

The Country that Would be Brazil  
Soccer: Representations and Identity in Haiti

"O Haiti, Nao , aqui"  
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On July 10, 1998, two days before the soccer World Cup final between Brazil and France, the French Ambassador to Haiti appeared on Haitian television for fifteen minutes, along with his Brazilian counterpart. He was attempting to maintain equilibrium, asserting that "French people love Brazil and will be equally happy if Brazil happens to win the Cup." The Brazilian ambassador then explained that it was only a game and urged people to stay calm. Two years earlier, during the Atlanta Olympics soccer competition, Brazil played against a team made up of entirely black players, Nigeria. Haitians mobilized and supported Brazil. (Brazil was defeated and disappointment reigned). Such anecdotes suggest the magnitude of the unconditional activism the national Brazilian team enjoys in Haiti, as if that team was the Haitian national team. While the Brazilian defeat in the World Cup did not precipitate any suicides in Brazil, allegedly there were two in Haiti.(1) For a Brazilianist venturing into Haitian lands and Haitian studies, the enormous devotion Brazil enjoys in Haiti is a matter of bafflement. How could a country founded by slaves so love a country founded by slave owners,(2) the last in the hemisphere to abolish slavery, and where racism and discrimination against black people have long been exposed?(3) (Not to mention that in the 19th century, 70% of the slave ships crossing the Atlantic bore the Brazilian flag(4)).

This paper will attempt to examine the significance of this phenomenon; it is not intended as a social commentary on the sport, which, as we shall see, is not really the issue here. Considering that the most noteworthy characteristic of the phenomenon we are analyzing here is the deterritorialization of devotion, the problematic becomes situated in a field of investigation apart from studies restricted to sports. For this reason, this paper will concentrate on interpreting this phenomenon. Is this case of transference? Is Brazil a mythic country, endowed with messianic dimensions, "a black country that wins," an adoptive fatherland for Haitians who reject their own stigmatized identity? Or is it due to self-loathing? In claiming Brazil as their team, are Haitians creating a victorious surrogate for themselves to compensate for their own identity crises? We shall not examine the question from a pathological or dysfunctional angle, as is too often the case when one speaks of either Haiti or sports. We shall first consider the forms in which this phenomenon manifests itself, then examine Haitian associations with Brazil, and whether they go beyond sports activism; finally we shall analyze this devotion through the theoretical framework of various disciplines.

This research is based on more than one hundred in-depth interviews, undertaken for the most part with the inhabitants of Carrefour and Carrefour-Feuilles in Port-au-Prince, and mainly among secondary school students and teachers.(5) These interviews were conducted by second-year sociology-anthropology students, the Ethnology department of the State University of Haiti, and by myself, and they were carried out from December 1998 to June 1999. While the length of our interviews was usually around one hour and twenty minutes, some took place over the course of several days, in order to tackle, in an interactive way, the reactions of the people being questioned to the realism of the questions. We noted that the more in-depth the interviews, the more the people

being interviewed manifested a shift in their initial enthusiasm. Instead of wishing to share, to legitimize their support, which is the case with classic sports activism,(6) little by little they doubted or qualified the bases of their devotion, as if the edifice of this devotion were crumbling. Aside from these interviews, an observation of the militant sporting events of the eighties and nineties contributed to the shaping of the contours of our subject.

The radical singularity of Haiti's rooting for Brazil with regard to other situations of sports activism, is its deterritorialization, the irreconcilable physical separation of a team from fans about whom the team knows nothing, although these fans know everything about the team. All the teams in the world enjoy a real or symbolic proximity to their fans; indeed they depend on a sort of "constituency," to use a term from American politics. The reality here is that the "constituency" is totally absent: we see a devotion without its corresponding object. While a love relationship,(7) as is the case with the classic sports fanaticism in Latin America, involves two actors, the Brazilian soccer team is not, in fact, part of the relationship here. Certain soccer teams do attract associations of extramural fans, such as the Juventus of Turin, which even has organized clubs in Japan. But the situation here is hardly comparable. We are not talking about an isolated institution with a maximum of a few dozen followers, but rather a national boosterism of a foreign team. We are here in the presence of aficionados without a team, without a stadium, without a club, and without the local resource-mobilization process that usually produces a winning team. It is exactly as if Brazil is considered the national Haitian team. Furthermore, the Haitian fans call themselves "Brazilians": mwen s, br, zilyen. This "deterritorialization" is the main focus of our consideration. It suggests that we are dealing with something other than a sports phenomenon. The only concrete events we have are actually the most spectacular effects of soccer activism: the "fe," to borrow a term from bull-fighting, and the street demonstration. This deterritorialization thus situates the problematic in the realm of the imaginary and renders the sociologies of sports and sports fans for the most part inoperable.

Far from indicating a collective neurosis or dysfunctioning, this deterritorialization of identity allows for the organization of symbolic frameworks that break away from the radical insularity of Haiti. The relationship between territory and identity was reformulated in Haiti with the figure of Africa-Guinea. The representations of Guinea in Haitian voodoo do not necessarily evoke a distance, to the extent that Guinea is a place but also something beyond a place, a quasi-abstraction complicating the possibilities of territorialization a topos.

"Haiti is the site of belonging and Guinea is the site of reference.(8) Just as Guinea represents the restoration of the lost origins of an exiled people with no hope of returning to Africa, Brazil represents something other than a geographical space and a cultural entity, or even a mythic site. Actively supported by the Haitian fans in the streets of Port-au-Prince, Brazil is in Haiti here. (Paradoxically, our interviews with the fans had the effect of recreating the physical existence of Brazil, which began to trouble their devotion). The identity-migration toward the Brazilian team did not necessarily evoke self-hatred or an identity Bovaryism. An identification with the national soccer team of Brazil is certainly far from being restricted to Brazil--or Haiti--and in many respects constitutes an international phenomenon. Their visits to other parts of the world, and southern Asia and Africa in particular, have demonstrated that Brazil enjoys a popularity unparalleled by any other team. The support of this team in some respects represents a symbolic vindication against the arrogance of industrial powers. Brazil, as a victorious third-world country, lacking any hegemonic

handicap, makes it at the very least a sympathetic referent. But nowhere else do we find the enthusiasm of the Haitian passion. Here, the magnitude and the intensity tip the issue into another realm.

Haitian activism for Brazil manifests itself in different forms, which owe nothing to any kind of intervention by an organized entity. This activism is expressed by an affective, undifferentiated attachment spread throughout the society, and is identical to the passions of identity concentrated on local teams (such as the attachment of the Turinese population to the Juventus or that of London to Arsenal or Chelsea). We see it in the Brazilian flags hanging from windows or painted on walls and the bodies of the tap-taps (Haitian taxis) or, in reduced size, hanging from rear-view mirrors. Or in the individual and collective proclamations of faith pronounced during televised matches. Haiti is a country on hold during the broadcasts.(9) And finally, this fervor is manifested in particular in the massive, festive demonstrations in the public square after Brazilian victories. Such taking possession of the streets is more decentralized, although more ephemeral, than those observed during carnival in Port-au-Prince. After Brazil's victory over Argentina in the American Cup in Mexico City in July, 1999, we were able to observe that at least four important arteries of the city were sites of joyous demonstrations.(10) These collective and spontaneous demonstrations were accompanied by rara bands,(11) and included several thousand individuals, mostly young and of both sexes. This mix of the sexes is rare in organized boosterism for a team.(12)

Given the massive nature of this boosterism, as well as the passive support found, for example, among painters, Haiti distinguishes itself radically from the other places supporting Brazil mentioned above. We therefore note that, contrary to the territorialized situations of sports activism, the fervor in this case is not institutionalized. The demonstrations of support in Haiti are unorganized, informal, spontaneous and of especially massive if not national proportions. Furthermore, this fever includes all social strata endorsing pro-Brazilian activism, with the exception of the bourgeois merchants of Syrian-Lebanese origin. It is, nevertheless, in the most working-class neighborhoods that we noted the greatest number of mural paintings pertaining to Brazil. Violence is present in this activism; and the reason the French ambassador gave for appearing on television, in the anecdote mentioned at the beginning of this paper, was in fact the fear of "reprisals"--in fact he mostly succeeded in creating mass hysteria among French residents.(13) Whereas sports violence usually begins in the stadium, in this case it begins in the streets. The friction generally pits the "Brazilians" against the "Argentines," and such confrontations can result in murder. The Haitian authorities generally fear a Brazilian defeat. "When Brazil loses, the people are especially frustrated not to have an occasion to celebrate."(14) The first form of this pro-Brazilian activism is therefore primarily a collective, spontaneous celebration upon victory. And the pleasure of the collective communion and the resulting "enchanted belonging"(15) constitute a restoration of social bonds.

This type of festive act unequivocally recalls the great national celebrations of the winners in highly visible competitions, events the Haitian society sees on television. The sports activism in Haiti belongs in fact to an imported model, whose characteristics are clearly based on those of Latin countries (Southern Europe and Latin America). We shall examine both the mimetism and the intertextuality of boosterism. By absorption or imitation, the devotion observed in Haiti conforms to two distinct types. The concept of intertextuality can be operative here in as much as it

suggests the general conditions that allow the Haitian boosterism to generate forms that are affirmed and explained by those borrowed from the national or regional celebrations in Europe and Latin America. Such mimetism is amplified by insularity, a concept little used in Haitian studies in general,(16) and therefore it is also amplified by the desire to belong to universal frameworks of visibility. According to the Stanford anthropologist Ren, Girard, mimetism is the essential expression of human desire: each desires what the other desires.(17) But for Girard, mimetism is individual and dysfunctional.(18) The adoption of the Haitian community of sports activism might have been produced by the impossibility of a legitimate activism. The frustration of the desire not only for celebration but also for participation in a universal referent,(19) and thereby to access the symbolic status of a visible nation, provided the framework for the most spectacular forms of this activism. While Haitian soccer--Haitian sports--experienced a relative and fleeting glory in 1974 with the qualification of its team for the final phase of the soccer World Cup in Germany, the hope of a short or medium term international sports victory was slim or non-existent, and Haitian society had no occasion to access the acts of collective communion such as those that took place in the participating countries.(20) In the idea the peoples create of themselves, an international victory in soccer yields symbolic capital, and this is precisely because soccer is the most popular sport, or as George Steiner says, the only truly universal religion. But it is not simply a matter of winning; the simple participation in international competitions creates a precious visibility for frustrated and underdeveloped identities. There is a causal relationship between the Haitian weakness in sports and the choice of Brazil as a substitute team, since in the world of soccer Brazil is the only super-power.

Television seems to have played an important role in the importation of this model. Aside from the World Cups, when all the matches are broadcast, for several years now Haitian public television has broadcast a match of Italian soccer every Sunday morning. In these broadcasts, as in the televised news programs, the Haitian spectator sees groups of humans expressing their team support with enthusiasm and joy. The victories in important matches give cities or whole nations the occasion to celebrate the victory spectacularly, to "take to the streets" and assume possession of public spaces. The American channel CNN called the Parisian celebration of the French victory in the World Cup of 1998 the "party of the century." While all supporters cannot celebrate victory, most can display the ostentation of a support during a competition in which few teams do not enjoy some exposure. Haiti, on the other hand, is one of those invisible sports nations; no local team participates in any international competitions, and the national team is regularly crucified, even by the teams on the lowest international level, such as those from Trinidad and Guatemala. And the memory of their qualification for the World Cup in 1974, which gave a brief international visibility to the country, has been all but erased. The lack of a national championship up to 1998, and the absence of a culture of boosterism belonging to each city in particular, has fed the general sense of frustration. The Haitian soccer fans thus found themselves bereft of a legitimate reason for nationalistic and festive celebration. Television would therefore appear to be the main vector of this absorption, playing the role of the Malinche in its "colonization of the imaginary."(21) Furthermore, we often heard clichés borrowed directly from televised commentators in the mouths of the people interviewed when questioned about their faith in Brazil. (Although we also met some people from places without television,(22) whose passion for soccer became evident during our conversations, the general enthusiasm lessened considerably as soon as we left the urban areas, and notably Port-au-Prince).

Why is this devotion nevertheless directed at Brazil rather than at any other team, especially those teams that might appear to convey proximity, such as those from the Caribbean countries (Jamaica participated in the final phase of the soccer World Cup in 1998) or African countries? What is the difference between Brazil and these other countries?

When we asked people about their support for Brazil, they generally answered succinctly with a short phrase or a word, as if it were obvious. "Yo jou, bien," "yo pi fou sou latŠ," or else the confounding "mwen se br,silien." The supporters of the Brazilian team in fact identified themselves as Brazilians. Such lapidary explanations are different from the endless discussions of the Brazilian team, discussions in the home, at work, in all places and social classes. They also underscore the incongruity of the questions and the unanimity of the devotion. The use of "we" was also recurrent in our interviews. "Tonight we are going to play. Argentina doesn't have a chance." In our interviews, one of the primary motifs of pro-Brazilian activism was the style of the game practiced by the Brazilian teams.(23) The style of the Brazilian game, which came up quite consistently in the interviews, was perceived as being characterized by beauty and technical superiority. (Paradoxically, interviews with the supporters of the national team of Argentina mentioned exactly the same qualities). The players were termed "artists," capable of winning the match by their technical feats. They were thought to forsake the physical and rough game for feats of technical virtuosity. In other words, they manifest what is known in bull-fighting as *duende*. The Brazilian players most cited in the interviews, such as Pel, and Nascimento, Ronaldo or Romarion, execute rare technical moves. We note that the plays admired implicitly suggested a praise of individualism. It was never--ever--the collective actions or the aspects of the game demonstrating solidarity among players or underscoring the collectivity of this sport that evoked enthusiasm or respect, but rather individual offensives and often egotistical actions in which a player attempted to distinguish himself alone. The technical prowess described always involved a sole player (the one who had the ball at the moment of the play). The language of the people interviewed made the valorization of individualism very clear. At no moment was the third person singular (*li* in Creole) used to speak of the team, but always for a specific player, making a hero of a player or players, but not of the team as a collectivity. People spoke of the other extreme among European players; as opposed to technique and the artistic *duende* of the Brazilian players, the Europeans, and notably those of the north (the Germans and the English), were on several occasions pejoratively qualified as "lumber-jacks" (another cliché, borrowed from television commentators). The Brazilian team would be brought to the offensive, to the position of attack, while "the other teams" were identified as practicing ill-tempered, calculating, and overly physical styles, giving precedence to the final result over the quality and beauty of the game. Furthermore, the Brazilian creative abilities and actions just short of cheating garnered much praise. In fact this lends credence to the Brazilian sociologist Roberto da Matta, who characterizes the Brazilian soccer style by the Portuguese term *malandragem*, a term which is difficult to translate literally into either French or English. *Malandragem* means a slightly stealthy verve, a way for a people to stand out in spite of an initial disadvantage, a way to cheat one's adversaries "with style."(24) The style is therefore closely tied to culture, and popular culture in particular. For their part, the Europeans were not considered to have the necessary finesse to match this *malandragem* and the aesthetic play of the sons of the working class. The Brazilians were seen therefore not so much as sportsmen, but as artists. This representation might furthermore suggest that the popularity of the sport lies in a choreography accessible to everyone. It is also pertinent to note that the moral qualities of the Brazilian game (perseverance, physical generosity) were never cited, even though they were cited by other fans

(from Brazil) in Asia or other Latin American countries. "They play from the heart," is one of the clichés heard from the European commentators on Brazil.

Our long analysis on the styles perceived in the Brazilian soccer-players is necessary to anchor our considerations of identification. Do the Haitians in fact recognize themselves in the playing style they describe? A former trainer of the Haitian national team, G. Vorbes, confided to us that "the Brazilian game is quite comparable to the Haitian style, given their creativity and technical prowess." (25) To recognize oneself in these characteristics is obviously a way to attribute such characteristics to oneself. But this identification with the style of the Brazilian game also indicates an appropriation of the Brazilian team. The festive and public celebrations in Haiti demonstrate an appropriation of the victory and the strongest possible sense of identification. In the world of soccer, there is but one superpower, and that's Brazil. Through this sport, Brazil is the only large country in the third world to have access to the symbolic status of an international power, the only one to hold its own against the big boys. The implementation of Haitian dollars also bears witness to an appropriation of a symbol of power. (26) But we must be wary of interpreting this as a type of residual stigma of slavery. Sympathy for power is not restricted to Haiti alone. In the United States, the basketball team the Chicago Bulls, the most powerful and victorious in the nineties, enjoyed a support that certainly went far beyond Illinois state lines. This sympathy for the most powerful can thus also represent a form of common referent.

Does this activism go beyond soccer? During our interviews, the questions pertaining to Brazil itself were met with ignorance and relative indifference, except among the intellectuals. Brazil's history, politics and culture did not arouse much curiosity. Only the immediate circumstances of the year 1998, as reported by the Haitian media, were cited by a few, most notably among the elites (such as professors, students and journalists): the monetary crisis and the landless peasant movement. But the few possible anthropological similarities, such as those studied by Roger Bastide and Alfred M. Traux, (27) did not constitute an area of sympathy or curiosity with regard to Brazil as either a nation or a culture. Nor were the common presence of African religions, some of which are quite close to Haitian voodoo, plantation society or other forms of cultural expression mentioned. (28) Brazil was therefore considered an entity largely restricted to soccer, which would tend to confirm the hypothesis of an erotization of Brazil. (29) Among the intellectuals (journalists, musicians, writers) we met, on the other hand, there was a definite curiosity, even marked enthusiasm for Brazilian things. For these intellectuals, Latin America represented not only a neighboring culture and shared romantic history, notably at the moment of independence when Haiti demonstrated a political and humanistic solidarity with Brazil, but also the crossing of the obligatory horizons of ever-present French culture and North American omnipresence. Within the Latin American context, Brazil assumed symbolic sovereignty. Among these Haitian intellectuals, Brazil appears truly as a mythic site and even a model. The desire to visit Brazil was constantly mentioned, although impossible to attain without the means, while the names of Brazilian musicians were enumerated, and a few known images of Brazil were evoked--such as the Amazon, carnival, the beauty of the women, the easy life (sic)--*omne ignotum pro magnifico*, as if speaking of a "sister country" and "tropical paradise" Haiti could never achieve. The interviews among the intellectuals made it clear first and foremost that the power of this Brazilian model underscored the economic and political inadequacies of this "poor third of an island," (30) but also that the incredibly positive charge of the Brazilian identity increased the Haitian identity crisis. The desire

to see Haiti visited--and recognized--by Brazilian personalities was all the more clearly expressed when the people interviewed thought to find an intermediary in the person conducting the research.

Notably, Brazil was not considered a black country, except by a small minority of the people interviewed; it constituted a "mulatto nation." In response to the question "Is Brazil a black, white, mulatto or mixed-race nation?" almost all answered "mulatto." This tends to undercut the hypothesis that we are seeing a transference toward the Brazilian team on a racial basis. Furthermore, black teams are not supported by the Haitian public. During the World Cup finals in 1998, the Brazilian team played opposite the French team. The former, according to the current Haitian color codes (the division of blacks, whites and mulattos) had no black players, and at most four mulattos. The team of the former colonizers, on the other hand, included five black players, three of whom were of West Indian origins.(31) The interviews clearly underscored the following perception of reality: that Haitian fans did not see Brazil as a black team. Furthermore, although there are many emerging black teams from the Caribbean and West Africa in the soccer consortium of nations, no Haitian support was noted in their favor. On the contrary, they were spurned when they played opposite Brazil. In the 1996 semi-final against Nigeria, no support for Nigeria was recorded, while the crushing of Cameroon in 1998 was celebrated in the streets. This color-blindness situates the problematic in the area of identity. Today Haiti suffers from identity-fatigue and malaise, the depths of which is perhaps unprecedented in its history.(32) While the confusion and intensity of the economic, political and social crises--and in our opinion the institutional crisis in particular--are not unprecedented in recent Haitian history, the current situation is marked, according to our observations, by new social phenomenon: the waning of collective hope. Until around 1996, possibility still existed. The succession of collective enthusiasms, beginning with the fall of the Duvalier regimes, in 1986, then the election of Jean-Bertrand Aristide in 1990, and then his return in 1994, were balanced by social melancholy, stemming only in part from the fatigue of the democratization process. Disappointments, at first diffused then more and more outstanding during the last two or three years, produced notably by Lavalassian messianism, indicate a radical disenchantment in Haitian society, in particular among young people. It is not a matter of making social idleness a determining factor in the emergence in the phenomenon under discussion here, but on the contrary to situate the effects of a continuous and total crisis of the Haitian identity, just barely sustained by the single romanticism of the nation's heroic origins. This identity-fatigue, produced from the inside this time, adds to the long-standing and already identified external stigmatization and contributes to the search, not for substitutes, but the heroes now absent from the scene of international referents. "You worship Ronaldo but not Ti Mano," criticizes the most popular Haitian singer, Michel Mart,ly in his latest song.

But this desire to appropriate victory also involves a rejection of passivity, and the desire to be an actor in one's own history at last. To conclude that we are witnessing a collective self-hatred would be shortsighted. The love of soccer and of Brazil in particular involves a step toward a larger sense of community, a desire for integration in a community which is none the less universal for being in a sports community. Paradoxically, this desire for integration demonstrates the rejection of the stigmatization of Haitian identity.

Jean-Philippe Belleau

translated from the French by Sophie Hawkes

## Notes

1. *Le Nouveliste*, July 15, 1999.
2. Independence was indeed a means to maintain slavery and the plantation system.
3. France Windance Twine, *Racism in a racial democracy. The Maintenance of White Supremacy in Brazil*. Rutgers: New Jersey University Press, 1977. Cleusa Turra, Gustavo Venturi, eds., *Racismo cordial*. Sao Paulo: Atica, 1995.
4. *Historia da vida privada no Brasil*, vol. 3, Luiz Felipe Alencastro, ed., Sao Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1998.
5. Carrefour is an unpopular neighborhood in the Haitian capital, where one nevertheless finds pockets of lower class citizens. Carrefour-feuille is grosso-modo a lower class neighborhood.
6. Christian Bromberger, *Le match de football, Ethnologie d'une passion partisane*. Paris: Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1995.
7. A category neglected by the social sciences, love is analyzed from this perspective by Christian Geffray in *Le Nom du Maître. Contribution ... l'anthropologie analytique*. Paris: Arcanes, 1997, p. 87.
8. Gušrin Montilus, *Les Dieux en Diaspora, ,ditions Celtho*, cited by Marc Naiman in *Haiti, Dieu seul me voit*. Paris: Balland, 1995, p. 117. On Haitian voodoo, see Laennec Hurbon, *Dieu dans le vaudou haitien*. Paris: Karthala, 1985.
9. It is public knowledge that the surest time to get an immediate connection with an internet server is during the televised broadcasts of matches with Brazil.
10. At Delmas, from Delmas 83 to Delmas 101; at P, tionville, in le Petit Saint-Pierre; at Lalue, in la ruelle Chr, tien, and at Carrefour.
11. Traditional Haitian music groups.
12. C. Bromberger, *op. cit.*
13. The only ones to manifest their joy in the streets on the occasion of the French victory were the young Argentine officials from the United Nations. . .
14. Interview with Jean Dominique, December, 1998.
15. Christian Geffray, *op. cit.*, p 63.
16. Except by G, rard Barth, l, my (*Le pays en dehors*, Port-au-Prince: Editions Deschamps), with regard to the peasant world.

17. Ren, Girard, Shakespeare. *Les feux de l'envie*. Paris: Grasset, 1990.
18. For Girard, mimetism is the source itself of conflicts, while we are using this concept to understand the diffusion of soccer activism here.
19. C. Bromberger, *op. cit.*, p 1 ("a kind of universal referent, one of the few, if not the only one, elements of a masculine world culture, understood by all, bypassing regional, national and generation differences).
20. Victory procures not only identity gratification but also the symbolic status of an international power. The Cameroon team, the first and for a long time the only African team of international visibility, gave this country a political surplus value, notably within the Organization of the African States (personal communication with Jean-François Bayart, Saint-Louis, Missouri, November 1999). The [Plan R,al], the radical monetary reform led by the Brazilian president, F. H. Cardoso, and whose fate depended largely on popular support, benefitted a great deal from the long expected victory of the national team in the 1994 World Cup.
21. Serge Gruzinsky, *La Colonization de l'imaginaire*. Paris: Gallimard, 1985.
22. At Tiburon, in the department of the Sud, and at Baradšres, in the department of Grande-Anse.
23. Sports sociology has produced many studies on the playing styles of team sports such as soccer (see C. Bromberger, *op. cit.*, chapter 6). Here we are in fact speaking of style, and not only of tactical organization. But we reject the notion of style which cannot be an anthropological given and creates a cultural a-priori. Here we are dealing with a Haitian discourse on Brazil. Many texts have tried to formulate the style of the game, however, perceiving it almost as a case of cultural reproduction, notably that of Roberto da Matta, whom we shall cite further on.
24. Roberto da Matta, "Introduçao," in *Universo de futebol: esporte e sociedade brasileira*, edited by Roberto da Matta. Rio de Janeiro: Ediçoes Pinakothek, 1982.
25. Personal communication, P, tionville, April, 1999.
26. "Haitian dollars," an imaginary currency the equivalent of five gourdes, is used by the entire population for all monetary transactions.
27. Roger Bastide, *African Religions in the New World*. London: Hurst, 1971.
28. In December, 1998, a Brazilian professor, Omar Ribeiro, came to the Ethnological department to give a conference on some of the Afro-Brazilian religions (notably the condomb, and Oubanda), an occasion that allowed us to note the general misunderstanding of this spectacular point in common between the Haitian and Brazilian cultures.
29. Christian Geffray, *op. cit.*
30. Frank, tienne

31. Marcel Dessailly, born in Ghana; Lilian Thuram, born in Guadeloupe; Bernard Lama, from French Guyana; Thierry Henri and Diomšde, originally from Martinique.

32. We are basing this on observations made over the course of more than two years in Haiti, in 1995 in the provinces, and in 1998-1999 in Port-au-Prince.