Fading Frontier: An Anthropological Analysis of the Agroeconomy and Social Organization of the Haitian-Dominican Border

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Executive Summary

1. Introduction

The following report is a rapid rural appraisal that compares and contrasts the agrarian economy, social organization, and developmental world view found in six rural areas of the Dominican-Haitian border, three on the Haitian side and three on the Dominican side. The report assesses the relevance of these patterns for projected bilateral watershed activities.

The research was commissioned by the United States Agency for International Development in the Dominican Republic (USAID/DR) to provide empirical input into a multi-donor conference convened for the planning of bilateral development activities in the border area, specifically in the areas of the Artibonite and Macasía watersheds.

The data on which the report is based were gathered by a team of three anthropologists experienced in rural research on one or both sides of the border and fluent in Spanish and/or Creole.

2. Production systems on the Haitian-Dominican border

This chapter discusses the central components of the agropastoral economy on both sides of the border.

Ground preparation on both sides of the border entails the felling and burning of all vegetation on the plot. Because of deforestation, it is no longer trees that are generally chopped and burned, but grasses and crop stubble from previous harvests. Several projects in the area have promoted alternative ground preparation techniques, but the vast majority of the plots in the area are still burnt off.

While ecological conditions for planting trees are essentially the same on both sides of the border, attitudes and behaviors are not. Haitians regret the loss of trees. Most people attribute unrestricted tree cutting to the absence of controls and enforcement and the fact that many rely on uninhibited and open lumber and charcoal production to survive in the face of famine and starvation. On the Dominican side, the menacing presence of Foresta serves as a deterrent. Dominicans are not allowed to sell processed wood products, and there is a shortage of lumber. Nevertheless, researchers witnessed tree cutting, primarily in the remote mountainous areas, for the preparation of conucos. Researchers witnessed numerous wildfires on the Dominican side, perhaps some of which were inspired by Foresta's conflicting policies.

The livestock component of the economy has been crippled by cross border cattle theft. The prevailing opinion is that the culprits are Dominicans and Haitians working together. In some communities, despite difficulties with theft, drought related crop failures have increased the reliance of households on their livestock.

Land tenure on the Dominican side is dominated by State land held under two different modes: agrarian colonies on flatter land whose once functioning irrigation systems are now inoperative but restorable, and hillside communities occupying state land under **terreno comunero** modes. Under this system, livestock are grazed freely and farmers have to surround their **conucos** with fences Because of the relative local abundance of available cropping land, no serious land conflicts were found on the Dominican side.

Land tenure on the Haitian side is more conflictive. Holdings are smaller and in some areas much of the land is believed to be owned by the State. In one of the communities studied three different social groups compete for ownership of the same plot of ground: the State, which claims the land as its own; *gran-negs*, who marshall questionable deeds; and ordinary villagers, who believed the land was effectively theirs but had to purchase plots from three *gran negs* to avoid eviction during the years of military control following Aristide's ouster.

The market component of the economy has been invigorated by the reopening of cross border trade. Cross border wholesale trade is dominated by males of both nations, though the Haitian female *madam sara* is locally active. Retailing of foodstuffs is dominated by females, especially in Haiti. In larger villages with stronger ties to urban markets, Dominicans purchase most of their food in local colmados. In the more remote areas, however, Haitian and Dominican villagers alike purchase most of their food in open air markets.

The ecological consequences of local land use have been destructive and perhaps irreversible in the lifetimes of those now alive. The vast majority of hillsides on the border itself have been converted into agriculturally degraded savannas. The program goal of "reducing erosion to prevent siltation of the Peligre dam" is no longer a realistic rationale for justifying binational border programs. The dam is already so silted that every year during the dry season large portions of the lake turn into a fertile alluvial plain. Local Haitian farmers generate a substantial annual income planting tobacco on land that is theoretically supposed to be under water.

3. **Local family and social organization**

The chapter discusses local family and social organization. Rural family structure in the area differs in four major ways from middle class urban family systems in the two countries by virtue of the frequent occurrence of : (1) consensual unions not legalized by civil or ecclesiastical ceremonies, (2) polygamous unions, (3) intermarriage between Dominicans and Haitians, and (4) widespread adoption of Haitian children by Dominican families in need of domestic services.

4. **Relations between Haitians and Dominicans**

Haitians and Dominicans living close to the border are linked in all types of income generating ventures, including agriculture (where Dominicans depend on Haitians as wage laborers or sharecroppers), commerce, and crime, particularly the theft of livestock.

In some cases positive social relations have arisen among villagers of the two nations. Haitians can be heard boasting about Dominican friends, and take advantage of superior Dominican services, like clinics and hospitals. Many Dominicans also talk about Haitian friends, and Dominicans commonly seek out Haitian spiritual healers when ill. Dominicans along the border report relatively few conflicts with their Haitian neighbors, admit their dependence on Haitians as workers, and express a guarded respect for their counterparts on the "other side". These positive relations are particularly common with Haitians living directly on the border who have stable relations with specific Dominicans.

Haitians who come from farther away, however, are more often victims of verbal or physical abuse or other types of mistreatment in the Dominican Republic.

There are also widespread patterns of intermarriage between Haitians and Dominicans and adoption of Haitian children by Dominicans. There is an impressive level of bilingualism, particularly in the southern part of the border area studied.

In terms of intergroup attitudes there are negative stereotypes which each group holds of the others. Dominicans often describe Haitians as dirty and foul smelling. Haitians in turn often describe Dominicans as lazy philandering drunkards who squander their money, and pride themselves in contrast on their willingness to work hard and save. These and other attitudes are described in the chapter.

5. **Conclusions and Recommendations**

The final chapter sums up some major observations and provides specific recommendations for program activities. Instead of conceptualizing activities within a **protective** "save the Peligre dam" rationale, donors should reconceptualize bilateral border programs in a **more dynamic productive paradigm.** The guiding theme should be **income enhancement** through ecologically sound activities.

The four specific major required elements for any development of the border area are:

1. water systems, **2. tree nurseries,**
3. production credit **4. road improvement**

These four material inputs are not being presented as optional recommendations for donor consideration, but as **objective prerequisites for any serious economic development in**

the Haitian-Dominican border region. The question is not **whether** these activities should be carried out, but rather how, when, and by whom.

Specific recommendations are made in each of the four areas. The good news is that there are examples in Haiti and/or the Dominican Republic of program strategies that have been effective in each of these four domains. Furthermore we found that villagers on both sides of the border are eager to collaborate with outside agencies on development projects.

The major barriers to successful programming on the border will be instead institutional in character. (1) The allocation of funds by donors to tangential, frivolous, or trendy projects alien to the objective economic needs of the border region, or (2) the entrusting of funds to incompetent or predatory implementers. For this reason it is critical not only that serious activity domains be chosen for implementation, but that responsible implementers be chosen for custodianship of donor funds.

Appendix A: Overview of the research communities

The communities were studied in three dyads of neighboring Haitian and Dominican villages. The three Haitian-Dominican dyads are: (1) Ti Lori and Guayajayuco on the northern end of the International Highway, (2) Los Cacaos and the rural parajes of Banica at the southern end of the International Highway, and (3) Kass and Macasia at the point where the Macasía River and the Artibonite rivers join to descend into Lake Peligre.

This chapter provides a brief economic and ecological history of each of the regions. Population fluctuations in all regions have been determined largely by three political events or processes: (1) the massacre by Trujillo thousands of Haitians in 1937, which depopulated much of the Dominican side of the border and led to a surge in the population of the Haitian side: (2) the disappearance in 1961 of a determined Dominican dictatorship, and which spurred the economy of the border area through governmentally supported irrigated agrarian colonies, replaced by a series of administrations whose indifference to the economy of the border is coincident with a massive exodus of Dominicans; and (3) the American embargo of Haiti and the subsequent dismantling of the Haitian army and police, which was also coincident with an opening up of the border to binational trade, and labor migrations. Though Dominican traders occasionally enter Haiti, the movement is largely unidirectional, as 75-80% of the agrarian labor on the Dominican side is now done by Haitians.

Appendix B: Political organization and the role of NGOs.

The chapter discusses governmental structures and the comparative role of the State and NGOs in mediating development projects.

Communities on both sides of the border are already organized into different groups that could mobilize for development action: farmers groups, women's groups,

youth groups. Such communities groups have arisen either through prodding by outside institutions or by communities wishing to attract outside donor resources.

Governmental presence in villages of the Dominican side takes the form principally of army outposts and itinerant forestry agents, as well as health facilities and schools. There is virtually no infrastructural service delivery component to governmental presence in Dominican villages. On the contrary, farmers in the region are angry at the unrepaired or unfinished irrigation systems or the half finished roads whose contractors suddenly disappeared. On the Haitian side even the military presence is now absent. Dominicans expect (or once expected) road, irrigation, health, and educational services from their government. Haitians in the border area in contrast never received or expected these inputs from the Haitian State. They do expect law and order, however, and the current absence of any police force is viewed as an emergency crisis by Haitian villagers.

Virtually all development services in the research area have been delivered by NGOs, either the Catholic Church in the southern area of the Dominican border, or Protestant agencies in the northern area and on the Haitian side of the border. The inactivity or irresponsibility of State agents, in contrast with the dedication of several NGOs, has, or should have, strong implications for donors in search of implementation channels for border activities.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Purpose and setting of the Report

The following report is a rapid rural appraisal of the agrarian economy and social organization found in six rural areas of the Dominican-Haitian border. Three regions are on the Haitian side of the border. The other three regions are on the Dominican side. The research was commissioned by the United States Agency for International Development in the Dominican Republic (USAID/DR) to provide empirical input into a conference organized in Santo Domingo in April of 1998 for the planning of bilateral development activities in the border area, specifically in the areas of the Artibonite and Macasía watersheds.

The setting for the research and project activities under consideration begins in the Western mountains of the Dominican Republic. The Río Artibonito is born in the upper reaches of the western Cordillera Central, near the peak called Nalga de Maco. From this upland source, the Artibonito flows westward past the town of Rio Limpio and other rural parajes and then southwest toward the Haitian border, where it is augmented by the waters of the Riviere Libon, flowing southeasterly from Northern Haiti. Following a tortuous trajectory that is fewer than 40 kilometers in length as the crow flies, but several hours by vehicle over a virtually impassable "International Highway", the southwardly and southeasterly flowing Artibonito thence becomes the border between Haiti and the Dominican Republic.

But at one point the Dominican border yields and suddenly retreats eastward, at the point where the Artibonite is joined by the major river system flowing westward from the Southern province of the Dominican Republic, the Río Macasía. The Macasía itself, originating in the hills near the town of El Cercado, has been augmented, by the time it joins the Artibonite, by numerous streams flowing southwesterly from the central regions of the Cordillera Central and northwesterly from the Sierra de Neiba. Where these two major river systems meet, the Macasía system loses its separate identity and disappears, absorbed into the Artibonite, which flows now toward the Peligre Dam in the Central Plateau of Haiti.

Research and project attention focuses on this area principally because of the siltation of the Peligre Dam, the direct result of soil erosion that has occurred both on the Haitian and Dominican watersheds whose hills abut the multiple streams which nurture the Artibonite and Macasia rivers. The most vocal victims of these processes are the Haitian rice growers of the lower Artibonite and the urban population of Port-au-Prince. The former face a dwindling supply of irrigation water, the latter a dwindling supply of electric energy.

The protagonists of this process -- some documents treat them as "culprits", others as "victims" -- are the tens of thousands of farm families, both Haitian and Dominican, whose upstream hillside farming practices have led to the removal of trees without application of the mechanical or vegetative soil retention strategies used by cultivators in certain other world regions. Most of the hills around the Macasía and Artibonito are denuded and the streams and rivers choked with topsoil, much of which has made its way down to the Peligre Dam. As will be seen in the body of the report, the siltation has reached such levels that, for several dry months of the year, the upper reaches of the "lake" becomes a "mud flat". Haitian farmers are actually planting tobacco on thousands of hectares of land that is supposed to be under water.

From the point of view of a concerned public sector or of the international development community, one could define the problem in terms of the downstream damage done to urban electric supplies. But the goal is to elicit progam action from the upstream farmers whose behavior has contributed to this siltation. To achieve this goal program planners must redefine the problem in terms of the immediate microeconomic interests of these farmers. Any donor conference which wishes to devise realistic problem-solving interventions in the watershed — i.e. programs which farmers will actually implement — must identify activities which mesh with and enhance the income generating potential of local communities.

This warning is a developmental truism that should apply to any watershed situation. But in this instance we are dealing with a special complication. The watersheds in question are affected by the behavior of citizens of two different nations, cultures, and languages. A solution must entail active collaboration between two governments that have rarely collaborated with each other, and possibly between two groups of farmers who may not hold each other in the highest esteem. It is well known that the citizens of these two nations have a pre-existing history of tension-ridden interactions with each other. The Haitian-Dominican border area thus constitutes a special case whose particularities must be taken into account.

1.2 Recent Border History

1.2.1 Trujillo's massacre of Haitians

For the practical purposes of the study, the history of the border area in question begins in 1937, when then Dominican dictator Generalisimo Trujillo ordered the massacre of Haitians living on the Dominican side of the border, an event that is still referred to by local Haitians as the *kouri kouto* (the run of the knife).

Early in his reign, Trujillo adopted policies toward the neighboring Haitian republic whose intent was quadruple:

- Clear the Dominican border area of Haitians.
- Establish a string of outposts to guard against future Haitian infiltration.
- Subsequently populate the region with lighter skinned Dominicans or (in some colonies such a
- Provide resources that would establish a local level of prosperity that would serve as a dramatic symbolic contrast, for Dominicans and for the outside world, between the prosperity of the "Spanish" culture on one side and the impoverishment and degradation of the "African" population on the other side.

1.2.2 **Dominican attempts to set up a "Spanish vs. African" contrast**

As a follow-up to the elimination of Haitians, Trujillo then, within a decade, had begun undertaking the repopulation of the border area by Dominicans. Repopulation took the form first and foremost of establishing agricultural colonies. This entailed several steps:

- Constructing a string of fortresses and military outposts whose soldiers kept their

weapons pointed toward Haiti.

- Delimiting land with agricultural potential as agricultural colonies.
- Importing agricultural settlers from other regions.
- Giving them parcels of land within the colony.
- Building houses for them.
- Constructing and staffing basic health care services and primary schools
- Subsidizing them with inputs and cash until the first harvests came in
- Above all: Constructing irrigation systems for the land which they received

As will be seen in the body of the report, not only the military outposts, but also the agricultural colonies still exist in one form or another (the latter now under the control of the Instituto Agrario Dominicano). The remnants of the irrigation systems can still be seen, but most are in a state of disrepair.

1.2.3 **Performance of recent governments**

The resources and official attention dedicated to the border areas by Trujillo probably surpassed that shown to most other rural regions of the Dominican Republic. The post-massacre State interventions had a genuine impact on the economy and population structure of the region in which they were undertaken.

The same cannot be said of the interventions made by governments since the 1961 death of Trujillo. Though different governments have attempted to maintain the symbolic contrast between the Dominican Republic and Haiti, the interventions after Trujillo are more in the nature of superficial window dressing. The slightly travelled road that leaves Dajabon southward and traverses Santiago de la Cruz, Loma de Cabrera, Restauración, and Villa Anacaona is maintained in excellent shape. It screeches to a sudden pot-holed halt, however, as soon as one´s vehicles passes the Dominican outpost in Villa Anacaona, south of Restauración, and heads toward the first Haitian community, Ti-Lori, on the Haitian side of the "International Highway". The contrast is effectively established: An outstanding road on the Dominican side of the border, and a catastrophic road in Haiti.

The symbolic, possibly ostentatious character of the road building in this region of the northern border area is dramatized by comparing this road with the economically critical feeder roads that penetrate into the Dominican villages where people actually live and produce food. These rural penetration roads have been for all practical purposes abandoned. They were for the most part placed there, not by the Dominican government, but by sawmill companies who operated in the region before their closing several decades ago. And the Dominican State has done little or nothing to improve these rural penetration roads.

Furthermore the strictly political origin of the Dominican roads north of the International Highway is revealed by contrasting them with the unfinished Dominican roads to the south of that highway. Money was allocated for building roads to Bánica and Pedro Santana in the South, but "los ingenieros se llevaron el dinero" — the contractors absconded with the funds — halfway through the project. Why did the Dominican communities to the north of the International Highway receive high priority VIP treatment on their roads, whereas Dominicans in the south were left to the mercy of absconding contractors? Three factors have to be taken into account. First, President Balaguer and his family are from that general part of the country that abuts the northern frontier. That alone would clinch the matter. But secondly, the inhabitants of the border towns and villages of the north are ultimately of Cibao origin, and hence seen as being representative of the lighter skinned sectors of Dominican society. They are more representative of the "Spanish" element so highly valued in the official version of Dominican society promulgated under Trujillo and Balaguer. Thirdly the Dominicans of the South, in contrast, are noted stereotypically for their darker skin, their greater proficiency at African-derived "brujería" (magic and witchcraft), their closer affinity to things Haitian, and — the worst offense — their tendency to vote PRD rather than Reformista. Since a major governmental goal has been the contrast between "Christian Spain" (the Dominican Republic) and "pagan Africa" (Haiti), it is not surprising therefore that greater care was given by Dominican authorities to grace the "Spanish" sector of the Dominican border with better roads than the sector whose Dominican inhabitants are more "African" in their appearance and ritual behavior.

Not only roads, but also trees have been used by recent Dominican government as another symbolic marker of the higher level of prosperity on the Dominican side of the

border. The visitor who leaves Restauración and travels south on the International Highway is surprised by a wall of verdant tree cover to the left, on the Dominican side of the highway, that contrasts starkly with the treeless condition on the right, the Haitian side. This wall of arboreal vegetation consists largely of pine trees planted by *Foresta*, the Dominican forestry agency affiliated to the Dominican army. The contrast is impressive until one looks more carefully at the Dominican "forest". It is less than 100 yards thick, more in the nature of a movie prop than a true forest. In the inevitable gaps in the trees, the visitor can catch a glimpse of the real landscape, the Dominican hillsides beyond Foresta´s curtain of pine trees. The Dominican landscape beyond this thin green curtain is as deforested as the hills on the Haitian side. The question then arises: Were these trees planted to protect the Artibonite? Or were they planted as one more superficial stage prop in the attempt to create a patriotic visual contrast between a verdant Dominican Republic on one side of the road and a deforested Haiti on the other?

At any rate, whereas Trujillo's policies had major impacts on the border region — barbaric in the case of the massacre, productive in the case of the colonies subsequently founded — the behavior of subsequent governments has been more in the nature of ostentatious play-acting rather than serious developmental attention to the region.

1.2.4 **The impact of Haitian politics on the border**

Up until now we have emphasized the behavior of the Dominican State. But the shifting fortunes of the Haitian State have also affected the destinies of the border population. The recent population history of the Haitian side of the border can be summed up concisely into three periods: (1) Duvalierist control, (2) Post-Duvalier opening, (3) Post-embargo laissez-faire.

As for the first period, Trujillo and his cordon of military outposts had put a stop to uncontrolled Haitian penetration of the border. Even after the death of Trujillo, however, there was a period of continued restriction against movement across the border, even for purposes of trade. The Duvalier regime of Haiti, which began in 1957, some four years before the death of Trujillo, and which lasted some three decades until the ouster of Jean-Claude Duvalier in 1986, established a system of more or less effective border control. Neither Duvalier's soldiers, nor his *ton-ton makout* (the civilian militia which he created to enhance his control of the Haitian population) permitted free movement or free contacts between Haitians in the border area and Dominicans across the road or the river. Thus, whereas the American Occupation had set the present boundary markers, it was the behavior of two dictators, Trujillo and Duvalier, which converted this boundary into a living reality. Movement across the border was strictly controlled.

With the overthrow of Jean-Claude Duvalier, the border situation began to loosen up. We found dramatic population growth in the areas along the Haitian side, specifically Ti Lori, from 1986 to the early 1990's. At the same time, the population of Dominican nationals near the border appears to be declining, a decline that is still in progress.[1]

Whereas Haitians, especially in the northern part of the border, have been gathering with an eye toward increasing commercial opportunities, rural Dominicans in the region are either sending their children to live in the cities and towns of the Dominican Republic or leaving themselves. These processes are accelerated by the American embargo and concomitant shifting Dominican and Haitian border policies.

It is known that during the American embargo, the Dominican Republic served as the major supplier of goods to Haiti. The Dominican-Haitian border enjoyed a boom during this period. Perhaps the best road in Haiti is the *wout anbago*, the "embargo road" which stretches from border crossing of Malpasse (across from Jimaní) to Croix-des-Bouquets outside of Port-au-Prince. The road was built to circumvent the embargo. Numerous Haitian and Dominican fortunes were made by cross border traders during this period of supposed Haitian isolation. Not only truck owners and wealthy merchants benefitted but opportunities opened up to border populations as well.

But the most recent opening up of movement and trade across the border coincided with the end of the embargo and the return of Aristide (see Text Box 1.1). Associated with Aristide's return had been the disbanding of the Haitian army and police force. Foreign troops in the country were concentrated in cities and towns and avoided internal police actions. The disbanding of the Haitian army and police left Haiti without any effective means of enforcing law and order. The subsequently formed *Polis Nasyonal* (National Police) has not yet created an armed presence in the border areas studied. We found the Haitian side of the border to be for all practical purposes Stateless.

The withdrawal of the Haitian military and police presence from the border area coincides with a boom in cross-border movement, both in labor migration and trade. As we will see later in the report, this absence of any effective State presence on the Haitian side of the border has had serious negative consequences in terms of public disorder, at least as perceived by the dozens of Haitians who spoke to us about this specific matter. But one of the positive economic co-incidents has been the opening up of the local Dominican and Haitian economies to each other. It is our intent to document this situation concretely in the following pages.

1.3 **Structure of the research**

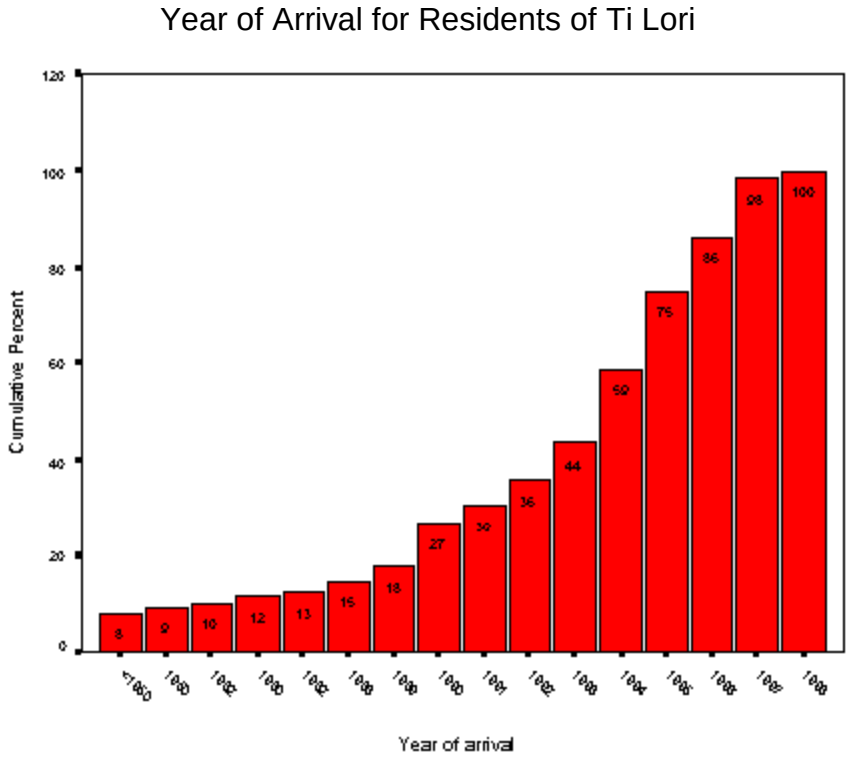
Any "binational watershed management program" has to enter into the very real and concrete historical situation described above. To allow abstract proposals to be subjected to a reality test, we organized a team of three anthropologists to visit six regions within the watersheds (three Haitian, three Dominican) with a series of concrete questions about the history, population, economy, social organization, and developmental mind-set of each region, paying particular attention to the history of past project interventions and to the history of interactions between Haitians and Dominicans in the region.

The senior anthropologist and team leader (Gerald Murray) has had over three decades of experience working and researching rural areas on both sides of the border,

and is fluent both in Spanish and Haitian Creole. He organized the original scope of work, proposed the specific sub-areas to be investigated, made preliminary visits to the border area to identify the six specific communities to be examined, and accompanied the two junior anthropologists on their first trips to the region, leading several focus group interviews in Spanish and Creole with Dominican and Haitian villagers.

Text Box 1.1: Growth of Ti Lori

The exact explanation for increased border activity is unclear. The embargo was an apparent impetus. However, by all reports, Ti Lori—a border village thought by many to have sprung to life during this period-- had already begun to emerge as a commercial center before the embargo, and it was after the embargo that Ti Lori grew at the fastest rate. The chart below reveals that 11% of contemporary Ti Lorien household heads arrived in the two years before the embargo, 1989-90; 12% arrived in the 1990-91 period; 29% during the 3 year period of the embargo, 1992-94; and 41% of contemporary Ti Lorien household heads arrived during the years 1995 through to the present. Testimony to the continuing growth of Ti Lori, 50 of 172 houses in the village (30%) are new, and not yet inhabited.



Aside from the embargo, factors that may have contributed to Ti Lori's spectacular growth are the paving of the Dominican road that leads to the nearby border (approximately 3 years ago by the account of interviewees) and perhaps most importantly, the relaxed border policies of the current Dominican and Haitian governments.

The bulk of the fieldwork was carried out by the two junior anthropologists, Matthew McPherson and Tim Schwartz. The former is fluent in Spanish and has carried out research on ecologically oriented development projects in the Dominican Republic.

The latter has done several years of survey and fieldwork in villages of the Northwest of Haiti and is fluent in Haitian Creole.

Three community dyads were chosen for fieldwork — i.e. three pairs of neighboring communities, one Haitian and one Dominican, in different parts of the border.[2]

1. Ti-Lori and Guayajayuco at the northern end of the International Highway.
2. Los Kakawos and the rural areas of Bánica and Pedro Santana at the southern end of the International Highway.
3. Kass - Peligre and Macasía/ Las Dos Bocas in the region where the Macasía meets the Artibonite and where the Artibonite descends into the Peligre Lake.

Ti Lori and Guayajayuco are the northern most communities studied. The Haitian Ti Lori is a small mountain village, located only a few hundred meters from the Libon River and just north of where the Artibonite River emerges from the Dominican mountains to begin a southerly course parallel with the international border. Its Dominican counterpart, Guayajayuco, is an agricultural colony located approximately 7 kilometers south of Ti Lori and 3 kilometers east of the International Highway, across the Rio Aritibonito. Both Ti Lori and Guayajayuco serve as market centers and meeting points for farmers from numerous remote hamlets located in the surrounding mountains.

Los Kakawos/Banica is south, below Ti Lori, in the foothills on the northeast extreme of Haiti's central plateau but only a 30 minute walk from the rather abrupt end of the Cordillera Central mountain range that surround Ti Lori and Guayajayuco. The Dominican counterpart for Los Kakawos are the hamlets that follow the southwest course of the Artibonite from Banica to Guarao.

Kass/ Macasía defines the end of the research area and the end of the Artibonite's role as an international border. Less than two kilometers east of Kass, the Artibonite River is joined by the Macasia River. A few kilometers further south, the new, bigger Artibonite River breaks to the west, into the heart of Haiti, as the principal water source for Lake Peligre. The Haitian community of Kass is another 15 kilometers to the south of Los Kakawos. The Dominican counterpart to Kass, for purposes of the study, is the Macasía/Las Dos Bocas (literally the "Two Mouths") region, located on the extreme southern end of the peninsula formed by the coming together of the Macasía and Artibonite rivers.

These three Haitian/Dominican dyads cover the principal ecological regions abutting the Aribonite-International border:

- The mountainous region surrounding Ti Lori and the villages surrounding Guayahayuco which extend east and south along the Artibonite and the International Highway.
- The foot hills of the central plateau region surrounding Los Kakawos.

- The hills and flood plains approaching Lake Peligre on the Dominican and Haitian side.

The objective was to choose regions that would give us some sense of the diversity prevailing in the different sections of the border, not only between Haitians and Dominicans, but internally within each group. And even within each region the research team took care to visit different types of hamlets (called *parajes* in the D.R. and *lokalite* in Haiti), and to talk with men and women of different social groups. Each went with a cot and sleeping bag to permit sleeping out in the rural areas, thus maximizing time spent in villages and minimizing time spent in travel. Information on the selected topics was gathered in focus groups and in one-on-one interviews. As is standard in focus group methodology, much was tape recorded with the knowledge and consent of those being interviewed. Much was written down. Though the brevity of the research led to the adoption of qualitative techniques, the research team was able to conduct brief surveys in two communities. A total of five weeks was spent on the project, three full weeks of which were spent in the field.

McPherson and Schwartz worked as a team, periodically meeting with each other to ensure they were retrieving comparable information. Transportation from village to village on the Dominican side was usually possible by four wheel drive vehicle. Transportation to Haitian villages was more difficult. Schwartz used his bicycle and his legs, and on one occasion entered Haiti simply by doing what local Haitians and Dominicans do, wading across the Artibonite.

In the body of the report we will compare and contrast variables on both sides of the border that could have an impact on bilateral cooperation in hillside farming and watershed management initiatives.

Chapter 2

LOCAL PRODUCTION SYSTEMS

The deforestation, soil erosion, and dam siltation that occupy the attention of outside institutions are all by-products of local economic systems that occupy the attention of living human groups. Institutions wishing to facilitate ecologically positive behavioral changes in the Haitian and Dominican border communities will best begin with an analysis of the multiple local subsystems through which the economic behavior of local residents is channeled. In the case of agrarian systems, the key subsystems to understand are agrarian land use practices, livestock raising, local land tenure arrangements and market systems.

2.1 **Agriculture**:

On both sides of the border, the basic ecological characteristics are the same, as are crops and planting cycles. An exception is the fertile flood plains and mud flats found near where the Artibonite and Macasia rivers meet. There, tobacco is the principle cash crop (Text Box 2.1).

Text Box 2.1: Tobacco and Peligre flood plain.

Kass has experienced phenomenal commercial growth in recent decades, becoming over the past two decades a burgeoning market center that outdoes even Ti Lori. There is a single obvious and prosaic material fact accounting for this success: the fortuitous proximity of a hydroelectric lake whose siltation is so serious that the lake turns into uniquely fertile farmland for a large part of the year. In the forty-one years since Peligre dam was completed, rich top soil washing down from Dominican and Haitian hill sides into the Artibonite river has largely been trapped in the basin that forms Lake Peligre. The lake, which was once deep and relatively narrow, has become shallow and very wide. As one resident put it, "yon kivet vin yon asyet" (a bucket became a plate). Today the upper portion of the lake forms a great flood plain. For six months of the year the flood plain is covered by water; for the other six months it serves as approximately 15,000 hectares of rich farm land, perhaps rivaled in agricultural output only by the Artibonite Plain itself. One group's curse — a silted dam — is another group's blessing.

In late March and early April, as the rainy season approaches, the Haitians and Dominicans living in the hills and mountains near the frontier start thinking about planting. Farmers prepare the fields in mid to late March and wait for the rains. If and when the rains come, they plant. The critical objective is to spread risks across an uncertain season, expanding options in the face of variable rainfall patterns. The farmers can only plant at certain times, but as the chart below demonstrates the goal is to harvest at all times.

Chart 3.1: Regional Planting Cycles (p = planting, h = harvest)[3]

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
beans			p	p	p		p h	p h	p h	h	h	
chick beans[4]	h	h	p h	p	p						h	h
corn	h		p	p	p	p	p h	p h	p h	h	h	h
peanuts			p	p	p	h	h	h				
millet[5]	h		p	p	p	p						h
manioc	h	h	p h	p h	p h	h	p h	p h	h	h	h	h
yams	h	h	p h	p h	p h	h	p h	p h	h	h	h	h
sweet potatoes	h	h	p h	p h	p h	p h	p h	p h	p h	p h	p h	p h
plantains	h	h	p h	p h	p h	p h	p h	p h	h	h	h	h
taro/jautia	h	h	p h	p h	p							h
squash			p	p	p				h	h	h	

Gardens are inter-cropped, beginning with beans and peanuts, adding corn and later chick peas. Sweet potatoes are planted along the border of gardens, near rocks and other obstructions; ravine and valley bottoms are planted with plantain trees, taro and yams. Later in the garden cycle, after most of the grain crops have been harvested, gardens may be given entirely over to the planting of more subsistence oriented crops like manioc, sweet potatoes yams, and where possible, plantains.[6]

2.2.1 **Garden Preparation**

On the Dominican side, the lack of water or failure of State sponsored irrigation projects (see below, Irrigation and Water) means that most farmers in the mountains above Guayajayuco and Macasía/Los Dos Bocas must depend for survival on techniques similar to those practiced by their forefathers. In this traditional system, the first step a farmer takes in making a *conuco* is to identify a suitable plot of land.[7] The land is then cleared, and a *cerca* (fence) is erected.[8] The next step is *chappeo* or *tumba* the clearing of the land with machete, hatchet, and *colin* of overgrowth, usually thick grasses and smaller trees and weeds covering the area although, especially in the mountains hamlets above Guayajayuco, the clearing of larger trees and secondary forest was identified as well.[9] Sticks and wood may be used to repair fences. Grasses and other *basura* (trash) are left to dry, generally for a week or more, before *dandole candela* (burning the litter).[10]

After burning, there is a final *repaso* (going over) to prepare the plot for planting in which any new weeds are removed. If the plot is on flatter lands, it may be plowed using bulls. In the case of plowing, the larger stubble must be dug up as well. In the absence of plowing, seeds are planted using hands and machetes. Generally at least two weedings are needed before the harvest, and few use fertilizers or pesticides during the growth cycle.[11] The final step in the process is the harvest, the timing of which depends on the crop (see chart above, Regional Planting Cycles).

There are differences between the agricultural systems being implemented in the mountainous regions and agriculture being practiced in the settlements and colonies. In agricultural zones, animals must be tethered, obviating the need for fencing gardens.[12] In the valley around the colony of Guayajayuco, land is plowed using a tractor brought in by

the IAD. Farmers involved in the local World Vision project claim to have abandoned burning as a fundamental part of the agricultural process. On the fertile low areas around the banks of the Macasía, tobacco lands are farmed repeatedly, without fallowing. Stubble left over from previous harvest is plowed under. In the case of plowed lands, burning is only used on lands that have been left fallow for a period that have high grasses or stubble needing to be cleared before it can be plowed with bulls or tractors.

On the Haitian side of the border, the almost complete absence of any governing institution to provide capital, technical and organizational assistance, means that most farmers living along the border are compelled to practice traditional agriculture with ever shortening fallow cycles. Swidden agriculture has essentially disappeared as most plots are worked no fewer than two of every three years. [13]

As in *peyi panyol* the first step a farmer takes is to clear the land.[14] This usually means cutting with a machete the grass and small brush. Most often, farmers burn the debri.[15] The soil is then turned. In cases where the land is flat the soil is plowed using bulls (*chare te*).[16] On hillsides and areas where it is difficult for bulls to maneuver, the soil is turned with hoes (*sakle*). As in Spanish country (*peyi panyol*), gardens are usually weeded twice before the first harvests begin.

The biggest problems reported by Haitian farmers are, after water availability and unreliable rainfall, roving livestock and insects. Livestock is an especially vexing problem for Haitian farmers. Conflicts over gardens ravaged by livestock are common and sometimes violent.[17]

2.2.2 **Organization of Labor**:

On the Dominican side, at least 75% - 80% and probably even more of all agricultural labor is performed by Haitians. There are two labor arrangement scenarios between Dominicans and Haitians, direct hire for cash and sharecropping. In the majority of cases, Haitians are hired in work teams. They are generally paid *por ajuste* (by the job) and not *echando día* (by the hour or day), and they are also provided with tools and food.

An increasingly rare practice is the use of reciprocal labor groups, called *convites* or *juntas*. There are two fundamental obligations involved in organizing a convite or junta. The most important is reciprocal labor. If Jose Ortiz has provided labor to a Juan Baptista in a convite, the next time Jose calls a convite Juan must work or hire a substitute. The second important factor is the ability to provide everyone working in the convite with food, particularly breakfast. Convites can either be organized by a group of farmers all of whom need to accomplish a similar task in a particular time frame or by individual farmers needing labor for a particular agricultural activity.[18] Today, convites are almost exclusively for planting. Convites are rarely used for harvesting due to the fact that most cash crops must be harvested in a timely manner or they will spoil (i.e. everyone must harvest pretty much at the same time).[19]

On the Haitian side, like the Dominican side, many farmers living near the border use a sharecropping system (*demwatie*) almost identical to that found on the Dominican side of the border (see Land Tenure). Also similar to their Dominican counterparts, Haitians are hired to prepare and weed gardens. Haitian laborers in the region are mostly migrants from the interior and Northern Haiti, "moun ki pa gen mwayen" (people who have no other means of income). There are two types of labor, *bay djob* (jobs) and *jounalie* (day labor). A *djob* involves a particular task the laborer agrees to perform for a fixed price. Often a group of men will work together, agreeing to *sakle* (how) a particular plot of land for a set amount of money. A *jounalie* is a half day, from 7:30 to noon, and typically costs 15 goudes (about US 90 cents). Exceptionally strenuous work may cost more.

The Haitian version of the *convite*, called *konbit* in Creole, has almost entirely disappeared in some areas but remains strong in others. Los Kakawans say konbits are still common in all stages of garden activity. In Ti Lori and Kass, where farmers employ laborers from other areas in Haiti, respondents say konbits are rare and only used for planting. In most areas, the konbit has been, or appears to be in the process of being replaced by the system of *mare jounalie* (tying or lassoing a half day). In the case of *mare jounalie* participants work a half day (*jounalie*) on the garden of one person; that person then owes a *jounalie* to each of the other workers. The feature that distinguishes a *jounalie* from a *konbit* seems to be food. In a *konbit*, the host must feed participants a generous meal. One respondent explained, "bo isit, nou pa travay pou manje anko" (around here, we do not work for food anymore), as if to do so would be undignified.

2.2.3 **Insecticides, Fertilizers and Conservation Efforts**

On the Haitian side, commercial insecticides are used only by tobacco and vegetable farmers working land likely to produce high yields. The use of commercial fertilizers was not reported. Natural insecticides and fertilizers are know to people with exposure to NGOs, particularly World Vision, but are by no means a common practice.[20] Conservation efforts are minimal. Farmers have long formed simple "ramps," small blockades made of sticks that traverse hillside gardens, trapping soil that would otherwise wash away. Farmers trained by World Vision, particularly in the Ti Lori area, have made more sophisticated "living ramps" (made of tough, woody plants).

On the Dominican side, very little use of commercial insecticides or fertilizers was reported. Farmers are aware of the value of using the products, nevertheless they have little access to the credit or capital needed to obtain them. In the past the *Manicera*--a major food processing company now formally known as the *Sociedad Industrial Dominicana*--actively supported peanut production in the region, providing credit, seed, and subsidies which enabled farmers to use some chemical inputs. This practice ended several years ago.

The use of natural insecticides and fertilizers are known primarily by farmers in Guayajayuco who have had exposure to the World Vision agricultural project, but, as on the Haitian side, are not commonly used. Similarly, the only soil conservation techniques observed were the living barriers (ramps) of the farmers exposed to the same project. Terracing was only observed in Sabana Cruz, where there is irrigated land for rice production.

2.2.4 **Water and Irrigation**:

On the Dominican side, the vast majority of the people in the region work *tierra secana*, dry unirrigated lands. There are disfunctioning irrigation projects strewn about the agricultural settlements in the region. In Guayajayuco, a canal built by Trujillo stopped providing water 25 years ago.[21] Furthermore, land-leveling for a canal coming from the Rio del Valle has been left half completed since the mid-1980s. In the Macasía settlements, there are three irrigation pumps which no longer have engines. Guarao has a canal which the local *alcalde* (sheriff) reported has never worked. Guayabal has an irrigation pump with a functioning electric-powered motor, but its usefulness is limited by the frequent blackouts which often last for days. Sabana Cruz, near Banica, has a canal running from the Rio Tocino which only provides water during the rainy season.[22]

On the Haitian side of the border, as on the Dominican side, the vast majority of Haitians work dry land, "te sech." The only organized irrigation system identified in the region is near Cerca La Source, a colony established by President Stenio Vincent following the *Kouri kouto*.[23] There are areas of semi-irrigated land, most notably on and near the Peligre flood plain where farmers exploit seasonal flooding cycles to plant

tobacco and vegetables. At least three people in the proximity of lake Peligre have bought water pumps.[24]

2.2.5 **Land Tenure**

On the Dominican side of the border, there are two basic land tenure arrangements, *tierras del estado* (state lands) and *tierras de asentamiento* (settlement lands). Private land ownership, that is lands having a "titulo de propiedad" appears to be extremely rare in the focus region.[25]

The vast majority of Dominican farmers along the border readily admit that their lands are *tierras del estado*"[26] These lands are often described as *comunero* (common lands). The most usual methods by which Dominicans 'acquire' state lands are: 1) fencing and working an unused or abandoned plot; and 2) inheritance. State lands can also be acquired through purchasing a *mejora* from the previous occupant of the land. In the purchase of a *mejora* (improvement) it is clear the land itself is not being purchased but rather "improvements" or investments that have been made to the land by the previous occupants. These include the fence, fruit trees, land preparation, and any unharvested products on the land.

The second land tenure arrangement that predominates in the Dominican focus region is the land settlement system, *tierras de asentamiento* (settlement lands or agricultural zones).[27] These are lands and settlements which are supervised and technically property of the Instituto Agrario Dominincano, the agency responsible for land reform. Agricultural colonies such as Guayajayuco and Guayabal as well as all lands in the region that have at one time or another been irrigated fall into this category. Generally, these settlements have been declared to be agricultural zones, where the free ranging of livestock is prohibited, and are located on flatter, more fertile bottom lands.

There are also two basic types of sharecropping arrangements, *a medias* (by halves), and *a tercios* (by thirds). Sharecropping agreements are the primary means by which Dominicans broker land access to their neighbors, the Haitians. *A medias* involves a partnership agreement between a local Dominican farmer and a partner, in the case of the border generally a Haitian farmer. The Dominican supplies the land, the Haitian recruits and oversees the labor of other Haitians. Costs of seeds, labor, machetes and hoes, are generally shared, and the harvest split equally.

The second arrangement is *a tercias* or by thirds. Under this system, the Dominican places the land fully under the control of a Haitian. In exchange, the Dominican receives one third of the harvest, the Haitian keeps two thirds.[28] Less common arrangements are direct loans of land by Dominicans to Haitians and the rental of land by Dominicans to Haitians for cash.

On the Haitian side of the border all household heads own at least some land. The buying and selling of land is a common practice. Parcels of land are bought as a means of saving and investing money; even land not farmed by the owner can yield returns in the form of rents and through sharecropping arrangements. Land is sold to cover the expenses of significant life events, such as paying a child tuition, financing agricultural and migratory ventures, compensating for failed harvests, and most importantly of all, to meet expenses related to unforeseen emergencies like sicknesses and funerals. A very wealthy individual may own as much as 80 *kawo* of land (100 hectares); a very poor household head may own only the plot of land on which the house is built.[29] The average family land holdings on the Haitian side of the border was found to be between two and three *kawo* (2.6 to 4 hectares).

There are three ways to come into ownership of land in Haiti: inherit it,[30] buy it, or simply take land that appears not to have an owner—"state land." In practice, these three methods overlap and complicate the status of land ownership.[31] In all the regions studied, buying land is reportedly as common as inheriting land. However, people often buy land from family members, eliminating arguments over rights of inheritance. Further, much of the land in the region, particularly around Ti Lori, and all the land around Los Kakawos, is believed to belong to the state. Informal means of dividing up and registering land ownership makes legal titles are problematic (see Text Box 2.2).

Text Box 2.2: Land Dispute in Ti Lori

The lack of clear title to lands creates a potential conflict as evident in the following account from Ti Lori: The Land in and around Ti Lori was long believed to be the property of the Haitian State. Beginning sometime after 1937, when refugees fleeing the *kouri kouto* increased the number of farmers living in the region, the State collected rent. Some farmers in the area still have receipts from rents paid during this period.

In 1976, the Commune in which Ti Lori is located, Cerca la Source, was incorporated into the new Department d' Central. In the ensuing bureaucratic shuffle, rents to the State were forgotten. But in 1990, at the same time the village of Ti Lori was fast on its way to becoming the focus of regional trade with the Dominicans, three men came forth with deeds meant to prove ownership to some 850 *kawo* (approximately 1,100 Hectares) of land both in and around Ti Lori. Long time residents, many among them having once paid rent to the state, were incensed. A court battle ensued.

It was at that time then President Jean Bertand Aristide was deposed by the Haitian military. The succeeding "makouts", as the people describe the ruling military, backed the alleged land owners. Head strong peasants were jailed, some as many as three times, and eventually most residents agreed to pay for the land they lived on.

But before everyone had finished paying the political situation was reversed by Aristide's 1994 return to power. Imprudently, two of the land owners, outsiders to the community, continued to press for payments. On a typically crowed market day in April 1996, these two men were seized by a crowd, tied up, beaten, and literally sent down the road —still tied up. No one in Ti Lori has heard from them since.[32]

Despite the problems with titles to land, Haitians along the border do not express insecurity about proprietorship. One *kawo* of land (1.29 hectares), generally sells for the same price in areas considered to be state land as it does in areas where people are

thought to have clear, uncontested ownership. The primary criteria determining the marketability of a parcel of land is its capacity to produce. [33]

Renting and sharecropping are mechanisms by which even very poor Haitians can gain access to farm land.[34] Approximately 20 percent of all gardens on the Haitian side of the border are reportedly rented, a lesser percentage, approximately 10 percent, are sharecropped.[35] Rent must be paid in advance and varies considerably with the quality of the land. Sharecropping typically means paying a third of the harvest to the land owner—two sacks for the farmer, one for the owner.

Haitians living along the border have the additional opportunity of farming land in *peyi panyol*. This practice is especially common around Ti Lori and Los Kakawos where people estimate that half of all males sharecrop, and to a much lesser extent rent the reportedly more fertile Dominican lands.[36] In Kass, where the Haitian Dominican border consists only of a peninsula of Dominican land jutting into Haiti and where Haitians have access to the fertile Peligre flood plain, few if any farmers work lands on the "other side" of the border.

2.3 **Trees and Fire**

Development practitioners should consider that while ecological conditions for planting trees are essentially the same on both sides of the border, attitudes and behaviors regarding trees are not. The differences are directly related to the differential presence of the State and its ability to enforce policies regarding wood cutting. Specifically, this refers to the presence of Foresta on the Dominican side and the absence of any similar enforcement agency on the Haitian side.

In Haiti, there was in the past and reportedly still are laws on the books regarding the cutting of trees. When talking about trees no fewer than six respondents independently and spontaneously said that in the days of the Duvaliers a person cutting a single mango tree was required to plant 10 in its place. It was commonly asserted that cutting trees around streams still is, always has been and always should be illegal.[37] The researchers were not able to verify whether these laws exist or whether they were ever really enforced. What is clear however, is that no laws whatsoever regarding trees are enforced today nor would they be enforceable without inflicting economic hardship on the people living in the region. All over Haiti cutting trees to saw boards and make charcoal is a final recourse in the face of hard times, drought and starvation.[38]

Most Haitians emphatically do not want all the trees cut down and respondents in the border area commonly lament the loss of trees, saying things that sound much like what judgmental outsiders might say: "moun sa yo pa gen princip, yo sot, gade yo koupe tout pye bwa, peyi-a fini net" (these people have no principles, they are stupid, look at how they cut down all the trees, the country is finished). But every Haitian knows why the trees get cut: "peyi pa gen lod, pa gen djob, moun nan mize" (the country has no law and order, no jobs, people are in need).

The Dominican side of the border is certainly more forested than the Haitian side. But the difference is relatively insignificant. The majority of areas are completely denuded of trees--the hills in the immediate vicinity of Guayajayuco are barren; in the Macasia region one finds fewer trees than across the Artibonite river in Kass; and the steep slopes that surround the Rio Artibonito as it runs its course along to the International Highway are for the most part treeless on both sides of the border. The areas where one finds the most forest on the Dominican side are in the northern end of the research area stretching from Restauracion to the border, the high ridges of the mountains outside of Guayajayuco, and in strips following the banks of streams and rivers.

The Dominicans that the researchers talked to expressed rather paradoxical and conflicting attitudes toward trees, On the one hand, Dominicans in the research area are proud they have more trees than the Haitians across the border. They use the fact as evidence they are better off, better organized and more principled than their rapacious Haitian neighbors. On the other hand, Dominican farmers emphasized the shortage of , and the critical need for processed lumber, constantly complaining that Foresta would not authorize the cutting of one little tree (*palo*) to repair houses or build coffins. A woman from Guayajayuco who accompanied one of the researchers to Ti Lori was amazed to see piles of fresh cut boards in the market, immediately grilling the Haitian seller about prices and possibilities for getting the boards across the border.

Dominicans cannot process trees nor can they buy boards or charcoal from the Haitians without authorization from Foresta. Reputedly one of the most unforgiving arms of the Dominican State, Foresta's menacing presence often serves as a deterent. One man had this story to tell:

> *Here you can't work because of Foresta.*
> *My son did a little chappeo over there . ..*
> *they grabbed him.*
> *I had to go to the colonels office in San Juan. . .*
> *and then afterwards I went and paid the fine in Pedro Santana*
> *at the same hour I paid the fine they sent him back to San Juan.*
> *I really had to move to get him out. . . he spent over 20 days in jail.*

Farmers in Macasía reported that due to the presence of Foresta there are actually more trees currently than in the past. But the remote Dominican hamlets we studied are not crawling with Foresta agents; and Dominicans in the area report not being completely deterred from cutting trees by Foresta strong-arm tactics. Jailings seem relatively uncommon, the one cited above being the only instance the researchers were able to record-- and it occurred three years before the research. Some respondents boldly volunteered information regarding tree cutting, in one instance in the presence of a Foresta agent.

It appears the primary means Foresta uses to control tree cutting is by controlling trade in wood products. The sale of lumber and charcoal, items readily available in the

Haitian market, is strictly forbidden. In the market in Guayajayuco there were no boards for sale, no charcoal for sale, and none laying around waiting to be trucked out. Dominicans, asked why they do not produce charcoal for sale in the market, reported that they would be arrested by Foresta agents. Even purchases of lumber by Dominicans from Haitians is strictly controlled. Haitians who boast of other types of contraband sold to Dominicans were repeatedly questioned on this issue, but they simply came up empty handed: "dominiken pa achte bwa" (Dominicans do not buy wood). In the remote hamlets and countryside surrounding Guayajayuco the researchers found no evidence anywhere of sawing or charcoal production.

Nevertheless, Dominican farmers in the remote border areas are cutting trees. For example, in a walk to a distant hamlet, inaccessible by vehicle, the researchers observed large quantities of felled trees, primarily *tumbas* for the preparation of *conucos*. Much of this wood is used to repair fences; other scraps are scheduled for burning in the *conucos*. It was not readily apparent, and respondents would not admit, whether the local Foresta agents turn their back on this practice or whether their relative invisibility restricts Foresta's monitoring capacity to the more visible and easily accessible market. The researcher's impression was that particularly egregious acts--the cutting of trees around water sources, cutting particularly large pine trees or within larger stands, and cutting particularly valuable hardwoods such as mahogany-- is more dangerous for farmers and strictly dealt with by Foresta. Although they evidently occur, these acts may draw unwanted attention and are generally avoided. There is obvious cutting of other secondary tree cover and Foresta's policy seems much more lax in this respect.

The tacit policy of allowing tree-cutting for gardens but prohibiting charcoal and wood production creates a quixotic situation: The Dominicans we talked to are starved for lumber. The price of a board on the Dominican side of the border is twice what it is several hundred yards away on the Haitian side. Sawed lumber is so expensive that many people can not even afford coffins. Farmers are angry that they can not get permission to cut and saw a single high quality pine tree even if only as an emergency for funerals.

A second important issue regarding tree cover on the Dominican side is fire. As previously reported, fire is a key element of the agricultural strategy being used by Dominican farmers, primarily used as means to save labor costs and for pest control. Dominican farmers readily admit that forest fires have been the major factor in the elimination of forest cover in the area (see Guayajayuco, Appendix 1). During the course of the study, the researchers witnessed a number of out of control wild fires in the area on the Dominican side of the border.[39] The primary reason reported for these wild fires were careless farmers who let their conuco fires extend into neighboring forest or grasslands. Other reasons were also reported, however. On a turn in the road along the route to Macasía, the researchers witnessed virtually the whole side of a mountain burning. Later, when a farmer from the area was asked if this was burning for a new conuco, he reported that these lands had no agricultural value, and stated this fire was caused either: 1) by *maldad*, a malicious act by a frustrated vandal; 2) to round up livestock grazing in difficult areas; or 3) by the lit butt of a careless smoker. There were numerous other

farmers interviewed who accused *delincuentes* (delincuents) of committing arsonous acts. Closer inquiry also suggests that Foresta's strict policies may invite careless fires. One individual in Guayajayuco explained it like this: "The reason you see the forest over there is that Foresta pays the *campesinos* to replant what were previously their conucos…if Foresta leaves and stops paying them the first thing they will do will be drop a match …"

On both sides of the border people recognize the need for trees and express the willingness to plant them.

In Haiti respondents consistently expressed interest in tree nurseries and many would leap up and start showing off trees they had planted with seedlings from past projects--most notably PADF and CAT. Haitians want woods trees and they repeatedly and spontaneously said this to the researchers. But they are especially interested in fruit trees and were able to show at least some efforts to plant them on their own—most however, complain they do not have the technology, that seedlings die easily. When asked what kind of trees they wanted, Haitian respondents invariably emphasized the need for a variety of trees allowing them to adapt to fluctuating market and environmental conditions: "tout kalite…si ou gen yon pwoblem a sa, ou gen lot anko" (all kinds…if you have a problem with one [type of tree] you have another).

In the Dominican Republic matters are complicated by Foresta regulations. People plant fruit trees and as well as a variety of trees for shade. But generally wood trees are not planted. One older farmer in the community of Manyaya reported that, during the Trujillo period, farmers would plant wood trees. Now, however, wood trees are not planted because "Foresta won't let us touch them." Indeed, protected wood trees stand between campesinos and fertile soil, making the trees a nuisance and perhaps creating a logic for arson.

Text Box 2.3: Market for Fruit Trees

Compared to other countries Haiti exports very little fruit and has very few factories that can convert fruit to conservable forms like jams and jellies. Thus, the primary market for Haitian fruit is the Haitian people themselves. The up-shot is that prices are low because local markets are limited and quickly flooded with seasonal fruits. In all areas along the Haitian side of the border people report fruit rotting on the ground or getting fed to livestock.

But many of the fruits found in the border area are highly marketable outside of Haiti. A 'nice' avocado that sells for less than half a peso in Ti Lori, fetches 7 to 10 pesos in Santo Domingo grocery stores. The same avocado would retail for close to US$1.50 in Miami. Mangos are another high priced fruit sold cheap: A sack of 100 *jean marie* mangos reportedly sells for 23 goudes in Ti Lori (US$1.33). In other areas, Haitians reported difficulty being able to sell them at all.

In the years since border policies have relaxed, Dominican *intermedios* chasing profits have been slowly opening the urban Dominican market to Haitians by buying mangos and avocados and shipping them to Santiago, Santo Domingo and other cities. People around Ti Lori have responded by planting fruit trees, particularly prized *jean-marie* mangos. From the perspective of development and getting trees in the ground, it is tempting to imagine what might happen if already highly market oriented Haitians got even greater access to foreign fruit buyers.

2.4 **Livestock**:

Livestock is important as a source of income and capital savings for both Haitians and Dominicans living in the border region. People in the area use smaller animals, like poultry, to meet daily food needs and to cover expenses. Similar to land holdings in Haiti, larger animals represent important savings that can be used to pay school tuitions, finance agricultural and migratory ventures, compensate for failed harvests, and cover expenses related to unforeseen emergencies like sicknesses and funerals.[40]

The primary livestock raised on both the Dominican and Haitian sides of the border are poultry (pigeons, chickens,[41] guinea fowl, turkeys, and to a much lesser degree, ducks), goats, cattle, donkeys, mules and horses. Sheep were sighted more on the Dominican side of the border, apparently rarer on the Haitian side. Due to a recent epidemic of swine flu, pigs are scarce as well (see Text Box 2.4).

Text Box 2.4: Pig Slaughters

In 1997, according to respondents, many pigs on the Dominican side were slaughtered by government agents, supposedly as a measure against a spreading epidemic of Swine flu. Campesinos who lost pigs report being justly compensated financially. However, they expressed some frustration with the ordeal. One woman reported: "What got me was that after the agents purchased my pig, they cooked and ate it. I saw them."

On the other side of the border, Haitians got word of the slaughter. Rumors began circulating to the effect that *blan* (foreigners') was going to pass over in airplanes throwing a powder that would kill their pigs.[42] Remembering an earlier experience, when urban based agriculture agents backed by US interests had killed virtually all the pigs in Haiti, many Haitians along the border promptly took matters into their own hands slaughtering and selling off pigs. Many pigs also died, presumably from Swine Flu. Today, approximately a year latter, pigs are still scarce in the region and people continue to be suspicious of investing in them, "kochon yo reme mouri twop" (pigs like to die too much).

2.4.1 **Livestock Ownership**

On both the Haitian and the Dominican side of the border, there are two ways to come into possession of livestock; purchasing and sharing. Animals may be purchased directly from other farmers but, most commonly, are traded in markets. Livestock is also a major cross-border exchange commodity. From Dominicans, Haitians typically buy donkeys, horses and mules; from Haitians, Dominicans buy poultry, goats and cattle. Livestock investors who do not have the time or enough children to care for all their animals have the option of seaching for another person to care for the animal(s). These arrangements (called *gade* in Haiti and *a medios* in the Dominican Republic), are partnerships: In exchange for caring for and feeding the animal, the guardian gets a half of all proceeds from the sale of the animal or its offspring.

2.4.2 **Grazing**

Farmers on the Haitian side of the border are required by law to tether livestock.[43] In practice, this is not always the case. People allow goats and pigs to roam free in villages and desolate areas where there are no gardens, and there is an informal understanding in some areas that livestock may be free ranged after the principle harvest periods—in January, February and March.[44] Cattle and pack animals are fed plantain stalks, leaves from garden crops and grass cut with a machete. Use of commercial feeds and supplements as well as veterinary products and services were unreported.

As mentioned elsewhere (see Agriculture), gardens ravaged by roving livestock is a major cause of conflicts on the Haitian side of the border. Most Haitians no longer have the resources to buy fencing wire, and wood that could be used for fencing gardens is scarce. Several Haitian respondents reported having given up on livestock raising altogether, "twop pwoblem, twop diskisyon" (too many problems, too many arguments).

On the Dominican side of the border, particularly around Guayajayuco and the Macasía region,[45] livestock are free ranged. In agricultural colonies and zones, livestock must be fenced or tethered. Grasses and the stubble of plants such as plantain trees in *conucos* or parcels that are in fallow or between planting cycles are often used as food reserves for animals. Commercial feeds are rare to non-existent.

In contrast to some areas on the Haitian side, Dominicans have the resources to fence *conucos,* reducing conflicts between owners of foraging animals and owners of gardens—often the same people.[46] Livestock raising is an activity that Dominican farmers on the border claim goes hand in hand with agriculture. As one farmer put it: "its a thing that pretty much goes together because if we do agriculture, and it doesn't produce, and we have a cow over there, we have to sell it. That is, they are equal."[47] Farmers in the region express a strong desire for more animals, complaining especially of having either had to sell all of their livestock--to survive during the extended drought and economic crisis of recent years--or of having had animals stolen.

Text Box 2.5: Marketing Livestock

(Taken from a conversation with two older informants in Guayabal) "Here goats are no longer butchered to be sold locally or for household consumption. Rather, its all about buying and reselling. If you have a goat, instead of skinning and eating it--well, what happens here is no one has anything. You take that goat and say that if I kill it and the friends buy it, I sell twenty pounds of goat. Then the friends come, one takes it and says I'll pay you tomorrow, the next one the day after tomorrow, the next one on Wednesday, the next Thursday, Friday, another on Sunday, and the next just keeps it and doesn't pay anything. If you say I'm not going to kill this little goat, I'm going to sell this little goat tomorrow, Wednesday, in Las Matas. And from there I bring soap, salt, oil, recao, beans, and make some meals for a day or two in my house. And you also buy meat!. . .If you kill it here, you barely eat the day that you killed it and the other days are left desperate to buy soap, salt, and oil. . .That's the kind of situations that arise in [poor] places like this. . .[48]

2.4.3 **Livestock Theft**:

Far and away the greatest problem with livestock, on both sides of the border, is theft. Historically, this is a long standing problem on the Haitian/Dominican frontier. As far back as the 1700s, conflicts relating to livestock theft and contraband gave way to violent border confrontations. Since the death of Trujillo, when border policies again became flexible and open, livestock theft has re-surfaced as a border problem. In recent years, concurrent with the disintegration of authority in Haiti, livestock theft appears to have reached epidemic proportions. In some areas on the Dominican side of the border whole hamlets, such as the village of Pasutico, report virtually being left without transportation animals--""e'tamo' a pie"(we're on foot).[49] Livestock theft in Haiti is apparently an equal or greater problem (see Text Box 2.6). [50]

Text Box 2.6: Livestock Theft in Haiti

The most commonly stolen animals are mules, cattle, and horses, animals that bring good profit. Victims, relatively wealthy one night, have woken up the following morning with their entire savings wiped out by livestock thieves. One Los Kakawos man complained to the researchers that thieves had stolen all five of his cows, leaving him, his wife and their 10 children with nothing. Another Haitian man lost a mule and five goats. A woman reported losing three mules to thieves. Many people had given up on mules altogether, saying "vole pa vle we millet" (literally, thieves do not like to see mules, i.e. they can not resist removing them from sight).[51]

Respondents on both sides of the border insist that Dominican and Haitian thieves operate in collusion with one another. This collusion may often be innocent, or at least carried out with an eyes-closed mentality by some of the parties involved. A reportedly common practice for Dominican cattle buyers is to advance large sums of money to Haitian buyers, who then search out "bargains" in the interior of Haiti—especially on the Central Plateau where livestock, particularly cattle, are prevalent. Most transactions of this nature are probably made and carried out with the good faith and honesty of both parties involved. However, the opportunity to turnover stolen animals and pocket the cash creates a very tempting scenario for people living in a desperately poor country.[52]

Once an animal has crossed the border, it is very difficult to get it back. While the researchers were in Cerca La Source, a man who had "lost" two cows located them on the Dominican side of the border. The man notified a Dominican border guard who promptly retrieved the cows, but then made the Haitian owner buy them back for 3,000 pesos (US$200)—about the price of one cow in Haiti.

On both sides of the border, people are convinced that Haitian and Dominican thieves operate in collusion with one another--Haitian thieves stealing and passing animals over to the Dominicans, and Dominican thieves stealing and passing animals over to Haitians.[53] Some respondents insist there even organizations of thieves, complete with president, secretary and sergeant at arms.[54]

Chapter 3

MARKETS, COMMERCE, and CREDIT

Development projects destined for success must consider the fact that farmers on both sides of the border are first and foremost cash croppers committed to the market. The farmer's subjective willingness to change land use behavior is linked to the farmer's anticipated changes in income. Development options not perceived by farmers as profitable will fail. However, understanding what a small scale farmer interprets as "profitable" depends on a knowledge of the market relations, channels, and outlets in which the decision making process is embedded. Understanding and anticipating the farmer's decisions also depends on unveiling relationships that may seem altruistic at first glance but that closer inspection often reveals as part of rational strategies for survival.

3.1 Rotating Market Systems

On both sides of the studied border region, rotating markets are the axis of economic activity. [55] It is in the markets that both Haitian and Dominican farmers sell their crops and animals to intermediaries. Women and men in the mountainous areas around Guayajayuco and Macasía, on the Dominican side, and in all areas on the Haitian side of the border rely primarily on markets for weekly food purchases. For many people living in the region, the market also serves a social function--an opportunity to see friends, drink, and attend cock fights. Markets serve as focal points for Dominican/Haitian interaction, where people from the two countries come together in a dynamic and profitable interchange of goods and customs.

Under this rotating system market days are distributed among villages in a particular region. A direct advantage is that almost all villages have a market at least one day a week. On any given day and at any given place a person has access to a market within walking distance.[56]

Chart 3.1: Regional Distribution of Market Days as Identified by Haitians in the Ti Lori Area:[57]

	Sun	Mon	Tues	Wend	Thur	Fri	Sat
Ti Lori			++++++				++++++
Los Kakawos		++++++				++++++	
Sekalasous				++++++			++++++
Tomassik			++++++			++++++	
Saltade	++++++		++++++		++++++		
Ganize					++++++	++++++	
La Gwa				++++++			
La Miel		++++++					
Guayahuk				++++++			
Gurab(Rs)					++++++		

3.1.2 **Goods Exchanged**

In the international exchange of goods that takes place in market towns along the border, the primary items purchased by Haitians from Dominicans include *puntillo* (broken rice) and processed foods like spaghetti, dried fish (pica pica), and salami. The Dominicans purchase unprocessed agricultural products: chick peas, beans, corn, and very importantly cattle. A fuller list of goods exchanged is provided below (see Chart 3.2 and Text Box 3.1).

Chart 3.2: Primary products exchanged between Dominicans and Haitians

Goods sold by Dominicans to Haitians	Goods sold by Haitians to Dominicans
broken rice ("puntillo" in Spanish, "ti tet" in Creole) spaghetti dried fish salami domestic and hygenic products (soap, toothpaste, pots and pans, etc.) construction materials (tin, cement, and nails). Transportation animals (donkeys, mules and horses) Top tobacco/high quality (Kass)	chick peas beans of all types corn squash peanuts bananas plantains dry rice (when in season) cows, goats, chickens, turkeys, and guinea fowl (especially in Kass).

3.2 **Credit**

The market system and how it functions in the area studied is best illustrated by a description of credit. On the Haitian side, there are five ways to obtain credit: borrow money from a friend or relative; borrow money from a loan shark (*eskont*); borrow money from a bank; and get merchandise on credit. In contrast, Dominicans frequently complain that "aquí, no hay recursos" (here, there are no resources) and "no hay fuerza"(literally, there is no strength). Nevertheless, strategies Dominicans use to obtain capital include: borrowing from friends; borrowing from Haitian loan sharks (*eskonte*); borrowing from intermediaries (*intermediarios*); and getting merchandise on credit *fiao* (on faith).

On the Haitian side, banks are rare. There is reportedly an agricultural bank in Hinche but most respondents indicated it did not have much money to loan and that it is necessary to have a contact on the inside: "fok ou gen moun pa-ou ladan" (you need one of your own people on the inside). There is a very popular cooperative credit program based in Tommasique and reportedly operating in Cerca La Source and Saltade. Access to low interest loans was one of the needs most common cited by Haitians.
Haitians with large sums of cash on hand *eskont* (loan) money, and at very high interest rates; usually 100% over a four to six month period—not an attractive deal to most

Haitians: “w-ap travay pou met kob la” (you are working for the owner of the money).[58] However, in descriptions given by respondents, *eskonting* appears more like a joint venture between a financier and a risk taking manager than it does a loan. Collateral is reportedly not involved but reputation is. The lender must also be convinced the money will be spent in a way that will assure a profit -- like planting or commerce, in contrast, for example, to funerals, house building, and illnesses. In the case of default, respondents claim the lender can take the borrower to court and force payment.[59]

Text Box 3.1: Case Study: Purchases and Sales in Ti Lori

Travelers leaving Restauración southbound on the newly paved road, and passing the Dominican outpost in Villa Anacaona, will find themselves suddenly ascending a slope on a pot-holed road. Atop a hill on the right side of the road is the village, visually dominated by the thatched stalls of an open air market. The travelers have just left the Dominican Republic and have entered Haiti. Though Dominicans generally mispronounce the name of the village, calling it "Tirolí", its true Creole name is Ti-Lori.

In the Ti Lori market, on Tuesdays and Saturdays, Dominicans and Haitians come together in a dynamic exchange of goods. Dominican buyers and venders tend to stay on the Dominican side of the road and Haitians set up their wares on the opposite side of the road in the thatch -roofed marketplace which extends into the village.

On a Saturday morning, an inventory was conducted of Dominican venders and buyers in the Ti Lori marketplace.[60] A total of 24 Dominican trucks of buyers and sellers were identified and only 1 Haitian truck from Hinche.[61] The majority of Haitians descend with their products from the surrounding communities (La Miel, La Gua) on muleback. Of the Dominicans, five were purchasing poultry (roosters, chickens, and guinea fowl); three were purchasing chick peas from Haitians; one was purchasing melons and one was purchasing corn. Two large Dominican trucks of puntillo (broken rice) to be sold to Haitians were seen. Dominicans were also retailing spaghetti and salted salmon (pica pica/arenque) and other processed foods (tomato paste, malta india, canned milk, mustard, cigarettes, bread) as well as domestic and hygenic items (soap, cookingware, machetes, brushes, and toothpaste). Among other items being sold by Dominicans were shoes and cement .

According to both Dominican and Haitian respondents, depending on the season in the Ti Lori market the primary products purchased by Haitians from Dominicans are *puntillo* (broken rice), spaghetti, dried fish, salami; transportation animals (donkeys, mules and horses); domestic and hygenic products (soap, toothpaste, pots and pans, etc.); and construction materials such as tin, cement, and nails. From Haitians, Dominicans purchase foodstuffs such as chick peas, black beans, corn, squash, peanuts, bananas, plantains, dry rice as well as livestock: cows, goats, chickens, turkeys, and guinea fowl. Dominican sellers and buyers come from the region of Restauracion, Loma de Cabrera, Santiago la Cruz, Santiago Rodriguez; most of them report they attend two or more of the markets in the region per week (Dajabon, Restauracion, Loma de Cabrera, Guayajayuco, Las Aguitas, Monte Cristi, Rio Limpio).

On the Haitian side of the border, borrowing from a friend or relative is common. The scarcity of capital encourages Haitians not to stow money away but rather “put money to work.” Haitian men and women alike will give money over to a female friend or family member so that she can *fe komes* (buy and sell). The woman is expected to share profits with the lender, but demands vary, and most people understand the risks and costs involved. The priority is that money does not sit gathering dust but works to maintain the survival of the lenders family and friends. In this way, the *lajan-sere-pa-fe-pitit* (‘stashed money bears no children’) attitude of Haitians can be explained as an investment in the social relations that assure survival in an impoverished and highly market oriented economy.

Credit in the form of merchandise advanced by wholesalers to intermediaries and in turn, by intermediaries to retailers, is clearly an important element of the market system along the border. This is especially true on the Haitian side. Wholesalers on the Haitian side of the border advance money to buyers who purchase small quantities of produce from farmers. The wholesalers then sell the produce in bulk to Dominican buyers or ship it to Port-au Prince. Haitians also get credit from Domincans. In Ti Lori, for example, respondents explained: "chak aiysien gen yon dominiken" (every Haitian has a Dominican). Dominican intermediaries advance money to Haitian buyers who purchase produce for them in the same way Haitians buy for local *gran negs* (see Social Relations, 'Big Men'). A Haitian man in Los Kakawos told of a Dominican friend who had advanced him 26,000 pesos to buy cattle. The same man said a Dominican had advanced him 3,000 sheets of tin--a value of approximately US$8,000.00. Yet, another businessman from Los Kakawos boasted: "right now I can go over there and get anything I want. I don't need five cents" (kounie-a m ka al lot bo jwenn sa m vle, m pa bezwenn sink kob.)

On the Domincan side of the border, credit for agriculture was found to be a major problem for farmers: "No hay fuerza, no hay recursos"(there is no strength, there are no resources) are commonly heard statements. In the Dominican Republic in general one major source of low interest credit for farmers is the Banco Agricola (Agricultural Bank). In Guayajayuco, farmers report having previously received loans from the bank, especially during the time when subsidies from *La Manicera* (see above) for peanut production were prominent. Nevertheless, there have been a high number of defaults in recent years--farmers in the colony of Guayajayuco reportedly owe a total of approximately $200,000 pesos--which has paralized credit from the bank. Similarly, farmers in the hamlets above Guayajayuco report that in the past they have received loans. In Billiguín, for example, an older farmer reported:

> *now they are not loaning. . .because, at times, some end-up bad, others end-up good. And we worked with the bank and complied. There are many who are old clients. . .I have an old payment book over there. But it has been over 5 years since they stopped providing credit. In any case, the bank should attend to those who have paid their loans, to provide money so we can work*.[62]

Farmers now report receiving periodic visits from representatives from the Banco Agrícola to the region, but they are no longer loaning. Farmers in the other focus areas, Macasía and Bánica, similarly report that in the past they have at times been able to receive bank loans but like the environment, this source of credit has been "drying up." Also, they cannot receive loans for livestock based on the fear that these will be stolen. Occasionally, the IAD also provides seed advances in the agricultural colonies.

Without any formal credit mechanisms in place, farmers all along the border are required to access informal credit sources either from friends or at high interest rates. As exemplified in the following, some Dominican farmers in the Guayajayuco region are so desperate for cash they are even borrowing from Haitian "loan sharks." According to a farmer from the remote community of La Zurza:

The biggest crisis we have here is a lack of resources. There is not a farmer around here who has not had to go out and find money at double [interest rate] (a doble)… I went to Haiti, I took 20,000 pesos to pay it double and I paid it, only because God helped me. I distributed it amongst friends, 1,000 and 2,000 pesos each. But I took back 40,000 pesos. That is how it is here [on the Dominican side]. For the last few years one has to go out and look for it at double, so that one can help oneself because here there are no resources.

In the Guayajayuco region, farmers report occasional loans from friends and family, but due to the general lack of available capital, this does not appear to be the most common practice. They report having to go "seek" money (*buscandolo*). In the agricultural zone of Macasía/Las Dos Bocas, lending among friends appears to be more common, but outside of the agricultural zones farmers express a similar desperate need for credit.

In the Dominican Republic, the intermediaries have always played a role in advancing credit to farmers on the condition of a lien on their harvest. Farmers in Guayajayuco, who deal with intermediaries in the market, are reluctant to admit that they take these usurious loans. Nevertheless, a number reported having to sell livestock to pay off intermediaries when harvests failed. In Macasía/Las Dos Bocas intermediaries from Las Matas de Farfan travel to the community to purchase tobacco. It was reported that they also advance cash to trusted farmers to accumulate a specified quantity of cigarette tobacco, much of which is purchased from Haitians in Kass.

Like Haiti, a final source of credit is in the form of merchandise. This form of credit, called *fiao* (on trust) is generally granted based on previous experience and credibility with a colmado owner or wholesaler. Although the prevalence of use of this system in the Guayajayuco was not evident, in the Macasía region, and especially in the market in Elias Piña, this system is used by women retailers--for example, they take a bag of rice "*fiao*", retail it in the market, pay off the creditor and use the remaining profit to cover other expenses.

Chapter 4

LOCAL FAMILIAL, SOCIAL, AND POLITICAL STRUCTURES

Development activities must mesh, not only with the way people make a living--the local economic systems discussed above-- but also with the local social systems, the way individuals interact to produce and rear children, the people interact to accomplish mundane domestic tasks on which survival depends, and the differential leadership roles found on opposite sides of the border. This chapter will be dedicated to discussing these patterns of behavior as we found in the Haitian-Dominican border area:1) Marital patterns; 2) Division of labor by sex and age; 3) Local leadership.

4.1. **Marital patterns**

There are some commonalities in the system prevailing on both sides of the Dominican-Haitian border which set them apart from the family structures with which urban developmental workers may be familiar. The difference consists of the presence of several alternative modes conjugal unions ("marriage arrangements").

Legal marriage. This is the socially approved type of conjugal union that prevails in the urban areas of both countries. We did not gather statistics on these matters, but our impression is that in the rural communities of the Dominican border this is definitely not the statistically prevalent form of union.

Consensual unions. In the rural areas of both countries most couples establish families and stable conjugal relationships without going through an ecclesiastical or civil ceremony. These are referred to anthropologically as "consensual unions." In Haiti this form of union is referred to as *plasaj*, to distinguish it from *mariaj*. It has no legal validity for purposes of property transmission.[63] It is similar to the arrangement of "living together" that is increasingly common among urban youth of the industrialized world — with one major and critical difference: Villagers of the Haitian and Dominican border who enter a consensual union do so with the explicit purpose of having offspring. Consensual unions that do not produce offspring rarely last. In contrast, young couples "living together" in the urban middle class context rarely attempt to have children in that state.

Polygamy. In our research we encountered with impressive frequency a third type of conjugal mode on both sides of the border, a mode that is easily susceptible to misinterpretation by the outside world: polygamy (or more correctly, polygyny).[64] In both Haiti and the Dominican Republic a man can legally marry only one woman. It differs also from the "extramarital affair" that is quite frequent in the urban areas in that (1) it is totally public and (2) explicit efforts are made to produce offspring in all of the unions. In the Haitian variant there is even a relational term by which the co-wives are referred to. They are each other's *matlot*.[65]

We have no data on the statistical prevalence of polygamy in the research area. We can only affirm that we ran across a surprisingly large number of cases, particularly in Haiti, but also among Dominicans. Many of the polygamous Dominican males living along the border had taken Haitian second wives.

4.2 **Division of labor by gender and age**

Development projects should build on the economic activities of both sexes and of different age groups. We made the following observations concerning the division of labor by gender and age on both sides of the border.

4.2.1 **Women**

In both the Dominican Republic and Haiti, women are primarily responsible for domestic activities: cooking, house-cleaning and washing clothes. Women, as well as children, are responsible for securing water and firewood (see Children below). Haitian and Dominican women also help with planting and harvesting. The few wage opportunities that we found available to women in the research region are domestic jobs across the border, such as cleaning house and cooking for Dominicans; nursing, exclusively a female occupation, and to a lesser extent teaching.

In Haiti, although often financed by men, the gender division of labor in wholesale trade is more complicated. Throughout Haiti the female *madam sara* is the major itinerant wholesaler of foodstuffs. This holds true in the border area where the purchasing retailers are Haitian women. The most economically active women are, not unlike the most powerful men, skillful entrepreneurs on whom other market women heavily depend. Usually specialists in a particular commodity, there are female *Gwo Sara* who travel to Port-au-Prince, the Dominican Republic or other areas, buying in bulk at one market and redistributing the goods, often on credit, to less wealthy Haitian market women in another. But in the border areas we also found males who, because of their greater fluency in Spanish and their greater ability to bargain and argue with (often) insulting Dominican merchants and authorities, were more likely to assume this wholesaler role in foodstuffs when the buyers are Dominican.

On the Dominican side of the border we found women employing somewhat different economic and income generating strategies. Unlike Haitian women, who almost never engage in agriculture ventures independent of husbands or close male relatives, many Dominican women control their own *conucos* or *parcelas*. Dominican women do not work in the fields as much as men, although they may participate in planting in harvesting (but not plowing, chopping, or burning). Nonetheless Dominican women are responsible for obtaining the capital to hire Haitian laborers to carry out all facets of the agricultural cycle.

In the market, Dominican women sell prepared foods and beverages, and will also retail either clothing and domestic goods or food. [66] On the whole, however, a much smaller percentage of Dominican women become involved in retail activities than is true of Haitian women on the other side of the border.

Text Box 4.1: Case Study: Ti Sara

Michlen is 27 years old. She and her husband, Oksilien, have 6 children ranging from 16 months to 11 years of age. [67]

Michlen is primarily responsible for taking care of the children. She gets up every morning before sunrise and starts a fire to cook the family's first meal, usually rice, plaintains or millet. The older children help her by going the half kilometer to the spring for water and performing other chores, like sweeping the house. While the children are at school in Kass, Michlen spends most days washing laundry in the nearby Artibonite river. Each afternoon, Michlen "mete pwa sou dife" (puts the beans on the fire) for the day's other meal, when the children come home from school.

Twice a week, on Fridays and Mondays, Michlen goes to the market in Kass. Michlen is a *ti sara*, a small retailer. Every Friday she gets a sack of rice and a sack of sugar advanced to her from a *gran sara*, an intermediary "ki sot achte lavil" (who buys in the city). Michlen gets the rice and sugar on Friday morning, and then spends all Friday and the following Monday selling small quantities of the merchandise in the market place. Michlen has to pay the *gran sara* 450 goudes for the sack of sugar and 540 goudes for the sack of rice. If all goes well, Michlen gets 16 *mamits* (about the size of a big coffee can) of sugar and 15 *mamits* of rice in each sack. She sells the sugar for 30 goudes per *mamit* and the rice for 40 goudes a *mamit*, which means that Michlen will earn one *mamit* of each, the equivalent of 70 goudes (or US$3.00). Rather than selling her take of the profit, Michlen usually keeps the remaining *mamits* of rice and sugar for her family.

Dominican women were seen to collect, prepare, and weave *pit* into bags and other designs, primarily saddle bags.

4.2.2 **Children**

Haitian and Dominican children make their greatest contributions to family subsistence by performing simple but time consuming tasks. Boys are generally responsible for chores associated with livestock, like watering animals and moving them from one location to another—a task which can involve walking for several hours. [68] Haitian boys also help their fathers with garden work and sometimes participate in charcoal production and other strenuous activities. Girls generally care for younger children, and help their mothers with cooking and marketing. Boys and girls, but especially girls, go for water and look for firewood. Both boys and girls are important helpers during planting and harvests. Haitian and Dominican children are not unlike one another, except for one thing: Haitian children can be found living not only in Haiti, in the houses of their parents, but surprisingly large numbers can be found on the "other" side as well, in the houses of Dominicans who are not their parents (see Haitian and Dominican Relations).

4.2.3 **Men**

On both the Dominican and Haitian sides of the border, men are primarily responsible for livestock and care of gardens. In both countries, men take responsibility for larger livestock while women and children may care for smaller animals (chickens, pigs, and goats) and gardens near the house. We found little difference between Haitians and Dominicans in these matters.

Text Box 4.2: Case Study--La Morena

La Morena is a 36 year old Dominican woman. At a young age she moved from the nearby hamlet of Manyaya, where she was living with her father, to her mother's home in Las Dos Bocas, where she was raised by her grandparents (her mother went to work in the capital). She has one brother and 4 step-brothers/sisters from her father's side. La Morena rarely attended school and never learned to read and write. She married at the age of 16 but left her husband 5 years later because she did not get along with his other wife. From this conjugal union, La Morena has two daughters, one aged 19 and the other 14. She has sent both to Santo Domingo to work and study. She has also adopted two Haitian girls, one who she now sent to Santo Domingo to work and study and another, a young girl 6 years of age, who lives with her and assists in the domestic chores.

La Morena inherited land in Las Dos Bocas from her mother. She remains resentful of the fact that her father "sold" his lands without consulting or dividing them up amongst his children. "Porque no hay un hombre en la casa quien puede trabajar,"(Because there isn't a man in the house who can work) La Morena makes arrangements with Haitians to work her lands. When she has capital available, she will hire workers. When no money is available, she arranges for a Haitian farmer to work the land *a medias*--the farmer puts in the labor, she provides the seed and land, and the harvest is divided equally between them.

La Morena differs from most Domincan women in that she is keenly interested in marketing. La Morena's husband encouraged her to enter into her first *negocio* (business), which was preparing and selling meals in a nearby *gallera* (cock fights). After she left her husband, she began dealing salt, then shoes, which she would purchase in Haiti and sell in the market in Elias Piña. She also used to sell rice, salt and other products to Haitians directly out of her home in Las Dos Bocas—a business that was ruined when the government began permitting Haitians to go directly to the market in Elias Piña. She loves doing business--"aquí 'toy sentada porque no hay cuarto, pero cuando consigo cinco mil pesos empiezo a negociarlo."(I'm sitting here because there is no money, but when I get ahold of five thousand pesos I'll start doing business). She has managed to build a house in Elias Piña, complete with television and gas stove, where she spends approximately half of the year living in *el pueblo* (the village).

In both countries it is primarily men who sell livestock, bicycles, wood, sacks of charcoal. In both countries, only men are carpenters, masons, and mechanics; and only men work as day laborers in gardens. It is primarily men who fill roles as preachers, spiritual healers, politicians and judges. Far more men than women are teachers. [69]

On the Dominican side of the border men dominate wholesale trade. Throughout the Dominican Republic, including the border area, the major itinerant wholesaler is the truck-owning *intermediario*—on the Haitian side women play significant roles as intermediaries (see Leadership below).

4.3 **Leadership**

Project implementers from the outside will in the long run have to flow with local social dynamics. In this regard, it is healthy to have some insight into the village level

processes that make some individuals more powerful and influential than others. In this we found heavy differences between villages on opposite sides of the border.

In the Dominican Republic there are not great differences in the social and economic statuses of leaders. People generally explain, "we are equally poor." In the more commercially oriented communities on the Haitian side of the border, there are clear differences with regard to wealth and prestige. The most powerful Haitians villagers are almost invariably males who engage other members of the community in a wide assortment of agriculture and trading ventures. Much of the capital accrued by these central economic players gets filtered back into the community via polygynous relationships and support for a multitude of offspring .

4.3.1 **'Big Men' in Haiti**

As described above, women in Haiti can often be found in positions of power and wealth. Women dominate whole sectors of the market, particularly in goods like tobacco, lucrative restaurant businesses and the distribution of fish. However, in the Haitian border area the few *gran dams* the researchers were able to identify were outsiders who had come to the area to purchase goods, specifically tobacco, for distant markets rather than to participate in local systems of redistribution. On the other hand, all the Haitian villages studied had several *gran negs* (big men) who are key facilitators of local economic activities. The following example of a *gran neg* in Ti Lori illustrates the phenomenon.[70]

Text Box 4.3: Case Study: A Haitian *Gran Neg*

Fran is a classic g*ran neg*. He is 35 years old. He has fathered more than 20 children with at least 6 different woman. He currently has 5 wives, all living in Ti Lori in houses built for them by Fran. Born in the Ti Lori area, Fran has a large number of relatives living in the area. He owns as much as 60 *Kawo* (approximately 90 hectares) and is active in commerce. He sells produce in bulk to the Dominicans, using poorer men and women as buyers. With money advanced by Fran, these buyers purchase corn, beans or whatever else is in season from the small farmers who come down from the mountains to the Ti Lori market. In the past, Fran has traded in cement, tin roofing and other building materials. He buys living trees and has them sawed, selling the boards to buyers in Port-au-Prince. Fran also does a lucrative business buying and selling house plots, and *eskonting* money to Dominicans at the rate of 100% for a period of 4 to 6 months Fran is a respected, even feared man, a *neg serieu* (serious man). As one young, awestruck Ti Lorien explained, "You do not even want to think about not paying him. No. That does not happen. "[71]

4.3.2 **'Big Men' on the Dominican Side**

Unlike the "gran neg" phenomenon in Haiti, men and women in the border communities studied in the Dominican Republic appear egalitarian. In these communities prestige and respect, the "hombre serio" (serious man) plays a greater role in community leadership than control over capital, land or labor.

On the Dominican side of the border respect and prestige appear to be associated not so much with economic control , as it does with two other factors: 1) local leadership, which includes the ability to speak and convince others as well as being regarded as an honest and serious person and; 2) political factors, especially in the case of the local alcalde who, due to his political status, is able to control access to higher authorities (e.g. case of birth certificates), intervene in key situations and most readily access higher levels of power.

Text Box 4.4: *Intermediarios*

The closest thing to Haitian *gran negs* in the Dominican communities are *intermediarios* (intermediaries), outsiders who struggle to obtain purchasing monopolies in the local markets and who seem to be universally regarded by farmers as scam artists, setting low prices, fixing scales, and charging usurious rates on loans. Farmers in the Guayajayuco region express great reluctance to accept advances on their harvests from these intermediaries--although this practice is not uncommon. In Macasía, intermediaries from Las Matas de Farfan control the purchase of tobacco for the Dominican market although their monopoly over prices is mitigated by the fact that tobacco farmers in Macasía have the option of selling tobacco in the market in Kass on the Haitian side.

On the Haitian side of the border, natural leadership abilities and political connections are respected, but the primary determinants of *gran neg* status are 1) access to trade markets, 2) possession of capital, 3) ownership of land and animals, and most importantly 4) the social and managerial skills needed to broker a dazzling array exchanges.

Why do Haiti and the Dominican Republic differ in this matter? Factors involved in the differential roles of Haitian and Dominican leaders and power brokers seem to include the following:

1) *Access to land*: On the Haitian side of the border, there is a land squeeze, all land having an "owner" and being worked to exhaustion. In some Dominican communities of the border area there is still abundant and equal access to relatively fertile land, *tierra secana y del estado* (unirrigated state lands).

2) *Commercialization of the local economy and the resulting concentration of capital*: The pervasion of commerce at all levels of the Haitian economy, means *gran negs* are able to manipulate their economic positions to accrue capital which can be reinvested in local entrepreneurial ventures and large families.

3) *Migration*: Haitians must go to great lengths to reach foreign labor markets, health and education services—and often suffer discrimination when they finally arrive. Dominicans on the other hand have relatively unimpeded access to services and job markets in Santo Domingo, San Pedro, Santiago and tourist zones on the Dominican coast. Consequently, Dominicans are oriented toward investment in and migration to

distant urban areas; Haitians, although many would like to and often do migrate, are more oriented toward their home communities..

4) *Differential dependency of locals on gran negs*: Clearly the most important factor in the prestige of the Haitian *gran neg* is the degree to which community members depend for survival on his success in business and agriculture. On the Dominican side of the border locals are not so dependent on community leaders. At least 75-80% of the labor on the Dominican side is provided by Haitians, the other 20% by farmers and their families or through the "convite" (reciprocal labor) system. It is extremely rare to find a Dominican *echando día* (working as a day wage laborer) on the border.

Chapter 5

HAITIAN/DOMINICAN RELATIONS ON THE BORDER

The border is an area of intense cultural interaction. As has been seen, Haitians and Dominicans living close to the border form synergistic alliances in all types of ventures including agriculture (see Agriculture), commerce (see Markets), and quite likely, crime (see Livestock). Haitians can be heard boasting about Dominican friends, and take advantage of superior Dominican services, like telephones and hospitals.[72] Many Dominicans also talk about Haitian friends, and Dominicans commonly seek out Haitian spiritual healers when ill. Dominicans along the border report relatively few conflicts with their Haitian neighbors, admit their dependence on Haitians as workers, and express a guarded respect for their counterparts on the "other side".[73]

But, in the interplay of people and cultures along the Dominican/Haitian border it is the Dominicans who clearly have the favored status. The Dominican side of the border is relatively depopulated, land abundant, and jobs are accessible in the capital and industrial centers. In comparison, the Haitian side of the border is well populated, land is scarce, and there are few jobs to be found in the capital of Port-au-Prince or any other Haitian city. In larger towns on the Dominican side there are telephones, electric service, and paved roads; one finds clinics, hospitals, and an army. On the Haitian side, there are no paved roads, no telephones and no electric service. Clinics are scarce, poorly equipped and under-staffed. There are no soldiers and no police on the Haitian side. The wide infrastructural and economic gulf that separates Haiti from the Dominican Republic creates corresponding differences in status, work relations, and attitudes. It also creates the potential for abuses.

5.1 Labor

On both sides of the border, the majority of the labor force is Haitian. On the Dominican side, at least 75-80% of the agricultural labor is Haitian. Haitian labor is so common and relatively inexpensive that even Dominicans who describe themselves as desperately poor employ Haitians to perform domestic and other labor activities. As one farmer stated: "los Haitianos hacen cualquier cosa para ganar dinero" (Haitians will do anything to make money). In the village of Bánica, for example, Dominicans pay Haitians to fetch water and firewood , wash clothes and work as domestic servants. Haitian workers cross the Artibonite in the morning and return in the afternoon. Few actually live in the community. In Guayajayuco and the surrounding mountains, a longer distance from the Haitian side, Haitian agricultural workers sleep in field huts ("ranchitos" or "joupas"). Some Dominicans permit Haitian workers to sleep in their *caserias* (homesteads), but this practice appears to be the exception rather than the rule.

5.2 **Treatment of Haitians by Dominicans**

In general, Haitians on the border insist that relations with Dominicans are good; "isit nou ansanm, nou kolabore a Dominikani" (here we are together, we collaborate with the Dominicans).[74] But Haitians coming from farther away report different experiences and have different opinions.[75] Two teenagers from La Miel were recently killed in *peyi panyol* by Dominican bandits.[76] Speaking of Ti Lori, Haitians in La Miel said "yea, people in Ti Lori don't have a problem with Dominicans, they're together. The people of Ti Lori are working for the Domincans" (wi, moun Ti Lori pa gen pwoblem a Panyol, yo ansanm, Se pou Panyol moun Ti Lori travay).[77] Stories of muggings are common among Haitians, particularly those not familiar with the customs and language of "*peyi panyol*." Dominican bandits know that Haitian workers crossing back into Haiti will be carrying money and that the military will do little to protect them.[78]

Nevertheless, when asked who they would rather work for Haitians or Dominicans most Haitian laborers did not hesitate to say Dominicans. A Haitian laborer explained it like this: "If a Haitian refuses to pay you, there is nothing you can do about it. If it's a Dominican, you can go to the military. They will take a cut [reported to be a third of the settlement] but they will make him pay."[79]

In the area studied, there are virtually no Haitian National Police along the border. The Dominican military is in complete control. In the border market of Ti Lori, for example, Dominican guards with automatic rifles patrol the Dominican side of the International highway; the only authorities on the Haitian side are the *kazek* and *ajan polis,* civilians with no uniforms and no guns. Many Haitians lament the absence of Haitian authority, saying "bagay yo vin lage" (things have let loose), "pa gen lod" (there is no order). Haitians resent the fact that Dominicans cross into their country at will, "yo fe sa yo vle" (they do what they want). On the border, Dominican authorities have the final word in all conflicts between Dominicans and Haitians.

Army soldiers on one side of the border and poor, unprotected farmers on the other creates the potential for abuses. In Los Cacaos, the sergeant of the local Dominican guard post is reported to periodically round up Haitian peasants and put them to work in his gardens—without pay.[80] Beginning in June, with the first harvest, paths and roads leading back to Haiti are carefully watched by Dominican soldiers. All Haitians returning with produce harvested in the Dominican Republic must give the guards at least five percent of the load.[81]

In general, however, the people living near the border like and respect the Dominican guards. Speaking of the commanding Dominican officer at the post near Ti Lori, one man said, "li preske yon papa pou nou" (he is almost a father to us). People from Los Kakawos describe the ranking officer in Pedro Santana as a generous man who will get up in the middle of the night to drive sick Haitians to the hospital in Las Matas.

5.3 **Language**

Perhaps the best testimony to the interdependence of Dominicans and Haitians is the degree of bilingualism in the region. Most Haitian men along the border can speak at least some Spanish. Haitians who are skilled in adopting Dominican language, customs, and mannerisms receive greater respect and better treatment from Dominicans than those who do not--although there is always a stigma attached to being a Haitian on the Dominican side. Many Dominican men along the border speak at least some Creole, and in areas, most notably Macasía, complete bilingualism is common. [82]

5.4 **Dominican-Haitian Marriages:**

When Dominican mothers in Guayajayuco were asked if they would mind if their sons/daughters married Haitians, there was laughter:

> *Sometimes you have her restrained--'you're not going to go out today, because you will leave [with a Haitian]'--but in any case, she sneaks out through the kitchen. . .if one finds out [a son or daughter is interested in "arrying" a Haitian] one tries to prevent it as much as possible. . . because although we are humans, equals, the tradition is not the same. . . [Some people] worry about the extinction of the race.* [83]

Despite the fact there are few legal marriages between Haitian men and Dominican women, consensual unions between Dominican men and Haitian women are relatively common in the border region, especially around Macasía.[84] For example, the FH extensionist in Macasía reported that of 28 households under her charge 8 have Dominican men in conjugal union with Haitian women. Similarly, the FH extensionist in Pilon reported 12 of 52 households were cross-national marriages. In the survey in Guayajayuco, 3 Haitian/Dominican marriages were identified. Farther east in the mountain hamlets of Rossó and Vallecito there were at least two out of a total of approximately 35 households. When asked, Dominican men on the border frequently joke that Haitian women are sexually desirable--"caliente"(hot)--and hard workers.[85]

5.5 **Children**

Children of bi-national parents growing up on the Dominican side are informally considered to be Dominicans. The primary condition determining Dominican status is not parenthood but acculturation: The ability to speak Spanish and adopt Dominican customs and social manners. Nevertheless, there is a definite stigma attached to having a Haitian parent, attested to by the use of a variety of terms for "biracial" children including: *cruzado* (crossed) and *arrayado* (striped).

5.5.1 **"Restavek" (child adoption):** [86]

In the border region one cannot help being struck by the number of Haitian children living with Dominican families. Adults who live in Ti Lori estimate that as much as 30% of their children, girls and boys alike, are in "*Peyi panyol*." Survey data

suggests the figure is closer to 20 percent. A survey in Guayajayuco, on the Dominican side, revealed 6 of 120 Dominican families raising Haitian children. The figure, however, is reportedly much higher in the mountainous areas and in the Macasía region. [87]

5.5.2. **The Dominican Perspective**

Some Dominicans told us that many Haitian parents will give up their children "regalado" (given as a gift) at a moments notice: "they just give them away. .. cede them over to you." Dominicans blame poverty and high birthrates on the Haitian side for the ease with which (according to them) Haitian mothers will give up their children: "here we plan, we have five or six children. Over there they have fourteen, fifteen, or twenty kids (see Text Box 5.1)."[88]

The researchers witnessed a number of interactions between Haitian children and their Dominican "foster parents." In a house where one researcher boarded, for example, there was a quiet, stoic six year old Haitian girl who responded obediently to every loud order: "get me the tomato paste!," "bring me a glass of water!," "go to the colmado and bring me some cigarettes!" Older Haitian girls prepare meals, clean house, wash clothes, go to the market, and care for Dominican foster siblings. Haitian boys care for livestock and work in the fields. Dominicans often commented that they like to "get them young," before they have learned *malas costumbres* (bad customs). It should be emphasized, however, that there are Dominicans who bring these children up as their own, nationalizing them, and sending them to school.

Text Box 5.1: Case Study: Dominican "Adoption" of Haitian

A farmer from Rossó, near Guayajayuco, had this story to tell:

I got him when he was about 12 years old, more or less.
He did not have a father because his father had died….He ran away from his house ….He was out by the road. I was going by on a motorcycle and he got on with me.

And then later, I went and spoke to his mother in Ti Lori …
She said its ok, its alright, go ahead and take my son. When I want to see him, I'll come over, and if not, then you guys come by here because you have a motorcycle and here I'll see him.

I used to send him to the conuco …. I would send him to the savanna to take care of and move the animals.

Afterwards …about two years later….I took him back to his country ….. because he was bad, he had been born bad…..they like to put their hands on things….you know, steal. We had our own child we had to give milk to … when we would go out of the house he would drink all the milk, eat all the sugar .. beat and mistreat our child.

5.5.3 **The Haitian Perspective**

Haitians admit that giving children to Dominican friends is common practice, an opportunity in the best interest of the child.[89] A concern, however, is that Haitian children as young as 7 years of age leave home without telling their parents. The reaction of Haitian parents to child migration, particularly that which occurs without parental consent, is one of resignation. In areas where such migration is common, like Ti Lori and La Miel, respondents expressed dismay at the fact that Haitians have so little to offer their children while the Dominicans have so much to offer them. Parents report making little effort to track down children who leave home unannounced explaining: "nou pa gen mwayen" (we do not have the means) and "kouman? se pa peyi pa nou" (how? It's not our country). In areas where child migration was reportedly uncommon, like Los Cacaos, parents seemed to express relief, and even pride, that children remained under their care until the late teens and early twenties: "nou pa gen sa isit. Se le ti moun gen 18, 20 an yo al Sant Doming" (we do not have that here. It is when children are 18, 20 years old they go to the Dominican Republic).

The Haitian children the researchers talked to in Ti Lori, however, indicated that parents are not so indifferent to their international voyages: "Y-ap cheche ou. Si yo jwenn ou, y-ap kal-o" (they look for you. If they find you, they whip you). The children themselves seemed to think of migration as a normal course of events.[90] Missing your family, particularly mothers, is clearly an issue. One twelve year old boy spontaneously began explaining: "si ou viv byen a mama ou, w-ap sonje li" (if you get along well with your mother, you will miss her). The same boy, however, made no effort to hide his interest in going: "I would go. When I missed my mother, I would come visit her. But I would go back again" (M ta ale. Le m sonje mama-m, m-ap vin vizite li. Min, m ta tounen anko).

The children were also very certain about how the migration process was supposed to work. The same boys referenced above were asked if they ever looked for Dominican foster parents. The quick reply was: "It is the Dominican's job to ask us. He better offer me a good deal. If I do not like what he says, I ain't going." (Panyol pou mande. Flate, fok li flate-m. Si m pa reme sa li di, m p-ap ale). When asked if they had ever heard of friends abused by Dominican foster families they were equally forthcoming, "no, nou pa-t janm tande sa" (no, we never heard of anything like that).

5.6 **ATTITUDES**

The political and economic advantages enjoyed by Dominicans are reflected in attitudes. Many Dominicans describe Haitians as dirty and foul smelling. They think of Haitians as lesser beings, as "mala raza" (bad race). The researchers witnessed Dominicans openly insulting Haitians.[91] One of the researchers was called a *cochino* (pig) for admitting he dated a Haitian woman. A young Dominican woman in Guayajayuco told us that *crusados* (Dominico-Haitians, literally "crossed") are often teased and degraded by their fellow Dominican students. Even extremely poor

Dominicans think of themselves as better than Haitians, and express pity for their desperate poverty, their begging children, and their "unsanitary" living conditions.

Haitians are fully aware of the Dominican view of them: "we are like animals around their house" (nou se tankou bet bo lakay yo); "we get no respect from the Dominicans" (devan dominiken, nou pa gen vale). The Haitian reaction to Dominican scorn and denigration is typically one of acceptance and even in some cases verbal agreement. Not unusual are comments like the one a Haitian young woman made in the presence of the researchers: "I'm just like Dominicans. I don't like people who smell bad coming up and sitting down next to me. Some Haitians smell; I don't like people who smell" (M gen menm jan a dominiken, m pa reme le yon moun ki santi vin chita bo mwen. Non, gen Ayisyen ki konn santi, m pa reme moun ki santi."). [92]

On the other hand, Haitians pride themselves on being hard working, and are fond of saying: "Aisyen reme travay" (Haitians like to work). In contrast, they think of Dominicans as lazy and wasteful: "You know, when a Domincan has money, he's drinking! Going to dances" (Ou konnen, le dominiken gen lajan se bwe lap bwe, mache danse bal).[93] Without exception, Haitians think of themselves as the source of Dominican wealth, commonly saying things like: "we are the labor/strength of the Dominicans" (se nou ki kouray Dominiken). Dominican farmers readily admit their reliance on Haitian labor and even accuse other Dominicans of being *flojo* (lazy), sitting around and letting Haitians do everything for them. The Haitian wife of a Dominican expalined: "Some Dominicans treat Haitians as if we were dogs. .. they say that we are a bad race. But without Haitians, no Dominican could work." (Algunos Dominicanos tratan a los Haitianos como que nosostros somos un perro. . .Dicen que los Haitianos son una raza mala. Pero sin los Haitianos ningun Dominicano trabaja. . .).

In short, the two nations are firmly linked to each other economically, but the relationship between them is ambiguous. A planner of development activities on the border will ask: Can Dominicans and Haitians work together? Our answer is: of course they can. They already are. Dominicans depend on Haitians for labor — whether as field laborers, sharecroppers, or domestic servants. Haitians depend conversely on Dominicans for access to credit, merchandise and land. But we have also seen reverse patterns where Dominicans depend on wealthier Haitians for loans. There are already solid links between inhabitants of both sides of the border.

But if the question is: can Dominicans and Haitians work together as equals? there the answer must be: highly unlikely. The objective and unequal economic structures within which the two groups interact is one in which there is an upper and a lower group. This is clearly reflected in the attitudes which we have portrayed in this chapter. This all leads to the question: what should now be done on the border? In the concluding chapter we will try to address that issue.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Conclusions

Economically both sides of the border region are in a state of crisis and transition. The crisis in the agrarian component of the economy is caused principally by recent years of drought, lack of water systems for irrigation (and for drinking), lack of adequate road access to markets, and lack of access to reasonably priced production credit. These factors affect both sides of the border. In Haiti there is the additional factor of per-capita land scarcity and the social tensions that this scarcity generates.

There is also a crisis in the livestock component of the local rural economy caused principally by widespread patterns of theft. Most persons questioned privately on the matter suspect that the animals are stolen by Dominicans and Haitians acting in collaboration with one another. But at any rate the livestock thievery crisis in this region is more serious than in other regions of either country

This complex of agropastoral pressures is causing rural Dominicans in the border area to leave their villages and flock to the cities and free trade zones. Haitians are in turn leaving their own more densely populated villages and crossing the border to fill the void left by departing Dominicans.

Adult Haitians in the border region rarely establish full time residence on the Dominican side of the border. Whether they go as wage laborers or as sharecroppers, they generally return to Haiti, either on a daily or a seasonal basis. The major occurrences of full time Haitian residence in the border area are found in the numerous instances of adoption of Haitian children by Dominican families and of intermarriage between Haitians and Dominicans. All these dynamics produce a demographic situaion in which, despite the emigration of younger Dominicans from the border region, the total population of the border region is probably not declining. It is simply becoming more heavily Haitianized.

Ecologically, the hillsides abutting the border area have been almost deforested on both sides. The thin curtains of roadside tree cover seen on the Dominican side give the impresion of conscious efforts to create a visual contrast between deforested Haiti and the forested Dominican Republic. In reality, beyond this thin curtain, the Dominican hillsides near the border are almost as denuded of tree cover as those of Haiti.

Further up in the cordillera in the Dominican side there is still some tree cover left. But shifting cultivators continue to fell trees for the purpose of planting conucos. The activity of Foresta agents is for the most part restricted to patrolling the roads to confiscate wood and impose fines once the trees have already been cut down.

Dominicans and Haitians are already living and working together. The economic integration is strong and solid. Manifestations of this economic integration are found in market exchanges, wage labor and sharecropping arrangements, and lending arrangements.

The entire agrarian economy on the Dominican side of the border is dependent upon Haitian labor inputs. Seventy-five to eighty percent of the field labor in the border area is now done by Haitians.

There have been, furthermore, instances of social and human solidarity. We have documented reports from Haitians of Dominican military commanders who have protected Haitians against abuse by Dominicans. We also learned of instances in which Dominicans in Bánica and Pedro Santana, urged by local religious leaders, sheltered Haitians who were fleeing for their lives during crisis situations of the early 90s.

But because it is stratified — the Dominicans are in positions of superior economic and political power in the relationship — the relationship between the two groups is not egalitarian. Though Haitians and Dominicans have learned to live together and collaborate, there are still daily occurrences of verbal abuse toward Haitians, and tragically well documented instances of physical abuse, occasionally lethal in character.

On the Dominican side, there is a strong military presence, and a strong presence of Foresta agents who have created a hatred of wood trees among farmers.

The border has been effectively abandoned by the service-delivery components of each government. While millions are being frivolously and uselessly spent to put bricks on the sidewalks of the malecón in Santo Domingo, the road in Guayajuco remains as poor as it was when the sawmill first installed it in the 1960's, and the irrigation system long ago fell into disrepair. On neither side of the border can villagers count on the delivery of services from their governments. This creates a potential dilemma for donors intent on village level output. The two most powerful competitors for control of donor funds — the Dominican and Haitian governments — have the weakest track records in providing service to the villages of the border area.

The objective failure of both governments to establish an effective service presence in the rural areas has generated in both countries over the decades an attitude of cynicism and anger toward the State. One of the most dramatic attitudinal similarities which we found on both sides of the border is the collective conviction by both Haitian and Dominican villagers that any external donor funds entrusted to and/or managed by the officials of either government will end up pilfered, squandered, diverted, or otherwise wasted. On this issue Dominican and Haitian villagers are in strong agreement.

Dominican and Haitian villagers were found to differ on what they expect from their respective governments. Because of the infrastructural improvements made by

Trujillo and the stream of political promises made by subsequent regimes, Dominicans expect services from their government, particularly irrigation and roads, and are frustrated by the broken promises and unfinished canals and roads. Dominicans are furthermore upset at the behavior of Foresta, which criminalizes most tree cutting and deprives them of access to local wood.

In contrast, in Haiti there is no effective government presence on the border. And there is no Forest Service to restrict the lumber extraction that we observed near Ti Lori. Furthermore Haitians in the border have never learned to expect services from their State. The absence of water systems and access roads causes stress to Haitians in the region. But in contrast to the Dominican side of the border, we found little evidence that Haitian villagers thought that their government ever would or could solve these problems. The one thing that the Haitian State has traditionally supplied is armed forces. These are currently lacking, and a major expressed need of Haitians at the moment is that some armed force for law and order be reinstated. But Haitians in this area do not expect other types of infrastructural services from their government such as Dominicans do from theirs

The major deliverers of service in the border communities are private agencies, generally moved by a religious mystique.

The program goal of "reducing erosion to prevent siltation of the Peligre dam" is no longer a realistic rationale for justifying border programs. The dam is already so silted that every year during the dry season large portions of the lake turn into a fertile alluvial plain. Local Haitian farmers generate a substantial annual income planting tobacco on land that is theoretically supposed to be under water.

Instead of conceptualizing activities within this **protective** "save the dam" rationale, donors should reconceptualize bilateral border programs in a **more dynamic productive paradigm.** A much better guiding theme than that of "let's rescue poor Peligre" would be the theme of **income enhancement in the border area through stabilized, intensified hillside production systems.**

The four major required elements for any program of this sort would be:

1. **water systems**
2. **tree nurseries**
3. **production credit**
4. **road improvement**

It should be clearly and explicitly noted: these four material inputs are not being presented as optional recommendations for donor consideration, but as **objective prerequisites for any serious development in the Haitian-Dominican border region**. If, and only if, these major problems are met will other programs make sense. For example: the impressive work that World Vision in Guayajayuco and CREAR in Río Limpio are doing in terms of promoting appropriate land use techniques will reach their

full potential only if there is water to irrigate the land and improved roads to enhance access to markets. In contrast, it would be an empty developmental ritual to teach appropriate land use techniques in an area with scant rainfall and an unfinished irrigation system, as is the case in Guayajayuco.

These four objective prerequisites to development are also among the major subjective felt needs expressed by villagers in the region, at least in terms of economics. The question is not **whether** these elements should be funded in the border area, but rather **how** and **by whom**.

Fortunately there have been major successes in all four of these areas in Haiti and/or the Dominican Republic. From examination of what has worked elsewhere on the island of Hispaniola we can derive specific recommendations in all four areas.

6.2 **Water**

Where possible, gravity driven water systems entailing no pumps should be preferred. A highly successful hillside irrigation project based on gravity driven sprinklers, FIRENA, has transformed the economies of several villages in San José de Ocoa.

Total or almost total cost recuperation can and should be built in as a project goal when the water is being used for irrigation purposes.

Wherever water is being used for irrigation, **the project must build in as a prerequisite that access to some irrigated land be given to all households in the community**. In practice this means that individuals with large amounts of irrigable land should yield a stipulated percentage of their land in usufruct to upland households that may have no land in the irrigated section. This has worked quite well in the Ocoa areas. Twenty tareas of irrigated land yield more than 100 tareas of unirrigated land. Larger owners find it in their economic interest to cede part of their land. But the project **must** build in some such arrangement as a prerequisite to avoid skewing all resources toward certain favored groups.

Where the volume of available upland water or the nature of the terrain makes irrigation not feasible, potable water systems should still be financed. The provision of water supplies will convince local populations of the seriousness of the program more rapidly than any other developmental contribution.

With proper technical backing and adequate funding levels, these systems have been, and can be, installed **rapidly**. We have seen instances of potable water systems in Southern Haiti completed within several weeks.

There would be no better activity with which to launch program activities in the border area than the installation of water systems. Such a kickoff strategy would generate enthusiasm and credibility for any program attempting to enter the region..

6.3 **Trees**

Tree planting activities should be undertaken in a **productive** income-generating paradigm rather than a **protectionist** paradigm. The commonly heard conservationist theme of the "tree as a natural resource" that "has to be protected" must take second place to the more dynamic theme of the "tree as an income generating element" on the holdings of a farmer. In similar terms, the notion of the tree as an **ecological** good has to be replaced by the vision of the tree as an **economic** weapon in the inventory of the farmer.

In the same light, the commonly heard protectionist theme of the tree as a "collective community good" must be replaced by the more realistic theme of the tree as a **privately owned crop**, planted under the same individual ownership conditions that govern the planting of other crops. Neither Haitians nor Dominicans plant collectively owned bean fields. They will be equally disinclined to plant collectively owned tree stands.

Agencies promoting tree planting should respect what will be the preliminary tendency of farmers to prefer fruit trees over wood trees. Traditional trees such as mangos and avocados should be made available, as well as grafted citrus.

Nonetheless program planners should be aware that in the long term the planting of fast-growing commercially useful wood trees is a much more promising land use strategy from the point of both income generation and soil enrichment. Farmers who consider wood trees to be a "good of nature" rather than a crop, and who consequently have never planted wood, cannot be expected to become excited about the thought of planting wood trees. But tree planting experience both in Haiti and the Dominican Republic documents the excitement that the planting of wood trees will generate if the tree is: (a) fast growing, (b) owned by the farmer that plants it, and (c) legally harvestable by its owner.

On the Dominican side of the border, the planting of wood trees should be promoted only in the context of prior tree-cutting permission by Foresta. Without this guarantee, farmers might not be allowed to harvest and sell the wood from trees, even though they planted them on their own land with commercial purposes. Farmers in Haiti do not operate under this legal restriction, and the acceptance of wood tree planting will be much more rapid on that side of the border.

Cost recovery should probably be attempted only with fruit trees. In the case of wood trees experience in Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and around the world documents clearly the reluctance of ordinary farmers to lay out cash for wood trees, even farmers in industrialized countries, whose governments have to subsidize the planting of

wood trees. A reasonable compromise would be for the project to insist that the farmer provide the land and the labor, but that the wood-tree seedlings be provided free of charge.

Program designers should probably **avoid** the poorly conceived tendency to charge farmers, in the name of sustainability and higher survival rates, "at least a symbolic amount" for wood tree seedlings. As for sustainability, a project that recuperates only 20% of its costs is no more sustainable than one which recuperates none of its costs. And as for the notion that villagers will "care for the tree better" if they have to pay for it, this assertion is frequently made but has never to our knowledge been empirically proven. Survival rates are dependent on rainfall, livestock tethering practices, clear tree ownership arrangements, and anticipated profits from the harvest of the wood. Survival rates cannot be enhanced by playing cute psychological games with farmers. All that the charging of a "symbolic amount" will achieve is to reduce to one tenth the number of trees that will be planted.

PADF and CARE in Haiti, and ENDA-Caribe in the Dominican Republic, have engaged small farmers in the commercial planting of small growing wood. Their experiences in this matter should be consulted, to devise more specific guidelines for the promotion of tree planting on the Haitian-Dominican border.

6.4 **Roads**

The Dominican government should be encouraged to redirect its road building attention to the border area. The Dominican government over the past decades has demonstrated its capacity to upgrade, pave, and maintain roads in excellent condition when it decides to do so. As pointed out in the body of the report, the recently paved road that goes from Dajabón all the way to the International Highway is excellent. Donors might set as a condition for funding that the same excellence be demonstrated in the upgrading of the International Highway and in the paving of feeder roads in the border area, most of which are currently tortuous to traverse, and some of which are impossible. Given the excellent condition of other roads in the country, there is no excuse for the currently abysmal state of the International Highway.

Donors should recognize at the same time that the Haitian government does not have the same track record as the Dominicans in the improvement and maintenance of roads.

For Haiti, and perhaps for certain regions on the Dominican border, a "public works" strategy of road upgrading by pick and shovel crews can be used. One of the most popular projects in Haitian history was a USAID and World Bank funded "JOBS" project, which upgraded hundreds and perhaps thousands of kilometers of roads during the very difficult embargo period. This approach was both technically successful — the quality of the repair work has been judged to be high — and socially successful. Such public works programs are admittedly interim emergency measures and fall outside of

what many consider to be "development". But the temporary revival of such a public-works wage labor approach on the border might be considered, say, for a 12 month intensive period in which serious concentrated efforts are made to upgrade the quality of every single road in the area. This would not only provide better roads and generate income. It would — like rapidly initiated water projects — be a positive kickoff move to prove the seriousness and enhance the credibility of a border program.

6.5 **Production Credit**

Designers of a much needed credit component in a border program should take into account the variety of productive and commercial activities that individuals simultaneously undertake in this area, and should probably not earmark credit exclusively for specific narrowly defined purposes (e.g. tobacco growing). A much better strategy would be to have a topically flexible portfolio that will fund any commercially viable activity.

The border program should follow the success enhancing practice of lending money not to individuals but to groups. The groups should be reasonably small — five or six individuals — and they should be self-selected. The group makes itself responsible for the payment of a default by one of its members as a condition for further loans.

The group should be responsible for preparing a formal proposal in which the nature of the activities, their costs, and their reasonably expected benefits are all laid out. The credit project could provide technical assistance on the preparing of such proposals.

The loan should be made collectively, but the recipient groups should then be free to parcel out portions of the group loan to individuals. That is, the income-generating activities could be individualized. Collectivization would be imposed only for loan retrieval purposes.

Particular care should be taken to encouraging women to apply for loans. In the border area women, particularly on the Haitian side, would probably use the money to finance itinerant trading ventures rather than conventional agricultural activities.

Male groups would probably use a high percentage of the loans to finance livestock ventures. In some communities near the border, livestock is on the decline because of thievery. But in other communities farmers rely now more heavily on livestock than on crops, in view of the numerous drought-induced crop failures. The program should from the outset encourage commercial livestock ventures. Up till now the entire question of livestock facilitation has been ignored in the typical border project, as NGOs focus on themes closer to their hearts (sustainable agriculture) but not necessarily to those of the farmers. A program that encouraged livestock ventures, and provided the capital to underwrite them, would be a welcome surprise to the farmers in this area, so accustomed to outsiders who are often interested only in agrarian pursuits, not in the entire gamut of activities by which villagers ensure themselves a livelihood.

I. APPENDIX A

Description of the Research Communities

I.1 Ti-Lori / Guayajayuco

I.1.1 Ti Lori

Travellers leaving Restauración southbound on the newly paved road, and passing the Dominican outpost in Villa Anacaona, will find themselves suddenly ascending a slope on a pot-holed road. Rounding the corner, atop a hill on the right side of the road is a village visually dominated by the thatched stalls of an open air market. The travelers have just left the Dominican Republic and have entered Haiti. Though Dominicans generally mispronounce the name of the village, calling it "Tirolí", its true Creole name is Ti-Lori.

There is no gradual shift into Haiti. The transition is abrupt and dramatic. Spanish suddenly yields to Creole, and the light-brown skinned population of the town just passed yields to a dark-skinned population of heavy African descent. The village is within visual distance of the turret of a Dominican army outpost , yet Dominican visitors feel they have entered alien and, for some, menacing territory. When we invited Dominican technicians from Santo Domingo to join us in a stroll through the village, they hesitated and eventually did so with obvious reluctance and nervousness.

The Dominican technicians that accompanied us behaved as though they had "left civilization behind". The first pattern, however, that strikes the eye of an anthropologist is the quality of the houses in the village: they are virtually all of solid wood, brightly painted walls, tin roofs, and concrete floors, far superior to the typical thatched wattle-daub cottage (the *kay pay*) of poorer regions in Haiti, and far superior even to the typical *bohío* in Dominican villages on the other side of the road. Ti Lori is obviously booming economically and — from the numerous houses under construction — growing demographically.

Ti Lori was not always this way. Until recently it was a simple open air market with only a couple market stalls and a single inhabited house behind it. At the time of the Trujillo massacre--the “run of the knife”-- the entire countryside around Ti Lori was populated by only a few families. The Haitian population of the region was significantly increased in 1937 by refugees fleeing the Dominican Republic.

The houses being built today may be impressive. But the landscape is virtually denuded of tree cover. It was not always this way. Most adults who grew up in the mountains surrounding Ti Lori remember the area as a forest. In the 1940’s and 1950’s lumber mill workers harvested many of the pines of the region. In 1957, however, coincident with the onset of Francois Duvalier’s presidency, large scale logging was halted. Since that time charcoal production and small scale sawing has continued.

Today the area near Ti Lori has made the problematic shift that is plaguing landscapes around the tropical world, the shift from forest to savanna. At present the hillsides are mostly covered by thick mats of grass. There are areas where erosion is evident, but it is by no means a striking feature of the landscape.[94] The few trees visible are mostly fruit trees: mangos, avocados, and numerous young *guyav* trees. Those that leave Ti Lori by foot and enter slightly deeper into Haiti will begin to see remnant stands of pine trees. There are enough of these trees still growing in the surrounding mountains, particularly around the village of La Miel, to have recently captured the earnest attention of the regions most aggressive entrepreneurs—as well as Port-au-Prince investors. [95]

Unlike the scene across the heavily patrolled road in the Dominican Republic, where the transportation of wood could land you in jail, there are in Haiti no active forest rangers. There is instead a bustling lumber extraction market. The piles of hand-sawn boards lying openly around Ti Lori, waiting to be converted into well painted house walls, left one Dominican visitor that accompanied us from a nearby Dominican village astounded and somewhat envious. There are more trees across the Dominican border than here in Haiti. But thanks to the Dominican Foresta agents, Haitian villagers paradoxically have more access to lumber than their Dominican counterparts across the border.

The area is well watered. In the mountain valleys above the Ti Lori village literally hundreds of springs can be found feeding small rivers that flow down the regions many valleys. Even now, in the present season of reportedly little rainfall, streams gush down the mountain valleys into the Artibonite. But the water is wasted. The complete absence of any attention from the Haitian State or from the foreign projects that set up shop in more accessible regions of Haiti has prevented the capturing of this water for irrigation or drinking purposes. Women and children continue to walk several hundred yards to scoop out drinking and cooking water from the nearby springs. The capturing and channeling of the abundantly available local water sources emerged as the major need expressed by villagers on both sides of the border.

The village of Ti Lori itself is a recent and sudden phenomenon. Beginning in the late 1980s, Ti Lori rapidly became an active regional market linking Dominican and Haitian trade. Seventy percent of all household heads in Ti Lori arrived after 1990.[96] Ti Lori is in Haiti. But its ties to the Dominican Republic are much stronger than its ties to Port-au-Prince. A "sibling sample" showed that 15 out of the 48 individuals named are living in the Dominican Republic, while only two are living in Port-au-Prince. [97] Most males have traveled to the Dominican Republic, and many continue to do so on a regular basis. Women in and around Ti Lori are far less familiar with *peyi panyol* (Spanish country); perhaps as much as 30% of the men speak Spanish fluently; no more than 10% of the females do so.

I.1.2 **Guayajayuco**

The bumpy unpaved road that passes Ti Lori is the beginning of the International Highway. The eastern half of the road is considered Dominican territory, and the western half is in Haiti. Travelers continuing south see houses near the road on the right, in Haiti, but no houses near the road on the left, in the Dominican Republic. The impression emerges of a depopulated Dominican countryside.

The impression is false. People are leaving, but there are still hundreds of households. The optical illusion is produced by the fact that, to the left of the road the Artibonite river flows unseen along a deep ravine not visible from a vehicle on the road. Though they would still be in Dominican territory, no Dominicans live between the Artibonite and the International Highway. The terrain is too steep, and Foresta would not permit it anyway. The Dominican population is farther to the east, across the Artibonite.

To reach this population, you travel some 7 kilometers south of Ti Lori, make a left turn at a fork in the road, descend to the river, cross a bridge, and ascend up a bumpy road, built decades ago by a defunct sawmill, into the Dominican community of Guayajayuco. Just as in Ti Lori one knows immediately that one is in Haiti, the visitor to Guayajayuco has an immediate sense of being in the Dominican Republic, though Haiti is visible a few kilometers away. There is no trace of Haiti linguistically — the language is totally Spanish — nor phenotypically — the skin color of the majority of residents is "indio", i.e. brown skinned. But even the physical organization of the village is reminiscent of Spanish town building. The houses are deployed around a rectangular open square, one end of which is dominated by a large wooden Catholic church.

Guayajayuco was founded by the dictator Trujillo as an agricultural colony in 1948, one of a number of agricultural colonies created to repopulate the frontier which had been violently cleared of Haitians in 1937. To support the original group of 20 colonists Trujillo provided solid wood houses, monthly financial subsidies for a time, and built a now defunct irrigation canal to water the lands of the small fertile valley surrounding the colony. The colony of Guayajayuco is still considered to be a functioning agricultural project under the jurisdiction of the Dominican Agrarian Institute.[98] The community has approximately 120 houses.[99] Thirty-five farmers work lands under the jurisdiction of the IAD, planting primarily corn, chick peas, sweet manioc and to a lesser extent black beans, bananas, and other subsistence crops. Those without lands in the colony work *conucos* in *tierras del estado* (state lands) in the nearby mountains. The weekly market in Guayajayuco also serves as a central meeting point for inhabitants of the region.

The majority of farmers living in the mountains surrounding Guayajayuco do not recall exactly when their communities were founded, because, as many state, “[our] grandparents and great grandparents died here”(Porque los abuelos y bisabuelos murieron aquí). In the mountain hamlets, accessible only by foot or on horseback, farmers remember a time when the land produced well, as one commented:

I think that the means of living in these campos (countrysides) are becoming more difficult each day. Because before, this was a place where it rained a lot, [the land] gave more things, it gave beans, corn, plantains, manioc. But over time, I don't know. It rains less. There is less good land to work, as if the lands have lost force. . .the lands produce less.[100]

Still using shifting agricultural techniques reminiscent of their forefathers, these rural farmers depend largely on the production of beans, corn, chick peas, for sale in the market as well as basic subsistence crops (manioc, plantain, sweet potato [*batata*]) for home consumption. During months in between harvests, many men also head to the Cibao to supplement their incomes *echando día*, working in the tobacco fields, melon farms, and other agricultural enterprises.

The same degradation of the landscape, from forest to savanna, that was seen in Ti Lori can be seen in Guayajayuco, though to a slightly less degree. Men and women living in Guayajayuco and the surrounding area state that once the mountains were forested with palm, mahogany, pine and other trees. Now the mountains are mostly covered by thick grass and weeds, although the Dominicans are proud of the fact there are significantly more trees on their side of the border than on the "other side."[101] In some areas, there are thick patches of pine trees, generally on the higher mountain slopes, and the banks of the rivers and streams remain largely forested. Fruit trees, primarily mangos, avocados, and oranges, are also scattered about the landscape.

In the early 1960s, a lumber mill operation based in the nearby hamlet of Rossó deforested the lands in the mountains close to the colony. Guayajayucans blame this deforestation for lowering the water level of the Rio de los Dajaos which was the source of the canal. Further up in the mountains, farmers largely claim the area deforested, as one farmer from La Zurza put it: "because [in the past] those with little experience kept burning, the trees dying, to the extreme that there are no longer any trees because of the fires that there have been. . .[Sometimes] the fires spread outside of the gardens and would burn out of control for up to 10 days."[102]

As is true in Ti Lori, there are abundant water sources in the hills. And as is true there, the major felt need in Guayajayuco is for water. The mountains surrounding Guayajayuco are full of streams and rivers that flow into the Artibonite. Nevertheless, the lack of irrigation and the distance and quality of potable water sources make water a critical problem in the region. There is explicit anger over the matter in Guayajayuco. Balaguer had allocated money for the construction of a canal, which was begun but, like so many other projects in the post-Trujillo years, was never finished.

If the available water were captured and used, we were told, the region would be prosperous and people would stay. But the drought and government inactivity with respect to the half finished canal are driving people away. Few young people want to stay in agriculture. The younger generation of men and women of marrying and working age are abandoning the mountain and the colony. According to a survey conducted in Guayajayuco, a majority of all children live outside of the colony. People in this region

are moving to urban centers of the Cibao in pursuit of education and jobs in the duty free zones. The resulting void in local field labor is being filled in by Haitian workers.

I.2 **Los Cacaos/Parajes of Banica**

I.2.1 **Los Cacaos (Los Kakawos)**

If travelers leave Guayajayuco, cross the Artibonite, and continue south on the unpaved International Highway, they will spend two hours passing through mostly house-less and treeless terrain on what is now one of the worst roads in the Dominican Republic (the eastern side of the road is, after all, Dominican territory.) The only decent house structures are the numerous Dominican army outposts that dot the Dominican side of the road. The travelers will eventually reach the final Dominican army outpost on the southern end of the International Highway, the one outside of the border town of Pedro Santana.

Shortly before that outpost, however, there is another road that goes to the right, leading into Haiti's Plateau Central. As at the northern end of the Highway, here at the southern end there is also a large Haitian community visible from the Dominican outpost, Los Kakawos. The Spanish name of this community gives evidence that the region once belonged to the Spanish colony of Santo Domingo. But as with Ti Lori, the community is today entirely Haitian.

Los Kakawos is approximately the same size as Ti Lori but is a much older community. Reportedly bolstered by refugees from the *kouri kouto*, the massacre of 1937, Los Kakawos has since that time been an active market town. Like Ti Lori, most adults who grew up around Los Kakawos remember the area as well forested. However, unlike the hills behind Ti Lori, almost none of that forest remains. The people of Los Kakawos remember no saw mills in the area, and cite uncontrolled burning, charcoal production and local tree cutters as the principal agents of deforestation.

As is true on both sides of the border, the hills and nearby mountains are covered with grass. It is not, however, the thick almost inpenetrable mats of grass that carpet the mountains around Ti Lori, but rather a weak, sparse covering of grass. The people of Los Kakawos lament that, "menm zeb pa vle leve anko."(even the grass doesn't want to grow anymore).

Los Kakawos is plagued by the same drought conditions that are affecting other communities in this region. The people report almost no rainfall in the past year. Since most of the waterways have been stripped of vegetative cover, many springs have dried up, leaving few remaining sources of potable water. The area around Los Kakawos is reminiscent of the poorest most deforested areas of Far-West Haiti, although the people claim the land is productive when the rains are good.

As is true in Ti Lori the residents of Los Kakawos now trade heavily with the Dominicans, a trade that increased significantly with and since the embargo, "nou preske pa manje bagay sot Port-au-Prince anko" (we almost do not eat things from Port-au-Prince anymore). But trade in Los Kakawos is not as active as in Ti Lori. The same visible air of prosperity that brightens the many new houses of Ti Lori is not present here.[103] The people of Los Kakawos make jealous comments concerning Ti Lori's commercial success. They view themselves as the rightful bearer of the honor of being the most important regional trade link between Haiti and the Dominican Republic.[104] The commercial reality, however, does not bear this image out.

Like Ti Lori, the people of Los Kakawos are heavily oriented toward the Dominican Republic. Of 64 siblings identified in a ten person "sibling sample," 17 were in the Domincan Republic; none were in Port-au-Prince. [105]

I.2.2 **The Rural Parajes of Bánica**

The rural municipality of Bánica was founded in 1687 as a Spanish frontier settlement to counteract French colonial expansion on the island of Hispaniola. The village, located along the banks of the Artibonite River, has long been considered by Spaniards and Dominicans as a strategic point for defining the division between Spanish/Dominican and Haitian/French territories. Currently, the village boasts of approximately 7500-8000 inhabitants, according to the *sindico* (mayor) at least 2000 less than 15 years ago. Most are farmers but the local government also employs over 400 locals to work in local governmental offices such as the ayuntamiento (city hall), the hospital; the courthouse, the police, and the military. Others make a living by running small businesses, especially colmados. Under the Balaguer government, the municipality benefitted from sporadic government projects including housing and road construction within the village. Nevertheless, water remains the biggest concern in the community. For at least the past 3 years, since the aqueduct was damaged in a road construction project, locals have had to resort to bringing their water directly from the Artibonite River. The result has been periodic outbreaks of typhoid and other health problems.

Haitians have a prominent presence in the community, crossing over the Artibonite daily to work in the city in tasks ranging from domestic work to agriculture. The market in Bánica, held Thursday and Sunday, serves as a point of commercial transaction between Haitians and Dominicans. The Catholic Church in Bánica has an important social presence in the village and region, but reportedly there are no other prominent associations or organizations in the village.

Eight rural sections fall under the jurisdiction of Bánica, including three falling under the scope of this study: Sabana Cruz, Guayabal, and Guaroa.
Sabana Cruz is reached by travelling approximately 4 km. south of Banica along the yet unfinished, unpaved road. The other two sections of Banica visited are located along the dirt road which runs parallel to the Artibonite and extends from Sabana Cruz to Macasía.

Sabana Cruz and Guayabal are agricultural colonies founded by Trujillo. All three have military barracks which monitor activities along the road. Farmers and women in Pilon, a paraje of Guayabal, and Manyaya, a paraje of Guaroa, were also interviewed.

These hamlets contain flatter, fertile agricultural low lands but water remains a critical problem in the area. Powerlines have been installed along the road from Sabana Cruz to the military base in Macasía. Water pumps recently built with assistance from the Japanese are also present in the communities and hamlets. Sabana Cruz and Guayabal are the only colonies in the region with functioning irrigation systems. In Sabana Cruz, a canal running from the Tocino River provides water during the rainy season. During the dry season, the water level in the river drops below the mouth of the canal, and the recent drought has caused severe problems. When it rains, farmers working lands in Sabana Cruz are able to plant rice, which is the primary crop in this hamlet. Other crops planted are manioc, corn, peanuts, plantain, and chick peas. Guayabal has a functioning irrigation pump which draws water directly from the Artibonite River. Nevertheless, the pump has an electric motor which only functions when there is power, a rarity according to locals interviewed. In Guaroa, according to the local *alcalde pedaño* the infrastructure for a pump run irrigation canal was installed approximately 20 years ago but it has never functioned. The traditional cash crop of these communities is *maní* (peanuts), the growth of which was formerly encouraged through subsidies by the *Manicera* company.

Individuals in this focus area express problems similar to that of those in other areas. Primarily, they emphasize the need for water and the extreme economic stress caused by the last two years of drought. The lack of credit, the poor condition of the road, and difficult living conditions are other concerns. As in the rest of the region, Dominican young men and women have been abandoning these communities to seek better fortune in more urbanized areas.

I.3 **Kass/Macasía**

The third group of communities studied were the communities located near the point where the Macasía River empties into the Artibonite. There is an active, unimpeded cross border trade. During the dry season, people wade across the shallow Artibonite river on foot. When the river is augmented by rains, Haitian canoe owners earn an income ferrying people and their produce across. The travelers are very close to the point where the Artibonite empties into Lake Peligre.

I.3.1 **Kass**

The major population center in this region is the vigorous marketing town of Kass, several kilometers into Haiti, and only three kilometers from Lake Peligre. Like Los Kakawos, Kass is an old settlement which increased in population with the flood of refugees from Trujillo's *Kouri kouto*. But Kass experienced a second demographic spurt in 1957, from the residents that were displaced from the flooded valley of Peligre

Kass differs in several important ways from the other two Haitian regions studied. To begin with, there is no Dominican guard tower standing watch on a distant hill. The Dominican guards are across the river and several kilometers up the Macasía road. Furthermore, the border near Kass is but the tip of a narrow strip of Dominican territory reaching into Haiti, an area of barren hills and thatch-roof shacks inhabited by many people every bit or more impoverished than the Haitians across the river. Travelers are not alerted to the international transitional by the dramatic change in skin color found elsewhere along the border.

Another way in which Kass differs from the other Haitian border regions studied is that long time residents in the area told the researchers that Kass was less forested forty years ago than presently. This does not mean there is abundant tree cover in Kass, but only that this is not an area that was heavily forested in the memory of living inhabitants. It had either been deforested in the distant past, or it was a savanna environment even in pre-colonial times. Whichever the case, thick grass covers mostly barren hillsides.

Yet another difference is that Kass was one of the few regions visited where residents did not camplain of drought. Rainfall scarcity, even in light of the recent dry spells, is not as serious problem as in Los Kakawos and there are many springs and streams in the area.

But perhaps the major difference between Kass and the other regions is the relative unimportance of trade with the Dominican Republic despite Kass' physical proximity to the border.

The apparent lack of importance of the Dominican connection is not due to an absence of trade with *peyi panyol*. Trade with the Dominicans in goods like *ti tet* rice and garden produce is certainly greater than found in Los Kakawos; with regard to produce, Kass probably exceeds Ti Lori as well; and Kass is unrivaled in the regional Dominican/Haitian trade in livestock--especially cattle. What makes Kass so different with respect to the Dominicans is that it is Kass who does most of the supplying. Further, Dominicans are make up only a portion of the buyers. On any given Monday--the biggest of Kass's two market days--as many as 14 large trucks and nearly as many smaller vehicles come from Port-au-Prince, Hinche and Thomassique, carrying buyers who go away loaded with tobacco, corn and peanuts.

The success of Kass does not come from trade links with merchants across the border. Rather, there is a single very obvious and prosaic material factor accounting for the commercial success of Kass: The fortuitous proximity of a hydroelectric lake whose siltation is so serious that the lake turns into uniquely fertile farmland for a large part of the year. In the forty-one years since Peligre dam was completed, rich top soil washing down from Dominican and Haitian hill sides into the Artibonite river has largely been trapped in the basin that forms Lake Peligre. The lake, which was once deep and relatively narrow, has become shallow and very wide. As one resident put it, "yon kivet vin yon asyet" (a bucket became a plate). Today the upper portion of the lake forms a

great flood plain. For six months of the year the flood plain is covered by water; for the other six months it serves as approximately 15,000 hectares of rich farm land, perhaps rivaled in agricultural output only by the Artibonite Plain itself. The principle crop produced in the region is tobacco.

In direct proportion to the growth of the Peligre "mud flat," Kass has experienced phenomenal commercial growth, becoming over the past two decades a burgeoning market center that outdoes even Ti Lori. Indeed, one of Kass's most prominent residents reported it as having the "pi gran mache nan lemond" (the biggest market in the world)-- "sof petet mache Potopwins"(except perhaps the market in Port-au-Prince). One group's curse — a silted dam — is another group's blessing.

Kass is unusual among the three Haitian communities studied here in that it is heavily oriented toward Port-au-Prince. In this sense it is more similar to the typical Haitian town. Some adults report having made trips to the Dominican Republic where they worked on construction sites or on sugar cane plantations, but compared to other areas along the border, the people of Kass do not seem interested in *peyi panyol*. In a "sibling sample" of ten people living in and around Kass, 58 siblings were identified; eight of these were living in Port-au-Prince, none in the Dominican Republic.[106]

I.3.2 **Macasía/Las Dos Bocas**

The Dominican counterpart to Kass, at least in terms of this research, is the paraje of Macasía, located on the peninsula formed by the joining of the Macasía and Artibonite Rivers. The region is bordered by Haiti on the east, west and south. The close proximity to Haiti has resulted in a long history of interaction between Haitians and Dominicans in this region, clear testimony to which is an old Haitian cementery found in Macasía that dates back to the late 19th century. Although Haitian/Dominican interaction in the region was limited during the Trujillo period, today Dominicans living in Macasía have regular contact with Haitians. Many Dominicans in the area are fully bilingual Spanish/Creole, farmers rely on Haitian labor, and many have taken Haitian "wives." The market which is most relied upon is in Kass, on the Haitian side of the border.

In contrast to the booming market town of Kass, Macasía appears even more deforested and the inhabitants poorer than their Haitian counterparts. Currently, the community of Macasía/Las Dos Bocas consists of a series of houses most of which are dispersed along a rocky road, built during the Trujillo period, that transverses the peninsula.

The flat lands along the Artibonite and Macasía Rivers in the lower part of the peninsula have been designated as agricultural zone under the jurisdiction of the Instituto Agrario Dominicano. These lands were previously irrigated with water from the Artibonite and pumps provided by the state—pumps which no longer function.[107] During the dry season, farmers plant tobacco and peanuts along the fertile bank of the Artibonite River. During the rainy season, when these lands are flooded, farmers in the agricultural zone plant corn, peanuts, and subsistence crops (plantains, sweet manioc, sweet potatoes, bananas). Higher up in the mountains beyond the agricultural zone, traditional slash and burn *conucos* are more common. Some individuals in the region, particularly women, supplement their income by purchasing animals and other products (clothing, shoes, foodstuffs) in the Haitian market in Kass and selling them in the Dominican market in Elias Piña. Some women in the region also make *serrones* (saddle bags) out of *pit* to sell in the market.

As in the other Dominican communities studied, long-time residents of the region recall a time when parts of the area were well forested with palm, mahogany, pine, and oak. In the words of one older informant:

> *it was very forested, because here there were many palms and many fruit trees, but [conucos] had to be fenced because the livestock were free ranged. The number of people kept growing and the forests started to disappear. Now it is difficult to fence [conucos] as before. . .now there aren't any more palm trees, they disappeared. When the [Peligre] dam was built all of the trees along the banks of the river died [due to flooding]."*[108]

Some informants claim that, due to strict measures taken by Foresta controlling the felling of trees, the area has slowly begun to become reforested, and express pride that they do not "ravage" nature and cut down all trees as the Haitians do. Nevertheless the

mountainsides in the whole region, both the Dominican and those visible on the Haitian side, appear largely dry and barren, covered by grasses, pit, and other weeds and stubble.

As in all of the communities studied along the border, water is a critical problem for inhabitants in the Macasía region, especially with regard to agriculture. In Las Dos Bocas, the inhabitants draw their drinking water from a hole dug along the banks of the Macasía River. Above, in Macasía itself, some are now are able to draw drinking water from a series of wells recently constructed with sponsorship by the Japanese government. Locals have noted a serious drop in rainfall beginning anywhere from 6-15 years ago. Farmers complain of the severe drought that has lasted the last two years and which has especially impacted production in conucos in the higher lands--"no sacaron nada"(they didn't get anything out) was the expression heard repeatedly. When asked why the rains no longer fall as they used to, some blame the lack of trees and, more commonly, indicate the region has fallen into disfavor with God.[109]

As found along the whole research region, Macasia is largely being abandoned by the young generation of Dominican men and women who have the means to go study in Elias Piña or to work in Santo Domingo. It is common practice for men who have the means, to establish the main (Dominican) family household in Elias Piña, where their children can receive a good education, and then establish a secondary household close to their lands in Macasía with a "second" Haitian or Dominico-Haitian wife.

In this Appendix we have given an overview of six communities that represent the variety of real-life situations with which any "bilateral watershed management project" would have to deal. The chapters delve more deeply into the pre-existing economic subsystems — farming, livestock, markets — and organizational structures into which any development activity will have to mesh.

II. APPENDIX B: THE STATE AND NGOS

II.1 Local and State Government

Program planners are often torn over the issue of who should implement projects: government agencies or private agencies. This issue will arise in the planning of border activities. To contribute to the debate we merely wish here to describe the current status and role of government on both sides of the border.

II.1.1. Local structures of the Haitian State

Haitian territory is organized into Departments. The Department is organized into Communes. The Commune has a town center (the *vil* or the *bouk*) with several administrative buildings, including a courtroom. The territory of the Commune outside of the town center is subdivided into Communal Sections. The Communal Section, nonetheless, is an arbitrary administrative unit that may include dozens of villages or hamlets, referred to as *lokalité* or *bitasyon* in Creole.

Each commune has at its head a *majistra*, a mayor During the reign of the Duvaliers, the mayors were all appointed. The Communal Sections (which were then referred to as Rural Sections) were under the control of a *Chef Section*, who was directly under the control of the army. With the ouster of Duvalier, the role of Chef Section was eliminated, and authority was vested in elected civilians.

The commune is still headed by a mayor, but he is now elected. Each communal section now has two types of elected representatives: CASECs and ASECs, whose actual role and power continues to be somewhat ambiguous. Every commune has a seat, a town where the 'kazeks' and 'azeks' assemble and where the mayor and judges are headquartered.

Formerly the major manifestations of State presence in the Haitian border area were Army outposts, the chef section, and the *tonton makout*. All three of these have been eliminated. The 7 policemen now assigned to the commune generally reside in the town center itself. There is no *polis nasynal* or military presence in the rural areas of the Haitian border.

Insecurity and a a barely existent justice system are major problems (see Table Box II.1). Haitians living along the border often must resolve disputes themselves, sometimes with results shocking to outside observers. With regard to conflicts involving Dominicans, Haitians are at a disadvantage *vis a vis* the comparatively well organized, well equipped army of their Dominican neighbors.[110]

The major source of revenue for local government are taxes on market stalls, taxes on livestock transactions, and taxes on cock fights. But the revenue generated by these often goes to pay the persons who collect them. The Communes on the border have few

revenues with which to carry out activities or provide services. The mayor has no transportation, and thus rarely visits communities like Ti Lori, several hours away by horseback or foot—and even farther by car.

Table Box II.1: Vigilante Justice

In the village of La Miel, several days before the research began a man was killed by a crowd. The problem began with a dispute in the "Gage" (cock fight). One of the disputants pulled a gun and shot at the other guy. The bullet missed, wounding a third man in the leg. The shooter was tied up by the crowd and led to the kazek's house. The kazek in turn sent the accused man off to Cerca La Source to be judged in the 'tribinal.' The man never made it. In route, he was seized by a crowd of farmers and killed with machetes.

It turns out the man was a reputed cattle thief. The people of La Miel, particularly those living in the countryside, had heard of the man's arrest. Fed up with a justice system they say rarely apprehends criminals and when they do allows them to go free, the people of La Miel settled the matter themselves.

Stories about vigilante justice are common in Haiti. One of the researchers was in the Kass market when a mob attacked a young man said to have been caught in the act of picking another man's pocket. The accused thief suffered several blows before being saved by the kazek. He spent the night in jail—for his own protection.

The few roads in the area are dirt; road maintenance and construction depends on the occasional goodwill of development organizations. Clinics are scarce, poorly equipped and also dependent on foreign assistance. [111] State schools are present but in poor condition: in Ti Lori for example, the National School is without walls and barely covered by a shredded tin roof. [112] Private schools, associated with churches and/or receiving foreign support, are greater in number and importance than State schools. [113]

Haitians receive virtually no real services from their State. In the Commune of Cerca La Source, for example, there are four agricultural extension agents, all with University training. Their actual performance and utility is questionable, however, as Haitian farmers contacted by the researchers are only dimly aware of the presence of these agents and unfamiliar with any of their activities. The chief extension agent in Cerca La Source was unable to provide a single example of a state sponsored project, saying "nou pa gen mwayen"(we don't have any means).

The major State services provided to Haitians in the border area are medical services in cases of illness — and this service paradoxically is provided not by the Haitian State but by the Dominican State. Villagers in Ti Lori, Los Kakawos and even Kass are commonly treated by personnel in nearby Dominican hospitals (see Haitian and Dominican Relations).

To sum up: the border area on the Haitian side is for all practical purposes without a functioning government. Unlike Dominicans, who have received at least some bona fide services from their government, Haitian villagers have no real expectation of social, economic, medical or infrastructural services from their rulers. But after several decades of dictatorial rule, they did learn the mixed advantages of the presence of armed agents of law and order. The current absence of such agents creates an aura of insecurity

throughout the area which we researched. They expect or demand no services from their rulers. They do want, however, and currently lack, armed protection against thugs.

II.1.2. **Local structures of the Dominican State**

The situation across the border in the Dominican Republic is quite different. There is a functioning government with a strong military presence.

The Dominican Republic is hierarchically subdivided into provinces (*provincias*), municipalities (*municipios*), sections (*secciones*), and "parishes" (*parajes*). All Dominican communities studied in this research are located within the province of Elias Piña. Below the provinical government, the largest and most important administrative unit is the municipality, the equivalent of the Commune in Haiti. The municipality is further divided into sections and the sections are divided into parajes ("parishes" in a civil, not religious, sense). In the research communities, Guayajayuco is a section of the municipality of Pedro Santana and administratively covers 12 rural parajes with approximately 275 buildings and 950 inhabitants.[114] Macasía is a sección of the municipality of Elias Piña and has 5 parajes: Carrera Verde; Borromé ; Arroyito; El Morro; and Las Dos Bocas with 199 houses. The other cluster of focus hamlets are the secciones and parajes of the municipality of Bánica.[115]

Municipal centers are characterized by the presence of at least the following governmental offices and services: an *ayuntamiento* (city hall), a post office, a hospital, and a courthouse presided over by a justice of the peace (*juzgado de paz*). The *sindico* (mayor), is the elected official who presides over the municipality and the highest authority at the local level. All taxes collected within the municipality go to the ayuntamiento. Taxes are charged for the following: cock fights; market stalls; market wholesale transactions; animal butchering (carnicería);and overnight hitching posts.[116]

The right to collect each of these taxes is auctioned off annually by the ayuntamiento to the highest bidder who purchase the *provento* (taxing rights). The winner of the right to tax usually pays an initial fee for the provento and then will be responsible for paying an established monthly quota to the ayuntamiento. Profits on taxes collected above the monthly quota are kept by the provento owner.

In theory, funds collected by the ayuntamiento should go towards local development and infrastructure. Nevertheless, as the sindico of Banica expressed it: "Dicen que el ayuntamiento es nada más recolector de basura"(they say that the ayuntamiento only serves for garbage collection). Infrastructure development generally falls under the jurisdiction of national level governmental organizations based in Santo Domingo (see below).

Government in the rural secciones and parajes is headed by the *alcalde pedáneo*, who are appointed by the ayuntamiento. Each section in principal has its own alcalde.

Alcaldes earnings come from keeping fees charged primarily for the issuing of permits and certifications. The main responsibilities of the alcalde include:

- Maintaining public order--often times they are respected members of the community and who play a mediator role in domestic and other community disputes. In the case of serious violations, the alcalde is responsible for contacting the military and/or proper authorities and in submitting cases to the courts (sometido a la justicia).

- Issuing permits for transportation of animals. This role is especially important on the border in light of the prevalence of animal theft (see Livestock Theft)

- Providing letters of recommendation and certification for individuals who live within the sección. On the border this function is especially important in light of the role that alcaldes play in providing certifications for the issuing of birth certificates for children not born in hospitals.

The alcalde pedáneo also designates an assistant, or *segundo alcalde*, in each of the parajes of the sección. The segundo alcalde plays an intermediary role and is responsible for keeping the alcalde pedáneo informed of activities in the paraje, especially in the case of criminal acts (including the cutting of live trees) which require the intervention of the authorities. Other responsibilities of the second alcalde include: issuing permits for the transportation of animals and the resolution of local conflicts over issues such as animals destroying crops.

II.1.2.1 **Presence and contact with national government institutions:**

Although technically the ayuntamiento is supposed to take care of needs of the municipality, it does not have the administrative capacity or funds to play a major role in local service or infrastructure delivery. Instead, the municipalities, secciones and parajes must rely on nationally-based State institutions for local development. Although in comparison with Haiti government presence in the Dominican focus communities is prominently felt, in comparison to other areas in the Dominican Republic the border regions are neglected. As the locals often complain: "Vienen cada cuatro años haciendo promesas y nunca más sabemos de ellos" (they come every four years making promises [for elections] and we never hear from them again). The road to Guayajayuco which extends to Rossó, for example, was built by a private lumber milling operation back in the early 60s. The rest of the sección is without roads. The road to Macasía was built furing the Trujillo era. Most schools in the region were built by local community members. Nevertheless, among the institutions identified that have had some kind of important presence in the focus communities are included the following:

- The Military (Fuerzas Armadas) maintains a very prominent presence in the whole border region, controls the Dominican/Haitian border (including the flow of contraband and people), and serves as local law-enforcement agents in the rural areas,

summoned by the alcalde pedáneo whenever there are significant disputes or problems;

- Dominican Agrarian Institute (Instituto Agrario Dominicano IAD)--agricultural land reform settlements and colonies, are owned and fall under the administrative jurisdiction of the IAD;[117]
- The National Institute of Hydraulic Resources (Instituto Nacional de Recursos Hidrologicos or INDRH) is responsible for all hydrology related projects including irrigation projects;[118]
- The Forestry Service (Foresta)--Falls under the jurisdiction of the military. Local Foresta agents provide permits for and regulate the cutting of live trees, dead wood, and theoretically any "tumba" or cutting for the establishment of new conucos but bring violators to justice.
- Agricultural Secretariat (Secretaría de Agricultura)--Primarily provides technical and other support to farmers but few agricultural extension workers and a few loans of tractors by the SEA were reported in the area.
- Public Health Ministry (Ministerio de Salud Pública)--The health clinic in Guayajayuco and the hospital in Banica falls under the jurisdiction of the Public Health Ministry.
- The Agricultural Bank (Banco Agricula)— Some farmers in the research communities reported having received loans in the past from the Banco Agrícola, although currently few, if any, loans are being made in the region (see Market and Commerce).

To sum up: There is a functioning government on the Dominican side of the border. There is no functioning government on the Haitian side of the border. With the possible exception of health care delivery, however, the contributions of the Dominican State are administrative and regulatory in character. There is very little history of genuine service delivery in the rural areas, but rather a history of broken promises and questionably vanishing funds, leaving roads and irrigation canals unfinished.

The meaning for development planning is the following: the evidence is strong that neither the Haitian State nor the Dominican State would be an effective recipient or manager of donor funds for the execution of projects in the border area.

II.2 **Presence of NGOs and development organizations**

It is accurate and fair to state that on both sides of the border the few services provided in rural areas have been provided by non-governmental organizations (NGOs), most of them with religious missions, but with a local history of involvement in service delivery activities not limited to the members of their own denomination. Aware of the incompetent or predatory character of many State agencies, donors have increasingly been funneling resources through NGOs. This strategy has occasionally produced remarkable development outputs, both in Haiti and the Dominican Republic.

But it has had a negative consequence as well. It has led to the blossoming of opportunistic NGOs whose extractive, predatory character is as blatant as that of any State ministry. In many instances the "NGO" is in fact founded by highly connected government officials or former government officials, whose main purpose is to ensure that the funds which donors are now channeling away from ministries be channeled toward them. In this sense a distinction has arisen between two types of NGOs, which can be labelled as ONGOs and FONGOs. ONGOs are bona fide "operational NGOs" with a genuine history of service delivery. FONGOs are "foraging NGOs", predatory urban middle or upper class hunter-gatherers whose prime mission is to capture donor funds used to finance salaries, per-diems, vehicles, computers, offices, fax machines, cellular phones, inverters, international travel, and the other perquisites that constitute the good life for the development set. When ONGOs receive funds, they are translated into services for a client population. When FONGOs capture the funds, very few genuine resources flow outward toward a client population.

Closer to the people and regions development funds are intended to help, rural villagers have also adapted to the process. Visitors are often surprised that in certain regions, both in Haiti and the Dominican Republic, every village seems to have its own local organizations. The common scenario is for a village to have a male farmer´s group, a female mother's club, and some sort of youth group. These organizations do not derive from local traditions but have generally emerged as a calculated attempt to capture "part of the action" with development funds. "Outsiders with resources seem to like organizations." Very well. Villagers form organizations. During our visits to certain Haitian settlements, when we explained the developmental context in which our research was embedded, we watched with amazement as brand new local village organizations sprang suddenly into existence, with boards of directors and membership lists being drawn up on the spot.

For the planning of binational donor activities, the question of institutional channels will be critical. The NGO presence on the Haitian-Dominican border is very meager compared to other parts of Haiti and the Dominican Republic. In our research, however, we encountered several ONGOs, operationally effective non-governmental agencies delivering one or another type of service to rural communities.

II.2.1 **NGOs on the Haitian side of the border.**

Haiti may have as many churches and NGOs per square mile (most of them bona fide) as any other country on the planet. The border area itself, however, has received relatively little attention. Nonetheless some activities were found.

Tree planting. A USAID funded Agroforestry Outreach Project, implemented by the Pan American Development Foundation in the 1980s, funneled wood tree seedlings to several of the communities visited. Most of the numerous trees that now embellish the town of Cerca-La-Source were provided by that project; the few trees found around Los

Kakawos are all said to be from that project; the researchers visited homesteads around Ti Lori that were canopied with trees from that project; and people in Kass who there are more trees today than in the past credited seedlings from that project (farmers in the Commune of Cerca La Source also credit CAT, an organization which allied itself with PADF).

No functioning tree nurseries were found in the region. However, World Vision (Haiti) in Kass claims to be in the process of starting nurseries; and there is reportedly an 850 hectare reforestation project scheduled for the Saltade area.[119]

Road building. During the embargo USAID, again working through PADF, funded a public works JOBS project that repaired roads all over Haiti. We heard reports of this activity in the border area.

Schools. Fourteen out of seventeen schools identified in the area (there are considerable more) are associated with one or another church and/or receives foreign financial support. The school in Ti Lori was refurbished with funds donated by World Vision (Dominican Republic). World Vision (Haiti) claims to pay the educational expenses of 1,800 children in and around Kass. A Weslyan missionary based in Thomond supports a school in Kass.

Sustainable agriculture. World Vision (Dominican Republic), operating from its base in Guayajayuco, has been organizing courses to teach farmers in the Ti Lori area sustainable and non-harmful agricultural practices. A main focus has been to convince farmers to bury as green manure, rather than burn off, stubble from previous harvests during the ground preparation phase. World Vision (Haiti) trained and employs a staff of some 8 administrators, two of whom are directly involved in disseminating and promoting sustainable agricultural techniques.

Health care delivery. Virtually all clinics in the region are supported, and for the most part were established, by NGOs. To mention only a few: The European Union financed the construction of a clinic in Kass. World Vision (Dominican Republic) paid for two years of health care training for a Haitian girl from La Miel. The Catholic Church has a clinic in Saltade (a village in the Commune of Cerca La Source)-- reportedly staffed by a foreign nurse. Several years ago CAT, an ONG said to be supported by the Canadian government, reportedly allied with UNICEF in a now defunct vaccination and toilet building campaign.

Water. CAT was responsible for capping over 80 springs in the area.[120] In 1991 a Peace Corp volunteer (named Shawn) installed a well and pump in Kass before he had to leave the country because of the impending embargo.

The religious NGOs that we found operating in the Haitian border area have largely been of Protestant rather than Roman Catholic affiliation. Roughly thirty percent of the population along the Haitian side of the border identify themselves as Catholic.

Protestants prevail in the villages, Catholics in the countryside. Particularly prominent are Pentacostal churches (De Dieu), The Apostolic Faith Church (Fwa Apostolik) followed by a series of less influential Baptist churches.[121]

[Other ONGs mentioned by people in the area were CBH, ADRA, PSC--apparently a project not an organization—MCH and CECI. The researchers were regrettably were not able to provide full dossiers on these organizations Special mention should be made of World Vision/Haiti in Kass and the Belgian Catholic priest and Brother in Cerca La Source].

II.2.2. **NGOs on the Dominican side of the border**

As is true of Haiti, on the Dominican side there has been relatively little NGO and development project presence in the border area. Several NGOs have been working in areas that were close to, but slightly outside of, the watershed areas covered by this research. In the mountain community of Río Limpio, there is an internationally famous project headed by CREAR to teach sustainable agriculture using organic fertilizer in colaboration with the local Anthroposophic Association and a coffee cooperative. The Peace Corps currently has a volunteer assigned to Las Rosas, a rural community on the road to Río Limpio. Save the Children, under the local name FUDECO, has an office in Santiago de la Cruz, between Dajabón and Loma de Cabrera, and has carried out numerous rural development projects. Though many of these activities fall outside of the watershed area, they are illustrative of the range of action of NGOs in the general region.

Within the research area itself, two United States Peace Corps Volunteers worked in Guayajayuco, one sponsored by the Ministry of Public Health and another by the IAD. For a period, CARE provided nutritional assistance for malnourished children channeled through the Ministry of Public Health and the local health clinic. The health clinic was refurbished in the past year with funds from the European Union's PRISA program.

Currently, World Vision has the most prominent NGO presence in the community of Guayajayuco and the surrounding hamlets. Since 1995, World Vision has established a solid infrastructure in the community including the construction of dormitories, a community center, an office building, and agricultural demonstration parcels (see Text Box II.2). The Catholic Church is the only other organization with service delivery capacity in the colony and surrounding mountains. In Billiguín, a community located approximately a 1 1/2 hour walk from Guayajayuco, the Catholic Church contributed tin for the roofs of a small Church and a Mother's Center. A Catholic priest from Pedro Santana also visits the region monthly to celebrate Mass. It was reported that the most remote hamlets in the sección, however, such as La Zurza, have been virtually untouched by any kind of development oriented organizations.

NGO and development activities in the secciones and parajes of Bánica, as well as the southern part of Pedro Santana have been equally sparse. The majority of houses

along the road extending from Sabana Cruz to Macasía have new latrines, results of a project sponsored by the Fundación Contra el Hambre (FH). According to local respondents, FH has also built a number of school buildings in the area, and currently provide foreign sponsorship for malnourished children and train and pay local women in different communities to work as health promotors.

TEXT BOX II.2: The World Vision Border Project in Guayajayuco and Ti Lori:

According to the local Project Director in Guayajayuco, World Vision is an international Christian-based, non-denominational organization, whose fundamental mission is: "to promote social justice through work with the poor and oppressed." The border project in the area of Guayajayuco/Ti Lori is one of 18 projects operated by World Vision/Dominican Republic. The ultimate goal of the project is to promote reforestation, but "to achieve that we first have to see to the immediate necessities of farmers" in the region. Nevertheless, to date the project has managed to plant 26,000 fruit and wood trees in the region although, according to the director, these reforestation efforts have been temporarily halted by the drought.

For the border project, World Vision/Dominican Republic receives support from U.S.-based church sponsors. They have managed to establish a small base of operations in the colony of Guayajayuco by building a community center, dormitories, office buildings, and demonstration parcels. The Peasant School for Sustainable Agriculture on the Border (Escuela Campesina de Agricultura Sostenible Fronteriza) was established by the project in May 1996 to train farmers on both sides in sustainable agricultural techniques to improve soil productivity (e.g. dead and live barriers; organic fertilizers and pesticides). To date, 12 farmers from the colony of Guayajayuco and numerous others from Ti Lori and the surrounding mountains have received training through the school. World Vision has also organized a local committee and provided a small investment fund for the founding and ongoing support of a private elementary school in Ti Lori. Other activities include: technical assistance for farmers from the agricultural associations; a small seed bank to support farmers who use soil conservation techniques; ongoing training for 18 community leaders in Guyajayuco and Ti Lori; training for 25 Dominican farmers in the region (with financial support from the Canadian Embassy); and organizational strengthening of local associations.

According to the local project director, future plans include the establishment of community-based tree farms and the promotion of agroforestry projects in the region. They want to encourage campesinos to be "friends of the forest" ("amigos del bosque"), as the director stated: "We want to reconcile the community with reforestation, there is a great future in the planting of trees."(Nosotros queremos conciliar la comunidad con la reforestación, que hay un gran futuro en la plantación de arboles). Nevertheless, they realize that the key to carrying out any of these plans is water--in conjunction with FH, another NGO working in the region, they have developed a proposal to bring gravity driven irrigation and potable water to Guayajayuco, which to date has not received funding.

The Catholic Church has also been active in other areas of the border. Other than FH, in Bánica and the surrounding areas the Catholic Church, often with support from Catholic Relief Services (CRS), is the only other major developmental presence. Activities of the Church which are highly regarded according to informants include: Building churches; the implementation of a tree planting and community development project with support from USAID/CRS; managing a rotating fund program; the establishment of small pharmacies; promotion of the use of water filter and mosquito nets; and providing educational support services. Similarly, in our brief visit to Hondo Valle, we found that the major developmental presence in the rural areas was spearheaded by the local Catholic parish, staffed by two American women, one a nun and the other a lay volunteer (there is no priest currently assigned to Hondo Valle). On a trip to a distant mountain community, we came upon this volunteer leading a hillside open air meeting.

The formal purpose of the meeting was baptismal preparation. But during the convrsations water projects and other activities surfaced as topics of discussion.

The range of service activities that are either planned or underway by this parish in Hondo Valle further provides an idea of the scope of developmentally relevant activities in which the local Church can be involved.

- Dozens of local community groups have been organized.
- Health care services are facilitated through the training of village health promotors who are supplied with kits containing 35 different over-the-counter medicines. A community pharmacy has been established in the town. Dental and eye clinics and surgical operations are organized with the help of outside professionals.
- A colmado has been opened to sell 10 basic items just above cost.
- A European funded latrine project has been organized by the Church. It is based on a revolving loan fund, each latrine costing about $80 U.S. dollars. People are allowed to pay off over three harvest periods. The reluctance of some to repay the loan disappeared when several latrines were dismantled and repossessed, leaving the deadbeats with a gaping hole in their patio. Payments began pouring in.
- Two-room schools have been built, and adult literacy programs initiated.
- Food has been secured from PMA to be used in road projects. Thirteen road teams have been working one day a week, the result being the reparation of several roads and the opening two behicles of two roads that formerly were impassable to vehicles.
- Several nurseries producing coffee, avocado, and grafted orange trees have been established, the goal being one for every 5 communities. Seed banks and silos have been built. And experiments have been made with vegetables and other alternative crops to encourage people to shift away from ecologically destructive hillside bean growing.

In short, donor agencies wishing to ensure that their funds be converted into village level outputs, rather than be siphoned off or otherwise squandered, will find local NGOs, most religious in character, with solid track records who could serve as local facilitators. The recent proliferation of opportunistic, predatory private "development" agencies who behave more like bandits has generated an aura of cynicism toward the term NGO in some circles. But in our research we found that there are bona fide service providers in the border area who could assist donor agencies to reach villages. On neither side of the border have we found evidence of positive performance by the two most powerful competitors for donor funds, the Haitian and Dominican governments. Donors intent on having their funds reach intended outputs are advised to search for implementation models which, with government permission where necessary, involve NGOs, but NGOs of the type which have a track record of service.

[1] Based on data from Guayajayuco, Dominican birthrates in the region studied are high, about 6 children per woman over her reproductive life. This high birthrate could compensate for population siphoned off by migration. Another factor is in-migrating Haitian women and children (see Marriages and Restavik).

[2] Visits were made to a fourth area, the villages near Savanette in Haiti, and near Hondo Valle in the Dominican Republic. Because of apparent Haitian/Dominican tensions in that area, however, local Dominican authorities refused to let the research team leave Dominican soil to walk into Haiti when the team returned for a longer stay. That region was thus not an object of intensive study.

[3] Dry rice is also planted but less frequently than corn, beans, peanuts and chick peas.

[4] Reportedly as a response to Dominican market demands, planting chick peas has increased dramatically in recent years, threatening to oust beans, corn and peanuts as the premier crop planted on the Haitian side of the border.

[5] Several Haitian farmers spontaneously identified of "ti tet"-- broken up grains of Dominican rice—as the principle cause of recent declines in the value of millet— "se ti tet ki te kraze pitimi" (its that broken Dominican rice that smashed the value of millet).

[6] On both sides of the border, all crops are potentially cash crops. However, the researchers found people in the region clearly distinguish between cash crops and subsistence crops. Cash crops typically ripen in the same short period of time and are, due to risks associated with storing harvests and the availability of markets, most often liquidated for more storeable currency. Subsistence crops on the other hand are crops that yield produce slowly, but more reliably. Manioc, for example, can be harvested as early as 7 months after planting but can literally be stored in the ground for several years; sweet potatoes and yams yield fruit for several years after planting; plantains yield slowly over a period of 18 to 24 four months and propagate themselves for several years.

The suggestion, supported by the actual harvesting cycles, is that farmers in the region target harvests to provide both cash options, in the form of all crops, and subsistence options, in the form of subsistence crops available year round.

[7] Farmers working on state lands clearly recognize that they do not own the land. Rights to the land are based on working the land. Farmers express a clear sense of proprietorship over the lands that they have worked for a period of time, their conucos and house plots. Rights to particular state lands are inherited by family members, often the same plots that have been worked and passed down for generations. On the other hand, lands that are not being worked or that have been abandoned are considered available for the taking, generally however only with the approval of the community and local alcalde. In the mountains above Guayajayuco and along the Artibonite common lands, areas not being used for agriculture, are used for the free grazing of livestock. There are abundant state lands available in the mountains surrounding Guayajayuco. In the Macasía area, farmers report that most of the good lands have already been claimed. Nevertheless, farmers report little conflict with relation to the use and control of these lands.

[8] The traditional fences that protect Dominican gardens from free ranging livestock are "empalizada", fences made of sticks stacked horizontally between thicker support beams. In the past, the wood for these fences was taken largely from the "tumba", the trees and sticks felled in the clearing of a new plot. With wood becoming scarce, fences are increasingly a combination of barbed wire and sticks. Along the Artibonite River farmers commonly incorporate cactus (called *raqueta*) into the fences, a practice also common in Haiti. Farmers interviewed claim that cactus "fences" are longer lasting and more effective that keeping animals out than empalizada or barbed wire fences.

[9] In the "traditional" system, "tumba" or "knocking down" was the most common expression used for the clearing of overgrowth and trees. Now, "chappeo", or chopping, is more commonly used. The reason for the transition from "tumba" to "chappeo" has to do with environmental changes—primarily the transition

from forest to savanna across the region. The primary distinction is that "tumba" involved stripping primary or rich secondary forest of trees and overgrowth, using the wood for empalizadas and burning other stubble. With rain, these nutrient rich soils produced harvests for up to 10 years. The "chappeo" involves stripping fallowed agricultural soils of thick grasses and drying and burning the grasses. These lands reportedly only produce 2 harvests (1 year) before they must be fallowed and a new conuco must be cleared.

[10] The two chief reasons for burning at this stage according to the Dominican farmers is, first, to save on time and labor and, secondly for pest control. An attempt is made to control the spread of the fire to other areas by clearing an area approximately a yard or more wide around the perimeter of the conuco before burning takes place. In practice, however, farmers in these areas commented on the frequency of out of control forest and grass fires and the researchers witnessed uncontrolled burning of grasses on both the Dominican and Haitian side of the border.

[11] The reason that farmers are not using these kinds of inputs has more to do with the costs of purchase than with the lack of knowledge about the benefits of using chemicals.

[12] One older informant in Macasía commented that younger men in the area don't even know how to make or fix an empalizada these days.

[13] It should be pointed out that it is emphatically not swidden agriculture in and of itself that leads to erosion, soil exhaustion and eventually desperate poverty. Swidden agriculture, with its lengthy fallow cycles and intercropping techniques, is arguably a more effective farming strategy with regard to preventing erosion and of revitalizing soil quality than modern industrial farming techniques. Severe erosion and soil exhaustion comes in association with the end of swidden farming when, 1) farmers no longer have enough land to practice shifting cultivation, forcing them to farm the same plots exhaustively and 2) there are not corresponding efforts made by state or other governmental organizations in a position to provide farmers with capital, technical and organizational assistance necessary to orchestrate complex agricultural programs.

[14] Also similar to compesinos on the Dominican side of the border, a Haitian "kiltivate" typically has two or more gardens, often several hours distance from one another.

[15] As with farmers in "*Peyi panyol*," Haitian farmers report burning is necessary as a means of 1) reducing the insect population and 2) reducing labor costs associated with clearing. Few interviewees emphasized the value of ash as a fertilizer. Most respondents expressed awareness that burning is counter productive as a long term agricultural technique. Respondents in the Los Kakawos area were spontaneously identified uncontrolled burning as a primary cause of deforestation.

[16] More specifically, two bulls pulling a plow which is guided by an operator—invariably a man.

[17] Farmers on the Haitian side of the border are required by law to tether livestock. In practice however, this is not always the case. Even in cases where all livestock are tethered, there is still the problem of broken cords (see Livestock)

[18] The first scenario was commonly reported in the Guayajayuco region. As one farmer explained it: "un dia trabajamos en el mio, el proximo dia trabajamos en el suyo, y así."(one day we work in mine, the next day in yours, and so forth."). In Las Dos Bocas, the organization of a convite by a farmer was observed in which reciprocal labor obligations would be met at a later date: "la proxima vez uno de ellos quiere tener un convite, yo tengo que ir or mandar a otro" (the next time one of them wants to have a convite, I have to go or send someone else). Community members also come together to work on mutually beneficial projects such as building schools and churches. Although sometimes called convites or juntas, these work teams are not really convites in the sense that there is no reciprocal labor obligation incurred for the work.

[19] During the Trujillo period when Haitian and other labor was scarce, older farmers remember that convites were commonly used to accomplish the majority of agricultural tasks.

[20] Farmers trained by World Vision have begun to use cow manure in gardens. The Catholic priest in Cerca La Source reports that farmers in the region of Saltade--the only region reported to have an organized irrigation system--have long used guano gathered from a local cave.

[21] According to Guyahucans, the canal dried up when the water level of the Rio de los Dajaos dropped. Nothing was ever done to adapt to this change in water levels (e.g. a small dam at the canal junction).

[22] All of the farmers in the region, both in the "settlements" and in the mountains complain that rainfall is no longer sufficient and emphatically emphasize their desperate need for irrigation. The drought of the last two years have been especially difficult, and many farmers have lost much their crops. Farmers complain they are either losing money or making minimal profits on their harvest.

[23] None of the respondents interviewed knew the origin of irrigation canals. It is possible that President Stenio Vincent sponsored the works at the time the colony was formed.

[24] With respect to irrigation, a story recounted by one respondent warrants mentioning: A grass roots development organization in Los Kakawos was said to have been given a pump—donor unknown -- to irrigate land near the Artibonite river. The president of the organization sold the pump and, allegedly, kept the proceeds.

[25] For historical component see section on agricultural organization.

[26] Farmers working state lands generally report having 2 or more conucos, each of which covers an average of perhaps 30 tareas although farmers are generally more familiar with the amount of seed planted on the land than the actual measurements. Conucos are often a considerable distance from the homestead and may even have small shacks "ranchitos" on them in which the farmer or Haitians workers stay during times of intensive work. Technically, when a farmer desires to establish a new "conuco" on abandoned or ususued lands he must notify the local alcalde and have the lands inspected by the local Foresta agent to ensure that valuable trees are not cut or damaged. In the Macasía and Banica areas, this formality appears to be observed. In the parajes of Guayajayuco farmers seek approval from the alcalde for the building of a house in a different community.

[27] Asentamiento lands are still lands owned by the state. Nevertheless, one of the main differences between "tierras del estado" and "asentamientos" is the fact that the I.A.D. owns these lands and mediates access to these lands. In the case of Guayajayuco, for example, a farmer wishing to work land within the colony must receive the approval of the IAD representative responsible for the colony (Reportedly this does not always take place. Nevertheless, a number of new farmers in the colony reported that they had received the approval from IAD before beginning to work in the colony). A second difference, which reportedly does not exist in Guayajayuco but which definitely exists in Macasía/Las Dos Bocas, Guayabal, Sabana Cruz, and others in the Bánica area is the fact that cadastral surveys have been conducted in these settlements and that particular lands have been registered to individual farmers and their families. Farmers do not own the land, but they do have a right to receive a "titulo de mejora" (literally "improvement title") from the state for those properties and they and their families can work the land in perpetuity. Again, in these colonies the IAD recognizes the right to the land of those who work it--in the case of Guayajayuco, for example, abandoned plots are reassigned to other farmers. In the case of Macasía, even though farmers may have their families in Elias Piña they are extremely reluctant to abandon their plots for the fear that they may lose their rights to these better bottom lands.

Farmers stated that the IAD prohibits the selling or renting of settlement lands, although in Macasía it was reported that some lands within the settlement had been rented to Haitians. Similar to

tierras del estado, these lands are often sharecropped by Haitians, "mejoras" may be sold (with the approval of IAD) and the lands may be inherited. Again, despite the fact that these lands are generally superior for agriculture to "tierras del estado", rights of individuals farmers to particular plots are respected. The only conflicts reported in these lands are domestic conflicts over inheritance rights.

[28] Based on numerous comments and interviews, it can be hypothesized that the decision factors involved in Dominican landholders choosing between these alternative labor arrangements are based on two key factors: availability of capital and ability or willingness to work on the land. The ideal scenario is one in which the Dominican farmer has the money available to hire and supervise Haitian laborers. The sharecropping alternatives: 1) reduce labor costs and; 2) reduce responsibility for directly providing or supervising labor.

[29] A house plot in a village is approximately 100 x 100 feet. The rural "lakou," while seemingly defined spontaneously, tends to be about the same size.

An "anplasman" in a market town may sell for as much as 5,000 goudes (US$ 333.00). Outside the villages, finding a place to build a house is not usually difficult. People build houses on their own land, on seek permission to build on land belonging to relatives or neighbors. In the past, people often asked the 'chef seksyon' (sheriff) for permission to build on state land.

Even in the absence of legal titles to land, there is considerable agreement that a person who has been living on particular parcel of land and who has built a house on that land, has a clear right of ownership. In cases where houses are rented, it is clearly not the house plot so much as the house which has value. The few individuals who rent houses invariably do so temporarily, with the goal in mind of building their own house as quickly as possible.

The cost of constructing a house varies from 1,000 goudes (US$66) for a very simple "kay pay" (thatch house) with walls made of "klisay" (waddle and daub—sticks woven together and covered by mud), to 25,000 goudes (approximately US$1,665.00) for a solid "kay tol" (tin house) made of "siman" (walls and floors covered with cement) or "planch" (boarded walls with cement floors). The average house in Ti Lori costs approximately 10,000 goudes (US$666.00).

[30] In Haiti, sons and daughters are supposed to inherit land equally; in practice, sons appear to inherit more than daughters. Legally recognized children born "outside" of a legally recognized marriage inherit a third of what children "inside" the marriage inherit.

[31] The ownership of land is further complicated by the rarity of surveys and their questionable accuracy. Most rural Haitians simply do not have the resources to employ surveyors, a service that often costs as much or more than the land purchase.

[32] This dispute is clearly not yet resolved. Most people of Ti Lori insist that little of the land remains unpaid. Others say that is not the case, that many people still owe money for land. The Mayor of Cerca La Source is adamant about the criminality of the forced payments and insists, citing the Haitian constitution, that no legal actions under the former military government can be interpreted as legitimate. In other words, the declared land owners had/have no right to sell the land, and the people no right to buy it; Ti Lori and the surrounding countryside are still state lands. The mayor also points out, however, that many people in Ti Lori have a legal claim to the land by virtue of their long residence, but that none have exercised this right by the constitutionally required channels.

The third land owner, a Ti Lori resident, has remained unmolested and continues to sell and collect money for property he claims to own. When asked why the people acquiesce to these demands, most Ti Loriens say "li nan mitan fami" (he is the the middle of his family), by which they mean he has a large and powerful family.

[33] The price for a carreau of land depends on potential for production. In some areas, like the Peligre flood plain, where land rents for about 5 goudes a square meter, land is priceless—people report that no one sells

this land. Nevertheless, 5,000 goudes was found to be the price of a careau of "t sech" (dry land) in all three regions studied (land in villages is another issue, see above).

[34] Several respondents emphasized that sharecropping is not only a practice of poor people, but an option for people who want to let their own land rest, are looking for additional income, or can more conveniently use a parcel of land that does not belong to them—as when an individual is staying in the region for only a short time. Haitian farmers typically cultivate two or more parcels of land.

[35] Written rental contracts are rare and the absence creates the potential for abuses. Although such abuses are reported to be rare as well, one women claimed to have been cheated after paying 500 goudes (US$33.00) for the right to work a tiny parcel of land on the Peligre flood plain. She took the owner, who had sold the same right to a family member, to court. She lost because she could not prove she had actually paid for the land. When asked why she had not demanded a receipt, she agreed it would have been a good idea but explained "m pa janm tande sa , m pa janm tande yo bay yon resi pou t isit" (I never heard of that, I never heard of people giving receipts for land around here).

[36] Unlike the Ti Lori area, farmers in Los Kakawos claim land on their side of the border is no less productive than Dominican land.

[37] Interestingly, Haitians have superstitions regarding cutting trees near water sources: Rural Haitians believe that springs and water falls are occupied by *lwa,* "voodoo" spirits that will seek revenge against any person fool enough to fell one of the trees. In areas that are otherwise completely deforested one still finds enormous trees hundred of years old clustered around sacred springs. The mountains above Ti Lori are like this.

[38] One of the researchers was living in a remote village in Far-west Haiti when the area was struck by drought during the 1996-97 season. The increase in charcoal production in the region during this time was no less 100 fold. It is probably not an exaggeration to say that if the poorest people in the area not had the option of making charcoal from the desert scrub bushes, many would have died.

[39] The researchers saw perhaps as many of more than 30 brush fires—some may have been conucos many were very clearly not. The only fire encountered on the Haitian side of the border was outside of Los Kakawos in an area that has been taken over by Dominican cattle.

[40] In Haiti, a chicken sells for from 25 to 60 goudes, a goat sells for anywhere from 300 to 500 goudes ; a bull sells for from 2,500 to 7,500 goudes; donkeys average 1,500 to 2,500 goudes; the most prized pack animals, mules that have already been broke, sell for 5,000 to 6,000 goudes;—a young mule can sell for as little as 3,000 goudes; the price for horses varies considerably, but as a general rule are cheaper than mules and more expensive than donkeys.

[41] Farmers on the Haitian side of the border report a large die off of chickens in the past year.

[42] In 1983, USAID sponsored the slaughter of all pigs in both the Dominican Republic and Haiti. The well intended project was meant to prevent a sweeping epidemic of swine flu from reaching the billion dollar hog industry of the United States. The action had a tremendous impact in rural areas, particularly Haiti, where many peasants got little to none of the money meant to compensate them for the loss of pigs slaughtered by agents of the project. Popular songs circulated lamenting the loss of the pigs and describing the project as a conspiracy to impoverish already impoverished peasants. Matters were aggravated when the pigs were replaced by "gift pigs" from the United States; pigs that, unlike the hearty Creole pigs that had been slaughtered, required more attentive care, including expensive grain and supplements.

[43] Haitian farmers interviewed commonly explain the practice of tethering animals as the outcome of a law passed 1960s by then President Francois Duvalier. In the minds of the farmers living in the region, the

creation of this law, seems to have had—or perhaps the point is that it still has-- a tremendous impact. All respondents were aware of the law and many discussed its origin spontaneously. However, the notion that the law itself is the principle factor causing people to abandon free ranging livestock and begin tethering animals is questionable. What is more likely is the law simply settled, in the favor of gardeners, disputes over who was responsible when livestock destroyed crops. In practice the factor responsible for whether or not people "lage bet" (free range animals), appears to be whether they can get away with it. In some areas, such as near villages, people continue to allow pigs and goats to forage on their own.

Whether actually written into law or simply accepted practice, there is a clear and appropriate course of action a farmer should take in defending gardens against roving animals. In the case of small animals like chickens and goats. A farmer should first catch the animals and call their owner. If the problem persists, the farmer has a right to kill the pests. Among small animals, goats cause the most problems and are often killed. The gardener has a right to "koupe tet li," cut the goats head off. The head is eaten by the garden owner, the carcass returned to the goat owner.

In cases of larger livestock like cows, gardeners seek damages via the kasek , asek, ajan polis (police agent) or whoever else is the authority at the time, and in the place in question. Unsettled disputes can be taken to the tribinal (court). In the case of large animals, gardeners are not supposed to kill the intruders, the costs of animals like cows and horses are too great, and such an act can lead to violent and long lasting confrontation. In practice, large animals that persisting ravage gardens are often maimed. Most commonly, they are cut with a machete above the tail. The wounds are not usually fatal, but require treatment to ward infection; the message usually gets the attention of the animal's owner (see Text Box Dominican Cattle in Haitian Gardens).

[44] According to respondents, people still wishing to tether livestock have the right to do so, without asking permission, in the harvested gardens of their neighbors.

[45] Macasía itself is a designated agricultural zone, meaning that free-ranging livestock is prohibited.

[46] Ironically, Dominican law mandates that animal owners must pay for any damages to gardens, even in zones where free ranging is permitted by law. This law appears nonsensical but is reportedly enforced. The segundo alcalde and alcalde are responsible for mediating such cases and initiating any legalities. In most cases, however, it seems that farmers resolve the matter in an amicable fashion without appealing to legal recourse. (Perhaps, the law is part of a government policy designed to discourage free ranging of animals. During the Trujillo period, it was the conuco owner who was fined for not having taken care of the fences.)

[47] "Es una cosa que camina media combinada porque si hacemo' la agricultura, y no' produce, y tenemos un besserito por allí tenemos que venderlo. Es decir, e' una cosa que es igual."

[48] Aquí ya no se mata chivo' para la venta local o consumo familiar. Todo es para comprar y para revender. Es que si Ud. tiene un chivo, en ve' de pelarlo y comerselo, que pasa, si Ud. depende de nada, no depende de nada. Ud. coje ese chivo y dice si yo lo mato el vecino y el amigo me lo compran, yo vendo veinte libra' de chivo allí. Luego viene el amigo, se lo coje uno dice se lo pago mañana, el otro pasado, el otro el miercoles, el otro el jueves, el viernes, otro el domingo, y otro se queda con ella, no paga. Si Ud. dice yo no voy a matar ese chivito, yo voy a vender ese chivito mañana, los Miercoles, en Las Matas. Y de alla traigo jabon, la sal, el aceite, recao, el habichuela y hace un comida de un dia y de dos a su casa. Y trae carne tambien!. . . Si lo mata aquí, escasamente come el día que lo mata y los otros dias desesperado' para comprar el jabon, la sal, el aceite. . .Es la situación que se da en situaciones como esta. . .

[49] It is not clear whether livestock theft has actually become more severe on the Domincan side of the border in recent years. Older respondants indicate the problem of stole livestock is as much today, and not necessarily more of a problem, than in the past. On the Haitian side of the border, cattle thievery has clearly escalated in recent years.

[50] Another possible reason livestock theft appears a greater problem in Haiti than on the Dominican side of the border may have to do with grazing practices. Dominicans are able to free-range animals while Haitians must tie them. Haitians respondents explained that free ranging animals are "sovay" and difficult to steal; a thief rounding up aggressive, semi-wild cattle is much more conspicuous than a thief quietly untying and leading away a docile cow. On the other hand, compesinos living around Guayajayuco report tying their cattle up in their yards at night so thieves cannot steal them.

[51] In the first week the researchers were in the Cerca La Source area, no fewer than 5 cows, two mules and two horses were reported stolen.

[52] Up until about a year before the research was carried out, there were two Dominican cattle buyers who had many friends in Los Kakawos. The people of Los Kakawos thought very highly of these men, spontaneously telling the researchers things like: "yo te fe anpil moun viv bo isit" (a lot of people around here made a living because of those men"; "tout moun bo isit te reme yo" (everyone around here loved them"; and commonly citing them in references like "mwen te gen yon bon, bon zanmi." (I had a good, good friend). The two Dominican men would advance large sums of money to Haitians who would purchase cattle for them. One Los Kakawos man reported getting advances on the order 26,000 pesos. Both Dominican buyers were murdered last year on the Haitian road leading from Cerca La Source to Los Kakawos, well inside Haitian border territory. The murders were investigated but never solved.

[53] Although when Dominican farmers were asked in focus groups who steals the cattle one or two usually blame Haitians, these are quickly corrected by others who acknowledge that both Dominicans and Haitians steal animals, often working conjunction. It is common knowledge in the region of Guayajayuco that last year two Dominican thieves from the hamlet of La Horqueta were captured by Haitian authorities and are currently imprisoned in Elias Piña. Nevertheless, the capture of thieves seems to be relatively rare and people are not sure who the theives are. It is suspected that local Dominican thieves will steal animals and night and quickly sneak to them across the border where a Haitian counterpart will be waiting to receive the animals. A longstanding former alcalde in Macasía emphasized the role played by Dominico-Haitian thieving networks and stated that, at least in the past, corrupt governmental and military authorities on both sides of the borders were involved.

[54]Most notably Belgian Catholic priest in Cerca La Source, who has spent 23 years in Haiti--all of them in rural areas, three of them in Cerca La Source. It should be noted, this was a common suspicion on the part of Haitians as well.

[55] On the Dominican side of the border "colmados," small convenience stores are an important means of distributing basic food stuffs and other commodities. Where well-stocked colmados are available, such as in the colony of Guayajayuco and Bánica, informants report purchasing the bulk of weekly foods from them despite the presence of a weekly market. The Haitian equivalent to the Dominican colmado, the "boutik," is common but less important

[56] In the focus region on the Dominican side, the major markets are Guayajayuco for the farmers living in the hamlets above the colony; Kass and secondarily Elias Piña for the people living in Macasía/Los Dos Bocas; Bánica and Las Matas de Farfan for the people living in the parajes of Banica along the Artibonite River. The market in Guayajayuco is primarily a Dominican market.

[57] While it may appear the rotating market system, with its seemingly perfect scheduling, is a consequence of deliberate planning by State and local officials, the system is probably better explained by independent market forces. On the Haitian side of the border, for example, La Miel previously hosted the largest Saturday market in the immediate region. But with the growth of Ti Lori, farmers and venders simply abandoned the La Miel market. Today, La Miel's place among the regional markets has all but disappeared, while its Saturday position has entirely vanished. Villagers in La Miel complain: "Nou pa gen mache anko, Ti Lori pran ni nan min nou" (we don't have a market anymore, Ti Lori took it away).

[58] This information was corroborated by Dominicans who reported that the standard rate of interest charged is 20% per month, which would generally equate to 100% over the period of a bean harvest (approximately 5 months).

[59] In all the areas studied on the Haitian side, the researchers identified people who *eskont* money to others. Ti Lori is especially well known in this regard. The people of Ti Lori expressed pride that Dominicans borrow from their *gran negs*.

[60]This inventory was conducted walking down the road on the Dominican side. It provides a reasonable sample but cannot be regarded as comprehensive, due to the fact that buyers may have arrived and left during the inventory and that some Dominican buyers and sellers, primarily purchasers of retail products, arrive by bus and horseback and are difficult to identify.

[61] March is reportedly off season for the market, at the end of the dry season when only chick peas are being harvested. A common complaint was "no hay cuarto ahora" (there is no cash around now). The high seasons are August and December, major harvest periods, where local say "hay mucho cuarto:" there is a lot of cash, a lot of activity.

[62] "Ya no se estan prestando.. . porque, a veces, unos quedan mal, otros quedan bien. Y nosotros trabajamos con el banco y fuimos cumplidores. Hay muchos que son clientes viejos . . .yo tengo una libreta allí del banco. Hace 5 años y pico que no dan crédito. Los que han sido cumplidores con el banco aunque sea se los debe atender con dinero para trabajar."

[63] Children born to such marriages, however, do have certain, and in many cases full rights to inherit property from their parents—on the Haitian side of the border the criteria is if the father legally recognizes the child. If the father is legally married "outside" children receive one third the property the "inside" children have a right to.

[64] Under this arrangement a male — generally a well-off male — establishes simultaneous households, openly and often in the same community, with several females, all of whom are locally recognized to be his wives. It differs from the polygamy found in Islamic or African societies principally in that it is "extralegal" (i.e.neither fully legal nor fully illegal).

[65] Outsiders from the urban world often wonder in amazement why women tolerate the presence of a co-wife. Though the matter falls outside the scope of the current report, it can be briefly said that many young women would rather be a co-wife of a wealthy male who can build her a solid, attractive house, give her gifts of clothing and jewelry, and provide her with working capital, than the sole wife of a penniless male who can provide none of these.

[66] In the market in Ti Lori, the only selling activity in which Dominican women are involved is selling prepared foods. In Guayajayuco, a number of women retail clothing and other domestic goods (pots and pans, shoes, soaps, etc.--see notes). When the researchers asked one of the Guyahucan women why she did not sell her products in Ti Lori, she stated that she had sold for a time in Ti Lori , but did not feel safe there, explaining that she had witnessed a number of conflicts in the market in Ti Lori (*allí siempre se montan muchos lios*--there there are always many conflicts). In Elias Piña, on the other hand, many women were seen in the market retailing raw foodstuffs.

[67] The family is baptist. They live in the same "lakou" (yard) with Oksilen's father and mother, as well as Oksilen's two brother's and their families. In all, Oksilien, his two brothers and their wives have 18 children ranging from 6 months to 19 years of age.

[68] Haitians in the region are required by law to tether or fence in their animals. In practice, fencing is almost non-existent, tethering the norm and free ranging still occurs in some areas and at certain times. (See Livestock).

[69] In the Haitian communities: There are eight teachers in Ti Lori, all male. Of the 26 teachers identified in Kass, 21 are male. No data was collected for teachers in Los Kakawos.

[70] This example is not unusual. There are actually three men that respondents—some from as far away as Los Kakawos and Cerca La Source--invariably identify as Ti Lori's *gran negs*. After Fran, identified in the following example, there is Mak and Remon (all fictitious names).

Mak, like Fran, is relatively young, about 40 years old. He currently has 3 wives, all living in separate houses in Ti Lori, and he has more than 20 children with at least 6 different women. He is from the mountain above Ti Lori. He owns some 50 kawo, almost as much as Fran. He is into the same type of business as Fran, which means virtually anything that makes money in Ti Lori. He brokers exchanges between the Dominican wholesale buyers and the hundreds of small peasant producers around Ti Lori, he engages in "kommes bwa" (wood trade), changes and loans money at high interest rates, buys and sells house plots. Mak has a nicer reputation than Fran, better liked and less feared.

Remon is about 45 years old. He too has more than 20 children. He currently has 5 wives, scattered throughout the countryside. Like Fran and Mak, Remon too is an original resident of the Ti Lori countryside. However, unlike Fran and Mak, Remon makes his money primarily as the most reputed herb doctor, spiritual healer and magic practitioner in the area; and secondarily as a cultivator with substantial holdings—approximately 35 Kawo (approximately 45 hectares). People in Ti Lori claim that most of Remons "clients" are Dominicans; the people of Ti Lori consistently assert "li pa konn anyen" (he does not know anything) but nevertheless, are just as consisently proud that Remon makes a lot of money fooling the Dominicans (the Haitians in Ti Lori assert that Domicans seek Remon's services primarily to make bargains with dieties capable of assuring their financial success).

[71] "Ou pa vle pa peye li. Non. Pa gen sa." In an effort to catch the essence of this statement, liberty was taken in not translating this statement word for word.

[72] Haitians are able sometimes, but not always, able to use medical services on the Dominican side. Haitians from Ti Lori are often, but not always, accepted at the hospital in Restauración. The hospital in Banica will take limited numbers of Haitians one day a week. The doctor at the medical clinic in Guayajayuco, accepts Haitian emergency cases, but does not accept Haitians with chronic nutritional or health problems, explaining there are too many Haitians with too many problems.

[73] Haitians living near the border report no problems crossing into the Dominican Republic as long as they are known by the guards and locals. Beyond the border communities, however, it is reportedly very difficult for Haitians to move without a passport. Haitians from more distant communities depend on their compatriots to find work in the "*Peyi panyol*."

[74] It should be emphasized, the Haitians along the border are referring to Dominicans that live near them. Even relatively sophisticated Haitians who have a good mastery over Spanish report mistreatment in areas further into the Dominican Republic One man, a school teacher accustomed to visiting Santo Domingo, said he did not like to go with his wife because Dominicans are "frekan" (rude, bold, intrusive) and did not respect Haitians, "when they see you have left your country, they think you have no principles, they put their hands on your wife, do what ever they want "le yo we ou kite peyi pa ou, you kwe se san reg ou ye, yap manyen madanm ou, fe sa yo vle"

[75] Haitians coming from areas away from the border are at a disadvantage; they typically know little Spanish, do not understand the customs in the "*Peyi panyol* and have few Dominican friends they can turn to for help or protection.

[76] Haitians are reportedly easy targets for Dominican bandits who assume 1) that Haitians crossing back into back Haiti will be carrying money and 2) the military will do little to protect them (technically, most Haitians who cross over the border to work are illegal aliens in the Dominican Republic and therefore largely unprotected under Dominican law). Stories of muggings are common and many Haitians are hesitant to work on Dominican side of the border for fear they will be robbed on their way back

[77] See Labor Organization, and Commerce and Markets for a discussion of how Haitians along the border form alliances with Dominicans.

[78] Technically, most Haitians who cross over the border to work are illegal aliens in the Dominican Republic and therefore largely unprotected under Dominican law.

[79] Si ou travay pou yon Aisyen, e li pa vle peye, ou pedi. Si se Panyol ou al nan chef. Yap pran andan, min y-ap fe li peye.

[80] Haitians are emphatically the laboring class on the border, but few Dominicans expect them to do something for nothing. An example of this is while the researchers were conducting interviews with one Haitian and two Dominican farmers at one of the colmados in Guayajayuco one day, a Dominican deliveryman approached. Pointing directly to the Haitian he ordered: "come, help me with these bags" and, both the Haitian and Dominican hesitating, . . ."I'll pay you something." "ven, ayudame con estos sacos.. .". . "te pago algo." The Haitian did as he was requested. In another case, a Dominican farmer and his Haitian wife approached the researcher: "This is my wife,"he pronounced loudly. "She is more or less. . ." (in reference to her being Haitian while gesturing the so/so sign with his hand), "but she's the mother of my kids."("esta es mi esposa," "ella es mas o menos . . ."pero es la madre de mis hijos.")

[81] Respondents, including an Alcade of a Dominican Hamlet, insist this is not a tax but, *tigueraje*, graft. On the other hand, Haitians recognize they technically have no right to farm on the Dominican side of the border (see Labor Organization).

[82] In the mountains above Guayajayuco, a minority of farmers are fully bilingual, and most can communicate at a basic level. In the Macasía region, perhaps 50% or more of the inhabitants are bilingual, especially in Las Dos Bocas. There does not appear to be any stigmas attached to speaking creole and some Dominicans are proud of their bilingual abilities. Dominicans primarily learn to speak Creole in interaction with Haitian workers. Some of the older inhabitants of the border learned to speak Creole before 1937 from Haitians in the region. Others learned from growing up with adopted Haitians or from Haitian sharecroppers who became close to the family.

[83] "A veces tu la tiene trancada-'tu no va a salir hoy, porque te vas'-pero como quiera sale por la cocina. . .si uno se da cuenta uno trata de evitarlo lo mas que uno pueda. . .Porque aunque somos humanos, iguales, pero que no es igual la tradicion. . .[alguna gente] se preocupa por extinción de raza."

[84] Consensual union--called "por la palma" by Dominicans and "place" by Haitians—and not legal marriage is the norm for both Dominicans and Haitians in the region.

[85] The relative frequency with which Dominican men marry Haitian women, is probably related to a shortage of young Dominican women in the border region. Dominican women are abandoning the border, often going to work in distant Dominican cities as domestic servants and assembly workers.
One farmer from Macasía, who has had numerous Haitian wives, stated that, in order to find a Dominican wife, he would have to bring her from Elias Piña. It would be extremely difficult to attract a Dominican woman into an area such as Macasía which has few services and opportunities relative to the pueblo. As he put it, I don't have the "fuerza", the economic resources, to keep a Dominican woman from Elias Piña.

Polygyny is also very common on the border region. Many Dominicans take Haitian women as second "wives." In Macasía, for example, 4 men had Dominican families in Elias Piña and Haitian

families in the campo. In Guayajayuco, the researchers found one Dominican man with both Dominican and Haitian wives living in the same village. Having multiple wives appears related economic status. A man must first build a house for his new wife and then provide at least minimal support.

[86] The institution of fosterage, "restavek," is common among Haitians as well. It is not unusual for upwardly mobile, rural Haitian families to send their own children away to schools in regional "capitals," while taking on a "restavek" to perform domestic chores like fetching wood, water, going to the market, cleaning the house and preparing food. Often "restaveks" are orphans or from families suffering economic hardship. Commonly these children have some sort of family relation to their foster families; often they do not. There is a common expectation that the foster parents will imprve the childs life chances, sending the child to school or teaching them a trade. In most all cases, even those where they are well cared for, they are treated as servants.

[87] . Complementing the survey data, one man in Guayajayuco gave the following commentary: "over there's one … up there above, there is another, she's nine months old, her father died…there is another one over there, they've been bringing up since he was little …. There is one over there too but he is a man now… they brought him up since he was little and now he has already married a dominican woman… here we have five or six, over there they have twenty!"

[88] Based on inferences made from data gathered in Guayajuca, Dominican women in the area appear to have an average of 6 children in there lifetimes, about the national average for Haiti. Haitian women in Ti Lori appear average about 7 children.

[89] An important component to the issue of migrating children involves the advantages that accrue to parents with children who have become members of Dominican families. Haitian children growing up in the Dominican Republic will learn Spanish and gain access to job and commercial markets that can translate to tremendous wealth by Haitian standards; "en sel ti moun ka sove yon fanmi" (a single child can save his family). Parents themselves gain a type of right when they have children in "*peyi panyol*." Dominicans acknowledge the rights Haitian parents have to visit their children, visitations that can be timed to coincide with market days and other commercial activities. Yet another advantage to having a child in the *peyi panyol*, is that while Haitians emphatically assert they do not sell their children, Dominican's "caring for" Haitian children express at least some sense of obligation to make gifts to the impoverished parents of their foster children.

[90] Haitian children affirm their attraction to the other side of the border, "nou pa nan cheche dlo, cheche bwa" (we do not have to go for water and wood), but indicate that going depends not so much on the opportunities they can find in the Dominican Republic as it does on the opportunities available at home, as when one boy explained "m pa nan koze Sant Doming, m lekol" (I am not thinking about the Dominican Republic, I am in school).

[91] Numerous examples of direct verbal abuse of Haitians were observed. In one case, for example, Dominicans loudly discouraged the researcher from taking a photograph of a Haitian worker because he was so "feo"(ugly). There is an ambiguity in the Dominican attitude toward Haitians. In one instance a Dominican man can talking of fondness for Haitian friends, his Haitian offspring, and in the next instance describing Haitians as dirty, crafty, manipulative, a threat to Dominican-ness.

[92] Young Haitians simply block out the ridicule and humiliation Dominicans focus on them. Young Haitians invariably want to go to the Dominican Republic. Conversations about going to Santo Domingo or excite young Haitians. Talk of the ridicule and discriminations are simply ignored.

[93] Haitians in Ti Lori are proud of their economic success, particular in comparing themselves to local Dominicans. At least two men in Ti Lori *eskont* (loan) to Dominicans at high interest rates (100% for 4-6

months. The quote here was followed by "le Aisyen gen lajan se travay ….travay, travay…Aisyen reme travay" (when a Haitian has money it's work ….work, work! Haitians like to work."

[94] This statement is not meant to be an evaluation of the extent of erosion, but rather an attempt to provide the reader with a impressionistic sense of the region.

[95] At least 6 truck loads of wood are currently hauled out of La Miel every week. Local 'gran negs' (big shots) in La Miel and Ti Lori, aligned with Port-au-Prince buyers, are said to have sponsored a renovation of the road leading to La Miel in a successful effort to facilitate this trade. Illustrating the dynamics of this relationship between Port-au-Prince buyers and local sawers is the story of a successful 'siyer' from Los Cacaos, Jean-Baptist. In 1991, at the age of 25, Jean-Baptist first began sawing trees. A poor peasant who had managed to finish primary school, Jean-Baptist had the good fortune to make the acquaintance of Luk, an entrepreneur from Port-au-Prince who was willing to loan hand saws to men who would reciprocate by selling him boards. Jean-Baptist stuck to his end of the bargain. Today Jean-Baptist has 12 saws of his own which he has distributed to teams of sawers throughout the region, including La Miel. Jean-Baptist buys trees, or as he says "chan" (stands of trees), and then loans his saws to men who fell the trees for him and saw them into boards.

[96] The people of the Ti Lori village are primarily brokers in the ongoing trade between local Haitian peasants and Dominicans who come to trade in the market.

[97] . "Sibling sample" here refers to the researchers asking people how many living brothers and sisters they have and where they are residing .

[98] Instituto Agrario Dominicano (IAD)

[99] This includes the "paraje" of Pueblo Nuevo which is adjacent to the colony.

[100] "Yo pienso que los medios de vida cada día se ponen más dificiles en estos campos. Porque antes, esto era una parte que llovia mucho, se daba mas la cosa, se daba la habichuela, se daba el maíz, se daba el platano, la yuca. Pero a través del tiempo, no se. Llueve menos. Hay menos tierra buena para trabajar, como que las tierras han perdido fuerza. . .las tierras producen menos.

[101] Coming from Restauracion there is a heavily forested area which extends almost to the Libon River. Past Ti Lori, the Dominican side of the International Highway is lined with pine trees until it reaches the fork in the road for Guayajayuco/Pedro Santana. These pine stands extend 100 meters or more down the mountain to the east--beyond which the mountains are completely deforested. Dominican forested areas in the region are, reportedly, the product of reforestation projects by Foresta begun in the mid to late 1970s. The Haitian side of the International Highway from Ti Lori to the fork is completely deforested.

Past the fork in the road along the International Highway, in many areas the mountains on both sides appear equally deforested, with occasional thicker stands of trees on the Dominican side. The majority of the mountains around Guayajayuco are barren, although deeper in the mountains one finds larger stands of pine generally on the upper slopes mountain to a degree that no longer exists on the Haitian side.

[102] "Los de poca experiencia fue dando candela, los palos muriendose, hasta el extremo que no hay palos, por los incendios que han habido. . .La candela se salia de la parcela y quemaba hasta diez dias, quemando."

[103] This statement should not be interpreted to mean that Los Kakawos has not enjoyed prosperity relative to other areas along the border and in the interior of Haiti. The people of Los Kakawos have, like Ti Lori prospered from the loosening of border trade; and there are many new and well constructed houses in Los Kakawos. The point is that Ti Lori has clearly prospered to a greater degree.

[104] Los Kakawos is ideally situated to be the primary regional market for trade between the Dominican Republic and Haiti. Los Kakawos has a nearby bridge which crosses the Artibonite; there is a relatively large and affluent Dominican town, Pedro Santana, immediately on the other side of the border from Los Kakawos; and Los Kakawos is much closer than Ti Lori, in terms of road travel, to Henche and Port-au-Prince. Despite all these advantages, the only transport available to Los Kakawoans are trucks that pass on their way to the Ti Lori market. As for Pedro Santana, the dominant regional Dominican trading partner is a village across from Bonica, which does not even have a bridge—according to people in Los Kakawos, traders there have their merchandise waded across the Artibonite river on the heads of men and the backs of animals.

[105] .From the Dominicans, Los Kakawoans principally purchase "ti tet" rice; the Dominicans buy cattle, chick peas, red beans.

There were 30 sisters and 34 brothers in the sample; 8 sisters and 9 brothers were reported to be in the Dominican Republic.

[106] There were 58 siblings in all; 26 sisters and 32 brothers. Two sisters and 6 brothers were in Port-au-Prince; all the remaining siblings were living in the Central Plateau, except for one brother in New York.

[107]The word "conuco" is generally used to refer to unirrigated agricultural plots or gardens. "Parcelas" generally refers to flatter, irrigated plots.

[108] "Era bastante forestada, porque aquí habían muchas palmas y habían muchas frutales, pero había que cercar porque se criaba fuera suelto. . .la gente se fueron aumentando y se fueron desapareciendo los bosques. Es dificil para uno cercar ahora como antes. . .Hubo un tiempo que e'taba demasiao atrasado los palos, no se encontraba, una vez que por aquí solamente, aquí en las lomas se encontraban ramo y palo para hacer una enramada cuando se moría uno, que en muchas partes no, se desaparecieron los palos." Ya no hay palma, se desaparecieron. Cuando construyeron la presa todas los arboles al lado del río murieron. Despues se fue forestando, Foresta tomando medidas, se fue forestando así solo. "

[109] "Aquí hacen casi seis años que no llueva. En tierra baja sacaron algo pero en tierra alta no sacaron nada. . . Aquí como quiera ha habido mucho atraso en los arboles, porque entonces aquí aunque antes tomaban buenas medidas en las cuestas de los rios pero en Haiti nunca han dejado ni una mata de palo en la orilla del rio. Adema' que ello' allá han deforestado todos los sitios casi tomando carbón, hasta los mangales todos. . . Hasta tumban mango para hacer carbon--es una vagabundería"

[110] **Invasion of the Dominican cattle:** Disadvantages suffered by Haitians vis a vis the comparatively powerful and well organized Dominican military is well exemplified by the problems farmers in Los Kakawos suffer at the mouths of free ranging Dominican cattle. In 1992, at the same Haiti was experiencing an international embargo, Dominican cattle began to devastate Haitian gardens near Los Kakawos. The cattle would enter the unfenced gardens, helping themselves to Haitian plantain trees and any other life giving staple the farmer may have planted. Frustrated, a group of young Los Kakawans tried to corral and tether several of the cattle with the intention of turning them over—accompanied by complaints--to their Dominican owners. In the process of herding the cattle, a bull charged one of the Haitian men. In defense, the man hit the bull in the head with a rock which, to everyone's surprise, killed the bull instantly.

The Haitians involved immediately contacted the Dominican border guard who in turn sent for the owner of the bull. The owner could not be found. In the ensuing delay, the bull carcass spoiled and the Dominican guard subsequently forced the Haitian man to pay 7,500 goudes in damages. When the unfortunate man complained to the Haitian army Captain then posted in nearby Sekalasous the officer had to enforce the Dominican guard's decision explaining that he could not afford to upset the Dominican soldiers because of his dependence on them for supplies.

According to people in Los Kakawos, "depi le sa, bef Dominikani manje sa yo vle" – since that time the Dominican cattle eat whatever they want. The reportedly fertile Haitian valleys that border the Dominican Republic in this area no longer have any value; and the Haitians continue to fear provoking the wrath of Dominican cattle owners in the ongoing battle with their cattle. Speaking for a large group of Haitian farmers, one man put it like this:

Nou gen yon pwoblem anko ki di! Afe elvaj Dominiken rann nou pwoblem, li ran nou pwoblem anpil! si nou pa gen solusyon a elvaj dominiken-a….E! koute byen, wi! Afe grangou pa nan jwet ave nou! Afe grangou se en sel solusyon li bay. …..Nou gen dwa aji mal ave bet sa yo a…. n-ap blie se ap Dominiken n-ap aji …y-ap touye nou…Maten-a te gen yon vach plen, neg bay li kout machet preske tout bet la soti…ou we sa sa k-ap mennen

[We have another problem, a big problem! Dominican livestock gives us a big problem, it gives us a lot of problems! If we do not find a solution to the Dominican livestock problem … Hey! Listen! Hunger ain't a game around here! Starvation has only one solution (death)…We get pissed off with the Dominican animals … we forget that when we go after a Dominican animal it's a Dominican were messing with … they are going to kill us … This very morning there was a pregnant cow (in a garden) the fellow wounded it with a machete and almost all the guts spilled out … you see what that can lead to?]

[112] Virtually all Haitian State schools the researchers visited were in similar disrepair with the following exceptions: In Kass a new "Lekol Nasyonal" stands unfinished, reportedly for a "lack of funds." In Los Kakawos the people are hard at work building an impressive new "Lekol Nasyonal"—presently classes are held in a rented building. In La Miel UN personnel refurbished the "Lekol Nasyonal" shortly before their withdrawal in November 1997.

[113] The Haitian school system has 15 grades:

1) enfantine 1
2) enfantine 2
3) primP 1
4) primP 2
5) elementP 1
6) elementP 2
7) mwayen 1
8) mwayen 2
9) 6 eme
10) 5eme
11) 4eme
12) 3eme
13) Segund
14) Rheto
15) Philosphe

Most rural schools arrive at "Mwayen 2," the eighth grade, which is the end of primary school. Students who are able to continue their education must then go to Tomasik, Hinche or other large towns.

[114] The residents of Guayajayuco and the surrounding parajes are much more oriented towards Restauración and Loma de Cabrera, which, due to distance and quality of the roads, are must closer than Pedro Santana. Pedro Santana is located approximately 40 kilometers from Guayajayuco along the International Highway, which is in very poor condition along this stretch.

[115]

APPROXIMATE SIZE AND DISTANCE FROM GUAYAJAYUCO OF PARAJES

PARAJES	**HOUSES** *(1)**	**INHABITANTS** *(2)**	**DISTANCE** *(3)**
Guayajayuco	122	620	n/a

Pueblo Nuevo	w/Guayajayuco		1 km.
Almaceyes	12	52	5 km.
Rancho Higuero	30	107	11km
La Zurza	32	120	10 km.
Rossó	29	86	4 km.
Vallecito	5	21	3 km.
Caratá	41	141	4 km.
Pasutico	w/ Caratá	w/ Caratá	5 km.
El Dajao	4	n/a	n/a
Hoyo Prieto	n/a	n/a	n/a

(1) Information taken from malaria worker in the zone and includes all buildings in the community.
(2) Distances extremely approximate, information provided by local I.A.D. project representative.
(3) Total numbers based on records of malaria worker in zone.

[116] Taxes and approximate amounts:
Cock fights (galleras);
- Entrance tax: 20 pesos for seat; 10 pesos without seat
- 50 pesos to fight a cock
- 25 pesos por carga de habichuela
- 5 or 10 pesos for market stall
-Animal hitching post (5 pesos per night)
-Carniceria for the butchering of animals (charged per quintal)
-Purchase of registration books by alcaldes (check this out!)

[117] Both Guayajayuco and a large part of Macasía are lands that have been declared to be agricultural zones and colonies. As such, these settlement are owned and fall under the jurisdiction of the IAD. In theory, in the agricultural zones the IAD must approve any new farmers wishing to work in the area. They also monitor production, at times provide seeds and technology (tractors) under differing terms, and also technical assitance to farmers working on IAD lands. The IAD has also promoted the development of local Farmer Associations and Women's Clubs. Nevertheless, in practice, farmers often complain that the "encargados" del IAD are political appointees who rarely show up or provide any useful assistance.

[118] In the case of the focus region, they were only mentioned as having representatives in Sabana Cruz and Guayabal of Bánica.

[119] The researchers were unable to clarify the details regarding this impending project. However, a study was reportedly carried out in Saltade sometime in Fedruary by two Belgian professors and 14 Haitian students from Damier.

[120] Reports varied from 80 to 226 springs capped.

[121] In all three research regions in Haiti we found there has been a shift in recent decades from Catholicism, the official religion of the Haitian State, to various protestant denominations. Though there are regions of Haiti where the Catholic NGO presence is strong, this was not the case in the area we studied--perhaps the reason a majority of people in the region report belonging to a Protestant church

The proliferation of churches in the region is reflective of a general, and admitted fickleness among the population with regard to institutionalized religions. There is no apparent division between members of the various churches and it is not uncommon to find members of the same family, even spouses, belonging to different churches. Haitians along the border downplay the importance of religious denomination with the commonly heard statement "se yon sel bondye" (there is only one god) by which Haitians along the border mean it is the same god who reigns over all churches.,