

INFRASTRUCTURAL VIOLENCE AND THE AFTERLIVES OF ROAD BUILDING:
CREATING A HAITIAN SPACE IN 20TH CENTURY OCCUPIED HAITI

Nicolas Scheffer

A thesis submitted to the faculty at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the Department of Geography in the College of Arts and Sciences.

Chapel Hill
2020

Approved by:

Scott Kirsch

Christian Lentz

Gabriela Valdivia

© 2020
Nicolas Scheffer
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

ABSTRACT

Nicolas Scheffer: Infrastructural Violence And The Afterlives Of Road Building: Creating A
Haitian Space In 20th Century Occupied Haiti
(Under the direction of Scott Kirsch and Gabriela Valdivia)

The U.S Occupation of Haiti (1915-1934) marked a transition in the internal flow of resources within Haiti and its relation with other states. During this period U.S. investments flooded the country, precipitated by the construction of large-scale road projects that connected the previously isolated countryside (both physically and politically) to the port city of Port-au-Prince. This period of centralization coincides with dependency on the U.S. and the resurgence of plantations and forced labor. This thesis reflects on the historical geography of transportation infrastructure and the spatial organization of labor in Haiti. I explore how U.S. Marines utilized road building as a technology of rule, demonstrating the coupling of violent forced labor and racist rhetoric implicated in road construction as a spatial logic that excludes and subordinates black bodies. The legacies of these infrastructure projects continue to resonate in contemporary urban planning and disaster reconstruction in Haiti.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am indebted to the guidance of my co-advisors and committee. Thank you, Scott Kirsch, Gaby Valdivia, and Christian Lentz for your profound support, encouragement, and patience throughout my time in the department. The seminars I took with each of them have been instrumental in shaping earlier drafts of this thesis. Beyond my committee, I've greatly appreciated the support of Javier Arce-Nazario, Banu Gokariksel, and Andrew Curley. Their insight and warmth have been just as valuable as any coursework. That being said, coursework with Jacques Pierre, Elizabeth Havice, and Erika Wise has been greatly influential to my development as a scholar. This project could not have been completed without the enthusiastic help and dedication of librarians at the National Archives at College Park, who took the time to track down even the most arcane documents. Mike Hawkins personally guided me through the conventions of archival research and eased me into the world of documents and rules at NARA. Without the friendship of my cohort in the department of Geography, I simply wouldn't have made it to this point. Thank you, Lily, Lara, Kaitlin, Pallavi, Raj, Jordan, Liu, Andrew, and Carlos for all the dinners, bowling, and fellowship. I am especially grateful to Mike Hawkins, Carlos Serrano, and Mark Ortiz; I can't begin to express how much your friendship has meant to me. Emilie and Kia, Mom and Dad were always there to remind me why I'm here. Finally, it is Maja, most of all, who shared this experience with me through every step. Thank you all.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES.....	vii
INTRODUCTION.....	1
Theoretical Framing.....	5
Research Design and Methodology.....	8
Chapter Overview.....	12
CHAPTER ONE: INFRASTRUCTURES OF SOVEREIGNTY: HAITIAN SPACE AND PLANTATION LOGIC.....	14
Haitian Space and Plantation Logic.....	16
Sites of Resistance.....	19
L’Espace Morcelee.....	23
L’Espace Regionalisee.....	25
L’espace Centralisee.....	28
CHAPTER TWO: VIOLENT ROADS: LABOR AND MILITARY GOVERNANCE UNDER THE US OCCUPATION.....	32
Infrastructure and Territory.....	34
Opening up the Country: Strategic Geography	35
The Gendarmerie D’Haiti.....	42
Public Works and Administrative Quarrels.....	48
CONCLUSION.....	52

WORKS CITED.....59

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 - L'Espacé Morcelee.....	22
Figure 2 - Regionalised Space.....	24
Figure 3 - Centralised Space.....	28
Figure 4 - Officers Of The Gendarmerie D'haiti	40
Figure 5 - President Dartiguenave Touring The New Road.....	42
Figure 6.1 - Haitian Corvee Laborers.....	44
Figures 6.2 And 6.3 - Smedley Butler On The First Trip To Cap Haitien.....	46
Figure 7.1 - Road Map Of Haiti.....	48
Figure 7.2 - Communications Map Of Haiti.....	50

INTRODUCTION

INFRASTRUCTURAL VIOLENCE AND THE AFTERLIVES OF ROAD BUILDING: A MATERIALIST APPROACH TO HISTORIES OF RACIAL CAPITALISM

When protesters in Haiti's capital, Port-au-Prince, took to the roads to block a major highway on July 28, 2019, they chose a date with particular significance. The date marked just over a year of protests against government corruption that began after the publication of a report revealing the embezzlement of funds intended to develop the country's road infrastructure. Under the banner of "Pays Lock" (lock the country), activists mobilized around road closure in an attempt to bring the economy to a halt as a desperate call to action. July 28 also marked the 104th anniversary of the U.S. Occupation of Haiti. Over the course of the 19 year-long occupation, U.S. Marines oversaw the construction of large-scale road projects intended to connect rural plantations to Port-au-Prince's ports. This period marked a transition towards centralized state power and the urban growth of Port-au-Prince. Though the United States' direct control over Haiti ended in 1934, the road networks built during this period profoundly altered and continue to structure everyday life for many of Port-au-Prince's residents. Mobilizing around some of the very roads built during the occupation, protesters trace the crises and failures of urban infrastructure back to a period more than 100 years ago. In drawing connections between histories of occupation and contemporary urban life, the Pays Lock movement situates their

actions within a long history of resistance against the state and politicizes memories of occupation.

The protests in Port-au-Prince have demonstrated that roads are more than components of transportation networks, but instead are articulations of complex social relations and sites of meaning-making. The Pays Lock movement centers roads as both a *method* and an *analytic* for claiming state responsibility for urban development. As a *method*, the construction, maintenance, and modes of using roads reflect contested social sites for negotiating the politics of mobility and citizenship (Harvey and Knox, 2015; Uribe, 2018; Von Schnitzler, 2016). By centering roads as sites that restrict or facilitate movement and reinforce or challenge patterns of exclusion, protesters make claims to space that push the state to take responsibility for uneven development and differential mobility (Massey, 2012). Roadblocks, closures, and mass protests are spatial interventions that work with material forms of infrastructure to exercise a “politics of disjuncture” that seeks to disrupt everyday life and bring about new possibilities (Beckett, 2017; Bonilla, 2015). As an *analytic*, roads are symbols of state development that link geographies of violence to histories of state formation (Harvey and Knox, 2015; Uribe, 2018). As political projects of ordering space, roads exhibit the materiality of “state effects”, conjuring both “the presence of the state (or states) and its absence (in the experience of utter abandonment by those who wished or hoped for some kind of active administrative or legal force)” (Harvey and Knox, 2015:39; Mitchell, 1999). As sites of negotiating and contesting state power, roads serve as “administrative connections to the state,” crucial to the formation of publics and counter-publics (Von Schnitzler, 2016). The failure of urban infrastructures to contend with growing socio-economic and political crises narrates the maintenance and breakdown of political forms

(Larkin, 2013). Physical ruins often become the most potent symbols of social transformation. For many residents of Port-au-Prince, crumbling roads have become concrete symbols of the government's failure to provide fundamental services. In the wake of the 2010 earthquake that struck just outside the city, the rubble of the destroyed presidential palace became such a symbol. 10 years after the earthquake, many reconstruction projects remain unfinished slabs of concrete, stark displays of a recovery process that failed to take into account historically sedimented inequities.

Yet, the housing, sanitation, and other crises facing residents of Port-au-Prince predate the earthquake and ensuing neoliberal reforms. The US occupation produced a range of ongoing effects, leading to the legacies of dispossession, displacement, and uneven development that spurred migration to the urban center of Port-au-Prince (Lucien, 2014; Werner, 2015). The projects of colonial rule exhibit afterlives, both by structuring flows of movement and influencing possibilities for democratic engagement. Colonial projects have contemporary relevance for thinking with and against the ruins of empire and their "strategic and active positioning within the politics of the present" (Stoler, 2008:196). It is to these histories and effects of infrastructural projects that I turn to in this thesis.

This thesis extends from an interest in the ways the Pays Lock movement draws on histories of occupation to use roads as an outlet for exercising claims to citizenship. It is animated by a guiding concern with connections between public infrastructure and the exercise of political subjectivities. Following protesters' claims that the predatory nature of the Haitian State and the failures of urban infrastructure are tied to the US Occupation more than 100 years ago, *this work investigates road building and the centralization of state power as a contested*

social process. The U.S. occupation of Haiti is an important moment for analyzing the centralization of state power in Haiti around Port-au-Prince, a project that was carried out by military force and infrastructure construction. In dialogue with recent work on the historical construction of vulnerability in Port-au-Prince, I have turned to Haitian scholars for thinking about the ramifications of projects of centralization under the US Occupation. Recent scholarship has attributed much to processes of centralization, from the chronic underdevelopment of the Haitian countryside and the persistence of plantation labor in Dominican bateys (Anglade, 1975; Werner, 2015), to the internal migration and unbridled urban growth of Port-au-Prince (Lucien, 2013; Sheller, 2013). Despite this rich and valuable concentration of work on the ongoing dynamics of centralization, few scholars have questioned the mechanisms of centralization themselves. How did such a relatively short period of occupation (less than 20 years) result in such a wide range of enduring effects?

Specifically, I ask: *What are the material processes of centralization during the American Occupation of Haiti? How did the Marines employ infrastructural projects to organize their control? What does examining processes of centralization reveal about the relationship between violence and state formation?*

I argue that examining the spatial logics through which the US Marines centralized their rule is necessary for a deeper understanding of U.S. empire that helps us contextualize contemporary urban crises and conventional periodization of state formation in Haiti. I seek to identify the spatial logics and legacies of occupation through the construction and maintenance of infrastructure projects. I focus on the infrastructural legacies of the U.S. occupation as a lens for centering questions of state formation, citizenship, and the organization of labor. Expanding

on discussions of the spatial logics that alienate and subordinate black bodies (e.g. Crichlow & Northover, 2018; McKittrick, 2013), I examine roads as a technology of colonial governance predicated on the control of differential movement. I illustrate attempts by the U.S. Marines to consolidate control over Haiti through the creation of a national police force that oversaw the construction of a large-scale network of roads. I focus on the initial projects and first few years of the national police force, the Gendarmerie D'Haiti, and its efforts to quell rebellion through the construction of a series of road-building projects. I examine these projects as 'infrastructural technologies' and techno-political sites (Anand, Gupta, & Appel, 2017; Kirsch, 2016). I take "infrastructural technologies" to denote various political-economic mechanisms of regulation and extraction that organize space and shape individual subjectivities. Paying attention to the role of experts and techniques of calculation prerequisite to consolidating the U.S. Marines' control of land offers insight into the racial discourses and ideas of citizenship that drove the actions of Marine officials (e.g. Aso, 2018; Li, 2014; Renda, 2001). Finally, by focusing on this time period and its relevance in shaping contemporary Haitian mobilities, I situate the current political moment within a broader context of the reproduction of American Empire and the afterlives of colonial projects (Goldstein, 2014; McCoy & Scarano, 2009; Stoler, 2016).

Theoretical Framing

The legal, politico-economic, infrastructural, and ecological changes brought about by the US Occupation (1915-1934) were part of an effort by the US Marines and members of the Haitian elite to produce a "national territory" and solidify its internal boundaries. The boundaries of this territory refer not so much to international political borders but instead to the internal dynamics of political power within Haiti. The production of a national territory centered around

a primary administrative region presented a stark rupture from the previous century when regional autonomy had hindered attempts to centralize power into the hands of a single sovereign authority. Key to the Marines' project of securing control was the creation of state institutions headquartered in Port-au-Prince. The departments of public works and public health, as well as a national police force, facilitated the construction of a large network of roads connecting Port-au-Prince to the interior. Marine rule oversaw a drastic re-ordering of space through the use of violent, forced labor and the re-institution of a plantation system. The primary aim of this massive mobilization of labor was to allow for increased flow between plantations in the rural interior and ports in the capital city of Port-au-Prince. Paradoxically, the mobilization of labor also required the fixity of rural Haitians in labor camps and plantations. The new roads facilitated movement for some while constraining that of others.

Like other projects of colonial rule, the road infrastructure built during the occupation was a project of biopolitical control that functioned through a "character of calculability" that organizes and orders space (Mitchell, 2002). Road infrastructure played a role in the physical and political construction of a national territory centered around Port-au-Prince (Anglade, 1975; Yarrington, 2015). Following Tim Mitchell in thinking of the State as an "effect of everyday institutional and ideological practice," (Mitchell, 1999) I refer to "territory" as a historically specific configuration of state power, a strategy of rule, a political technology, and an ongoing process (Brenner & Elden, 2009; Lentz, 2019). Thinking of territory as process and project recognizes the active maintenance required to reproduce the "effects" of the state. For Tim Mitchell, this effect is "produced by the organized partitioning of space, the regular distribution of bodies, exact timing, the coordination of movement, the combining of elements, and endless

repetition, all of which are particular practices... the order and precision of such processes created the effect of an apparatus apart from the men themselves, whose 'structure' orders, contains, and controls them" (Mitchell, 1999:89). Territory, as a political technology, functions through efforts to measure and control, not just the physical terrain, but the movement of people on it (Elden, 2010; Lentz, 2019). As Stuart Elden notes: "Territory is more than merely land, but a rendering of the emergent concept of 'space' as a political category: owned, distributed, mapped, calculated, bordered, and controlled" (Elden 2007:578). Paying attention to infrastructure development, as a specific tool of creating territory, is a way of tracing the capillary power of states through the exercising and recognition of authority. In other words, paying attention to the complex assemblages that produce material infrastructure informs our understanding of the 'everyday' processes of state-making (Uribe, 2018).

Yet, the state is not monolithic or static and its authority is always co-produced with foreign interests. Recent descriptions of contemporary Haiti as a 'failed state' ignore or minimize the colonial history of the first Republic born of a successful slave revolt (Fischer, 2004; Trouillot, 1995). Though Haiti has often been represented as 'exceptional' - isolated, anomalous, and irrelevant - Haiti's history is symptomatic of global struggles for postcolonial sovereignty (Bonilla, 2013). The struggle for control of space throughout Haiti's history of occupations and interventions troubles notions of territorially-bounded sovereignty. Indeed, Haiti has always been a crucible for global connections and a central space for the formation of empires and new techniques of governance (Mintz, 1986; Trouillot, 2016). As I show in this thesis, despite Haiti's unique history of colonialism, revolution, and racialization, the US Occupation of 1915-1934 is more broadly reflective of U.S. imperialism. The US occupation sparked processes of political

centralization, land dispossession, and plantation development that laid “the very conditions of possibility for its more indirect forms of rule and the sprawling networks of military encampments and global economies” (Goldstein, 2014:9).

As an addition to Geographical literature on the historical legacies of colonial infrastructure, this thesis offers a contextually rich analysis of the historical formation and reproduction of uneven development. In tracing the entanglements of scientific research, state formation, and racialization, I engage with literature on racial capitalism and scientific knowledge through a historical-geographical materialist framework. I bring this literature into conversation with the work of Haitian geographers whose work reflects a provincialized understanding of the spatial divisions of labor (Lawhon et al., 2014). My understanding of the larger transitions within Haitian history draws from the work of Haitian scholars George Anglade, Michel-Rolph Trouillot, and Georges Eddy Lucien. Their writings in French and Creole have been relatively underexplored in the anglophone tradition.

Merging perspectives from Historical Materialism, Black Geographies, and Critical Mobility Studies speaks to connections between forms of occupation through the construction and maintenance of infrastructure. As a project of historicizing uneven development and the production of state space, I highlight the material effects of colonialism and ongoing forms of dispossession (Crichlow, 2009; Stoler, 2008; Stoler, 2016), and racialized processes of accumulation (Crichlow & Northover, 2018; McKittrick, 2013; Pulido, 2017).

Research Design and Methodology

The US Occupation is a period that receives much attention in anglophone literature, but the Occupation was not the first or the last US intervention in Haiti; it is only part of a long history of political relations since the revolution. In this context, there has been a range of readings of the US Occupation and approaches to narrating the records and artifacts left behind in the form of official records, memoirs, diaries, journalism, and other accounts. Drawing from these accounts, I engage in archival research to contextualize the legacies of colonial infrastructure projects, taking advantage of the rich archival sources in the U.S. for the period of U.S. intervention. Records of the US colonial administration housed in the National Archives and Record Administration (NARA) at College Park, MD and the US Marine Corps Archives in Quantico, Virginia include maps of roads and aerial imagery made by USGS geological survey expeditions, registers of land purchases associated with road and plantation development projects, and correspondence and records on the labor enrolled in road construction. Through analysis of archival records and official correspondence between officials in charge of these projects I illustrate the processes of centralization during the occupation and demonstrate how the construction of infrastructure is implicated in a violent, extractive spatial logic that excludes and subordinates bodies of color.

In situating mundane processes such as road construction as central to the creation of state territory, I rely on the bureaucratic records and correspondence of Marine officials. As artifacts of governance, paying attention to the “worlds documents create” reveals much about processes of state formation (Hull, 2012). Following Gupta and Sharma (2006:19), to read

articles, speeches, correspondence, and other written artifacts as representations of the state necessitates concern with how “contradictory representations of the state are interpreted and operationalized in the everyday practices of bureaucrats.” Beneath the efforts at centralized control are contradictions and tensions: messy, fractured projects of rule shaped by the imaginaries and relationships of individual bureaucrats, competing institutions, and political agendas. Examining representations in this way sheds light on the actual practices and mechanisms of exploitation and control by the state (ibid).

A focus on archives as a process, rather than things reflects attempts to capture “the uncertain processes of territorial construction at each administrative scale” (Lentz, 2019). In analyzing correspondence and records on the labor enrolled in road construction, I focus on the way Marine officials drew on and reproduced understandings of Haiti’s people and environment in order to align their actions with liberal values of paternalism (Renda, 2001). The social imaginaries animating the work of Marine planners, engineers, and other state-sanctioned experts manifest themselves in the planning documents, bureaucratic records, and the material infrastructures built (Stoler, 2010). My intent in reading the artifacts of the Marines who planned and led forced labor parties is to piece together their own understandings of their mission, the purpose of building roads and centralizing the country, and the technical knowledge they drew upon to enact these plans. Putting Haitians to work, in this sense, required more than forced labor, but also the weaponization of affect and belonging. I pay attention to the ways the “harnessing of sentiments” that encompassed racial categories and ideas of belonging produced certain types of citizens as more or less deserving of public infrastructure (Stoler, 2010). As Stoler explains:

“Colonial statecraft required the calibration of sympathies and attachments, managing different degrees of subjugation both among its agents and those colonized. Being a taxonomic state meant more than setting out categories; it meant producing and harnessing those sentiments that would make sense of those distinctions and make them work” (2010:40).

My relationship with the archives and approach to reading archival sources is ineluctably shaped by the experience of navigating catalogs at NARA and other archives for information relevant to the US Occupation. The process of narrating bureaucratic records is far from straightforward; documents are filed and organized in myriad ways and are not always organized chronologically or thematically, but often sorted into files based on the last name of the supervising official. This made it vital to learn the hierarchies, change in commands, and personal backgrounds of US officials in order to follow the story and piece together individual records into a syncretic image of US governance. The content of correspondence is not always the mundane, technical language associated with bureaucratic records, but filled with personal pleas, quarrels, and propositions. For example, requests to send specific people (often sons of politicians or businessmen) to specific posts, or to ask for help in forming policy or business ventures.

Another jarring aspect of the archives is the separation of different materials: letters, microfilm, maps, photos and film stored in NARA are categorized separately and have to be accessed on different floors with an entirely different staff and protocols. This cleavage of textual from media archives influenced my experience and interpretation in unexpected ways. Accessing photos without context (sometimes a scribbled note included on the back but often nothing at all) was frustrating, but also allowed me to see the landscape through different eyes. In order to make sense of diffuse and acontextual archives, I had to become familiar with both the institutional

processes of record-keeping as well as individual patterns and writing styles. This process helped me realize that though the Haitian landscape and people might have been unfamiliar to an American Marine or engineer, they relied on interpretative frameworks to make sense of their experiences. It was this experience that sparked my interest in uncovering the imaginaries and frames of reference undergirding Marines' infrastructure projects in Haiti.

Chapter Overview

Building a Haitian Space

I ground the conceptual framework for understanding the effects of the occupation through an overview of the development of Port-au-Prince as an urban center. Chapter One frames the rest of the thesis by forefronting my approach to understanding historical-material transformations of the State and state territorialization. Following the work of the Geographer George Anglade, I frame the US Occupation as a distinct period within the production of Haitian Space. I highlight Anglade's descriptions of the spatial articulation of power in Haiti and its transformation over time, and I broadly trace developments in the spatial organization of labor in relation to attempts by the Haitian state to control rural land.

Violent Roads: Labor and Military Governance

In Chapter Two, I examine in more detail the specific projects through which state agents produce and materialize territory by detailing the tools of centralization during the Occupation. Chapter Two historicizes the cultural work of roads as sites of political contestation by explaining how US rule was constituted through the control of roads carried out by a hybrid Haitian-American military police. I examine the cleavage the occupation brought to traditional rural-urban divides in Haiti through the records and letters from the U.S. Marines regarding the

labor regime used to construct roads. I put these into dialogue with the maps of the roads created by survey expeditions and plans for constructing new plantations based on the location of roads. The dispossession of land that accompanied the construction of road projects and research plantations relied on the discursive production of a peculiar brand of Haitian nationalism that espoused American scientific expertise and a racial division of labor. I argue that technocratic management by Marines, engineers, geologists, and biologists drew on and, at times, reconstructed, racial hierarchies of labor to exercise territorial claims. I explore these nationalist imaginaries and racial discourses that government officials in charge of these projects mobilized and contrast them with the labor conditions of the workers violently forced to build roads and work on plantations.

CHAPTER 1:

INFRASTRUCTURES OF SOVEREIGNTY: HAITIAN SPACE AND PLANTATION LOGIC

In 2016, less than two years before the eruption of the Pays Lock protests that would implicate him in the Petrocaribe corruption scandal, Haiti's current president, Jovenel Moise, was elected after running on a fairly straightforward platform. Casting himself as a political outsider, Moise tapped into a deeply rooted national imaginary of Haiti as a rural nation. In actuality, he was the handpicked successor to the previous president's political party. As such he represented an extension of that administration's neoliberal ethos, reflected in the oft-cited slogan "Haiti is open for business". However, Moise claimed to differ from the previous administration in one crucial aspect. Where the previous administration was focused on making Haiti's urban places more attractive for international investment, Moise, instead, advocated for rural development through investment in agricultural technology, road construction, and a national electrical grid. He appealed to his background in banana exportation - proudly adopting the moniker 'the banana man' - to frame himself as a rural agricultural producer. He also boasted that one of his companies was involved in constructing roads for rural development, though these credentials would later be called into question as he was implicated in a money-laundering scheme related to misuse of Petrocaribe funds. In appealing to a rural/urban divide, Moise also sought to recast a longstanding narrative of the Haitian State as a parasitic institution representing an urban elite who extract value from the production of the peasant majority. This discursive divide has always

been unambiguously racialized: though Moïse was a wealthy plantation owner, he was eager to distance himself from the image of the mulatto, lighter-skinned urban elite in order to align himself with the darker-skinned, rural majority. Though the majority of Haiti's population now lives in urban areas, the idea of Haiti as a rural nation remains a powerful one.

The divide between residents of urban and rural spaces in Haiti, both as they are perceived and conceived, is a continuing touchstone of Haitian politics. The political implications and tensions of this rural/urban imaginary came to the fore during the *Pays Lorrain* protests. Ballooning migration to Port-au-Prince in the past 20 years, coupled with failing, inadequate infrastructure, and the mass displacement caused by the 2010 earthquake that struck the city led to a growing feeling of crisis. As anthropologist Greg Beckett put it: "it seemed as though the city had imploded--collapsed into itself" (Beckett 2019, 220). Even before this growing urban crisis, there had been a longstanding cultural divide between city and country, a rift between an urban elite minority and the masses of rural dwelling people characterized as a battle of "State against Nation" (Trouillot, 1990). These populist political imaginaries are connected to the spatial form of the city itself, which can be traced back to legacies of the city's French colonial roots. Port-au-Prince has always exhibited "a persistently colonial social hierarchy that partitions and compartmentalizes people according to wealth, colorcolour, and status. To each his own neighborhood" (Duvivier 2016, 177). Yet, these power geometries and spatial formations are never static, but always in formation. This chapter aims to show how this divide was constructed and to challenge the conventional neat separation of urban and rural spaces in order to reveal their inter-relation. This chapter foregrounds my approach to thinking

about spatial transformations in Haiti by examining centralization as a key dynamic to social change.

The US Occupation of Haiti (1915-34) is widely accepted within Haitian historiography as a transitional period towards centralized state power (Anglade, 1975; Trouillot, 1990). Contemporary protest groups express similar claims in tracing the predatory nature of the Haitian state to the extension of executive control under the occupation. The period of the US Occupation remains significant for understanding contemporary discourse on the role and responsibilities of the state in Haiti (Casimir, 2018). Yet scholars have often taken the formation of a centralized Haitian state for granted and given relatively little attention to the specific ways in which the roads and plantations built by the U.S. influenced the formation of the Haitian state (Lucien; 2014). While the following chapter explores in detail the methods of centralization implemented during the US Occupation of Haiti, this chapter frames the US Occupation as part of a broader trend in the transformation of Haitian Space.

This chapter situates the contemporary political moment within the broader history of spatial dynamics in Haiti (Lucien, 2013; Tobin 2013, Payton, 2018; Joos, 2015; Yarrington, 2015). I aim to contextualize the rapid urban growth and production of vulnerability in Port-au-Prince through a historical overview of the production of Haitian Space. Following geographer George Anglade's descriptions of the spatial articulation of power in Haiti and its transformation over time, I broadly trace developments in the spatial organization of labor in relation to attempts by the Haitian state to control rural land. In the next section, I briefly outline Anglade's approach to thinking with space and state and sketch the potential benefits of analyzing road development as a lens for understanding the creation of 'Haitian Space' and

interrogating the spatial forms of Haitian sovereignty. Anglade's work is attentive to the racial logics that produce urban spaces and an understanding of the dialectics of resistance and exploitation in Haiti. This is not meant to be an exhaustive overview of Haitian history, the aim here is to suggest new paths for exploring these histories through a materialist approach.

Haitian Space and Plantation Logic

Michel-Rolph Trouillot's landmark study on the origins of the totalitarian Duvalier regime in Haiti (1957-1986) traces the rift between State and Nation to post-colonial struggles over the productive capacity of the land, leading to divisions between the representatives of the state apparatus and peasant class and clear dichotomies of power that split the country into urban or rural, French-speaking or Creole-speaking (Trouillot, 1990). The 'nation', as Trouillot refers to it, is the predominantly black, predominantly rural peasant majority of the country. The power of the upper class, which he characterizes as an urban minority with generally lighter skin color, lies in its monopoly over the state apparatus. The power of the state itself, he argues, is derived from its role in extracting and distributing the surplus produced by the peasant majority. As important as his contributions are to understanding Haiti's "spatial specificity", Trouillot's classification of urban Haitians as a 'parasitic' class ignores the way these divides are formed and always in flux. Instead, I am interested in the *production* of urban and rural spaces in Haiti. Analyzing the spatial organization of struggles for land, Haitian geographer Georges Anglade developed the idea of "Haitian Space" to describe the dynamic of power relations in the Haitian context. Anglade characterizes Haitian space as the tension between the exclusion and autonomy of black, rural communities and the efforts by the urban, mulatto elites to exercise power over 'national' territory. Though in many ways Anglade's perception of the primary forces shaping

the production of space in Haiti mirrors that of Trouillot and other Haitian historians, Anglade's "Critical Atlas of Haiti" presents an approach to thinking about dynamic spatial change in Haiti. In the sections that follow, I outline Anglade's conceptions of Haitian Space and provide an overview of his framework for thinking about spatial transformations in Haitian history.

"Haitian Space" is essentially a way of thinking about the relationship between rural and urban places in Haiti, and the transformation of expressions of state territory over time. In Haiti, state territory has always been defined by differential movement and flows based on racial differences. In Haiti, as in other former plantation societies in the Americas, the racialization of certain spaces can be traced back to the colonial ordering of life and death through the plantation (McKittrick, 2013). McKittrick describes this 'Plantation Logic' as the coupling of "black subjugation and land exploitation" (11), normalized through the language and tools of urban planning and geographic survey. Plantation logic normalizes processes that produce racialized spaces of exclusion and exploitation; it transforms both rural and urban spaces in a violent process that connects the exploitation of land and black bodies (Crichlow & Northover, 2018). The institutional and infrastructural constraints on mobility that Rashad Shabazz describes as 'spatialized blackness' limit black bodies to inhabit specific spaces and roles (Shabazz, 2015). Spatializing blackness functions through forms of policing that are codified through social welfare projects, urban planning, and infrastructure development. Though technologies of spatializing blackness change over time, they operate through exercises of power that territorialize spaces and construct borders that restrain movement. A host of scholars have turned to the plantation as an analytic to represent the pervasive spatial form and labor relations that continue to structure so many black lives in the Americas (Crichlow, 2009; McKittrick, 2011;

Rood, 2017; Trouillot, 2006; Woods, 1998). The plantation is not only a metaphor, or set of labor relations, but a particular configuration of the relationship between rural and urban spaces. The durable racial divisions of labor that emerged from the plantation complex (e.g. Rood, 2017; Woods, 1998) suggest the plantation as the original spatial logic and form of infrastructural violence undergirding development in the Caribbean, and thus, the appropriate starting point for understanding processes of social transformation and urban growth (Mintz, 1986).

Sites of Resistance

Anglade maps logics of dispossession onto specific spatial forms. Anglade builds on Henri Lefebvre's theories on the 'production of state territory' with what he refers to as "articulations" of space. Drawing on Lefebvre's relational understanding of material processes, Anglade recognized space as inherently social, describing how urban forms influence subject-making and governance. Anglade describes several main spatial forms that shaped Haitian history - the plantation, the market, the lakou - characterizing each spatial form specific to Haitian Space as belonging to one of two categories: the network of oppression or the core of resistance. He describes Haitian Space as "the articulation between the network of taxes that allow the accumulation of wealth to one pole of society and the cores constructed by the masses to resist and survive" (Anglade, 1975:80)¹. His language of network and core to describe the powers of oppression and resistance implies a spectrum of mobility. He contrasts the mobile networks of the elite who transport their goods and construct road infrastructure to maximize flows with forms of resistance that are rooted in place.

¹ Unless otherwise noted, all translations of Anglade from French into English are my own.

Anglade locates mass resistance to exploitation in the spatial organization of rural life. He describes the rural Haitian compound, the Lakou, as the spatial center of Haitian home life. The Lakou originated as a form of resistance to land appropriation through a complex tenure system that prevents large-scale land purchases while maintaining individual families' autonomy over their land and agricultural production (Dubois, 2012). By way of example, Anglade describes different categories of land use and ownership that distinguish between ownership of the soil and the plants grown on it. It is possible for someone to own land, but not cultivate it, or to cultivate land they do not own through sharecropping or squatting (Anglade, 1975). Ownership is further divided between personal land and family land, indicating the difference between land that was inherited or purchased. These lands are treated differently, as ancestral land is kept within the family and forbidden from being sold. This distinction was key to the post-revolutionary redistribution of land, as ancestral lands typically do not hold written titles, but are acknowledged through oral traditions. The lack of written title can be a source of conflict in cases where land is presumed to be unoccupied, but the intricate attachments to land developed in post-revolutionary Haiti also served to prevent large-scale dispossession.

Anglade also centers the importance of markets as nodes of resistance that allow for reciprocal exchange and diversification that challenge the imposition of the plantation system. For Anglade, the dynamic of Haitian Space is created by the patterns of exchange through the market:

“The coherence of a territory, the construction of a nation, and the continual production of space are realized through smallholder farms by their location and aggregation; through the markets by their central roles in distribution; and through the circulation of goods and ideas by linking all these constitutive elements of space. There are places, centers of these places and exchanges between centers” (1975:80).

Key to Anglade's characterization of spatial sites of resistance is his idea of "networks of oppression" and "cores of resistance". By this, he refers to the spatial practices of negotiating the extraction of surplus, categorizing taxes and levies imposed by the state and wealthy urban elite as oppression, while he considers rural peasants' efforts to control their own production as acts of resistance. The specific spatial forms of oppression and resistance are differentiated by the highly mobile, diffuse network of the state apparatus, and the more rooted nodes of peasant production. Importantly, these oppressive forces and sites of resistance are interpenetrating and co-constitutive. As Mimi Sheller explains, though plantations and provision grounds have often been contrasted with each other as representing two alternate modes of production, in practice they existed alongside each other, though always in tension (Sheller, 2012). This resonates with Lefebvre's understanding of space as 'superimposed': "The national and regional levels take in innumerable 'places'; national space embraces the regions, and world space does not merely subsume national spaces but even . . . precipitates the formation of new national spaces in a remarkable process of fission. All these spaces, meanwhile, are traversed by myriad currents" (1991:86, 88 quoted in Brenner 2000). This interpretation is important because it confirms that state-led projects of extraction - including the construction of roads and other infrastructure - do not subsume or destroy local spaces, but they do structure who is excluded from the 'public' sphere. The spatial practices Anglade describes as sites of resistance are, in many ways, spatial claims to citizenship and inclusion within a 'public'.

One flaw in Anglade's analysis is that he flattens the spatial dynamics of power by locating resistance to state predation solely in rural communities. The lives of non-elite urban-dwelling Haitians have been ignored until only recently (Lucien, 2014; Tobin, 2013).

Though rural peasants' mobility may be limited, and certain sites do reflect alternative modes of spatial organization, resistance is not constrained to the countryside: remittances from the diaspora represents a spatially diffuse social network that is just as complex as the system of roads that connect plantations to ports. Both Trouillot and Anglade ignore the middle class of 'brokers' who navigate between physical spaces and across social classes. Despite this oversight, Anglade's analysis is useful in the way it counters nationalist rhetoric of the countryside as lacking any organization and therefore needing the civilizing presence of the state. Instead, as Anglade demonstrates, the organization of rural life in Haiti has always been in conversation with and in spite of attempts to control it.

Anglade emphasizes Haitian Space as dynamic, transformed over time, and reflected through everyday experiences and practices of controlling space. These dynamic qualities are animated through his maps. He attempts to show movement in space through the creative use of arrows and shapes that demonstrate flows, direction, and spatial extent of different political and economic forms. Anglade admits that a single map cannot capture everything, but he attempts to highlight what he considers to be the primary factors that define and produce Haitian Space at a given time. Anglade draws on and extends Lefebvrian ideas of urbanization to break down rigid dualisms of rural/urban, city/country, and instead focus on the networks and rooted sites of power that inter-penetrate and co-construct each other (Anglade, 1982:58).

L'Espace Morcelee

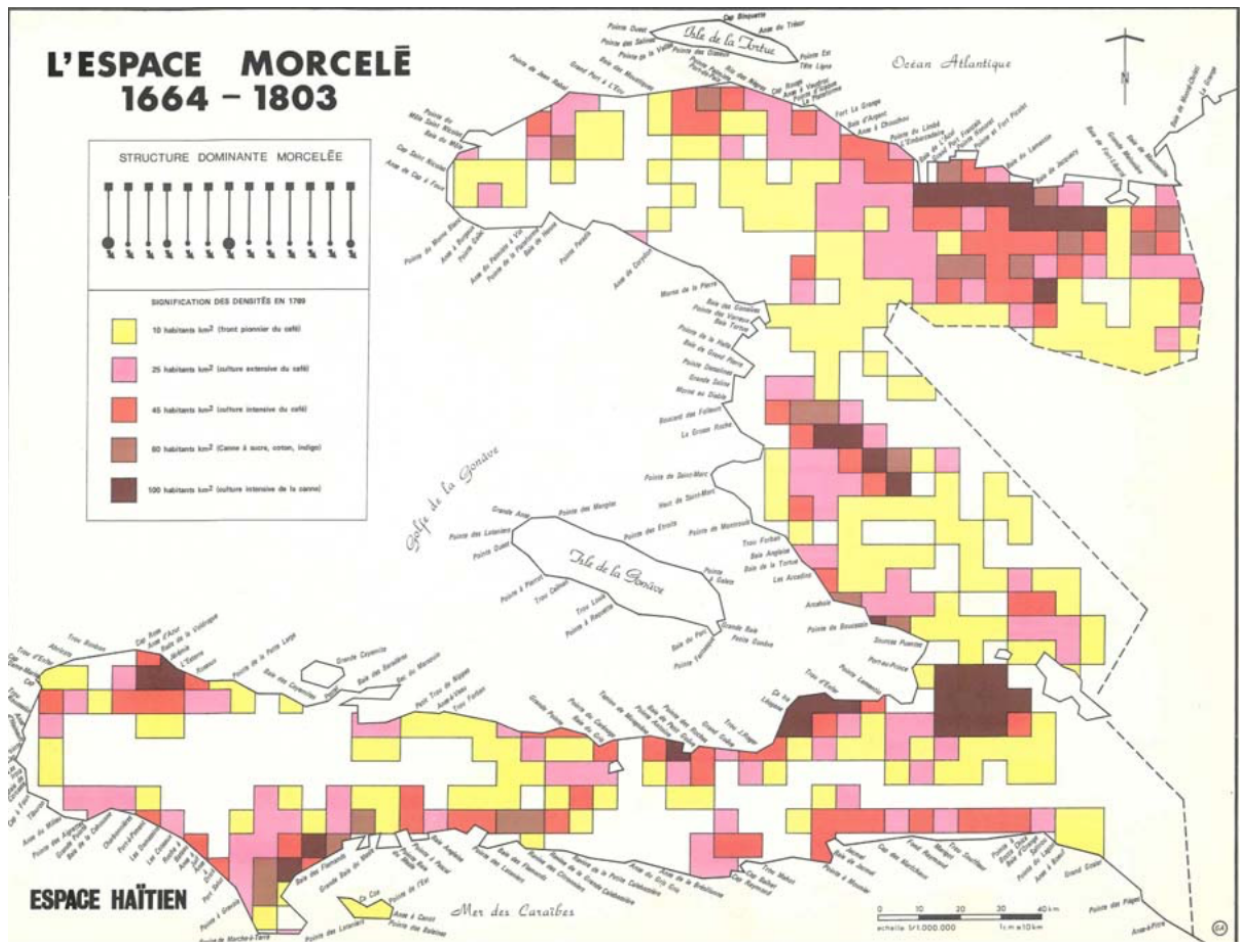


Figure 1: The first period of Haitian Space, “parceled space”, refers to the French colonial project of organizing land into large-holdings, referred to as plantations or Habitations (Anglade, 1982)

Anglade organizes the history of spatial transformations according to four distinct periods, which I outline in more detail below. Each period is represented by a map of the “dominant structure of space”. While others have questioned his periodicity of Haitian history, his maps effectively show the process of centralization towards Port-au-Prince in the 20th century. Beginning with the plantation system in colonial Saint Domingue, Anglade characterizes “l’espace morcelee” - parceled or fragmented space - as the dividing up of terrain into privately owned plantation plots

(*Figure 1*). The map displays population density and predominant crops during the French colonial period, with the blank areas highlighting uncultivated or mountainous regions. This presentation contrasts the densely populated sugar cane fields of the North, South, and Central Plateau (shown in brown: comprising 35% of the population yet only 12% of total land area) with the vast uninhabited spaces of the mountains and coasts. The graphic in the key made up of squares connected to circles represents the flow of agricultural products directly from plantations to ports. Anglade insists that this characterization is indicative of all early colonial territorial projects in the Americas (1982). Colonial conceptions of private property enabled the reproduction of the plantation mode of production. Plantation logic in the form practiced by the French planters operated through both legal measures - such as the infamous “code noir”- and through the construction of infrastructure intended to facilitate the flow of commodities from the plantation to ports. Sidney Mintz emphasizes the role of the French administration in creating a centralized government “to provide adequate ports, military protection, slave-catching bodies, and jails, but not so many schools, hospitals, agricultural extension agencies and banks” (Mintz, 2010:119). As Vincent Joos aptly describes the development of Port-au-Prince: “The main consideration of colonial administrators was not the edification of a city but the development of a port” (Joos 2015:24).

L'Espace Regionalisee

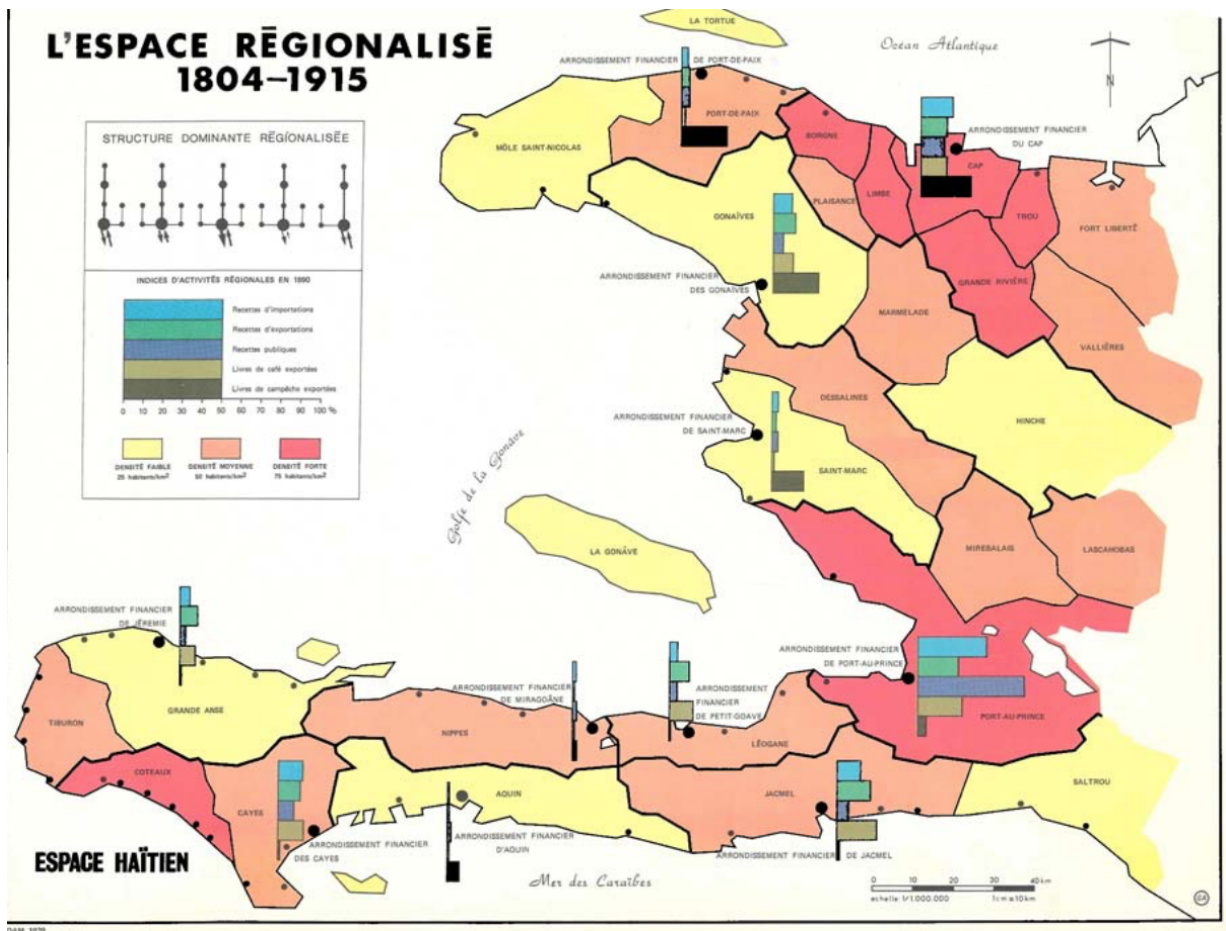


Figure 2: Regionalised space reflects the period of Haitian history after the Haitian revolution, in which regional forces precluded the dominance of a national state power (Anglade, 1982)

For the first century after Haiti's independence, Haitian Space was characterized by regional forces with distinct approaches to regulating movement and flows of goods. Figure 2 represents the primary administrative regions during this period, their density, and their relative percentage of exports and imports. The graphic in the key reflects the flow of goods between regional markets. This regionalism was a tense balance, as regional armies jostling for prominence prevented the consolidation of power for any significant duration. Prominent port cities -

including Jacmel, Jeremie, Les Cayes, Cap Haitien, and Gonaives - vied with Port-au-Prince for dominance over exporting coffee, still an important export crop in the 19th century. The prominence of regional powers stems from post-revolutionary class dynamics.

The Haitian Revolution brought about a massive shift in labor regimes. After fourteen years of revolution culminating in independence in 1804, the overwhelming goal of the victorious ex-slaves was to dismantle the system of plantation agriculture that had oppressed them for so long (Dubois 2012). Of primary importance was that each citizen receives their own parcel of land to cultivate in the manner they saw fit. For most, this meant subsistence agriculture and a livelihood based around procuring food for one's own benefit, rather than producing goods for an international market. Yet, Haiti emerged from the revolution with internal class hierarchies intact. A push to maintain Haiti's role as a valuable source of commodities for export came from Haiti's early leaders and the elite class, who enjoyed the benefit of less competition for resources from French planters and who felt that maintaining an export economy was the only way to ensure Haiti's survival in a world opposed to the idea of liberation. Anglade characterizes the three main problems immediately facing Haitians after the revolution as 1) the future of plantations or large-land holdings more generally 2) the organization of labor in a post-slavery society and 3) the rebuilding of the means of production that had been razed during the revolution.

Though early Haitian leaders saw the necessity of reinstating plantations in order to survive in the global economy, peasants vehemently resisted. Haitian historian Jean Casimir has described rural labor relations in Haiti as a counter-plantation system, intended to avoid the reinstatement of the plantation system at all costs (Casimir, 1992). However, the class of rural

producers referred to as peasants were not in the strictest sense, as they participated in both capitalist and non-capitalist relations - at times selling produce at markets. Anglade underlines the importance of market relations to the development of postcolonial labor organization and class stratification. Participation in the market functioned as a form of resistance to the plantation system by enabling claims to land that prevented the development of large-scale plantations. However, this system never fully eradicated the threat of coerced labor: “its population—divided between an elite that favored a plantation-based labor state and a nation desiring to maintain small-holdings land plots— never reached a consensus on how the latter might be sustained in the capitalist world-system of the time” (Nesbitt, 2008:24). The intrinsic denial of equal citizenship for the masses that constituted the ‘nation’ was maintained after colonialism through rural codes that extended restrictions based on race. After the French abolished slavery in 1794 as an attempt to appease Haitian revolutionary leaders and maintain Haiti as a French colony:

"French colonial administrators were charged with extending universal rights to the colonies while simultaneously ensuring the persistence of racialized and exploitative labor regimes that provided economic benefit to the nation. To assure the continuation of the plantation economy, colonial administrators created forms of coercion, compulsion, and surveillance that effectively forced the newly emancipated to continue laboring on their plantations... freedom and inclusion were extended in theory but denied, deferred, and constrained in practice." (Bonilla, 2015:14)

Trouillot details how the second piece of legislation passed by the newly formed senate of the Republic of Haiti was a tax system. The original system was nearly identical to the colonial tax of French Saint-Domingue and relied heavily on the “territorial levy”, a tax on export commodities. Through this system, the early republic’s economy reinforced a dependence on commodity export, especially coffee, for the lion’s share of government revenue. In doing so, the republic’s leaders created incentives to maintain the plantation system, and compel the newly reconstituted peasantry to join a system not dissimilar to the one they had successfully

overthrown not but several decades earlier. However, the success of these attempts to revive plantations was short-lived, countered by the peasant class' resistance through an alternative spatial organization of labor. This system of loosely federated regions kept the growing influence of Port-au-Prince, and the state apparatus seated there, mostly in check for the large part of the 19th century.

L'Espace Centralisee

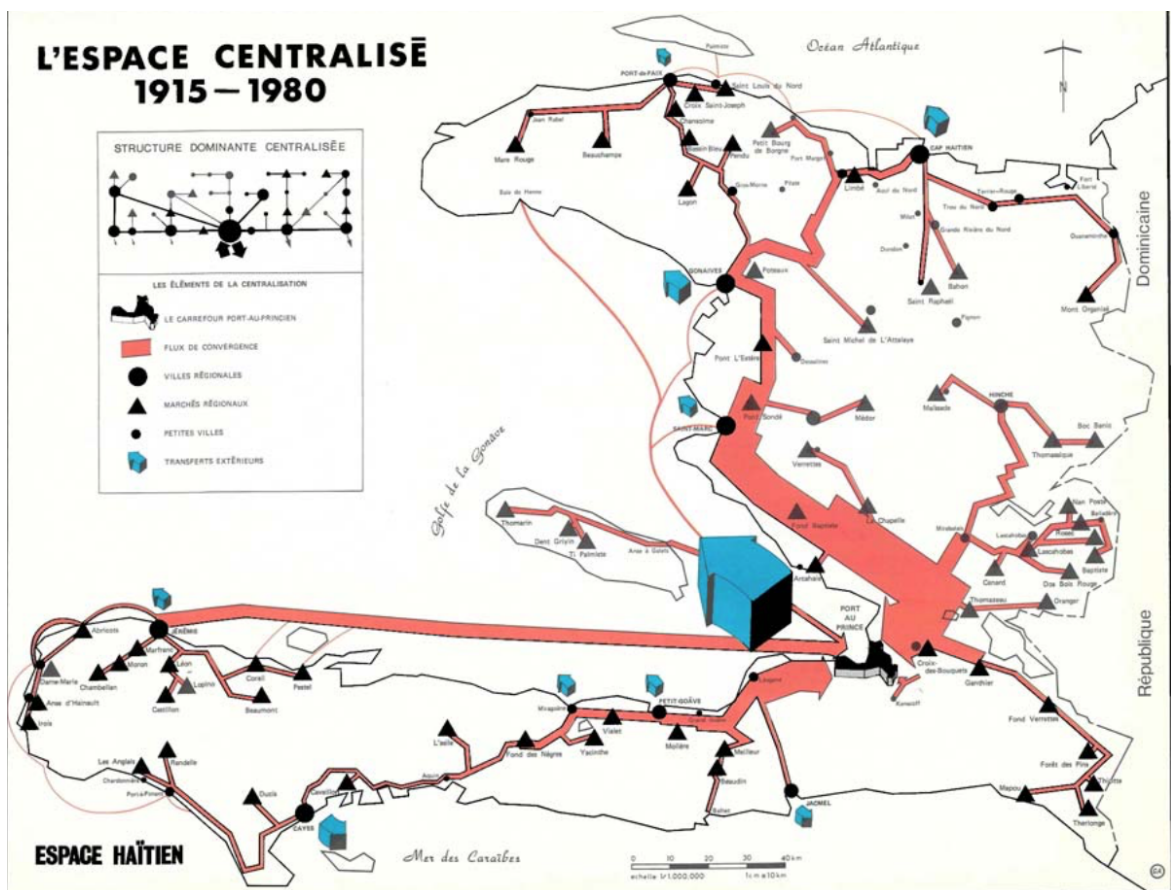


Figure 3. Centralised space reflects the changes brought about by the US Occupation. This map clearly shows the effects of US efforts to build roads and invest in plantations (Anglade, 1982)

The U.S. occupation represented a stark rupture from the previous century. Constitutional amendments to allow for foreign ownership of land, coupled with the creation of a national

police force and large-scale road construction, went hand in hand as part of the U.S.' strategy to increase U.S. corporate investment in Haiti (Dubois, 2012). The construction of roads spurred the process of centralization around Port-Au-Prince and the development of an authoritarian state by prioritizing the development of Port-au-Prince's highways and ports at the expense of other areas. The U.S. Marines oversaw road construction and the conscription of a forced labor system, the *corvee*, to connect sugar, banana, and mango plantations to Port-au-Prince's ports (*Figure 3*). The U.S. Geological Survey mapped the entire country systematically with aerial imagery - one of the earliest uses of civilian aerial photography - and produced a systematic survey of the country's mineral resources. These maps sparked attempts to revise land titling laws to allow U.S. citizens to buy up large plots of land. *Figure 3* shows the movement and quantity of flows between cities since the Occupation, as well as major export ports shown with blue arrows. The direction of the arrows clearly converge on Port-au-Prince, and from there exports orient towards the U.S. Port-au-Prince is represented by a large mass, rather than an icon, to demonstrate the growing size of the urban conglomeration. The graphic in the top left corner of the map represents the complexity of the market system and centralization around Port-au-Prince.

In defining this process described above as centralization rather than urbanization, Haitian scholars emphasize it is a process of re-organizing and orienting the entire country's political and economic focus around a single city (Trouillot, 1990). Second, it emphasizes the changing relations between the center and the periphery. It is not insignificant that the rural dwelling majority of the population are often referred to, both pejoratively and self-referred, as "moun andeyo", the people outside. The 'moun andeyo' sit outside of the state apparatus and, despite making up the majority of the nation, are excluded from inclusion within the public

sphere. Though the U.S.'s direct control over the Haitian state ended in 1934, the road networks, political institutions, and constitutional amendments constructed during the period profoundly altered and continue to structure everyday life.

Recent scholarship drawing on Anglade's work has made more effort to detail the specific ways in which centralization impacted the urban growth of Port-au-Prince (Joos, 2015; Payton, 2018). Lucien's recent work on the development of Port-au-Prince puts centralization at the center of social processes shaping Haitian cities. For Lucien, centralization was a process begun by American rule as part of a continuity of policies designed to "transition from the occupation regime to a new political regime that, in fact, posed no real threat to American interests" (Lucien 2014, 23). Thus, centralization entailed the growth of a central political power situated in Port-au-Prince at the same time as the creation of dependency on the U.S. The long-term impacts of the Occupation include internal migration to Port-au-Prince, rural underdevelopment, and decreased land security.

Conclusion

George Anglade's theory of Haitian Space is articulated through his creative use of maps to convey dynamic power relations over time. Taking Anglade's overview of spatial transformations seriously in order to understand contemporary social movements means recognizing that uneven power geometries are not static. Paying attention to the production of mobility in Haiti - who moves? and how? - suggests that the specific "shape" and spatial practices of the state change over time. Anglade's aim resonates with recent attention to the production of territory as a historically specific, always evolving configuration between state and space (e.g. Elden and Brenner, 2009). The overview of Haitian Space I presented in this chapter

focused on the production of state space on a national level. I framed the impacts of the US Occupation as a part of a longer trajectory of spatial transformations in Haiti towards centralization around Port-au-Prince. In the next chapter I examine in more detail the specific projects through which the US Marines produced and materialized a centralized national territory, highlighting the importance of controlling mobility as a strategy for organizing labor and a national mode of production (e.g. Mitchell, 1996). I focus on infrastructural projects during the occupation to follow Anglade in taking “the street as the main unit of analysis” (Anglade cited in Joos, 2015).

CHAPTER TWO:

VIOLENT ROADS: LABOR AND MILITARY GOVERNANCE UNDER THE US OCCUPATION

“At the end of this sanguinary struggle little evidence of the French Occupation remained. Irrigation systems had been destroyed, the fine roads ruined by neglect, plantations had been burned and their buildings razed to the ground, for in the eyes of the victorious blacks all were symbols of the harsh slavery to which they had been subjected. Traces of these ruins may be found on parts of the island, overgrown by jungles.”

Monograph of Haiti - 1932

“It really is useless to try to do anything in this country except by force.”

Major General Smedley Butler, Commanding Office of the Gendarmerie D’Haiti 1915-1918

The monograph of Haiti, an immense record of intelligence information compiled by the US Marine Corps during the Occupation of Haiti and published in 1932, begins with a trite summary of Haitian history meant to introduce the reader to America’s newest occupied territory. The caricature of the Haitian revolution quoted above emphasized the revolution as a violent purge of every physical artifact of colonization. Whether purposefully razed or fallen into disrepair through neglect, ‘traces of ruins’ still exist. The monograph reads as a nostalgic lament for the bygone colonial past, situating post-revolutionary Haiti as a space of ruin, rubble, and neglect. This narrative of ruination served clear political purposes for the US occupying forces. The monograph functioned as a guide for Marine administrators; it provided detailed intelligence information on the country’s geography, natural resources, economy, political and military organization. The bulk of the monograph is devoted to detailing individual place names, their

geography, extent of infrastructure development and important political leaders in each area. Accompanying the major place descriptions are aerial photos provided by a U.S.G.S. crew who mapped the country's roads and documented potential resources to exploit. More than a reference book of facts, this compendium of knowledge was a guide on how to govern. The monograph reflects the way Marine rule in Haiti was solidified through seemingly discrete yet intersecting mechanisms: the construction of road infrastructure, the creation of a national police force, and cartographic survey. All efforts relied on the mobilization of Haitian labor - through force - to secure control over the rural interior of the country.

This chapter provides insight into the network of U.S. Marines and engineers who relied on these maps to secure their control. In this chapter I explore the process of state territorialization under the Marine's rule through the creation of a national police force and the construction of roads. I detail how the mobilization of peasant labor was crucial to the centralizing efforts of the Marines. This chapter centers my approach to knowing the state through the artifacts it leaves behind, in this case, its archives and infrastructures. Taking the construction of roads as a key mechanism of state formation emphasizes the significance of control of movement. I rely heavily on the writings of Smedley Butler, the commanding officer of the Gendarmerie of Haiti, to examine the scales of centralization, how it operated, and how marines maneuvered across the terrain. Through examining the processes of planning, constructing, and maintaining roads, infrastructural histories relate the violence that is embedded in the formation of contemporary urban spaces. Examining the impacts of road construction and maintenance can also challenge conventional state genealogies, or, the stories state tell about themselves - allowing for an

understanding of state formation that is contingent and affective (Graham and Thrift, 2007; Ingram, 2014).

Infrastructure and Territory

Growing interest in infrastructure as an analytic responds to calls to pay attention to "capitalism's material geographies" (Ranganathan, 2015) and the cultural work of "technology" (Kirsch, Forthcoming). Though typically construed as an inert backdrop to everyday life, infrastructure is not a static object, but a dynamic process of re-shaping space that includes not just the built environment, but also the subjects enrolled in its development and maintenance (Graham and Thrift, 2007). Far more than simply facilitating transportation and communication, infrastructures are projects of biopolitical control and potent ideological symbols (Anand et al., 2018; Harvey & Knox, 2015). The mode of thinking that drives state infrastructure development "has come to organize social expectations, everyday experiences, and public discourses about the proper relationships among economy, development, governance, and technology" (Carse, 2016:28). Infrastructure reflects modernist attempts to make legible diverse forms of organizing space by standardizing and structuring physical flows and mobility (Uribe, 2018). Though infrastructures may reflect a very narrow conception of liberal development, in practice infrastructure construction is often fraught with conflict and differing visions of the future (Uribe, 2017). Infrastructures, then, are not only a display of state power but a lens through which to analyze the continual maintenance and transformation of power relations.

My attention to the construction of infrastructure responds to recent scholarly emphasis on the 'formations' of empire in all its contingencies and contradictions (Goldstein, 2014; McCoy & Scarano, 2009). In many cases, road construction is animated by narratives of

progress, modernization, and connection. Lying behind narratives of connection and modernization are often projects of legibility, which are key to liberal practices of governance. These projects often relied on the standardizing, homogenizing tools of scientific planning (c.f. Scott, 1998). However, the practices of standardization and programming - exhibited by Baron Haussmann or Scott's "high modernist" official - are equally concerned with creating barriers and hierarchies as they are with liberal projects of modernization. The differentiation reflected in architectures of occupation and apartheid is a key strategy of post-colonial state officials (Von Schnitzler, 2016; Weizmann, 2007). "Apartheid's intransigence is materialized in roads, pipes, bureaucratic forms, administrative fiat, and indeed in embodied forms of ethical and political knowledge" (Von Schnitzler, 2016:30). As political objects and 'epistemological vantage points', the architecture of occupation reveals "the ways in which the liberal order of free circulation often rests on illiberal foundations" (30). Planning practices exhibit this governmentality by "locking in" certain approaches to social modernity (Collier, 2011). As I will detail below, the practices of planning and constructing infrastructure produce a 'modernist geography' that maps moral and ideological claims onto specific places (Kahn, 2019; Trouillot, 2003). These foundations are further reflected in the continuation of the language and logic of improvement that undergirds many contemporary infrastructural plans and projects (Li, 2007; Ranganathan, 2018).

Opening up the Country: Strategic Geography

When the U.S. Marines invaded Port-au-Prince on July 28 1915, there had been little precedent for the use of the Marines in a large-scale intervention. Though the U.S. Occupation of Haiti reflected the peak of a wave of interventions across Latin America, the Caribbean, and the Pacific, prior to the invasion of Haiti, the Marines had only been deployed at a large-scale once before in Nicaragua in 1909 (Renda, 2001:97). The transformation of the U.S. Marines into a sort of presidential police force was solidified through its experience in Haiti. In many ways, however, the U.S. invasion was not without precedent; previous efforts at intervention in Haiti in the 19th century included a successful claim of Navassa Island off the southwestern coast of Haiti under the Guano Islands Act in 1856, an almost ratified annexation of the Santo Domingan portion of the island during Ulysses S. Grant's presidency between 1866-1871, and an attempt at leasing land on the north-western tip of Haiti for a military base between 1889-1891 (Braziel, 2006; James, 2012). So, when the assassination of Haitian president Vilbrun Guillaume Sam offered Woodrow Wilson an opportunity to exercise a long sought after intervention, he needed no second invitation. Marines landed in Port-au-Prince on the same day President Sam was assassinated.

The series of events leading to the U.S occupation have been represented by many historians as a project tied to U.S. railroad and plantation investment (Dubois, 2012; Hudson, 2017; Schmidt, 1984). Despite attempts by American entrepreneurs in the late 19th century to establish financial interests in Haiti, many projects were frustrated by the difficulty of purchasing large tracts of land. The Haitian constitution prohibited the sale of land to foreign nationals, and even loopholes that would allow for U.S. citizens to lease land were not sufficient for plantation

development. The revolutionary roots of the complex tenure system in Haiti were both a primary motivation for U.S. military involvement and a constant struggle for U.S. Marines and businessmen. A few of these businessmen had been pushing for the U.S. government to take an aggressive stance towards investment in Haiti, and saw their opportunity after a series of coups produced an unstable political environment. Though officially, the U.S. claimed the occupation that began in July 1915 was a matter of national security to protect from the threat of increasing German presence in Haiti, the government had long sought to colonize all or parts of the island of Hispaniola. Haiti, similar to other U.S. colonial interests, was seen as ripe with investment opportunities due to cheap land, labor, and mineral resources. Additionally, Haiti held a key geopolitical vantage point positioned along the “gateway” to the Panama Canal. This geographical position made Haiti a strategic investment, a node in an expanding hemispheric empire. As part of an extended empire, control over the waters around Haiti was seen as the only potential way to quell fears of blockage and chokepoints to access the Panama canal (Sommers, 2015:41).

The Occupation was governed through an arm of the US military, the Marines, who took command of Haitian institutions and ran them as employees of the Haitian state. The very first acts of the Marines were to storm and possess the National Bank, dissolve parliament, install a client government, and impose a new constitution allowing for foreign ownership of land. The Marines also created new government institutions, a public works department, department of Hygiene, and a national police force that were framed as altruistic projects of ‘moral uplift’. The Marines initially ruled through martial law, but over time formed a hybrid arrangement with the client government of Philippe Sudre Dartiguenave that gave Marines day-to-day practical control

over the country's financial and military assets. Despite all of this, the U.S. maintained that the occupation was a humanitarian effort to spread modernity (Renda, 2001). As a senate document details, the United States "has no design upon the political or territorial integrity of Haiti. On the contrary, what has been done, as well as what will be done, is conceived in an effort to aid the people of Haiti in establishing a stable government and maintaining domestic peace throughout the Republic" (United States Senate, 1922:36). In spite of the veil of humanitarian discourse surrounding the Occupation, many of the changes brought about by the Marines were made at gunpoint.

The Gendarmerie D'Haiti

Centralizing and solidifying their control was the organizing principle of the Marines from the outset (Laguerre, 1993). In order to create the stability required for U.S. economic investment, Marines developed a two-pronged approach through the creation of a national police and the enforcement of a corvee labor to construct a centralized network of roads (Renda, 2001:179). One of the first tasks at hand was organizing the military administration and its relationship to the Haitian government. The model to be followed was similar to the British occupation of Egypt: an authoritarian regime run by an appointed military leader. The Marines divided the country into nine governable districts, with headquarters at the most important ports. The geographic organization of the Marine administration was based around Port-au-Prince.

One of the first major actions by the Marines was to dissolve the Haitian National Army and institute in its place a national police force. Later renamed the Garde D'Haiti, the Gendarmerie was made up of Haitians but officered and controlled by the Marines throughout the occupation. One of the architects of the Marine strategy of rule in Haiti, Major Smedley

Butler became the first commandant of the Gendarmerie in December, 1915. He was given the rank of Major General and classified as an officer of the Haitian Military, setting the precedent for other Marines who would become officers of the Gendarmerie to be given higher rankings than they held as Marines. As officers of both the government of Haiti and the U.S. Marine Corps, American officers were paid twice. Marines were conscious of their ambiguous role in Haiti; Butler's letters often voiced frustration and confusion at the limits of his power, just as often as he boasted of near-total control over Dartiguenave's client-government. In response to a concern with his authority, the Judge Advocate General U.S. Navy wrote Butler to consider his jurisdiction as "a question of administration rather than of law" (Butler, 1992:172). This emphasis on administration highlights the ways in which the U.S. occupation was both reflective of previous U.S. experiments in empire-building and peculiar in its specificity. For many U.S. Marines, having come from previous stations including the Philippines, Panama, and Nicaragua, Haiti was not the first experience with subduing a foreign territory. The methods too, followed precedents of the U.S. imperial experience elsewhere in the Caribbean and beyond. Major Butler honed his approach to governance while securing U.S. plantation interests in Nicaragua, he even went to Cuba to conduct research on the U.S.' colonial experiment there.

Butler's letters provide a rich understanding of the daily life and personal motives of one of the foremost architects of the occupation. Mary Renda found in his letters a frame for the ideology of paternalism that animated the Marines' rule, describing Butler's letters as an "articulation of paternalism as a moral and subjective framework for colonial administration" (2001:91). Paternalism as an ideological framework references the feelings of superiority and

authority that underlied the Marines' outlook on their own purpose in Haiti. For sure, this was a racialized paternalism, as Butler makes clear early in his letters:

“For the past two weeks I have been working along hard with my little black army and am beginning to like the little fellows. Have already enlisted and uniformed in different parts of the Republic about 900 of them and have ordered their rifles and other equipment from the United States. They will do very well, in time, and as long as white men lead them. How they will make out after we turn them loose is another question” (Butler, 1992:159-160).

The Marines uniform marked the Gendarmerie with authority and status (*figure 4*). Renda describes the importance of the uniform as “in a sense, another layer of whiteness, saturated also with military masculinity and emblems of national identity” (Renda, 2001:176). In this way, Marine governance functioned through a “rule by difference” that treated race as “a terrain of management and improvement” (Moore, Kosek & Pandian 2003, 17; Ranganathan, 2018).



Figure 4: Officers of the Gendarmerie D'Haiti (Butler Papers, Quantico)

For the first four years the gendarmerie existed under the occupation, there was not a single Haitian officer. Efforts at “Haitianizing” the Gendarmerie of Haiti progressed slowly through the development of a military academy, reaching 40% by the last year of the occupation in 1934. This was, in part, a result of the ambiguity that plagued the administrative organization of the Gendarmerie from its inception. Though it was officially an arm of the Haitian government, most of the officers were U.S. Marines and it effectively operated as an extension of the Marine force. When questioned about the functions of the gendarmerie during the inquiry into the occupation, the Commandant of the Marine Corps at the outset of the occupation, George Barnett, made this clear:

“Gen. Barnett: I do not know. That was left entirely to the gendarmerie; it was under Haitian control entirely.

Mr. Angell: When you say under Haitian control---

Ge. Barnett: I mean under Haitian control according to the treaty. They were essentially Haitian troops and they were paid by the Haitian Government.

Mr. Angell: And the choice?

Gen. Barnett: Entirely with the Marines.”

(United States Senate, 1922:448).

Though the original mandate for the creation of the Garde d’Haiti emphasized its status as a “non-partisan peace-keeping force”, it became clear early on that it the centralized military power used as by the state as a repressive tool to enable further political and economic

consolidation (Schmidt 1995, 235). In a letter from the U.S.-backed President of Haiti, Philippe Sudré Dartiguenave, to the High Commissioner of the Occupation, Colonel John H. Russell, Dartiguenave complained of bad press and political agitators and called on Russell to use the gendarmerie to “fix” the issue. “Either leave me the responsibility of instructing the Gendarmerie as to the measures to be taken, or yourself put a stop to the daily scandals for which the newspapers are responsible” (Dartiguenave to Russell, March 12 1921). It was not the first time Dartiguenave called on the Marines to quell opposing voices, but the fact that the president felt obliged to ask for permission to give orders to the national police force reveals much about his relationship with the Marines.



Figure 5: President Dartiguenave greeting U.S. Marines while touring a newly completed road. Butler described this trip as a “big celebration and official opening of the road, during which trip he will justify through his own people any rough stuff we may have employed in the building of the road” (Butler to McIlhenny, December 31, 1917; Butler Papers, Quantico)

Violent Roads

The initial mission of the Gendarmerie was to stabilize the newly imposed administration by stamping out political dissent, which was seen as stemming from regional armies from within the country's rural interior. After the Marines dissolved parliament, would-be political dissenters retreated from Port-au-Prince and engaged in armed resistance from the outset of the Occupation in 1915. The main threats came from blockades and sabotage of the lines of commodities - mostly coffee and food - into Port-au-Prince. However, controlling the areas beyond the country's port was no small feat for the Marines. The lack of paved roads connecting cities and countryside meant the Marines had to put much effort into planning the logistics of any military mission. Butler punctuated his reports of quelling rebellions with detailed narratives of his travels, including specific routes, time traveled, and mode of transportation. Butler referenced frustration at the slow pace of movement when traveling through the countryside. Despite Butler's frustrations, Butler led the Gendarmerie on missions to quell threats of rural rebel forces that largely eradicated threats to the U.S. backed administration. The initial conflict was violent but casualties were always heavily lopsided towards the rebel forces. These initial forays taught Butler much about effecting rule and silencing discontent. He followed up on these displays of violence by implementing a plan to disarm any potential threat by offering to buy the weapons of rural military leaders. Though efforts to disarm rural Haitians were mixed, Butler was lauded by his peers for his ability to intimidate rural Haitian leaders; as Admiral Caperton of the U.S. Navy, the officer who first led the occupation, put it: "I could not but commend Butler's success...and often wondered at his methods" (cited in Healy, 1976:16). Butler's "methods" were an object of scrutiny throughout his tenure as chief of the Gendarmerie.

From the beginning, the Marines understood road-building as a military strategy. The Commandant of the Marines, George Barnett, reported that “good roads between the principal towns were a military necessity” (United States Senate, 1922:449). Roads were necessary to the project of controlling the rural interior; they facilitated the logistical needs of provisioning the Marine outposts with food and arms. Butler saw the control of public infrastructure as key to the Gendarmerie’s power: “I am convinced that the control of the telegraph, telephones, postal services, and public roads by the Gendarmerie is necessary as a military measure. Personally, I do not care who builds the sewers, and cleans up the garbage”, adding that “the Gendarmerie will not be a success without the control of the public utilities” (Butler, 1992:182-183). Yet roads were also considered as a part of the moral and ideological development of the country: “Before the people can be really free there must be an elaborate process of building; there must be constructed the material equipment through which society may function, and there must be developed the intelligence and civic spirit which are absolutely essential in a democracy” (Weatherly cited in Schmidt, 1984:157).



Figure 6.1: Haitian corvee laborers, constructing the road to Cap Haitien (Butler papers, Quantico)

Butler revived a clause from the 1864 Code rural d’Haiti to enforce a style of corvee labor seldom practiced in Haiti at the time (*figure 6.1*). A relevant article in the code states that “Public highways and roads will be maintained and repaired by the inhabitants, in rotation, in each section through which roads pass, and each time repairs are needed.” (Butler, 1992:198). In theory, the use of the corvee was intended to minimize resistance to the occupation. The idea was that if Marines provided food and shelter in exchange for labor on public works, laborers would improve the material infrastructure of their country while sustaining their own needs (Renda, 2001:117). The Gendarmerie was in charge of recruiting “volunteers”, as Butler referred to them,

though in Haitian accounts relate the violent practices of Marines patrolling through rural towns, tying up any man old enough, and dragging them back to the labor camp against their will (Gaillard, 2020). Apart from Butler's own account of the corvee, there were few records kept at the Quantico archives that document the process for conscripting laborers.

The road from Port-au-Prince to Jacmel required 4,200 men and the construction of 15 bridges in 10 miles. Much of this work required extensive clearing of underbrush, the transportation of large amounts of concrete and gravel, and the construction of drainage canals and bridges. The highways themselves were generally packed dirt, ditches on either side. The largest highways were 24 feet wide and consisted of Macadam, a crushed rock with a clay surface. Butler considered the construction of a 175-mile highway connecting Port-au-Prince to the northern city of Cap Haitien to be one of his most important achievements. Butler noted that the project required 9000 men and a total of 15000 worked on road projects throughout Haiti. On the whole, Butler claimed to be in control of a 50,000 strong labor force, which he sarcastically referred to as "a goodly-sized body of intelligent voters for any project the United States may wish put across" (Butler to McIllhenny, December 31, 1917). Butler was proud of this feat and boasted in a letter that: "It is not well to describe in a letter the methods used by us to build this road, but it might be interesting to you to know when this highway is finished, it will have cost the Haitian government only about \$500 a mile" (Butler to McIllhenny, December 31, 1917). He reiterated as much in a letter to Franklin D. Roosevelt, at the time Assistant Secretary of the Navy, that "it would not do to ask too many questions as to how we accomplished this work, it is enough to say, that the people of Haiti are satisfied and pleased, everyone from the President down" (Butler, 1992:198-199). Butler's boasting of his political power as head of Gendarmerie

continued: “Don't worry about our ability to “put over” any kind of popular demonstration down here, just tell us what you want done and everybody from the president down will shout for it” (ibid). Roosevelt was pleased upon hearing of the successful first trip by car from Port-au-Prince to Cap Haitien and wrote Butler a letter commending his success (*figures 6.2 and 6.3*).



Figures 6.2 and 6.3: Smedley Butler takes his car on the first trip to Cap Haitien (Quantico)

Accounts of the treatment of corvee laborers is mixed. Marine accounts claim the corvee system as it was enforced was more humane than previous forms of labor organization, citing stories that some Haitians opted to stay for longer than the required duration because of the quality of the beds and food. Oral narratives from Haitians enrolled into the corvee differ however (Gaillard, 2020). Though the Marines claimed that laborers were treated well and that many chose to join the camps voluntarily, other accounts of Haitians who worked in the corvee refer to the system as “slavery” and describe the harsh treatment and threat of death facing many laborers (Dubois, 2012). The widespread abuse triggered a large revolt against the occupation, led by Charlemagne Peralte. Peralte, who himself had escaped forced labor, was later killed by Marines, though his death would only spark greater resistance to the Occupation. The corvee was

officially stopped in 1918 after many reports of labor abuse made it back to Washington D.C., and most road-building ceased thereafter. The corvee remained used in some parts of Haiti, but the construction of large scale highways outside of Port-au-Prince stopped. The corvee system became a focal point for the resistance movement that spiked in the early 1920s, leading to a U.S. inquiry into the Occupation and the methods used by Marines. The Senate hearing began as political posturing during the 1920 presidential campaign; questions about the necessity of the US Occupation after the end of the World War swirled with rumors of widespread abuse on the parts of Marines in Haiti.

Public Works and Administrative Quarrels

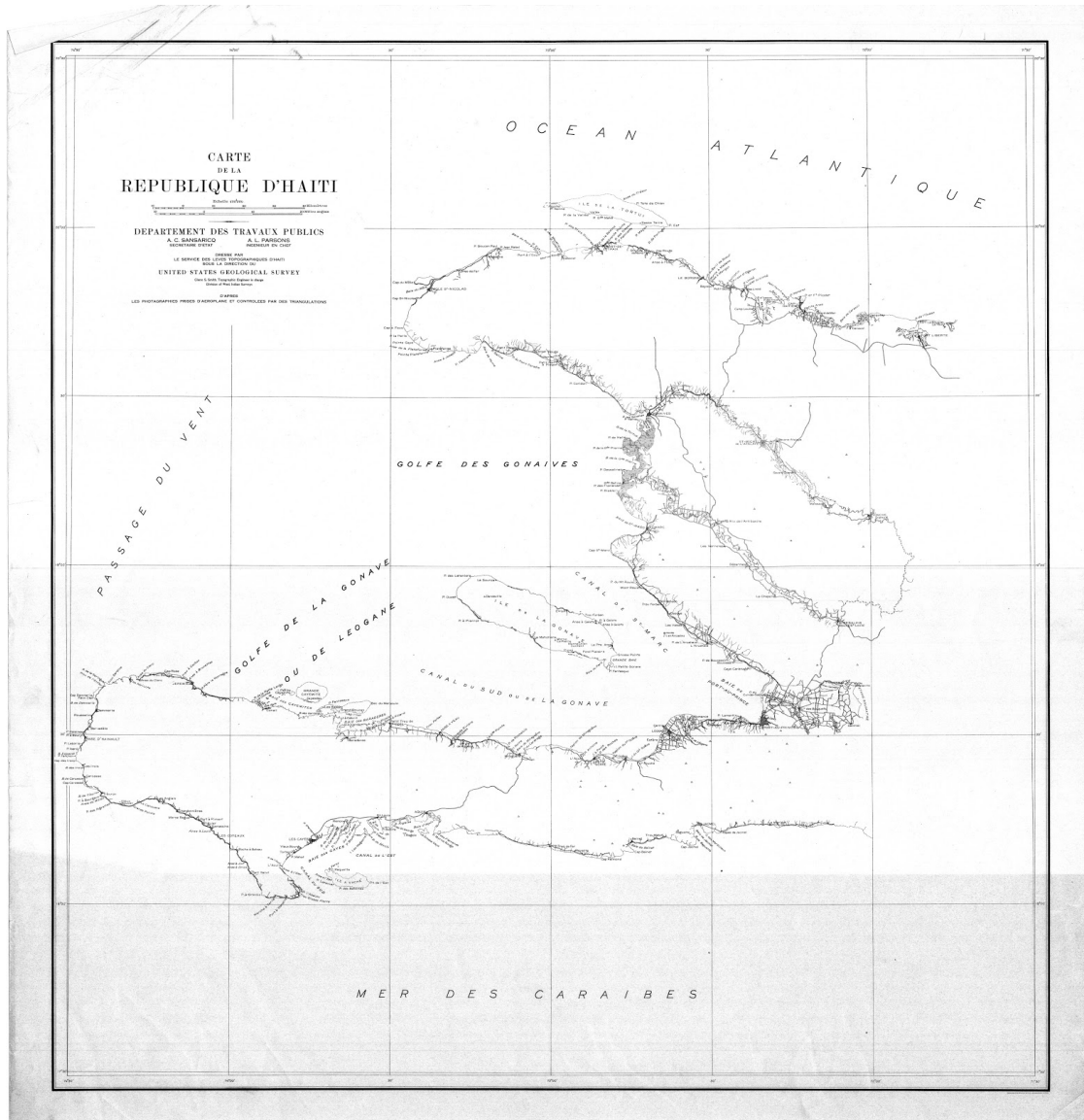


Figure 7.1: A road map produced by Marines in tandem with the USGS demonstrates the centralization of transportation infrastructure around Port-au-Prince (NARA)

Road construction was only one mechanism of governance enrolled by the Marines, it was nested within a complex of strategies for controlling and shaping the landscape. The Gendarmerie also engaged in public works projects in Port-au-Prince and took charge of most

public utilities in the capital. The responsibilities the Gendarmerie claimed are astonishing, in an October, 1917 letter, Butler describes that:

“The Gendarmerie, at present, has nearly 6000 men at work on the public road system, is building 19 school houses in all parts of the country, repairing and building telegraph and telephone lines all over the Republic, building and cleaning irrigation ditches, running a coast guard service which hauls about 800 tons of paid freight a month bringing in a little revenue, is managing six big plantations aggregating nearly 5000 acres, a cattle and horse ranch of about 1500 acres, acting as government paymasters for all civil employees of the Haitian Government... is in charge of all sanitation and public health in the interior and on September 1st Gendarmerie Officers were made “financial controllers” of all Communes which amounts to absolute control of all internal revenues and expenditures, and now the president is talking of declaring Martial law, so that our officers will act as judges, in addition to their paltry duties” (Butler, 1992:196-197).

This exhausting list of duties was intended by Butler to convey the total control the Gendarmerie had over the everyday governance of Haiti. However, the Gendarmerie was not the sole U.S. institution with political responsibility in Haiti. The USGS and Cartographic survey was especially instrumental to the U.S. Military’s control and attempts to connect the rural countryside to the capital city (Renda, 2001). Mary Renda makes clear the utility of maps to the U.S. occupation, detailing how "military cartographers literally remapped the country...dividing it into departments, districts, and subdistricts, which could be policed and managed more readily than the nation's traditional configuration" (Renda, 2001:139). Through the establishment of a new branch of the U.S. Geological Survey (USGS), the Division of West Indian Surveys, U.S. geographers, working closely with the Marines Corps, engaged in ‘geological reconnaissance’ to survey, map, and catalog the country’s ‘natural riches’. The mission paid for by the Haitian government, mapped the entirety of Haiti’s coastline, surveyed for mineral resources and cataloged aerial imagery of the rural interior. The maps produced were supplied to the US Navy and used to plan road development and justify resource extraction (*figures 7.1 and 7.2*). Maps were also crucial to military intelligence, not only through the compendium of geographic

information compiled in the Monograph d'Haiti but also through the mapping of the locations of potential threats and resistance to Marine rule (Laguerre, 1993).

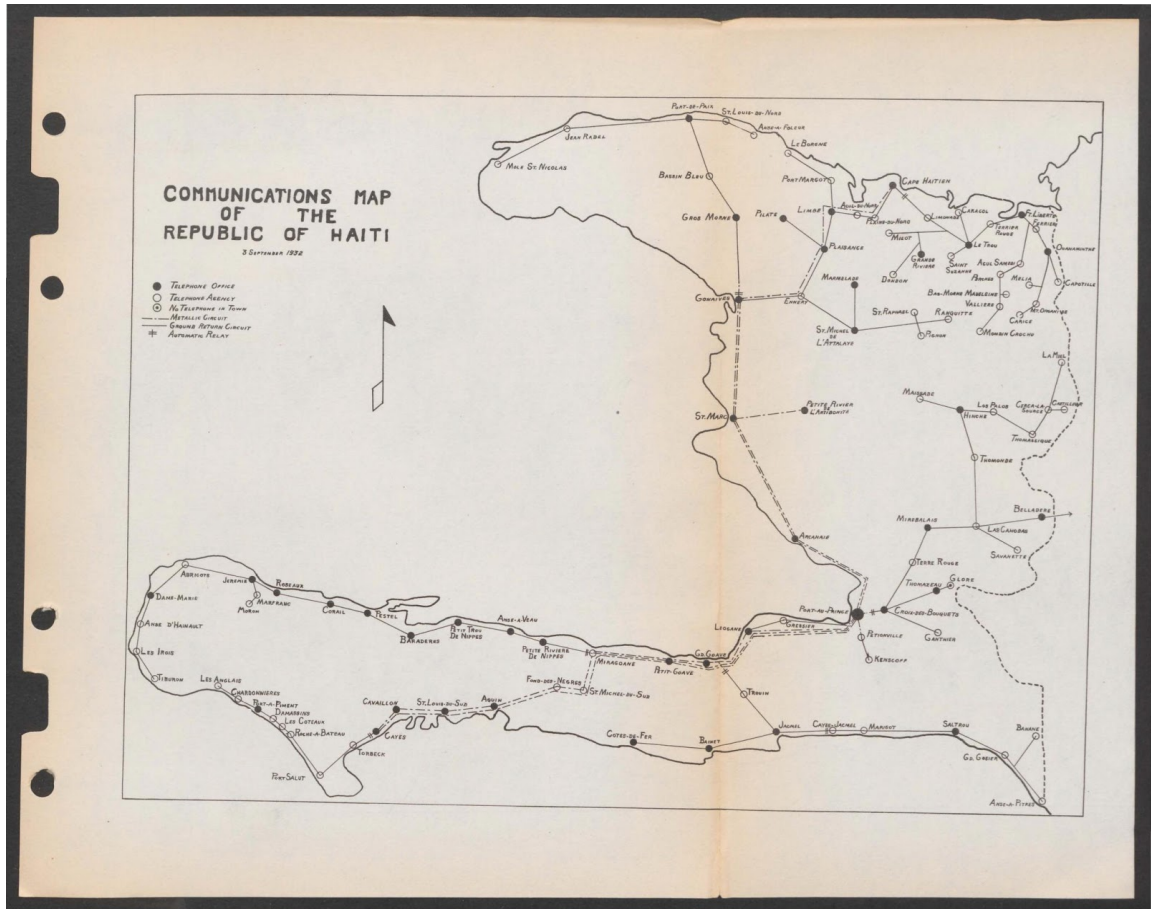


Figure 7.2: A communications map produced by Marines in tandem with the USGS portray the centralization of telephone infrastructure around Port-au-Prince (NARA)

What was initially conceived as a stabilizing rural police force had become, in just a few years, the primary vehicle for carrying out U.S. policy. As Butler himself made clear, this power hinged on the control of public utilities. He was threatened, then, when a “sanitary engineer” was appointed to take control of the Department of Public Works and begin developing water and

sewage infrastructure in the capital. The resulting power struggles for control of the construction of public infrastructure would continue until Butler was relieved of his duty in 1918. Butler would go on to continue to serve in WWI and later became commanding general of the Marine barracks at the Marine Corps Base in Quantico, Virginia. Though his post in Haiti barely lasted three years, his control of the gendarmerie left its mark on Haitian history by setting a precedent for the functioning of the national police.

As Renda explains “far from laying the groundwork for the hoped-for advent of democracy, material improvements in transportation and communication served to increase the efficiency of the occupation as a police state, with Marines and gendarmes in command of every district of the country” (Renda, 2001:11). This isn't to suggest that the services provided did not improve the lives of some, or that the intent of the US Marines and engineers was inherently malicious. Rather, it is to emphasize the way military control functioned through means that are often mislabeled as “civil”. The system of telephone lines and roads themselves were not necessarily long-lasting, but their influence on Haitian life has been profound. The occupation would eventually end after almost 20 years when growing urban protest movements forced the Marines to reconsider their strategies of oppression. However, most Marine accounts downplay the role of urban protests in the decision to end the occupation. This is an opportunity for future research to take these archival gaps seriously in order to more deeply historize the roots of Haitian social movements.

Port-au-Prince emerged from the Occupation as the dominant seat of political power in the country, in major part because of the effects of the Marine and Gendarmerie infrastructural efforts. The conjuncture of total military control and an unpaid workforce served to remove

many barriers to the large-scale appropriation of land and the development of plantations. At the same time as the national territory was consolidated around Port-au-Prince, the establishment of close political ties with the U.S. undermined Haitian sovereignty in the long-term.

While understanding the process by which the occupation came to an end is beyond the scope of this project, the afterlives of colonial rule are apparent to contemporary protesters. Though the formal occupation ended in 1934, the structures left in place led to further control not only by structuring the flows of movement but also by destabilizing possibilities for democratic engagement and seeding the potential for military rule and authoritarianism under the Duvalier regime (1957-1986). By some accounts, this happened as future politicians sought to secure their own position and follow the 'American model' of infrastructure development that favored the urban development of Port Au Prince's roads and ports (Lucien, 2013). Some accounts frame the whole occupation as a failure, as the political and economic climate of Haiti remained precarious after the US military withdrew in 1934 and failed to secure lasting institutional or economic reforms (Bellegarde-Smith, 1999) However, the political and economic centralization of Port-au-Prince has afterlives that don't always manifest in ways that were intended by the empire. All institutions that were developed between 1915 and 1934 were intended to assure the continuation of US policies in Haiti and to facilitate a transition to a new political regime friendly to US business interests (Lucien, 2013).

CONCLUSION

"I remember the lingering fragrances that lay thick in my childhood world. I feel that then all the surrounding land was rich with these perfumes that never left you: the ethereal smell of magnolias, the essence of tuberoses, the discreet stubbornness of dahlias, the dreamy penetration of gladioli. All these flowers have disappeared, or almost. There barely remains along the roads, as far as smells go, the sudden sugary blanket of hog plums in whose wake you can get lost, or, in some places along the route de la Trace, the delicate smell of wild lilies beckon. the land has lost its smells. Like almost everywhere else in the world.

The flowers that grow today are cultivated for export. Sculptured, spotless, striking in precision and quality. but they are heavy also, full, lasting. You can keep them for two weeks in a vase. Arum or anthurium, bunches of which adorn our airport. The porcelain rose, which is so durable. The heliconia, its amazing shift multiplying infinitely, The King of Kings, or the red ginger lily, whose very heart is festooned with dark red. These flowers delight us. But they have no fragrance. They are nothing but shape and color.

I am struck by the fate of flowers. the shapeless yielding to the shapely. as if the land had rejected its "essence" to concentrate everything in appearance. It can be seen but not smelt. Also these thoughts on flowers are not a matter of lamenting a vanished idyll in the past. But it is true that the fragile and fragrant flower demanded in the past daily care from the community that acted on its own. the flower without fragrance endures today, is maintained in form only. Perhaps that is the emblem of our wait? We dream of what we will cultivate in the future, and we wonder vaguely what the new hybrid that is already being prepared for us will look like, since in any case we will not rediscover them as they were, the magnolias of former times."

Edouard Glissant (1992:51-53)

Glissant's writings on Martinique center landscape change, and flowers specifically, to capture the ecological ruptures brought about by plantation agriculture, the continuities of the past, and the hybridities and uncertainty of the future. This thesis began with the assertion that efforts for social change in Haiti cannot be fully comprehended without an eye to the historical context and

the afterlives of the material forms of US occupation. In turning to the past to think with the relevance of roads and responsibility for the administration of public services in Haiti, I follow Glissant's provocation to dwell on a 'prophetic vision of the past' (Glissant, 1992). This thesis drew on histories of road building during the U.S. occupation to frame and contextualize the claims of contemporary road protests in Haiti. The spatial forms and transformations of sovereignty can be analyzed through historical analysis that reveals ways in which the U.S. occupation is connected to the public infrastructure and the exercise of political subjectivities. As such, it opens space to understand the U.S. occupation as a watershed moment for the centralization of state power. I examined this process through the infrastructural technologies of colonial governance -- specifically roads. Examining the process through which the Gendarmerie mobilized labor to construct roads offers more than just a spatial view of the state but also a temporal view. Histories of infrastructural projects recast crises and state failures as processes not of slow erosion or decay, but as planned disrepair and selective maintenance. Georges Eddy Lucien notes that though the Occupation institutionalized and laid the framework for urban planning in Haiti, this didn't correspond to better living conditions for the majority of Port-au-Prince's residents (Lucien, 2014:175). Trouillot stresses the importance of the Occupation in producing a political environment ripe for the rise of the totalitarian "Papa Doc" Duvalier regime, which would rule Haiti for almost 30 years.

This thesis also analyzed the ways in which the construction of infrastructure shapes the production of space. I showed that processes of centralization during the occupation help us understand how the construction of infrastructure is implicated in a violent, extractive spatial logic that excludes and subordinates bodies of color. The process of building roads is always

filled with uncertainty and instability that pose a challenge to state-building projects. In this way, thinking Haitian history through infrastructure construction emphasizes contingency and instability while at the same time demonstrating continuity and connection in addition to rupture and breakdown. Analyzing the politics of infrastructure development also offers insights into the scales of state formation through descriptive analysis of the logistics necessary to construct and maintain roads. Drawing inspiration from ethnographies of infrastructure and road construction, I attempted to highlight the utility of road construction to military occupation. I focused on the first few years of the Occupation and the establishment of the gendarmerie under Smedley Butler as a way of focusing on the material process of state formation. I detailed the construction of road infrastructure as a project of organizing and centralizing Marine control. Lastly, I explored the connections between racialized violence and the centralization of power in Haiti. Despite the value of thinking with historical infrastructural projects, the full extent of the legacy of Marine Occupation in Haiti can only be understood in a limited way from the archives I have detailed. As a way of centering the relevance of infrastructural legacies to contemporary social movements, I turn to think about future directions for Caribbean social movements and urban placemaking.

Creolized Space and Agrarian Futures

Following Lisa Lowe (2015:137), to think about Caribbean place-making practices as more than relics of a colonial past can “unsettle and recast the dominant histories we receive of liberal modernity”. Drawing on George Anglade’s theories of spatial dynamics and the production of Haitian Space gives depth to political-economic studies of racial and colonial capitalism. Caribbean literature is replete with its own logic, concepts, and ontological concerns that offer

much to challenge anglophone research on the geographies of the U.S. empire. Haitian scholarship has often followed quite different paths and foci compared to anglophone scholarship. More often in dialogue with Francophone research, the research of Haitian geographers presents a perspective that brings attention to the racial logics that produce urban spaces and an understanding of the dialectics of resistance and exploitation that is specific to Haiti. My argument draws from this postcolonial literature to understand how we can move beyond thinking about the plantation as a historical form, and instead as a potential tool for thinking about the capacity of freedom in the present and future. Haitian resistance to US occupation and contemporary protests that utilize roadblocks speak to the ways “creolization processes were, and are, emancipatory projects tied to the imagining and making of modern subjects and the homing of modern freedoms” (Crichlow, 2009:33)

The plantation is an especially potent analytic for thinking with the material and racial exclusion built into colonial infrastructures. As Yarimar Bonilla and Greg Beckett have argued: “If we treat marronage, provision grounds, or creolization only as stories about the past, then we tie the very processes that were central to those activities to the historical form of the plantation” (Beckett, 2018; Bonilla, 2015). As Laurent Dubois aptly put it (2017:23):

“When we forget that history, we also let go of a set of powerful precedents and intellectual resources through which we can imagine the future of Haitian democracy not as something that has to be invented or imported but instead as something that simply needs to be cultivated from within the country’s own diverse traditions”.

Thus, I have tried to emphasize that the plantation is not just a relic of a colonial past but also reflects a spatial logic and ongoing experience of the ‘colonial present’. Following McKittrick’s writing on ‘plantation futures’, contextualizing Haitian protests within these violent

structures and social orders enables us to trace the threads of racialized processes throughout history and to think about how plantation legacies uphold uneven geographies of the present. Resistance to novel forms of dispossession can turn to the social spaces of protest groups as one way of envisioning “plantation futures” where land is a medium of resistance (McKittrick, 2013). Nevertheless, these efforts are still entangled within power asymmetries and colonial histories.

Crisis Mapping and Urban futures

Moving forward, this thesis leaves space for future research on participatory mapping in urban landscapes. I consider this in the context of Haiti’s recent “natural” disasters, the 2010 earthquake, and Hurricane Matthew in 2016, when plans to “build back better” failed to take into account the colonial legacies that sediment inequalities and structure access to technology, land, and title. These legacies came to the surface in disaster recovery mapping during contested struggles for land purchases to make way for infrastructure development. Responses to ‘natural’ disasters can reproduce vulnerability and naturalize the suffering of black bodies. The sense of immediacy following disasters fosters a systematic silencing of past exploitation and development failures at the hands of the same states that fashion themselves as humanitarian saviors². Disaster recovery in Haiti after the 2010 earthquake and Hurricane Matthew in 2016 relied on a range of mapping technologies for planning the location of tent camps and

² These actors use “de-politicized” language that ignores the uneven effects of disasters, meaning that they obscured or even reproduced specific vulnerabilities through the recovery process by ignoring the structural inequalities and roots of the issues. Kate Derickson shows that neoliberal reforms after Hurricane Katrina relied on narratives of ‘banal multiculturalism’ to “de-politicise” the racialized aspects of post-disaster recovery and planning (Derickson, 2014). Similarly, ‘colorblind’ planning to adapt to sea level rise builds on pre-existing vulnerabilities and can deepen spatially uneven development (Hardy, Milligan, & Heynen, 2017).

infrastructure construction. In many ways, the use of crisis mapping technologies to construct and rebuild roads tended to reinforce structural inequalities by reproducing uneven access to communication and transportation networks (Sheller, 2016). These technologies promoted narratives of visibility and transparency while obscuring the ways cartographic representations are “embedded within a powerful subjective visual narrative of humanitarian altruism that disavows Haitian subjectivity” (Shemak, 2014:257). Instead of increasing representation, the use of crowd-based mapping centered the ‘expertise’ of western-trained planners, engineers, and developers at the expense of any significant engagement with public perspectives on land use planning (Sheller et al., 2014). This approach to disaster response undermines Haitian sovereignty and reinforces barriers to democratic planning by rendering complex cultural questions as merely technical. In pointing to the ways mapping is embedded in relations of power, critical scholars have made calls for an engaged scholarship that de-centers the ‘expert’ and embraces alternative approaches to understanding space. Historical analysis of infrastructure development has much to bring to critiques of post-disaster recovery and urban planning. Just as road building was a key component of organizing space during the U.S. Occupation, contemporary mapping tools are part of a geopolitical apparatus for ordering bodies. Exploring the biopolitical work that ‘crisis mapping’ does (who and how it makes people into political subjects) encourages reflexivity on the part of humanitarian response teams and attention to the social construction of difference. Considering the ways these technologies are embedded in historically uneven power relations brings to light the role of infrastructure in state formation and negotiating claims to citizenship.

WORKS CITED

- Anand, N., Gupta, A., & Appel, H. (Eds.). (2018). *The Promise of Infrastructure*. Duke University Press.
- Anglade, G. (1975). *L'espace haïtien*. Les Presses de l'Université du Québec.
- Anglade, G., Université Laval (Québec). Centre de recherches caraïbes, & Université Laval (Québec). Groupe d'études et de recherches critiques d'espace. (1982). *Atlas critique d'Haïti*. Montréal: ERCE & CRC.
- Aso, M. (2018). *Rubber and the making of Vietnam: An ecological history, 1897–1975*. UNC Press Books.
- Beckett, Greg. *There is No More Haiti: Between Life and Death in Port-au-Prince*. University of California Press, 2019.
- Brenner, N. (2000). The urban question as a scale question: Reflections on Henri Lefebvre, urban theory and the politics of scale. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 24(2), 361–378. <http://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.00234>
- Brenner, N., & Elden, S. (2009). Henri Lefebvre on state, space, territory. *International Political Sociology*, 3(4), 353-377.
- Butler to John Avery McIlhenny, December 31, 1917, Personal Papers Collection, Smedley Butler Papers, Series 1.2, Box 9 Folder 34, U.S. Marine Corps Research Center Archives.
- Butler, S. D. (1992). *General Smedley Darlington Butler: the letters of a leatherneck, 1898-1931*. ABC-CLIO.
- Carse, A. (2014). *Beyond the big ditch: Politics, ecology, and infrastructure at the Panama Canal*. MIT Press.
- Carse, A. (2016). Keyword: infrastructure: How a humble French engineering term shaped the modern world. In *Infrastructures and Social Complexity* (pp. 45-57). Routledge.
- Crichlow, M. (2009). *Globalization and the Post-Creole Imagination: Notes on Fleeing the Plantation*. Duke University Press.
- Crichlow, M. A., & Northover, P. (Eds.). (2018). *Race and Rurality in the Global Economy*. SUNY Press.
- Dubois, L. (2012). *Haiti: The aftershocks of history*. Metropolitan Books.

- Dubois, L. (2017). Haiti Sovereignty: A Brief History. *Who owns Haiti*, 16-28.
- Duvivier, Pierre-Louis Michèle. "Urban poetics." *The Haiti Exception: Anthropology and the Predicaments of Narrative* (2016): 177.
- Elden, S. (2007). Governmentality, calculation, territory. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 25(3), 562-580.
- Elden, S. (2010). Land, terrain, territory. *Progress in human geography*, 34(6), 799-817.
- Brenner, N., & Elden, S. (2009). Henri Lefebvre on state, space, territory. *International Political Sociology*, 3(4), 353-377.
- Evans, R.T., and Frye, H.M., 2009, History of the topographic branch (division): U.S. Geological Survey Circular 1341, 196 p
- Fischer, S. (2004). *Modernity disavowed: Haiti and the cultures of slavery in the age of revolution*. Duke University Press.
- Fredericks, R. (2018). *Garbage citizenship: vital infrastructures of labor in Dakar, Senegal*. Duke University Press.
- Gaillard, roger. "Memories of Corvée Labor and the Caco Revolt" in Dubois, L., Glover, K. L., Ménard, N., Polyné, M., & Verna, C. F. (Eds.). (2020). *The Haiti Reader: History, Culture, Politics*. Duke University Press
- Glissant, Edouard. *Caribbean discourse: Selected essays*. University of Virginia Press, 1992.
- Goldstein, A. (2014). Toward a genealogy of the US colonial present. In *Formations of United States Colonialism*. A. Goldstein (Ed.) Duke University Press.
- Gordillo, Gastón R. *Rubble: The afterlife of destruction*. duke university press, 2014.
- Graham, S., & Thrift, N. (2007). Out of order: Understanding repair and maintenance. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 24(3), 1-25.
- Harvey, D. (1998). The body as an accumulation strategy. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 16(4), 401-421.
- Harvey, P., & Knox, H. (2015). *Roads: An anthropology of infrastructure and expertise*. Cornell University Press.
- Healy, D. (1976). *Gunboat Diplomacy in the Wilson Era: The US Navy in Haiti, 1915-1916*. University of Wisconsin Press.

- Hudson, P. J. (2017). *Bankers and empire: How wall street colonized the caribbean*. University of Chicago Press.
- Hull, M. S. (2012). *Government of paper: The materiality of bureaucracy in urban Pakistan*. Univ of California Press.
- Ingram, T. (2014). *Dixie Highway: Road Building and the Making of the Modern South, 1900-1930*. UNC Press Books.
- Joos, V. (2015). Urban dwellings, Haitian citizenships: Housing, daily life and memory in Port-au-Prince, Haiti.
- Kirsch, S. (2016). Insular territories : US colonial science , geopolitics , and the (re) mapping of the Philippines. <http://doi.org/10.1111/geoj.12072>
- Kirsch, S. (Forthcoming). Technology as a geographical keyword, in M Domosh, M Heffernan, CWJ Withers (eds), *SAGE Handbook of Historical Geography*.
- Lawhon, Mary, Henrik Ernstson, and Jonathan Silver. "Provincializing urban political ecology: Towards a situated UPE through African urbanism." *Antipode* 46, no. 2 (2014): 497-516.
- Laguerre, M. S. (1993). *The military and society in Haiti*. Springer.
- Lefebvre, H., & Nicholson-Smith, D. (1991). *The production of space* (Vol. 142). Blackwell: Oxford.
- Lentz, C. C. (2019). *Contested Territory: Dien Biên Phu and the Making of Northwest Vietnam*. Yale Agrarian Studies.
- Li, T. M. (2014). What is land? Assembling a resource for global investment. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 39(4), 589-602.
- Lucien, G. E. (2014). *Une modernisation manquée: Port-au-Prince (1915-1956)*. Editions de l'Université d'État d'Haïti.
- Massey, D. (2012). Power-geometry and a progressive sense of place. In *Mapping the futures* (pp. 75-85). Routledge.
- McCoy, A. W., & Scarano, F. A. (Eds.). (2009). *Colonial crucible: empire in the making of the modern American state*. Univ of Wisconsin Press.
- McKittrick, K. (2011). On plantations, prisons, and a black sense of place. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 12(8), 947-963.

- McKittrick, K. (2013). Plantation futures. *Small Axe: A Caribbean Journal of Criticism*, 17(3 (42)), 1-15.
- Melly, C. (2013). Ethnography on the road: infrastructural vision and the unruly present in contemporary Dakar. *Africa*, 83(3), 385-402.
- Mintz, S. W. (1986). *Sweetness and power: The place of sugar in modern history*. Penguin.
- Mintz, S. W. (2010). *Three ancient colonies: Caribbean themes and variations* (Vol. 8). Harvard University Press.
- Mitchell, Don. *The lie of the land: Migrant workers and the California landscape*. U of Minnesota Press, 1996.
- Moore, Donald S., Jake Kosek, and Anand Pandian, eds. *Race, nature, and the politics of difference*. Duke University Press, 2003.
- Nesbitt, N. (2008). Turning the Tide: The Problem of Popular Insurgency in Haitian Revolutionary Historiography. *Small Axe*, 12(3 27), 14-31.
- Payton, C. A. (2018). *The City and the State: Construction and the Politics of Dictatorship in Haiti (1957-1986)* (Doctoral dissertation, Duke University).
- Pulido, L. 2017. Geographies of race and ethnicity II: Environmental racism, racial capitalism and state-sanctioned violence. *Progress in Human Geography* 41 (4):524–533
- Ranganathan, M. (2015). Storm drains as assemblages: The political ecology of flood risk in post-colonial Bangalore. *Antipode*, 47(5), 1300-1320.
- Ranganathan, Malini. "Rule by difference: Empire, liberalism, and the legacies of urban "improvement"." *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 50, no. 7 (2018): 1386-1406.
- Renda, M. A. (2001). *Taking Haiti: Military occupation and the culture of US imperialism, 1915-1940*. Univ of North Carolina Press.
- Rood, D. (2017). *The reinvention of Atlantic slavery: technology, labor, race, and capitalism in the greater Caribbean*. Oxford University Press.
- Russell, J. (19) "A Laboratory of Government". Russell Papers. Quantico
- Scott, J. C. (1998). *Seeing like a state: How certain schemes to improve the human condition have failed*. Yale University Press.
- Schmidt, H. (1995). *The United States Occupation of Haiti, 1915-1934*. Rutgers University Press.

- Shabazz, R. (2015). *Spatializing blackness: Architectures of confinement and black masculinity in Chicago*. University of Illinois Press.
- Sheller, M. (2012). *Citizenship from below: Erotic agency and Caribbean freedom*. Duke University Press.
- Sheller, M. (2013). The islanding effect: post-disaster mobility systems and humanitarian logistics in Haiti. *cultural geographies*, 20(2), 185-204.
- Sheller, M. (2016). Connected mobility in a disconnected world: Contested infrastructure in postdisaster contexts. *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*, 106(2), 330-339.
- Stoler, A. L. (2002). Colonial archives and the arts of governance. *Archival Science*, 2, 87-109
- Stoler, A. L. (2008). Imperial debris: reflections on ruins and ruination. *Cultural anthropology*, 23(2), 191-219.
- Stoler, Ann Laura, ed. *Imperial debris: On ruins and ruination*. Duke University Press, 2013.
- Stoler, A. L. (2016). *Duress: Imperial durabilities in our times*. Duke University Press.
- Tobin, K. A. (2013). Population density and housing in Port-au-Prince: historical construction of vulnerability. *Journal of Urban History*, 39(6), 1045-1061.
- Trouillot, M. R. (1995). *Silencing the past: Power and the production of history*. Beacon Press.
- Trouillot, M. R. (2016). *Global transformations: Anthropology and the modern world*. Springer.
- Trouillot, M. R. (2006). Culture on the edges: Creolization in the plantation context. In *The African Diaspora and Creolization Literary Forum* (pp. 9-22).
- United States Senate Select Committee on Haiti and Santo Domingo, *Inquiry Into Occupation and Administration of Haiti and Santo Domingo: Hearings Pursuant to S. Res. 112, 67th Congress, First and Second Sessions* (Washington, 1922), Vols. 1 and 2, pp. 114–115.
- United States Marine Corps. 1932. *Monograph Republic of Haiti compiled 1932: (Revisions regularly made from the date of compilation)*.
<https://archive.org/details/MonographOfHaiti1932>.
- Uribe, S. (2017). *Frontier Road: Power, History, and the Everyday State in the Colombian Amazon*. John Wiley & Sons.

- Uribe, S. (2018). Illegible infrastructures: Road building and the making of state-spaces in the Colombian Amazon. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, (6).
<http://doi.org/10.1177/0263775818788358>
- Von Schnitzler, A. (2016). *Democracy's infrastructure: Techno-politics and protest after apartheid* (Vol. 9). Princeton University Press.
- Werner, M. (2015). *Global displacements: The making of uneven development in the Caribbean*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Woods, C. A. (1998). *Development arrested: The blues and plantation power in the Mississippi Delta*. Verso.
- Yarrington, L. (2015). The Paved and the Unpaved: Toward a Political Economy of Infrastructure, Mobility, and Urbanization in Haiti. *Economic Anthropology*, 2(1), 185-204.