieu d'un nombre tri-centuple d'esclaves noirs résidait dans la fiction de leur supériorité sur ces derniers, et par suite, dans la seconde fiction de l'incapacité des noirs à jamais acquérir cette supériorité (cited in Bangou, 1997 pp. 31-32).

The Roman Catholic Church was such a moral support. History has convincingly and factually shown that Roman Catholicism has been systematically the main ideological masterminds of French colonialism in Haiti (Tardieu, 1990). According to Bangou (1997),

L'esclavage nègre aux Antilles, du fait des circonstances socio-économiques de son installation et de son maintien, est une aliénation totale de personne à personne, que la société esclavagiste européenne et locale fonde sur les « *les attributs d'une race vouée à être esclave par essence.* »Celle-ci sera confiée à l'Église et à la religion (p. 37).

In this regard, the first articles of the Black Code gave to the Church great power and privileges. For instance, articles two and three respectively stipulate: "Tous les esclaves qui seront dans nos îles seront baptisés et instruit dans la religion catholique apostolique et romaine..." (cited in Sala-Molins, 2003, p. 94). What's more, it stated as follows: "Interdisons tout exercice public d'autre religion que la catholique apostolique et romaine; voulons que les contrevenants soient punis comme rebelles et désobéissants à nos commandements..." (cited in Sala-Molins, 2003, p. 96).

In addition, in 1685, the colonization companies created for the development of the West Indies were assigned to recruit religious Catholic teachers to instruct and baptize the slaves (Gisler, 2000). In French Saint-Domingue, there were hundreds of Catholic missionaries, which included the orders of Capuchins, Jesuits, Dominicans, and Carmelites (Butel, 2007; Gisler, 2000; Hurbon, 2004). According to Hurbon et al. (1992), "La plupart des missionnaires ont possédé des esclaves dont ils savaient qu'ils avaient été faits esclaves à l'encontre des normes de recrutement légitime posées par l'Église" (p.

46). However, the Jesuits were shocked by the inhumanity of the system and worked against it until their expulsion on November 24, 1763 from Saint-Domingue. French historian Paul Burel (2007) significantly reports the exceptional behavior of those religious towards the African slaves as follows:

Les jésuites prenaient un soin particulier des esclaves en créant les "curés des nègres" qui au Cap, surent adapter le culte aux besoins de ces fidèles... Le culte catholique que les jésuites tout particulièrement [...] réussissaient à rendre populaire était pénétré de coutumes africaines, au nombre desquelles la danse et la musique tenaient une place de choix (pp. 227-228).

In the same context, he further adds that

...les colons et parmi eux les plus "éclairés", tel un Hilliard d'Aubenteuil, reprochaient aux jésuites d'avoir toléré ces coutumes africaines. À leurs yeux, elles permettaient aux Nègres de faire corps, de se rassembler, et d'y retrouver des éléments des cultes africains... Comme les jésuites étaient parmi les rares personnes de la colonie à ne pas avoir subi les craintes paniques d'une révolte possible des Nègres à l'occasion des méfaits attribués aux empoisonneurs nègres dont François Macandal, de 1758 à 1791, fut l'archétype à Saint-Domingue, ils se virent l'objet d'une campagne de dénigrement systématique à la veille de la suppression de leur ordre. Les jésuites se voyaient en particulier reprocher la création de confréries noires... (pp. 228-229).

In fact, ten years later, precisely on August 16, 1773, under pressure from European colonial states, the "Dominus ac Redemptor" of the Pope Clement XIV ordered the suppression of the Jesuit order (Kawas, 2011).

Moreover, in 1992, during his visit to Senegal (Island of Goree) Pope John Paul II apologized for "the horrible aberrations of those who had enslaved their brothers and sisters whom the Gospel had destined for freedom" (Cassetta, 2009, p. 9). In 2003, the African bishops apologized again on behalf of the Catholic Church. They asked forgiveness for the enslavement of African peoples. In addition, to commemorate the 500th years of the so-called "Evangelization of Haiti" in 1992, the Haitian Conference of Religious Leaders published a collection of books titled *Evangelization of Haiti 1492-1992*. In that publication, Catholic monks and nuns, former priests, laymen, and intellectuals from Haiti and overseas such as Antoine Adrien, Gilles Danroc, Laennec Hurbon, Pablo Richard, Antoine Gisler, Gustavo Gutierrez, among others critically reflected on the role of the Church in the colonization process of Africans.

In Saint-Domingue or colonial Haiti, the first major goal of Catholic education was to rally the slave to the cause of the master (Joint, 2006; Tardieu, 1990). Religious education was used as a form of psychological violence to implement the system and ensure its sustainability. Tardieu (1990) sheds light on this phenomenon in the following terms:

Cet enseignement religieux va de pair avec l'idéologie esclavagiste transmise et imposée par les lois (le code noir) et la milice coloniale. La religion judéo-chrétienne vient comme une forme d'imposition symbolique pour justifier et assurer l'intériorisation, l'auto-acceptation et la pérennité des institutions esclavagistes et des conditions socio-économiques (p. 92).

The myth of Ham, based on a misunderstanding of Genesis 9, has been used to justify slavery (Hurbon, 2004). According to the Church, wresting Africans from barbarism and

idolatry was the justification of slavery (Butel, 2007; Hurbon, 2004). Valentin Vastey, a former slave in Saint-Domingue, provides the following account of the priesthood ministry: "Les prêtres étaient autant d'instruments payés et employés pour nous empêcher de secouer le joug de l'esclavage. Ces prêtres nous représentaient sans cesse dans leurs sermons que les blancs étaient d'une nature supérieurs à la nôtre..." (cited in Nicholls, 1978, p. 188). For three centuries, the Africans slaves were harshly exploited, oppressed, and killed in great numbers. More than that, this education was a true act of 'brainwashing' that left deep traces in all spheres of Haitian and African people's lives.

Catholic Education and French Neocolonialism in Post-colonial Haiti

On January 1st, 1804, in his first historical address to the new Haitian nation, Jean Jacques Dessalines declared that Haiti must reject all that is French. In his discourse, the father of independence pledged for a radical revolutionary rupture. He spoke as follows: "Jurons à l'univers entier, à la postérité, à nous-mêmes, de renoncer à jamais à la France, et de mourir plutôt que de vivre sous sa domination; de combattre jusqu'au dernier soupir pour l'indépendance de notre pays" (pp. 6-7). As to give concrete expression to these words, his constitution of 1805 is analyzed by many scholars as the most radical and anti-colonial project. In regard to this question, Jenson (2011) argues that anti-colonialism and the total rejection of slavery and any colonial or European mastery and ownership are the fundamental bases of the constitution of 1805.

However, as Deborah Jenson (2011) has noted, among all the Haitian revolutionary army leaders, Dessalines was the only "radically anticolonial and pro-independence" (p. 85). With his assassination in October 17, 1806, Haiti lost the greatest opportunity to have a social organization very different from the French model as it is

today (Smith-Bellegarde, 1980). From the assassination of Jean Jacques Dessalines, Haitian mulattoes elites chose to remain very close to France.

In addition, in spite of the proclamation of independence, French government objectives were to take its former colony back. The French imperial leaders have militarily and diplomatically tried without succeeding (Castonnet des Fossés, 1893) because of the complexity of the international context marked at that time particularly by the rise of the United States and British rivalry. However, under the recommendation of Gaspard Theodore Mollien—General Consul and the first Chargé d'Affaires in Haiti—the French government found another way to establish a neocolonial system in Haiti.

Mollien, a French royalist and anti abolitionist (Brière, 2007) who worked in Africa, was the mastermind of the French neocolonial project in Haiti (Brière, 2007). Due to this initiative, based on his own observations in Africa and Haiti, the French neocolonial project in Haiti has meaningfully worked. And, in Mollien's project, education was the fundamental tool that has been used to achieve the French neocolonial objectives (Brière, 2007). As Bray (1993) similarly confirms, "education may be a significant instrument of neocolonial influence" (p. 334).

Therefore, in 1826, Mollien addressed a significant detailed report in France. In his words, the neocolonial project was very clearly expressed. In this respect, Brière (2007) accurately reports that

Mollien était un réaliste qui gardait une conscience aigüe des intérêts de la France. Il était clairement partisan de l'établissement de ce que nous appellerions aujourd'hui un régime néocolonial sur Haïti. Il était impératif à ses yeux que l'ancienne Saint-Domingue reste intégrée à l'aire de la puissance française. ... Il

recommande l'envoi d'enseignants et de prêtres pour maintenir et développer l'influence de la culture française. L'objectif de la France en Haïti, pense-t-il, ne doit pas se limiter à une expansion commerciale comme le faisaient les Américains et les Anglais, mais elle doit englober l'expansion politique et culturelle : "Tous nos efforts", écrit-il, "doivent tendre à ne faire qu'un peuple, des Français d'Orient et des Français d'Occident. Il faut donc leur faire enseigner à tous même morale, mêmes principes, mêmes idées". Il faudra ménager les mulâtres, qui représentent de précieux auxiliaires pour le maintien de l'influence française, et ne rien faire qui puisse les détourner de la France: "nous avons à former un peuple, à faire prospérer un pays que le temps doit soumettre tout entier à la consommation des produits de notre industrie" (pp. 73-74).

In fact, in 1829, three years later, Bishop Joseph Rosati was delegated in Haiti to initiate the process of the signing of the Concordat with the Haitian state (Stafford, 2005).

Moreover, according to McLeod (2000), "Freedom from colonialism comes not just from the signing of declarations of independence and the lowering and raising of flags, there must also be a change in the minds, a challenge to the dominant ways of seeing" (p. 22). In Haiti, even after independence in 1804, there was no such ideological change. There were significant political changes, but the Roman Catholic Church still remained the State's main ideological apparatus, and the same colonial spirit prevailed (Hurbon, 2004). Accordingly, this period would be widely marked by the pervasive influence that this institution, through the Concordat of 1860, would leave on the ideologies and the overall culture in Haiti (Hurbon, 2004). Laennec Hurbon, a former member of the Haitian clergy, points out the attitude of the Church within the post-

colonial Haiti in his book, *Religions et Lien Social: L'Église et l'État Moderne en Haïti*. He argues that "Du côté de l'Église officielle ou du Saint-Siège, les signes d'un esprit critique en ce qui concerne l'histoire de l'Esclavage étaient plutôt rares" (Hurbon, 2004, p. 149). Indeed, 6 years after the signing of the Concordat between Pope Pie IX and the Haitian president Fabre Geffrard, the former affirms that "It is not contrary to the natural and divine law to sell, buy or exchange a slave" (cited in Maxwell, 1970, pp. 306-307).

Furthermore, in the second half of the nineteenth century, the tri-continental world (Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean) was the target of European colonizing nations. The colonizing forces went either under the pretext to protect a country, to impose its political control or to conquer by force or peacefully. Their purpose was politically, economically and morally driven (Saignol, 2006). "The conservation of the colonies, Alexis de Tocqueville had written in the 1840s, is necessary for the strength and greatness of France" (Daughton, 2006, p.10). In that context, colonial conquest and missionary expansion were intimately associated because, as Daughton (2006) argues, "Catholic missionary goals around the world often mirrored republican ones" (p. 12). That is why "missionaries are essential to understanding republican attitudes toward colonialism" (Daughton, 2006, p. 12).

At that time, each European Empire tried to follow Bishop Shanahan's advice: "those who hold the school, hold the country, hold its religion, and hold its future" (Abernethy, 1969, p. 41). In that regard, the missionaries were valuable aids for the state. In fact, the European colonizers and missionaries shared the same culture and the vast majority of them were convinced of the inferiority of indigenous and African cultures (White & Daughton, 2012). For them, civilizing and Europeanizing went together

(Chopin, 2009; Delisle, 2003). The aim of European colonization was to "moralize" and "civilize", and, the role of the missionary was focused more on "moralizing" and "civilizing" than religious. France was the European country which took more advantage of the missionary expansion. As Daughton (2006) reminds us, "in the second half of the nineteenth century France's commitment to its Catholic missionaries became a key issue in international affairs" (p. 14). Consequently, in 1900, two-thirds of Catholic missionaries were French (Prudhomme, 1994; Saignol, 2006). Likewise and with more important statistics, Daughton (2006) reports that "Throughout the long nineteenth century, France led the world in the production of Catholic missionaries. The end of the century was the golden age of the missions, when two-thirds of the approximately 14,000 priests working outside of Europe were French" (p. 11). A little bit later, with the development of the neocolonial project around the world, "These priests were joined by other French *religieux*, such as teaching brothers and sisters, bringing the total number of Catholic religious workers abroad to approximately 58,000 in 1900, according to one missionary estimate" (Daughton, 2006, p. 11). Further, Daughton (2006) reports a common saying that was very popular at that time, namely, "To say French was to say Catholic; to say Protestant was to say English (p. 167). Briefly, according to Daughton (2006), "Nothing so clearly distinguished a Frenchmen from an Englishman, or signaled allegiance to colonial regime, as religion (p. 167).

In the same vein, Prudhomme (1994) evokes a report prepared by the French authorities to point out why the government gave special treatment to missionaries:

Il est facile de concevoir les bénéfices que notre action dans le monde retire du concours de ces milliers de missionnaires des deux sexes qui, de l'avis unanime

de nos diplomates, de nos consuls, de nos autorités militaires, de nos agents coloniaux...de nos concurrents, s'emploient avec une ardeur égale à défendre la cause de la France en même temps que celle de la Religion...Notre véritable armée, la seule sur laquelle nous puissions compter, c'est donc celle que composent les religieux catholiques (p. 496).

Therefore, the signing of the Concordat of 1860 took place "dans un contexte où les puissances étrangères visent encore une reconquête d'Haïti" (Hurbon, 2004, p. 161).

After the proclamation of its independence, the new country had been isolated by European nations and the United States. According to Delisle (2003), "L'Europe construit rapidement un discours dévalorisant sur Haïti. Elle est persuadée de détenir les clés de la véritable civilisation et accepte difficilement qu'une ancienne colonie ait pu accéder à l'indépendance sous la direction d'hommes de couleur" (p. 18).

In order to marginalize the young nation, the traditional discourse of slavery was forced upon the elite and leaders of the country, including the head of state. Then, Haitian elites interpreted the Concordat of 1860 as a means of hastening the spread of European civilization in Haiti, and Catholicism is considered as the "symbol of Western civilization" (Delisle, 2003 & 2006; Francois, 2010; Hurbon, 2004; Tardieu, 1990).

Delisle (2003) noted that Elie Dubois, Minister of Education and Religious Affairs, hoped that the agreement with the papacy would create an educated Haitian clergy and thus complete the civilizing mission work initiated by the government. The Haitian elites remained convinced that there was a higher civilization and that religion, family structures or forms of properties in Europe, particularly in France, were the ideal model to follow (Delisle, 2003; Hurbon, 2004).

The fledgling state strengthened its links with Western Europe by using French congregations from Bretagne, a region in Western France. From 1864, the arrival of French missionaries led to the implementation of Western-style education in Haiti (Delisle, 2003 & 2006; Francois, 2010; Hurbon, 2004; Joint, 2006; Nerestant 1994 & 1999; Tardieu, 1990). The task of educating and instructing was assigned to congregations from Bretagne such as Les Frères de l'Instruction Chrétienne, Soeurs de Saint Joseph de Cluny, Pères du Saint-Esprit, Filles de la Sagesse, and so on. The French religious Léon Bonnaud (1938) asserted in his book *L'Apostolat en Haïti: Le Journal d'un Missionnaire*:

C'est de Bretagne, en effet, que partent, pour cette île lointaine, la plupart des apôtres que Dieu destine à son évangélisation. Presque toutes les paroisses bretonnes ont fourni à la Mission d'Haïti, un ou plusieurs de leurs enfants (p. v).

Consequently, since the signing of the Concordat until 1940, France—especially from the area of Bretagne—provided 16 Fathers of Holy Spirit, over 400 Brothers Ploermel or Frères de l'Instruction Chrétienne (F.I.C.), 250 Daughters of Wisdom, 85 Sisters of Saint-Joseph of Cluny (Joseph, 1997). To these missionaries, Rouger (2010) adds that "la Société des prêtres de Saint-Jacques [...] a donné quinze évêques et quelque 850 prêtres à Haïti dont 700 Bretons, [...]." Their main objective was the formation of a type of western ruling class able to imitate European elites (Delisle, 2003; Hurbon, 2004; Nicholls, 1970). Philippe Delisle (2003) well outline such a mission in his book titled *Le catholicisme en Haïti au XIXe siècle. Le rêve d'une "Bretagne noire" (1860-1915)*. According to Delisle (2003), in the era of post-French Revolution, Bretagne was a conservative and anti-revolutionary zone renowned for its royalist and anti-abolitionist

position. The British Catholic religious arrived thus in Haiti with a kind of colonial ambition; it was "*Le rêve d'une 'Bretagne noire'*" in Haiti (Deslile, 2003).

To achieve such a goal, Catholic congregationalist schools proceeded by selection and "cared about the top 5-10% of wealthy elites" (Chomsky cited in Orelus, 2010, p. 42).

The process of selection refers to the 'theory of hierarchy' from Gustave Le Bon (Lehmil, 2007), and that Catholic schools promoted French-Western culture as superior to the culture of the Haitian masses (Deslile, 2003; Hurbon, 2004). The academic programs of Catholic congregational schools "stressed Greek, Latin, and French literature" (Hoffmann, 1984, p. 64). The Haitian students learned that they were French citizens, and that their ancestors were Gallic. In this respect, Hoffmann (1984) reported an alumnus's testimonies as follows:

Mme Fortuna Guery remembers in her témoignages [...] that, when she was a girl: We learned that France was our country. We knew the Marseillaise better than the Dessalinienne (Haitian national anthem). The 14th of July was celebrated with lavish ceremonies and the 1st of January (Haitian Independence Day) was only the day of New year presents and best wishes (p. 63).

Further, to point out the Francophilia of Haitian elites as the consequences of a form of school learning, Hoffman (1984) quoted Jean Fouchard, a distinguished Haitian historian, who explained how his Haitian fellowship and himself used their French educational background as a solid shield to resist against the U.S occupation. Fouchard proudly recalled: "To organize the resistance, we used as barricades our origins and our languages (...) and the road to Enlightenment that, for so many generations, French educators had mapped out in the hearts of our youth" (p. 65).

Furthermore, Haitian Vodou and Haitian Creole, the two central pillars of the Haitian culture, were principally and often violently targeted by the Church (Delisle, 2003; Fils-Aimé, 2007; Hoffmann, 1990; Hurbon, 2004; Nerestant, 1999). For instance, in one of the Catholic textbooks published in 1941 reported by Alfred Métraux (1977), one can evaluate this violence by reading the following questions and responses:

Q- Qui est le principal esclave de Satan?

R- Le principal esclave de Satan, c'est le hougan.

Q- Quels sont les noms que les hougans donnent à Satan?

R- Les noms que les hougans donnent à Satan sont loa, les anges, saints, morts, marassa.

[...]

Q- Comment les gens servent-ils Satan?

R- En péchant, en faisant des maléfices, de la magie, des manger-loa, des manger-les-anges, des manger-marassa.

Q- Avons-nous le droit de nous mêler aux esclaves de Satan?

R- Non, parce que ce sont des malfaiteurs, ce sont des menteurs comme Satan
(cited in Fils-Aimé, 2007, p. 26).

In addition, in 1896 and from 1938 to 1942, respectively, Vodou was targeted by two violent crusades or "campagnes des rejetés"—so-called campaigns anti-superstitious—led by Catholic religious (Fils-Aimé, 2007). According to Sanders (2008), "With the signing of th[e] concordat, "the Church began a long on-again, off-again campaign against Voodoo" (p. 4). During those two "campaigns", Vodou adepts and leaders were killed and persecuted, and Vodou temples and altars were destroyed.

Procopio (2009) argues that "Education plays a large role in shaping one's views towards indigenous culture and religion, whether it be indirectly—learning by observing people's interactions in a home environment or in the community—or directly—through teaching in the classroom" (p. 6). In the case of Haiti, Catholic education, particularly the congregational schools, have been—and continue to be—very damaging for Haitian culture, in a large extent for the culture of the great majority. Founded on a racist ideology (Janvier cited by Hurbon, 2004), those schools continue to reproduce the same old clichés, stereotypes and anti-Vodou cultural representations that perpetuated the domination and marginalization of the Haitian masses. As Gearon (2001) argues,

[...] domination within political and social systems is dependent upon the control and manipulation of cultural representation. The crucial idea here is that such domination is dependent upon the creation of a culturally imagined 'other'. Arguing that this essentially colonial notion of 'otherness' remains ingrained within the language of religious education [...] (p. 98).

Consequently, today, as Fatton Jr. (2002) has noted, "cultural differences are important in Haiti. They separate the French-speaking, wealthy, Catholic minority from the Creole-speaking majority of poor *vodouisants* and Protestant fundamentalists" (p. 53).

More than one hundred fifty years later, the Concordat of 1860 is still operational in Haitian society. From "the Second Vatican Council, the Catholic Church underwent a great transition in ecclesial thinking. [And that] change in thinking affected Catholic schools" (Denig & Dosen, 2009, p. 141); nevertheless, in Haiti, such a change is not visible in the Catholic congregational school subsystem. Perhaps the reasons are twofold: (a) the hierarchy of the Church is very conservative and (b) the congregational schools

have been used by Haitian elites as the loyal guardians and protectors of French civilization. These schools have been instrumental in preserving the structure of the old French cultural legacy in the Haitian society.

Besides producing outstanding results in national assessment tests, Catholic congregational schools also in a Macedo's sense (1993) "domesticated the consciousness" (p. 190) of Haitian elites. Indeed, effective education is more than academic achievements. Its objective is above all to lead the student in a way that he/she acquires attitudes and skills for life in society. And, in this sense, many empirical researchers have concluded that there is a positive relationship between formal schooling and democracy (Evans & Rose, 2006; Hoskins et al., 2008; McCowan, 2006; Neuberger, 2007; Nie, Junn & Stehlik-Barry, 1996). Today, it is well established that a "democratic society can be achieved only by means of a democratic education system" (Samanci, 2010, p.30). Therefore, because in Haiti achieving democracy seems to be a pipe dream or a project almost unrealizable, the school system that should play a central role in establishing the foundations of democratic institutions has to be logically and critically questioned. In other terms, because "after more than 200 years of existence, Haiti's predatory system and authoritarian habitus have reached a point of exhaustion" (Fatton Jr., 2007, p. ix); there is an urgency to critically question, interrogate, and challenge the foundations of the Haitian schooling system. Special emphasis must be placed on the Catholic school subsystem that historically has been—and continues to be—the unique and official leader of the Haitian educational system.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

The role of the researcher in this context is reframed as one who recognizes inequalities and injustices in society and strives to challenge the status quo, who is a bit of a provocateur with overtones of humility, and who possesses a shared sense of responsibility.

Mertens, 2007, p. 212

Overview

The purpose of this research is twofold: (a) to explore in depth the nature of the education and pedagogy in Catholic congregational schools in Haiti and (b) to examine how such a teaching impacts democracy in Haiti. Insofar as the research purpose shapes the methodology, this dissertation uses a two-phase, sequential transformative mixed methods design (Creswell, 2003) that focuses on answering an overarching question: How do Catholic congregational schools currently educate Haitian teenagers? And, is there a relationship between Catholic congregational school teaching and the deficit of democracy in Haiti? and the following six qualitative and quantitative sub-questions. First, what are the main characteristics of Catholic congregational schools in Haiti? Second, how do Catholic congregational alumni describe common pedagogical practices such as methods of teaching, classroom management, school discipline, textbook contents, school climate, and school culture? Third, to what extent do pedagogical practices (methods of teaching, classroom management, school discipline, textbook content, school climate, and school culture) of Catholic congregational schools reflect and promote core democratic values (cooperation, liberty, justice, tolerance, respect, diversity, equality, common good, and gender equity)? Fourth, how does the way

Catholic congregational school's alumni talk about discourses and practices of their school staff convey core democratic values such as cooperation, liberty, respect, justice, tolerance, diversity, common good, equality, and gender equity? Fifth, how does the way Catholic congregational school's alumni talk about Haitian Creole convey democratic values such as diversity, liberty, respect, tolerance, and equality? Sixth, how does the way Catholic congregational school's alumni talk about Haitian Vodou convey core democratic values such as diversity, liberty, respect, tolerance, and equality?

This chapter provides an overview of the methodology used in this research. It includes the philosophical assumptions that guide this research, the rationale for using mixed methods research, the research design, the participants, procedures, instruments, data analyses, and the integration of results in the two phases of the study and validity techniques. To begin, I present the philosophical assumptions that guide this research.

Philosophical Assumptions

The philosophical assumptions define the broad conceptual bases of the study. The philosophical assumptions are the stance that informs the researcher's worldviews or paradigms. Guba (1990) defines this stance as "a set of beliefs that guide action" (cited in Creswell, 2007, p. 27). Creswell (2007) argues that "philosophical assumptions consist of a stance toward the nature of reality (ontology), how the researcher knows what she or he knows (epistemology), the role of values in the research (axiology) [...] and the methods used in the process (methodology)" (p. 16). In the same vein, Guba and Lincoln (2005) assert that "There are four sets of philosophical assumptions that are most relevant to defining a paradigm in a research context" (cited in Mertens, 2007, p. 215). They are the ontological, epistemological, axiological, and methodological assumptions (Mertens,

2007). In this section, I present the philosophical assumptions that determine my worldview in this study.

The philosophical assumptions of this study are based on my memory and history as well as my academic background and journey at McGill University. I was born, grew up and went to school in Haiti, a former French colony, where ordinary people, intellectuals, academics, and scholars' views are impacted by colonial and neocolonized post-colonial conservative institutions such as school, church, family, media and so on. The daily social, economic and political reality that prevails in Haiti seems to indicate that the Haitian people are dehumanized and convinced that building a just and democratic society is an unreachable dream. Day after day, things are becoming worse for my people. At McGill, I experienced new forms of teaching and learning and I acquired new ideas and skills. Since then, I have been thinking of becoming a transformative leader who will make positive change in me and hopefully in my home country as well. Six years ago, when I had to define a frame of reference for this research, I was a little bit concerned about finding pertinent literature, and defining a critical theoretical frame or choosing an appropriate methodological approach that could operate such a metamorphosis. To that end, some classes taken in the Department of Integrated Studies of Education (DISE) in both master and doctoral programs such as *Critical Pedagogy*; *Multicultural Education in Multicultural Societies*; *Education, Culture and Values*; *Pro-Seminar in Education*; *Qualitative Ethnographic Method Research*; *Advanced Research Methods*; etc. have provided the means and skills that made me feel more comfortable and confident for achieving such an objective. Studying critical pedagogy, investigating, debating and discussing critical issues, and being influenced by

some teachers' attitudes and leadership have changed my mind and energized me. In addition, reading several critical books and articles similar to Hampton and Tuhiwai-Smith's texts, "Memory Comes before Knowledge: Research may improve if researchers remember their motives" and "Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples", respectively allowed me to develop a critical consciousness and be aware of learning, teaching, and doing research differently. Thanks to my new learning experiences, I became more acutely aware of how European imperialism and colonialism have great impact on the study of countries like Haiti (Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999). Therefore, in conducting this study, I have had to struggle with the decolonization of my own world views and knowledge in order to avoid conducting research with the eyes of the colonized (Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999) and to broaden my way of doing research and acquiring critical knowledge. By doing such an investigation, my role "[has been] reframed as one who recognizes inequalities and injustices in society and strives to challenge the status quo, who is a bit of a provocateur with overtones of humility, and who possesses a shared sense of responsibility" (Mertens, 2007, p. 212). In this case, the philosophical assumptions of this study rest on the idea of doing research "to serve the ends of creating a more just and democratic society" (Mertens cited in Sweetman, Badiee & Creswell, 2010, p. 442).

Therefore, the appropriate philosophical basis for this study must be the transformative-emancipatory paradigm also called advocacy-participatory approach (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007) according to which "research inquiry needs to be intertwined with politics and a political agenda" (Creswell, 2003, p. 9). Creswell (2003) states that the fundamental tenet of the transformative-emancipatory paradigm "is that the

research should contain an action agenda for reform that may change the life of participants, the institutions in which individuals work, or live and the researcher's life" (pp. 9-10). In addition, Mertens (2003) affirms that "This paradigm focuses on the experiences of individuals who suffer from discrimination or oppression and involves engaging in research that addresses power differentials" (cited in Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007, p. 27). Such an approach is also capable of giving voice to multiple perspectives in order to better advocate for social justice and democracy (Creswell, 2003). In other words, it is hoped that the findings generated by this study will be transformative tools that could be used to liberate marginalized, oppressed, and alienated people. As Mertens (2007) argues, "The basic beliefs of the transformative paradigm provide an overarching framework for addressing issues of social justice and consequent methodological decisions" (p. 212). The ontological, epistemological, axiological, and methodological assumptions associated with the transformative paradigm are defined in this study as follows.

Ontologically, I believe that social realities can be envisioned from diverse viewpoints (Mertens, 2003). However, because the Haitian reality is marked by more than 200 years of chronic extreme poverty, oppression and marginalization of the masses, I want to "choose alternative explanations that best promote social justice for oppressed groups" (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009, p. 93) which, in Haiti, are primarily the Vodou adepts and Creole speakers. In conducting this research, I also need to "be aware of societal values and privileges in determining the reality that holds potential for social transformation and increased social justice" (Mertens, 2007, p. 216).

Epistemologically, one of the basic beliefs of the transformative paradigm is the assumption that "knowledge is not neutral but is influenced by humans interests, that all knowledge reflects the power and social relationships within society, and that an important purpose of knowledge construction is to help people improve society" (Mertens, 2003, p. 139). I chose to connect my research to my memory and history. Considering all the greatness of the Haitian revolution (1791-1804), I know that I will find the knowledge that will give me power (Hampton, 1995) to liberate my consciousness and change my alienated mind. In addition, I strongly believe that education always has a political agenda (Freire, 2007). I am also aware that education is the cornerstone of economic development. Because of this, I consider that both education and research are powerful political tools that can liberate marginalized, oppressed, and alienated people, and radically transform the Haitian reality. I have already learned a lot of critical knowledges in order to struggle for social justice. Thus, with the purpose of finally breaking the cycle of chronic poverty in Haiti, I want to help provide the kind of knowledge that Haitian leaders and policy makers can use to radically change the current educational system and replace it with one that is in line with Haitian values, history, and culture. In fact, I believe that this research contains a political program that could promote change in Haiti.

In *axiological terms*, my perspective is that "the values that guide research function to enhance social justice rather than individual researcher interests" (Teddle & Tashakkori, 2009, pp. 91-92). In this respect, this study critically examines the role of a certain form of Christian education in shaping the Haitian elites' behavior, belief and values. It logically points out the urgent need to operate radical reforms and changes in

the whole Haitian school system. It also acknowledges that Haitian Vodou and Haitian Creole must be the backdrop of the Haitian education system. Even though I am a Christian educator and French speaker, I choose to favour and promote the development of both Haitian Vodou and Creole for the well-being of my home country. My hope is that this research will provide a new form of knowledge that will decolonize and liberate the mind of Haitians.

In *methodological terms*, Mertens (2007) points out that "methods should be adjusted to accommodate cultural complexity, power issues should be explicitly addressed, and issues of discrimination and oppression should be recognized" (p. 216). With due consideration, I constantly question whether my research questions critically challenge my alienated cultural background. Then, I choose a two-phase, sequential transformative mixed methods design, and normally I use postcolonial theory as a theoretical framework that addresses issues such as social justice, oppression, racial and sexual discriminations, domination, colonialism, imperialism, and so on. As Young (2001) underlines it, "Postcolonial critique focuses on forces of oppression and coercive domination that operate in the contemporary world: the politics of anti-colonialism and neo-colonialism, race, gender, nationalisms, class and ethnicities define its terrain" (cited in Hudson, 2003, p. 2).

Rationale for Using Mixed Methods

Why use mixed methods to address this research problem?

Generally, choosing a research method is, firstly, related to our philosophical assumptions (Teddle & Tashakkori, 2009). In other words, choosing a research methodology and research methods come from our worldview. If we understand the

reality as objective, simple, fixed, and measurable, we will opt solely for a quantitative approach. If we think there is only a sole truth that is reachable through our senses, then, we will choose the quantitative approach and will numerically represent the world. Then, we are positivists. Meanwhile, on the other hand, if we perceive reality as subjective, constructed, multiple, and diverse we will choose a qualitative approach. If we also think that we can create our own world, qualitative approach will be definitely for us the best, and we will choose a non-numeric representation of the world. Because, we are constructivists. Therein, there is a dilemma to resolve. And, every researcher has to confront his/her thought with such dilemma. What is the best worldview? What methodology to choose? Which methods to employ? Qualitative or quantitative? Which one fits best with the research question (s)?

Like many others, I have been torn between the ongoing struggles between qualitative versus quantitative approaches. Even though at the beginning of the research I had decided to use a qualitative approach, I was troubled by the possible limits of this approach and was thinking of changing to a quantitative one. I wanted to use them with their respective advantages, but felt that one broad method needed to define any study. I did not know what to do until I attended the *Advanced Research Methods* course at McGill that helped me to see that it does not have to be an "either-or" situation.

My learning experience in Mixed Methods with Dr. Carolyn Turner was very enriching. For example, it became clear that there is not just one "right" or "appropriate" methodology, and that methodologically, "the world can be represented through both numbers and words" (Yoshikawa, Weisner, Kalil & Niobe, 2008, p. 344). As Ghosh and Abdi (2004) said: "We can pragmatically create "an all-embracing unity" (p. 166). I

realized that mixed methods research is basically a type of research that involves both qualitative and quantitative data and methodologies. It is a combination of deductive and inductive thinking through the mixing of qualitative and quantitative data, namely, both answers of qualitative and quantitative research questions are combined to answer an overarching mixed methods research question. As Creswell and Plano Clark (2007) portray it,

Mixed methods research is a research design with philosophical assumptions as well as methods of inquiry. As a methodology, it involves philosophical assumptions that guide the direction of the collection and analysis of data and the mixture of qualitative and quantitative approaches in many phases of the research process. As a method, it focuses on collecting, analyzing, and mixing both quantitative and qualitative data in a single study or series of studies (p. 5).

Additionally, I also understood that there are many good reasons for mixing qualitative and quantitative data. Firstly, as Creswell and Plano Clark (2007) state, "The central premise of mixed methods research is that the use of quantitative and qualitative data collection in combination provides a better understanding of the research problem than using either approach alone" (p. 5). Looked at this way, "Mixed methods research can answer research questions that other methods cannot" (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003, p. 674). A good example is given by Creswell (2003) when he speaks as follows:

if the purpose of the research is: Identifying factors that influence an outcome, the utility of an intervention, or understanding the best predictors of outcomes, then a quantitative approach is best... On the other hand, if a concept or phenomenon needs to be understood because little research has been done in it,

then it merits a qualitative approach. ... A mixed methods design is useful to capture the best of both quantitative and qualitative approaches (pp. 21-22).

Secondly, Yoshikawa et al. (2008) add that "integrated methods can also make a study more believable to broader audiences, because they represent the world more completely" (p. 345). Likewise, Mertens (2011) argues that "Researchers [...] justify their choice of mixed methods on the basis that it allows them to understand the phenomenon they are studying more completely than would be possible with a single method" (p. 195).

Therefore, Gleeson (2011) is certainly right when he states that "mixing methods provides an opportunity to address research questions in a more complete and powerful way where researchers can both answer questions and generate theory" (p. 99).

Thirdly, researchers recognize that all methods have limitations; consequently, it is much more reasonable to scrutinize issues and research problems from diverse perspectives (Tashakkori & Creswell, 2008). In fact, in using multiple approaches, biases in a single method can be addressed. In addition, each data form taken separately provides force to offset the weakness of the other form (Creswell, 2002).

Furthermore, in a particular way, this study examines the issues of education and democracy. This means that the research delves into perception, belief systems, and behavior; and, for this reason, a mixed methods approach might be more appropriate to address the array of questions in this area of research. In this respect, Yoshikawa et al. (2008) declare that "examining behavior and belief systems requires both quantitative and qualitative approaches to research: quantitative methods to understand the prevalence of particular practices, behaviors, and beliefs, and qualitative methods to understand meanings, functions, goals and intentions" (p. 345). Therefore, in this perspective,

"integrating these two approaches can bring us closer to understanding the reality than either set of methods can on its own" (Yoshikawa et al., 2008, p. 345).

An additional reason for using a mixed methods design is the complexity of the research problem. This investigation is about education and democracy in Haiti, a country with a complex social, political, historical and cultural environment. Actually, Haiti is a kind of country where there are often many speculations about the what, how, and why of any situation. Thus, when I considered these complicated parameters, I concluded that a single method would be ineffective; on the contrary, using a mixed methods design enabled me to better deal with such a complexity.

Moreover, Greene, Caracelli and Graham (1989) more specifically underline five purposes for mixed methods evaluation research. They are (a) triangulation, (b) complementarity, (c) development, (d) initiation, and (e) expansion. In this study, complementarity offers the justification for using a mixed methods approach. Greene et al. (1989) explain that "complementarity seeks elaboration, enhancement, illustration, clarification of the results from one method with the results from the other method" (p. 259).

Finally, I also decided to use a mixed methods design since in reviewing the literature, I discovered that there is a very serious need for conducting both qualitative and quantitative studies on Catholic congregational schools in Haiti. Thus, using a mixed methods design is a good way to start making up this dearth.

Overall, in considering all these reasons, and particularly by understanding how, when and why researchers can mix qualitative and quantitative methods in their respective field, I realized that mixed methods was the best approach that I could use to

investigate the role of Catholic congregational schools in the predicament of democracy in Haiti. Even though using mixed methods is more time consuming and difficult to carry out (Creswell, 2007), I decided to use a two-phase, sequential transformative design to conduct this investigation.

The Sequential Transformative Design

In the literature, methodologists underline about forty mixed methods designs usually used by researchers (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007; Ivankova et al., 2006; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). In the chapter twenty-six of the *Handbook of Mixed Methods in Social & Behavioral Research*, Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003) listed at least twenty-nine among these designs including "triangulation, transformative, integrated, component, sequential, parallel, concurrent, simultaneous, branching, nested, explanatory, exploratory, confirmatory, developmental, decomposed, embedded, mixed method, mixed model, hierarchical, monomethod, multimethod, multimethods (plural), equivalent-status, dominant-less dominant, multilevel, two phase, methodological triangulated design, sequential triangulation, simultaneous triangulation,..." (p. 680). However, sequential explanatory, sequential exploratory, sequential transformative, concurrent triangulation, concurrent nested, and concurrent transformative are the six major designs mostly utilized by researchers (Creswell, 2007; Creswell, 2003; Creswell et al., 2003). In addition to this, Creswell (2007) specifies that the triangulation design is the most current and well-known approach to mixing methods.

Furthermore, arguing about the issue of choosing a mixed methods research design, Creswell and Plano Clark (2007) ask the following question: what are the most

important criteria that researchers should consider to choose a mixed methods design which matches with their studies?

To this question, Creswell and Plano Clark (2007) suggest that the first thing to consider is that the design should conform to the research problem. They further add that researchers need to evaluate their expertise, resources, and the expectations of audiences for the research. In addition to these considerations, Tashakkori and Teddlie (2006) state that researchers have to frame for themselves a research procedure that may serve their purpose best. In other words, they have to choose one that may help more than any other to answer their research question.

On the other hand, based on several works provided by mixed methods specialists such as Creswell, Plano Clark, Gutmann, and Hanson (2003), Greene and Caracelli (1989), Greene et al. (1997b) Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) and others, Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009) have noted "seven criteria that authors have used to create their MM typologies" (p. 140). Those criteria are "Number of methodological approaches used, Number of strands or phases, Types of implementation process, Stage of integration of approaches, Priority of methodological approach, Functions of the research study, Theoretical or ideological perspective" (p. 140). In this dissertation, I followed the approach of Creswell et al. (2003) who assert that there are four main design criteria in mixed methods research. Accordingly, in choosing a mixed methods design researchers have to pay attention to the criteria of implementation, priority, integration, and theoretical perspective (Creswell et al., 2003 ; Creswell, 2003). Choosing a research design is associated with these four criteria. The six major designs mostly used in mixed methods studies are constructed from these decision criteria. As Creswell et al. (2003)

stated, these decision criteria "can be useful in specifying six different types of major designs that a researcher might employ" (p. 223). According to Creswell et al. (2003) and Creswell (2007), implementation refers to the timing decision in the collection of data. In other words, researchers must decide whether qualitative or quantitative data would be collected first or both concurrently or simultaneously. Such a decision is determined by the purpose of the study. The second criterion concerns the weighting, namely researchers have to consider if priority is to be given to the qualitative or quantitative phase or if the two components of the study will have the equal priority. The next criterion to be considered by researchers is integration which is about the mixing procedures. It is a stage at which the two components of the study must be combined and analyzed. Researchers need to decide whether their data will be connected, merged, or embedded. Finally, researchers have to decide if a theoretical or ideological perspective is to be used in the study. At this stage, they specify the theoretical or ideological stances of the study. Therefore, researchers must be capable to choose a design only after they make decisions concerning the criteria of implementation, priority, integration and theoretical perspective.

In the present study, a two-phase, sequential transformative design was adopted. Generally, the transformative perspective is not frequently used in educational research or mixed methods studies (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007; Ivankova et al., 2007). Accordingly, the transformative sequential strategy is not too common in the literature. As Sweetman, Badiiee, and Creswell (2010) have noted, in 2008, "a preliminary review of several literature data sets yielded 34 mixed method studies that utilized a transformative framework" (p. 442). Therefore, there is a great "need for more advocacy research within

the field of mixed methods" (Sweetman et al., 2010, p. 442). But, even though it is not popular among researchers, there exists enough literature that describes its characteristics and its applications in social and behavioral sciences (Creswell, 2003).

According to Creswell (2003), like the sequential explanatory and exploratory designs, the sequential transformative design is a two-phase strategy that has two different data collection moments. In this design, there is an initial phase that may be either qualitative or quantitative that is then followed by a second phase either quantitative or qualitative, and this second phase is built on the results of the first phase. The researcher can use first either the qualitative or the quantitative method, and the priority may also be given to the qualitative or quantitative component or evenly to both if there are enough resources. Additionally, like all sequential designs, the data of the two phases are mixed in the interpretation phase.

Creswell (2003) further specifies the main element that differs the sequential transformative from the two other sequential designs. In regard to this difference, he argues:

Unlike the sequential exploratory and explanatory approaches, the sequential transformative model has a theoretical perspective to guide the study. The aim of this theoretical perspective whether it be a conceptual framework, a specific ideology, or advocacy is more important in guiding the study than the use of methods alone (p. 216).

Succinctly put, a study is categorized as transformative if its methods and analysis are driven by a particular theoretical or ideological perspective that overlays the sequential process (Parmelee, Perkins & Sayre, 2007).

In the same vein, Mertens (2003/2009) listed a series of criteria that foster the identification of a sequential transformative design. The following four criteria are of relevance to my study: (a) a problem in community of concern, (b) a theoretical lens, (c) research questions or purposes written with an advocacy stance, and (d) a literature review that includes discussions of diversity and oppression (cited in Sweetman et al., 2010).

In addition, since the goal of the transformative design is to create "a more just and democratic society" (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003, p. 680), researchers must use the results to facilitate social change and elucidate power relationships.

Thus, I intentionally used a sequential transformative design to conduct this mixed methods research. As clearly stated in chapter one, the purpose of this study was twofold. First of all, it aims to explore in depth the nature of the process of teaching in Catholic congregational schools in Haiti, and, second, to critically examine how such a teaching impacts democracy in Haiti. Such a purpose determined the sequence of this study. Since the first purpose or intent was to conduct an in-depth exploration, the first phase of the study started with a qualitative approach. In other words, qualitative data were firstly collected from interviews conducted with a sample of twenty-four Catholic congregational secondary school alumni (n=24). This group of alumni was purposely selected in using a snowball or chain technique. Then, themes from the qualitative interviews data were analyzed and utilized to inform the construction of a quantitative survey instrument in the second phase of the study. In doing so, the survey addressed constructs which confirmed more precisely the reality behind the process of learning that occurred in Catholic congregational schools. Priority was given to the qualitative

component of the study because the quantitative phase was built on the qualitative data. These two phases were connected in the intermediate stage of the instrument development which is a survey questionnaire of sixty items. Next, quantitative survey data were collected from a large convenience sampling of Catholic congregational school alumni (n=240), and then analyzed to have a better description of the research problem. In the final stage, both qualitative and quantitative data were also combined in the final analysis to provide a more complete description of the role of the Catholic congregational schools in the construction of an anti-democratic culture in Haiti, specifically it is about their connection with the "predatory nature" (Fatton, Jr., 2002) of the Haitian ruling elites. In addition, the transformative perspective was used in this research because it is "a framework for examining assumptions that explicitly address power issues, social justice, and cultural complexity throughout the research process" (Mertens, 2007, pp. 212-213). It is also an effective framework for capturing issues which are not in the mainstream (Mertens, 2007); and, the issues of Haitian Vodou and Haitian Creole as well as the population of Catholic congregational alumni considered in this study fit into this category. In this dissertation, the transformative framework is regarded as the most ideal approach to point out the consequences of the exclusion of Haitian Vodou and Haitian Creole, both marginalized by the Haitian educational system, and to a greater extent by the Catholic congregational school subsystem.

As a sequential transformational strategy, *postcolonial theory* is fundamental to the implementation of the design. Specifically, the theory of *hybridity* from the postcolonial theorist Homi K. Bhabha (1994) is used as a critical lens to examine the role of Catholic education in the predicament of democracy in Haiti. Postcolonial theory has

made visible the impact of Catholic congregational schools in the chronic crisis of democracy in Haiti. This critical theory provided the best lens to study the problem of Haitian educational system as well as some tools and data to promote a new model of Catholic education in Haiti. The postcolonial theory framework acknowledges that "different histories and cultures produce different democracies" (Koelble & Lipuma, 2008, p. 1). As such, this investigation advocates for a radical change in the conception of the Haitian democratic process as well as in the Haitian elites' education. Specifically, such a theory aims to show the necessity of using Haitian Creole and Haitian Vodou to foster democratic learning spaces in the Haitian school context. Therefore, this study will demonstrate the urgent need to operate great reforms in the Haitian school system.

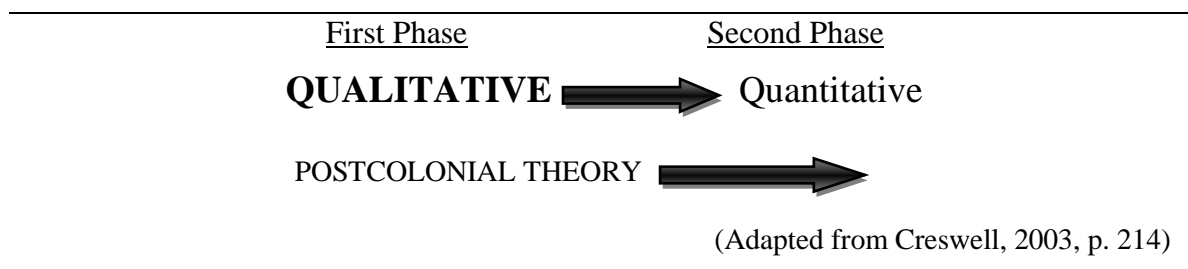


Figure 1. Visual Diagram of the Sequential Transformative Design

Above is a visual diagram that graphically represents the two-phase, sequential transformative design. It is adapted from a Creswell's (2003) model. Note, in the visual diagram, this sequential transformative design has two phases which occur in chronological order—the first phase is qualitative and the second phase is quantitative (Creswell, 2007). This sequential transformative design like the sequential exploratory design, "starts with qualitative data to explore a phenomenon, and then builds to a second, quantitative phase" (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007, p. 77). The design begins

with qualitative data, and the quantitative component is a result of the qualitative phase. Thus, the priority is given to the qualitative component. That means it is a heavily emphasized qualitative phase (Creswell, 2007), namely the quantitative phase is secondary to the qualitative phase. Finally, postcolonial theory is used as a theoretical perspective.

To summarize, the selection of a sequential transformative design was based on the following criteria: firstly, the first purpose of this study was to conduct a deeper exploration of the phenomenon studied in this research; consequently, such an intent determined the sequence of the study and indicated that a qualitative approach was necessary to start the research process. Secondly, priority was given to the qualitative phase because qualitative data were required prior to the collection of the quantitative data. Thirdly, both qualitative and quantitative data were connected through the development of the quantitative questionnaire, and then were mixed during the final analysis. Fourthly, the most important criterion that favoured the choice of the sequential transformative design was the fact that this study dealt with marginalized cultures, addressed the issues of social justice, utilized postcolonial theory as a theoretical lens, and advocated for radical change in the Haitian educational system.

Phase One: The Qualitative Approach

Patton (1985) defines qualitative research or interpretive inquiry as follows:

an effort to understand situations in their uniqueness as part of a particular context and the interactions there. This understanding is an end in itself, so that it is not attempting to predict what may happen in the future necessarily, but to understand the nature of that setting what it means for participants to be in that setting, what

their lives are like, what's going on for them, what their meanings are, what the world looks like in that particular setting and in the analysis to be able to communicate that faithfully to others who are interested in that setting...The analysis strives for depth of understanding (cited in Merriam, 2002, p. 5).

In addition to the Patton's definition, Merriam (2002) succinctly exposes the nature of qualitative research as follows: "Qualitative research attempts to understand and make sense of phenomena from the participant's perspective. The researcher can approach the phenomenon from an interpretive, critical or postmodern stance. All qualitative research is characterized by the search for meaning and understanding" (p. 6).

Furthermore, according to Merriam (2002), there exist a great variety of qualitative research designs or approaches. For example, Patton's classification lists ten orientations to qualitative research. While Tesch identifies forty-five approaches, Denzin and Lincoln find eight research strategies employed in qualitative studies.

On the other hand, based on the categorizations or classifications provided by Denzin and Lincoln (2005), Jacob (1987), Lancy (1993), Miller and Crabtree (1992), (Tesch (1990), Wolcott (1992), and others, Creswell (2007) overall distinguishes five main qualitative designs or approaches that are commonly used to conduct inquiry in different disciplines and fields of study including in educational studies. These approaches are narrative research, phenomenology, grounded theory, ethnography and case study. In the same vein, Paisley and Reeves (2001) argue that "Although there are many types of qualitative studies, Merriam (1998) identifies five as most likely to be used within education. [...]. These five types are the basic or generic qualitative study, ethnography, phenomenology, grounded theory, and case study" (p.489). Paisley and

Reeves (2001) also add that the basic or generic qualitative study is the most common form of qualitative inquiry used in education and counseling, and generally, it provides the best illustrative example to understand the characteristics of a qualitative research.

Additionally, Paisley and Reeves (2001) explain that the basic or generic qualitative approach is used when researchers look for discovering, describing, analyzing, and understanding a phenomenon, a process, or the perspectives and worldviews of the people involved in the study. Further, they specifically point out the main characteristics of the basic or generic qualitative strategy as follows:

Data most often are collected through interviews, observations, and document analysis (any one means or a mixture of the three), and the results (or findings) usually are presented as a combination of description and analysis. Data analysis focuses on the identification of patterns or themes that cut across the data or that in some way delineate a process (p. 489).

A basic or generic qualitative approach was considered as more appropriate to conduct this study. As previously explained, the first phase of this study was a qualitative exploration of the pedagogy and goals of education in Catholic congregational schools in Haiti for which standardized open-ended interviews (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009) were used to collect data from one group of Catholic congregational alumni purposely selected. Then, these data were analyzed, and from there, themes were identified for the quantitative phase of the study.

Qualitative Sampling Techniques and Participant Selection

Because it is often impossible for researchers to study the entire population of their proposed study, they operate in selecting sampling. According to Miles and

Huberman (1994), "Sampling involves decisions not only about which people to observe or interview, but also about settings, events, and social processes" (p. 30). An important point to outline in sampling procedures is that researchers have to specify the sample scheme and size. The former refers to the procedures which are used in order to select the appropriate units for the study while the latter specifies the number of units that are required to conduct the particular research. In regard to the typology of sampling, Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009) point out that in the human and behavioral sciences, sampling procedures are usually divided into probability and purposive samplings. However, there are four broad categories of sampling techniques that actually exist. They are the techniques of probability, purposive, convenience and mixed methods samplings. Teddlie and Tashakkori (2007) have recently distinguished four techniques of probability sampling, fifteen techniques of purposive sampling, two convenience techniques of sampling and five techniques of mixed methods sampling, Patton (2002) has listed sixteen types of purposive samples used in qualitative studies (cited in Guest, Bunce & Johnson, 2006). In addition, Onwuegbuzie and Collins (2007) have recently noted that "mixed methods researchers presently have 24 sampling schemes from which to choose. These 24 designs comprise 5 probability sampling schemes and 19 purposive sampling schemes" (p. 287).

As the purpose of the qualitative phase of this study was to conduct an in-depth exploration of the perspectives of the Catholic congregational school alumni, the first sampling technique utilized in the study was a purposive sampling. A purposive sample is "a type of sampling in which "particular settings, persons or events are deliberately selected for the important information they can provide that cannot be gotten as well as

from other choices" (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009, p. 170). Likewise, Paisley and Reeves (2001) define a purposeful sampling as the process of "selecting individuals who can provide the richest information in regard to the purpose of the study" (p. 488). Guest et al. (2006) argue that in the purposive or non-probability sampling strategies "the common element is that participants are selected according to predetermined criteria relevant to a particular research objective" (p. 61). Similarly, LeCompte and Preissle (1993) affirm that sampling strategies in qualitative research are criterion-based selection. Therefore, broadly speaking, a purposive sample is intentional and relevant to the purpose and research questions. It is theoretically and conceptually marked. It is accessible and meets the ethical guidelines that govern the research. According to Bertaux (1981), "fifteen is the smallest acceptable sample size in qualitative research" (cited in Guest et al., 2006, p. 61).

To study the issue of educating for democracy in the educational context, the population of school alumni is one of the richest sources of information that may be taken into consideration. For this reason, in this study, the target population was alumni from Haitian Catholic secondary schools. Thus, in the qualitative phase, structured interviews were used to explore and understand the perspectives of a purposive sampling of Catholic congregational school alumni.

According to a "National Survey of Catholic Schools in Haiti" published in 2012 and sponsored by the Episcopal Commission for Catholic Education, Catholic Relief Services, and the University of Notre Dame, Catholic schools in Haiti are divided in three main categories which are presbytérale, congregational, and autonomous schools. Further, this survey reports that "Haitian Catholic school leaders describe congregational

schools as having the most access to resources, the strongest leadership, and the greatest stability and academic quality of all school types" (p. 9). Actually, students of the Catholic congregational schools are usually from the middle and upper classes. Since this study is about the education of Haitian elites, it is limited to the population of Catholic congregational alumni, specifically, alumni from the secondary schools.

Structured interviews were conducted with a purposeful sampling of participants that included twenty four secondary alumni (n=24) from Catholic congregational schools. This purposive sample is more precisely composed of thirteen males and eleven females who went to four Catholic congregational schools situated in Port-au-Prince, the capital of Haiti. The four schools in question with their respective congregations are: Institution Saint Louis de Gonzague (Frères de l'Instruction Chrétienne or F. I. C.), Collège Sainte Rose de Lima (Soeurs Saint-Joseph de Cluny), Petit Séminaire du Collège Saint-Martial (Pères du Saint-Esprit), and Collège du Sacré-Coeur (Soeurs de la Sagesse). Historically, these schools are the first four Catholic congregational schools that had been established in Haiti after the signing of the Concordat of 1860 (Delisle, 2003; Pressoir, 1935). Additionally, in the Haitian milieu, there is no doubt about their reputation of "excellence." Based on their traditional performance in official evaluations, they are classified among the "best Haitian schools."

The 24 participants selected for the qualitative phase of this study fit the following criteria: (a) they went to one of the four Catholic congregational secondary schools; (b) they speak both French and Haitian Creole; (c) they are mulattoes and black members of the Haitian ruling elites who graduated from the 1950s to 2010s; (d) they are leading figures that occupied—or still occupy—important functions in the Haitian public and

private sectors. In addition, in order to have had a large representation of the alumni' experiences in Catholic congregational schools, the selected participants were not restricted to a specific age group, or social and professional status.

Moreover, the criteria adopted in the construction of this purposeful sampling made it difficult to make up. Because of this, a snowball or chain sampling technique had to be used to find the alumni selected in this study. According to Noy (2008), "Snowball sampling is arguably the most widely employed method of sampling in qualitative research in various disciplines across the social sciences" (p. 330). Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009) state that "Snowball sampling or chain sampling is a well-known purposive sampling technique that involves using informants or participants to identify additional cases who may be included in the study" (p. 175). Similarly, but more significantly, Noy (2008) argues that

A sampling procedure may be defined as snowball sampling when the researcher accesses informants through contact information that is provided by other informants. This process is, by necessity, repetitive: informants refer the researcher to other informants, who are contacted by the researcher and then refer her or him to yet other informants, and so on. Hence the evolving 'snowball' effect, captured in a metaphor that touches on the central quality of this sampling procedure: its accumulative (diachronic and dynamic) dimension (p. 330).

Simply put, a snowball technique was used as the main recruitment strategy to select the interviewees. To paraphrase Onwuegbuzie and Collins (2007), in the qualitative phase of this study, Catholic school's alumni were asked to recruit other alumni colleagues to participate in the study.

Therefore, I successfully used the social network of a former pupil from Institution Saint Louis de Gonzague that I met on a sociopolitical forum called *Haitian Politics Group*. This forum is a social network where Haitian intellectuals, political and economic elites used to discuss about political economic, social, and cultural issues. Thanks to this friend—himself an important and well-known Haitian entrepreneur—I could be directly connected with or referred to the participants. I conducted interviews with a total of 24 alumni. They were between the ages of 32 and 75. Among the participants interviewed there was 3 Medical Doctors, 3 Computer Engineers, 2 Industrials, 2 Businessmen, 2 Bank Managers, 1 Medical Student, 1 Nurse, 1 Economist, 1 Translator-Interpreter, 1 Financial Analyst, 1 Civil Engineer, 1 Manager/Accounting, 1 Insurance Agent, 1 Academic, 1 Educator/Psychologist, 1 Artist/Philosopher, and 1 Member of the Haitian Parliament (see more description in table 1).

Table 1

Qualitative Study Participants

Participant #	Gender	School	Year of Graduation	Religion	Profession
1	M	Saint-Martial	2011	Catholic	Medical Student
2	M	Saint-Louis	1970	Catholic	Businessman
3	M	Saint-Louis	1969	Catholic	Industrial
4	M	Saint-Martial	1974	Catholic	Academic
5	M	Saint-Martial	1956	Catholic	Insurance Agent
6	M	Saint-Louis	1970	Catholic	Businessman
7	M	Saint-Louis	1971	Catholic	Industrial
8	F	Sainte Rose	1980	Catholic	Educator/Psychologist
9	M	Saint-Martial	1992	Catholic	Artist/Philosopher
10	M	Saint-Louis	1984	No religion	Parliament Member
11	F	Sacré-Coeur	1983	Catholic	Manager/Accounting
12	F	Sainte Rose	1976	Catholic	Civil Engineer
13	F	Sainte Rose	1986	Catholic	Bank Manager
14	M	Saint-Louis	1981	No religion	Medical Doctor
15	F	Sainte Rose	2000	Catholic	Medical Doctor
16	F	Sainte Rose	1989	Catholic	Medical Doctor
17	M	Saint-Louis	1996	Vodouist	Financial Analyst
18	M	Saint-Louis	1991	Catholic	Computer Engineer
19	M	Saint-Louis	1993	Catholic	Computer Engineer
20	F	Sacré-Coeur	1997	Atheist	Translator-Interpreter
21	M	Saint-Louis	1992	Catholic	Computer Engineer
22	M	Saint-Louis	1995	Atheist	Economist
23	F	Sainte Rose	1993	Catholic	Nurse
24	F	Sacré-Cœur	1988	Catholic	Bank Manager

Qualitative Data Collection

As discussed earlier, because of the adoption of a basic or generic qualitative approach in the initial phase, data should be collected through interviews, observations, and document analysis or through any one or a mixture of these three means (Paisley & Reeves, 2001). In the qualitative phase of this study, data were collected through only one means which is standardized open-ended interviews (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). In other words, the data collection process consists of face-to-face structured interviews.

Data were collected in interviewing a purposeful sampling of alumni from Catholic congregational secondary school to answer the following questions:

1. What are the main characteristics of Catholic congregational schools in Haiti?
2. How do Catholic congregational alumni describe common pedagogical practices such as methods of teaching, classroom management, school discipline, Catholic textbooks, school climate, and school culture?

As Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009) argue, interviews are potent data collection tools, for researchers and interviewees in a one-to-one interaction situation. What is more, they provide the researcher ample opportunities to ask for explanation and clarification of vague answers. From this perspective, the participants and I took part in a standardized open-ended interview process in which "the exact wording and sequence of questions are determined in advance" (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009, p. 229). In this type of interview, through an interview guide all interviewees are asked exactly the same questions in the same order and the questions are worded in open-ended format (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). Such an instrument allowed the selected participants to share information about their experiences in Catholic schools that they thought was important.

Upon approval from the Research Ethics Board II of McGill University, an early version of an interview guide was tested in Montreal with two academics that have knowledge and experiences in qualitative research. Each interview was separately conducted and took about sixty minutes and, after each interview, each interviewee was asked to suggest any changes that could be made to improve the interview guide. From the recommendations provided by them, I revised the interview guide in order to help the

future participants more effectively recall their educational experiences. Then, I travelled to Haiti and spent several months in the capital, Port-au-Prince, where the study took place. There, I followed the same path, namely I reviewed my qualitative questionnaire with two local Haitian scholars and, thanks to their critical opinions, I further improved and adapted the interview guide.

In addition, as previously pointed out, the qualitative purpose of this study was to explore in depth the nature of the process of teaching in Catholic congregational schools in Haiti. Interviews were conducted based on such a purpose. The 24 participants took part in a series of structured interviews that meticulously followed the interview guide that contained fifty open-ended questions (see Interview Guide in Appendix A). The interview guide was written in French, and all interviews were conducted in French language, too.

The interviews took place in a closed and safe location without the presence of other people. Most of these interviews were conducted in a convenient milieu provided most of the time by the study participants. Places such as private offices, school libraries, homes of the participants, and my own house were utilized to conduct the interviews in an environment where the participants could speak freely.

Moreover, to start, I gave to each interviewee a brief explanation of the research purpose. Then, the future interviewee received the consent form and was politely asked to carefully read and sign it to be sure that he/she understood his/her rights as a participant in this study (see Consent Form in Appendix B). In the consent form, it was clearly noted for the interviewee that his/her participation in this study is voluntary, and consequently, he/she can withdraw whenever he/she wants without any cost or penalty. The participant

was also asked for his/her permission to have his/her voice recorded with a tape device (audio-cassette taped) during the entire interview. Additionally, each participant was informed that his/her identity would remain confidential during and after the study. Actually, in order to avoid all possible ethical breaches, particularly, in the purpose of maintaining the confidentiality of all the participants, I utilized a specific ID number to identify each participant (e.g., Participant # 1). The ID numbers were kept secretly somewhere in my personal computer, and very well protected from everybody and will be destroyed at the end of the investigation. Finally, each participant was informed that there would not be any risk in participating in this study. However, through the consent form, all the participants became aware of the possibility to remember some bad experiences that could provoke emotional risks. In this regard, possible issues regarding racism, sexism, and classism that could potentially arise during the interview were signaled.

During my relatively prolonged stay in Port-au-Prince, data were collected until all interviews were conducted. I interviewed a total of 24 Catholic congregational school alumni: 11 alumni from Saint-Louis de Gonzague, 4 alumni from Collège Saint-Martial, 6 alumni from Collège Sainte Rose de Lima, and 3 alumni from Collège du Sacré-Coeur. Some participants' interviews lasted approximately fifty minutes, while others continued until nearly sixty-five minutes. Even though I used a MP3 digital voice recorder with a 2 GB capacity, I was also an active listener and took many pages of notes. A total of twenty-three interviews were audio recorded because one study participant did not consent to be recorded. I interviewed him and took notes in pencil.

The questions were developed mostly based upon the research questions, the theoretical framework of the study, and the literature review, that is to say, the interview guide was elaborated in the light of postcolonial theory according to which education is one of the main sites of all kind of violence as well as cultural alienation for Third World peoples. The abovementioned neocolonial project of Gaspard Theodore Mollien was also a critical factor in the construction of the interview guide. In Mollien's project, missionary schools played a central role. Indeed, the French neocolonial project in Haiti, to a great extent, used both the Catholic Church and schools to carry out its anti-Vodou, anti-Creole, and, in general, anti-Haitian culture agenda.

The central goal of these interviews was to make the participants reconstruct their experiences within the Catholic congregational school context. The questions were formulated in a way that helped the participants to remember attitudes, behaviors, experiences, and pedagogical practices that prevailed in their secondary schools. There were several questions that touched issues regarding school leadership, methods of teaching, classroom management, school discipline, Catholic textbooks, school climate, and school culture. Also, there were other questions that tried to point out how these alumni perceive and embrace their cultural identity. Participants were asked to describe their experiences regarding the meanings and representations of Haitian Vodou, Creole, folklore, and roots music. Data collected from these structured interviews had to show whether or not these schools have maintained and reinforced social binaries such as, Black/Mulatto, urban/rural people, upper/lower class, Vodou/Christianity, and others. The standardized opened-ended interviews—the most structured form of interviews—were used to see if pedagogical and cultural practices in Haitian Catholic schools were

temporally and spatially the same and historically reproductive. This type of interview provided a complete and valid view of the sample of alumni.

Qualitative Data Analysis

In this sequential transformative design with an emphasized qualitative phase, both collecting and analyzing qualitative data are two central moments. Accordingly, at this stage of the study, it is important to point out the basic principle that guided any sequential transformational model, namely the sequential transformational design has always a theory or an ideology that guides the study (Creswell, 2003). To paraphrase Creswell (2003), the constant presence of postcolonial theory was more important in guiding the study than the use of methods alone. Therefore, in this study, the analysis of qualitative data is a theory-driven process.

According to Creswell (2007), qualitative data analysis "consists of preparing and organizing the data [...] for analysis, then reducing the data into themes through a process of coding and condensing the codes, and finally representing the data in figures, tables, or a discussion" (p. 148). Accordingly, the procedures of my qualitative data analysis began with data preparation that is the stage where interviews were transcribed to give me a general impression on the collected data. I utilized Microsoft Word software to transcript word-by-word all the audio-recorded interviews into text documents, and a total of 192 double-spaced pages of data was transcribed for analysis purpose. It is important to note that in the transcription process I carefully paid attention to avoid all the details that are capable of identifying the study participants. For example, I gave another name to every person mentioned during the alumni' testimonies and narratives. In addition, before having gone forward with the analysis procedures, I had to ensure the

credibility of the data. Because, as Creswell and Miller (2000) have noted, qualitative researchers generally agree that they need to demonstrate the credibility of their studies in using one or more of the common procedures of validity. Validity in qualitative research is defined by Creswell and Miller (2000) "as how accurately the account represents participants' realities of the social phenomena and is credible to them" (pp. 124-125). Both authors totally agree that in qualitative inquiries, member checking, triangulation, thick description, peer reviews, and external audits are usually utilized as the main procedures of validity. They also suggest that researchers can employ in a study one or more of these procedures.

Therefore, I used member checking that is according to Lincoln and Guba (1985) "the most crucial technique for establishing credibility" in qualitative study (cited in Creswell & Miller, 2000, p. 127). Member checking "consists of taking data and interpretations back to the participants in the study so that they can confirm the credibility of the information and narrative account" (Creswell & Miller, 2000, p. 127). Therefore, once all transcribed data were prepared, I shared with twelve participants the collected data to ensure exactitude. In other words, I took several summaries of the data back to half of the study participants and asked them if the data accurately reflected their experiences in Catholic congregational schools. Their feedback was positive. In addition, Bashir, Afzal, and Azeem (2008) affirm collecting data through devices such as tape recorders, photographs, and videotapes is one of the various strategies that can potentially increase the validity of the study.

Furthermore, since the transcription of data resulted in a total of 192 double-spaced pages, data were overloaded. Miles and Huberman (1994) "think conceptual

frameworks and research questions are the best defense against overload (p. 56). With the research questions, theoretical framework, and the review literature in mind, I closely read and reread the data and noted ideas and concepts above each page. Concepts such as cultural alienation, cultural marginalization, hostility against Vodou and Creole, physical and emotional violence, and others were targeted.

In their book titled *An Expanded Sourcebook: Qualitative Data Analysis*, Miles and Huberman (1994) nominally define codes as "tags or labels for assigning units of meaning to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during a study" (p. 56). In addition to the nominal definition, these authors further specify that

Codes usually are attached to "chunks" of varying size—words, phrases, sentences, or whole paragraphs, connected or unconnected to a specific setting. They can take the form of a straightforward category label or a more complex one (e.g., a metaphor) (p. 56).

Additionally, if Creswell (2007) argues that "Code or category [...] formation represents the heart of qualitative data analysis" (p. 151), Miles and Huberman (1994) go further in their analysis in concluding that "Coding is analysis" (p. 56). Further, Creswell (2007) explains his point as follows: "Here researchers describe in detail, develop themes or dimensions through some classification system, and provide interpretation in light of their own views or views of perspectives in the literature" (p. 151).

Miles and Huberman (1994) distinguish different types of codes used in qualitative data analysis. There are descriptive codes, interpretive codes, pattern codes, inferential codes, astringent codes, and creating codes. It is not necessary here to define

them. However, for purpose of this study, the method of creating codes is defined. As Miles and Huberman (1994) point out,

method of creating codes [...] is that of creating a provisional "start list" of codes prior to fieldwork. That list comes from the conceptual framework, list of research questions, [...] problem areas, and/or key variables that the researcher brings to the study (p. 58).

To practically explain the process of coding, I reviewed all the text pages of transcribed data, and I observed that a lot of participants' responses reflected various constructs represented in the postcolonial theory framework. I separated the text data into various sections of information (Creswell, 2008), identified them through different colors, and organized the data to be used. I used tags for giving accurate meaning to descriptive information provided by the data (Miles & Huberman, 1994), and labelled "the pieces that matter the most for the purpose of [the] study" (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 56). I decided to use a list of codes or categories that I had previously created from the theoretical perspective (Miles & Huberman, 1994) to develop themes. Creswell (2007) calls this method of creating codes "the use of pre-existing or *a priori* codes that guide my coding process" (p. 152). In addition, other codes were emerged from the data analysis. There were a total of thirty-five codes. I classified these codes, eliminated redundancies and diminished overload (Creswell, 2008). Then, I developed themes or dimensions, and noted significant statements for answering the qualitative research questions as well as for developing the quantitative instrument. In regard to developing themes, Creswell (2008) argues that "Because themes are similar codes aggregated together to form a major idea in the database, they form a core element in qualitative data

analysis (p. 256). Further, he specifies that "Like codes, themes have labels that typically consist of no more than two to four words" (p. 256). However, for the need of the study I used until six words for labeling some themes. Therefore, after eliminating all redundancies, two themes and six subthemes were finally considered to answer the two qualitative questions, and interpretations were provided in line with the theoretical framework and research questions of the study (see themes and subthemes in Table 2).

Connecting Qualitative and Quantitative Phases

A study is labeled mixed methods when data from the different components are mixed somewhere during the study. Creswell and Plano Clark (2007) note that there are three methods that researchers usually use to mix data in mixed methods studies. Both authors agree that researchers do mix (a) merging data by bringing them together, (b) embedding one dataset within the other one (in this case, researchers make one dataset play a supportive role for the other), and (c) researchers also mix in connecting the two dataset by building one on the other.

In this study, qualitative and quantitative data were mixed at two different points. On the one hand, as a sequential transformative design qualitatively emphasized, qualitative and quantitative data collection methods were connected through the development of the instrument items (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007). In other words, the qualitative phase was linked to the quantitative phase at an intermediate phase during the development of the questionnaire.

On the other hand, data were also mixed at the end of the study during the integration of the entire analysis (Creswell, 2003) as it will be done in chapter five.

Phase Two: The Quantitative Design

In the quantitative phase of this study, a survey research design was utilized to illustrate the way Catholic congregational school teaching impacts democracy in Haiti. The qualitative phase captured what Catholic congregational school alumni freely expressed as well as what they observed during their stay in Haitian Catholic secondary schools. Through their own experiences, the purposive sample of alumni (n=24) clearly exposed traditional pedagogies and cultural practices that were developed within these schools. From this literature, I developed a questionnaire to survey a large convenience sample of different Catholic alumni (n=240) in order to answer four quantitative questions. Creswell (2008) argues that "Survey research designs are procedures in quantitative research in which investigators administer a survey to a sample or to the entire population of people to describe the attitudes, opinions behaviors, or characteristics of the population" (p. 388). Thus, survey research designs are helpful to identify important beliefs and postures of individuals (Creswell, 2008).

Quantitative Sampling Techniques and Participant Selection

Creswell (2008) points out that "Survey researchers typically select and study a sample from the population and generalize results from the sample to the population. We need to define three terms: the population, the target population or sampling frame, and the sample (p. 393). In this study, while Catholic school alumni represented the whole population, alumni from Catholic congregational secondary was the target population, and the survey was administered to a volunteer convenience sample of Catholic congregational alumni (n=240).

Quantitative studies usually use four samples which are simple random sampling, systematic sampling, stratified sampling and multistage sampling (Creswell, 2008; Levy & Lemeshow, 1999). The three previous sampling techniques are all based on calculations of statistical inference, and in many situations, it is difficult to use these techniques for sample selection. The main obstacle is the absence, unavailability or inaccessibility of an appropriate sampling frame. In other words, "it is not feasible—and perhaps not even possible—to compile sampling frames that list all enumeration units for the entire population (Levy & Lemeshow, 1999, p. 225). This is especially when the selection should focus on hard-to-reach, stigmatized, or hidden populations (Guest et al., 2006). Consequently, researchers may use a cluster sampling plan to resolve this problem.

The population of this study represent all those alumni who went to Catholic congregational schools since their creation. Because any official register or list of Catholic alumni was not available, it was impossible to construct a random sampling frame. Additionally, in terms of person-times, it was so expensive and complicated to use a cluster sampling plan. Therefore, only the use of a convenience sample was possible.

According to Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009), "Convenience sampling involves drawing samples that are both easily accessible and willing to participate in a study yet may not be the most appropriate to answer the research questions" (p. 170). Likewise, Onwuegbuzie and Collins (2007) assert that convenience sample is "Choosing settings, groups, and/or individuals that are conveniently available and willing to participate in the study" (p. 287). Creswell (2008) adds that "In convenience sampling the researcher selects participants because they are willing and available to be studied" (p. 155).

Captive sample and volunteer sample are two types of convenience samples. While the former is "a convenience sample taken from a particular environment where individuals may find it difficult not to participate (e.g., students in a classroom)", the latter is "a convenience sample in which individuals willingly agree to participate in a study" (Teddle & Tashakkori, 2009, p. 171).

Thus, the quantitative phase of the study used a volunteer convenience sample of 240 Catholic congregational alumni from seven Faculties of the State University (n=240). In other words, I administered questionnaires to a total of 121 males (n=121) and 119 females (n=119) alumni from multiple fields of study. They were in engineering (n=39), agriculture (n=6), communication (n=7), political science (n=13), medicine (n=55), management (n=20), computer science (n=9), and other professions (n=91).

To conclude, I agree with Creswell (2008) to affirm that I cannot say with confidence that the study participants were representative of the population. Nevertheless, the convenience sample provided useful information for answering the research questions. Additionally, even though the use of a randomized sample could eventually strengthen the reliability and validity of the study, having chosen a convenience sampling ensured that participants were those alumni who had the aforesaid criteria of being a member of the middle class, a future member of the intellectual and political elites, and so on.

Quantitative Data Collection

The survey was developed based upon themes identified in the qualitative data analysis, and data were collected through a questionnaire. Creswell (2008) defines the questionnaire as an instrument employed in survey research design, completed by the

participants of a study and returned to the investigator. In this study, I followed and adapted the four steps proposed by Benson and Clark (1983) to develop a questionnaire (cited in Creswell, 2008).

The first step is planning. I clearly defined the purpose of the questionnaire, the target population, and the main variables to take into consideration. I actively reviewed the literature on construct (Creswell, 2008).

The second step concerns the construction. I found relevant content to use, particularly, I carefully paid attention to several postcolonial thoughts. I developed a wide quantity of items. I revised them and ensured that they were correctly constructed and that the phenomenon they were meant to measure were clearly represented (Creswell, 2008).

The third step is about quantitative evaluation. Once constructed, I revised the questionnaire with a Ph.D. student from Northeastern University (Boston, Massachusetts), and we made relevant changes. I administered the first pilot test (Creswell, 2008) by sending a copy by email to three alumni for feedback. They filled it out and made their critical remarks and observations. And, once again I revised it.

Finally, validation is the fourth and last step. Bashir et al. (2008) argue that "Validity determines whether the research truly measures that which it was intended to measure or how truthful the research results are" (p. 37). For validity purpose, the questionnaire was systematically revised by an expert in methodology. This expert—a distinguished mixed methods scholar at McGill University—led two important sessions of work in which we ran two important critical item analysis (Creswell, 2008). She critically revised the questionnaire. Briefly, she significantly helped me finalize it.

Additionally, I also took advice from one of my thesis supervisors at McGill University as well as a survey research specialist from the University of Montreal. In addition, before I administered the questionnaire in Haiti, I conducted a pretest with a convenience sample of ten alumni, five males and five females. The results were analyzed to assess and increase its effectiveness, and improve it. From there, I could appreciate that the means of measurement were authentic and valid, and that they measured what they intended to measure (Bashir et al., 2008).

After revision of the questionnaire, participants were asked to complete a 60-items survey questionnaire (see Quantitative Instrument in Appendix C) with a Likert-type four-response that measured their level of agreement or disagreement to various items related to the topic of the study (Teddle & Tashakkori, 2009). The survey participants were asked to choose one single answer. According to Teddle and Tashakkori (2009) "The traditional Likert scales are 5 point scales with a variant of neither agree nor disagree as the midpoint of the scale" (p. 234). Nevertheless, in the construction of the questionnaire I followed the advice of Teddle and Tashakkori (2009). I rather employed a 4 point scales because there was no need to add a neutral option in the questionnaire. To introduce the questionnaire to the participants, I pointed out that it was entirely anonymous, and that it took approximately 20 to 30 minutes to be completed by the participant. The participants were informed of the purpose of the study and were also politely asked to answer the questions with honesty in order to increase the truthfulness of the study.

In addition, only a French language version of the survey instrument was distributed because most of the people who attended Haitian Catholic congregational

schools usually cannot read Haitian Creole well. It is important to note that the questionnaire is composed by two main sections. The first section has 18 items on demographic, biographic and professional issues. The second section contains 42 items that measure three dimensions: pedagogical practices, Haitian Creole, and Haitian Vodou. After each main section, participants were informed that they were free to add their comments.

Quantitative Data Analysis

The data gathered from the survey were visually inspected for analysis. To do so, I used the traditional computer software program of Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS), a version 22 from IBM. In addition, Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009) argue that "Quantitative research may involve the statement of research hypotheses or research questions or both" (p. 97). Since this research is exploratory in nature, there was no need to posit any hypothesis. Consequently, the research questions substituted the hypotheses. Thus, in the quantitative phase, the following four questions were answered. Firstly, to what extent do Catholic congregational schools teaching promote core democratic values in Haiti? Secondly, how do the ways alumni of the Catholic congregational schools talk about methods of teaching, school leadership, discipline, school climate, school culture, classroom organization, classroom management, and textbook contents convey core democratic values such as diversity, gender equity, equality of chances, respect, cooperation, common good, justice, liberty, tolerance? Thirdly, how does the way congregational Catholic schools' alumni talk about Haitian Creole convey core democratic values such as diversity, equality, respect and liberty? And fourthly, how does

the way congregational Catholic schools' alumni talk about Haitian Vodou convey core democratic values such as diversity, equality, respect, liberty and tolerance?

The use of statistics was considered in this part to analyze the survey results. Specifically, conventional descriptive statistics such as frequency and percentage were used to answer the research questions. For two reasons, the use of inferential statistics was inappropriate in the analysis of the results. First, the survey participants were not chosen randomly. Second, this research did not try to establish any causality between variables. The results of the survey were presented in a format where each answer is presented as a percentage of the total responses. Most of the questions lend themselves to simple frequency counts of responses.

Finally, the results of both qualitative and quantitative data analysis were mixed and interpreted through an analysis and interpretation phase. As Creswell (2003) points it out, the results of the two phases are integrated in the interpretation phase. This is the interpretation of the entire analysis.

Figure 2. The Two-phase Sequential Transformative Design

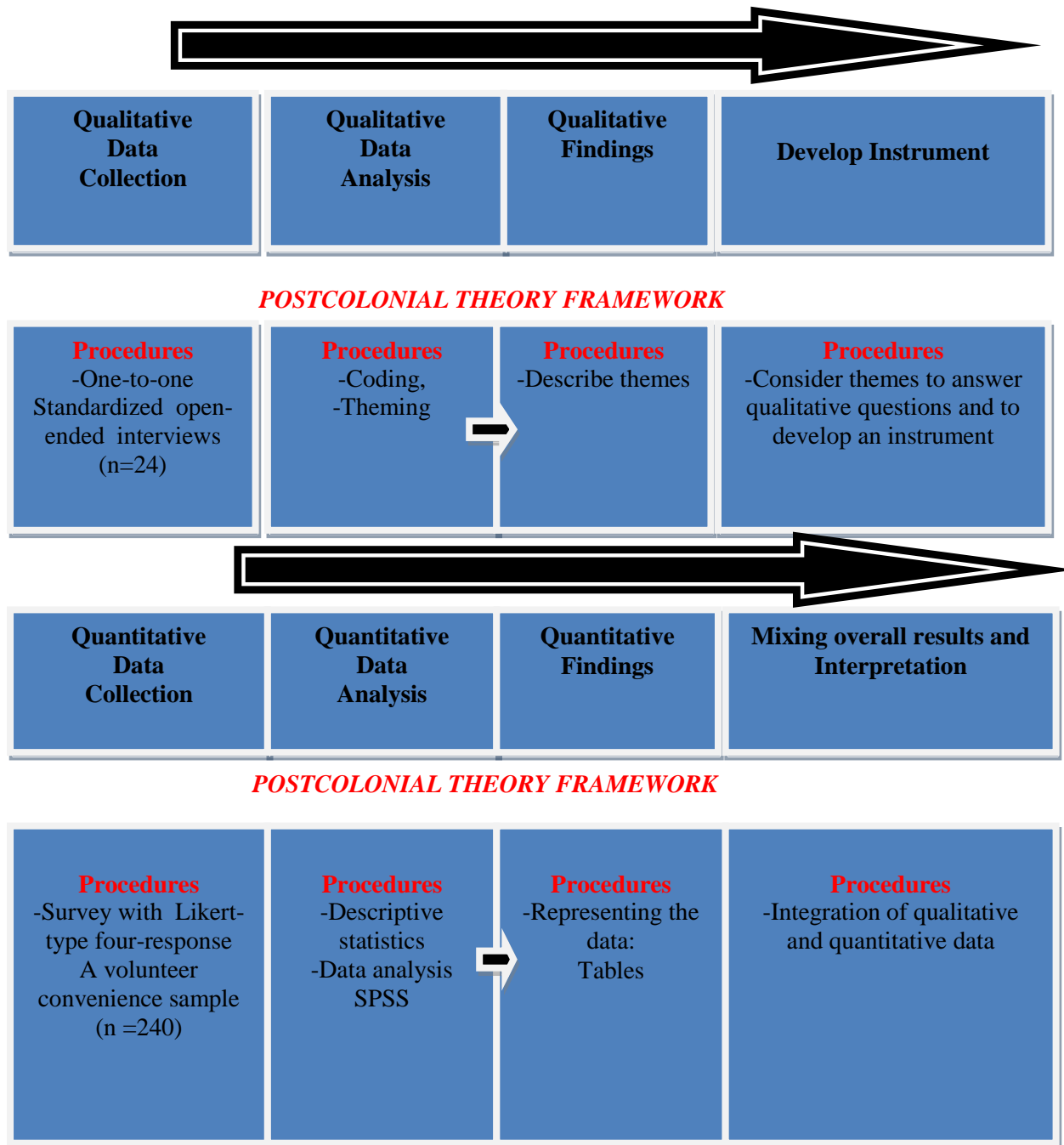


Figure 2. The Two-Phase Sequential Transformative Design

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS OF THE STUDY

Those who hold the school, hold the country, hold its religion, and hold its future.

Bishop Joseph Shanahan

Overview

The purpose of this two-phased sequential transformative mixed methods research was to (a) explore in-depth the nature of the Catholic congregational school pedagogy in Haiti, and (b) critically examine how such a pedagogy impacts democracy in the Haitian society. The qualitative findings describe the pedagogical practices in Catholic congregational schools in Haiti; from these findings a survey instrument was developed to measure to what extent the way those schools' alumni talk about pedagogical school practices—namely, methods of teaching, discipline, school climate and culture, classroom management, textbook contents, and school leadership as well as Haitian Creole and Vodou (the two pillars of Haitian culture)—communicates core democratic values such as diversity, gender equity, equality, respect, cooperation, common good, justice, liberty, and tolerance.

The fourth chapter presents the overall results of this study. It reveals the outcomes of the qualitative phase, the development of the quantitative instrument as well as the findings of the quantitative phase in order to answer the qualitative and quantitative questions of the research.

In line with the purpose and methodology of the study, there are two research questions that guide the qualitative phase and inform the four interrogations of the quantitative component. Specifically, the first segment of this study constitutes a basic or

generic qualitative approach that uses interview questions and is guided by the following qualitative questions:

1. What are the main characteristics of the Catholic congregational schools in Haiti?
2. How do Catholic congregational schools' alumni describe common pedagogical practices such as methods of teaching, classroom management, school discipline, school climate, and the general culture of their schools?

These qualitative research questions indicate the framework for the results of the study. Quantitative questions were developed from the qualitative phase in order to provide a more complete picture of how Catholic congregational schools currently educate Haitian pupils and show the connection between the Catholic school pedagogy and the deficit of democracy in Haiti.

Having used the snowball technique, a purposive sample of alumni was selected and interviewed to explore the nature of education and pedagogy in Catholic congregational schools. The interview guide was composed of questions that helped the participants to describe school pedagogical practices as well as cultural and academic activities and issues regarding school curricula, school know-how, and savoir-faire.

Data gathered from the interviews with these alumni and the literature review were used to inform a quantitative phase that is guided by four other questions:

1. To what extent do pedagogical practices (methods of teaching, classroom management, school discipline, textbook contents, school climate, and school culture) of Catholic congregational schools reflect and promote core democratic

- values (cooperation, liberty, justice, tolerance, respect, diversity, equality, common good, and gender equity)?
2. How does the way Catholic congregational school's alumni talk about behaviors and practices of their school staff convey core democratic values such as cooperation, liberty, respect, justice, tolerance, diversity, common good, equality, and gender equity?
 3. How does the way Catholic congregational school's alumni talk about Haitian Creole convey democratic values such as diversity, liberty, respect, tolerance, and equality?
 4. How does the way Catholic congregational school's alumni talk about Haitian Vodou convey core democratic values such as diversity, liberty, respect, tolerance, and equality?

This chapter is thus divided into two main sections. The first section presents the results of the qualitative interview questions and the themes that were used to answer those questions and also develop the quantitative phase. The second segment exposes the descriptive statistics used to answer the quantitative questions. In other words, I present qualitative and quantitative results separately to respectively answer the research questions for each phase (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007).

Contextual Framework of the Analysis

As it is the case in any sequential transformative design, all the process of data analysis is driven by the theoretical framework of the study that overlays the sequential process (Parmelee et al., 2007). Therefore, overall in this chapter, I used postcolonial theory as a tool of analysis (Hudson, 1998). In other words, the analyses of both

qualitative and quantitative data were specially conducted in line with the postcolonial theory particularly that of Homi K. Bhabha's theory of hybridity developed in chapter two. In practical terms, for having been the results of the Haitian collective identity constructed in the "in-between spaces" or "hybrid spaces" (Bhabha, 1994), Haitian Vodou and Creole are placed at the heart of this analysis. Indeed, Vodou and Creole represent the main components of the cultural identity of Haitian collectivity, and as such, they are expected to make up and must be the foundational pillars of the economic, political, social, educational, and democratic system in Haiti. As I previously posited, from the perspective of the theory of hybridity, democracy is not possible in Haiti without the national institutions that reflect the historical and cultural reality of the Haitian people. Paraphrasing Boris Frankel, I argue that without its national institutions, Haitian society does not have any chance to establishing a democratic public sphere (cited in McLaren, 1995). Since democracy is intimately linked to culture and language (Bell, 2008; Martineau, 1993), Vodou and Creole are indispensable to the theory and practice of educating for democracy in Haiti. Additionally, the literature review revealed that the establishment of the Catholic congregational school system in Haiti served to hide the French neocolonial project. As a result, this study supports the premise that this form of religious education played—and still plays—a significant role in the chronic democratic crisis that has prevailed for many decades in Haiti. To a certain extent, it could be assumed that these schools profoundly "mis-educated" (Woodson, 1933) an important number of political, economic, social, cultural, and spiritual Haitian leaders. Consequently, they prepared a French-speaking, wealthy, Catholic, and alienated minority that marginalized and oppressed the Creole-speaking mass of poor Vodouists.

From this perspective, the population utilized in the survey, including both samples of the qualitative (n=24) and quantitative (n=240) phases, is considered as post-colonial neocolonized subjects whose identity bears the mouldings and influences of the colonial curriculum and educational practices of the Catholic congregational schools. They were passive recipients of oppressive school lessons, activities, practices and routines. The information gathered from the alumni's opinions, narratives, testimonies, and schooling experiences were thus analyzed in anti-imperial, anti-colonial, anti-racist, anti-classist, and anti-sexist terms (McLaren cited in Viruru, 2005).

Qualitative Data Analysis and Results

The first section of this chapter presents the qualitative data gathered from conducting structured interviews with a carefully selected sample of alumni who completed the secondary level at Catholic congregational schools. The interpretive stance of these qualitative data is determined by the alumni opinions, narratives, testimonies, and experiences acquired in post-colonial/neocolonized conditions. As such, these data are worth being interpreted from a postcolonial critical standpoint.

In order to analyze the data collected in this inquiry, I took into consideration the aforementioned view of the curriculum presented in chapter two. This information led us to realize that curriculum goes beyond the official texts to involve power and action that intertwine knowledge of the school system with a field of cultural significance (Lopes, 1999 cited in Pinar, 2011). Because, as Darder et al. (2009) explained,

the curriculum represents much more than a program of study, a classroom text, or a course syllabus. Rather, it represents the *introduction to a particular form of*

life; it serves in part to prepare students for dominant or subordinate positions in the existing society (p. 74).

Consequently, as a critical educator, I "recognize that schools shape students both through standardized learning situation, and through other agendas including rules of conduct, classroom organization, and the informal pedagogical procedures used by teachers with specific groups of students" (Darder et al., 2009, p. 75).

This is why alumni opinions, stories, and testimonies based on their schooling experiences are explored through the lenses of the diverse curricula—formal, hidden, and null—in order to point out the nature of values, knowledges, and as well the cultural, pedagogical, and social norms and practices that were taught and acquired in the Catholic congregational schools. To put it another way, the neocolonial agenda of these religious establishments of learning are critically examined through the alumni's thoughts, narratives, classroom experiences, and schooling routines. After all, these data contain scholastic and daily instruction, pedagogical and social practices, and "values transmitted in an unacknowledged way through the life of the school" (Carr & Landon, 1999, p. 22). These data are thus very useful for the analysis of the official, null, and hidden curriculum taught and learnt in those schools. For instance, the inclusion of the implicit curriculum in this analysis is to help us to understand how students have learned things such as racism, classism, and other social norms in the day-to-day practice and routine during the time spent in their schools.

This section of chapter four details the main themes and subthemes that emerged from the coding procedures to answer the qualitative research questions. Using testimonials from former students from different Catholic schools, I undertook to provide

a picture of the pedagogical practices these alumni experienced in their respective institutions. From the literature review, theoretical framework and participants' opinions, narratives, testimonies, and schooling experiences, two core themes and six subthemes with no more than six words each were created as a means to answer the qualitative questions of the study. These themes and subthemes provide a critical analytical framework to better investigate the nature of the Catholic congregational school system and their role in the lack of democracy in Haiti. This section reveals many troubling issues with respect to the French neocolonial education in Haiti. To be more precise, it emphasizes the main characteristics of this religion-based school system in Haiti, and concepts such as climate of fear, autocratic, and individualistic pedagogical practices as well as the expressions of oppression, racism, classism, and other similar things that are evident in the alumni's opinions, accounts, testimonies, and experiences.

As discussed in chapter two, the school through its main functions plays a central role in the construction of society. Accordingly, to a large extent, a significant part of the daily life of the contemporary Haitian society is formed in the classrooms of these schools. Alumni's opinions, narratives, testimonies, and experiences collected in this qualitative phase showed thus a social reality that has been engineered by those schools. Broadly speaking, the analysis of these data showed that the model of Catholic congregational schools that is established in Haiti is (a) *a model of French colonial school* that functions with at least three main characteristics represented by the following three subthemes:

1. a maker of colonial ruling elites,
2. moral education as a moral conquest,

3. a promoter of French civilizing mission.

Moreover, the analysis also revealed that the education offered in those schools was (b) *an extreme form of banking education* exemplified by three other subthemes:

1. a set of anti-democratic pedagogical practices,
2. an oppressive, racist, classist pedagogical structure,
3. a culturally inappropriate pedagogy.

These themes and subthemes that emerged from the data provided an appropriate basis from which we can draw a broader picture of the nature of the Catholic congregational school pedagogy in Haiti. They are useful because they denote a hidden neocolonial reality that has lingered for a long time inside the Catholic congregational school system context.

Table 2 presents the qualitative questions as well as the respective themes and subthemes that correspond to each question.

Table 2

Qualitative Questions and Themes

Qualitative Questions	Themes and Subthemes
1. What are the main characteristics of the Catholic congregational schools in Haiti?	<p>1. A Model of French Colonial School</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A Maker of Colonial Ruling Elites • Moral Education as a Moral Conquest • A Promoter of French Civilizing Mission
2. How do Catholic congregational school's alumni describe common pedagogical practices such as methods of teaching, classroom management, school discipline, and school climate, which prevailed in their schools?	<p>2. An Extreme Form of Banking Education</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A Set of Anti-democratic Pedagogical Practices • An Oppressive, Racist, Classist Pedagogical Structure • A Culturally Inappropriate Pedagogy

Qualitative Research Question one

What are the main characteristics of the Catholic congregational schools in Haiti?

The first question is about the main characteristics of the Catholic congregational schools in Haiti. One main theme and three subthemes revealed the main characteristics of these schools such as accounted by the alumni. The theme is: *a model of French colonial school*; and the subthemes are: *a maker of colonial ruling elites, moral education as a moral conquest*, and *a promoter of French civilizing mission*. In the next sections, I develop the theme and each subtheme separately by mainly utilizing the alumni's narratives, testimonies and opinions as to accurately report their own educational experiences in Catholic congregational schools.

A model of French colonial School

Je ne sais trop pourquoi j'avais été puni. J'avais été chassé de la classe. C'était d'ailleurs stupide. Tandis que j'étais dehors, je voyais un Frère français qui battait un enfant. Je lui ai dit qu'il était un colon. À cause de cela, j'avais été renvoyé de l'école, et j'étais parti sans aucun regret (Participant # 7).

This statement taken from the narrative of the Participant # 7, identified as an alumnus of 1971, set the tone for the qualitative data analysis. I used it to give an idea of the students' life in the Catholic congregational school system. As poststructuralists note, "life takes a narrative form" (Rehm, 2012, p. 152). Hence, this account describes the student's daily life in these religious schools. In other words, from this excerpt and many others, one can draw a picture of the colonial nature of school pedagogy, school culture, school climate, school leadership, school discipline, and classroom management of the aforementioned school system as revealed by the overall data. Even though this experience happened

nearly four decades ago, such a narrative accurately epitomizes the data gathered from various generations of alumni, including the most recent graduate, that is, the year of 2011.

In line with the literature review and theoretical framework, the analysis of the qualitative data revealed that the four Catholic congregational schools considered in the first phase of the study constitute a new form of French colonial school officially established in the Third-World. In other words, Haiti would be one of the first "tricontinental" countries to experience what later the *Ministère des colonies* associated to the Roman Catholic Church will officially call "École coloniale française" (Hardy, 1917 & 2005; Lehmil, 2007). In fact, these schools are the first new models of the *École coloniale française* established in the frame of the neocolonial project of the nineteenth and twentieth century "in order to achieve French goals with a minimum of force" (Segalla, 2003, p. 172). The four schools considered in the qualitative phase— Institution Saint Louis de Gonzague, Collège Sainte Rose de Lima, Petit Séminaire Collège Saint-Martial, and Collège du Sacré-Coeur—are listed among the first Catholic schools established by French missionaries in Haiti between 1864 and 1875 (Delisle, 2003; François, 2010; Pressoir, 1935). The creation of these schools coincided with the launching of the French *mission civilisatrice* mostly in Africa and Asia between the second half of the 19th and early 20th century (Conklin, 1997).

In the French neocolonial system, it was before everything else a matter of colonizing or civilizing through moral conquest (Hardy, 1917 & 2005), that is to say, the domination of mind and consciousness. In this atmosphere, the system of formal education played a key role and was one of the most effective tools used by colonial

administrators to colonize the mind of their subjects. Around the same time French Catholic religious through the Concordat of 1860 obtained the power to influence educational politics and policies in Haiti, the French colonial schools were also established by Catholic missionaries in Africa under the control of the *Ministère des colonies*. In other words, to properly introduce and run these schools throughout the world, the authorities of the Hexagon received the unconditional support of a large army of Catholic missionaries (Daughton, 2006; Prudhomme, 1994; White & Daughton, 2012). These religious men and women, through their teaching, contributed to secure the hegemony of the French empire on peoples in new and former French colonies, including Haiti.

As I discussed in chapter two, in 1826, Gaspard Theodore Mollien, General Consul and the first French Chargé d'Affaires in Haiti, who previously worked in Africa, required the sending of Catholic missionaries in Haiti with the mission of reinforcing the influence of the French culture in the island (Brière, 2007). The neocolonial project, such as proposed by Mollien, was simple and clear, namely, France should intend to have the economic and cultural expansion in Haiti (Brière, 2007). In his official report, Mollien wrote: "Tous nos efforts [...] doivent tendre à ne faire qu'un peuple, des Français d'Orient et des Français d'Occident" (cited in Brière, 2007, p. 74). To achieve such a goal, his best strategy was for French missionaries to do the following: "enseigner à tous la même morale, les mêmes principes et les mêmes idées" (cited in Brière, 2007, p. 74).

At the same period in Africa, the French ethnologist Georges Hardy "was one of the most important colonial figures in French colonial education" (Boum, 2008, p. 209). In his reference book titled *Une conquête morale: L'enseignement en AOF*, first

published in 1917, Hardy (2005) exposes, in the following terms, a look-alike of Mollien's neocolonial project:

Pour transformer les peuples primitifs de nos colonies, pour les rendre le plus dévoués à notre cause et utiles à nos entreprises, nous n'avons à notre disposition qu'un nombre très limité de moyens, et le moyen le plus sûr, c'est de prendre l'indigène dès l'enfance, d'obtenir de lui qu'il nous fréquente assidûment et qu'il subisse nos habitudes intellectuelles et morales pendant plusieurs années de suites; en un mot, de lui ouvrir des écoles où son esprit se forme à nos intentions (pp. 6-7).

As White (1996) meaningfully summarized, "According to French policy, education provided to Africans was meant to make them a part of the French family" (p. 17).

In addition, similar to Mollien, Hardy (2005) further commended the same strategy for African countries, namely, "L'enseignement de la morale doit garder une large place dans nos programmes" (p. 20). Such a strategy was one of the best ways to fully accomplish the pedagogical vow of Delassus (1913)—that is, "nous les instruisons pour nous plus encore que pour eux" (cited in Lehmil, 2006, p. 48).

Therefore, in many respects, the models of French schools established in Haiti and Africa were similar and had to achieve the same aim, that is, to colonize with less coercion. In fact, on both sides, there were the same French political and cultural influence, the same economic interests and profits to gain, and especially, the same Catholic congregations working with the same neocolonial philosophy, pedagogy, curriculum, and strategies. On both sides, the same French textbooks were used in the process of instruction, for instance. As Participant # 18 (an alumnus of 1991) reported, in

his school, "la plupart des manuels scolaires venait de la France. C'étaient des livres préparés pour des pays d'Afrique. Les exemples étaient le plus souvent tirés de l'Afrique" (Participant # 18).

In the same vein, Participant # 21 added that

Parmi les manuels scolaires importés de la France, il y en avait qui étaient faits pour les pays d'Afrique. Le contenu et les images étaient le plus souvent africains. Je m'étais informé auprès d'un Frère français à ce sujet. Il m'avait dit que c'était des livres qui étaient spécialement faits pour les pays francophones d'Afrique (Participant # 21).

Similarly to the colonial schools in West Africa, the Catholic congregational schools dispensed in Haiti a form of French colonial education. The formal curriculum adopted by these schools was precisely elaborated to mould a colonial ruling elite that would carry on like French graduates. As Participant # 23 confirmed it,

Tout était basé spécialement sur l'éducation française. Celles qui partaient pour la France n'avaient pas de difficultés à s'adapter. Celles qui allaient en Amérique avaient par contre de petites difficultés académiques. Des anciennes de mon école l'avaient signalé aux Sœurs (Participant # 23).

In the same way, Participant # 10 more explicitly added: "Le curriculum de ces écoles vous préparait à affronter les universités étrangères et à être brillants un peu partout. C'était ça leur devise" (Participant # 10).

In addition to these two alumni, Participant # 12 tried to explain such a reality by saying: "À l'époque, c'était normal et jusqu'à présent malheureusement, on forme les Haïtiens pour l'étranger" (Participant # 12).

Furthermore, since Catholic missionaries around the world and republican authorities often shared the same goals (Daughton, 2006), their primary mission was to "moralize" and "civilize" both the Haitians and Africans. In this respect, two Catholic congregations through their contributions and leading figures played—and still continue to play—a significant role in Haiti and many African countries, namely, Sisters of Saint-Joseph de Cluny and Brothers of Christian Instruction led by Anne-Marie Javouhey and Jean-Marie de la Mennais, respectively. White and Daughton (2012) in their book, *In God's Empire : French Missionaries and the Modern World*, argue that the Sisters of Saint-Joseph de Cluny and Brothers of Christian Instruction played a crucial role in pushing forward a Catholic agenda of moralizing mission to the colonized and post-colonized peoples. These authors summarize the Catholic moralizing mission in the following terms: "the conversion of animist or non-Christian people to Christianity that would result in their cultural development—translated easily into a civilizing mission—the dutiful acculturation of colonized peoples into the superior social, philosophical, political, and economic traditions of France" (pp. 58-59). In other words, White and Daughton (2012) have critically noted that the missionary moralizing project and the administrative approach to assimilation are similar as both aim to integrate Africans to French culture and society. In the same vein, these authors quote an important letter by Anne-Marie Javouhey addressed in 1845 to the French authorities. In that letter, Sister Javouhey defined the mission of her congregation as follows: "We would prepare the elements of a religious, moral, intelligent and hardworking population that will assure the prosperity of our country and which could offer great services to other establishments founded to moralize, manage, and contain the black race" (p. 56). Here in these words,

the neocolonial agenda is very clear. Without any doubt, French school missionaries were acting as new colonial agents with a mission: to successfully materialize the aforementioned vision of Gaspard Theodore Mollien in chapter two.

A Fabric of Colonial Ruling Elites

...puisque nos moyens restreignent nos efforts à une minorité, choisissons judicieusement cette minorité. Choisissons nos élèves tout d'abord parmi les fils des chefs et des notables.

Roume in Moumouni, 1964 cited in White, 1996, p. 16

According to Lord Hailey (1945), "The main purpose of French colonial education, as explained by a General Governor of French West Africa, was two-fold: 'instruire la masse et dégager l'élite'" (cited in White, 1996, p. 16). Regarding the elite's education, White (1996) explained that "A preference for certain sectors of the colonial population and further selectivity within schools is at least partly responsible for accusations of elitism in the French educational system" (p. 16). George Hardy (1917), one of the designers of the French colonial schools in West Africa, made it clear that "le nouveau système mis en place devait fournir une classe subalterne qui était censée servir d'intermédiaire entre le colonisateur et les populations indigènes" (p. 19). Indeed, Hayes (2006), has recently confirmed that the French colonial "schools formed an indigenous elite to mediate between the French and the colonized who labored for them" (p. 153).

Similar to the French colonial schools in West Africa, the Catholic congregational schools in Haiti were fundamentally elitist. The idea of developing elite schools in Haiti came from Gaspard Theodore Mollien, the aforementioned mastermind of the Haiti's French neocolonial system. Indeed, a few years before the structuring of colonial elite

schools in Africa, Mollien had already prescribed that special attention be paid to the Mulattoes' education which, in his view, would be absolutely necessary for the success of the French "projets d'influence et de suprématie" (cited in Brière, 2007, p. 75). While in Haiti Mollien commanded to "ménager les mulâtres qui représentent de précieux auxiliaires pour le maintien de l'influence française" (Brière, 2007, p. 74), in West Africa, Hardy (2005) strongly suggested that "le recrutement de l'enseignement doit faire l'objet d'un tirage attentif; il s'agit en effet de faciliter l'accès des carrières administratives à ceux dont la famille a toujours secondé avec honneur notre œuvre civilisatrice" (p. 19). Thus, in both neocolonial projects, French missionaries had to select, prepare, and empower a ruling elite in order to subject the masses to imperial rule. In brief, the colonial schools had to process students as knowledge was processed (Apple, 2004).

As I reported in chapter two, there exist three types of Catholic schools in Haiti: the presbytérale, autonomous, and congregational schools. While the first two categories of Catholic schools were created to educate black children from rural and urban masses, the congregational schools were established for the young Black and Mulattoes from the middle and upper classes. For this reason, these schools as predicted by Sister Javouhey focused on fabricating a type of ruling elite that would serve the interest of the imperial powers and the prosperity of France, in particular (White & Daughton, 2012). At this stage of the qualitative analysis, the elitist character of these schools is studied as the main purpose of the neocolonial education in Haiti. In this section of the analysis, I keep in mind that in the matter of securing hegemony, "the selectivity is the point" (Raymond Williams cited in Apple, 2004, p. 5), the alienating pedagogical, cultural, and social structures of the Catholic schools, in particular, through the hidden curriculum favoured

the mentality of elitism. Briefly, I present these schools as the architect of a "subaltern" ruling elite.

Admittedly despite their elitism for which they are known, Catholic congregational schools have always been the recipients of considerable financial support from the Haiti central government; nonetheless, the high cost of tuition and, especially, the process of selectivity keep people of humble background from accessing those schools. Indeed, all the Participants concurred that many Catholic congregational schools mostly recruited in the first place children who came from a certain milieu. Specifically, in the process of recruitment, priority was given to children of well-to-do Mulattoes and Blacks which constitute a minority of Haiti's population. Then, those children underwent a meticulous selection process at the end of which the cream of the crop was able to enter those schools. For instance, Participant # 3, a 1969 alumnus, reported that in the matter of recruitment his school was very exclusive. During his academic stay, he observed that his school "n'était pas à la portée de n'importe qui. Il n'y avait pas toutes les couches sociales. C'était surtout des élèves venant des couches aisées" (Participant # 3).

According to Participant # 12, being elitist was the main reason which motivated her parents to choose her school. She asserted that "À cette époque [in 1976], c'était l'école qu'il fallait fréquenter. C'était l'école des élites. Mes parents l'ont choisie en bonne connaissance de cause" (Participant # 12).

In addition, the data revealed that in almost all the Catholic congregational schools, the process of selectivity was formally based at least on one of these three elements: (a) test of admission, (b) letter of recommendation from a powerful alumnus, a teacher, a member of the school staff, or an influential renowned Catholic religious, and

(c) interviews with parents and candidates. All the Participants claimed that they were at least tested to be admitted in their schools while several of them remembered that they needed to satisfy or meet at least two conditions to be there.

On the one hand, certain students like Participants # 12 and 23 whose parents are alumni of those schools, for instance, did not need a special recommendation neither pass an interview to have access in their schools. They respectively explained their admission in this way:

Mon père allait à Saint-Louis de Gonzague et ma mère à Sainte Rose de Lima. puisque ma mère était une ancienne de Sainte Rose, c'était elle la référence (Participant # 12).

Mon père était catholique et avait fréquenté une école congréganiste. Il voulait mettre ses trois filles à Sainte-Rose. De plus, ma grand-mère était à l'Externat, la même congrégation et presque la même école. Le fait que j'avais deux grandes sœurs déjà à Sainte Rose avait donc facilité mon admission sans problème (Participant # 23).

On the other hand, there were the cases of Participants # 2, 19, 17, and 15 who had to meet at least two conditions to be accepted in their respective schools. Regarding their admission, they asserted:

D'après moi, dans toutes les écoles congréganistes en Haïti, il fallait avoir une certaine recommandation parce que ces écoles n'avaient pas suffisamment de place. On devait prendre d'abord le gens qui venaient avec toute sorte de référence ou de connaissance intellectuelle. On ne voulait pas prendre les plus crétins. On voulait aussi s'assurer que les parents étaient en mesure de payer les

mensualités et à ce niveau je pense qu'il devrait y avoir une certaine référence (Participant # 2).

On croyait toujours qu'il faut avoir une recommandation pour être admis dans les écoles congréganistes. Dans mon cas, il y avait un professeur qui était informé de mon inscription à l'école. Il a dû jouer un rôle dans mon admission (Participant # 19).

J'ai eu sans doute besoin d'une lettre de recommandation. Toutefois, le fait que mes frères ont fréquenté Saint-Louis avant moi pesait lourd dans mon admission dans cette école (Participant # 17). J'ai subi un test d'admission et j'ai eu besoin d'une recommandation. C'était une amie de ma mère qui avait fait les démarches. Elle était une ancienne élève et également la sœur d'une des religieuses de l'école (Participant # 15).

Before I proceed any further, it is necessary to point out the word "crétins" (or idiot) which Participant # 2 referred to and which is commonly used in Haiti to categorize the majority of Creole speakers or those who are academically average. Such an opinion reflects the pedagogy of exclusiveness and also the form of marginalization which prevail in the Catholic congregational school culture. According to some Catholic congregational school administrators, selectivity was a good way to ensure that most brilliant well-to-do French speaking children receive the best education possible. This is all the more essential that the French language was central to the colonial civilizing mission. In this respect, conducting interviews in French with the future students was an important filter used by the school administrators to carefully process candidates. As Participant # 15 clearly explained, for example,

Il y avait une entrevue avec les parents et une autre avec les élèves. La direction faisait le tri à partir de là. On m'avait posé des questions telles que: qu'est ce que j'aime? Qu'est ce que je fais à la maison? Il y a combien de personnes à la maison? Comment est-ce je décris l'environnement de ma maison? Qu'est ce que je fais pendant les week-ends et les vacances? Etc. On voulait connaître l'environnement dans lequel l'enfant évoluait pour pouvoir mieux définir son profil social (Participant # 15).

As one can note in this excerpt, assessing the level of fluency in French was not the only objective of the interviews. Such a practice was also utilized as a hidden medium to examine the applicants' social condition. Additionally, Participant # 23 agreed that snobbism was a key social criterion for admission into those schools. In this regard, she said:

Les Sœurs sélectionnaient les élèves en fonction de certains critères qu'elles définissaient elles-mêmes. Il y avait des enfants qui automatiquement ne pouvaient pas être admise. Il y avait ce qu'on appelle "le snobisme". C'était là la marque du comportement des filles qu'elles cherchaient (Participant # 23).

Moreover, after being admitted, the rigorous discipline and high grades required to advance to higher grades kept weeding students out every year. At the end of the academic journey of seven years, only a relatively small percentage of students graduated from these schools.

As Participant # 7 reported, "Une promotion de deux cents élèves était admis en 6^e année, mais une fois arrivé en classe terminale, il ne restait qu'une trentaine. C'était les

meilleurs qui y restaient" (Participant # 7). In short, "Au fur et à mesure qu'on allait vers les classes supérieures, on éliminait les plus faibles" (Participant # 6).

However, even though intelligence and discipline seemed to be the most important factor of success in Catholic congregational schools, sometimes, other factors played a considerable part in both the admission and the likability of students. Factors such as family name and financial status were valued in these schools. In fact, among those interviewed, some considered family name to be the most important criterion in the matter of selectivity. Just like in the French colonial schools in West Africa, the sons of political leaders and notables had priority (Roume in Moumouni, 1964, cited in White, 1996), in Haiti, according to the Mollien's vows, the Mulattoes were to be favoured in the Catholic congregational schools. Behind them, the children of black political leaders and notables came in second. The majority of the Participants agreed that these categories of people were favoured and privileged among the clientele of their schools. As Participants # 5, for instance, reported,

Je ne pourrais pas le dire au niveau des notes à donner, mais au niveau de comportement social apparent, les enfants des mulâtres et d'autres fils de gens riches étaient clairement favorisés. Il y avait parfois une recherche d'amitié pour les mulâtres et les hauts fonctionnaires de l'État (Participant # 5).

In a similar instance, Participant # 23 declared:

Il y avait parfois deux poids, deux mesures. On pouvait voir facilement qu'il y avait une différence dans les traitements des noires et des mulâtresses. Pour certaines filles, on était rigide et pour d'autres, il n'y avait point de rigueur (Participant # 23).

As for Participant # 10, he tried to explain the different treatments that students received based on their demographics in these terms:

Il ne fallait absolument pas perdre les fils des riches. L'école était un business.

Donc, les fils d'un ministre, d'un riche commerçant, d'un industriel ou d'un important notable n'allaient pas être exclus de l'école (Participant # 10).

It was also the opinion of Participants # 19 and 23 who added, respectively: "Dans mon école, on voulait garder les plus aisés (Participant 19). Elles sélectionnaient les filles de riches" (Participant # 23).

Thus, it is an acknowledged fact that in certain Catholic schools only the students who fitted these criteria were capable of completing the entire academic circle. These criteria, considered by some as a stamp of approval or a kind of standard of stay, were the principal elements which could confer the status of alumni in some congregational schools.

As these excerpts reveal, the school choice in countries like Haiti was—and continues to be—a matter of inequity and social injustice. For this reason, postcolonialists and many other progressive intellectuals and radical activists continue to struggle for equity and social justice in the field of education. They strongly agree with Rod Paige when he advocates that

A child should not have his educational circumstances limited by his parent's income, the color of his skin, or the dialect of his speech....Disadvantaged parents should have the same right to make choices for their children as other parents have (quoted in Takayama, 2005 cited in Apple & Buras, 2006, p. 14).

In Haiti, a minority of parents were able to circumvent the exclusivity which reigned in the Catholic school subsystem by other means. For example, some parents used their social network to obtain a recommendation from an influent clergyman or clergywoman, or a reference from a known political or business leader. Even though in many cases, these parents have to put everything else on hold on order to pay the tuition that they can hardly afford, they do so in order to give to the children a chance to succeed; for, being part of this elite-molding school is, for many people, the only door to social mobility. As Participant # 14 confessed, for example: "C'est une éducation qui m'a rapproché des élites, qui m'a fait croire que je pouvais être avec les plus grands, avec les bourgeois" (Participant # 14).

Today, the elitist character of the congregational schools is the hallmark alumni swear by. As Participant # 23 said, "C'était entré dans la tête des élèves. On faisait partie de l'élite, donc, il y avait un code de conduite à adopter." This trait is one of the main characteristics that distinguish them from the other Haitian schools. Increasingly, many parents openly become the advocate of maintaining the statu quo in these schools. During my recent stay in Haiti, I heard similar appeals from other parents. In this respect, Participant # 19 revealed a unbelievable request formulated by certain parents when he reported that "Ma mère m'a raconté que lors d'une réunion de parents, certains parents voulaient que l'école augmente les frais scolaires. Ils voulaient que l'école devienne plus chère pour qu'elle reste plus élitiste" (Participant # 19).

To go further in the analysis, it is important to recall that besides the official or explicit school curriculum that teaches a set of meanings, values, practices, and knowledges there exists a powerful curriculum, that is, the hidden curriculum—also

called "the "unstudied," the "covert," the "latent," and the "implicit" curriculum" (Uhrmacher, 1997, p. 320)—from which students learned important "values, intergroup relations and celebrations that enable students' socialization process" (Kentli, 2009, p. 83). This hidden curriculum is characterized by implicit messages that come from the social structure of schools (Ahwee et al., 2004). As Darder et al. (2009) more explicitly explained, "The hidden curriculum also includes teaching and learning styles that are emphasized in the classroom, the messages that get transmitted to the student by the total physical and instructional environment, governance structures, teachers expectations, and the grading procedures" (p. 75). Ghosh (2008) additionally argues that this informal curriculum is more destructive and insidious than the formal curriculum. Similarly, a Haitian proverb says: *Ti bwa w ou pa wè se li ki toujou kreve je w* [The twig which we do not see has the power to permanently deprive us of our eyesight]. Thus, the results of the hidden curriculum in schooling can be as violent as bombs, guns and wars (Ghosh, 2008).

With such views and perspectives in mind, I argue that a selected group of Catholic students for the purpose of becoming the "subaltern" of the West in Haiti formally and informally learned a specific set of moral, social, cultural, and political norms and practices elaborated by the French missionaries. The Catholic congregational schools prepared their students to espouse the same arrogant discourse and oppressive behavior of the French colonizer and openly and implicitly taught the notion of superiority of the French culture, as displayed in the testimonies and narratives of the Participants. An appropriate illustration would be the case of Participants # 14 and 19 when they spoke at length in these terms:

On nous disait que nous étions supérieurs aux autres élèves des autres écoles privés et publiques. On nous enseignait qu'on était supérieurs. Et dans la société on nous prenait comme des gens supérieurs. Les autres écoles nous prenaient comme des gens supérieurs. Quand on arrivait dans un quelconque examen d'État tous les autres élèves voulaient s'asseoir à côté de nous. Il y avait toute une tradition. Mais c'était enseigné à l'école. On nous disait que vous êtes différents des autres, c'est-à-dire, vous êtes supérieurs aux autres. Ça a développé en nous tout un complexe de supériorité (Participant # 14).

On nous faisait toujours croire que nous étions les meilleurs. On nous faisait croire qu'on était mieux préparé. Et, en écoutant parler mes camarades, j'avais l'impression qu'ils savaient qu'ils étaient vraiment les meilleurs. Ils se sentaient mieux préparés que les autres. En classe de Seconde, le Frère [Lhérisson] nous disait: "vous êtes les meilleurs, en conséquence, vous devez être riches." Chacun interprétait ça de différente façon, mais jusqu'à aujourd'hui, je n'arrive pas à comprendre le sens d'une telle phrase (Participant # 19).

In addition to these two alumni, Participant # 5 portrayed the alumnus of his school as "quelqu'un qui est supérieur à tout le monde, le meilleur des meilleurs, la crème des crèmes" (Participant # 5).

These testimonies confirmed the popular myth of superiority that was—and is still—very familiar to the Catholic school culture and tradition, namely, the Catholic congregational school's student is "superior" because he/she is in the "best school." From this kind of teaching, the students officially and implicitly learned that for having received the "best education," they are entitled to power and wealth.

Additionally, another significant illustration concerning the myth of superiority is provided by Participant # 10's statement who arrogantly affirmed:

Nous étions bien préparés pour être les meilleurs en tout. C'était ça l'idée. D'ailleurs, c'étaient les meilleurs qui montaient en classe supérieure. Ceux qui ne pouvaient pas tenir étaient exclus de l'établissement. C'était donc les meilleurs qui arrivaient à la fin du cycle d'études. A l'école, on nous disait que nous étions supérieurs. On se sentait toujours supérieurs aux autres. On est vraiment supérieurs aux autres. Nous sommes supérieurs parce que nous avons reçu la meilleure éducation. Aujourd'hui, je peux être parmi les meilleurs parce que je viens d'une des meilleures écoles du pays (Participant # 10).

To have a critical look at these testimonies and better understand the real meanings and consequences of these discourses, I referred to the works of critical discourse analysis and poststructuralist thinkers such as Teun A. Van Dijk and Michel Foucault who perceive discourses as a form of expression that conveys meaning and influences how people understand their existential situation (Rail & Lafrance, 2004). According to Van Dijk (2002), discourses express forms of interaction or social practices. They also have meanings and influence our beliefs about other groups, people and races. As for Foucault, for being the Father of poststructuralism, "[il] voit le discours en tant que terrain sur lequel les significations sont débattues et où les relations de pouvoir sont négociées" (Rail & Lafrance, 2004, p. 175). This led to the efforts of deconstruction of linguistic system and discourses to discover how certain meanings are built and used, while others are excluded and subjugated (Rail & Lafrance, 2004). Thus, taken from the Van Dijk and Foucault's perspectives, the participants' discourses indicate that Catholic students were

educated to misbehave and mislead by the example of the French neocolonizers who acted "as 'agents of civilization'" (Michel & Smith-Bellegarde, 2006). In fact, such narratives reflect the same colonial discourse and attitude of superiority epistemologically and socially constructed in the West.

As I note in the last four statements, the adjectives "meilleur" and "supérieur" were utilized at least twenty two times. The excessive use of these words in the narratives of these alumni is the result of the curricular knowledge acquired in their schools. Such discourses bring out the fact that there existed in the schooling process, especially in the diverse curricula, a form of knowledge which develop the "possibility for a subject to assume the arrogance of becoming God-like" (Grosfoguel, 2007, p. 215). Indeed, by having assimilated in the school sites this sort of colonial discourse, the students were consequently transformed into an "Imperial Being" (Grosfoguel, 2007) and began to behave like the western oppressor.

To conclude, from all of what it has been said, it becomes clear that the process of student recruitment in the Catholic congregational schools is rooted in the purpose of the colonial education. Generally, to perpetuate their hegemony on a colonized society, the colonizers must necessary count on a selected group of people who effectively assimilated colonial values, meanings, and practices inserted into a curricular knowledge. Therefore, in studying any model of French colonial school, the process of selectivity deserves to be considered as important as the construction of curriculum or any schooling issue. As Altbach and Kelly (1978) meaningfully argued, "the selectivity underlying the recruitment of colonial students and the nature of the curriculum imposed upon them tend to perpetuate existing patterns of domination" (p. 124). In other words, the western

hegemony is maintained through the "mis-education" of a selective class of people who must constantly accomplish the function of intermediary between the colonizers and the oppressed masses (Hardy, 1917). In this context, colonial education, in its simple expression, is the act of teaching a specific Eurocentric curriculum to a specific group of individuals selected for the purpose of serving the colonizer's needs and interests. In sum, for the survival of imperialism it is thus imperative that a selective group of people continues to learn with physical, ideological, and psychological violence a form of western moral values and culture.

Since the primary mission of the neocolonizers was to "moralize" and "civilize" non-Western peoples, most colonial schools, whether they were rural or urban, government and missionary, emphasized moral education and language instruction (Altbach & Kelly, 1978). In the Haitian Catholic educational subsystem, these two elements represented—and continue to represent—the basis of the curriculum, even the entire school project. They are central to the Catholic school agenda. For being an institution completely Franco-centric, the Catholic congregational schools put moral education and the teaching of French literature, language, and culture at the heart of their curriculum and instruction. In this perspective, moralizing means learning western Catholic educational values, and civilizing is about acquiring great skills in French language and culture. Thus, they have the primary mission of "moralizing" and "civilizing" Haitian Vodouists and Creole speakers. As a result, this form of colonial education—called "mis-education" by Carter G. Woodson (1933)—produced a class of citizens endowed with anti-Vodou and anti-Creole feelings, thoughts, knowledges, and

behaviors. Therefore, this new form of French colonial school is an instrument of moral conquest as well as a promoter of the French civilizing mission.

Moral Education as a Moral Conquest

The analysis of the subthemes continues with the issue of moral education because of its importance in the colonial school agenda. As Delassus (1958) said,

Il s'agit pour elle de faire la conquête morale de ses sujets, de les préparer à être de vrais enfants adoptifs. C'est une seconde conquête à accomplir, plus noble et moins nécessaire que la première. Il s'agit pour elle d'affermir sa domination en soumettant les âmes, en les faisant français (cited in Lehmil, 2007, p. 84).

Howard, Berkowitz, and Schaeffer (2004) define moral education—also called values education or character education—as "an attempt to prepare individuals to make ethical judgments and to act on them, that is, to do what one thinks ought to be done" (p. 18). In applying such a definition in the neocolonial context, moral education becomes thus an attempt to prepare indigenous or post-colonial peoples to make ethical judgments based on western norms and values, and to act on them, that is, to do what western neocolonizers think ought to be done. In short, moral education is fundamental to the colonization of the mind as well as the falsification of the conscience. Because of that, educational leaders and policy makers in their neocolonial effort used—and continue to use—it as an effective moral medium to domesticate the student's mind and consciousness.

I showed in the review of literature how, historically, "moyen moral" had been used to secure the foundations of slavery; in fact, Antoine Pierre Joseph Marie Barnave, a deputy to the French Constituent Assembly, defended the maintenance of slavery and

color prejudice with this new concept. In his view, it would be physically impossible in the colonial Haiti (Saint-Domingue) for a small number of Whites to contain a population of slaves if a moral medium was not used to support the physical means. According to Barnave, this moral medium is in the opinion that puts an immense distance between Blacks and Mulattoes, between Mulattoes and Whites (cited in Gauthier, 2010). In the colonial era, the Catholic clergy—except for the Jesuits aforementioned in chapter two—were most of the time responsible for constructing such an opinion. Religious discourses and teaching of catechism were, among others, the most effective tools used to overcome all form of anti-colonial resistance. They also served to construct and preserve the logic of power relationships in the colony. This kind of Catholic "mis-education" provided the moral medium which sustained the political, economic, and social disparities between races, classes, and sexes in the colony.

Along the same lines, neocolonialists put in place a formal education system based on Barnave's concept in order to maintain and perpetuate the benefits of colonialism in the new independent Haiti. Once again, Catholic missionaries were to be the new colonial agents who would be entrusted with the ideologies that could suppress all "traces of resistance to dominant discourses and power structures" (Hawley, 2001, p. 8). As Gaspard Theodore Mollien wanted it, these neocolonial agents arrived in Haiti with the firm intention of moralizing and civilizing young Haitian people by means of a particular form of French values education, basically anti-Vodou. Yet, in the colonial Haiti (Saint-Domingue), "Because French colonists knew that Vodoun was a "focus of resistance to and a rejection of Christian, white supremacy," they "tried, without success, to stamp it out" (Sanders, 2008, p. 4). In the same way, the Roman Catholic authorities

did everything in their power to eliminate the practices of Vodou in post-colonial Haiti. In their struggles against the Haitian culture, the Catholic schools were—and are still—among their most effective weapons. Indeed, through their institutional structures and practices, these educational institutions continue to promote a variety of moral education that produces, reproduces, disseminates, and perpetuates an oppressive theory of knowledge, that is to say, an oppressive institutional epistemology which is very damaging for the Haitian's mind and consciousness.

In this perspective, moral education in Catholic schools was presented as a "God-eyed view knowledge" (Grosfoguel, 2007, p. 214). Its primary purpose was to turn the student into a good Catholic Christian profoundly endowed with a type of moral knowledge, moral feeling, and moral conduct (Lickona, 1989). In order to accomplish this feat, a form of values education was fully integrated in and transmitted through the multi-faceted apparatus and many sides of the school curriculum. To emphasize this aspect, I considered, for the purpose of the analysis, the examples of planned lessons and official activities as well as unofficial expectations, implicit messages, and excluding curriculum by means of which this character education was constructed and transmitted in the Catholic schoolteaching. In other words, I took into consideration some cases resulting of the explicit, implicit, and null curriculum.

On the one hand, "les pensées morales" also called maxims, which contain French Catholic values, morals, and ethics were considered important contents of the official curriculum. For instance, Participant #5, a 1956 alumnus, was aware of the impact of teaching moral thoughts on his personal life; and he reported his experience in these terms: "Ils [les Frères de l'Instruction Chrétienne] avaient ce qu'ils appelaient l'étude des

pensées morales, c'est à partir des pensées morales, cet aphorisme là, que je me suis fait moi-même" (Participant #5). Most of the moral thoughts or maxims learned by the Catholic school students came from the works of European authors, especially French moralists and Enlightenment thinkers such as Francois Rabelais, Blaise Pascal, Francois VI or the Duc de la Rochefoucauld, Rene Descartes, Victor Hugo, Jean Jacques Rousseau, François-Marie Arouet (Voltaire), Charles Louis de Secondat de Montesquieu, Denis Diderot, etc. considered racist, proslavery or/and colonialist (Sala-Molins, 2003 & 2006).

In addition to the teaching of moral thoughts, Catholic school officials designed classes of catechism as well as mandatory sessions of chapel to formally instil values education. These two academic and religious activities were the biggest activities of the official curriculum and occupied a considerable place in the Catholic school culture. In any Haitian Catholic school, both activities were inescapable. The teaching of catechism, in particular, was untouchable. For instance, even though catechism was not part of the official disciplines of the national evaluation organized by the State, its learning was considered as imperative and had priority. Multiple hours were devoted to the teaching of catechism, and not even a single minute was negotiable. To a deeper extent, any refusal to learn catechism would result in an expulsion from the school. For example, Participant # 19 reported why and how he was expelled from his school in 1992. In his testimony, he recounted what happened in the following terms:

Il y a quelque chose qui m'a toujours dérangé et qui est à la base du conflit que j'ai eu avec le Frère [Lhérisson]. En classe de Première, on avait encore trois cours de catéchisme, j'avais certains condisciples et amis qui avaient des difficultés en

mathématiques et dans d'autres matières importantes et obligatoires pour les examens officiels d'État. On était aux mois d'avril/mai, et on avait encore des cours de catéchisme. Alors, je lui ai dit que je pense qu'on devrait ralentir sur les cours de catéchisme pour se concentrer plus sur les matières dans lesquelles ces élèves avaient des lacunes; par exemple, certains élèves n'arrivaient pas à tracer une courbe, et certains autres ne pouvaient pas faire une analyse. Il ne m'a pas répondu. Depuis ce jour-là, c'était clair qu'il avait un problème ouvert avec moi. Et un jour dans une classe de catéchisme, il l'avait même dit en classe. Je sais qu'il y a des gars ici qui ne vont pas être là l'année prochaine, disait-il, et il a cité mon nom. Effectivement, l'année prochaine on m'avait mis à la porte (Participant # 19).

Like catechism, the sessions of chapel were obligatory in the Catholic congregational schools. Participant # 22 was also expelled in Secondary IV for having missed a few minutes of a chapel session. He reported his expulsion in the following:

En classe de Rhétorique, j'ai été expulsé de l'école à cause de la religion. Il était obligatoire d'être présent chaque vendredi à la chapelle. Un vendredi, j'étais resté assis dehors sur la cour à l'heure de la chapelle. Le Frère directeur m'a vu et m'a demandé ce que je faisais là. Je lui ai dit que la chapelle ne m'intéressait pas et que j'étais sorti prendre l'air. Il est parti et ne m'a rien dit. Mais à la fin de l'année, quoique j'étais le deuxième lauréat aux examens de passage de l'école, j'étais mis à la porte (Participant # 22).

As essential as those two activities had been in securing and justifying colonization, they even played a bigger role in maintaining alive, in post-colonial Haiti, this ideological and discursive infrastructure, albeit our independence from France.

On the other hand, nothing is harmless in a teaching process. In other words, everything in the instruction of students encompasses a meaning. In this sense, a form of values education was also transmitted through several unintended school practices and unofficial activities such as school routines, schoolroom decorations, school rules, reprimands and punishments, and so on. In this respect, Participants across the sample stressed the remarkable presence of western religious images, labels, signs, photographs, paintings, portraits, drawings, symbols, and other similar items in their classrooms and other places of their schools. For example, Participant # 24, a graduate of the class of 1988 remembered how the walls of her classrooms were decorated: "c'était toujours des choses catholiques, des images venues de la France." As for the Participant # 22, a graduate of the class of 1995, she claimed that "Dans toutes les salles de classes, il y a une croix et de petites images de Saints blancs." Additionally, Participant # 15, an alumnus of 2000, pointed out in a more specific way that "Il n'y avait que des images de la Vierge Marie, de Jésus, et d'autres Saints, tous des blancs."

According to Hall (1997), "meanings are constructed through signs and images that create interpretations shared by a culture" (cited in Shedivy, 2003, p. 77). Thus, all these religious signs, images, portraits, and statues inserted deliberately in the school sites were object-representations which provided knowledge of the western Catholic culture. As Zarate (1993) has written, "les représentations sont des schèmes mentaux qui orientent notre perception du monde ainsi que notre rapport aux autres" (cited in Amireault, 2002,

p. 22). Consequently, these religious symbols are subject to interpretations and are capable of carrying meanings (Shedivy, 2003) that shape students' mind, especially their moral stances. These images held a significant role in the hidden curriculum that taught to the Haitian students Whiteness, White and light-skin privilege, and the superiority of the West. As Acar (2012) argues, images put on the walls, spiritual and moral discourses, and other similar things have a clear purpose and belong to the hidden curriculum through which students learn a lot of social, cultural and moral practices. Consequently to this training, Catholic students acquire a distorted conception of God. They view God from a western standpoint, that is, a white old man. All the attributes of God are thus transferred to the western man (Grosfoguel, 2009). In short, the latter shares the quality of the former.

Moreover, besides catechism and chapel sessions, saying prayers bore a significant weight in the routine of those schools. Indeed saying prayers was used to praise God and to ask *Him* for forgiveness when students sinned. Moreover, prayers were ingrained into the routine; before starting the day, before and after recess, before leaving school, and sometimes before an exam, students would pray. In the following excerpt, Participant # 23 from the 1993 class provided a good example when she said:

Quand on commençait un cours on faisait toujours la prière, et après la récréation on faisait la prière. Quand on faisait quelque chose de mauvais, quand on ne respectait pas les règles, la Sœur nous disait: allez à la chapelle, allez prier! On ne demandait pas pourquoi on était puni. On devait aller prier. Le but était: quand quelque chose n'allait pas, il fallait aller prier. Elle voulait nous montrer qu'on

devait prier quand les choses n'allaient pas. La religion était donc vraiment importante (Participant # 23).

Since the attributes and representation of God are meaningful in the act of praying, important attitudes and values such as devotion, dedication, docility, obedience, respect, and particularly fear were implicitly learned by the students. In this regard, it would be necessary for other researchers to conduct further studies and pay special attention to the possible intentional and unintended messages that could be taught through religious signs, images, discourses, and particularly, through the act of praying.

Ultimately, concerning the current use of moralizing rules, punishments, and reprimands, Participant # 8 remembered that there existed in her school "une discipline très moralisatrice; des règles de politesse très strictes; il fallait sortir de la classe quand on dérangeait et aller la chapelle pour méditer." As for Participant # 20, she recalled that "Comme punition, il fallait aller réfléchir à la chapelle ou étudier par cœur des poèmes ou des textes de morale en Latin." Finally, all the participants of the study generally agreed that their school culture was fundamentally, even excessively Catholic. As Participants # 12 and 23 reported, for example, "Dans mon école, tout comportement qui n'était pas bon catholiquement était sanctionné. Tout ce qui n'était pas catholique était satanique" (Participant # 12). "Les dirigeants de mon école ont toujours considéré le catholicisme comme la seule vraie religion haïtienne" (Participant # 23).

Moreover, perhaps the most relevant element to the present section of this analysis is the situation of Vodou inside the Catholic school curriculum. As I bluntly argued in chapter two, for with the Creole language, one of the two most important elements of Haitian people's agency, Vodou has the power to give to the Haitians the

"ability to shape and control their own lives, freeing [them] from the oppression of power" (Kincheloe, 2008, p. 2). As it is well known, in colonial time, the former slaves learned and practiced Vodou in the circle of the Maroons (Fouchard, 1953). It was the knowledge provided by Vodou which reorganized their way of seeing, being, and behaving; it was this knowledge that unshackled their oppressed mind and constructed and shaped their revolutionary consciousness; this knowledge also helped them to contend with the colonial system, and freed themselves from the slavery (Tardieu, 1990).

As the soul of the Haitian life, Vodou is overtly or tacitly present in all dimensions of the Haitian culture. Its shadow looms over every facet of the social life. However, despite its omnipresence, this fundamental culture was—and is still—intentionally vilified or completely left out from the Haitian schoolteaching, program, activities, and environments. Participant # 3 expressed this ambivalence in saying: "On ne parlait jamais de Vodou à l'école. Mais, comme tout jeune, vous voyiez les choses dans votre entourage. Dans ma jeunesse, j'avais l'habitude de voir des cérémonies dans les environs de chez moi" (Participant # 3). Whether the aim of planned lessons and activities in the moral education curriculum was to evangelize Haitian youth or convert the Haitian people to Christianity, tacitly, this evangelization consisted of eliminating the practices of Vodou in the Haitian society (Joint, 2006). During their constant struggle against Vodou, Catholic Church leaders have always utilized the same old colonial formula which consisted of banishing Vodou in all social, cultural, and religious practices, and also demonizing it by using misrepresentations and all types of negative meanings, discourses, clichés, and stereotypes.

Likewise, Catholic congregational schools promoted the shunning of Vodou from the schools, and sought too to construct a particular form of knowledge regarding Vodou. Accordingly, disregarding, excluding, suppressing, or eradicating Vodou implicitly remained—and still remains—at the heart of the moral education curriculum, and overall at the Catholic school culture. Then, moral education "becomes a form of ideological mystification" (Steinberg & Kincheloe, 2006, p. 33). In fact, the collected data are in line with such objectives. All the Participants indicated that Vodou was totally excluded from their school programs, activities, practices, and routines and negatively represented in the academic discourses. The following excerpts from different generations of alumni provide evidence of this planned exclusion.

Participant # 1 reminded us that no one talked about Vodou in his school. According to his memory, "À l'école, il était totalement interdit de parler de Vodou." Participants # 4, 5, 6, and 17 strongly supported his remembrance. Their reports stress that "Le Vodou, on n'en parlait jamais. On n'a jamais entendu le mot Vodou à l'école. On n'a rien appris sur le Vodou à l'école."

In addition, both Participants # 19 and 12 corroborated these facts. They also reported that their schools did not teach anything on Vodou, on the contrary, all was a matter of Catholicism. As they stated,

À l'école, on ne parlait jamais du vodou, on ne parlait que de la religion catholique (Participant # 19). Il n'y avait que des représentations du culte catholique, jamais rien sur le Vodou. À cette époque là, en classe, je ne savais même pas que le Vodou existait (Participant # 12).

As for Participant # 10, he further went in reporting even the Protestant was silenced in his school. He literally affirmed that "Le mot Vodou n'a jamais été mentionné à l'école. On n'osait même pas parler de Vodou. C'était pratiquement impossible, même pour le protestant de s'y affirmer" (Participant # 10). While Participant # 10 from the 1984 class claimed that even the Protestant's faith was banned at his time, Participant # 23, a 1993 alumnus, reported a significant progress in the matter of cultural and religious liberty, of course, except for the Vodou. She remembered that "On parlait de la religion en classe. On parlait de différentes religions: luthérien, orthodoxe et autre, mais jamais du Vodou" (Participant # 23). In sum, they never talked about and learned anything on Vodou in their Catholic congregational schools.

To go further in this analysis, I extracted from these excerpts several expressions such as "jamais parler", "jamais entendu", "rien appris", "jamais rien", "ne savais même pas", "n'osait même pas", "pratiquement impossible", and so on to draw attention to the ways in which a current perspective on Vodou has been constructed through the Catholic schoolteaching. I emphasized this type of language to recall an important specific objective of the neocolonizers, that is, the exclusion of the majority's culture from the neocolonial school project. At this stage of the analysis, I particularly underlined these expressions to bring to light the relevance of the null curriculum.

The null curriculum, as Ahwee et al. (2004) explain, "often takes the form of the purposeful and deliberate exclusion of the perspectives, issues, and histories of particular populations and cultures" (p. 37). The introduction of such a curriculum in this analysis serves to remind us of the consequences of ignoring intentionally certain forms of knowledge during the elaboration of the official school curriculum. Elliot Eisner invents

the concept of null curriculum to point out "the seeming paradox that we teach something by not teaching. It is the curriculum of that which does not exist" (Ahwee et al., 2004, p. 36). It is Eisner (1994)'s thesis that what is taught in school is as important as what is not. In studying this issue, Harris (1989) similarly argues that

the null curriculum is the curriculum which is left out, whether that be an area of study or a way of learning. And its existence in not-existing has a profound impact, since not being educated in something biases our perspective, skews our way of seeing, and limits the alternatives from which we might choose (p. 136).

As a curriculum studies scholar, Eisner (1994) completely agrees with the Harris' assertion. Likewise, he strongly believes that contents, which schools do not teach, can have pernicious effects and damage the mind of the learner. From his experiences, Eisner (1994) concludes that the excluded knowledges and contents "have the potential to free students from their limited perspectives" (p. 97). Since ignorance is not just a neutral void (Eisner, 1994), what is not taught may greatly influence "our notions of multiples perspectives—multilogicality and epistodiversity" (Steinberg & Kincheloe, 2006, p. 49). Particularly, it may fatally affect the actions and the alternative to examine, and the perspective from which a situation or problems can be viewed. Thus, excluding a specific type of knowledge, namely, the excluding curriculum, is considerably damaging for the students, even the entire society (Eisner, 1994).

Besides the possible impairment resulting from the exclusion of Vodou, there existed in the Catholic schooling system another type of knowledge, which was produced through misrepresentations of beliefs, values, and practices of Vodou. From this outlook, none of the participants mentioned that Vodou was deemed a good thing that was well

appreciated or well portrayed during their schooling cycles. They did not say that the culture of Vodou had a good reputation in their schools. Nevertheless, they all agreed to say that Vodou was perceived as bad, wrong, evil, sorcery, sin, fetishism, satanic, magic, and so forth in their respective institutions. The following passages provide a sample of such perceptions.

The first one was gathered from Participants # 10, 3, 24 and 14 respectively. They reported that they learned from the priests, through stories and books that Vodou is evil:

Dès mon jeune âge, on m'a enseigné que le Vodou était diabolique (Participant # 10). Le Vodou est diabolique. C'est ce que les prêtres enseignent et disent dans mon école (Participant # 3). On entend toujours des contes disant que le Vodou est diabolique, il en existe même dans les livres (Participant # 24). À l'école, on nous enseignait que le Vodou était du diable. C'était le suppôt de Satan (Participant # 14).

The next one comes from Participant # 4 who declared: "J'ai appris en grandissant que le Vodou se confond avec la sorcellerie. En dehors de l'école, j'ai vu des documentaires sur le Vodou. Mais, là encore, on sentait que la perception était négative" (Participant # 4).

In the third account, Participant # 5 affirmed that: "Le Vodou était un péché. On ne disait rien sur le Vodou sous prétexte que c'était du fétichisme" (Participant # 5). The fourth informant, Participant # 7, asserted that: "À l'école, les Frères parlaient du Vodou comme quelque chose qui était satanique." The fifth testimony is reported by Participants # 19 and 23, respectively, who learned from their school and their family experiences that Vodou is the force of evil. They argued:

Avant je pensais que le Vodou était mal, et ma perception à l'égard du Vodou était le mal (Participant # 19). On a décrit le Vodou comme la force du mal. Ma mère m'a appris que c'est une religion où les gens ne font que du mal (Participant # 23).

The sixth Participant, # 12, overall said: "Dans mon école, tout ce qui n'était pas catholique était satanique" (Participant # 12).

In addition, while some Catholic practices and Western behaviors were normally accepted or rewarded by school administrators and teachers, any type of attitude related to Vodou was condemned, even punished by them. Participant # 1, an alumnus from the class of 2011 spoke about his own experience in these terms: "J'ai reçu trois mois de sanction parce que j'ai organisé un spectacle vodouesque à la chapelle de l'école. "Tu veux introduire les choses du diable dans mon école," me disait le Père directeur" (Participant # 1).

Finally, the saddest part of all these reports rest on the opinions of the alumni themselves. Indeed, some of them had assimilated very well all these misrepresentations of ideas, values and beliefs that were religiously and socially constructed on Vodou. In their personal sentiments, I clearly noted the association of Vodou with Satan, sorcery, black magic, poverty, misery, filth, underdevelopment, and so on. For instance, while Participant # 24 proudly spoke up for her Catholic faith, she firmly contended with Vodou, making its practices responsible for the underdevelopment of Haiti, and even rejecting the historical role of Vodou in national independence. One can easily discern in this alumni's discourse the results of the moral conquest. The statement of the subsequent

Catholic school alumnus undeniably and literally shows full acceptance of French neocolonialism, even in her speech, for she affirmed:

Je suis catholique. Je n'ai pas une bonne perception du Vodou. Je pense que beaucoup de retard, beaucoup de manque qu'on a en Haïti vient du Vodou. Je ne pense pas que c'est quelque chose qu'on devrait incorporer dans un programme scolaire. Enseigner le Vodou ne va pas nous permettre d'avancer. Le Vodou n'a rien à voir avec notre indépendance (Participant # 24).

Thus, paraphrasing Apple (2004), I argue that moral education was the great engines of a moral crusade against the Haitian culture, especially Vodou, to make the Haitian elites think and act like French Catholic Christians. At a glance, moral education was—and continues to be—basically anti-Vodou and anti-Haitian.

A Promoter of French Civilizing Mission

Ma mère avait étudié que nos ancêtres étaient des Gaulois. Quand elle y pense aujourd'hui, elle en rit.

Participant # 12

As I discussed earlier, the Catholic congregational schools are a model of French educational institution with a clear neocolonial agenda, that is, the "mis-education" of the Haitian schoolchildren in order to perpetuate the cultural, political, social, and economic advantages of the former French colonizers in Haiti. In this perspective, these schools provide to Haitian students an alienated way of thinking, knowing and being. Shortly, they are the major sites of cultural alienation of the Haitian elites.

Therefore, for being typically Francophile in their content and form, the Catholic congregational schools should be normally listed among the main standard bearer of the

"*mission civilisatrice française*" which is, according to Hayes (2006), a colonial civilizing mission. In lines with the French neocolonial agenda, their primary mission in Haiti was specifically to moralize and civilize Vodouists and Creole speakers. Because in the French neocolonial project both moralizing and civilizing were closely linked, after examining in the previous section the subtheme of *moral education as a moral conquest*, it is logical to consider below the issue of French civilizing mission. In this regard, the subtheme *a promoter of French civilizing mission* is analyzed as the second characteristic of the Catholic congregational schools. In this section, two main elements of the French colonial civilizing mission in Haiti are emphasized, namely, the assimilation of French language as well as the production of textbooks by French Catholic missionaries. In other words, in this analysis, the French civilizing mission is considered as a kind of "pedagogy of Frenchness" (Hayes, 2006) which rested upon the linguistic conquest and control of textbook production.

According to Conklin (1997), the civilizing mission "implied that France's colonial subjects were too primitive to rule themselves but were capable of being uplifted" (p. 1). Therefore, the idea of the *mission civilisatrice française* was based on the fundamental premise of the superiority of the French culture (Conklin, 1997). In other words, the act of civilizing meant that the neocolonial subjects were to assimilate the French culture. In short, being civilized consisted of absorbing Frenchness.

Practically, as a French-style educational institution, the Catholic congregational schools have always promoted the superiority of the French culture, and they have imposed it on the entire Haitian society. In this respect, all the Participants of the study were aware, even struck by the high-level of Francophilia which characterized their

school curriculum and schoolteaching. For example, according to Participant # 23, "L'enseignement était totalement français. Les Sœurs parlaient beaucoup de la France" (Participant # 23). Additionally to her, Participant # 12 pointed out a high level of Eurocentrism in her formal school curriculum. She particularly noted how Frenchness was so central to the curriculum taught when she remembered her experience in these terms:

Je connaissais mieux Notre Dame de Paris que la Citadelle du roi Henri Christophe. Dans les livres à image, je n'avais jamais vu une image de la Citadelle. Il n'y a jamais eu d'exemples tirés de la réalité haïtienne, ce n'était que des exemples français. Nous avons mieux étudié l'histoire de France que l'histoire d'Haïti. En fait, l'histoire générale était l'histoire de France (Participant # 12).

Likewise, this form of Eurocentrism strongly coloured with Francophilia was articulated with more details by Participant # 14, who stated:

En classe, c'est sûr qu'on apprenait beaucoup de choses de la Grèce, de l'empire romain, de l'empire ottoman, mais on apprenait surtout des choses françaises, on parlait beaucoup de la France. La littérature française était très forte au cours secondaire. Fondamentalement, on connaissait toute l'histoire française depuis l'époque des Gaulois en passant par toutes les guerres de Napoléon. Quand je suis allé en Belgique, la première chose que je voulais voir était Waterloo, là où Napoléon avait perdu cette bataille. En tant qu'Haïtien, qu'est ce que j'ai à voir avec l'histoire de la France. C'était un reflexe (Participant # 14).

In addition, the Participant # 21 went in the same direction when he wanted to show the way Geography was taught in his school. Regarding the formal and taught curriculum, he said:

Au secondaire on fait beaucoup de géographie. Cependant, dans mes cours de géographie qui étaient d'ailleurs dispensés par des Frères français, il n'y avait presque pas de place pour la géographie d'Haiti. J'ai bouclé le cycle secondaire sans suivre un cours de Géographie d'Haiti. On étudiait un continent par classe. En classe de sixième secondaire, j'ai étudié le continent africain. En cinquième, le sujet était l'Amérique. En classe de quatrième, c'était l'Europe et la France. On est allé pays par pays. On a étudié les rivières, les cours d'eau, les montagnes, la production, la géographie économique, etc. Et en troisième, on a étudié l'Océanie et le monde entier. À la fin du programme, tu pouvais connaître la géographie de la France plus qu'un Français ou encore la géographie du Canada plus qu'un Canadien (Participant # 21).

Therefore, this model of French colonial schools officially taught a Eurocentric curriculum with French particularities. This type of curriculum, in particular, used and spread the French language as the greatest medium of civilizing. As White (1996) argued, "The French language is the cross that France bears on its universalising 'mission civilisatrice'" (p. 14). To paraphrase Battiste (1998), such a curriculum served as a colonial tool to deprive the young Haitian students of their knowledge, their languages, and their cultures. In fact, the Catholic congregational schools' students learned the French literature, culture, and language like French students, and in fact, as one can observe today, most of them pretty well assimilated the French civilization. As Hayes

(2006) remarkably put it, "to succeed, students had to learn to pass as French, and literature provided the model they were expected to imitate" (p. 153-154).

In this atmosphere, for the purpose of promoting French language, the Creole language was misrepresented, even expelled from all the process of schoolteaching. In this respect, most of the Participants of the study remembered a current school tradition according to which when a student spoke Creole school administrators and teachers reprimanded him/her by saying: "exprime-toi!" In other words, the student was not expressing himself or herself when he/she was speaking Haitian Creole. The school staff even used physical and psychological violence to silence the Creole speaker inside the schoolroom. All the Participants agreed that the one who spoke Creole in their schools was blamed, criticized, even punished. Such violence was remembered by Participant # 5, a 1956 alumni, in the following terms:

Dans mon école, il y avait la fiche du créole. Si on vous surprenait à parler créole en classe ou sur la cour de l'école, on vous donnait cette fiche et on vous punissait. Parfois, le préfet de discipline vous observait à distance, il essayait de vous mimer pour voir si vous parliez créole (Participant # 5).

Participant # 6 from the 1970 class shared the same experience by saying: "Selon la règle, le créole était interdit. C'était défendu même sur la cour de l'école. Il y avait des jetons. Je ne peux pas croire qu'on osait parler créole en classe (Participant # 6).

Although the law of September 18th of 1979 stipulated in its first article that "L'usage du créole, en tant que langue parlée par 90% de la population haïtienne, est permis dans les écoles comme langue instrument et langue d'enseignement" (cited in Joint, 2006), the Creole language continued to be banished in the Catholic schools. Their

academic environment continued to be marked by the old anti-Creole policy and practices. As an illustration, the following excerpts from Participants # 10, 23, 24, and 19 of the 1984, 1988, 1992, and 1993 classes, respectively, could be taken into consideration:

On ne pouvait pas se permettre de parler créole en classe où tout se faisait en français (Participant # 10). Il ne fallait pas que la Sœur nous surprenne à parler créole sur la cour (Participant # 23). J'ai reçu des jetons pour avoir parlé créole en classe (Participant # 24). À chaque fois qu'on parlait créole avec ses camarades, ils vous donnaient un jeton, et à la fin de la journée si le jeton restait entre vos mains, vous receviez une punition (Participant # 19).

While speaking Creole was prohibited, even penalized, the one who spoke the language of the former French colonizer and neocolonizer was appreciated, congratulated, praised, and sometimes rewarded. The total priority that was given to the French language was reported by Participants # 12, 15, and 19.

According to Participants # 12 and 15,

On ne parlait que le français, même sur la cour de récréation. Tout le monde le savait. C'était la règle (Participant # 12). Tout se faisait en français. Ce n'était pas écrit nulle part, mais, tout le monde savait qu'on ne devait parler que le français en classe (Participant # 15).

Likewise, Participant # 19 added that "Tout se faisait en français. Entre nous on se parlait en créole, mais avec les professeurs et les Frères, c'était toujours le français" (Participant # 19).

In addition, because students have learned to praise French culture, they became fascinated by the French language. They even thought that they spoke French better than the French native speakers. In this regard, Participant # 3 gave the example when he said: "J'ai appris que les Haïtiens parlent français mieux que les Français eux-mêmes" (Participant # 3).

Furthermore, the analysis revealed from the Participants' opinions many negative feelings, perceptions, and experiences towards the Creole language which can be interpreted as a result of their schoolteaching and classroom experiences. Specifically, the following negative beliefs and sentiments, and misrepresentations are noted:

1. Extreme Disdain for Creole.

Although the interviews were conducted in French, it was paradoxically in Creole that Participant # 11 expressed all her aversion for Creole, her mother tongue. She said: "Bagay sa ki rele kreyol la, mwen pat konn pale l lakay mwen menm" [This thing called 'Creole,' I never used it in my home] (Participant # 11).

2. Creole is not a Language.

Participant # 16 went further and showed her contempt for Creole in denying even the obvious, as she argued,

Je suis contre l'utilisation du créole comme langue d'instruction par le fait que le créole n'est pas une langue qu'on utilise à l'extérieur du pays. La langue du pays n'est pas le créole. Le créole n'est pas une langue, c'est un dialecte (Participant # 16) .

3. *Associating Creole with Negative Emotions.*

The aversion for the Creole language continued with Participant # 23 who innocently stated: "Je parle à ma fille en français, mais quand elle me fait quelque chose et que je suis fâchée contre elle, je lui parle en créole" (Participant # 23).

4. *Creole as Means of Instruction is Underdevelopment.*

In Haiti, using Creole as the mean of instruction is considered by many educated people as a factor of underdevelopment. Participant # 24 exhibited such a belief when she claimed: "Je suis pas tout à fait contre une instruction en créole, mais je pense que le créole ne va pas nous emmener nulle part" (Participant # 24).

5. *Speaking French as a Sign of Respect.*

Many educated Haitian people including the majority of the Participants think that speaking to somebody in French is a mark of respect for him/her. As the Participant # 5 put it in his own words,

Même avec le petit personnel de chez moi, on parlait français par respect. C'est pourquoi ils allaient tous à l'école le soir. Je n'ai pas de préjugés de pensée, j'ai des choix, J'ai appris à respecter tout le monde, jusqu'à aujourd'hui quand je rencontre quelqu'un dans le contexte haïtien, je m'adresse à lui d'abord en français (Participant # 5).

6. *Creole Speaker as an Idiot.*

Finally, like many educated Haitians from a certain milieu, Participant # 5 interpreted speaking French as a sign of knowledge, wit, and power, whereas speaking Creole was the opposite. In his view, "Celui qui s'exprime mal en français est considéré comme un idiot. La langue créole est une langue perverse" (Participant # 5).

In fact, in the whole Haitian society, speaking fluently French is one of the highest marks of distinction. It is even the main means that determine the social existence. It is by the imposition of French language that a tiny minority of Haitians succeeds in affirming its so-called superiority and also preserving its socioeconomic and political privileges. Carol Myers-Scotton—in 1978—introduced in the literature the concept of "elite closure" to refer to this "sociolinguistic phenomenon." According to Myers-Scotton (1990),

elite closure is a tactic of boundary maintenance: it involves institutionalizing the linguistic patterns of the elite, either through official policy or informally established usage norms in order to limit access to socioeconomic mobility and political power to people who possess the requisite linguistic patterns" (cited in Weinstein, 1990, p. 27).

In short, "elite closure [i]s a strategy by which people in power maintain their position through linguistic choices" (Trudell, 2010, p. 344). In fact, in Haiti, the French language has become the principal means of acquiring all rights and privileges.

Moreover, the textbook adoption process, especially history textbooks, was another important ideological power used by the Catholic missionaries, specifically Les Frères de l'Instruction Chrétienne (F.I.C.), to accomplish their colonial civilizing mission. Since "90% of instructional time is structured around a textbook" (Tyson-Bernstein & Woodward, 1991 cited in Tietz, 2007, p. 38), in these schools, the official curriculum was most of the time inserted into the textbooks. In this context, these educational tools are the best lens that might be used to scrutinize the colonial nature of the curriculum.

Evans and Davis (2000) described school as a social experience where values are transmitted through textbooks. According to research, textbooks are powerful instruments

capable of shaping children's perceptions of society particularly during their early years. It is therefore critical that the content of textbooks be examined to know what messages are being taught to children. Because, as Romanowski (1996) suggested,

Textbooks authors select particular language that creates impressions in the minds of students. These impressions have power and authority because they are presented in the printed and bound textbook with its aura of authority that is beyond question and criticism (p. 171).

In other words, "The textbook has significant power to legitimize the story being told" (Tietz, 2007, p. 38), and also, to establish a social control. In addition, Evans and Davis (2000) stated that ideology in the textbook is a core curriculum. That is why many groups struggle to control the textbook. In this respect, Romanowski (1996) explained that many researchers allow to textbooks a reputation of objective instructional tools that only teach facts and skills; nevertheless, these educational tools, especially history textbooks, embody attitudes and ways of looking at the world. They incorporate various interests that construct different ways of knowing which affect our comprehension of the world.

In this analysis, the main focus was not to examine in-depth the textbooks' content and form. Here, it was rather a question of pointing out, in a general way, the neocolonial project of the individual and the social misconstruction that was formally and implicitly carried out through the process of textbook adoption, production, and control.

Symbolically, Les Frères de l'Instruction Chrétienne dreamt of creating in Haiti a "Bretagne noire" (Delisle, 2003), and to make their dream come true, they established the appropriate educational infrastructure, in particular, a systematic control of the textbook adoption process. Therein, the data indicated that until the 1990s, the only Haitian

textbooks which were co-authored by two Haitian educators and made in Haiti were Haitian history and literature textbooks. Except for these two textbooks, all the others were made in and imported from France. As Participants # 3 and 6 confirmed, "Il n'y avait que des manuels scolaires importés venus de la France, sauf le livre d'*Histoire d'Haïti* de J. C. Dorsainvil élaboré de concert avec Les Frères de l'Instruction Chrétienne (F.I.C.)" as well as "Le *Manuel de la Littérature Haïtienne*, écrit par le feu docteur Pradel Pompilus et le Frère Raphaël, un Français." In the same vein, Participants # 10, 12, and 19, reaffirmed that

C'était des manuels scolaires importés de la France (Participant # 10). Le seul manuel scolaire haïtien qu'on avait était le livre d'histoire d'Haïti, ensuite tous les autres étaient importés de France (Participant # 12). La plupart était importé de la France. On les achetait à l'école. Il y a très peu de chose nous concernant dedans.

Aujourd'hui, il y a plein de choses que je remets en question (Participant # 19).

As for Participant # 8, he supported the fact that "Les livres étaient importés de la France, sauf l'*Histoire d'Haïti* et la *Littérature Haïtienne*." Ultimately, Participant # 14 added that "Le seul livre haïtien dont j'avais connaissance est l'histoire d'Haïti. Je lisais les livres que les jeunes Européens lisaient tels que Bob Morane, Bennett, etc."

Therefore, Les Frères de l'Instruction Chrétienne (F.I.C.) basically controlled the production of the national curriculum, including the textbooks. If the textbooks were not imported from France, they were made in Haiti. They inaugurated the very popular *F.I.C. collection* edited by *Maison Henri Deschamps*—the biggest publishing company belonging to a rich French descent family—which until today controls the textbook

market. Participant # 14 remembered that at his time "Il y avait des livres (F.I.C.) faits chez Henri Deschamps, et certains livres importés de la France."

Thus, those French missionaries did not leave to the Haitian people the privilege to write their own history. They occupied all the avenues of the school curriculum development. Les Frères de l'Instruction Chrétienne (F.I.C.) and Brother Raphael co-authored the Haitian history and literature textbooks with the two Haitian scholars aforementioned—respectively J. C. Dorsainvil and Pradel Pompilus,—both educated in France. Thus, those missionaries could easily impose their own will and views in the writing of Haitian history and literature. As an illustration, in the first page of the Dorsainvil's history textbook, any lector can visibly notice the word *Imprimatur* written beside the Christian cross followed by the signature of Bishop Joseph. According to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary (2013), *Imprimatur* is "a license to print or publish especially by Roman Catholic Episcopal authority." Therefore, it was the Roman Catholic Church that gave the *Imprimatur* (or authorization) to publish this history textbook because the Church agreed with its content. It is important to remember that Les Frères de l'Instruction de Chrétienne (F. I. C.) who co-authored these Haitian history textbooks came from France, mostly from Bretagne.

Therefore, only fifty-six years after the historical victory of the black slaves over the multinational army sent by Napoleon Bonaparte, those French missionaries—who were royalist, anti-abolitionist (Delisle, 2003), thus racist—were in the position of school teachers, educational leaders, and policymakers in Haiti. For the purpose of this analysis, it is important to remember that Napoleon's defeat in colonial Haiti was embarrassing for imperial France, since it had a huge impact on its hegemony in the world (Dubois, 2007;

Mocombe, 2010). For instance, Dubois (2007) reports that this defeat forced French authorities to sell Louisiana to United States of America. Such a historical fact was so embarrassing for Frenchmen and Frenchwomen that it has been silenced by French historians; accordingly, French schools have never taught the Haitian revolution.

As a result of the control of textbooks, "In Haitian history texts, Africa and generally all that is African-derived—especially the Vodou religion—are elided or viewed as barbarous and a hindrance to progress and civilization" (Magloire-Danton, 2005, p. 166). This shunning of Africa was all the more alienating that, until the 1980s, Haitian citizens whose true ancestors are Africans were taught and had to rote learn in their younger days that "Nos ancêtres étaient des Gaulois." In other words, they tacitly learned that France, not Haiti, was their true country. Participant # 2, a 1970 alumnus, expressed such a reality in the following terms: "on prend ce fameux livre d'Histoire Générale, la première ligne vous dit "Nos ancêtres étaient des Gaulois, et ça s'étudie dans toutes les écoles" (Participant # 2). Similarly, Participant # 4 from the 1974 class stated: "j'ai étudié dans le manuel d'*Histoire Générale* où il y avait la fameuse phrase Nos ancêtres étaient des Gaulois" (Participant # 4).

From a postcolonial perspective, the notion of "Nos ancêtres étaient des Gaulois" must be considered as the epistemological line of the Catholic education. Indeed, it is a type of theory of knowledge for destruction of self-identity and cultural autonomy in Haiti. Specifically, the teaching of this big lie is a form of brain-washing process and falsification of consciousness which is initiated in the school and mirrored all over the entire society.

Accordingly, historically, the Haitian elites are always very proud of their Frenchness. As Hoffman (1984) reported, for instance, "Dantès Bellegarde who served as Minister of Education from 1918-1921, wrote in an article significantly entitled" The Island of Haiti is the Little France of the New World" (p. 63). Until today, the educated Haitians consider themselves as French citizens, and in fact, culturally, epistemologically, and socially they behave as such. "Nos ancêtres étaient des Gaulois" continues to be implicitly learned in the old alienating school structure. Haitian students learn it through their school leaders' example, school teaching, school culture, and particularly from school textbooks and school curricula.

Thus, it was senseless that those French missionaries could play such an important role in the writing of the most popular Haitian history textbook, a textbook from which many generations of Haitian students have learned their history (Magloire, 1997). In other words, it was senseless that the former colonizers could recount the history of the colonization of Haiti. In this context where the senseless has prevailed, it was very doubtful that Haitian children could learn their own history from a Haitian perspective. Personally, my doubt has been reinforced after having heard a few testimonies reported by some alumni; and one testimony in particular, provided by Participant # 14, can be the evidence that Haiti never had a chance, considering the systematic indoctrinations of its most brilliant and capable sons and daughters:

J'étais au secondaire, on sortait des fois pendant les dimanches faire des randonnées. On était à Léogâne (près de Port-au-Prince), il y avait avec nous deux Frères, un Français et un Haïtien. On regardait les petites usines sucrières, les plantations, *les guildives*, et puis tout à coup le religieux français disait: "regardez

tout ça, tout cela nous appartient." Et nous des enfants, nous ne comprenions rien. Il disait tout cela nous appartenait. Nous nous disions qu'il se sentait peut-être trop Haïtien, pour avoir longtemps vécu en Haïti. Et l'autre Frère haïtien qui était à ses côtés lui demandait, de qui vous parlez? Nous c'est qui? Et lui de dire, nous les Français. Et l'autre Frère haïtien lui dit : Écoutez, on connaît l'histoire d'Haïti. Vous savez tout ce qui s'est passé. L'indépendance, la séparation avec la France, la grande bataille de Vertières, etc. On sait ce qui s'était passé. Et le Frère français lui rétorquait, tout ça c'est de la fabulation. Les Français après 1789, avec toute la révolution française, ont aboli eux-mêmes l'esclavage. À un certain moment avec toutes les préoccupations de Napoléon, Haïti n'était plus à l'ordre du jour. C'est vrai qu'il y a eu des batailles mais toute cette histoire de Vertières, c'est de la fabulation.

From this perspective, one can understand that the Haitian citizenship was inevitably compromised. In this respect, Magloire (1997) has noted that

education [...] remained not only a weapon of social control, but became an important locus for forging and preserving national identity for the elite. It was especially elite control of history writing that contributed to imposing the French civilization and French cultural models for over a century (pp. 14-15).

In addition, I remarked during the interviews that most of the Participants did not have a serious attitude towards Haitian history. Most of them—mirroring what the priest in the above anecdotal explained—believed that Haitian history is a cute fairy tale. The remark of Participant # 2 illustrates this well when he said "C'est une belle histoire comme la bible. Ce sont des contes qu'on raconte aux enfants." And what can we say about

Participant # 20's feelings and thoughts towards Haitian people history. This alumnus was very ill-informed when she tried to report her misconstruction of the Negroes' history.

Indeed, she confidently spoke in the following terms:

Je ne sais pas si vous connaissez bien l'histoire des nègres. Lors de la traite négrière, les nègres qu'ils ont emmenés en Haiti étaient des Béninois et des Nigériens. Encore aujourd'hui, les Béninois et les Nigériens sont des mercenaires. Ce sont eux qui font le commerce des diamants aujourd'hui. Ils tuent leurs frères pour de l'argent. Ce sont des criminels. Donc, on vient d'eux. On nous a juste chuté en Amérique du nord, et puis, on se retrouve là, on ne peut rien faire. On ne peut pas faire la guerre à personne, on ne peut même pas faire la guerre à la République Dominicaine. Ils sont loin devant nous, ils ont une avance de 10.000 ans sur nous. Et comme, on ne peut pas faire la guerre contre eux, on s'entretue. On fait la méchanceté à nos semblables. On tue nos propres frères (Participant # 20).

In short, Participant # 20 has a very negative opinion of Haiti and the Haitian people, in general. I also noted this same kind of feelings in other Participants' words such as Participant # 5 who considered the Haitians' ancestors as "ces barbares venus d'Afrique" (Participant # 5).

Therefore, as one can conclude from the analysis of these excerpts, the educated Haitian person possesses at the end of his/her schooling journey a certain conditioned reflex to think, speak and argue like a typical French neocolonizer. Such thoughts, discourses and arguments are the results of the neocolonial effort which has been done by

the French neocolonial agents to convince Haitian schoolchildren that they were truly sons of Gallic with blue eyes.

Qualitative Research Question Two

How do Catholic congregational alumni describe common pedagogical practices such as methods of teaching, classroom management, school discipline, textbooks, school climate, and school culture?

The above results of this qualitative analysis are the outcomes of the aforementioned Gaspard Theodore Mollien's neocolonial project in chapter two. As I argued, to achieve the main purpose of the French colonial education in Haiti, Catholic school missionaries had to select a group of young Haitians and teach them a selective Eurocentric curriculum which emphasized moral education—a kind of moral conquest—as well as French language, literature, and culture—as means of civilizing. In this context, Haitian Vodou and Creole were demonized, silenced, and marginalized. That is a key indicator of the violence and oppression that prevailed in the instructional process. Since "The process of learning was inseparable from individual empowerment and social change" (Kincheloe, 2008, p. 71), one can understand that most of what Haiti is today has been constructed in the classrooms of the Catholic congregational schools. Indeed, from the educational practices and social structures of these schools, Haitian students absorbed western moral values and cultural, social, and political norms and practices, learned how to produce and reproduce "asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination" (Pratt, 1992, cited in Hawley, 2001, p. 354), and become consequently members of a "subaltern" ruling elite that both serves the needs of Westerners and oppresses the majority of Vodouists and Creole speakers. Thus, the apprenticeship and assimilation of anti-democratic values by

the Haitian ruling elite were done mostly in the classrooms of these neocolonial institutions. Since this study looks for a systematic explanation of the chronic democratic crisis that exists in the Haitian society, it is logical to examine in-depth certain pedagogical practices that have been adopted by and currently used in these elite schools.

For being an important element of both the anti-colonial and colonial discourse theories (Giroux, 1992), the Freirean critical pedagogy is a valuable tool to scrutinize these teaching practices. In addition, Giroux (1992) claims that "Paulo Freire's work must be read as a postcolonial text" (p. 16); therefore, in this section of the analysis, the Freirean approach, particularly, the "banking" model of education (Freire, 2007) is considered the most appropriate framework to critically look at the Catholic teaching practices.

An Extreme Form of "Banking" Education

The examination of current pedagogical practices in the Catholic congregational schools begins with an experience reported by Participant # 2 who recounted it in the following terms:

Je me rappelle de l'expérience de deux élèves qui étaient extrêmement calés en mathématiques et d'un Frère de l'Instruction Chrétienne et son fameux livre du maître, un cahier dans lequel les réponses les plus rapides étaient enregistrées. En ce temps-là, en mathématiques, il fallait trouver la solution la plus brève/rapide aux problèmes. Ce Frère avait donné un problème et tout le monde s'appliquait à le résoudre de la manière la plus conforme aux règles apprises. Mais peu après, le Frère précisait qu'il existait une façon encore plus rapide de parvenir à la solution, et on suivait ses explications. En effet, au lieu des cinq lignes auxquelles était

parvenue la majorité des élèves, il avait résolu le problème en trois lignes. Cependant, les deux élèves très calés en mathématique objectèrent: "cher Frère, il existe encore une façon plus courte." Évidemment, le Frère était convaincu que c'était impossible, en dépit de la solution de deux lignes que ces deux élèves avaient obtenue par le biais d'autres formules. Le Frère était furieux. Il était furieux parce qu'il ne connaissait pas cette façon de faire. Se permettre d'avoir une réponse plus courte que le boss était illogique et inadmissible (Participant # 2).

The dominant conception of education in the Catholic congregational school context is captured in this pedagogical experience. The way this Catholic teacher misbehaved in the schoolroom is very typical behavior in these schools. This story provides a teachable moment to introduce and well illustrate what Paolo Freire (2007) called the "banking" conception of education widely known as the "bucket theory." Indeed, according to Freire (1994), "the banking concept of education assumes the lecturer deposits knowledge into the needy, passive and empty-headed student. This further assumes the lecturer owns the knowledge and can deposit it almost as a special favour to those who attend classes" (cited in Forman, Nyatanga & Rich, 2002. p. 76). In other words, teachers acquire the position of "information deliverers" (Kincheloe, 2008), and "reduce learners to objects of the directive they impose" (Macedo, 1995, p. 378).

Thus, taken in the Freirean sense, the above story recounted by Participant # 2 expresses the Catholic school teachers' belief that teaching is "an act of depositing, in which the students are the depositories and the teacher is the depositor" (Freire, 2007, p. 72). To practically put it, here, in this excerpt, the Catholic teacher acted like a "bank-

clerk" (Freire, 2007) for whom teaching mathematics is an act of depositing a set of formula and numbers into the empty mind of his students. Because, in the "banking" education, teachers have the firm conviction that "knowledge is a gift bestowed by those who consider themselves knowledgeable upon those whom they consider to know nothing" (Freire, 2007, p. 72).

In addition, Freire (2007) states that teachers can work either for liberation-humanization or for domestication-dehumanization. Nevertheless, the information provided by the data showed that in many instances Catholic school administrators and teachers opted for the latter. In this perspective, to point out the prevalence of a dehumanizing pedagogy in Catholic schools, I present in this part of the analysis a series of traditional misbehaviours and anti-progressive teaching practices highlighted in the alumni's narratives, testimonies, and experiences. Based on the Freirean "banking" concept of education, and also with the educational power and damaging effects of the hidden curriculum in mind, I discuss that the Catholic teaching practices represented an extreme form of "banking" approach to schooling. In other words, pedagogically, the Catholic congregational schools were prison-like schools. In the following sections, I present the psychological and pedagogical dynamics of the Catholic congregational schools such as experimented, recalled, and described by the Participants.

A Set of Anti-democratic Pedagogical Practices

1. *The instructional process was mostly led by French pro-colonialist teachers.* The information gathered from the data indicated that, on the one hand, from the 1950s to 1990s, Catholic congregational school teachers and principals were in the great majority French missionaries from the area of Bretagne. For instance, Participant # 5, from the

class of 1956, who attended both Saint-Louis de Gonzague and Collège Saint-Martial, said: "Je n'ai connu que des enseignants religieux étrangers venus de France et du Québec." Likewise, in 1969, Participant # 3 noted that overall "La majorité des enseignants était des religieux Français. Il y avait au total dix Frères français et un espagnol. Il y a eu aussi trois Frères haïtiens et un professeur laïc.

Two years later, in 1971, both Participants # 6 and 7 also from Saint-Louis de Gonzague observed that "huit membres du personnel sur dix étaient des français, et dans chaque classe, tous les cours étaient dispensés par un professeur titulaire."

Participant # 10, from the 1980s, asserted: "j'ai toujours eu des professeurs étrangers, des Français"; while Participant # 14, from the 1990s, added: "le personnel était composé d'étrangers, il n'y avait que deux Frères haïtiens à Saint-Louis de Gonzague."

However, in the Collège Saint-Martial, to a lesser extent, the situation seemed to be different from Saint-Louis de Gonzague. Overall, in Saint-Martial there were traditionally more Haitian teachers on staff. As Participant # 4, from the 1974 class, indicated it,

La majorité de profs était des Haïtiens, mais j'ai connu cinq à six Frères et Pères étrangers qui venaient de la France et de la Belgique. Avant le départ forcé des Pères étrangers du Saint-Esprit, le directeur était un français. Mais après leur départ, un Père haïtien l'avait remplacé (Participant # 4).

The situation of the teaching personnel was the same in the two girls' schools selected for the study. While in Sainte Rose de Lima "il y avait plus de religieuses françaises que d'haïtiennes" (Participant # 12), in the Collège du Sacré-Coeur, there was mostly Haitian

teachers, and only the school management was assured by foreigners, especially by French religious. Participants # 23 and 24 from Sainte Rose and Sacré-Coeur, respectively agreed with that. The former said: "Je me souviens qu'il y avait beaucoup d'influence française. La majorité des sœurs venaient de la France", and the latter stated that "Il y avait que deux Canadiennes francophones et une Française, en particulier, à la direction."

On the other hand, the data revealed that there were in the late 1990s important change at the level of the teaching and management staff. From this period of time, Haitian religious gradually started to take the place of their French counterparts. As Participant # 15 remarked it, "Sainte Rose avait commencé à avoir plusieurs professeurs haïtiens qui avaient pour la plupart fait des études supérieures en France." However, such a change was superficial and senseless, since those new schools administrators and teachers, as Fanon (1968) said, had "black skins, white masks." Indeed, they were Catholic school alumni who, in addition, completed their post-secondary education in France. Thus, as the saying goes: one gives what one has. Accordingly, like their predecessors, those Haitian religious strongly believed what they learned in France was the true, the fine, and the good. In other words, under their control there were no significant changes in the traditional school philosophy and culture.

2. *The instruction was generally vertical.* According to Participant # 14, "Le professeur était le seigneur de la classe." Similarly, all the Participants affirmed that they had authoritarian teachers who often took a frontal reductive approach and used only one method of teaching: lecture (or "chalk -and-talk"). For instance, Participants # 15, 17, and 12 summarized their instructional process as follows: "Tous les enseignants appliquaient

les cours magistraux (Participant # 15). C'était la méthode du magister dixit (Participant # 17). C'était le plus souvent des cours magistraux à sens unique, les élèves n'avaient pas le droit de donner leur opinion" (Participant # 12). Thus, since the banking education is based on a false understanding of human being, that is, men and women are mere objects (Freire, 2007), during the process of teaching, the Catholic teachers were fully active while their students were completely passive, even nonexistent. In this respect, Participant # 5 said: "J'étais comme un robot"; while Participant # 2 expressed his frustration in these terms: "A un certain moment j'avais un problème avec les méthodes de l'école, cette façon d'enseigner où l'élève ne faisait que recevoir et n'avait pas droit à sa propre opinion" (Participant # 2).

In this context, the instruction was a kind of one-way activity. Because the banking education is anti-dialogical (Freire, 2007), "Il n'avait pas moyen d'échanger, tout était imposé. C'était: oui cher Frère ou non cher Frère. On n'existait pas" (Participant # 5). In short, the authoritarian Catholic teacher never came into contact with his/her students.

3. *The instruction was bookish and instrumental*, that is to say, learning was like "a mechanical exercise in memorization" (Freire, 2005, p. 34). As Participant # 24 affirmed, "En générale, l'apprentissage était du par cœur (Participant # 24). Since French textbooks were the cornerstone of the Catholic school curriculum, the schoolteaching was most of the times exercised around the official textbooks. According to Participants # 7, 17, and 24,

L'enseignement était surtout livresque. Le professeur venait, récitait son cours, donnait des devoirs (Participant # 7). Il ne sortait pas du cadre du livre de texte

(Participant # 17). On passe sept ans à l'école, cela fait sept ans avec le nez dans les livres (Participant # 24). Il fallait mémoriser les leçons pour venir les réciter en classe (Participant # 19).

Therefore, Catholic students had to memorize the textbook contents. As Freire (2007) said, such an instruction "turns them into "containers," into "receptacles" to be filled by the teacher" (p. 72). They were "receiving objects" who received and memorized information, and regurgitated it in front of the teachers.

4. *The instruction was also uniform and static.* Participants # 15 and 5 recalled that "L'enseignement ne faisait pas appel à la réflexion, ni à l'imagination" (Participant # 15). On ne nous apprenait pas à penser, ni à créer (Participant # 5), while on the contrary, Catholic teachers automatically encouraged their students to learn by rote as these two alumni remembered: "On nous apprenait plutôt à réciter et à cultiver notre mémoire (Participant # 5). On devait étudier par cœur pour venir réciter (Participant # 15). The students' creativity expression was thus completely hindered. As Uhrmacher (1997) meaningfully summarized it, "in our rush to help children learn to read, some approaches may be "petrifying children's thinking" (p. 317).

In addition, liberty of expression in the classroom could create an important psychological condition that could stimulate the development of critical thinking and creativity. As de Souza Fleith (2000) argued, a good instructional environment plays a prominent role in the development of students' creativity. Unfortunately, Catholic teachers considerably cut students' liberty down and create a climate of fear in their classrooms. All the Participants affirmed that in their schoolrooms students were not free

to express their ideas and opinions. For example, according to Participants # 2 and 17, respectively from the classes of 1970 and 1996,

L'opinion de l'élève n'avait de valeur que quand elle était demandée. On ne pouvait pas s'arroger le droit d'émettre une opinion comme ça (Participant # 2).

Ce n'était pas dans la culture de l'école qu'un élève exprimait ses idées, il y avait une certaine peur chez les élèves de parler (Participant # 17).

In a similar instance, Participant # 12 has gone through the same experience in her school when she said: "Avec les Sœurs, c'était mitigé, nous n'étions pas libres d'avoir une conversation à cœur ouvert avec elles. On pouvait être sanctionnées sévèrement, et cette sanction pouvait aller même jusqu'au renvoi" (Participant # 12). In sum, such an instructional environment impeded students from developing their critical thinking and creativity skills.

5. As a Formally Taught Curriculum, Catholic teaching practices conveyed and promoted pedagogical contents and activities that were *completely alien to the needs, interests, living experiences, and daily reality of the students*. Like in any typical French colonial school, most of the topics and activities held in the schoolrooms were logically Franco-centric. Now, according to Pinar (2011), "a good curriculum is the one adapted to the daily life and to the community where the student lives" (p. 103). In other words, teaching the good curriculum means what Freire (2005) called "the act of reading the world by reading the word" (p. xv). However, Catholic Taught Curriculum included words and contents which were not rooted in the Haitian people's world. This Taught Curriculum rather advocated the definition of a French-Haitian national identity (Magloire, 1997) from which any component of Vodou, Creole, and Haitian folklore was

omitted. Briefly, the entire teaching process completely ignored the true Haitian reality, specially the world of the Haitian peasants. Such a situation is accepted as an evidence by all the Participants. Here are some of the most obvious and relevant testimonies.

First of all, Participant # 17, the only one Vodouist among the interviewees, affirmed that during his visits in the rural world he could evaluate how unfamiliar he was to this world. In this respect, he said:

Dans l'enseignement que je recevais, il n'y avait rien qui était lié à la paysannerie et au monde du Vodou. J'ai visité pas mal de coins du pays. Malheureusement, je me suis toujours senti très éloigné de ce monde-là (Participant # 17).

In a similar instance, Participant # 15, a medical doctor from a different school and promotion than Participant # 17, was aware of this same disconnection with the rural world. Based on her own professional experiences, she made the following confessions:

Aujourd'hui, en tant que médecin, je reçois beaucoup de patients qui viennent de la campagne. Quand je les côtoie, je me sens très éloignée de leur monde. J'ai compris que l'enseignement n'était pas associé à ce qui se faisait dans le pays ou à la réalité haïtienne. À l'école, on n'enseignait rien au sujet de cette réalité rurale. On ne nous montrait pas la vraie réalité haïtienne. L'idée qu'on avait de la province était tout à fait erronée (Participant # 15).

As for Participants # 5 and 12, they concurred with Participants # 15 and 17 and respectively stated: "On nous vendait des valeurs que nous ne pouvions pas comprendre (Participant # 5). On apprenait des choses inutiles, des choses qu'on ne comprenait vraiment pas. Il n'y a rien de que j'ai appris qui fût adaptée à la réalité qu'on vit en Haïti" (Participant # 12).

Furthermore, even punishment entailed that students had to memorize Latin texts, French poems, and especially, the great classics of French literature. Therein, Participant # 10 from Saint-Louis de Gonzague asserted:

On nous donnait des textes de littérature française à écrire cent fois, mille fois, parfois jusqu'à deux mille fois. Il y avait aussi des textes en latin qu'il fallait apprendre par cœur. J'ai pu apprendre le latin par la force (Participant # 10).

Nine years later, Participant # 23, from Sainte Rose de Lima, experiences the same kind of disciplinary measure. Like Participant # 10, she affirmed:

Il y avait les vers en français et les pièces classiques français qu'on devait mémoriser. On restait après l'école quinze minutes, trente minutes ou bien on revenait le samedi. On ne partait pas avant d'avoir tout connu par cœur (Participant # 23).

In addition, the Franco-centric curriculum was also included in extracurricular activities.

Several participants pointed out the same kind of cultural activities reported by

Participant # 5 who said: "Comme activités culturelles, il y avait les pièces de théâtre des classiques français. On jouait le Cid ou Horace, on répétait Corneille, Racine, Molière et d'autres auteurs français. C'était du prêt-à-porter français" (Participant # 5). To quote Asante (1991), the young Haitian students "have been educated away from their own culture and traditions and attached to the fringes of European culture" (p. 170). In other words, this form of Eurocentric education provoked the cultural and psychological death of the young Haitian.

To conclude this section, I have to reiterate that one of the presuppositions which guided this research is that "schools play a crucial role in laying the foundations of

democratic institutions" (Samanci, 2010, p. 30). However, as one can see in all that has been previously discussed, the instructional process in Catholic congregational schools was conducted through a series of anti-democratic classroom practices. While educating for democracy is student-centered (Samanci, 2009), these Catholic schools rather adopted a very teacher-centered approach in which students' participation was nonexistent. Thus, in such an instructional structure, the predictable result for students was to learn, especially via the implicit curriculum, to be authoritarian, paternalist, uncooperative, unloving, oppressive, intolerant, contemptuous, disrespectful, unjust, alienated, and so on. It is all the contrary of favouring democratic attitudes.

An Oppressive, Racist, Classist Pedagogical Structure

1. *The instruction was given with extreme violence.* Forman, Nyatanga, and Rich (2002) affirm that "The relevance of Freire's argument is that the banking concept is at the heart of oppression, alienation, discrimination and student disempowerment" (p. 77). Since Catholic pedagogical practices were conformed to the "banking" conception of education, the classroom management procedures and discipline measures were violent, oppressive, and dehumanizing. According to the Participants, the Catholic school principals and teachers were so unloving, rigid, inflexible, violent, and oppressive when they exercised discipline that they inspired fear in students' mind and created a stressful learning environment. To illustrate this point, the analysis takes into consideration the following examples:

In the first instance, Participant # 5, a 1956 alumnus, affirmed that corporal punishments such as beating, kneeling, and others were used in the entire process of the instruction. He remembered that "On recevait des sanctions corporelles telles que des

coups de règles dans la main et des coups de ceinturons (Participant # 5). Similarly, Participant # 12 recalled that an authoritarian military discipline was exercised in all aspects of the schoolteaching. According to her, "Tout était contrôlé, même la façon de porter son corps. La tenue vestimentaire devait être très correcte. Il y avait un stress permanent" (Participant # 12).

In addition to these oppressive disciplinary measures, there are a few participants' testimonies that revealed the existence of an extreme violence in the Catholic school practices. As an instance of this form of violence, Participant # 17 recalled a sad experience:

Les mesures disciplinaires étaient parfois très féroces. Une fois, je me suis fait tirer les cheveux par un Frère. De plus, selon les témoignages de quelques élèves, il y avait des cas de pédophilie. Certains élèves nous disaient qu'il y avait des attouchements dans les cours de gymnastique. Ils disaient aux autres de faire attention (Participant # 17).

Then, even though corporal punishment was prohibited later in the Haitian educational system, some punitive approaches and measures still remained sufficiently oppressive and violent, especially in Catholic schools. As Participant # 3 from the class of 1969 testified,

Le fouet était certes interdit, mais il y avait le poteau ou la mise au piquet, c'est-à-dire, on devait se tenir droit devant le poteau pendant 30, 45 minutes, 1 heure, 2 heures ou même 3 heures de temps. À ce moment-là, on était comme un robot. Il y avait aussi la menace du renvoi définitif (Participant # 3).

In the same vein, Participant # 10 from class of 1984 added:

On nous donnait les lignes à rédiger et des textes à apprendre par cœur, 5 à 10 pages d'un livre qu'il fallait réciter à l'envers. Si jamais la récitation n'était pas faite à la satisfaction du préfet de discipline, vous deviez rester au piquet. J'ai dû faire cette expérience en plusieurs occasions (Participant # 10).

As a consequence of the physical and psychological violence, a very stressful atmosphere was created in the school context. Participants # 12, 19, 5, and 1 portrayed their school climate as follows:

On n'avait pas le droit de parler, le moindre chuchotement était puni (Participant # 12). Quand le Frère était en charge la réplique n'était pas tolérée. On devait tout simplement dire "oui cher Frère," et il fallait le dire en se croisant les bras (Participant # 19). Lorsqu'on parlait à un responsable on devait se tenir droit. C'était comme à la gendarmerie française (Participant # 5). Les membres de la direction avaient tout fait pour être craints des élèves, et ils avaient réussi. Quand on voyait venir le directeur tout le monde se repliait (Participant # 1).

As for Participant # 18, he remembered that his school discipline was similar to the environment of a military dictatorship. He literally said:

La discipline était si stricte et rigide que ça faisait peur des fois, dépendamment de l'âge de l'écolier. C'était une autorité qui était proche de la dictature. On dirait une discipline militaire. Le matin à l'occasion de la montée du drapeau, il y avait un air militaire. Parfois, c'était un peu tyrannique (Participant # 18).

As to agree with and support Participant # 18's narrative, Participant # 17 justified the existence of such a military discipline with the following statement:

J'ai appris que des Frères de l'Instruction Chrétienne avaient été à l'école militaire en France, voilà pourquoi ils avaient dirigé l'école avec des mains de fer. Ils avaient des méthodes très rigides pour faire respecter leur autorité. Ils pratiquaient une discipline militaire. C'était vraiment stressant (Participant # 17).

From this fearful school environment, students implicitly learnt to spy on their peers through the practice of informing that was implemented in the school routine.

Participants # 10, 5, and 12 talked about the incriminatory atmosphere that existed in their schools by saying:

Les Frères nous encourageaient à dénoncer les fauteurs de troubles (Participant # 10). Des élèves épiaient et dénonçaient leurs condisciples (Participant # 5). On n'avait pas le droit de dire ce qu'on pensait, on avait l'impression d'être espionnée. Si on parlait un peu trop fort ou si on s'asseyait mal, on avait peur que ça aboutissait aux oreilles de la Sœur (Participant # 12).

Consequently, these educational practices developed a toxic and unproductive Catholic school culture and, yet, prefigured some current social practices that exist today in Haiti.

2. Through *oppressive rules, norms, and discourses*, Catholic teaching practices overtly promoted negative expectations. For instance, some Catholic teachers utilized the so-called ability grouping to both manage their classrooms and stimulate the learning. On the one hand, some teachers built in their schoolrooms a discriminatory taxonomy based on academic results. Overall, they divided the students in two big groups—effective and ineffective students—in order to distinguish the "brilliant" from the "idiot." According to Participant # 17, "On classait les élèves du moins bons au plus performants. Parfois, les

plus performants étaient placés à l'arrière et les moins performants en avant" (Participant # 17).

On the other hand, there were other teachers who used a more discriminatory pedagogical measure to stimulate their students. Participant # 14 explained their practice in this way:

Dans la classe, il y avait la répartition suivante faite sur la base des performances académiques des élèves: à gauche de la classe, c'était les rangées qu'on appelait le ciel ou le paradis, au milieu de la classe, il y avait le purgatoire, et les rangées à droite, c'était l'enfer. Donc, l'élève qui était à l'extrémité droite de la classe était celui qui réussissait moins. C'était établi, on nous rappelait souvent, là vous êtes dans le paradis, au centre dans le purgatoire et à droite vous êtes dans l'enfer (Participant #14).

As it is indicated in the two above examples, Catholic teachers explicitly created negative academic expectations through a discriminatory practice used for selecting the "best" and the "worst." Today, well-advised teachers should understand the damaging effects of such a practice that could limit the students' possibilities.

In fact, this old pedagogical practice is a good case of what Robert Rosenthal and Lenore Jacobson (1968) called "an educational self-fulfilling prophecy" (p. vii). In their popular book titled *Pygmalion in the classroom*, Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) demonstrated "*how one person's expectation for another person's behavior can quite unwittingly become a more accurate prediction simply for its having been made*" (p. vii). Because of its importance to the academic achievement, "the Pygmalion effect was studied intensively [...], and is now an undisputed feature of teacher-pupil relation in

general" (Eden, 1993, p. 273). In addition, Feldman and Prohaska (1979) confirmed that "there are by now convincing data from many additional experiments showing that teachers' positive and negative expectations do indeed affect student behavior" (p. 485). Therefore, in the above scene, Catholic teachers predicted for better or for worse their students' intellectual performance. As everyone can see in the last excerpt, students from the purgatory and hell were disadvantaged in comparison with those who sat in the paradise area. This pedagogical practice was oppressive for the former who were struck by the "Pygmalion effect." Consequently, there was high probability that these kinds of hidden messages negatively impacted their life.

3. *Students learned racial prejudices and class separatism* which were embedded in the social structures of Catholic congregational schools. In this kind of learning, the hidden curriculum which is responsible for the social education of students (Hashemii, Fallahi, Aojinejad & Samavi, 2012) played the most important role. As Hashemii et al. (2012) further argue, "much of knowledge and taught [*sic*] of students is through interaction and communication which has arose from social and educational environment of school, and such taught [*sic*] has a significant effect on formation of moral and social personality of students" (p. 255). Particularly, Hemmings (1999) identified in the school routines these "corridor spaces" where students learned a lot of negative social lessons through the implicit curriculum.

In the "banking" model of school, principals and teachers are at the centre of the instructional process. From this positioning, they have the great power of transferring to students core conservative values. As Peterson and Deal (1998) argue, school principals communicate significant values in their daily activities. Teachers sustain important values

in their actions and words. Thus, in the school sites, teachers and principals must carefully pay attention to their discourses. Because, Hemmings (1999) found in one of her researches that "codes of racism were most often relayed in racist remarks which took the form of name calling, insults, and other verbal slanders" (p. 10).

In this context, Catholic students probably learned racism from the words and discourses of those French missionaries tinged with racial prejudices. Indeed, according to Participant # 10,

Le discours à caractère raciste était bien présent dans la bouche de certains Frères français. Cela se passait de temps en temps, mais il y avait un petit groupe qui ne ratait pas l'occasion de leur répondre. Même si parfois, certains allaient jusqu'à payer le prix en se faisant exclure (Participant # 10).

As an evidence of racist discourse in the Catholic school environment, Participant # 6 cited a hurtful remark made by a French Brother. According to him, "l'élève arborait un maillot sur lequel il y avait une photo de King Kong; puis, l'ayant remarqué, le Frère lui demandait: Est-ce toi sur le maillot?" (Participant # 6). Therefore, in this French Brother's view, that student was a gorilla.

Another common example of racist discourse is the current vilification and marginalization of Haitian peasants and African descent people by Catholic teachers who used to associate them with idiocy. In this regard, Participant # 14 stated:

Lorsque d'après un professeur vous ne répondez pas très bien à une question, on vous disait que vous êtes un crétin. Qu'est ce que vous êtes venu faire là? Allez planter la patate douce! Vous êtes bons ou doués pour l'agriculture. On nous

traitait de Congo (une tribu africaine) ou un nègre marron. Le professeur disait ça souvent. Et finalement on se le disait entre nous aussi (Participant # 14).

As Van Dijk (1992) said, "Discourse plays a prominent role in the reproduction of racism" (p. 179). Since the hidden curriculum is destructive (Ghosh, 2008) and considerably effective on teenagers (Hashemii et al, 2012), from the educational discourses, Catholic students learned, assimilated, then reproduced a lot of negative ideas and meanings.

As a result, Catholic educational discourses have produced and reproduced racism in the whole Haitian society. Therein, the Participant # 23's opinion is an appropriate example of how racist discourses have been internalized by Catholic alumni. In one of her personal remarks, she unconsciously said:

Aujourd'hui, je regarde les étudiantes, ce n'est pas la même classe, ça a changé, Sainte Rose a perdu des points. Quand je regarde les étudiantes, malheureusement ça a changé de classe, ce n'est plus la même classe. Quand je regarde les photos, de mon temps, il y avait beaucoup plus de mulâtres (Participant # 23).

Therefore, most of from the hidden curriculum which, as I noted earlier, enables the socialization process in schooling (Ahwee et al., 2004; Darder et al., 2009; Ghosh, 2008), Catholic students learned racist discourses. Here, the narrative of Participant # 23 contains certain "codes of racism" (Hemmings, 1999) that have been transmitted via the hidden curriculum. In fact, this alumnus absorbed the notions of racial prejudices which were promoted in her school environment.

On the other hand, there existed in the Catholic school sites another type of negative meanings that were developed through intergroup relations and interaction

routines. Considering Hemmings (1999)'s perspective, Catholic students spent every day at least one hour during the school day in these corridor spaces where they certainly learned racial and class separatism. In this sense, the information gathered from the data revealed a traditional social practice which deserves to be looked at in this analysis. Indeed, most of the participants talked about a popular culture of group interaction that prevailed in their schools. They reported that during the hour of recreation, the students were generally divided in diverse ethnic groups which remained each in its corner. The narratives of Participants # 10, 19, 23, 22, and 17 are selected with a specific purpose, that is, to show how year after year this culture of classism had progressively developed, reproduced, and perpetuated in these schools.

According to Participant # 10, an alumnus of the 1984 class,

Il y avait toujours de petits clans: les fils de mulâtres qui étaient toujours ensemble, les fils de ministres et des membres du pouvoir avaient leur petite clique, il y avait aussi les fils des marchandes ou de la classe moins aisée qui étaient constamment ensemble (Participant # 10).

Participant # 19, a member of the promotion of 1992, considered the existence of these clans as the most outstanding fact in his academic journey:

Ce qui m'a marqué le plus, c'est l'histoire des petits groupes de différentes classes sociales qui s'asseyaient ensemble à midi. J'ai un ami âgé de 23 ans qui étudie aujourd'hui à New York, lui aussi est un ancien de Saint-Louis qui a terminé il y a trois ans. Il m'a dit que c'est toujours la même chose. Donc, cela a continué des années après et même avant c'était ainsi d'après plusieurs anciens (Participant # 19).

As for Participant 23, a graduate from 1993 class, she remembered that "Dans la cour de récréation, il y avait de petits groupes. Les mulâtresses et les noires riches se mettaient ensemble et les autres restaient dans leur coin" (Participant # 23).

In a similar stance, Participant # 22 from 1995 added:

Pendant la récréation, les noirs étaient ensemble dans leur coin, et les mulâtres étaient dans leur zone. Il n'y avait pas beaucoup de mulâtres mais il y avait un endroit juste pour eux. Dans ce groupe-là, il y avait toujours un noir avec un profil spécial, un noir aux cheveux lisses, ou un fils de riche, un fils de ministre (Participant # 22).

Ultimately, Participant # 17, an alumnus of 1996, still reported the same scene in the following terms:

À l'école, il y avait des clans. Les mulâtres constituaient une minorité et ne se mélangeaient pas trop souvent avec les autres élèves. Les riches mulâtres restaient avec les riches mulâtres, et les élèves des familles moins favorisées se mettaient ensemble (Participant # 17).

As a result, this type of social relationships based particularly on colour bar generated violence in the school sites. As an example, Participant # 14 recounted a famous free-for-all which occurred in his school in the 1990s:

Au début des années 1990, il y a eu une célèbre bagarre à l'école à cause d'un endroit situé au bas d'un escalier où les élèves à peau claire de la classe de seconde avaient l'habitude de se réunir aux heures libres. À l'école, tout le monde savait que cette place était réservée exclusivement à ces mulâtres de la classe de seconde. Mais, un élève noir qui ne voulait pas accepter cette situation avait

décidé d'agir. Un matin, il était arrivé très tôt et s'était assis avec un autre collègue au bas de l'escalier. Les mulâtres qui commençaient à y arriver envoyaient un émissaire, qui n'était pas tout à fait mulâtre, pour dire aux deux élèves noirs de vider les lieux. Mais ces derniers avaient refusé de se déplacer. Ils disaient à l'émissaire qu'ils payaient le même montant que les mulâtres, et avaient donc le droit d'être là. Les mulâtres qui étaient arrivés entre-temps attaquaient ces deux noirs, et les rouaient de coups. Les élèves des classes terminales qui assistaient à la scène étaient restés à l'écart et n'avaient rien fait pour empêcher à ces mulâtres de commettre leur forfait. Par contre, les élèves noirs des classes de 6^e et 5^e étaient venus au secours de ces deux noirs et avaient déclenché une bagarre générale entre noirs et mulâtres. À ce moment-là, les Frères intervenaient et renvoyaient les principaux protagonistes chez eux. Dans l'après-midi, les parents des mulâtres étaient allés parler aux Frères. Je ne sais pas ce qu'ils avaient dit aux Frères, le lendemain matin, ces derniers avaient autorisé aux mulâtres de retourner immédiatement en classe, tandis que les noirs étaient toujours restés chez eux. Face à cette injustice, l'école était entrée en grève (Participant # 14).

The above excerpts provide a good example on "how schools are implicated in the process of social reproduction" (Darder et al., 2009, p. 77). As Darder et al. (2009) assert, "Schools perpetuate or reproduce social relationships and attitudes needed to sustain the existing dominant economic and class relations of the larger society" (p. 77). As evidenced by these testimonies, Catholic schools implicitly taught to many generations of educated Haitians the dominant class discourses and other neocolonial values. From the "hidden corridor curriculum" (Hemmings, 1999), these schools promoted the

reinforcement of socioeconomic separation between light-skinned and dark-skinned individuals, between rich and poor students, in brief, between dominant and subordinate groups. As one can note in the above excerpts, the social relations embodied in this educational practice benefitted only the dominant group, that is, the Mulattoes.

A Culturally Inappropriate Pedagogy

While Catholic school teachers applied in the instructional process a set of anti-democratic methods and individualistic approaches and activities, cooperative learning known as an active method of teaching was useless. The data indicated that most of the times only individual works were utilized in the classrooms. Based on their own educational experiences Participants # 21, 19, and 17 affirmed:

Dans la classe, tout devait se faire de manière individuelle. Neuf fois sur dix, c'était des travaux individuels (Participant # 21). Chacun avait son livre sur la table, c'était obligatoire d'avoir son livre (Participant # 19). Il n'y avait pas d'interactions entre les élèves (Participant # 17).

In the same perspective, Participant # 21 further explained why individualistic approaches and activities would have priority in the Catholic schoolteaching by saying:

Durant mes études postsecondaire en France, je me suis rendu compte que dans le système français, c'était l'individualisme qui primait. Comme la plupart des Frères étaient des Français, alors ils avaient fait comme en France. Il y avait peu place pour les discussions, les débats ou les questions controversées. Faire un devoir en groupe pour un pourcentage de 20 ou 30 pourcent, ça n'existait pas (Participant # 21).

According to Nguyen-Phuong-Mai, Terlouw, and Pilot (2012), "Cooperative Learning is understood in terms of students working together in order to achieve better comprehension" (p. 139). However, in Catholic schools, students were generally in competition with their peers. In other words, competition was more often valued than participation, cooperation, and solidarity. As Participant # 22 confirmed it,

Il n'y avait pas de place pour le travail en groupe. Même en dehors de la classe on ne pouvait pas le faire. Car, il y avait trop de compétitions entre les élèves. La compétition était bien visible dans la classe (Participant # 22).

Therefore, Catholic teachers used individualistic techniques in order to develop in students the spirit of individualism. Indeed, Participant # 20 is today grateful towards this individualistic approach. She advocates individualism as the best way to live in the present Haiti. She firmly states that

La meilleure façon d'évoluer dans une société comme Haiti, c'est l'individualisme qu'il faut cultiver. C'est chacun pour soi, Dieu pour tous. Je dois vivre pour moi, pour ma famille. Je travaille pour ma prospérité, je travaille pour moi, moi, moi, moi. C'est ce que j'ai appris de toutes les connaissances et expériences que j'ai accumulées (Participant # 20).

Like this Catholic alumni, the majority of the educated Haitians have become deeply individualist. But, as I discussed in chapter two, Haiti was created with an unique and special collective effort, and fundamentally, Haiti is culturally, socially, economically, and politically collectivistic. Thus, individualistic methods are culturally inappropriate in the Haitian educational context. Such pedagogical practices have greatly contributed to destroy the fundamental "one-for-all mentality" (Nguyen-Phuong-Mai, Terlouw & Pilot,

2006) of the Haitian people. Nguyen-Phuong-Mai et al. (2006) define a culturally appropriate pedagogy as "a pedagogy that focuses on educational competence in a global context, and which addresses the cultural context of learners and teachers" (p. 2).

Different synonyms such as culturally responsive, culturally respectful, culturally rooted, culturally relevant and so forth have been used in the literature to refer to a culturally appropriate pedagogy. But, there is in all these synonyms a common spirit which maintains one key idea, that is, valuing cultural differences (Nguyen-Phuong-Mai et al., 2006). In the case of Haiti, the group-based method or cooperative learning group is the culturally relevant pedagogy which fits the Haitian reality. Since in the Haitian culture, collectivism prevails over individualism, to the largest extent, cooperative learning group must have been the appropriate learning model which could permit Catholic students to achieve different results.

In this context, Catholic teaching practices were thus completely in opposition to the historical and cultural experiences of the Haitian people. In fact, Haitian Vodou, Lakou, proverbs, and others Haitian institutions generally point out the natural spirit of Haitian collectivism. In the Lakou as well as in the Konbit each Haitian is responsible for the other. Besides the fact that Haitian motto is: *L'union fait la force*, there exist many popular sayings in the Haitian Creole language that express the cooperative spirit of the Haitian majority. For instance, Haitian people are often used to saying: *an nou fè konbit* [let us rally], *an nou met tèt ansanm* [let us come together], *an nou kole zepòl* [let us put our shoulders together], *chaj ki soti sou tèt tonbe sou zepòl* [a load too heavy for the head falls on the shoulders], *you sèl dwèt pa manje kalalou* [okra cannot be eaten with one finger], *pase pran m ma pase chèche w* [come for me, and I will come for you], *men*

anpil chay pa lou [many hands make the load lighter], *you sèl nou fèb, ansanm nou fò* [one person is weak, a group is strong], and so on. Every time Haitians use these sayings, they literally want to show their collective spirit and remind themselves that unity is key to survival. In sum, cooperative learning group activities would naturally match the collectivistic mentality and spirit that have sustained the people through thick and thin.

Thus, in the light of these qualitative data, I can without any doubt affirm that the Catholic congregational schooling was an extreme form of "banking" educational project in which the instructional process was a total conquest of the student's body, mind, consciousness, and culture. Paradoxically, Catholic congregational schools are a model of Christian-centric school with the aim of educating teenagers for achieving spiritual, moral, intellectual, and social development. In this perspective, love should be at the heart of their philosophy of teaching. As Kincheloe (2008) affirms, love is the foundation of an education that pursues justice, equality, and genius. Nevertheless, if Catholic school teachers and administrators exercised love in their respective schools, they just practised what Freire (2007) called a "sadistic love" which "is a perverted love—a love of death, not of life" (p. 59). The Catholic school staff put in practice sadistic love when, for instance, they repeatedly whipped their students and said: *I beat you because I love you or I beat you for your wellbeing*.

In opposition to the sadistic love, Paolo Freire (2005) distinguished the radical love which "is preeminently and irrevocably dialogical" (p. xxx). Kincheloe (2008) explains that "Such love is compassionate, erotic, creative, sensual, and informed. Critical pedagogy uses it to increase our capacity to love, to bring the power of love to our everyday lives and social institutions" (p. 3). In the Freirean sense, if the Catholic

educational practices were associated with a strong dose of radical love they could have shaped and re-shaped all those oppressive and anti-democratic classroom behaviors.

The Development of the Quantitative Instrument

In adopting a mixed methods approach to conduct this study, I intended to provide a more complete description of the research problem. In other words, I wanted to bring forth a broader picture of the role of Catholic education in the lack of democracy in Haiti. In order to obtain this more thorough view, both qualitative and quantitative data were needed. In addition, since the qualitative phase had priority in this study and complementarity was the main purpose of using mixed methods, quantitative data were necessary to illustrate, clarify, and even enhance the qualitative results (Greene et al., 1989). Therefore, in the second phase of the study, the quantitative data were collected to complete and support the qualitative results. In other words, quantitative data were gathered from 240 secondary Catholic alumni to illustrate and better clarify the responsibility of Catholic school teaching in the lack of democracy in Haiti.

Therefore, from the qualitative results, a series of items were chosen to inform the development of a quantitative survey instrument in the second phase of the study. This survey was constructed to support the qualitative results which outlined a significant association between Catholic education and the lack of democracy in Haiti. Then, I selected the items that presented the overall themes and subthemes of the qualitative results. I specially took into consideration the results provided by the second research question of the first phase, that is, how do Catholic congregational alumni describe common pedagogical practices such as methods of teaching, classroom management, school discipline, textbook content, school climate and school culture? Since the purpose

of the study was to explore in depth the nature of the Catholic congregational school pedagogy in Haiti and critically examine how such a pedagogy impacts democracy in Haiti, the second qualitative research question has the characteristic to serve as the foundation for selecting all the items that made up the quantitative survey. Briefly, this question has the great quality of including all themes and subthemes considered in the qualitative phase.

In addition, the questionnaire reflected the alumni's opinions, testimonies, narratives, and experiences which stressed many anti-democratic and oppressive educational practices that occurred in their schools. In this context, all the questions were presented from a negative perspective in terms of their form. This questionnaire built with a Likert-type four-response—totally disagree, disagree, agree, totally agree—contains 60 questions including 18 items which gather demographic, biographic, and professional information, and 42 other items in connection with core democratic values and pedagogical practices, Haitian Creole, and Haitian Vodou.

In the second segment of this chapter, I present the findings of the quantitative survey.

Quantitative Data Analysis and Findings

As I pointed out in the previous chapters, there are four questions that led the quantitative phase of this study. In this second part of chapter four, the quantitative findings are presented as a result of surveying 240 Catholic congregational school alumni to glean a better description of the relationship between Catholic education and lack of democracy in Haiti. The quantitative data are exhibited in order to exemplify, enlarge, and illuminate what the qualitative data revealed concerning the relationship between

Catholic educational practices and the deficit of democracy in Haiti. The outcomes of the Catholic alumni's surveys attest the affirmation that the Catholic congregational schools selected and "mis-educated" a subaltern ruling elite who has consequently become authoritarian and oppressive towards Vodouists and Creole speakers.

Demographic, Biographic, and Professional Information

The demographic, biographic and professional section gathered information pertaining to the following areas: gender, nationality, age, physical appearance, year of schooling, number of years in a secondary Catholic school, professional area, motivation for choosing their profession, self-consideration of their social role, religion, knowledge regarding Vodou, competences in Haitian Creole language and more.

Table 3

Gender

Gender	Frequency	Percent (%)
Male	121	51.4
Female	119	49.6
Total	240	100.0

Table 3 presents information on gender of the participants. It indicates the distribution of participants as follows: 121 males (51.4%) and 119 females (49.6%). The representation of both genders is almost equal.

Table 4

Nationality

Nationality	Frequency	Percent (%)
Haitian	236	98.3
Non-Haitian	2	.8
Dual Citizenship	2	.8
Total	240	100.0

As shown in table 4, almost all of the participants are of Haitian nationality (98.3 %). Only two persons are non-Haitian and only two of them hold dual citizenship.

Table 5

Age

Age	Frequency	Percent (%)
19-24	186	77.6
25-29	32	13.3
30-34	8	3.3
35-39	5	2.1
49-44	2	.8
45-49	2	.8
50 and more	5	2.1
Total	240	100.0

In terms of age distribution, Table 5 shows that the overwhelming majority of the participants, 77.6 %, fall within the 19-24 age group category. Thus, the great majority of the participants make up the most recent generations of Catholic alumni.

Table 6

Phenotypic Appearance

Phenotypic Appearance	Frequency	Percent (%)
Dark-skinned Blacks	118	49.2
Mixed Race (' <i>Mulattoes</i> ')	70	29.2
Light-skinned Haitians (' <i>Grimo</i> ')	52	21.6
Total	240	100.0

The color or race issue in Haiti is relatively complex. Table 6 indicates this relative complexity by using the actual terms *mulattoe* and *grimo* to refer to mixed-race Haitians and light-skinned Haitians, respectively in Haitian society. The distribution is as follows: Dark-skinned Blacks, 49.2%; Mixed-race Haitians, 29.2%; and Light-skinned Haitians, 21.6%.

Table 7

Location of Schooling

Location of Schooling	Frequency	Percent (%)
Schooling in Port-au-Prince	156	65.0
Area		
Schooling in Province Area	84	35.0
Total	240	100.0

Table 7 indicates that most of the participants, 65%, attended school in the capital, Port-au-Prince. Though most Haitians live in the rural parts of Haiti, most members of the Haitian elite attend Catholic congregational schools in the capital.

Table 8

Year of Schooling

Year of Schooling	Frequency	Percent (%)
60-69	1	.4
70-79	3	1.3
80-89	5	2.1
90-99	9	3.8
2000-2009	64	26.7
2010 and Beyond	158	65.7
Total	240	100.0

Table 8 shows that the bulk of the participants, 65.7%, completed secondary school in 2010 and beyond. This means that the participants are relatively young and reflect the present reality of Haiti's Catholic congregational schooling system.

Table 9

Number of Years in Catholic School

Number of Years in a Catholic School	Frequency	Percent (%)
Less Than 4 Years	16	6.7
4 Years	25	10.4
5 Years	6	2.5
6 Years	11	4.6
7 Years	130	54.2
More Than 7 Years	52	21.6
Total	240	100.0

Table 9 indicates that more than three-fourths of the participants, 75.8%, spent at least seven years in the Catholic congregational schooling system.

Table 10

Profession

Profession	Frequency	Percent (%)
Engineering	39	16.3
Agriculture	6	2.5
Communication	7	2.9
Politics	13	5.4
Medicine	55	22.9
Management	20	8.3
Computer Science	9	3.8
Other Professions	91	37.9
Total	240	100.0

Table 10 presents that the medical (22.9%) and the engineering (16.2%) fields are the two most popular fields among the participants.

Table 11

Field of Work

Are you working in your field of work?	Frequency	Percent (%)
Yes	33	13.8
No	207	86.2
Total	240	100.0

Table 11 shows that 86.2 % of the participants are not working in their field of work, as most of them have yet to complete their studies.

Table 12

Motivation for Choosing a Profession

Motivation for choosing their profession	Frequency	Percent (%)
Follow the footsteps of my parents	11	4.6
Choose the best profession to be among the best	82	34.2
Wanted to be distinguished	25	10.4
Respect my vocation	80	33.3
I had no other choice to reach	16	6.7
Was dictated by chance	22	9.2
Other raisons	4	1.7
Total	240	100.0

Table 12 shows that the majority of participants (34.2%) chose their professions based on the social status that these professions confer. Their choice was made "to be among the best."

Table 13

Self-consideration of their Social Role

Self-consideration of their Social Role	Frequency	Percent (%)
A Member of the Intellectual Elite	102	42.5
A Member of the Economic Elite	6	2.5
A Member of the Political Elite	9	3.8
A Senior Executive of the Public Administration	2	.8
A Simple Member of the Public Administration	8	3.3
A Member of Civil Society	51	21.3
Ordinary Citizen	46	19.2
Other Role	16	6.7
Total	240	100.0

Table 13 represents the perception of the participants' social position in society. It shows that most of the participants (42.5%) view themselves as a member of the intellectual elite.

Table 14

Membership of Social Organization

Membership of Social Organization	Frequency	Percent (%)
Active member of an association or a political party	13	5.4
Active member of a professional association	15	6.3
Active member of an alumni organization	55	22.9
Active member of a socio-cultural association	30	12.5
Active member of an association of peasant	3	1.3
Active member of two or more associations	13	5.4
Member of any association	111	46.3
Total	240	100.0

Table 14 indicates that most of the participants are not active members of any associations or organizations. This may suggest that they value individualism over collectivism.

Table 15

Family Religion

Family Religion	Frequency	Percent (%)
Catholic	152	63.3
Vodou	9	3.8
Episcopal	1	.4
Baptist	46	19.2
Pentecostal	21	8.8
Adventist	4	1.7
Methodist	3	1.3
Other Family Religion	4	1.7
Total	240	100.0

Table 15 presents the religion of their family. As it is indicated, Catholicism is the religion of the overwhelming majority of the participants' families (63.3%).

Table 16

Practiced Religion

Practiced Religion	Frequency	Percent (%)
Catholic	117	48.8
Vodou	2	.8
Episcopal	4	1.7
Baptist	49	20.4
Pentecostal	21	8.8
Adventist	12	5.0
Methodist	5	2.1
Muslim	3	1.3
Atheist	8	3.3
Other Practiced Religion	19	7.9
Total	240	100.0

Table 16 shows that most of the participants (48.8%) are of the Catholic faith, whereas in a country where Vodou plays a prominent foundational role, less than 1% of the participants identify themselves as adherents of Vodou.

Table 17

Knowledge on Haitian Vodou

Knowledge of Haitian Vodou	Frequency	Percent (%)
Very good	15	6.3
Good	58	24.2
Good enough	101	42.1
Bad	41	17.1
Very Bad	25	10.4
Total	240	100.0

Table 17 demonstrates that most of the participants (72.6%) declare to have very good, good or good enough knowledge of the Vodou faith.

Table 18

Reading Creole Language

Reading Creole Language	Frequency	Percent (%)
Very Good	136	56.7
Good	64	26.7
Good enough	36	15.0
Bad	4	1.7
Total	240	100.0

Table 18 shows that most of the participants claim that they are literate in Haitian Creole (98.3%).

Table 19

Writing Creole Language

Writing Creole Language	Frequency	Percent (%)
Very Good	101	42.1
Good	81	33.8
Good enough	47	19.6
Bad	11	4.6
Total	240	100.0

Table 19 shows that the majority of the participants (95.4%) claim that they are able to write in Haitian Creole. One of the main reasons is *La Reforme Bernard*. Indeed, since the Bernard's education reform most of Catholic schools accepted to teach at least one hour of Creole per week. Accordingly, the generations that came after that reform acquired in their schools the skills of writing and reading Creole.

Quantitative Research Question one

To what extent do pedagogical practices (methods of teaching, classroom management, school discipline, textbook contents, school climate, and school culture) of Catholic congregational schools reflect and promote core democratic values such as cooperation, liberty, justice, tolerance, respect, diversity, equality, common good, and gender equity in Haiti?

Table 20

Cooperation through Methods of Teaching

In my school, most of the teachers did not use team work in their teaching	Frequency	Percent (%)
Strongly Disagree	35	14.6
Disagree	69	28.7
Agree	105	43.8
Strongly Agree	31	12.9
Total	240	100.0

Table 20 indicates that of the 240 alumni responding more than half of the participants (56.7 %) say that teachers did not use team work in their instruction of students.

Table 21

Cooperation through Methods of Teaching

In my high school, learning by heart was generally valorized and adopted by the majority of the teachers.	Frequency	Percent (%)
Strongly Disagree	24	10.0
Disagree	78	32.5
Agree	101	42.1
Strongly Agree	37	15.4
Total	240	100.0

Table 21 indicates that almost 60% of the participants claim learning by heart was generally valorized and adopted by the majority of the teachers.

Table 22

Liberty through Methods of Teaching

In my secondary school, the majority of the teachers used most of the times the "magister dixit" teaching (only teachers have the final word).	Frequency	Percent (%)
Strongly Disagree	17	7.1
Disagree	57	23.8
Agree	124	51.7
Strongly Agree	42	17.5
Total	240	100.0

Table 22 shows almost 70 % of the participants state that in their classrooms the teachers were the "know-it-all" and always had the final word.

Table 23

Liberty through School Discipline Matters

Due to the strict discipline imposed by school administrators and teachers, students did not feel comfortable to ask questions or to bring up controversial topics	Frequency	Percent (%)
Strongly Disagree	21	8.8
Disagree	64	26.7
Agree	110	45.8
Strongly Agree	45	18.8
Total	240	100.0

Table 23 shows that 65 % of the participants affirm that because of the strict discipline imposed by school administrators and teachers, students did not feel comfortable asking questions or bringing up controversial topics.

Table 24

Acceptance through Classroom Management

In my school, generally, opinions, thoughts, arguments and controversial-points of view from students were not welcome	Frequency	Percent (%)
Strongly Disagree	29	12.1
Disagree	71	29.6
Agree	88	36.7
Strongly Agree	52	21.7
Total	240	100.0

Table 24 shows that almost 60 % of the participants say that generally, dissenting viewpoints from students were not welcome.

Table 25

Acceptance through Classroom Management

In my school, students did not feel free to ask questions or to give their opinions because they did not speak French fluently and it was required for them to speak only in French	Frequency	Percent (%)
Strongly Disagree	29	12.1
Disagree	46	19.2
Agree	105	43.8
Strongly Agree	60	25.0
Total	240	100.0

Table 25 shows that almost 70 % of the participants report that they were not at ease to ask questions or to give their opinions because they did not speak French fluently although it was required for them to speak only in French.

Table 26

Diversity through Textbooks

In the textbooks of my school, we did not find inventions and scientific discoveries realized by Amerindians, Afro Americans, former Haitians slaves, and the black people in general	Frequency	Percent (%)
Strongly Disagree	31	12.9
Disagree	77	32.1
Agree	86	35.8
Strongly Agree	46	19.2
Total	240	100.0

Table 26 indicates that 55 % of the participants respond that their textbook contents omitted the inventions and scientific discoveries of non-Europeans.

Table 27

Diversity through Textbooks

In my high school, the contents, images and examples from the text books used by teachers and students excluded the followings: <i>Kombitisme</i> , the culture of <i>lakou</i> , Haitian proverbs and some elements of the Vodou culture	Frequency	Percent (%)
Strongly disagree	30	12.5
Disagree	70	29.2
Agree	100	41.7
Strongly Agree	40	16.7
Total	240	100.0

Table 27 indicates that nearly 60% of the participants say that key elements in Haitian culture were excluded in their textbooks.

Table 28

Equality of Chances through School Culture

In my high school, of 200 students promoted to Secondary One, just a few of them will reach Secondary V	Frequency	Percent (%)
Strongly Disagree	31	12.9
Disagree	43	17.9
Agree	86	35.8
Strongly Agree	80	33.3
Total	240	100.0

Table 28 reveals that almost 70% of the participants report that most of their peers who start secondary school do not complete secondary, at least in their respective schools.

Table 29

Equality of Races through School Climate

In my high school environment, racial prejudice existed among the students, teachers and administrators.	Frequency	Percent (%)
Strongly Disagree	49	20.4
Disagree	64	26.7
Agree	97	40.4
Strongly Agree	30	12.5
Total	240	100.0

Table 29 shows that about 53% of the participants believe that there were racial problems and issues in their schools.

Table 30

Justice through School Culture

In my school culture, school staff openly practiced favoritism in their discourses and behaviors	Frequency	Percent (%)
Strongly Disagree	21	8.8
Disagree	76	31.7
Agree	118	49.2
Strongly Agree	25	10.4
Total	240	100.0

Table 30 shows that almost 60% of the participants report that their school leaders and teachers openly practiced favoritism in their discourses and behaviors.

Table 31

Common Good through Teaching of Haitian Social Studies

Haitian social studies were taught as narrative events that students should know by heart	Frequency	Percent (%)
Strongly Disagree	24	10.0
Disagree	51	21.3
Agree	121	50.4
Strongly Agree	44	18.3
Total	240	100.0

Table 31 indicates that almost 70% of the participants say that Haitian social studies was taught as narrative events that students should know by heart.

Table 32

Common Good through School Culture

Catholic Congregational schools prepared students to be individualist. Pupils were prepared to look for their well-being first even before thinking of the whole community	Frequency	Percent (%)
Strongly Disagree	21	8.8
Disagree	58	24.2
Agree	103	42.9
Strongly Agree	58	24.2
Total	240	100.0

Table 32 indicates that close to 70% of the participants report that Catholic congregational schools socialize them to put individual needs over collective needs.

Table 33

Gender Equity through Teaching Mathematics

In my school, teachers and students thought that girls could not have a higher score in mathematics than boys	Frequency	Percent (%)
Strongly Disagree	36	15.0
Disagree	71	29.6
Agree	98	40.8
Strongly Agree	35	14.6
Total	240	100.0

Table 33 shows more than 55% of the participants report that students and teachers in their schools believed that boys were better at mathematics than girls.

Table 34

Gender Equity through School Climate

In my school environment, the idea of weaker sex from time to time appeared without being publicly rejected or condemned by school administrators and teachers	Frequency	Percent (%)
Strongly Disagree	42	17.5
Disagree	90	37.5
Agree	77	32.1
Strongly Agree	31	12.9
Total	240	100.0

Table 34 shows that 55 % of the participants disagree with the fact that the idea of weaker sex from time to time appeared without being publicly rejected or condemned by school administrators and teachers.

Table 35

Respect for Haitian Peasants in School Culture

In my school culture, people with poor instruction were called peasants	Frequency	Percent (%)
Strongly Disagree	55	22.9
Disagree	82	34.2
Agree	75	31.3
Strongly Agree	28	11.7
Total	240	100.0

Table 35 indicates that 57% of the participants did not believe that in their school culture poor instruction was associated with peasantry, whereas 43% did. In the past, the figures would have been different, and this shows a positive evolution; nevertheless the fact that 43% reported this was a prevailing belief in their school is significantly an issue.

Table 36

Respect for Vodou Practitioners through School Teaching

In my high school, they did not teach me to respect Vodou practitioners and followers	Frequency	Percent (%)
Strongly Disagree	24	10.0
Disagree	91	37.9
Agree	87	36.3
Strongly Agree	38	15.8
Total	240	100.0

Table 36 indicates that more than 50% of the participants report that their schools failed to teach them to respect fellow Haitians of the Vodou faith.

Quantitative Research Question Two

How does the way congregational Catholic school's alumni talk about behaviors and practices of their school staff convey core democratic values such as cooperation, liberty, respect, justice, tolerance, diversity, common good, equality, and gender equity?

Table 37

Cooperation in School Staff's Practices

In my school, disciplinary rules and conduct codes were exclusively dictated and established by school staff without the participation of students	Frequency	Percent (%)
Strongly Disagree	6	2.5
Disagree	32	13.3
Agree	76	31.7
Strongly Agree	126	52.5
Total	240	100.0

Table 37 indicates that almost 85% of the participants claim that the school leaders in their schools dictated the disciplinary process.

Table 38

Justice in School Staff's Practices

Catholic school staff favoured children from rich people, politicians and those with powerful power	Frequency	Percent (%)
Strongly Disagree	49	20.4
Disagree	77	32.1
Agree	81	33.8
Strongly Agree	33	13.8
Total	240	100.0

Table 38 shows that almost 53% of the participants say that neither teachers nor school leaders at their schools openly practice favoritism.

Table 39

Liberty in School Staff's Practices

In my high school, due to the strict discipline established by the school administrators and teachers, some students did not feel comfortable asking questions or bringing up controversial topics	Frequency	Percent (%)
Strongly Disagree	21	8.8
Disagree	64	26.7
Agree	110	45.8
Strongly Agree	45	18.8
Total	240	100.0

Table 39 shows that almost 65% of the participants report that students were shy to ask questions or to raise controversial issues due to strict disciplinary rules in their schools.

Table 40

Acceptance in School Staff's Practices

In my high school, administrators and teachers placed a lot of emphasis on the Catholic religion without teaching respect and acceptance for Vodou and the other religions of the country	Frequency	Percent (%)
Strongly Disagree	17	7.1
Disagree	37	15.4
Agree	109	45.4
Strongly Agree	77	32.1
Total	240	100.0

Table 40 shows that almost 80% of the participants report that there was a lack of respect and acceptance for Vodou and other non-Catholic faiths in their schools.

Table 41

Common Good in School Staff's Practices

In a general way, Catholic congregational school staff prepared students (boys and girls) to be individualist. Pupils were prepared to look for their well-being first even before thinking of the whole community	Frequency	Percent (%)
Strongly Disagree	21	8.8
Disagree	58	24.2
Agree	103	42.9
Strongly Agree	58	24.2
Total	240	100.0

Table 41 indicates that almost 70% of the participants believe that their schools instilled in them individualistic values.

Table 42

Respect for all in School Staff's Practices

In my school, when students did not know their lessons or failed an exam they were often considered dumb or good for practicing agricultural professions	Frequency	Percent (%)
Strongly Disagree	52	21.7
Disagree	82	34.2
Agree	68	28.3
Strongly Agree	38	15.8
Total	240	100.0

Table 42 shows that 42 % of the participants say that subpar academic performance was associated with agricultural professions in their schools.

Table 43

Equality of Chances in School Staff's Practices

In my school, when there was an admission test students from certain affluent neighborhoods received preferential treatment. On the other hand, those from low income neighborhoods and rural parts did not have equal opportunity to be admitted	Frequency	Percent (%)
Strongly Disagree	74	30.8
Disagree	75	31.3
Agree	61	25.4
Strongly Agree	30	12.5
Total	240	100.0

Table 43 shows that almost 40% of the participants report that students from marginalized neighborhoods and the rural parts of the country were at a disadvantage in terms of admissions.

Table 44

Diversity in School Staff's Practices

During the student selection process, the children of Vodou adherents and other non-Catholics ran the risk of being excluded	Frequency	Percent (%)
Strongly Disagree	49	20.4
Disagree	63	26.3
Agree	87	36.3
Strongly Agree	41	17.1
Total	240	100.0

Table 44 shows that more than half of the participants say that Vodou adherents and members of other non-Catholic religious beliefs were discriminated against in their schools' admission process. If other non-Catholic beliefs are less discriminated against in the process of admission, Vodou practitioners and followers are still prohibited from accessing Catholic schools.

Table 45

Gender Equity in School Staff's Practices

In my school, school administrators and teachers did not promote gender equity	Frequency	Percent (%)
Strongly Disagree	48	20.0
Disagree	76	31.7
Agree	87	36.3
Strongly Agree	29	12.1
Total	240	100.0

Table 45 indicates that almost 50% of the participants believe that the school administrators and teachers in their schools failed to promote gender equity.

Quantitative Research Question Three

How does the way Catholic congregational school's alumni talk about Haitian Creole convey core democratic values such as diversity, liberty, respect, acceptance, and equality?

Table 46

Haitian Creole and Diversity

In my high school, I was taught neither how to speak nor how to write in Creole	Frequency	Percent (%)
Strongly Disagree	80	33.3
Disagree	114	47.5
Agree	24	10.0
Strongly Agree	22	9.2
Total	240	100.0

Table 46 shows that more than 80% of the participants report they received instruction on how to speak and write Creole. Consequently, as one can see in Tables 18 and 19, most of the participants claim that they can read and write Creole.

Table 47

Haitian Creole and Diversity

Generally, the whole culture and school environment were exclusively francophone	Frequency	Percent (%)
Strongly Disagree	12	5.0
Disagree	63	26.3
Agree	113	47.1
Strongly Agree	52	21.7
Total	240	100.0

Table 47 reveals that almost 70% of the participants say that both their school culture and environment were francophone.

Table 48

Haitian Creole and Diversity

In my high school, Creole was excluded even in cultural and extracurricular activities	Frequency	Percent (%)
Strongly Disagree	23	9.6
Disagree	101	42.1
Agree	80	33.3
Strongly Agree	36	15.0
Total	240	100.0

Table 48 shows that 48.3 % of the participants report that Creole was excluded even in non-instructional activities. A bigger percentage, 51.7% disagree. Prior to Bernard Reform in the late 1970s and early 1980s this figure would have been much greater.

Table 49

Haitian Creole and Liberty

In my school culture, it was forbidden to speak Creole in the classrooms	Frequency	Percent (%)
Strongly Disagree	3	1.3
Disagree	28	11.7
Agree	98	40.8
Strongly Agree	111	46.3
Total	240	100.0

Table 49 shows that almost 90% of participants report that Creole was forbidden in the classroom.

Table 50

Haitian Creole and Liberty

In my high school environment, students always feel embarrassed and were scared to speak in Creole	Frequency	Percent (%)
Strongly Disagree	12	5.0
Disagree	53	22.1
Agree	110	45.8
Strongly Agree	65	27.1
Total	240	100.0

Table 50 indicates that almost 75% of the participants say that students were embarrassed to express themselves in Creole in their schools.

Table 51

Haitian Creole and Respect

In my high school, people thought that choosing Creole as the main language of instruction would be an obstacle for development in Haiti	Frequency	Percent (%)
Strongly Disagree	17	7.1
Disagree	48	20.0
Agree	109	45.4
Strongly Agree	66	27.5
Total	240	100.0

Table 51 shows that almost 75% of the participants report that staff and students in their schools believed that Creole was impediment to development.

Table 52

Haitian Creole and Acceptance

In my school, when they caught you speaking Creole, you received a warning or they said: "express yourself"	Frequency	Percent (%)
Strongly Disagree	3	1.3
Disagree	21	8.8
Agree	108	45.0
Strongly Agree	108	45.0
Total	240	100.0

Table 52 shows that 90% of the participants say that students were discouraged to express themselves in Creole.

Table 53

Haitian Creole and Equality

In my school, foreign languages such as English, Spanish, specially French were generally considered as superior to Creole language	Frequency	Percent (%)
Strongly Disagree	11	4.6
Disagree	27	11.3
Agree	107	44.6
Strongly Agree	95	39.6
Total	240	100.0

In Table 53, it is shown that about 85% of the participants report Creole was viewed inferior to other foreign languages, especially French.

Table 54

Haitian Creole and Equality

In my high school, a student who spoke French well was considered a brilliant student. On the other hand, a student who could not express himself or herself well in French was badly perceived	Frequency	Percent (%)
Strongly Disagree	10	4.2
Disagree	40	16.7
Agree	107	44.6
Strongly Agree	83	34.6
Total	240	100.0

Table 54 shows that almost 80% of the participants say that the ability for one to express himself or herself in French was associated with being intelligent. Conversely, not being able to speak French was badly perceived.

Quantitative Research Question Four

How does the way Catholic congregational school's alumni talk about Haitian Vodou convey core democratic values such as diversity, liberty, respect, tolerance, and equality?

Table 55

Haitian Vodou and Acceptance

Vodou was totally banished from my high school programs and activities.	Frequency	Percent (%)
Strongly Disagree	5	2.1
Disagree	31	12.9
Agree	95	39.6
Strongly Agree	109	45.4
Total	240	100.0

Table 55 shows that 85% of the participants report that Vodou was banned from their schools' programs and activities.

Table 56

Haitian Vodou and Liberty

In my secondary school, teachers and students were afraid to admit that they were Vodou followers because they were afraid to be expelled.	Frequency	Percent (%)
Strongly Disagree	26	10.8
Disagree	63	26.3
Agree	86	35.8
Strongly Agree	65	27.1
Total	240	100.0

Table 56 indicates that more than 60% of the participants report that both teachers and students in their schools were afraid to admit that they were Vodou adherents, fearing consequences.

Table 57

Haitian Vodou and Respect

In my secondary school, they directly or indirectly taught me that Vodou was satanic.	Frequency	Percent (%)
Strongly Disagree	16	6.7
Disagree	47	19.6
Agree	112	46.7
Strongly Agree	65	27.1
Total	240	100.0

Table 57 indicates that almost 75% of the participants say that their schools directly or indirectly taught that Vodou was a satanic practice.

Table 58

Haitian Vodou and Respect

In the Haitian Catholic culture, specifically those of the congregational schools, Haitian Vodou was seen and considered as an obstacle to Haiti's development or as something that should be eradicated.	Frequency	Percent (%)
Strongly Disagree	14	5.8
Disagree	74	30.8
Agree	84	35.0
Strongly Agree	68	28.3
Total	240	100.0

Table 58 shows that almost 65% of the participants report that Vodou was viewed as an impediment to development and thus should be removed from Haitian society.

Table 59

Haitian Vodou and Diversity

The education received in high school did not prepare me to live with Haitian peasants without prejudice and fear.	Frequency	Percent (%)
Strongly Disagree	11	4.6
Disagree	55	22.9
Agree	106	44.2
Strongly Agree	68	28.3
Total	240	100.0

Table 59 shows that more than 70% of the participants claim that their education failed to prepare to live harmoniously with fellow Haitians of the peasantry class.

Table 60

Haitian Vodou and Equality

In my school culture, Vodou was not seen and considered as a religion like the other modern religions	Frequency	Percent (%)
Strongly Disagree	14	5.8
Disagree	53	22.1
Agree	101	42.1
Strongly Agree	72	30.0
Total	240	100.0

Table 60 indicates that more than 70% of the participants say that Vodou was not regarded as a modern religion as other religions were in their schools.

In *summary*, according to the survey findings, generally, Catholic pedagogical practices did not reflect and promote core democratic values, and the school staff was authoritarian and oppressive. In these quantitative findings, there are two things which deserve to be underlined: (a) thanks to the educational reform initiated in the late 1970s and early 1980s by the Minister of Education, Joseph C. Bernard, Catholic students were taught to read and write Creole during at least one hour per week, (b) and there was a little improvement in the way rural people were perceived in the school context. However, despite this positive evolution, the quantitative data indicate that both Creole and Vodou overwhelmingly remained marginalized in the Catholic school subsystem, and the status quo reinforced over and over by the mis-educated elites has yet to change.

CHAPTER FIVE: INTEGRATION, CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Je pense que mon éducation a significativement influencé mes connaissances du
Vodou.

Participant # 10

Pour moi, j'ai reçu la formation qu'un français devrait avoir. Je me sentais ailleurs,
dans un autre pays.

Participant # 19

Overview

The fifth chapter of the study contains three sections and mainly focuses on a discussion of the major results to address the all-embracing mixed methods research question. Firstly, it summarizes the importance of postcolonial theory as an appropriate critical lens to investigate the neocolonial project which was hidden behind the establishment of the Catholic congregational school subsystem in Haiti. Secondly, consistent with the methodology of the study, this chapter presents an integration of both qualitative outcomes and quantitative findings in order to answer the overarching question: How have Catholic congregational schools educated Haitian students and what is the current situation? And, is there a relationship between the Catholic congregational school teaching and the deficit of democracy in Haiti? And, lastly, it includes some implications for academics, intellectuals, educators, policy makers, and politicians as well as a few recommendations for future research based on the results of the study.

Postcolonial Theory and Catholic Congregational Schools in Haiti

Despite the bloody and perilous fight for freedom that Haiti's founding fathers undertook at the end of the 18th century to liberate their country from France and to open up the promises of liberty, equality and fraternity to all Haitians—women and men, peasants and urban dwellers, blacks and mulattoes, rich and poor, Vodouist and Christians,—the Catholic congregational schools whose mission and vision clearly desecrated those promises, as early as 1860, were imported into Haiti's precarious, fragile, chaotic and difficult beginnings. As I demonstrated in the previous chapters, the engineer of the Catholic school missionary system, in this case Gaspard Theodore Mollien did not have Haiti's interests in mind. His system was meant to consolidate France's colonial grip on its former colony by subtly but relentlessly fashioning a mindset that is culturally loyal to French values and standards.

Today, more than 155 years after the establishment of the Catholic educational system, these schools are beloved and held in the highest regards by the Haitian population in general and by the generation of alumni whom they have produced, in particular. Indeed, the qualitative data indicated that from generation to generation, the appreciation for these schools' meritocratic culture has endured. As a matter of fact, a lot of the alumni interviewed are children of alumni whose thirst and passion for academic excellence have only gotten stronger with time. Both the verbal praises of the participants as well as their proud demeanor and somber reverence, as they were recalling the defining experiences and state-of-the-art education received in those schools could testify to the extraordinary prerogative they grant to the lucky pupils who attended them. Undeniably, among those alumni, there are remarkable scholars, intellectuals,

technocrats, scientists, politicians, religious, social and cultural workers, and many other professionals.

In addition to family tradition, the participants explained many reasons why Haitian families chose to send their children to these schools. While some strongly believed that they are the "best schools" in Haiti—a label which has not faded with the passing years—others, even in the diaspora, vouched for the discipline and value education that were passed down to the students, and that enabled them to become successful professionals. Indeed, the majority of those surveyed believed they had attended Haiti's most exquisite schools: "c'était l'une des meilleures écoles de l'époque et mes parents ont toujours stressé l'importance de l'éducation; donc, ils ont fait le choix d'une sinon la meilleure école du pays" (Participant # 10). And Participant # 15 who was born and raised in Quebec but was later sent by her parents in Haiti to attend l'Institution Sainte Rose de Lima confirmed:

Je suis née au Canada et j'ai fait mes études primaires au Québec. En secondaire I, on a décidé de rentrer en Haiti surtout pour la popularité de Sainte Rose de Lima et pour la discipline qu'on inculquait aux jeunes filles (Participant # 15).

Therefore, to a large extent, being a Catholic congregational alumnus in Haiti is a great privilege, and one that is often used to show the wit, social rank, and level of culture and erudition of some individuals. This great privilege has also been used at times to intimidate and ostracize, belittle and subjugate a good majority of Haitians whose Creole speaking, Vodouist, darker skinned and poorer parents cannot afford such schools. For instance, phrases like these ones were recurring, gratifying and joyful : "Je peux être parmi les meilleurs parce que je viens d'une des meilleures écoles du pays. Nous sommes

les meilleurs, car, nous avons reçu la meilleure éducation" (Participant # 10), or something like:

J'ai reçu la meilleure éducation qui se donnait au pays. Quand on sort de ces écoles-là, c'était une fierté. Les enseignants nous aidaient à avoir une forte estime de soi. Ils nous enseignaient à ne pas être comme les autres et à ne pas trop se mélanger aux autres (Participant #15).

With regards to the privileges about which the participants boasted and the legacy of these prestigious institutions, I was a little surprised that almost all them were unaware of the colonial nature of their educational institution and the injustices the 1860 Concordat might have caused in Haiti's social fabric. Such unawareness indicates the insidious and powerful nature of neocolonialism in the Haitian society. The fact is, some participants not only refuted these hypotheses but also they argued that the Catholic schools were among the rare institutions to have survived Haiti's numerous economic and political woes and should therefore be celebrated. Such a situation helps me to better understand why neocolonialism is considered by Nayar (2010), Orelus (2010) and Young (2001) as the worse form of imperialism; and, I am in complete agreement with Orelus (2010) for summarizing the power of neocolonialism in these terms:

I assert that neocolonialism appears to be worse than colonialism, because, though subtle, its devastating effects are enormous and unprecedented. Neocolonialism can be and is indeed implanted in neocolonized lands in such invisible way that it might not instantaneously provoke radical mass movements among those who have been marginalized and oppressed (p. 31).

Further, Orelus (2010) adds that "neocolonialism has been used by western countries like a slow but active economic and political poison pill administered by [institutions such as schools, churches, mass media], and, to a certain extent, the Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)" (p. 31).

In this context, I understand that one of the main reasons why Catholic congregational schools are still favourably considered in Haiti is because of the ignorance, in the Haitian academic world, of critical and radical theories which are yet plentiful in English-speaking academia. Such theories include critical race theory (CRT), subaltern studies, feminism, anti-colonial theory, decolonial theory, postcolonial theory, afrocentricity, and so on. Personally, my new critical perspective on issues such as education, democracy, development, modernity, and others comes from my close contact with these revolutionary theories, in particular with the postcolonial theory employed in this study. For instance, the colonial discourse theory freed me from the "historical amnesia" constructed by a pedagogy of big lies (Macedo, 1993), a brainwashing education (Hampton, 1995), or a banking education (Freire, 2007). Moreover, not only did the postcolonial theory play a significant role in changing my "bureaucratic mind" (Freire, 2007) inherited from the traditional school system of Haiti, but also it uncorked conscientization and hope within me (Freire, 2007). As a result, similar to Wink (2005), "[I had] voice and courage to question [myself] and the role [I was] playing in maintaining educational processes that [I did] not value" (p. 32). By delving into many critical research and literatures provided by critical, even radical theorists and authors, I was capable of looking at alumni experiences from multiple perspectives (Orelus, 2010) in order to

make sense of and critique what I was not allowed to know and question, that is, the imperialist interference of western countries in political affairs in Third World countries and the continued negative effects of colonialism on these countries (p. 4).

Therefore, I chose to use in this dissertation the theoretical lens of postcolonialism to scrutinize the colonial nature of the Catholic congregational school pedagogy as well as its relationship with the lack of democracy in Haiti. Such a choice has been motivated to a large extent by the necessity of using a sequential transformative mixed methods design to conduct this study. As I discussed in chapter three, the transformational paradigm represents an overarching framework habitually used in research to address issues of social justice (Mertens, 2007). Additionally, a study is categorized as transformative if its methods and analysis are driven by a theoretical or ideological perspective that overlays the entire research process (Parmelee et al., 2007).

In this perspective, the interpretive standpoint of the whole results was purveyed by the postcolonial theory which brought out the importance of Vodou and Creole in the matter of educating for democracy in Haiti. In line with the Bhabha's theory of hybridity, the study drew attention to the total exclusion and marginalization of Creole and Vodou by Catholic school leaders, and stressed that educating for democracy should be based on these "hybrid cultures". Particularly, the theory of hybridity acknowledges Vodou and Creole as two basic historical elements that would foster democratic learning spaces in the school context and empower the Haitian student. Since Vodou and Creole—the two cultural pillars of Haiti—played the most important role in its history, postcolonial theory advocates that they are fundamental for building a democratic society in Haiti. As

Koelble and Lipuma (2008), two postcolonial theorists, acknowledge, "different histories and cultures produce different democracies" (p. 1). Applied in the Haitian context, Creole and Vodou should represent the historical and cultural foundation of the Haitian democratic project.

As discussed in chapter two, the paradigm of domination that had been introduced and maintained in the colony through a set of colonialist discourses and methods was threatened by the emergence of Creole, a newly born language that bore new ways of seeing, being, and feeling about justice and equality (McLeod, 2000). Through this new medium of communication, a counter, disruptive and revolutionary discourse flowed, and the colonial order and hierarchies were defied. According to Jenson (2004), the multiple identities that were used to sustain the colonial hierarchies could not stand this all-inclusive identity seal provided by the Creole language. As Orelus (2010) confirmed it, there are only a few ways in which people connect and identify with their community, and language is one of the most important ones. As a matter of fact, the Creole language cemented the community of slaves in a way that paved the path to freedom. In Creole, they expressed their frustrations and desires, their silent battles and hope for a new order which granted access to humanity and dignity to everyone. And this new conscience was crucial for the Haitian revolution.

Additionally, as the Creole language shaped a new worldview through which freedom could be glimpsed, Brice (2007) argues that Vodou which nurtured the traditions left behind in Africa along with the ability to resist, survive, remember, and remain hopeful fed the imaginations and thirst of the thousands of slaves who practised it. Therefore, like the Creole language, Vodou opened the window of possibilities to a new social order.

And, according to Asante (2011), the people's need for justice and freedom is anchored in Vodou which he considered the philosophical establishment of the Haitian revolution. Moreover, Tardieu (1990) argued this window of possibilities has remained opened through various colonial, political, social spells of injustice and abuse—including the hierarchical and unjust structure set by the Catholic education system,—and it keeps arming the people of Haiti with new strategies and tools to cope with adversity and to reinvent themselves. The national motto "L'union fait la force" could be only materialized through the "in-between" portals provided through Haitian Vodou and Haitian Creole, as it was in 1791, when joined together within the language they all spoke and the belief that strengthened them, the slaves overturned the system that had dehumanized them for centuries. Hutton (2011) emphasized that the cultural roots of the Haitian revolution, thus liberation, lie in Haitian Creole and Haitian Vodou. Creole and Vodou represent thus the main elements that make up the agency of Haitians —by which I mean their "ability to shape and control their own lives, freeing the self from the oppression of power" (Kincheloe, 2008, p. 2). Nevertheless, the entire results of this study revealed that the Catholic congregational schools dispensed, on the contrary, a kind of French colonial education based on anti-Vodou and anti-Creole values and practices.

Integrated Summary of the Qualitative and Quantitative Findings

Mis-educating the Haitian Elites

As said in the previous chapters, the purpose of this two-phase sequential transformative mixed methods study was to explore in-depth the nature of the Catholic congregational school pedagogy, and critically examine how this pedagogy impacts democracy in Haiti. In phase one, 24 alumni were purposely selected through the

snowball technique for in-depth interviews. In this qualitative phase, two themes and six subthemes were adopted to answer the qualitative questions. In phase two, from the qualitative results a survey instrument was developed in order to collect data from a convenience sample of 240 alumni to answer the quantitative questions. As its purpose indicated, this research being exploratory, there was no hypothesis posit. Accordingly, the analysis of the qualitative data was a theory-driven process; specifically, the postcolonial theory which guided the whole thematic analysis procedure at the light of which two qualitative research questions were studied. In the second stage, conventional descriptive statistics—in particular frequencies and percentages—were used to answer the four quantitative research questions. At last, in this chapter, the overarching question is answered through an integrated summary of the major qualitative and quantitative findings.

Additionally, as it is previously discussed in chapter three, complementarity is the main justification for the mixed methods approach taken in this study. According to Greene et al. (1989), complementarity looks for elaborating, enhancing, illustrating, and clarifying the results of one method with the results of the other method. In this study, priority was given to the qualitative phase because the quantitative phase was built as a result of the qualitative findings. Since the qualitative component was heavily emphasized, the quantitative component was designed to exemplify, support, and reinforce the qualitative outcomes. Thus, the survey conducted in the quantitative phase with the convenience sampling of young alumni was useful for corroborating the data provided by the purposive sampling of the first phase.

Indeed, in the qualitative stage, alumni of four different Catholic congregational schools were selected, ranging from classes of 1956 to classes of 2011; that is to say, the information gathered from those alumni stretches out to seven decades. Consequently, this kind of data was helpful to show that the pedagogical and cultural practices of the Catholic congregational schools are temporally and spatially stationary, and historically reproductive.

In addition, 91% of the alumni who were surveyed were less than 30 years old and came from Catholic congregational schools situated in Port-au-Prince and various cities of provinces of Haiti. Particularly, the bulk of the survey participants, 65.7%, completed secondary school in 2010 and beyond in multi-sites of Catholic schools. This means that the great majority of the participants in the second stage of the study is relatively young and makes up the most recent generations of Catholic alumni. This also means that the participants' views and opinions to a certain extent reflect the present reality of Haiti's Catholic congregational schooling subsystem. In this sense, the quantitative data confirm, complete, and reinforce the view presented by the qualitative data and allow us to conclude that to some extent the Catholic schooling process has not positively evolved. Thus, the quantitative data were useful to illustrate and strengthen the results of the qualitative phase.

In this investigation, the Catholic congregational school project has been analyzed as a tool of domination and maintenance of hegemony. In the first phase, the qualitative results revealed that the Catholic congregational schools are a model of colonial school designed by French authorities—religious and civil—for brainwashing, domesticating the consciousness, and marginalizing the culture of Haitian students. The qualitative findings

specified that the congregational schools represent a one-sided French educational institution that was created with the main purpose of moulding a "subaltern" ruling elite to serve the interests of France and the West. Therein, the qualitative results put in light the process of selectivity used in Catholic schools to recruit mulattoes and sons of black notables and politicians. Gaspard Theodore Mollien—aforementioned—stressed the education of the mulattoes as a valuable strategy for maintaining the hegemony of his native France within the Haitian society. Mollien considered the mulattoes as precious collaborators who should be taken into consideration for his plan. As a result of selectivity, the survey data identified among the participants 50.8% of Mixed-race and Light-skinned Haitians in comparison with 49.2% of Dark-skinned Blacks. Here, the distribution more or less represents the population makeup of the Catholic congregational schools of Haiti. While the Haitian society is largely comprised of Haitians who fall into the category of "Dark-skinned Blacks", the data indicated that lighter skin Haitians are overly represented in the foregoing schools.

In the same vein, the qualitative data underlined the pyramid-like system that existed in the congregational schools as a result of this continuous process. About 70% of those surveyed reported that the majority of the students who started secondary school failed to graduate High School with their respective class. To strengthen this process, a pedagogy of superiority was developed, and as a result, pupils came out of those schools with the idea that they were the cream of the crop. In this respect, the quantitative data confirmed the existence of such pedagogy aforementioned in the qualitative analysis. As a matter of fact, a good number (43%) of those surveyed consider themselves part of the Haitian elite; when it came time to choosing a career 34% of them chose their field of

study based on the need to be "among the best"; and 10% of them made their choice in order to be "among the distinguished". In fact, medicine and engineering—two professions that are among the most valued in the Haitian society—are the top fields of those surveyed with 23% and 16%, respectively.

The qualitative outcomes also meaningfully explained the way these elite schools conducted "La mission civilisatrice française", specially, by promoting French language, literature, and culture, and also by establishing through their values education a new epistemology to destruct the national pattern of existence and impair the agency of the Haitian people. While a form of western moral education along with French language, literature, and culture were emphasized in the Catholic curriculum and instruction, Vodou and Creole were respectively demonized and banished in the entire schooling process. Here, it is important to point out that the quantitative findings are more consistent with the section of qualitative results which demonstrated that Catholic congregational schools are anti-Vodou and anti-Creole. In fact, the quantitative findings well illustrate and reinforce the idea that Haitian Vodou and Creole were excluded and marginalized in the Catholic school sites. In the survey, questions on both Vodou and Creole obtained the highest scores in terms of percentage. While 85% of the participants affirmed that Vodou was prohibited from their school's programs and activities, close to 75% of the participants reported that the school system taught directly or indirectly that Vodou was evil. In addition, a lack of respect and acceptance for Vodou as well as other non-Catholic faiths was reported by close to 80% of the participants. In this perspective, fearing consequences, 60% of the participants asserted that both teachers and students in their schools were afraid to disclose their Vodou faith. Moreover, more than 70% of the

participants affirmed that Vodou was not perceived as a modern religion as other religions in their school, and also close to 65% of the participants said that Vodou was perceived as an obstacle to development and therefore should not be part of the Haitian society. Accordingly, today, in a country where Vodou is solidly and deeply ingrained, Catholicism is the religion of the overwhelming majority of the family's participants (63.3%), and less than 1% of the 240 participants identify themselves as adherents to Vodou compared to 48.8% of the Catholic faith. Here, as one can note, there were more Catholics among participants' relatives than among the participants themselves. Since Marxism and the theology of liberation were very popular and influential in Haiti during the 1980s and 1990s, they could be considered as important elements that may have affected the faith of the Catholic students.

Moreover, according to Acar (2012), "The transmission processes by means of which culture is reproduced and transmitted to the next generation is carried out in socialization and instruction processes" (p. 19). Thus, the qualitative analysis also took into consideration the way both processes were conducted in Catholic congregational schools. Particularly, a series of pedagogical practices were examined from the Freirean critical pedagogy lens in order to understand the way many current cultural and social norms and practices were produced, transmitted, and reproduced inside the school sites.

In summary, the qualitative results showed that Catholic students received an extreme form of banking education, that is to say, the Catholic instructional process was anti-democratic, violent, and oppressive. The survey findings supported the idea that Catholic school teachers and principals were often authoritarian, and instructional practices were mostly teacher-centered. Indeed, according to 70% of the survey

participants, Catholic teachers portrayed themselves as "knowing-it-all" and always had the final word. The survey also confirmed the fact that those schools were prejudiced against certain group of students, intolerant, instigator of individualism, unfair, exclusive, and encouraged racist attitudes; almost 60% of the participants stated that some students received preferential treatments in their school, and teachers and principals were not discreet about it.

In the same vein, the qualitative data presented Catholic instructional practices as anti-dialogical, uniform, and mechanical. As an illustration, the survey revealed that although French was the language of instruction and students were expected to use it all the time in those schools, 70% of the participants stated they were not fluent in French, and therefore they were not confident enough to express their thoughts and opinions in a language which was somehow foreign to them. In addition, more than half of the 240 alumni who participated in the study that is 56.7% claimed that teachers never used team work as part of their instruction; close to 60% of the participants reported that most teachers prioritized learning by heart over other learning methods. Lastly, near 65% of the participants affirmed that students were afraid to ask questions or introduce issues that could be perceived as controversial.

In summary, to a certain extent, the quantitative data concurred with the qualitative results that core democratic values such as cooperation, liberty, justice, tolerance, respect, diversity, equality, common good, and gender equity were not encouraged in the instructional process. For instance, almost 85% of the participants said that the disciplinary process was dictated by the school teachers and administrators; a number as high as 70% of the study participants believed that the Catholic schooling

experience instilled in them egocentric values; 60% of the participants reported that teachers did not welcome or promote dissenting viewpoints from students; In addition, even though 55 % of the participants disagree with the fact that the idea of weaker sex from time to time popped up without being publicly rejected or disputed by school administrators and teachers, more than 55% of the participants asserted that students and teachers in their schools believed that boys were better at mathematics than girls. Additionally, as a central course of citizenship education, the learning of social studies has been distorted. About 70% of those surveyed stated they rote memorized social studies. According to them, social studies took the form of narrative events which were bestowed upon students who had to study them by heart.

In addition to these banking teaching practices, the qualitative outcomes shed light on the Eurocentric nature of the formal curriculum and indicated how culturally inappropriate the Catholic pedagogy was to the Haitian context. In fact, the quantitative results validate the neocolonial project of destructing the Haitians' patterns of living. For example, while traditional family values and collective needs and responses are at the centre of the Haitian culture, almost 70% of the survey participants said that Catholic congregational schools taught them to prioritize individual needs. Accordingly, the majority of the survey participants affirmed that today they do not belong to any associations or organizations, which may mean that individualism is more important to them than collectivism.

Also, Les Frères de l'Instruction Chrétienne took total control of the textbook production. As a result, most of the textbooks used in Haitian Catholic schools were made in France and the curricular textbook contents were excessively Eurocentric.

Specially, Haitian students learned alienated contents such as "Our ancestors were Gallic." The quantitative data corroborates these results. In fact, about 60% of the survey participants reported the culture of Haiti did not make its way into their textbooks. In their views, the Haiti's way of life and folklore were completely shunned from the formal curriculum, and the textbooks were no exception. 55% of the participants affirmed having learned that scientific discoveries only occurred in Europe; their textbooks only showcased the discoveries made by European scientists.

Finally, the qualitative analysis revealed that the pedagogical and social structures of Catholic congregational schools produced, reproduced, and perpetuated dominant class discourses and social practices as well as racial and class separatism. In these schools, students mostly learned through the hidden curriculum racist discourses and values, and classist practices. Therein, about 53% of the participants of the survey believed their schools were the breeding ground for racial tension and prejudice.

The Bernard Reform Effect

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, there was an educational reform led by the late Minister Joseph C. Bernard which mandated that all Haitian students be taught in their mother tongue, that is, Haitian Creole. In this new atmosphere of educational reform, most of Catholic schools provided one hour per week of Creole reading and writing in comparison to four to six hours per week of instruction on spoken and written French.

In this context, there exist in the survey a few statistics which are in opposition with the general tone of the qualitative data. For instance, more than 80% of the alumni surveyed in the quantitative phase asserted that they received instruction on how to speak and write Creole. As a result, more than 95% of the participants affirmed that they are

literate in Haitian Creole. Specifically, 98.3% and 95.4% of them reported being able to read and write Creole, respectively.

Besides, as of 1986, with the fall of the Duvalier dictatorial regime and the promotion of liberation theology within the Roman Catholic Church, the congregational schools opened up significantly and welcomed certain students who were previously not welcomed. Consequently, a significant portion of the elites have shown preference for international schools based in Haiti, and thus have been sending their children to those foreign schools (Joint, 2006).

Additionally, there were in the survey at least fourteen questions regarding pedagogical practices and democratic values which obtained a frequency lower than sixty percent. For example, only 42 % of the participants said that subpar academic performance was associated with agricultural professions in their schools, almost 40% of the participants reported that students from marginalized neighborhoods and the rural parts of the country were at a disadvantage in terms of admissions, and also 57% of the participants did not believe that in their school culture poor instruction was associated with peasantry, whereas 43% did.

Such statistics do not match up with the extreme form of banking pedagogy pointed out by the qualitative results. They seemed to foretell a new era in the educational school system, nonetheless, this era has yet to materialize. Although from that educational reform there was a slight improvement in the way Catholic teachers conducted the instructional process, nevertheless, when examining the quantitative data, such a turn was only the shadow of a change. As a matter of fact, the Catholic congregational schools which set the tone of the educational system in Haiti (Joint, 2006)

neither approved nor supported such a school reform. Accordingly, despite this semblance of positive evolution in some pedagogical aspects, the quantitative data indicated that the Creole language continued to be treated as a second-class language. In fact, almost 90% of participants reported that the Creole language was forbidden in the classroom, and Catholic students were discouraged to express themselves in Creole. Almost 70% of the participants said that both their school culture and environment were francophone, and unlike French speakers, Creole speakers did not feel free to express themselves in the schoolroom. In the same vein, almost 75% of the participants declared that their school administrators and teachers believed that Creole was an impediment to development. About 85% of the participants report Creole was deemed inferior to other foreign languages, especially French. Finally, almost 80% of the participants said that the ability for one to express himself or herself in French was associated with being intelligent. Conversely, not being able to speak French was badly perceived.

In sum, despite the Bernard Reform, the Catholic congregational schools continued to provide to their students a monocultural school teaching. Neither Vodou followers nor Creole speakers were respected, fairly treated, even accepted in many Catholic school sites. The survey findings overwhelmingly revealed that Vodou was still perceived as a satanic practice and was excluded from the entire schooling process, and when students spoke Creole, teachers continued to say to them: "express yourselves." Thus, even though these schools have made great improvements in opening up to diverse economic, social, and religious groups, they continue to discriminate against the Creole language and the culture of Vodou.

Catholic Congregational Schools and the Deficit of Democracy in Haiti

Furthermore, based on the postcolonial perspectives of Bhabha (1994) and Koelble and Lipuma (2008) aforementioned, the second chapter adopted radical democracy as the model of democracy that fits the historical and cultural context of Haiti. Radical democracy refers to the source or the root of democracy, namely, the people. In the case of Haiti, it is described as the government of the Haitian people including Creole speakers, Vodouists, Catholic, Protestants, Mulattoes, White, and others. As Minieri and Getsos (2007) argue, "Radical democracy is ordinary people participating in active community institutions where they discuss politics and ideas as they work for a better neighborhood, city, state, nation, and beyond" (p. 19). In addition, "Radical democracy demands that we acknowledge difference—the particular, the multiple, the heterogeneous" (Mouffe, 2005, p. 36).

Therefore, historically, politically, sociologically, psychologically, and culturally, the model of radical democracy defined during the foundational period of Haiti is the one that is adaptable to its reality. Nevertheless, in promoting the cultural power and educational needs of French neocolonizers, the Catholic congregational schoolteaching put a brake on the development of such a model of democracy in Haiti. For being a big part of the French neocolonial project, particularly for acknowledging monoculturalism, monological content, old individualism, homogeneous, and specially Frenchness, this kind of Catholic pedagogy considerably impacted—and continue to impact—the development of democracy in Haitian society.

In addition, even though I mentioned earlier in this study some studies conducted by researchers such as Dejaeghere (2009), Evans and Rose (2006), Hoskins et al.,

McCowan (2006), Neuberger (2007), and Nie, Junn, and Stehlik-Barry (1996) which generally showed a positive relationship between formal education and democracy, it is in line with the theoretical perspective of the study that a significant relationship between Catholic congregational instruction and the deficit of democracy was presupposed in the Haitian context. Since this study was exploratory in nature, such a relationship could not be of cause and effect, but rather associative. As it has been previously underlined, the qualitative phase was designed to find themes and subthemes in order to explore the nature of Catholic congregational school pedagogy and its impacts on democracy in Haiti. The quantitative phase was also created to make the same exploration by the medium of statistics. Here, it is important to make clear that by using descriptive statistics, the intent has never been to generalize to the entire Catholic alumni population, but to complete or confirm the qualitative findings. Accordingly, the results of this investigation have to be accepted as tentative and exploratory, and cannot establish any relationship of casualty. However, as Wolf (1993) explained, a strong presumption of relationship may be established when the theory of the research favours its conclusion. In this respect, the findings of this research strongly supported by the literature review and its theoretical framework are valuable to show a significant relationship between the type of Catholic education and the lack of democracy in Haiti.

From these results, one can see that Haitian citizenship has been to a large extent compromised by French neocolonial agents. In short, the Mollien's neocolonial project completely succeeded in Haiti. While the qualitative results put in light the "mis-education" of the Haitian students by Catholic missionaries, to a considerable extent, the quantitative findings illuminate these results by confirming that new generations of

Catholic students continued to be "mis-educated" in and through the same old colonial school structures and practices.

To go into further details, when I critically looked at all the results of both phases of the study, it became obvious for me that the information—provided by the Catholic alumni in the qualitative phase, then confirmed by the survey—conveyed "a distanced, decontextualized, de-emotionalized, dehumanized, simplistic, and highly misleading form of knowledge" (Steinberg & Kincheloe, 2006, p. 15) that was produced in their respective school sites. As Apple (2004) meaningfully explains,

Schools do not only control people; they also help control meaning. Since they preserve and distribute what is perceived to be "legitimate knowledge"—the knowledge that "we all must have," schools confer cultural legitimacy on the knowledge of specific groups (p. 61).

In Haiti, no one can talk about knowledge and social thoughts, cultural, intellectual and democratic life without evoking the role of this form of religious and moral education; for, Catholic schools missionaries occupied—and continue to occupy—a central place in the construction of all of these things. According to the results of this study, the authoritarian voice of the Catholic school staff silenced the voice of Vodouists and Creole speakers in the whole school project and legitimized in Haiti a form of colonial knowledge—totally anti-Vodou, anti-Creole, and shortly, anti-Haitian. This model of colonial schools constructed negative views and misrepresentations regarding Vodou, Haitian folklore and culture. As the findings revealed, French Catholic missionaries built a school culture where Haitian knowledge and ways of perceiving and interacting with the world are misrepresented, dismissed as superstitious, evil, satanic (Désir, 2011), and

marginalized. Therefore, knowledge regarding the whole Haitian culture has been subjugated.

As one can see in both samplings, Catholic alumni are leading social, political, religious, educational, and cultural figures. They occupy a major portion of the Haitian elites. Regarding the elites' role and function in a country, Van Dijk (2002) argues that "As the ideological leaders of society, they establish common values, aims, and concerns; they formulate common sense as well as the consensus, both as individuals and as leaders of the dominant institutions of society" (p. 148). Thus, in this perspective, this oppressive form of knowledge has been disseminated and reproduced in the entire society by the elites engineered in the Catholic schools. In this regard, many Catholic alumni of this study implicitly and explicitly acknowledged that their knowledge of Haitian culture, especially Vodou, was significantly influenced by their Catholic education. Like Participant # 10 quoted above, more than 50% of the survey participants reported that their schools failed to teach them to respect fellow Haitians of the Vodou faith. For instance, Participant # 23 portrayed Vodou, her own national culture, in this way:

C'est comme une religion qui est noire, ce n'est pas quelque chose de bon. Noir, ce n'est pas bon, noir pas dans le sens de couleur, noir dans le sens que c'est obscur, dans la noirceur on a toujours peur, la noirceur fait peur. Quand j'ai dit c'est noir, ça veut dire que ça fait peur. Ce n'est pas une place dans laquelle je vais vouloir m'aventurer. Si c'est noir, c'est obscur. Ça a toujours été peint comme ça (Participant # 23).

In her view, Vodou is associated to Blackness, and both Vodou and Blackness are abominable and fear-inspiring. Both qualitative and quantitative data showed that the

majority of the alumni who participated in the study identified themselves as Catholic practitioners or believers; and similar to the majority of Haitian literates, they developed a strong dislike of Vodou and reject from their daily life everything that is related to this culture.

In addition to this subjugated knowledge on Vodou and Blackness, there exists another implausible narrative from Participant # 20 who disrespectfully described the Haitian community as follows:

Laissez-moi vous dire ce que je pense sincèrement des Haïtiens. Nous les Haïtiens, on est mauvais. On est juste carrément mauvais. On est obsolètes. On est de la marchandise obsolète. C'est comme vous savez, le problème qu'on a avec la viande de bœuf maintenant [she meant the anthrax]. Ça c'est nous. On est toujours obsolètes. Il faut tout simplement fermer la fabrique où l'on prépare la viande et mettre le feu. On est tous mauvais. Je suis haïtienne, je sais qu'on est tous mauvais (Participant # 20).

As one can see in the two above excerpts, these Haitian women respectively feel deep contempt for Vodou, Blackness, and Haitians in general, and the Haitian identity, in particular. The use of such narratives by these two middle class Black-skinned women means that colonialism is deeply rooted in the Haitian life and that colonality is very active in the Haitian milieu. This kind of knowledge confirms that the French Catholic schooling has succeeded in its mission of marginalizing the spiritual, intellectual, psychological, social and cultural ways of life that sustain the existence of the Haitian people (Désir, 2011). Such discourses represent a good example of a domesticated or colonized mind and illustrate what Macedo (1993) called "literacy for stupidification".

In addition, such meanings and perceptions can be also taken as the results of the effect of both hidden and null curricula on students' perspectives aforementioned in chapters two and four. The introduction of the hidden and null curricula in the analysis were helpful to understand how the "subaltern" ruling elite explicitly and implicitly learned anti-democratic values and other reactionary cultural norms and social practices in Catholic classrooms and school sites.

On the one hand, as it has been previously underlined, the implicit or "unstudied" curriculum plays the most important role in the students' socialization process (Hashemii et al., 2012). This informal curriculum is taught and learned everywhere in the school sites because it is involved in the whole educational process. Its learning is thus inevitable; and its results can be latent, currently invisible, dangerous, and even destructive (Ahwee et al., 2004; Darder et al., 2009; Ghosh, 2008). More recently, educational researchers have underlined how huge the contribution of this curriculum is in the making of citizenship. For this reason, Hemmings (1999) recommended to researchers "to use the hidden curriculum rubric to analyze racism, sexism, and other oppressive qualities of school socialization processes" (p. 2). Since the Haitian Catholic congregational schools are an extreme form of "banking" schooling project, accordingly, the hidden curriculum was to be mostly negative and enormously damaging. For instance, Participant # 12 was a witness to one of those unexpected incidents that used to implicitly teach racism and other oppressive social values in her immediate school environment. She said:

Une fois, j'ai assisté à une scène qui m'a beaucoup choqué. J'ai entendu une voix qui parlait à quelqu'un sur un ton autoritaire dans le but d'humilier cette

personne. Il y avait une haie qui m'empêchait de voir la personne qui parlait, et je devais franchir un escalier pour dépasser la haie, ce que j'ai fait. Et là, j'ai vu que c'était une religieuse qui parlait à un membre du personnel de soutien. Ce ton, cette intention délibérée d'insulter, d'humilier m'avait terriblement choqué, la religieuse a vu ça sur mon visage, elle m'a interpellée pour me dire que demain j'aurais à mon tour à être maîtresse de maison (Participant # 12).

In this respect, Apple (2004) meaningfully explains that "It is beginning to be clear that "incidental learning" contributes more to the political socialization of a student than do, say, civics classes or other forms of deliberate teaching of specific values orientations" (p. 79).

Therefore, to paraphrase Darder et al. (2009), in the Haitian Catholic congregational school context, the hidden curriculum could include teaching and learning styles that were emphasized in the classroom, the messages that were transmitted to the student by the total physical and instructional environment, governance structures, Catholic teachers expectations, and the grading procedures.

However, despite its great importance in the instructional process and its current use in literature and research the implicit curriculum generally remains unknown in the Haitian schooling and academic milieu. In other words, its nature and great power are completely ignored. I could easily assert such ignorance after several encounters with many teachers and instructors during my recent stays in Haiti. Because of its ignorance in the Haitian school context, its negative impact on school socialization processes is overwhelming, and all the damage that accompanies it continue to be invisible and out of limit.

On the other hand, the effect of the null curriculum is also considerable in this case. The development of the concept of null curriculum by Elliott W. Eisner (1997) should make everyone aware of the sum of academic, cultural and intellectual damages that has been committed in dropping Vodou and Creole from the Catholic school project. Thus, by going deeper into the effect of the null curriculum on students' consciousness, mind and thoughts, one can understand why the Haitian peasant has always been considered and mistreated like a wild animal by the Haitian elites.

As it has been discussed earlier, the null curriculum is the denial of relevant knowledge, and such a denial "produces a radical absence, the absence of humanity" (Anwaruddin, 2013, p. 135) in the students' consciousness. To put it another way, in the Haitian context, the effect of the null curriculum may have the following meaning: by intentionally excluding Vodou and Creole from their classrooms, Catholic congregational schools have promoted the ignorance, non-recognition, and non-acceptance of a type of citizen who, in this case, is the Vodou adept and Creole speaker. As a result, this other Haitian or vis-à-vis, that is to say, the Haitian Vodouist—who is also a Creole speaker—becomes unthinkable and invisible for the Catholic alumnus. Therefore, as Magendzo (1997) argued, the non-recognition of the other makes it no more or less invisible. In the most extreme cases, his or her invisibility leads to depersonalization. He or she does not exist in his or her capacity to be human. He or she exists only in his or her animal condition, such as a rat. Why then would his or her disposal raise a moral issue?

The above narratives provided by Participants # 23 and 20 can be thus understood as the result of their complete "mis-education". Similar to these women, more than 70% of the participants reported that the school teaching they received made it difficult not to

say impossible for them to live in harmony with their fellow Haitian peasants who are nonexistent in their school culture and traditions. It was the intentions of the French Catholic missionaries that produced the usual results, namely, the majority of Haitian people have always been outside of the political and socio-economic spheres. Therefore, this Catholic "mis-education" contributed to creating two Haitis: the insiders (urban residents known as *neg lavil*) and outsiders (rural residents known as *neg andeyo*) (Price-Mars, 2002), or the privileged minority of Catholic French speaking and the poor majority of Creole speaking Vodouists. The extreme polarization which prevailed in Haitian society was built in the Catholic classrooms.

Thus, because Haitian literates have never studied in schools the existence and culture of the great majority, Vodouists and Creole speakers have been totally excluded from their mind and consciousness. The way of life of this majority has always looked strange for this minority of "mis-educated" Haitians. As a result, the Haitian peasant has been always excluded from their laws, their projects, their customs, their language and their way of life.

In addition, because the Haitian elites remain ignorant about Vodou and the Haitian culture, they are deprived of important knowledge regarding themselves. In other words, they are without their true subjectivity—"by which I mean the ways in which people (learners, teachers, researchers) give meaning to themselves, others, and the world" (Gough, 1999, p. 36). Without subjectivity, the Haitian elites most of the time become silent and passive in front of the Westerner, particularly vis-à-vis western authorities who—strategically—learn and master many aspects of the Haitian culture, especially Vodou. In this regard, the following experience personally lived and

poignantly recounted by Participant # 14 revealed a current situation often faced by many Haitian politicians:

La première fois que j'ai eu le contact réel avec le Vodou, c'était en juillet 2003. C'était la première fois que je commençais à comprendre qui était Erzulie Dantô et Erzulie Freda. Le 15 juillet 2003, un ami m'avait invité à une cérémonie Vodou du côté de Delmas. Dans l'assistance, il y avait l'ambassadeur américain qui était assis à côté de moi. Je lui expliquais que ce 15 juillet était la fête de Mont-Carmel et qu'à cause du syncrétisme religieux c'était aussi la fête d'Erzulie Dantô. Et au même moment, il y avait une dame dans l'assistance qui entrait en transe et je lui disais: "c'est Erzulie Dantô". Et l'ambassadeur, de me répondre, "non c'est plutôt Erzulie Fréda". Il m'expliquait que la façon dont la dame se déplaçait, la façon dont elle saluait les gens, c'était plutôt Fréda, et il avait raison. J'ai beaucoup pleuré après. Car, je me voyais être un Haïtien dans mon propre pays, et c'était un ambassadeur américain qui m'avait enseigné qui était Erzulie Fréda. Il aurait fallu un blanc pour m'enseigner à établir la différence entre Erzulie Dantô et Erzulie Fréda (Participant # 14).

As Darder et al. (2009) argue, "Schools reproduce the structure of social life through the colonization or socialization of student subjectivities and by establishing social practices of the wider society" (p. 77). Since Haitian subjectivities should originally come from the whole culture of Vodou, Catholic students were educated without any true subjectivity, otherwise, their mind and consciousness were fully colonized through assimilation of Western meanings, ideologies, and knowledges.

Ultimately, this model of French colonial instruction that was dispensed in post-colonial Haiti played the same ideological role that religious discourses and teaching of catechism used to play in colonial Haiti (or Saint-Domingue), namely, maintaining the hegemony of the European civilization. In the case of Catholic schools, the classrooms were important means and tools with which the process of hegemony was constructed. They conveyed a form of Eurocentric knowledge that forged the mind and consciousness of a "subaltern" ruling elite. Particularly, moral education was this form of indoctrination which served to anesthetize the mind of the Haitian student and domesticate his/her consciousness. Because a great majority of the ruling elites has been completely "mis-educated" by these schools, most of Haitian politicians could not give to Haiti what they never had in their mind and consciousness. Specially, they could never think and act democratically. On the contrary, as a result of such a "mis-education", they acted like "subalterns", "disciples" or "assistants" of Westerners just like George Hardy had planned it. The latter predicted the colonial school alumnus' future in the following terms:

He[/she] could not possibly forget the good ideas that were introduced to him[/her] via this language:...these are our ideas, which constitute our moral, social and economic superiority, and little by little they will transform the barbarians of yesterday into disciples and assistants (Hardy in Blakemore (1988) cited in White, 1996, p. 14).

Consequently, for their own well-being as well as the Westerners' prosperity, these "disciples and assistants" reproduced the same western colonial oppression, violence, domination, exploitation, racism, and classism towards the majority of Vodouists and Creole speakers. In this respect, Michel and Smith-Bellegarde (2006) stated:

Generations of educated Haitians, taught to speak and write in French, were also taught to embrace the ideals of their imperialist neighbors and the logic of colonial or neocolonial power relationships, individually and collectively deprecating Haiti, its citizens and its unique culture (pp. xi-xii).

Thus, in this neocolonial atmosphere, democracy would not be possible in Haiti without re-educating literate people and changing radically the Catholic school system. As one can see today, the consequences of such "mis-education" is counterproductive and devastating for Haitian society. Indeed, these "mis-educated" ruling elites were designated by the U.S Embassy as the "most repugnant elites" (Fatton Jr., 2002), and since 2004, Haiti is occupied by a multinational force led by the United Nations. Therefore, this type of "mis-education" has significantly determined the present socio-political, economic, educational, spiritual, and cultural situation of the Haitian people.

Implications of the Study

This dissertation provided insight into the role of a type of French colonial education in the chronic crisis of democracy in Haiti. In paying attention to the findings, one can easily note that what Carter G. Woodson (1933) called "mis-education" has always played—and is still playing—a key role in the Haitian democratic dilemma. Since 1933, the late Haitian scholar, Catts Pressoir (1935), in a lecture delivered on the history of instruction in Haiti stressed the responsibility of the first Haitians to have been educated in the post-revolutionary failure in these terms:

Le vieux Saint-Domingue n'a eu que de rares écoles d'enseignement privé. Il n'y a jamais eu d'enseignement public. Beaucoup d'affranchis ont étudié en France aux frais des colons leurs pères, un Julien Raymond, par exemple, un Vincent Ogé, un

Mombrun; d'autres ont eu l'occasion d'augmenter leurs connaissances par les voyages dans la métropole ou aux Etats-Unis, un Christophe, un Rigaud, un Pétion, un Beauvais; d'autres enfin n'ont jamais quitté Saint-Domingue et ont acquis des connaissances usuelles par la lecture et par la pratique, un Toussaint Louverture, un Guérin, un Geffrard (p. 33).

Professor Pressoir continued with his critical analysis by adding:

Le Dr. J. C. Dorsainvil a fait remarquer que l'idée d'Indépendance a été imaginée et réalisée par les hommes les moins instruits de ce temps; la civilisation française avait tellement fasciné les autres qu'ils lui sont restés aveuglément fidèles et n'ont rien compris à la grande révolution haïtienne (p. 33).

Finally, he concluded by saying: "Ajoutons que jusqu'à aujourd'hui cet état de choses continue après plus d'un siècle de vie nationale les Haïtiens les plus instruits étant généralement ceux qui ont le moins de foi dans l'avenir de leur patrie (p. 33).

This dissertation is completely in line with the Catts Pressoir's point of view. As discussed in chapter two, from January first of 1804, the indigenous army led by Jean Jacques Dessalines inaugurated the era of decolonization in Haiti, however, two years later, several military leaders—from the mixed-race class mostly educated in France—paradoxically opted for the establishment of a neocolonial regime (Nesbitt, 2005; Smith-Bellegarde, 1980). As Smith-Bellegarde (1980) said, "French colonization had been rejected, but development was to occur within French philosophical traditions" (p. 6). In other words, from the beginning of the Haitian history, the so-called educated people stopped the process of decolonization initiated by the Haiti's founding father to rather introduce a form of neocolonialism based on French Enlightenment. Smith-Bellegarde

(1980) underlined how "Haitian social thought had been prejudiced in favor of Western European norms of social organization" (p. 28). In addition, this neocolonial system has been deeply strengthened in 1860 with the concretisation of Mollien's neocolonial project which emphasized the "mis-education" of the ruling elites through the French missionaries' school teaching.

Thus, one of the major contributions of this investigation in the field of educational studies was to show that, in the Haitian context, the "mis-education" of the elites has been—and is still—the central element that generated, sustained, and reinforced neocolonialism. For revealing the neocolonial project that has been dissimilated behind the establishment of Catholic congregational schools in Haiti, this dissertation implies that the word education would be inappropriate to name the formal Catholic congregational schooling process. In such a case, the concept of "mis-education", invented by Carter G. Woodson (1933) in his book titled: *The Mis-Education of the Negro*, would be the most appropriate for the Catholic congregational school pedagogy. Since the qualitative and quantitative findings of this research illustrated the colonial aspirations of these religious schools, education, as a must-be-positive and progressive concept, could not be directly associated with negative ideas, even oppressive intentions. For, it is not education when both incomes and outcomes of the instructional process are: cultural alienation, brainwashing, domestication of consciousness, destruction of local patterns, historical amnesia, physical, emotional, ideological, and moral violence, racist, classist, and sexist values, excessive individualism, autocratic practices, and so on.

Additionally, the findings of this study are totally in line with the works of many critical pedagogues and postcolonial theorists which have demonstrated how this model

of schooling inherited from western colonialism affects the present of peoples in the Third-World (Hudson, 2011). These results broaden and reinforce thus the existing literature on schooling in a post-colonial neocolonized context. They provide a good example of what Macedo (1993) called "education for domestication", or Hudson and Mayo (2012) named education for colonizing the mind, all of them aforementioned in chapter two. This form of education—which is elitist and irrelevant to local realities (Crossley & Tikly, 2004)—is a traditional model of instrumental education provided by schools (Freire, 2007; Kincheloe, 2008; Macedo, 1993) in many post-colonial countries stricken by neocolonialism. According to Altbach and Kelly (1978), these "Schools were primarily designed to serve the needs of colonizers" (p. 2). In Haiti, for instance, the Catholic congregational schools were created to reflect the cultural power and educational needs of French neocolonizers (Altbach & Kelly, 1978).

Thus, because of the triumph of French neocolonialism in Haiti, there is a serious, even an urgent need for Haitian leaders to decolonize the whole social mindset; that is to say, radical changes need to be operated in the individual's mind, collective thought, and institutional culture. Specially, school as an important medium of knowledge production has to be decolonized. In her study on employing local knowledge in curriculum construction, Ignas (2004) poignantly concluded that "The legacy of a colonialist educational system and its under representation of Indigenous knowledge is a key factor in limiting Indigenous peoples' futures" (p. 49). Therefore, the colonial nature of the Catholic congregational schools has to be seriously taken into consideration by policy and decision makers, politicians, activists, academics, intellectuals, educators, Catholic authorities, teachers and alumni, and the common citizen. They need to understand that

for having been during many decades the most important official provider of knowledge as well as the builder of social thought, these schools, to a great extent, are responsible for the lack of democracy in Haiti. Accordingly, as ideological, educational, religious, cultural, social, and political leaders they have to give priority to the impact of Catholic pedagogy by putting it at the centre of both raising the issue and searching for its solutions.

Furthermore, in this atmosphere marked by the aftermaths of classic colonialism and neocolonialism, this dissertation pleads for a radical epistemological turn in Haiti. To repeat Ribeiro (2011) that I quoted in chapter two, policy and decision makers, politicians, academics, scientists, activists, intellectuals, educators, and others "need to examine knowledge production in relation to location and subject position" (p. 285). In this perspective, this study seeks to lead them into the anti-colonial and decolonial dynamism, specifically this "epistemic decolonial turn" (Grosfoguel, 2007) that has been prevailing for many decades in the global South—such as defined in chapter two.

Even though Haiti is, in modern history, the first place where the process of decolonizing was invented, its elites—for the past sixty years—have always drifted away from all decolonial projects, initiatives, and activities undertaken by researchers, academics, intellectuals, and social and political activists from the global South. For instance, during the Bandung Conference held in 1955, Third World countries made the resolution to pay attention to the "modern dress" of colonialism (Appadorai, 1955). As the Indonesian president Sukarno suggested in his inaugural speech, "'do not think of colonialism only in the classic form [...]'. Colonialism has also its modern dress, in the form of economic control, intellectual control, and actual physical control by a small but

alien community within a nation" (cited in Appadorai, 1955, p. 224). In the case of Haiti, it is about the French educated black and mulattoes elites aforementioned in chapter two. According to Burke (2006), the Bandung Conference, which "stressed the anti-colonialism and anti-Westernism of the participants [...], was a milestone in the decolonization process that reshaped both Asia and Africa, a process that would ultimately produce an almost unprecedented revolution in international relations" (pp. 947-948). Nevertheless, Haiti totally missed that great decolonial movement. In 1957, exactly two years after its beginning, François Duvalier through his militiamen called "*Tontons Makout*" established one of the most ferocious regimes of the West and moved the country farther away from any type of external progressive ideas, initiatives, and activities.

In addition, about three decades later, the invention of neoliberalism by western capitalist countries caused the rise of another critical wave led by progressive writers and intellectuals from the global South—mostly critical towards Eurocentrism. For example, Michel Foucault, Edward Said, and Jean-François Lyotard, respectively fathers of post-structuralism, postcolonialism, and postmodernism were among this category of social scientists who aided in "deconstructing the colonialist and imperialist ideologies that structure Western knowledge, texts, and social practices" (Giroux, 1992, p. 23). These critical theories were embraced by Anglophone academia which generated new critical and radical knowledge, and developed a vast progressive literature. However, once again, Haiti completely remained unaware of and uninterested in those important intellectual movements; for, those epistemological changes which started in the 1970s and 1980s coincided with the era of Baby Doc, Duvalier's son and successor, which was followed

by a series of military regimes. On the contrary, these savage regimes easily adopted the neoliberal policy dictated by the IMF, World Bank and powerful capitalist countries.

While anti-neoliberal discourses, movements and alternatives were built by peoples from the global South, neoliberalism was imposed onto the Haitian society already victim of classic French colonialism and neocolonialism.

Thus, in the Third World, Haiti is among that category of francophone countries that missed those types of anti-colonial and decolonial movements. Since Haitian writers, social scientists, academics, scholars, and intellectuals were mostly trained in Francophone universities, they are used to focusing on knowledges mainly produced in and valorized by the Francophonie. Because of that, they did not pay attention to these revolutionary theories developed in the global South and academic world of Afro-Americans which provided critical ideas, discourses, meanings, models, and alternatives for struggling against neocolonialism and neoliberalism. Consequently, neoliberalism worsened and aggravated the Haitian socioeconomic, political, and cultural condition.

Until today, fundamental books such as *Archaeology of Knowledge* (1969), *Orientalism* (1978), *The Postmodern Condition* (1979), *The Location of Culture* (1994), and so on almost pass unnoticed in the Haitian academic milieu which remains stuck in researches, studies, books, and intellectual publications from the French academia where such works have been, until 2005, underestimated. In addition, the new policy called "*la loi Fioraso*" adopted in 2013 by the French Parliament made English obligatory in French universities and can be interpreted as a strategy to make the Anglophone literature accessible to every student. Thus, in French literature, there are not many academic studies and researches on imperialism, colonialism, coloniality, anti-colonialism,

neocolonialism, decolonization, postcolonialism, afrocentricity, racism, and so on available in many English, Spanish, and Portuguese developing countries. Accordingly, Haitian students and researchers have not conducted any research on radical democracy, local knowledge in curriculum development, hidden curriculum, hybridity, colonial education, and others critical issues. For instance, almost all the English references used in this dissertation are unknown in the Haitian academic milieu.

Thus, in the light of what has been said above, this study requires that current academic knowledge in Haiti be critically questioned, deconstructed or discarded. A critical look at several alumni's opinions and beliefs used in the study showed that there was a pressing need for a new kind of knowledge in Haiti. In addition, the Haitian democratic crisis is still misunderstood due, to a great extent, to the absence of critical theories and knowledges in the Haitian milieu. It would not be an exaggeration to affirm that the misunderstanding of important concepts such as education, democracy, development, human rights, even the Haitian revolution, and many others results from the excessive ignorance of this new type of knowledge available in social sciences and humanities. In order to produce new knowledges for social justice, the study advocates an "epistemic decolonial turn" (Grosfoguel, 2007) in the Haitian social sciences and humanities. Like many progressive intellectuals from the global South did for indigenous culture, Haitian intellectuals need to revive the subjugated knowledge on Vodou, and reinforce the development of the Creole language. Thus, studying these radical and critical theories should be a must for Haitian students. To do so, like in France, learning English must be compulsory in Haitian universities.

Moreover, the way the Haitian elites usually behave when they have to protect or defend their national interests is often repugnant. As a matter of fact, many times these elites have chosen and prioritized international interests at the expense of the common good. This is why many critical voices—both inside and outside the Catholic milieu—have informally questioned the schoolteaching transmitted in the Catholic classrooms. In this regard, because all the research data were gathered from Catholic congregational alumni, this investigation provides a good support to them. It contains valid critical information they can use to formalize their critics and bring about important changes in the Catholic school subsystem.

Finally, this study can be considered an eye opener. It shows the necessity to critically rethink the Catholic congregational school subsystem. Indeed, the results of this dissertation may serve to challenge the myth of "best schools" attributed to these schools. Even though Catholic congregational schools continue to obtain excellent results and great academic distinctions in national examinations, the study provides critical information that showed such academic prices pale in comparison to all the pedagogical, psychological, social, cultural, and spiritual damages caused by their extreme form of "banking" instruction. For many decades, this kind of high academic performance concealed the heavy colonial legacies that Haitian families and leaders carry and transmit to future generations. In this sense, this study demonstrates to Haitian academics, scholars, educators, policy makers, politicians, school administrators, teachers and parents the inescapable need to be knowledgeable about Gaspard Theodore Mollien's agenda, French neocolonialism, colonial education, colonial civilizing mission, moral

education, critical pedagogy, hidden and null curriculum, cooperative pedagogy, and so on.

Recommendations for Future Research

When it comes to studies that focus on the neocolonial agenda of Catholic education and its relationship with democratic crisis in post-colonial countries, there is a dearth in the literature. This dissertation lays a strong basis for conducting future investigation in this area which had been neglected by researchers. In particular, this mixed methods research provides an important framework to further explore the relationship between the Catholic congregational schools and lack of democracy in Haiti. Moreover, by examining in-depth the Catholic pedagogy and its impact in the lack of democracy in Haiti, this research raised, particularly in the qualitative phase, other critical issues such as teaching of history, hidden and null curriculum, moral education, civilizing mission, cooperative learning, and so on which also deserve further exploration.

In addition, based on the findings and implications of this study, there is a serious need for conducting critical investigations in order to develop new types of knowledge in Haiti. In this respect, recommendations for further research should include the following areas: postcolonial theory, theory of hybridity, agency, radical democracy, French neocolonialism, decolonial turn in the global South, local knowledge in curriculum development, Catholic schooling, and so on. A comparative study to further determine the difference between French colonial schools in Haiti and West Africa is also recommended.

In addition, this dissertation also paves a foundation for intellectuals, scholars, decision and policy makers, politicians, and others who seek to understand the chronic democratic crisis in Haiti. Many of the issues cited above may be discussed in a national conference. For example, discussion on Mollien's neocolonial agenda can generate a set of decolonial policies and politics as well as hopeful alternatives. Moreover, the postcolonial theory as a new framework can provide a better critical lens to scrutinize, analyse, and define solutions for Haiti. Because of this, it is necessary to conduct more transformative mixed methods studies.

Moreover, this exploratory study used a two-phase sequential transformative mixed methods design which is a relatively new paradigm in the literature of research methodology. This method which gave a more complete critical view of the research problem was useful to reinforce the analysis and the results. However, due to the limitations imposed by the convenience sampling employed in this study, there is a need for a future transformative mixed methods study conducted with a type of random sampling. Because, although, to a certain extent, a clear connection between Catholic education and lack of democracy in Haiti has been established, it would be better to determine if there is a cause and effect relationship between these two variables. Thus, another study using referential statistics is needed in this area. For instance, this investigation could be replicated by mixing other qualitative methods such as grounded theory, case study, critical ethnography or phenomenology with a quasi-experimental study or quantitative survey conducted with secondary students in various Catholic congregational schools. In the survey, a large stratified random sampling that includes Catholic students from all provinces could be used. Additionally, even though a future

research can use the same instrument with other populations, adapting and using a kind of instrument like the Implicit Aptitude Test (IAT) would be more helpful to measure with less bias the Catholic students' behaviours and reflexes.

Finally, since there were about fourteen questions regarding the connection between pedagogical practices and democratic values in Catholic schools which obtained a score of frequency inferior to sixty percent, further investigation would be useful to assess whether the Catholic teaching practices have evolved.

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APPENDIX A

Université McGill
 Faculté des Sciences de l'Éducation
 Département des Études Intégrées en Éducation
 Guide pour l'entrevue

Titre de la recherche: Une étude de la relation entre l'éducation catholique et le dilemme de la démocratie en Haïti

Nom du chercheur: Roselor François

Courriel: roselor.francois@mail.mcgill.ca

1. Pourquoi vos parents ont-ils choisi de vous envoyer dans une école congréganiste? Quelle était ou est leur affiliation religieuse? Quelle est la vôtre aujourd'hui?
2. Quelles sortes de travail effectuaient vos parents durant votre parcours académique au secondaire? Ont-ils eu accès à l'éducation? Si oui, dans quelle école?
3. Comment décririez-vous l'environnement du quartier dans lequel vous aviez grandi?
4. Depuis quand avez-vous terminé votre cycle secondaire? Qu'avez-vous fait depuis lors? Aviez-vous effectué des études collégiales? Universitaires? En Haïti ou à l'étranger? Si oui, en quelle langue?
5. Pour rentrer au cours secondaire, avez-vous subi un test d'admission? Pour votre admission, avez-vous eu besoin d'une recommandation d'un (e) quelconque parrain ou marraine?
6. Aviez-vous déjà fréquenté une autre école catholique? Combien d'années avez-vous passé dans votre école secondaire? Vos enfants ou d'autres membres de votre famille ont-ils (elles) suivi vos traces en fréquentant la même école ou une autre école congréganiste de la place?
7. Quelle est votre profession actuelle? Le choix de votre profession avait-il été significativement influencé par votre expérience scolaire à l'école secondaire catholique?
8. Êtes-vous membre d'un parti politique, d'une quelconque association ou organisation de la société civile haïtienne ou étrangère? Si oui, veuillez s'il vous plaît en préciser la nature.
9. Sentez-vous une quelconque influence de votre expérience scolaire sur la façon dont vous concevez vos responsabilités et vos devoirs citoyens?
10. Quelles étaient les méthodes d'enseignement les plus souvent utilisées dans l'enseignement? Vos enseignants avaient-ils l'habitude d'utiliser diverses méthodes pour enseigner???
11. Organisaient-ils souvent des travaux de groupes? Si oui, décrivez s'il vous plaît l'environnement, l'ambiance et les types d'interactions qui prévalaient dans les séances de travaux de groupes.
12. Dans vos classes, est-ce qu'il y a eu beaucoup d'interactions entre enseignants-élèves, entre membres de la direction et élèves ou entre élèves et élèves? Vos camarades (élèves) pouvaient-ils donner souvent leurs opinions sur n'importe

- quel sujet exposé en classe? Avez-vous l'habitude de discuter en classe des questions ouvertes controversées? Si oui, veuillez donner s'il vous plaît un exemple quelconque.
13. Décrivez les qualités d'un enseignant que vous avez admiré et qui vous a beaucoup marqué (e)?
 14. Quelles sont quelques-unes de vos expériences d'apprentissages les plus mémorables? Quand vous essayez de revivre votre parcours scolaire au secondaire qu'est ce qui en ressort le plus dans votre mémoire?
 15. Avez-vous noté en particulier une ou des choses anormales dans l'enseignement dispensé chez vos enseignants? Chez les membres de la direction? Chez vos camarades de classe? Dans l'organisation des classes (par exemple, on avait choisi de placer certains ou certaines élèves dans telle position dans la classe)?
 16. L'école vous a-t-elle offert souvent la possibilité d'opérer des choix? Avez-vous pu élire les membres de vos comités de classes? Ou ont-ils été choisis directement par la direction?
 17. Aviez-vous utilisé des manuels scolaires importés? Si oui, de quels pays venaient-ils?
 18. Comment décrivez-vous l'autorité dans votre école? Les responsables ont-ils véhiculé des messages ou des expériences que vous avez trouvés significatifs? Étaient-ils des modèles en leadership que vous avez aimé imiter et enseigner à vos enfants?
 19. Aviez-vous appris l'histoire nationale dans le manuel d'histoire de J. C. Dorsainvil et des F. I. C.? Si oui, que pensez-vous du contenu appris? Y établissez-vous une quelconque relation avec votre citoyenneté et la conscience nationale? Sinon, (les mêmes questions)
 20. Comment pouvez-vous qualifier votre relation avec les religieux ou religieuses qui travaillaient à votre école? Aucun incident ou fait particulier à signaler?
 21. À quoi ressemblait votre relation avec vos camarades de classe, vos enseignants et la direction de l'école? Aucun incident ou fait particulier à signaler?
 22. Comment vos enseignants et les membres de la direction vous traitaient-ils ou traitaient-ils vos parents? Tous (tes) les autres élèves et leurs parents recevaient-ils/elles de leur part un traitement égal? Avez-vous eu l'impression que tout le monde dans vos salles de classe avait les mêmes chances de réussir?
 23. Vous sentiez-vous socialement et moralement connecté avec vos enseignants et votre directeur? Expliquez pourquoi?
 24. Vous sentiez-vous socialement, mentalement et moralement connecté avec vos camarades de classes? Expliquez pourquoi?
 25. Décrivez en quelques mots la discipline de votre école. Quelles étaient les types de sanctions qui étaient en vigueur durant votre scolarité? À votre époque, utilisait-on le fouet ou autre type de sanctions corporelles?
 26. Dans l'ensemble, comment a été l'environnement de vos classes? Jovial? Relaxant? Rigide? Stressant? Y avait-il une différence dans les classes terminales?
 27. Selon vous, en ce temps-là qu'est ce qu'était un bon ou une bonne élève? En étiez-vous un (e)? Aviez-vous connu des élèves turbulents (es)? Ont-ils (elles) été renvoyés (es) de l'école?

28. Aviez-vous connu dans vos classes des élèves de toutes les couches sociales du pays? Comment aviez-vous pu les identifier?
29. Aviez-vous eu dans vos classes des élèves de différentes couleurs? Comment se comportaient-ils (elles) par rapport aux élèves différents d'eux ou d'elles?
30. Était-il facile pour vous dans vos classes de vous faire des amis? Avez-vous eu des amis (es) de différentes couches sociales et de différentes couleurs?
31. Aviez-vous eu l'habitude de participer à des activités extrascolaires? Si oui, lesquelles?
32. Aviez-vous connu dans votre école ou dans vos classes des élèves venant directement du milieu rural ou des bidonvilles? Si oui, comment a été leur expérience au sein de l'école?
33. Face aux élèves des lycées ou autres écoles privées laïques avez-vous (vos collègues et vous) éprouvé certaines fois un sentiment de suffisance ou un air de supériorité? Avez-vous eu l'impression d'apprendre à l'école la façon dont vous les aviez perçus (es)?
34. Dans les différentes interactions entre élèves, personnel enseignant et de direction de l'école, avez-vous remarqué un quelconque incident à caractère raciste ou des cas de discrimination voilée? Racontez!
35. Aviez-vous noté quelques fois une forme de discours à caractère raciste et sexiste? Racontez!
36. Durant votre parcours scolaire, combien d'étrangers avez-vous connu dans votre école? Combien en avez-vous eu comme enseignants dans vos classes? Si vous en avez eu, précisez s'il vous plaît leur nationalité. De quelle nationalité était le directeur de votre école?
37. Quelle a été la langue d'instruction utilisée dans votre école? Vous était-il permis de parler créole à l'école? Quelle langue parliez-vous à la maison?
38. Aviez-vous eu des cours de créole? Pouvez-vous écrire couramment le créole?
39. Votre école a-t-elle eu recours à l'usage du « symbole » pour punir les élèves qui parlaient créole en classe?
40. Êtes-vous pour ou contre l'utilisation du créole comme langue d'instruction en Haïti? Pourquoi?
41. Quelle est votre perception du vaudou haïtien? Quelle est votre conception du vaudou? Sentez-vous que votre éducation scolaire a significativement influencé votre perception et votre conception du vodou?
42. Aviez-vous eu ou connu dans votre école des élèves et enseignants déclarés (es) ouvertement vodouisants (es)? Avez-vous eu des amis (es) vodouisants (es)? Aujourd'hui, en avez-vous?
43. Vous a-t-on déjà enseigné que le vodou est diabolique ou satanique? A-t-on déjà puni certains élèves pour des comportements liés au Vodou? Avez-vous eu la pleine liberté de participer à une cérémonie vaudouesque? Avez-vous remarqué dans vos salles de classe ou autres endroits de l'école des images, peintures, sculptures et autres objets de Vodou?
44. L'enseignement reçu à votre école vous a-t-elle éloigné ou rendu plus proche des éléments de la culture haïtienne tels que le créole, le vodou, la musique racine, le compas direct, la culture Lakou et le folklore haïtien, Konbit et autres? S'il vous plaît, dites comment.

45. Aviez-vous eu l'habitude d'avoir des discussions, devoirs et activités en classe sur le vodou ou le folklore haïtien? Avez-vous eu l'habitude d'avoir des discussions au sujet du vodou sur la cour de l'école? En dehors de l'école? Que savez-vous du Vaudou? Qu'avez-vous appris de positif à l'école sur le Vaudou? La culture Lakou? Ou le Konbit?
46. Quelle est votre style de musique préférée? Êtes-vous un grand fan de rara? De la musique vodou (style Wawa ou Azor)? De la musique racine (style Boukman Esperyans)? Du compas direct?
47. Sur le plan culturel vous sentez-vous proche ou éloigné (e) du monde paysan? Votre éducation secondaire a-t-elle joué un rôle en ce sens? Veuillez expliquer s'il vous plait ce rôle.
48. Quelles activités culturelles avait-on l'habitude d'organiser à votre école?
49. Dans l'ensemble comment décririez-vous votre expérience éducative dans cette école? L'avez-vous appréciée ou pas? Pourquoi?
50. Aujourd'hui, s'il vous était donné de refaire cette même expérience auriez-vous accepté de la répéter exactement comme avant? Quelles sont les choses que vous aimeriez voir changer aujourd'hui dans la culture de votre ancienne école et dans l'éducation que vous aviez reçue durant votre scolarité?

APPENDIX B

Université McGill
 Faculté des Sciences de l'Éducation
 Département des Études Intégrées en Éducation
 Formulaire de consentement pour accorder une entrevue

Titre de la recherche: Une étude de la relation entre l'éducation catholique et le dilemme de la démocratie en Haïti

Nom du chercheur: Roselor François, candidat au grade de doctorat, (DISE, Université McGill);

Courriel: roselor.francois@mail.mcgill.ca

Superviseur de la recherche: Dr Spencer Boudreau

Courriel: spencer.boudreau@mcgill.ca

Description: Le but de cette recherche est d'examiner en profondeur le rôle de l'éducation catholique dans le dilemme de la démocratie en Haïti. Cette étude soulignera les principales caractéristiques des écoles congréganistes en Haïti et déterminera leur possible connexion avec la nature prédatrice des élites dirigeantes haïtiennes. Les données recueillies lors de cette entrevue individuelle fourniront des thèmes et des déclarations qui seront traités puis analysés pour l'élaboration d'un questionnaire qui sera ensuite utilisé dans une deuxième phase de cette étude pour mener une enquête auprès de 240 anciens étudiants d'écoles congréganistes de tout le pays.

Procédures: Il s'agit d'une entrevue individuelle faite de questions de type ouvert-fermé. Les réponses ne sont donc pas anticipées. Vous êtes libre de répondre ou de ne pas répondre à chaque question posée comme bon vous semble. Peu importe vos perceptions, vos commentaires et vos insinuations, ils seront les bienvenus. Si vous acceptez de participer à cette étude vous aurez à répondre à des questions relatives au processus de l'enseignement apprentissage de vos années au cours secondaire. Il y aura aussi des questions de haute sensibilité susceptibles de vous rappeler des expériences et mauvais souvenirs de classe à caractère raciste, sexiste et de luttes de classes. L'entrevue sera enregistrée sur radiocassette et sera d'une durée comprise entre 45 à 60 minutes.

Conditions de participation: En acceptant de participer à cette étude, vous ne courez aucun risque. Des mesures seront prises pour protéger votre identité dans cette recherche. En aucun cas, vous ne serez identifié (e) dans le rapport de l'étude ou dans une quelconque autre publication. Vous serez désigné (e) plutôt sous le nom de « participant (e) » et il vous sera attribué un numéro de code. Et, la liste de correspondance des noms aux numéros de code sera gardée dans un ordinateur sécurisé. Après que le contenu de la cassette audio ait été retranscrit sur papier, la cassette en question sera détruite. De plus, sachez que vous êtes libre de vous retirer de cette étude à n'importe quel moment.

S'il vous plait, veuillez lire puis donnez votre consentement aux déclarations suivantes:

- J'ai lu et compris toutes les conditions présentées ci-dessus, je consens librement et j'accepte volontairement de participer à cette étude : oui ☐ non ☐
- J'accepte que cette entrevue soit enregistrée sur radio cassette: oui ☐ non ☐

J'ai lu et compris qu'il y a des questions très sensibles susceptibles de me rappeler de mauvais souvenirs, en dépit de tout, je consens librement à participer à cette étude: oui ☐ non ☐

Nom et prénom:

Date:

Signature:

Courriel:

APPENDIX C

Merci d'avoir accepté de participer à cette recherche sur l'éducation catholique et la question de la démocratie en Haïti. Selon le certificat d'éthique délivré par l'université McGill, aucun (e) participant (e) ne devra être identifié (e). N'écrivez pas donc votre nom dans le questionnaire. Toutes vos réponses seront anonymes et tenues secrètes.

Prière de prendre 20 à 30 minutes de votre temps pour remplir ce questionnaire qui comprend deux grandes sections. Vous y trouverez des questions qui tendent à recueillir certains éléments de votre profil ainsi que vos opinions sur certains comportements et expériences d'apprentissage rencontrés au cours de votre passage au cours secondaire de l'école congréganiste catholique.

Pour protéger la véracité de l'étude, ayez la bonté s'il vous plait de répondre avec honnêteté aux questions qui suivront.

Section I

Répondez aux questions de cette section en encerclant le numéro qui correspond à votre cas. S'il vous plait, ne laissez aucune question sans réponse.

1. Quel est votre sexe?

- 1) Masculin,
- 2) Féminin

2. Quelle est présentement votre nationalité?

- 1) Nationalité haïtienne,
- 2) Nationalité étrangère,
- 3) Double nationalité

3. Votre âge se situe entre :

- 1) 19 et 24 ans,
- 2) 25 et 29 ans,
- 3) 30 et 34 ans,
- 4) 35 et 39 ans,
- 5) 40 et 44 ans,
- 6) 44 et 49,
- 7) 50 et plus

4. Où résidez-vous actuellement?

- 1) En Haïti
- 2) Aux États-Unis,
- 3) Au Canada,
- 4) En France,
- 5) Ailleurs
(Précisez).....

5. Vous avez l'apparence physique :

- 1) D'un (e) Haïtien (ne) à peau claire,

- 2) D'un (e) Haïtien (ne) à peau noire,
 - 3) D'un (e) Haïtien (ne) situé (e) entre les deux,
- 6.** Vous avez fréquenté le cours secondaire d'une école congréganiste :
- 1) De Port-au-Prince
 - 2) D'une ville de province (Précisez la ville).....
- 7.** Vous avez terminé votre secondaire dans une école congréganiste durant les années :
- 1) 50-59,
 - 2) 60-69,
 - 3) 70-79,
 - 4) 80-89,
 - 5) 90-99,
 - 6) 2000-2009,
 - 7) 2010 et plus
- 8.** Au cours secondaire de cette école congréganiste, vous êtes resté (e) pendant
- 1) Moins de 4 ans,
 - 2) 4 ans,
 - 3) 5 ans,
 - 4) 6 ans,
 - 5) 7 ans,
 - 6) Plus de 7 ans
- 9.** Quelle est votre domaine de formation professionnelle initiale?
- 1) Génie,
 - 2) Agriculture,
 - 3) Communication,
 - 4) Politique,
 - 5) Médecine,
 - 6) Administration,
 - 7) Informatique,
 - 8) Autre..... (Précisez s'il vous plait)
- 10.** Travaillez-vous présentement dans votre domaine de formation initiale?
- 1) Oui
 - 2) Non
- 11.** Aujourd'hui, vous vous considérez comme étant :
- 1) Un membre de l'élite intellectuelle haïtienne,
 - 2) Un membre de l'élite économique haïtienne,
 - 3) Un membre de l'élite politique haïtienne,
 - 4) Un haut cadre de l'administration publique,

- 5) Un simple cadre de l'administration publique,
- 6) Un membre de la société civile haïtienne,
- 7) Un simple citoyen sans emploi,
- 8) Autre
(Précisez).....

12. Aujourd'hui, vous êtes membre

- 1) Actif d'une association haïtienne ou d'un parti politique haïtien,
- 2) Actif d'une association professionnelle haïtienne,
- 3) Actif d'une association estudiantine haïtienne,
- 4) Actif d'une association socioculturelle haïtienne,
- 5) Actif d'une association paysanne haïtienne,
- 6) Actif de deux ou plusieurs associations haïtiennes,
- 7) D'aucune association haïtienne,

13. Vous avez choisi votre ou vos professions pour la principale raison qui suit :

- 1) J'ai voulu suivre les traces d'un ou des membres de ma famille,
- 2) J'ai voulu choisir ce qu'il y a de meilleur pour être parmi les meilleurs (es),
- 3) J'ai voulu être distingué socialement,
- 4) Je n'ai fait que respecter ma vocation,
- 5) Je n'ai pas eu d'autre choix à ma portée,
- 6) Le choix de ma profession a été dicté par le hasard,
- 7) Autre (précisez s'il vous plait).....

14. Vous êtes né (e) dans une famille de confession religieuse:

- 1) Catholique,
- 2) Vodouisante,
- 3) Épiscopale,
- 4) Baptiste,
- 5) Pentecôtiste,
- 6) Adventiste,
- 7) Méthodiste,
- 8) Musulmane,
- 9) Athée
- 10) Autre..... (Veuillez préciser s'il vous plait)

15. Aujourd'hui, vous êtes de confession :

- 1) Catholique,
- 2) Vodouisante,
- 3) Épiscopale,
- 4) Baptiste,
- 5) Pentecôtiste,
- 6) Adventiste,
- 7) Méthodiste,

- 8) Musulmane,
 9) Athée
 10) Autre..... (Veuillez préciser s'il vous plait)

16. Aujourd'hui, votre connaissance du Vaudou haïtien est :

1. Très bonne,
2. Bonne,
3. Assez bonne,
4. Mauvaise,
5. Très mauvaise,

17. Aujourd'hui, votre lecture d'un texte écrit en créole est :

1. Très bonne,
2. Bonne,
3. Assez bonne,
4. Mauvaise,
5. Très mauvaise,

18. Aujourd'hui, votre écriture du créole est :

- 1) Très bonne,
- 2) Bonne,
- 3) Assez bonne,
- 4) Mauvaise,
- 5) Très mauvaise,

19. S'il vous plait, ajoutez vos commentaires (si vous en avez)

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

(Prière d'utiliser au besoin le verso)

Section II

Répondez aux questions de cette section en mettant un X dans la case de l'une des quatre (4) catégories suivantes : **1. Totalemment en Désaccord, 2. Pas D'accord, 3. D'accord, 4. Totalemment D'accord.** S'il vous plait, une fois de plus, ne laissez aucune question sans réponse.

	1	2	3	4
PRATIQUES PEDAGOGIQUES	Totalemment	Pas	D'accord	Totalemment

	En Désaccord	D'accord		D'accord
20. Dans mon école secondaire, la majorité des enseignants (es) n'utilisait pas fréquemment en classe les travaux de groupes.				
21. Dans mon école secondaire, l'apprentissage basé sur le « par cœur » était généralement valorisé et adopté par la majorité des enseignants (es).				
22. Dans mon école secondaire, les enseignants en grande majorité utilisaient principalement la méthode magistrale ou le « magister dixit ».				
PRATIQUES PEDAGOGIQUES (suite)	Totalement En Désaccord	Pas D'accord	D'accord	Totalement D'accord
23. Dans mon école secondaire, les élèves n'étaient pas généralement libres de choisir leurs sièges dans la salle. Les places étaient le plus souvent assignées aux élèves suivant leurs moyennes aux premiers examens mensuels.				
24. Dans mon école secondaire, l'histoire d'Haïti était enseignée principalement sous forme de récit des hauts faits que l'élève devait mémoriser.				
25. Dans mon école secondaire, d'une manière générale, les idées, opinions, arguments et points de vue controversés des élèves qui étaient en opposition à ceux des dirigeants et des enseignants n'étaient pas les bienvenus.				
26. Dans mon école secondaire, certains dirigeants et enseignants laissaient apparaître clairement dans certains discours et actions une attitude de « deux poids, deux mesures ».				
27. Durant mon passage au cours secondaire, les dirigeants des écoles congréganistes catholiques étaient réputés pour être des gens qui favorisaient les enfants des riches et des politiciens puissants du pays.				
28. Selon la culture traditionnelle de mon école secondaire, sur un effectif de plus de 200 élèves admis dans les classes de 6 ^e secondaire, seul un petit nombre d'élèves devait atteindre la classe terminale.				
29. Dans mon école secondaire, les règles de discipline et les normes de conduite des salles de classe étaient toutes dictées et établies exclusivement par les dirigeants et enseignants sans la participation aucune des élèves de l'école.				

PRATIQUES PEDAGOGIQUES (suite)	Totalement En Désaccord	Pas D'accord	D'accord	Totalement D'accord
30. Dans mon école secondaire, certains élèves ne se sentaient pas libres de poser des questions ou de donner leurs opinions à cause du climat résultant des barrières linguistiques, avec notamment l'obligation qui leur était faite de ne s'exprimer qu'en français.				
31. Dans mon école secondaire, les dirigeants étaient tellement stricts et sévères qu'ils avaient fini par instaurer un climat de peur chez une grande majorité des élèves.				
32. Dans mon école secondaire, à cause de la discipline de fer imposée par les dirigeants et enseignants, certains élèves ne se sentaient pas libres de poser certaines questions ou de soulever des points controversés dans la classe.				
33. Selon la culture traditionnelle de mon école secondaire, lors du concours d'admission les enfants issus d'un certain milieu avaient la priorité. Un enfant venant des milieux pauvres, des bidonvilles et de la paysannerie n'avait pas les mêmes chances d'accès qu'un enfant venant des milieux aisés.				
34. Dans la culture traditionnelle de mon école, au moment des admissions, les enfants de parents catholiques avaient la priorité. Durant le processus de sélections d'élèves, les enfants de parents vodouisants, protestants et autres non catholiques couraient le risque d'être exclus.				

35. Dans le milieu scolaire haïtien en général, incluant celui de mon école, quand un (e) élève ne connaissait pas ses leçons ou échouait dans une matière quelconque, il pouvait être traité de crétin et était apte à aller travailler la terre.				
PRATIQUES PEDAGOGIQUES (suite)	Totalement En Désaccord	Pas D'accord	D'accord	Totalement D'accord
36. Dans la culture haïtienne en général incluant la culture de mon école secondaire, on traitait de « paysan » toute personne qui était considérée comme bornée, ignorante ou idiote.				
37. Dans la culture traditionnelle de mon école secondaire, on mettait beaucoup d'emphasis sur la religion catholique sans enseigner dans une proportion égale le respect et la tolérance envers le Vodou et les autres religions pratiquées en Haïti.				
38. Dans mon école secondaire, les contenus, images et exemples mentionnés dans les livres de texte utilisés par les enseignants et les élèves excluaient le « Konbitisme », la culture Lakou, les proverbes créoles et les éléments de la culture vaudouesque.				
39. Dans les livres de texte utilisés dans mes classes du secondaire, on ne retrouvait pas des inventions et des découvertes scientifiques réalisées par les Amérindiens, les Afro Américains, les Esclaves de Saint-Domingue et les peuples noirs en général.				
40. Dans mon école secondaire, les dirigeants et les enseignants ne faisaient pas la promotion de l'égalité des genres.				
41. Dans l'environnement de mon école secondaire, l'idée du « sexe faible » était de temps en temps agitée sans avoir été rejetée ou combattue publiquement par les enseignants et les dirigeants.				
PRATIQUES PEDAGOGIQUES (suite)	Totalement En Désaccord	Pas D'accord	D'accord	Totalement D'accord

42. Dans le milieu scolaire haïtien, d'une manière générale, et dans mon école secondaire, en particulier, beaucoup de dirigeants, enseignants et élèves pensaient que les filles ne pouvaient pas avoir le même voire un plus rendement en mathématique que les garçons.				
43. La culture pédagogique des écoles congréganistes catholiques est de nature aristocratique et clanique. L'élève est formé pour être le meilleur en toute chose et pour réussir avec son groupe social au détriment même des intérêts généraux.				
44. D'une manière générale, les écoles congréganistes catholiques ont formé des hommes et des femmes très individualistes. Elles ont préparé leurs élèves à rechercher d'abord leur bien-être personnel avant même de penser à celui de toute la collectivité.				
45. Dans l'environnement immédiat de mon école secondaire, il existait certains malaises raciaux au sein des élèves et/ou du personnel enseignant et de la direction.				
LA LANGUE CRÉOLE	Totalement En Désaccord	Pas D'accord	D'accord	Totalement D'accord
46. Au cours secondaire, les langues étrangères telles que l'anglais, l'espagnol, et surtout le français étaient généralement considérées et traitées comme supérieures à la langue créole.				
LA LANGUE CRÉOLE (suite)	Totalement En Désaccord	Pas D'accord	D'accord	Totalement D'accord
47. Dans la culture traditionnelle de mon école secondaire, l'élève qui maîtrisait bien la langue française était considéré comme un élève brillant tandis qu'à l'opposé l'élève qui ne pouvait parler que le créole était mal perçu.				
48. Selon la culture de mon école, il était formellement interdit de parler créole en salle de classe.				

49. Dans l'environnement immédiat de mon école secondaire, les élèves se sentaient gênés (es) et/ou avaient la crainte de s'exprimer en créole.				
50. Dans la culture scolaire haïtienne en général, et dans celle de mon école en particulier, quand on surprenait un élève entrain de parler créole, il arrivait qu'on lui dise sous forme de réprimande: « exprime-toi ».				
51. Dans mon école secondaire, on ne m'avait pas enseigné à parler, ni à lire et écrire le créole.				
52. D'une manière générale, l'ensemble de la culture et de l'environnement de mon école secondaire étaient purement et exclusivement francophone.				
53. Dans mon école secondaire, la langue créole était exclue même des activités culturelles et parascolaires.				
54. Dans le milieu scolaire haïtien en général, et dans l'entourage de mon école secondaire en particulier, on pensait que choisir la langue créole comme principale langue d'instruction serait un facteur de blocage pour le développement d'Haïti.				
LE VODOU	Totalement En Désaccord	Pas D'accord	D'accord	Totalement D'accord
55. Dans la culture du catholicisme haïtien, y compris celle des écoles congréganistes, le Vodou haïtien était vu et considéré comme un obstacle au développement d'Haïti, c'était quelque chose qu'il fallait éradiquer totalement du pays.				
56. Le Vodou était totalement exclu de l'ensemble des programmes et activités de mon école secondaire.				
57. L'éducation reçue au cours secondaire ne m'a pas préparé à vivre sans gêne ou sans crainte au sein de compatriotes Haïtiens vodouisants.				
58. Dans mon école secondaire, on enseignait directement et/ou indirectement que le Vodou est diabolique.				
59. À l'école secondaire, je n'avais pas appris à respecter les vodouisants tels qu'ils sont.				

60. Au cours secondaire, sous peine d'être sanctionnés ou renvoyés définitivement de l'école, les enseignants (es) et les élèves ne pouvaient pas se déclarer ouvertement vodouisants (es) voire se comporter comme tels (les).				
61. Dans la culture de mon école, le Vodou n'était pas vu et considéré comme une religion qu'on pouvait classer dans la lignée des religions modernes.				

S'il vous plaît, ajoutez vos commentaires (si vous en avez)

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(Prière d'utiliser au besoin le verso)