

Dèyèmòngenmòn: the construction of hunger in Haiti at the hands of capital

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Abstract

This critical interpretative qualitative case study discusses the socio-historical determinants of expressions of the social question in Haiti, especially hunger. It critically analyzes issues that are usually approached in a fragmented way, without considering Haiti's formation and place in the international division of labor, including hunger, malnutrition, food price inflation, the incidence of chronic diseases, and climatic events in the country. It explores various definitions and causes of hunger and its manifestations in Haiti. It concludes that the problems that shape the Haitian social question, such as hunger and its solutions, are inseparable from the anti-capitalist struggle.

Keywords

Hunger; Malnutrition; Social issue; Natural disasters; Haiti.

Dèyèmòngenmòn: a construção da fome no Haiti pelas mãos do capital

Resumo

Este estudo de caso crítico interpretativo qualitativo discute as determinações sócio-históricas de expressões da questão social no Haiti, especialmente a fome. Analisa criticamente problemáticas geralmente abordadas de maneira fragmentada, sem considerar a formação e o lugar do Haiti na divisão internacional do trabalho, incluindo a fome, a desnutrição, a inflação dos preços dos produtos alimentícios, a incidência de doenças crônicas e os eventos climáticos no país. Resgata diversas definições e causas da fome e suas manifestações no Haiti. Conclui que as problemáticas que dão forma à questão social haitiana, como a fome e suas soluções, são indissociáveis da luta anticapitalista.

Palavras-chave

Fome; Desnutrição; Questão social; Desastres naturais; Haiti.

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Introduction

The Republic of Haiti is a country in Latin America and the Caribbean with a population of approximately 11 million inhabitants and a direct border with the Dominican Republic (BURKI, 2023). Haiti is currently considered one of the poorest countries in the world and the poorest in the West, with almost 60% of the population living in poverty (PIERRE, 2021; RASUL *et al.*, 2022), with severe problems of basic sanitation, lack of inputs and services in areas such as health, education, food security. Public safety, social assistance, access to drinking water, etc.

From this network of complexities, the problem of hunger must be thought of structurally, considering the production and maintenance of the inequality that has plagued Haiti since the colonial period (BRITO *et al.*, 2022; MOTA; LARA, 2022; EXIME *et al.*, 2024).

It would not be wrong to attribute to the definition of hunger also the idea of the total absence of the possibility of family sustenance based on basic food needs, which leads to population precariousness, where food subsistence is denied (FRUTUOSO; VIANA, 2021; STRONG, 2022). Problematising this issue, Abramovay (2017) understands that hunger is the impossibility of satisfying food needs. To analyze the issue from the perspective of critical-emancipatory reason, it is necessary to understand the types of hunger that exist in Haiti. This study identifies four ideas of hunger: qualitative, quantitative, epidemic, and endemic.

This research is exploratory and qualitative in nature, based on an interpretive case study (YIN, 2015) on Haiti, which seeks to contextualize the information and data available to think about the phenomenon under study (DE ANTONIO *et al.*, 2019). In this case study with a critical-interpretive approach, the construction of the investigation goes through the different definitions of hunger that the literature discusses, resulting from an integrative and narrative review carried out in the scientific literature, focusing on the expressions of hunger manifested in Haiti.

In addition, recent data published by various governmental and non-governmental organizations was used. We also used data from national and international websites, such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), and the World Health Organization (WHO), among others. Data analysis was based on the work of critical sociologists who investigate hunger, such as Josué de Castro, and researchers who study the Haitian reality, such as Frantz Rousseau Déus, Michel-Rolph Trouillot, and others.

The different ways in which hunger manifests itself

Qualitative hunger versus quantitative hunger

Research that discusses hunger points to a quantitative and a qualitative dimension as two distinct concepts in the field of food security (CASTRO, 1984). Quantitative hunger refers to the lack of certain types of food with enough nutrients for the body to function properly (ABRAMOVAY, 2017) and when there isn't enough, the results lead to malnutrition, which, since the 20th century, has been considered a public health problem resulting from a lack of food (FREITAS, 2003). On the other hand, qualitative hunger refers to the lack of access to a wide variety of nutritious foods, resulting in specific nutrient and micronutrient deficiencies (ABRAMOVAY, 2017).

Epidemic hunger and endemic hunger

Epidemic famine is considered to be the sudden and extreme shortage of food and other resources caused by natural disasters, war, or political instability (CASTRO, 1984 apud MELO FILHO, 2008). Among the best-known examples cited by Josué de Castro is the drought in the Brazilian northeastern hinterland as the cause of hunger at the time. Thus, it would be logical to say that the famine in question is short-lived, but without the necessary mitigation measures, it can have serious and lasting effects on the populations affected.



Endemic hunger, on the other hand, can be considered as chronic and persistent food shortages that affect specific regions or populations for long periods (CASTRO, 1984 *apud* MELO FILHO, 2008). Normally, food crises in countries in this situation tend to last for decades, as is the case in Haiti, where more than half the population is currently starving. Thus, the causes of endemic hunger lie in the combination of politically flawed government decisions and environmental issues affected by climate change, which leads to the permanence of poverty.

Structural hunger

Structural hunger refers to a persistent and chronic form of lack of food and adequate nutrition in a given community, region, or country that can exist for decades and generations. However, structural factors include poverty, social and economic inequality, and lack of access to land and natural resources, which directly impact the economy. It refers to a type of inheritance that is common in poor countries, because, as Frutuoso and Viana (2021, p. 4) state, "children's hunger is usually the result of their parents' hunger".

Thus, social inequality and the lack of public policies aimed at social inclusion affect the poor distribution of wealth and lead to structural hunger, making it a complex phenomenon from its compression to its reduction. (FRUTUOSO; VIANA, 2021). As such, it is an issue that is historically rooted in politics and economics (VASCONCELOS, 2005) and which is expanding in the world's most vulnerable societies in the face of the increasingly frequent crises of capitalism, especially in peripheral capitalist countries.

Acute hunger refers to a type of extreme and temporary hunger that implies an urgent need for food and its main causes are environmental events such as earthquakes, natural disasters, or major changes in the political system that can amplify the nutritional deterioration of a population (MONTEIRO, 2003). In this sense, there is an environmental famine, caused by the degradation of the environment and deepened

by a lack of natural resources or gross changes in the ecosystem of a given society (PINSTRUP-ANDERSEN *et al.*, 2001).

This calls for certain types of environmental protection and measures that encourage sustainability, as well as policies against deforestation, because, according to Pingali and Plavšić, (2022), good management of all resources and protections would have a direct impact on hunger, since food production would help increase the number of people living on a balanced and nutritious diet.

To understand chronic hunger, that is directly associated with practically permanent malnutrition, it is crucial to acknowledge that a significant portion of individuals falling into this category undergo prolonged periods of insufficient basic needs and severe food shortages (MONTEIRO, 2003), as is the case with the vast majority of Haitian society. In this case, relating such a situation to total or collective hunger would not be a misconception, but a deeper concern due to the lack of food because "total hunger relates to collective hunger that affects groups in almost absolute starvation, in areas of extreme poverty" (FRUTUOSO; VIANA, 2021, p. 3).

Hidden hunger is considered to be one of the most difficult types of hunger to deal with and understand, as it is characterized by its invisibility. It is defined as a form of malnutrition based on the number of nutrients consumed by a person, which can have catastrophic consequences for general health (MUTHAYYA *et al.*, 2013; RUEL-BERGERON *et al.*, 2015). The most vulnerable societies tend to experience hidden hunger due to a lack of certain vitamins, the intake of foods of low nutritional value, and the absence of minerals that can endanger the lives of individuals and cause serious illnesses (EGGERSDORFER *et al.*, 2018).

This precarious situation could expand from a global perspective, as approximately 828 million people were undernourished between 2021 and 2022, according to the Global Hunger Index (GHI), published in 2023. Concerning moderate to severe food insecurity, around 2.3 billion people worldwide are in need, in addition to 3.1 billion unable



to afford a healthy diet (UN, 2023), making hunger a more complex, collective situation worldwide (FRUTUOSO; VIANA, 2021). As such, there are similarities between severe hunger, which is characterized by severe and dismal malnutrition, which can impact human survival, leading to a lack of adequate nutrients with vital vitamins (iron, vitamin A, iodine, and zinc) for life (RUEL-BERGERON *et al.*, 2015).

When moderate hunger is interconnected with moderate food insecurity, people live with a restriction of quality food and there is an alignment with quantitative hunger (SILVA *et al.*, 2020; SILVA *et al.*, 2022). Extreme poverty, extreme precariousness, and misery amplify the sensation that leads to ravenous hunger, influenced by biological factors such as stress and anxiety, among others, as Borine (2011, p. 7-8) points out: "ravenous hunger, often accompanied by vertigo; diarrhea coming in the form of attacks; attacks of locomotor vertigo; attacks of congestion".

Organic hunger has a connection with the previous one, as it is a hunger caused by a lack of nutritious food that contains the vitamins necessary for good health. Thus, eating habits are part of this problem, in which the concern is related to the prevention of chronic diseases caused by food intake or lack of it. Reversing this situation requires dietary re-education when the lack of food is not necessarily part of the constant challenges (WARDLE; PARMENTER; WALLER, 2000).

The lack of food conditions the issue of economic and social instability, especially in countries on the periphery of capitalism, where there are marginalized and oppressed communities (CASTRO, 1984). As such, there is a political hunger that is interconnected with the lack of freedom. Consequently, the fragility of democracy becomes part of the problem of well-being, since it does not offer the economic, political, and social freedom to help prevent poverty and inequality (GRAVEUS, 2021). All of these issues shed light on the importance of discussing hunger broadly, considering all the types of hunger that exist in the world, as can be seen in the table below.

Table 1- Another 10 types of hunger with explanations from researchers on the subject

TYPE OF HUNGER	EXPLANATIONS
Hand-held or desperate hunger	This is when there is no other food option available, without considering the effects (negative or positive), for example, scavenging, begging, or even stealing food (CASTRO, 1984).
Individual hunger	This is when only one individual feels the need or seeks to feed themselves, as they are faced with a partial or total lack of available food, often the result of failed public policies (WIENZEN, 2015)
Social hunger	It's the kind that arises due to social factors such as inequality, processes of exclusion, and inadequate food education, with direct impacts on a certain group in a society (ABRAMOVAY, 2017).
Moral hunger	It involves feelings of helplessness, anger, and hopelessness, as well as efforts to change the situation of those who cause hunger. It is necessary to be moral to avoid conflicts with the values or conduct of a society (CASTRO, 1984).
Aesthetic hunger	Aesthetic hunger is the sensation of craving a certain type of food or meal based on its visual aspect, i.e. the aesthetics of taste (CASTRO, 1984).
Physical hunger	This is hunger triggered by a decrease in blood glucose levels and an increase in hunger hormones such as ghrelin due to a lack of food intake necessary for the body, prioritizing the act of eating (BEAULIEU; BLUNDELL, 2021).
Discreet/partial hunger	This is hunger in a mild form, with the possibility of partially eating, but with equally devastating impacts on life, such as the impossibility of satisfying hunger (SCHAPPO, 2021).
Existential hunger	Hunger is the feeling of emptiness that overtakes a person, not only because of a lack of basic needs (thirst, lack of food) but also because of a lack of purpose in life daily (FRANKL, 1991).
Seasonal hunger	This is hunger from time to time, which occurs at a certain time or period of the year and may be due to a lack of certain foods that are difficult to store by harvesting (DUFLO; BANERJEE, 2011).
Affective hunger	It is hunger interconnected with traditional foods or family recipes for which a person has an emotional connection, like an attachment based on nostalgia for childhood foods (AINSWORTH, 1969).

Source: Table assembled and adapted from the researchers cited, 2023.





Each type of hunger has its basis in the material, political, productive, and symbolic structure of each society. These ten types of hunger can be considered part of the more complex phenomena facing the most socio-economically vulnerable countries. That's why it's important to think of hunger not just as a lack of food, but as interwoven and intersected by ecological contexts and social relations, which directly determine people's living conditions.

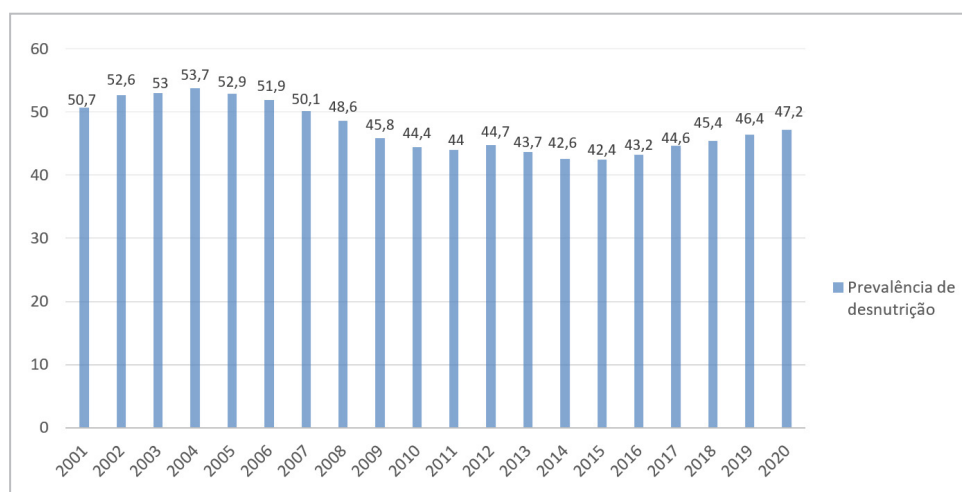
Results and discussions

The ability to think about hunger is a complex challenge as an expression of the social question, which depends on the joint action of various areas to understand its direct causes, such as the problem of poverty and food insecurity and the lack of effective government action, including about education (SÁNCHEZ GARCÍA; BEIRO PÉREZ; DÍEZ SANZ, 2019). It can be said that part of the solution to fighting world hunger lies in enabling access to knowledge to increase food production in all societies and socializing the means and results of food production (ROBERTS; HITE; CHOREV, 2014). The fight against hunger requires constant vigilance and preventive action, as it is a significant challenge in the global South³, which includes formerly colonized countries, and which was the industry of colonial exploitation that made the process of primitive accumulation possible.

The global South is made up of all the underdeveloped countries that experience the most acute, widespread, and complex forms of the social question, such as Haiti. This group includes all of Latin America, all of Africa, and most of Asia and Oceania. Thus, the Global South represents a political and economic relationship in which more powerful nations, those of the North/Center of capital, impose their interests on less powerful states, causing social problems, subalternization, and profound forms of socio-environmental exploitation (CÁ; TEIXEIRA, 2023; LEMUS DELGADO, 2023).

According to Fao data (2021), around 9.4 million Haitians live in moderate and severe food insecurity, which consists of a prevalence rate of 82%. Currently, around 5.4 million Haitians are malnourished, highlighting the notable lack of food and the manifestation of combined forms of quantitative and qualitative hunger. Graph 1 below shows data on the subject since 2001.

Graph 1 - Prevalence of malnutrition in Haiti



Source: ECLAC, 2023; compiled from the United Nations SDGs.

It can be seen in the graph that the issue of hunger in Haiti has had few casualties over the years, which goes back to the presence of a severe famine, as indicated by the researchers Ruel-Bergeron *et al.* (2015). In Haiti, the challenge of overcoming the problem of hunger is profound and complex when one considers the other social problems, such as misery, poverty, economic development, and political crises (MACALHÃES, 1997; DÍAZ-BONILLA. 2023). It should be noted that the malnutrition that has existed in Haiti since 2001 affects half of the population, who survive on precarious food. In 2015, the prevalence of malnutrition was 42.4%, but with millions of people still in extreme poverty, it is an improvement that has



had little impact on the issue, since the latest data from Fao (2020), point to an increase to 47.2% in 2020.

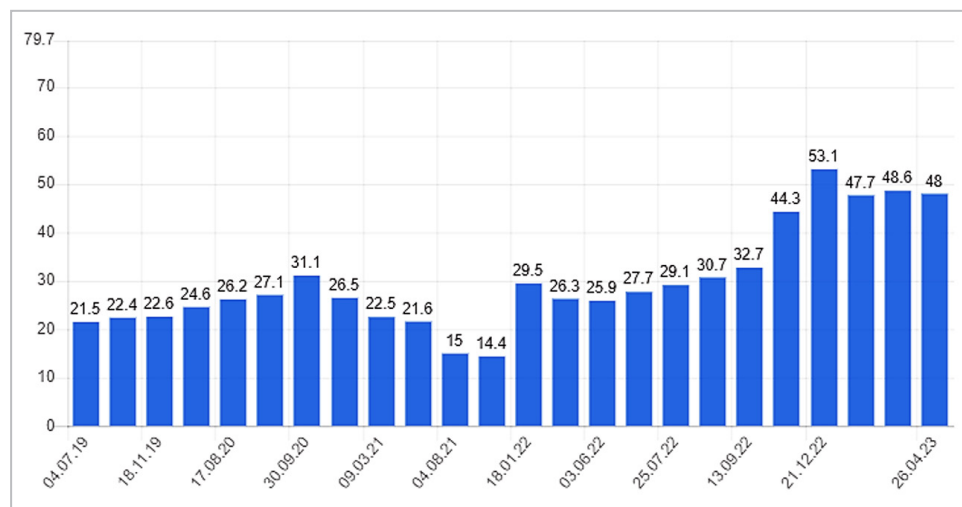
From the perspective of Freitas (2003), malnutrition is directly associated with food price inflation, which increases the difficulties of acquiring food, as is the case in Haiti. To better understand this situation, it is necessary to look at import and export data related to food availability. Countries like Haiti usually buy more food because of production cuts due to lack of investment, or when they are affected by climatic events (FAO, 2020).

Since the 1980s, at the behest of the World Bank and the IMF, Haiti has had one of the most open economies in the world, following a draconian neoliberal model that argued that the total opening of the economy and the overcapitalization of social policies would make Haiti "the Taiwan of the Caribbean". The measures adopted sought to make the nation more attractive to foreign investment and to concentrate US maquilas on its territory. In addition, there were mass layoffs of civil servants, privatization of the few public education and health services, and complete environmental deregulation, which led the country to have the smallest vegetation cover on the American continent, and the end of the few incentives for agricultural production. While foreign investment was residual, the monopoly on imports was concentrated in US companies that invaded the Haitian market for manufactured goods and foodstuffs such as rice, negating any process of industrialization or the establishment of food security in the country, which led to worsening hunger (SEITENFUS, 2016).

According to the *Banque de la République d'Haiti*, in 2022, 2,762.67 million dollars were imported in products such as rice, beans, corn, and other cereals, while exported products such as coffee, seafood, and cocoa total of 720.99 million dollars (BRH, 2020). It is worth noting that imported products are also produced in Haiti, according to a report by the *ministère de l'agriculture, des ressources naturelles & du développement rural* (MARNDR, 2014),

but in insufficient quantities to meet food demand, which leads to the problem of inflation, as shown in Graph 2.

Graph 2 - Food inflation between 2019-2023



Source: take-profit.org, 2023.

Food inflation in Haiti has continued to rise in recent years, which has a direct impact on the daily diet of Haitian society, whose per capita income was US\$1,420 in 2021, the lowest among Latin American and Caribbean countries (WORLD BANK, 2023). This situation affects the Haitian domestic market, causing prices to skyrocket and making it impossible for a large proportion of Haitians, who cannot afford food, to buy products. (FAO, 2021; 2023).

In underdeveloped countries like Haiti, the high price of food increases malnutrition and, consequently, serious illnesses that affect the quality of life from childhood onwards. Among children under the age of 5, this situation is even more drastic: in 2000, around 30.95% of Haitian children were stunted, which increased public health problems. This situation persists, as in 2020, twenty years later, Haiti still has around 20% of children in this situation (FAO, 2021). It is worth





remembering that malnutrition can cause large-scale deaths among children (MANSOOR; SCHWARZ; CREUTZBURG, 2023).

Nutritional problems can be considered important factors in increasing chronic diseases, whether communicable or non-communicable, such as hypertension, diabetes, or other types of infections that increase fatalities. They usually start gradually and require lifestyle changes to be resolved, without necessarily leading to a cure, but the availability of healthy food can help prevent them and save lives (LEITE-CAVALCANTI *et al.*, 2009; MIRSKY; HORN, 2020). In the Haitian case, due to inflation, there is a marked difficulty in acquiring healthy food to reduce disease.

In 2019, life expectancy at birth was 64.05 for both sexes and 16.77 for Haitian men and women over the age of 60. This is considered a significant increase over the years, since in 2000 life expectancy was 57.05 for newborns and 15.77 for people over 60 (WHO, 2020).

All the data reported and presented in this topic demonstrate the abject poverty in which Haiti finds itself, where malnutrition leads to chronic communicable and non-communicable diseases (FENE *et al.*, 2020) and acute hunger increases the mortality rate in the face of basic sanitation problems that affect Haitians' life expectancy. Food insecurity is just one part of this unequal structure, which also involves the problem of natural disasters, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2 - The climatic events that affect the lives of Haitians, by number of people directly affected

Years	Earthquakes	Climate change	Tempests	Floods	Droughts
1992	*	1.000.000	*	*	1.000.000
1993	*	5.000	*	5.000	*
1994	*	1.587.000	1.587.000	*	*
1996	*	155	115	40	*

1998	*	12.029	12.029	*	*
1999	*	50	*	50	*
2000	*	1.200	*	1.200	*
2001	*	5.081	*	5.081	*
2002	*	38.589	250	38.339	*
2003	*	197.545	155	162.390	35.000
2004	*	353.377	322.094	31.283	*
2005	*	42.061	27.978	14.083	*
2006	*	39.700	15.000	24.700	*
2007	*	220.042	115.081	104.961	*
2008	*	246.276	246.276	*	*
2009	*	12.706	*	12.706	*
2010	3.700.000	100.229	78.142	22.087	*
2011	*	7.482	3.044	4.438	*
2012	*	236.322	209.857	26.465	*
2013	*	33.265	*	33.265	*
2014	*	1.030.000	*	30.000	1.000.000
2015	*	46.969	1.969	45.000	*
2016	*	5.794.944	2.100.439	94.505	3.600.000
2017	*	90434	40092	50.342	*
2018	39.336	*	*	*	*
2019	*	4.433	*	4.433	*
2020	*	44.175	44.175	*	*
2021	812.763	13.383	3	13.380	*
2022	1.017	13.000	*	*	13.000

Source: ECLAC, 2023; CRED / Center for Research in Disaster Epidemiology, Catholic University of Leuven / International Disaster Database (EM-DAT), 2023.

Haiti is a country that constantly suffers from severe natural disasters, which affect a large part of the population, increasing the vulnerability of society. These events have placed Haiti in third position as one of



the countries most affected by extreme events in recent decades (ECKSTEIN; KÜNZEL; SCHÄFER, 2021). In 1992, the country faced a wave of droughts and climate change that affected around 100,000,000 people, mainly in rural areas, where 42% of the population lives (FAO, 2021). That year, the country was going through one of its most delicate moments: the embargoes and economic freezes of international cooperation from the United States of America (DUPUY, 2019).

The problem of natural disasters is not new, as can be seen in the table, and the most extreme was the 2010 earthquake being particularly devastating, leaving 3,700,000 people affected. Storms, floods, and prolonged droughts have caused significant damage to infrastructure, leaving millions of people homeless, damaging the local economy, and affecting the quality of life of the population, factors that increase the difficulty of economic growth (JOSEPH, 2022). Thus, the climate issue demands particular attention in Haiti, given the recurrence with which it devastates agricultural production, thus affecting food security (DEVEREUX; EDWARDS, 2004). In addition, each disaster affects the soil, vegetation, and agriculture, increasing the challenge of fighting hunger (MASON-D'CROZ *et al.*, 2019; FOA, 2023).

It should be noted that from the imposition of the external debt payment to France, which conditioned international recognition of Haitian independence in 1804, to the continuous neoliberal adjustments to which the country has been subjected since the 1980s, the Haitian state has been financially and humanly incapable of preventing or even mitigating socio-environmental problems. Instead of policies for climate resilience and sustainable development, which require the active presence of the state, Haiti has relied on fragmented and disconnected social and environmental actions carried out by non-governmental organizations of assistance and focalist nature, incapable of dealing with the ecological damage caused by centuries of French colonial extractivism, by 19 years of US occupation; by violent dictatorial regimes that guaranteed the extreme conditions of exploitation of the native

workforce (1957-1994), followed by consecutive coups d'état and occupations by international military forces. As a result, famines have worsened due to environmental problems and the constant political, economic, and social instability (DÉUS, 2020).

The elements presented demonstrate important factors for thinking about hunger in the country, which must be considered key to combating it, as they are historical causes that amplify chronic diseases, malnutrition, and food insecurity. Haiti needs urgent mitigation measures to deal with climate change, which is contributing to higher food prices.

Haitian hunger as it is: a social issue

We believe that it is not unrealistic to start this topic with the idea that climatic events are an important part of the problem of hunger, but that these climatic events have become risk factors for food security because of anthropic relations with the environment led by continuous authoritarian and extractivist pro-free market regimes. In Haiti, hunger is interconnected with different types of domination and subordination in the national (domestic) and international spheres, from the perspective of the global South versus the North (DADOS; CONNELL, 2012; DE CASTRO, 2023).

It is understood that,

The social question is an explanatory category of the social totality, of how men experience the contradiction between capital and labor. It reveals social, political, economic, and cultural inequalities, as well as the struggle for the rights of the majority of the population, or how men resist subalternation, exclusion, and political and economic domination (MACHADO, 1999, p. 44).

In this way, it is necessary to think that people's struggle for equal rights for the majority of the population remains interconnected with the subalternation and societal exclusion arising from political and economic control, as characteristics of the Global South that amplify the challenges of social issues.

For this reason, as Silva (2010), expresses it,

As the "social question" deepens, bringing with it the social traumas of colonial, slave-owning, patriarchal, and capitalistically hyper-late society (as a necessary mix between the modern and the archaic), the state increasingly takes on tasks linked to disciplining, reproducing-preparing the workforce and maintaining and recovering-repairing the work capacity (p. 54).

The particularity of these social traumas, linked to inequality, poverty, and especially hunger, is due to colonialism. In the Haitian case, it was a wealthy former colony, one of France's richest and most profitable before its independence in 1804, with abundant natural resources such as wood, sugar, and coffee and large reserves of slave or cheap labor. These economic activities were highly profitable for the French metropolis (BEAUVOIS, 2009; BACCHUS, 2023).

It is believed that the expression, "so rich yesterday and so poor today", represents Haiti well in a historical context: after gaining its independence, the country faced a series of political impositions from imperialist capitalist powers. France charged Haiti 150 million francs (currently US\$21 billion) as compensation for accepting independence, for which the young nation could not settle and needed costly loans, leaving the country in significant debt and with serious economic, social, and environmental problems (BARTHÉLEMY *et al.* 2023; BACCHUS, 2023).

The economic burden of the cost of independence was paid for through a regressive tax structure that penalized peasants and small rural producers, ushering in the reality of structural hunger that would mark the country. This attack on the peasantry was aggravated during the 19 years of US occupation, because with the lack of public land, the invading government took large plots of land away from the peasantry and handed them over to the US business community and local elites, who were committed to the country's process of conservative modernization and to preventing the experience of the

1917 Revolution from rekindling the emancipatory struggles that led Haiti, through a slave-led revolution, to become the first independent country in Latin America.

Also to guarantee markets for the surplus livestock of the central countries, US farmers businessmen, and international organizations "created hunger" by exterminating herds of criollo pigs, the main livestock activity of small rural producers, which took place between 1978 and the early 1980s. These were replaced by species of pigs that were not adapted to the tropical climate, had higher feeding and management requirements, and caused damage to the soil and native flora.

The massacre constitutes one of the greatest dramas of conscience for US liberals and is often referred to as an example of US imperialist policies in the Caribbean. However, perhaps because they were just pigs, little is known about these animals, their history, their practices, and their behavior. Common to academic works dealing with the massacre is the emphasis on the fact that Creole pigs operated as savings within the peasant economy, serving as a capital reserve for times of hardship, ceremony, or celebration. (BULAMAH, 2020, p.62)

Final considerations

Haiti, with 82% of the population in a moderate to severe situation in terms of food insecurity, can and must maintain hope for better days, because Haitian problems could be solved if the elements presented were considered top priorities by Haitian elites, Haitian rulers, and the international community. The initial discussions were based on the types of hunger that exist, from which several types of hunger were identified, such as discrete/partial hunger, existential hunger, seasonal hunger, and affective hunger.

It can be seen from the first topic that the data corroborates that the situation in Haiti has not improved, as malnutrition, food insecurity, chronic diseases, and environmental disasters remain. Therefore, it can be concluded that the sharpness of the social issue plaguing the



country is interconnected with the types of hunger, climatic events, and disasters that increase and complexify Haiti's social problems, all of which are inseparable from the nuances that the capitalist mode of production has taken on in the country and the role that Haiti has taken on, or has been forced to occupy, in the international division of labor. Therefore, the social and political processes for real Haitian emancipation and a possible overcoming of hunger in the Caribbean country involve intersecting specific and local struggles, such as against hunger, with the construction of anti-capitalist projects and struggles.

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Notes

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- 3 It is understood that the Global South is due to the historical influence and exploitation by the developed countries of the Global North, which perpetuate unequal power relations, resulting in greater poverty and vulnerability for the majority of the population in these nations.