Field Report for

Post-Earthquake Emergency Response

&

EMMA Agricultural Labor Market Analysis

Department du Sudest

Prepared

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1. Introduction

The objective of the Department du Southeast study (per Scope of Work 1-2) was,

1) expand AMAP learning about value chains in conflict- and disaster-affected environments with the goal of helping design early responses for ensuring survival (market systems could supply food and essential items or services related to priority survival needs),

2) provide useful information for current humanitarian response programs in Haiti and implementers planning for medium- and long-term recovery programs protecting livelihoods (replace urgent [non-food items], seeds, tools, fuel and maintain demand for labor employment or production that restores incomes),

To accomplish the preceding, the consultants and members of ACDI/VOCA, Save the Children, and Diakonie spent 15 days training and conducting field research. The principal tasks involved were an investigation and analysis of the regional market conditions and livelihood strategies before and after the January 12th earthquake and choosing two market chains for the development of Emergency Market Mapping Analysis (EMMA--a diagramming technique for visually depicting market chain flows and significant factors that influence them). Bean and agricultural labor market chains were chosen. This is the field report for the Agricultural Labor Market.

The people of Southeastern Haiti are suffering from fallout from the January 12th earthquake: but they are also recuperating from a recent pig epidemic that wiped out swine stock; a pest infestation that has afflicted the highland cabbage crops; and arguably more severe than the earthquake itself, they are suffering from one of the worst droughts in decades. They are also dealing with a type of fallout from aid itself for whether the economy could have dealt with the crisis without greater suffering in the provinces is a mute point. The earthquake and associated press coverage brought on one of the greatest humanitarian efforts in history, the impact of which has not been entirely beneficial. These points and their relevancy to short and long term aid interventions are developed in the course of the report.

The report is structured as follows: an introduction to the Southeast; overview of settlement patterns and house type; ecological zones; the role of government, financial institutions, and NGOs; principal livelihood strategies; the internal versus import oriented economy and marketing systems; extra-household livelihood strategies; income; expenditures; and finally an analysis of the agricultural labor market and the EMMA map, followed by intervention options and recommendations. At the end of each subsection is an assessment of the impact of the recent earthquake. Note that particular attention has been given to how the impact of earthquake and associated events articulate with the often misunderstood rural livelihood farming strategies and internal marketing system on which people in the region depend.

2. Overview of the Region Department du Southeast

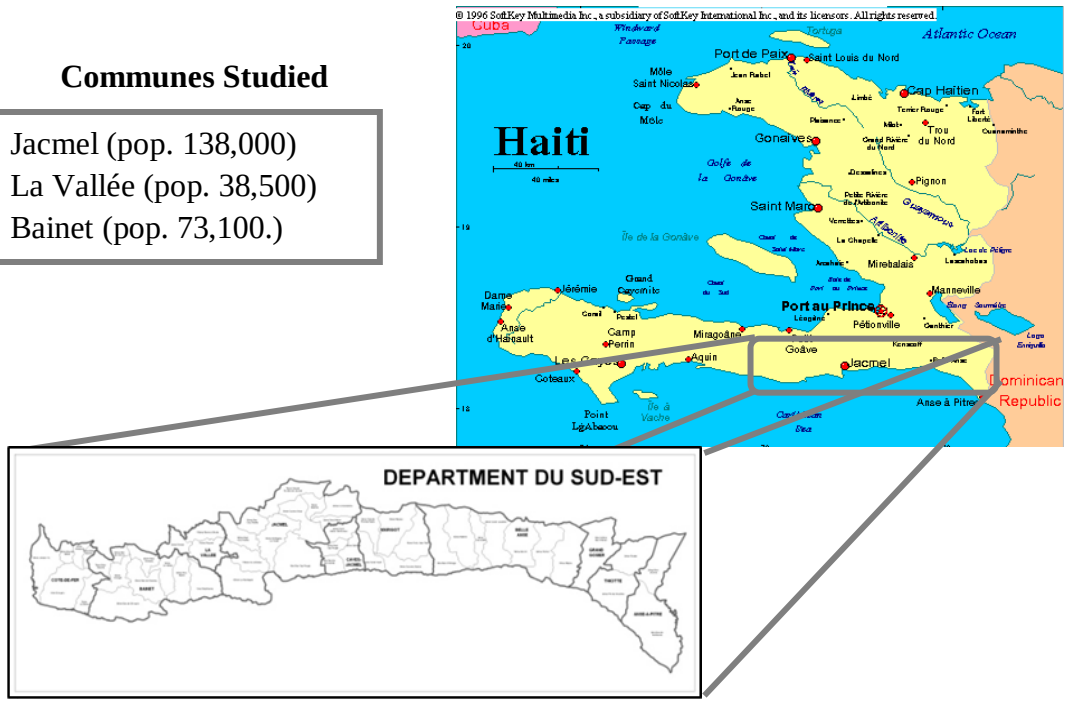
2.1. Geography

Haiti's Department du Southeast (hereon referred to as the Southeast) begins in the east of Haiti where it shares a border with the Dominican Province of Pedernales. Then, with the Caribbean sea on one side and the 7,000 foot heights of the Masif du Selle on the other, it stretches west in a long, thin 15 kilometer wide and 135 kilometer long strip of land. If a traveler transects this strip of territory, moving from sea inland, he or she will cross what in most areas is a short fertile, green, coastal plain with a wealth of trees and verdant foliage. The landscape then almost immediately begins to rise into dry scrub, then increasingly humid and fertile valleys, and ultimately into the mature karstic mountain range, with its scarce surface waters but high rain fall, fertile plateaus and valleys, and spectacular rock configurations. In all, the Department covers an area of 2,023 km.^{2} and is home to 527,531 people, less than 10% of whom (some 43,000) are concentrated in and around the city of Jacmel. The rest of the population is scattered throughout the few small towns, the principal hamlets where markets occur on specific days, and the many clusters of houses and isolated homesteads that dominate the landscape. The department is subdivided into 10 municipal districts called communes (counties). Of these, three communes were chosen for the EMMA study: Jacmel (pop. 138,000); La Vallée (pop. 38,500); and Bainet (pop. 73,100.)[i]

Figure 1: Maps

Communes Studied

Jacmel (pop. 138,000)
La Vallée (pop. 38,500)
Bainet (pop. 73,100.)



2.2. Geo-Ecological Livelihood Zones

The Southeast can be divided into six geo-ecological livelihood zones, primarily determined by altitude and precipitation.

Table 1: Geo-ecological livelihood zones

Geo-ecological livelihood zone	Crops and animals
1) Dry coastal	Livestock: goats, chickens, guinea fowl, pigeons, and cows where water is close; Charcoal from chaparral. Crops: peanuts and where possible manioc and sweet potatoes, millet, corn
2) Dry foothill	Same as above
3) Dry mountain	Same as above
4) Humid mountain	Livestock: goats, cows, pigs, chicken; charcoal from some trees; lumber; Crops: peanuts, beans, millet, sesame, melon, castor beans (for non edible oil), corn; plantains, bananas, manioc, yellow yams, sugar cane, pigeon peas, fruits trees,
5) Humid plain	Same as above
6) High altitude mountain	Livestock: goats, cows, pigs, chickens, guinea fowl, pigeons; Crops: beans, yams, carrots, cabbage, lettuce, spices…(some, but few types of fruit trees). Lumber.

As illustrated in Table 1, in each region a specific configuration of farming livelihood strategies prevails. But while the ecological zones define opportunities, they do not limit them. Most households rent, sharecrop, or own land in multiple geo-ecological zones, a tactic that helps spread risks and, as elaborated below, is a primary goal of people in the region. The best land is the 2% of irrigated arable land.

Impact: Damage to the natural environment brought on by earthquake is minimum. Some people in rural areas report springs going dry and there are some rock slides in the mountains.

2.3. House Type

Rural homesteads are overwhelmingly constructed of lumber that *boss* (specialized laborers) have hand hewn from local timber (most commonly Oak, Mango, and Mahogany); and to a much less degree of rock plastered with cement. Until recently, two grasses, *zeb giné* (*panicum maximum*) and *vetiver* (*vetiveria zizanioides*)[ii] where used for roofing.[iii] But today most houses are covered with tin, an indicator of the greater income and resources available as compared to other regions of Haiti where, despite the availability of tin roofing, one still sees an abundance of thatch or grass covered homes.

As one approaches a town, or hamlet-market center, the houses are more commonly built of cement and in modern architectural design. In the city of Jacmel and the coastal towns such as

Bainet, new cement houses are common as well as colonial homes most of which are in state of deterioration or ruin.

Impact: People in the city with their cement houses and buildings suffered a far greater impact in terms of loss of life and property and injuries than those in rural areas. In the City of Jacmel--where lived some 350 of the 400 Southeasterners killed in the earthquake--tents line the streets and fill vacant lots and the town square. Most of the tents are used only at night as sleeping quarters for fear of another earthquake. The largest tent city, near the airport, has a population of 5,000. What that means is not exactly clear. Reportedly most are IDPs (internally displaced persons). But a high degree of opportunism has invaded the aid landscape, meaning that at least some of the residents may have been attracted to and continue to stay in the tent city because of the hope of continued aid from the international community.

The rural areas were not hit as hard. The walls in many of the poorer quality cement and rock homes collapsed. However, most roofs remain intact as they are supported with wood beams and often lashed together with a special type of vine. Few rural people sleep in tents—unless they are among the fortunate few to have obtained one via connections to a local NGO or mission—but rather in the earthquake-tested house of family or neighbors or in a *joupa* (the easily assembled palm-thatch covered A-frame structures that people throughout Haiti construct as shelters in gardens).[iv]

2.4. Livelihood Strategies

Livelihood strategies, discussed in greater detail shortly, can be heuristically characterized by four dimensions: rural to urban, gender, household, and remuneration. On the rural extreme are farming, commerce craft specialties and traditional healers. On the urban end one finds an array of taxi drivers, porters, construction workers, vendors and entrepreneurs. Most occupations are gender specific. There is also a great dependence on household labor pool, something that tends to diminish with urbanization. About 30% of those who live in the city of Jacmel and a much lesser number of people in the outlying areas receive remittances from family, spouses, and lovers who have reached France, the DR, Canada, and more than anywhere else, the US.[v]

Impact: As with physical infrastructure, economic fallout in terms of occupational loss and income struck more directly at people in urban areas. But as seen shortly, those in the urban areas are closest to the aid and have benefitted most from food distribution, cash for work, full employment as aid employees, and expenditures that aid workers, refugees and receivers of remittances make. By far the bulk of the Southeast population, and hence the principal subject of this report, are those living in the rural areas. By dent of their relative isolation and poverty these are the people of greatest risk to long term crisis and who have been hurt most by the aftermath of the earthquake, negative consequences of the aid, and the recent drought. Fortunately, as will also be explored in greater detail shortly, they have mechanisms to cope with food scarcity and decline in available cash; for these are the people who form Haiti's domestic security net; the people to which the city dwellers, usually arrogant and disparaging toward their farming cousins, fled. Historically these rural dwellers have not *depended* on outside aid or even the world economy. They practice a configuration of livelihood strategies that for three hundred years, from the time when the colony was the most productive in the world to the present era of impending ecological disaster, has underwritten the survival of the urban minority. The merchant and governing elites have sustained themselves on gate-keeping "peasant" access to the world market—both in terms of exports and more recently through a manipulation of the markets they

monopolize. But it is the peasant livelihood practices that maintain the rest of the country in times of war, pestilence, disease, hurricanes, and earthquakes.

2.5. The Haitian government and Financial Institutions

Both local and State government, has traditionally provided few public services to the population of the region. An equal or greater number of services (e.g. road repair, education, and medical care) are provided through NGOs and overseas based religious organizations. This absence of the State extends to agriculture and a lack of extension and financial services to farmers. With the exception of the NGOs—historically a relatively recent and weak phenomenon--farmers are forced to provide their own security and safety nets. They sell animals to fund investments in gardens and they borrow money at high interest rates from the *kes popilè* (cooperatives that charge an average of 3% to 5% per month) *Fond Koze* and another half dozen foreign/NGO funded organizations (for the same rates as just cited); or sometimes loan sharks (*eskontè*) who loan money at 10% per month. This money is not due upon harvest but rather farmers must begin making payments one to two months after borrowing the money, meaning before the harvest, putting additional pressure on household livelihood security. Some distributors of imported staples (sugar, rice, flour, and beans) have introduced another lending mechanism by advancing sacks of the produce to market women on credit. The women often sell the stock at a loss and then use the money to trade in more lucrative products.

Impact: Damage to the State brought on by the earthquake is massive. Port-au-Prince lost much of its principal government infrastructure (buildings, archives, equipment). However, the Haitian State did little to nothing before the earthquake. Indeed, the Haitian State is seen by many as an impediment if not a parasite, something that had significant practical implications in the wake of the Earthquake. The earthquake temporarily removed the impediment. Regulations were suspended; borders in the south were open; the US Navy took control of the country's major port; the US army took control of the major international airport; Canadian armed forces took control of Jacmel airport and temporarily opened it to international traffic. Within weeks. all the preceding were handling significantly more traffic and more merchandise, and handling it more efficiently, than before the earthquake. In summary, with regard to the government inefficiency and bureaucratic impediments, the earthquake may have helped matters. The Haitian government itself has benefited from canceled debts and, although most aid goes directly to the foreign military forces and NGOs, an influx in aid and attention to its needs.

With respect to financial services, the high interest rates (averaging 30 to 50% per annum) have meant that many peasants view micro-financing as a predatory institution. In some cases the situation after the earthquake was reversed. Fond Kozé reportedly canceled all debts and gave its members part of two to three million dollars in cash that the US State Department gave directly to the organization.

2.6. Non-Government Organizations (NGOs)

NGO activity skyrocketed after the earthquake. In addition to a massive flood of aid across the open border with the Dominican Republic and through the airports and provincial ports, an abundance of new jobs have opened up for unemployed students and graduates. Spending on the part of expatriate NGO workers have stimulated the food, crafts, entertainment and sex industries. Many NGOs have also given cash relief bonuses directly to workers, many of whom

were not impacted directly by the earthquake. The UN, whose various organizations operate much like NGOs (for example the World Food Program that took over CARE International's Northwest and Artibonite activity zones) reportedly gave all local employees US$2,500. Other activities to be discussed shortly are increased motorcycle taxi traffic and increased sales of phone cards. In effect, for many, the earthquake has been a boon.

In summary, NGOs have tried in recent years to fulfill many of the functions that should have been, but were not, filled by the Haitian State. But this is not sufficient to have completely offset economic crisis; nor to change more than 200 years of adaptation. As will be seen below, the absence of State and any effective social security system, has meant that people must assure this social security themselves. For the rural areas, the need to maintain a degree of self-sufficiency in the face of impending crop failure, pestilence, and uncertain market opportunities means that most people living there have no choice but to devote much of their time and resources to a type of subsistence oriented livelihood. This does not mean that people in the Southeast are subsistence producers for as will be seen shortly, the market plays a major role in the regional economy. But the strategies are definitively *subsistence oriented* and they have not only served the peasants well during past crises, they have served the entire country well, for it is the rural semi-subsistence survival strategies and regional marketing systems that have assured survival through the dozens of hurricanes and political and military crises that have afflicted the region for over three-hundred years. For this reason, the other income strategies and urban livelihood strategies will be discussed in greater detail later in the report for in general they represent the incursion of a different economy and a different system, one that is not as entrenched in most of Haiti and certainly not historically as dependable, a fact that leads to misunderstandings and frustrations among aid workers who tend to arrive in the country with the impression that Haitians depend more on the World economy than on the traditional farming strategies and the country's own internal marketing system.

3. Principal Regional Livelihood Strategies

3.1. Farming, Fishing, and Charcoal

The principal income-generating and subsistence activities in the area are agriculture (including tree crops), livestock raising, petty commerce, charcoal production, and fishing. The tools and strategies used in these endeavors are no more complex than picks, hoes, machetes, rowboats, bamboo fishing traps, and string nets. People in the region do not use cows or horse traction to plow fields—as they do in Haiti's Central Plateau. There are few pumps; farmers with gardens plots near to springs and rivers sometimes manually haul buckets of water to irrigate crops, particularly vegetables in cool highland areas; 2% of arable land is canal irrigated. Only one in ten (or fewer) fishing boats are equipped with motors. The use of chemical or processed fertilizers and pesticides is almost entirely confined to highland vegetable gardens and, to a lesser degree, beans (also considered a cash crop), that dependably yield profits.

While not all farmers engage in the commercial-oriented agriculture mentioned above, virtually all rural households have members engaged in the cultivation of semi-subsistence gardens and livestock rearing. Semi-subsistence gardens are part of a household safety net, and are adapted principally to minimizing risk in the face of drought, hurricane, and unpredictable

market conditions. The farmers intercrop beans, pumpkin, squash, corn, millet, sweet potatoes, yams, manioc, and non food items such as castor beans (used for non-edible oil, export, and as a hair laxative). Also of great importance in the regional livelihood strategies are fruit trees, particularly coconuts, which provide a dependable source of cash (a dried coconut sells for the equivalent of US$1.00), but also grapefruit, oranges, breadfruit and fruits from vines such as passion fruit. As will be seen shortly, the balance between pure survival and production for commoditization is crucial to an understanding life in the region for, as elsewhere in Haiti, life in the Southeast is embedded in a flourishing regional marketing system.

Impact: With the exception of fishing (some fisherman report having suffered damage from a small tsunami), and the impact on selling crops (discussed in greater detail below), the earthquake had little if any impact on survival gardens. Indeed, the crisis arguably illustrates the successfulness of the strategy as a massive number of people (estimated at 50,000) returned from Port-au-Prince to seek food and refuge in the area. Many have since returned to the metropolis, but not without arms brimming over with garden produce and assurances from their farming parents and other kin that sweet potatoes, yams, and plantains would be regularly sent on public buses to the city until the crisis has passed. The critical point being that Southeasterners are adapted to crisis, something that encourages farmers to engage in diversified strategies and imparts a type of conservative suspicion in the peasant who is presented with new and supposedly promising alternatives--often giving way to frustration and befuddlement among foreigners who are trying to help them cope.

3.2. Crisis

In crisis times, such as the present drought and economic fallout from the earthquake, the rural majority as well as the town poor, resort to consuming the hardy subsistence type garden foods described above--what could be called survival crops--specifically yellow yams, sweet potatoes, millet, sugar cane and manioc—and complemented with at least eighteen different types of fruit and nuts many of which are available in the Southeast during times when other crops are not.[vi] [vii] Farmers also have recourse to hundreds of natural and homemade substitutes for items like soaps, shampoos, hair laxatives as well as water containers. Lamps, ropes, beds, fasteners, and shoes. Most items regarded as a necessity have homemade and cost-free substitutes.[viii] A recent and very important recourse to income is the burgeoning motorcycle taxi industry that reaches into all but the most remote areas. Motorcycle taxis are used to haul freight as well as people and have become a significant economic mainstay throughout the present crisis.[ix] [x]

The principal means of dealing with the cash deficits brought on by crisis and meeting those critical needs that require cash—such as medical care, transportation, tools, and seeds—is the sale of livestock and the production of charcoal.[xi] The reduction in livestock is an ecological advantage in that it gives a reprieve to overgrazed foliage. Charcoal is a different matter. The importance of charcoal production, both in terms of a safety net and an ecological calamity related to crisis, cannot be gainsaid. As longshoremen who work the wharfs of Port-au-Prince well know, one can tell what region of Haiti is undergoing a crises by the origin of the shiploads of charcoal that arrive. But charcoal means felling trees and it has the particularly insidious impact in the felling of fruit trees that, while causing a long term depletion in household resources, yield immediate returns in the form of charcoal sales. Recourse to charcoal production in times of crisis is such that it can be argued that the Southeast, as well as other regions of Haiti, have progressively become deforested not so much with steady demographic increment, but rather in fits and starts with the increasingly frequent embargoes, political

uprisings, crisis in world food prices, droughts, hurricanes, and now earthquakes. At present, a common sight along Southeast roadsides are stacks of charcoal waiting to be picked up and transported to the urban market and if the researcher voyages into the rural areas she or he cannot help but note that resonating through the valleys and hillsides is the ubiquitous sound of machete hacking against wood.[xii]

It warrants emphasizing that crises are not new to the Southeast. Since Haiti became a recognized French colony in 1697; through the subsequent 100 years when it became the most productive colony on the planet--annually producing greater monetary value in cash crops of sugar, coffee, and indigo than Britain's 13 North American colonies with their respective products; and up through the past 200 years of Haitian independence; the region has been recurrently beset with crisis. Slavery itself was arguably one long crisis during which the slaves were forced to carry the bulk of the colony's nutritional burden, not by work under the slave regime, but during their little free time when they planted foodstuffs on "subsistence" plots, giving birth to the proto-peasant economy (complete with markets and use of currency). The 13 years of warfare that ended slavery was a conflagration during which more people died per capita than during any war in human history and once again, was fought with the nutritional supplement from the same garden and livestock strategies that prevail today. Beginning around 1820 independent Haiti found itself falling under its first trade embargo, consequence of an agreement between England and France and the French demand for compensation for property lost by virtue of the revolution, including the cost of slaves; and from 1843 until 1889 the country, particularly the Southeast where reigned the *piquet* (rural military insurgents), was rocked by no fewer than 18 uprisings and civil wars; for the entire 1890s and into the 1900s the whole country was wracked with warfare; the US invaded in 1914 and another five years of intensive guerrilla warfare ensued (Saint-Louis, 1988; Heinl and Heinl, 1979). In recent times political crisis have intermittently cut off trade with the global economy forcing most Haitians to depend on semi-subsistence production of the peasants and the internal marketing system. Cases in point are the many uprisings between 1986 and 1990 and the 1991 coup when the country was virtually shut down under martial law, Port-au-Prince completely blocked off for over a week while the military gunned down some 3,000 impoverished slum dwellers, and then the economy shuttered up for three full years under an international trade embargo maintained by US warships; not to be left out was 2001-2004 aid embargo. Throughout all of this and until the present, hurricanes periodically ravaged crops and induced widespread die-offs of livestock. Since 1851, the Jacmel area has been hit with 18 hurricanes and 25 tropical storms--one severe storm every 3.7 years-- most notably Hurricane Hazel in 1954, known locally as *douz oktob* (the Twelfth of October) which devastated the entire country and is the one disaster comparable with and perhaps even more severe in terms of economic impact than the recent earthquake (Caribbean Hurricane Network 2010).[xiii] Droughts tend to be worse than hurricanes, often are severe enough to get named, and earthquakes although not generally recalled as precipitating economic crisis, have occasionally hit the region as well.[xiv] Throughout all of this what carried the survivors was the same semi-subsistence strategies described earlier and the same internal marketing system discussed below.

In summary, the people of the Southeast depend heavily on economic activities and external sources of cash that have been severely curtailed by economic fallout from the recent earthquake and, as or more severe, the regional drought. A certain percentage of families are suffering acute nutritional stress (a good estimate is 5%), the most severe victims can be seen with ribbons tied around their stomachs to suppress the hunger pains. But most people in the

region have arguably not yet experienced a marked reduction in caloric intake or even a reduction in income. What they are currently experiencing is increased consumption of low prestige garden crops and a reduction in the reserves they have on hand—cash savings and livestock—as they spend and sell off these reserves in an effort to maintain living standards. If the crisis abates soon, as it appears to be doing with the recent rains, most families will have come through the crisis without having completely exhausting these resources. However, the long term negative impact on the environment comes in the form of increased deforestation, perhaps even the felling of fruit trees that, while causing a long term depletion in household resources, yield immediate returns in the form of charcoal sales. When the crisis passes, the people of the Southeast will once again begin to build up livestock and cash savings. But they will do so within a more degraded environment, meaning that unless effective measures are put in place to increase production and alternative sources of household income, the next crisis will in all likelihood carry them that much closer to the dreaded bottom of the safety net.[xv]

4. The Marketing System

The economy and market systems in Haiti, and specifically in the Southeast, can be conceptually divided into the global and the internal Haitian marketing systems. The division is not arbitrary. Each system is characterized in Haiti by its own unique actors who differ in performance, terminology, and the products they sell. Players in one system sometimes cross the line and dabble in the other--for example the *komèsan* (distributor of imported goods) who may also buy local products for export -- but they can be conceptualized as definitively unique systems and have arguably become more distinct in recent decades with the near total disappearance of exports. Of the two, the regional marketing system is less well understood by both foreigners and urban Haitian nationals. Indeed, as discussed in greater detail in this section, it is plagued with misunderstandings.

4.1. The Global Marketing System

The global market chain does not here warrant a great deal of explanation because it is familiar to most aid workers. In Haiti, this market chain begins with the importer, then moves to the various levels of distributor (*komèsan*) and warehouse owners (*met depòt*). At that point the chain either moves directly to consumer, as in the case of hardware and mechanized goods or, in the case of food staples, moves to *marchann chita* who sit in the market or by the roadside, the *jambe chen* (little street restaurants found throughout markets, bus stations, and neighborhoods), the *boutik* (small stores also found throughout urban area, provincial towns, and rural hamlets) or the *boulanjeri* (bakery) that is found not only at the higher echelons of society but in a simpler stone-hearths found throughout the neighborhoods, *bidonville* (slums), provincial towns and even in the most rural hamlets.

4.2. The Internal Haitian Marketing System

For the purposes of this study, a discussion of the internal marketing system begins with the Regional Rotating Market System found in the Southeast and the extreme commoditization with which people in the area interact. This market system is spatially characterized by open air markets held in specific locations on specific days of the week. The system is such that inhabitants of any particular area are within walking-distance to at least five major markets per week. As with the rest of Haiti, the transactions that take place in these markets--as well as transactions outside of the markets--are cash based. But an important feature of the market is that many of the items sold are household necessities. [xvi] This is not to say that markets are stocked entirely with local products. There are also imported staples (spaghetti, flour, rice, beans, salami) as well as tools, utensils, clothing, and inexpensive knickknacks (soaps, hair ties, used clothing, shoes, wash basins, pots and pans, dishes, drinking glasses, eating utensils, machetes, hoes, and kerosene). But whether imported or produced locally, the overwhelming bulk of items sold in the rural marketplaces relate directly to subsistence.[xvii]

The vigorous, cash oriented market system and commoditization-mentality being described is also manifest in a dazzling degree of specialization in both the production of local material goods and provision of services.[xviii] But, arguably the most important aspect of the regional marketing system is the role it plays, not simply as a place to purchase, but in generating household income through selling. The overwhelming majority of women who live in the area are involved in trading such that commerce is the primary feminine economic opportunity; and together with agricultural and livestock production is one of the three pillars of Haiti's internal market system. Women use commercial activity as a means of earning money and of extending household savings. The tendency to commoditize is such that a local person who is given a bag of rice or earns it in a food-for-work project will generally not stash it in a dark recess of the house to be doled out bit by bit over a period of weeks or months. Rather, the rice is separated. A large portion is sent straight to the market or sold at below market price to obtain cash that is then used to engage in more lucrative marketing activities and to purchase other foods and provisions as needs arise.

Female involvement in commerce is something that has the potential to put women on economically equal footing with men, particularly middle aged women who have a sufficient number of adolescent children. These children maintain the other productive activities of the household while the woman is away engaged in itinerant marketing activities. It is from this class of women that come the *madam sara*, a major player in the internal market system and one so commonly misunderstood as to warrant special mention and clarification here.[xix]

4.2.1. Madam Sara

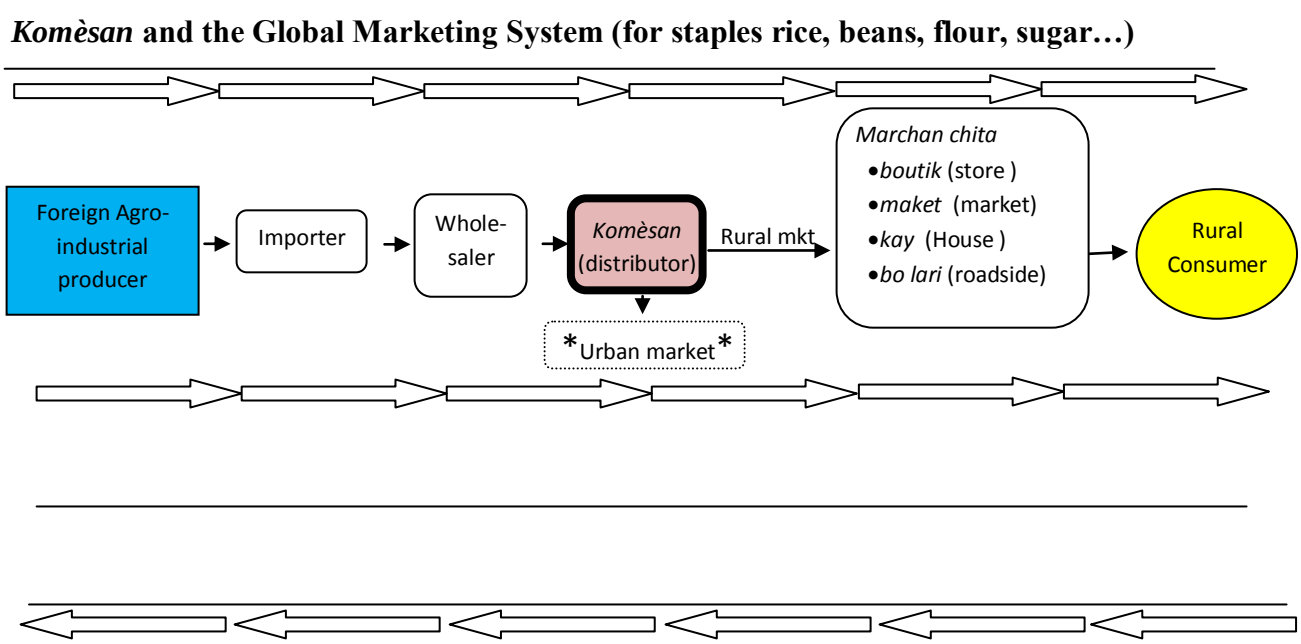
Named for a migratory bird that assiduously searches for and finds food wherever it goes, **the *madam sara*** (pronounced *ma-dan sé-ra*) acts as the critical market link between rural producers and the urban consumer, most importantly the 30% of the national population who live in Port-au-Prince, many of whom work for wages and receive remittances from overseas migrants. In the Southeast there are several characteristics of the *madam sara* that outsiders and urban based Haitians commonly misunderstand.

1. *madam sara* are predominantly rural woman who, in normal non-crisis times, purchase produce in rural areas, typically near to where they live; then transport the goods directly to larger markets or Port-au-Prince,
2. *madam sara* seldom venture into unfamiliar territory; rather they overwhelmingly operate either in their native rural area or an area with which they are familiar and have kinship relations,
3. although the most heavily capitalized and visible *madam sara* use public truck transportation, most move their cargo on foot, donkey or mule, [xx]
4. by virtue of the fact that they focus on rural produce, most *madam sara* specialize in whatever commodities are seasonally available in their activity zone,
5. perhaps the most common misunderstanding and so consistent as to be elevate almost to the status of a rule, *madam sara* return to the rural areas with no merchandise and the reason is because the most lucrative market for the *madam sara* is not the cash scarce rural areas--where they would have to wait a long time to recuperate their investment--but the cash flush urban market where they can roll their capital over rapidly and return to the rural areas to repeat the cycle (the profits for a *madam sara* going from *Segen* to Port-au-Prince is 100% for a one day walk and one to two days of selling; if she goes to Kay Jacmel it is 50% with same day sales; if, on the other hand, she buys a sack of rice, her profit is 20%--one fifth that of the *madam sara* destined for Port-au-Prince-- and her average turnover rate is 15 days—five to seven times as long as the *madam sara* destined for Port-au-Prince),
6. *madam sara* seldom take standard loans (because it cuts too heavily into their own earnings),
7. *madam sara* often give credit to fixed and trusted clients (*kliyan*) with whom they have a long-term trade relationship and most of whom fall into the category of *marchann chita,*--sitting merchants--or *machann kinkay*-- literally "merchants of lots of things"--women who typically have little capital or operate on credit from the *madam sara,*
8. when in Port-au-Prince the more capitalized *madam sara* sleep in depòt (storage facilities) with their merchandise--which they are loath to leave unguarded--and they stay there until they have sold their goods or until their *kliyan,* to whom they have given credit, have returned with the money (typically 2 to 3 days); the less capitalized *sara* often sleep in the market stalls, (arguably the major blow to the big *madam sara* networks was the destruction of depòt during the earthquake—but many of which have been built back)
9. in broad terms, there are no urban *madam sara,* at least not in the terminology of people in rural Southeast: those men and women who purchase imported produce and redistribute it inside or outside of the principal cities are known as *komèsan* (distributors) who own storage facilities in the city or provincial towns and hamlets; or they fall into another category of *machann chita,* those who sell out of their home, a *boutik* (store), or a fixed place along the roadside or in the market,

The anthropologically fascinating feature of the *madam sara* is that she is the principal accumulator, mover, and distributor of domestic produce in Haiti and as such represents the most

critical component in what anthropologists have long called the internal Haitian marketing system. Her opposite, and what can be conceptualized as her figurative nemesis, is the *komèsan* (distributor), the handler of durable imported staples mentioned above. The *komèsan* is the key figure representing the incursion of the global market economy and foreign produce into Haiti, a link in what can be analytically categorized as a market chain separate from the *sara* and the internal system, one that moves in the opposite direction, both literally, in terms of the primary flow being urban to rural (in contrast to rural to urban), and figuratively, in terms of its opposition and undermining of domestic production.[xxi]

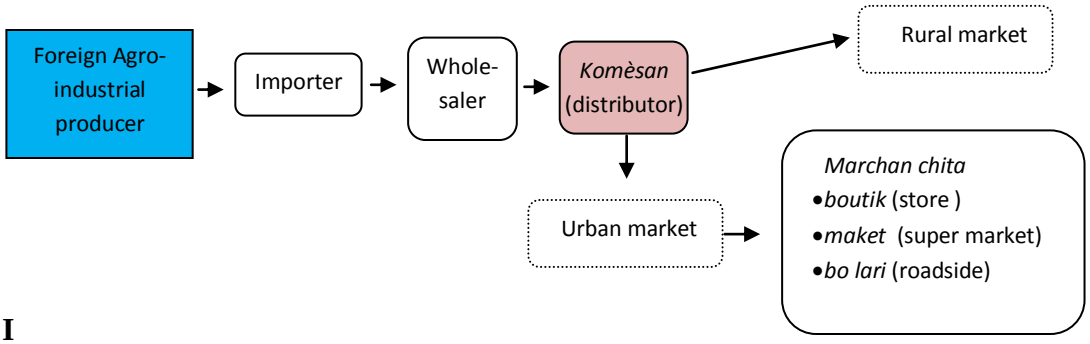
Figure 2: *Madam Sara* vs. *Komèsan*



Carrying the notion of 'figurative nemesis' a step farther, the *komèsan* in provincial towns employs a devious, if unplanned, tactic, one that undermines her *madam sara* rival and the internal marketing system in which she operates: she gives her credit. But not any credit. She offers her *madam sara* rival sacks of imported flour, rice, corn, and sugar at no interest. The *sara* in need of cash often takes the bait and is thereby drawn into an insidious web. She accepts the contract but then turns around and sells the sacks of food for less than cost, for she knows that she can make far more profit in the internal marketing system (by a factor, adjusting for time, of about 25 to 1). But what seems like a good deal has a hidden, long term cost. The effect is an artificial price reduction for imported goods because the purchaser can now resell the imported food at a price below the real cost. By doing this, by selling the imported foods at less than cost, the *sara* has *de facto* used profits from the internal market system to subsidize the import sector.

*Below is a full diagram of the urban market flow for Haitian sector of the Global Marketing System. Note that the *machan kay* (women who sell a particular good out of their home) who deals in imported staples does not exist in the urban areas (however, there are *marchann kay* in both rural and urban areas who specialize is items such as leaf tobacco and other non-staple items).

Figure 3: Haitian sector of the Global Marketing System (for most imported staples)



I

mpact: The physical blow that the earthquake dealt to the Global Market Economy, as it extends into Haiti, was principally to intermediate level warehouses in Port-au-Prince (many which were in the hard hit central city), to grocery stores (six of the city's 15 major grocery stores were damaged, at least two of which were leveled), and to bakeries.(several of the largest bakeries were put out of commission as well). Many of Jacmel's storage facilities were also damaged, giving an advantage to those *komèsan* who were not hit especially hard.

The physical blow to the internal marketing market chain were the *depòt* mentioned earlier. But testimony to this market's resilience is that the rural and even many of the urban open markets never ceased operating. Two days after the earthquake, *madam sara* were walking down out of the mountains from the Southeast countryside and into Petion Ville (upper metropolitan Port-au-Prince). By the third day Petion Ville markets were functioning; prices for domestic produce had not increased. A principal complaint that peasants consistently made was the decline in urban market demand. In retrospect this is lamentable as it did not have to be this way. What could have been a time of high market demand, a moment when the peasants temporarily received high prices for rural produce, became instead one of low demand and unchanging prices. People were not buying for the NGOs, foreign military forces, and religious missions who were rushing to save those under the rubble and to provide nourishment to the survivors had decided not to purchase locally, but instead to import food from abroad. The subsequent massive importation led to the paradoxical reverse, a different kind of crisis, a domestic market and local production crisis

In summary, the vigorous internal Haitian marketing system looms large in Southeast household livelihood strategies. Virtually all households are involved in the market system and, while about one third to one-half of most Southeast crops—including black beans-- are consumed by household members, the other portions get sold, the profits rolled over in internal marketing activities or in agricultural and livestock ventures, and eventually spent on food staples or necessities such as school tuition, medical care, or spiritual obligations to the family *lwa* and ancestors. Thus we can say that while farmers in the region are emphatically not subsistence farmers, they can expediently be defined as subsistence-oriented market producers and traders.

5. Extra-Household Livelihood Strategies, Income and Expenditures

5.1. Extra-Household Livelihood Strategies

Putting aside extra-legal and religious-entrepreneurial activities of a powerful new type of elite mentioned in endnote v. (the narcotrafficker and the religious-charity entrepreneur), at the top of the popular income spectrum, both in terms of pay and prestige, are NGO employees, government employees, school teachers, and bus and *taptap* drivers. Some 3% to 4% of literate young men and to a much lesser extent women benefit from the vibrant and relatively recent commerce in telephone cards and calling services (since c. 2000); some 5% of men earn relatively high incomes as skilled craftsmen; and at a slightly lower level in terms of prestige and income, one encounters the burgeoning new industry of motorcycle taxes (also since c. 2000), a sector that has created a respectable niche for the many largely urban based, unemployed and lowly educated young men, some of whom become a significant threat to others during crises—most notably through thievery. At an even lower and more populated echelon one finds the porters with their battered wheel barrows, the unskilled laborers, and the *guardian* (caretakers) who watch over property, often sleeping in warehouses, gardens, gas stations, and the port.

Women have fewer opportunities for direct employment but have recourse to largely feminine domain of commerce, discussed at length above, and to commercial food preparation, a sector where women enjoy variable degrees of success as urban vendors (*marchann chita*), restaurant owners, and cooks. Men too specialize in the preparation of some foods, such as barbecue chicken, hotdogs, as well as sale of telephone cards and itinerate pharmaceutical sales. And both men and women migrate temporarily to Port-au-Prince where they engage in commerce, domestic work for wealthy families, or work in factories, as porters, motorcycle taxi driver, cooks, clerks, in the government sector, education, or in the construction sector.

Another option is temporary migration to the Dominican Republic where mostly men work in industrial agriculture, in the construction industry, and in tourism (in all three sectors Haitian immigrants make up from 80 to 90% of the labor force); both men and women work as domestic servants for Dominican nationals as well as for the many foreigners resident in the Dominican Republic; and both sexes are prominent in the Dominican Republic's pleasure industry where Haitians make up about 40% of the more than 100,000 sex workers. A good estimate of the number of men 16 and 30 years of age who were in the Dominican Republic at the time of the EMMA investigation is 20 percent. A lesser but still important number of women have left.[xxii]

Other entrepreneurial and income activities that should be mentioned are overseas commerce between Haitians who have returned from France, the DR, Canada, other Caribbean islands and the US (about 1% of the population), as well remittances from family members who have not returned (about 10% of total households receive remittances). Throughout the area people patronize an indigenous industry of medicinal leaf doctors, masseuses, and midwives, and sometimes earning impressive sums, spiritual healers known as *bokor*, *hougan*, and *gangan* if male, and *mambo* for the approximately 10% who are female.

Table 2: Income Opportunities

Location	Employment/ Econo Op	% Pop	Income*	Months of the year											
				J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
Dominican Republic (migration to)	Sugar cane	8%	200												
	Other ag	3%	70-150												
	Construction	3%	350												
	Tourism	3%	500												
Port-au-Prince	Skilled labor	5%	700-800												
	Labor	10%	350												
Local	NGO worker	3%	800												
	Agriculture	60%	150												
	Commerce	50%	100-1000												
	Charcoal maker	5%	500												
	Artisanal	5%	100-1000												
	Fishing	5%	350												
	Rock Pit/gravel	3%	100-350												
	Skilled laborer	10%	500												
	Bus Driver	10%	800												
	Tel card vendor	3%	400												
	Moto Taxi	5%	500												
	School Teacher	3%	300												
	Porter	8%	200-350												
	Marin	1%	350-1000												
	Restaurant	3%	350												
	Masseuse	See note A													
	Midwife	See note A													
	Leaf doctor	See note A													
	Shaman	See note A													
Unearned resources	Remittance	30%	-												
	Aid	20%	-												
Elements	Winds														
	Rain														
Crop harvests	Annuals														
	Perennials														

Note A = Masseuse and midwife make small wages and they are not fulltime but rather part time specialists who also engage in other farm and marketing activity. The same is true of the leaf doctor and shaman, both almost invariably engage in farming and fishing; but their potential profits from healing, magic, and sorcery are much greater.

5.2. Income

Wages in the rural areas are, like skills, fairly consistent. A good estimate of actual earnings is 100 to 150 *goud* per day. That is what we calculate from evaluating data on all activities, averaged over time; and it coincides with the actual daily rate that farmers throughout the region (indeed, all over Haiti) attach to a full day of labor 100 *goud* without food and rum; 150 *goud* with food and rum). But note that it does not take into account in monetary terms income derived from the complex of agriculture, livestock, and charcoal producing strategies in which all peasants are engaged.

A good rule of thumb for income in urban areas is 350 *goud* per day. That figure is based on interviews with female vendors and male porters, and it is consistent with motorcycle taxis reports on net earnings as well as the actual wages paid to laborers (250 *goud* per day; which can be thought of as the urban pay floor).

Currently the Haitian minimum wage is 200 *goud* per day (about US six dollars). Government cash for work meets this standard and there is no shortage of workers. But it should be born in mind that most report otherwise being economically inactive.

5.2.1. Four Dimensions of Work: remuneration, rural to urban, household to public, and gender

In understanding the economic opportunities, how they were impacted by the earthquake, and the consequent change in income, it is useful to define four dimensions that condition work in the region:

5.2.1.1. Remuneration: This dimension follows a continuum from direct pay to commission to reciprocal service to those "gifts" made with the veiled expectation that some kind of owed favor has been incurred; and it can be analytically conceptualized as moving along the somewhat overlapping axis of three other dimensions described below

5.2.1.2. Rural area to town (degree of urbanization): Labor that occurs predominantly in the rural areas is seldom directly remunerated in terms of pay, but rather moves from commission to various types of reciprocal exchanges.[xxiii] For example, fishing, livestock rearing, even planting, are often reciprocal, or based on some type of commission. In fishing there is a share of the catch; in farming there is a spectrum of arrangements from family and friends who work for free or for a meal and rum, to reciprocal labor groups known as squads (*eskwad*) who take turns working in member's gardens, to the *kontra,* in which one person agrees to accomplish specific tasks for a fixed price, to paid day labor, *achté moun*. The only significant per day paid labor opportunity that we identified are what we can call the highland agro-industrial entrepreneurs who make large investments in vegetable and bean gardens and to a much lesser extent the lowland bean gardens, the activities of which are analyzed more closely in the EMMA map provided shortly. On the other extreme virtually all extra-household income generating activities performed in the urban areas are remunerated at least on a commission basis. Digging and refining of lime and river gravel and loading trucks is based on a production and commission system. Artisans are paid for jobs but there is a type of negotiation in which the owner of the shop attempts to hold on to his employees for little direct pay during times of low sales—food if possible—and then gives commissions when sales are high. Porters with wheel barrels must be paid immediately upon completion of the job.

5.2.1.3. Household to public domain and male to female (gender): With respect to the third and fourth dimensions, a proverb said throughout Haiti is that, "men build houses, but they don't own them" (*gason fe kay, min li pa gen kay*). As a cultural rule, the household is the domain of women. Men plant gardens on behalf of women and in the name of the children they have together. In all cases except manioc and yams--where digging the roots out is onerous--women physically harvest their spouse's gardens; and women subsequently sell the harvest and manage the money. The common assertion to the contrary made by visiting aid workers and indifferent urban based observers is a projection of urban, elite, and western values and feminist agendas that emphatically do not apply to domestic life in rural Haiti. Indeed, few rural Haitian men would be so bold as to mettle in his wife's commercial activities and, more daring still, try to put his hands on the money she manages on behalf of the household (those men who succeeded in doing so would, in most cases, soon find themselves looking for a new wife; if he decided that violence could sort things out he may well find himself beset by a pack of rock hurling and stick wielding in-laws).

Table 3: Adult sexual division of labor[xxiv]

	Gender		Rural-Urban		Hshold-Public		Remun*	
Task	Male	Female	Rural	Urban	Hshld	Public	None	Imed.
Housework	*	*****	***	***	******		******	
Home cooking	*	*****	****	**	******		******	
Childcare	*	*****	****	**	******		******	
Carry water	*	*****	****	**	******		******	
Harvest crops	**	****	*****	*	******		**	****
Plant crops	***	***	*****	*	******		****	
Tend livestock	****	**	*****	*	******		****	
Prep & weed	****	**	*****	*	***	***	****	***
Sell produce	*	*****	*****	*	******		*	*****
Sell livestock	**	****	*****	*	*****	*	*	*****
Other commerce	*	*****	***	***	******		*	*****
Masseuse		******	*****	*		******	*	*****
Midwife		******	*****	*		******		******
Leaf doctor	*****	*	****	**		******		******
Shaman	*****	*	***	***		******		******
Porter (paid)	****	**	***	***		******		******
Charcoal	******		******			******	***	***
Fishing	******		***	***	*	*****	**	****
Taxi drivers	******		**	****		******		******
Construction	******		**	****		******		******
Labor mig to DR	*****	*	****	**		******		******
Prostitution DR	**	****	*	*****		******	*	*****
Artisanal work	*****	*	***	***	*	*****		******
Domestic empl.	*	*****		******		******		******
Rest. cook		******		******		******		******

*The category is "remuneration" and the measure is from no pay (as when one does a household chore) to delayed pay (as when on plants are garden or performs a task on commission) to direct pay (as when one is working for a salary)

Impact: Focusing on the Southeast, putting aside the loss of life and property, and injuries, the earthquake and the aid that came after it had the greatest rural impact on extra-household income. This is true through loss of income from family in Port-au-Prince, loss of local jobs, and the depressing impact of aid on the market. An example in the job sector is the virtual standstill of the construction industry as people wait in fear to see if another quake is going to hit. On the other hand, there have been boons buried in the aftermath of the earthquake. The new motorcycle transportation industry benefitted from the windfall of 50,000 urban based family members who fled Port-au-Prince and eagerly sought refuge, not among those concrete buildings that ominously remained standing in Jacmel, nor in the few fetid tent cities packed with strangers, but rather in the security of plank walled and tin covered natal homesteads scattered throughout the countryside. To arrive at theses homesteads—and to depart-- the vast majority of the so called IDPs, having become accustomed to the city, are indisposed and often incapable of walking great distances, leaving them no choice but to pay for a motorcycle ride. Similarly, the telephone card salesmen who earn 20% on cards and calls have found themselves experiencing windfall sales as people try to locate and maintain contact with friends and family in Port-au-Prince and elsewhere, and to solicit remittances from those overseas.

Another and much greater influx that observers may be overlooking is the injection of aid itself. The earthquake crisis has had its prolonged aftermath and it was certainly devastating to specific families, but it has been characterized, not by an embargo as in 1991 or a suspension of financial assistance from the international community as in 2001 to 2004, but by the greatest aid boom in Haitian history—indeed, the hemisphere. The great bulk of that money—at least 80%—has, still is, and will be absorbed by the aid institutions themselves (overhead, salaries, vehicles, gas, housing). Nevertheless, much has been released into the economy. It has arrived via direct channels, such as the massive food distributions and the common practice of giving employees thousands of dollars and canceling debts; and in more subtle exchanges that accompany the inevitable relations of friendship, sex, and outright prostitution between locals and at least some of the thousands of aid workers who have visited the area. It has also been characterized by massive influx of remittances sent from family and friends abroad, a fact supported by the long lines that formed outside of wire transfer services and that still form outside of banks, lines that were seldom seen before the earthquake.

So, in the absence of hard data, it is not easy to assess which way income has actually gone, up or down. Asking people, while seemly logical, is unlikely to resolve the conundrum. One can expect prevarication. To think differently is to deny the occurrence of 50 prior years of massive aid and mission activity. The point is especially poignant when the inquiries come from employees of a major international NGO working in the region, individuals who might, if a decline in income can be convincingly demonstrated, produce some configuration of foreign aid--be it a tent, money, food voucher, or even a packet of toothbrushes, toothpaste and shampoo. But there is still hope. We know that many people lost on following counts, and on the following page a list of how specific livelihood strategies changed in terms of intensity of activity. [xxv]

- Lost access to money from the city
- Depressed sales and market demand
- *Madam Sara* have lost depots

Table 4: Income Opportunities with Added Component of Change in Intensity of Activity

Location	Employment/ Econo Op	% Pop	Income*	Months of the year J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D	Change in activity after Jan 12
Dominican Republic (migration to)	Sugar cane	8%	200													↑
	Other ag	3%	70-150													↑
	Construction	3%	350													↑
	Tourism	3%	500													↑
Port-au-Prince	Skilled labor	5%	700-800													↓
	Labor	10%	350													↓
Local	NGO worker	3%	800													↑
	Agriculture	60%	150													↓
	Commerce	50%	100-1000													↓
	Charcoal maker	5%	500													↑
	Artisanal	5%	100-1000													↓
	Fishing	5%	350													—
	Rock Pit/gravel	3%	100-350													↑
	Skilled laborer	10%	500													↓
	Bus Driver	10%	800													↑
	Tel card vendor	3%	400													↑
	Moto Taxi	5%	500													↑
	School Teacher	3%	300													X
	Porter	8%	200-350													↑
	Marin	1%	350-1000													—
	Restaurant	3%	350													↑
Unearned resources	Remittance	30%														↑
	Aid	20%														↑
Elements	Winds															
	Rain															
Crop harvests	Annuals															
	Perennials															

Most intense
Less intense
Light
lightest

↑ = increased
↓ = decreased
— = no change
X = stopped

5.3. Expenditures

During normal times most Haitians in the region, urban and rural alike, do not pay rent, electricity, water, or taxes. Among the major expenses are medical care, school tuitions, transportation, and expenses for a range of ceremonial obligations (baptism and obligations to the family *lwa* and ancestors). Food is the greatest expense for both rural and urban dwellers but those in the rural areas have significantly greater recourse to survival crops. Moreover people in the rural areas depend almost entirely on local production and hence sale in the internal marketing system. When crisis strikes they can and often do dispense with paying for school as well as transportation, they seek out local healers rather than medical doctor and, as seen, they withdraw into consumption of garden crops, particularly the enumerated "survival crops." To obtain cash needed for items such as garden implements and seed stock, they can resort to sale of livestock and charcoal. Indeed, it might be said that few people on earth are better suited to dealing with economic crisis than rural Haitians.

Impact: The same data gathering difficulties described with regard to income applies equally to expenditures (i.e. fat chance at getting accurate reports). But we can garner insight from obvious changes. Two major cash expenditures that were temporarily eliminated after the earthquake are school tuition and medical care (arguably *the* two major expenditures for the food producing rural majority of the population). Schools were closed and medical care became and still is free.[xxvi]

In further assessing the impact of expenditures on the rural majority, recall that outside of towns most people in the region are dependent on low-input peasant livelihood strategies. As seen, during times of crisis most farmers do not obligatorily lower their consumption or even experience a reduction in income. Similar to the unemployed developed-world professional who dips into his or her bank account or 401k while trying to find a new job, what the Southeast farmer typically experiences during times of crisis or lean months is most often, not a reduction in nutritional intake or even income, but a switch to heavier consumption of low prestige foods (in this case, the discussed 'survival crops'); and a reduction in livestock and marketing cash as they sell off animals and spend the money on food. The recourse to garden versus imported food imparts a type of elasticity to rural household expenditures. As with income calculations, demonstrating this point is nigh impossible. Few Southeasterns would be so naïve as report to aid workers an increase in income (most would not even do that with their neighbor for to do so would be to invite requests for money). But we can summarize the principal declines and benefits (Table P4) as well as the principal impacts on all sectors of the economy and material infrastructure (Table P5).

Table 5: Principal Declines And Benefits Relating To Household Expenditures

Lost of income	Increased income	Increased expenditures	Reduction in expenditures
Lost access to money from the city	Influx of aid money	Increased price of imported foods	No school tuition
Depressed sales and market demand	Increased income from transportation, phone cards, and remittances	Increased numbers of family members (IDPs)	No medical bills
Loss of income from construction industry, school teaching, gov. jobs….		Having to send more food (survival crops) to their family in PaP	
Swine epidemic			

6. Summary of impacts

Table 6: Summary of Impacts

Category	Impact
Natural environment	Minimum. Some reports of springs going dry and some rock slides in the mountains.
Houses and buildings	Urban: heavy damage to cement homes and buildings. Widespread fear of second quake. Rural areas: walls in many poorer quality cement and rock homes collapsed but most roofs, with supports made of wood beams and often lashed together with a special type of vine remain intact. Few rural people sleep outdoors in tents but rather in the quake-tested house of family or neighbors or in a *joupa*, (palm-thatch covered A-frame structures used throughout Haiti as garden shelters.
Rural household Livelihood strategies	Peasant household livelihood: agriculture (including tree crops), livestock raising: earthquake had little if any impact, indeed, crisis arguably illustrates the successfulness of the strategy as supported many urban refugees. Recent drought, swine epidemic, and cabbage infestation are greater problems. Fishing: Some damage due to "sunami" but seasonal winds are greater problem. Petty commerce (see markets below) Charcoal production: intense as people turn to this traditional crisis resource.
Urban livelihood strategies	Construction at standstill and market demand reportedly down; but difficult to see with intensity of trading and in light of other economic stimulate (aid, remittances, NGO jobs, cash for work)
Availability of cash	Urban areas: economic fallout in terms of occupational loss and income. But aid has benefitted people in form of food distribution, cash for work, full employment as aid employees, and expenditures that aid workers and refugees and receivers of remittances; also influx of IDPs has meant increased business for moto-taxis and phone cards

	Rural areas. have mechanisms to cope with food scarcity and decline in available cash (see above), but stretched near to limit by IDPs (see below), drought, swine disease, cabbage infestation, and earthquake aftermath, including impact of aid on market
Government	Damage to the State brought on by the earthquake is massive in Port-au-Prince; moderate to little in Jacmel; State did little to nothing before the earthquake. Arguably more of an impediment that earthquake removed. Regulations suspended; borders in the south were open…Canadian armed forces took control of Jacmel airport and temporarily opened it to international traffic…In summary, with regard to the government inefficiency and bureaucratic impediments, the earthquake may have helped matters. The Haitian government itself has benefitted from canceled debts and, although most aid goes directly to the foreign military forces and NGOs, an influx in aid and attention to its needs.
Financial service institutions	high interest rates (averaging 30% to 50% per annum) have meant that many peasants view micro-financing as much as a predatory institution as one meant to help. In some cases the situation after the earthquake was reversed. Micro Credit bureaus reportedly canceling debts and giving members cash gifts.
Non-Government Organizations (NGOs)	NGO activity has skyrocketed. Massive flood of aid across the open border with the Dominican Republic and through the airports and provincial ports; an abundance of new jobs have opened up for unemployed students and graduates. Spending on the part of expatriate NGO workers have stimulated the food, crafts, entertainment and sex industries. Many NGOs have also given cash relief bonuses directly to workers, many of whom were not impacted directly by the earthquake.
Global Marketing System in Haiti	Physical blow earthquake dealt Global Market Economy in Haiti principally to intermediate level warehouses in Port-au-Prince (many which were in the hard hit central city), to grocery stores (six of the city's 15 major

	grocery stores were damaged, at least two of which were leveled), and to bakeries.(several of the largest bakeries were put out of commission as well); rural storage facilities were also damaged, giving an advantage to those *komèsan* who were not hit especially hard.
Internal marketing system	Physical blow to the internal marketing market chain were *depòt*. But market resilient; principal complaint was the decline in urban market demand.
IDPs (Internally displaced persons)	Increased burden on household but also increased non-remunerated labor supply, increased income for taxi traffic, and increased sales of phone cards.
Overall Income	Difficult to estimate—see main text
Overall Expenditures	Difficult to estimate—see main text

7. Summary Interpretation of Crisis and Response

This report could not be complete without inserting, somewhere, a summary of the overall impact of the earthquake and subsequent aid effort.

The primary physical impact of January 12th was the destruction of major sectors of the Port-au-Prince urban area where lives 30% of the Haitian population, and where one finds 80% or more of all medical, education, and administrative infrastructure. In the Southeast the primary impact was the city of Jacmel. In both cases the tendency among decision makers and aid workers is to see these areas as indispensable mainstays of the regional and national economy, focal points of administrative functions, political and economic organization upon which the provincial majority depends. The destroyed National Palace became a symbol of the chaos and suffering to come. In reality, the opposite may be the case. For the vast majority of Haitians, the police and military have most often acted as agents of repression; the government as impediments to commerce and development. The earthquake temporarily eliminated both.

While swooning, a large fraction of formal sector--albeit less than 300,000 workers to begin with--was back to work within weeks of the earthquake. For example, at least some of the factories in SONAPI duty free zone—where 500 workers were killed in a single factory--were back in operation within one to two weeks of the earthquake. The same was true of most major bakeries, beverage and water bottling companies, grocery stores, and banks. In the informal urban sector welders, mechanics, electricians were once again clogging the rubble strewn streets of the central city within three weeks of the earthquake. The more robust internal marketing economy was arguably only dazed by the physical impact of the earthquake. Within two days of market women from the Southeast, goods perched on their heads, were walking out of the

mountains and into the streets of Petion Ville; and within three days after the quake many markets once again began to fill with *marchann;* roadsides with fruit, beverage, and *fritay* vendors.

But whether the economy could have dealt with the impact of the earthquake is a mute point because the international community came together and in a heartwarming coalescence of international compassion, swamped Haiti with aid. What followed was a frenzied and uncoordinated tsunami of food, aid kits, rescue workers, and recovery experts. Competing agencies, dignitaries, movie stars, and the arrival of military contingents from at least 42 different countries created a show stopping logistic nightmare at the airport. Masses of aid vehicles driving across the now open border from the Dominican Republic all but shut down the movement of road transit. Convoys of privately leased trucks were pulling into the city and indiscriminating unloading tons of food into the frenzied hands of recipients—as well as driving them up into interior cities of the country and selling them at bargain basement prices. The international community imported more than 26,500 tons of food, and as the containers piled up at depots, and filled warehouses, importers prudently stopped importing.

While the aid was coming, many of the most desperate people left for the countryside. Behind them others, some desperate and some simply with nothing else to do, congregated in tent cities to wait for the promised bonanza in aid that was being amassed behind fences and in military compounds set up in the vacant spaces near the airport and the industrial parks. Tens of thousands of these people were in need of some assistance. But exactly how many will never be known. Today, we see tent cities with no one in them—until an aid convoy shows up (case in point is outside of Cite Soley, Rt National 1); while the emerging image of those that are inhabited, that cover the parks and squares, is one of *bidonville* tent cities in which as many as half of residents have standing homes elsewhere, use them daily, and will certainly return to them, eventually, but where most cling to the promise of aid and possibly a new, cost free, second home.

Returning to the central issue, for the economy, instead of directing aid to where it could have reinforced production and trade, much of the emergency assistance worked against it. For example, instead of using local trucks for transportation of medical supplies, the wounded, and rescue teams, and instead of hiring locals as translators and guides (most agencies categorically refused to do so), aid was and often still is being directed without the support and guidance of locals, and conducted with little participation of local contractors or suppliers. Instead of helping the some 2 million potential assistants clear the rubble to get at survivors (as we saw in China scarcely a year ago), two thousand rescuers and over 20,000 military personnel from 42 countries consumed 70% of the aid during the first three months of the emergency—and will surely consume even more in the long run--with which they created the described chaos while saving a grand total of 130 people. [xxvii]

The entire emergency rescue effort was symptomatic of the current aid culture in Haiti. The food and water that flooded in meant that, in action, the aid agencies effectively cut out the local water purifiers as well as the importers and delivered a simultaneous blow to the rural producers. The point is perhaps most poignant with regard to producers in the Southeast, for instead of purchasing their local produce and providing much needed cash infusions into rural Sudest economy, aid agencies swamped both Port-au-Prince and the Southeast with gratuitous food imported from abroad effectively reducing demand in the peasants urban Port-au-Prince market to a fraction of what it could have been and assuring that the agricultural produce and provisioning market economy upon which they so depend would remain depressed for months.

And now, flush with hundreds of millions of dollars in aid, international NGOs and the government are beginning the rebuilding process.[xxviii] They are hiring teams of locals, mostly to sweep the streets, gutters, and to do low grade maintenance and rebuilding of retainer walls. Meanwhile, the great bulk of aid is directed toward external experts brokered by the Haitian elite and the NGOs. Massive amounts of money are spent to write reports that are not read or that are about foregone conclusions,[xxix] while literally hundreds of thousands of Haitians sit idle, having been knocked out of the economy by the aid tsunami. Contracts are being negotiated with foreign rubble removers, toilet operators, and construction companies, the same members of the merchant elite who have dominated both government and the import and export sector for centuries; having always fed off of the rural regions and given little in return, they now sit at the tables with the high paid consultants and try to central plan the new system. At a lower level the Haitian *agronom* and aid workers (the majority of who did not suffer directly from the earthquake), flush with gifts of cash from their sympathetic NGO patrons (imagine that your neighbor dies and your boss hands you a $10,000 sympathy check), desperately try to understand not so much what is going on in the rural areas, but rather what *blan* wants so that they can get more paychecks, more of the aid pie, perhaps a promotion and, if everything goes really well, a visa. At the very bottom is the average Southeastern peasant who has fled to a Dominican sugar plantation, considered among the most exhausting physical labor in the hemisphere, to work backbreaking 10 hour days over a period six months with the hopes of saving the US$500 dollars he needs to come back home and invest in his garden and livestock, all with the goal of shoring up the security-net upon which his and his family's lives will depend. Meanwhile, back in the office, the average NGO consultant sips his coffee, eats his three hardy meals per day and consumes in salary, transportation, hotel, and food expenses about the same amount of money, per day.

There has to be a more efficient way

8. EMMA Map and the Agricultural Labor Market

8.1. Choosing the Agricultural Labor Map

Because agriculture, particularly the semi-subsistence crop strategy described earlier on is so critical to survival in the Southeast, and because the proposed cash and/or food for work will occur precisely during the major planting season and hence will inevitably compete for the attention, time, and labor efforts of farmers in the area, we have chosen to investigate and diagram the agricultural labor market and evaluate the probable impact of food and cash for work projects.

8.2. Conceptualizing and Diagramming the Agricultural Labor Map

In diagramming the labor market we have conceptually divided the market into the following four categories,

a) Labor supply: who are the people who work/provide the labor
b) Labor demand: who are the people who employ the labor
c) Payment and organization: how the labor is organized
d) Tasks carried out: what tasks the laborers perform

These categories are conditioned by the four dimensions that characterize labor and that were seen earlier: remuneration, urban to rural continuum, gender, and household to public continuum. In the Map we illustrate the two most salient in understanding the agricultural labor market: "remuneration" and "gender." [xxx]

1) Remuneration

    a. farmers may get labor for free from family and friends (when the labor is performed in a work party of family, neighbors and friends it is called a *korvé* or a *konbit*); in both cases it is understood that the beneficiary will provide food; in the case of *korvé* and *konbit* he or she must also provide rum,

    b. farmers trade labor through participation in reciprocal labor groups (called squads, *eskwad* and the actual turn at using labor being referred to as a round, *won*); again the beneficiary may be required to provide food and rum in exchange for the work; also note that when a member has incurred the debt of the group through his own labor contributions, he has the right to sell that debt (*won*) to a third party,

    c. buy labor; this can occur in three forms

        - contract (*kontra*): the farmer makes an agreement with a single individual for a specific task or sequence of tasks to be accomplished for a specific price; the contracted individual may resort to any of the labor organization and

remuneration tactics described above but usually does it himself or with the help of an *eskwad.*

- *achté moun*: the farmer employs people by the day; the price is consistent throughout but varies according to length and whether food and rum is provided

  - *jounen* (literally, "a piece of day") = half day (6 -7 am to 11 am or 12 pm), the price is 50 *goud,;* coffee and bread must be provided early in the morning, and rum later,

  - *de kabes* (this term comes from dominoes, designates a domino piece that has identical numbers on either side—in other words, two half days, something that emphasizes the greater importance of the half day) = full day (6 -7 am to 3 or 4 pm); the price is 100 *goud*; coffee bread must be provided in the morning, rum as well later on, and at noon the beneficiary must provide a lunch of rice and beans and sauce, and rum (*kleren*)

  - there is also a *jounen* that takes the form of 2/3rd of a day (6 -7 am to 1 pm or 2 pm); the price is 75 *goud*; rum and food must be provided as well

  - the preceding can all be modified to exclude the provision of food and rum, in which case the cost increases 50 *goud* (total of 150 *goud* for a full day)

2) Gender[xxxi]

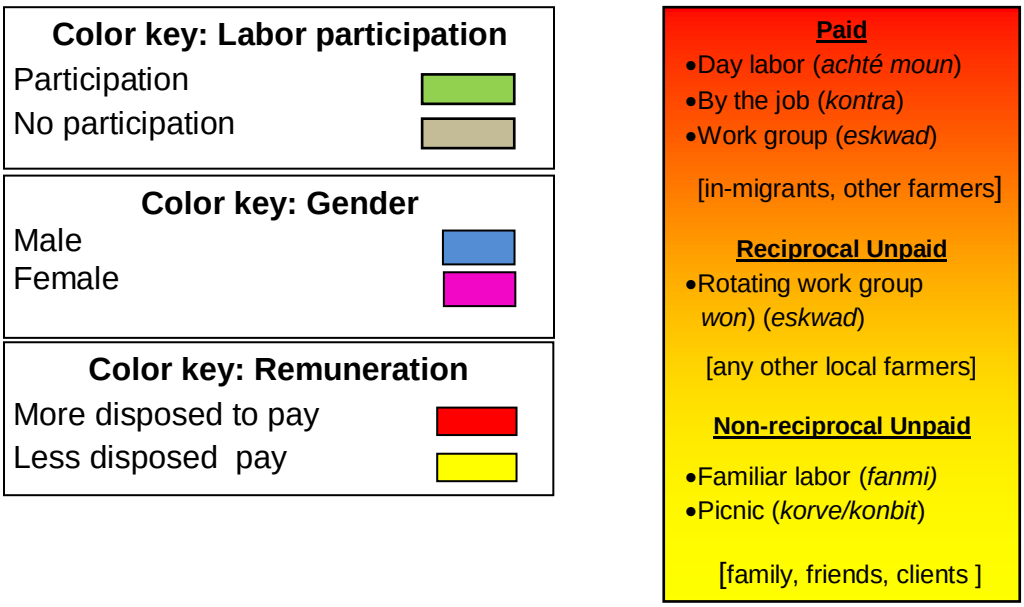
a. Male - Men usually, but not exclusively, perform heavy work, such as digging holes and weeding
b. Female – Women usually, but not exclusively, perform lighter work, such planting and harvesting. Note that there is another factor influencing female participation. Men plant gardens on behalf of women and often in the name of the children that he has sired with the woman. This means that the woman owns the produce. Congruently, women take a keen interest in planting and an even keener interest in harvesting, something that is thought of as a woman's right. The women then separate the harvest, part for consumption and part to be processed and sold in the market or to madam Sara. The woman will then use the proceeds to finance other .market activities and to support the home and nourish the family,

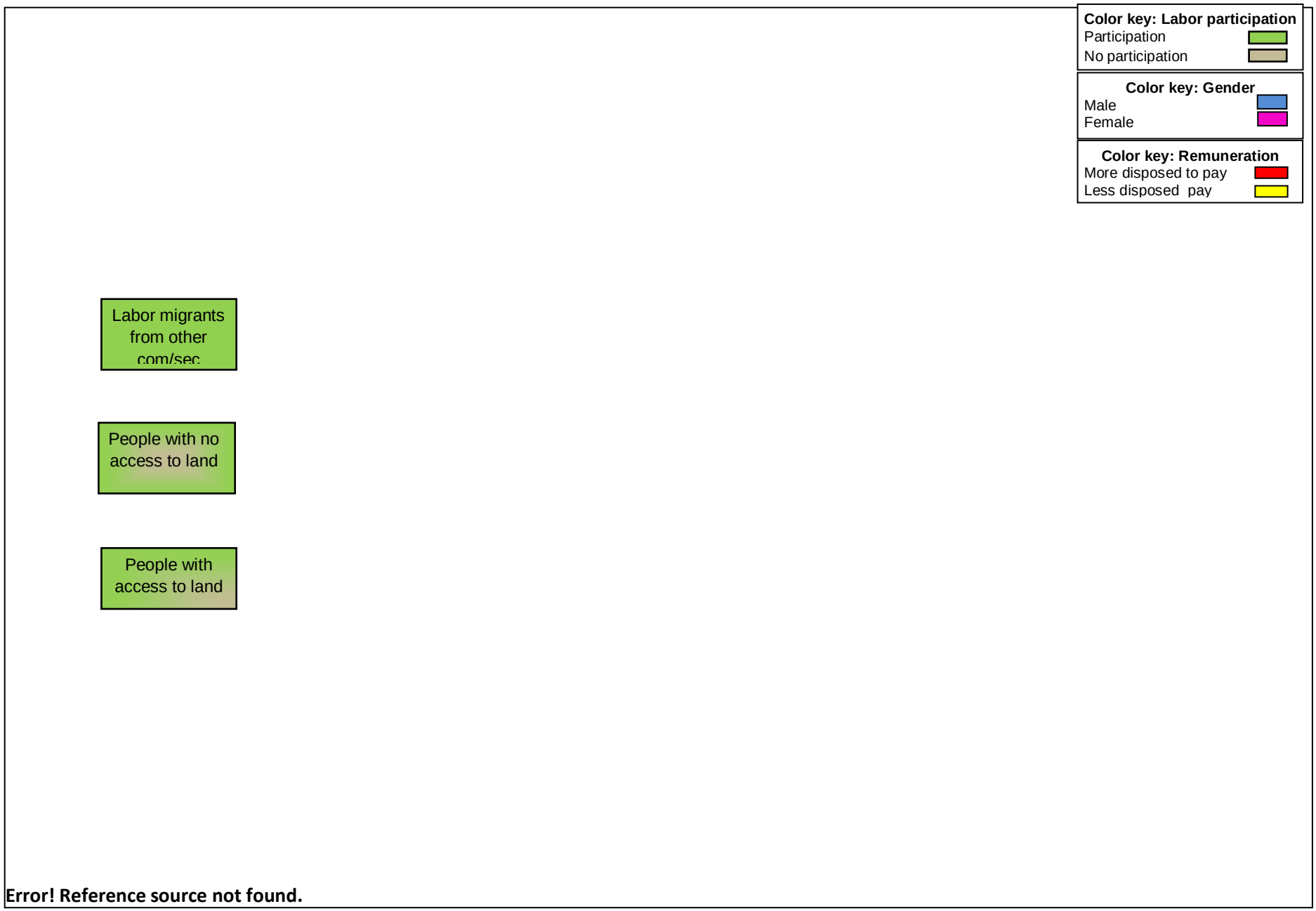
8.3. Illustrating the dimensions with color

The problem with putting the four categories defined above into a diagram while simultaneously illustrating the two dimensions that condition them is that there is significant overlap: people

who fall into the category of labor supply can also be those who demand labor. Moreover, neither dimension is mutually exclusive. Family members may work in a *korvé,* in a *eskwad*, or they may work for money; women perform certain tasks while men perform others but sometimes women perform male tasks and, more rarely, vice versa; tasks are often carried out by household members, but sometimes, they are paid or non-household members may render a service.

In order to resolve these problems and conceptually capture them in the EMMA map, we used ranges and introduced color to represent the dimensions of labor participation, reciprocity/remuneration and gender. The color codes are shown below on the left and on the right is and example of labor reciprocity/remuneration as illustrated in the EMMA map. Groups that fall in the bright red areas are more likely to be paid; groups that fall in the yellow areas are less likely to be paid (neither rural to urban nor household dimension was incorporated into the map).[xxxii]





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8.4. Diagrammed Impact to the market chain

Note in looking over the map of impact (below), that in the upper regions is the area of market environment, and in the lower area are infrastructural variables. Summary explanations for the impacted variables highlighted in the map are given below.

8.4.1. The market environment: institutions, rules, norms & trends

Hurricanes, floods, droughts	=	An ongoing drought is striking the entire central and southern region of the island; hurricane season begins in June, but 90% of them strike the Southeast in September
Diverse livelihood strategies: fishing, commerce work,…	=	Commercial activity is down because of impact of aid on market and reportedly reduced cash available to people in urban areas
Rains, growing and harvest seasons	=	The cash or food for work intervention will begin during the planting season, February to May, and threatens to detract from labor
Informal wage rates	=	Minimum wage in Haiti is 200 *goud* (about 5 US dollars); the informal minimum wage throughout the entire country is 150 *goud*; current government cash for work are paying 200 *goud* threatening to drive up the informal minimum wage or reduce the willingness of people to work
Insect and disease	=	In the four months preceding the earthquake a regional epidemic wiped out the swine population and an infestation of cabbage that the is taking a toll on highland vegetable production
Migration to DR	=	Migration to the DR spiked in the wake of earthquake; mostly young men going to the Higuey and Sem Pedro de Marcoris sugar plantations; means loss of prime aged agricultural workers (as much ass 20%)

8.4.2. Key infrastructure, inputs and market-support services,

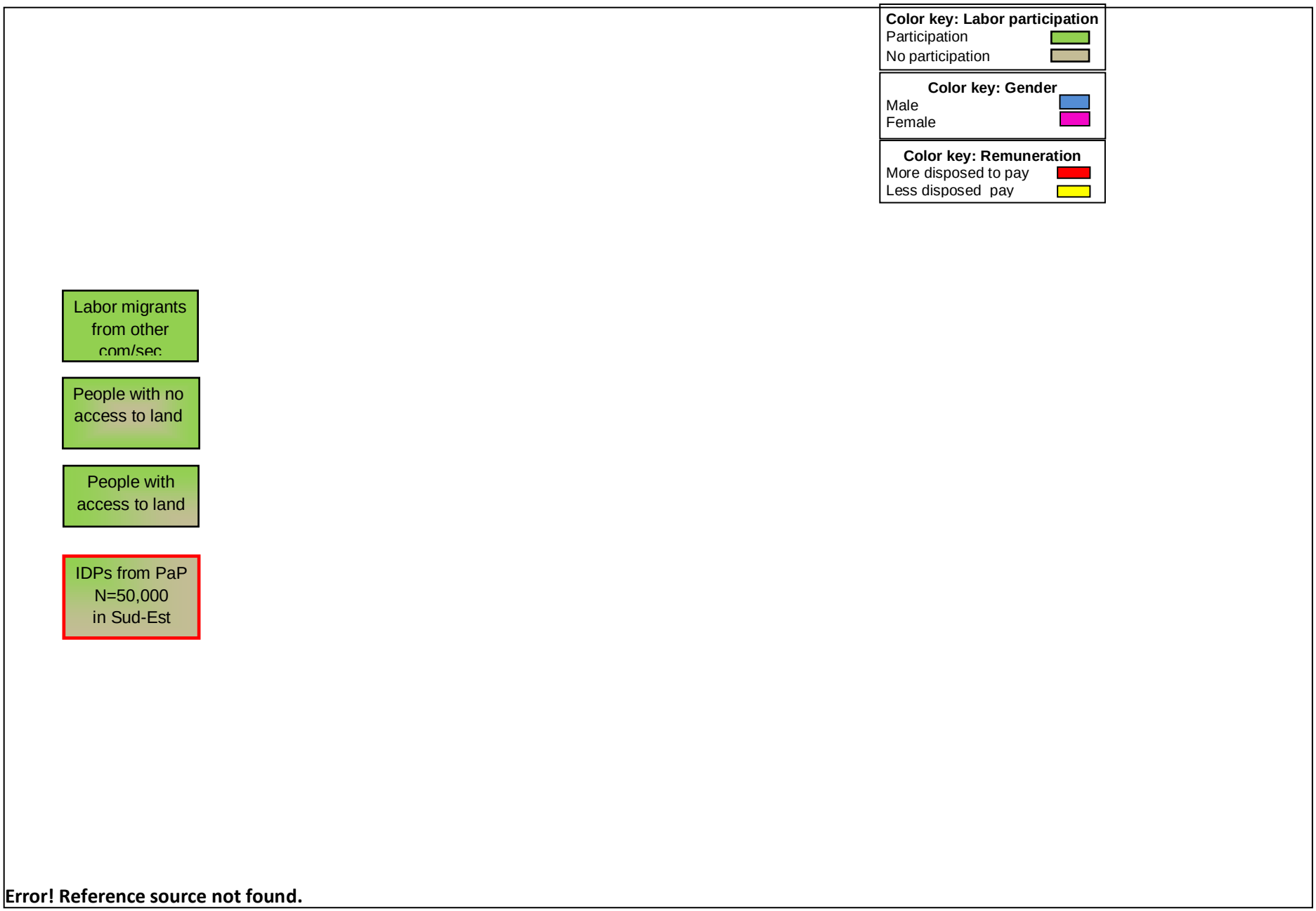
Ag inputs (seeds and tools)	=	Many farmers report not having the necessary seeds and tools as they have spent the cash on other needs or sent it to family in Port-au-Prince
Availability of cash and credit for investment in gardens	=	The earthquake or arguably even more disruptive, the aid that followed it, has interfered with access to typical cash resources. This has fallen hardest on the rural people as the aid is most available in the city and towns where there have been at least some positive cash infusions via work, cash gifts from NGOs, radical increase in remittances, and expenditures made by aid workers and IDPs
Access to markets and prices	=	The money guided to NGOs and the impetus to the domestic market that should have come from increased demand went to purchase foreign goods, staples, and services, something that contributed to a decline in cash resources and that certainly depressed demand. But there are also increased income in the forms mentioned elsewhere (e.g. moto taxis, phone cards…)

IDPs from PaP
N=50,000
in Sud-Est

=

IDPs (internally displaced persons) represent a significant increase in the burden on households, but they also provided an economic stimulus to the region in the form of increased use of moto-taxis and purchase of phone cards. They have had an impact on the labor market in providing additional labor, but the impact is conditional as most IDPs, having adopted the Haitian urban values that disparage rural life, find agricultural labor humiliating. They work for family but are generally not disposed to perform agricultural labor for wages (see endnote xxvi).

[xxxiii]



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8.5. Immediate Response Options Framework

Options	Advantages	Disadvantages	Feasibility and timing
Food for Work	Provides nutrition and food that could be sold by hungry recipients	High administration requirements; no return on expenditures (pure aid); encourages dependency; decreases demand for local produce as well as imported goods; might lower incentives to work in gardens during the present planting season	Feasibility: High Timing: Begin within month
Cash for work	Provides needed cash that could be spent at discrepancy of recipients, especially during present planting season; has secondary advantage in that it stimulates local purchases	High administration requirements; no return on expenditures (pure aid); encourages dependency; might lower incentives to work in gardens during the present planting season	Feasibility: High Timing: Begin within month
Grants to farmers for work in gardens	Provides needed cash and directs money specifically to agricultural investment with secondary effect of providing employment and hence cash to poorer farmers	No return on expenditures (pure aid); encourages dependency; induces envy and resentment among those farmers who do not receive grants; create expectation of cash gifts	Feasibility: High Timing: Begin within month
Interest free (or even discounted) loans to farmers	Provides needed cash ; directs money specifically to agricultural investment with secondary effect of providing employment in agriculture; return on expenditure; begins much needed credit alternative to *eskont* and microlenders	In absence of effective credit administration and follow-up will undermine future credit programs	Feasibility: Depends on credit mechanisms in place Timing: Begin within month

8.6. Recommended Immediate Response

Virtually all informants preferred cash over food for work. Some hesitated but the reason appears to be that they fear they will get less or nothing at all if they choose one over the other.

The advantages of cash are unequivocal: Cash will give families the option of meeting whatever particular affliction is most severe for them during this crisis. For example, many people mentioned medical expenses. Others hope to invest in gardens or commerce. For those whose most pressing needs are nutritional, cash will give them the option of purchasing specifically those food items they deem most necessary or that will last the longest. For example, cash would allow families to purchase lower priced local products, bringing with it the dual advantage of stimulating local economy—i.e. spreading the impact of the work programs—while simultaneously allowing the recipient to get a greater nutritional resource for his or her work effort.

Will work programs interfere with planting regimes? Certainly. The problem, however, is this: It is planting season and the farmers need money to plant their gardens. As we know there is a serious and chronic crisis manifest in diminishing local food supply and loss of sources of income brought on by the season and aggravated by drought as well as the disruption of market channels described above and the loss of kinship based cash sources (meaning family who worked in Port-au-Prince and Jacmel). The nutritional and cash shortage means that in coping with the crisis many people have eaten seed stock and spent cash reserves and therefore do not have the resources to underwrite investments in gardens. Thus, not only to get they need cash; they need to work in their gardens.

We propose a program mixed with the traditional cash for work and paying the farmers--or rather loaning them the money to pay others-- to work in their own gardens. If this were done as we propose it below, it would

1) eliminate the need for extensive supervision of work crews and accountant controls,

2) stimulate local production, and

3) provide a return on the cash to be invested in the cash for work programs that could then be used to establish a type of agricultural bank,

In short, go ahead with a cash for work program on roads, clinics, schools, gulley plugs, and retainer walls, but in each zone direct 50% of the money to farmers who are willing to use the money to hire workers to prepare, plant, fertilize, and weed gardens. Offer them the money on an interest free basis to be paid back when the crop is harvested. An additional incentive could be provided by initiating a type of crop insurance. Twenty percent of the money could be considered for crop insurance and this money used to establish a system where by farmers can purchase a minimum of crop failure insurance.

When the money is returned during harvest season, it can be deposited in a fund that continues the loan program, perhaps with interest and available crop insurance, and that can further be used to establish a farmer-case-for-work loan disaster loan program.

8.7. Long term recommendations

If we have learned anything over the past 50 years of development in Haiti it is that foreign intervention agencies are poorly suited to provide efficient long-term development. Moreover the development process in Haiti must increasingly involve the people it is meant to help, but not as passengers in schemes drawn up by foreigner experts--most of whom have little long term interest in Haiti. Aid recipients must be transformed into aid participants. This does not mean that NGOs should disappear. NGOs can provide the framework in which competitive, honest, and successful development programs are rewarded for success. The idea is that the process of economy-building occur not from the top down, as has so often and disappointedly been tried in the past; but from the bottom up. Suppliers, contractors, and consultants must increasingly be drawn from the local population or from that pool of expatriates who have long-term vested interest in the country. This point should become clearer in the following recommendations. [xxxiv]

1. **Control price fluctuations in the agricultural market and stimulate production.**
   If development organizations are serious about improving agricultural output they should stop undermining the local market with foreign produce and instead buy Haitian surpluses, use them in nutritional supplement programs for mothers and children as well as store them for redistribution in lean seasons. In association with purchasing local produce, organizations should establish programs for storing grains and beans. Fruits should be preserved through drying, canning and making of jellies. Meat can be dried and canned. Innovative storage techniques should be sought for otherwise un-storable but high surplus foods like sweet potatoes and manioc—e.g. grating and drying. At some point local government—meaning at the district level--should be encouraged to take over the task of food security and price supports. Or better still, the organizations that take on these tasks could be spun off as government agencies for the Haitian State to take over administration from foreign development intervention agencies. Similarly,

2. **Provide access to credit for sound productive ventures that can yield profits and stimulate the local economy. Example:** the storage of grains, something that Diakonie and ACDI/VOCA are involved in. Seasonal variations in the price of corn reach as high as 300 percent. With access to capital and the appropriate drying and storage technology entrepreneurs can readily take on the costs of the industry. NGOs can assure profits by entering into purchasing contracts with the goal of using the food in MCNH (Mother Child Nutritional Health) programs.

3. **Help farmers and entrepreneurs gain access to both local and foreign markets and eliminate competition with supplemented foreign produce by forbidding its importation or allowing for the imposition of tariffs**. IICA, an OAS funded NGO sponsored a project that bought coffee from small Haitian producers and used a private coffee broker to market the finished product in developed countries as gourmet 'Haitian Blue.' The project was profitable to all parties involved, exporting some 180,000 pounds of coffee in three years while paying small farmers 30% more than they could earn domestically. NGOs that conduct such projects could recoup their investments and then spin the projects off as private enterprises.

   Particularly promising is organic produce. Haiti might be the most organic country on earth. Upwards of 95% of all Haitian produce is organic as Haitian farmers cannot afford

chemical pesticides and fertilizers. This sounds like great news as the world market for organic farm foods, fried fruits, coffee, teas, and nuts has been growing exponentially and organic foods sell for three times their non organic counterparts. But Haiti has been left out of the process, Development organizations could help change that. They could help farmers get organic certification and help them reach foreign buyers. Similar to coffee, this is an opportunity for NGOs to recoup investments, spin the project off as an independent "sustainable" enterprise and move on to another area.

Helping Haitians reach out to foreign markets should not be limited to agriculture, but extend to craft production as well. Metal work, baskets, embroidery, and clothes are some of the items that could be marketed overseas. An example of the success that can come from exposing Haitians to crafts and helping them access foreign markets is the Haitian art industry. In 1944 U.S. citizen DeWitt Peters went to teach high school in Haiti as an alternative to military service. With the moral support of Haitian intellectuals, among them anthropologist Jean Price-Mars--as well as Horace Ashton, Cultural Attache at the U.S. Embassy and the Estime Government--Peters spent $2,000 of his own money for the opening of the Centre d'Art. The Haitian government paid most of the salaries and running expenses. The Episcopal church patronized the centre, commissioning its artists to paint a mural that received international attention. In the subsequent years of political repression and havoc, little to no public funds were invested in the Centre. But it was enough. Seventy-five years later Haitians so thoroughly dominate the Caribbean art industry that dealers from throughout the West Indies, from the Bahamas to Trinidad, come to Haiti to buy art, take it back to their own countries, and try to pass it off to tourists as the work of their own compatriots.

Associated with the promotion of agricultural and craft production, there should be small business services that help people set up productive enterprises, identify profitable opportunities, facilitate the creation of partnerships and cooperatives, and advise people with respect to business laws and obtaining loans. Entrepreneurial seminars should be promoted as well. The prospects of opening networks of Web/Internet sites for each Commune with the goal of marketing crafts and accessing new technologies of all kinds, including storage technologies, should be encouraged (Haitians have recently taken it upon themselves to do just this; meaning that NGOs could simply reinforce the process as advisors and technocrats). Similarly,

4. **Create a network of agricultural schools/extension services.** NGO extension services are emphatically not sustainable. They are part of a international system of charity and not dependent on local organizational infrastructure. The distribution of seeds, new cultivars, and saplings should be channeled through a national interlinked network of agricultural schools for adult farmers—not unlike U.S. land grant colleges. The Haitian State has long had agriculture extension agents. This is good, but they never worked. The jobs were given out as patronage. Moreover, for four decades the agricultural budget, under U.S. guidance, rarely exceeded 5% of total Government expenditures. A graphic example of devotion to agriculture—the principal livelihood for 70% of Haiti's inhabitants--was the ministry of agricultural, a building that for much of that time sat semi-abandoned, the roof to one wing of the building completely collapsed. Development organizations and religious missions have their own versions of agricultural agents throughout Haiti but they have always been less funded than other programs and they do not operate under a single coordinating organization,

which means that projects in one region duplicate one another whereas in other areas there are none at all. Lack of a single coordinating organization also means that there is no institutional memory and no learning curve; new organizations continue to carry out the same mistakes as those that came before them, year after year, decade after decade.

Agricultural schools should be formed in Commune seats; they should be open to people of all levels of literacy; they should/could be linked to the national Liceys (high schools); they should focus on *hands-on* techniques—forget the books, forget the long-winded lectures, *show them*; and they should be the headquarters for experimental projects, tree farms, seed cultivar programs, and weather monitoring stations. Similar schools sponsored by organizations such as World Vision have enjoyed impressive successes elsewhere in Haiti. If these types of programs are associated with increasing domestic demand for farm produce and helping farmers reach out to foreign markets, then other problems can be resolved as well. For instance deforestation: give Haitian peasants liberal access to the overseas market for the tree products that thrive in Haiti (mangos, avocados, coffee, chocolate, almonds, cashews, Guave, oranges, limes, and grapefruit, to mention a few), help them access to the saplings and grafting technology that causes them to begin yielding in as few as three years, and the peasants will plant the trees themselves. Indeed, it is perhaps the most perplexing of all 'development' misunderstandings that at the same time taxes and export restrictions killed access to foreign markets, foreigners almost uniformly condemned Haitians for stupidly cutting the down all the trees. The fact is, they were not worth anything. And with the agricultural economy upon which most Haitians depended choked off, the primary recourse in times of drought became charcoal production. In the absence of social security, it became the Haitian economic safety net.

5. **Expenses should be linked to returns.** Development organizations (or the earlier mentioned schools or, better still, private entrepreneurs working in association with the schools and credit institutions) should give/sell farmers seeds, especially new cultivars (as ACDI/VOCA, Diakonie, and Save the Children are doing), and make investments in irrigation and land improvement. But as mentioned earlier, extension services maintained by overseas charity donations are not sustainable. Wherever possible these investments should be recouped by requiring farmers to enter into repayment contracts—not unlike taxation. Rather than installing irrigation works and disappearing, development organizations should require owners of improved land to enter into contracts that would return the costs plus a profit to the development organization or a local governmental-type organization (to ACDI-VOCAs credit, they are doing this). If farmers do not want to enter into such contracts then funds should be committed elsewhere. For those who enter the agreement, profits could be taken in kind, i.e. part of the yield, and made dependent on the success of the investment thereby protecting the farmer from shoddy work or unscrupulous investments pushed on them by development organizations or incompetently chosen programs. The profits could be used to maintain the original investment—such as irrigation canals--and to finance similar projects in the community. The objective would be that these organizations could eventually be spun off as subsidiaries of the local government or as private enterprises. Indeed, the objective of the entire development process should be that the NGOs themselves could be spun off as investment funds or a type of venture capitalist organizations that search out and invest in promising productive opportunities.

6. **Link services to profits for the participants.** Workers delivering services should, whenever possible, be encouraged to charge fees. This is a notion completely compatible with contemporary Haitian market principles. **Example:** 'Bare foot' health auxiliaries should be promoted but should be allowed to charge for medicines and services. Traditionally this has been forbidden. But *not* to permit local health auxiliaries to market their services is a) tantamount to telling the population the services have no value and b) not a practical strategy because the agents are poor people with families, and they do not want to participate without being remunerated—arguably cannot participate because of the need to feed their own family. The same argument can be made regarding "barefoot" veterinarians.

   This point merits elaboration. Seeing the country in crisis, many aid workers tend to expect the opposite, that Haitians—especially those suffering--should pitch in and help as a type of civic duty. What those individuals fail to grasp is what could be called the 'fierce entrepreneurial and individualist spirit of Haitians.' Impoverished Haitians—as well as rich Haitians--are not going to do something for nothing (most aid workers would not either). An individual who did so would be chastised by family and laughed at by peers. In an attempt to illustrate the cultural context of this tendency, a Haitian healer who did not charge for his services but performed it as "charitable work" would be suspected of the most devious intentions, such as doing the work for free and then selling the souls of his clients to demons.

   But lest my point be taken too far: the fact is that poor Haitians would and do perform volunteer for community work programs. But they must foresee tangible benefits that make sense to them. Community work groups make sense because Haitians participate in rotating agricultural work associations. Similarly,

7. **All projects should be designed, promoted and executed on the basis of competitive market principles and with the aim of stimulating the local market.** Projects should be launched with the idea of economically stimulating the economy by spending locally and in such a way that promotes free competition: a) projects should be accomplished only with domestically available technology, expertise, labor, materials and transportation, b) all work should be open to competitive bidding from the population, c) development organizations should restrict their roles to evaluating outputs, administrating finances, auditing, and providing technical assistance that is otherwise unavailable, and d) All projects should be launched with definitive ends in mind--contractors not accomplishing work should not be paid. In short, development organizations should try to emulate a free market, creating a demand and then reinforcing competitive suppliers for high quality and low priced products. Similarly,

8. **Those industries that *do* function should be reinforced.** The best example of the failure of foreign intervention specialists to promote logical infrastructural development in Haiti is marine transport. Haiti is one half of a rugged island where road construction is difficult and costly but where 90% of the county is within 20 miles of the sea. As a logical consequence of these conditions Haitians take advantage of the sea to move all types of merchandise and produce. An indigenous boat building industry has grown up around the opportunity. Throughout the country, illiterate craftsman hand build seaworthy vessels, many in excess of 60 feet, some capable of carrying as much as 225 tons of merchandise, and they do so in the total absence of assistance from outside industries, companies or development organizations or personnel. Many if not most of the vessels are completely 'endemic:' fashioned from native trees, hand hewn into boards, caulked with tree sap, no part more modern than the

nails that hold it together; some are trawlers ingenuously powered by truck engines; but most do not even have an engine, but sails.

Despite marine transport being the most dependable, inexpensive, logical, and successful transportation in the country no development organization has ever done anything to stimulate it. Except for those projects meant to accommodate foreign vessels nothing has been done to encourage Haiti's marine industry. No wharves outside of the principal overseas ports of entry, no help with refrigeration, or packing, or moorings, or access to marine technology. For that matter, few if any overseas intervention agency has even used Haiti's internal marine transport system. Instead, organizations such as the World Food Program hire or purchase expensive trucks and haul produce overland, through rutted and washed out roads that the heavy trucks do much to make worse. Instead of cost effectively building roads that funnel produce into ports, millions of dollars are spent maintaining roads that lead tortuously to the capital or other urban centers.

9. **Launch pilot projects targeted at developing rural infrastructure but that competitively include local groups and individuals.** If we have learned anything from the past 100 years of foreign intervention in Haiti it is that outsiders cannot answer the question, 'how do we build and maintain infrastructure in Haiti?' With this is mind attempts should be made to stimulate local organization *without* depending on the worn-out and often failed tactic of teaching. Anyone who has ever had close contact with impoverished Haitians can tell you that two outstanding characteristics are that they are innovative and profit motivated. If projects were designed that guaranteed financial rewards for particular and adequately performed services, the response will be organization and production—as it is everywhere else in the world. **Example:** Assign to local organizations, or leaders, segments of road for maintenance. The right to work on the road could be allocated through a lottery system, winners having the option of selling their right. Technical advisors could be provided, the quality of the road maintenance be evaluated on a fixed five point scale, and the group or individual paid accordingly. The evaluations emphatically should not be carried out by NGO staff, local bureaucrats, or politicians but either by independent inspectors from outside the area or a committee of individuals invested in transportation (i.e. bus and truck owners who depend on the road for their livelihood) or both. Individuals or groups incapable of achieving lucrative maintenance evaluations would likely sell or could be pressured into selling their concession to more competent groups (just a suggestion, and for those who object to this particular idea, it should not negate the importance of allowing for competitive playing field for innovative ideas). Similarly,

10. **Create competitions for development projects.** Participation in local development could be stimulated through calls for proposals could issued on the radio, announced in schools and churches, by fliers and word of mouth. The proposals could be judged by panels of locals and NGO experts based on their perceived ingenuity and usefulness. Winners would be given financial rewards and their projects funded for a probationary period of time. IF they yield result then additional funding could be provided. However, the objective is profitability and sustainability. For what are very small sums of money in developed countries, young minds throughout Haiti could be set ablaze with creative ideas for development. Similarly,

11. Sponsor newspapers

Illustrative of the absence of the State in Haiti is that no where outside of Port-au-Prince are there newspapers. This fact should startle anyone who can read. Further, unlike developed countries where internet and television are driving newspapers out of business, conditions in Haiti continue to resemble those that prevailed during the heyday of the newspaper industry in developed countries. The difference is that today portable computing and printing technology make it easy to print small, local newsletters. And the people of Haiti are hungry for information. Throughout Haiti, there is at least one person every several houses who can read. Monthly or bi-weekly newspapers would be read and read aloud in *lakous* (housing compounds) throughout Haiti. There is no doubt that well designed, locally oriented and informative Creole publications would generate excitement every time they were issued.

Regional newspaper programs should began in association with the high schools. Two reasons: 1) high school students are the most educated people throughout provincial Haiti (when finished with their education most emigrate), and 2) it is the most effective and feasible way of launching a national campaign because in many cases the infrastructure and organization already exist.

A priority would be to disseminate information regarding development: health care issues, agricultural techniques, cultivars, availability of marketing and educational opportunities, current development activities, and job announcements. The publications must be in Creole, and they should be launched with the objectives of, 1) making the paper profitable through sale and advertisements and 2) eventually spinning them off as independent enterprises. The test of whether the newspaper program is successful would be whether or not independent and profitable publications did, in fact, begin to spin off from the high school programs. Similarly,

12. Link technical assistance to overseas volunteer and student experience programs. A virtual explosion in ostensibly non-profit organizations oriented toward volunteer work has occurred in the past two decades: Cross Cultural Volunteers, International Student Volunteers, Global Volunteers, Village Volunteers, Experience Corps, Youth Challenge, Volunteer United, Operation Smile, and CUSO-VSO are just a few of the organizations that together send tens of thousands developed world citizens overseas each year to help impoverished people. This is to say nothing of the proliferation of overseas university programs that bring tens of thousands of college students overseas to perform community service. Somewhat ironically, most pay dearly for the opportunity. Perhaps at the risk of generalizing, there is clearly--despite claims to the contrary-- a profit motive at work. The students and professionals pay fees ranging from $3,000 to $10,000 per trip. Many get college credit and the experience is listed favorably on Curriculum Vitaes.

Development should tap into this volunteering phenomenon and use the students to help with infrastructural projects, newspapers, computer labs, agricultural experiment stations and tree farms. University intern programs could be associated with agricultural schools. Stimulating interest in Haiti without having to make the investments would be a matter of promotion and incentives.

Not to be left out in this regard are the missionaries who are already present in Haiti. A force of several thousand fulltime missionaries, mostly rural Americans, many mechanically competent, many with farming backgrounds, others are builders; they are connected to U.S.,

Canadian and European churches that send enormous sums of money to aid Haiti and they are back-stopped by another annual 100,000 plus temporary missionaries who visit in "teams" that include doctors, dentists, builders, and virtually every type of expert imaginable. It is the type of force that could indeed build a nation. But while admirable exceptions abound, the overall mission effort could be summed up as an uncoordinated morass of heroes whose projects fizzle out or get channeled into the pockets of unscrupulous pastors and village sociopaths. At times they create social havoc—as when they empower the village socio-paths—and at other times they disrupt ongoing institutions—as when they open schools with all the modern amenities, give a cost free education to the local elite and subsequently drive for-profit schools out of business. But the point should not be lost: most of these people are highly competent in areas that Haiti needs, most are well intended, and most are frustrated with the disorder. Provide serious programs, seriously organized, and seriously supervised, and the serious missionaries will come to them: Make the agricultural schools functional and the missionaries will support them and work with them; organize the medical system and the missionaries will work with it; organize infrastructural project and the missionaries will help.

13. **The key to effective development and all the preceding recommendations is monitoring and evaluation. An NGO, evaluating agency; the Standard & Poor's of Haitian NGOs.** It evaluates both individual projects, the program, and the in country performance of the agency or organization behind it. Voluntary certification on a 4 point scale that could be called TA&A:

a. Transparency: does the agency honestly allow the evaluators to look at income and expenses
b. Arrival: the percentage of money donated or spent on that actually arrives in Haiti at the projects
c. Accuracy: is the money spent on what it is supposed to be spent on (meaning, for example, if it is for orphans, are they really orphans; if it is for educated poor children, are they really poor children; if it is for buy food to feed hungry children, are the recipients really hungry children; if it is for latrines, are they really building latrines)

The results are published in local newspapers and on an internet site. The success of the program depends on the application, the prestige and publicity that the accreditation receives.

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End Notes

[i] Calculations are based on 2003 census and an annual demographic increment of 1.8 percent.

[ii] Another incredible plant, *vetiver* has multiple uses. In addition to a durable roofing material, medicinal herb, it has roots that reach as far as 12 feet into the soil making it good for erosion control.

[iii] Unlike many other regions of Haiti, people in the Southeast do not use any type of palm for house covering. They do, however, use coconut thatch for kitchens and *joupa* (garden shelters that resemble tents).

[iv] A note regarding the wispy shelters made of sheets and plastic that one sees on the drive from Port-au-Prince through the mountain to Jacmel: Close examination reveals many are on unlevel ground, strewn inside with rock, or simply too short for most people to sleep in. This is to say nothing of the fact that most do not qualify as a shelter at all-- they would not deflect neither rain nor sleet nor the vision of curious neighbors. When one leaves the road and ventures into the countryside, one no longer encounters them.

Virtual *bidonvil* of such wispy tents can be seen on the northern outskirts of City Soley in Port-au-Prince, hundreds of wispy tents but not an occupant in sight.

These tents can be seen as a summary statement of the attitude that has evolved toward aid. "Catch as catch can." One USAID staff officer referred to them as "come crows."

[v] Not to be left out is the aid-entrepreneur and the narcotrafficker:

Pasture-entrepreneur: Notable because it reveal much about economic opportunity in Haiti the country's role as recipient of vast quantities of international charity donated through churches, this special type of aid entrepreneur who can be found throughout Haiti is typically from the ranks of the rural town poor or the lower middle class, He is the pasture-business man, a gate keeper of religious donations from overseas with a portfolio that typically includes an orphanage, church, school, store, warehouses for trade in imported foods, perhaps a bakery, and sometimes a transport ship; he invests in land, irrigated gardens and livestock, owns at least one house locally, another in Port-au-Prince and often one in Miami as well; he quite likely is, has, or will run for political office.

The narcotrafficker: Also special for the insight that his role offers into the current Haitian economy. Like the religious aid-entrepreneur, most are males, traveled, multilingual; at the bottom are those young men who might make a modest living smuggling a few ounces of cocaine to the Dominican Republic; at the top is the highest of the regional elite, members of what some call the "Jacmel Cartel" that reputedly monopolizes regional political power (a belief that, whether true or not, demonstrates the rank that narcotrafficking holds in the popular imagination, reflecting economic reality).

[vi] The crops planted in the traditional semi-subsistence gardens of rural Haiti are those that are best adapted to the harsh environment. Relatively high yields of these crops can be produced with minimal effort in a wide range of soil pH conditions, and prove to be resilient in the face of unpredictable rainfall patterns, destructive hurricanes and floods, and periodic drought. For example, five principal crops planted are corn, beans, sweet potatoes, cassava, and peanuts, the very same five crops most important to the Taino Indians who inhabited the area in pre-Columbian times. To this basket of Taino domesticates, early colonists added three of the most drought resistant crops on the planet: sorghum, millet, and pigeon peas, and very importantly in the Southeast, yams, crops that continue to be of great importance in rural Haiti.

Sweet Potato (Impomea batatas): In calories per square meter, sweet potatoes are the most productive tropical cultivar on earth. They have few natural pests, and from planting to first harvest, they can produce as much as twelve metric tons per acre on as little as four inches of rainfall. There are dozens of varieties of sweet potatoes, which are recognized for features ranging from the ability to resist drought to the tremendous size of the potato. All varieties begin yielding in from two to six months. Cuttings must be planted when the ground is moist, but thereafter provide a continuing year round harvest, yon manje tout tan (a food at all times). After the initial planting, the vine itself becomes drought resistant; it withers during long dry spells, and its fruit degenerates. But the vines go into a

state of dormancy and come back vigorously when it rains and the more it rains the more the vine produces. When harvesting sweet potatoes, a farmer need only re-bury the remainder of the vine for it to continue growing. Patches of sweet potatoes endure for several years and would endure indefinitely if hungry children did not help themselves, digging the sweet potatoes up and roasting them whole in small fires (see Bouwkamp 1985; Onwueme 1978).

Cassava (Manihot utilissima): Cassava is a close competitor with sweet potatoes for the most productive tropical food plant in terms of calories produced per square meter. It needs more rain than sweet potatoes to grow, but it is more tolerant of drought, easily surviving dry periods longer than six months. Further, unlike sweet potatoes, cassava has the unique ability to be stored in the ground and it is hurricane proof because it can lose all its leaves and its branches may break, but the root, which is where the food is, will not die. After drought or hurricanes, the plant draws on carbohydrate reserves in the roots to rejuvenate itself. Cassava is propagated by cutting short lengths of its branches, and these sticks can be stored for as long as five months. There are least five varieties of bitter cassava and five varieties of sweet cassava. Cuttings can be planted at any time, even in the dry season, and will remain until the rains come. Depending on the variety of cassava, the type of soil, and the frequency of rainfall, the roots are ready to harvest anywhere from six months to one and a half years but can be left in the ground for up to four years. After the tree has reached maturity (at one and a half to two years), farmers will often trim branches, allowing for the planting of other crops and the harvesting of the cassava roots as needed over a period of several years. When harvesting, portions of the roots are commonly left in the ground to grow back (see Toro and Atlee 1980; Cock 1985).

Pigeon peas (Cajanus cajan): Pigeon pea roots reach six to seven feet beneath the surface, deeper than cassava, making the plant highly drought resistant. When drought does strike, pigeon peas shed all their leaves and go into a state of dormancy just like cassava, coming back to life when the rains return. The peas are a high source of protein (20 percent) and provide all but two of the thirteen amino acids necessary for protein synthesis in humans. The leaves provide animal fodder superior to most grasses and mature stalks are burnt as cooking fuel. There are at least seven varieties of pigeon peas in the region. They are planted with corn—good for the corn because pigeon peas are nitrogen fixing—and after a year the plant provides a continuous yield for six to eight months and can survive for up to five years., yielding for 6-8 months every year (see Nene et al. 1990).

Sorghum (Sorghum vulgare) and Millet (Pennisetum gluaucum): Both crops yield with minimum rainfall. The roots reach more than eight feet beneath the surface, enabling the plant to withstand over two months of drought. When the crop is entirely lost to drought or has been harvested, the stalks can be cut back and the plant will begin growing again. Millet and sorghum have a special status as a subsistence grain crop because it has a very hard, pest, and mold-resistant kernel that can be stored for over two years (see Nzeza 1988).

Corn (Zea mays) and Cowpeas (Phaseolus vulgaris): Farmers reported planting corn and beans more than any other crops, probably a reflection of the fact that they are high-status cash crops, particularly on the plains. Corn and beans are not highly drought resistant although the cultivars planted have traditionally been short season varieties like those originally planted by the Taino Indians. Beans and corn are among the few plants that yield all at once and even though about 50 percent of the crop may be consumed by the household, they make up one of the most significant sources of income available to farmers. They are planted on the plains and corn is the most productive domesticated nontropical plant species on earth in terms of calories per square meter (Newsom 1993; Prophete 2000).

Peanuts (Arachis hypogaea): Peanuts are even more drought resistant than sorghum and in they can be planted in sandy soil and in dry areas where only cacti and xerophytic plants are found. (see Nzeza 1980). Other important crops all fit into an agricultural strategy that is clearly selected more for eking out a living in the face of an unpredictable market and natural environment than for participating in the world economy. Lima beans, which are intercropped with corn, are nitrogen fixing and begin to yield two to three months after harvest and continue to yield for as long as there is sufficient rainfall. Pumpkins and squash also yield continually as long as there is rain. One of the most important local crops, the Yam reyal, can be planted during dry spells and will begin to grow with the first rains. Like manioc, it can be stored in the ground indefinitely serving as an important food during droughts and other crises. Sugarcane endures for years, propagates itself without human intervention, can be harvested at any time after it is mature, and will grow back after being cut. Perhaps most importantly with regard to sugarcane, the hard fibrous

exterior locks in water while the roots extend some eighteen feet underground, making it a completely drought-resistant source of water and high energy food for both people and animals.

Another aspect of the Haitian peasant subsistence strategy that should be emphasized here is that the crops planted do not require simultaneous harvesting but yield slowly over a period of several months, even year round. The cropping strategy adopted ensures that several staples will be available in the garden in every month of the year. Crop harvesting cycles are complemented by the availability of produce from at least nineteen types of fruit and nut trees, most of which are not planted deliberately but rather selectively permitted to grow and the harvests of which conveniently fall during the some of the leanest months for garden produce. Fruits are sold in the markets for local consumption, they are given away freely among friends and neighbors, and are consumed in abundance by everyone.

For those who may be interested in these type of trends, many of the crops planted in the Southest are survivals from pre-colonial agricultural strategies. Indeed, agricultural the strategy practices in the Southeast is largely inherited from the Taino Indians, making it an in situ survival strategy that has been practiced on the island for at least 1,000 years. The consistency is such that in the neighboring Dominican Republic, where *campesinos* use an almost identical cropping strategy the word for garden is the Taino term *conuco*

Table n7: Commonly planted crops by origin

Crops planted	Origin	% farmers	*Crops planted*	Origin	% farmers
Corn	Taino/Americas	87.9	*Yam*	Africa, Asia	2.6
*Beans**	Taino/Americas	70.8	*Okra*	Africa	2.5
Sweet Potato	Taino/Americas	59.1	*Arrow root*	Taino/Americas	2.0
Cassava	Taino/Americas	44.9	*Castor Bean*	Africa	1.8
Peanuts	Taino/Americas	39.1	*Egg Plant*	Asia	0.9
Millet	Africa, Asia	32.1	*Carrot*	British Isles	0.5
Pumpkin	Taino/Americas	20.6	*Tomato*	Taino/Americas	0.4
Plantain	Philippines	8.7	*Echalot*		0.3
Sugar Cane	Asia	7.2	*Squash*	Taino/Americas	0.3
Watermelon	Africa	6.0	*Other*		5.6
Sesame	Africa, Asia	3.4			

[vii]

Table n8: Regional tree cycles (H = harvest) for the eighteen most common fruits and nuts

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
Avocado	0	0	0	0	0	HH	HHH	HHH	HHH	HHH	HHH	HH
Mango	H	H	H	HH	HHH	HHH	HHH	HH	H	H	H	H
Bread nuts	0	0	H	HH	HHH	HHH	HHH	HH	0	0	0	0
Bread fruit	0	0	H	H	H	H	H	H	0	0	0	0
Kenep (*liche*)	0	0	0	H	H	HHH	HHH	H	H	0	0	0
Oranges (sweet)	HHH	HHH	0	H	H	H	H	H	H	0	0	HHH
Grapefruit	HHH	HHH	0	H	H	H	H	H	H	0	0	HHH
Limes	H	H	H	H	HHH	HHH	HHH	H	H	H	H	H
Oranges (sour)	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H
Coconut	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H
Papaya	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H
Corosol	HHH	HHH	HHH	HHH	HH	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Grenadia	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H
Abriko	HHH	HHH	HH	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H
Almonds	0	0	0	0	0	H	HHH	HHH	H	0	0	0
Cashews	0	0	0	0	0	H	HHH	HHH	H	0	0	0

Many if not most fruit trees are not planted deliberately but rather selectively permitted to grow and the harvests of which conveniently fall during the leanest months for garden produce. Fruits are sold in the markets for local consumption, hauled by sara to the urban Port-au-Prince market, they are given away freely among friends and neighbors, and are consumed in abundance by everyone, especially children.

[viii] Many of the items used in and around households are procured or manufactured by household members from useful plants, trees, and shrubs found in the yard, growing up around the garden, along paths, or in the arid State land. Limes and sour oranges are used as an all-purpose disinfectant and aloe as a hair oil and shampoo.. Baskets are made of grasses and splintered bamboo. Sleeping mats are made from dried plantain stalks. Gourds from the kalbas tree provide a range of different sized storage and drinking vessels. Sticks are collected for use as cooking fuel. To start fires locals use the abundant and flammable coconut husks, dried orange peelings, and a pitch pine (from the native Hispaniola pine found abundantly in the nearby National park, the Pine Forest).

-People of the Southeast to have historically suffered recurrent nutritional crisis less frequently than other regions, such as the Northwest, the Plateau Central, and even nearby Plain of Leogane. This observation is supportded by informants identifying far fewer edible wild plants. They did report knowledge of several wild leaves and a wild yam but they were not able to expound on the subject nor did they report a need to resort to these items. For example, people in nearby Leogane commonly eat boiled gree mangos as a nutritional coping strategy during times of scarcity, but people in the region we studied laugh at the prospect. When probed on the issue of some informants did note opportunistically eating feral cats, iguanas, and most types of birds—including eagles, hawks, woodpeckers, and even buzzards. They also consume land crabs, fresh-water crabs, crayfish, and even snake. They do not eat horse as people in North Haiti have begun to do in the past 15 years.

[ix] Motorcycles have become affordable to the general population only in the past 15 years. Their availability began in the mid 1990s with massive imports of second hand, refurbished Honda Cubs (scooters) from Japan. In the early 2000s Chinese Motorcycles became available at even lower prices giving way to virtual revolution in transportation on par in impact with that of the cell phone, something that became widely available at the same time. The use of motorcycles has been especially advantageous to young men who are overwhelmingly the drivers. But also to older individuals. They provide an investment opportunity. People with the resources buy them and then rent or lease them to younger family members or trusted friends (the going rate is 250 goud per day). In this way the economic impact of the new industry effects a wide number of people. Also notable is that several informants spontaneously remarked that if it was not for taxis, the current crisis would have been more severe because young men, not having any other recourse to income, would have been more prone to steal garden produce and livestock.

[x] Although at times devastating, the impact of hurricanes are generally not as severe as those associated with drought tuber crops such as manioc, sweet potatoes, arrowroot, and yams survive and even benefit from the abundant rainfall. Prolonged droughts are more devastating. Only the hardiest crops and livestock survive. Animals that may have survived hurricanes and the associated disease that often comes with them are more likely to die. People who are old or sick are more likely to die at these times. Stricken families begin moving, going from house to house begging for morsels of food. Livestock theft and banditry increases. Commercial activity becomes perilous because desperate people sometimes hide themselves in the brush by trails and charge unsuspecting voyagers, hurling rocks and screaming, driving the traveler away from her donkey and seizing her merchandise.

[xi] Animals are led to open pasture or checked before dawn. The animals are moved again at least once and sometimes twice during the day to areas with shade and fresh fodder. These times also serve to assure that the animals are not strangling on their cords, that dogs are not in the process of killing them, or that thieves are not in process of stealing them. Small animals such as goats and sheep do not need to be watered when there is abundant rainfall. But when there is not sufficient rainfall, as is common in Southeast, the animals must be watered at least every three days and generally every day during the hot summer months. Rain or shine, large livestock such as cows

and pack animals must be watered daily.

The amount of time invested in livestock obviously depends on the number of animals a household owns and the distance from the household to water sources and foraging areas. Except after harvest times, animals are tethered or in the vicinity of the garden or on arid State lands rented from the government. In some areas, such as Bainet, animals are corralled in the arid areas.

It is difficult and probably impractical to try to estimate the amount of time necessary to tend animals. To begin with, there is wide spectrum of intensity with which members of a household can care for their animals. Animals can be turned loose in the kadas and not checked for days, or tethered somewhere and moved only once a day. But these are risky practices that increase the chances of animals being lost, stolen, or killed by dogs. At the other extreme, a household head can see to it that animals are checked and moved at least twice during the day and brought into the yard at night, practices that increase the probability the animals will survive to reproduce and to be sold in the market. But that also requires significantly greater investments in time and labor.

Another factor that complicates the estimation of livestock labor inputs is the difficulty of determining how many animals can be moved or led to the water at the same time. A lone man or woman, for instance, can handle as many as six goats and an unlimited number of sheep. Only one sheep needs to be guided and the rest will follow. Goats will also follow but they are less cooperative. In summary, regarding the time and labor inputs required by a household for livestock raising, the general rule is that the more time and the more labor that is invested, the better.

[xii] People all over rural Haiti generally do not themselves use charcoal for cooking fuel; they use wood. In almost any region one finds an ongoing production of charcoal with a handful of specialists and intermediaries engaged in the industry and they are considered among the poorest, lowliest people in an area; although the money earned at charcoal production can compare favorably to other occupations, these are people who tend to have less land, animals and no other employable skills. But for most individuals charcoal production is something that occurs when a special need arises, as when someone wants to build a house or finance a new garden and, as discussed in the main body of the report, charcoal production is most conspicuously bound with times of drought and crop failure.

[xiii] Although commonly called hurricanes, note that some of the most devastating climatological events in recent years are tropical storms rather than hurricanes, as for example, Tropical Storm Jean in 2004

[xiv] At least 8 major earthquakes have hit the island in the past 250 years and probably more; the most destructive were one in 1751, destroying Port-au-Prince; another in 1842, estimated at an equivalent of 8.5 on the richter scale it destroyed both Cape Haitian and the Dominican city of Santiago some 150 miles away; and one in1935 that created a tsunami, swamped sections of the North coast and killed thousands. In my own research in church archives in the northern town of Port-de-Paix, I noted that a severe earthquake hits on average every 43 years. They are currently overdue by some 40 years.

[xv] Note that high numbers of households members is arguably not the burden during crisis that many observers and aid workers tend to emphasize. When crisis strikes, particularly drought—arguably the most severe type of crisis--demands on household labor increase precipitously. And the principal feature that determines the success of a household in coping with and surviving drought is not how few mouths it has to feed, but how many able bodies it can put to work. Crop failure turns many households to charcoal production and, as a consequence, local wood supplies dwindle and household members must travel farther and farther to find wood for fuel.

Most problematic is the water supply. Water sources dry up and people have to travel farther to fill their buckets and water animals. Moreover, all households in the region are experiencing the same stress and this means that the fewer water sources are being visited by more people. Springs are packed with crowds of pushing, shoving, and cursing women and children. People get up at midnight so they can arrive at a distant spring before it becomes too crowded and they spend hours waiting to fill a single water jug. Some people, particularly young children, return to the house teary-eyed, trodden and bruised, having failed to procure any water at all. Washing clothes during drought conditions becomes problematic as well. Women must travel great distances to find clean water and a vacant place to sit and scrub. Animals have to be watered more frequently since the desiccated fodder dehydrates them. Fodder itself becomes scarce, so farmers are traveling farther and farther into remote areas to graze their animals or to cut grass for them and then they must lead the animals more frequently in the other direction, into more peopled areas, where there are adequate water sources that have not dried up.

All of this additional effort translates into more labor and the need for more workers because, rain or no rain, people must eat and they must drink. Food still must be cooked, water found, clothes washed, and at least some animals must be kept alive so that when the drought finally does end there will be something with which to start producing again. The same logic of increased labor demand associated with crises can be applied to the most marginal regions. The poorest people usually live in the most marginal areas, which by definition those areas farthest from water and markets, thus increasing household labor requirements.

[xvi] In markets one finds not only piles of fruits and vegetables, but locally produced beeswax candles, tin-can lamps, thatch brooms, ropes made of sisal or shredded food aid sacks, tin graters and funnels, cloth coffee and juice strainers, locally crafted wooden mortars and pestles, saddles, saddle blankets, saddlebags, bridles, ropes, baskets, grass sacks, sleeping mats, scrap-iron bed frames, and wooden furniture. Locally produced castor oil is sold as a body lotion and hair relaxer. Bundles of wood are sold as cooking fuel and tiny packets of split pitch pine are sold as kindling. Domestic tobacco is sold in powder and leaf forms. Other locally produced items found include clay pipes, domestic rum concocted with aromatic leaves, roots and spices, homemade sweets made from peanuts, sesame seeds, melted brown sugar and manioc flour, and rolls made with cane syrup and ginger.

[xvii] One finds, for example, no bicycles, sporting goods, toys, labor-saving appliances, art, radios, videos, music cassettes, or imported gourmet foods. Nor does one find Hostess Twinkies or Lay's potato chips or items considered necessities by people elsewhere such as toilet paper, tissues, and maxi pads. There are shampoo and deodorant but not in great abundance rarities. In summary, the rural economy is not disconnected from the world economy, but does continue to be oriented toward provisioning subsistence needs rather than prestigious or pleasurable wants. Moreover, the dichotomy between the internal and the global markets is manifest in market organization as seen in the market chains for imported vs domestic goods.

[xviii] For example, individuals specialize in the following activities: making tin lamps from discarded containers of condensed milk; crafting graters and funnels from tin vegetable oil containers; making candles from local beeswax or tree resins with wicks woven from locally grown cotton; fashioning brooms from a long stick with palm thatch lashed to the end; fashioning coffee makers from a sock of cloth and a loop of wire; producing juice strainers from screen scraps; making mortars and pestles of all sizes out of local woods, making switches to whip animals—and children—from the skin of bull testicles. Saddles and saddle blankets are made from banana and plantain stalks, saddle bags and sacks ranging from quart size to a hundred gallons are woven from palm thatch, baskets are made from slithers of bamboo, bridles are made from sisal and palm thatch rope and goat skin with scrap iron used to make the bit, and hats are woven from grasses. Lumber for houses and furniture is hewn by the local specialists who fell trees with axes and saw them into boards using hand saws. Furniture is made with hand tools. Chairs are made of sticks and palm thatch, sisal, or vine. Nails, hinges, latches, iron bed frames, and the bits on horse bridles are produced locally by smiths working with nothing more than a hammer, burin, pliers, and burning coconut shells for heat to work the iron (the scrap iron is heated over a fire of dry coconut shells, a fuel that burns hotter than regular woods.) There are also specialists who make nets, weirs, and boats, caulk the boats, and go into the hills to find buoyant *monben* tree seed pods for nets and poles for oars. There are specialists who make bread, sweet rolls, and coffee. Others sew shoes. There are those who go into the bush to find vines and *galata* poles for roofs. There are specialists who climb coconut and palm trees, who gather rocks, and who make lime and charcoal. There are specialists for fixing doors and roofs and there are children who specialize in fixing bicycle tires. Digging holes in gardens is another specialist activity, as is the castration of livestock. There are even specialists who castrate particular kind of livestock. Other specialists hunt cats or mongoose using trained dogs. There are specialist tomb builders, grave diggers, casket makers, and those who wash and prepare bodies for burial. There are health care specialists, herb specialists called leaf doctors who know hundreds of remedies made from local plants and trees to treat everything from colds to AIDS (not all of them are effective). There are masseuses, midwives, spiritual healers, magic practitioners, and card readers. There are prayer-saying specialists, and even those who specialize in saying particular prayers on particular occasions.

[xix] Marketing is, after agriculture and livestock, the most important source of household income in the region. Every woman who has her own household and who is not sick or crippled visits a regional market center at least once a week, where she makes household subsistence purchases and sells the agricultural and animal products produced by the household. Women may specialize in selling anything from staples to used clothes to brewed coffee to machetes and schoolbooks. Even butchery is a female buying and selling enterprise. It is women who skillfully chop with a

machete freshly slaughtered animals into smaller divisions and then sell the fresh meat on the spot. The only marketing enterprises in which men participate are the selling of live animals—and even this is an activity in which women are more prominent than men—and itinerant pharmaceutical and pesticide sales. Female market activity is so important to household livelihood in Haiti that few people would dare save money by stashing it away. A person who has money will invariably "put the money to work" by giving it to a female relative or friend who will roll the money over in the market, *lajan sere pa fe pitit* (stashed money bears no children). Indeed, although men travel farther and stay away from home longer than women, intense female marketing activity means that women travel more frequently than men. Many of the women specialize in the sale of one or several commodities, such as chickens, goats, or straw handbags, which they spend several weeks purchasing from neighbors, friends, or in rural markets to sell in the urban markets. Others, the *madam sara* discussed elsewhere, focus on seasonal produce and staples. The most successful *sara* are agents in the rural to urban distribution of staples. These women develop extensive networks of local female clientele who depend on them for supplies that are often provided on credit. Some of them become wealthy by local standards—many subsequently emigrate.

[xx] *Madam sara* in the Southeast activity zone can be classified into two categories: the *ti madm sara* (the little madam sara) and the *gwo madam sara* (the big madam sara).

The *ti madm sara* purchase produce in the interior, either in the garden of the producer or in the rural market place. She then either, 1) hauls the merchandise to Jacmel or another of the principal coastal market centers where she earns an approximately 50% market up selling to other better capitalized *madam sara*, or 2) she takes the goods herself to Port-au-Prince where she earns approximately 100% on her investment.

Although many women make the trip to Port-au-Prince on foot, a principal factor that determines her choice of destinations is the availability of animal transport (the lower capitalized *ti madam sara* avoids the cost of using paid transportation, keeping this revenue for herself). If she does not own an animal she may be more inclined to carry the goods on her head to the coastal markets with the expectation that she will earn about 125 *goud* for her effort. Stronger women can who can carry two loads (*chay*) can double that sum .

Thus, those how own a donkey or mule are more likely to chose Port-au-Prince as her destination. The animal allows her to haul three to five times the quantity that she herself could carry. But she also incurs more expenses than her ambulant counterpart; she leaves her animal in the Kenscoff area; she then pays a taxi-truck to transport the goods down the mountain to the Petion Ville. As mentioned in the main text, she will purchase nothing for the return trip home and the reason is that it is more profitable for her to return home and use her precious capital to make another purchase and a yet another trip to the vibrant urban market. *Madam sara* who live in highland Jacmel typically make the trip to Port-au-Prince twice per week. Those that go to the coastal markets can make the trip daily.

The *gran madam sara* has significantly more capital at her disposal than the *ti madam sara*. She either accumulates stock in the highland market centers or she purchases stock in the more accessible coastal markets. She then pays truck transport to take her goods to Port-au-Prince where she checks into the depots as described in the main text. She gives credit to.*kliyan* as discussed The largest of these women use assistants, often men, who are variously known for their different tasks as by the terms *maladieu, koutiere, and gestioné.* But the overwhelming majority of *sara* purchase their own goods.

[xxi] An heuristic comparison can be made with the market system in the neighboring Dominican Republic (DR) where neither the *madam sara* nor the rotating market system exist (except in the border areas where one does find rotating markets and, regarding the *madam sara* , historio-ethnograhically in the rural areas surrounding the central city of Santiago where until recently operated a famed type of *madam sara* on her donkey; the Dominicans have even built a statue to commemorate her). In the DR it is male truck owners/drivers who fulfill the redistribution function analogous to the Haitian *sara* , purchasing domestic produce from farmers and then redistributing them through male dominated market system. The buyers in the Dominican open markets own stores (*colamados*) or they are other truck-owner-driver intermediaries who sell out of their vehicle, riding through neighborhoods announcing over a loud speaker their produce, or who distribute directly to *colmados* found throughout both rural hinterlands and urban barrios. The *colmado* also warrants a special clarifying note because they play a central redistributive role on par with the Haitian rotating markets. Interesting in this respect, provision of credit is a fulcrum point of the *colmado* system while Haitian *boutik* generally does not provide credit to customers. Indeed, the colmado is often the point of most intense social activity in barrios and pueblos throughout the country.

[xxii] Many rural Southeast men I talked to work on the Higuey or the Consuelo.(San Pedro Marcoris) sugar plantations. The season for work on sugar plantations is January to July. Bilingual recruiters known as *bukon* (Spanish buscones) begin arriving in December and subsequently lead the men to the town of *Boukan Chat* and then across the border and through the Dominican park on the other side (a more detailed discussion of the process is provided below). Although upon arrival remuneration is based on the amount of cane cut, something that varies among men, a good approximation of what the men can save in the six months that they are there is 20,000 pesos (about 22,000 Haitian *goud* or US$500). A large number of Haitian women (perhaps as many as 100,000, a surprising number of whom originate in Jacmel region) and to a lesser degree men engage in what Haitians euphemistically call *lave boutey* (bottle washing), meaning the Dominican Republic's. thriving sex industry, second in the Western Hemisphere only to Brazil.

The most familiar example of the demand for Haitian workers in the DR involves Dominican sugar plantations like those mentioned above. And it is here that most men interviewed in the Jacmel area had gone. Virtually every person interviewed on the subject displayed no knowledge of laboring in Dominican bean, vegetable, and rice farms—where Haitians closer to the border commonly seek employment. On the other hand, virtually all rural men knew about the opportunity and many had made the voyage at least once. The most familiar plantation is the distant Higuey plantation on the far, eastern side of the Dominican Republic. Some local men also go to the Consuelo plantation in Sem Pedro de Macoris (also in the east). They avoid the much closer Barahona plantation, some fifty miles into the DR, because while they say that there is abundant land on which to plant gardens—a fringe benefit—they make less money. The Barahona plantation has also been made rather notorious for severe exploitation by activist Priest Ruquoy—who has been expelled from the DR for his outspoken opposition to the plantation practices and policies.

All the *ingenios*,, make annual projections of the number of men needed for the cane harvest and then send the bilingual labor scouts, called *buscones* and mentioned in the main text, into Haiti in search of workers. The *buscones* use paths within the Parque Nacional Sierra Bahoruco (called the Massif de la Selle in Haiti and which links to Southeast Haiti's highland Pine Forest National Park) to escort parties of as many as 1,000 labor recruits to the sugar plantation camps, called *bateyes*. Beginning on the Haitian side in a place called *Boukan Chat* ("Cat Barbeque," near to Thiotte) they walk for two days through the Dominican park forest, whereupon they arrive in a coffee growing region called Polo (where most workers are also Haitian but few come from the Jacmel region.). After an often hungry wait of several days in Polo, they are picked up in truck and transported to the sugar plantations.

Although most rural men in the Jacmel area go to sugar plantations, people closer the Southeast border region are drawn directly across the border to work in menial agricultural. In the border region (again, as Haitian jump off points think, Thiotte and Fond Verettes), there are the mentioned coffee groves of Polo, the agroindustrial farms of Famoso in Limon and Victorina in Angustura, and the sand quarries of Vengan a Ver. In each case, Haitians make up a significant percentage of the manual labor force and in most cases they are a majority.

Haitian labor is in also high demand among Dominican small farmers who live near the border. Haitians clear *conucos* (garden plots) for small Dominican farmers, they sharecrop for them, they hoe their small agrarian reform plots (typically irrigated), they pick their coffee beans, they repair their fences and they look after their homesteads (the price is the same in pesos as it is in gourds—150 per full day—giving an advantage in that the peso is worth more but, perhaps more than anything else, simply being able to find dependable work). Dominicans often prefer hiring Haitian laborers. Haitians work for less pay than poor Dominicans; they are not entitled to severance pay--an important consideration for industrial farming enterprises; and Haitian workers are distant from homes, families, and the associated obligations that often interfere with work regimes—such as the obligation to attend funerals, and visit ill family members. Dominican *patwons* also negotiate access to garden land for the planting of semi-subsistence plots and even more commercial oriented bean undertakings.

There are few impediments to illegal entry of Haitians into the Dominican Republic. Along the approximately 120 kilometers of international border that can be classified as falling in the Southeast, there are only four points along that stretch where there are Dominican guard posts. Dominicans and Haitians often walk through these check points with little more than a nod to the guards. The rest of the area is unguarded, scrub, forest, fields, mountain, and ravines. Thus, even if the guards prevented entry, people wishing to cross the border can freely do so at almost any point. Haitians wishing to travel to more distant points inside the Dominican Republic avoid interior

check points by walking through the parks. Haitians with greater resources catch public transportation, paying guards at each check point 20 pesos or providing them with a small gift like a bag of potato chips. And Haitians who have the money and wish to catch the bus to Santo Domingo simply hand the driver 1,500 to 2,000 pesos (about US50) and the driver pays the bribes for them. In contrast to reports that describe the above movements in terms of clandestine smuggling and human trafficking, there is nothing especially secretive about them (although there is clandestine smuggling as well). Park guards, migration authorities, military personnel, police officers, and ordinary Dominicans living in the area are fully aware of the openness of border crossing and of the routes that Haitians take across the Sierra de Bahoruco and to a lesser extent through the more Southern Jaragua National Park.

Labor needs inherent in the different kinds of productive activities found in the Dominican Southwest (Haitian Southeast) determine the degree that Haitians in the Southeast are disposed to migrate and the permanence of that migration. In livestock and fishing areas where labor demands are low, such as Tres Charcos in the Lago Enriguillo area and Juancho on the Southern coast, there are few Haitians. There is also less permanent presence of Haitians in cattle grazing areas of Duvergé (on the Northern flanks of what Haitians call the Masif du Selle) and in the northern areas of Lago Enriquillo where Haitians are hired primarily to perform specific tasks in the plantain farms. In areas such as Polo, where Haitians find work in both *conucos* and coffee groves, as much as half of the resident population is Haitian. In the rural areas of Pedernales, where there is a large demand for Haitians to work in conucos, the vast majority of the rural population consists of Haitian born immigrants living in communities where they have their own churches, *colmados* (*boutik* in creole), and soccer fields.

To illustrate the degree of Haitian incursion that has occurred in some areas, a 2004 vaccination drive in the hamlet of La Altagracia turned up a total of 700 families both in the colony (village) and in the surrounding areas (conucos). In the colony there were 135 homes occupied in the following manner: 25 were empty houses, the owners having gone to live in Pedernales; 75 were inhabited by purely Dominican families; 20 of the homes were inhabited by purely Haitian families; and 15 were inhabited by Dominican men in union with Haitian women. Outside the colonia, 'in the conucos,' there were 565 households, of these, four were Dominican men in union with Haitian women and all the remaining 561 families were Haitian. Similar trends were evident in Mencía and Las Mercedes.

Haitians have become a permanently established presence on the Dominican side of the border and they have done so by making themselves useful to Dominicans. But they are also extremely vulnerable. Most are impoverished illegal aliens. They often build homes and live in the least desirable and even dangerous places as, for instance, in the 2004 Jimaní flood where over 600 Haitians were killed. Haitians are sometimes subjected to extreme abuse with little risk of repercussions for the abusers. There are documented cases of Haitians being murdered en route through the parks (Ruquoy, per.com.). On the other hand it is equally important to understand that Haitians are well integrated into Reserve social systems. Overall, Haitians and Dominicans coexist with little everyday conflict or tension. Doctors and health directors working in Dominican rural health clinics and hospitals treat Haitians and many school directors allow undocumented Haitian children to register and attend public schools.17 Illegal Haitian immigrants who have not been paid by an employer or who have been victimized by a Dominican will often report the wrong to the authorities and get justice. Haitians and Dominicans live side by side, often in the same homes. Dominicans adopt Haitian children and, as described above, some Dominican men cohabitate and bear children with Haitian women creating blood relations that extend across the border and bridge cultural gaps.

Not only is Haitian labor from the Southeast the mainstay of the most productive regional economic activities on the Dominican side of the border, Haitians are a mechanism by which Dominican farmers circumvent their own environmental laws. Dominicans use Haitians to make charcoal that is then shipped across the border for sale in Port-au-Prince—a practice that has contributed to the deforestation of the Northern slopes of the Sierra de Bahoruca (the Dominican side of the Massif de la Selle) and almost all of the Sierra de Neiba (together this is the region closest to Port-au-Prince); and they have used Haitians to transform forest into pasture (specifically the Southern slopes of the Sierra de Bahoruca), and at times, reportedly, as fronts and scapegoats in accessing park resources and commandeering Dominican park lands.

The described demographic movements—in their purest essence, labor flows--relate to productive activities and economic opportunities on the Dominican side of the border. People living there, both Dominicans and Haitians, are responding to economic opportunities managed and manipulated by national and international corporations, the State, wealthy urban based investors and locally based entrepreneurial market intermediaries who directly impact production by linking producers to markets and often by underwriting the costs of production.

The influence of Dominican agroindustrial intermediaries has also extended across the border and into Haiti where they have played a role in stimulating potato, cabbage, and onion production within the Foret des Pins, the Haitian national park just on the other side of the border from the Sierra de Bahoruco. The intermediaries

sometimes loan Haitian farmers money to cover the costs of labor and pesticides; and they advance large sums of money to Haitian intermediaries who purchase vegetables on their behalf, and they purchase vegetables at an open market within Sierra de Bahoruco National Park (near Boukan Chat, which is near Tchiotte).

[xxiii] An exception is the mentioned industry of healers, masseuses, and midwives. However, with the exception of the Shaman, who in life threatening situations may demand large sums, the fees charged are fixed and relatively insignificant in terms of livelihoods.

[xxiv] Men work in the gardens, care for livestock, make charcoal for sale to villages, towns, and cities, and gather firewood for their own households. The heaviest tasks, like hoeing (*voye wou*) and digging holes for plantain trees (*voye pikwa/fouye twou*) are considered to be men's work while light garden work, such as covering holes and collecting the debris from a weeded garden, are thought of as women's work. Men help process the food, such as flaying millet, beans, and corn or pulverizing the seeds with bat and bucket-size mortar and pestle. Men build houses, and all jobs involved in the building of a house, such as carpentry and masonry, are male jobs. The only task related to household construction that women do is plaster houses with white mud or lime—if the mud is not white then plastering house walls is men's work (most houses in the region are wood planks produced from local trees). Men, and to a far lesser extent women, migrate to the city in pursuit of temporary wage opportunities.

Perhaps the most significant and telling feature of the gender division of labor, is that men rarely engage in female chores while women can and sometimes do perform the full range of male activities. Men do not generally wash clothes, make meals, clean the house, or go to the market. Men seldom carry water. Women on the other hand can and often do tend livestock, weed gardens, and search for firewood. Some women, particularly older, economically independent women, hoe the soil and, in a few rare instances, dig holes for plantain trees. This versatility in job performance reflects the fact that women are more important than men in the day-to-day functioning of homesteads. Indeed, households are thought of as belonging to women and, Haitians are fond of saying, "men don't have houses" (*gason pa gen kay*), and people will typically refer to the homestead, even when a productive male is present, as belonging to the woman, as in "Ma Benita's place" or "Lili's house."

A point that deserves special mention is the role of children in Household livelihoods (see Schwartz 2009)

As discussed previously, all people in the region, regardless of their poverty, have access to garden plots and animals through sharecropping and other tenure arrangements, something that makes the capacity to tend animals and gardens a significant factor in determining the actual number of each managed by a household. Capacity is determined by the availability of domestic labor. That means children (see Schwartz 2009).

Table n9: Adult sexual division of labor

Task	Male	Female
Housework	*	*****
Cooking	*	*****
Childcare	*	*****
Carry water	*	*****
Sell produce	*	*****
Sell livestock	**	****
Harvest crops	**	****
Plant crops	***	***
Tend lvstck	****	**
Prepare and weed Gardens	****	**
Porter (paid)	****	**
Charcoal production	******	
Fishing	******	
Wage labor migration to DR	*****	*

[xxv] Some might see this an unfair demonization of Haitian character. But Southeasterners --those in possession of their mental faculties-- are unlikely to divulge the true extent of their resources. To argue otherwise, while perhaps an admirable expression of human trust, is at best naïve and, at worst, tantamount to romantically impugning the Southeasterner with a degree of stupidity that few human beings possess. Imagine, if you will, the US government offering to pay all loans for people who qualify but not revealing the sum, and then, as the Haitian developed world counterpart, you willingly divulge all your bank accounts, and offshore assets.

[xxvi] Beginning around the 23rd of January, anyone walking into a one of the post-January 12th field hospitals or bothering to interview doctors working there could attest to the switch that came occurred. At about one half to two weeks after the quake the hospitals become swamped not with victims but with what they called primary care. Indeed, Haitians have arguably never been so cared for).

[xxvii] An illustrative ongoing example of which is while in the neighboring DR where every bank, shop, and restaurant has it's motorcycle taxi on call. In much more impoverished Haiti few if any NGOs use motorcycle taxis to transport documents, preferring instead to send SUVs.

[xxviii] The aid from the US has already reached some 1 billion, at least 70% spent on administration.

[xxix] This report is arguably a case in point: It is an emergency market evaluation meant to be conducted within three weeks of the disaster. It is now three months into the disaster. Moreover, while the participants may find it a worthy objective, there is little to no doubt that the decision to give cash or food rests with the donors who will unlikely be swayed in either direction by this report. Rather they will respond to Washington, as they are obliged to do.

[xxx] Household (this is not represented in the EMMA map but could be along the continuum of,

a. Household domain
b. Public domain
c.

[xxxi] Children and age could readily be included as another dimension but for the sake of expediency has not been (see Schwartz 2004, 2007, 2009).

[xxxii] As the offspring of farmer progress in school and become increasingly familiar with the urban environs and urban ways, they distance themselves from the status of being a farmer. Boys grow their pinky fingernails long to show they do not perform manual labor and they disdain and denigrate their farming parents and cousins as "mangled feet" (pye pete), "hillbilly" (neg monn), "hick" (abitan), "extreme hick" (kongo), "ignorant" (inoran), "uncivilized" (pa sivilize), "animal" (bet), "red teeth" (dan wouj) . But they are not alone in looking down on rural livelihoods and arriving at these conclusions. Their farming kin help. As children get older and reach achieve higher school rank, their farming parents increasingly forbid them from performing farm work and household labor tasks. When visiting down on the farm, school children in their late teens and early twenties often find themselves with nothing to do and bored I believe that there is material explanation for this. What farmers value most is free labor but as children become adults they increasingly demand pay or a cut of the harvest or livestock sales; and most onerous of all, if they stay, they demand part of the family land, an increasingly rare commodity. The way that farmers are able to avoid giving adult children land is by educating them, telling them they are above farm work, and encouraging them to look for jobs in the city or, better still, emigrate abroad. Doing so has the added advantage of increasing potential remittances.

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urban ways, they distance themselves from the status of being a farmer. Boys grow their pinky fingernails long to show they do not perform manual labor and they disdain and denigrate their farming parents and cousins as "mangled feet" (pye pete), "hillbilly" (neg monn), "hick" (abitan), "extreme hick" (kongo), "ignorant" (inoran), "uncivilized" (pa sivilize), "animal" (bet), "red teeth" (dan wouj) . But they are not alone in looking down on rural livelihoods and arriving at these conclusions. Their farming kin help. As children get older and reach achieve higher school rank, their farming parents increasingly forbid them from performing farm work and household labor tasks. When visiting down on the farm, school children in their late teens and early twenties often find themselves with nothing to do and bored I believe that there is material explanation for this. What farmers value most is free labor but as children become adults they increasingly demand pay or a cut of the harvest or livestock sales; and most onerous of all, if they stay, they demand part of the family land, an increasingly rare commodity. The way that farmers are able to avoid giving adult children land is by educating them, telling them they are above farm work, and encouraging them to look for jobs in the city or, better still, emigrate abroad. Doing so has the added advantage of increasing potential remittances.

[xxxiv] I am very much with Easterly (2006), who promotes what he calls "searchers" and reinforcing NGOs who get the job done and not reinforcing those that are inefficient and wasteful. I am only trying to enhance what he says. Moreover, he must be aware that "searchers" vs "planners" is essentially the same model we find arising elsewhere in the sciences, the most powerful model that exists, and as proof recurrently emerges whenever there is a processual or behavior enigma that needs explaining: it is Invisible Hand in economics, Natural Selection in biology, Radical Behaviorism in psychology, Cultural Materialism in anthropology. This recurrent process captures what voting is to democracy and political science; as well as the astrological explanation for the survival of planets—many did not survive because they smashed into one another. It is selection by consequences.

So in making my point and defending the model I am offering, I will use an analogy, as Easterly so likes to do. If we were given the task of creating a kangaroo, there is no sense beginning the process with a one celled organism set loose in Australia and waiting for the kangaroo to evolve. Same for a planets: if we were asked to make a planet we would not reinvent the cosmos in order to have our planet. We know the processes, we know the results, we know the probabilities and the environments in which certain developments are most likely to occur. We know that we can't central plan, at least not to the point where we eliminate the natural selection and the incentives that give way to individual agency; but we also know that we can narrow the field of selection so that the target results occur rapidly. And in this, my point is, we turn to the evolution of States as a model, something we know a great deal about.