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Educating for democracy in Haiti; A teachers' and students' perspective

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Declaration

I, Mariebelle Leclerc-Hallé, declare that this thesis is a result of my research investigations and findings. Sources of information other than my own have been acknowledged and a reference list has been appended. This work has not been previously submitted to any other university for award of any type of academic degree.

Signature.....................................

Date...

Abstract

Haiti has a long history of political instability contributing to its precarious economic situation. Thus, education for democracy is particularly relevant for enabling students to participate in a political system that would enhance the well-being of Haiti's citizens. The Haitian Ministry of Education released an Operational Plan in 2010, giving importance to educating democratic citizens. However, implementing this education reform has been challenging for public schools with limited resources. Teachers and students are the ones who enact democratic citizenship in Haitian schools. Therefore, their perceptions can shed light on opportunities and obstacles for developing an education system that can enhance democratic citizenship in Haiti. Qualitative data was collected through interviews and observations to expose teachers' and students' perceptions of democracy, education, and the potential relationship between them. Informants' conception of what democracy should be conflicted how they saw it was applied in Haiti, exposing a disconnection between Western knowledge valued in formal education and students' reality. Therefore, I argue that knowledge taught in school should be closer to students' everyday experiences. Moreover, students expressed a strong will to improve their country's situation but they lacked opportunities to enact their political engagement. Thus, creating a space for learners to share their opinions, and adapting knowledge taught in school to learners' reality could be opportunities to re-appropriate democracy in students' situated context.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgment

1. Introduction

Education is central in both national and transnational development plans around the world. The importance of education is reflected in goal number four of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs): *Ensure inclusive and quality education for all and promote lifelong learning.* This SDG is presented as the key to achieving many other sustainable development goals because the United Nations (UN) sees education as the foundation for emancipating individuals and sustainably developing societies. The UN also claims that access to quality education contributes to reducing inequalities by breaking the poverty cycle (UN, 2015).

However, authors like Paulo Freire have argued that schools can be a tool to reproduce social inequalities and perpetuate oppression patterns. Indeed, choosing what is worth teaching in schools is a political matter and often favors the higher classes' hegemony (Freire, 1972). For example, traditional knowledge and worldviews are often excluded from formal education, as they are not considered scientific (Breidlid, 2013). The way learners are treated can also contribute to perpetuating oppression, as schools often socialize children so they accept social norms instead of challenging oppression (Apple, 2011).

Some critical pedagogy advocates propose education for democracy as a new path to change structural inequalities and tackle oppression. It should give the necessary conditions for learners to think critically and engage in democracy. Hence, schooling would have a transformative role instead of reproducing existing structural inequalities (Apple, 2014; Biesta, 2007; Freire, 1972). This emancipatory pedagogy can be particularly relevant in countries marked by important social inequalities, like Haiti.

Education is at the core of Haiti's development projects, as the schooling system is still considered highly inefficient and unequal. With the lowest literacy rate of the continent and 200 000 children out of school, education is a major issue for this country (WorldBank, 2015). The overwhelming majority of school-aged children have to attend private schools because the state does not provide free public education for all. This marketization of education creates inequalities because most families can only afford the cheapest low-quality schools.

States should be duty bearers for the right to education. However, Haiti's government is characterized by political instability, corruption and lack of financial resources. This country's tumultuous history was marked by political instability with totalitarian regimes who did not build democratic institutions. Recent attempts to implement democracy in Haiti have been led by external forces and left little space for Haitians to create their own democracy.

Thus, education for democracy might be an interesting path for challenging existing unequal social order and allowing democracy to emerge from within Haiti. The recent Haitian education reform shifted to a competency-based approach, which promotes a learning environment where the teacher is not just transmitting knowledge anymore but creates conditions for students to think and engage. The Ministry of Education also introduced a citizenship education course which could provide a space for students to explore issues related to democracy. Nevertheless, the general lack of resources in the Haitian education system made this reform's implementation difficult. Despite these difficulties, an education system that encourages students' democratic citizenship could create various opportunities. Teachers and students are crucial informants regarding education for democracy as they experience it in practice. Hence, this study explored high school students and teachers' views on democracy and how it is learned and taught in the Haitian context.

This research's main objective was to explore opportunities and obstacles for developing an education system that enhances democratic citizenship in Haiti. This required to first understand how participants perceived democracy and its application in Haiti. I also investigated how participants perceived the relationship between education and democracy as it influenced their vision of democratic citizenship in schools. Lastly, it was necessary to explore how teachers and students experience democracy in schools today to envision opportunities and obstacles regarding democratic citizenship in the future.

1.1 Objective and Research questions

<u>Objective:</u>

> Explore opportunities and obstacles for developing an education system that can enhance democratic citizenship in Haiti.

<u>Main analytical research question:</u>

The main research question relates directly to the objective. This overreaching research question is addressed in the discussion chapter where I link the data collected through the empirical questions to Haiti's broader socio-political context.

> **Analytical RQ**: What are the opportunities and obstacles for developing an education system that can enhance democratic citizenship in Haiti?

<u>Empirical sub-research-questions:</u>

The following empirical sub-questions were used to collect data and shed light on issues essential to answer the analytical research question. The empirical questions constitute the results and analysis chapter.

> **Empirical RQ1:** How do teachers and students perceive democracy and its application in Haiti?

> **Empirical RQ2:** What is the perceived relationship between education and democracy?

> **Empirical RQ3:** How do teachers and students experience education for democracy in schools and how is it affected by social inequalities?

2. Thematic background

This chapter presents background information about Haiti relevant to this study. First, I give an overview of Haiti's geographical, economic and cultural features. Then, I present some political historical background before turning to the history of education. Finally, I will provide information about the Haitian education system today and the recent education reforms.

2.1 General presentation of Haiti

Haiti is a country of 10.4 million people, with an area of 27,750 square kilometers making it the second most populous country of the Caribbean (DESA, 2017). It is located on the western three eights of Hispaniola Island which it shares with the Dominican Republic. Its geographic localization makes Haiti vulnerable to natural catastrophes like hurricanes and earthquakes, which exacerbates its already difficult economic situation.

Figure 1: Map of Caribbean; situating Haiti

Source: OntheWorldMap

Haiti is the poorest country in the Americas with 59% of the population living under the 2,94$ national poverty line (WorldBank, 2018). This country has received 38 billion dollars in foreign assistance in the past 60 years which, according to many authors, contributed to make it a dependent state (Buss, 2015; Lemay-Hébert & Pallage, 2012; Ray, 2010). Donor countries did not always give aid through the state budget, claiming that it was too corrupted. As the aid funds went through non-governmental organizations (NGO) they replaced the state as the provider of many services which gave Haiti its nickname; The Republic of NGOs (Zanotti, 2010). Schuller argues

that NGOs taking over the state's responsibilities contributed to weakening state institutions (Schuller, 2009). This weak state has struggled to unify the divided Haitian population.

Divided population

Indeed, Haitian society is marked by social divisions in terms of race, language and urbanity. First, there are tensions between black slave-descendent majority and the mulatto minority that is associated with a higher socio-economic status. Language is also a matter of social division because most Haitians' mother tongue is Creole, but it is often frowned upon. This language emerged from the mix of African and colonial languages, which became the means of communication for all Haitians in their everyday life. Nevertheless, French is the administrative language and is also favored in schools, even though most Haitians do not master it (Heinl, Heinl, & Heinl, 2005). Indeed, French is learned in school but only 60,7% of the adult population is considered literate (WorldBank, 2015), and even those who can read and write often do it only in Creole. French is very seldom spoken outside of administrative context, especially in rural communities. Forty percent of Haiti's population still live in the countryside, even though an important rural exodus has happened since the sixties, when the rural population represented 84% of Haitians (WorldBank, 2014). Peasants' life is considered hard as they often live with no electricity, difficult access to water and schools.

Voodoo culture

Sometimes reduced to the practice of witchcraft, Haitian voodooism is more a belief system that mixes animist West African rituals with Christianity. This culture evolved from the 16th century when African slaves brought with them their beliefs based on a myriad of gods whom they called "loa''. When the slaves encountered Christianity, they accepted the Catholic monotheist view by adding the ''Bon-dieu'' as the god above all other loas and saints. Voodoo priests, also called houngans, have the capacity to welcome loas in their human bodies to provide different services going from healing diseases to exorcisms of bad spirits (Heinl et al., 2005). Men and women can be houngan and they learn the profession from other voodoo priests which explains why it is often a family tradition. While only 2.1% of Haitians consider themselves primarily voodoo the majority of the population practices elements of voodooism in addition to other Christian religions (CIA, 2018). Some Haitians see voodooism more as a culture that encompasses ancestral knowledge

about plants, music, dance and ceremonies. Many Haitians deplore the loss of this ancestral knowledge in the past decades.

To conclude this section, Haiti is considered a poor dependent state marked by social division and an omnipresent voodoo culture. Participants in this research were aware of their country's precarious situation and many referred to history for explaining how Haiti became so poor and unequal.

2.2 Historical background

Haiti's current socio-economic inequalities can be traced back through its history marked by colonialism, the slave revolution, racial tensions, dictatorship, and a difficult transition to democracy. The various groups fighting for power and the numerous coups contributed to the great complexity of this country's history. I present here a short review of some historical events relevant to this study.

2.2.1 Pre-columbian and colonial time

The Taino, descendants of South American indigenous peoples, were the first to emigrate on Hispaniola Island around 5000 B.C. Taino's livelihood was based on fisheries and they practiced rudimental agriculture. They were organized in chiefdoms called caciques and did not have an elaborated war culture which made them vulnerable to the Spanish colonizers (Wilson, 1990). In 1492, Christopher Columbus claimed Hispaniola for the Spanish crown, making it the first colony of the New World. The half million Taino were exterminated in merely two generations because of wars, harsh exploitation and diseases brought by the Spaniards (Girard, 2005).

From 1492 to 1625, Hispaniola was exploited by Spain for sugar and gold production. During this period, France became interested in this prolific colony and started fighting Spain for it. In 1697, the Treaty of Ryswick solved the conflict, making the French owners of the western part of the island, which they named Saint-Domingue (Roupert, 2011).

France had put the capitalist exploitation of the colony in the hands of commercial firms like the Compagnies des Indes occidentales, but in 1724 the doors were opened for French investors, leading to the emergence of a French bourgeoisie on the island. The French brought thousands of slaves from Africa, and their exploitation made Saint-Domingue one of the richest colonies of the time. This agro-commercial Eldorado could never have spread its cheap products so quickly in the

European market without the work of the 500 000 slaves brought from Africa. Although the first slaves came to Hispaniola in 1502, their massive arrival started in 1511 when the monk Barthelemy de las Casas convinced the French king to use African slaves to replace the decimated indigenous population, by saying that ''one Negro only was worth three Indians'' (Eric, 1975).

Soon, a complex social organization emerged on the islands characterizing groups by class, race and occupation. Sub-groups were formed both among the slaves and French colonizers. Slaves who were born on Hispaniola had a different status than those born in Africa. Moreover, rural and urban slaves did not have the same value and were treated differently. The mulatto class also gained importance, as many white men had children with slave women. These children were considered free and often had access to education because their fathers supported them financially (Foner, 1970). A strong class-race amalgam was present during this period and persists in Haiti until today (Étienne, 2007).

On the eve of the French Revolution in 1789, Saint-Domingue was inhabited by 500 000 black slaves, 30 000 whites and 60 000 people of color. Maintaining the exploitation of such an overwhelming slave majority required strict organization and no breach for uprisings. The political instability in France with the fall of the Royal government provided such a breach (Eric, 1975).

2.2.2 Revolution and building the nation

The Haitian Revolution started in 1789 when groups started fighting for their rights and interests inspired by the French Revolution. Many groups fought each other and the French crown for different reasons. First, the local elite on Saint-Domingue was divided between the royalist, loyal to the French crown, and the autonomists, who did not want to share their profits with the capital anymore. In 1792, the slaves joined the fight for freedom, especially in the northern region where a revolt took place (Étienne, 2007).

The complexity of conflicts within and between ethnic groups and social classes quickly escalated, making the colony a big battlefield. Saint-Domingue was too important for France to let it go in the hands of the freed slaves or the local elite who wanted independence. A commissary was sent to the Island to bring order back. He claimed that the metropole recognized only two kinds of people, free men and slaves. Such a statement was hoped to create alliances between the white planters and the freed people of color to perpetuate slavery, essential to the survival of the colony's

economy. This policy from the metropole was rejected by the white planters, who did not want to share their power and economic advantages with the mulattos (Étienne, 2007).

Saint-Domingue also became an international war issue as France was fighting both Spain and Britain. The leaders of the slave revolt allied with the Spanish and helped them gain territory from the eastern part, while the white planters made allies with the British. In an ultimate attempt to stop the slave revolution, the French commissionaire of Saint-Domingue proclaimed the freedom of all slaves in the colony in 1793. Although it did not stop the ongoing fight for freedom, it ended the supremacy of whites in Saint-Domingue and changed power relations on the island (Étienne, 2007).

The social restructuration created a space where former freedmen (mulattos) and new freedmen (black slaves) were confronted as two different groups fighting for power. This polarization created racial tensions used by opportunistic leaders to fulfill their ambitions. It was the beginning of a long history of racial tensions between mulattos and blacks (Eric, 1975).

Toussaint Louverture, one of Haiti's most prominent historical figures, quickly became the symbol of the black slaves' fight for freedom. He first fought for the Spanish, who had promised to free all slave soldiers. When France abolished slavery in Saint-Domingue, Louverture changed allegiance and became governor of the French colony. In 1801, Louverture turned against France because Napoleon Bonaparte had decided to reimplement slavery in Saint-Domingue. With his army of former slaves, he defeated both the French and the Spanish, and proclaimed himself Governor-General for life of the whole Island. His project was to build an associated state for Haiti, staying under France's rule in a symbolic way but be independent in practice. Louverture's project was not aligned with Napoleon Bonaparte's colonial ambitions. The French emperor sent troops to bring Toussaint Louverture to France, where he died in 1803 (Roupert, 2011).

The revolution was taken over by Jean-Jacques Dessalines, one of Louvertures' generals, who was known to be a fine war strategist. After more than ten years of war between the revolution army of Saint-Domingue and France, Napoleon surrendered his soldiers in December 1803. In January of the next year, Dessalines and his men declared independence, making their revolution the only slave revolution in history leading to the creation of an independent state. The new nation gave their country its original indigenous appellation: *Haiti*.

Winning the war was not the end of sorrows for the new freed-slaves nation which faced many challenges. First, the political elites in charge of the state's affairs after 1804 were mainly generals and landowners who did not have the necessary knowledge to build a new society and economy. Second, Dessalines had ordered to kill all French people in Haiti after the war, which left the country without planters and investors. Moreover, the conditions that led to the gain of independence had created complex conflicts within the country and a situation of isolation with other nations. Indeed, colonial powers were not willing to recognize the independence of the new slaves-emancipated nation, having themselves colonies to exploit. Adding to the economic crisis of this new state, France imposed a debt of 50 million francs on Haiti to be recognized as a nation (Étienne, 2007).

Dessalines's new state tried to build an economy in this difficult context. Haiti's main resources had always been the land, but its exploitation was a source of conflict and inequalities in the post-colonial nation. The former freedmen believed they were the legitimate owners of the colony's properties. Dessalines decided the land should serve all Haitians and made it public property. Therefore, the state was responsible for managing its exploitation and became the source of inequalities in society. Generals who had contributed to winning the war were given large habitations. As the state did not have the capital to invest in agriculture, action leasing was used to divide the territory between investors. One quarter of harvests was divided between the farmers and land workers as a salary. Half the harvest went to the landowner and the manager. The last quarter was a tax for the state. This economic organization was the root of social stratification and contributed to building the unequal society still prevalent in Haiti (Étienne, 2007).

Dessalines was killed in 1806 and Haiti was devised between two rebel generals: Alexandre Pétion who became president of the southern part, and Henri Christophe who governed in the North. While Pétion was seen as a benevolent dictator who led progressist reforms for peasants, Christophe led a strict rule preserving forced labor and building a strong economy in the North (Girard, 2010). The country was reunified in 1820 when Henri Christophe died. The following century was characterized by division, fight for power and military coups escalating till the American occupation (Étienne, 2007).

In 1915, the United States (U.S.) invaded Haiti to protect their commercial interests which were threatened in the climate of chaos and anarchy. They privatized the national bank, reintroduced

forced labor and trained the military. While members of the U.S. government described their invasion as a benevolent act to help modernize this backward country their presence was rejected by most Haitians (Farmer, 2006). Although they did build infrastructures like roads and hospitals, U.S. troops also killed several thousands Haitians who revolted against this invasion. Claiming to work for the modernization of the country, Americans reinstalled the old social stratification, consolidating the mulatto oligarchy with whom they could control the Haitian economy. Black people were left outside power in the following years, preparing the ground for the acceptance of Duvalier's racial politics against the mulatto class (Trouillot, 1990).

2.2.3 The Duvaliers' dictatorship

François Duvalier, also known as Papa Doc, was elected in 1957 after a political campaign based on *Noiriste* ideology, which mainly defended the idea that the black mass should regain power from the mulatto class. In 1964, he was proclaimed president for life and gave himself the right to choose his successor. Therefore, his son Jean-Claude became president after François's death in 1971. Jean-Claude, nicknamed Baby Doc, led Haiti until 1986 when he was forced to renounce his rule and leave the country (Girard, 2010).

Literature about the Duvaliers' dictatorship encompasses different discourses. While an important body of authors characterizes this regime as oppressive and violent, some still support the idea that the anti-duvalierist propaganda exaggerated and fantasized what happened. For example, Marcel d'Ans argues that the mulatto oligarchy contributed to diabolizing Papa Doc and his son to regain power (d'Ans, 1987).

Nonetheless, according to Michel Rolph Trouillot, what Papa Doc and Baby Doc imposed on the Haitian people was worse than dictatorship. Their way of governing does correspond to the two main features of dictatorships: power concentration and the direct use of violence by the state on its citizen. However, the ways by which they used racist ideologies and violence to divide population is particular to this case (Trouillot, 1990).

Fançois Duvalier used the Noiriste ideology claiming that black Haitians had cultural specificities, so only a black person could lead the country to represent the black majority. Péan (2010) characterizes Duvalier's Noiriste ideology as Nazi and condemns how Duvalier used voodooism and aspects of the culture to dissociate ''black Haitians'' from ''other Haitians''. Reducing Haiti's complex oppression patterns to the question of race was a way for Papa Doc to divide the people.

He convinced Haitians of darker skin that the mulatto class was the source of their problems to strengthen his power and justify his totalitarian regime (Péan, 2010).

François Duvalier created a governmental militia, commonly known as the Tontons Macoutes. While the formal mission of this militia was law enforcement, they mainly supported the Duvaliers totalitarian regime by eliminating all threats, fictitious or real. In fact, the Tonton Macoutes' militia imposed terror all around the country as they tortured and killed suspected opponents of the government. The Duvaliers' violent regime built a strong hegemony by eliminating all sources of criticism. Papa Doc's truth quickly became the truth and his son perpetuated the same oppressive measures. They justified their totalitarianism by saying that the black class had turned against the mulatto class the weapons they had developed (Péan, 2010).

Statistics and ''facts'' about Haiti under the Duvaliers are hard to retrieve, as there was no freedom of press to document events and no free organizations to collect data. For example, the number of people murdered by the Duvaliers' militia is estimated between 30 000 and 50 000 but the exact quantity of political prisoners that were executed or died from starvation in prisons is still unknown. Haitian intellectuals warn against the tendency to forget the consequences of dictatorship. In *Haïti; De la dictature à la démocratie?* a collective of Haitian authors reflected on how to treat the memory of the 1957-1986 period. Various essays brought different ideas on how to transmit ''facts'' on historical events of a time marked by propaganda and the absence of free media to document what happened (Cénatus, 2015). Even international media were biased in how they treated Haiti's reality because powerful countries, like the United States, supported the Duvaliers when it served their interest (Farmer, 2006).

Wein Weibert Arthus argues that the Duvaliers dictatorship could not have lasted 29 years without the support or tolerance of the international community. Powerful countries let their own geopolitical interests surpass the best interest of Haitians (Arthus, 2015). Moreover, Farmer claims that Jean-Claude Duvalier's political actions were well supported by USAID. Of course, this aid came with neoliberal conditions like the interdiction of workers union and worker wages at 14 cents an hour. These measures favored the agro-export and manufacture industries driven by Haitian cheap labor to the commercial advantage of the U.S. (Farmer, 2006).

The Haitian economy started to struggle drastically in the 1980s, and a shortage of basic food items pushed people to start taking to the streets for revindication. Jean-Claude Duvalier's marriage with

a light-skinned woman from the bourgeoisie, Michèle Bennett, contributed to his unpopularity. In 1985, the presidential couple's luxurious lifestyle and the increasing economic crisis led to demonstrations in most Haitian big cities. Baby Doc's response was very violent, but open shooting on protesters did not stop the people who were asking for Duvalier's resignation. The regime's obvious violations of human rights forced the U.S government to condemn Jean Claude, even though he had been their commercial ally. On February 7th, 1986 Duvalier finally obeyed to popular pressure and left the country for France with his wife and family (Trouillot, 1990).

During the 30 years of their governance, the Duvaliers used violence against intellectuals who criticized them, and eliminated any potential political opponents. These people were either killed, silenced or they left the country. Therefore, the Haitian democratic transition was deprived of many potential contributors to its success (Étienne, 2007).

2.2.4 Democratic transition

Jean Claude Duvalier left behind a country in chaos with many victims wanting revenge from the Tonton Macoute militia. The army became the main organized actor to deal with the precarious situation. Washington created a National Council as an interim government. Under the control of the army, this National Council wrote the Haitian constitution of 1987, which is still in force today (Podur, 2016).

Between 1986 and 1990, violence persisted through military coups and instability was at its paroxysm with five governments in four years. Some of the protesters who pushed Jean-Claude Duvalier to resign created a popular pro-democratic movement called Lavalas. They demanded more justice for marginalized groups and a truly democratic government to stop violence and military despotism. The leader of this group, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, was a Catholic priest and proponent of liberation theology. Aristide was elected president of Haiti twice and led the country from 1994 to 1996 and from 2001 to 2004 (Podur, 2016).

He was elected president the first time in 1991 with a 67% majority, but his governance was interrupted by a military coup a few months after he had entered office. During the short period when Aristide led the country, he started to dismantle the army and was about to put in place socialist and protectionist measures, but the military coup stopped him before he could achieve anything. Aristide went to the United States for three years before Washington re-established his government in 1994 with a military intervention. Podur (2016) argues that Aristide had to negotiate

strongly the support of this powerful country and he promised to work in line with American interests to be re-established as president. Nonetheless, Aristide resisted the international pressure to adopt the IMF's structural adjustment programs. Thus, the U.S. reduced drastically its aid fund to Haiti (Podur, 2016).

Violence related to drugs and gangs increased drastically under Aristide. First, he dismantled the army, which left soldiers unemployed. Most former soldiers were hired by the police or private security companies, but some joined criminal gangs. Second, Aristide's security manager, Dany Toussaint, organized pro-government armed groups to shut down the opposition. Toussaint also opened the country to drug trafficking and took advantage of police corruption to build a personal fortune (Étienne, 2007). While most commenters acknowledge that Aristide was involved in, or at least aware of what Toussaint did, some argue that he was naïve and did not support these illegal activities (Podur, 2016).

At the end of Aristide's term, there were important ideological conflicts within the Lavalas party, so he created a new one called Fanmi Lavalas. In 1996, René Préval won the elections with OPL, Aristide's former party. Préval's presidency was seen as a continuity of corruption, anarchy and destruction of what was left of state institutions (Étienne, 2007).

Aristide was elected again in 2001. Between the pressures from the international community, the ex-military groups wanting power and a corrupted state, Haiti remained in a precarious situation during Aristide's second presidency. In 2004, Aristide left the country in an American airplane before the end of his term. According to Podur (2016), two conflicting discourses explain what happened in Haiti under Aristide. In the first one, put forward by the international community and mainstream media, the elected president became a dictator and left the country because of popular pressure. In the second discourse, national and international actors worked to destabilize Aristide's government so it could be overthrown. This idea is defended by Aristide's supporters and a few independent media;

2.3 History of education in Haiti

The first schools built in Haiti were religious schools that educated exclusively French colonizers and, eventually, their mulatto children. After independence in 1804, Dessalines and the following leaders had to build all institutions of the new state. Unfortunately, the new statemen built an

education system based on the French model, making national schools mostly for the elite and perpetuating oppression. (Joint, 2006) In 1860, religious schools became more numerous in Haiti, as the state signed a concordat with the Vatican allowing congressional schools to come educate what would become the new Catholic elite. Students from higher social classes left the national schools to join Catholic institutions. Religious schools have been an important provider of education until today and they are still considered the most prestigious institutions (Salmi, 2000).

2.4 Education in Haiti today

Haiti's education system is characterized by the state inability to provide free public education to more than ten percent of all students (WorldBank, 2015). While in many countries it is the rich who choose to go to private schools, in Haiti it is often not a choice but a burden. Indeed, most families live in extreme poverty and they have to spend part of their income on school fees.

Ninety percent of students do not have access to public school, and have to choose between private ones depending on what they can afford. According to the World Bank, more than 200,000 children cannot access any schools, public or private (WorldBank, 2015). Most families can only afford the so -called ''écoles borlettes'' which can be translated as ''lottery schools'' because children have the same chances of winning the lottery as graduating from these schools. This reveals the very low quality of these cheap schools. Some children have the opportunity to go to free public or NGO schools. Wealthier family can afford the prestigious and expensive religious schools and international schools which gives them better chances of accessing higher education (Salmi, 2000). This marketization of education leaves the state with few means for regulating private schools.

In the latest report on the right to education, the UN encourages the Haitian government to have better control and knowledge of the private sector in education. The numerous ''écoles borlettes'' that function without following state's regulations are one of the causes for having a large number of students who attend school without ever graduating. The Haitian Ministry of education does not use school mapping for ensuring equal access to schools in all zones, which leaves many children outside of the school system. The UN general assembly's main recommendation was to ensure the quality of free education for all in order to eradicate illiteracy (Assembly, 2011).

2.5 Education reform and Operational Plan

Since the 1980s, the Haitian state has produced three major documents to restructure the education system. In 1982, the Réforme Bernard reintroduced Creole as the second official language of education along with French. One major objective of this reform was for students to be bilingual at the end of their formal education. French kept its importance, as it stayed the teaching language of most subjects in secondary school. The introduction of Creole in primary schools enhanced the chances of peasant children to access basic literacy. However, the lack of textbooks in Creole and the lack of financial resources have made the implementation of the reform difficult (TEH, 2012).

In 1997 a new plan was elaborated to continue the efforts started in the Réforme Bernard, and ensure all Haitians access to quality education. The *Plan National d'Éducation et de Formation* (PNÉF) focused on increasing access to public schools, and strengthening the governance of the education sector to ensure quality. Again, financial means were insufficient to implement the reform properly (TEH, 2012).

Then came the *Operational Plan 2010-2015* adopted by the Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale et la Formation Professionnelle (MENFP) which is Haiti's Ministry of Education. This plan extended the same objectives as the previous two; improving the quality of education and access to it. Moreover, it introduced a reform of secondary education, shifting the pedagogical stance from a knowledge-based approach to a competency-based approach. This reform called Nouveau Secondaire (New Secondary School) was first introduced as a trial programme in 158 schools for seven years. In 2015, the government decided to implement it officially. This *New Secondary School* reform restructured the curriculum, adding new subjects and modifying the pedagogical programme. One hour a week is now dedicated to citizenship education, and democratic citizenship should be present across the new programme as expressed by the MENFP:

> *[…] integrate* dimension of training in civic life that can be useful, in relation to the current stage of society's evolution to building democracy and the rule of law in Haiti insofar as it aims for the training of men and women capable of functioning as citizens concerned with their rights and duties and capable of applying the rules of the democratic game. *(Ministère de l'Éducation et la Formation Professionnel, 2015)*

This passage of the Operational Plan demonstrates the value the MENFP gives to education in building a modern democratic society.

As exposed in the historical background, building democracy has always been a challenge in Haiti. Education has historically contributed to perpetuating oppression by excluding the peasant masses of the school system. Now, the ministry wants to integrate citizenship education as a tool for building democracy and the rule of law in Haiti. It is hard to implement this reform equally, as there are still many inequalities between the different types of private and public schools. Moreover, the weak institutions affect the implementation of the new education reform. Therefore, it is relevant to explore public school students and teachers' views on the opportunities and obstacles to building an education system that enhances democratic citizenship. To do so, I use a conceptual framework that situates democracy, education and their potential relationship. These theories are presented in the next chapter.

3. Conceptual framework

The analysis of findings requires a conceptual framework that explores both conceptions of democracy and processes of learning. First, I expose what conception of democracy is discussed in the context of this research. Second, the modernist vision of the link between education and development is explored, as it has influenced the development of education in Haiti. Then, Biesta's theory of education for democracy is presented, followed by Paulo Freire's theory of education for liberation. These theories are important to analyze the relationship between education and democracy. I also present elements of sociocultural theory that were used to analyze knowledge construction. Lastly, critical pedagogy and sociocultural theory are linked to understanding how teachers can be mediators of meaning creation using historicity.

3.1 Defining democracy

Defining what democracy means in the context of this research is essential, as this concept is polysemic and often contested. While democracy is framed differently in distinct discourses, some elements are recurrent in mainstream definitions. First, the government should be elected by the majority, which implies a notion of representation. Elected representatives are expected to work for the best interest of their electors. Second, there must be a concern for the protection of minorities which are less likely to be represented (Davies, 1999). Yet, the very notion of democracy as inherently good and desirable for all societies is contested. Historical use of democracy to introduce Western hegemony and defend the interest of powerful countries made democracy appear as another tool for Western imperialism. Therefore, the discourses around democracy are not foreign to the broader modernist-postmodernist debate (Davies, 1999).

In this research, I depart from a modernist vision of democracy, which would assume that imposing Western democracy is always desirable and necessary for countries of the South to become modern. When addressing democracy, I refer to what could be called participative or thick democracy. Biesta (2011) argues that democracy should not be a mere aggregation of preferences but it should rather involve true deliberation. People must engage in debates led by reason, which focus on ideas that have the best logic and not necessarily those supported by more people. Democracy is about active participation of critical citizens and not only about electing

representatives (Biesta, 2011). Carr, Pluim and Thésée (2014) call this conception thick democracy, it requires for citizens to be conscious of power relations within their society, and understand who gains from them and which groups become more vulnerable. In thick democracy, citizens are able to see possibilities for change, and to use their rights for more social justice. Without resistance, existing injustices tend to exacerbate (Carr, Pluim, & Thésée, 2014). This is particularly relevant in the Haitian context because democracy could become a tool to address social inequalities. Defining democracy also implies defining who are ''the people'' who deserve representation. In this study, students are considered active subjects, already able to enact their citizenship, but not all actors in education and democracy adhere to this idea. Denying students already existing citizenship affects the way democracy is experienced and taught in schools (Davies, 1999).

3.2 Links between education and development in a modernist or post-modernist framework

According to Apple, the conservative modernization tendency in education led to reforms geared towards neoliberal interests that served the market economy by producing good workers and reproducing inequalities (Apple, 2014). Modernization theory is also aligned with a human capital approach to education, in which the rationale to invest in education is economical. In this school of thought, qualified workers with specific skills are seen as necessary assets to develop a strong modern economy and a democratic society (Tikly & Barrett, 2011). Some even argue that democracy is not possible without Western modernization (Harber & Mncube, 2012). On the other hand, many authors claim that democratic schooling should question the ontological foundations of education and schools' role in developing democracy (Apple, 2014; Tikly & Barrett, 2011). Educators should constantly reflect on education's goals and what is the best way to achieve them (Apple, 2014).

This position is much closer to a post-modernist tradition as it challenges the modernist hegemony. Postmodernist thinkers have heavily criticized the vision of development centered on economic growth and Western hegemony. Nevertheless, the idea that education should contribute to the emergence of a modern economy is still present in global education documents (Apple, 2011). It

is also present the Haitian MENFP's Operational Plan, which is likely to influence how democratic citizenship is taught and learned in Haitian schools.

The MENFP modernist vision of education also favors a Western epistemology in terms of curriculum content. Anders Breidlid (2013) describes how Western epistemology became hegemonic in countries of the South in the name of development and modernization. The othering of non-Western cultures and knowledge have presented them as inferior which, till this day, have kept them outside formal education systems in many countries. Traditional knowledge is considered unscientific, which justifies its exclusion from schools.

Breidlid's dichotomy between Western and traditional knowledge systems is relevant in the Haitian context because cultural elements specific to Haiti, like voodooism, are excluded from schools. This creates a gap between the kind of knowledge valued in schools and students' everyday experiences.

Breidlid argues that indigenous knowledge must regain its central position in the learning process, as it is part of how students experience the world. Breidlid refers to indigenous knowledge not only in a minority context but as knowledge produced in a specific historical context outside of specific procedures. The co-existence of Western and indigenous knowledge requires a call for modesty regarding the truth assumptions carried by Western hegemony since the Enlightenment. What students learn in schools should no longer refer only to Western epistemology, as it often disregards their own cultural worldviews. For example, religious ceremonies, rituals and practices often play important roles in indigenous knowledge systems but are diminished in Western hegemony as non-scientific. The exclusion of indigenous knowledge from formal education influences power relations, as those with non-traditional culture have the advantage of being raised in the valued form of knowledge (Breidlid, 2013). Questioning Western hegemony is relevant when discussing education for democracy. Indeed, today's democracy was mostly born as a European idea, adopted as the best political system worldwide.

3.3 Educating for democracy; theoretical perspectives

Perceptions of the role education must play in democratization are also diverse and contested, as they are closely linked to how democracy itself is defined. According to Carr, an education for thick democracy puts emphasis on critical engagement, social justice, and relations between

humans and the environment. Most importantly it should not avoid difficult debates about power relations but encourage critical reflection and discussion (Carr et al., 2014).

3.3.1 Biesta; educating through democracy

Biesta (2011) argues that a shift in perspective about the relationship between education and democracy is needed to understand students' democratic citizenship and enhance their democratic learning. The Haitian MENFP implemented a new reform including a citizenship education course and putting emphasis on the transversal value of education for democracy. Therefore, Biesta's ideas on the relationship between education and democracy can be useful to inform the implementation of this new reform.

While recent policies and research have focused on citizenship education as an opportunity to gain knowledge about democracy, it is through all democratic experiences that students enact their citizenship and learn from it. Therefore, Biesta suggests that students should learn democracy through experiences and in context instead of being taught notions related to citizenship. Learning democracy is not exclusive to the school environment as young people experience it through the social, economic, cultural and political conditions of their lives. According to Biesta, learning democracy is possible through the students' analysis of their own potential citizenship and actions in their environment. Civic learning is thus cumulative because what is learned through experiences is used in later democratic situations. However, it should not be seen as a linear process, going from not-yet-citizens to fully-fledged-citizens (Biesta, 2011).

Political existence is central in Biesta's conception of democratic citizenship. It refers to Hannah Arendt's concept of Vita Activa and the importance of action through which one does not only reflect on the world but act upon it (Biesta, 2007). For Arendt, plurality is essential for action and it entails two core aspects; equity and distinction. Without equity, social beings cannot understand each other and act in the social world, and without distinction, there is no need to communicate to understand each other. Through action, humans communicate themselves and bring their beginning to the world. Their beginning corresponds to their individual vision, ideas and actions. Words and action reveal one's individuality and all individualities put together form the plurality of the world through which society can evolve (Arendt, 1959). Using Arendt's notions of plurality and action, Biesta argues that schools should be a space that makes political existence possible.

This means acknowledging the diversity of students' points of view and experiences while encouraging them to bring their beginning to the world. Political existence occurs when students can communicate their situated vision, analyze their personal opinion through dialog and eventually take actions (Biesta, 2007). While some think that moral values like tolerance and respect make sharing the world with others possible, Biesta argues that it is existing politically with others that brings about these moral values (Biesta, 2010).

Finally, Biesta emphasizes that political existence is not a stage to reach, and one should learn from it at any stage of life. There is no need to wait for students to be ready for political existence or prepare them for it, as it would deny their own subjectivity and the various experiences they live every day in this world of diversity (Biesta, 2010). Policies should not perpetuate the individualistic approach which aims at producing a ''good citizens'' with certain kind of moral values for democracy to emerge in a common identity. Political subjectivities are not a pre-condition to be developed before democracy can take off; the political existence of students is what democratic citizenship is about (Biesta, 2011). For Biesta, learning to live with others in a world of plurality is essential to contribute to the evolution of society and its constant political reorganization. Schools should play a transformative role in society by allowing for future generations to find new solutions and better ways of life unforeseen by present and past generations (Biesta, 2007).

3.3.2 Paulo Freire and critical pedagogy

Almost 50 years after the publication of *Pedagogy of the oppressed*, Freire's conception of education is still challenging and has a transforming potential of the place education occupies in societies (Beckett, 2013). Sometimes reduced to a technical dialogical method, liberating education is much more, as it intends to transform oppression systems by bringing the oppressed to be critical towards their situation and reflect on how to change it. Oppression is central to Freire's philosophy and he defines it as an act that prevents an individual or a group to be fully human; to be free to make one's own decisions. Therefore, the educational project itself cannot be designed for the oppressed, it has to come from them. Freire warns against the negative impacts of banking education in which the teacher presents reality as if it is static and predictable. In this practice, students only listen and memorize the perception of reality exposed by their educator.

Banking education dehumanizes learners and prevents them from being critical. This kind of education contributes to perpetuating oppression systems. (Freire, 1972).

Freire proposes to adopt a dialogical method instead of banking education. Dialog is concerned about naming the world in order to transform it. By reflecting on perceived reality, oppressed groups can discern the hegemonic myths established by the dominants and act to challenge them. Dialog must occur in the praxis and should not remain theoretical. In the problem-posing method, discussion might happen on the theoretical level, but the matter of discussion is the concrete context of students lives. Through dialog, students become subjects, they produce their own ideas and act upon them instead of consuming others' vision of the world. The teacher acts as a mediator and a co-investigator by posing problems which push the learning community to de-codify reality. In Freire's practice, he acted as mediator for oppressed Brazilians in favelas, linking their everyday challenge to broader socio-political oppressive patterns. This process of conscientization can be challenging and unpleasant for the oppressed as they have often internalized the oppressors and their worldview. This internalized oppression happens when students have come to believe their oppressors' reality to be true. This process is pervasive in many aspects of society as the oppressors use institutions to expand their hegemony. Freire gives the example of peasants who have come to believe that they are lazy, unable to learn because they have heard these words coming from the oppressor (Freire, 1972).

Freire's analysis of oppression is particularly relevant in Haiti, as social inequalities are a major concern, especially in the education system. More importantly, Freire proposes solutions like critical pedagogy and conscientization which could inform efforts made with the new education reform. Indeed, a new competency-based approach encourages teachers to quit the traditional ways of teaching which were very close to Freire's banking education. Before the reform, students had to learn information by heart, and teachers gave their own knowledge. Now, students have to develop their competencies and teachers should create the conditions for learners to acquire knowledge. This new method is closer to Freire's dialogical teaching as teachers are mediators of knowledge. They encourage students to be active and build their competencies.

3.3.3 Sociocultural theory

Sociocultural theory was first elaborated by Lev Vygotsky who stressed the importance of social mediation in the learning process. Vygotsky linked the psychological and social levels of learning

by looking at how culturally constructed artifacts influence cognitive activities. This link is crucial in the context of this research which investigates the social origins of informants' experiences and how it affects their democratic citizenship. The way Haitian students and teachers perceive democracy and education can be analyzed as a product of their social practices in their specific socio-material and socio-economic context.

Vygotsky uses the concept of artifacts to illustrate how tools of meaning construction are passed from one generation to the other. Artifacts can be physical or psychological and they can be used by people to transform either nature or themselves. For example, language is one of the most important cultural artifact which people use to understand the world and act in it (Vygotsky, 1978). Sociocultural theory puts emphasis on the fact that language also shapes how different cultures see the world because it influences the cognitive development of children from a very young age (Lantolf, 2000).

According to sociocultural theory, the human mind is shaped by symbolic tools created and transformed through various generations (Lantolf, 2000). Humans' psychological development is embedded in the sociocultural mediation of their environment. Thus, mediating tools are a matter of power as they can lead to both sociocultural reproduction and transformation (Marginson & Dang, 2017). In the context of education for democracy, the historical processes that lead to the emergence of tools or artifacts are a matter of power, as they influence how people perceive democracy and the role they play in this democracy.

Thus, sociocultural theory is particularly relevant to discuss the obstacles and opportunities of an education system that enhances democratic citizenship in Haiti, as the development of such an education system would have to start from learners' experiences. It should address the problems people are facing every day, but also go beyond the mere analysis of people's experiences by providing them with tools that stimulate critical thinking.

3.3.4 Linking sociocultural theory and critical pedagogy

Linking critical pedagogy to sociocultural theory can allow students to develop tools of critical thinking while analyzing their own past experiences and history in general. Gutiérrez and Voussoughi (2017) argue that prolepsis is central to sociocultural theory and critical pedagogy, as they both focus on envisioning the future using history in pedagogies of possibility. Prolepsis refers to imagining a possible future in the present (Gutiérez, 2017). In terms of education for democracy,

prolepsis can occur when students envision future political systems in their present context. While prolepsis is directed by the past through artifacts created by previous generations, the critical analysis of these artifacts opens for creativity in social transformation.

The authors bring sociocultural theory and critical pedagogy together to create a conceptual tool that shed light on what these theories mean in practice. They point out that both Freire and Vygotsky used a dialectical approach through which pedagogical and cultural mediation fill the gap between historical tools and students' subjectivity. Through mediation, cultural-historical activities can expose how oppression is socially constructed through language about race, ethnicity, social practices, etc. On one hand, sociocultural theory contributes to understanding processes of learning such as mediation, historicity, cultural artifacts. On the other hand, critical pedagogy links these learning processes to broader political contexts and provides tools to tackle oppressive patterns (Gutiérez, 2017). In this study, this theoretical perspective can open opportunities for Haitian students to understand their condition better and take actions to reduce inequalities.

Pacheco (2012) gives an example of how mediation of oppressive realities can lead to everyday resistance and creation of new emancipating artifact. Engeström's concept of double bind, is useful to understand how socio-economic inequalities can push the oppressed to create new artifacts (Pacheco, 2012). Double binds refer to situations when contradicting demands are imposed on a group or individuals. These contradictions come from the production and reproduction of artifacts through history and tend to put individuals in a state of need for new artifacts. It sometimes leads to questioning of the system that perpetuates these contradictions (Engestrom & Young, 2001). In a study on Latinx community, Pacheco demonstrates how double binds can push communities to organize and engage in problem-solving activities to face the contradictions of their oppressive situation. For example, some Latinx youths with undocumented legal status had to pay international student tuition fees which they could not afford. This situation contradicted the socio-economic demand to get higher education and improve their economic status. This double bind spurred the community to organize everyday resistance and ask for a change (Pacheco, 2012).

This example is close to the reality of many Haitian students, who often face intersectional inequalities and contradicting demands. Thus, analyzing double binds as possible opportunities for change can be a powerful tool for Haitian students' engagement in their democratic citizenship.

4. Methodology

This chapter presents the methodology used in this study. I first present the research design including the selected strategy, data collection method and sampling method. Secondly, I introduce the study area and present the participants. Then, I explain how data was analyzed through thematic analysis. Finally, I discuss the ethical considerations, trustworthiness and limitations of this research.

4.1 Research design

Qualitative research strategy was chosen for this study as it intended to reveal a holistic view of a situated phenomenon through the expression of research participants' ideas and opinions (Bryman, 2016). Indeed, the objective was to understand how participants defined a polysemic term, democracy, and what they thought about its potential relationship with education. Berg defines qualitative research as seeking ''answers to questions by examining various social settings and the individuals who inhabit these settings. Qualitative researchers are most interested in how humans arrange themselves and their settings and how inhabitants of these settings make sense of their surrounding through symbols, rituals, social structures, social roles and so forth.''(Berg, 1998, p. 8). Doing qualitative interviews and observations were adequate tools to reveal informants' perceptions of education for democracy. These tools were also useful to explore how education for democracy is organized in schools in relation to broader social structures.

The interest of this study was to reveal participants' perceptions as part of their region's complex socio-historical, political and economic specific context. Therefore, a case study design format appeared as the right tool to understand participants points of view on the researched phenomenon, which is embedded in their social world. Indeed, Yin (2003) emphasizes that, in a case study, real-life phenomena must be understood in context because it is highly relevant to the phenomena themselves. The boundaries between the context and the phenomenon are not clear cut and one is likely to affect the other. Multiple sources of evidence are then necessary to understand the phenomenon and its context (Yin, 2003). In the present study, how informants perceived the dynamics surrounding democracy and education was deeply embedded in participants' experiences of education for democracy in their situated context. Having a small number of interviewees in two cities of the South region allowed me to go in depth in the comprehension of

participants' perspectives. The observations in schools and classes allowed for triangulation which is an important feature of case study method according to Yin (2003).

An instrumental case study focuses primarily on the insights a specific case can provide to a broader category of phenomena (Stake, 1994). In this research, schools from the South of Haiti were an instrumental case. They were not chosen because of their intrinsic particularities, but as interesting settings to investigate issues of education for democracy in context.

Using this case to discuss broader questions of dynamics between education and democracy implies my own interpretation as a research and I must acknowledge the implication of the subjective choices I made through the whole research process. I have taken an interpretivist approach in this study which means that I was interested in the ''subjective meaning of social action'' (Bryman, 2016, p. 26). My ontological stance was constructivist, which implies that I was not looking for an objective reality but for processes of meaning construction and social realities as constructed by social actors.

4.1.1 Data collection

The choice of data collection method should reflect the purpose of the study, which in the present case, was to shed light on participants' perception of democracy and its potential relationship with education. Participant observation and semi-structured interviews appeared as the right tools to understand interviewees' social world and how they make sense of it. I first did a few interviews with teachers and observed their class before integrating focus group interviews with students. I first interviewed six teachers and one group of students in Les Cayes. Then I went to Jérémie, where I conducted four focus group interviews with students and eight individual interviews with teachers.

As the initial research question focused on Haitian high school teachers' perception of education for democracy, the research process started with semi-structured interviews with teachers. Qualitative interviews should be flexible so research participants have space to reveal their understanding of their social world and address issues the interviewer might be unaware of (Bryman, 2016). An interview guide[1] helped to address main issues during semi-structured interviews, but the interviewees were free to lead the conversation towards other issues they saw

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[1] Find interview guide in appendix A

as relevant. The first interviews provided useful information about the Haitian education system, which improved the interview guide for subsequent interviews.

The initial research design included only semi-structured interviews with teachers and teaching time observation. During data collection, I witnessed a class discussion about the Duvaliers' dictatorship and realized some students did not believe democracy was good for their country. It became crucial to understand students' and teachers' perceptions of democracy itself before addressing issues of education for democracy. Students showed an interest in sharing their points of view, which encouraged me to add group interviews with them to the initial plan of individual interviews with teachers.

Group interviews with students revealed their perception as main actors in their education and triangulated information given by teachers. The group dynamic favored the confrontation of different opinions amongst students, which provided a better understanding of contentious issues, particularly concerning democracy and dictatorship. Interviewing students in groups was convenient in terms of time efficiency and because students felt more comfortable to discuss with their classmates. It was difficult for many of them to express their ideas in French, so the debate amongst them often shifted to *Creole*, enabling a richer discussion. I could, as the researcher, take a step back to analyze interactions and let them lead the conversation. However, I still used an interview guide as a reminder of general issues I saw as important to understand their opinions about democracy and education.

Apart from group interviews with students and individual semi-structured interviews with teachers, I also did class time observations. I observed 11 classes for about one hour each. The goal was to attend all interviewed teachers' classes, but I unfortunately did not have the opportunity to observe 4 of them, because their class had been canceled or because it was exam period. I observed some teachers' classes before interviewing them, so I could ask questions about what happened in the class during the interview. In other cases, I observed after we had done the interview, which allowed me to pay more attention during observation to phenomena teachers had talked about during the interview. The observations' main purposes were to triangulate participants orally given information, understand better the research context and see how democracy was potentially present in schools. I documented what happened in the classes in field notes. Bryman states that researchers should take field notes based on their observations and defines them as

''fairly detailed summaries of events and behaviors and the researcher's initial reflections on them'' (Bryman, 2016 p.440) I used observation notes to inform further investigation and for the analysis. It is important to note that I attended some teachers while they were teaching in private schools because the public institutions where they were teaching were inaccessible for me with the means of transport I had.

Some useful information for the study was collected informally as I had the opportunity to be immersed in the community. Indeed, I stayed with two families during the seven weeks I was in Haiti. Members of these families became key informants for this research. Indeed, living with children who were in secondary school during data collection allowed me to ask questions about phenomena observed in schools to understand the education system better. I could also discuss with parents the choices they made for their children's education. I learned a lot about Haiti's political situation and the education system through various conversations with people I did not formally interview. This immersion in the social setting draws on ethnographic research's elements, but the short seven weeks length does not correspond to this method, which requires long-term immersion (Bryman, 2016).

4.1.2 Sampling

Bryman states that sampling in qualitative research often refers to purposive sampling, in which units are selected according to their relevance for the research question. In other words, they are not selected randomly but because of the inputs they can bring in the research context (Bryman, 2016).

In a case study, researchers must make a first sampling choice by selecting the context which, in this research, was public schools in the South of Haiti. I chose to conduct my research in public schools because I believe the state should be the duty bearer of the right to education and provide free schooling for all, at least at the primary and secondary level. Therefore, it was relevant to collect perceptions of public school students and give them a voice to discuss their experiences. This first level of sampling can be characterized as purposive and also convenient sampling as the South region was chosen mainly because of its accessibility to the researcher (Berg, 1998).

Purposive sampling methods were also used to select participants. This non-probability form of sampling allowed me to ensure variety in key characteristics of the selected units. Firstly, participants had to be teachers or students who have experienced the public education system in

Haiti. I tried to recruit teachers from different fields, although I was particularly interested in having social sciences teachers, as they were in charge of citizenship education. As for students, I chose to interview learners from the two last years of secondary school, as they were more likely to have engaged in democratic experiences and they had more experiences in the education system. My main concern in terms of diversity was to represent both genders, as females tended to be less inclined to participate, and there were very few women high school teachers. The interviewees explained this phenomenon by saying that women mainly teach at the primary level. Even though I tried to reach gender equality in the teachers' sample, I could find only five female high school teachers willing to participate in the research. Therefore, I interviewed 15 teachers in total; 10 men and 5 women. This sample appeared as the right size because it was large enough to reach data saturation and informational redundancy, but it was not too large for achieving an in-depth analysis in the scope of a master's thesis (Bryman, 2016).

 Three sampling approaches were used to select units: convenience sampling, snowball sampling and generic purposive sampling. The first three units were encountered through convenience sampling, as Haitian friends of mine had given me the email address of three teachers before I went to the field. Seven teachers were selected through snowball sampling, using the first group to find other potential interviewees that had relevant characteristic for the research (Bryman, 2016). Indeed, the three teachers who I had contacted by email helped me by telling their colleagues about the research and encouraging them to participate. The five other teachers were encountered through generic purposive sampling, as I met them while visiting schools.

Because of transport limitations, I had access only to two public schools in Les Cayes and three in Jérémie. Some school visits were planned and others were spontaneous. In both cases, I would introduce the research to the school principal and ask to talk to teachers. On one hand, it was hard to reach the majority of teachers because they all had different schedules and only a few were in the school at the same time. On the other hand, most teachers I had the opportunity to talk to were willing to participate, which made recruiting fairly easy.

Recruiting students for group interviews was also easy, as many of them were eager to share their opinion about democracy and education in Haiti. The first group interview was conducted after I observed a class and spontaneously asked students who had intervened during the class to join me for a discussion. This conversation became an interview because it was so enlightening that I

decided to record it. This first interview with students encouraged me to do more group interviews which were also formed by volunteer students. I explained the research project in different classes and asked who would like to be part of it. Then, I set a time to do the interview with the first five to eight students who expressed their interest.

4.2 Study area and education in Haiti

Les Cayes, with 86 700 inhabitants and Jérémie, with 42 000 inhabitants, are cities comparable to most Haitian middle size cities in terms of population and organization (IHSI, 2015). Haitians tend to make the distinction between Port-au-Prince, the capital city, and the ''pays en dehors'' which refers to other cities and to the countryside. Although the purpose of this study is not to generalize findings, educational challenges are often seen as comparable in areas outside the capital city. Although Jérémie and Les Cayes are cities, they are situated in rural areas is which means that kids from the countryside go to schools in these cities when they can afford it. Also, teachers from the city often have to teach in rural schools of the area.

Figure 2: Map of Haiti
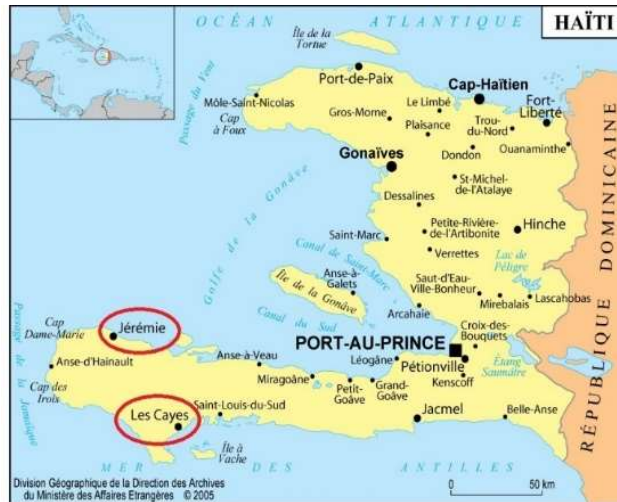
Source : Division Géographique de la Direction des Archives des Affaire Étrangères

The Haitian education system is structured in three levels, starting with preschool education from three to five years old. Preschool is not mandatory and is accessible to a very small portion of privileged families. Then, there is a mandatory primary education for kids of six to fourteen years old. Finally, teenagers should go to secondary schools for three years from 15 to 18 years of age (UNICEF, 2011).

According to the World Bank, only 10% of Haitian students attend public schools (WorldBank, 2015). The majority of private schools are managed without following the Ministry's regulations. Except for a few expensive private schools, the education provided is of poor quality, leading to a high failure rate. Although education is mandatory from 6 years old to the age of 12 in theory, 12% of children in this age group do not attend school. Only 16,6% of students reach 5th grade and 2% finish secondary school, mostly because many teachers are underqualified and students enroll late (UNICEF, 2011).

As students who participated in this research were in the two last years of secondary education, they are part of the small minority that reaches this level of schooling. They were also part of the mere 10% of students who have access to public schools. However, most students who took part in this research thought they were disadvantaged compared to students who could afford expensive private schools.

4.3 Presentation of participants

I had first planned to interview only teachers working in public schools, but I realized in the field that almost none of them taught exclusively in public institutions. The attribution of teaching positions in Haiti is managed by chairs. For example, a teacher can get a contract to teach chemistry in secondary III in a certain school for a year, which would represent around 5 to 10 hours a week depending on the number of students in the school. Most teachers must accept contracts in different schools to make a living, and they often teach in both public and private schools.

Many participants in this research studied in the École Normale Supérieure of Port-au-Prince, which is the main university for teachers' education. The program has slightly changed over the years, but most teachers specialized in one subject and had a few pedagogy and didactic courses. Other interviewed teachers did not study education but graduated from university in another field. As for age, the majority were in their forties and a few were in their thirties. Teachers are presented anonymously to protect them from potential harm following the exposition of their political opinions.

Male social sciences and philosophy teachers:

T1 : Male teacher of French language and social sciences teaching 8th and 9th grade in one girls' public school. He had a bachelor's degree in law and was currently doing a master's degree in education. He stressed the importance of well-qualified teachers as the reason for perusing his studies in the field.

T2 : Male teacher of philosophy who taught in two public schools and one religious private school at the secondary level. He also taught in university and was starting a master in philosophy. Teacher 2 had previously completed a bachelor's degree in École Normal Supérieure and had also studied law at the bachelor's level.

T3 : Male teacher of social sciences that used the new program in secondary three and taught citizenship education. He taught in one girls' religious private school, one rural public school and one urban public school. He studied social sciences at École Normale Supérieure and also completed a master in geography.

T4: Male teacher of social sciences teaching secondary III and IV in one public and two private schools. He studied at École Normale Supérieure.

T5 : Male social sciences teacher who taught from 8th grade to secondary III in two public and two private schools. He studied law and French language at university.

T6 : Male social sciences teacher who taught in one girls' and one boys' public school as well as in 2 private ones. He studied history and geography at École Normale Supérieure.

T7: Male social sciences teacher from 7th grade to secondary 1. He works in one public boys' school and private institutions. He studied law in university and was now pursuing education courses.

Male natural sciences teachers:

T8: This male teacher studied chemistry teaching at École Normale Supérieure. He was now interested in personal development and had reduced his teaching hours to dedicate himself to learning and teaching methods of this field. He still taught chemistry in a public school and also gave classes to nursing students in university. Teacher 8 was particularly engaged in politics as he organized a political conference with youth during my stay. I attended this event during which

students from the last years of high school and from university were asked to express what they hoped for Haiti and bring ideas to ultimately create a political party with a vision for 50 years.

T9: Male teacher of physics who works in a girls' public school and studied at École Normale Supérieure.

T10: Male teacher of physics and chemistry in secondary 1 and 2. He taught in one boys' public school and one private religious school. His path to enter the profession is different, as he first studied electronic engineering and worked in this field for some years. At one point, he turned to teaching because he had no opportunity as an engineer.

Female teachers:

T11: Female principal and former biology teacher who initially studied health sciences. She used to work in hospitals, and turned to education when she was recruited because there was a lack of teacher in her area. She has worked in schools for more than 10 years, first as a teacher and then principal.

T12: Female teacher of experimental sciences who has taught all levels from 7th grade to secondary IV. She is now ''censeur'' for a private school. Her role is to assist the principal, deal with discipline in the school and manage the curriculum of some classes. She studied education sciences at university.

T13 : Female French teacher who teaches French in one religious private girls' school and one rural public school. She studied at École Normale Supérieure.

T14: Female French language teacher who has taught in private high schools for ten years. Before that, she taught one year in a public school. She also teaches at L'école National d'Insitueurs which is a university for future teachers. Teacher 14 is also involved in the ''Alliance Française'' which is an organization that promotes French in Haiti.

T15: Female Spanish teacher in three public schools. She studied Spanish in Dominican Republic and got the opportunity to teach. This teacher was also the owner of a private kindergarten where the first grade was also taught. She started this school with her husband because they saw a lack of preparation for kids to be fluent in French and well-prepared to enter school.

As mentioned in the methodology section, I also added group interviews with students. While teachers did not insist to stay anonymous, some students mentioned concerns about being traced back for what they said. Therefore, I will not give personal information about students as individuals, but about the groups of participants. In general, students who took part in the research were between sixteen and twenty-two years old and they were in the last years of secondary school, secondary III and IV. All group interviews were done with students from public schools.

<u>Groups of students</u>

Group 1: These 6 students were the ones that initiated the group interviews. As explained, they asked interesting questions during the class I observed, which led me to discuss with them to understand their point of view. Therefore, this interview was unstructured, which led to more debates. There were two girls and four boys all from the secondary III, which is the second last year of high school in Haiti. The interview was conducted right after class and lasted around 45 minutes.

Group 2: This interview was conducted with students from a boys' school. After observing the class of teacher 6, I explained my research project and asked if some students were interested to participate. Five students volunteered and I had the opportunity to do the group interview after class. This discussion was semi-structured as I had targeted a few themes to address after the interview with group 1. I spent around 45 minutes discussing with group 2.

Group 3: I arrived early to a girls' school before my interview with a teacher. Therefore, I asked to talk to students to explain my research and schedule a time for a group interview. I was introduced to a secondary III class from which five students accepted to be part of the research. We did the group interview at that time as their teacher was not present and they were sure she or he would not come. It lasted 37 minutes.

Group 4: This group was formed of students in secondary III from a public school where the principal was a pastor. As I went there during the exam period, many students were free. The school staff helped me find students willing to participate. In less than 15 minutes, we had assembled around 5 students. A few minutes after we had started, three more students asked to join the discussion, I accepted them but refused the later ones to keep the context favorable to opinion sharing. We were in a room where it was impossible to close the doors, which was

problematic because some other students tried to enter and see what was happening. This focus group interview lasted 40 minutes.

Group 5: This group was from the same school as group 4, but the 8 students were from the secondary IV class. I thought eight students might be too much, but I accepted them all because we had scheduled a time outside school hour and they had made the effort to come. I had been to their class before to explain the project and invite them. I had emphasized the importance of also having girls but, unfortunately, none came. When we discussed the reasons for the absence of girls, some participants thought girls were less interested in questions related to politics while other boy students said girls had to do house chores when they are not at school. This group interview lasted one hour and fifteen minutes.

4.4 Data analysis method

All recorded interviews were transcribed manually to be later analyzed. I was helped by a Haitian friend to transcribe students' interviews as they happened in Creole. The assistant transcriber was also involved in the data collection process, as she had accompanied me to several schools. She helped me to understand some aspects of the education system and gave me important inputs concerning cultural elements that I was unaware. Therefore, she was a key informant as well as a translator. We agreed that interviews should be translated from Creole to French during the transcription, and that she had to stay as close as possible to the words interviewees had used. This was sometimes hard, as the assistant transcriber felt that she knew the latent meaning of students' words. For the sake of transparency, the assistance transcriber's background and views on issues related to the research are presented in appendix B.

Interview transcription and field notes represented a large textual material for analysis. According to Bryman, qualitative material is not straightforward to analyze and there are no universal rules about how data analysis should be done (Bryman, 2016). This research used primarily thematic analysis but also borrowed elements from narrative analysis. Generic qualitative data analysis approach draws on thematic analysis, as it uses themes as core elements to examine possible links and tension in term of features (Bryman, 2016). Data analysis for this research was conducted by following roughly the stages of generic qualitative analysis in which concepts emerge from various rounds of coding. First, one should be immersed in the data material by reading it thoroughly. Then, the coding process allows for important ideas to come out of the data in the form of concepts

and themes. They are linked to provide a narrative about the data in relation to related literature (Bryman, 2016).

In this research, important ideas were recurrent in the first few interviews and they informed later data collection. While listening to interviews for transcription, concepts started to emerge and this process continued when I started coding the interview transcripts. I first read all the transcripts and wrote brief notes on ideas and impressions. A few concepts emerged from these notes such as ''weak institutions'', ''inequalities between schools'' and ''teacher-student relationship''. During the second round of coding, I analyzed each segment of text to understand what was said, the way it was said and what it meant. Other codes emerged like ''internalized oppression'', ''promotion of values'' and ''neoliberal views of education''. Then, elements associated with important themes were assembled in tables to be further analyzed. The write-up phase finalized the analysis, putting on paper the interpretation of data about each theme.

Elements of narrative analysis were also useful to understand the underlying meaning of some stories that were recurrent in different interviews. Narrative analysis can be applied to interview accounts to emphasize the stories people use to explain events affecting their social world (Berg, 1998). As Bryman states ''With narrative analysis the focus of attention shifts from what actually happened?' to 'how people make sense of what happened' (Bryman, 2016 p.589). In this research, when participants addressed historical events related to dictatorship and democracy, the analysis focused on how they made sense of these events and how it affected their perception of democracy.

4.5 Ethical considerations, trustworthiness and limitations

As the main ideas shared in interviews concerned political opinions, ethical considerations were of high importance. Not harming participants is the basic rule of social research ethics. Harm must be prevented in all its forms in the present and future (Bryman, 2016). Protecting participants from potential harm was a major concern, as the study included students who were not legally major. Although expressing political opinions is now widely accepted in Haiti, all participants were kept confidential. The assistant transcriber signed a confidentiality agreement and data was kept in devices with password to ensure no one else accessed it. Furthermore, the informed consent of participants was ensured.

Researchers should always ensure that participants freely give their informed consent, which entails providing them with enough information to decide if they want to be part of the study or not (Bryman, 2016). Letters explaining the research were sent to schools' principals before going to Haiti. The objective of the research was explained to all participants and oral consent was given prior to any recording or observation. It is important to note that student participants were between 15 and 22 years old, as interviewing or observing younger children would have required obtaining parents' consent.

Trustworthiness

In qualitative research, quality can be assessed in terms of trustworthiness using four criteria; credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. Credibility refers to the confidence that findings are faithful to the participants' social worlds (Bryman, 2016). Respondent validation is a good tool to ensure credibility. Unfortunately, time and communication constraint did not allow for participants to read the findings and confirm or infirm their credibility. However, triangulation enhanced the study's credibility as data collected through individual interviews, group interviews and observation could be compared to get a more holistic view. Regarding transferability, I paid particular attention to providing thick description of the social context. As I took an interpretivist stance, I acknowledge that these descriptions correspond to my interpretation of events.

On one hand, the fact that I, as a researcher, was not part of the studied culture limited the comprehension of certain cultural aspects. On the other hand, the immersion in the research context during the seven weeks of fieldwork and the help of the assistant researcher contributed to more detailed and accurate descriptions of the cases. An audit trail was kept through a research log, various notes, all interview records and transcripts so the findings could be assessed in terms of dependability. Audit trail could also be used for readers to evaluate confirmability. Being truthful to the views expressed by participants was a concern through the whole process of the research, which corresponds to the confirmability criterion of trustworthiness according to Bryman (2016). Despite all efforts to produce a research as trustworthy as possible, this study has still many limits that should be addressed.

<u>Limitations</u>

First, language was often limiting, as participants' mother tongue was Creole and I did not master this language. Scheyvens describes knowledge of the local language as a central concern when doing fieldwork in foreign countries. While language fluency can allow for richer and more nuanced data, ignorance of the local language can lead to ''inappropriate or even invalid data'' (Scheyvens & Storey, 2003, p. 135) As my first language is French, I could understand most of what was said and quickly learned to express myself. However, I did not access the subtleties of the language enough to recognize latent meaning and this might have affected the way the interviews with students were conducted because they happened in Creole. As mentioned, this led to more participant-led discussions, which brought another perspective. For transcription, I was dependent on the assistant transcriber to translate the Creole interviews. Her possible subjectivity in the choice of words for the translation cannot be denied and it adds a layer of interpretation not controlled by the researcher. Moreover, some meaning can have been lost or transformed when transcribing quotes that were used to present the results. Indeed, I also translated to English the participants' quotes used to illustrate the findings. Therefore, I added the quotes in French appendix C for the reader to see informants' exact words.

Another limitation was the difficulty to find safe and efficient means of transport. This limited the choice of schools possible to visit. Unfortunately, I did not manage to reach rural secondary schools, and the main criteria for selecting schools was their accessibility.

My own weaknesses as a researcher are also accountable for the study's limitations. Indeed, this was my first research experience. Self-analysis of my interviewer behaviors through the research log and the listening of interviews made me realize I sometimes asked leading questions or missed opportunities to ask follow-up questions on important issues. Finally, the master's thesis context did not allow for enough time to do many rounds of interviews and investigate issues discovered through the analysis. More rounds of coding could have also deepened the analysis if time had allowed.

5. Results and analysis

In this chapter, the results are presented and analyzed in relation to the conceptual framework. Results are divided into four sections to answer the three empirical research questions. The third empirical question was separated into two sections, addressing democratic experiences and inequalities distinctly for more clarity. First, I present teachers' and students' perceptions of democracy and its application in Haiti. Second, I investigate how informants perceived the relationship between education and democracy. Then, participants' experiences of education for democracy are explored. Lastly, I expose how social inequalities affect democratic experiences.

5.1 Teachers' and students' perceptions of democracy and its application in Haiti

Teachers and students seemed to have a common theoretical understanding of democracy that contradicted their practical understanding of the concept. In other words, what they thought democracy was on paper did not fit how they experienced it in Haiti. They often referred to the comparison between dictatorship and democracy to expose how deficient the democratic system was in their country. This section will firstly present informants' general perception of democracy, and then how they saw its application in Haiti. Finally, I analyze how the comparison between the Duvaliers' dictatorship and the following democratic governments tinged participants' perception of democracy.

5.1.1 Interviewees' general conception of democracy

The main idea shared by interviewees was that democracy should be ''power of the people''. Both students and teachers referred to the Greek etymology of the word to define the concept, saying that demos means ''the people'' and kratos is ''power''. When going deeper into what this meant, participants mostly referred to power through representation. Other important elements of how they defined democracy were freedom of speech, rights and duties held by citizens and democracy as a tool to achieve development.

<u>Democracy as representation</u>

Interviewees often referred to elections when discussing what democracy meant to them. Many teachers and student informants emphasized that being free to choose representatives was a core element of the democratic system. When asked if democracy was present in schools, participants referred to the class committee and its election. This shows that democracy is associated with representation not only at the national level but also in schools and committees.

<u>Rights and duties</u>

Participants stressed that citizens of democratic countries have rights and duties. The right to free education was the most discussed one in the context of this study. Indeed, the Haitian constitution protects the right to, at least, free primary education. However, the state provides this service for merely ten percent of the population (WorldBank, 2015). Even though many basic rights are denied in Haiti, participants still insisted that citizens must honor their duties and respect rules. All citizens should respect Haitian laws as female teacher number 12 expresses: ''Democracy is being free while respecting the law''(T12) Quote 1 [2]

The constitution was central for informants, as it ensures all citizens certain rights and counterpart duties. Teacher three, a male social sciences teacher, presented it as the foundation of the Haitian democracy. However, many informants deplored that even Haitian politicians do not respect the constitution.

<u>Freedom of speech</u>

 The access to freedom of speech was one of the most important gains for Haitians with the fall of the Duvalier's dictatorship. Two teachers expressed the impact of this gain by pointing out that discussing the political system in a research context would have never been permitted under Duvalier. In all interviews, freedom of expression was perceived as central to democracy:

> Today I can say my opinion about Jovenel Moses like that, however, in the time of Duvalier, I could not do that. […] That's why, really the democratic acquis is there. The only one that is more palpable, the most true is the freedom of expression. (T10) Quote 2

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[2] Find translation of all quotes in appendix 2

A few informants argued that freedom of speech should be controlled and we should not let people say whatever they think about the country's leaders, but the majority saw freedom of expression as a wealth.

<u>Democracy as a way towards development</u>

Some participants saw democracy as a tool that nations should use to achieve development. A student from group 4 made the correlation clear: ''Democracy is a system we use to allow people to live a better life.'' (Student G4) Quote 3

The idea of development and getting out of poverty is central for most Haitians, who are constantly concerned about the miserable situation of their country. They look for ways to improve their life's conditions in any political system. Some informants saw in democracy the potential to achieve development goals while respecting the will of the people. It was emphasized that democratic development should evolve for the common good.

However, participants stated clearly that democracy, as it is applied in Haiti, would have to evolve in a different way if it were to foster equitable development. The way they described the democratic situation of their country is far from their ideal description of democracy. When asked if Haiti is a democratic country, a student from group 5 answered: ''On paper I would say yes, but in reality, it's no.'' (Student G5) Quote 4

5.1.2 Interviewees' perception of democracy in Haiti

Interviewees' perception of democracy is embedded in the democratic experiences they live in their country. Even though teachers give knowledge in schools about the foundations of democracy and its features as a political system, students learn democracy through their experiences and interactions. Interviewees referred to two main ideas when discussing democracy in their country. First, they expressed that their fellow Haitians did not understand democracy correctly and second, that the Haitian state is not truly democratic.

<u>Misconception</u>

In all interviews, Haitians' misconception of democracy was mentioned at least once. According to participants, the mainstream understanding of democracy in Haiti is that people should be free, but many citizens forget that freedoms have counterpart duties. In other words, most Haitians see democracy as freedom without boundaries. I will expose how this misconception manifests itself

according to participants. Then I will explore the links between Haiti's oppressive history and misconceptions of democracy.

Many interviewees mentioned demonstrations as an example of chaos associated with democracy. In Haiti, protests are common and often violent. People burn tires, the police gets involved and there are even deaths. Some student participants said they disliked demonstrations because they sometimes cannot go to school when they are too frequent and violent. Participants from group 2 said they liked to take actions when they disagree with the government, but they organize walks, not demonstrations, as they associated the latter with violating the law. The opinion of this student from group 4 demonstrate how it contributes to their conception of democracy:

> Protests are really a democratic act… If the people would want to really understand what democracy means, power well exercised, demonstrations could be better for the development of the country. (Student G4) Quote 5

This interviewee later nuanced his words by saying demonstrations intensify and become violent when the state does not address protesters' demands. In that sense, the state also does not respect democracy as interviewees perceive it: power to the people.

Students in focus groups also expressed that their classmates do not understand democracy correctly. One participant from group 5 said he witnessed classmates cheating in exams and claiming they had the right to talk to their peers because they lived in a democratic country. The informant then expressed: '' It is true that they hear about democracy, but they don't know that their rights end where mine begin.'' (Student G5) Quote 6

Many participants claimed other students saw democracy as freedom without boundaries but, in all focus group interviews, I did not find any student defending this idea. One explanation could be that students who participated in this research were more politically aware than other students, as they freely decided to take part which shows a certain interest in democracy. It is also possible that associating democracy with freedom without boundaries is omnipresent in society. Perhaps, people sometimes adhere to this idea, but when they are asked directly about it in a research context, they give a more rational answer closer to what they think democracy should be.

Teacher 5, a male social sciences, had a discourse which seemed to fit the later explanation. He said ''We often say that there are two places where we can't really apply democracy: it is in the

school and in the church. ''(T5) Quote 7 When asked why, he claimed that it would lead to anarchy. However, he later defined democracy as the dictatorship of laws. There is a clash between how he saw the application of democracy in schools and how he later defined it.

According to sociocultural theory, people learn through the mediation of their experiences and this is how they create meaning about their social world (Gutiérez, 2017). If the way democracy is taught in school does not resonate with students' lived experiences, they are likely to retain only how it can be useful to them in their lives. This selective conception might lead to partial understanding of democracy, for example, claiming one's rights without acknowledging the counterpart duties.

History of oppression and misconception

In 1804, Haiti gained its independence after three centuries of colonialism in which slaves were not allowed to express their ideas or make any decisions for themselves. Interviewees saw this colonial legacy as one of the reasons why Haitians do not respect rules when they are not forced to. A student from group 5 stated clearly:

> Nowadays, even, when a Haitian speaks to a compatriot, he would say that it is still blood of the slave that flows in our veins. In other words, one still needs a whip to force a Haitian to do something. That is why most of our comrades in school say that Duvalier's dictatorship was good for the country. '' He then continued: ''Me, I can't say yes [to dictatorship] not even to 50% because a people cannot live with the whip all the time. […] Haitians cannot live in dictatorship because they must be free. (Student G5) Quote 8

Freire's internalized oppression might be a good lens to analyze how Haitians see themselves. For Freire, oppressors' ideas and guidelines are adopted by the oppressed and it becomes part of their identity (Freire, 1972). In the present case, slaves' masters and colonial settlers used the oppressive idea that African slaves were inferior and could not think for themselves. These words were not only taken as true by the slaves of the 16t[h] century, it persisted till today according to teacher 2, who links this internalized oppression with problems of democracy in Haiti:

> This democracy assumes that all men are equal. But in our cultural reality, Haitians come out of slavery. In the depths of themselves do they actually consider themselves equal to all people? Is there not somewhere a certain complex most Haitians who consider

themselves to be inferior. It's a psychological shock, they come out of slavery where they were treated like beasts.'' (T2) Quote 9

In this particularly oppressive historical context, the implementation of democracy was difficult. Participants expressed that democracy is misunderstood partly because the democratic transition did not prepare Haiti's citizens adequately.

> We were suddenly put in a democracy. We should have had a moment of transition before entering this system. It would have been necessary to inculcate these notions, to show how ... so it is as if we are not really aware or well informed enough of what it is, democracy, before entering the system. (T8) Quote 10

In a Freireian perspective, a process of conscientization could have helped the oppressed to emancipate from the oppressors' hegemony and enter democracy (Freire, 1972). Most Haitians experience oppression, and true emancipation would be necessary for them to participate in democracy. It is hard to analyze power relations for more social justice when oppression is internalized. The conscientization process will be addressed in the discussion, as it is essential to enhance democratic citizenship and potentially overcome the dichotomy between the general conception of democracy and its application in Haiti.

Haitian state

Another element that was central to how informants perceived democracy in Haiti was the Haitian state itself. In all interviews, references were made to the deficiency of the Haitian state. Participants tended to blame politicians and the weak institutions for the malfunction of their government. Leaders inspired mostly distrust to interviewees, as their greed for power supersedes their responsibilities. Teacher 2 expressed well this idea defended by many: ''Aristotle defines democracy as taking power and organizing the city. Our politicians do only one aspect, taking power, they leave aside the organization of the city.'' (T2) Quote 11

The leaders of the country, who should be examples, are seen as self-interested and inefficient. Participants mentioned how they make beautiful promises during their campaign and do not honor them once elected. This distrust of politicians sometimes led to a lack of faith in democracy itself. Five teachers admitted not always voting during the elections, either because they did not believe in any candidate or they had no hope that anything would change. The idea that politicians defend

44

their own interests was emphasized in all interviews, and it was often mentioned as a cause of other problems in Haiti. Some informants expressed that people stay in poverty because no matter what plan politicians presented before, once they are elected, they work only for their personal interest and do nothing for the people. Therefore, most informants thought that democracy, as power to the people, was not achieved.

Another major cause of the state deficiency according to interviewees was the weak institutions. Law enforcement was at the core of interviewees' conception of democracy, but the last democratic governments have failed to make laws respected because institutions are too weak. Participants referred to corruption as an example that show the weaknesses of the justice system:

> There is only one thing in Haiti that prevents us from evolving it's corruption. It's corruption! Corruption. The money and the means we have are not going where they should go. We must ensure that we have a system of justice that is reliable. We have to arrest people, we have to jail those who deserve to be imprisoned, and it is not only to judge and imprison, but we have to pay all that money. (T8) Quote 12

Many participants also mentioned how democratic governments are influenced by the international community and the private sector. For example, both students and teachers mentioned that the current president, Jovenel Moise, does not have the power to achieve the electrification project he promised, because his campaign was partly financed by the bourgeoisie. The president's financers have interests in selling electricity and would not agree with providing it for free. Therefore, some participants argued that democracy opens the door to influences from the private sector in public affairs. The president is seen as a façade to create an illusion of power to the people through representation. In other words, state institutions are too weak to prevent the intrusion of the private sector in public affairs. How informants view the Haitian political context echoes Apple's argument that firms are likely to break the states' boundaries in a capitalist system because their survival depends on endless expansion (Apple, 2011).

While many participants associated democracy with weak institutions, they referred to Duvalier's dictatorship as a strong government. Informants tended to express what they disliked about the democratic state in comparison to dictatorship. I will now turn to this comparison that tinged participants' conception of democracy.

5.1.3 Comparing dictatorship and democracy

François Duvalier's dictatorship is still present in discourses about Haitian politics and the memory of this time influenced how participants framed their understanding of democracy. Interviewees mentioned the existence of a certain nostalgia regarding Duvalier's dictatorship that was part of many discussions students had with their teachers and relatives. There is a nuance between François Duvalier, the father, and Jean-Claude, the son, as the former's leadership was stronger according to participants. They mostly referred to Papa Doc's governance when they talked about dictatorship.

Some student participants even argued that dictatorship would be better for Haiti today. Although teachers tended to defend democracy, they agreed that the economy was better under Duvalier. Indeed, no interviewee contradicted this idea, but many still disagreed that dictatorship was favorable because they gave more importance to the gains in terms of political rights brought by democracy. The division between these two points of view was clearer among students, as they were in group interviews which sometimes led to small debates. It would be impossible to quantify the number of students who believed Haiti should go back to dictatorship, as only a few stated this clearly while many agreed that the Haitian population lived in better conditions during this period. Some also thought dictatorship was better but it would be impossible to reimplement:

> Having a dictatorship would not be a good thing for us in this moment because, to reimplement dictatorship, there would have to be many deaths. Because people who protest are stubborn in a way, they don't want to be chained anymore physically or mentally. (Student G1) Quote 13

The comparison between the Duvalierist dictatorship and the following democratic governments is transcendent to many aspects that constitute teachers' and students' conceptions of democracy, so it will be referred to throughout the findings and discussion. However, it is important to first explore the main causes of the omnipresent nostalgia towards dictatorship, namely the perception that the national economy was better and the idea that there was more order in the country under the Duvaliers.

<u>National economy</u>

It was mentioned in all interviews that the national economy has worsened since the arrival of democracy. Participants said Duvalier had been better at securing the economy, because he managed to keep the living cost lower and did not let foreigners own Haiti's economical assets like the following democratic governments. Teacher 2 explained how Duvalier stabilized the prices of foods:

> The Minister of the Economy was doing his job. He did it out of fear. For example, traders could not price products anyhow. Now we are seeing what? We are witnessing anarchy in commerce. Anyone can raise the price of these products without the decision of the state. But Duvalier sent his soldiers to go to the market and observe how much sugar is being sold. He fixes the price of the bag of sugar and we must obey. If someone was selling it at an exorbitant price, the soldiers take the bags of sugar, throw them in the street, waste them and plunder them. It was really frustrating! This is why the dictatorship has its good and bad sides. (T2) _{Quote 14}

First, this quote demonstrates Duvalier's capacity to enforce rules using threats and violence. The interviewee does not say it was good or bad, but acknowledges that it worked to keep prices of products low. This quote also reveals the perception that Papa Doc managed to make functionaries efficient which contributed to the well-functioning of the economy and ultimately society. According to informants the omnipresent fear of the leader also reduced chances of state workers stealing public money. Even though participants acknowledged that the Duvaliers were corrupted, they still believed the two dictators were the lesser of two evils, as this male student from group 1 expressed:

> With dictatorship you are the only master. He [the dictator] can take a quarter of the income and give the rest to the people. But when there are dozens or even twenty people, you have to divide between them. Then there is nothing left for the people. In this case I prefer a dictator who takes a very small part and gives the rest to the people. (Student G1) _{Quote 15}

As mentioned, not all participants had positive perceptions of Duvalier's governance, as some gave more value to political rights and believed a ''good life'' was not possible under the Duvaliers because of the constant tensions and fears. This female student from group 1 explains:

Indeed, one American dollar was worth 5 Gourdes. It was good because it was almost equal to the United States in terms of money. If a person gives you money, he gives you everything you need to live in life. But you live with frustration, you have a fear of that person. When you hear his voice, you are afraid. There is no life. For a person who lives better, he needs peace inside that person. In a country, there can be work, money and food, but the people must live in peace. Because peace is the first thing we need. Since there was no peace it was not a good government. (Student G1) Quote 16

However, the majority of interviewees agreed that having a decent economy was essential for the well-being of their people and that the Duvaliers secured the economy better. A narrative was recurrent to stress this point; ''during this time one could by a piece of bread or a little bit of rice for much cheaper.'' Four teachers made such a reference to their childhood under Duvalier and this narrative was also brought up by students who had heard it from teachers or family. They did not only say that the national economy was better but linked this idea to foods. Referring to people's capacity for meeting their basic needs echoes Freire's idea that the oppressed tend to analyze oppression only in relation to their needs without linking them to macro-political oppressive patterns (Freire, 1996). The effect of these practical issues on informants' perception of democracy also shows that, as Biesta would argue, students learn democracy through its effect on their lived experiences (Biesta, 2011).

Dictatorship and the respect of rules

Another aspect of Duvalier's dictatorship that influenced how participants saw democracy in Haiti is his capacity to make rules respected. Interviewees agreed upon the idea that Duvalier was hard on people but it led to the respect of social norms and laws which are no longer respected in democracy today. An example often used to demonstrate the positive effects of this rigor was waste management. Nowadays in Haiti, trash is visible everywhere, and people usually throw garbage on the ground in both public places and private properties. Participants saw this as a proof of how people disrespect rules today while they did respect the same rules under the dictatorship. Teacher 13, a female French teacher, explained how it worked in practice:

At the time of the Duvaliers, my father always tells me, that we should not throw trash in the streets. There was always a team cleaning the streets, people were much more respectful. Because there was a militia, they were called platoon leaders, commanders

48

who were in all neighborhoods, section chiefs. In each section, there was a leader, militants, militias who were there to ensure the safety of the section, the smooth running of the section. People were forced to bend, respect the principles and it was better. I see that too. (T13) _{Quote 17}

Interpreting the words of this participant, one might think she believes dictatorship is better for the country, but she claimed the opposite when I directly asked her:

No, because we did not have freedom of speech. Everything was controlled, measured. Me, I never said dictatorship was favorable, was better. Me, I prefer democracy, but we should control this democracy. (T13) _{Quote 18}

Informants defended the idea that Duvalier was able to keep order in the country and, even though there was violence, at least people respected the rules and did their job. Since then, the government's institutions have been too weak to ensure the wellbeing of its citizens. Most interviewees would not go back to dictatorship but want more ''rigor'' in democracy. Overall, they like the freedoms that came with democracy but want the population to still respect the rules for the good functioning of society.

Contradiction between the general conception of democracy and its application in Haiti

Teachers' and students' general conceptions of democracy are very different from how they perceive its application in Haiti. As exposed in this section, participants see democracy as the representation of the people through elections, but think Haitian politicians represent mainly their own interest. While rights and duties held by citizens were at the core of informants' conception of democracy, they clearly stated that these rights and duties are not respected in Haiti. Participants deplored that their fellow citizens misconceive democracy to be freedom without boundaries, which leads to chaos and violation of laws. Some even argued that it was their inherent identity as former slaves to ignore rules when there was no strong enforcement. This partly explained why some informants argued Haitians need strong rulers and dictatorship might be more suited for their people. While they expressed that democracy in itself was a good system, the majority of informants thought its application in Haiti had mainly negative effects, especially for the economy and the respect of law. The possible explanations for these contradictions will be explored further in the discussion chapter.

5.2 Perceived relationship between education and democracy

This section present informants' perception that education is a major part of the solution for a better understanding of democracy. It also explores teachers' idea that they should educate good citizens and transmit moral values.

5.2.1 Education as necessary for the emergence of democracy

Interviewees saw schooling as emancipatory, both at the individual and societal level. People with a good education can improve their own life situation and contribute to the development of the country with their skills and knowledge. At a larger scale, some interviewees said alphabetization is part of the solution to elect better politicians and make democracy ''work'', as this male social sciences teacher expresses: ''Democracy could do better, when the people are educated. Up to this day we hold elections, when the peasant cannot read or write, how? How can he choose?'' (T1) Quote 19

Knowing how to read and write was seen as the basic tool for democratic citizens, but most interviewees also expressed that citizens should gain more knowledge about democracy to be active participants in it. Biesta warns against the tendency to see education as the only instrument to develop democracy because it is unrealistic to believe that schools are entirely responsible for such complex social enterprise (Biesta, 2007). In this research, participants tended to say that education was a big part of the solution, but they also addressed other elements, like the state responsibility to work for the well-being of all groups in society. Also, when referring to ''education'' some interviewees specified that they did not refer only to schooling: ''In one word, education is three pillars: it's at home, at school and at church.''(T12) Quote 20

Women teachers especially emphasized the importance of family education and parents' support in a learning journey. They acknowledged that people learn through all their experiences and not only in schools, which implies that efforts made by educators need to be supported by other entities involved in students' development. Although schools are not the only place where young people learn about democracy, all participants agreed that it can be an important tool. Teachers were especially concerned about the role of schools in educating future generations of citizens.

5.2.2 Teachers' perception of their role as educators

All teachers expressed somehow that they felt responsible for educating the new generation to be ''good citizens'' with certain characteristics and moral values. The wish to create a certain type of

citizens that would contribute to the economic and social development of Haiti was inherent to discussions about teaching democracy. For example, teachers 3, 11 and 15 all used the word ''produit'' which could be translated to product or output, when they talked about students:

> Society sends us input, human material, so we have to hand over well-trained people to society. Since we receive them in a public institution, there are always gaps and the learner does not get enough of what she should receive in school. So, this is a first challenge. It's having quality graduates on the market. (T11) Quote 21

This vision of education is tinged by neo-liberal ideology in which the main role of schools is the production of workers able to contribute to the economy. According to Apple, a neo-liberal view of education can be an important obstacle to achieving thick democracy. The idea of producing quality human capital to contribute to the capitalist economy can create tension with the development of critical citizens who challenge oppression (Apple, 2011).

Although not all teachers had what can be considered a neoliberal vision of education, they all expressed a feeling of responsibility for educating the next generations so they can become citizens who will improve the country. The elements commonly mentioned for defining a good Haitian citizen were: respect for laws according to their rights and duties, working to help the country and fellow Haitians and, lastly, patriotism. Many teachers mentioned the lack of patriotism among the new generation.

> It's values, when we talk about the flag, blue and red. But the pride … I had the chance to have a father like Dessalines who fought for me. Who died for me! […] It gives us a feeling of attachment to the ground. Being raised in Haiti, we should have a feeling of attachment to the soil, we should have a sense of helping too, this country, to help young people to have much more, but that's not what we do here. (T8) Quote 22

5.2.3 Transmission of moral values
Moral values were also present in informants' discourse around citizenship education. According to teacher 2, citizenship education can also make citizens aware of fundamental values such as solidarity, human sensitivity, concern for the common good and the building of egalitarian societies.

However, Biesta argues that, if the target is to create good citizens, it means democracy can only flourish in common identity. For him, democracy truly exists in the acceptance of plurality and it benefits from diversity. When observing a class in a private religious school, I witnessed a situation related to the acceptance of difference: a student asked why drugs were illegal if homosexuality was legal, considering that they were both immoral. The teacher answered that even though the student was right to say they were both immoral acts, there was no time in the class to discuss the issue. If being homosexual is considered immoral, it does not fit the definition of a ''good citizen'' that respects moral values. This relates to Biesta's idea that having a fixed model of citizens schools should produce can affect plurality and impede the evolution of society for more acceptation of differences (Biesta, 2007).

5.3. Teachers' and students' experience of education for democracy in schools

Interviews and teaching time observation revealed that education for democracy is present in various forms in schools but it is hampered by the ineffective implementation of educational policies and hierarchic cultural barriers. In the first place, I expose how informants deplored the lack of civic education, which they saw as essential for the teaching of democracy in schools. Most students said they lived democratic experiences through the election of class committees, but the power of these committees was in practice limited. Then, I turn to the fact that students were politically engaged but there was not enough space for their political existence in schools. Hierarchical relationships between teacher and student was a barrier to the expression of students' subjectivity.

5.3.1 Lack of citizenship education

When addressing education for democracy in schools most participants deplored the lack of civic education in the Haitian curriculum. Although citizenship education was added to the curriculum with the new secondary reform, some schools seemed to struggle with its implementation. Only one school I visited, where I interviewed groups four and five, had a citizenship education course. This is how a male student from secondary IV defined the course:

> The citizenship education course, as my teacher had told me, this is a course that aims at people to know how to become a good citizen, how to manage the well-being of a country, how to always be at the service and to take action for the benefit of our community. (Student G5) Quote 23

52

The three other schools I visited did not have as citizenship education course in itself but it was perceived as transcendent to all subject. All teachers seemed to address social issues in their class and eight of them stated explicitly that they sometimes leave aside the content of the course to discuss social issues related to students' lives:

> Yes, the knowledge that is transmitted to them is not always bookish knowledge. Because I always know how to take ten, fifteen minutes of my time to talk to them about the problems of life, to talk to them about family, society, the future. (T4) Quote 24

Although teachers stressed the importance of integrating citizenship education in the curriculum, they informants did not see education for democracy as limited to citizenship education. This vision is aligned with Biesta's argument that a shift is needed to focus less on teaching citizenship and more on learning democracy through all experiences (Biesta, 2011)

5.3.2 Democratic experiences

When asked about the democratic experiences lived in schools, most participants referred to the election of school's committees. The explanation of these committees' purpose varied a little from one school to another, but they mostly centered around the representation of the class to the principal and the monitoring of students inside the classroom. In group 3, the girls only school, I had the opportunity to ask a student that was both president of her class and of her school what her role was:

> My role as president is: first, to advise students in decision-making and to report to the principal. For example, a teacher may want to give an exam, students refuse to do the exam. So, the teacher asks the president to decide. In this case, I evaluate ... the last time the teacher gave the notes. If I feel that the students are not ready yet, I ask the teacher to postpone the exam for another day. (Student G3) Quote 25

She later said she had to intervene only once since the school had started three months earlier. When I asked about students' democratic experiences most participants emphasized more on the process of voting for a president than on what these elected leaders actually do. When students from group 4 explained how they chose a leader, they said there was no campaign for candidates to convince their voters. They selected according to the intellectual capacities of the candidates, which they already knew as they had studied with them.

The impression that the election process was mainly superficial and did not truly empower students was confirmed by teacher 6 when I asked him about the class committees: ''We do this for the sake of formality, but ... they didn't do anything. We do that for the formality… just like that.''T6 Quote 26

Another informant from the girls only school expressed how students are powerless faced with teachers' authority and to the school administration:

> In my opinion, it would be better to have dictatorship, because democracy is not respected. When a teacher says unhealthy words to a student, we do not have the right to revolt. In this case, there is no democracy. Because our rights are not respected, our demands are not supported, those who lead us do what we do not want even when protesting. In Haiti there is no democracy. (Student G3) Quote 27

This statement reveals the lack of possibilities for committees to defend students. However, the elections which happened in group five's class showed that class committees can still provide a democratic learning opportunity. Indeed, students from group 5 were proud to tell me they did their elections differently. They did not vote for a candidate but discussed who would be the best leader and ultimately agreed on one person. They said they were proud to have done the process in peace and they wanted to be an example for others. For them, this process of deliberation was an improvement compared to the speeches and voting they used to do in previous years. Interviewees said their school principal congratulated them for this initiative and used their deliberation to encourage other students to do the same. This is aligned with Biesta's argument that people should not only chose representatives through the aggregation of preferences. Deliberation is essential to favor the best decisions, which are not necessarily the most popular ones, but those that rely on the best reason (Biesta, 2011). The way this class decided to do their election differently is a good example of student informants' strong political engagement and their will to change the democratic situation of their country.

5.3.3 Students' political engagement

All students who decided to be part of this research were very interested in questions of democracy. Their will to act for the improvement of Haiti was palpable throughout the interviews. Although not all students wanted to become politicians, they all had the desire to help their country and change the deficiencies they saw in the democratic system, as this male student explains:

For example, if two people are doing politics, they are not looking for the interest of the country. They are looking for their own interests. That is, if he can eliminate the other, he does. So, it's a bad thing, it's a bad reputation for Haitian as well. We, as young Haitians, know that it is not good. We must change ourselves. Change must come from us as young people growing up in the country. (Student G5) _{Quote 28}

This demonstrates that students are active subjects, already aware of democratic issues and willing to change themselves and their environment. However, students' testimonies implied that there is not enough space in school to make their will for opinion sharing and action flourish: ''That is the problem. We never talk about these ideas together. It's the first time. It's a problem of communication and education.'' (Student G1) _{Quote 29}

A student in group 3 mentioned they share ideas about democracy with friends, but not in school. Another one from group 4 said the majority of students are critical thinkers but some never express their opinion. According to student's testimony, the current system does not favor the active participation of students in opinion sharing and debate. Certain teachers decide to adopt a more dialogic form of teaching which gives more space for student's participation, but hierarchy is still prevalent and hampers this type of initiative.

5.3.4 Hierarchic teacher-student relationship

Haiti's hierarchic culture limits the space for students to act as subjects in society. Teacher 2 expresses how hierarchy is present in schools: ''[...]We have to consider the classroom like society. There is a hierarchy, a discipline. The teacher is at the top of this hierarchy in the classroom,''(T2) _{Quote 30}

However, many teachers mentioned the importance of letting students speak their mind. There seems to be two tendencies in discourses. On one hand, the teacher is the master of the class and on the other, students need to engage and construct their knowledge. This was expressed well by teacher 10: ''For our teaching, until this day, it's the teacher that gives his knowledge. But in my classes for example, I try to make the student speak. I like to hear them. I would like them to react and criticize'' (T10) _{Quote 31}

 Even if teachers said they encouraged students to challenge their opinion, students' testimonies suggested that hierarchy is still stronger: ''For example, if a teacher is working, he says something

wrong, we have the right to say something, but to respect him, for the teacher, we say nothing because of hierarchy.'' (Student G2) Quote 32

The hierarchal relationship between teachers and students remain an obstacle to the expression of students' subjectivity. Haiti is still in a transition with its education reform, which encourages more participation from students with the new competency-based approached. Many educators make efforts for students to be more active. For example, teacher 7 even uses classroom management as a mediating tool to develop student's own self-accountability:

> Especially with the question of discipline. What I did, I was trying to sort of establish a relationship with them and I said: " It's you who will tell me what are the ideas about the discipline in the room and you will make me proposals. What do you want? What are you doing to keep discipline in the classroom? "There is one who says to me: " This is what we will do Madame: One, everyone should not speak at once. If anyone wants to speak, you have to raise your hand and ask for permission. " (T15) Quote 33

This form of deliberation creates a space for students' political existence to emerge. Indeed, this teacher explained that students discussed all the rules necessary to the well-functioning of the classroom and the sanctions associated with breaking them. Political existence is not only about issues related to politics, but it is a way to learn how to live in society and share a world in plurality. In this case, debating the rules becomes an artifact and students learn through the mediation of their opinion with others.

5.4 The effect of social inequalities on democratic experiences

In this section, I explore how social inequalities in terms of economic capacity, gender and culture affects students' democratic experiences.

5.4.1 Inequalities between schools

The double speed education system was often referred to as a contributor to social injustices. Indeed, the state does not provide free public education for all, which leads to inequalities between the kind of education families from different social classes can afford. There is a large spectrum of schools from the cheap ''école borlette'' to expensive private institutions. As student participants tended to compare their public secondary schools with private religious ones, this analysis will focus on inequalities between these two types of schools.

One element student informants used to demonstrate inequalities between schools was a problem with teachers not being professional in public schools. As the state often does not pay teachers on time, they tend to not come to teach in public schools, and these absences do not lead to any consequences for them. Public school students had the impression that teachers favored private schools, even though the salary is higher in public institutions. When I asked teacher 11, the female principal of a public school, why teachers had no consequences for not doing their job, she explained:

> The state does not take charge for the regulation of its entities. For example, I am principal, nowadays, the state does bank transfers, we have no means to compel teachers. It's true we have a notebook, we take notes, we send reports, but there is no follow up. (T11) Quote 34

This situation contributes the phenomenon Haitians commonly call ''double speed education system'' because principals of private schools have the power to fire someone if they do not come to work or have inappropriate behaviors, while public schools have no means to ensure teachers' accountability. Teacher 7, a male social sciences teacher, stated clearly the correlation between the state's lack of rigor and the inequalities between private and public schools: ''But that's the problem! Because of this laxity, this nonchalance [from the state], when state examinations come, public school students do not succeed. (T7) Quote 35

All teachers agreed that religious private schools have more resources, and many stated it was easier to work there than in public schools because classes tend to be less crowded and students have access to libraries or computer rooms. Moreover, most students in public schools are from lower socio-economical classes, and they are sometimes unable to buy the necessary books and materials. This ''double speed'' system contributes to perpetuating educational injustices as expressed by teacher 6:

> The fact that everyone goes to school, are we on the democratic path? Does everyone have the same chance of success? Why do people finish and others do not finish classical studies? It's because there is a double speed education. (T6) Quote 36

The majority of teachers said they have to adapt their teaching to different schools because the resources are not the same and the students' backgrounds are different. Teacher 3 explained how he had to change the way he teaches in public schools because there are more students per class:

> [In public schools] I'm going to influence a lot more. Because I will have just time for myself. When we have a reduced number, everyone can intervene. When there are multiple opinions or ideas you will have to situate yourself between the set of ideas. (T3)
> Quote 37

On one hand, he suggests that he does not have the same possibility to engage in dialog with his public-school students, which might influence their political existence if they do not have space to express their ideas. On the other hand, he felt that in religious private schools he had the opportunity to give more freedom to students because classes are less crowded. Students also expressed they felt these inequalities, not only because they do not have the same resources, but also because they felt devalued: ''We, who are in public schools, are victims. We make a lot of effort, but in official exams, we cannot succeed because they say that high school students are delinquents.'' (Student G4) Quote 38

This situation affects students' identity building and orients what they perceive as accessible to them. Teacher and student participants expressed that studying in a recognized private institution came with a superiority status which made inequalities even more visible.

Interviewees saw the state as responsible for inequalities between schools, as many private schools exist because of the state's inability to provide free education for all. This marketization of education affects public school students' democratic experiences, as they have fewer opportunities to express their ideas and develop their critical thinking. Both teachers and students criticized the lack of resources in public schools.

Teacher 3 stated that the standardization of education is necessary to stop the perpetuation of oppression through schooling, and all teachers expressed that the state should address the dysfunctional education system. All schools should have the same human and material resources, as expressed by this female student:

The state should put a single education at the same level for everyone. The state must cooperate to change the Haitian education system so that all children can have the same rights and the same duties. (Student G3) _{Quote 39}

5.4.2 Gender inequalities

Two gender issues affected female students' experience of democracy: the quasi-absence of women in the Haitian political scene, and the stereotypical idea that politics is not for women.

All interviewees agreed that women are not represented enough in politics and this situation should change. Indeed, there are only three women deputies out of 118 at the national parliament even though there is a 30% quota. Both male and female teachers expressed that politics in Haiti can be difficult and women might be afraid of getting involved.

There is also the persistent stereotype that politics is not for women. Although no interviewee agreed with this statement, many expressed that it is still present in society. This pervasive idea influenced female students' democratic experiences, as explained by this male social sciences teacher:

> It [the idea that women do not belong to politics] is still reflected, even in the association of students to manage the class. It's often the boys who win to be the head of the committee. Elections are held to elect a class committee, and even girls tend to elect boys as class presidents. (T4) _{Quote 40}

Using Freire's idea, one might argue that girls tend to elect boys as president because they have internalized the oppressor's view and believe they are less able to engage in politics. This does not only stop them from being involved in class committees, but also from sharing their opinion in class and debating with others in different social contexts.

Gender inequalities were not addressed exclusively in relation to politics. Five teachers said they tried to raise awareness on gender issues in a more general sense, as expressed by female teacher 13:

> I often say to my girl students, especially here, to work to become a woman, to become a citizen, not housewives, not housewives who will stay at home. You must work as men do. Why this diminution? Why do you underestimate yourself compared to boys? I tell

them I am a woman, a mother. I work, my husband works. I can assure you. If my husband can do this, I can do it. Why this difference? (T13) Quote 41

Although teachers' attempts to raise awareness on gender inequalities might not have reached all students, female participants in this research demonstrated a will to tackle this oppression. Students from group number 3 thought their generation of women will change the unbalanced gender representation in the Haitian government, as they would like to become president or senators themselves:

It is still thought that it is only a man who can be a senator, a president. That's why we women revolt and say that it is a woman who must lead Haiti. I would like the rights of women to be respected. (Student G3) Quote 42

5.4.3 Language inequalities

The education system in Haiti is based on the French model, and all exams are in French in high school, except for the Creole course. This is problematic as, in most homes, everything happens in Creole and many parents do not even speak French. Only educated parents speak French to their children which gives them an advantage in school. Although the language issue is not exclusive to rural communities, it is more prominent there as French is less common. Teacher 7 explains this challenge:

It's the office language, but you have the case of a small peasant who left the countryside to continue his studies in the city, but back in the countryside he will not speak French with his family and with his friends from the countryside, who I would say did not even have the chance to go to school. Well, that would be a challenge. (T7) Quote 43

Students were unanimous that learning in French was an added challenge in their learning:

When students are forced, especially children, to be educated in French and they cannot even understand, this is the basis of the failure of the Haitian education system. Because if education was in Creole, the child would not do this double work. When the exam is done in French, the child must try to understand French and also understand what to do. If it were in his mother tongue, we would only have to explain what he should do. (Student G5) Quote 44

The double work students have to do when translating their ideas also applies to education for democracy. Indeed, students who are not fluent in French might not be able to express their opinions and ideas in this language which prevents them from existing politically. There are denied learning opportunities because the most important mediating tool, language, is foreign and inaccessible to them. Even students who do speak French are often more able to express complex ideas in Creole. Their mother tongue is closer to their reality and forcing a foreign language on them influences how they construct their understanding of the world.

6. Discussion

In the light of the findings, I discuss the opportunities and obstacles for developing an education system that can enhance democratic citizenship in Haiti. I encountered two main findings regarding students' experience of democratic citizenship. Firstly, informants perceived democracy as something good in theory but not applicable in Haiti. Secondly, students expressed a strong political engagement and a vivid will to help their country. In the discussion, I will address these two major ideas in relation to the obstacles and opportunities for enhancing democratic citizenship embedded within them.

6.1 Contradictions between conceptions of democracy

Students' differing perceptions of democracy presents an obstacle to enhancing democratic citizenship in Haitian schools. As the results showed, there are contradictions between what informants thought democracy should be and how they experienced it in their country. Students' and teachers' general conceptions of democracy was based on Western knowledge disconnected with their cultural reality.

Hence, bringing democratic education closer to students' everyday experiences could be an opportunity to enhance a Haitian democratic citizenship. Re-introducing some traditional knowledge and cultural elements in schools could contribute to filling the gap between theoretical conceptions of democracy and its application in Haiti. Schools should base citizenship education on students' experiences because this is already how they make sense of democracy. Moreover, student experiences are linked to their cultural context. The disconnection between the theoretical knowledge taught in schools and students' cultural context also feeds misconceptions of democracy.

6.1.1 Cultural disconnection

I will demonstrate how the cultural disconnection between theoretical knowledge and students' experiences manifested itself through the dictatorship-democracy dichotomy that tinged conceptions of democratic citizenship. Then, I will explore the potential of bringing back cultural practices like voodooism as a matter of study in schools. Finally, the importance of Creole will be discussed as a crucial tool for Haitians to rethink democracy from within.

Dictatorship-democracy dichotomy

Most knowledge about democracy taught in schools is Western knowledge far from student's reality, so they tend to make sense of democracy with their own experiences. As Biesta argues, they are already democratic subjects enacting their citizenship through the way they experience the world in plurality (Biesta, 2010). Secondary school students have seen their country's economy worsen in the democratic system. Their interaction with elders left many of them under the impression that things were better under Duvalier.

Some Haitian authors argue that this nostalgia is caused by the lack of accurate memory of the violence and repression that occurred under the Duvaliers. In a chapter of *Haiti, from dictatorship to democracy,* Odonel Pierre Louis argues that the violence generated by the Duvaliers and its consequences are secret and rumor. The absence of memorial policy led to a rupture between the ante-86 and the post-86 generations. The new generation has not experienced the worse of the past, but knows the hardships of the present, which creates a nostalgic feeling (Pierre-Louis, 2015)

Indeed, many informants associated dictatorship with a better economy, but they rarely addressed explanations outside the dictatorship-democracy dilemma. Participants seemed to adopt a narrative that links a ''better life'' with a period; Duvalier's dictatorship. However, they did not address the various and complex potential causes of the economic degradation that followed. They simply associate the financial crisis with the change of regime to a democratic one. Figure three shows that the GDP per capita did decrease in the post-dictatorship period, although it started decreasing in 1979, seven years before Baby Doc gave up power.

Figure 3: Haitian GDP per capita 1970-2013

Source : World Bank

63
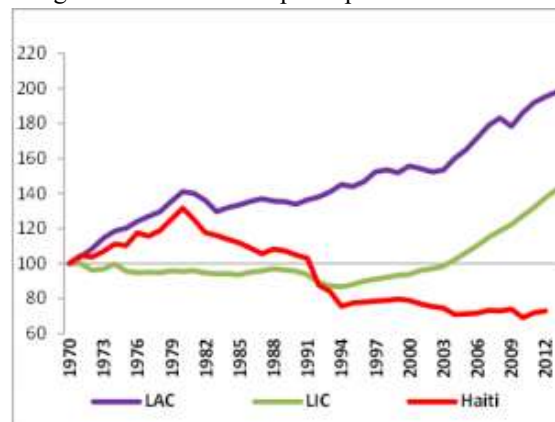
Even though interviewees thought that Haiti's economy was better under the Duvaliers, studies tend to show that the way they governed impacted the economy negatively. In a study published in 1996, Varoudakis classified Haiti's dictatorship as a ''predatory'' regime. He compared non-democratic governments in regard to their public expenditure and taxation policies. He argued that ''benevolent dictator'' regimes brought economic growth comparable to democratic regimes while ''bureaucratic-authoritarian " regimes were associated with slower growth and "predatory'' regimes were linked to the lowest economic growth. The Duvaliers' regime corresponded to the last category, which is defined as preoccupied only by the maximization of politicians' own profit (Varoudakis, 1996).

In *Political economy of Haiti,* Fass reminds us that the Duvliers' governance was a wide apparatus from which many factions benefited. Not all of them corresponded to the image of ''the evils'' stealing from the people consciously and intentionally. Fass argues that the most fundamental problem of Haiti goes far before Duvalier's regime. It is the perpetuation of a colonial structure in which leaders did not have to hear the people in order to get power. The aim of taxation, for example, had always been to provide income to a privileged group of people who were part of the state apparatus. According to Fass's analysis, this problem was transcendent to times before, during and after the Duvaliers (Fass, 1988).

Haiti's politico-economic context and history are complex, and many aspects can explain the economic degradation that started in 1979. The political events following the end of the Duvaliers' governance are certainly part of the context, but the change of political system is not the only element. Assuming that the economy would have been better if Haiti kept a dictatorial government limits the critical analysis of oppression patterns.

Freire addresses the challenge of bringing the oppressed to go beyond focusing on their needs and linking them with the direct or indirect causes of their limited situation (Freire, 1996). A teacher, as mediator, can allow students to use their experiences to go further in analyzing the causes of oppression. The dictatorship-democracy comparison was central for students in interviews because discussions about it are part of their everyday experiences with family and their peers. Hence, analyzing the advantages and disadvantages of both system should be part of redefining democracy in the Haitian context.

However, I believe teachers and students would benefit from engaging in a dialog outside the dictatorship-democracy dichotomy to comprehend the perpetuation of oppression from another angle. It could be insightful to analyze historical events which happened before, during and after the Duvaliers not only to find distinctions, but also similarities in their causes and consequences. Using prolepsis could bring them to learn from the past to envision a transformative future.

Students tended to already use historicity when discussing possible futures for their country. For example, participants often referred to the revolution and how slaves were freed through it:

> There are many Haitians who have a broken soul, that is to say, it is true that the state gives them nothing, does not supervise them, but they say that they are human beings, they know their identity because Haiti is the first black people to be freed. We know our identity and we made history in 1804. (Student G2) Quote 45

Studying the Haitian revolution as a change in oppression patterns and analyzing how oppression persisted until today could be a potential artifact to tackling inequalities in the future. A student from group one also supported the importance of understanding the past for betterment of the future:

> It is a problem of education because of analphabetism. It's starting to get better. However, the majority of young people is not well trained and informed. They don't know what happened in the past. They don't know where we are now and they don't know what we should do. (Student G1) Quote 46

Students could benefit from analyzing the past in a participative classroom context. Thus, prolepsis could be a useful mediating tool for students to understand how democracy evolved in their situated context and envision how it could be improved.

Nevertheless, it is not my place to judge the relevance of using prolepsis or studying history by comparing dictatorship and democracy. Paulo Freire argued that oppressed people should contribute to select what they want to learn and how they want to learn. In this case, I think engaging students in a discussion about the relevance of the dictatorship-democracy debate could be a powerful mediating tool. They could determine themselves how it might or might not be useful for them in acting today and planning tomorrow.

Overall, it is crucial to bring education for democracy closer to students' reality so they can analyze their situation more accurately and holistically. The way they experience democracy in comparison with dictatorship cannot be ignored, as it is part of their everyday reality.

<u>Cultural re-appropriation and voodooism</u>

Democracy as a political system was applied to Haiti without adapting to its cultural, historical and social context. Participants in this research mentioned the failed democratic transition as a main cause of its deficiency in the country. They mostly referred to the importance of educating Haitians for them to understand and enact their citizenship.

Using a post-modernist stance, I bring the critics further and argue for the cultural re-appropriation of the concept in the Haitian context. This would require that education for democracy address cultural elements currently left outside schools. For example, voodooism is an important element of Haiti's culture which affects all students directly or indirectly.

In *Refonder Haiti?* authors state that children of voodoo cultures are still marginalized in school, as the educative knowledge often contradicts their parents' beliefs and way of life. He argues that education must reconcile with Haitian peasant culture and with voodooism (Buteau, Saint-Éloi, & Trouillot, 2010).

 In this research, teachers did not mention voodooism as an element contributing to how democracy is taught and learned. Nevertheless, students from group 5 mentioned voodooism as one of the reasons they thought engaging in politics in Haiti was dangerous. They claimed that political candidates can use an hougan, voodoo priest, to harm their opponents through black magic. When I asked a female teacher about this phenomenon, she said it was part of the culture, but also very hidden. According to her, these things happened in closed groups and were not discussed openly.

This is a good example of how Western knowledge about democracy taught in schools is disconnected with students' cultural reality. Ignoring how voodoo traditions contribute to students' understanding of democracy contributes to the contradiction between what they think democracy should be and how they see it in practice. Including more aspects specific to Haiti's culture in the curriculum can be an opportunity to reduce the gap between what is taught in school and what democracy means in the Haitian context.

Denying the presence of voodoo culture can also contribute to the perpetuation of internalized oppression. While students stated that the blood of slaves was still running in their veins, the imposition of Christianity on slaves was an important acculturation tool in Haitian history. The idea that voodooism is backward and satanic has to be overcome for Haitian to free themselves from internalized oppression. Integrating the study of voodooism in schools is an opportunity for students to share their cultural experiences. This process can be contentious as it can lead to the confrontation of students' beliefs, but discussing controversial issues is also part of educating democratic citizens able to live in a world of plurality.

I do not claim that reintegrating traditional knowledge and cultural elements will necessarily lead creating a democracy more adapted to the Haitian context. However, denying them contributes to the disconnection between what students learn and what they experience. While some traditional beliefs about black magic can be considered obstacles to democracy in its Western conception, it is the role of Haitians to analyze superstitions and rituals in a dialogical learning environment. With the teacher's mediation, students could assess Haitian traditions and their relevance to the rebuilding of thick democracy in Haiti.

Creole and language's importance

The re-appropriation of democracy in Haiti must happen in Creole, not only because it is necessary for students to express themselves with ease, but also because Creole is crucial in Haitian culture. Even though it is sometimes frowned upon, Haitian Creole remains the link between all Haitians who use this language every day, no matter their racial or socio-economical status. This language is endemic to Haiti and was born from a mix of African and colonial languages, which constitutes an important historical heritage. Unfortunately, French is still often preferred to Creole when teaching social sciences and citizenship education, because the national exams are in French. This is an obstacle to constructing meaning about democracy in the Haitian context.

First, French language was a colonial imposition that created division in society and excluded peasants from the administrative aspects of life in Haiti. In the same way that Western *knowledge* about democracy is disconnected from students' everyday life, the use of French in education separates learning from their world outside the school. When the meaning construction happens in the colonial language, it contributes to the acceptation of Western epistemology (Breidlid, 2013) and even the devaluation of the local culture, in Haiti's case. Informants mentioned how Creole is

often frowned upon by both the elite and the less educated people who do not even master the language. Revaluing Creole is hence also a matter of emancipation from the oppressors' view, which perpetuates the idea that people who speak French are more knowledgeable and better able to lead the country. Indeed, teacher 6 mentioned how people tend to ridicule a presidential candidate, Jean Charles Moise, because he cannot express himself eloquently in French. As Freire argued, freedom from internalized oppression is the first step towards conscientization, which is necessary to building an equitable and participative democracy (Freire, 1972).

In a Vygotskian perspective, language is the main tool used by humans to construct meaning through cultural activities (Vygotsky, 1978). Creole is therefore a powerful artifact for the re-appropriation of democracy by Haitians. Redefining democracy in Creole using situated knowledge and cultural experiences could help to construct a vision of democracy shared by all Haitians. This could allow for the birth of Haitian democracy from within.

6.1.2 Opportunity to develop democracy from within

The education system could use prolepsis in studying the Haitian history, giving value to cultural aspects like voodooism and Creole to favor the emergence of democracy from within. Using students' experiences to analyze and enact their citizenship could be an opportunity to re-conceptualize democracy for Haitians in Haiti. This could allow for a more adapted democracy to emerge and overcome the disconnection between western democracy and democracy in Haiti. I believe this re-appropriation of democracy is necessary, as the concept was imposed in Haiti without the consent or participation of its people. This idea was echoed by many informants who said that democratic transitions have always failed in Haiti.

Informants used concepts born and developed in Europe to describe what democracy should be. This shows that democracy has never adapted to the Haitian context. The first years following Haiti's independence were too chaotic to foster the emergence of a Haitian democracy from within. Indeed, the complex social organization in the post-war period led different groups and military leaders to fight for power using coups, murders and self-proclamation. The imposition of elections by the U.S. during the occupation forced the Haitian people into a democracy that was not theirs. The same foreign monitoring of democratic elections occurred after the Duvaliers' regime, which led to another failed democratic transition. The appropriation of democracy by the Haitian people

unfortunately never occurred, which might explain the contradiction between informants' perception of what democracy is in theory and what they think it has been in Haiti.

Giving space for teachers and students to investigate the history of democracy in Haiti could be useful to re-define democracy so it is relevant to their cultural context. It would address issues raised by informants saying that most of their fellow Haitians misunderstood democracy as freedom without boundaries. Indeed, a new shared conception of democracy could arise. Even if the exclusion of cultural cornerstones like voodooism and creole language are important obstacles to this re-appropriation, I believe students' critical analysis of their situation has the potential to bring about change.

6.2 Students' political engagement and will for action

Students' desire for action enhances their engagement in democratic experiences in the present, which might favor their development as democratic citizens in the future. Schooling has the potential to be an artifact that enhances opportunities for opinion sharing and social actions. However, the perception of schools as producers of ''good citizens'' with moral values is an important obstacle to students' political existence, which I will address in this section. Then, I will turn to positive policy tendencies that encourage dialogic teaching and the implementation of citizenship education in the curriculum. Unfortunately, the implementation of these policies is a challenge, so I will discuss the consequences of this poor implementation of democratic citizenship. Finally, the socioeconomic inequalities presented in the results affect the way students enact their citizenship, so I will explore how this obstacle could be turned into an opportunity.

6.2.1 Perception of education as a tool to produce good citizens

When reading the Haitian educational plan, one can see the modernist vision of the desired citizen. The following passage was selected from the Haitian Ministry of Education (MENFP) website:

> We share a dream: to see Haiti become, an emerging country by 2030, a society that is simple, fair, just and solidary, living in harmony with its environment, its culture and a controlled modernity. [...] With a modern, strong, dynamic, competitive, open and broad-based economy, where all basic needs of the population are met and managed by a strong, decentralized state.

[The aim is] to produce a citizen, respectful of values, disciplined, hard-working, honest and able to apply the standards of a democratic society and to contribute, through their intellectual training and their mastery of new technologies, the creation of a modern, egalitarian society, oriented towards progress and development. (MENFP, 2012)

The Haitian Ministry of Education spreads the idea that schools should produce good citizens. This vision denies students' subjectivity and impedes the flourishing of diverse democratic experiences in schools. The government's vision is likely to influence how teachers see their role in society and their perception of education for democracy. In this research, teachers saw themselves as responsible for educating ''good citizens'' which would contribute to a better functioning democracy and economy in Haiti.

According to Biesta (2010), this vision of the relationship between education and democracy is problematic, as it denies students already existing political subjectivity. Young Haitians already experience democracy. They have various ideas and opinions about their country that might not correspond to what is now considered moral values and good citizenship. The question about homosexuality raised by one of the students during observation time illustrated how a vision of citizenship education centered around pre-defined moral values can lead to social reproduction of oppression and impede plurality. Nevertheless, plurality is essential to students' political existence, according to Arendt (1959), and learning to live with others in diversity is at the core of Biesta's conception of democratic citizenship (Biesta, 2011). [3]

Acknowledging the value of students' already existing subjectivities and encouraging their diversity could be an opportunity to embrace a conception of the relationship between education and democracy that enhances democratic citizenship. In practical terms, this means allowing for the political existence of students in the classroom. For example, the learners should be the ones who define what is a ''good citizen'' as this exercise is both part of the learning process and it is crucial for defining democracy itself.

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[3] Here, I want to acknowledge the danger of Eurocentrism when addressing values that are considered traditional. I do not claim that these values are inferior, but argue for creating a space where students can reflect on them and form their own opinion.

Adapting a more dialogical approach to teaching is another way to enhance democratic citizenship in schools. Positive steps have been taken in this direction with the New Secondary reform.

6.2.2 Positive policy tendency and potential of citizenship education

The New Secondary reform might be an opportunity to enhance democratic citizenship in schools, for two main reasons. First, the shift to a competency-based approach places the teacher as mediator, which allows for students' political existence. Second, the introduction of citizenship education in the curriculum could be a space for students to learn through democracy, act in their environment, and redefine democracy.

All teachers saw the pedagogical approach put forward by the education reform as positive. They said it was more useful for students to gain skills than learning by heart like in the traditional approach. Teacher 3 explains his vision of the competency-based approach:

> Following the competency approach when you have a topic, you collect the learners' opinion and then do a job called fixation. We take every opinion we try to weigh and we make a synthesis. In that sense, I am not the first to speak on the issue. It is the students who first speak. They tell you what they know about the budget issue. Then they are asked the facts in reality and from these facts, we do the debate, we do the analysis. (T3) Quote 47

This method echoes Vygotsky and Freire's notion of teacher as mediator. By letting students speak first, the teacher can enter a true dialog with them and become co-investigator of their world. Students learn when they engage with others to go further than their mere opinion. They look for facts and other ways to make sense of their experiences. Encouraging students to be active in their learning and participate as co-investigator is beneficial in all subjects, but can be particularly interesting in citizenship education class, as the purpose of this class is to make sense of their democratic citizenship. Some teachers have mentioned how they use the citizenship education course to create opportunities for students to act in their environment.

For example, teacher 3 explained how his students decided to take eco-actions after going into the city twice to acknowledge pollution issues and their underlying causes. I had the opportunity to witness teacher 3 act as a mediator in his class in a girls-only religious private school. He asked if students had done any eco-actions since the last class. One female student explained that she had tried to raise awareness by telling an old man that he should not throw garbage on the ground. The

man promptly insulted her, so she told the class that she would not try to raise awareness on the issue anymore. The other students reacted to her story, some arguing that it was their responsibility to do all they could to protect the environment. Other students thought they only had to stop polluting themselves, but were not accountable for others' actions. Beyond the simple experience lived by one student, the class debate that followed became a mediating tool. Students could exist politically and socio-construction their knowledge about what democratic citizenship entails. This is a good example of how the citizenship education course could be a good artifact for improving democratic participation in secondary schools.

If students are already subjects in their learning, they are more likely to develop attitudes and skills in line with participative democracy for the future. Teachers and other actors in education could use the opportunity opened by the restructuration of the secondary school curriculum to make citizenship education class a place where students can exist politically, engaging in discussions on their experiences both inside and outside schools. Increasing the number of democratic experiences that enhances political existence is an opportunity for sociocultural development of democratic knowledge and behaviors. As Biesta expresses, learning through democracy is the best way to learn about it and transform it (Biesta, 2011). It is by acting and bringing their ideas to the world that Haitian students can re-appropriation the conception of democracy based on their experience, and not only on Western knowledge.

Although the state worked in this direction by adding a citizenship education course and favoring a competency-based approach, the implementation of these policies is still a challenge.

6.2.3 Unequal implementation of curriculum and education reform

The state does not monitor schools in the implementation of the curriculum. It is therefore difficult to standardize the education reform and ensure access to the citizenship education course in all schools. Indeed, many private schools might not feel obligated to comply with state reforms, as what they teach is only verified through students' national examinations. As explained in the section on weak institutions, state's entities are inefficient, and they rarely verify what happens in schools. How informants described the citizenship education course and its implementation revealed that there is still confusion around the issue. Some informants said it was a course in itself but there were not enough teachers to provide it, while others said it was the responsibility of the social sciences teacher to integrate it in the class. Nonetheless, many schools had not integrated a

citizenship education course, and not all social sciences teachers had started teaching it. This confusion illustrates the poor implementation of the curriculum, which is an obstacle to the equal access to the citizenship education course. Students from different schools have unequal access to the potential knowledge and experiences that can be gained from citizenship education, as some schools simply do not teach it. Moreover, the unstandardized implementation of the curriculum leaves more space for teachers' subjectivity in the transmission of knowledge.

 As explained, the strong hierarchic relationship can be an obstacle to Freire's dialogical method in which the teacher is not above learners, but a co-investigator. Most participants in the research disapproved some of their colleagues, either for their approach to teaching or the way they treat students. This reminds us that teachers can be both part of obstacles and opportunities in education for democracy. They can enhance participation or contribute to perpetuating oppression by imposing ideas on students. This is echoed by how students said some teachers express pro-dictatorship ideas in the classroom while others depicted the Duvaliers as evil. When the curriculum is not well-implemented across all schools, teachers' subjective opinions of democracy can be taught as facts, which leads to contradictions in students' conceptions.

Teachers emphasized that they face many challenges, which impacts the implementation of the curriculum and the education reform. First, all teachers except T7 mentioned the hardship of poor salaries that forces them to teach in many institutions and work exhausting hours. Being a good mediator by creating the conditions for students to acquire knowledge and live democratic experiences requires time for planning. Haitian teachers rarely have this time, unless they choose to teach fewer hours which would mean a decrease in salary. For most interviewees, this option was not available, especially when they had a family to support.

Eight teachers mentioned the lack of teachers' training saying that people teach in secondary schools with a degree in specific fields like chemistry, engineering or law. This means they never studied pedagogy, didactic or theories of education. The lack of teachers' training can be an obstacle to teaching democracy, as explained by teacher 5:

> Well, having under-qualified teachers in the system, how to ask him to give notions of citizenship, patriotism in school? Because, for me, the teacher has to do a motivational job. It's not only, you arrive in the classroom and give notions of French, mathematics etc. (T1) Quote 48

It can be hard for teachers who have never studied education to find ways for students to acquire knowledge in a dialogic environment. It is easier to stand in front of the class and transmit knowledge by solely speaking or writing on the board. This approach is closer to what Freire would call banking education, and it tends to encourage students to only accept the worldview of the teacher instead of challenging it (Freire, 1972). However, training teachers to more dialogic ways could also be an opportunity to enhance democratic citizenship experiences in schools.

Attempts have been realized in this way with the education reform but unfortunately, the lack of resources hampers the results of this reform, as this female student from group 3 explains:

> They have put a new program that is the new secondary but Haiti is not prepared for this program. The other countries that have this program have all the necessary materials, laboratories. But we were not prepared for this program, they put it anyway. The state gives us the building but it does not give us school materials, the state does not pay the teachers, there are strikes, demonstrations. (Student G3) Quote 49

6.2.4 Inequalities, double binds and potential new artifacts

Socioeconomic inequalities between schools as well as gender and language inequalities can create double binds which are obstacles for students' equal participation in democracy. For example, social norms require a certain type of education to become part of the government or decision-making position. The marketization of education obstructs the chances of children from financially poor families to get what is considered quality education in expensive private schools. Moreover, the language barriers are often an extra learning difficulty for kids with lower socio-economical background.

Poor students find themselves in a position with contradicting demands which creates a double bind. On one hand, they would need to reach decision-making positions to make structural changes and reduce social inequalities. On the other hand, their lack of formal education makes it harder for them to represent themselves in politics and favor changes that would improve their lives' conditions.

A similar double bind occurs regarding women's engagement in democracy. Even though female students might want to engage in politics and fight for their rights, stereotypical ideas of gender

roles require them to be in charge of the house and family. The fact that there are so few women in national politics in Haiti reinforces the idea that it is not for them, and prevents the few female representatives to have a concrete impact.

 Social inequalities are an obstacle to equal participation of all citizens in democracy, but it can also be an opportunity when students are conscious of their oppression. When systemic contradictions preclude the emancipation of oppressed groups, it can lead to the creation of novel solutions by engaging in problem-solving discussion (Pacheco, 2012). In this research, students' life conditions seemed to push them to be interested in politics to improve their life. When asked how they had developed their critical thinking, one student from group1 answered:

> It comes from my life. I do not like the life I lead. I would like to have a more peaceful life, a little luxury. To improve that, I have to see my environment, how it works and how I can evolve. That's why I see good and bad things and I criticize. (Student G1) Quote 50

Engeström and Sannino argue that double binds can push people to start questioning the systemic conditions of the contradicting demands they suffer from (Engeström & Sannino, 2011). By addressing the processes that created and perpetuated inequalities in Haiti, students could construct and reconstruct their collective understanding of democracy in ways that might favor more equality. However, double binds do not always lead to an analysis of oppressive conditions, as this process requires organization and a space for discussion. Schools could be a transformative artifact that enhances the political existence of students through the analysis of their own experiences regarding these inequalities. The teacher, as mediator, could bring the students to question the double binds they face and analyze how democracy can be part of this problem or of the possible solutions.

6. Conclusion

This study explored opportunities and obstacles for developing an education system that can enhance democratic citizenship in Haiti. This issue was crucial according to many participants, because Haiti has struggled to achieve a real democratic transition since the 30 years of the Duvaliers' dictatorship. Education was mentioned as an important part of the solution to solve the numerous problems in Haitian democracy. Informants' perceptions helped to understand how the Haitian education system could be improved to favor more democratic citizenship.

First, exploring informants' perceptions of democracy and its application in Haiti revealed contradictions between what participants thought democracy was in theory, and how they experienced it in practice. Western knowledge about democracy taught in schools is disconnected with students' everyday experiences and problems. On one hand, it creates obstacles to democratic citizenship as students develop different understandings of what democratic citizenship is. Some come to believe that democracy is good on paper, but is not applicable in Haiti. On the other hand, bringing education for democracy closer to students' cultural reality can be an opportunity for them to re-think democracy. Using the challenges students face in their everyday lives and linking them to broader political issues could open the door to new conceptions of democracy specific to their cultural context. Discussing cultural issues like voodooism and debating the imposition of the French language in schools could also be opportunities for formal education to be more connected with students' cultural realities. Hence, reducing the gap between knowledge taught in schools and learners' experiences is essential for the re-appropriation of democracy in Haiti for Haiti.

Second, some teachers' perception that schools should create a certain type of good citizen with specific moral values was an obstacle for students to enact their already existing democratic citizenship. This idea supposes that education has to make democracy work in a predefined way and it denies students' subjectivity. I argue that educational actors must acknowledge students' subjectivity by creating a space for them to exist politically and learn through democracy.

Lastly, students' experiences of education for democracy was affected by inequalities between schools, gender inequalities and language barriers. Female students were believed to engage less

in democratic activities because of stereotypical ideas about gender. Students who lacked French language skills were also limited in expressing their ideas in schools. These inequalities can perpetuate oppression if students access democratic experiences unequally. Therefore, the state should standardize the implementation of the curriculum.

The election of class committees was the main experience students referred to regarding democracy. However, democratic experiences should not be limited to the elections of committees. Indeed, all learning experiences can be opportunities for students to exist politically and bring their ideas to the world. Integrating the new competency-based approach and the citizenship education course are opportunities to favor active democratic citizenship. When focusing on competencies instead of declarative knowledge, students and teachers can be co-investigators using dialogical teaching. Students can then develop tools of critical thinking as they are allowed to challenge the teacher's worldviews. As for the citizenship education course, it creates a space where students could actively reflect on their lived experiences. Teachers could mediate their reflection and link it to broader political issues. This conscientization could free students from internalized oppression so they can fully enact their democratic citizenship.

Most of these recommendations concern the Haitian state as it is the entity responsible for the education system. However, teachers can do a lot in the classroom to enhance students' democratic citizenship. Some teachers who participated in this research gave examples of how they already encourage students' political existence. Last but not least, student themselves are at the core of potential changes. The state should collaborate with teachers and students in adapting the education reform to enhance learners' democratic citizenship.

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Appendix A
Interview guide with teachers

(translated from the original in French)

Introducing questions

1. Can you tell me about what is a typical day for you as a teacher in this public school?
2. What challenges are you facing as a teacher in your practice?
3. Can you tell me about how and why you became a teacher?
4. What do you like the most about your profession?

Student-teacher relationship questions

5. How do you decide which content to teach? Do you follow the curriculum? How closely are you entitled to follow the curriculum?

6. Is there any possibility for students to choose what they want to study and how they want to learn?

7. Has it ever happened to you that a student challenged your authority? How did it happen? How did you react?
8. Do you learn from your students? If so, what do you learn from your students? Ask for examples.

Education and society questions

9. Do you feel you can make a difference in the life of your students? How?
10. Do you also think you can have a greater impact at the community level for example? What makes you think this?

Democracy questions

11. Do you vote during elections? Is it important for you? Why?
12. Do you practice democracy in other ways? How?
13. Where did you learn the democratic knowledge that you have? How can democracy be learned and taught? How is it done here?

Teachers as critical thinker and agents of change

14. How do you discuss/teach about/address the current political/economic/social situation with students in class?

15. Have you expressed critical opinions in the classroom? On the educational system or other things? Where/how/why not/

16. Can teachers make a difference in society? How/why not/examples

Interview guide for group interviews with students

-What do you learn about democracy in school?

-Do you experience democracy in school? How does it work?

-Do you learn and experience democracy outside of school?

-Would you say Haiti is a democratic country? Why or why not?

-How do your teachers talk about democracy in Haiti? Positively or negatively?

-I heard people say that the situation was better during the Duvaliers' time. What do you think about this statement? Do you agree?

-Do you think that students in public and private schools have the same chances of succeeding? Why?

-What would be a solution for more social justice?

Appendix B
Assistant transcriber background

The assistant transcriber was born in Les Cayes in 1989 and has lived there most of her life. She completed primary and secondary education in religious private schools. After, she completed a bachelor's degree in administration. She is now studying tourism at the Institut de Formation Hôtelière et Touristique aux Cayes. As a mother, she chose to send her 10-year-old daughter to a religious private school for her to have all doors open in the future.

The assistant transcriber's opinion is presented in the following paragraphs. She answered three questions related to the research topic to indicate her point of view.

Question 1: What do you think about the democratic system in Haiti? How does it compare with the Duvalierist dictatorship?

In theory, Haiti is a democratic country and it is written in black and white in our Constitution. The people themselves choose their leaders through elections. There is freedom of expression and so much more that could prove that Haiti is a democratic country. However, when we do an in-depth analysis of Haitian society, we can only deduce one thing: Haiti is the country where anarchy reigns. The laws are not respected, the power of the state is very weak not to say absent. Corruption is in full swing and is eating away at all the fabric of the country's political, economic and social life. Our justice is controlled by corrupt politicians and those who have more means. Some of the middle class and those of the mass are exploited by the big businessmen. International non-governmental organizations are enriching themselves day by day on behalf of our country.

The majority of Haitians, even those who are educated, do not know what democracy is. They think they are free to do anything they want, to say whatever they want; in other words, a disproportionate freedom. This can also be explained by the fact that the Haitian people see every day corrupt politicians who go unpunished.

Comparison with the dictatorship:

Under the reign of Duvalier, the country was better according to more than one. This could not be summed up simply by the fact that it was dictatorship. Duvalier benefited from the fruit of the work done by his predecessors, such as Léon Dumarsais Estime. Moreover, the economic context

was very different from that of today. The world economy was better. Therefore, economically, the country was also better under Papa Doc's government. Because Baby Doc was only squandering the coffers of the state.

With capitalism, which is a system invented by bankers and merchants around the world who want to get rich even more, many requirements are made to countries. The losers are the poor countries that can not cope with this release on the international market. In Haiti, there have been major economic crises and a lot of debt, the consequences of which are still being felt. All this is to say that it is not democracy that has put Haiti in such a situation. In conclusion, dictatorship could not be better than democracy. Haiti is in what it is today because of the dictatorship we had. During the 1950s under the government of Dumarsais Estimé, Haiti was the first tourist destination of the Caribbean. All other countries in the region wanted to be like Haiti especially the Dominican Republic with Trujillo Molina. Now the neighboring Republic occupies the first place in the Caribbean in tourism and the Republic of Haiti is the last.

Question 2: How do you think democracy should be used in Haiti?

In my opinion, democracy should be used wisely. We should use democracy to advance the country, inculcate Haitian values, give every Haitian love of the country. Because we are a free and independent people who said no to slavery, the oppression and the denigration of the human being. Democracy should also be used to educate people, especially young people and children. To teach them what are the rights and duties of a citizen; that a good citizen actively participates in the development of his community and then of his country. It must not be used as a weapon of destruction to destroy, impoverish, and intimidate the weak.

Question 3: Do you think education can contribute to improving the Haitian democratic system? If so, how?

I think that the improvement of the Haitian democratic system must absolutely go through education. Because as the other says: "Education is the key to success. " Children need to be educated, to learn from an early age what democracy is. They learn to do democratic exercises at school, to know their right and their duty, to respect others, the environment. At school, students are taught citizenship, which includes everything a student should know about democracy. Even the elderly need to be educated to improve the Haitian democratic system. Because they play a

very important role in the education of young people and children. Educated people know what to do and what not to do. They know they must act for their own good and that of the community. It is in this sense that education can greatly contribute to the improvement of the Haitian democratic system.

Appendix C
Quotes' translation in French

Quote 1 : La démocratie, selon moi, c'est être libre tout en respectant les lois

Quote 2 : Aujourd'hui je peux dire mon opinion sur Jovenel Moïse comme ça, pourtant, dans le temps de Duvalier, je ne pouvais pas faire ça. Dire qu'il n'est pas mon président, que je n'aime pas Ah! Je ne pouvais pas faire ça. Je serais mort. Peut-être plus tard à minuit on vient me cherche ici. C'est pourquoi, vraiment l'acquis démocratique est là. Le seul qui est plus palpable, plus vrai c'est la liberté d'expression.

Quote 3 : C'est un système qu'on utilise pour permettre aux gens de vivre mieux.

Quote 4 : Sur le papier je dirais oui mais dans la réalité c'est non.

Quote 5 : Les manifestions c'est vraiment un acte démocratique. Si le peuple voulait comprend vraiment ce que c'est ça veut dire la démocratie, du pouvoir bien exercé, les manifestions pourraient être mieux pour développer le pays.

Qutoe 6 : Il est vrai qu'ils entendent parler de la démocratie mais ils ne savent pas que son droit s'achève là où mon droit commence.

Quote 7 : Bon on dit souvent qu'il y a deux endroits où on ne peut pas réellement appliquer la démocratie. C'est à l'église et à l'école.

Quote 8 : Aujourd'hui même quand un haïtien parle à un autre compatriote il dit que c'est toujours le sang de l'esclavage qui coule dans notre sang. C'est-à-dire, il faut toujours un fouet pour forcer un haïtien à faire quelque chose. C'est pourquoi la plupart de nos collèges qui sont à l'école disent que la dictature de Duvalier était bonne pour le pays. Moi, je ne veux dire oui pas même à 50%. Parce qu'un peuple ne peut pas vivre avec un fouet tout le temps. Il devrait avoir la liberté parce que la Déclaration Universelle des Droits de l'Homme de1949 a bien déclaré que tous hommes naissent libres et égaux en droits. Les haïtiens ne pas vivre sur la dictature parce que les haïtiens doivent être libres.

Quote 9 : Cette démocratie-là considère que tous les hommes sont égaux. Mais dans notre réalité culturelle, les haïtiens sortent de l'esclavage. Au fond d'eux-mêmes est ce qu'ils se considèrent effectivement comme égaux de toutes les personnes ? Est-ce qu'il n'y a pas quelque part un certain

complexe la plupart des haïtiens qui se considèrent comme étant inférieur. C'est choc psychologique, ils sortent de l'esclavage où ils étaient traités comme des bêtes

Quote 10 : C'est d'un coup qu'on nous a planté dans la démocratie. Il fallait avoir un moment de transition avant d'entrer dans ce système. Il fallait inculquer ces notions, monter comment… donc c'est comme si nous ne sommes pas vraiment conscientisés ou bien informés assez de ce que c'est la démocratie, AVANT d'entrer dans le système.

Quote 11 : Aristote a défini la démocratie comme la prise du pouvoir et l'organisation de la citée. Nos politiciens font un volet de la définition : la prise du pouvoir, ils laissent de côté la bonne organisation de la citée.

Quote 12 : Il n'y a qu'une chose moi en Haïti qui nous empêche d'évoluer c'est la corruption. C'est la corruption! Corruption. L'argent et les moyens qu'on n'a ne vont pas ou ils devraient aller. On doit faire en sorte qu'on a un système de justice qui est fiable. Il faut arrêter les gens, il faut emprisonner ceux qui méritent d'être emprisonné et, ce n'est pas seulement juger et emprisonner, mais il faut payer tout cet argent.

Quote 13 : Avoir une autre dictature ce ne sera pas une bonne chose pour nous en ce moment. Puisque pour réimplanter la dictature, il faudrait faire beaucoup de morts. Parce qu'il a des gens qui protestent qui, sont bornés d'une façon, ne veulent plus être enchaînés physiquement ou mentalement. Alors, réimplanter la dictature ce ne serait pas une bonne chose pour moi.

Quote 14 : Le ministre de l'économie faisait son travail. Il l'a fait par peur. Par exemple, les commerçants ne pouvaient pas monter le prix des produits n'importe comment. Maintenant on assiste à quoi ? On assiste à l'anarchie dans le commerce. N'importe qui peut monter le prix de ces produits sans la décision de l'Etat. Mais Duvalier envoyait ses soldats pour aller au marché et observer à combien on vend le sacre de sucre. Il fixe le prix du sacre de sucre et il faut obéir. Si quelqu'un était en train de le fendre à un prix exorbitant, les soldats prennent les sacres de sucre, les jettent dans la rue, les gaspillent et les livrent au pillage. C'était vraiment frustrant ! C'est pourquoi la dictature a ses bons et ses mauvais cotés.

Quote 15 : Avec la dictature vous êtes le seul maitre. Il peut prendre un peu un quart du revenu et donne le reste au peuple. Mais quand il y a des dizaines et vingtaines de gens, il faut répartir entre

eux. Alors il ne reste plus rien pour le peuple. Dans ce cas je préfère un dictateur qui prend une toute petite partie et qui donne le reste au peuple.

Quote 16 : Effectivement 1 dollar US valait 5 Gourdes. C'était bien parce c'est comme si on était presque égal aux Etats Unis en ce qui concerne la monnaie. Si une personne vous donne de l'argent, il vous donne tout ce dont vous avez besoin pour vivre dans la vie. Mais vous vivez avec la frustration, vous avez une peur envers cette personne-là. Quand vous entendez sa vois vous avez peur. Là il n'y a pas de vie. Pour qu'une personne vive mieux il fait qu'il y ait de la paix à l'intérieur de cette personne. Dans un pays s'il y a du travail, de l'argent et de quoi à manger, mais il faut que le peuple vive dans la paix. Car la paix c'est la première chose qu'on a besoin. Puisqu'il n'y a pas de paix ce n'était pas un bon gouvernement.

Quote 17 : A l'époque des Duvalier, mon père me dit toujours qu'il ne faut pas jeter des fatras dans les rues. Il y avait toujours une équipe qui nettoyait les rues, les gens étaient beaucoup plus respectueux. Parce qu'avec une question de milice dont on les appelait les chefs de plotons, des commandants qui étaient dans tous les quartiers, les chefs de section. A chaque section il y avait un chef, des militants, des milices qui étaient là pour assurer la sécurité de la section, la bonne marche de la section. Les gens étaient obligés de courber, de respecter les principes et ça allait mieux. Je vois ça aussi.

Quote 18 : Non. Parce que là on n'avait pas la liberté de parler. Tout était contrôlé, mesuré. Moi je n'ai jamais dit que la dictature était favorable, était mieux. Moi je préfère la démocratie. On devrait contrôler quand même avec cette démocratie-là.

Quote 19 : La démocratie pourrait mieux faire son chemin, quand le peuple est éduqué. Jusqu'à date chez nous on organise des élections, ou le paysan qui ne sait ni lire ni écrire, comment? Comment il peut choisir?

Quote 20 : En un mot, l'éducation c'est trois piliers : c'est à la maison, à l'école et à l'église.

Quote 21 : La société nous envoie de l'intrant, du matériel humain, donc nous devons remettre à la société des gens bien formés. Étant donné que nous les recevons dans un établissement public, il y a toujours des vides et l'apprenant ne reçoit pas assez ce dont il devrait recevoir à l'école Donc c'est un premier défi à relever. C'est avoir des finissantes de qualité sur le marché.

Quote 22 : C'est des valeurs, quand on parle du drapeau, de bleu et rouge. Mais la fierté que j'ai eu la chance d'avoir un père comme Dessalines qui a combattu pour moi. Qui a su mourir pour moi. […] Ça nous donne un sentiment d'attachement au sol. Étant élevé en Haïti, on devrait avoir un sentiment d'attachement au sol, on devrait avoir un sentiment d'aider aussi, ce pays-là à aider les jeunes à avoir beaucoup plus, mais c'est pas ce qu'on fait là.

Quote 23 : Le cours d'éducation à la citoyenneté comme mon professeur me l'avait dit c'est un cours qui visent au gens de savoir comment devenir un bon citoyen, comment gérer le bien-être d'un pays, comment être toujours au service et poser des actions au bénéfice de notre communauté.

Quote 24 : Oui, les connaissances que leur transmet ne sont pas toujours des connaissances livresques. Parce que je sais toujours prendre 10, 15 minutes de mon temps pour leur parler des problèmes de la vie, pour leur parler de famille, de société, de l'avenir.

Quote 25 : Mon rôle en tant que présidente c'est de : premièrement donner des conseils aux élèves dans les prises de décision et donner un rapport à la direction. Par exemple un professeur peut vouloir donner un examen, les élèves refusent de faire l'examen. Alors le professeur demande à la présidente de trancher. Dans ce cas j'évalue la dernière fois que le professeur avait donner les donnes. Si j'estime que les élèves ne sont pas encore prêtes, je demande au professeur de renvoyer l'examen pour un autre jour.

Quote 26 : On fait ça pour la forme, mais … ils n'ont rien fait. On fait ça pour la forme comme ça.

Quoted 27 : D'après moi, il serait mieux d'avoir la dictature parce la démocratie n'est pas respectée. Quand un professeur dit des propos malsains à un élève, on n'a pas le droit de révolter. Dans ce cas il n'y pas de démocratie. Parce que nos droits ne sont pas respectés, nos revendications ne sont pas prises en charge, ceux qui nous dirigent ne vont pas faire ce que nous ne voulons pas même lorsqu'on proteste. En Haïti il n'y pas de démocratie.

Quote 28 : Par exemple si deux personnes font de la politique, ils ne cherchent pas l'intérêt du pays. Ils cherchent leurs propres intérêts. C'est-à-dire s'il trouve à exterminer l'autre, il le fait. Donc c'est une mauvaise chose, c'est une mauvaise réputation aussi entant qu'haïtien. Nous-mêmes en tant que jeunes haïtiens nous savons que ce n'est pas bon. Nous devons nous changer. Le changement doit venir de nous entant que jeunes qui grandissent dans le pays.

Quote 29 : C'est là le problème. On ne partage jamais ces idées ensembles. C'est pour la première fois. Et c'est un problème de communication, d'éducation.

Quote 30 : Comme tu dis, il faut considérer la salle de classe comme la société. Il y a une hiérarchie, une discipline. Le professeur est au sommet de la hiérarchie dans la salle de classe. Il est le maitre de sa classe.

Quote 31 : Pour notre enseignement jusqu'à présent c'est le prof qui donne son savoir. Mais, dans mes cours par exemple, j'essaie de faire parler les élèves. J'aime les entendre. Je voudrais à ce que l'élève réagisse et qu'il critique aussi.

Quote 32 : Par exemple si le professeur est en train de travailler, il a dit quelque chose qui ne va pas, on a le droit mais pour le respect pour le professeur on ne dit rien à cause la hiérarchie.

Quote 33 : Surtout avec la question de discipline. Ce que je faisais, j'essayais d'établir en quelque sorte, une relation entre eux et moi et pour dire : ''c'est vous qui aller me donner quelles sont vos idées à propos de la discipline et la salle et vous allez me faire des propositions'' Qu'est-ce que vous désirez? Qu'est-ce que vous allez faire pour garder la discipline en salle de classes?'' Il y en a qui me disent : '' Voilà ce qu'on va faire madame : 1 tout le monde ne doit pas parler à la fois. Si quelqu'un veut parler il doit lever la main et demander la permission. ''

Quote 34 : L'État ne prend pas en charge la régulation de ses entités. Par exemple, je suis directrice, actuellement, l'État fait des virements bancaires, on n'a aucun moyen pour contraindre les professeurs. C'est vrai, on a un cahier de pointe, on note, on envoie les rapports, acquis de droit, mais il n'y a pas vraiment de suivi.

Quote 35 : Mais c'est là le problème, à cause du laxisme et de nonchalance, arrivé aux examens d'états, les élèves de lycées ne réussissent pas.

Quote 36 : Le fait que tout le monde aille à l'école, est-ce que on est sur la voie démocratique? Est-ce que tout le monde a la même chance de réussite. Pourquoi des gens terminent et d'autres ne terminent pas les études classiques? C'est parce qu'il y a une école à double vitesse.

Quote 37 : Je vais beaucoup plus influencer. Parce que j'aurai plus de temps pour moi. Dans le cas où on a un nombre réduit tout le monde peut intervenir. Là où on a une multiple opinions ou idées vous allez devoir vous situez entre l'ensemble des idées.

Quote 38 : Nous qui sommes dans les écoles publiques sont des victimes, nous faisons beaucoup d'effort. Mais lors des examens officiels (examens donnés par le Ministère de l'Education Nationale), nous ne pouvons pas réussir parce qu'ils disent que les élèves des lycées sont des délinquants.

Quote 39 : L'état devrait mettre une seule éducation au même niveau pour tout le monde. L'Etat doit coopérer pour changer le système éducatif haïtien pour que tous les enfants puissent avoir les mêmes droits et les mêmes devoirs.

Quote 40 : Ça se reflète encore jusqu'à présent même au niveau de l'association des élèves pour gérer la classe. C'est souvent les garçons qui remportent pour être le chef du comité. Il y a des élections qui se font pour élire un comité de classe souvent même les filles ont tendance à élire les garçons comme président de classe.

Quote 41 : Je dis souvent à mes filles surtout ici, de travailler à devenir femme, à devenir citoyenne, pas des mères au foyer, pas des femmes au foyer qui vont rester à la maison. Vous devez travailler comme les hommes le font. Pourquoi cette diminution ? Pourquoi vous vous sous-estimez par rapport aux garçons ? Je leur dis-moi je suis une femme, une mère de famille. Je travaille, mon mari travaille. Je peux assurer. Si mon mari peut faire ci, moi je peux faire ça. Pourquoi cette différence ?

Quote 42 : On pense toujours que c'est seulement un homme qui peut être un sénateur, un président. C'est pour cela nous les femmes nous nous révoltons et disent que c'est une femme qui doit diriger Haïti. J'aimerais que les droits de la femme soient respectés.

Quote 43 : C'est la langue de bureau, mais vous avez le cas d'un petit paysan qui a quitté la campagne pour continuer ces études en ville, mais de retour à la campagne il ne va pas parler français avec sa famille avec ses camarades à la campagne, qui, je dirais n'ont même pas eu la chance d'aller à l'école. Bon, ça je dirais c'est un défi.

Quote 44 : Lorsqu'on force les élèves surtout les enfants à être éduqués en français et qu'ils ne peuvent même pas comprendre, ceci est la base de l'échec du système éducatif haïtien. Parce que si l'éducation était en créole, l'enfant n'aurait pas faire ce double travail. Quand l'examen se fait en français, l'enfant doit essayer de comprendre le français et aussi de comprendre ce qu'il doit faire. Si c'était dans sa langue maternelle, on aurait seulement à l'expliquer ce qu'il doit faire.

Quote 45 : Il y a beaucoup d'Haïtiens qui possèdent une âme éprouvée c'est-à-dire que c'est vrai que l'Etat ne leur donne rien, ne leur encadre pas, mais ils disent qu'ils sont des êtres humains, ils connaissent leur identité parce que Haïti est le premier peuple noir libéré. Nous connaissons notre identité et nous avons marqué l'histoire en 1804.

Quote 46 : C'est un problème d'éducation à cause de l'analphabétisme. Ça commence à améliorer. Cependant la majorité des jeunes ne sont pas bien former et informer. Ils ne savent ce qui était passé. Ils ne savent pas où l'on est maintenant et ce que nous devrions faire.

Quote 47 : Suivant l'approche par compétence lorsque vous avez un sujet, vous collectez l'opinion des apprenants et après vous faites un travail qu'on appelle la fixation. On prend chaque opinion on essaie de les peser et on fait une synthèse. En ce sens je ne suis pas le premier à m'exprimer sur la question. Ce sont les élèves d'abord. 1) Ils vous disent ce qu'ils savent sur la question du budget. Ensuite on les demande les faits dans la réalité et à partir de ces faits, on fait le débat, on fait l'analyse.

Quote 48 : Et bien, le fait d'avoir des professeurs sous qualifiés dans le système, comment lui demander de donner des notions de civisme, de patriotisme à l'école ? Parce que, pour moi, le professeur doit faire un travail de motivation. C'est pas seulement, arriver en salle de classe et donner des notions de français, de mathématiques etc.

Quote 49 : Ils ont mis un nouveau programme qui est le nouveau secondaire mais Haïti n'est pas préparé pour ce programme. Les autres pays qui ont ce programme ont tous les matériels nécessaires, des laboratoires. Mais nous n'étions pas préparés pour ce programme, ils l'ont mis quand même. L'État nous donne le bâtiment mais il ne nous donne pas les matériels scolaires, l'État ne paie pas les professeurs, il y a des grèves, des manifestations.

Quote 50 : Ça vient de ma vie. Je n'aime pas la vie que je mène. J'aimerai avoir une vie plus paisible, un peu de luxe. Pour améliorer ça, je dois voir mon environnement, comment il fonctionne et comment je peux évoluer. C'est pour cela que j'ai vu des bonnes et mauvaises choses et je critique.