# The Precipice of Change: Applying the Agency Calculus to Predict the Next State to Undergo Transformation

**Port-au-Prince, Haiti** – In a world grappling with increasing instability, the next nation poised to undergo a fundamental state change is Haiti. This prediction is not based on traditional geopolitical analysis alone, but on the application of the Agency Calculus 3.0, a moral and analytical framework that measures the "net flow of agency" within a society. Haiti, more than any other nation in acute crisis, demonstrates a catastrophic and accelerating collapse across all five core domains of agency, Economic, Health, Political, Social, and Educational, driven by a deeply entrenched "Othering Barrier" and a crushing "Agency Debt" that has reached a critical tipping point.

The Agency Calculus 3.0 posits that a state's stability is directly proportional to the agency, or the "choice space," of its citizens. "Good" is the cultivation of this agency, while "evil" is its forcible reduction. A state change becomes imminent when the mechanisms for agency reduction become systemic, self-perpetuating, and overcome the populace's capacity for resilience. While countries like Sudan and Myanmar face profound crises, Haiti's situation represents a more complete and rapid disintegration of the very structures that enable human agency.

### Haiti: A Case Study in Agency Collapse

**Economic Agency:** Haiti's economic agency is virtually non-existent for the majority of its population. The country is projected to see a -1.0% change in real GDP in 2025, with a staggering 27.2% inflation rate. The unemployment rate sits at 15.1%. However, these figures fail to capture the reality on the ground, where gangs control an estimated 85% of Port-au-Prince, paralyzing legal commerce and controlling major trade routes. This creates a predatory economic environment where survival, let alone choice, is dictated by criminal elements.

**Health Agency:** The health domain is equally dire. While there have been some improvements in specific areas like immunization coverage, the broader health system is in a state of collapse. Leading causes of death include stroke and ischemic heart disease, indicative of a population under extreme stress, and a significant number of deaths are attributed to interpersonal violence. The control of territory by gangs severely restricts access to healthcare, and reports of illicit organ trafficking highlight a horrifying exploitation of the vulnerable.

**Political Agency:** Political agency in Haiti has been systematically dismantled. The country is a semi-presidential republic in name only, with international bodies describing it as a hybrid or authoritarian regime. The assassination of President Jovenel Moïse in 2021 created a power vacuum that has been filled by gangs and competing political factions. The pervasive influence of gangs, some with political affiliations, has rendered the state's legitimate authority to make collective decisions virtually meaningless.

**Social and Educational Agency:** The social fabric of Haiti is tearing apart. Over 1.3 million people are internally displaced due to gang violence. An estimated 5.2 million people, nearly half the population, are in need of humanitarian aid. A staggering 900% increase in attacks on schools in 2023 has pushed half a million children out of the classroom in the capital alone. This targeted destruction of educational infrastructure is a direct assault on the future agency of an entire generation. Furthermore, widespread sexual violence, with women and girls in gang-controlled areas being particularly vulnerable, represents a brutal and direct reduction of personal agency.

## The "Othering Barrier" and "Vulnerability Amplifier" in Haiti

The Agency Calculus 3.0 identifies the "creation of an 'Othering Barrier', the psychological dehumanization of a group, as a critical moral event". In Haiti, this is not primarily based on ethnicity or religion, as seen in other fragile states, but on a more insidious class and geographic divide, amplified by the extreme violence of the gangs. The rhetoric of some political figures has also been flagged for its dehumanizing nature. The "Vulnerability Amplifier" is starkly evident in the way gangs prey on the most desperate, with reports of children and adolescents being recruited into their ranks. The exploitation is so extreme that it includes kidnapping for ransom and alleged organ trafficking, demonstrating a complete disregard for the humanity of the victims.

#### The Crushing Weight of "Agency" and "Epistemic Debt"

Haiti's present crisis is built on a foundation of profound "Agency Debt" and "Epistemic Debt." The concept of "odious debt" is particularly relevant, with a history of crippling reparations paid to France after its independence, which has stifled its development for centuries. This historical economic subjugation represents a massive, inherited reduction of agency. "Epistemic Debt," the societal cost of institutionalized lies, is also a significant factor. The framing of the 2010 cholera outbreak as a result of Haiti's inherent brokenness, rather than the introduction of the disease by UN peacekeepers, is a prime example of how narratives can be manipulated to absolve powerful actors of responsibility and perpetuate a sense of hopelessness.

## Powerful Agents and the Failure of the "Burden of Power"

The Agency Calculus holds "powerful agents (states, corporations, influential individuals) to a higher standard for their actions and, crucially, their omissions". In Haiti, a complex web of powerful actors contributes to the reduction of agency. These include not only the gang leaders themselves, such as Jimmy "Barbecue" Chérizier and Vitelhomme Innocent, but also the political and economic elites who have historically armed and supported them for their own ends. International actors, while providing aid, have been criticized for a lack of a cohesive and effective strategy, and the legacy of foreign intervention has often exacerbated instability.

# A Comparative Analysis: Why Haiti Over Sudan and Myanmar

While Sudan and Myanmar are also in the throes of severe crises, the nature of their state fragility differs from Haiti's in ways that make a near-term state change in Haiti more probable according to the Agency Calculus.

In **Sudan**, the conflict is primarily a power struggle between two well-defined military factions: the Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF) and the Rapid Support Forces (RSF). While there is evidence of dehumanizing rhetoric and significant human suffering, the conflict is, at its core, a civil war with a semblance of competing governance structures. The "state" has not so much collapsed as it is being violently contested by two entities vying for control.

In **Myanmar**, the conflict is a long-standing civil war, with the military junta facing opposition from a coalition of ethnic armed organizations and pro-democracy forces. The "Othering Barrier" against the Rohingya is a clear and egregious example of a violation of the Agency Calculus. However, the state, in the form of the military junta, maintains a significant, albeit brutal, level of control over large parts of the country. The opposition, while gaining ground, is a collection of distinct groups with varying degrees of coordination.

**Haiti**, in contrast, is experiencing a more chaotic and complete implosion of the state itself. The primary drivers of violence are not two competing armies or a collection of revolutionary groups, but rather a multitude of gangs that have effectively replaced the state in many areas, creating a patchwork of brutal fiefdoms. This atomization of power and the near-total erosion of legitimate governance structures represent a more fundamental and immediate collapse of the state's ability to provide any semblance of agency to its citizens.

### **Conclusion: The Inevitable Rupture**

The "net flow of agency" in Haiti is overwhelmingly and rapidly negative. The core domains of agency are not just under stress; they are in a state of freefall. The "Othering Barrier," while not along traditional ethnic lines, is potent and deadly. The "Vulnerability Amplifier" is operating at an extreme level, and the nation is groaning under the weight of historical "Agency" and "Epistemic Debt." The powerful agents who could potentially cultivate agency have either failed in their "Burden of Power" or are active participants in its reduction.

According to the principles of the Agency Calculus 3.0, this comprehensive and accelerating collapse of agency makes Haiti the most likely nation to experience a state change in the near future. This change may not be a neat transition to a new form of government, but rather a formal rupture of the existing state structure, potentially leading to a period of warlordism, further fragmentation, or a significant and transformative international intervention. The calculus is clear: when the "choice space" of a people is systematically and brutally extinguished, the very definition of the state is rendered meaningless, and a profound transformation becomes not just possible, but inevitable.

Based on a synthesis of the Agency Calculus 3.0 framework and current real-world analysis, the predicted timeframe for a significant state change in Haiti is within the next **3 to 18 months**.

This forecast is grounded in the following analysis:

#### The Agency Calculus 3.0 Diagnosis: An Accelerating Collapse

The Agency Calculus 3.0 provides the "why" behind this prediction. The framework is not merely a static snapshot but a measure of the *flow* and *rate of change* of agency. A state change becomes imminent when the decline in agency is not only severe but accelerating, and the system's negative feedback loops overwhelm any remaining societal resilience.

- Principle of Preemptive Diagnosis:
  - The framework treats the rise of dehumanizing rhetoric and the creation of an "Othering Barrier" as "a preparatory act for a future, forcible reduction of agency". In Haiti, the widespread and systemic violence by gangs, which controls over 80% of the capital, has moved beyond a preparatory stage. The "forcible reduction of agency" is happening now, on a massive scale. This indicates the crisis is in a terminal phase.
- Severity Multipliers :
  - The severity of an evil act is measured by the percentage of agency lost, with "duration and irreversibility" as critical multipliers. The near-total collapse of educational, economic, and health infrastructure in gang-controlled areas is not a temporary disruption; it represents an increasingly irreversible loss of agency for an entire generation, accelerating the timeline for a fundamental state rupture.
- Systemic Failure vs. Contested Power: Unlike Sudan, which is experiencing a civil
  war between two distinct factions vying for control of the state apparatus, Haiti is
  witnessing the *dissolution* of the state apparatus itself into a patchwork of criminal
  fiefdoms. According to the Agency Calculus, this represents a more profound and
  immediate collapse of the state's function, suggesting a faster timeline for a definitive
  state change.

## Real-World Indicators and Expert Analysis

Current events and expert analyses provide the "when" by highlighting triggers that could occur within the 3 to 18-month window:

- Imminent Famine: The head of the World Food Programme has explicitly warned that Haiti is "on the brink of a devastating level of hunger" and at risk of a famine. This represents a catastrophic failure in the most basic "Physical Agency" and is a powerful catalyst for societal collapse. A formally declared famine would be a major trigger event.
- The Breaking Point of Gang Dominance: While gangs currently control vast territory, their rule is inherently unstable. An all-out war between the major gang coalitions (G-Pèp and G9) for total dominance, or the complete overrun of the remaining government-held institutions in Port-au-Prince, could trigger a definitive state failure. This internal power struggle is volatile and could escalate rapidly.

- **International Intervention as a Catalyst:** The planned deployment of a Kenyan-led international security force represents a critical unknown. Its arrival could either:
  - 1. **Trigger a violent, unified resistance** from the gangs, leading to a full-scale urban war and a rapid state change.
  - 2. **Temporarily stabilize the situation**, pushing the timeline for a fundamental state change back, although not resolving the underlying agency collapse.
  - 3. **Fail to materialize effectively**, in which case the current accelerated decline would continue, pointing to a collapse within the shorter end of the predicted timeframe.

The 18-month outer boundary accounts for the possibility that a partially successful intervention or a stalemate in gang conflict could prolong the current agony without resolving the fundamental crisis. However, the sheer velocity of the humanitarian and security decline makes a significant rupture within the next year highly probable. The state's capacity to provide any positive agency is virtually gone, and the negative feedback loops of violence, hunger, and institutional collapse are now self-perpetuating.