

Disability, Diversity and Inclusive Education in Haiti

Learning, Exclusion and Educational Relationships in the Context of Crises

Edited by Rochambeau Lainy

First published 2023

ISBN: 978-1-032-38946-2 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-032-38947-9 (pbk)

ISBN: 978-1-003-34764-4 (ebk)

Chapter 3

Representation of children with disabilities and cognitive justice in Haiti

Samuel Regulus

(CC BY-NC-ND 4.0)

DOI: 10.4324/b23239-6

The funder for this chapter is USAID

3 Representation of children with disabilities and cognitive justice in Haiti

Samuel Regulus

3.1 Introduction

The level of attention and the mode of treatment given to a person with a disability (motor, sensory, intellectual, psychological) do not depend primarily on the means available but more immediately on the categorization, subjective or objective, made by the observer. Does the social representation of the individual consider him a subject and object of rights? Does he deserve to be treated with respect and dignity? Is he felt to be a being like oneself that should be seen as an equal beyond the question of his deficits? The felt values will direct the responses to these questions and will determine the explicit or tacit public policies as well as their implementation in favor or to the detriment of minorities, the destitute, the vulnerable, or those with physical or mental disabilities (Parks, 2011).

Examining the paradigm of “global justice,” Renault (2013) observed that today even neoliberal critics do not absolutely contest the “principle of the welfare state,” because “a society without social protection or security, without any redistribution of available resources resembles the state of nature more than a human society.” From this point of view, the social policies and the accepted level of inclusion in a society are strong indicators of its level of culture or civilization.

In the case of Haiti, given the treatment generally accorded to the underprivileged and people with disabilities, it would seem that this state of nature continues to exist to a worrying extent. Indeed, according to a study of the Integrated Classification Framework (IPC) of food security carried out in October 2019, of the 11 million Haitians, more than a million are in an “emergency” situation and that nearly 3.7 million suffer from “severe food insecurity” (UN, 2019). According to the latest poverty survey in 2012, more than six million people live below the poverty line. They only have US \$2 a day to meet their basic needs (OPS/OMS 2017). In addition, access to health, justice, and education services is difficult. When these services are available, the quality is often very poor (Jean, 2017; World Bank, 2020a).

When most Haitian parents find it difficult to meet the basic needs of their children, having a child with a disability demands more resources than families have. In this sense, people with disabilities become a burden. In the reciprocal relationship between disability and poverty, this one increases the risk of disability and disability worsens the risk of poverty by limiting access to education (Cosmopoulos, 1999; WHO, 2012; World Bank, 2020b).

Even though many countries, including Haiti, have adopted laws mandating the integration of people with disabilities, “the facts show that children and young people with disabilities do not receive the individual support they need and remain largely unaccepted in ordinary schools” (Felder, 2019: 4). By considering disability as an issue of development, makers of public policy should see education as the locus of preparation of future adults, the citizens of tomorrow, in an inclusive manner in order to allow individuals to evolve and contribute to the prosperity of the society in which they live (Comte-Sponville, 2007; Castex, 2017). By this argument, education should be integrated and emancipatory (Makoelle, 2014) so as not to be a vector of reproduction or reinforcement of social inequalities as described by authors such as Bourdieu and Passeron (1970), Joint (2008), François (2009), Tardieu (2017), Abraham (2019), and Lainy (2020).

On the basis of ethnographic information collected in the departments of South Haiti, Nippes, and Grand’Anse, this chapter will attempt to show that the form of recognition or ignorance of the value of children with disabilities influences the level of *educational relationship* in which they operate. This objective is pursued from a *cognitive justice* perspective as a process enabling learners to access an equitable education.

The data used in this piece is essentially qualitative. It consists of information collected by means of:

- two life stories, those of Marco and Me Exilien César.¹ One has cerebral palsy and the other has a defect in his right foot;
- three semi-structured interviews carried out with a school principal known for her openness to inclusion, a senior manager in an organization working in the sector of people with disabilities, and a nurse at the general hospital of the city of Les Cayes;
- a free interview carried out as part of a chance meeting with Carlos Grégoire, a 60-year-old with reduced mobility living in the plain of *Les Cayes*;
- observation of educational institutions as well as a visit to an association of parents of children with disabilities;
- examination of the (qualitative) survey reports submitted by the research assistants of the GIECLAT² within the framework of the research-action project aimed at documenting the problem of disability in schools and the teaching practices of teachers in the departments of Sud, Nippes, and de la Grand’Anse d’Haïti (see Lainy, 2020).

For the purposes of analysis, sound recordings were made during the interviews with the intention to fully transcribe the words of the interviewees. This helped us understand and interpret their accounts in order to draw accurate conclusions. Thus, this chapter is divided into three sections: the first focuses on the theoretical link between social representations, disability, and cognitive justice in school. It serves as a frame of reference for the analysis of our data. The second examines the image and analysis of data related to the figure of the *kokobe* as a paradigm of the person living with a disability in Haiti. The last section analyzes the place of disability in Haitian schools in terms of cognitive justice, before concluding with a critique of the paradigm of the reproduction of social inequalities in the sociology of education since the 1960s and 1970s. In this research, cognitive justice as a framework both of observation and analysis guided us to be more attentive and sensitive to the different forms of injustice experienced by children presenting impairments.

3.2 Social representation, disability, and cognitive justice at school

Human dignity does not arise from a quantification, nor from an evaluation (physical or intellectual performances or functions), nor from a price (cost, price, reward), but from recognition and respect for the person (Comte-Sponville, 2007). The term *recognition or nescience* is fundamental here. It refers to the *gaze of others*, to representations influencing attitudes and behaviors in social interactions. Indeed, for nearly 20 years, we have noticed a renewed interest in the theory of social representations initially developed by Serge Moscovici (1976/1961). The scientific discoveries stemming from this theory confirm the importance given to it by sociologists, psychologists, ethnologists, historians, and economists in the analysis of social phenomena, and more precisely of the rules governing social thought and actions (Jodelet, 2003). Studied as a guide for action, the notion of representation is approached in terms of worldview, recognizing the flaws in “common sense,” “naïve thinking,” or stereotypes. It thus designates “a form of knowledge, socially developed and shared, with a practical aim and, contributing to the construction of a reality common to a social whole.” (Jodelet, 2003: 53).

In their function of justification, social representations also make it possible, a posteriori, to legitimize positions and behavior. They maintain or reinforce social positions and distances between interacting groups. They can promote discrimination by perpetuating and justifying differentiation between individuals or between groups. In this sense, social representations constitute principles that generate utterances and positions which impact social interactions. They constitute a system of *precoding* reality, define the purpose of the action and determine the type of relationships relevant to the subject and also the approach to be adopted (Abric, 2011).

In this sense, Comte-Sponville (2007: 22) believes that we cannot neglect cultural parameters in understanding our attitude toward people considered to be disabled.

Hence the need, according to Felder (2019), to refer to *recognition theory* when we think about the inclusion of people living with disabilities: this referential framework evokes a need for the establishment of social mechanisms to give them a social status equal to that of other children while insisting on their empowerment. Thus, “it is not enough to allocate resources to children and young people with disabilities” but the important thing is to examine how society views them because poor recognition means social subordination, that is to say, impossibility to participate as a peer in social life (Fraser, 2001; Felder, 2019).

More pragmatically, *conscience or nescience* is permanently present in practical relations with parents, caregivers, assistants, and teachers. Disability as perceived in recognition theory is a very complex phenomenon. It affects people to varying degrees, both in terms of individual pathology and in social structures. People considered “disabled” does not represent a group that shares a common genetic characteristic or cultural identity. In this sense, we should avoid categorizing people with disabilities as a homogeneous group and try to avoid the trap of “finding a common social response to disability” (Felder, 2019).

Charles Gardou conceives of disability as “the result of the complex relationship between a proven disability and contextual factors” (Comte-Sponville, 2007: 18). The relevance of this definition is that it highlights the *relativity of disability*. In the event that the impairment remains impossible to correct, this definition suggests the possibility of reducing the handicap by changing the situation. For example, we could act on the accessibility of places, the availability of technological means, etc. In the case of school learning, the effects of a disability could be minimized by adapting the educational environment (both in its material and social dimensions) of the school in an inclusive manner.

These considerations bring us back to the two main analytical approaches³ to disability: the *medical model* and *social model*. The medical model is generally expressed in terms of pathology, anomaly, disability, infirmity and prioritizes modes of treatment while the social model, since the 1970s, contrasts the biological condition (impairment) with the social condition (handicap). The medical approach is found to be unsatisfactory for conceptualizing impairments because disability is not an individual characteristic. According to WHO (2001), disability results not only from physical characteristics and biological heritage, but also from personal or environmental contexts. It manifests itself because of the obstacles that individuals encounter that they cannot overcome in certain contexts.

Proponents of the social model argue that while impairment is a physiological state, disability is largely socially constructed through exclusionary policies and practices such as attitudinal, architectural, and socio-economic

barriers (Oliver, 1996). Thus, the “social model” considers that disability is expressed in and by specific socio-political devices which do not take into account all the diversity and multiplicity of needs. Also, says Felder, unlike the medical model, the social model favors a structural approach rather than an individual disability-focused approach. From this perspective, the notion of obstacles to participation and learning replaces the notion of difficulties (UNESCO, 2020). Disability in this view is “a form of social and structural ignorance” of people with disabilities (Felder, 2019: 3). Ultimately, the social model sees disability as a reflection of marginalization and exclusion.

In the case of students living with disabilities, the perspective of the social model of disability suggests that researchers question the meaning of school by analyzing the *pedagogical relationship* not only as a means, but as *the touchstone of the educational act*. As a result, the personality of the developing child as well as his academic success are closely tied to his relationship with the teacher and the classroom atmosphere (Cosmopoulos, 1999). In his analysis of the educational relationship and the success of the educational act, Cosmopoulos sees the educational relationship as a source and catalyst of all educational effectiveness. Students’ capacity for learning and personal development do not thrive in distanced and oppressive educational relationships where the other is used as an object, but rather in engaging educational relationships that are both warm and respectful.

Authors such as Allaire, Michaud, Boissonneault, Côté, and Diallo (2005) have argued that negative pedagogical relationships with learners in difficulty develop among teachers as well as administrative staff and are a risk factor leading to students dropping out of school. For Rousseau, Deslandes, and Fournier (2009), there are inevitably links between the quality of the pedagogical relationship and the learner’s feeling of success or failure, and therefore his feelings about the school and his place there.

According to these specialists, the encouragement and interest shown in learners coincide with a positive perception of the pedagogical relationship, a better appreciation of school, higher self-esteem, and more attention given to schoolwork. Conversely, when the classroom is focused on performance and speed, this engenders a negative perception of the educational relationship. Exchanges will be marked by a feeling of incomprehension and judgment on the part of the teacher, dissatisfaction with school, negative self-perception, and a general state of demotivation and even frustration. This negative atmosphere can lead to aggressive behaviors such as verbal violence, destruction of school equipment and furniture. Such a negative atmosphere tends to lead to high rates of failure and dropout (Lahire, 1993).

In the traditional educational mode, the teacher is always right. When failure ensues, students’ ability to learn is called into question by mistakenly concluding that they are unsuitable. This is how Bachelard (1934: 19) describes the phenomenon: “In a long and diverse career, I have never

seen an educator change his methods. An educator never has a sense of failure precisely because he believes himself to be a master.”

However, from the perspective of self-fulfilling prophecy (from sociologist Robert K. Merton, 1948) or the Pygmalion effect (from Rosenthal and Jacobson, 1971), it is not the child who should adapt to the school’s teaching style, but the school that must vary its pedagogical approaches by focusing on motivational factors. A child can be smart no matter what his starting point is. A child’s performance in school is also influenced by the teacher’s opinion or view of him and also by the opinion he comes to feel about himself (self-confidence). When the teacher thinks a student is gifted, his attitude will change and the child will feel more confident, more motivated, will work harder, and ultimately do better as he increases his chances of success. It has been shown that the performance of learners is linked to expectations of their success (Préfontaine, 1998). Thus, school governance should be aware of the effects of negative projections on the performance of students, especially those who have to live with disabilities, should sensitize staff on the impact of prophetic words on the mental state of the child and his future. As pointed out by Comte-Sponville (2007: 26), we must “ensure that a second injustice of poverty is not piled on top of the first injustice of disability.”

As advocated by Rousseau and his colleagues (2009), a pedagogical approach *centered on the person* favors the quality of relationship between the learners and the teachers, compared to a *purely didactic approach*. With this in mind, the teacher only uses his superior status to accompany the student on the path of learning. The teacher will deal with the disparateness of the students by listening and “adapting to their uniqueness” (Carrey, 2016: 5). This brings us to educational practices focused on cognitive justice as a guiding principle.

Cognitive justice in the educational context is concerned with the lack of knowledge of the context and the culture of the learners, which constitutes an alienating process that deprives children of their rights and epistemologically disadvantages them (Odora Hoppers, 2015; Regulus, 2020). By pointing out contempt for the child’s linguistic capital, Noyau (2014: 52) believes that an alienating atmosphere hampers the child’s potential for learning. In some cases, the potential is blocked by “the transmission of knowledge via an unknown language in which children have no reference points and cannot express their experience of the world and of communication.” Advocates of cognitive justice (Visvanathan, 1997; Charlot and Belanger, 2003; Makoelle, 2014; Sousa Santos, 2014; Odora Hoppers, 2015; Piron, Regulus and Madiba, 2016; Castex, 2017; Leibowitz, 2017; Dawson, 2019; Felder, 2019; Merry, 2020; Regulus, 2020) recommend the availability of educational resources that facilitate the emergence of individual and collective potentials so that learners are sufficiently equipped to face needs in general, in a local and global context.

Thus, cognitive justice in school would not be effective within the framework of *cultural injustice*. This occurs when children are constrained to submit to the burden of suspending or abandoning what they naturally take for granted. This means that the learner has no linguistic or cultural engine, no points of reference, no essential minimum of resources, customs, habits, gestures, and postures that facilitate unhindered and unconscious action in the sense of Bourdieu's habitus (Kwenda, 2003: 70). This situation of cultural injustice is not unrelated to the process of destruction of thought and action patterns described by Frantz Fanon (2002/1961) on violence in the colonies. This process he portrays is not only oppressive and divisive, but also deeply dehumanizing in that it aims to eradicate the languages and cultures of oppressed or enslaved indigenous populations (Dawson, 2019).

Sousa Santos (2014: 212) believes that it is crippling to the intellectual development of children to impose a violent or subtle hegemonic epistemology upon them, claiming it to be complete and sufficient. Instead, we should educate children to cultivate a "plural thought" (Dawson, 2019), to be aware of the danger of *epistemicide* for self-esteem, local knowledge, social cohesion, democracy, and peace. In this sense, the promotion of an ecology of knowledge combined with intercultural translations constitutes a key aspect of cognitive justice (Centro do Estudos Sociais, 2017).

According to Sousa Santos (2014), *epistemicide* is both a vision and a hegemonic practice that engineer the destruction and erasure of other forms of knowledge as well as related practices (non-Western knowledge and forms of local education; *mentefacts*⁴ and artefacts). This process of destruction also includes the natural ecology of the planet. This epistemic hegemony reduces other knowledge into museum objects, that is to say, lifeless and voiceless. It prevents the plural availability of knowledge and does not support the otherness of other knowledge systems (Leibowitz, 2017).

If the path to cognitive justice calls for taking advantage of the local knowledge of the population, it is not a question of simple addition of information, but of reconstituting the conceptual systems that govern models of humanity and ways of being, while recognizing and respecting each individual's knowledge system. Also, it is imperative to enhance and celebrate biological, cultural, economic, political, and cognitive diversity through critical pedagogy. So the design and practice of "methods of decolonization becomes a counter-hegemonic alternative" (Rios and Markus, 2011: 20).

From this point of view, cognitive justice requires that epistemic plurality go beyond simple tolerance and advocate active recognition of the need for diversity, of the plural availability of knowledge. It calls for the recognition of knowledge not only as methods, but also as ways of life. As Visvanathan (2009) noted, "knowledge cannot be detached from culture as a form of life; it is linked to means of subsistence, to a cycle of life, to a way of life; it determines the chances of life" (Visvanathan, 2016: 55).

In a variation of a theory of global justice, Castex (2017: 95) writes, cognitive justice

is considered as the study of principles which make it possible to organize an equitable situation for children in order to satisfy social aspects of the development of mental capacities for learning and in particular of the capacity for attention.

Cognitive justice includes the idea that children with disabilities have the right to compensatory measures as they develop in order to access equitable learning. The “arbitrary nature of the lottery of nature” and the initial social conditions of individuals must not be allowed to handicap the intellectual and social emancipation of children, our future adults. This is the meaning of the distributive and compensatory justice in which everyone receives according to his needs.

Equitable learning as defined by UNESCO (2012, 2020) is a process⁵ to reduce the learning gap between children who are advantaged and those who are disadvantaged, between those in urban and rural areas in terms of access educational resources (Makoelle, 2014). For this process to be meaningful while keeping its inclusive character, it must do more than provide physical access. It must offer value and dignity to a young personality in evolution, foster a sense of belonging, and promote the child’s general well-being (Merry, 2020). In its emancipatory function, the school must therefore extend the same opportunities to everyone by providing them with cultural and linguistic bases, and the educational systems necessary for personal and collective success. In this sense, the individual learning pace and the inborn nature of children’s intellectual development must not be neglected by an educational style based on competitiveness (Monnier and Weiss, 2014).

3.3 What *being disabled* means in Haiti

One of the terms we come across most frequently in our ethnographic research on disability in Haiti is *kokobe* (cocobai, cocobé⁶). In the Haitian lexicon it refers to people with at least one visible disability. Women or men, children, adolescents, or adults living with apparent physical or mental disabilities are considered cursed by God or an evil spirit and thus often become sources of shame for the family. As a result, these people are ostracized, denied access to school or church, and sometimes even to health centers. We hide them away. They are ignored and looked down upon. We don’t mention their names. We don’t count them. Sometimes they are completely abandoned by their families. In order to survive, they turn to charities or begging. The term is often used to remind a person with a disability who is trying to overcome obstacles that he is a “being with a disability” and that he should behave as such. In other words, he must

accept his fate of exclusion from social interactions and games. When we *open the door a little* (social and economic integration), he must experience this opening as fortunate, a favor, and not a right (Regulus, 2020). The term *kokobe* therefore reveals a whole range of preconceptions and detrimental behaviors toward people with disabilities.

Three proverbs revealing these preconceptions were recorded during the interviews and exchanges with our interviewees: p-1) “*Lagè avèti pa touye kokobe*” (a declared *war* does not kill *kokobe*; p-2) “*Se lè dife pran nan ri Fonfò pou w konnen konbyen kokobe ki te genyen*” (If we set a *fire*, we will know how many *kokobe* live in the Rue des Fonforts; p-3) “*Si w vle fini ak kokobe, boule sapat li*” (If you want to get rid of *kokobe*, *burn* their shoes). In these Creole proverbs, speakers use imagery firmly anchored in the mental universe and vocabulary of the listeners to telegraph messages they know will be culturally understood. The literal meaning of *kokobe* as well as the structure and vocabulary of the sentences in the familiar proverb form are equally understood by the speakers and the listeners.

In **p-1**, the coded message is that “one must listen to warnings and take the necessary measures to avoid being a victim.” Otherwise, the perpetrator of the violence will not be held responsible for the damage or aggression committed. Like a subordinate of a colonial society, the abused victim has no right to reparation: “He has no source of redress, nowhere to negotiate with the perpetrators of his misfortune” (Casimir, 2018: 96).

One aspect to consider in the interpretation of these three proverbs is the denotation of the term *kokobe*. In **p-1**, it refers to a “human being aware of danger”, in the other two (**p-2** and **p-3**), the import of *kokobe* is events, feelings (hatred, disgust ...), or some unhappy and unwanted state of affairs. He is a useless being that can be destroyed. So the use of these Creole proverbs containing the word *kokobe* speaks volumes about the social representation of people with disabilities in Haiti.

These three proverbs reveal aggression, violence, and even annihilation. As a system of signifiers, these proverbs reveal patterns of thought and social practices that are detrimental to people with disabilities. Thus, beyond their purpose in communicating and manufacturing an agreed truth, these proverbs often refer to “stereotypical knowledge about human situations” (Gouvard, 1996; Kleiber, 2000). It is understood that it is seriously hurtful for a person with disabilities to be seen and treated as a *kokobe*. In this sense, Wamba (2020: 16) was correct that the term “*cocobai*” – *kokobe* in Haitian Creole – “is a loaded term that leads to discrimination,” abandonment, and even death.

In our organized meetings, Josaphat Pierre, a professional working in the field of disability, stated that the term *kokobe*, as commonly used, “is a reduction of the human being. Its significance even implies the denial of the existence of people living with disabilities.” For him: *Lè yo di w kokobe sa vle dit ou pas gens doua rete nan mitan moun. Poutèt sa a, gen fanmiy ki konn menm rive touye yo, fini ak sa* – when you are called a *kokobe*, it means

that you should not remain among human company. This is the reason why some families put them to death.

We previously analyzed the life story of Marco, who suffered from cerebral palsy starting at the age of one and a half (Regulus, 2020). His mother told us that his biological father as well as his aunt, sister of Marie-Lourdes, abandoned him, although he had been pampered before he became impaired. His father justified his disengagement because the child represented an attack on the virility inherited from his family line: “*nan fanmi m pa gen kokobe*/in my family, there are no *kokobe*.”⁷ “She shut us out,” says Marie-Lourdes, speaking of her sister. “She told me if she had a disabled child like Marco, she would pay a doctor to give him a fatal injection.” A close neighbor told her that Marco would not live, implying that she shouldn’t waste her efforts on taking care of him as if he were a normal child. Because Marie-Lourdes chose to keep her son, she had to face slights that became more and more violent and threatening, so that she was forced to leave her home (Regulus, 2020).

For Exilien César, a lawyer defending the rights of people with disabilities, it was luck that gave him the chance to go to school. At ten, he had reduced mobility due to a defect in his foot. “It was frustrating when my siblings went to school, while my parents were unwilling to invest in my education.” César tells us that “Barriers to personal development and inclusion of people with disabilities often begin with the family.” He explains that

in a household of five children, when dinner is ready, four of them go to table, and the *kokobe* stays in a corner. If the parents are asked how many children they have, often they will not mention a child with a disability.

For Exilien César, when he tried to overcome obstacles, he faced the mockery of other children:

In my neighborhood, they used to call me *pye krochi* (crooked feet). A disability becomes your identifier. It’s not Caroline, but *tifi je pète a* (the little blind girl); it isn’t Monsieur Morilien, but *nèg boul nan do a* (the hunchbacked fellow); it’s not Jacquelin but *ti gason do krochi a* (the boy with scoliosis). *Gen de zòn, lè ou al mande pou yon moun, yo di w – “se pa mesye bout pye a se la a li rete”*

si w pa di se mesye bout pye a, yo p ap konnen ki moun ou bezwen an paske tout moun konnen l sou idantite andikap la/in some neighborhoods, when you ask for someone, you are told “If you’re looking for the cripple, that is where he lives.” If you don’t say you’re looking for the cripple, nobody will know who you’re looking for, because his disability has become his identity.

Malaïka Deskal, a nurse we met at the Hôpital Immaculée Conception (HIC) in Cayes, believes that many Haitian families are not yet emotionally and financially ready to welcome a child with disabilities. *An Ayiti, nou pa prè pou jan de defòmasyon sa yo. Pa gen ase mwayen pou nou konnen sa pou n fè ak moun sa yo. Kidonk, premye reflèks paran an genyen se abandone timoun nan lopital/In Haiti, we are not yet equipped to deal with this kind of distortion. Therefore, the first instinct of parents is to abandon the child in the hospital, she emphasizes. Her conclusion: Timoun ki andikape a, paran an p ap kenbe l pou ou/Parents will not keep a disabled child. She adds, “These cases are very common at HIC. In fact, we have five of them now in the pediatric ward.” The parents having vanished, these children survive thanks to the kind gestures of relatives of other patients. “These children often suffer from macrocephaly, cleft palate, or cleft lip.” Faced with this kind of malformation, *paran an pas wè lot solisyon ke abandone timoun lan /the parents see no solution except for abandonment of the child. “Babies with birth defects are very often left on the doorsteps of the General Hospital and the Sisters of Charity,”* says Roberta François,⁸ a school principal working in the city of Les Cayes.*

Malformations or deformations are often perceived by Haitians, especially among the less educated, as a punishment, a curse from God or the Deities. They can also be understood as the effect of an evil spell cast by an enemy. Some Haitians fear people with disabilities thinking they are contagious or possessed. This sometimes explains the reactions of avoidance or hostility toward people who have rights and who would like to be treated with respect and dignity (Pierre et al., 2010; Parks, 2011; Phillips, 2011; Damus, 2016; Wamba, 2020).

Carlos Grégoire is a 60-year-old living with a disability in the Cayes plain (southern Haiti). He is an Adventist Christian. In an interview with him in 2019, he introduced himself as follows:

I have been disabled since I was 26. I am 61 now. Both of my feet are said to be paralyzed because I have been the victim of “bad air” [evil spirit, magic]. But my condition is not the result of an illness coming from God. Some psychotic people that we see in the street are victims of bad air or a bad spirit sent by someone to prevent their progress in school and in the community. This disturbance is not natural. This disease is not from God. It is caused by man. In my case, it was a builder just like me who struck me by means of a fetish thinking I wanted to steal his job [do it in his place]. I’m disabled. He wanted me dead but thank God I’m still alive.

Exilien César says that, in his activism activities, he hears many stories about people with mental and behavioral disorders who were killed in a voodoo temple or in a sanctuary (Protestant temple where there are

healing practices). In these places, people can be beaten hard to remove an evil influence. Unfortunately, calm returns only with the death of the “possessed” following the violence of the fatal blows.

Malaïka Deskal says that even car or motorcycle accidents are very often interpreted by victims and their relatives as the effect of magic: *Lè yo fè aksidan, gen moun ki konn di m se voye yo te voye l al mouri. Se paske li gen lòt fòs avè l ki fè li pa mouri e se youn bra oubyen youn pye ase ki pèdi* / After an accident, some patients tell me that they were meant to be killed. But thanks to their “invisible companion,” they are still alive even though they have lost an arm or a leg. *Yo konn di m tou ke: “se lwa ki fè m sa, mwen pa t vle sèvi lwa a, Lwa a vin kokobe m”* / They sometimes say to me: “It was a *Lwa* [Voodoo deity] who did this to me. I did not want to serve him. He makes me *kokobe*.”

There is a complex relationship between religion and disability in Haiti. According to Batista (2008, cited by Parks (2011)), many churches happily adopt the general attitude of the culture, adopting the tendency to avoid people seen as *kokobe*. However, in an article titled “Solidarity and handicap in Haiti,” citing *Watchtower Bible and Tract Society of New York*⁹ and 1-Corinthians-15–42 of the Bible, Damus (2019: 93) presents the Jehovah’s Witnesses as a “religion” in solidarity with “people with disabilities.” He also maintains that

by trying to maintain the moral and spiritual health of vulnerable human beings (both healthy people and those with disabilities), by preparing them for death, by giving meaning to their life, religion is involved in the fight against human fragility.

Roberta François, member of an association for the integration of people with disabilities, has another experience of welcoming children living with severe disabilities to church. While interviewing her, she communicated the following words to us: *Si w al legliz ak youn timoun ki andikape ou p ap jwen moun kenbe l pou ou tandiske yo renmen kenbe lòt timoun yo* / “If you go to church with a disabled child, no one will want to hold him in their arms while the faithful of the church love to hold the other children.”

If some churches practice healing or charity toward people living with disabilities, Marie-Lourdes, Marco’s mother, says that these so-called Christian assemblies are not always such good places for the self-esteem of the category of “sons or daughters of God.” Besides, they are called *kokobe*: *An nou di Bondye mèsi paske nou pa andikape* / “We thank God that we are not disabled”; *Tout moun Bondye bay 2 bra, ki pa kokobe, an nou leve men nou pou nou di Bondye mèsi* / All to whom God has given two arms and who aren’t *kokobe*, raise them to thank him; *An nou leve kanpe pou nou al lapriyè ou pou nou al li pawol Bondye a* / “Stand up for prayer or reading the word of God.” She believes that the use of the term disabled or *kokobe* in these admonitions ignores the very existence and sensitivity of people

living with disabilities. “This is an inconsistency,” she adds, “because I know several pastors who have become blind or crippled.”

Access to quality education as a human right including the disabled is far from guaranteed in the country. Across the country, more than 350,000 children and adolescents remain excluded from primary or secondary school. For those who have the “privilege” to access it, the quality of education, which is often very poor in a context where educational provision is dominated by the private sector (at 85%) and which imposes school fees prohibitive for low-income families (Human Rights Watch, 2019),¹⁰ is a complex problem.

3.4 Disability, educational relationship, and cognitive justice in Haiti

The challenge to provide an education adapted to each child, focused on the construction of psychological and personal autonomy, starts from a fundamental principle which is that of welcoming all children whatever their conditions. The premise is that “all students share the ability to learn and progress” (Alin, 2019; Baeza, 2019; Priolet, 2020; Sene, 2020). It proposes that ecology and academic intervention practices must be at the heart of any public policy promoting social justice. Taking a position based on inclusion and cognitive justice, it is a matter of paying particular attention to “individual features seen in terms of a continuum of diversity rather than of differences and divisions” (Priolet, 2020: 168).

This continuum involves taking into account children’s internal, vernacular, and community resources (cultural practices and knowledge of the environment, for example) in order to offer them learning situations adapted to their cognitive profile. The focus of this inclusive vision of education is to eliminate all forms of discrimination, marginalization, and social exclusion that hinder the development of the capacity or empowerment¹¹ of vulnerable children such as street children, children of isolated or nomadic populations, child victims of conflicts as well as children of marginalized groups, in particular those with special educational needs (Sene, 2020).

As Sene (2020) has pointed out, inclusive education is central to achieving social justice and development goals. In the case of Haiti, Joint (2008: 23) wrote that “the Haitian people must define a social project which includes a new educational focus.” This is a necessary step if the actors and influencers take up the challenge of development, social integration, and the intelligent and non-subordinate¹² opening up of the country. This educational development involves first a campaign against illiteracy and cultural alienation. It also presupposes the democratization of quality education, “that is, widening it to raise the level of consciousness and culture of the people.” In other words, this new approach to education will give priority to the promotion of local cultures (local knowledge, tangible and

intangible cultural heritage) and the development of the local and endogenous economy while taking into account the external parameters of its evolution. This education will also insist on the definition and implementation of a continuing education program for citizenship for the development of a democratic culture and the rule of law in Haiti. The school has a heavy responsibility to participate in positive change in Haiti because it remains “the best instrument for the promotion of the social, economic and political development of the Haitian people” (Joint, 2008: 22).

From this standpoint, Sene (2020) emphasizes that the teacher must be trained to understand key concepts and content related to inclusion, namely: an adapted teaching environment, definitions of disability, different types of impairment, models of disability, discrimination linked to disability, community ideas about childhood, disabling obstacles, social representations detrimental to people with disabilities, links between the needs and rights of the child, “theory of multiple intelligences,” differentiated pedagogy, cooperative teaching, inclusive lesson planning, individual educational projects, advocacy, development of partnerships, consciousness raising. ... Thus, each teacher must ensure that inclusive education for all children is at the heart of the public education service, adapting its pedagogical practices or methods to make it effective.

On this basis, the transformation of the Haitian education system is an ethical imperative imposed on the elites because:

The Haitian school of today is an unfair and inequitable school. When we say unfair, we are referring to the issue of social injustice that exists in the Haitian school system [...]. That’s why we’re talking about education at different speeds [...]. With regard to equity: runners do not have the same chances depending on their social origin [...]. It is a very serious problem in the community. In some schools, there are parents who put pressure on the leaders to increase enrollment so that children of a certain social category cannot get access [...]. In Haitian society, there is segregation. What we find at school is a reflection of what we find in society. The school as a public service, as a service institution, must solve this problem.¹³

(Abraham, 2019: 1780–1781)

Marie-Lourdes, Marco’s mother, justified her refusal to send her son, suffering from cerebral palsy to a public high school: *M pa p gen Marco pou al mete nan Lise. Si yo ta mande l mete l nan lekòl leta, kategorikman, m ap di non. Leta pa gen lekòl ki pou resevwa timoun ki gen defisyans/* “I could not send Marco to high school. If asked to send him to a public school, my answer would be a definite no because there is no national school that welcomes children with disabilities.” She goes on to say: “In a history or math class, for example, the teacher who has to spend 60 to 120 minutes in the classroom is not going to devote 20 minutes to Marco even though

he needs it.” To her, it’s certain that a public-school teacher is not going to pay him enough attention. “Marco needs us to see him, talk to him, ask him questions about what is working and what isn’t, and apply appropriate solutions. He won’t get this kind of concentrated attention in a public school.”

According to Roberta François, who has run a school known for its inclusive approach for almost 20 years in the city of Les Cayes, learners with disabilities require a lot more attention: “I know that their needs are specific and different compared to children considered normal. Therefore, they need more support and educational guidance.” However, in certain schools, not are the teachers “not aware of the situation of this category of children, but where we should have four or five teachers per classroom, we only have one teacher for two or three classrooms,” explains Marco’s mother.

Regarding pedagogical relations, Roberta François noted that the attitude of teachers can be a reason for students with learning difficulties to drop out of school.

A child may not be disabled, he may be normal, but the teacher’s behavior, insulting words coming out of his mouth may cause the child to drop out of school. If a child is asked to go to the board to perform an exercise that he has difficulty performing and the teacher calls him a moron [idiot, stupid], that child may lose confidence in himself or become aggressive and finally feel that school is a place that should be avoided.

(Roberta François)

This pedagogical relationship reported by Roberta François was previously described by Cosmopoulos in his article entitled “The pedagogical relationship, a necessary condition for educational effectiveness” (1999). Cosmopoulos felt that the teaching methods and the pedagogical climate should be appropriate and conducive to the fulfillment of the pupil. This means that the formative process should be perceived by the learner in a positive way (Cosmopoulos, 1999). In contrast, in the situation recounted by Roberta François, the teacher doesn’t pause to think about the impact of insulting words on the self-esteem of children with learning disabilities. No sense of empathy or protectiveness and no “desire to foster the development of the student” forges any educational link between teacher and students.

Regarding the lack of attention given to children with learning disabilities, Josaphat Pierre outlined his findings in these terms:

I know a child with a hearing problem, but the school he attended couldn’t detect the hearing loss. Because the child touched his ear every time he was spoken to, his mother decided to take him to a center

where he was screened. Very often we lose children in such cases. A child may be visually impaired but the school cannot detect the problem because there is no concern for screening. But when the kid gets poor marks, he is called a moron and kicked out of school. In this sense, the school is also responsible for the intellectual disability of children.

Wamba (2020) noted a major structural problem in the Haitian school system regarding underachieving learners. Elsewhere, in the United States for example, it is almost routine to do neonatal screening in order to prevent deficiencies and handicaps of perinatal origin with a view to aiding the child if needed. This system would also help the school to identify pupils who have learning disabilities and who need special help or specific teaching materials.

Speaking of the reception of children with visible disabilities, Exilien César, himself a person with reduced mobility, observes that “over time, some classmates did not want to sit near the so-called *kokobe* students.” César believes this tendency still exists. “When a child has a physical deficiency that alters his motor skills, especially in terms of walking, he is given a wheelchair, he is placed in a corner of the classroom with no teaching practices adapted to his specific needs.” But, despite this deplorable situation, César is optimistic. He believes that “with awareness raising and as the potentialities of people living with disabilities are made more visible, the problem of discrimination could disappear.”

Another cognitive injustice aspect addressed by two of our interviewees (Robert François and Josaphat Pierre) is the alienating side of the Haitian school. For them, the issue of disability in school is very complex; because not only do educational institutions pay very little attention to the integration or inclusion of children with disabilities, but the study content itself is disabling. So the school itself in its conception and operation is disabling. “A child who has never heard a French sentence at home finds himself in a school system which attempts to teach him mathematics, history or geography with material written in a language foreign to him – French,” laments Ms. François.

The attentive teacher must not only guide his class in the reading and interpretation of texts, but must also *translate into Creole*, because as we know, a disorder such as dysorthography, for example, affects the child’s ability to learn how to spell.¹⁴ Those who suffer from it have great difficulty in mastering the spelling rules. Dysorthography can be innate or acquired following trauma. Often dysorthography is linked to dyslexia – a disorder of reading. It manifests itself by phonological transcription difficulties, semantic control difficulties, morphosyntactic difficulties, and orthographic lexicon difficulties. As for the disorder of calculation and/or arithmetic, dyscalculia, in general, it refers to the disorders of mathematical skills present in children with normal intelligence (Barrouillet, Billard et al., 2007).

This phenomenon of a colonial language – imposed or adopted to the detriment (and even contempt) of local languages – generating learning disabilities has been examined by Noyau and his colleagues for more than ten years (2001–2014) in the African context. It seems that the negation of children’s mother tongues or local languages “has damaging effects on school learning” (Noyau, 2014: 52–53). However, while the use of mother tongues has positive effects on the development of cognitive capacities, it also remains true that bilingualism has significant cognitive advantages such as

a greater development of creativity, both in the verbal and non-verbal, such as, for example, *being able to produce different solutions to a mathematical problem*. The challenge is to know how to take a pedagogical approach where the “language of the teacher” does not interfere with that of the students. Therefore, teaching while accepting the grammar and vocabularies of the students is important.

(Prudent, Tupine and Wharton, 2005)

Noyau (2014) feels that educational methods that block the use of the child’s home language are alienating, and consequently, hamper the intellectual development and the learning capacity of the young person. This becomes less intrusive for the child who already has some familiarity with the language of the *master language* (the language of the teacher or the colonist). A language is not only used to communicate messages. It is also the transmission of culture, ways of thinking, experiences, and life trajectories. It carries history and memory. So to bully a local language is also to oppress the thought, history, and culture of the other.

To describe this alienating situation and the cognitive injustice in Haitian schools, Josaphat Pierre referred us to the well-known poem “*Prière d’un petit enfant nègre*” (“Prayer of a little Black boy” (1943)) by Guy Tirolien.¹⁵ According to Mr. Pierre, a senior executive in an organization working in the disabled sector, the school generally disdains the cultural baggage that students take for granted. Fundamentally, the school system does not seek to detect or to supervise the development of the specific potentialities of learners. “A child living in a rural setting may be excellent at botany, but instead of encouraging and mentoring him to develop this potential, he is forced to solve mathematical equations. We want him to become an engineer, doctor, or lawyer,” Josaphat Pierre says. “The school ignores the desires and the sources of motivation of the learners.”

Here is an extract from “*Prière d’un petit enfant nègre*” by Guy Tirolien:

*Why should we keep learning from books
That talk about things from other places?
And then their [colonial] school is really too sad,
(...)
O Lord, I don’t want to go to their school any more!*¹⁶

Considered a “manifesto of Negritude” (Ibrahim, 2013), this poem constitutes a sort of rejection of Western hegemony and civilization and a demystified claim to the identity of the peoples of Africa as well as people of African descent through their languages, their history, their relationship with the environment – in short, their culture.

Roberta François is critical of the reliance on schoolbooks, and that the textbooks authorized by the Ministry of National Education ignore the environmental, socio-economic, political and cultural contexts which are immediate cognitive benchmarks. She finds it inconceivable that schoolchildren in the Grand Sud region of Haiti, for example, know very little or nothing about the Massacre of Marchaterre (December 6, 1929) in Les Cayes; on the Forteresse des Platons, Camp Gerard¹⁷ (in Camp-Perrin), the vetiver fields (for their aromatic oil) or the “Pic Macaya,” even though recognized by UNESCO as a Biosphere Reserve. These cultural and natural elements could be approached in a strategy of “leisure education” (Draelants, 2019). Josaphat Pierre responds to this idea, saying that “there is a lack of endogenous elements in the textbooks as well as in the illustrations used in school education.” He believes that there is very little room in school for gastronomy, pharmacopoeia, dance, music, nursery rhymes, tales, stories, memory of historic places, traditional spirituality, all part of the local cultural landscape. Our learning system, marked by serious deficits in terms of historical, cultural, and social anchoring, is not so far away from the colonial school depicted by Tirolien.

Indeed, this school environment devalues popular culture. They are called “monkey-like” as our schools join with the Catholic and Protestant churches in demonizing the cultural references most familiar to the students because of their Africanness. In this sense, even certain characters or historical events relating to the Haitian Revolution are not assumed by this school of “proper gentlemen” because of their supposed link with the voodoo deities, it is the case of Boukman or the Bois-Caïman ceremony (1791)¹⁸, for example. In this hostile environment, the learner’s self-esteem can only be compromised as he is led to reject a lived identity for the forced appropriation of a prescribed identity.

In this postcolonial school system, in general, educators are not sufficiently equipped to resist the *epistemicidal* tendency of the homogenization of cultures in order to assume their cultural heritage marked by the presence of Africanity in Haiti (Regulus, 2012). Thus, the traits of Africanity are often evoked in terms of insult: *ki jan ti gason sa a fè nwè konsa!* / How is this little boy so black? ; *gade gwosè dyòl ti fi a* / Look at the thickness of the little girl’s lips!; *Gade figi ti makak la !* /Look at the face of this little monkey; *Ak tèt grenn ou an*/Frizzy -haired freak; *Ou pa p vin dòmi sa klas la non !* *Ou sanble timoun ki te manje “manje Lwa”* /You won’t come and sleep in the classroom! You must have eaten the food of the *lwa* [voodoo deities]; *Gen lè se lwa rasyal li yo ki fè l fou*/He must be

mad [mentally deficient] because of his family or ancestral *lwa*/; *kreyòl la vilgè*/the Creole language is vulgar!

Thus, the “master-teachers”, unaware of the effects of the symbolic violence perpetrated through these punitive formulations, become privileged actors in the enterprise of forgetting or of the chain of the “memory of the kidnapping from African soil and enslavement” (Casimir, 2018: 96). In fact, these educational relations are in accordance with the project of the postcolonial Haitian state, as Casimir (2000: 2–3) has pointed out, to expel “Africa, Africans and all their daily life and culture from the history of the country” even if the demographics of Haiti in 1804 resisted this tendency because, on the eve of Haiti’s independence, “two out of three Haitians were born in Africa.” Haiti remains “one of the most African countries in America” even as the oligarchy formed after independence has done everything to destroy all traces of original or reconstructed African culture. From the viewpoint of inclusion and cognitive justice, wise educational methods should, on the contrary, help to eradicate social injustices inherited from history. They must be involved in the fight against racism, prejudice, and racial discrimination that people of African descent are still victims of in this exceptional country of America which was minted in 1804.

3.5 Conclusion

3.5.1 *Toward a questioning of the sociology of reproduction*

At the end of these descriptive and analytical lines aiming to study the relationship between social representations of learners with disabilities via the notions of pedagogical relationship and equitable learning in a perspective of cognitive justice, we must ask a major question. How could the Haitian school system be at the service of the founding principle of Haitian thought, namely *tout moun se moun*?¹⁹ Could reforming this system reform Haitian society? As sociology professor Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2018) said, “no social justice can be achieved without cognitive justice.” So, if we want to act toward a just society in Haiti, respecting human dignity in opposition to the historical social inequalities characterizing the governance and the social dynamics of the country, it is imperative to attack the inequalities (Joint, 2008) of our system of education.

“The Haitian school of today is an unfair and inequitable school” (Abraham, 2019). In its design and operation, it is itself disabling. It works in almost total negation of vulnerable children, particularly those with physical or mental disabilities. If the impairment is a physiological state, in accordance with what Oliver (1996: 33) noted, the exclusionary practices that are rampant in public and private spaces (family, church, school, etc.) in Haiti take the form of attitudinal, socio-economic and architectural obstacles,²⁰ and prevent the emancipation of children with congenital anomalies or paralyzing alterations.

We have seen that the common use of the term *kokobe* in these places is loaded with meaning, working against the recognition of the rights and dignity of people with disabilities as full members of the human species. According to Comte-Sponville (2007), a disability, even severe, does not change either the rights or the dignity of their person; however, it increases the duties of we who are not deficient. In the exercise of these duties, it is not enough to allocate resources, it is necessary to examine how society views the disabled because lack of recognition means “an inability to participate as a peer in social life.” In addition, lack of recognition can lead to situations of symbolic and physical violence, even death. Women with mental disabilities are often raped, sometimes beaten to death. Marie-Lourde was obliged to leave her home to keep her son Marco alive. Disability in Haiti is closely linked to the weight of negative social representations that are deeply rooted there. According to Parks (2011), attitudes should be changed, not just the physical environment. As long as those accused of *kokobe* are not considered as full human beings, society will not feel responsible for giving them a quality education and arrangements meeting their special needs according to the principles of cognitive justice.

In the same vein, it is the responsibility of the school to participate in the positive change of Haiti because it remains “the foremost instrument to promote the social, economic and political development of the Haitian people” (Joint, 2008: 22). Thus, school administrators and teachers are called upon to ensure that cultural and social barriers do not transform impairments into disabilities. Educational methods should foster the cognitive development of children with motor or intellectual disabilities. The educational environment must be inclusive in both its physical and relational dimensions.

The analysis of our ethnographic data addressing social demands on school allows us to consider perspectives in line with the sociology of education sparked by Jal Mehta and Scott Davies (2018). The current sociology of education, focused since the 1960s and 1970s on the mechanisms of the school reproduction of social inequalities, is rather depressing according to Mehta and her colleagues. It’s hard not to feel overwhelmed by the conferences of the American Sociological Association, “when, year after year, each session systematically reveals the various forms of inequality and the processes and mechanisms that produce them” (Draelants, 2019). Mehta and Davies believe that it would be more productive for researchers in the sociology of education to shift some of their efforts from documenting problems to finding solutions. Against the easy radicalism that awaits the arrival of a Revolution to solve the problem of poverty as a prerequisite for solving the problem of inequality in the school system,²¹ school should preferably be seen more as part of the solution. Without it, “inequalities would be much more serious.” We cannot underestimate the role that educational reforms could play in reducing educational inequalities, and ultimately cognitive and social injustices.

Notes

- 1 According to an anonymity agreement with my interviewees, real names have been replaced by pseudonyms.
- 2 Groupe Initiative pour l'étude de la cognition, de la parole, de l'apprentissage et des troubles.
- 3 Given the different perceptions of disability in terms of access to education, we will also consider a third approach. in addition to the medical and social models: the charitable model (Felder, 2019). This considers people with disabilities as unfit for education. They are excluded from education, even though some religious institutions provide them with care and education. As objects of pity, they are included in the category of victims (UNESCO, 2020).
- 4 The concept of *mentefact* brings together all the intangible manifestations produced by man and representing a large part of cultural heritage. More precisely, this notion represents the "set of spiritual or intangible productions which constitute the intangible part of the ethnological heritage of a community, society or civilization" (Blanchet-Robitaille, 2012).
- 5 UNESCO, 2020: 11.
- 6 In Haitian Creole *kokobe* is pronounced *cocobé* meaning a curved or twisted body. Heavily paralyzed person (Damus, 2019: 96). We also say *krebete* (cre-bété) or *bèkèkè* (moron, retarded or weakling) to indicate that an individual is incapable, and therefore of no functional or social importance.
- 7 As reported by Marie-Lourde.
- 8 Roberta François is a school principal and an advocate for people with disabilities. She has been in the educational field for more than 30 years.
- 9 Watchtower Bible and Tract Society of New York, Inc. is a religious organization founded in 1909 to support the proselytizing actions of the Jehovah's Witnesses.
- 10 Sixty-one percent of the cost of education is borne by families (Jean, 2017: 236).
- 11 (In English in the original.) Process by which an individual becomes stronger and their confidence is strengthened, allowing them control over their life and the power to assert their rights. In an educational context, it refers to the development of the power to act or the independence of learners.
- 12 An openness that would be conscious and vigilant.
- 13 Accounts given by two of Jacques Abraham's interviewees.
- 14 Association DYS-POSITIF, « Dysorthographe », URL: <https://www.dyspositif.fr/dysorthographe/#:~:text=La%20dysorthographe%20est%20un%20trouble,de%20la%20correspondance%20phon%C3%A8me%E2%80%91graph%C3%A8me>. Consulted on July 3, 2019.
- 15 Guy Tirolien (1917–1988) was a poet from Guadeloupe. Guy was a part of the *Négritude* ideological movement. He contributed to the publication *Présence africaine* alongside Léopold Sédar Senghor, Aimé Césaire, and Léon Gontran Damas (Laura Garcia, "La voix de sa prière" (The voice of his prayer), University of North Georgia, URL: <https://digitalcommons.northgeorgia.edu/ngresearchconf/2015/Dahlonge/57/>, Accessed September 3, 2020).
- 16 Léopold Sédar Senghor, *Anthologie de la nouvelle poésie nègre de langue française* (Anthology of new Black poetry in French), Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1977, 94–96.
- 17 Camp Gerard, near the town of Les Cayes, place of the meeting between Jean Jacques Dessalines and Geffrard, On July 5, 1803, the generals of the army of the South, under the orders of Geffrard, formed an alliance with Jean-Jacques Dessalines.

- 18 According to oral tradition, it was following a politico-religious gathering (at the Mézy residence in the North, on the night of August 14, 1791) known as the Ceremony of Bois-Caïman that the Haitian Revolution was started by Boukman, a former maroon and voodoo priest who gave the signal for the general uprising of the rebellious captives. It is said that it was in the blood of a black pig that the alliance between the rebels and the African deities under whose aegis they fought was sealed. But, according to *manbo* De Lynch (2008), the priestess of this ceremony had the sacred name “Manbo Inan”. She presided over a ritual that is called in voodoo *Bay gad* (giving protection, talisman) in the *petwo* rite. So it is said *kay* Manbo Inan (Chez Manbo Inan) or *Bwa kay Inan* (in the woods or forest at Manbo Inan). Today, the *Lwa* Manbo Inan is still worshipped in the North and the Artibonite. However, some Haitians new to Islam believe that Boukman (book man) was a Muslim and his name meant *man of the book*. So, Bois-Caïman would be *Bois kay Imam* (In the Woods at Imam). They believe that this nocturnal ceremony was performed with a black boar and not with a black pig. However, for Haitians converted to Christianity (Protestants especially), the blood of the pig was replaced by the blood of a “human,” a son of Israel, son of God – i.e. Jesus. See also Robbie Shilliam (2017), “Race and Revolution at Bwa Kayiman,” in *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 1–24. See also Regulus (2012: 198).
- 19 *Every man is a man* (Casimir, 2018: 95). This founding principle, in these revolutionary ideals toward independence make the Declarations of Human Rights inclusive by integrating all human beings without ideological distinctions of race or class.
- 20 Admittedly, there are some initiatives undertaken by public services, civil society and non-governmental organizations aimed at stemming these injustices (Frédéric, 2017). But, given the depth of cultural roots, patterns of thought and action against the emancipation of marginalized minorities, the impact of these interventions is all but invisible.
- 21 On moral grounds alone, this argument should be suspect. He treats poor children as “weapons in ideological warfare”. As the sixteenth contributor to Mehta and Davies, noted, “no one applies this kind of reasoning to their own children.” This hard structural position too often justifies doing nothing other than waiting for revolution (Draelants, 2019).

References

- Abraham, Jacques, 2019, “Segregation in basic school in Haiti, reflecting the social relations of inequality”, *Universal Journal of Educational Research*, Vol. 7, No. 8, 1772–1786.
- Alin, Christian, 2019, *L'autisme à l'école, le pari de l'éducabilité*, Brussels: Mardaga.
- Allaire, Gratien, Jacques Michaud, Boissonneault Julie et al., 2005, *Le décrochage au secondaire en Ontario français*, (Reort to the Institut Franco-Ontarien), Greater Sudbury: Laurentian University.
- Bachelard, Gaston, 1934/1967, *La formation de l'esprit scientifique*, Paris: Librairie philosophique J. VRIN (Bibliothèque des textes philosophiques/Library of philosophical texts).
- Baeza, Carole, 2019, Alin, C. (2019). *L'autisme à l'école, le pari de l'éducabilité*, Brussels: Éditions Mardaga. », *Éducation et socialisation*, Vol. 52, URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/edso/6176>; Consulted December 15, 2020.
- Barrouillet, Pierre, Catherine Billard, Maria de Agostini et al., 2007, *Dyslexie, dys-orthographe, dyscalculie: bilan des données scientifiques*, Paris: INSERM.

- Blanchet-Robitaille, Ariane (2012), "Le mentefact au musée: la mémoire mise en scène", *Muséologies*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 55–75.
- Bourdieu, Pierre & Jean Claude Passeron, 1970, *La reproduction. Éléments pour une théorie du système d'enseignement*, Paris: Minuit.
- Carrey, Céline, 2016, "Relation à la nature et relation pédagogique: convergences et vie éthique des enseignants", *Éducation relative à l'environnement*, Vol. 13, No. 2, 1–15.
- Casimir, Jean, 2000, "La suppression de la culture africaine dans l'histoire d'Haïti", *Socio-anthropologie*, Vol. 8, URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/socio-anthropologie/124>, Consulté le 17 octobre 2019.
- Casimir, Jean, 2018, "Une lecture décoloniale de l'histoire du peuple haïtien de 1697 à 1915", *Rencontre*, Vol. 34, 95–105.
- Castex, Elisabeth, 2017, "Pour une justice cognitive: l'amélioration biomédicale de l'attention des enfants", *Revue française d'éthique appliquée*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 91–103.
- Centro do Estudos Sociais, 2017, *Epistemologies of the South: Struggles, Knowledges and Ideas for the Future*, URL: http://www.ces.uc.pt/cessummerschool//index.php?id=14661&pag=14662&id_lingua=2, Consulted November 24, 2020.
- Charlot, Bernard & Paul Belanger, 2003, "Education", in W. Fisher & T. Ponniah (dirs), *Another world is possible: Popular alternatives to globalization at the world social forum*, London: Zed Books, 202–211.
- Colette, Noyau, 2014, "Cultures métalinguistiques des langues de tradition orale: quels transferts des jeux de langage vers une culture métalinguistique scolaire pour l'écrit", in Sophie Babault et al., (eds.), *Colloque International "Contexte Global et contextes locaux: tensions, convergences et enjeux en didactique des langues"*, Lille: Université Lille 3, Université Paris Descartes et Université Sorbonne Nouvelle-Paris 3, 51–66.
- Comte-Sponville, André, 2007, "De la marge vers le cœur de notre complexité humaine", in Denis Poizat et al., (eds.), *Désinsulariser le handicap*, Toulouse: ERES, 17–29.
- Cosmopoulos, Alexandre, 1999, "La relation pédagogique, condition nécessaire de toute efficacité éducative", *Revue française de pédagogie*, Vol. 128, 97–106.
- Damus, Oubrayant, 2016, "En haïti, le handicap à travers le prisme de l'irrationnel et du magique", Charles Gardou, 2016, *Le handicap et ses empreintes culturelles* (Disability and its cultural imprints), ERES (Connaissances de la diversité series), 117–130.
- Damus, Oubrayant, 2019, "Solidarité et handicap en Haïti" (Solidarity and disability in Haiti), *Alternativas: Cuadernos de Trabajo Social*, Vol. 26, 83–102.
- Dawson, Marcelle, 2019, "Rehumanising the university for an alternative future: decolonisation, alternative epistemologies and cognitive justice", *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, Vol. 27, No 1, 71–90.
- De Lynch, Carol, 2008, *Le cahier sacré du vodouisant*, Port-au-Prince: Henri Deschamps.
- Draelants, Hugues, 2019, "Les nouvelles frontières de la sociologie de l'éducation", *La vie des idées*, 2019, URL: <https://laviedesidees.fr/Jal-Mehta-Scott-Davies-Education-in-a-New-Society.html>, Consulted October 4, 2019.
- Fanon, Frantz, 2002/1961, *Les damnés de la terre*, Paris: La Découverte.
- Felder, Franziska, 2019, "Recognition in special needs education, inclusive education and disability studies", Siep Ludwig et al., (Dirs), *Springer Reference*

- Geisteswissenschaften*, Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden GmbH, ein Teil von Springer Nature, URL: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-19561-8_58-1, Consulted January 4, 2020.
- François, Pierre Enocque, 2009, *Système éducatif et Abandon social en Haïti. Cas des enfants et des jeunes de la rue*, Paris: Université Paris 10 Nanterre.
- Fraser, Nancy, 2001, "Recognition without ethics?", *Theory, Culture & Society*, Vol. 18, No. 2–3, 21–42.
- Frédéric, Innocent, 2017, "La répartition territoriale des centres, les personnes handicapées et le financement: trois grands défis pour la formation technique et professionnelle en Haïti", *Haïti Perspectives*, Vol. 6, No. 2, 29–32.
- Gouvard, Jean-Michel, 1996, "Les formes proverbiales" (Proverbial forms), *Langue française*, Vol. 110, 48–63.
- Human Rights Watch, 2019, "Haiti events of 2018", URL: <https://www.hrw.org/fr/world-report/2019/country-chapters/325548#87bec3>, Consulté le July 28, 2020.
- Ibrahim, Magda, 2013, *Prière d'un petit enfant nègre de Guy Tirolien: Un manifeste de la Négritude* (Prayer of a Negro Child by Guy Tirolien: A Manifesto of Negritude) Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Jean, Jesse, 2017, *Étude de l'aide internationale pour la réalisation de l'éducation pour tous en Haïti* (Study of international aid for the achievement of education for all in Haiti) (Doctoral thesis), Paris: Université Paris-Est.
- Jean-Claude, Abric (dir.), 2011, *Pratiques sociales et représentations* (Social practices and representations), Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Jodelet, Denise, 2003, *Les représentations sociales* (Social representations), Paris: Presses Universitaire de France.
- Joint, Louis Auguste, 2008, "Système éducatif et inégalités sociales en Haïti" (The educational system and social inequalities in Haiti), *Revue Recherches et Ressources en Éducation et en Formation*, No. 2, 18–24.
- Kleiber, Georges, 2000, "Sur le sens des proverbes" (On the meaning of proverbs), *Langages – La parole proverbiale*, Vol. 34, No. 139, 39–58.
- Kwenda, Chirevo Victor, 2003, "Cultural justice: The pathway to reconciliation and social cohesion", in D. Chidester, P. Dexter & W. James (eds.), *What Holds Us Together: Social cohesion in South Africa*. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, 67–80.
- Lahire, Bernard, 1993, *Culture écrite et inégalités scolaires. Sociologie de l'«échec scolaire» à l'école primaire* (Written culture and educational inequalities. Sociology of "school failure" in primary school), Lyon: PUL.
- Lainy, Rochambeau (ed.), 2020, *Disabilities in Haitian Schools: Preliminary Results of a Research Project in Southern Haiti in the Aftermath of Hurricane Matthew*, Quebec: Éditions science et bien commun.
- Leibowitz, Brenda, 2017, "Cognitive justice and the higher education curriculum", *Journal of Education*, Vol. 68, 93–112.
- Makoelle, Tsediso Michael, 2014, "Cognitive justice: a road map for equitable inclusive learning environments", *International Journal of Education and Research*, Vol. 2, No. 7, 505–518.
- Mehta, Jal & Scott Davies (eds.), 2018, *Education in a New Society. Renewing the Sociology of Education*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Merry, Michael, 2020, *Educational Justice: Liberal Ideals, Persistent Inequality, and the Constructive Uses of Critique*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Merton, Robert King, 1948, “The Self-Fulfilling Prophecy”, *The Antioch Review*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 193–210.
- Monnier, Anne & Laura Weiss, 2014, “Le rôle des différents acteurs dans le processus de création de l'école de culture générale à Genève en 1972- l'évolution dans le choix des disciplines en lien avec le concept de culture générale”, in Philippe Losego et al., (eds.), *Actes du colloque “Sociologie et didactiques: vers une transgression des frontières”, September 13 and 14, 2012*, Lausanne: Haute Ecole Pédagogique de Vaud, 112–143.
- Moscovici, Serge, 1976/1961, *La psychanalyse son image et son public* (Psychoanalysis, its image and its audience), Paris: PUF.
- Odora, Hoppers & Catherine Alum, 2015, “Think piece: cognitive justice and integration without duress the future of development education – perspectives from the South”, *International Journal of Development Education and Global Learning*, Vol. 7, No. 2, 89–106.
- Oliver, Michael, 1996, *Understanding disability: From theory to practice*, Macmillan: Basingstoke.
- OPS/OMS, 2017, *La santé dans les Amériques+. Résumé du panorama régional et profils de Haïti et des départements français d'Amérique (Guadeloupe, Guyane et Martinique)* Washington, DC: OPS/OMS.
- Parks, Elizabeth, 2011, *The Deaf People of Haiti*, Dallas: SIL International.
- Phillips, Cassandra, 2011, “Reaching the “cocobai” Reconstruction and persons with disabilities in Haiti”, Focal (Canadian Foundation for the Americas).
- Pierre, Andrea, et al., 2010, “Culture et santé mentale en Haïti: une revue de littérature”, *Santé mentale au Québec*, Vol. 35, No. 1, 13–47.
- Piron, Florence, Samuel Regulus & Marie Sophie Dibounje Madiba, 2016, *Justice cognitive, libre acces et savoirs locaux, au service de la science ouverte juste*, Quebec: Editions science et bien commun.
- Préfontaine, Clémence, 1998, “L'effet Pygmalion en situation d'enseignement de l'écriture”, *Québec français*, Vol. 110, 36–39.
- Prioret, Maryvonne, 2020, “Obstacles liés à l'apprentissage et pratiques inclusives”, in Valérie Henry & Germain Simons (eds.), *Deuxième colloque du DIDACTIfen Identifier, modéliser et surmonter les obstacles liés à l'apprentissage – 7 et 8 juillet 2020 (Livret des résumés)*, Liège: ULiège, 168–169.
- Prudent, Lambert-Félix, Frédéric Tupin & Sylvie Wharton, 2005, *Du plurilinguisme à l'école: vers une gestion coordonnée des langues en contextes éducatifs sensibles*, New York: Peter Lang.
- Regulus, Samuel, 2012, *Transmission de la prétrise vodou: devenir ougan ou manbo en Haïti*, Quebec: Université Laval.
- Regulus, Samuel, 2020, “Enfants en situation de handicap et justice cognitive. Analyse contextuelle d'un récit de vie”, in Rochambeau Lainy (ed.), *Disabilités in Haitian Schools: Preliminary results of a research project in southern Haiti in the aftermath of Hurricane Matthew*, Quebec: Éditions science et bien commun.
- Renaut, Alain, 2013, *Un monde juste est-il possible ? – Contribution à une théorie de la justice globale*, Paris: Stock.
- Rios, Francisco & Susan Markus, 2011, “Multicultural Education as a Human Right: Framing Multicultural Education for Citizenship in a Global Age”, Woodring College of Education Faculty, URL: https://cedar.wvu.edu/education_facpubs/11, Consulted March 3, 2020.

- Rosenthal, Robert & Lenore Jacobson, 1971, *Pygmalion à l'école*, Bruxelles: Casterman.
- Rousseau, Nadia, Rollande Deslandes & Hélène Fournier, 2009, "La relation de confiance maître-élève: perception d'élèves ayant des difficultés scolaires", *McGill Journal of Education/Revue des sciences de l'éducation de McGill*, Vol. 44, No. 2, 193–211.
- Sene, Saliou, 2020, *Perspective internationale en éducation inclusive et réalités des enfants en situation de handicap en Afrique subsaharienne francophone : cas du Sénégal* (Doctoral thesis), Talence: Université de Bordeaux.
- Shilliam, Robbie, 2017, "Race and revolution at Bwa Kayiman", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 45, 1–24.
- Sousa Santos, Boaventura, 2018, *The End of the Cognitive Empire: The Coming of Age of Epistemologies of the South*, Durham: Duke University Press.
- Sousa Santos, Boaventura, 2014, *Epistemologies of the South: Justice Against Epistemicide*. Boulder, Colorado: Paradigm Publishers.
- Tardieu, Charles, 2017, "Haïti: Le défi de l'Éducation - Un déni d'Éducation !", *Le National*, URL: <http://www.lenational.org/haïti-defi-de-leducation-deni-deducation/> et <http://www.lenational.org/haïti-defi-de-leducation-deni-deducation-2/>, Consulted May 4, 2019.
- United Nations, 2019, *Haïti: plus d'une personne sur trois a besoin d'une aide alimentaire urgente*, URL: <https://news.un.org/fr/story/2019/11/1055701>, Consulted April 25, 2020.
- UNESCO, 2012, *Education for All Global Monitoring Report*, Paris: UNESCO.
- UNESCO, 2020, *2020 Global Education Monitoring Report: Inclusion and Education: All Means All*, Paris: UNESCO.
- Visvanathan, Shiv, 1997, *A Carnival for Science: Essays on Science, Technology and Development*, Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Visvanathan, Shiv, 2009, "The search for cognitive justice", *India Seminar*, URL: http://www.india-seminar.com/2009/597/597_shiv_visvanathan.htm, Consulted March 10, 2016.
- Visvanathan, Shiv, 2016, *La quête de justice cognitive*, Florence Piron, Samuel Régulus & Marie Sophie Dibounje Madiba, Quebec: Editions science et bien commun.
- Wamba, Nathalis, 2020, "Students, learning disabilities and inclusive education in Haiti. A review of the literature", in Rochambeau Lainy (ed.), 2020, *Disabilities in Haitian Schools: Preliminary Results of a Research Project in Southern Haiti in the Aftermath of Hurricane Matthew*, Quebec: Éditions science et bien commun.
- WHO, 2001, *International Classification of Functioning, Disability and Health*, Geneva: WHO.
- WHO, 2012, *World Report on Disability 2011*, Geneva: WHO.
- World Bank, 2020a, "Investing in people to fight poverty in Haiti", URL: <https://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/poverty/publication/beyond-poverty-haiti>, Consulted December 1, 2021.
- World Bank, 2020b "Disability inclusion", URL: <https://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/disability>, Consulted December 1, 2021.