

# UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

## *English Language and Applied Linguistics*

Postgraduate Distance Learning programmes

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## Assignment

**SO/16/02**

To what extent do you think it might be justifiable to suggest that a *diglossic* situation (i.e. where a 'High' code and a 'Low' code co-exist within one society) reflects the oppression of one speech community by another? Discuss, with reference to relevant literature and to (a) specific society/societies and language(s).

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# 1 Introduction

This research paper examines to what extent we can say High Code Speech Communities oppress Low Code Speech Communities. To do this the High Code/ Low Code situation of Haiti will be examined and presented as a case study to illustrate how oppression of the High Code Speech Community manifests in the Low Code Speech community. In Haiti some attempts have been made to ameliorate this oppression by allowing Haitian Creole to be used in the education system as opposed to solely the mostly inaccessible French (which has been the standard up until recently). The research community has documented the various issues that have arisen after these attempts. I will point out the areas where the two speech communities need to reflect and discover ways to overcome the inherent oppression that develops chiefly in the education systems.

## 2 Literature Review

### 2.1 Diglossia

Due to the complexity of the linguistic situation in Haiti and the usage of the word diglossia itself, it is necessary to clarify how the word diglossia will be used in this paper. While first possibly being introduced by Psichari in 1928, Ferguson is described as the person who gave it a concrete definition. Ferguson (1959, 336) originally described diglossia as:

“[DIGLOSSIA is] a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any section of the community for ordinary conversation.”

The ‘highly codified’ variety mentioned above is usually referred to as the H[igh] code. The ‘primary dialects’ spoken in a given country may refer to the [L]ow code. The H code often involves formal situations such as lectures, political speeches, and news broadcasts, while the L code usually involves less formal events such as TV shows, conversations with constituents, and instructions to workers of ‘less prestigious’ occupations (Wardhaugh 2010, 85). Each code helps to continue the linguistic stability

and integrity of their respective code (Fishman 1971, 87) by keeping a function for both varieties (e.g. ceremonies for the high code, and vernacular usage for the low code). For example, H code is never used in ordinary conversation, and L code is generally not used in writing (Holmes 2013, 28).

	H	L
Sermon in church or mosque	x	
Instructions to servants, waiters, workmen, clerks,		x
Personal letter	x	
Speech in parliament, political speech	x	
University lecture	x	
Conversation with family, friends, colleagues		x
News broadcast	x	
Radio “soap opera”		x
Newspaper editorial, news story, caption on picture	x	
Caption on political cartoon		x
Poetry	x	
Folk literature		x

**Figure 1:** Ferguson’s 1959 illustration of the status of French and Creole in Haiti. Ferguson, C. ‘Diglossia’, *Word*, 15 (1959), 324-40 (p. 329)

Diglossia has, over the years, been modified by researchers such as Ferguson himself (1991), and Fishman (1967), being called ‘classical’, and ‘extended’ diglossia, respectively. Extended diglossia has expanded on Ferguson’s original explanation to include varieties which may not be genetically related to one another, such as Sanskrit (H) and Kannada (L). Another example could be Latin (H) used in Churches and education during medieval Europe, while the vernaculars (L) in their respective countries were used for more common situations. Other aspects such as prestige, acquisition, and function, have also been expanded upon with extended diglossia. Eckert (1980, 1054) further states that diglossic situations can involve bilingual communities (i.e. Haitian Creole and French in Haiti), or bidialectal communities (i.e. Japanese *Hyojyungo*, and *Hougen*). According to Martinet (1963) the term diglossia differs from bilingualism in that bilingualism involves the knowledge of two languages by an individual, while diglossia focuses on the usage of two different codes in a given a community.

It must not be ignored that the study of diglossia does not account for all instances of multilingualism in societies. With the increasing expansion of the subject, it is now seen more as a gradient system. There are many variables involved concerning not only what constitutes H and L code, but also how these codes may ‘spill over’ into one another with considerable effort on the part of all parties (Wardhaugh 2010, 86); including using archaic H code in modern literature, or using more literary language in a colloquial sense. With this in mind, looking for every specific instance of oppression regarding diglossia may, in fact, be an exercise in futility.

## **2.2 Does Diglossia exist in Haiti?**

The notion of diglossia in Haiti, has been questioned by researchers such as Hudson (2002, 9), and outright disputed by Dejean (1980). Especially in Dejean’s case, this has been in regards to Ferguson’s original 1959 description of diglossia in Haiti, due to his views of a different relationship between the H (French) and L (Haitian Creole, referred to as Creole for this paper) codes in Haiti. As opposed to Ferguson’s view of the typical H/L code relationship existing in Haiti, Dejean believes that, due to the extremely limited amount of fluent H code speakers in Haiti, it is nearly impossible to state that H and L codes can have such a balanced relationship. The mostly monolingual population leaves little place for the H code in their lives, since they cannot understand much, if any at all. This greatly limits the code switching phenomena usually found in most diglossic societies; code switching being the phenomenon where we switch our codes, described by Wardhaugh as a language or variety of language (2006, 84), accordingly with a given situation. He further challenges Ferguson’s 1959 description by mentioning that the roughly 10 percent of citizens who have a command of the H code learn it through natural as opposed to solely scholastic means, and in many cases use it almost exclusively in their personal lives, viewing Creole as a lesser language not to be used among one’s elite peers (1980, 191-195; 2010, 3, 12).

For the purposes of this paper, however, I will still be referring to the relationship between French and Creole, as diglossic due to the sociopolitical, economic, and educational relations these two codes have historically had (especially in regards to oppression). They are both official languages of Haiti, and co-exist as a high and low code in Haitian society while maintaining their distance (Winford 1985, 352). For these reasons, I feel that, ironically, Haiti fits into Fishman’s first and third quadrants of bilingualism and diglossia (1969, 30) in that middle to upper class Haitian society has a

command of both the H code and L code and use them in a diglossic fashion (fitting into the first quadrant), while most of Haiti's lower social classes do not speak the H code despite being influenced by it in their daily lives through political and educational decisions from the upper H code speaking class (thus making them fit into the third quadrant as supported by Spears 2010, 14).

1. Both diglossia and bilingualism	2. Bilingualism without diglossia
3. Diglossia without bilingualism	4. Neither Diglossia nor bilingualism

**Figure 2:** Fishman's relationship between bilingualism and diglossia. Fishman, J. (1967). Bilingualism with and without diglossia; diglossia with and without bilingualism. *Journal of Social Issues* 23(2), 29–38. (p. 30)

Also, despite the low percentage of fluent French speakers in Haiti, French has been considered the standard language required for entering higher society through education even after Creole was accepted as a co-existing language in 1987 (Hadjadj 2010, 13). How these speech communities co-exist in Haiti will be argued to be one that has oppressive purposes that benefit the H code speaking community.

### 3 Diglossia in Haiti

French based creoles like in Haiti have historically offered a clear example of diglossia being used as a form of oppression from the H code French speaking community towards the L code Creole speaking community (for example countries such as St. Lucia, Martinique, and Guadeloupe). While this situation has been rapidly changing, especially in the 1980s (Holmes 2013, 29), this does not immediately erase the effect that diglossia has had on Haitian society in the past. Nwenmely (1996; 22) argues that language policy played a big role in the oppression of the L code community through language planning, which is defined as:

“...the attempt to influence the structure and function of the language varieties in a given society.”

Nwenmely believes that while this can be implied to give the masses access to social equality through learning the dominant (usually European) language, the reality is the intentional continuation of the existing power structure by carefully maintaining

exclusive access to education by the social elite. Examples of this, which will be explained later, can be seen through deliberate sabotage of education reform, a lack of respect for the L code in education, underfunded schools, and a lack of convenient access to these expensive and underfunded schools for the lower classes. Language planning further has the effect of associating the L code with backwardness, while the economic and politically dominant H code is associated with modernization and relevance (Nwenmely, 1996; 09, Lee, 1996; 155). This is a view that is observable even today through Haiti's former leader, Jean-Claude Duvalier, giving an apology for years of tyrannical rule in French, the H code which is inaccessible to 85%-90% of the population (Hebblethwaite, 2012). He used the language of oppression to apologize to the oppressed, a people who cannot understand the apology, itself (Appendix A). Whether the use of the H code by Duvalier was intentional or not, this is a throwback to how French has been used as a means to keep power limited to the elite through using the H code as the language for education, business, and political assemblies while disregarding the L code (Corbett, 1986).

### **3.1 Oppressive results of diglossia in Haitian Education**

Haiti is unique to other examples of diglossic relationships in that it has consistently had a general population plagued with high illiteracy rates, as well as low comprehension of the H code (Dejean 2010, Nwenmely 1996, NgCheong-Lum and Jermyn 2005), which is required to have access to the above stated education, political competence, and in relation, economic advancement (Luzincourt and Gulbrandson 2010). This reliance on the H code for education can be traced back to when Haiti was a French slave colony. According to Luzincourt and Gulbrandson (2010, 6), education in Haiti, before its independence in 1804, was restricted to nonslaves, and conducted only in French. Even among nonslaves, there was still a class system, usually with French people being at the top, and people of mixed race (usually called *mulattoes*) being among the bottom just above slaves. Even after Haiti gained its independence and abolished slavery, this class system, which gave preference to people of lighter skin thus elevating the status of so-called mulattoes (NgCheong-Lum and Jermyn 2005, 57), did not go away, and continued in a socioeconomic, as well as political and educational form. The elite class, mostly formed from so-called mulattoes, looked to their French heritage and language as a sign of superiority. The closer to French they seemed the better. This meant that Creole, which was formed out of a necessity for a common language among various slaves from various nations, was usually shunned for its African influence. They saw the peasant



class as inferior and primitive, needing to keep the two separated in order for the western world to focus on Haitian literary and cultural accomplishments, and a rejection of the “primitive” peasant voodoo culture that the western world held a fascination with (Renda 2002, 2014-2015). The class system was perpetuated through linguistic means directly affecting the education system (Luzincourt and Gulbrandson 2010, 6). During the occupation of Haiti by the United States from 1915-1934, to keep speakers of Creole from advancing too far, vocational and technical schools were implemented that were taught using the L code for positions in mid-level areas such as agriculture (which were exploitable by upper class Haitians and US entrepreneurs,), while French continued as the language for higher education (Nwenmely 1996, 23; Spears 2010, 11; Luzincourt and Gulbrandson 2010, 7; Renda 2001; 122). To accommodate the illiterate population who were joining these vocational schools, a simplified writing system was implemented (Devonish 1986, 57). Because the status of French was never challenged too vigorously it continued to keep its status and prestige over the L code in Haiti.

On the subject of writing systems, the questioning of an official orthography for Creole in the past (Dejean 2010, 13) is further justification for suggesting oppression of the L code speaking community by the H code speaking community through education, at the very least in a historical context. Before being recognized as an official language, a major attempt to discourage an official writing system, and exclude Creole in education as a result, was the argument of whether the language was worthy of having a writing system due to presumed negative views of the language by the population, itself (Dejean, 1980). One such person who questioned the need for a Creole orthography, Albert Valdman (1978, 110), appeals to a presumed disinterested populace in regards to a writing system that is not reliant on the established “superior” French writing system. Even disregarding the implied inferiority of Creole as a language, there are many problems with this stance, most of all, the attempt to use ignorance (i.e. the illiterate majority’s lack of experience with any writing system making them an unreliable source for the legitimacy of a system they have little concept of) to perpetuate a continued inaccessibility to a means to education other than the inaccessible French H code. This is taking for granted that Valdman’s opinion about the general population’s views towards a writing system were adequately sourced. I feel that in depth research should have been made before coming to such a conclusion. Basically what the language planners were saying was that it was a waste of time to create a Creole language writing system for reducing illiteracy. Creole speakers themselves placed low value on doing this as they could see that without

fluency in French (H Code) they would never escape the oppressive cycles they were in.

While Creole has been tolerated as a method of instruction in primary schools, most pushes for Creole in higher education have been met with resistance from the French speaking elite. Access to schools is very limited (NgCheong-Lum and Jermyn 2005, 68-70), and media outlets that push for education reform, and the expansion of Creole's role in education have been met with political repression (Nwenmely 1996, 24). Through the underdeveloped education system we can see the continued lower status of Creole by using it only as a gateway to the H code for higher education. The problem is that access to the H code is more of a carrot on a stick. The education system's lack of sufficient support from the H code ruled government is the cause of high dropout rates, thus the lack of tools (French) needed to enter government or higher society (NgCheong-Lum and Jermyn 2005, 57; Hadjadj 2000). While the social elite are able to afford studying French in cities like Paris in order to speak the language of Haitian law and politics, and thus keep a rule over the masses, the few lower class L code speaking students who are able to attend school, must struggle through an inefficient rote memorization system (as evidenced through Haiti's 10% secondary education graduation rate). This being in a second language, which is taught by teachers, most of whom are not fluent in French themselves due to a lack of understanding of language acquisition theory (Clammer 2013, 27). The result is an insurmountable barrier that continues to oppress L code speakers.

### **3.2 Discussion on Remedies applied**

Creole speakers have strived to implement their L code into areas other than the vernacular since the birth of the country in 1804. One of Haiti's earliest leaders, Henri Cristophe, championed education, and invested heavily in opening schools during his rule (Clammer 2013, 35). Throughout the 1900s there were many continued efforts such as explanations of the language system itself in 1925, and teaching literacy and arithmetic through Creole in 1939. Serious recognition has only been gained fairly recently with the acknowledgement of Creole as a co-national language with French in Article 5 of the Haitian constitution in 1987, and the later implementation of The National Plan for Education and Training (or PNEF as its French acronym) in 1993 (Hadjadj 2000).

**Article 5:**

All Haitians are united by one common language: Creole. Creole and French are the official languages of the Republic.

**Figure 3:** Article 5 of the 1987 Haitian Constitution: Hadjadj, Bernard. 2000. *Education for All in Haiti over the Last 20 Years: Assessment and Perspectives*. In *Education for All in the Caribbean: Assessment 2000*. Monograph Series 18. Geneva: UNESCO

Before the legitimization of Creole through the constitution, the Bernard Reform implemented in 1979 was a plan to integrate Creole into the instruction process of the first four years of primary school along with teaching French through oral and eventually written means. The plan aimed to produce bilingual students ready for higher education in French (Dejean 2006). The PNEF, itself, was implemented to have a more student centered teaching approach, and promote unity through the acceptance of diversity among the population (Luzincourt and Gulbrandson 2010).

### **3.3 Discussions on limitations of remedies applied**

While the above programs have attempted to reduce the educational advantage the H code community has over the L code community, there have been many obstacles facing these programs, not the least of which being attempts to keep the high prestige of the H code, and thus the continued dominance of their community through exclusive use in higher education. Though Henri Cristophe, invested heavily in schools during his rule, after he died the elite destroyed his efforts towards a generally educated Haiti by closing down his schools in order to keep the L code community oppressed (Clammer 2013, 35). According to Clammer (ibid), even today less than 1.5% of the governmental budget, which is controlled by the H code speaking community, goes into education.

Despite support from the policy's namesake, Minister Joseph C. Bernard, the Bernard Reform policy never really took off due to deliberate sabotage by the government (Hadjadj 2000), a government that has been traditionally occupied, and influenced by the social elite. Implementation of the reform was constantly delayed for nearly a decade with the government making excuses for its delays until the end of 1987 (Dejean 2010, 1-2). Dejean (2006, 237), and Hebblethwaite, (2012) explain that the system was flawed in its focus to create bilingual students during primary school and have them ready to use French and Creole despite not having the resources and pedagogical knowledge to accomplish such a task.

An even worse obstacle is in the fundamental nature of the education system. Haiti is a country with little access to free education, with anywhere between 82-92% (depending on the source) of its schools being privately owned schools of wildly varying qualities (Hadjadj 2000, NgCheong-Lum and Jermyn 2005). Quality schools are usually too expensive for anyone outside of the elite to attend, and are usually inaccessible, geographically, as well (Solino 2011, 2-3). Even with schools becoming more affordable, costs for supplies and uniforms continue to make school inaccessible to the lower class, while making it appear as if the H code speaking elite are trying to help, which is hardly the case (Clammer 2013, 35). With a lack of access to education, the lower classes are unable to learn the language that can give them access to economic advancement, and thus remain oppressed in a lower class. As mentioned above, the students who are able to overcome these obstacles, have the further problem of undertrained teachers, who bear little regard for their students' L code, which is another form of oppression. (Spears 2010, 17; Clammer 2013, 27, 35).

Another factor which should not be ignored is the reason for such oppression. Outside of insuring a continued dominance over government, keeping the L code community under oppression can help the H code community by exploiting the desperate situation that poverty brings. For example, many children from the lower classes send their children to upper class families as servants, or *restaveks* as they're called in Haiti. While the parents know the children will not get paid any wages, they send their children away under the promise of boarding and education. The reality is much different, however, as these promises are often unfulfilled, with the children usually working days that are much too long to afford any time for education, and thus no real chance in elevation (Clammer 2013, 27).

## **4 Conclusion**

The diglossic situation in Haiti has shown that the H code speaking community has supported language planning in education as a key means of oppression of the L code community. This has been through keeping the H code as an inaccessible language for education and power for the L code community. Unfortunately, this is a problem that is rooted deeply in Haitian history, and considering reports of its education system's standards as recently as 2010, there has not been much improvement. Without addressing

the friction between both communities, little can be done to change the current situation.

The earthquake of 2010 has opened the world's eyes to the abysmal state of Haiti's education system, and has had the silver lining of having countries put pressure on the Haitian government to address this problem. How they will address this will rely on getting all stakeholders to discuss the issues and open wider community discussion through media outlets to jointly decide how they can move forward. In language planning discussions, the various stakeholders need to consider a broad range of issues and ramifications on various choices, even if it becomes an obstacle to L code prestige. Producing truly bilingual students would require the adoption of expensive immersion programs. Though the L code would come under further pressure due to it being a low prestige language even among the L code community, the H code French would help Haitians to move in the international communities dominated by Francophones. Despite it possibly furthering the lower status of the L code, language planners in Haiti also need to discuss and consider the need to develop Anglophone speakers to support international trade relations. Using Creole could help with easier access to knowledge (Hebblethwaite, 2012). However, while maintaining Creole would additionally honor the cultural roots of the L code speech community, inevitable marginalization of Creole would take place due to economic pressures. Inside the L code community there seems an understanding that acquisition of the H code is a major route to overcoming oppression, and global communication. I feel that if the L code is to be successfully preserved, Creole speakers need to look to other communities such as Canadian-Francophones, and Welsh speakers; people who have retained their cultural traditions and language despite outside economic pressures. This is still reliant on Haitians agreeing to end their caste system through education.

As a descendant of Haitian immigrants, I feel that the Haitian people need to understand that any caste system is detrimental to the economic situation for both communities as evidenced by Haiti's poor economic standing. In addition to the abovementioned societies who have kept their language and culture in tact in a modernizing world, they should also look to foreign Haitian communities as a blueprint for how they can work on eliminating oppression. As most Haitians who live outside of Haiti are on the same social standing in terms of discrimination and poverty (Spears 2010, 14, 64; Stepick 1998, 2), most tend to do away with their color based caste system, and treat each other as equals. One personal example of this would be my parents who come from two different social

classes in Haiti. Looking towards English as another important language for the country's future can also play a role in reducing this role of oppression through language in Haiti. One hope is that the earthquake will encourage Haitians who left the country during the Duvalier regime to return to Haiti, and help with introducing English to the masses. My guess is that foreign currency deposits made by Haitians working abroad to family back home can help increase quality educational opportunities for those in Haiti. The issue, then, becomes whether this new economic elite, who have learned English under circumstances of poverty when moving to the US (Spears 2010, 14), are willing to empathize and work together with the lower class towards improving their society back home in Haiti, thus ending oppression and starting equality.

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# **Appendix A**

## **Speech Transcript: Jean-Claude Duvalier 2011, January 21**

### **English Translation (through babelfish)**

Dear friends of the press,

Thank you for having responded to my invitation today and take this opportunity afforded me to speak to my fellow citizens.

Very briefly, I will tell you how much I was impressed by the welcome I have received from Francois Duvalier International Airport for this visit, especially in this crowd of young people who do not know me.

This gives heart-warming.

That said, I know how many of you are curious about the subject of my return to Port-au-Prince after a quarter century of absence. This question is on everyone's lips.

In fact, I wanted to pay tribute to the many victims of the devastating earthquake of January 12, 2010 which was, according to official estimates, three hundred sixteen thousand (316,000) died.

Unfortunately, I'm not arrive in time for the commemoration.

Dear compatriots,

Here I show you my income solidarity in this extremely difficult period of national life where you are still hundreds of thousands living under the stars, amid the ruins. From the moment that I decided to return to Haiti to commemorate with you, our country, this sad anniversary, I was expecting all sorts of persecution, but believe me, the desire to participate in your side at this Konbit for Reconstruction National goes far beyond the annoyances to which I might be facing ... Whatever the price, the main thing for me is to be with you. And I say that as such, all Haitians of good will have the right to want to participate.

I take this opportunity to publicly present my condolences to my millions of fans who, after my voluntary departure from Haiti to avoid bloodshed and facilitate the rapid conclusion of the political

crisis in 1986 were delivered to themselves. Thousands were brutally murdered, smoky, grilled, tortured to "pil lebrun" word became notorious, their homes, their belongings looted, burned. And all this under the glare of cameras around the world.

I also take this opportunity to express once more my deep sadness at the place of my countrymen who recognize, rightly, to have suffered under my government.

Youth of my country,

During my long stay in France, I was always attentive to your cries and your misfortunes. I had some of your difficult times with great sorrow and grief. To you, future leaders of this country, which should take over and show the world that the Haitian soul is alive and well and strong.

And as said Rev. Martin Luther King: "When you make sure that the bell of the national reconciliation could resonate in every heart, and we let it ring from every tenement common in every town, every neighborhood, every home, then we can speed up that day when all the children of Haiti, men and women, old and young, rich and poor, those inside as those in the diaspora, can walk hand in hand without exclusion and participate together in the revival of Haiti."

This is the message I get back.

Vive Haiti! May God bless us! Thank you

## Appendix B

### Speech Transcript: Jean-Claude Duvalier 2011, January 21

#### Original French (Sourced from <http://ytapi.freewritings.space.html>):

Point de presse de M. Jean-Claude DUVALIER et de son conseil juridique

Chers amis de la presse,

Je vous remercie d'avoir répondu à mon invitation de ce jour et saisis cette opportunité qui m'est offerte de m'adresser à mes concitoyens.

Très brièvement, je vous dirai combien j'ai été favorablement impressionné par l'accueil qui m'a été réservé depuis l'Aéroport International François Duvalier pour cette visite, surtout par cette foule de jeunes qui ne m'ont pas connu.

Cela donne chaud au cœur. M di yo mès anpil, m'te kontan viv moman sa-a.

Cela dit, je sais à quel point nombre de vous sont curieux de savoir l'objet de mon retour à Port-au-Prince après un quart de siècle d'absence. Cette question est sur toutes les lèvres.

En effet, j'ai voulu rendre un hommage aux nombreuses victimes du séisme dévastateur du 12 janvier 2010 qui a fait, selon des estimations officielles, trois cent seize mille (316.000) morts. Malheureusement, je ne suis pas arrivé à temps pour cette commémoration.

Chers compatriotes,

Me voici revenu vous témoigner de ma solidarité en cette période extrêmement difficile de la vie nationale où vous êtes encore des centaines de milliers à vivre à la belle étoile, au milieu des ruines. Dès l'instant que j'ai pris la décision de revenir en Haïti pour commémorer avec vous, dans notre pays, ce triste anniversaire, je m'attendais à toute sorte de persécutions ; mais croyez-moi, le désir de participer à vos côtés, à cette Konbit pour la reconstruction

nationale, dépasse de loin les tracasseries auxquelles je pourrais être confronté... Peu importe le prix à payer, l'essentiel pour moi étant de me trouver avec vous. Et j'affirme qu'à ce titre, tous les Haïtiens et Haïtiennes de bonne volonté ont le droit de vouloir y prendre part.

Je saisis cette occasion pour présenter publiquement mes sympathies à mes millions de partisans qui, après mon départ volontaire d'Haiti, afin d'éviter un bain de sang et de faciliter le dénouement rapide de la crise politique, en 1986, ont été livrés à eux-mêmes. Des milliers ont été lâchement assassinés, boucanés, grillés, suppliciés au « pè lebrun », mot devenu tristement célèbre ; leurs maisons, leurs biens pillés, déchoukés, incendiés. Et tout cela, sous les feux des caméras du monde entier.

Je saisis aussi cette occasion pour exprimer, une fois de plus, ma profonde tristesse à l'endroit de mes compatriotes qui se reconnaissent, à juste titre, d'avoir été victimes sous mon gouvernement.

Jeunesse de mon pays,  
Durant mon long séjour en France, j'ai toujours été attentif à vos cris et à vos malheurs. J'ai vécu vos moments difficiles avec beaucoup de peine et de chagrin. C'est à vous, futurs leaders de ce pays, qu'il convient d'assumer la relève et montrer au monde que l'âme haïtienne est bien vivace et forte.

Et comme pour parodier le Révérend Martin Luther King : « quand vous ferez en sorte que la cloche de la réconciliation nationale puisse résonner dans tous les cœurs et que nous la laissions carillonner dans chaque commune, dans chaque ville, dans chaque quartier, dans chaque foyer, alors, nous pourrions hâter la venue du jour où tous les enfants d'Haiti, hommes et femmes, vieux et jeunes, riches et pauvres, ceux de l'intérieur comme ceux de la diaspora, puissent marcher la main dans la main sans exclusion et participer ensemble à la renaissance d'Haiti ».

Tel est le message de mon retour.  
Vive Haiti ! Que Dieu nous bénisse !  
Merci