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ABSTRACT

A value orientations approach is used in this report to construct an overview of Haitian culture and its relation to education. The paper consists of five major sections. The first introduces cultural value orientations as a conceptual scheme. Culture is defined as the learned patterns of thinking, feeling and behaving that make life meaningful for a particular group of human beings. All cultures contain values that can be organized into six "clusters": nature, the self, society, the supernatural, human nature, and the family. Section 2 provides axiological definitions of the basic value orientations, outlining them as a range of choices toward solving life's problems and evaluating the solutions. Section 3 describes Haitian culture in general terms. It focuses on the history of colonization, the political situation, education, United States influence, and population trends. Section 4 follows the previously presented outline of value orientations to present details on Haitian values. Finally, Section 5 discusses the influence of culture on the Haitian education system. General features of Haitian education are described, and emphasis is placed on cultural aspects of schooling, such as language use and behavior expectations, which are of interest to North American teachers of Haitian immigrants. It is concluded that American teachers should look beyond the classroom experience to cultural factors in order to understand Haitian students' academic behavior and performance. A general outline of U.S. value orientations, references, and a supplementary bibliography are appended. (KH)

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HAITIAN VALUE ORIENTATIONS

CULTURAL MONOGRAPH NUMBER 2

BILINGUAL MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION TRAINING PROJECT FOR SCHOOL PSYCHOLOGISTS AND GUIDANCE COUNSELORS

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Gainesville, FL 32611
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I. INTRODUCTION TO THE CULTURAL MONOGRAPH SERIES AND TO CULTURAL VALUE ORIENTATIONS

The Cultural Monograph Series provides the reader with an overview of varying cultures. This overview is presented from the perspective of value orientations. It should be pointed out that any attempt to describe a culture or a subculture is at best dangerous. Culture is not static, it is an evolving phenomenon, subject to continuous change. The study of culture and of cross cultural inquiry is an emergent field of endeavor.

The material presented in the Culture Monograph Series is based on A Conceptualization of Value Orientations and on the corresponding Axiological Definitions, developed at the University of Florida by Dr. Clemens L. Hallman (1981). The material includes cultural and cross cultural research conducted in the United States and in Latin America. An understanding of A Conceptualization of Value Orientations and of the corresponding Axiological Definitions is requisite to an understanding of the material presented in all the cultural monographs in the series. The following section provides the reader with an overview of the aforementioned conceptual schemes.

CONCEPTUAL SCHEMES

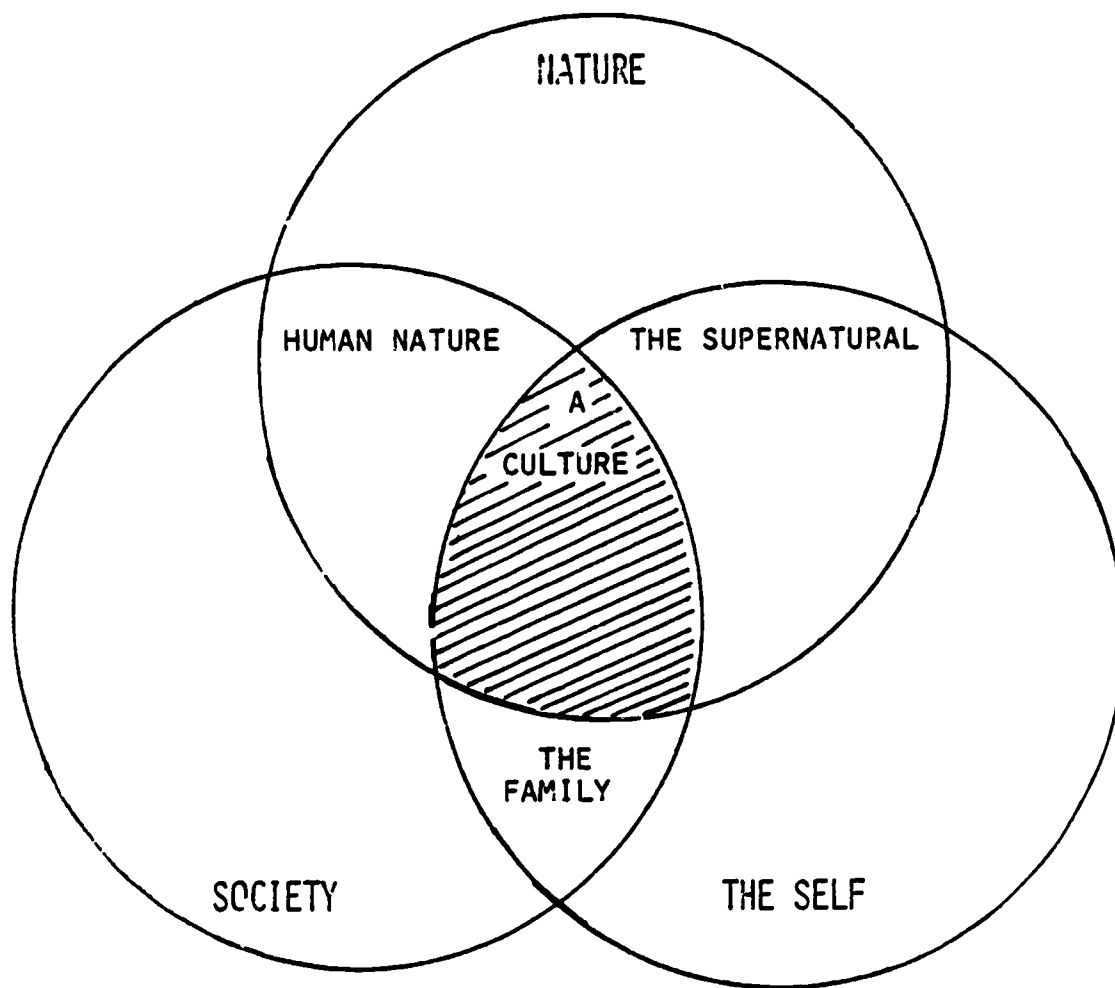
As one grows up one takes one's cultural patterns of behavior for granted. It's the "natural" thing to do. Because of this phenomenon it is hard to understand why people from another culture behave so differently. One does not realize that a person from another culture is behaving according to his/her cultural patterns of behavior. Culture as defined here means: the learned patterns of thinking, feeling and behaving that make life meaningful for a particular group of human beings. The implications of such a definition are as follows:

- A. Cultural patterns of behavior are learned.
- B. We are usually not aware of the fact that our behavior is learned, or of the reasons why we behave the way we do. Our culture is natural for us--we learn our unique patterns of behavior based on our personal experience: from our parents, friends, community, i.e., our "environment".
- C. This means that people the world over have learned how to behave, to think, and to feel, largely by those surrounding them, by their native environment.
- D. Growing up in a particular place, learning the patterns of thinking, feeling and behaving expected by people in the group, often means that we think of other people, apart from our "own", as different, often somewhat strange. This is especially true if they look different, i.e., color, size, if they behave differently from us and if they speak a different language.

- E. Much of our prejudice, our bias towards others, is based on the "cultural shell" which surrounds and nurtures us from birth. From our environment we learn our attitudes towards others and our feelings toward certain types of people. When someone looks or behaves differently from us, we tend to judge him/her from our vantage point. We usually do not stop and think "Well, maybe he/she is behaving in a certain way because he/she is coming from a different 'cultural shell' than mine."
- F. The above considerations point to the fact that no one is better than the other, that no one is right and everyone else is wrong. Our behavior is largely determined by the process of socialization that we have undergone through our native culture. Our environment has not only led us, but has constrained us, in terms of what we believe is right, what we believe is true, what we believe is valuable, and what we believe is wrong.
- G. EVERY CULTURE IS VALID, because it serves the purpose of making life meaningful for a particular group. Every person, thus, has dignity and worth as an individual, and as a member of a particular group, whether that group be Mexican, French, Chinese, Cuban, Egyptian, American, Jamaican or any other.

Condon and Yousef (1979) developed six clusters of cultural values which they feel are common to all cultures. Basically, the clusters reflect solutions which a culture provides for solving human problems. These six clusters defined below, are an expansion of the five clusters developed by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961).

1. NATURE: The value placed on the degree to which natural occurrences determine thought and activity. Orientation to time - future, present, past - is also included here.
2. THE SELF: The value placed on one's own being and worth as an individual in a particular age group, sex, and activity.
3. SOCIETY: The value placed on the degree to which individuals feel responsible to participate in societal interaction.
4. THE SUPERNATURAL: The value placed on the degree of influence on control of a power greater than human power.
5. HUMAN NATURE: The value placed on the degree of innate reasoning ability, goodness, search for happiness and necessity for change which affects the individual.
6. THE FAMILY: The value placed on the unit of members of related bloodline including extended and ancestral parentage.



Reproduced from Condon and Youscf (1979, p. 59). Introduction to Inter-cultural Communication by permission of the authors.

These six clusters are further divided into subclusters. Within each subcluster are the possible variations of choice for solving that problem. There is a composite total of 33 variations. It is these variations which reflect the value orientations a culture holds.

When dealing with values and beliefs one must keep in mind that value orientations are constructs, and are therefore abstract. They can be useful only when considered "as if" statements, i.e., Latin Americans behave "as if" believing that the family unit is more important than youth. One must also keep in mind the interrelatedness that exists in value orientations, a change in one area can affect one or more other areas. If we look at the following figure we can see the interrelatedness and interdependence that exist among the six value orientation counterparts which define or encompass the phenomenon known as culture. Nature, the Self, and Society are the three main clusters. Their intersections provide the other three clusters - the Supernatural, Human Nature, and the Family. The intersection of all six value clusters results in "Culture".

Culture, as previously defined, means the learned patterns of thinking, feeling, and behaving that make life meaningful for a particular group of human beings. Culture, however, is not static. It is constantly changing - no matter how slowly - as a result of individual and group experience and interactions with other individuals and groups because of the interrelatedness of the six value constructs. Change in the way one views Self may affect the way one sees society, or nature, and vice versa. Further, the way a culture views society or nature may affect the way the family and the supernatural are perceived in that culture, as well as how an individual may be perceived as having a separate but equal place in society.

Although the diagram on the previous page shows each construct as being equal, it must be remembered that each culture gives different degrees of importance to each cluster, stresses different variations within each cluster, and relates the clusters differently. In one culture, definition of Self may be an individual matter, fairly independent of others within the society or even the family. In another culture, however, a person may define Self largely in terms of his/her relationship to others and to society. Also, while some cultures may value age and experience, others may value youth and experiences. Finally, in some cultures, property may be seen as an extension of Self, while in others it may be communal with no personal claim to ownership.

For the purposes of the monograph series, differences in value orientations between cultures will be emphasized. It should be pointed out, however, that differences in value orientations also exist between subgroups within a culture. These within group differences may be greater than the differences that exist between cultures. For example, the differences that exist in cultural value orientations between urban and rural settings in the same nation may be greater than that found between cosmopolitan urban settings of different nations, particularly at the surface observations.

The Study of Cultures

The study of cultures and of cross-cultural values and beliefs can be facilitated by conceptualizing value orientations as a range of choices, of possible solutions for dealing with human problems common to all cultures. While this conceptualizing can provide the study of cultures a degree of objectivity it is important to remember that it is impossible for one to look at other cultures in a totally objective manner. Thus, anytime an individual from one culture looks at another culture, or devises a conceptual scheme with which to look at other cultures, that person's native culture will tend to influence her/his perceptions. With this fact in mind, it must be recognized that United States' cultural patterns have influenced, to a certain degree, the conceptual scheme. For example, the subcategories presented for Axiological Definitions utilize a tripart categorization. Such categorization is typical of United States society. Nevertheless, it is felt that through the use of The Conceptualization of Value Orientations, one may begin to understand the possible range of value orientations across cultures.

The Conceptualization of Value Orientations presented in this Monograph, and utilized as the basis for cross-cultural analysis, was developed over numerous years of serious study and of research conducted throughout the world. It is based on the work of Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) and Condon and Yousef (1979) and incorporates the authors' interpretations and findings.

The Axiological Definitions, presented in the following section are part of A Conceptualization of Value Orientations. These definitions, as well as the conceptual scheme, have been researched and successfully presented by the authors in workshops and in cultural and cross-cultural training seminars in the United States, in the Caribbean, and in South America. Based on such success, it is felt that the Conceptualization of Value Orientations is useful and valid for the study of various cultures, and for a comparative analysis of contrasts and similarities between United States' society and other cultures.

In order to facilitate an understanding of the material presented in this Monograph, the reader is urged to read The Conceptualization of Cultural Values and the corresponding Axiological Definitions. The reader is also encouraged to frequently refer to the Axiological Definitions while reading the examples provided for the cultural group in this Monograph.

II. THE CONCEPTUALIZATION OF VALUE ORIENTATIONS : AXIOLOGICAL DEFINITIONS

Value orientations are cultural principles and beliefs which humans have determined in attempting to give order and direction toward solving life's problems and evaluating the solutions involving the self, family, society, human nature, nature and the supernatural.

- I. Self - the value placed on one's own being and worth as an individual in a particular age group and sex and activity pattern.
 - A. Individualism - Interdependence - the value placed on how a person views his/her separateness.
 1. individualism - the sense that each person has of having a separate but equal place in society.
 2. individuality - a person's freedom to act differently within the limits set by the social structure.
 3. interdependence - the pattern where the self is largely determined by a person's current relationship to others in the social structure.
 - B. Age - value placed on number of years which are considered the most influential over others.
 1. youth - a degree of maturity, vigor, idealism and freshness
 2. middle years - the period of life from about 40 to 60, combines experience and vigor.
 3. old age - past middle age, accumulation of experiences, wisdom, skills.
 - C. Sex - the value placed on masculine/feminine role distinctions
 1. equality of the sexes - no particular role distinction; all persons are allowed similar development of potentials and skills with shared responsibilities.
 2. female superiority - authority of women in decision-making
 3. male superiority - authority of men in decision-making

- D. Activity - the value of usefulness based on function.
1. doing - active emphasis on energy, accomplishments, creativity.
 2. being-in-becoming - emphasis on what human is rather than what he/she can accomplish, self-actualization.
 3. being - emphasis on spontaneous expression of what is conceived to be "given" in the human personality (impulses, desires, etc.)

II. The Family - the value placed on the unit of members of a group related by blood including extended and ancestral parentage.

- A. Relational Orientations - the value placed on tendencies toward principles which define relationships.
1. individualistic - capable of being independent of particular groupings such as the family or peers.
 2. collateral - the extended family which includes ancestry. There is a strong emotional link between members of a given family.
 3. lineal - family historical inheritance respected.
- B. Authority - the value placed on power of decision-making individual(s) of the family unit.
1. democratic - contributions of individual family members toward decisions involving the whole family unit.
 2. authority-centered - decisions, activities, instructions for family are based on an external abstract faith (religion) or structure.
 3. authoritarian - authoritarian parent (usually father) makes important decisions, "benevolent dictatorship".
- C. Positional Role Behavior - value placed on expectations of particular performance of duties or behavior within the family unit.
1. open - no necessary expected role behavior appropriate to age and/or sex.
 2. general - clear but general kinds of expectations for a person according to age, sex and position in family to exhibit certain types of conduct concomitant with preordained options; compromises and alternatives are possible.
 3. specific - specific rights and obligations as determined by sex and age, set form of conduct and duties.

D. Mobility - value place on change and moveability.

1. high mobility - capable of any change toward self-improvement or betterment of oneself, develop individual potential.
2. phasic mobility - minimal, limited or periodic movement with the expectation of returning to place of origin.
3. low mobility - change considered detrimental to one's well-being.

III. Society - the value placed on the degree to which individuals feel responsible to participate in societal interactions.

A. Social Reciprocity - the value placed on the degree which people are symbiotic in society.

1. independence - avoid commitments or obligations as threats to freedom.
2. symmetrical-obligatory - obligations to guarantee smooth interaction and sharing, relationships among equals as beneficial investments for all.
3. complementary-obligatory - relationship among unequals; subordination.

B. Group Membership - the value placed on the individuals participation in collective activities.

1. many groups, brief identification, subordination of group to individual
2. balance of no. 1 and 3 - individual exercises greater personal freedom in selecting group affiliation with a greater range of obligations and length of affiliation.
3. few groups, prolonged identification, subordination of the member to the group - individual is born into and remains part of social groups.

C. Intermediaries - the value placed on individuals who do or do not serve negotiators.

1. no intermediaries (directness) - the one-to-one approach, the personal relationship.
2. specialist intermediaries only - go-betweens providing a needed service only to facilitate communications between groups and/or individuals.
3. essential intermediaries - negotiators needed to maintain certain obligations toward and extracts comparable obligations from those served.

D. Formality - the value placed on the degree of ceremony, decorum, dignity, respect appropriate to function in society.

1. informality - unnecessary formal codes of conduct, titles and honorifics, speech; naturalness.
2. selective formality - formality used for certain interactions.
3. pervasive formality - formality seen as necessary for smooth and predictable interaction.

E. Property - the value placed on ownership of material goods.

1. private - considered an extension of self, representative of person's character and social status.
2. utilitarian - considered as having value only as it is practical, useful, used and necessary.
3. community - neither personal claims of ownership nor right through usage are relevant; property and natural resources considered as inherently possessed by all equally.

IV. Human Nature - the value placed on the degree of innate reasoning ability, goodness, search for happiness and necessity for change as it affects the individual.

A. Rationality - the value placed on the degree of necessity for reasoning ability.

1. rationality - reasonable behavior to adhere to criteria and standards subject to the judgment and appraisal of others seen as acceptable to other reasonable people.
2. intuitive - an innate possession of knowledge not subject to judgments or appraisals of others.
3. irrational - not conforming to norms of rationality; persons accredited with special powers of intuition or prescience, abstract or contradictory tracks of thought.

B. Good and Evil - value placed on the degree or the influence of good and evil.

1. good - what constitutes acceptable factors for continued harmony, growth and uninterrupted productivity and well-being of all.
2. mixture of good and evil - concept that good and evil are dependent upon individual perception.
3. evil - concept that negative factors contribute to unwanted disequilibrium and disharmony of human behavior.

- C. Happiness and Pleasure - the value placed on the degree of personal peace of mind and active enjoyment of life considered important.
1. happiness as goal - the goal toward physical and emotional satisfaction and stability.
 2. inextricable bond of happiness and sadness - complacent acceptance of life's events as both happy and sad without* complaining, judging or retaliating, of adjusting one's feelings to circumstances.
*abandoned enjoyment
 3. life is mostly sadness - conformist views which bear sadness as hope for happiness only after death.
- D. Mutability - the value placed on the degree of change, growth considered acceptable for fulfillment.
1. change, growth, learning - active emphasis on change as means to betterment.
 2. some change - acceptance of only those changes which are not counter-productive.
 3. unchanging - change is regarded as threatening and unstable.
- V. Nature - the value placed on the degree to which natural occurrences determine human thought and activity.
- A. Relationship of Man and Nature - the value placed on human control of natural forces.
1. man dominating nature - the view that man has power over natural forces and thereby controls his destiny and search for perfection.
 2. man in harmony with nature - the combination of powers of man and the unpredictability of natural forces to produce an overall force to exist.
 3. nature dominating man - humans fatalistically subjugated entirely to natural forces, an acceptance of human's incapacity to dominate nature.
- B. Ways of Knowing Nature - the value placed on the interpretation of natural phenomena.
1. abstract - disassociation from specific knowledge; hypothetical reasoning.
 2. circle of induction-deduction - clearly understood, concrete evidence tests and modifies abstract theory or concept.
 3. specific - empirical, scientific evidence considered necessary to prove a theory absolutely.

- C. Structure of Nature - the value determined by the degree of testing or experimenting with nature.
1. mechanistic - cause and effect reasoning, analytical thought; testing encouraged.
 2. spiritual - testing or questioning considered destructive, individual feels powerless under control of nature.
 3. organic - any intrusion into the natural world detrimental.
- D. Concept of Time - the value placed on the importance of the influence of future, past and present time in evaluating life's problems.
1. future - expectation of advancement or progressive development; today's activity consumed by planning for tomorrow.
 2. past - conserve what was good in past rather than anticipate something better in future, value tradition and heritage.
 3. present - importance of what is happening today.
- VI. The Supernatural - the value placed on the degree of influence or control of a power greater than human power.
- A. Relationship of Man and the Supernatural - the value placed on human involvement in determining destiny.
1. man as god - negates the existence of an external force which influences human destiny.
 2. pantheism - a doctrine which equates God with the forces and laws of the universe.
 3. man controlled by the supernatural - ultimate power in all acts is outside of human control.
- B. Meaning of Life - the value placed on goals.
1. physical, material goals - material wealth, physical well-being and position attained more valued than spiritual or intellectual goals.
 2. intellectual goals - the search for truth, guided by intellect rather than emotion of experience.
 3. spiritual goals - search for favor and protection from all powerful God or gods, soul is considered immortal.

- C. Providence - the value placed on the degree of acceptance of good in life.
1. good in life is unlimited - inherent good in nature.
 2. balance of good and misfortune - presence and balance of both good and misfortune.
 3. good in life is limited - good limited by human imagination and will.
- D. Knowledge of the Cosmic Order - the value placed on the degree of acceptance of the organization of the universe.
1. order is comprehensible - predictable order and consistency throughout the universe are considered plausible.
 2. faith and reason - predictable order is tempered by the acceptance that powers of reason exist beyond human.
 3. mysterious and unknowable - unpredictability, unknowable, unexplainable by religious interpretation.

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III. INTRODUCTION TO HAITIAN VALUE ORIENTATIONS

People living in the same environment and sharing a similar culture may have different ideas about the nature of things. They may behave differently when faced by similar situations. Despite these differences, it is possible to identify broad similarities among people whose beliefs and values are shaped by the same cultural traditions. The value orientations of a group of people are rooted in their national history. It is the course of history which determines the sociocultural behaviors, beliefs and values of a given population from one generation to the next. In order to understand the Haitian culture and the life patterns of the Haitian people, it is necessary to give a brief summary of the country's sociopolitical history.

First settled by the Spaniards, the island, together with what is today the Dominican Republic, was known as Española. In 1697, Spain ceded to France the western part of the island which was given the name of Saint Dominique. French colonizers established a plantation economy based on the slave system. It is believed that no other colony in the Caribbean imported as many slaves as the French colony of Saint Dominique during the eighteenth century. The slaves who went to the colony came mainly from the West African region (Dahomey, Congo), and the colonizers were, for the most part, the outcasts of the French bourgeoisie (Filibusters, Buccaneers).

The colonizers' main goal in the colony was that of accumulating wealth through slave labor and production. Early accounts of that period reveal that during the eighteenth century the colony of Saint Dominique was one of the richest in the Caribbean.

The flow of wealth inevitably created a class system which consisted of the grand blancs, large land holders, the petit blancs, merchants and white artisans, and the gens de couleur (mulattoes). The black slaves were not included in the class system. Jealousy and resentment between the different classes added to the discrimination of the slave population and led to the first slave insurrection in 1791. That insurrection marked the beginning of several years of social and political unrest which resulted in the first successful slave revolt in the Western Hemisphere. The colony declared its independence from France in 1804, a time during which the leaders of the revolution gave the island its original Indian name -- Haiti.

The Haitian leaders, all former slaves, could not create a Haitian society in the years following independence. On the contrary, the new Republic was to strive for many years on the same model created by the French colonizers. With the destruction of many plantations, the debts of independence and isolation from the outside world, the freed slaves soon learned that political independence did not mean socioeconomic independence.

Since the colonizers did not establish many institutions, and the few that they did establish for their own purposes were destroyed during the revolution, the mulattoes who formed the new elite class continued to look to the mother country, France, for their culture and education. The ex-slaves, with very little land, continued to labor for the mulattoes and for those who

appropriated the few plantations that remained after the revolution. According to Leyburn, as of 1843:

the majority of the people of Haiti had not yet become peasants ...for only a third of the people owned their land. Another large group, however, possibly a third of the population, were squatters, living on land which technically belonged to someone else but from which they were never ejected. The remaining third...were in the intermediate stage between hirelings and peasants (1941:76).

As for the political situation, the successive presidents were, for the majority, illiterates who were preoccupied with preventing another revolution instead of ameliorating social conditions. A second factor which also hindered social improvements at the time was the already established political tradition of the country. This tradition consisted of the destruction, by an elected president, of all institutions established by the former president. Of course, the first victims of this act were usually the educational institutions.

Although there were some schools built after independence, they existed only in the major towns and were geared toward educating the children of the elites. It was not until around 1843 that some efforts were made to initiate a school system in the rural areas of Haiti. The only institution that remained with the peasants was the family, some fragments of African culture and religion. Therefore the term "peasant" in Haiti became synonymous with uneducated, poor people of African descent who practiced Voodoo. But these traits were not the only ones which distinguished the lower-class people from those of the upper-class. The one trait which probably had more influence than any other in creating a class dichotomy in Haiti was the development of the language system. The upper-class population, most of them educated in France, spoke French while the uneducated of the lower-class spoke Creole. French became the language of prestige and the sign of identification with the upper-class. Creole, on the other hand, became the language of inferiority and identified those who belonged to the lower-class. Throughout the history of Haiti, the goals of the established class system became analogous to the ones established by the colonizers.

The U.S. occupation of Haiti from 1915 to 1934 brought some changes. The emphasis of the occupation was on agricultural and professional reforms. For the peasants the occupation represented a period of neocolonization since they were the ones who provided the manual labor for the changes in the country. These changes benefited only the elite. For example, during the occupation period, a law was enforced which required the peasants to devote six days a year to road maintenance.

Today Haiti has an estimated population of 5,000,000 inhabitants with the great majority (90%) living in the rural area. Haiti has become the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere not because the country lacks resources, but because no efforts have been made to educate the masses so that they might make better use of available resources. Hunger, misery and poor health are still characteristics which define the peasantry, and have resulted in mass emigration of the lower-class population to the United States.

In reading the value orientations of Haitians presented in the following pages, the reader must be aware of the fact that the major emphasis is on the Haitian peasants. This group not only represents the bulk of the population, but has had least exposure to French or American culture.

IV. VALUE ORIENTATIONS OF HAITIANS

I. SELF

A. Self Value in the Social Structure - ~~Independence~~ ^{In terdependence}

The value of a person is determined by relationships established with others in the society. Interpretation of this information must be made with the understanding of the basic need for survival of a large segment of the population. For the upper-class it is maintenance of status quo.

Example: In a country where status is ascribed by efforts toward self-improvement or any assistance required, which the family cannot provide, a personal relationship with those granting the assistance is required. Individuals from the upper-class establish relationships with co-workers through family associations and at social gatherings. Individuals from the lower-class establish relationships with the upper-class through their roles as servants, chauffeurs, maids in the homes of the elite. These relationships are stratified. In many cases relationships are concretized through fictive kinship such as godparent, blood brother, play sister and so forth.

B. Age - Old Age

Old people are highly respected and venerated. They function as counselors and advisors, and they are feared because it is believed that they have the power to impose malediction on others.

Example: In a major decision such as marriage, a couple cannot be married without the consent of the oldest members of the family, even if the immediate parents agree to the wedding.

C. Sex - Male Dominance/Formal Marriage - Female Dominance/Consensual Union

Male dominance in decision-making is the pattern found in the upper-class households where formal marriage is the norm. Among the lower-class people where consensual union and visiting union are the norms, many households are headed by women. Therefore, rural women are as involved as men in economic activities. Their economic role gives them de facto authority in decision-making, regardless of the union. It may be said for the lower-class that the man "...is no more a patriarch than his woman is a matriarch: they are economic partners in a struggle for existence..." (Leyburn 1941:197).

D. Activity - Doing

An idle person is considered lazy or a parasite. Being energetic and occupied is synonymous to being motivated and ambitious.

Example: Haitians who arrived in Miami during the 1980-81 mass immigration are recognized by many employers as a hard working group. "...These people are willing to hustle...willing to do work that no one else will do..." (Miami Herald, Sunday, October 18, 1981, p. 7B). "...The Haitian is perhaps the toughest individual in this Hemisphere: physically strong...he or she finds joy in hard work..." (Maf 0 : 1980:10).

II. THE FAMILY

A. Relational Orientations - Collateral

The family is traditionally the strongest institution.

Example: The family is the prime mover in Haitian life. An individual without family is considered deprived of life's primary essentials. All aspects of life involve the entire family.

B. Authority - Authoritarian

Since the family is expected to share the financial, emotional and social burdens, older family members (regardless of sex) make important decisions.

Example: Children are cared for and disciplined by the adults of the family. Major decisions concerning health, marriage, divorce and so forth are the concern of the entire family. Decisions made by the older members are respected and obedience is expected from the younger members of the family.

C. Positional Role Behavior - General/Lower-class - Specific/Upper-class

Rural life allows more freedom in role behavior than city life. The life of peasants is not shaped by uniformity, therefore, behavior is subject to sanctions.

Example. The peasants rarely marry. They either practice consensual and/or visiting union. Among the elite formal and regular marriage is expected and is the only approved form of union.

One brief characterization of the elite might be that they are those who carefully observe the proprieties. The proprieties are those of France (Leyburn 1941:186).

D. Mobility - High

A high value is placed on both geographical and social mobility. It must be noted that for Haitians social mobility connotes geographical mobility. The country does not offer any possibilities and/or opportunities for self-improvement to those at the bottom of the social scale.

III. SOCIETY

A. Social Reciprocity - Symmetrical-obligatory

The very survival of the lower-class depends upon sharing. It is a value which is rooted in the African tradition. As the Haitian proverb puts it "Se min ale min vini ki fe sami dure" which translates as "It is through giving and receiving that friendship lasts."

Example: In Haiti you do not need an invitation to come to someone's home for dinner. If you come at meal time it is expected that you will participate with the family.

Example: Most of the refugees who share houses in the U.S. did not know each other in Haiti. Now they pool their money. Those who get checks, pay rent. When someone picks up a little money, they buy food for everyone. Strangers are welcomed and allowed to sleep on floors...the phenomenon is repeated throughout little Haiti. Those with, support those without (Miami Herald, 1981).

B. Group Membership - Few Groups

Haitians are not group-oriented and do not form many permanent social groups outside of the family. The one form of social groupings which is common is of religious nature, and that also involves the family as a group. In these religious groups the individual is a member at birth and identifies with the group throughout his/her birth.

C. Intermediaries

1. No intermediaries for people of the same social class. Contacts are personal, one-to-one approach.

Example: The Haitian's concept of communication consists of both verbal and physical communications. Therefore, the personal relationship is the mean by which trust is established. The use of an intermediary implies deceit in any affairs.

2. Intermediaries needed when people of the lower class need assistance which they cannot obtain through their family network. They must rely on contacts established with someone from the upper-class. This often means the use of an intermediary.

D. Formality

Two patterns are found in the Haitian culture: Selective formality and pervasive formality.

Example: In the rural area formality is selective. Age difference is more of a factor in the degree of formality (such as the

way children address adults) than familiarity. By contrast, the elite who display the norms and values of the French culture demand formality. This is reflected in the usage of the formal pronoun vous (you) instead of the familiar tu (you) which is used to address people who hold an inferior or familiar status.

E. Property - Private

It is very important for a Haitian to own property. Ownership of property is a sign of self-fulfillment and prestige.

Example: Many Haitian migrants consider it a failure if they cannot save enough money to build a home in Haiti either for themselves or for their parents.

IV. HUMAN NATURE

A. Human Nature - Irrational - Rational

There is a deep conviction among the elite that the peasants are stupid and behave irrationally. However, a close look at the behavior patterns of the peasants and the context in which behavior takes place show that their behavior is in response to the fulfillment of basic needs.

Example: The high fertility rate among peasants who are destitute is considered an irrational pattern of behavior. There has been an ongoing campaign for the use of contraceptive methods. This campaign has failed because of the peasants' rationale for having many children, which is: (1) the chances for survival into adulthood are very low; (2) children contribute to the subsistence economy of the household; (3) they assist parents in a variety of social functions and; (4) children are the only form of social security that the parents have in their old age.

B. Good and Evil - Mixture of Good and Evil

In order to understand the value which Haitians place on the influence of good and evil, it is necessary to focus on their religious life. The elite accept the preaching of the Catholic Church: God created all things good; if evil exists, it is caused by the sins of men.

The lower-class practice Voodoo. This religion "...does not conceive life to be a struggle between good and evil. Its conception of spirits is anthropomorphic. No man is wholly good or wholly evil, nor is any god; human beings can generally be persuaded into any mood, and so can the gods..." (Leyburn 1941:144).

The practice of Voodoo is not limited to the lower-class. Reliance on the powers of the spirit world occurs even among the upper-class once they emigrate. The need to ward off evil and seek divine guidance is important to all economic stratas faced with adaptation to new life situations.

C. Happiness and Pleasure - Intricable Bond of Happiness and Sadness

As with part B above, there is a strong belief among Haitians that life is a mixture of sadness and happiness, and that nothing can be done by human beings to alter the course of life. Everything depends upon the will of God or the gods, and one's relationship to Him or them.

Example: Misery and hunger do not prevent Haitians from enjoying themselves. This is true especially during carnival time when everyone, regardless of class, dances in the streets.

D. Mutability - Change, Growth, Learning - Unchanging

The value orientation of Haitians lies in both categories depending on which social class the individual belongs.

There is enough proof in the history of the country, such as peasant's revolts, to assert that the lower-class places a great emphasis on change and opportunities for improvement. Recent proof is the great number of Haitians who have left their country in search of a better life. Haitians are inclined, as are most cultures, to continue the same types of culture patterns that have been a part of their tradition.

An example of this valuing of traditional behavior patterns can be seen in the impact of feminist issues. Most women have traditionally displayed a marked indifference toward politics (Bachanan, 1979:39).

V. NATURE

A. Relationship of Man and Nature - Man in Harmony with Nature - Nature Dominating Man

Nature has not been kind to Haiti, therefore, those who derive a livelihood from the land are aware of the power of nature and how this power is exercised. But in general, Haitians believe that man has to be in harmony with nature. This belief is based upon the assumption that "the elements exist naturally, in a state of binary opposition and the effect of one element upon the other equalizes the balance of each" (Logan 1973:389). Of course, this belief manifests itself differently from culture to culture. In Haiti, it is believed that food and body states have to be in equilibrium with nature for a normal life.

B. Ways of Knowing Nature - Specific

The knowledge the peasant has about nature is specific in the sense that life in the rural area is sustained mainly by nature. Therefore, the peasant is aware of most of the natural phenomena and knows how to cope with them. Mountain people are revered because they "know" about life and have understanding beyond the knowledge acquired in books.

C. Structure of Nature - Organic

Because of the value placed on the harmonious character of nature with man, any intrusion into the natural world would be viewed as detrimental; such intrusion might affect the balance between man and nature.

D. Concept of Time - Present

Life for many Haitians is a daily struggle, therefore, importance is placed on what is happening in the present. The poor are too fatalistic to place a value on the importance of the influence of the future. The present is all-consuming for the poor; their constant daily struggle for survival makes planning for the future impractical.

Example: Haitians may clear land for gardens which they know should remain as forests. They are not as concerned about the erosion which will occur next year as they are about the present need for food. Time is a fixed measure which has certain specific interpretations for business and others for social life. Businesses close between 12:00 and 2:00 as a Latin American tradition. When interacting with North Americans, Haitians distinguish between "Haitian time" and "American time", indicating a need for promptness in relating to North Americans.

IV. THE SUPERNATURAL

A. Relationship of Man and the Supernatural

Haitian value orientations falls in the categories of Pantheism and Man Controlled by the Supernatural.

Voodoo is a set of beliefs and practices which claim to deal with the spiritual forces of the universe, and attempt to keep the individual in harmonious relation with them as they affect his life... (Leyburn 1941:134). While many Haitians disclaim knowledge of Voodoo, casual conversation and observation reveal that knowledge of this religion is pervasive.

Those who practice Voodooism believe in a pantheon of gods who control and represent the laws and forces of the universe. In this pantheon, the Christian God is the master of all gods. Those who adhere to Catholicism believe that human lives and all their actions rest upon external power.

A key word in understanding the relationship and the interplay between Catholicism and Voodooism is syncretism, the fusion of the two belief systems.

Example: Children born into rural families are generally baptized twice, once into the Voodoo religion and once in the Catholic church.

B. Meaning of Life - Spiritual Goals

In Voodoo the major gods are classified into the four natural elements: water, air, fire and earth. There is also a god of love, of death and so on. These lesser gods are analogous to the saints of the Catholics. These gods are not only expected to protect people, but they are also expected to accord special favors through their representatives on earth which are the hougans (priests) and mambos (priestesses). This belief is similar to Catholicism in that the soul is believed to be immortal. The only difference, is that in the Voodoo the soul continues to live on earth and may be used in magic or it may be incarnated in a member of the deceased's family. Elaborate burial customs have been established to keep the dead buried in the ground. Corps who can be removed from their tombs may be turned into zombies, who serve the will of their masters.

C. Providence - Balance of Good and Misfortune

This balance is viewed by Haitians as an external factor independent of human will and imagination.

Example: ...A peasant loves life. His pleasures are simple, partly because he lacks money for luxuries. Puritanical self-searching is alien to the normal Haitian. So long as life moves along smoothly one need not worry; if misfortune comes, one of the spirits is angry or out of sorts and his worshipers must appease him... (Leyburn 1941:144).

D. Knowledge of the Cosmic Order - Mysterious and Unknowable

The universe of the normal Haitian does not encompass the whole world as the intellectual understands it. The universe of the peasant is limited to the space which he/she occupies. That space does not require any explanations. It is considered as the work of the "Grand Maître" (Great Master). "But this Great Master is viewed as a demiurge. After creating the upper and lower universe, He has retreated to the seventh heaven where He looks with indifference over the earth which He has created" (Romain 1959:151).

V. THE INFLUENCE OF CULTURE ON THE HAITIAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Since the transmission of culture is the primary task of the educational system of a society, any attempts to understand the role of the educational system outside of the cultural context in which it functions lead to misconceptions, for it is culture which gives the institution its "raison d'être," reason for being.

The school...is no isolated organization; its operational structure is continually effected by outside environmental forces. It does not set its own goals, nor can it seek to implement them completely independently of other community agencies. The relationship between the educational community as a whole, however, is reciprocal and interacting...(Siegel 1971:41).

It may seem to be a paradox that education is regarded highly by Haitians and yet Haiti has one of the lowest literacy rates in the Americas, 16.5% according to the Inter-American Development Bank (1979). Education provides the only vehicle for achieving social and economic mobility. One Haitian related, "Education is seen as something magical by many poor people. They don't know exactly what it means, but they know that when they have obtained it, all doors will be open to them." Parents make enormous sacrifices to enable their children to attend school. Although free public school has been mandated by the Haitian Constitution, there are only a limited number of public schools available in the country. Because of this shortage, students most frequently attend private schools. The per capita percentage of income which Haitians pay for education is one of the highest in the world (World Bank Atlas, 1978).

The Haitian school system is an adaptation of the French system as it existed in the nineteenth century. All schools, public and private are chartered by the government and subject to government inspection. The official curriculum is intended to prepare students for national examinations. While

primary school is attended by more than 85% of the eligible children, secondary school enrollment includes less than 15% of that age population. Only about half of one percent of the population attends the university (Racine, 1981).

Low enrollment in Haitian schools may be due to a multitude of sociocultural factors. This area is characterized by a poor subsistence economy where every member of the household, including children, is expected to contribute to its welfare. A case in point is that during the rainy season rural schools are virtually empty because everyone is engaged in planting new crops.

Pedagogical contrasts

Another factor which may explain low enrollment in Haitian schools is the poor health condition of many children. Due to dietary deficiency, improper sanitation and poor health care facilities, Haitian children are more often than not too ill to attend school. As King (1966) points out "...it is among the young children that acute clinical symptoms and nutritionally caused death are most severe..." (p. 150).

A third aspect of the Haitian educational system which is frequently identified as a problem concerns the learning process, commonly known as the "rote method". The cultural implications of the learning method is completely overlooked in many instances. Haiti has an informational system which is based on oral tradition. The transmission of culture from one generation to another is based on learning, and this learning is the preview of both institutional and noninstitutional education. The school, as a social institution, is also a culture transmitter. Rote learning in the schools plays an important part in controlling socially the tradition of the country.

Clark and Purcell (1973) point out the need for a change in the Haitian

educational system, nonetheless, they also recognize positive aspects. They state:

The positive case for rote is rarely made now, but non-Haitians will be unjust if they fail to appreciate it. They may well recall that technical culture was brought into being by men trained in rote. Haitian adults who have learned by rote are often proud of their memories and sometimes say that they want their children to have the same opportunity... (p. 53).

Furthermore, Clark and Purcell add that:

...rote learning fits the material conditions of Haitian schools. Classes are far too crowded for individual recitation; children are still whipped for failing to have learned lessons correctly; and the final state examinations, which can determine one's chances for changing caste, are corrected by persons not always sure that their corrections will stand the scrutiny of other correctors or of inspectors. So long as these conditions obtain, it will be unrealistic to lament the use of rote in Haitian schools (p. 54).

It must be remembered that the country, in its formative years, was ruled by ex-slaves from Africa. Cole and Gray (1976) in their studies of mnemonic skills among some African tribes explain the emphasis placed on learning the history of the tribe, its traditions, ancestors, taboos, and heroes.

Views of education can not be limited to strict identification with specific structures or locations. Education in nonliterate societies is the concern of all members of the society, especially the elders who participate actively. The following quotation illustrates the importance of rote learning in Haitian culture.

...At the beginning of its weekly concert, a military band plays the Haitian national anthem...when it is finished, an elderly peasant woman murmurs softly to no one in particular: "La Liberté." This old woman may not have spent a day in her life in a classroom, but she -- like most of her compatriots -- learned the history of her land at the knees of her elders. In broken French, she explained that she and others gathered in the park were descendants of Toussaint L'Ouverture, Jean Jacques Dessalines, Henry Christophe and other leaders of the Revolution that drove out the French more than 175 years ago, and established Haiti as the first black Republic. "La Liberté," she went on to say, had been the battle cry of the Revolution (Wortham 1977:23).

Other visible differences arise when contrasting the U.S. and the Haitian educational systems. Buildings are often open-air structures, adapted to the tropical climate. School is held in a variety of structures and not infrequently within the homes of the people who live in hamlets and villages. Many schools are located in the more urban regions while most families live in the rural countryside. Racine (1981) reports that about 80% of the population is rural. Children who live in outlying regions must either forego the educational experience or find a means for solving the problem of transportation. One practical solution is for children to live during the school week with relatives or friends in the more urban areas where the schools are located. It is not unusual for children to stay with or to be leased out to urban families who pay for the children's education in return for their services as houseboys, maids, or helpers.

During school hours students are expected to sit passively and attentively. They are expected to interact with their peers only during the lunch period or before and after school. Students are encouraged to acquire "study mates." These "peer tutors" are usually chosen from within the same classroom and are not necessarily of the same ability level. It is believed that if a student studies with a peer who is more capable both will benefit because the more capable will learn by helping and the less capable will learn by being assisted. The idea of allowing, even encouraging, students to have study mates is an important one in terms of adjustment to the U.S. school system. It is in fact a strategy of cooperative learning which might well be implemented with students of all ages and ability levels. (See Johnson, Johnson and Maruyana, 1983 for a meta-analysis of cooperative learning research.) Haitian students, even those studying at the university level, find that interacting with a study mate is very helpful in mastering new

material and reviewing previously learned concepts.

In Haiti where electricity is often limited to a few dimly lit street lights, children cluster around the lighted areas in the evening to practice their lessons. The voices of these children can be heard reciting their assignments in a sing-song rhythm that wafts across the evening as a unique form of music. Clark and Purcell (1973) provide a vivid description of this event.

One of the first street sounds a visitor to Port-au-Prince (the capital city) hears is that of children chanting in endless repetition the strains of textbook prose. One of the first 'sights' the visitor sees is that of young men walking under the lights of Port-au-Prince's lovely palm-shadowed Champ-de-Mars and declaiming in loud voices the pages of texts that they alternately open and close. Visitors witnessed these evidences of rote learning in 1900, and those who spend much time in Haiti expect that they will be noted in 2000 (p. 48).

National exams are required at the end of each year: these exams are generally demanding and cover the range of subjects taught during the year. According to Racine (1981):

Those who fail these examinations are retained in the same grade which they repeat the following year or drop out of school. Approximately one-third of students complete the primary cycle without repeating one grade. At the secondary level students who fail the officially-administered examinations in the last two years are permitted to retake them in September. If they fail at that time, they must study for another year before they are able to take them again. Because of the very competitive and selective nature of the system, attrition is also relatively high at all levels. The shrinkage in size between beginning and finishing classes is appalling. In fact, very few students survive the rigors of such an elitist educational system.

From this perspective, it is thus not surprising that Racine sees this system as elitist with an unwritten goal of not educating the largest number but eliminating the undesirables and promoting those who are culturally oriented toward the French culture and language.

She sees the language barrier as one of the major factors accounting for the high attrition rate. She writes:

The Haitian school system has been a French-speaking institution organized to give instruction in French to a majority of Creole-speaking children. Most students find themselves from their first day of contact with school in an extremely frustrating situation. They are being talked to and taught in a foreign language, they are asked to respond and learn in a language they do not understand. Without transition or preschool training they are to learn abstract concepts in French, which results in poor adjustment and serious reading problems.

Linguistic Differences

The question has been raised about the difference between Haitian Creole and French. Until only recently the U.S. government designation for the language spoken by the majority of the people in Haiti was Haitian French. Haitian school children are sometimes still included in U.S. statistical counts as French speakers (Foster, 1980). This confusion results from several factors. First, many educators believe that Haitian Creole is in fact a variation of French. Secondly, many parents enroll their children in school under the language designation of French primarily because of the prestige which is associated with the capacity to speak French in Haiti. A third reason is that French is considered the language of school, business, and important functions of society. It is the language which the students would use at school in their home country. Creole is considered as appropriate only for unofficial business, daily routine, small talk, and advertising on radio and television (Foster, 1980).

According to Foster (1980), "Haitian Creole shares with French only some vocabulary and parts of the sound system but differs in its grammar and syntax; the two languages are mutually unintelligible," (p. 10). Haitian Creole speaking children do not make the same mistakes in English as native French speaking children. Haitian Creole is an amalgamation of African languages and French, Spanish, Portuguese and English (Valdman, 1981). Accent and dialects change in various regions of the country just as they do in the

United States. Until recently, Creole has been primarily a language of oral tradition. Some manuscripts have been found dating back as far as 1927. Both Duvaliers, the current President for Life Jean-Claude and his father, François, were instrumental in moving the language to a higher status than it was previously accorded. They have used it as a means of identification with the masses. A variety of orthographics have been developed for writing Creole. Most are based on phonetic spelling in French. Recently an official orthography has been adapted and official text books in Haitian Creole are being used in public schools in Haiti (Foster, 1980). Much confusion still persists about the correct writing and spelling; a variety of forms are still in use (Valdman, 1981). A major difficulty in using Haitian Creole as an instructional language is that most Haitians have never been taught to read and write in it. Haitian educational experience has been in French. They may speak Creole but most are unfamiliar with written Creole.

Several issues have evolved regarding the use of Creole and French in bilingual programs in the United States. Use of French is important for Haitians in obtaining and maintaining social status in Haiti. It is also a means of distinguishing Haitians from Black Americans. In parent training for families in the U.S. the point may be made that children can make a transition from Creole directly to English rather than via French. However, respect for Haitian culture is important. Even when parents view the use of Creole in the schools as an indication of equality, national and racial unity, a major problem is the location or the development of appropriate materials in Creole and the lack of staff who are fluent and trained in the use of the language (Foster, 1980).

During the early school years, much of the transmission of social knowledge occurs at the perceptual level. Different cultures perceive the world

differently. An analysis of the perceptual properties of the Creole language would have been a far greater assistance to American teachers than the emphasis on the linguistic properties of the language. Furthermore, stressing the fact that Haitians speak Creole and not French does not provide American teachers with an understanding of the sociolinguistic aspects of language use in the community, such as behavior and attitudes, which may alter the educational goal.

Behavior Expectations

In Haiti the school is not viewed as an extension of the home but as a separate functioning institution which provides information and knowledge and instills discipline. Racine (1981) lists behaviors which are expected of Haitian children, teachers, and parents in Haiti.

The teacher is expected to:

- give orders and instructions which the students have to accept,
- set goals for the students,
- act as the sole manager of the classroom, (Usually there is no teacher's aide, even when classes are extremely large.)
- provide information, facts to be learned (often memorized),
- evaluate students' progress and behavior,
- require, impose and enforce discipline,
- give and expect demanding work from students.

Parents and teachers expect a certain behavior from students. Children are taught to:

- show respect for authority in general,
- show respect for teacher and other adults,
- show an understanding of the formality of school,
- dress formally in school, (In many cases students wear uniforms, in others not. In any case, no casual wear is ever acceptable.)
- be well-disciplined and behave properly,
- care for school materials and property,
- attend school regularly,
- accept the instructional modes imposed by the teacher,
- be docile and attentive,
- learn their lessons (often, memorize them),
- accept conditions of learning environment,
- expect long and hard assignments, homework and do them,
- accept their peers.

Teachers expect parents to:

- be responsive to school requests,
- provide supplies and materials when they can afford them,
- follow-up discipline problems outside of school,
- cooperate with school in enforcement of regulations,
- provide moral support to child,
- provide academic support whenever possible. (Parents, even if uneducated, will seek out tutoring for their children because of the respect they have for education and the importance they attach to it, p. 21-22).

North American teachers must be made aware of the fact that in most cases, specifically in the case of rural, low skill immigrants, time in the host country is geared toward survival strategies. Teachers need to show some understandings of the social problems and the culture characteristics of the immigrant community. In theory, all lower-class parents place a high value on academic education as it is the sole mean toward social mobility. But unlike American parents, Haitian parents do not tend to equate education with schooling.

Haitian culture makes a difference between instruction which is the concern of school and education per se, which is acquired in the home and is the concern of parents, families and kin groups.

American teachers need also to realize that many parents may be reluctant to engage in school activities from fear of the bureaucratic system. The illegal and unsecured status of the Haitian immigrants in the United States does not encourage adaptation at any level of the society. As Lewis (1980) remarks,

...The immigrants lack the sense of security that would enable them to profit from the education they are offered, even if they could understand their teachers, and having understood, found the instruction relevant to their circumstances...(p. 330).

Poor school performance of immigrants cannot be blamed on the immigrants' school experiences alone. Of course, culture is the *sina qua non*

of adaptation, but even when culture is not considered the key element, there are other factors essential to the process of adaptation that have to come from the system. Lewis (1980) expresses his view on the matter by stating that:

...Even when full consideration has been given to such nonschool variables in academic performance as culturally determined variances in attitudes to schooling, the effect of rurality upon some...and the low economic status and consequent poorer average health, the conclusion is inescapable that the types of linguistic communities, the schools as they are organized at present, the orientation of the curricula, and the virtual disregard of the mother tongue as a teaching language must take the greatest share of responsibility for the school failure of minorities...(p. 329).

Haitian mothers in Haiti spend more time taking care of the physical needs of their children than do their North American counterparts at the same socioeconomic level. It is not unusual to find Haitian mothers still dressing their children at the age of seven. Fulfilling their obligations as mothers is difficult in the U.S. because they are usually required to work outside the home to provide for the family's economic needs. They are usually not at home when the children return from school and are thus unable to exert the moral influence they prefer. The linguistic and cultural gap which grows between the parent and child is a source of frustration. Children rapidly adapt North American behavior and acquire English skills. These differences undermine the mother's authority and diminish her influence with school achievements and homework (Buchanan, 1979).

There are some specific as well as general difficulties which Haitians have in adjusting to U.S. schools. These are outlined below:

- The freer atmosphere of the classroom gives Haitians the initial impression that any behavior is acceptable. They often mistakenly interpret the relaxed environment as meaning that no one is in control.
- The general instructional program is different. There is little memory work and usually less homework. The absence of the type of after school assignment is frequently understood to mean that school is much easier and more lax in the U.S.

- Extensive use of visual aids is often confusing and sometimes considered frivolous. Haitians usually have a highly developed auditory ability as evidenced by the oral traditions and rote learning methods. When presented with flow charts and diagrams they may require additional assistance in attaching meaning to the visual representation. Presentation of accompanying verbal text can be helpful for them.
- The loss of group support may be bewildering to the student who is accustomed to actively interacting with peers in mastering new material.
- Individualized instructional methods may convey to the student that the teacher is impersonal and unconcerned.
- Teachers' physical appearance and casual behavior may indicate a lack of authority and respect to which students may find difficult relating.

Racine makes the following suggestions for helping Haitian students adjust to the U.S. school system.

Haitian students should:

- be encouraged to be more active in the classroom, and ask questions to gain understanding of new learning environment.
- be taught to accept criticism constructively. When scolded or chided, Haitian children tend to withdraw to cry, because of fear of the harsh (sometimes corporal) punishment which would be given in Haiti.
- be made to understand parents' new role and involvement with school. A request for a conference with parents in Haiti usually indicates a very serious situation. The child should be made to understand that parent participation is encouraged in the U.S.
- be taught to become self-disciplined. Discipline in Haiti is usually imposed by authority or other external constraints.

Teachers should be encouraged to try to put children at ease. They should at the same time be firm and clear in their expectations. A story is told about one young Haitian teenager who had never attended school before entering the public school system in the U.S. He had been scheduled in to all the classes normally taken by students his age with limited English proficiency. Within a short period of time his schedule had been curtailed to six periods with the English as a second language teacher because he "drove all of the other teachers crazy." After a few weeks with the schedule, the ESL teacher shouted "you have driven all the other teachers in this school crazy and now you're driving me crazy, too." With that, she broke down and cried. Not quite understanding the words but interpreting the message, the student realized that he had done something very wrong and he too began to

cry. Both teacher and student gave each other a hug and ended the day as friends. Soon the student was rescheduled back into the other classes and became an active participant in all subjects. He and the ESL teacher remained close friends. We are not suggesting that the above is a method for solving discipline or learning problems. Lack of English skills should not be an excuse for misconduct. However, at times it may be important to overemphasize desired behavior to insure comprehension.

Maingot (1980) has been quick to point out that stereotypes about Haitians are crystallizing. Much of what is being stated as fact about the Haitians is in reality quite far from the truth. Of this inclination toward stereotyping the newly arrived immigrants, Walsh (1980) says that if they are poor and weak, they are considered a burden; and if they are wealthy and strong they are viewed as a threat.

Haitians are perhaps the toughest individuals in the Western hemisphere, according to Maingot (1980). They are "...physically strong, spiritually self-dependent and proud, he or she finds joy in hard work, is little prone to drugs, drunkenness or incivility and is extremely honest" (Maingot, 1980, p. 10).

Conclusion

We feel strongly that observation and cultural interpretation are the key elements for an understanding of the educational needs of Haitians within the U.S. system. Learning ability and school experience are only some of the factors among many that should be integrated into the process of adaptation. Moreover, teachers, as important agents of adaptation, should attempt to go beyond the classroom experience in seeking explanations and solutions for students' academic behavior and performance.

Educators need to realize that adaptation to a particular sociocultural system does not entail the rejection of one system for another. Adaptation should be viewed as the co-existence of two cultures functioning side by side, with each one giving the individual the freedom and the incentives for self-realization.

VI. APPENDIX : GENERAL OUTLINE OF U.S. VALUE ORIENTATIONS

- I. Self
 - A. Societal Relationship of Self
 - 1. Individualism
 - B. Age
 - 1. Youth
 - C. Sex
 - 3. Male dominant (although the ideal is male-female equality)
 - D. Activity
 - 1. Doing
- II. The Family
 - A. Relational orientations
 - 1. Individualistic orientation
 - B. Authority
 - 1. Democratic
 - C. Positional Role Behavior
 - 1. Open
 - D. Mobility
 - 1. High mobility
- III. Society
 - A. Social Reciprocity
 - 1. Independence
 - B. Group membership
 - 1. Super affiliate
 - C. Intermediaries
 - 1. Directness (no intermediaries)
 - D. Formality
 - 1. Informal
 - E. Property
 - 1. Private Property
- IV. Human Nature
 - A. Rationality
 - 1. Rational

- B. Good and Evil
 - 3. Evil (this is the traditional Puritan emphasis)
 - 1. Good (this is reflected in a Carl Rogers approach to education)

These two belief systems have constantly been at odds, especially in the educational system.
- C. Happiness and Pleasure
 - 1. Happiness as a goal
- D. Mutability
 - 1. Change, growth, and learning
- V. Nature
 - A. Relationship of man and nature
 - 1. Man dominating nature
 - B. Ways of Knowing Nature
 - 2. Circle of induction and deduction
 - C. Structure of Nature
 - 1. Mechanistic
 - D. Concept of Time
 - 1. Future
- VI. Supernatural
 - A. Relationship of Man and the Supernatural
 - 1. Man as God (or almost equal with)
 - B. Meaning of life
 - 1. Physical and material goals
 - C. Providence
 - 1. Good in life is unlimited
 - D. Knowledge of the Cosmic Order
 - 1. Order is comprehensible

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