Discussion Guide

POTO MITAN
Haitian Women
Pillars of the Global Economy

“A moving and stirring film, showing women speaking for themselves. A must see!”

- Edwidge Danticat
Award-winning author of *Brother, I’m Dying*

Through five Haitian women’s compelling lives, *Poto Mitan* gives an insider perspective on globalization, Haiti’s contemporary political/economic crisis, and the resilient women challenging this system.

“Everyone else has spoken for Haitian women, yet, we have a history of speaking for ourselves. I support *Poto Mitan* because it offers us a rare glimpse into how Haitian women in the struggle understand their complex conditions and what they are doing for themselves.” - Gina Ulysse, Haitian American scholar/activist/performer
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PURPOSE OF THE GUIDE

This guide is designed to facilitate discussions about Poto Mitan: Haitian Women, Pillars of the Global Economy in both educational and community settings. It is a tool for community organizers, teachers, labor unions, women’s groups, and solidarity activists to dig deeper into Poto Mitan’s themes of globalization, gender, and labor organizing. Use it to build bridges between these groups and to understand how neoliberal globalization impacts your own community.
POTO MITAN: PROGRAM DESCRIPTION

Told through compelling lives of five courageous Haitian women workers, Poto Mitan gives the global economy a human face. Each woman’s personal story explains neoliberal globalization, how it is gendered, and how it impacts Haiti: inhumane working/living conditions, violence, poverty, lack of education, and poor health care. While Poto Mitan offers in-depth understanding of Haiti, its focus on women’s subjugation, worker exploitation, poverty, and resistance shows these are global struggles.

Marie-Jeanne details dual struggles as a woman and worker: she toils under miserable conditions to give her children the education she was denied because of gender discrimination and the high cost of school. Living and braving death in Cité Soleil, Solange details how Haiti’s current violence stems from a long-brewing economic crisis and how the global apparel industry’s inherent instability impacts Haiti. Frustrated with male-dominated unions, Frisline offers a class and gender analysis of Haiti’s contemporary situation, including Haiti’s 2008 food crisis. Working for thirty years, Thérèse brings wisdom, a historical perspective, and a comparative analysis. Pushed off her land by foreign agricultural policies, activist Hélène leads a new grassroots campaign against violence, encouraging women to defend themselves. Through their collective activism, these five brave women demonstrate that despite monumental obstacles, collective action makes change possible.

The women’s own astute analyses are supported by interviews with Haitian NGO activists, government ministers, and scholars providing global, economic, and political context. The women’s struggles to unionize and images of their deplorable working conditions are juxtaposed with contradictory interviews of factory owners. Ultimately, these resilient women’s hardships are offset with positive images of them organizing and uniting their communities.

Throughout Poto Mitan, the women’s stories are woven together by close-up shots of a mother’s hands braiding her daughter’s hair, while acclaimed novelist Edwidge Danticat narrates a “krik krak,” traditional folklore. This poetic story demonstrates Haitian women’s historical depth of struggle and resistance, while giving homage to Haiti’s oral storytelling culture. The krik-krak grows and weaves with the film, until finally the two resolve together, with hope and resilience.

Poto Mitan’s unique quality rests upon the women’s acute understanding of the power of film. Citing the Haitian proverb, “hearing and seeing are two different things”, the women implored Dr. Schuller to share their stories with people in the U.S., people who have the power to make change. Poto Mitan will be a tool for education and empowerment; to inspire people to think critically, look behind the label, and get involved. We are connected: U.S. consumers buy the fruits of their labor; our government shapes Haiti through development/foreign policy. Our struggles have a common thread. Fighting for justice: women, workers, or Haiti can’t help but bring about our own liberation.
From 2003 to 2005, as a graduate student at UC Santa Barbara, I was in Haiti during a protracted crisis doing research on globalization and its impacts on Haiti. As an anthropologist of this century, post-colonial and hopefully post-imperial, I took it as a given to give back to the people who generously shared their time, experience, stories, and expertise toward my research on women’s groups in Haiti.

Citing a Haitian proverb, tande ak we se de (hearing and seeing are different things), women at one of the groups wanted me to make a film to share their stories directly with people in the North. These factory workers and street merchants are savvy about geopolitics and what scholars call “globalization.” They know the power of video to move people, and wanted to engage the people who buy the fruits of their labor, people whose governments are shaping daily life in Haiti through aid and foreign policy. Since they can’t have U.S. visas to visit us in person, producing a documentary was the next best thing.

Not knowing the first thing about film, I asked for help. UCSB’s Film Studies put me in touch with alumna Renée Bergan, who — on her own — made an award-winning film about women in Afghanistan just following the U.S. invasion. With her artistic vision and technical expertise, and my scholarly and local knowledge and contacts, we began to conceptualize ideas for Poto Mitan.

UCSB’s Center for Black Studies Research helped this film become reality. They gave us our first funds to make our first trip, they were instrumental in our fundraising, and they stayed with us to the end. Center director Claudine Michel connected us to Haitian scholar and performance artist Gina Ulysse who donated her talents in fundraisers and acclaimed Haitian American novelist Edwidge Danticat, who offers her moving words as krik-kra to weave the women’s stories together in a beautiful homage to Haiti’s cultural richness.

I have to say that the women were right. Film can truly be a powerful tool to move people. As they say in Haiti, je pa we, ke pap tounen (the heart is not stirred by what you don’t see). I can and have written a lot about the inequalities in the world system and how they impact Haiti, about Haiti’s debt, etc. But people have to see for themselves what a minimum wage of $1.75 a day actually affords. To see the toilet, to see the bullet holes, to see the dirt-floor, tin-roof, 7-by-8 house that sleeps seven people. People have to be affected in the gut.

But making a film isn’t easy, certainly not in Haiti. Having been a grassroots activist in the U.S., and having completed a Ph.D and two edited books, I can say that this was the most challenging project I’ve ever done. On the ground, the filming was as difficult as its subject. The politics of being foreign during an occupation, telling a story from the point of view of Haiti’s excluded majority — and poor women, especially — made for some serious challenges. But in the end, I do feel that it is worth it. I feel — finally — I have something concrete to give back.

But we have our work cut out for us. As an activist (now Haiti solidarity activist) and as a scholar, I feel viscerally how much work needs to be done. First is to change the story we tell about Haiti. Before this film, I have to say that out of 1200 students whom I’ve lectured on Haiti, only one had a positive first impression of Haiti. And it was Haiti’s cultural treasure in its music. This film is long overdue. Making this film was truly a labor of love for many people. Almost 150 people contributed as little as $10 and as much as $10,000 to make this happen.

Honoring Haitian women’s activism and strength, we are aiming for this film to be an agent for social change. We are making Poto Mitan to be a tool for raising awareness, funds, and people’s voice. Whether at a scholarly confer ence, in a church basement, in a university auditorium, or at a film festival, Poto Mitan inspires lively dialogue, bringing together people who ordinarily do not speak to one another. Invariably, people feel a personal connection with these five brave women, inspired by them to think about our responsibility. Invariably, people ask, “what is the root cause of these injustices?” and “what can I do?”

This guide — as well as our website (http://www.potomitan.net) — provides some answers.

Please join us in our effort!

Mark first contacted me in 2005 because he was passionate and dedicated to the video project, but was not a filmmaker; he’d heard I had done a similar project about Afghan women in 2002. His years of experience and understanding of the situation in Haiti combined with my film experience — shooting social justice documentaries about women in remote countries with low budgets — seemed like a complementary combination. I knew very little about Haiti, but was intrigued.

I was particularly impressed by the fact that this was not his idea, but the Haitian women’s idea, reminding me of the incredible political astuteness of the women of Afghanistan I worked with on my first documentary project. I am always extremely impressed by the incredibly strong resilience of these women that persevere despite environments of severe poverty, political strife and daily, personal danger. They both inspire and humble me, leaving me wondering if under similar circumstances, I could be as courageous and strong as them. Unfortunately, there is a history of privileged, western feminists imposing their ideas upon women of different countries; my goal is the opposite. I want to learn from these women; and share their courage, strength and wisdom with the rest of the world. I have a skill and the equipment with which to make this happen. My cameras thus serve as a vehicle for these women to speak to people around the globe.

Production

Our research trip (my first time to Haiti) was in August of 2006, where we shot over 20 hours of footage. We met with several women individually to see who would work best in the film. The decisions were not easy, but ultimately we chose five women whose stories we felt were different yet complementary enough for the project.

Over the next two years, we returned three more times to interview the women, and travel across Haiti to acquire necessary images. Each time we returned, the situation was always different. Sometimes the political atmosphere was relaxed, safe; Mark and I and our subjects were able to move about freely, filming in the streets. At other times, the women’s security was endangered and they were fearful or reluctant to meet with us. At one point, one woman was even threatened when her neighbors saw her meeting with us, foreigners (“blan”). As result, she never did another interview with us. But in the end, I do feel that it is worth it. I feel — finally — I have something concrete to give back.

Another difficult challenge was documenting the factory conditions. We made endless attempts to do so legitimately by contacting numerous factory owners and their associations. Except for one owner who gave us a tour of...
his empty factory, all other requests were ignored. Knowing from the onset that this would be a challenge, we bought disposable and digital still cameras to give to the workers. And later, when it was clear that we were not going to get our video camera into any factories in Port-au-Prince, we also bought a video spy camera. Understanding this was a risk — but also understanding the importance of documenting their working conditions — several workers agreed to bring these cameras into their work place. We are indebted to them for without their valiant efforts, there would be very little footage that demonstrates the conditions inside the factories.

Additional factory footage was later acquired through a combination of our tenacity and fortune. Thinking that a factory in the Free Trade Zone (on the border between Haiti and the Dominican Republic) would be more open to our cameras, we struggled to make a connection and eventually contacted a manager and successfully set up an appointment to film. We drove an entire day over bumpy Haitian roads only to be refused at the door. Totally dismayed, crushed and furious, we luckily met workers who had been allowed in the past to shoot footage in that very same factory. They graciously allowed us to use this footage in the film.

Post-Production

It was important for us to start the film with beautiful imagery of Haiti’s pastoral beaches and countryside. So much of what mainstream media shows is the poverty and devastation; we felt it necessary to show the parts of the country so often forgotten. These images blend into the cityscape as the entry into the film, but also represent the peasant’s migration to the city (an important issue touched upon later in the film).

But the question remained: HOW to tell the women’s stories? How do we simultaneously share the women’s story, and Haiti’s story without a lot of repetition and yet maintain cohesion? From the start we saw two stylistic choices: base the film around certain recurring themes and have the women lend their thoughts and experiences collectively in each section; or have the film revolve around each women’s distinctly unique, yet at times similar, lives which would represent different aspects of Haiti. With the former, it would be less repetitive, but we felt, less personal. So we chose the latter, as we really wanted the audience to connect with the women, and see Haiti through their eyes thereby understanding their circumstance more experientially.

Another challenge was to avoid overwhelming the audience; how do we make a film dense with information more digestible? We needed to create breaks between each woman’s section to give the audience a moment of reprieve, to ponder the stories and information. Reflecting on that, and simultaneously wanting to pay homage to Haiti’s rich culture, we conceived what we call the “krik-krak” narrative bridges — a departure from the rest of the films traditional documentary style. Women braiding each other’s hair is a common sight on Haitian streets, something I personally find to be a beautifully bonding practice. So why not take this cultural practice and make it a literal and metaphorical weaving of the women’s stories? That is how we came up with the idea of a mother braiding her daughter’s hair.

The voice-over idea came from consideration of Haiti’s rich oral storytelling culture, referred to as “krik krak.” We asked renowned Haitian American novelist Edwidge Danticat to read excerpts from her work, which we slightly edited to make more personal and poignant for the women’s individual stories. This voice over weaves the symbolism of the women’s narratives even tighter.

The third element (or braid!) of these interludes is our stylistic choice to shoot these scenes in a dreamlike manner. The anonymity created by the soft focused images and close ups of hands, hair, braids, eyes, or parts of faces, allows the viewer to see these “characters” not as individuals, but rather as representations of everyday Haitian women. As such, these narrative bridges become metaphorical bridges from the stories of five Haitian women to the common plight of all Haitian women.

A decision typically late in the post-production process, yet of vital import is that of music. Without question, we were going to include scenes where the women are singing at meetings because song IS a political tool, but the soundtrack had it’s own set of complications. Again, we wanted to honor Haiti’s rich culture by including particularly Haitian music — while at the same time avoiding the music of Vodou (a religion whose practices have unfortunately become a negative stereotype of Haitian culture), a decision the women of the film also agreed with. Most contemporary Haitian music didn’t work stylistically with our content either. After much research and advice from colleagues, we were able to coalesce a wonderous soundtrack of songs that either pay homage to Haiti or add socio-political commentary to scenes in the film.

Reflections

Although difficult, and at times dangerous for Mark, the women, and myself my experience in making this film has been very positive overall. When asked what Haiti is like, I say it is a hard country, particularly in the capital. Yet despite the hardships, there is as much beauty, both overtly in the countryside and discreetly in the city, as there is an intangible spirit: an air of pride due in large part to Haiti’s origin as the first free black country, stemming from a 200 year old victory in a battle between renegade slaves and their colonists. Sadly they are still fighting that battle, only now on a global level. But they will continue to fight, for the Haitians I have met are amazing, strong, inspiring leaders in their own right, whether they run a union, a farming co-op, women’s support group or their own home.

Little did I know with the onset of this project, the true uniqueness of this film and even more so, the need; the barrage of emails during production asking when the film would be available was shocking. This is the first film told from the people on the ground, the people laying the foundation for Haiti’s workforce. For the first time these workers/women can share their concerns, their lives and their words with the rest of the world. This in itself makes the film truly one of a kind. The greatest honor and compliment for Mark and I is when Haitians and the Diaspora see the film, cry and smile and say, “Thank you, for finally making a respectful film about Haiti. It’s time.” I am eternally grateful and honored to have been a part of this timely project.
BACKGROUND: HAITI

The first and only successful slave revolt leading to free nationhood, Haiti has a tradition of collectivism and activism. Despite this strength of the culture that includes a vibrant tradition of music, art, literature, dance, and spirituality, Haiti has become the economically poorest country in the hemisphere. Haiti’s descent is a result of collusion between elites and the state as well as the inequality of the world system.

When Haiti won its independence in 1804, permanently ending slavery, they were isolated by the slaveholding world around them. Several U.S. presidents, for example, owned slaves. France, who lost their most profitable colony in 1804, demanded Haiti pay 150 million francs in 1825 as a condition of their recognition of Haiti’s independence - to pay former slave owners for their loss of “property.” Light-skinned president Boyer accepted but couldn’t pay, so Haiti took out a loan from a private French bank. While this sum was reduced, this independence debt - the only one in world postcolonial history - took as much as 80% of the government revenue for almost a century to pay off. While Europe and North America were developing infrastructure, Haiti’s resources were being drained to pay this debt.

In 1915, U.S. Marines landed on Haiti’s shores and occupied the country for 19 years. The U.S. installed a constitution that President Franklin Roosevelt claims to have written personally that opened up Haiti for foreign ownership of land for the first time. The U.S. also installed a modern army that propped up the 29-year Duvalier dictatorship. The international community fed the Duvalier dictatorship with millions of dollars in aid, with much from the U.S. who needed an ally in the Cold War following the Cuban Revolution. When “Baby Doc” Duvalier was flown out of Haiti aboard a U.S. plane on February 7, 1986, Haiti’s creditors - the World Bank, IMF, and Inter-American Development Bank and others - decided to force Haiti’s people to pay for the Duvalier debt.

In 2008-9, Haiti’s debt was estimated at 1.7 billion dollars, most of it accumulated by dictators before the first democratic election in 1990. Haiti pays $1 million per week in debt service - more than its budget for health care, education, infrastructure, or agriculture. Since February 29, 2004, when President Aristide was forced out, Haiti has been under foreign occupation. It is estimated that the U.N. mission - MINUSTAH - spent $600 million in 2008, dwarfing Haiti’s development budget.

As seen, Haiti’s contemporary political and economic crisis has multiple roots. Haiti’s people, the poor majority, have been excluded from power. Given Haiti’s extreme poverty and the world labor market, Haitian workers’ wages are among the lowest anywhere. At its peak, the export processing industry employed 80,000 people, but 2008 estimates were 20,000 at best. With few other choices, a job making $1.75 per day producing clothes for the U.S. has very many applicants. At any given moment, “50,000 people are behind you” competing for your job. In this context, workers are intimidated against joining unions or speaking out to demand that their rights are respected.

In Haiti, as elsewhere, poverty and income inequality intersect with gender inequality. Women bear the brunt of this neoliberal globalization. But Haitian women are organized in their effort to change things, and women have respect in the country, referred to as pillars of the family, the community and society. Women are “Poto Mitan.”
BACKGROUND: GLOBALIZATION

People tend to think of “globalization” as a force uniting people across the globe, with technology like the internet and instant messaging bringing us all closer together, a “global village.” This is one aspect of current globalization.

Some people – particularly people in the U.S., Canada, and Europe – feel that with advances in air travel, we can go wherever we want. For middle-class people in these countries – the “North” (not referring to geography but to geopolitics, access to resources) – this is largely true. But for working class people in the North and people all across the “South” (replacing the term “third world” which implies a value judgment), this is not the case. Migration to countries like the U.S. has been increasingly curtailed as people within these countries scapegoat immigrants, many of whom are of different racial groups and speak different languages than the majority. This is particularly true since the events of September 11, 2001.

Many scholars and activists think of globalization in another sense. Truly, money – or capital – has never been freer to travel anywhere, at the speed of the internet. Many people like billionaire George Soros made their money by trading in currencies: buying dollars and selling yen, for example. Increasingly, currencies like Haiti’s goud are being “floated” – bought and sold openly on the global market. This is one of the first acts taken by finance minister Leslie Delatour after the fall of the Duvalier dictatorship. People in Haiti still speak of the “Haitian dollar” – 5 goud – because it was fixed until this act. Watching Poto Mitan, notice how the minimum wage went up from 6 ½ goud to 70 goud, but the real value has not gone up much: $1.30 in the 1970s to $1.75 today.

Another aspect of financial globalization, again in an effort to remove barriers to the free flow of capital, is “free trade.” Free trade includes policies like reducing tariffs: taxes on imports, usually put up to protect fledgling economies while they’re growing, like most of Europe and North America did following their country’s industrial revolution. In Haiti, for example, Delatour began the process of lowering Haiti’s tariffs on rice. Before this point, Haiti actually exported food. Now, Haiti has the most “open” economy in the hemisphere. The tariffs on Haiti’s rice are the lowest in the area, 3%. That’s why in Poto Mitan you hear that Haiti imports more than 4/5ths of rice people eat. Several people in Poto Mitan argue that these policies destroyed Haiti’s economy. This is what was behind Haiti’s food crisis, why people took to the streets in April 2008.

The above-mentioned policies are key elements of an economic philosophy known in the U.S. as Reaganomics and everywhere else as “neoliberalism.” The word “neo” means “new,” so proponents call this idea the new and improved form of liberalism. People in the U.S. often associate the word with social issues like abortion rights, gay marriage, affirmative action, etc. Outside the U.S. and even in the U.S. as late as the 1920s, the term “liberal” refers to free-market capitalism. Neoliberalism is the brainchild of University of Chicago economist Milton Friedman. He trained hundreds of economists across the South, including Delatour, to “purify” capitalism that had been “tainted” by social protections of the New Deal (“Keynesian economics,” named after its founder). Neoliberals believe that the free market, left alone, is the best engine for growth and the fairest distributor of this wealth. They believe “distortions” — when governments get involved in things like minimum wages, social programs, etc. — impede the system from functioning and should thus be removed.

This is the neoliberal logic behind what used to be called “structural adjustment programs” imposed as conditions by institutions like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Increasingly since the 1980s, these institutions have been forcing Southern countries to lower their tariffs, open their markets to Northern goods, reorient their economies to service Northern consumers, privatize utilities and key industries, and reduce spending on social services like education and health care. All of these changes were imposed on Haiti as a result of the opening provided by Haiti’s debt.

Neoliberal globalization has another key feature, what some call the “global assembly line.” It’s almost impossible today to call a car “American” or “Japanese” because many parts are made in several countries in the world. The same is true of our clothes: the U.S. cotton industry ships raw materials somewhere to weave into cloth, and somewhere else to cut and sew them into shirts, jeans, etc., and then back to the U.S. Always seeking lower wages — compare Haiti’s wage of $1.75 per day to the U.S. minimum wage of $7.25 per hour, or $58 per day — factories are built in “free trade zones” where manufacturers don’t pay tariffs. Called maquiladoras after factories built along the U.S.-Mexico border, these exemplify a “race to the bottom” for wages. Multi-national companies and sometimes even national governments argue that if the minimum wage is raised in a country, the companies will just go somewhere else. After the clothes are made, they are shipped back to the North to be bought. Many fashion companies like the Gap, Nike, or Levi’s have codes of conduct for fair treatment of workers. But they usually use several layers of subcontractors, so they say they can’t control for what happens in places like Haiti.

The result of globalization is the living and working conditions you see in Poto Mitan.

Neoliberal globalization is also behind the financial crisis felt in the U.S. since fall 2008. New Deal banking regulations were removed and home mortgages were sold to investment companies in countries like Ireland and China. So when the housing bubble where banks pushed higher debts on families burst, these defaults hit Wall Street mega-companies like Lehman Brothers and Wachovia. Immediately, the financial crisis took down many countries in their wake. The whole country of Iceland went bankrupt. This is also neoliberal globalization.

As you can see, we’re truly all in this together. What you see in Haiti is not weird, exotic, or alien but a reality. And a warning for what might happen here if we do not make better choices and create a more just distribution of wealth.
PLANNING A SCREENING

*Poto Mitan* is well suited for use in a variety of settings and is especially recommended for use with:

- Organizations focused on any of the issues listed below
- Haiti solidarity groups
- Faith-based organizations and institutions
- Academic departments and student groups at colleges, universities and high schools
- Cultural institutions such as historical societies, museums and arts centers
- Business groups
- Labor groups, including worker centers and unions

**Key Issues**

*Poto Mitan* is an excellent tool for engagement and will be of special interest to people interested in the topics below:

- Activism
- Consumer responsibility
- Corporate responsibility
- Development
- Economics / economic justice
- Employment law / worker rights
- Feminism / women’s rights
- Garment industry / apparel manufacturing
- Global justice
- Haiti solidarity groups
- Haitian American associations
- Labor unions / labor organizing
- Leadership / self-empowerment
- Living wage
- Offshore manufacturing
- Poverty
- Sweatshops
- Women and Development / Gender and Development
- Working conditions

**Event Ideas**

Use a screening of *Poto Mitan* to:

- Hold a fundraiser for earthquake response
- Organize a Haiti Action Day, around a holiday (January 1 – Independence Day, February 7 – day when Duvalier was ousted, April 3 – Haitian Women’s Day, May 18 – Flag Day, November 17 – final battle of Haitian Revolution) to discuss current action issues.
- Raise funds for a particular project in Haiti.
- Hold a roundtable about global justice, including several actions, including debt cancellation and development alternatives.
- Spark a community and/or campus dialogue around consumer choices and how we can be more conscious consumers.
- Hold a Mother’s Day or International Women’s Day (March 8) event highlighting the contributions and unique needs of working mothers.
- Host a Labor Day (May 1st outside the U.S.) celebration highlighting the diverse history of the U.S. workforce.

TIPS TO MAKE YOUR SCREENING SUCCESSFUL

Collaborate! *Poto Mitan* has a wide variety of groups that could make good use of the event. Having groups share responsibility for event planning, site location, logistics, and promotion will build local relationships and connections as well as ensure a more successful event. Partner groups can help think through the items listed below.

Consider the location. Is it in an accessible location to the people involved, in a part of town considered “friendly” or “neutral,” and is it close to public transit? Is the space wheelchair accessible? Does it have a lobby outside the screening area to set up tables and have a reception?

Sometimes a large screening event, attracting a crowd (we’ve had a few screenings of 300 and more people) is best for your purposes. A small, intimate setting of people who may all be directly connected may be more appropriate. Is the primary point awareness? Action? Fundraising? Building a new membership base? Energizing an existing group? Gathering momentum for a particular campaign?

Plan ahead. Local media – particularly NPR stations, daily newspapers, and weekly/biweekly magazines – need three weeks to put it in their calendar or rotation.

Follow up. Even if you’ve sent press releases and invitations to groups you’ve identified, a personal contact and invitation is always best.

Always have enough print materials for people to take home with them, as well as a sign-up sheet so you can contact people with any follow-up action.

Plan enough time for the take-action step. In a large screening, it may not be possible except to pass out “take action” flyers immediately following the screening.

Letting the film run through the final credits gives people some quiet reflection time to compose their thoughts, and be in a good space for discussion. It also underscores how many people and groups participated in making the film, showing that a grassroots effort can succeed.
FACILITATOR GUIDELINES

Poto Mitan is a tool to get people talking, thinking, and hopefully acting. In a community organization, we usually have a sign-up sheet where you can follow up with people who are interested. We invite you to have flyers about what people can do. We have a flyer – updated regularly – on our website: http://www.potomitan.net/takeaction.html. We also encourage people to bring their own, to make local connections. We have had several screenings with partner groups, who have had tables. These groups said that this was an excellent outreach opportunity for them.

Making sure that this discussion is productive requires good facilitation, to create a safe space for discussing by inspiring trust. The facilitator should also set some basic ground rules. Based on our experience, Poto Mitan often triggers a passionate discussion, especially when Haitian Americans are in the audience. A couple of basic ground rules are to agree to disagree, and that every participant respects all others, and respects their opinions. A process should be clear how people are acknowledged to speak, and that everyone so acknowledged have the opportunity to do so. People should be encouraged to use “I” statements (“I believe that…” or “in my experience…” etc.). In a large setting, it would be a good idea to introduce partner groups and acknowledge support. In a smaller setting, particularly where people do not know one another, giving time for introductions can help establish trust.

A strength of Poto Mitan is that it tracks between the global and the personal, between policy and lived experience. As facilitator you can encourage people to make these personal / global connections, by asking leading and follow-up questions. The personal is the political, and vice versa. Some people veer toward the personal, some the political. A good facilitator can help move people beyond their current comfort zone and complement the one with the other.

Mirroring the women’s groups in Poto Mitan, facilitators are encouraged to follow a consciousness-raising model as pioneered by Brazilian educator Paulo Freire and the global women’s movement. One of Freire’s core suggestions is to move away from thinking of students as empty bank accounts to deposit knowledge but as experts in their own lives. Through group reflections, people can see how their individual situation is structured by a general condition shared by others… a process C. Wright Mills calls the “sociological imagination.”

Classrooms can be supportive learning communities if the instructor pays attention to potential sources of conflict and works to disrupt inequalities such as gender imbalance. Particularly worth noting is if there is only one Haitian American student, or one African American, etc. that they are not treated as the “ambassador” for their entire race, a “Native informant.” Yet, people of diverse cultural backgrounds – particularly people whose parents or they themselves migrated to the North – have much to offer in enhancing the conversation.

Poto Mitan offers a rare opportunity to bring together social movements who rarely interact with one another: women’s groups, labor unions, Haiti solidarity organizations, churches, global justice movements, and civil rights organizations. These groups often come with different agendas, different communication styles, and personal histories. ALL of these issues are important and necessary components to solutions. Our experience also shows that people from Haiti (like everywhere else!) have a passionate love for their homeland, and (again, like everywhere!) often disagree about politics. As facilitator you can acknowledge these understandable differences and help remind people that they are still united in their love for Haiti, or their concern for justice, and in fact this disagreement is healthy, and necessary in order for things to improve. As facilitator you can help by affirming people’s responses and ensuring that everyone gets a chance to contribute.

FUNDRAISING TIPS

Many groups will be using Poto Mitan as a fundraising tool for earthquake response. Here is some information to help your event be successful.

- Have information about the earthquake and the relief efforts, for yourself and for guests
- Partner Center for Economic and Policy Research (CEPR) has a blog where many current stories are posted: www.cepr.net/index.php/blogs/reconstruc
tion-watch/
- Co-director/ co-producer Mark Schuller published a piece on Common Dreams describing the human causes of the earthquake and discusses relief efforts and how to give: www.commondreams.org/view/2010/01/15-11
- Our website will be updated with Schuller’s public presentations about the aid watch, as podcasts: www.potomitan.net and www.der.org/films/poto-mitan.html
- Choose a group to receive the funds
- Nine grassroots groups in the film – and the women themselves – will receive monthly funds from partner Lambi Fund. Send checks to Lambi Fund with “Poto Mitan” on the memo line.
- Our partners – listed on the website – are all engaged in direct response

Or, choose your own group to receive funds. Please consider the following questions when choosing another relief effort:

- Who, exactly, is on the ground delivering aid in Port-au-Prince? How do they select partners and leaders within these groups?
- What is the group’s capacity to get aid to Haiti and the impacted groups
- What relationships do they have with the community and community groups? Who sets the priorities? Do they have long-term partnerships or are they grasping at straws in the understandable – need to do something?
- What percent of funds will actually get to Haiti? What percent is overhead?
- What is the plan? Does it address the current needs (medical first, food, water and shelter)?
- If there is a group donating to local partners, and you can donate directly to the local partners, go through the local group.
BEFORE VIEWING THE FILM

What is the first word that comes to your mind about Haiti? Take no more than 5-10 seconds to write it down. Raise your hand if this first impression is positive. Usually a very few hands come up. Why is that? How do we get our images of Haiti?

Look at the label on your shirt. Where is it made? Why might that be? Have you wondered how people who sew your shirts or pants live?

Are women treated equally to men? Name some specific ways in which gender as a social construct shapes peoples’ lives. How does gender intersect with other forms of inequality, such as class, race, and the world system?

What is “globalization?” What are its impacts?

AFTER VIEWING THE FILM

International Solidarity

Put yourself in the women’s shoes. What challenges did they face that struck you the most? How might you fare in their situation? What are the structural roots of these difficulties? What policy solutions were brought up in the film? What role are the women playing in these solutions? What is up to the Haitian government? You as an individual consumer? Governments like the U.S., Canada, and the European Union?

At the end of the film, Thérèse says, “we Haitians need to resolve Haiti’s problems.” Marie-Jeanne then said “Foreigners need to take responsibility.” What do you make of these statements when put together? How have foreign people and governments acted to help Haiti in the past? Has this film inspired you to a new way of expressing your solidarity? What concrete actions might you take (either individually or as a group)?

Gender

ALL of the women discuss how their individual situations (for example, Marie-Jeanne and education, Thérèse and poverty, and Hélène and violence) are made worse because of gender inequality, because they are women. Minister of Women’s Condition and Rights Marie Josslyne Lassegue described this as a “feminization of poverty.” How does this compare to Josette Perard’s explanation of women being considered “poto mitan”? Black feminists have outlined that race, class, and gender all operate in contributing to inequality, “intersectionality.” What examples can you draw from your own society, community, and family? How do race, class, gender, and the world system contribute to a particular difficulty experienced by the women in Poto Mitan?

Why do women make up the bulk of the labor force in Haiti’s overseas apparel industry? Is this true of only Haiti?

Taking account of this intersectionality, what concrete solutions can you propose to address gender, race, and class at the same time.

Development

Marie-Jeanne detailed the difficulties she faced to go to school. She also mentions that school is 550 goud ($12.75) per month, while she only makes 70 goud per day, or 1400-1470 per month ($35 - $36.75). Why does Marie-Jeanne pay around 40% of her income to send her son to school? Would you make that same investment? Reyneld Sanon mentioned that the Haitian Constitution mandates that the government offer free elementary school. Why doesn’t that happen? It might be useful to reflect on the free public education offered in the U.S., Canada, and the European Union. Some European countries provide a free Ph.D education.

Frisline said point blank that “as long as the aid passes through bigwigs, we poor won’t see a cent,” recalling that Haiti is the most unequal country in the Americas. What reproduces these inequalities, from Haitian society, Haiti’s government, and the system of international development aid? What can be done to change this?

The international community in 2009 targets offshore manufacturing, particularly apparel, as the keystone to development in Haiti. After watching Poto Mitan, how might you respond?

Some workers like Marie-Jeanne called upon the government to solve problems and foreigners to take their responsibility. You heard several instances of Haiti being a “weak state” – not providing basic health care or education, for example. This forces women, as heads of the household, to pay for them. You also saw that Haiti has a large foreign debt – peaking at 1.7 billion in 2008. What is the relationship between debt and this situation? What will cancelling Haiti’s debt do? What is up to Haiti’s people and government, and what is up to institutions like the World Bank and the IMF? What can we as citizens of the world do about this?

You’ve also heard the word “Neoliberalism” several times, as the cause of Haiti’s underdevelopment. Define neoliberalism. What has been the impact of trade liberalization, lowering tariffs, privatization, and reduction in social services on the five women’s lives? Has neoliberalism been applied in your community or your society? How? What has been its impact?

Labor / Unions

Marie-Jeanne recalls that when foreign inspectors come to the factory, things get cleaned up. But when they don’t come, the factories remain in bad condition. In the end, you hear that “now you know we make a low wage. You can make them raise our salaries.” Who benefits most from Haiti’s apparel factories? Who is harmed by them? Where do consumers fit in? Who is responsible for breaking the cycle? What specifically should they do?

Since even before the Caribbean Basin Initiative that built Haiti’s subcontracting apparel industry in the 1980s, the right to unionize has been a condition, upholding standards set by the UN’s International Labor Organization. Frisline said that her boss didn’t want to see a union, and Marie-Jeanne said that if you speak up, you will get fired. Manufacturer Charles-Henri Baker said that his workers are not unionized, but he wouldn’t mind if they were. How do you make sense of these statements? Why are workers intimidated? Is this something unique to Haiti? Any examples in your own community? Why is it that despite worker-friendly legislation, workers like Frisline and Marie-Jeanne continue to be intimidated? Brainstorm ideas for implementation / enforcement. What should international agencies do? What can we do as consumers?

WRITE YOUR OWN!

Here are two examples of questions written for discussions, one a community and another a classroom discussion. We are not necessarily endorsing them or suggesting that you copy them. We include them here to give you ideas of how you might tailor your questions to your particular audience.

The following questions were written by Santa Barbara Just Communities director Jarrod Schwartz for a post-screening discussion:

To begin:

What did you see and hear in the film? What stood out for you? What resonated with you? How do you see similar issues playing out in our community here in Santa Barbara? What can we do about it?
CONCEPTS / TOPICS FROM THE FILM TO EXPLORE

These are feminist organizations, but none of them explicitly state that they are feminists. Do you think they see themselves as feminists? Do you see them as feminists? What does this say about feminism?

“Children can get a better education on the streets.” Do you see any parallels between this reality in Haiti and our own community?

In Haiti, “The government is supposed to provide free education, but they don’t provide it for everyone.” How does this relate to our own educational system in the US?

US government is supposed to provide the same quality education to everyone, but they don’t.

“The poor are the ones who are responsible. But they’re not responsible. There’s a hidden hand.” Is there a hidden hand here in the US?

“Haiti’s not starving b/c of lack of food. It’s because the rich don’t care about the poor.”

There’s enough food in the US to feed everyone.

Proverb: “The donkey works so the horse can gallop around.” How does this relate to labor and workers in the US?

“Factory owners don’t want the workers to unionize.” Do you see any parallels to labor issues in the US? In our own community?

How does US foreign policy impact countries like Haiti?

E.g. US Agricultural policy: “At the same time that these agencies strike down poor countries’ subsidies as ‘barriers to free trade’ the US Farm Bill gives $1 billion per year to large agribusiness in rice alone.”

The following questions were written by York College student James Abrams following a screening with other students:

1. Are there any agencies that do provide aid directly to the poor in Haiti?

2. What are some of the policies (if any) by countries like the U.S that enforce higher and equal wages for Third World (Southern) countries such as Haiti?

3. Are there any agencies in the U.S that monitor health and safety conditions of work environments in third world countries like Haiti?

4. What jobs are available to the men of Haiti, considering that the women have limited job opportunities?

5. Are there any sanctions in place against countries like the U.S that use sweatshops, and if not- what organizations or movements besides those in Haiti are we able to get involved with?

6. Is the Haitian government trying to help its citizens in any way, are there any other small local groups or organizations in Haiti working to fight against violence and oppression?

7. Are there any other jobs available to the women of Haiti, and does education always play a factor when it comes to employment in Haiti?

8. Knowing that the violence in Haiti is caused because of Haiti’s high levels of poverty, why is it Haiti doesn’t invest in its education system?

9. Since the U.S. eradication of the Creole pig, why is it Haiti hasn’t reintroduced the pig into its country?

10. What led to the U.S. embargo and, and what part did Aristide play in Haiti’s downfall?

11. Considering that the Haitian constitution states that free public services should be provided, why is it Haiti continues to respond to the pressures of foreign countries knowing that it’s detrimental to its own country?

12. Is the UNs presence in Cité Soleil to combat gang violence, or to protect foreign interests?

13. Could Haiti take Cuba’s approach when it comes to agriculture and health care?

14. If Haitian women are the center of Haitian life, culture, and society; why is it they are respected so little? Does religion or culture play a factor?

15. Where can I get more information about this and how can I help?
CLASSROOM OR COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES

Behind the label
The purpose of this 20-30 minute exercise is to encourage participants to think personally about the people who make our clothing, to empathize with their situation, and to examine the policy/structural roots of the global economy.

Lessons learned: geography, economic literacy, critical thinking and discussion skills.

Appropriate for the following classes: geography, economics, social studies (sociology and anthropology), women’s/gender studies.

Pair people up. Ask students/community members to look at the tag on their partner’s outermost shirt. Look for the “Made in …” part of the label. Write down where it came from. Look it up on a world map. Find out how many people live in that country, what language they speak, etc. You can also look up economic facts about the country if you are in a space that has access to the internet.

Discuss with your partner the following questions: How might the women who made your shirt live? Why are they more likely to be women? What conditions is the factory likely to have? Do you think they have a union? What housing conditions do they have? What challenges do the women have in providing for their families? How might the living and working conditions compare to what you saw in Poto Mitan? To your home town?

After 10 minutes, the facilitator brings the entire group together. Poll the participants about where their shirts were made. Write down the names of the countries, and highlight on the world map. Ask participants why factories are built in these countries. Several follow-up questions in the previous section might be helpful.

Many Hands
The purpose of this 15-20 minute exercise is to understand how the global economy is structured, and how we as consumers are directly connected with people who work in the factories to produce the goods we buy.

Lessons learned: calculation, accounting, the global economy.

Appropriate for the following classes: math, accounting, economics, social studies (sociology and anthropology).

Ask students/community members how much it costs for a new pair of national name-brand jeans (Levi’s, for example, has a factory in Haiti). Write this number on a blackboard or flip-chart. Ask participants to estimate how much of this amount goes to workers in Haiti. Write down the estimates.

Based on follow up research, the average number of pants a factory worker has to make per day is 500. The average salary in a Port-au-Prince factory is 100 goud (divide by 40, since the rate is 40 goud per dollar and you get $2.50). How much does the average worker make per pair of pants? Divide 100 goud by 500 and you get .20 goud (divide by 40 and it’s half a cent!). According to this research, the average number of people on a factory line is 25. Multiply half a cent by 25 and that is 12 and a half cents for all of the Haitian labor costs in a pair of pants. How does that compare to your estimates? What percentage of the final costs to consumers is this?

When Poto Mitan was released in summer 2009, there was an active campaign to increase Haiti’s minimum wage to 200 goud, almost tripling it. This $5 minimum wage bill passed both houses of Haiti’s parliament, but Haiti’s president objected to it. Take the figure above and double it. Then subtract the original figure. That’s how much extra money per pair of pants this would cost. Add it to the cost of the jeans that you’ve written on the board. Would you as a consumer be willing to pay this much extra? Take a poll of participants.

Now remember that there are several steps in between Solange and you as the consumer. What are they? Write them on the board.

Remember the factory owners discussing the HOPE law. Georges Sassine mentioned that the first version of the law was limited. The current version has no quotas, and lasts for nine years. The international community got behind a report to U.N. head Ban Ki-Moon by Paul Collier, who said that this HOPE Act (and subcontracting in the textile industry in general) is the key to all future development efforts in Haiti. Remember owner Charles Baker saying that the typical duty is $1.50 per pair of pants. How does this $1.50 compare to the tripling of Haiti’s minimum wage?

Return to the list of steps in the middle. As facilitator, point out that most of the “value added” is done in the North, closer to the consumer. CEOs of major companies make salaries in the millions. Discuss Haiti’s minimum wage in this context. Is it possible to re-organize the global economy to have a more equal distribution? What might we do?
The purpose of this 50-minute role-playing activity (taking its name from the popular “reality” TV show) is to offer lived experience, delving in-depth into the policy roots and discuss solutions to the problems Haitian factory workers face: violence, high cost of living, education, health and gender inequality. These are the main themes of Poto Mitan, discussed and analyzed so eloquently by the five women.

Lessons learned: economic literacy, budgeting, mathematics, writing, critical thinking skills.

Appropriate for the following classes: math, economics, social studies (sociology and anthropology), women’s/ gender studies, health.

In this exercise, participants play a number of roles: landlord, timachann-lunch, school principal, timachann – market at home, and the rest are workers. The facilitator can play the role of factory owner, giving out packets of 700 goud in Monopoly money every pay period, or this can be a role.

Landlord – your job is to collect rent from people for a six-month period. As discussed in Poto Mitan, housing costs for a 7 foot square single-room house range from 4,000-20,000 goud ($100-$500) every six months – every 13 pay periods.

Timachann-lunch – your job is to collect your credit from the factory workers for ten meals. As discussed in Poto Mitan, a cheap lunch can cost 35 goud for food, 15 goud for drink (50 goud total, $1.25). You are the first to collect the money, since you wait for the workers just outside their factory on payday.

School principal – your job is to collect the monthly tuition from parents. You also have additional fees, for uniforms, books, registration fees, and graduation that you would like parents to pay for as well. As discussed in Poto Mitan, for a cheap school, tuition is 550 goud ($12.75) per month – every 2 pay periods.

Timachann-market at home – can have several people selling a range of products: basic food ingredients (rice, beans, cooking oil, vegetables, salt, etc.), or have one person selling a range of items. For 14 meals (one meal a day) for a family of four, the cost of these goods can be estimated at the following: Rice from the U.S. 260 goud ($6.50) Rice from Haiti 600 goud ($15) Black beans from the U.S. 200 goud ($5) Black beans from Haiti 300 goud ($7.50) Cooking oil – imported 150 goud ($3.75) Onions – grown in Haiti – 140 goud ($3.50) Carrots – grown in Haiti – 140 goud ($3.50) Cabbage – grown in Haiti – 210 goud ($5.25) Chicken legs – rejected from the U.S. (one per person) – 280 goud ($7) Cooking water – 2 goud per gallon Drinking water – 6 goud per gallon

The rest of the participants will be designated as factory workers who earn 700 goud per pay period.

Time permitting, conduct this exercise for a six-month period (13 rounds), so that the landlord will have the opportunity to collect money from everyone. After the end of the round, workers mention how much they have left over. The facilitator should ask what choices did the family have to make of things not to buy as a result of not having enough money. Where does most of the money end up? During the discussion, have someone collect the money and organize it into piles of 700 goud.

After the third round, the school principal should begin demanding extra fees for registration/ books / graduation. Set your own price. Kick students out whose parents are delinquent by a pay period.

Beginning the fourth round, have several workers’ children get sick each week. If the facilitator can keep track of who didn’t buy drinking water, or who skimped on food, select these people first. You can only afford to take your child to the state-run General Hospital. Still, they ask for 1000 goud for the consultation, lab work, and medication.

After the fifth round, the factory lays off half the workers (for the sake of this exercise, it will be the men. It’s also true that most factory workers are women – 80%). These laid off workers can try their hand at being timachann.

After the sixth round, offer the men $50 (2000 goud) to create disorder or commit an act of violence. Does anyone accept? Discuss.

After the seventh round, give the men 500 goud. Have them pair up with a woman, and offer it as a one-time gift. In half of the cases, the woman becomes pregnant. In 5% of the cases, she contracts HIV/AIDS.

Did people organize sòl – solidarity lending – in order to help people cope with their rent payment? What other strategies did people employ to survive?

After the exercise is over, ask participants to write their reflections for 5 minutes. Have people write down one question to ask the group. Collect the writing and the question. After this period of writing is over, ask people to share their thoughts. Then proceed to ask the questions participants wrote down. You can augment them with questions of your own (which are likely to come up), provided in the previous section.
FOR FURTHER READING…

The following is a list of printed resources - mostly books but some articles - that give further context and analysis about issues raised in the film.

**Haiti**

**Women’s Issues**

**Labor Issues**

**Global Justice**

**NATIONAL PARTNERS**

**Co-producers:**
- Renegade Pictures - http://www.renegadepix.net
- UCSB Center for Black Studies Research - http://research.ucsb.edu/cbs/

Following are a list of groups who have supported the film. Our partners are planning on working together with us to promote discussion and to inspire grassroots change.

**Partners:**
- Haiti Reborn - a Program of the Quixote Center. http://haiti.quixote.org
- Haitian Women for Haitian Refugees - Since 1992, meeting the needs of Haitian refugees arriving in New York as a result of the overthrow of President Aristide. hwhr@hotmail.com
- Institute for Justice and Democracy in Haiti - Working with the people of Haiti in their non-violent struggle for the return and consolidation of constitutional democracy, justice and human rights. http://www.ijdh.org
- Partners in Health - Providing a preferential option for the poor in health care. http://www.ph.org

**Endorsers:**
- Bibliothèque du Soleil (Port-au-Prince) - Building libraries and museums for a just society. http://www.haitisoleil.org
- Haitian Connection - Koneksyon Ayiti - a compassionate response to the poverty and misery that so many Haitians face. http://www.haitian-connection.org
Haitian Studies Program - U-Mass Boston - Research, dissemination on Haiti and Haitians, conferences, discussions on Haitian policy, newsletter, Haitian Language Institute.

KOFAVIV - Women Victim’s Collective - An organization established by survivors, for survivors. http://www.vidwa.org

KOSANBA - a Scholarly Association for the Study of Haitian Vodou.

The Leocardie and Alexandre Kenscoff Cultural Center (Mirebalais) - Promoting education, education, education. http://www.gawouginou-foundation.org/index.htm

Multicultural Women’s Presence, Inc. (Miami)

Madre - Demanding Rights, Resources and Results for Women Worldwide. http://www.madre.org

UCSB Black Studies Department - bringing together scholars from an array of disciplines that are concerned with the Diaspora and Africa. http://www.blackstudies.ucsb.edu


UCSB Film and Media Studies http://www.filmandmedia.ucsb.edu

UCSB Women’s Center - The Women’s Center uses a feminist approach to provide support, advocacy, resources and education to the UCSB community. http://www.sa.ucsb.edu/women’scenter

RESOURCES

After seeing the film you may want to get involved in one of many groups doing great work to make a difference on women’s issues, Haitian, labor issues, or global justice. Here is a list of a couple, to get you on your way. We also have a flyer – updated regularly – on our website, about concrete actions you can take: http://www.potomitan.net/takeaction.html.

Justice For Women Worldwide

AWID - http://www.awid.org


Global Fund for Women - http://www.globalfundforwomen.org

MADRE - http://www.madre.org


WEDO - http://www.wedo.org

Justice for Women In the Haitian Diaspora

AFAB - http://www.afab-kafanm.org

Dwa Fanm - http://www.dwafanm.org

FANM - http://www.fanm.org

Haitian Women for Haitian Refugees - hwhr@hotmail.com

MUDHA - http://www.kiskeya-alternative.org/mudha

Justice for Women In Haiti

CPFQ - cpfo@hainet.net

KOFAVIV – http://www.vidwa.org

WILPF directory of women’s groups - http://www.peacewomen.org/contacts/americas/haiti/hai_index.html

Justice for Workers Worldwide

Clean Clothes Campaign - http://www.clean-clothes.org

ICFTU - http://www.icftu.org

Jobs with Justice - http://www.jwj.org

No Sweat - http://www.nosweatapparel.com

United Students against Sweatshops - http://www.studentsagainstsweatshops.org

UNITE-HERE - http://www.unitehere.org

Justice for Workers In Haiti

Batay Ouvriye - http://www.batayouvriye.org

Confederation de Travailleurs Haïtiens (CTH) - http://haititch.org

Haiti Solidarity

Coordination Europe-Haiti – alessandra.spalleta@broederlijkdelen.be

Haiti Action Committee - http://www.haitiaction.net

Haiti Analysis - http://www.haitianalysis.com

Haiti Reborn/Quixote Center - http://haiti.quixote.org


Institute for Justice and Democracy in Haiti - http://www.ijdh.org


RFK Memorial Center for Human Rights - http://www.pih.org

Zanmi Lasante/Partners in Health - http://www.pih.org/home.html

Global Justice

50 Years Is Enough! - http://www.50years.org

Bretton Woods Project - http://www.brettonwoodsproject.org

Council on Hemispheric Affairs - http://www.coha.org

Focus on the Global South - http://focusweb.org

Foreign Policy In Focus - http://www.fpif.org


Jubilee - South - http://www.jubileesouth.org

Jubilee - U.K. - http://www.jubileedebtcampaign.org.uk


Economic Justice and Economic Development

Broederlijk Delen - http://www.broederlijkdelen.be

EPICA - http://www.epica.org

Eurodad - http://www.eurodad.org

KONPAY - http://www.konpay.org

Lambi Fund - http://www.lambifund.org

Oxfam - Canada - http://www.oxfam.ca

Oxfam - Great Britain - http://www.oxfam.org.uk

Oxfam - Quebec - http://oxfam.qc.ca


PAPDA - http://www.papda.org

SODA - http://www.sodahaiti.org
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