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FUTURES
CARIBBEAN SURVIVAL IN THE ANTHROPOCENE
MIMI SHELLER

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Duke University Press *Durham and London* 2020

Printed in the United States of America on acid-free paper ∞
Designed by Courtney Leigh Richardson
Typeset in SangBleu by Copperline Book Services

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Names: Sheller, Mimi, [date] author.
Title: Island futures : Caribbean survival in the anthropocene /
Mimi Sheller.
Description: Durham : Duke University Press, 2020. | Includes
bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2020016392 (print) | LCCN 2020016393 (ebook)
ISBN 9781478010128 (hardcover)
ISBN 9781478011187 (paperback)
ISBN 9781478012733 (ebook)
Subjects: LCSH: Human ecology—Political aspects—Caribbean Area. |
Human ecology—Caribbean Area—Sociological aspects. | Sustainable
development—Caribbean Area. | Caribbean Area—Environmental
aspects. | Caribbean Area—Climatic factors.
Classification: LCC GF532.C27 S545 2020 (print) | LCC GF532.C27 (ebook) |
DDC 304.2/09792—dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2020016392
LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2020016393

Cover art: Edouard Duval-Carrié, *La Traversée*, 2016 (detail).
Mixed media on aluminum with artist's frame, 68 × 68 inches.
Courtesy of the artist. Private collection, Miami.

This book is dedicated to my mother,
Stelle Sheller (1940–2018)

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PREFACE
AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MY MOTHER

My mother traveled frequently to the Caribbean, but it is only now, when she is no longer here, that I realize how much her interest in the region influenced my pathway. I have been cleaning out her apartment, an archive of her life. Each picture, letter, and object brings back many memories. I pick up a framed Caribbean postcard: a small painting of a tropical rural scene showing a house surrounded by flowering trees and a figure walking up a winding lane. Tucked behind it I find a letter that I wrote to her in 1990, on the occasion of her fiftieth birthday, when I was twenty-three years old. Among other things, it says: "Our interests and beliefs have converged at so many points that even while we may be separated by space, you always walk together with me in my heart. . . . Your life will always be a guiding light for me, the finest example I can emulate as I make decisions in my own life." I am thankful that I had the maturity to write such thoughts at that age, and that she saved it in a place where I would find it now; did she know I would keep this picture and discover the letter, when I too am around fifty, just in time to read it at her memorial service?

Thinking back to that year, I realize that it was the moment I made the decision to return to graduate school after a gap year living in Hackney, London. I moved back to Brooklyn and enrolled part-time at the New School in two classes—an economics course on women and development, and a politics course on state terrorism—before deciding to enroll full-time in an MA/PhD program there. Why those classes? Surely it was my mother's guiding light. She had been a political activist throughout her life and in my teenage and college years she was deeply involved in the International Women's Movement, the Central American Solidarity Movement, the Sanctuary movement helping refugees resettle in Philadelphia, the anti-Apartheid movement, and the Nuclear Freeze, Antiwar, and Peace movements. For her seventieth birthday she created a display titled "My

Life in T-Shirts" which consisted of a laundry line hanging all the political T-shirts that she had collected from dozens of marches and demonstrations over the years, with slogans like these:

Stop the War in El Salvador
Women Unite! Take Back the Night!
Support the Front Line States: Trade Against Apartheid
Nicaragua FSLN: Ni Un Paso Atras!
Mobilization, Justice & Peace: Central America, Southern Africa
Women's Association for Women's Alternatives Inc.
No Intervention in Central America
Listen to Women for a Change

The laundry line itself, sagging with shirts hung with clothespins, was a symbolic reminder of women's work: both in the home doing the washing and in the global sweatshops sewing cheap T-shirts in the very places that were experiencing political violence and U.S. occupation, and subsequently sending migrants to the United States as refugees from war and violence.

Rereading the letter, gathering up Caribbean and Central American artwork from her home, and adopting her autobiographical collection of T-shirts, I now realize how much I had absorbed her political commitments along with her affinity for Caribbean landscapes. But that was not all that I found. Among her collection of Caribbean and Mexican cookbooks—full of memories of wonderful meals she cooked—I found other books that I remembered reading when I was a teenager. There was Joseph Owens's *Dread: The Rastafari of Jamaica*, introduced by Rex Nettleford (Sangster's Book Store, 1976), and Leonard Barrett's *The Rastafarians: Sounds of Cultural Dissonance* (Beacon Books, 1977). This was where I first learned about Jamaica, in books given to my mother by her friend Simeon, who had signed them and tucked in photographs of his adorable daughters, Ayana and Makadeah. I had forgotten about reading these books in the 1980s (while listening to my mother's reggae collection). Had these influenced me choosing to study Jamaican and Haitian peasant cultures, religions, and subaltern politics in my PhD research in the 1990s? Still tucked into my mother's passport holder I find a small note with the address where I lived in Kingston while doing that research: Aunt Cybil's house on Norwood Avenue. My mother came to visit me that summer, and we hired a driver and traveled together through the Blue Mountains to Port Antonio, and along the north coast, on a beautiful trip into rural Jamaica (before the new highways were built).

By the mid-1990s my mother and I shared a strong interest in Haitian democratization movements and U.S. interference. In her files is a copy of a letter she wrote to a local newspaper in October 1994 about U.S.-Haiti relations just at the time when I was beginning my PhD on nineteenth-century peasant democracy movements in Jamaica and Haiti. Her letter followed a visit from the Haitian activist Carde Metellus, who spoke to the Germantown branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, where my mother was secretary, in a talk excoriating "the use of rape as a state-sponsored repression tactic against supporters of President Aristide." Her letter to the editor lays out the facts of U.S. relations with Haiti:

> Haitian history reveals the following: (1) On July 28, 1915, the U.S. Marines took control of Haiti. Nineteen years later, the U.S. left a legacy of economic exploitation, decimation of thousands of resisting farmers, a weakened civil society, and a solidified proxy army known as the Haitian Armed Forces; (2) The U.S. has consistently used political, economic and military means to suppress Haitian democratic efforts. In the last 80 years, U.S. funding has supported the brutal dictatorships of the Duvaliers and Cedras. Money channeled through the Agency for International Development and the National Endowment for Democracy financed projects and candidates that co-opted progressive, grass roots organizations; (3) Key U.S. economic and political institutions have had an interest in protecting the low wage export platform that Haiti has become. Haiti has long been the site of sweatshops for Western corporations. America baseball manufacturers have made a fortune on the backs of Haitian workers paid 20 cents per hour; (4) When Aristide won the election on a revolutionary platform that preached against exploitation of workers and defied the politically protected drug cartels, he was undermined by Washington. Financial support of the Haitian military and other sectors opposed to Aristide continued, as well as a campaign of character assassination of Aristide. His presenting symptom? Wanting to raise the minimum wage to 37 cents per hour; (5) After the coup of September 30, 1991, U.S. policy failed to remove coup leaders because it was not designed to do so. Restoration of Aristide to the presidency did not coincide with U.S. business interests. The contradiction between the stated policy—to restore the democratically elected president—and the actions taken can be seen

in the so-called embargo, the flagrant oil traffic from the Dominican Republic, and the loophole that allowed over 60 U.S. companies to continue doing business in Haiti. . . . (6) An April 12 U.S. Embassy statement called reports of Human Rights Violations "exaggerated" although there was documentation that over 3,000 Aristide supporters had been killed since the coup. This Embassy statement was in support of a policy that considered fleeing Haitians economic refugees to be sent back immediately.

Taken together these were clear signals to the military to continue their abuses with impunity. . . . Intervention [by the United States now] may reduce terror and torture in the short run, but only when U.S. policy and aid support popular organizations of workers, students, farmers, unions, and liberation churches will there be an organic movement for democracy that will succeed.[1]

—Stelle Sheller, Secretary, WILPF, Germantown Branch

Go Mom! Not only does this serve as a good introduction to recent U.S.-Haiti relations, but it effectively (and affectively) sets the stage for the questions I will ask in this book, the outcome of my years—and my mother's years—thinking about U.S. relations with Haiti. Decades of struggle by Haitians, as well as by their supporters in the diaspora and in local women's groups and peace groups across the Americas, have built alliances of learning, solidarity, and exchange. Yet, as my friend Esther Figueroa pushes me to ask: "What does it mean to have solidarity with somewhere else [and] how does that solidarity go beyond oneself? Is that even possible and if it is how is it "useful" beyond oneself?"[2] Whatever idea of "Haiti" or "the Caribbean" I may hold, and however politically engaged it might be, it will always be an outsider's view and it will never be innocent of the power relations in which we are all entangled. That is, in part, the subject of my inquiry.

This book arises first out of concern with contemporary political and social conditions in Haiti but also out of reflections on my relationship, and the U.S. relationship, with the wider Caribbean region, its politics and cultures, over many decades. My mother's guiding light keeps pulling me back to the Caribbean, even when it seems too distant, or too inconvenient, too dangerous, too corrupt, or even too touristic; these negative stereotypes and media representations always infect my idea of the region, as much as I might try to overcome them or take responsibility for them. Although I have read widely in Haitian history, anthropology, and sociol-

ogy, I do not consider myself an "expert" on contemporary Haiti, and I have not spent that much time there (five brief visits: one in 1997 and four in May–June 2010, July–August 2010, March 2013, and June 2016). But having imbibed my mother's politics, having studied Caribbean history and cultures for two decades, and having been part of the academic community of Caribbean studies, I do claim a self-reflexive knowledge of my own entanglements with the Caribbean, knowledge of its highly unequal relations with the United States, and of the uneven mobilities of people, capital, and culture linking our worlds. I am acutely aware of the inequalities of travel in and around the region, the power dynamics that infuse every interaction, and the ignorance with which many American travelers enter the Caribbean—and especially Haiti, which has been subjected to so much misrepresentation.[3]

I first began learning about Haiti through reading original nineteenth-century sources—writers such as Baron de Vastey, Thomas Madiou, Beaubrun Ardouin, Antonin Firmin, and many others writing in Haiti's lively newspapers. I learned more about the history of the Haitian Revolution reading C. L. R. James, Carolyn Fick, Laurent Dubois, and Madison Smartt Bell. I delved into books by historians and anthropologists such as Michel-Rolph Trouillot, Georges Anglade, Patrick Bellegarde-Smith, David Nicholls, Kate Ramsey, Alfred Métreaux, Harold Courlander, and Melville J. Herskovitz. I was amazed to discover that in the single year of 1936–1937 Haiti had been visited not only by the anthropologists Melville Herskovitz and Harold Courlander, but also by the anthropologist and writer Zora Neale Hurston, the anthropologist and dancer Katherine Dunham, the experimental filmmaker Maya Deren, and the musicologist Alan Lomax. I also read work by the anthropologists Karen McCarthy Brown, Karen Richman, and Gina Athena Ulysse, as well as work from the rich canon of Haitian fiction and visual art. My mother also read some of these books, as part of her women's book club, and we would discuss them together. She met McCarthy Brown and Edwidge Danticat when they gave book talks in Philadelphia and told them about my work.

While my initial interests in understanding Philadelphia's connection with the Caribbean region were historical, I am increasingly driven toward a sense of futurity. In thinking about the Caribbean future, I seek to understand the ethics of transnational empathy and connection in a world of great inequity, but more than that in a world of duplicitous politics and false narratives that mask the violence of the military domination, corporate extraction, and political corruption that created those inequities

in the first place. How can we reach out to another culture or place, learn from it, and recognize our historical ties without consuming or appropriating it—and why is this simple accompaniment an important political act? How can people from different racial, class, national, and cultural backgrounds influence one another, learn from one another, share with one another, and respect one another, all while keeping our separate identities and pathways? What forms of political solidarity and cultural creativity can we learn from the Caribbean, the Caribbean diaspora, and from transnational feminists that might help us build a more just and sustainable world? These questions drive my research and writing, and as I will show throughout the book, as a U.S. foreigner, I always still remain implicated in unequal power relations predicated on colonialism, imperialism, militarism, and ecocide.

While the rediscovery of my mother's archive reminds me that these questions were always present in my life, my thinking about this specific book began in 2010, when a series of unconnected events shook the Caribbean. First, in January 2010, the massive and deadly earthquake in Haiti rocked the country to its foundations, toppling buildings, killing possibly hundreds of thousands of people (the total death toll is still unknown), and destroying the already tenuous urban infrastructure for roadways, water, schools, and healthcare. It also instigated a rapid mobilization of foreign aid, relief supplies, and emergency responders into Port-au-Prince, and soon thereafter the regular coming and going of humanitarian workers, international aid groups, missionaries, and researchers (including myself) into and out of the country. Yet the vast majority of Haitians, without visas or passports—not to mention money—were unable to leave the country to seek medical care, temporary shelter, or family reunification, due to U.S. policies of border control, interception at sea, and denial of entry. Three years later, more than half a million people were still living in inadequate temporary shelters, in dismal conditions which I witnessed myself, without potable water, sanitation, or safety.[4]

When I first visited Haiti in 1997, shortly after René Preval became president, it was a hopeful time of popular mobilization and of alternative visions for Haiti's future. Even though the Lavalas movement had faced many obstacles, both internally and externally, including the removal of former President Aristide and disillusionment with some of his actions in office, at the time there was still a sense of progress. I traveled there with the UK-based Haiti Support Group on a study tour led by Charles Arthur, who had been building contacts with grassroots groups for many years. We

met with leaders like Chavannes Jean-Baptiste of the peasant organization Tet Kole Ti Peyizan Ayisyen, Camille Chalmers of La Plateforme Haïtienne de Plaidoyer pour un Développement Alternatif, known as PAPDA, and Roseanne Auguste, a doctor who was running a women's health clinic. Each group shared with us their ideals and their methods of organizing, their challenges and successes.

Members of Tet Kole told us about how they worked with landless peasants who "sell their labor or work as sharecroppers. They have no decent housing, no schools for their children, poor health conditions." They described a democratic process of election of delegates who served on communal, departmental, and national assemblies for set terms, before rotating back to agricultural work. Above all, they said, "We want a state that is not a puppet of the 'blancs.' By this we mean foreign powers. . . . 'blancs' means the U.S. government, the World Bank, the IMF, all enforcing their own economic and political plans on the world. We want a state that really welcomes participation of the popular masses in real power. We want democratic participation in its real essence, not demagogy and intimidation."[5] These words echoed what I had been reading in the archives about the democratic demands of the Piquet Rebellion of 1843, but they also remained on people's lips in 2010, when I returned to a country badly damaged by the 12 January earthquake. Some people we interviewed told us point-blank, "All the 'blancs' should leave; all the foreign NGOs should go."

When I returned to Haiti as part of a research team funded by the National Science Foundation in 2010, Preval was again president but was struggling against a resurgent right-wing Duvalierist countermovement, which had tagged Port-au-Prince with graffiti calling for the return of Jean-Claude Duvalier, once known as Baby Doc. I was surprised to see that many of the peasant organizations and left-wing political activists from the 1990s were still active in 2010, as were dozens of other local grassroots organizations. In the aftermath of the earthquake, however, there was a huge influx of foreign "aid" once again (a common pattern in Haiti's political history), and the scales were tipped toward the patterns of "disaster capitalism" and neoliberal restructuring that we have seen again and again, from New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina to Puerto Rico after Hurricanes Irma and Maria.[6] I also witnessed the containment of Haitians displaced by the earthquake and the implementation of migration policies that prevented their movement, a discriminatory policy that would later become acute once again after Hurricane Dorian devastated Haitian communities in the Bahamas in 2019 yet led to victims being deported back to Haiti.

As a visiting researcher in Haiti, I could not help but reflect on my own involvement in practices of power and unequal mobilities, as well as on the power relations involved in the entire postearthquake "recovery" project involving foreign government organizations, nongovernmental humanitarian aid organizations, missionaries, researchers, engineers, building companies, and many kinds of zealous volunteers, whom some call "voluntourists," many of whom showed up at the airport in flip-flops and shorts, with baseball caps and T-shirts emblazoned with logos—and not the kind found in my mother's T-shirt collection. Were we, the "blancs," including the engineers without borders and the academic researcher-tourists, actually making things worse? Not long after this, faulty sanitation at a UN base housing peacekeepers from Nepal unleashed a virulent strain of cholera into an unprotected population with little access to clean water. According to the lowest estimates, more than 800,000 people were infected and at least 10,000 died. The UN made no admission of responsibility nor any offer of compensation, despite widespread condemnation, until August 2016 when, finally, its own legal *rapporteur* suggested its culpability.[7] But were we not all culpable in some ways for what was happening in Haiti?

It is generally agreed that international relief efforts largely failed in Haiti, with much of the money donated never making it to "on-the-ground" projects such as housing, sanitation, or water treatment. Now, ten years after the earthquake, questions linger about ecological fragility, political duplicity, failed recovery projects, and the future of Haiti. But these specific local questions are situated within a wider set of crises occurring across the entire Caribbean region (and Central America), and even more widely in relation to the wider ecological crisis of climate change which is hitting this region especially hard. If my initial impetus in writing this book was to reflect on the role of researchers and humanitarian organizations involved in postdisaster recovery processes, the scope has gradually expanded to a more general set of questions about relational ethics, postdisaster reconstruction, and alternative visions of Caribbean futures within what is often referred to as the "Anthropocene" (although other terminologies have also been suggested, such as "Capitalocene," intended to mark the fact that it is not all humans who have caused global warming but rather the workings of capitalism).

Whether we refer to this current condition of crisis as the Anthropocene, the Capitalocene, the Plantationocene, the Chthulucene, or even the Kinocene (which emphasizes the human and nonhuman mobilities of all

the living entities, matter, and electrons of the planet), what we call it is less important to me than how we imagine our way beyond it, beyond coloniality, beyond capitalism, beyond extractive and exploitative economies and ontologies.[8] Yet why do we frame research on the Caribbean within a crisis ontology in the first place? As my friend Esther again interrogates me, why is crisis "the reason to know or understand a region? The point here is what is the nature of talking about and imagining futurity which is driven by a notion of crises—that an entire region is in crisis and under threat? Certainly that is a different approach to a futurity that sees existence as existence and not crises?"[9] Clearly I am influenced by outside narratives and media representations of the Caribbean, which distort my view.

Around the same time that I was in Haiti, the media began to cover other forms of violence in the region. First, there was state violence in May 2010, when the Jamaican police killed seventy people in the Kingston neighborhood of Tivoli Gardens in pursuit of Christopher Dudus, a fugitive "gangster" wanted for extradition to the United States on drug and gun-trafficking charges. This extreme outbreak of state violence seemed linked to a crisis of state legitimacy and a crisis of economic development amid punishing international debt regimes.[10] Second, there was environmental violence, when the BP Deepwater Horizon oil drilling platform blew out, spewing oil into the Gulf of Mexico in one of the worst environmental catastrophes ever. But there was also slower environmental violence occurring, as the government of Jamaica was striking deals for bauxite mines and refineries to be reopened by the Russian transnational mining company RUSAL and floating plans to build a new coal-fired power plant to power the alumina refinery. By 2016 a Chinese metals company had bought RUSAL's assets, and mining started up again amid an outcry by local communities against the environmental decimation that will result from building a coal-burning power plant, strip-mining some of Jamaica's prime agricultural land, and potentially polluting its most important water resources in the Cockpit Country.[11] Jamaica seems to be selling out its natural heritage for quick but ephemeral returns as Chinese investors build new highways, plan a canal across Nicaragua, and seek to construct a new "logistics hub" in the Caribbean.

Things also seemed to be shifting in the Hispanic Caribbean around the same time, as a regime change in Cuba and the new policies of the Obama administration initiated an opening of the border between the two countries. In 2009, restrictions were eased on travel to Cuba by Cuban Americans. In February 2010, a bill was drafted that would lift the U.S. travel

ban for Americans wishing to visit Cuba; in June 2010, seventy-four Cuban dissidents signed a letter to the U.S. Congress in support of the bill; and Cuba began to open for travel, first by Cuban Americans and then by other U.S. Americans on cultural or educational tours (including of course my mother, who quickly signed up for a community-to-community solidarity tour!). Commentators quickly envisioned an onslaught of capitalist investment remaking the decaying colonial spaces of Havana, and promoters projected fantasies of Cuba into an imagined postcommunist future in which capital investment would flow in and remake Cuba as a vast new market for U.S. American buyers and investors. Many things seemed up in the air in the Caribbean.

But then another representation of "crisis" in the region flooded the U.S. media, when the future of Puerto Rico—a so-called associated free state or commonwealth of the United States, but to many simply a continuing colony—began to unravel in the face of an unsustainable $74 billion debt. Puerto Rico's inability to declare structured bankruptcy under U.S. law, as well as pressure from creditors (and, more specifically, from aggressive hedge funds who had bought up its debt), threw the local government into crisis and led to massive cuts in wages, pensions, education, healthcare, and other public services.[12] When the PROMESA law placed the government in the hands of an unelected oversight authority, which attempted massive cuts of the public university system, student strikes ensued, closing down the University of Puerto Rico. The debt crisis triggered a constitutional crisis, with new calls for review of the status of Puerto Rico as a dependency, a U.S. state, or an independent country. And then came the hurricanes, and a sudden swing of media attention to what seemed to be cascading disasters across the Caribbean.

While Haiti was struck by Hurricane Matthew in 2016, the year 2017 brought a devastating suite of powerful Category 4 and 5 hurricanes in close succession. As Yarimar Bonilla writes, "Vulnerability is not simply a product of natural conditions; it is a political state and a colonial condition."[13] I began this book long before Hurricane Irma barreled through the northeastern Caribbean, devastating Barbuda, French and Dutch Saint Martin, Anguilla, Tortola, and other parts of the British Virgin Islands, the U.S. Virgin Islands, some of the outer islands of the Bahamas and areas of Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, and Haiti before sweeping across Florida. Then came Hurricane Maria close on her heels, with a devastating blow especially to Dominica, Puerto Rico, Cuba, the U.S. Virgin Islands, the Turks and Caicos, and several other areas. Finally, Hurricane Dorian

walloped the northern Bahamas with a monstrous, slow-moving power that razed entire communities in Grand Bahama and the Abacos, especially the "shanty-towns" of undocumented Haitian migrants. The geography of the differential impacts of earthquakes, hurricanes, and other disasters is not arbitrary but is shaped by colonial and imperial histories that have left behind multiple territorial jurisdictions with differential forms of citizenship and deeply racialized boundaries contributing to vast inequalities in impact and recovery. Academic research is also implicated in these uneven geographies of access and mobility.

Today the Caribbean faces new waves of displacement—and new calls for envisioning alternative futures—from further climate disasters in which vulnerability, recovery, and so-called resilience are all highly political processes grounded in deep histories of social inequality and racial capitalism. As I write this, we have yet to know the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic across the region, but cases are growing, especially in the Dominican Republic, which neighbors Haiti. Predictions are that the virus will be devastating if it makes its way into a population with already tenuous access to shelter, clean water, sanitation, and healthcare. Analysts note that Haiti's "population of 11.3 million has access to 64 ventilators and somewhere between 30 and 123 ICU beds, some malfunctioning. Experts warn that many hundreds of thousands may die from coronavirus."[14] Meanwhile the Haitian government has already reopened the low-wage textile export factories, putting workers at risk, and the U.S. government is continuing weekly deportations of hundreds of Haitians, Jamaicans, and Central Americans, even though many were likely infected by SARS-CoV-2 after being held in Immigration and Customs Enforcement detention centers.[15]

Each of these developments is linked to the transnational problems of the governance of mobilities across the Caribbean region's complex and fragmented borders, citizenship regimes, and migration systems, and the constant thwarting of alternative visions of existence. There have also been controversial recent mass deportations of Jamaicans from the United Kingdom and Haitians from the United States, as well as the mass denationalization of people of Haitian descent in the Dominican Republic. It comes as no surprise that a region that has long experienced patterns of extensive and intensive mobilities (such as colonization and migration), coerced mobilities (such as enslavement and deportation), and coerced immobilities (such as detention camps, prisons, and camps for "internally displaced persons") today suffers egregious examples of the lack of the free-

dom to move where one wishes or the freedom to dwell where one wishes, alongside powerful attempts to hold onto attachments to places that are valued by the indigenous, by the displaced, and by diaspora dwellers.

Such violent shudders and unsettled times throughout the region could be understood as a reflection of the uneven state of freedom in the post-slavery, neoimperial, neoliberal Americas, but also reflect our distorted prisms of knowledge production. Now, a decade since the 2010 earthquake in Haiti, it is time to reflect on the implication of each of us (academics included) in what has happened since then and what the future holds not only for Haiti but for the entire region in the face of both severe climate change and a global pandemic. The stories told here focus on my research travels in Haiti, but in many ways they are about the wider systems of power (capitalist and military, for sure, but also involving NGOs, academic researchers, engineers, and transnational volunteers) in which the Caribbean region as a whole is caught, and in which the United States plays a crucial part. Rather than an ethnographic account of Haiti, I turn my sociological gaze upon my own (problematic) position in this relation, as a U.S. American, as a historical scholar and researcher, as a tourist and academic traveler, and as someone trying to stand in solidarity with Haitians.

My mother had a folder full of letters addressed to her from the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives, dating from 1982 to 2001 and written in response to her letters to her Pennsylvania representatives on topics ranging from the nuclear freeze resolution (1982–1983) to U.S. policy toward El Salvador (1983, 1991–1992) and the Sandinista government in Nicaragua (1986) and health care reform (1994), among other issues. On 14 September 1994, Senator Harris Wofford wrote to her:

> Thank you for contacting me with your opposition to United States involvement in Haiti. I appreciate hearing your views.
>
> The democratically elected government of Haiti was deposed by a brutal, outlaw military regime which has terrorized opponents and driven thousands of Haitians to seek refuge in the United States. For this reason, the United States and other nations must continue to apply maximum pressure and total economic sanctions to achieve a peaceful return to democratic government in Haiti. Using military force comes only after other means have been exhausted. If the dictators are smart, they will leave now, of their own accord, while they have the chance to do so peacefully.

Please be sure that as a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee I will continue to monitor the situation in Haiti very closely.

Again, thank you for taking the time to give me the benefit of your thoughts. It is important that I know what you are thinking and I hope you will contact me again on matters of concern to you.

Sincerely,
Harris Wofford

She did indeed write to Wofford on other occasions. (She received less friendly answers on other issues from Senator Rick Santorum and Senator Arlen Spector). It is important to see this kind of international solidarity work that so often goes unlauded. Behind the scenes, everyday American citizens, school teachers, social workers, mothers, and grandmothers chose to get involved in international politics by challenging U.S. policies that hurt the workers, the peasants, and the poor of Haiti, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Cuba, and many other countries.

In November of 1994 my mother also received a very interesting letter, on behalf of WILPF, sent from the Department of the Treasury and signed by Joseph B. Eichenberger, director of the Office of Multilateral Development Banks. In the letter Eichenberger defends the structural adjustment policies of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund and explains their efforts to reduce global poverty. Eichenberger notes, "Economic reform is a very difficult process, as we well know even from our own experience. It also takes time for adjustment progress to translate into social progress. However, for many countries there is simply no viable alternative to economic adjustment. Unfortunately, in most cases the necessary reforms have been delayed for far too long, allowing the underlying problems to deepen and making the solutions that much more difficult." With these words of harsh medicine, he defends the need for the "elimination of pervasive economic policy distortions" (in other words, social safety nets, price controls, and public funding for healthcare and education) as essential "to achieve the economic growth necessary for social progress and poverty reduction."

Having been through IMF structural adjustments, U.S. occupations, and military coups, as well as earthquakes and hurricanes, where does Haiti stand today? As I finish this book, Haiti is again being rocked by protests, first against rising gas prices in March 2018, then against government corruption in what is known as the PetroCaribe scandal. When govern-

ment audits and a 650-page Haitian Senate investigation could not explain where $2 billion in low-interest loans from the Venezuelan-led oil purchasing alliance known as PetroCaribe had gone, people began to demand: *Kot Kòb Petwo Karibe a???* (Where is the PetroCaribe money???) The slogan first spread on Twitter in August 2018 and was then picked up by the Haitian rapper K-Lib, and young Haitians began to organize actions via Twitter and Facebook and took to the streets. It also echoed the question of where all the postearthquake reconstruction money had gone, when at least $10 billion in aid had been pledged—with little to show for it.[16]

In September and October of 2018 thousands of Haitians held large-scale demonstrations nationwide, "demanding transparency from the government regarding the alleged misuse of $3.8 billion" U.S. dollars that were due to Haiti under the PetroCaribe oil alliances. The funds, which "had been earmarked for infrastructure and social and economic projects," had largely disappeared. Cars were burned, streets were blockaded, shops were looted, several policemen were injured, and a number of protestors were shot dead.[17] Then, in November, mercenaries wearing government uniforms (and allegedly provided with arms by the governing Tèt Kale Party [PHTK] and Duvalierist gangs), perpetrated a massacre of sixty people who had gathered in front of the ruins of the St. Jean Bosco church in the La Saline neighborhood, a place of popular "Ransamblement" associated with followers of the Fanmi Lavalas, former President Aristide's party.[18] And so the wheel turns, the blood spills, and the political impasse continues in 2020.

Haitians often interpret their history and contemporary political events through the rich symbology of Vodou. I am not an initiate in Vodou, but some of my friends and colleagues are, and I have great honor and respect for the archetypal spirits, or *loa*, they serve. As I learned about the loa over many years, I became attracted to Ezili Danto—a Vodou loa, or spiritual force, who is described as the fierce defender of children, of single women, and of women who love women. I first heard her name in relation to the sacrifice at Bwa Kayiman that initiated the Haitian Revolution; but I also learned more through McCarthy Brown's descriptions of the work of "Mama Lola," a Haitian *mambo* in Brooklyn.[19] In my mother's persona I gradually came to see glimmers of Ezili Danto, who is said to love blue and yellow, silver rings, and who has a daughter named Anaïs who often speaks for her during ceremonies. My mother loved paintings of mothers holding toddlers, she fiercely stood up for women, children, and the oppressed, and was herself a single mother raising two daughters. She also

had a career, first as a social worker for troubled teens and then teaching autistic children in Philadelphia's difficult public schools. She always wore several silver rings, with blue stones, and collected hundreds of beaded necklaces. Her favorite colors were deep blue and golden yellow, and she hated red flowers which reminded her of blood. She drank Caribbean rum and her favorite French perfume was *Anaïs Anaïs* by Cacharel.

After my mother's death, at the very moment I was finishing this book, I had a series of dreams in which I saw with great clarity that each chapter was dedicated to a different loa who had been there all along, invisible to me. In the final dream my mother led a parade to celebrate her life, full of music and joy (stopping at all her favorite bars!) and her spirit seemed released. In her honor, I close each chapter with a song to each loa that she indicated to me. These songs come from the Alan Lomax recordings of 1937, when Zora Neale Hurston helped him meet people in Haiti, as described in the liner notes by the musicologist Gage Averill. In others, I hear the powerful voice of my colleague and friend Gina Athena Ulysse, who has recorded many songs and who holds moving live performances combining her work as an anthropologist and a performer, as did Hurston, Dunham, and Deren.[20] And I take inspiration in the work of other academics who have researched Vodou, and those who follow in the related Yoruba tradition, like Yanique Hume and N. Fadeke Castor.[21]

Around a year after my mother died, and ten years after the anniversary of the 2010 earthquake, Gina gave me a set of calabash gourds, known as *kwi*, which in Vodou and Yoruba traditions carry spiritual significance, as also found in her artwork *An Equitable Human Assertion*, "a site-specific rasanblaj (a gathering) of ideas, things, people and spirits."[22] I placed them near my mother's Caribbean pictures, lit candles, and sprayed some *Anaïs Anaïs* perfume. That night I dreamed of a mermaid (known as *Lasiren* in Vodou) guiding me to an island, which I recognized as the island in the center of the saltwater Lake Enriquillo, originally known to the indigenous Taino as Lake Xaragua, in the center of the island of Ayiti where an ancient ocean used to flow across the island. When I woke up I felt called to place at the center of the *kwi* the fossil seashell that I had been given when visiting a farm near Lake Xaragua. The shell nestled perfectly into the gourd, echoing its round shape, and magnifying its *rasanblaj* of spiritual power.

These gathered objects and songs open another line of inquiry into the ethics of relationality with other cultures, into the ways in which we might potentially listen to one another. In 1988 I wrote my undergraduate senior thesis on a then unrecognized literary genre that I called "autofic-

tography," analyzing for example Gertrude Stein's *Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*. This genre became more recognized in 1997 when the Caribbean writer Jamaica Kincaid published *The Autobiography of My Mother*. Throughout the process of writing this book whenever I got stuck and it seemed like the book would never move forward, I asked myself what would my mother say? And I tried my best to let her speak through me. For example, my mother had a postcard with a photo of Zora Neale Hurston "taken in 1935 on a collecting trip in Florida with Alan Lomax and Mary E. Barnicle for the music division of the Library of Congress." Hurston also traveled throughout Haiti and the deep south collecting folklore and stories, ultimately published in her book *Tell My Horse*. The caption describes her as a "novelist, Folklorist, Anthropologist & Adventurer" and notes that she grew up in Eatonville, FL, "surrounded by the Afro-American culture of that self-governing, all-black town." Hurston's celebrated novel *Their Eyes Were Watching God* was set in and around Eatonville, and culminates in the Okeechobee Hurricane, said to be one of the deadliest hurricanes to hit the North Atlantic, at least until recent times.[23] The postcard reminded me that I had found Hurston's writing through my mother's reading.

Climate change is driving more hurricanes into the Caribbean and causing other kinds of climate variability. Hurston's work, and the stories of other radical black women, remind us to look for answers in the deep traditions of African American folk cultures, indigenous small-scale farming and sustainable gardening, and Haiti's community-based peasant democracy with its powerful alternative visions of self-determination. Within the wider context of Caribbean survival in the Anthropocene, the interventions of the loa are also suggestive of alternative ontologies and ways of being in the world that look toward the deep past and the deep future. In *Designs for the Pluriverse*, the Colombian anthropologist Arturo Escobar argues that transformative systemic change will require autonomous thinking based in "participatory, bottom-up, situated design" from the perspective of diverse bodies and multiple places, including Indigenous and Afro-Colombian ontologies.[24] Through recognizing our "radical interdependence" with other humans, natural entities, and spiritual entities, can we attempt to move toward a post-Anthropocene pluriverse that is not premised on crisis? In these reflections on my own travels within Caribbean culture, I hope to accompany my mother and the many other women who have worked in league to build international solidarity, peace, and freedom across Haiti, the Caribbean and the Americas—but only by uprooting my own assumptions.

SONG FOR EZILI

Ezili bon lwa
Neg Defanse mwen
Mwen voye pale yo
Yo pa we le san koule
O Ezili! Bon lwa!
O defanse mwen
Mwen voye pale nou
Yo pa we le san koule
We le san koule
O Ezili bon lwa,
Neg defanse mwen
Mwen voye pale yo
Yo pa we men san koule

Erzulie, good *lwa*,
My defender
I come to tell them
They don't see blood is dripping
Oh! Erzulie, good *lwa*!
Oh! My defender!
I come to tell them
Don't they see blood is dripping
See the blood is dripping
O Erzulie good *lwa,*
My defender
I come to tell them
They don't see blood is dripping[25]

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book would not have been possible without the support of my friends, colleagues, and the wider Caribbean Studies and Haitian Studies communities, who have inspired me every day through their research, writing, performances, conference presentations, and lively social media posts. I am still learning from their work all the time and thank them all for their brilliance, friendship, and generosity. I think back to Charles Arthur, who first led a study tour to Haiti in 1997, where I met Camille Chalmers, Leah Gordon, and the many amazing leaders of peasant organizations and women's organizations who shared their thoughts with us. Then through the Haitian Studies Association I was encouraged in my interests by brilliant scholars, writers, and activists including Patrick Bellegarde-Smith, LeGrace Benson, Leonie Hermantin, Robert A. Hill, Régine Jean-Charles, Kyrah M. Daniels, Laurent Dubois, Claudine Michel, Kate Ramsey, Karen Richman, and especially Gina Athena Ulysse, who inspired the *rasanblaj* represented here.

Across the wider Caribbean and its diaspora I have found friendship or in some cases simply helpful engagement with my project or exemplary models of activist public scholarship, for which I thank Yarimar Bonilla, N. Fadeke Castor, Matilde Córdoba Azcárate, Carole Boyce Davies, Esther Figueroa, Kaima L. Glover, Yanique Hume, Aaron Kamugisha, Linden Lewis, Natasha Lightfoot, Samuel Martinez, Yolanda Martinez-San Miguel, April Mayes, Erica Moiah James, Beverley Mullings, Frances Negrón-Muntaner, Angelique Nixon, Annie Paul, Kevon Rhiney, Patricia Saunders, Mark Schuller, David Scott, Tillah Willah Springer, Michelle Stephens, Tavares Strachan, Deborah Thomas, and Alyssa Trotz. Beyond the Caribbean, I want to thank other colleagues and collaborators who contributed to my work in various ways: Pete Adey, Neil Brenner, Monika Büscher, Tim Cresswell, Mathilde Dissing Christensen, Deborah Cowen,

Diane E. Davis, Gareth Doherty, Pennie Drinkall, Malene Freudendal-Pederson, Kevin J. Grove, Kevin Hannam, Julia Hildebrand, Heather Horst, Ole B. Jensen, Caren Kaplan, Sven Kesselring, Lee Lee, Alejandro Manga Tinoco, Jonathan Pugh, David Tyfield, and many other brilliant colleagues in the field of Mobilities studies, including the late John Urry. I also thank my very supportive colleagues in the Sociology Department at Drexel University, especially my department head, Susan Bell.

This book owes its existence to two collaborative research projects funded by the National Science Foundation; however, it does not directly pertain to the research carried out for those projects. The narratives presented here are my own and were incidental to our project; all views expressed here are my own. However, traveling with these colleagues enabled me to engage in my own independent reflections, to gather personal photographs, and to reflect on the entire experience of doing research in Haiti and the Dominican Republic. In writing this book I have drawn only on my own observations, have not included or drawn on any interview, survey, or other primary data from the research, and have cited the relevant published articles for secondary data. With that said, I nevertheless want to acknowledge the NSF support and thank my collaborators.

For the first project, NSF-RAPID: Supporting Haitian Infrastructure Reconstruction Decisions with Local Knowledge, PI Franco Montalto, Award No. 1032184, I thank my Drexel University colleagues Franco Montalto, Michael Piasecki, Patrick Gurian, and Jennifer Britton, our collaborators Jean de Vernet, Joseph (Lavaud) Vernet, and Yves Rebecca, and the many students in Philadelphia and Haiti who worked with us, especially Heather Galada, Stephen O'Connor, and Tibebu Ayalew. For the second project, NSF-RAPID: Understanding Sudden Hydro-Climatic Changes and Exploring Sustainable Solutions in the Enriquillo Closed Water Basin SW Hispaniola, PI J. Gonzalez, Award No. 1264466, I especially thank Michael Piasecki, Jorge Gonzalez, Yolanda Leon, Lavaud Vernet, and the many other colleagues and students from City College of New York and from the Instituto Tecnológico de Santo Domingo with whom we worked.

Working on a book over ten years involves a long collaborative process, and this project grew organically out of this decade of my intellectual life, with many talks and public lectures whose organizers I gratefully thank at the following institutions: the Annenberg School of Communication at the University of Pennsylvania; The Haiti Lab at Duke University; the Department of Sociology at UMASS-Amherst; the Department of Sociology & Anthropology at Simon Fraser University, Vancouver; El Instituto:

Institute of Latina/o, Caribbean and Latin American Studies at the University of Connecticut, Storrs; and the Agnes Heller Sociology Lecture at Latrobe University, Melbourne, Australia. For providing important intellectual spaces in the final months of completing this project, I especially want to thank Hugh Thomas, Patricia Saunders, and the team at the Humanities Center at the University of Miami, where I served as the Henry King Stanford Distinguished Professor in the Humanities in October 2019; and Kevon Rhiney, Verene Shepherd, and the team at the Centre for Reparation Studies at the University of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica, where I was invited to give a keynote address for the Regional Climate Justice Symposium in January 2020.

I also want to profusely thank the energetic conference organizers and generous commentators at the following events where I presented and got valuable feedback on aspects of this research: the International Geographical Union's Island Studies Conference, Isle of Ven, Sweden, 2010; the Haitian Studies Association Annual Conference, Brown University, 2010; the American Anthropological Association's Annual Conference, New Orleans, 2010; the Association of American Geographers Annual Meetings, Seattle, 2011; the Caribbean Studies Association Annual Conference, Guadeloupe, 2012; the Haitian Studies Association Annual Meeting, York University, Canada, 2012; the Geomedia Conference, Karlstad University, Sweden, 2015; the Society for Caribbean Research, Leiden University, Germany, 2015; the Caribbean Studies Association Annual Meeting, Port-au-Prince, 2016; and the Small Axe Symposium "States of Crisis: Disaster, Recovery, and Possibility in the Caribbean," at Columbia University, 2019. I also especially want to thank Natalie Oswin for inviting me to give the annual *Society & Space* lecture at the American Association of Geographers Annual Meeting in April 2018, and Sharlene Mollett, Beverley Mullings, and Marion Werner for their incredibly generous, generative responses to my paper, which was published along with their thoughtful interventions.

Thanks to these stimulating and varied audiences and conversations, many elements of this book were worked out in published articles, for which I also must thank the many journal editors for their guidance and anonymous reviewers for their comments. Parts of the Introduction and Conclusion draw on my article "Caribbean Futures in the Offshore Anthropocene" in *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, for which I thank again Natalie Oswin. Other sections draw on my article "Caribbean Reconstruction and Climate Justice," in the *Journal of Extreme Events*, for which I thank the special issue editors Jeff Popke and Kevon Rhiney, as

well as Aldon J. Morris who visited our Sociology Colloquium at Drexel to speak about his work on W. E. B. DuBois. Chapter 1 draws in part on my article "The Islanding Effect" in *Cultural Geographies*, for which I thank the special issue editors Eric Clark and Godfrey Baldaccino. Chapter 2 draws on elements of my co-authored article on "Participatory Engineering for Recovery in Post-Earthquake Haiti" in *Engineering Studies*, for which I thank my co-authors and editor Scott Knowles. Chapter 3 draws on my article "Air Mobilities on the U.S.-Caribbean Border" in *The Communication Review*. Chapter 4 draws on "Connected Mobility in a Disconnected World" in *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, for which I thank special issue editor Mei-Po Kwan, and builds on elements of my book chapters "Media, Materiality, Mobility" in *Geomedia: Spaces and Mobilities in Mediatized Worlds* and "Locating technologies on the ground" in *Location Technologies in International Context*. Chapter 5 draws on my article "Mobility, Mediation and Territoriality on a Haitian-Dominican Border Crossing," in *Sociologica*, with thanks to editors Javier Caletrio and Giulia Mandich. Elements of this chapter also draw from Mimi Sheller and Yolanda M. León, "Uneven Socio-ecologies of Hispaniola," in *Geoforum*, and I thank Yolanda for her crucial role in this research, and the editors April Baptiste and Kevon Rhiney for organizing the special issue on "Climate Justice & the Caribbean."

Finally, I want to thank my family for living with the decade of travel, research, writing, and revising that has gone into this book, including all my extended family who give me a lifetime anchor here in the Philadelphia area. Dan Schimmel has been an avid partner on this journey, providing intellectual, emotional, and physical sustenance, a delightful home, and a reminder to be vulnerable. Our daughters, my pride and joy, thankfully gave me the space and time for this work. I hope they will read it someday and that by the time they do the world will be a better and more just place. And none of us would be here without my mother, Stelle Sheller, to whom I dedicate this book, because she was the guiding star that led me here and continues to point me in the right direction.

INTRODUCTION
IM/MOBILE DISASTER

Natural disasters strike at mobility systems, cutting off roadways, electricity, food access, and communication networks, but—more than that—they necessitate new mobilities and immobilities that always deepen already existing uneven spatialities and exacerbate mobility injustice.[1] For this reason there is no "natural" disaster that is not also human-made: we make our own disasters, but not in conditions of our own choosing. Like many "unnatural" disasters before and since, the 12 January 2010 earthquake in Haiti brought to light the highly uneven interdependence and fragility of the complex mobility systems and infrastructural moorings that create the possibility for people to weave together everyday life. During the earthquake, it is estimated that somewhere between 160,000 and 220,000 people perished in collapsing buildings, another 300,000 people received injuries to various degrees, and a further 1.5 million were made homeless.[2]

Places suffering catastrophic events reveal how the dynamic intertwining of transportation, communication, provisioning, and scheduling systems can rapidly unravel, and along with them civic order, markets, and everyday life. Yet communities living through disaster are also noted for their "resilience" which so often takes the form of altruism, resourcefulness, generosity, and collective mutual aid, as Rebecca Solnit describes in Haiti.[3] The international humanitarian response to the 2010 earthquake, however, also brought to light another underside to disaster, quickly identified by Beverley Mullings, Marion Werner, and Linda Peake: a militarized and carceral response that was "conducted in the name of humanitarian assistance" in ways that dispossessed "the right of Haitians to be treated as people" and thereby revealed "the deep associations between racism, humanitarianism, and ongoing capitalist processes."[4] As we face the ongoing unnatural disasters of the twenty-first century, these tensions

and dispossessions in disaster recovery become ever more pertinent to what kinds of futures we will create.

Natural disasters, moreover, are never contained within state boundaries, because processes of disaster response are always multilayered, mobile, and transnational. Human survival is not simply place-based and sedentary but always requires many kinds of mobilities. As has become all too evident in the face of the disrupted mobilities associated with the COVID-19 pandemic, no place is an island and we all rely on our connections with other places. Yet islands like those in the Caribbean experiencing disasters and their problematic humanitarian responses are especially shaped by particular constellations of mobilities and immobilities. Island space is influenced by the mobility regimes governing the surrounding air and sea space. Who can leave the disaster zone, and who can arrive? What forms of humanitarian assistance are delivered, how and by whom? And which kinds of mobilities and which new forms of dwelling are blocked or restricted?

The destruction of many buildings as well as key infrastructure within Haiti's capital, Port-au-Prince, and within nearby towns such as Léogâne during the quake, led first to the displacement of more than 1.5 million survivors and then to huge flows of foreign aid, disaster responders, and freight through the country's main international airport (temporarily placed under U.S. military control), as well as by air into Santo Domingo, and then by road from the Dominican Republic. Yet as Mullings, Werner, and Peake observe, "One of the early functions of the U.S. military was to ensure that Haitian citizens remained on the island, minimizing the possibility of the displaced reaching the shores of the United States."[5] The U.S. aircraft carrier positioned off the coast of Port-au-Prince within seventy-two hours did not bring aid, but instead broadcast messages and leaflets warning Haitians not to attempt to leave. The vast majority of Haitians were unable to leave the country to seek medical care, to join relatives in the U.S. or Canada, or to find safer shelter, and many found themselves in the hastily constructed camps for "internally displaced people," who came to be called "IDPs" as if displacement were their identity.

The crisis of displacement was contained within Haiti, in part through the deployment of the U.S. military and UN peacekeepers to the scene, echoing the dismal record of military intervention and migrant detention on Caribbean islands which has long implicated humanitarianism in racial exclusion. Jenna Loyd and Alison Mountz have shown how Haitians have been caught up for decades in "the transnational productions of remote-

ness that cross prison walls and national borders to create transnational carceral spaces."[6] In many ways the IDP camps functioned as part of this circumscription of mobilities. Remoteness and islandness, in other words, are relationally produced through the management of uneven mobilities and transnational power: people are "stuck" in place and "dis-placed" because humanitarian and military mobilities dominate the infrastructures of mobility including boats, borders, and bases, as well as citizen status, racial boundaries, and migrant reception policies. Mullings, Werner, and Peake likewise note that "powerful states have responded to the dislocations created by natural disasters" through "criminalization, discipline and punishment" which have "become a predictable part of the humanitarian response to black communities in crisis."[7]

Further crises in the coordination of military and humanitarian mobility systems continued to produce violent racializations of exclusion, containment, and ongoing displacement, in the months and years after the earthquake. There was the ongoing failure to move displaced people out of temporary shelters into transitional housing; the inability to remove rubble or rebuild housing at a significant rate; and the frictions in moving supplies into and around the country. Powerful and politically connected landholders often also control trucking, road building, gravel digging, and the policing of the spaces of movement, logistics, and borders. Within large-scale mobility systems failures, we see laid bare the institutional scaffolding of mobility regimes that govern spatial mobility, including all the purposeful gaps and uneven distributions of mobility rights and "network capital" that leave some groups most vulnerable to harm.[8] And in many ways we can see these logistical operations as blueprints for the present building of border walls and mounting flurry of anti-immigration policies to contain people fleeing the Global South, as well as rehearsals for the future militarized and carceral response to climate migration pressures.

Haitian struggles for postearthquake recovery, therefore, should be understood within the wider context of the global economic system, U.S. imperialism in the Caribbean region, and the militarized management of migrant interception and humanitarian projects. These social forces together set the wider nets of racialized migrant detention and deportation, revealing the entwining of mobility regimes and racial boundary drawing. Such processes also reveal the longstanding ways in which "contests over settlement, mobility, and immobility have been used to manage various waves of racial change" in the United States and more widely across the Caribbean and Americas.[9]

Alternatives for Disaster Recovery

Haiti's infrastructures for energy, water, shelter, and sanitation were already inadequate prior to the earthquake, and afterward were in need of urgent rehabilitation—this combined with the huge challenge of removing rubble and rebuilding buildings and roads. About $2 billion was raised from individual donors immediately after the quake and about $9.9 billion was pledged by nations at the donors' conference in New York City in late March of 2010 to aid in the emergency recovery and reconstruction effort. However, the funds for reconstruction were slow to be disbursed amid charges of corruption, red tape, title disputes over land, lack of coordination among a plethora of organizations, and the delayed formation of a new government due to disputed elections. With poor progress in rebuilding already visible in the six months immediately following the earthquake, it quickly became appalling that more than a half-million people remained without adequate shelter, potable water, and sanitation two years after the quake, with up to three hundred thousand people still suffering in camps even three years later.[10]

The impact of systems failures falls most heavily upon the poor, marginalized, and racialized sectors of society who already lack "mobility capital" and are excluded from many forms of access and "motility," meaning the potential to self-determine one's own movement but also to make claims to dwelling, residence, and place.[11] While the politics of mobility often focuses our attention on the disadvantages of the "'mobility poor," there is an equally troubling and complex politics of mobility in which the postdisaster mobilization of those with network capital produces new infrastructures, mobility systems, and logistical flows that further distort access for the very people they seek to help, especially when those people are held within the borders of an island-state from which exit is tightly controlled within a racialized transnational carceral politics.[12]

While the imagery of islands as self-enclosed, remote, and inaccessible emphasizes such carceral processes, they are equally evident in the more recent incarceration and deportation of Central American refugees intercepted on the U.S. border with Mexico.[13] There is an absurdity of the humanitarian project to "save Haiti" and "build back better," as the global response dubbed its mission, when so often the mobilization of aid not only built on these processes of uneven mobilities but actually undermined the efforts to mobilize everyday life by those it claimed to help and produced further distortions in infrastructure and unequal accessibility.[14] Mullings,

Werner, and Peake identify clearly how the "Non-Profit Industrial Complex" (as transnational feminist activists echo the idea of the military industrial complex) in Haiti is complicit in "humanitarian dispossession" by taking over the functions of government, skimming off high overheads, and becoming "Trojan horses" for neoliberal policies imposed by international financial institutions.[15] In opposition to temporary "cash for work" schemes, or low-wage, insecure, export assembly factory work as a reconstruction solution, they call instead for a "people-centered reconstruction approach" that would break "the bonds of structural violence of financial colonialism that continue to exist in the form of debt," would reject neoliberal economic solutions, and would "address the environmental degradation and vulnerability that three centuries of capitalist development have wreaked on the land." All of this, moreover, is predicated on "a genuine commitment to enabling and supporting the formation of a democratic and sovereign Haitian state."[16]

Haitian civil society organizations were well aware of the challenges they faced immediately after the earthquake, and their arguments remain equally pertinent after the 2017 hurricane season and into the future in the responses yet to come to looming climate disasters. The following statement was issued by the coordinating committee of Haitian progressive organizations on 27 January 2010:

> Massive humanitarian aid is indispensable today, given the scale of the disaster, but it should be deployed in terms of a different vision of the reconstruction process. It should connect with a break from the paradigms that dominate the traditional circuits of international aid. We would hope to see the emergence of international brigades working together with our organizations in the struggle to carry out agrarian reform and an integrated urban land reform programme, the struggle against illiteracy and for reforestation, and for the construction of new modern, decentralised and universal systems of education and public health.
>
> We must also declare our anger and indignation at the exploitation of the situation in Haiti to justify a new invasion by 20,000 U.S. Marines. We condemn what threatens to become a new military occupation by U.S. troops, the third in our history. It is clearly part of a strategy to remilitarise the Caribbean Basin in the context of the imperialist response to the growing rebellion of the peoples of our continent against neo-liberal globalization. And it exists also within

> a framework of pre-emptive warfare designed to confront the eventual social explosion of a people crushed by poverty and facing despair. We condemn the model imposed by the U.S. government and the military response to a tragic humanitarian crisis. The occupation of the Toussaint Louverture international airport and other elements of the national infrastructure has deprived the Haitian people of part of the contribution made by Caricom, by Venezuela, and by some European countries. We condemn this conduct, and refuse absolutely to allow our country to become another military base.[17]

This statement can be understood as part of a wider movement for what is called "just recovery," which I would also connect to wider principles of mobility justice within recovery and reconstruction. Too often ignored by the "international community," the participating organizations and groups in this statement included the Institut Culturel Karl Lévêque (ICKL); Programme pour une Alternative de Justice (PAJ); Sosyete Animasyon ak Kominikasyon Sosyal (SAKS); Institut de Technologie et Centre d'Animation (ITECA); Plateforme des Organisations Haïtiennes de Droits Humains (POHDH); the Plateforme Haïtienne de Plaidoyer pour un Développement Alternatif (PAPDA); and Solidarite Fanm Ayisyèn (SOFA). The kinds of decentralized initiatives for recovery that they envisioned could have built on urban-rural and transnational linkages to create a more resilient Haitian economy rather than reinforcing the kinds of "disaster capitalism" that has prevailed.[18]

This book seeks to stand in solidarity with such Haitian organizations and the many others that have offered alternatives to the official recovery plans foisted on Haiti by the so-called international community, while acknowledging my own implication in the coloniality of knowledge production and research travel as a form of "dark tourism."[19] It will reflect on the workings of uneven postdisaster recovery from the perspective of a single country, Haiti, although the wider analysis will address geopolitical, economic, and ecological crises in the Caribbean region as a whole and especially the problems of Caribbean survival in the ever-worsening conditions of climate change driven by neoliberal capitalism that will produce future disasters. It will seek to show the pervasive influence of colonialism, capitalism, military power, economic domination, and racialized mobility control in creating the intertwined catastrophes of coloniality and climate change. It is no coincidence that in 2018 the Global Climate Risk Index ranked Haiti as the nation in the world most vulnerable to the effects of extreme weather events related to climate change.[20]

Haiti is usually treated in the Western press and social sciences as an exceptional case, an outlier of extreme poverty, deforestation, and political instability, and it is often used as either an object of pity and missionary zeal or a negative lesson and warning for other Caribbean countries: "Painted as repulsive and attractive, abject and resilient, singular and exemplary, Haiti has long been framed discursively by an extraordinary epistemological ambivalence. This nation has served at once as cautionary tale, model for humanitarian aid and development projects and point of origin for general theorising of the so-called Third World."[21] At the same time, islands more generally are often treated as canaries in the coalmine, laboratories for experimentation, or indicators for climate vulnerability, as David Chandler and Jonathan Pugh have argued, rather than foregrounding "how islands are part of complex cross-cutting relations, assemblages, networks, mobilities, spatial fluxes and flows."[22] Along with these and other scholars in island studies, I seek to approach Haiti as an interconnected, relational space of "cross-currents and connections" that is not singular, but "mobile, multiple and interconnected."[23]

Islands, therefore, should not be imagined as "laboratories" for testing climate adaptation. Nor, as Amelia Moore argues, should islands be imagined as singular, vulnerable, and isolated destinations for conducting Anthropocene scientific research and tourism.[24] Rather these "Anthropocene islands" offer active sites of cultural creativity and complex evolving socioecologies for the revision and remaking of present social relations. Such futures will involve "contingent regional questions of race, class, subjugation, systematic exploitation, and capital accumulation [which] are now expressed through the material and symbolic politics of global environmental change."[25] Along with many others working in the fields of Caribbean studies and Island studies, I believe it is important to understand how the wider processes of sociopolitical, geo-ecological, and technonatural transformation that affect Haiti are also prevalent everywhere. The destructive processes occurring across the region (and the world) are not only impacting Haiti, but are part of the making of unsustainable global economies, as much in the Global North as in the Caribbean.

Haiti may in some ways "exemplify" one of the prime global locations for analyzing histories of (and resistances against) colonization and plantation slavery, military occupation and neoliberalism, tourism and offshoring, as well as today's uneven im/mobilities associated with international "peacekeeping," "humanitarianism," and international research. Beyond that, though, it is a window upon a dynamic, contested, relational space in which

the Anthropocene is allegorically produced.[26] Haiti is not unique or exceptional, therefore, but is rather a coalescence of deeply coursing currents of neoliberal economic exploitation, military domination, uneven development, and mobility injustice that are producing extreme inequality and environmental pressures around the world. Haiti embodies and allegorizes the coloniality of climate change and points toward what David Scott calls the "ecopoetics of catastrophe that constitute our Caribbean worlds" but in ways that also implicate and entangle many other people, places, and powers.[27]

Questions of mobility justice therefore remain crucial to many key issues facing Haiti today, from migration, deportation, diaspora, and borders to tourism, ecology, and land use planning, to communication infrastructure, digital access, and cultural circulation. Haiti has long been hemmed in by U.S. military power, and the United States has not been shy in using military force in the Caribbean when so disposed. The infrastructural systems and logistical rationalities of military power, built upon colonial legacies and imperial histories, thus shape all mobility regimes in the region. Civilian capabilities for movement, such as in tourism, migration, business, or offering humanitarian aid, all occur within this militarized neocolonial space, including the associated communications infrastructures of undersea cables, mobile phones, aerial visual technologies, and satellites. At different historical junctures in the forming of Caribbean relations, we must continue to ask: how has mobility been deployed as a form of colonization, exercised as a right of citizens, controlled as a privilege of elites, or contested from below for its exclusions? How does this politics of mobility relate to multiple dimensions of justice? And how might the struggle for mobility justice, including by those of us most responsible for global warming, help the Caribbean survive the Anthropocene? What kinds of solidarity might open other futures?

The Coloniality of Climate

The Caribbean region faces extreme risks and existential threats in the early twenty-first century. While there is a long history of immediate disasters such as earthquakes, hurricanes, and volcanic eruptions that have devastated various places in the Caribbean, there is also a long history of "slow violence" or "slow disaster" that includes colonialism and genocide of indigenous peoples, slavery and plantation systems, exploitative terms of indenture and other abuses of labor, ecological destruction, and resource extraction.[28] The racial geographies that linked white settler colonialism,

MAP I.1. The Caribbean: A colonial legacy of fragmented states.

black exclusion, and notions of tropical versus temperate climates also justified what Ikuko Asaka calls "black removal projects."[29] Thus there are deep, ongoing connections between nineteenth-century projects of Black freedom as radical "reconstruction"—which W. E. B. Du Bois influentially theorized in *Black Reconstruction in America* as an all-encompassing project of economic and political democratization—and questions of post-disaster reconstruction today, which are increasingly carried out in the context of climate change.[30] Modern Caribbean spatialities were originally grounded in the political economy of the transatlantic plantation economy and a five-century system of slavery in the Atlantic world. Struggles over emancipation in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries restructured Caribbean geographies, polities, and ecologies, as did later movements for decolonization and independence in the twentieth century, leaving a highly fragmented patchwork of independent and nonindependent territories, often represented as a flattened archipelago of variegated sovereignties, as if these were each equal territorial objects (see map I.1).

Today, these fragmented island archipelagos are stitched together by air travel and communication technologies, including undersea cables and

satellite orbits, with patterns of connection and disconnection that shape the fractal spaces and uneven mobilities of the region. While many people associate the Caribbean with tourism today, it is important to note that the mid to late twentieth century might also be thought of as the age of heavy industry in the Caribbean. There was extensive foreign investment in mining and refining bauxite; in building ports, military bases, and weapons testing ranges; as well as in massive installations for oil drilling and refining in many areas.[31] The Caribbean region became the world's largest exporter of refined petroleum products, almost all of which went to the United States, from more than a dozen oil refineries built "offshore" by U.S. oil companies, as David Bond has instructively highlighted.[32]

Such heavy industry remains in place, along with growing urbanization and "automobilization," both associated with highway building and increasing energy use. In recent decades, the Caribbean has been further restructured by changing spatial divisions of labor and new capital flows, the expansion of mass tourism and air travel, the promotion of the high-tech and service industries (such as "back-office" call centers), and the emergence of new regulatory frameworks and development discourses associated with both postcolonial national independence and neoliberal global governance.[33] On one hand, there is an imagery of "borderless" mobilities associated with neoliberal financialization, the promotion of global tourism, and the influx of transnational capital and corporations into Caribbean free trade zones, tourist enclaves, and offshore financial centers. On the other, there are highly differentiated and controlled mobility regimes in the Caribbean, with a lack of visas, limited work permits, and expensive travel limiting the capabilities of many Caribbean people to move around.

The high rates of labor migration within and outside the region, as well as historical patterns of unevenly skewed landholding, mercantile exploitation, and the influence of foreign capital, are all crucial in accounting for the contemporary patterns of spatial restructuring and "reconstruction" that are taking place today. Transformations in mobility regimes and the economic and political governance of "development" and "disaster" as continual "crises" have contributed to the rescaling and respatialization of Caribbean economies and territories in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Climate change vulnerability, then, is a result both of coloniality in the past and of neocolonial restructuring today. I call this the coloniality of climate.

Not only in Haiti, but across the Caribbean, the expansion of the global economy, extractive industries, and fossil-fueled capitalism are driving

structural adjustment and economic austerity policies that have been eroding regional standards of living for several decades. Jamaica's built environment, for example, is being heavily reshaped by external investments in tourism, highway building, and bauxite mining, which further pressure the natural environment.[34] Elsewhere, in Antigua the Yida Zhang project includes plans for a tax-free manufacturing hub, a steel and ceramic-tile factory, seafood harvesting, a shipping port, luxury homes and golf resorts, and the country's first four-lane highway to be built across two thousand acres within a pristine marine reserve.[35] Guyana, meanwhile, dreamed of becoming the latest petro-state, with the prospect of one of the largest deep-sea oil fields in the world bringing untold GDP growth, at least until the oil market crashed in early 2020. Fragile ecologies must now sustain the onslaught of large-scale foreign direct investment in infrastructure projects, industrial zones, logistics hubs, and real estate developments that are transforming built environments across the region.

Contemporary climate change originates in and exacerbates these conditions, with recent hurricane seasons laying bare the underlying social, political, and economic vulnerability of many Caribbean islands, whose vulnerabilities were already formed by conditions of coloniality and neoliberal capitalism. The Mesoamerican and Caribbean region has been identified as one of the global climate change "hot spots," one particularly sensitive to the effects of climate change.[36] Sea surface temperatures have been rising, leading to decreases in total rainfall across the region, alongside the intensification of the Atlantic Warm Pool which may accentuate tropical storm activity. When the El Niño–Southern Oscillation effect is added on top of that, as occurred in 2015, historic droughts led to water rationing in most large cities across the Caribbean and to sizable agricultural losses.[37] Climate change and other anthropogenic causes are contributing to distressed coral reefs, loss of seagrass beds, severe beach erosion, saltwater intrusion, and deforestation. According to a study in *Nature*, Kingston, Jamaica, is predicted to be one of the cities reaching the earliest "climate departure" point, between 2023 and 2028, when the average temperature of its coolest year is projected thereafter to be warmer than the average temperature of its hottest year from 1960 to 2005.[38]

The devastating impacts of Hurricane Matthew in Haiti in 2016, Hurricanes Irma and Maria across the northeastern Caribbean in 2017, and Hurricane Dorian in the Bahamas in 2019, wiped out homes and farms, roads and bridges, ports and airports, electricity and communications infrastructure, and water, food, fuel, and medical provisioning systems. They

have also presented cascading effects of ongoing crisis, and revealed the political fault lines around response and recovery. For those outside the Caribbean region, these powerful hurricanes are not only urgent harbingers that "we" (everywhere) live already in a world of climate disaster and halting recovery, but also that we have made this world out of slow disasters and impossible futures (i.e., through colonial exploitation, resource extraction, fossil fuel consumption, and ecocide).

The infrastructural collapse of Puerto Rico in the face of Hurricane Maria was shocking to many Americans because, like Hurricane Katrina before it, it exposed the hollowing out and the fragility of the local state, public utilities, and citizen protection. The communications system and the energy grid collapsed in Puerto Rico during Hurricane Maria in part due to orchestrated neglect in public investment and the withdrawal of resources for maintenance and upkeep due to the demands of debt. In the wake of this collapse a debate has emerged about rebuilding the traditional centralized and publicly owned grid with its fossil-fuel powered plants, versus building new microgrids based on renewable energy, including solar and wind power, and supported by battery storage and distributed local systems. Elon Musk brought in hundreds of Tesla battery storage units to help build such a system, and fellow entrepreneur Richard Branson (whose home on the privately owned Necker Island in the BVI was affected by the hurricanes) called on the World Bank to support a renewable energy "Marshall Plan for a greener, resilient Caribbean."[39] Yet such plans will fail in the absence of a recognition of the coloniality of climate change and a critique of the neoliberal assumptions and impositions of dominant recovery plans. The same goes for current calls among Democrats in the United States for a Green New Deal or a Green Marshall Plan: climate change adaptation cannot be achieved within the borders of a colonial, imperialist, nationalist, and racially exclusionary state.

The destruction of 90 percent of the housing and the critical infrastructure of entire islands raises the question of responsibility, reparations, and climate justice for the affected places, since we know that the anthropogenic warming of the oceans has intensified hurricanes. In addition to the slow violence of deforestation, coral reef death, bauxite and gold mining, and coastal overdevelopment for tourism, and to the sudden violence of earthquakes and hurricanes, we might also add the ongoing violence of debt extraction, foreign military intervention, and the repeated effects of crises associated with ongoing neocoloniality, racial capitalism, neoliberalism, and structural adjustment policies.[40] The question, then,

is not just how should the Caribbean region "adapt" to climate change or strengthen its "resilience" to natural disasters, but how should major contributors to the historical coloniality of climate and ongoing catastrophe of ecocide—whether states in the Global North or multinational companies involved in fossil fuel extraction (such as ExxonMobil, Shell, and BP)—pay for rebuilding, reparations, and restitution? What about the United States, one of the largest global emitters of greenhouse gases, extracting oil from the Caribbean, closing our gates to migrants, fueling the illegal and violent drugs trade, and engaging in military occupations and coups: What responsibility do we bear for more sustainable development and for climate justice in the Caribbean? And what are the implications of the rapid inroads of internationally financed development projects into the region, given their huge impact on fragile Caribbean island environments?[41]

Just Recovery

The principles of just recovery offer an important moment to reflect on what we have learned over the last decade about the uneven processes of compounded disaster and faulty recovery in Haiti that may be applicable to other instances of Caribbean crisis—unsettling the coloniality embedded within how we think of crisis itself. Haiti, of course, stands out for having achieved independence and decolonization through the first successful national overthrow of slavery and colonialism during the Haitian Revolution. Other Caribbean territories experienced far more gradual parliamentary abolition without decolonization, and many remain nonindependent today. Haiti was a beacon of Black freedom in a sea of hostile, slavery-promoting colonial powers. It was punished for its audacity by a fifty-eight-year embargo and the imposition of a regime of debt by the slave-holding powers, becoming the template for "financial colonialism."[42]

One can sense its isolation when standing on the mountaintop Citadel, built by King Henry Christophe in the Northern Kingdom of Haiti that he founded after the Revolution and where he eventually committed suicide rather than face defeat. Still filled with captured French and Spanish cannons from the eighteenth century and piles of cannonballs captured from defeated European forces, tourists (like myself) ride up to the fortress on donkeys led by local guides. But first we are awed by the first Haitian King's palace, Sans Souci, which stands at the foot of the Citadel in beautiful ruin, with stately arched colonnades and sweeping views of green mountains and lush forest (figure I.1).[43] Where did the wealth of Haiti go?

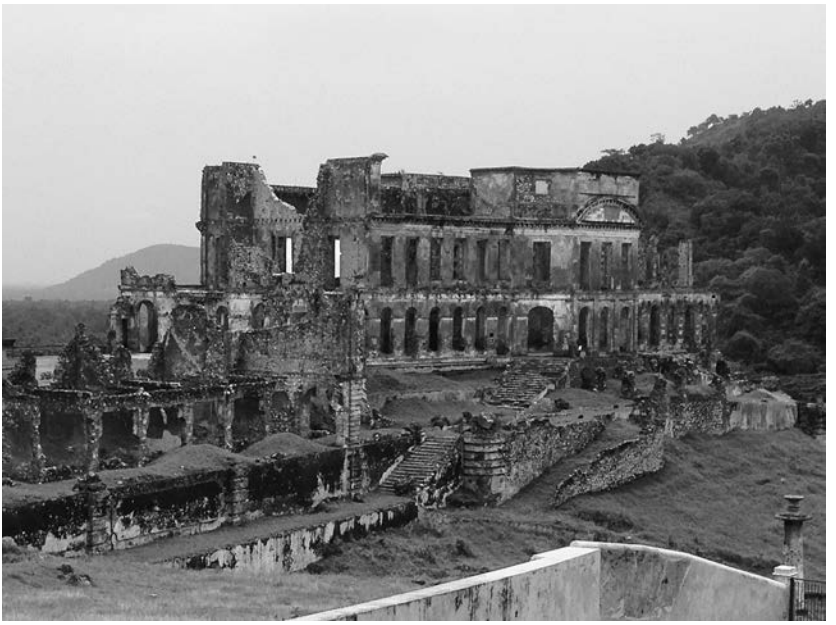

FIGURE I.1. The Sans Souci Palace, Milot, Haiti, 2016. Photo: Mimi Sheller.

Just recovery begins from a critical analysis of the structuring of debt within the global economy of racial capitalism. In 2004, Haiti's bicentennial year, President Aristide presented a $22 billion bill for reparations to the French government, based on repayment of the 150-million-franc "indemnity" they had forced Haiti to pay in return for international recognition, which is calculated to have ultimately extracted $22 to $40 billion from the Haitian National Treasury. The first payment in 1825 involved a high-interest loan of 24 million francs from French banks, and later installments involved loans from American banks; the indemnity was not paid off until 1893. Meanwhile, in 1862, Texas industrialists organized the American West India Company "to promote mining, land speculation, and the annexation of both Haiti and the Dominican Republic." By the 1890s the treasury of Haiti was placed under the direct supervision of the French Société Générale and was later literally moved to vaults on Wall Street via the National City Bank (today's Citibank). Their efforts to ensure collection of $500,000 from Haiti's national bank led directly to the U.S. occupation of Haiti in 1915, and Haitian debts to American banks were not paid off until 1947.[44] More recently the loan mechanisms of the World Bank and

the International Monetary Fund would entrap Haiti in endless cycles of borrowing and debt payment.

Indeed, Sylvia Wynter has argued that this was as much a profoundly metaphysical debt as an financial one; the slave-holding powers would make the revolutionary Black Republic pay indefinitely an ever-growing debt, until the end of time, creating what Demetrius Eudell calls the Alpha and Omega of revolution and underdevelopment as a perpetual state, against the myth of "development" as a reachable goal within Western-dominated global systems.[45] This realization is linked to the demand for the European Union to pay reparations for slavery and write off unsustainable and unfair debts, as has been advanced by the fifteen member states and five associate members of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) for some time. In the face of the recent devastating hurricanes, Caribbean governments have also begun to make a case for linking European reparations for slavery with climate reparations owed to the region by the Global North.

In the aftermath of the hurricanes in Puerto Rico, there has been renewed debate about the threat of "disaster capitalism" and the need for a "just recovery." Elizabeth Yeampierre, cochair of the Climate Justice Alliance, and bestselling author and activist Naomi Klein describe the politics of just recovery:

> Under the banner of a "just recovery" for Puerto Rico, thousands have come together to design a bold and holistic plan for the island to be rebuilt as a beacon for a safe, resilient, and thriving society in the era of accelerating climate chaos, spiraling economic inequality, and rising white nationalism. From the earliest days of this emergency and despite enormous communication and logistical challenges, Puerto Ricans in the diaspora have worked with partners on the island to sketch out the core principles and policies of the plan [for a just recovery]. The work is rooted in the belief that the underlying reason behind all of Puerto Rico's intersecting crises is the fact that the island's people and land have been treated like a bottomless raw resource for the mainland to mine for over a century, never mind the devastating economic consequences.[46]

More specifically, those advocating just recovery, like Resilient Power Puerto Rico, also call for renewable energy microgrids as part of a just energy transition away from fossil fuel dependence. "A just transition would replace that extractive model with a system based on micro-grids

of renewable energy generation, a decentralized network that would be more resilient in the face of inevitable weather shocks, while reducing the pollution making our climate go haywire in the first place." Advocates of a justice-based recovery therefore call for replacing "these extractive strategies with relationships based on principles of reciprocity and regeneration":

> whenever possible, aid money should go directly to Puerto Rican organizations and communities because it's not only bankers and shipping companies that extract wealth from poor communities. So, too, can well-meaning aid organizations, which have transformed far too many disaster zones into playgrounds for the non-profit industrial complex. It's a process that siphons vast sums of money into overhead, hotels, and translators; drives up local prices; and casts affected populations as passive supplicants rather than participants in their own recovery. For a just recovery to be possible, this story cannot be allowed to repeat.[47]

These are the same problems that plagued post-earthquake Haiti, as shown for example in Mark Schuller's analysis of the problems of the NGO system.[48] Sudden disasters such as earthquakes or hurricanes concentrate international attention on immediate processes of recovery and rebuilding rather than on more deeply rooted radical visions of reconstruction. Media attention usually lingers for about a year—long enough to notice the post-earthquake death and despair of a cholera epidemic in Haiti (inadvertently introduced by UN peacekeepers from Nepal)—but attention had already waned by the time of the impact of Hurricane Matthew in October 2016. As Westenley Alcenat points out, Hurricane Matthew was

> the region's most dangerous Category 4 storm in nearly a decade, killed at least 900 people, destroyed livestock, and wreaked havoc on farmers' crops. The storm flooded rivers, leveled bridges, and in some towns, 80 to 90 percent of homes were destroyed. In the hurricane-ravaged south, 500,000 people were stranded and 30,000 homes have been destroyed. UN officials reported some 800,000 people are facing food insecurity, including 315,000 children.[49]

Alcenat describes the storm's impact as "the cumulative effect of five hundred years of environmental degradation before and after French colonialism. Haitians know—even if the rest of the world forgets—that ev-

ery rainy season brings a potential humanitarian crisis."[50] The everyday drumming of raindrops, the slow rising of the seas, and the slow drip of environmental degradation seldom garner the sustained attention of the global media or the clamor for humanitarian rescue.

Why then does the story repeat and how can it be stopped? How can we tell (and in doing so help bring into being) a different story about the Caribbean future by connecting with alternative narratives that arise from those contesting the future from within the region? I believe that this approach to just recovery requires a deeper analysis of the constellations of what I will describe in this book as kinopolitical power, which I will analyze in the chapters that follow in terms of water power, aerial power, digital power, bordering power, and sexual power. This kind of analysis calls for a more intersectional vision of the relational spatialities and syncopated temporalities involved in producing Caribbean vulnerabilities and uneven mobilities, within the wider contexts of global mobility injustice. How do the disjunctures in mobilities and uneven capabilities that we see in postdisaster situations exacerbate and intensify (while also revealing) the underlying dynamics of the coloniality of climate?

Carceral Archipelagos and Im/Mobilities

Islands may appear to be contained spaces *par excellence*, bounded by water on all sides; yet at the same time islanders dwell thanks to many different kinds of coming and going, pausing and waiting, producing a choreography of uneven spatialities and temporalities.[51] Archipelagos, suggests Philip Vannini, "are inventions whose validity and usefulness is contingent on the dynamics of their formations and the particulars of their contexts. Archipelagos, in other words, are not essential properties of space but instead are fluid cultural processes dependent on changing conditions of articulation or connection."[52] We need, therefore, to recognize the changing im/mobilities and infrastructures that connect across islands, as well as divide them, to form uneven transnational spaces. A thorough account of the im/mobilities accompanying the earthquake in Haiti must be placed in the context of the well-established view of the Caribbean as a historically mobile region that is constantly in flux.[53] Yet it is also a place of many immobilities: enslavement, indenture, the plantation, penal colonies, incarceration, detention, military bases, and camps. What would happen if we paid greater attention to the uneven im/mobilities and power differentials

by which islands, colonies, and camps are formed and what if we tried to self-consciously structure (or deconstruct) their articulations and connections more thoughtfully?

When I refer to im/mobilities I mean the intertwined coproduction of mobility for some and immobility for others, as well as the ways in which disempowered groups also experience forced displacements, evictions, deportations, and expulsions. I highlight *mobility in/justice* in postdisaster situations to focus our attention on who has the capability to exercise rights to mobility and dwelling and who, by contrast, is not capable of the self-determination of when, where, and how they will move or stay in place.[54] Beyond simple binaries of mobility and immobility, the Caribbean has instead been theorized as a complex space of subterranean flows, of tidalectics, rhizomes, and diaspora existing all over the world. It has also always been a place of subversive mobilities, from Maroons and pirates to undocumented migrants and drug smugglers. What are the contemporary conditions of transnational connection across these scattered relational archipelagos, and how might Caribbean archipelagic thinking contribute to what Yanique Hume and Aaron Kamugisha call "radical anti-colonial praxis"?[55]

Caribbean islands have long served as a pivotal space in the overlapping geographies of plantations, military bases, and tourism developments, becoming places for "offshoring" many things with different rhythms of movement.[56] Binary concepts such as local/global, center/margins, developed/developing, and North/South were never a good fit for the developmental diversity and spatial complexity of the Caribbean region, and are even less so today.[57] The Caribbean remains a crucial global site for multiple complex transnational processes including cross-border flows of tourists, migrants, diasporas, refugees, remittances, laundered money, smuggled goods, drug and gun trafficking, and sometimes violence and political unrest, not to mention viruses. The new mobilities paradigm—which concerns not only physical movement, but also potential movement, blocked or paused movement, immobilization, and forms of stillness, dwelling, and place-making—can offer a new approach to thinking about Caribbean development and Haitian postdisaster recovery in relation to these wider transnational mobility systems.[58]

I will focus on *islanding* as an active verb and a performative imaginary. I seek to rethink the geographies of the Caribbean through the interplay of land, air, and sea space, and the infrastructural spaces for im/mobilities that shape human inhabitation, dwelling, and movement in these islands.

The active concept of *islanding* (along with *offshoring*) delineates how mobile spatial processes fold and refold local places into complex uneven infrastructures of both local and global mobility, while often excluding local populations (and even governments) from control over their own territories and access to so-called global spaces. By focusing on questions of neocolonial development, the governance of im/mobilities, and the spatial inequalities that corrode postearthquake Haiti, I seek to show how the production of crisis there is part of an islanding effect that circumscribes the mobility, accessibility, and future possibilities of Haitian people.

The same Caribbean islands often "host" military bases, weapons testing ranges, or migrant detention facilities, as well as plans for, or realities of, gated hotels and residential developments, tourist resorts and privatized beaches, and nature preserves or protected marine areas with limited access.[59] These detached zones operate as what Keller Easterling calls "realms of exemption," with transient populations, temporary status, and impermanent installations. Island archipelagos enable such "extrastate infrastructure space" to persist, to expand, to mutate, and to metastasize.[60] Ann Stoler extends Foucault's idea of the "carceral archipelago" to examine the ongoing colonial present and the relation between the colony and the camp.[61] She follows Derek Gregory in tracing a direct line of descent from the internment camps of the Spanish in Cuba in 1898 to the U.S. prison camp at Guantanamo Bay as "states of exception."[62] Building on this idea of the use of islands as carceral spaces (such as prisons, plantations, and detention camps), we can see how Haiti has especially suffered from an imposed isolation and the expulsion from the international community, producing a state of exception that left it vulnerable to extrastate projects.

We can think of Haiti after the 2010 earthquake as another kind of carceral space, in which most victims were unable to move away from the disaster zone but were instead trapped in IDP camps, as these places of physical and spiritual incarceration are euphemistically called, managed by foreign logistical teams of a wide range of extrastate agencies, from nongovernmental organizations and missionaries to Hollywood stars and foreign military forces. Haiti suffers from the imposition of international mobility regimes controlled by foreign military powers—as well as exploited by local elites—leading to limited mobility for the majority and highly controlled migration regimes that cause deaths of refugees at sea. Haiti is also subjected to the recent denationalization and expulsions of people of Haitian descent from the Dominican Republic and the precarious status of Haitian migrants in the Bahamas, the Turks and Caicos, Bra-

zil, and the United States—which notoriously tried to intercept and block Haitian migrants before they touched shore, the so-called wet-foot/dry-foot policy that began in the 1990s; and more recently has removed Temporary Protected Status (TPS) from Haitians who sought to move to the United States after the earthquake.

Since the time of the transatlantic system of slavery and the plantation complex, Caribbean islands have been lifted out of their local contexts and connected to the infrastructural scapes (both transportational and communicational) of mobile, colonial elites and mobile, colonial capital. Caribbean space is sutured into metropolitan space such that we should not think of these islands as a separate geographical region composed of contained nation-states and foreign-flagged territories confined to single islands. If the Caribbean is an archipelagic formation, it is one that extends both geographically and temporally across the extended urban zones of the entire Atlantic, and increasingly the Pacific, worlds. With Michelle Stephens and Yolanda Martínez-San Miguel, we can conceive of the archipelagic "as a set of relations that articulates cultural and political formations (collectivities, communities, societies), modes of interpreting and inhabiting the world (epistemologies), as well as symbolic imaginaries (as a poetic but also as habitus)."[63]

Haiti, then, is not exceptional but one piece of this fractal puzzle, spiraling out into wider processes that ripple across the entire Caribbean and into the transatlantic and transpacific worlds, where various kinds of mobilities, immobilities, offshores, and carceral archipelagos meet and coconstitute one another. A number of Caribbean islands specialize in the high-speed financial mobilities associated with "offshore economies"—tax havens, free trade zones, export-processing zones, flags of convenience, internet business, shell banks—that can be viewed as part of a larger process of what Ronen Palan has called the "radical redrawing of state sovereignty" through new "state fictions." They form part of the "offshore economy" that "consists of largely unregulated legal spaces, external to but nevertheless supported by the state system."[64] Like islanding, "offshoring" is a process that reproduces inequalities and materializes power in the spatial form of secrecy islands as states of exception, outside the law and lacking in transparency. In some ways, the situation in Haiti can also be understood as an offshoring of disaster—keeping it at arm's length and safely enclosed. And this particular offshore is closely related to U.S. immigration policy and the offshoring of migrant interception and detention facilities, which continue to curtail access to the United States for racial-

ized Caribbean (and Central American) migrants, as well as visitors, tourists, temporary workers, and even naturalized citizens.

Moreover, environmental impacts, pollution, waste, and associated ideas of contamination overspill these regional boundaries, seeping across seemingly distant places. As Rivke Jaffe argues in her study of urban pollution in the Caribbean, "the material and social production of urban pollution cannot be seen outside of histories of colonialism and institutionalized racism. Caribbean islands and cities are landscapes that contain traces of the region's long colonial era," traces that are today constantly being reworked.[65] My own city of Philadelphia was involved in an infamous pollution incident when it was discovered that a "cargo ship chartered in the United States has dumped about 4,000 tons of garbage from Philadelphia on a Haitian beach, according to Haitian Government officials." The waste, containing incinerator ash with high levels of dioxin, was dumped in Gonaïves after members of the military government reportedly made "a deal to accept the trash in return for money."[66] Offshoring, corruption, and pollution end in toxic dumps, and often result in land grabs, expulsions, and the displacement of the poor.[67]

Equipped with the spatial imaginaries of im/mobilities, islanding, offshoring, and carceral archipelagos we might begin to ask: How do these crosscutting waves of movement and deflection affect one another? How does foreign access relate to limiting local mobility? How does stopping an illegal flow in one place lead to it surfacing somewhere else? In what ways are various mobilities supported or enabled by moorings of various kinds, and how are those moorings or infrastructures also in motion, always being remade? What role do states play in regulating such rights to move or to remain still, as against the extraterritorial powers above or beyond the sovereignty of the individual state? And how do countergeographies arise within the infraterritorial and interstitial powers within the dark economies, offshores, and undergrounds of islanded space? These are some of the questions that have emerged out of my decade of reflection on post-earthquake Haiti, including my own non-innocent role in these processes as a visiting researcher, a tourist, and a conference goer, but always also a producer of toxic waste, greenhouse gases, and fossil fuel pollution, not to mention a beneficiary of racial, class, and gender hierarchies. The mobilities of both humanitarian and academic travel are always implicated in unequal power relations and forms of consumption that affect the outcomes of postdisaster reconstruction and climate adaptation, as well as the unequal production of knowledge.

Yet I also remain hopeful that islanding and offshoring can be appropriated as part of positive counterpractices of collective self-protection and recovery, through processes of resistance, indigenization, and liberatory cultural practices sometimes referred to as marronage. Crucially, Haiti is "a talismanic site for Caribbean thought and criticism," as Caribbean cultural theorists Yanique Hume and Aaron Kamugisha put it, "instrumental to the thought of African diaspora intellectuals" from Langston Hughes and Zora Neale Hurston to Alejo Carpentier, C. L. R. James, and Sylvia Wynter. Thus, they argue, "every historical-cultural movement and political conundrum in the wider region since [the Haitian Revolution]—neocolonialism, black consciousness, and debt burden and the cultural response to American imperialism—first announced itself there."[68] From Haiti, many thinkers have sought to interrogate the problems of self-determination, of local and regional cultural survival, and of how to create and sustain an "independent, non-alienated subjectivity" that "permits one to stand in certitude against the effects of domination."[69] Through such counterpresences, Caribbean culture-building has been "instrumental for humanizing the hostile terrain which the once displaced are forced to inhabit."[70]

Methodological Reflections

Caribbean studies and postcolonial theory have long highlighted the "cartographies of power" at multiple scales that inform all kinds of movement and dwelling.[71] Mobilities research draws on traditions in Caribbean studies, which has theorized space from the perspective of a mobile, diasporic region shaped by nonlinear and "rhizomatic" growth, "tidalectic" processes, and fractal geographies.[72] These Caribbean experiences and perspectives were crucial to the making of the modern world as "global" and "mobile" in the first place. Not only is the Caribbean central to the making of uneven mobilities, it is central too in the struggle for mobility justice and in the theory and praxis of a politics of mobility. Unlike U.S. studies of Haiti that treat it as a place apart, an unfortunate exception and outlier, as already noted, Caribbean critical theory suggests the need for new narratives of Haiti that can break it out of its "epistemological ambivalence."[73] But I also seek to show my own implication in these narratives: transnational relations—etched into bodies through divergences of race, class, gender, sexuality and nationality—connect me to the Caribbean, to Haiti, and to the island of "Hispaniola" in overdetermined ways.

In order to get at some of these issues I focus my attention on the unfolding of a moment of disruption, when infrastructures were being remade and mobility regimes were especially apparent: the remaking of space in the aftermath of the Haitian earthquake of 2010. Empirically I draw on my involvement in two National Science Foundation–funded research projects, one in postearthquake Haiti (2010–2011), and one in the Dominican Republic and Haiti (2012–2013).[74] The first related to local community participation in planning water and sanitation infrastructure around Léogâne after the 2010 earthquake; and the second concerned the impacts of climate change on two lakes on the Haitian-Dominican border, Lake Azuei in Haiti and Lake Enriquillo in the Dominican Republic, the latter being the largest and lowest lying lake in the Greater Antilles. However, this is not a report on the empirical findings of those two studies, which have been reported elsewhere along with my many collaborators in those projects.[75] I thank those collaborators, the National Science Foundation, and all the people who contributed to our research for making this book possible.

Instead this analysis builds on my previous work on Caribbean mobilities, tourism, infrastructure, and offshoring to think through everything that is left out of mainstream nationally funded applied research after natural disasters, and usually left out of processes of reconstruction.[76] My approach is unusual in bringing together cultural geographies of globalization, tourism, development, media and communication, climate change, and disaster recovery within a single framework informed by the interdisciplinary fields of Caribbean studies and mobilities research, which I have been involved in forming over the last decade.[77] More specifically, the chapters of this book seek to answer the following questions: How did the postearthquake response in Haiti, as well as wider processes of responding to climate change (including deforestation, drought, and loss of fisheries, mangroves forests, coral reefs, and soil) reflect broader Caribbean processes of coloniality, differential mobilities, uneven infrastructuring, and what I call "the islanding effect?" Beyond that, are there any countergeographies, countermobilities, or alternative ontologies that resist or disrupt such mobility regimes and challenge the genocidal and ecocidal systems on which they are built? And what is the role of academic research as a mobile social practice in either reproducing or disrupting these processes?

These questions grow out of a kind of reflexive meta-analysis of the geographies of im/mobilities and relationality that these research trips entailed and revealed. I consider this to be a reflexive mobile method in which reflection on my own research teams' im/mobilities and dis/connectivity at mul-

tiple scales can instigate critical analysis of the operation of global mobility regimes and the remaking of uneven capabilities for motility.[78] Extensive critiques of the humanitarian project in Haiti have already been published. The role of NGOs in postearthquake Haiti has been particularly problematic, often described as compounding the disaster.[79] Various commentators have also suggested that philanthropic, nongovernmental, humanitarian aid organizations are "least of all accountable to the locale within which they operate," and their proliferation after disasters solidifies a neoliberal "shift towards the nonstate sector."[80] Only by making powerful groups and organizations more vulnerable and demanding their non-intervention can places like Haiti implement reconstruction efforts that are "guided by an ethos of historical restitution, wealth distribution, and regional cooperation, rather than financial colonialism and market-based development."[81]

The emergence of community-based disaster risk management (CBDRM) and its participatory work with stakeholders might appear to be one aspect of this shift. However, Kevin J. Grove has offered a powerful rebuke of neoliberal forms of disaster management in Jamaica that mobilize "participation" as a new assemblage of power relations. His studies of disaster resilience in Jamaica show how

> participatory and mitigation techniques were deterritorialized from marginalized experiences of disaster and reterritorialized into mitigation policies through the confluence of local disaster events and the global emergence of sustainable development and resilience theory. Rather than offering new forms of empowerment and security from unpredictable change, institutionalized disaster mitigation articulates disaster preparedness with sustainability's calculative foresight and resilience theory's visions of life as an emergent socioecological system to extend logistical orderings of life to the everyday socioecological metabolisms that make up daily existence.[82]

What this means, in other words, is that politics and power are involved not only in the exposure of people to hazards and the social creation of vulnerability but also in the cultures of disaster mitigation, preparedness, and safety associated with hazard risk reduction and resilience. The making of new assemblages of "logistical life," in part through a militarization of disaster mitigation, is "now a product of participatory approaches that alter everyday activities of each member of the population to immunize socioecological systems against radical adaptive capacity"—thus blocking more radical change.[83]

"The challenge for radical disaster research," according to Grove, the challenge to which I hope to contribute, "is to unearth and mobilize subjugated knowledges of catastrophe and adaptation silenced by unreflexive participatory initiatives that sustain rather than change unjust socioecological systems."[84] I will focus here on disaster reconstruction discourses, rather than disaster mitigation, although both are tied up with notions of "resilience." Mainstream narratives of postdisaster reconstructions often take a short-term perspective, focusing on immediate needs. There is an emphasis on "resilience" in the aftermath of natural disasters (bouncing back to a prior state of functionality) or on assessments of the successes or failures of the responses by local politicians or national leaders, while later there may be critiques of the shortcomings in distribution of aid by humanitarian organizations. But what if we were to further push the notion of "reconstruction" toward a more historically grounded decolonial vision? What if we could use these moments of postdisaster reconstruction to take up the broader project of reconstructing the basis of the global economy and of racial capitalism itself? What would such a decolonial reconstruction look like?

There has been a recent turn in the discipline of sociology toward reclaiming a global and transnational perspective grounded in the pioneering work of W. E. B. Du Bois. Such a "Du Boisian" sociology "thinks from the margins of the postcolonial world and puts the understanding of racialization and colonial exclusions at the center of the sociological enterprise."[85] Throughout his work, Du Bois spoke of the worldwide importance of the ending of American slavery, and he went on to work within a pan-African perspective. Indeed, it is not well known that Du Bois's father was from Haiti, that Du Bois played an important role in the First Pan-African Conference organized by West Indian leaders in London in 1900, and that he called for self-government in Africa and the West Indies and opposed the U.S. occupation of Haiti from 1915 to 1934. Although he is currently being reclaimed as an "American" sociologist, and the first "African American" sociologist, he was a far more cosmopolitan figure and had an internationalist view of the world economy and of the place of "black folk" in it. So, it is especially fitting to expand the scope of a Du Boisian sociology of "Black Reconstruction in America" to the question of radical Caribbean Reconstruction today.

In his study *The Scholar Denied: W. E. B. Du Bois and the Birth of Modern Sociology*, the sociologist Aldon Morris describes Du Bois's exclusion from white institutions and from access to funding and the ways in which

he had to build his own scientific school at Atlanta University (which was ignored and overshadowed by the "Chicago School," known today as the "founding fathers" of sociology despite Du Bois's having preceded them and even having influenced the work of Max Weber). Morris argues that, in order to sustain his intellectual enterprise, Du Bois "developed counterhegemonic networks and a counterhegemonic form of capital that have not been identified or analyzed in the literature."[86] Du Bois drew on "liberation capital," which Morris defines as "a form of capital used by oppressed and resource-starved scholars to initiate and sustain the research program of a nonhegemonic scientific school." This is achieved by building "an insurgent intellectual network" which consists of "subaltern intellectuals who—because of empire, race, class, and/or gender discrimination—are denied access to elite intellectual networks."[87]

Today there are also insurgent intellectual networks questioning reconstruction in relation to coloniality, climate justice, and the ethics of resilience. Kevon Rhiney, for one, criticizes "the ways in which recovery efforts are being used as strategies for the accumulation of new forms of global capital through dispossession increasingly premised around notions of resilience."[88] In the face of natural disasters and postdisaster reconstruction, there are many dominant institutions that kick in with efforts at "disaster recovery," "building back better," and various damage assessments, rebuilding plans, and funding streams. However, the aftermath of these natural disasters (and of climate change more broadly) reveals the contours of a deeper struggle for reconstruction, one that gets at not just the immediate crisis but at the deeper questions of economic security and reconstructing democracy and racial capitalism that Du Bois raised. Today these questions are being raised by insurgent intellectual networks both within and outside the academy, who build on the liberation capital of volunteers, amateurs, activism, and analysis by oppressed groups. "It consists of volunteer or nominally paid labors in research and other scholarly activities that are provided by a self-conscious group of professionals and amateur intellectual workers for a subaltern school of thought that seeks to challenge the intellectual foundations of oppression."[89]

In both Haiti and Puerto Rico, and throughout the Caribbean, critical intellectuals have argued against government-imposed recovery processes and in favor of more democratic citizen-led initiatives. In Haiti, Schuller and Hsu call for a climate justice perspective to expand the debate about climate change beyond simply adaptation, and toward more equitable decision making in emergency situations such as these. In Puerto Rico, Cruz-

Martinez and collaborators argue, "Given that the future Puerto Rico envisioned in the revised fiscal plan proposes further austerity measures, privatisations, stagnation, liberalisation and flexibilization of the labour market . . . we must ask ourselves, what type of significant social change would these post-disaster policies bring to residents? Moreover, how are alternative, citizen-led initiatives dynamically responding to these long terms and emergent scenarios?"[90] Yarimar Bonilla, too, warns of the dangers of embracing an experimental use of Puerto Rican territory as a laboratory for untried speculation by outside entrepreneurs, echoing the island's use in the past for social and medical testing.[91]

These decolonial political frames can help us to expand the questions of postdisaster reconstruction beyond the recovery of capital investment and the "opportunities" for new investment emphasized in the mainstream reconstruction and humanitarian complex. It begins to formulate the question of not just how should we "bounce back" from disaster and "adapt" to climate change, but more radically who should decide what is done and the very scope of the issues up for discussion: What is the temporality of the disaster under discussion? Is it five hundred years or last year? How should major contributors to global warming pay for rebuilding, reparations, and restitution? What forms of deliberation, participation, procedural processes, and capabilities are necessary to make these determinations? Should restorative justice be linked to the CARICOM demand for the European Union to pay reparations for slavery? What about the United States, one of the largest global emitters of greenhouse gases: What responsibility does the United States, or specific oil companies, bear for funding recovery and more sustainable development in the Caribbean? And finally, what forms of epistemic justice are needed to recognize the work of insurgent intellectual networks and support them transnationally?

Theoretically, this consideration of Caribbean futures draws on the long tradition of Caribbean studies of coloniality and mobility (theorized in terms of diaspora, archipelagos, relationality, rhizomes, tidalectics, etc.). The field of Caribbean studies, along with writers, theorists, and artists from the region, has produced a body of work foundational to understanding globalization as a historically situated process unfolding over five hundred years, and generative of complex local negotiations, deflections, and rebounds.[92] In the chapters that follow I will use the crisis of rebuilding after the Haitian earthquake of 2010 to call into question our ideas of reconstruction, resilience, and development. I seek to trace the dominant mobility regimes that reinforce what I call the "islanding effect,"

but I will also seek out the moments of countermobility against coloniality. In tracing the coloniality of climate vulnerability I will seek to identify the visions of "alternative development" and Caribbean "reconstruction" that drive other forms of island futurity, as well as the forms of transnational solidarity that might support such alternatives and open other futures.

SONG FOR LEGBA

Papa Legba, ouvri barye-a
Ouvri barye-a pou mwen pase la
Papa Legba, ouvri barye-a

Papa Legba, open the gate
Open the gate to let me pass
Papa Legba, open the gate

NOTES

Preface

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4 For firsthand descriptions see Schuller, *Killing with Kindness*; and Katz, *The Big Truck That Went By*.
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Introduction

Parts of the Introduction draw on my article "Caribbean Futures in the Offshore Anthropocene: Debt, Disaster, and Duration," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 36, no. 6 (2018): 971–86.

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5 Mullings, Werner, and Peake, "Fear and Loathing in Haiti," 290.

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1. Kinopolitical Power

Chapter 1 draws in part on my article "The Islanding Effect: Post-disaster Mobility Systems and Humanitarian Logistics in Haiti," *Cultural Geographies* 20, no. 2 (2013): 185–204.

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