



Historical elements for understanding Education in Haiti (1804-1982)¹

Elementos históricos para compreensão da Educação no Haiti (1804-1982)

Elementos históricos para comprender la educación en Haití (1804-1982)

Éléments historiques pour comprendre l'éducation en Haïti (1804-1982)

Jackson Dumay

Universidade Federal de Uberlândia (Brasil)

Bolsista da Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado de Minas Gerais (Fapemig)

<https://orcid.org/0009-0007-9340-7908>

<http://lattes.cnpq.br/4031727886091561>

jacksondumay@yahoo.com

Marcelo Soares Pereira da Silva

Universidade Federal de Uberlândia (Brasil)

Bolsista de Produtividade em Pesquisa do CNPq

<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7668-5673>

<http://lattes.cnpq.br/1792746783494704>

marcelospsilva@hotmail.com

Abstract

This article analyzes the most relevant historical aspects of education in Haiti, with emphasis on the Constitutions and educational legislation that guided the organization of the school system from independence to the Educational Reform led by Joseph Claude Bernard in 1982. The study seeks to understand how legal and institutional frameworks contributed to shaping an educational Haitian model. The theoretical framework is grounded in both classical and contemporary studies on the history of Haitian education, highlighting the contributions of Dorvilier (2012), François (2010), Pierre (2012), Brutus (1948), and Joint (2008, 2009). Methodologically, the research adopts a qualitative approach, based on a literature review and documentary analysis of primary and secondary sources, including legislation and official data from the Haitian government. The findings indicate that the Haitian educational system has historically been structured through mechanisms of selection and exclusion, generating persistent inequalities and social tensions, expressed through mobilizations and violent protests.

Keywords: Education in Haiti; Educational legislation; History of Education.

¹ English version by Ana Maria Pereira Dionísio. E-mail: dionisio.anamaria@hotmail.com.

Resumo

Este artigo analisa os aspectos históricos mais relevantes da educação no Haiti, com ênfase nas Constituições e nas legislações educacionais que orientaram a organização do sistema de ensino desde a independência até a Reforma Educacional de Joseph Claude Bernard, em 1982. A investigação busca compreender como os marcos legais e institucionais contribuíram para a conformação de um modelo educacional haitiano. O referencial teórico fundamenta-se em estudos clássicos sobre a história da educação haitiana, destacando-se as contribuições de Dorvilier (2012), François (2010), Pierre (2012), Brutus (1948), e Joint (2008, 2009). Metodologicamente, é de natureza qualitativa, baseada numa revisão bibliográfica e análise documental de fontes primárias e secundárias, incluindo legislações e dados oficiais do governo haitiano. Os resultados destacam que o sistema educacional haitiano foi historicamente estruturado por mecanismos de seleção e exclusão, os quais produziram desigualdades persistentes e tensões sociais, expressas por meio de mobilizações e manifestações de caráter violento.

Palavras-chave: Educação no Haiti; História da Educação; Legislação educacional.

Resumen

Este artículo analiza los aspectos históricos más relevantes de la educación en Haití, haciendo hincapié en las constituciones y las leyes educativas que han regido la organización del sistema educativo desde la independencia hasta la reforma educativa de Joseph Claude Bernard, en 1982. La investigación pretende comprender cómo los marcos legales e institucionales contribuyeron a la configuración de un modelo educativo haitiano. El marco teórico se basa en estudios clásicos sobre la historia de la educación haitiana, entre los que destacan las aportaciones de Dorvilier (2012), François (2010), Pierre (2012), Brutus (1948) y Joint (2008, 2009). Desde el punto de vista metodológico, se trata de un estudio de carácter cualitativo, basado en una revisión bibliográfica y un análisis documental de fuentes primarias y secundarias, incluidas las leyes y los datos oficiales del Gobierno haitiano. Los resultados ponen de relieve que el sistema educativo haitiano se ha estructurado históricamente en torno a mecanismos de selección y exclusión, los cuales han generado desigualdades persistentes y tensiones sociales, que se han manifestado a través de movilizaciones y manifestaciones de carácter violento.

Palabras clave: Educación en Haití; Historia de la educación; Legislación educativa.

Résumé

Cet article analyse les aspects historiques les plus significatifs de l'éducation en Haïti, en mettant l'accent sur les Constitutions et les législations éducatives qui ont orienté l'organisation du système d'enseignement depuis l'indépendance jusqu'à la Réforme de l'éducation de Joseph Claude Bernard, en 1982. L'étude vise à comprendre comment les cadres juridiques et institutionnels ont contribué à la configuration d'un modèle éducatif haïtien. Le cadre théorique s'appuie sur des travaux classiques portant sur l'histoire de l'éducation en Haïti, notamment les contributions de Dorvilier (2012), François (2010), Pierre (2012), Brutus (1948) et Joint (2008, 2009). Sur le plan méthodologique, la recherche est de nature qualitative et repose sur une revue de la littérature ainsi que sur une analyse documentaire de sources primaires et secondaires, comprenant des textes législatifs et des données officielles du gouvernement haïtien. Les résultats montrent que le système éducatif haïtien s'est historiquement structuré autour de mécanismes de sélection et d'exclusion, lesquels ont engendré des inégalités persistantes et des tensions sociales, se manifestant par des mobilisations et des mouvements de protestation parfois marqués par la violence.

Mots clés : Éducation en Haïti; Histoire de l'Éducation; Législation Éducative.

Received: 2026/03/15

Approved: 2026/10/07

Introductory considerations

The development of education in Haiti has historically been linked to a complex and contradictory trajectory, marked by colonization, revolution, the independence process, and persistent structural challenges. In the post-colonial context, the shaping of the educational system was characterized by nascent initiatives to institutionalize public education; however, these efforts were hampered by profound structural asymmetries. Access to schooling remained largely restricted to a minority social elite, composed primarily of the children of high-ranking officials, military officers, and members of the landowning classes, while the vast majority of the population, especially formerly enslaved people, was systematically excluded from the educational process, resulting in high illiteracy rates. This dynamic contributed to the reproduction of a social order inherited from the colonial period, in which the French language became entrenched as an instrument of symbolic distinction and domination within formal education (Pierre, 2012; Joint, 2008).

Throughout the first half of the 20th century, although education began to feature in state discourse as a public responsibility, the Haitian educational system remained structurally fragmented, suffering from insufficient funding and a heavy reliance on private and religious initiatives. Recurrent political instability and economic constraints limited the State's ability to consolidate consistent, long-lasting educational policies, thereby hindering universal access and the creation of an inclusive public system (Dumay; Silva, 2024). In this context, education contributed to the reproduction of social, regional, and linguistic inequalities, reinforcing historically inherited hierarchies.

During the final five years of Jean-Claude Duvalier's dictatorship² (1981–1986), an educational reform process was launched with the stated aim of breaking away from the colonial education model that had prevailed in Haiti for over a century. This reform sought, among other aspects, to expand access to basic education, value the use of the Creole language in the teaching-learning process, and redefine the State's role in organizing the educational system (Dumay; Silva, 2024). Although these initiatives represented a significant milestone in the Haitian educational debate, their impact was limited by political constraints, insufficient resources, and the absence of institutional mechanisms capable of ensuring their full and lasting implementation.

In light of this historical trajectory, analyzing education in Haiti requires an approach that captures the interplay between the historical processes of State formation, public educational policies, and the structural socioeconomic factors shaping Haitian society. Accordingly, this article aims to examine the key historical elements that shaped the country's educational system, focusing particularly on constitutional provisions and educational policies formulated from the post-colonial period through the implementation of the Bernard Educational Reform in 1982. This analysis seeks to contribute to a critical understanding of the historical limitations and potential of education as a social right, an instrument for inclusion and citizenship building, and a project for national development within the Haitian context.

² Between 1957 and 1986, Haiti was governed by a dynastic dictatorial regime, initially under François Duvalier and subsequently under his son, Jean-Claude Duvalier, characterized by the centralization of power, systematic repression, and the coercive use of the state apparatus.

Methodological approach

The research employed a qualitative literature review regarding the history of education in Haiti, combined with an analysis of primary State documents—such as constitutions, laws, decrees, and other educational regulations. Additionally, secondary sources, including academic journal articles, books, edited volumes, and research reports by Haitian authors and other intellectuals, were examined to support and deepen the critical reflection about the historical trajectory of Haitian education.

The theoretical framework of this research draws upon authors who analyze the Haitian education system and the history of education in Haiti—notably Dorvilier (2012), François (2009, 2010), Pierre (2012), Dejan (2013), Brutus (1948), and Joint (2008), whose analyses support a critical interpretation of the historical continuities and ruptures within the Haitian educational system.

Historical background

Haiti's history begins with the presence of the indigenous Taíno peoples, part of the Arawak linguistic group, who inhabited the island prior to the arrival of Europeans. On December 6, 1492, Christopher Columbus arrived on the island of Hispaniola³, initiating a violent process of Spanish colonization characterized by enslavement, the expropriation of wealth, and the extermination of the indigenous population, which was virtually wiped out (Dorsainvil, 1934).

From the 17th century onwards, the island became a site of contention colonial struggles among European powers. Initially under Spanish rule, it began receiving French colonists in 1627, who settled in the western portion of Saint-Domingue. Conflicts between the Spanish and the French intensified until 1697, when the Treaty of Ryswick formalized the cession of the island's western third to France.

In the second half of the 18th century, the French colony of Saint-Domingue established itself as the most profitable in the Americas, accounting for approximately 75% of global sugar production. This prosperity was built upon the extreme exploitation of enslaved African labor, sustaining the production of sugar, coffee, cotton, cocoa, and other commodities, which made the colony one of the wealthiest in the world (Dorsainvil, 1934).

The Haitian Revolution stands as one of the most decisive events in modern history, intertwining anti-slavery, anti-racist, anti-colonial, and anti-imperialist struggles with political emancipation and a radical break from the colonial order. The uprising that began on the night of August 22–23, 1791, at Bois Caïman, led by Dutty Boukman and the *mambo* Cécile Fatiman, marked the start of a massive insurrection by enslaved people and freed persons in the French colony of Saint-Domingue, demanding freedom and rights. The revolutionary process began to be institutionalized in 1793 with the abolition of slavery decreed by Sonthonax and Polverel in the colony's North and South—a measure subsequently ratified by the French National Convention on February 4, 1794 (Halpern, 2006).

In this context, the leadership of Toussaint Louverture was pivotal; his political and military actions were decisive in defeating European colonial powers and consolidating the project of emancipation. Despite his imprisonment and death resulting from Napoleonic repression, the revolutionary process continued under the leadership of Jean-Jacques Dessalines, culminating in the Proclamation of Haitian Independence on January 1, 1804. Haiti

³ Located in the Caribbean, it constitutes a historical and geopolitical space shared by Haiti, in the western portion, and the Dominican Republic, in the eastern portion. It is a territory central to understanding the colonial processes, dynamics of domination, and the social, political, and educational trajectories that shaped the historical formation of both nation-states.

thus became the first independent black republic in the Americas, symbolizing the rejection of the slave-based, racist, and colonial system (Dorsainvil, 1934).

The Haitian Revolution had a profound impact on anti-colonial and independence struggles in the Americas and the Caribbean, serving as a historical reference point for the emancipation of marginalized peoples and the challenging of the global colonial order.

The “double debt” imposed on Haiti by France in the 19th century constitutes a historical case without parallel in the process of modern decolonization. It represents a structural violation of national sovereignty, insofar as it made international recognition of Haitian independence contingent upon an illegitimate financial obligation. After 1804, Haiti faced deep internal tensions as well as diplomatic isolation imposed by colonial powers, who feared the subversive impact of the Haitian Revolution on their own slave systems (Gaillard, 2021).

It was against this backdrop of international marginalization that, in 1825, under military threat and intense diplomatic pressure from France, the Haitian state was compelled to agree to pay an indemnity of 150 million gold francs intended to compensate former colonists for the loss of their “assets,” including formerly enslaved people, and to accept a reduction in its customs tariffs (Gaillard, 2021; Porter et al., 2022).

This imposition turned Haitian independence into a conditional recognition, subverting the principles of the right of peoples to self-determination. Recent studies estimate that Haiti paid out approximately US\$ 560 million in present value to settle this indemnity; however, this amount does not fully reflect the structural economic loss inflicted upon the country; had these resources remained within the national economy and generated returns over the course of two centuries, based on the country's average growth rate, they could have reached approximately US\$ 21–28 billion, even accounting for limitations arising from corruption and domestic waste (Porter et al., 2022; Gaillard, 2021).

A financial debt was immediately added to this political debt: to meet the imposed indemnity payments, Haiti was forced to take out loans from French and foreign banks under usurious terms. This mechanism of forced indebtedness, constituting the so-called “double debt”, locked the country into a long-lasting cycle of external dependency that persisted until the mid-20th century, severely undermining the State's fiscal capacity and limiting its ability to invest in infrastructure, education, healthcare, and economic and social development (Gaillard, 2021; Porter et al., 2022).

Consequently, resources derived from Haitian agricultural labor were massively transferred into European financial circuits, generating substantial profits for institutions such as the *Crédit Industriel et Commercial* (CIC), which was involved in the financing of major projects emblematic of French modernity, including the Eiffel Tower. From Paris, financial actors exercised, for decades, a form of indirect control over Haitian finances, reducing the State to the role of a revenue collector whose funds were primarily earmarked for debt service (Porter et al., 2022).

Therefore, Haiti's dual debt is not merely an economic episode of the past; it constitutes a central historical fact for understanding the mechanisms of post-colonial domination and the reproduction of international inequalities. It symbolizes the enduring punishment imposed on Haiti for having been the first nation born of a victorious slave revolution.

In the early 20th century, recurring political and economic crises in Haiti were used to justify intervention and the subsequent military occupation by the United States, an occupation that lasted over nineteen years and had lasting structural impacts on national sovereignty and the institutional framework of the Haitian State. Notable in this context was the direct intervention in the country's financial system, manifested in the coercive takeover of the National Bank of Haiti, the forced detention of its officials, and the transfer of monetary reserves and national gold to the American City Bank on U.S. soil (Porter et al., 2022; Butler, 1935).

I helped make Mexico, especially Tampico, safe for American oil interests in 1914. I helped make Haiti and Cuba decent places for the boys from the National City Bank to collect revenue. I helped plunder half a dozen Central American republics for the benefit of Wall Street. It is a long record of racketeering. I helped 'purify' Nicaragua for the international banking house Brown Brothers between 1909 and 1912. I brought 'light' to the Dominican Republic to serve American sugar interests in 1916. In China, I helped ensure that Standard Oil could go its way unmolested (Butler, 1935, p. 29).

This episode demonstrates that the occupation was not limited to military and administrative control but entailed mechanisms of economic and financial subordination, compromising the Haitian state's fiscal and monetary autonomy. These practices contributed to the weakening of political institutions, the persistence of governmental instability, and the consolidation of authoritarian structures throughout the 20th century, creating historical conditions that favored the emergence of the Duvalierist dictatorship (1957–1986), characterized by the centralization of power and systematic repression (Dorvilier, 2012).

With the end of the dictatorship, the 1987 Constitution ushered in a brief democratic cycle, symbolized by the election of Jean-Bertrand Aristide in 1990. However, successive coups d'état—including his ousting in 1991 and again in 2004—interrupted this process, resulting in a new international intervention via MINUSTAH (2004–2017) and highlighting the persistent fragility of Haitian democracy (Hermogène, 2019).

The assassination of President Jovenel Moïse on July 7, 2021, marked a turning point in the Haitian political crisis. According to the Central Directorate of the Judicial Police (CDJP), the crime involved former Colombian military personnel and members of the Haitian National Police. Since then, the country has been without a president or parliament, governed by a seven-member Transitional Presidential Council alongside a prime minister, amidst an inability to organize elections. Haiti faces a severe humanitarian crisis and widespread insecurity, exacerbated by the actions of armed groups and the persistence of vested political interests.

Education in Haiti's Historical Development

Toussaint Louverture is a pivotal figure in Haitian history; his political and military actions were decisive in dismantling the system of slavery. In this analysis, his trajectory serves as a historical-analytical framework for understanding early educational approaches within the context of the political and institutional transformations of a French colony undergoing a process of rupture.

The significance of his role becomes even more apparent when viewed against the backdrop of the colonial regime that existed between 1492 and 1803, a system founded on slavery, systemic violence, and the denial of rights to the enslaved African population. During this period, education was not recognized as a social right; the colonial legal framework specifically the Black Code of 1685, denied enslaved people the status of political and legal subjects, thereby precluding any emancipatory educational initiative (Joint, 2009).

This logic was partially challenged by the Constitution of 1801, drafted under the leadership of Toussaint Louverture. Although the document formally maintained Saint-Domingue's ties to France, it established the foundations for administrative and institutional autonomy, assigning education a strategic role in building an autonomous society and legitimizing the new political order.

Article 68 of the 1801 Constitution recognized the right to establish educational institutions, subject to the authorization and supervision of municipal administrations thereby granting education a normative status unprecedented in colonial history. This provision highlights Toussaint Louverture's understanding that the intellectual and moral development of the population was an indispensable condition for consolidating autonomy and transitioning toward independence. Decentralizing educational management strengthened internal administrative capacity and reduced direct dependence on France (Joint, 2009).

Educational policy was linked to a broader state-building project in which education and religion served as pillars of social organization and the construction of political legitimacy. The creation of education commissions, the founding of schools, and the recruitment of European teachers were part of a strategy to cultivate citizens capable of sustaining an autonomous state, one inspired by the French model yet progressively detached from colonial logic (Joint, 2008).

The capture and death of Toussaint Louverture delayed this project, prolonging French domination. It was not until 1804, with the Proclamation of Independence under the leadership of Jean-Jacques Dessalines, that Haiti was established as a nation-state; this culminated in the 1805 Constitution, which addressed the liberated population's demands for development and citizenship (Abraham, 2020).

The 1805 Imperial Constitution organized the newly formed Haitian state into six military districts and mandated, in Article 19, the creation of a public school in each district for the instruction of the youth (Constitution, 1805). The text also defined the structure of the imperial government, comprising two ministers and a secretary of state (Art. 39), assigning responsibility for public education to the Minister of Finance of the Department of the Interior, in accordance with Article 40:

This minister's responsibilities include the general administration of public finances; the organization of specific administrative bodies; the allocation of funds to the Minister of War and other public officials; public expenditures; directives governing the accounting practices of administrative bodies and divisional paymasters; agriculture, commerce, and public education; weights and measures; the compilation of demographic data, data on territorial produce, and national domains (whether regarding conservation, sale, or agricultural leases); prisons, hospitals, and the maintenance of roads, crossings, saltworks, factories, and customs houses; and, finally, the supervision and minting of currency, as well as the execution of laws and government orders concerning these matters (Constitution, 1805).

Thus, education which represented the foundation for development and the reconstruction of the war-torn country, did not become a priority for the government of Jean-Jacques Dessalines. Fearing a potential return of the French, that government prioritized the construction of strategic fortifications across all regions of Haiti (Joint, 2009).

Since the 1805 constitution, education has been characterized by the separation of social classes and unequal opportunities. Available spots in institutions were reserved exclusively for the children of military personnel, or descendants of those who had served the Haitian population in ensuring national security, and for public officials (Joint, 2008).

The Haitian educational system is marked by social class stratification. From the system's inception under the early Haitian governments, the few existing national schools were reserved for the property-owning classes. For instance, secondary education was restricted to citizens who had served the State, as if the idea of a public school system for all had been ruled out from the start (Joint, 2008, p. 4).

Historically, Haitian education has been characterized by hierarchical, unequal, and differentiated school segregation, involving discrimination among educational institutions. Today, this division or segregation takes on various meanings, such as school exclusion, marginalization, ethnic background, or social disparity. This separation was particularly pronounced between schools for girls and those for boys, with lasting repercussions on their life trajectories. Indeed, most schools for girls focused on subjects like sewing, embroidery, and the arts, whereas those for boys concentrated more on mathematics, French, science, and other academic disciplines.

Following Haiti's independence, the country entered a period of profound political and social tension, exacerbated by the 1806 assassination of Jean-Jacques Dessalines, the new nation's first head of state. This event marked a decisive turning point, revealing enduring internal rifts characterized by political rivalries, power struggles, and structural disagreements between civil and military elites. More than just a short-term crisis, the elimination of Dessalines opened a space for political reconfiguration in which conflicting visions of state organization clashed (Hector, 2009).

In this context of institutional reconstruction, Henri Christophe⁴ and Alexandre Pétion⁵ came to embody two distinct political projects. On one hand, Christophe advocated a model based on the centralization of authority and the strengthening of executive power, which he deemed indispensable for ensuring stability and national cohesion. On the other, Pétion proposed a republican organization founded on the institutional limitation of presidential power and the strengthening of legislative bodies, following a system of checks and balances inspired by liberal models (Brutus, 1948).

This ideological opposition quickly translated into an institutional rupture. On December 27, 1806, Alexandre Pétion refused to recognize Christophe's authority over the Northern region and convened a Constituent Assembly in Port-au-Prince. This Assembly approved a republican constitution that concentrated most political power in the Senate and established a presidency with a limited term. Although he had been named president on December 28, 1806, Christophe rejected the new constitutional order, considering it incompatible with his conception of executive power. His attempt to seize Port-au-Prince by force on January 1, 1807, failed, resulting in his being declared an outlaw. In March of that same year, Pétion was elected president of the Republic, exercising authority over the country's Western and Southern regions (Hector, 2009; Brutus, 1948).

The consolidation of Pétion's power in these regions deepened the country's political fragmentation. In the North, Henri Christophe established a distinct authoritarian regime,

⁴ Henri Christophe was a Black general who fought alongside Toussaint Louverture and, later, Jean-Jacques Dessalines for Haiti's independence. After Dessalines's assassination, he was chosen by the majority of the Constituent Assembly—composed of military generals—to succeed him. Mulatto generals rebelled against Christophe's selection and, taking their troops with them, established themselves in the north of the country, a region he governed from 1807 to 1820.

⁵ Alexandre S. Pétion was a mulatto who allied himself with Dessalines to expel the colonists during the War of Independence. The mulattos, who sought to acquire the properties left behind by the colonists, opposed Dessalines's policies of nationalizing those estates. After Dessalines's assassination, Pétion pressured the mulatto generals to amend the 1805 Constitution to prevent Christophe from coming to power. Consequently, Pétion became President of the Republic of the West, serving from 1807 to 1818.

proclaiming himself president for life in 1807 and, subsequently, King of Haiti in 1811 under the title Henry I. Although his government was characterized by strong centralization and a monarchical organization of power, it was also distinguished by a high degree of state structuring. Christophe implemented a rigorous administration and launched an ambitious public works program, thereby revealing a conception of the State founded on order, discipline, and planning, in stark contrast to the republican model championed by Pétion (Hector, 2009).

The political-territorial division of Haiti, resulting from the conflict between the visions of Henri Christophe and Alexandre Pétion, was not limited to the executive branch; it had direct effects on the organization of public policies and on the very conception of the State in each region. In the republican territory controlled by Pétion, constitutional institutionalization became the primary instrument of political legitimation, guiding the definition of state functions and the regulation of strategic areas of social life. It is against this backdrop that education was incorporated into the 1807 constitution, not merely as an isolated administrative initiative, but as part of a broader effort to organize the State along republican lines, aimed at the social, political, and civic development of the population under its authority.

In the Constitution of 1807, promulgated during the administration of Alexandre Sabès Pétion, education was incorporated into the constitutional framework as a State responsibility, albeit in an incipient and limited manner. The constitutional text mandated the creation of a central school in each military division, intended primarily for the children of military personnel and war orphans, as well as district-level schools organized into two categories: State-subsidized public schools and private schools. Although the concept of private education had already appeared in the Constitution of 1801, it was only with the 1807 Constitution that this model gained legal consolidation through explicit reference to private schools, signaling an attempt to institutionalize the coexistence of public and private education within the nascent Haitian educational system (Pierre, 2012).

The constitutional text also acknowledged the need for teacher training and reaffirmed French as the language of instruction, thereby contributing to the standardization of education and the perpetuation of a colonial cultural and linguistic heritage. Furthermore, the 1807 Constitution established mechanisms for the oversight and supervision of educational institutions by creating a corps of inspectors charged with ensuring that schools complied with State-mandated regulations, curricula, and guidelines.

However, these provisions remained largely on paper. The lack of supplementary legislation, the failure to implement the inspection service, and a scarcity of financial and administrative resources hindered the execution of the planned measures. Consequently, the educational system remained fragmented, with weak State capacity for regulation and control, particularly regarding private education, highlighting the institutional limitations of the republican educational project in the post-independence era (Pierre, 2012).

While in the republican territory led by Alexandre Pétion education was incorporated into the constitutional framework as part of a project to legitimize the State, albeit one constrained by structural implementation limits, a distinct trajectory emerged in the North under the control of Henri Christophe. The organization of educational policies was conceived in close alignment with an authoritarian, centralizing State project, wherein education played a strategic role in consolidating order and social discipline, as well as in constructing a political identity aligned with the emerging monarchical model.

The initiatives undertaken by Henri were progressively institutionalized as he abandoned the presidential regime in favor of establishing a monarchy, officially proclaimed in 1811. In this context, and aiming to secure British support (Britain being France's primary international adversary at the time) for his project of transforming Haiti's social and cultural

landscape along English lines, Henri I sent a letter in English to Wilberforce in 1816. According to Pierre (2012, p. 177):

I am deeply convinced of the need to transform those aspects of my fellow citizens' customs and habits that still resemble the French, and to mold them according to English manners and habits. Promoting English literature in our schools and colleges will, I hope, ultimately cause the English language to prevail over the French. This is the only way to preserve our independence: to have absolutely nothing in common with a nation against which we have so many grievances, and whose plans aim solely at our destruction.

The educational policy established by the Royal Constitution of 1811, under the reign of Henri Christophe I, outlined an explicit project for social organization by instituting a public instruction system based on the Lancasterian⁶ method. This European-inspired pedagogical model was adopted as a state strategy to expand elementary education in a standardized, disciplined, and cost-effective manner, with a particular focus on the Kingdom's popular classes. At the same time, Christophe enacted a symbolic break with the French colonial legacy by adopting English as the official language, reinforcing his intent to assert the political and cultural sovereignty of the new Haitian state. The implementation of this educational policy was linked to practices of strict state control, including coercive measures against families that failed to ensure their children's school attendance, highlighting the authoritarian and centralizing nature of Christophe's educational project (Pierre, 2012; Joint, 2009).

After the death of Alexandre Pétion in 1818 and, subsequently, that of Henri Christophe in 1820, Jean-Pierre Boyer, formerly Pétion's cabinet secretary and subsequently President of Haiti, consolidated his power by promoting the political unification of the entire island starting in 1822, incorporating the former Republic of Santo Domingo into the Haitian state⁷. Regarding education, Boyer maintained the elitist and sexist approach inherited from the Pétion era, preserving a restricted and socially selective model of instruction (Joint, 2008).

During his long administration (1818–1843), Boyer established six Lancasterian schools across the island, all under the direction of Haitian authorities and with French as the language of instruction. At the same time, in 1822, he ordered the closure of the University of Santo Domingo, founded in 1538, demonstrating an ambivalent stance regarding the expansion of higher education. Haitian educational historiography often characterizes Boyer as a ruler opposed to the widespread dissemination of schooling, attributing to him a conservative view of education's role in the social order. According to Brutus (1948), Boyer maintained that the

⁶ The Lancaster method, also known as the monitorial system, is an educational model created by Joseph Lancaster in the late 18th century. It is based on a hierarchical classroom organization in which more advanced students act as monitors responsible for instructing their peers under the supervision of a single teacher. Its primary objective was to expand access to elementary education at a low cost, particularly in contexts of limited resources and the expansion of mass schooling. The method is characterized by standardized content, an emphasis on memorization, repetition, and strict discipline, as well as the regulation of time and school space. The curriculum was limited to reading, writing, arithmetic, and moral instruction—skills considered fundamental to social order. Although widely adopted in the 19th century, especially during the consolidation of nation-states, the method has pedagogical limitations, as it prioritizes administrative efficiency and rote instruction over intellectual autonomy and the development of critical thinking.

⁷ In 1822, President Jean-Pierre Boyer brought about the political unification of the island by peacefully integrating the territory of the former Spanish colony of Saint-Domingue into the Republic of Haiti. This initiative was legitimized by the Haitian government as a geopolitical strategy to counter threats of European recolonization, as well as a means to strengthen national sovereignty and ensure the territorial stability of the Haitian state in the post-independence era.

spread of education could foster political instability; consequently, he advocated for a public education system firmly rooted in religion and morality, viewing them as essential foundations for prosperity and social cohesion.

In December 1843, a Constitution was adopted, offering the country new alternatives regarding education and schooling. In 1844, Charles Rivière Hérard, Boyer's chief opponent, swore an oath to the 1843 Constitution upon becoming President of Haiti and pledged to implement the new charter. That same year saw the creation of the Department of Public Instruction, placed under the authority of the Ministry of Finance, a development that raised hopes for the education of the population (Constitution, 1843).

Furthermore, Article 31 of the 1843 Constitution addressed freedom of education throughout the national territory without exclusion, stipulating the following:

Education is free, and schools are to be distributed progressively in proportion to the population. Each municipality shall have primary schools for both sexes, free of charge and open to all citizens. Major cities shall also have secondary schools teaching the fundamentals of science, literature, and the fine arts. The languages spoken in the country are taught in these schools (Constitution, 1843).

In 1844, Honoré Ferry assumed the role of head of Haiti's Department of Public Instruction, initiating a process of reorganizing the national education system. His management saw a reform of primary education that relaxed restrictions established by the 1820 law. At that time, the educational system comprised thirteen (13) national schools, funded directly by the Department of Public Instruction's budget, and three (3) municipal schools, which were managed by local municipalities and indirectly supervised by the State (Pierre, 2012).

This period represents a stage of institutional transition, characterized by the gradual consolidation of state mechanisms aimed at organizing public education. The establishment of higher education and, more fundamentally, the formalization of the Department of Public Instruction within the 1843 Constitution reflect the progressive incorporation of education as a strategic state function, linked to administrative rationalization and the project of nation-building. In contrast, under the 1805 Constitution, instruction remained limited in scope and highly exclusive, aligned predominantly to groups linked to political power; this restricted its social reach and contributed to the persistence of structural inequalities regarding access to education.

Although the country had achieved independence as early as 1804, the organization of education in Haiti remained heavily shaped by logics inherited from the colonial era. The signing of the 1860 Concordat cemented France's dominant role in guiding the national education system, in close coordination with the Catholic Church and Haitian ruling elites. This institutional milestone fostered the enduring imposition of a Eurocentric view of education, prioritizing European cultural and intellectual references, while simultaneously devaluing and rendering invisible indigenous forms of knowledge, a process rooted in the dynamics of epistemicide (Gourgues, 2011).

The Eurocentrism of the contemporary Haitian school system is rooted in the continuity of the colonial educational model, which was not fundamentally challenged either during the revolutionary period or throughout the early decades of the independent state (Gourgues, 2011). The lack of political will among the ruling elites to break with this past contributed to the perpetuation of an educational system founded on colonial values, one largely ill-suited to the needs and realities of the majority of the population (Gourgues, 2011).

Thus, the role of the Catholic Church in the Haitian educational system cannot be understood merely as a religious phenomenon, but rather as an integral part of a political and cultural mechanism for reproducing the post-colonial order. By aligning itself with the state and the ruling elites, particularly following the Concordat of 1860, the Church contributed to the consolidation of a hierarchical, Eurocentric, and socially exclusionary educational model that privileged external epistemological frameworks to the detriment of local knowledge. This institutional configuration reinforced cultural dependency and asymmetry in access to knowledge, limiting the emancipatory potential of education and perpetuating structural inequalities that still characterize the Haitian educational system.

Through 19th-century constitutions and laws, Pierre (2012) identified two major, pivotal trends that shaped the concerns of heads of state and framers of the constitution.

The first trend is one of exclusion and selectivity. This implies that public instruction and education are benefits the State must guarantee to the children of those who served the nation and the government. This perspective excludes those lacking the financial means to pay for their children's education at private institutions.

The second trend relates to inclusion and openness toward social categories that did not benefit from the education previously reserved for the children of families linked to the dominant sectors. Education or instruction was declared free and accessible to all. However, due to defined integration criteria, resistance from traditional elites, a lack of motivation, and established school-attendance habits, segments of the population remained excluded or marginalized from the educational system (Pierre, 2012).

The period from 1915 to 1934 was marked by numerous political, social, and economic conflicts within the country. After 111 years of independence, Haitian leaders had struggled to overcome the nation's various difficulties and achieve prosperity and a modern state. Against this backdrop, the United States landed in Haiti with the aim of maintaining order. This occupation plunged the country into civil war, anarchy, and economic, financial, and monetary crises structural and situational problems that led to the collapse of the national state. In the field of education, the American occupation failed to contribute to the country's development; on the contrary, it was a disaster of the highest order, coinciding with a crisis of Anglo-Saxon and Francophone cultural identity in Haiti (Dorvilier, 2012; Pierre, 2012).

In 1941, Jean Joseph Maurice Dartigue, after years of service at the Ministry of Public Instruction, was appointed Haiti's Minister of Public Instruction. During his tenure at the helm of the Ministry, he attempted to implement a reform aimed at creating a competent teaching corps and curricula suited to the times grounded in scientific knowledge. He mobilized all sectors of the national landscape to contribute to the effectiveness of the educational system (François, 2010). However, Minister Dartigue's proposals faced significant criticism, as his tendency to "Americanize" the Haitian educational system contributed to the failure of his initiative.

The Bernard Reform as a paradigmatic shift in the history of Haitian education

In 1979, after more than a century and a half of independence and 135 years since the creation of the Department of Public Instruction—access to the Haitian educational system remained extremely limited: over 80% of school-age children were out of school. Beyond this lack of coverage, the schooling provided characterized by elitist, overly theoretical academic curricula heavily inspired by foreign models was disconnected from Haiti's sociocultural realities and its economic development needs. In this context, the educational system served to reproduce and exacerbate social inequalities, becoming closely linked to the country's structural poverty. Faced with this situation, in January 1979,

President Jean-Claude Duvalier sought support from international organizations and partner nations to reform an educational system deemed obsolete both in terms of its educational content and its ability to meet national demands.

That same year, with the support of international organizations, such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Organization of American States (OAS), the World Bank, the European Economic Community (EEC), the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), as well as countries like France, Canada, and the United States, and in coordination with the Ministry of National Education, an educational reform was undertaken with the aim of improving the provision of education in Haiti (Saint Germain, 1997).

Between 1979 and 1982, significant changes occurred in the Haitian education system thanks to what is known as the Joseph Bernard Educational Reform. It was during this period that international organizations began to play a more active and guiding role in how education was conducted in Haiti.

The educational reform launched in 1979 was named the Bernard Reform, after Minister Joseph Claude Bernard, the architect of the proposal. This reform addressed the organization of the educational pathway, the languages of instruction, the curriculum content, and the objectives of primary education. This reform was formalized by a decree-law dated March 30, 1982, published in the country's official gazette (Decreto, 1982).

The figures presented by Saint-Germain (1997), such as 0.81 for urban areas and 0.34 for rural areas, refer to net enrollment rates expressed as proportions; these indicate that, between 1981 and 1982, approximately 81% of school-age children in urban zones were enrolled in school, whereas only 34% had access to schooling in rural zones.

These indicators highlight profound territorial inequalities regarding access to primary education in Haiti, as well as the school system's low internal efficiency. In rural areas, data show high rates of dropout and grade repetition as early as the first year, which significantly hindered academic progression. The low completion rate for primary and, subsequently, secondary education with only 1.71% of students who entered primary school in 1960 completing secondary school thirteen years later underscores the structural nature of the educational crisis.

These statistical findings served as the empirical basis for the 1979 educational reform led by Minister Joseph C. Bernard, demonstrating that the existing system was exclusionary, socially unequal, and incapable of ensuring school retention and success for the majority of the Haitian population (Saint-Germain, 1997).

The statistical analysis presented by Saint-Germain (1997) reveals that the educational reform led by the Ministry of Education in the late 1970s emerged in response to a historical context of school exclusion, low internal efficiency, and deep socio-spatial inequalities within the Haitian educational system. Enrollment rates, expressed as coefficients, reveal a striking disparity between urban and rural contexts: while school access in urban areas approached 0.81 during the 1981–1982 period, it remained limited to approximately 0.34 in rural zones, indicating the persistence of a structural pattern of educational marginalization.

Analysis of student flows demonstrates that the system exhibited high dropout and grade-repetition rates as early as the first years of primary education, particularly in rural areas. Most students failed to progress steadily, resulting in low rates of elementary education completion without grade repetition and significant cohort attrition throughout the schooling process. This configuration undermined the school's social function, transforming the educational system into a mechanism for reproducing social inequalities.

Longitudinal data reinforce this assessment by indicating that, among students who entered primary education in 1960, only a statistically insignificant fraction managed to complete secondary education after thirteen years of schooling. These indicators highlight the selective, exclusionary, and socially stratified nature of Haitian education during that period, providing empirical justification for the need for structural reform aimed at democratizing access, reducing regional inequalities, and reorganizing the educational system pedagogically and linguistically (Saint-Germain, 1997). Creole instruction in Haiti is legally grounded in the Law of September 18, 1979, which authorized the use of Haitian Creole as both a medium of instruction and a subject of study in schools. Although this law is frequently cited without a specific number, it represents the first explicit legal milestone recognizing Creole within the Haitian educational system.

This measure enabled the use of Creole as a language of instruction, particularly during the early stages of schooling, and established its formal teaching as a subject, thereby partially breaking the monopoly held by French. The Law of September 18, 1979, thus laid the legal foundations for the bilingual education policy, later consolidated by the constitutional recognition of Creole as an official language in the 1987 Constitution:

Art. 1. The use of Creole, the common language spoken by over 90% of the Haitian population is authorized in schools as both a medium of instruction and a subject of study.

Art. 2. Creole, as a spoken and written language, consists of sounds and signs corresponding to consonants, vowels, semi-consonants, and semi-vowels (Pierre, 2012, p. 491).

The introduction of Creole into the Haitian education system, alongside French as a second language of instruction, marked a significant turning point in the country's educational language policy. According to Saint-Germain (1997), this measure helped reduce school exclusion linked to language barriers, thereby expanding learning opportunities for Haitian children. As Dejean (2013) notes, the exclusive centrality of French in education functioned as a mechanism of social stigmatization, particularly for students coming from rural and working-class backgrounds, for whom Creole is the sole language of socialization. This linguistic mismatch had negative pedagogical consequences, given that Creole is the mother tongue of the entire population, whereas French is mastered by only a small minority, concentrated primarily in the administrative and media sectors.

According to Dejean (2013), the central role of French in the Haitian education system fosters linguistic alienation, causing students to feel like foreigners in their own country and revealing the structurally exclusionary nature of this model. In 2002, Haiti stood out as the only country independent for over a century where formal education systematically employed a language neither spoken nor understood by the majority of the population. Children were required to attend school exclusively in French, the language that structured all subjects and pedagogical practices.

The language barrier was a major factor in academic failure in Haiti, intertwined with broader structural issues such as limited institutional autonomy, the elitist nature of education, and the systemic disorganization of educational policy. Against this backdrop, the educational reform led by Bernard sought to break with the traditional model in place since Haiti's first

Constitution, which was historically rooted in colonial references and characterized by a lack of innovation. This reform aimed to lay the groundwork for democratizing education and realigning it with contemporary social and economic demands. The prevailing education system, maintained for over a century, proved incapable of meeting the needs of the majority of the population, thereby functioning as a mechanism for reproducing social inequalities in Haiti (François, 2010).

In March 1982, following pilot projects conducted by the Ministry of National Education, the decree-law of March 30, 1982, was officially promulgated in the Haitian state gazette, institutionalizing what became known as the Bernard Reform. Comprising thirty-seven articles, the reform proposed a broad restructuring of the educational system, simultaneously addressing pedagogical and administrative dimensions. Although it represents a significant milestone in the history of Haitian education, signaling an intent to modernize and rationalize schooling, the reform requires critical analysis. Its seven guiding objectives reflected an effort toward normative reorganization rather than a structural break from the system's historical inequalities, as its implementation faced political, institutional, and material constraints that limited its transformative impact (Decree, 1982).

1- The first objective was the establishment of basic education, consisting of three cycles spanning a total of ten years (later reduced to nine), intended to replace traditional primary education and the first three years of secondary education. The three-year third cycle, offering two tracks (general education and technical-vocational training), aimed to enable students to either enter the labor market or continue their secondary studies. The primary purpose of basic education was to help each individual take charge of their own destiny and address the challenges posed by disparities within the productive system.

2- The introduction of new teaching methods based on the scientific method (observation, discovery, experimentation, reasoning practice, etc.) to replace traditional learning methods rooted in, among other things, drill and rote memorization.

3- Training and professional development programs to enhance teacher performance.

4- The use of students' mother language (Creole) as the language of instruction to ensure an environment more conducive to communication and, consequently, learning. Haitian education must reflect the country's sociolinguistic reality and facilitate the integration of students from marginalized social backgrounds into the school system.

5- Automatic grade promotion within educational cycles. This objective aims to significantly reduce grade retention rates, as repeating a grade is considered detrimental to the effectiveness of the Haitian educational system.

6- The development of pedagogical materials and their free distribution to students.

7- Strengthening the administrative and pedagogical staff of schools with the support of a corps of inspectors and pedagogical advisors tasked with monitoring the implementation of the reform.

To ensure oversight of the new reform and maintain the link between the MENP and the institutions, a corps of pedagogical advisors with supervisory and technical expertise would be established to adequately represent the Ministry of National Education (Decree, 1982, pp. 11-12).

The core proposal was to integrate rural and urban educational systems, ensuring training that was better aligned with the realities and demands of students from both contexts. More broadly, the reform was aimed at strengthening national development, based on the premise that raising the population's educational level would be a strategic factor for the country's economic progress (Decree, 1982).

Estrutura e organização do sistema educativo após a Reforma Bernard.

OLD SYSTEM EDUCATION: PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION 13 YEARS	BASIC SCHOOL AND NEW SECONDARY EDUCATION 13 YEARS
1. Primary	1st Elementary Cycle
1. Preparatory I or 6th Primary	First year
2. Preparatory II or 5th Primary	Second year
3. Elementary I or 4th Primary	Third year
	Fourth year
4. Elementary II or 3rd Primary	2nd Elementary Cycle
5. Intermediate I or 2nd Primary	5th year
6. Intermediate II / CEP (Certificate of Primary Studies)	6th year
2. Secondary	3rd Elementary Cycle
1. 6th Secondary	7th year
2. 5th Secondary	8th year
3. 4th Secondary	9th year
4. 3rd Secondary	2. New Secondary
3. 2nd Secondary (B, C, D)	1. Secondary I
4. Rhetoric or 1st Secondary (B, C, D)	2. Secondary II
5. Philosophy or Final Year (A, C, D)	3. Secondary III
	4. Secondary IV

Source: Pierre (2012, p. 33).

The Haitian education system is structured into two main segments: formal and non-formal. The formal sector encompasses preschool education, intended for children aged 3 to 5 and non-compulsory and basic education, which is organized into three successive cycles. The first cycle, lasting four years, serves children aged 6 to 9 and prioritizes the integration of learning, fostering connections between the content and methodologies of core subjects. The second cycle, lasting two years, covers students aged 10 to 11; its purpose is to consolidate acquired knowledge while introducing pre-vocational activities. The third cycle, spanning three years, targets students aged 12 to 14 and aims to link general education with pre-vocational experiences, preparing students for both technical/vocational training and further studies, without neglecting the consolidation of general knowledge (Decree, 1982). Upon completing the nine years of basic education, the student obtains the *Diploma de Estudos Fundamentais* (DEF).

Secondary education, reformulated within this framework, lasts four years and is intended for youths aged 15 to 18 who hold the *Certificado de Conclusão do Ensino Médio*

(CCEM). This level concludes with a national baccalaureate exam and aims to ensure a general education that enables both entry into higher education and integration into productive activities, highlighting its dual function within the education system (Decree, 1982).

The non-formal sector is responsible for literacy and post-literacy initiatives aimed at individuals aged 10 and older, conducted in specific educational settings. This segment receives institutional support from the *Ministério da Educação Nacional e da Formação Profissional* (MENFP), which manages the *Centro de Educação Familiar* (CEF); these centers are distributed across the country's eight departments and supervised by the Department of Basic Education (DEF). Although these centers play a significant role in workforce training annually graduating around 450 individuals who are largely absorbed by the industrial sector, they face significant structural limitations. In particular, there is a lack of effective mechanisms to reintegrate graduates into higher levels of the formal education system, which restricts their function as a pathway for educational and social mobility (MENFP, 2019; Pierre, 2012).

Thus, following this reform, the Haitian education system adopted an organizational structure that remained in place into the early 21st century. The Bernard educational reform left a significant mark on the history of education in Haiti. It represented a decisive shift in the organization of Haitian education, serving as a reference point for various initiatives within the education sector (François, 2010).

Final reflections

A historical analysis of education in Haiti, viewed through the lens of its constitutional milestones between the 19th and 20th centuries, reveals the close link between the organization of schooling and the process of nation-state formation in the first independent black nation in the Americas. Since the revolutionary period, education was conceived as a strategic instrument for political legitimation and international recognition; however, it remained subordinate to state agendas characterized by social selectivity and enduring colonial legacies.

The 1801 Constitution, enacted under the leadership of Toussaint Louverture, introduced principles of freedom of instruction and institutionalized education as a public function, albeit one heavily inspired by the French model and linked to the Catholic religion. Following independence, however, government priorities shifted toward military defense and territorial consolidation, relegating education to a secondary role. Although the 1805 Constitution mandated the creation of public schools, their implementation remained limited and geared toward groups linked to the State, thereby reinforcing mechanisms of social exclusion.

Throughout the 19th century and the first half of the 20th, a succession of constitutions consolidated an educational model that was elitist, sexist, and exclusionary, often linked to the Catholic Church as a moralizing and disciplining force. This configuration limited the majority of the population's access to basic education and contributed to the reproduction of structural inequalities within the Haitian educational system.

Reform efforts undertaken in the second half of the 20th century, particularly the Bernard Reform, marked a significant turning point by acknowledging the limitations of the prevailing model and proposing an education system geared toward social and economic development. Although it did not fully achieve its objectives, it paved the way for new possibilities regarding the democratization of education in Haitian society. Ultimately, the trajectory of education in Haiti reveals ongoing tensions between visions of emancipation and practices of exclusion reflecting the historical challenges of state-building and highlighting, at the same time, the resilience and transformative potential of Haitian society.

References

ABRAHAM, Jacques. Dynamiques et mécanismes de ségrégation scolaire dans les écoles en Haïti, *Haïti Perspectives*, v.7. n.3, 2020. DOI: <http://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.26113.61286>.

BRUTUS, Edner. *Instruction Publique en Haïti (1492-1945)*, Haïti, Imprimerie de l'État, Port-au-Prince, 1948.

BUTLER, Smedley. *War Is a Racket*. New York: Round Table Press, 1935. Disponível em: https://www.heritage-history.com/site/hclass/secret_societies/ebooks/pdf/butler_racket.pdf. Acesso em: 22 dez 2025.

DEJEAN, Yves. *Yon lekòl tet anba nan yon peyi tet anba*. Port-au-Prince : Université d'État d'Haïti, 2013. ISBN : 9993570028.

DORSAINVIL, Justin Chrysostome. *Frère de l'instruction chrétienne de Ploërmel*, Manuel Histoire d'Haïti, Port-au-Prince, 1934.

DORVILIER, Fritz. *La crise haïtienne du développement : essai d'anthropologie dynamique*. Port-au-Prince: Edition de l'Université d'Etat d'Haïti, Port-au-Prince, 2012.

DUMAY, Jackson; SILVA, Marcelo. Soares Pereira Da. *Neoliberalismo e educação no contexto haitiano: Uma análise do sistema educacional do Haiti no período de 2011-2016*. Dissertação (Mestrado em Educação) – Universidade Federal de Uberlândia, Uberlândia, 2024. DOI: <http://doi.org/10.14393/ufu.di.2024.5156>.

FRANÇOIS, Pierre. Enorques. *Politiques éducatives et inégalité des chances scolaires en Haïti*. Port-au-Prince: Université d'État d'Haïti, 2010.

GAILLARD, Gusti-Klara. Haïti : il y a 196 ans, la dette de l'indépendance, 2021. Disponível em: <https://www.cadtm.org/Haiti-Il-y-a-196-ans-la-dette-de-l-independance>. Acesso em: 20 abril 2026.

GOURGUES, Jacques-Michel. *Critiques décoloniales de l'école haïtienne*. Québec : Les Éditions Science et Bien Commun, 2011. Disponível em: <https://scienceetbiencommun.pressbooks.pub/decolonialehaiti/>. Acesso em: 14 maio 2026.

HAÏTI, *Constitution du 30 décembre 1843, an XL de l'indépendance d'Haïti et le premier de la Régénération, 1843*. Disponível: <https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/ht1843.htm>. Acesso em: 20 dez 2025.

HAÏTI, Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale et de la Formation Professionnelle (MENFP). *Politique Nationale d'Éducation Non-Formelle-République d'Haïti*. Port-au-Prince, 2019.

HAÏTI. *Constitution d'Haïti du 20 mai 1805*, Port-au-Prince, 1805. Disponível: <https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/ht1805.htm>. Acesso em: 09. Janv 2026.

HAÏTI. *Décret organisant le système éducatif haïtien en vue d'offrir des chances égales à tous et de refléter la culture haïtienne*, presses nationales, Port-au-Prince, 1982. Disponível em: <https://dloc.com/AA00021613/00001/images/2>. Acesso em: 20 nov 2025.

HALPERN, Jean-Claude. *Léger-Félicité Sonthonax. La première abolition de l'esclavage. La Révolution française et la Révolution de Saint-Domingue. Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, n. 345, p. 188-191, 2006. DOI: <http://doi.org/10.4000/ahrf.7273>.

HECTOR, Michel ; HURBON, Laënnec . *Une autre voie de construction de l'État-nation : l'expérience christophienne (1806-1820)*. In: HECTOR, Michel; HURBON, Laënnec (org.). *Genèse de l'État haïtien (1804-1859)*. Paris: Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2009. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.editionsmsmh.9723>.

HERMOGÈNE, Feguenson. 30 septembre 1991, et 11 septembre 1973 : deux coups d'Etat pour un même projet, 2019. Disponível: <https://ayibopost.com/30-septembre-1991-et-11-septembre-1973-deux-coups-detat-pour-un-meme-projet>. Acesso em: 9 janv 2026.

JOINT, Louis-Auguste. *L'école dans la construction de l'État*. In: HECTOR, Michel; HURBON, Laënnec (org.). *Genèse de l'État haïtien (1804-1859)*. Paris : Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2009. DOI: <http://doi.org/10.4000/books.editionsmsmh.9723>.

JOINT, Louis-Auguste. *Système éducatif et inégalités sociales en Haïti: le cas des écoles catholiques. Recherches et ressources en éducation et formation*, [S. l.], n. 2, 2008. DOI: <http://doi.org/10.4000/rref.861>.

PIERRE, Delima. *Constitution, Lois et L'éducation en Haïti, 1801-2011 : Eléments de Politique Éducatives*, Port-au-Prince, Le Béréen Laval, Mémoire, 2012.

PORTER, Catherine et al. Comment la France a riposté aux demandes de réparations d'Haïti. *The New York Times*, 20 maio 2022. Disponível em: *The New York Times*. Acesso em: 8 jan. 2026.

SAINT-GERMAIN, Michel. Problématique linguistique en Haïti et réforme éducative : quelques constats. *Revue des sciences de l'éducation*, v. 23, n. 3, p. 611-642, 1997. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7202/031954ar>.