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PRELIMINARY & INFORMAL OBSERVATIONS OF  
SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF  
FEEDER ROAD IMPROVEMENT  
IN HAITI

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## C O N T E N T S

	<u>Page</u>
A. Some Socio-Economic Implications of Feeder Road Improvement in the South	1
1. History of Community Development at La Vallée	1
2. History of Recent Road Improvement at La Vallée	7
3. Some Perceived Effects of the Re-Opening of the Road Link from Blockhaus to Carrefour St. Antoine	16
4. Interviews with Truck Drivers from Bainet	20
B. Some Socio-Economic Implications of Feeder Road Improvement in the North	21
1. Places Visited	21
2. Methodology	21
3. Major Findings	22
4. Immediate Effects	24

A. SOME SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF FEEDER ROAD IMPROVEMENT IN THE SOUTH

1. History of Community Development at La Vallée

The people of La Vallée de Jacmel, with whom we spoke, perceived themselves as rather unique in terms of their community development. As a retired school teacher told us "We learned to do things for ourselves from our grandparents". Another community leader said that La Vallée had community development before the word had come into use. These perceptions seem to be borne out by some of the construction which has taken place at Ridore, the social center of La Vallée. There, people from La Vallée built a large Catholic church in 1910. The two schools in Ridore, the Brothers' School and the Sisters' School were built in 1926 and 1930, respectively. According to our informants, these buildings were constructed with labor, materials, money, and time donated by local people, who have had a tradition of performing community work on Saturdays.

Our informants perceived that the collaboration among the inhabitants of La Vallée is very unusual, something of which they are proud.

In 1951, an agricultural cooperative was formed with the help of an agronomist working at Ternier. (Another informant said that this cooperative was begun in 1946, but he seemed less reliable on the point). This cooperative was inaugurated in 1955 and was recognized by the State in 1966. The cooperative has maintained a Caisse Populaire,<sup>1/</sup> and in 1958 built a rural school. This school began with 240 students and one teacher. Now there are 450 students and several teachers.

After Hurricane Flora destroyed the roofs of the Brothers' School and other buildings in 1963, the people of La Vallée contributed their Saturday labor to repairing the buildings and constructing cement gutters on the main building in the Brothers' compound.

In 1968-69, the government ordered that Community Action Councils ("CAC" = "Conseild'Action Communautaire") be established in rural areas. The CAC's are administered through ONAAC, the National Organization for Literacy Instruction. By law, all inhabitants of a rural area are members of their CAC. In practice, not all participate. The CAC of Ternier, which takes in a fairly large part of the Western area of La Vallée,

<sup>1/</sup> Credit Union

has given out membership cards to those members who wish to take a more active part. There are now said to be about 400 members.<sup>1/</sup> These members are divided into eleven regional groups (called "Sous-Comités") which meet monthly. In addition, there is a general meeting held at Ternier which is also held every month.

In 1965, the Ternier CAC repaired the rural school, which had been damaged by Hurricane Flora in 1963. The same CAC has reportedly been instrumental in the collection of water coming from a spring in the area.<sup>2/</sup>

The planning for the "captage" of Source Bousico, the main spring which waters the Ridore area, began in 1969. The "captage" was completed in August, 1975, after thirty-five days of labor. Most of this work was contributed on Saturdays. The materials for the "captage" were donated by local residents. We were told that the cost for the "captage" was 1,900 gdes (= \$380). The pipes and basin of the "captage" were designed by F.L.R., an engineer from La Vallée. F.L.R. donated his time and expertise, instead of taking the 10% fee engineers usually get. Local masons ("bosses macons") and other skilled workers also donated their work.

Before the Source Bousico was "capté", the local workers built a penetration road ("route de penetration") from the main road to the spring. They apparently did this in order to be able to show outsiders what they had done. The road was not needed for the construction of the "captage", because the materials were carried by hand or by donkey, not by truck. (The construction of this "route de penetration" is an indication of the importance given to the function of roads

1/ When the Ternier CAC began in 1968-69, there were about 100 active members.

2/ Henceforth, we will use the French term "captage" for this.

as a means of showing outsiders what the community has done).<sup>1/</sup>

Since the "captage" of Source Bousico, more than twenty springs in the area have been "capté". The construction at Bousico was the most expensive, because everyone was inexperienced and more cement than necessary was used. The "captage" of most springs now cost between \$200 and \$250. The "captage" of springs is considered one of the highest priorities by the residents of the area and there are plans for work on many more springs. In fact, one was being worked on on a Saturday during our visit, but we were unable to visit this site.

The principal community development organization in La Vallée is CODEVA. It was founded in late 1976 or early 1977. CODEVA was organized by the teachers of the Ridore schools, including both (Haitian) nuns and (foreign) brothers who run the two schools. Also involved were people from La Vallée who have moved to Port-au-Prince. There are three types of membership. Local residents pay 1 gde (= \$.20) a month; those in Port-au-Prince (whose branch is named the "Fraternite Valléenne") pay \$1. per month; those abroad (in the U.S. and Canada) pay \$2. per month.

CODEVA is seen as an organization which transcends the local Community Councils ("Conseils d'Action Communautaire") in geographical terms but works with them in its programs. CODEVA embraces the entire parish of La Vallée and is thus larger than any CAC or "section rurale" (the smallest Haitian administrative unit) in La Vallée. In the sense that its

<sup>1/</sup> At some point after the spring was "capté" the leaders of La Vallée brought the Charge d'Affaires (some say the "Ambassador") of Canada to come to look at their construction. As a result, the Canadian government gave the people of La Vallée funds to "capté" four additional springs. We were told that the Canadians gave this money because "they saw that the people of La Vallée saw what their own needs were". One reason why the Candians may have become interested in La Vallée is that an officer from the Canadian Embassy came occasionally to the area to check baptismal certificates there. Apparently it has been a practice for people trying to enter Canada to forge baptismal certificates, which are the basic form of identification in Haiti. The official comes to the Catholic church at Ridore to verify certificates. It may have been this person who became interested in community development at La Vallée.

boundaries are those of the parish and that it, like the Catholic church, is centered in Ridore, CODEVA may be seen as a Catholic organization. This impression is strengthened by the fact that its President is a nun and its Treasurer a brother. Nevertheless, CODEVA is not officially connected to the Catholic Church and its members are both Catholic and Protestant. In fact, one of the brothers told us that another of the brothers organized a group of fellow Catholics to help a Protestant congregation build its church. He also told us that Protestants participate in the activities of CODEVA as well as Catholics. In any case, the overwhelming majority of the population of La Vallée is Catholic rather than Protestant.

CODEVA is currently involved in several community development projects. Among them are: the construction of a "route de penetration" and at least the planning of several more; the selling of coffee tree seedlings; the selling of carrot and cabbage seeds; and the construction of a hospital at Ridore.

This latter project began about twenty years ago when several school teachers at Ridore purchased a plot of land to be used for the eventual construction of a hospital. Construction of the hospital began in June, 1976 and is partially completed. The hospital was designed by the locally born engineer F.L.R. The materials for its construction were donated by local people and by La Valléans in Port-au-Prince and abroad. Work on the construction takes place on Saturdays. Labor, including that of the "bosses macons" and other skilled workers is donated, as with the "captage". Once the hospital is completed, CODEVA wants the Ministry of Public Health to staff it with a doctor and nurses. They believe that at that point their efforts should be taken over by the Government. At the present time there is a dispensary in La Vallée staffed by a nurse (who is one of the nuns) and a Swiss nurse who comes to help from time to time.

CODEVA leaders want to open up the interior of La Vallée. For this reason, one of their highest priorities is the construction of new "routes de penetration". G7 visited the site of the penetration road that CODEVA is building between Ridore and Ternier. 40 men in two teams work on the road on Saturdays. They are fed a meal made with rice sent by the Red Cross. This project began in October-December, 1978.

In April, 1979, CODEVA began to make available to local residents coffee tree seedlings ("pepinieres de café") for purchase at low price. A total of 8,000 seedlings have been obtained by CODEVA. We saw some of the 3,000 seedlings that were being kept at Source Bousico. The rest are kept at other springs. (It is important to keep the coffee seedlings near a spring so that they may be watered regularly). CODEVA has appointed a person at each spring to water the seedlings. The seedlings are in the open air but, we were informed, none of the local residents "would think" of stealing them

CODEVA has also been selling carrot and cabbage seeds at a price of 12 gdes a year. Since the road has been improved, vegetables such as these can reach the Port-au-Prince market more easily before spoiling.

In November, 1978, CODEVA began a cooperative for embroidery. The purpose of the cooperative is to provide local women with employment so that they would not migrate permanently to Port-au-Prince. CODEVA leaders found that when women move to the capital, even if they say it is only temporary, they usually never return to La Vallée. To combat this out-migration, CODEVA chose the establishment of an embroidery group because many of the local women had been taught to embroider in the nuns' school, but had no outlet for this talent. CODEVA now has 60 members in the cooperative. The entry price is 3 gdes (\$.60), which has been used to buy thread. Twenty-five women have paid their dues and another twenty-five have partially paid. Members of the Port-au-Prince branch of CODEVA (called "La Fraternite Valléenne") have been looking for a market for the embroidery. None has yet been found in Port-au-Prince, but some have been purchased by a teacher at College Suisse in Jacmel. CODEVA leaders have written to the Ministry of Agriculture for help in this project, but have not yet received a response.

In addition, CODEVA members have helped to build four churches in the area. Apparently these have been mostly Catholic churches, though at least one of them was a Protestant church (mentioned above).

CODEVA leaders outlined to us their conceptions of La Vallée's immediate needs for further community development. These are:

1. A covered marketplace, like the one in Jacmel. Presently the market at Ridore is composed of makeshift stalls which do not provide sufficient shelter from the rain, which can ruin all the produce sold in the market except vegetables. With a proper marketplace,

Ridore would be able to compete better with other agricultural centers. Several leaders, both in Ridore and Ternier also mentioned the need for latrines to serve the market place.

2. A slaughterhouse is needed near the marketplace to facilitate the sanitary selling of meat.
3. A communal pharmacy is needed, especially with the completion of the hospital. "Take-off funds" (Fr. "Fonds de demarrage") are being sought for this project.

In addition to CODEVA, a number of outside organizations have been active in La Vallée. The Foster Parent Plan (Fr. Plan Parrainage) has been active in the La Vallée area since 1977 (or earlier). Since October, 1978, the Foster Parent Plan has had an office in Ridore and provides monthly cash supplements to families with children in need. One local farmer called Foster Parent Plan "the biggest miracle we've had in La Vallée."

IDAI<sup>1/</sup> has provided farmers loans to buy pigs and food for the pigs for about a year. This has been a popular program, but one farmer reported that there are now too many pigs in the area and prices have gone down. Nevertheless, a truck takes the pigs sold in the Ridore marketplace to Port-au-Prince every Saturday.

BCA, the Bureau de Credit Agricole, part of the Ministry of Agriculture, is also active in the area, lending farmers money at the rate of 12 gdes(=\$2.40) interest for each 100 gdes(=\$20.) a year. (As noted above, the Red Cross has recently supplied CODEVA with rice to feed the men building a "route de penetration".

(The history of the road link from Blockhauss to Carrefour St. Antoine as a part of community development at La Vallée is described in a separate section of this report.)

1/ We believe this may be a branch of the Ministry of Agriculture.

## 2. History of Recent Road Improvement at La Vallée

### Summary:

October 1976 - New Jacmel-Port-au-Prince Road inaugurated;

October-November 1976 - La Vallée people begin to repair the route from Ridore to Carrefour St. Antoine, using their own funds;

Early 1977 - The Canadians inspect the work done on the road and donate \$1,000 for the purchase of tools;

Early 1977 - The first buses begin to come from Jacmel to take passengers and cargo to Port-au-Prince and Jacmel. The large trucks from Bainet begin to use the Blockhaus-Carrefour St. Antoine link to travel to and from Port-au-Prince instead of the Blockhaus-Trouin-Fauche link;

January-June, 1977 - Foster Parent Plan donates sacks of cement to help with the reconstruction of the road. FPP works with CODEVA, which had recently been established at La Vallée;

January 13 - September 15 1978 - TPTC-AID conduct pilot project to repair the route from Carrefour St. Antoine to Blockhaus. (The Ridore-Blockhaus link was begun in May 1978);

October 1978 - March 1979 - TPTC and SEPRRN work on the road with people from outside of the community;

March 1979 - TPTC returns tools belonging to CODEVA which reportedly it has been using since October 1978 without permission;

March 1979 - The popular engineer from the area, F.L.R. is replaced by an engineer from Archaie.

The people of La Vallée first became "heated up" by the idea of reconstructing the road link from Blockhaus to Carrefour St. Antoine when the new Jacmel-Port-au-Prince Road was inaugurated in October, 1976. Uppermost in the minds of La Valléeans, we were told, was the possibility that such a link to the new Jacmel-Port-au-Prince Road would offer transportation for sick people to hospitals at Port-au-Prince and Jacmel, a trip which was extremely difficult beforehand. One community leader at Ternier described the agony of transporting her very sick son by donkey down the steep slope to Policien, the nearest point on the old Jacmel-Port-au-Prince Road. She was afraid that he would die before they made it to the truck.

Also important in the minds of La Valléeans was the possibility of obtaining outside help for their own community development efforts. Several of the community leaders told me that a road is necessary for outsiders to be able to come to see what they had done already and to send further help. As the community leader at Ternier, mentioned above, said "A road is the first thing you need for development".

A practicable road from Blockhaus to Carrefour St. Antoine also meant that trucks from Bainet to Port-au-Prince could pass along the repaired link instead of the one from Blockhaus to Trouin and Fauche, which they had been using. This meant that they would pass along Ternier, Ridore, Dade, Lavanneau, Musac, etc. Furthermore, buses from Jacmel and Port-au-Prince could come to La Vallée as well.

Shortly after the new Jacmel-Port-au-Prince Road came into use, the people of La Vallée themselves began to work to improve the road link between Blockhaus and Carrefour St. Antoine. We are not sure under what local auspices this work was organized. It may have been the old agricultural cooperative or an informal group of community leaders, including the teachers of the school, the owner of the store and the depot at Ridore and others. In any case, the community organization, CODEVA, was begun soon after work on the road link started, and apparently directed the work subsequently. At the beginning, all the labor was performed on Saturdays and all tools and materials were donated by individuals and through CODEVA and/or other local groups.

One of the leaders of CODEVA explained that there was wide community cooperation on this project because, whether they were more or less poor, all knew what it was to have to go to Jacmel or Policien on foot in order to get to Port-

au-Prince. They all shared the same problem. He cited the proverb "Malere son paspo antre tout kote" (Misery is a passport to everywhere).

In early 1977, the Canadian Ambassador reportedly came to La Vallée to observe the work that had been done on the road. The Canadian government donated \$1,000 to the project, which was used for the purchase of tools to use in the road construction.

In January, 1977, the Foster Parent Plan ("Plan Parrainage") with its office in Jacmel, donated two hundred sacks of cement to CODEVA for use on the road. This cement was used for the construction of fifty-three drains and for the construction of cement patching along the road ("beton"). (Some of these cement patches are discussed below). Ditches along the road were also dug. This work lasted until June, 1977.

In addition, CODEVA rented a tractor from TPTC to be used on Saturdays. The tractor was used for at least 10 Saturdays. A total of \$19 was paid for gasoline and \$10 was used to pay the driver.

In early 1977, trucks from Baintet to Port-au-Prince began using the Blockhaus-Carrefour St. Antoine link. Around the same time smaller buses from Jacmel began to come to La Vallée to pick up passengers and light cargo from Blockhaus to Carrefour St. Antoine.

In January 1978, the TPTC-AID Agricultural Feeder Road Project arranged with CODEVA to continue the reconstruction of the link from Carrefour St. Antoine to Ridore. It was also arranged with the CAC of Ternier to continue the reconstruction of the route from Ridore to Blockhaus.<sup>1/</sup>

The agreements involved work on the road which would be done by local people hired by CODEVA and CAC of Ternier. The workers would receive the minimum wage of 8 gdes(=\$1.60) a day. One gourde of this(=\$.20) would go into the funds of CODEVA or the CAC of Ternier. Some of the daily wage also went into taxes and the purchase of official work permits.

<sup>1/</sup> When the CODEVA leaders spoke of this project they usually referred to "TAMS" (i.e. the U.S. Consultant Group). Sometimes they said "TAMS-TPTC". Only rarely did they mention AID. This was true for our other informants as well. They referred to the project in general as the "pilot project" ("projet pilote").

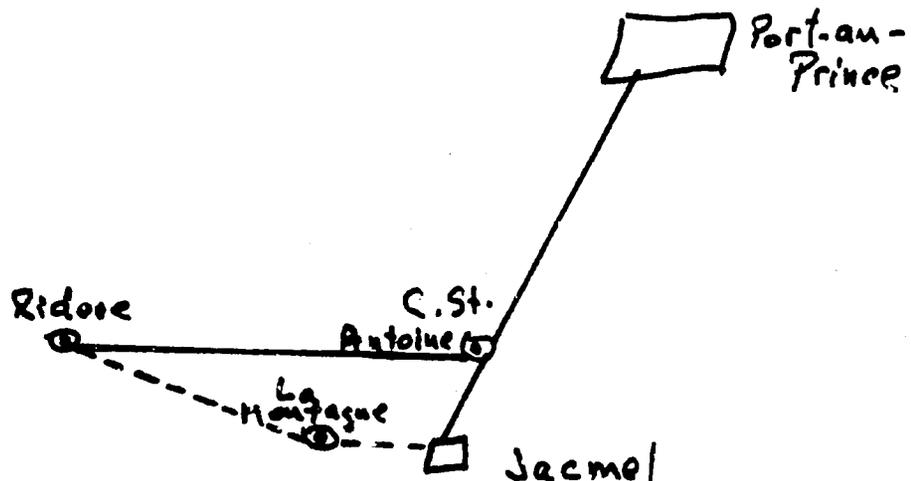
We had an extensive interview with several of the leaders of CODEVA about their experiences with the Feeder Road Project. They did not know our specific interest in this subject but seemed very concerned to tell about their experiences with the pilot project.

A contract between the Project and CODEVA was apparently negotiated to the satisfaction of both sides, but was never signed. The reason the contract was never signed was, reportedly, that lawyers in Jacmel kept finding small points about it which they wished to change. Finally, the Project and CODEVA decided to work together on the basis of an oral agreement.

The leaders of CODEVA stated that the lawyers in Jacmel were stalling because the leaders in Jacmel are interested in keeping La Vallée from developing as an economic and social services center. Jacmel hindered ('empeche') the contract because it did not want to see the farmers of La Vallée able to buy manufactured projects, i.e. bread, sugar etc. elsewhere than in Jacmel. The traders in Jacmel also have been able to buy the produce of La Vallée de Jacmel (such as plantains) cheaply because the peasants had to go to Jacmel to buy goods, and sold their produce at the same time. The prices of goods in stores in Jacmel are very high.

The only reason the people of La Vallée go to Jacmel is to buy goods. They sell their produce there because they need to make purchases there. If the people of La Vallée were able to purchase goods in La Vallée itself, they would not go to Jacmel. For this reason, the merchants and other leaders of Jacmel reportedly see the development of La Vallée as a commercial center, as a threat to them.

The Prefect of Jacmel and other leaders there wanted the reconstructed road to go not from Ridore to Carrefour St. Antoine, which is between Port-au-Prince and Jacmel, but rather from Ridore to La Montagne to Jacmel to Carrefour St. Antoine to Port-au-Prince (See roughly sketched map).



Jacmel would then at least have the traffic from La Vallée passing through Jacmel on its way to Port-au-Prince. But Jacmel obviously lost out on this issue.

In any case, the "pilot project" work began without a signed contract. The oral agreement called for CODEVA to handle the payment of the workers. CODEVA did not want an outsider from Port-au-Prince coming to La Vallée to pay the workers. The local paymaster was Brother Louis, one of the brothers at the school. He is said to have all of the figures on the payments and other aspects of the road project. Unfortunately, he was not present at La Vallée during our brief visit there.

When our informants spoke about the improvement of the road and the development of their community in general, the "pilot project" did not constitute a major part of their narratives. Rather, the pilot project was seen as one aspect of an activity which they had begun some time before, and which they considered largely completed when the pilot project began. That is to say that the Carrefour St. Antoine Ridore-Blockhaus link was "operational" ("praticable, voiturable") about a year before the pilot project began! Informants used words such as "reparation" (repair) or "patche" (patching) when referring to the work completed during the pilot project phase. They did not consider the inclusion of local workers on the project as an innovation because they had been working on the road for some time already on a local basis. What was new for them in the pilot project was receiving a wage for their labor. They especially appreciated the contributions which were made to the treasury of CODEVA as a part of the agreement.

In the discussion of the reconstruction of the road by our informants at both Ternier and Ridore, the name and personality of one F.L.R. (who has been previously mentioned) was prominent. F.L.R., a member of a well-known family in La Vallée, had, as reported above, helped in the design of the "captage" of springs and in the hospital at Ridore. All of his work was done voluntarily. His contribution seemed to be deeply appreciated by the people with whom we spoke. F.L.R. apparently contributed his help on the road work from the beginning of the activity in late 1976. He also apparently directed the pilot project on the Ridore-Blockhaus link, for which an agreement with the CAC of Ternier had been reached. His removal from the project in March 1979, appeared to be very disturbing to our informants. This event is discussed further below.

The CODEVA leaders were not entirely happy with the pilot project. On the technical level, the one section of concrete which was laid down during the pilot project did not last longer than two months, while the concrete sections laid down by CODEVA workers earlier have lasted two years. The pilot project concrete section was put down in a place called Nan Midi. CODEVA put down at least four concrete sections elsewhere. These are at (1) Dade, (2) Dumola, (3) Trou Zombi (a long section), and (4) Musac (near the chapel). The CODEVA leaders invited comparison between these sections and the Nan Midi section put down by the pilot project.

One CODEVA leader was insulted by the fact that the Consultant report on the pilot project was never shown to CODEVA, which agreed to be a subject for this experiment. He said that not having seen the report, CODEVA had no way of knowing how much nonsense ("bétises") was in it.

The CODEVA leaders also felt that a certain degree of division had been brought into the community by the fact that the Project made separate agreements with CODEVA and the Ternier CAC. By emphasizing one of the community councils in the parish instead of the organization designed to serve the whole parish exclusively, the Feeder Road Project created a certain competition between Ridore and Ternier. This competition had existed before, and is not entirely a bad thing, according to one CODEVA leader. However, by causing funds to go into both CODEVA and the Ternier CAC, the rivalry has increased to the point where the leaders of the Ternier CAC now only rarely come to CODEVA meetings. This CODEVA leader also said that the Ternier CAC had come under the control of one family and was less effective. Its president, he said, was not very good. (While we can in no way verify this report, we can say that the president of the Ternier CAC was not a good informant, needing coaxing in many of the answers he gave from his sister-in-law).

We heard nothing of this disunity from the two leaders of the Ternier CAC whom we interviewed. To the contrary, they were excited about the use to which the funds obtained during the pilot project were being put to use. They are building a large Social Center off the road at Ternier. This center, which will have several rooms, one of which will be a theater with a stage, was begun in April 1979. Holes were dug for the foundation of the Center. In addition, a ruined two-story house next to the Social Center is being

converted into a depot for the Cooperative de Stockage, which the Ternier CAC is organizing. Wood planks for the depot have already been cut. Men were paid to dig the holes and cut the planks. All other labor (and the wood itself) will be donated. No work was being done when we visited on April 14, because it was Holy Saturday, a holiday.

The period from the end of the pilot project (October 1978) to March 1979, was one which displeased the leaders of CODEVA quite a bit. One problem concerned the tools which CODEVA had purchased from the Project. Part of the agreement was that CODEVA could buy the tools used during the pilot project for a slightly reduced price after five months. After seven months, the Project sold the tools to CODEVA. However, after the pilot project, TPTC crews from outside the area came in and began using these same tools, which now belonged to CODEVA. The tools were being kept in depots along the road to be used by CODEVA for repairs of the road. Apparently, the TPTC crews forced the people who were maintaining the depots to turn the tools over to them. (We tried to find out precisely how this happened, but were unable to get a clear response from the CODEVA leaders about it). From October to March, the TPTC crews used the CODEVA tools without permission. Finally, in March 1979, CODEVA leaders brought pressure on TPTC (in part through a message sent to be broadcast on Radio National) to return the tools. Twelve wheelbarrows were given back to CODEVA. Many of them were in a bad state and were not usable. In addition, seventy-eight picks were also given back to CODEVA. Forty-eight of these were new; thirty were used; none had the wooden handles that were on the picks which CODEVA had purchased. In addition, SEPRRN took sand CODEVA had put by the side of the road without paying. But CODEVA did not complain.

A much more general complaint, one which we heard from virtually all informants, was that people from outside the area are now being used on the road construction. The blame for this is placed generally on SEPRRN and TPTC and in particular on the engineer who replaced F.L.R. Apparently, the new engineer is a friend of the wife of the Captain of the Army at Jacmel. Like her, he is from Arcahaie. He arranged with the Captain to bring in outsiders ("étrangers") from Arcahaie, Duvalierville, St. Marc and elsewhere to work on the road. These outsiders are apparently working both on the link from Blockhaus to Bainet and on further work being done to the link between Carrefour St. Antoine and Blockhaus.

It is said that these outsiders have paid the engineer for the opportunity to work on the road. The supervisors of the work are also said to receive money from the workers. Words used to describe this change in the mode of recruitment of workers by TAMS-TPTC-AID were "injustice" and "hypocrisie". It was also reported that these workers do not respect trees on the side of the road. That is, they needlessly cut trees that are near the road, when local workers, who would know the owners of the trees, would have left them alone. It may be that this comment is connected to an effort by TPTC to widen the link from Carrefour St. Antoine to Blockhaus).

The fact that the pilot project involved the recruitment of local labor and then brought in outside labor right after the end of that phase, has angered the leaders of CODEVA. This anger was increased when engineer F.L.R. was "dumped" ("basculé") in March 1979. The circumstances of his transfer to Cavailon were not clear, but one informant said that it involved an argument about the quality of the work being done on the road. When F.L.R. was not present, the work on the road did not go so well. In part, as a native of the area, he had a personal interest in building a good road. Furthermore, as a native of the area, he knew which sand was the best to use in road construction. When he was not there, apparently both before and after the pilot project, the supervisors would not listen to the local people's suggestions about the best sand and chalk ("tuffe") to use on the road.<sup>1/</sup> Furthermore, the outside people made the road too flat, so that rain water would not run off of it easily.

A group of people we talked with derided TAMS-TPTC for continuing to work on the Carrefour St. Antoine-Blockhaus link. They finished the road, and now they are doing it again, one said; the others in the group agreed. Another informant said that TPTC is doing make-work ("Yo éxécuté ti travail pou travail"). Another informant, at Ternier, said that SEPRRN announced on the radio that from now on they would maintain the route to Blockhaus, that SEPRRN has seven teams working on the road. He said, however, that TPTC was keeping the business to itself ("TPTC kimbe afe li"). Another informant said that TPTC pays the engineer and the truck driver, but that they do not do anything. Another informant said that the workers (from outside the area) get paid 57 gdes (= \$11.40) per month and the team leaders ("chefs d'équipe") get 125 gdes (= \$25) per month.

<sup>1/</sup> i.e. They brought in a dry chalk.

The leaders of CODEVA said that because they saw outsiders working on the road, they decided not to get involved in it any more ("Dépoui yo oue sé létranjé, yo pa ladann ... Yo désintérésé"). One CODEVA leader said that the ideal would be to assign a person to check each two kilometers of the road. He said that if CODEVA had continued to be involved in the road, that is what they would have done. Another leader said that they had a chance to maintain the road, but now it has fizzled ("raté"). As a result, CODEVA has turned its energy to other projects which are described elsewhere in this report.

### 3. Some Perceived Effects of the Re-opening of the Road Link from Blockhaus to Carrefour St. Antoine

Before the road link from Blockhaus to Carrefour St. Antoine was reconstructed, very few trucks and no buses came to La Vallée. Ridore, the center of La Vallée, saw perhaps a dozen trucks a year. These trucks were either heavy truck ("camions lourds"; "camions boites") which came to pick up "vetiver" by contract or were trucks which came to deliver supplies and food aid to the nuns. Before holidays, students and others who wished to go to La Vallée from Port-au-Prince would rent a bus for between \$80 and \$100 to make the trip.

The lack of trucks affected the three principal markets along the Blockhaus-St. Antoine link,<sup>1/</sup> because intermediaries would either have to wait for a truck to get them to Blockhaus (so that they could catch a truck going from Bainet to Port-au-Prince) or would have to go to Bainet or Policien with donkeys. Local farmers who took their produce to Policien to be shipped to Port-au-Prince would often lose some of it as it fell out of sacks carried by donkeys along steep mountain paths.

Since the road has been opened (early 1977) about five or six buses pass along the link each day. None of these buses originate in La Vallée. They all come from Jacmel. The buses charge 10 gdes per passenger (= \$2). A "deluxe" seat in front costs 15 gdes (= \$3). Cheaper arrangements can be made by special clients ("pratik") of the driver. The buses only carry light cargo. Therefore their passengers are usually either farmers or intermediaries with only a few sacks of produce to sell or passengers who are travelling for other reasons.

In addition, five or six trucks from Bainet pass by each day as well. These trucks charge less per passenger - 7 gdes (= \$1.40) and are used primarily by large scale intermediaries or local farmers who have several sacks of produce to take to market.

We were told that in all there are probably about 10 trucks in Bainet and about 10 buses from Jacmel which ply the Blockhaus-Carrefour St. Antoine link.

Two of the sought-after effects of the road, as foreseen in the Project Paper, was increased production of perishable

<sup>1/</sup> These markets are Dade (Fridays); Ridore (Fridays); and Blockhaus (Tuesdays). There is also a smaller market at Ternier on Tuesdays and Fridays - and probably other smaller markets as well.

produce and increased livestock production. One small accidental sample of informants reported increased production in both factors. La Vallée produces good grapefruit ("chadek") which were often left to rot on the ground before trucks came to La Vallée. Now fewer rotten grapefruit are seen, and one farmer reported that people are planting more grapefruit trees. Another informant told us, however, that this has been a bad year for grapefruit, so the total production may not have increased this year. Nevertheless, the increased possibilities for marketing grapefruit are seen as a benefit of the road. The area is also suitable for producing vegetables, which some La Vallée leaders have noted. Nevertheless, the production of vegetables is scant and is entirely for local consumption. Although there may have been some increase in the production of cabbage, for which the area is particularly suited, farmers have not been producing other vegetables to sell in the Port-au-Prince market (which is the logical place).

There has been an increase in the marketing of pigs at the Ridore market this past year, we were told. In part this is because farmers have been lent money to buy and raise pigs by IDAI. (See section on Community Development at La Vallée). Another reason, however, is that a truck has been hired to come to Ridore every Saturday to transport pigs to Port-au-Prince.

In general, local farmers reportedly have been receiving better prices for produce they sell to intermediaries in the local markets since the opening of the road. This is because more intermediaries have been coming to the La Vallée markets, thus increasing competition among buyers and raising the prices paid to local farmers. We have no verification or quantitative data to support this, however.

CODEVA leaders see the increased accessibility of the area to outsiders who might help in its development as a major benefit as stated above. Informants also saw the greater accessibility to medical facilities in Port-au-Prince and Jacmel as important benefits.

Interestingly, some La Vallée residents also see their benefit from the road as a loss to people who live along the Blockhaus-Trouin-Fauche link, just as the new Jacmel road is a loss to those who live along the Policien-Trouin-Fauche link. Two people we interviewed at Blockhaus indicated that the new road link had hurt the farmers who live along the "old" Baint link from Blockhaus to Trouin and Fauche.<sup>1/</sup>

<sup>1/</sup> The people along this route, instead of having the trucks come by them regularly, must bring their produce by donkey to Fauche. It costs about 3 gdes (= \$.60) to rent a donkey for this purpose.

These informants claimed that this was an area in which a lot of produce was grown. An informant in Ternier commented that the people along this link were being hurt; but another informant said that the land in the Blockhaus-Trouin area was very poor, in any case.

Our informants at Blockhaus said that intermediaries ("sara") usually use the large truck from Bainet because they cannot carry more than a sack or two of produce on a bus. Thus the trucks usually carry "sara" to Port-au-Prince and the buses carry other passengers, including small farmers selling their produce directly. Nevertheless, the choice of a truck or a bus is not always made according to these factors. Also involved is whether a passenger is a regular client ("pratik") of a particular bus or a truck driver. It may be worth it to wait for one's own driver because he can give a better price for transport.

Most of the bus drivers are from Jacmel. There are none from La Vallée, and of course no buses originate in La Vallée. An informant in Ternier told me that one bus driver, Joe, is "the idol of La Vallée", because he is willing to carry messages and do other favors for local residents.

On the bus we took from Ridore to Port-au-Prince as part of this informal data gathering, the driver was training an assistant to become a driver himself. Our researcher was sitting between them. The driver told the assistant that when La Vallée people ask him where he is from, he should tell them (falsely) "La Vallée", so they will be more inclined to use his bus. Whether or not he actually fools them is not known.

One CODEVA member noted that when the road link from Blockhaus to Bainet was completed, this would be good for the people of La Vallée, because they would have greater access to the market and stores of Bainet. However, he said the repaired road link would hurt the truck drivers of Bainet, who now have a monopoly on traffic to and from Bainet.

Regarding the question of workers being paid with food or cash for their work, we did not get any clearly stated opinions, though there seemed to be a preference for cash payment.

As mentioned in the pilot project draft report, the price of agricultural ("escouade") labor has increased from \$.40 to \$.60 for a traditional day of labor. However,

the people at Ternier with whom we spoke said that the price varied from season to season and according to the work done. The people at Ridore said that the price was \$.60 (and thus has not gone down since the completion of the pilot project), but that this increase had nothing to do with the wages the Project paid local laborers.

In an attempt to get information about the prices of commodities in two of the local shops, those at Ridore and Blcckhaus, we found that the prices that were being quoted had no relation to those listed in the draft report. This is because for many of the items mentioned in the draft report, the prices are listed according to "measure" of the commodity without specifying the exact units. For this reason, we found the data in the Consultant draft report to be inadequate for comparative purposes.

#### 4. Interviews with Truck Drivers from Bainet <sup>1/</sup>

We interviewed three drivers of "camions lourds", "camions boites" who make the Bainet-Port-au-Prince trip. One of the most important changes<sup>2/</sup> for them is that the fare charged each passenger has gone down from 10 gdes (= \$2) to 7 gdes (= \$1.40). This probably reflects savings in fuel costs as well as competition from the buses, which go at least as far as Blockhaus. Two drivers told me that there is a bus which makes the trip all the way to Bainet, but we could not confirm this. Another driver estimated that he uses more fuel than before the road improvement because he travels faster. The three drivers estimated that it costs them about \$25 - \$30 in fuel costs to make the trip from Port-au-Prince to Bainet.

Most of the passengers on the trucks are intermediaries ("sara"), who are charged between 2 and 3 gdes per sack of produce (= \$.40 - \$.60). During holidays the trucks carry passengers going home from or to Port-au-Prince. Usually the trucks make an extra trip during these times. The month of May is a busy one because wood from the "grapefruit tree" (Creole "boua chadek") is transported as well as crops. Sometimes the trucks make an extra run during these busy times.

The three drivers mentioned parts of the road which were dangerous. In particular they mentioned Tiquita, which is between Blockhaus and Ridore. They said that the road at Tiquita was particularly slippery after a rain storm. One driver mentioned the place called Nan Midi as well as St. Antoine. A second driver mentioned Morne Moise as a dangerous stretch of the road.

All three trucks make the trip to and from Port-au-Prince three times a week.<sup>3/</sup> The trip to Bainet now takes between 8 and 10 hours. It used to take much longer. In the rainy season it was not uncommon for the truck to have to stop for two or three days after a rain storm to wait for the road to dry.

<sup>1/</sup> There is a special terminal point for the buses which ply the Blockhaus-Port-au-Prince route. It is on Rue Termasse (just before Portail St. Joseph) below Grande Rue. The buses are on the right as one faces the Croix Bossale market. Sometimes the buses also leave from the "station" where the Jacmel buses are. We interviewed the drivers of "Assurance en Christ", "St. Yves et St. Joachin" and "Christ C'est L'Espoir".

<sup>2/</sup> Apparently related to the road improvement.

<sup>3/</sup> One driver said that there were about 10 trucks which made the trip from Bainet. (The second driver said that there were 4 trucks and a bus; the third driver said there were 6 trucks and a bus).

## B. SOME SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF FEEDER ROAD IMPROVEMENT IN THE NORTH

### 1. Places Visited

Our field trip took us on motor bicycle to Barriere Battant, Carrefour, Menard, Dondon, St. Raphael, and Pignon on the first trip. On our second trip we visited again Barriere Battant, Dondon, and St. Raphael (April 16-17).

### 2. Methodology

We interviewed farmers on the road at Barriere Battant, a speculator in agricultural goods, and an Extension Agent in Dondon, the Mayor of the City of St. Raphael, several peasants under a large tree at a market place near the River Bouyaha on the road to Pignon, a shop keeper, a peasant, the Mayor of the city together with several peasants at his business at Savanette near Pignon. During that first visit, a meeting was also arranged for the following day, by the Mayor of St. Raphael at City Hall to meet with the Federation des Conseils d'Action Communautaire.

On the following day, April 17, the meeting was held as scheduled. The group consisted of the Mayor of the city, the Commandant of military district and his assistant, the president, vice president, and general secretary of the Federation and some 15 delegates from local councils of community action. The meeting began at 10 o'clock and lasted nearly three hours. The various opinions of expert informants (city officials, local elites, and peasants) were useful.

### 3. Major Findings

Generally speaking, our findings may be summed up in the following words: anger, frustration, and high hope.

Their anger and frustration seemed to result from the following:

(a) People from Barriere Battant to Pignon expected, not only to work on, but to actively participate in the construction of the road. Expectation to participate was most visible in St. Raphael and Pignon where people had already done some road improvement work through their respective Community Action Councils. At St. Raphael, Saturdays had become a mandatory work day for road improvement activities. Through that involvement a strong sense of identity with the road had evolved.

(b) Their frustration was heightened when City Officials tried to establish contact with the road engineer, but were not successful. The Mayor of the City of St. Raphael was flatly turned down and the CAC and their members became alienated from an activity with which they had associated and identified themselves from the very beginning. From active participants, they had now become spectators. "They have ignored us, so we ignore them also" said the Mayor of St. Raphael. "They (the construction company) behaved as if we did not exist" he added. With this background, one can well understand why the Federation of Councils of Community Action gathered at City Hall to vent their opinions. They want everyone to know how they feel about the road construction effort.

Things were somewhat different at Pignon though the perception of the road construction project was equally negative. The Mayor of the City of Pignon submitted a list of ten persons to the road engineer and threatened to stop the project if they refuse to employ them. The engineer complied partially and employed six of them. However, the Mayor complained that none of them has been working on a permanent basis.

Wherever we went, whomever G7 spoke to, or interviewed, referred to the project staff as a bunch of "outsiders" consisting mainly of people from Port-au-Prince and Cap-Haitien. People in both Pignon and St. Raphael think that the project has employed many people from Dondon, while the Mayor of

Dondon complained that they have not really employed that many persons from his city. However, when compared with St. Raphael, which has none and Pignon which has only six (plus some on a part-time basis), there really are more people from Dondon working on the road. The project staff seems to get along better with people of the City of Dondon than elsewhere. Since they reside there, even though temporarily, they may have felt obligated, for their own safety, to employ more people from Dondon to appease local people's anger and avoid animosity.

(c) Besides the anger and frustration generated by the project, people from Barriere Battant to Pignon are exuberant with the road. City officials, local elite, traders, middlemen, agriculturists and poor peasants, express their joy for the road. People in Dondon, see in the road the possibility of increasing their links with St. Raphael, Pignon, Cap-Haitien and other places in the Northern Plain. For the mayor of St. Raphael and the members of the Federation des Conseils d'Action Communautaire, the road leads to high hopes. It means commerce and commerce means development. Emphatically he added, St. Raphael is the granary of the Northern Plain, the first market center in the Northern Plain and the third largest market center in the Republic. Now, with the road operational year round, St. Raphael will be able to regain its traditional place.

The potentials of the road in terms of its immediate and long-term benefits is well understood by everyone. For the poor peasants near the River Bouyaha, "the road is a treasure", "a pot of gold". Such opinions are shared equally by all Councils for Community Action. For everyone, the road means an end to the isolation brought by each rainy season, mobility and easy access to Cap-Haitien and most other places in the Northern Plain.

#### 4. Immediate Effects

Some immediate effects of the improved road are discernible.

(a) Traffic Increase - There are more frequent trips to Cap-Haitien and other places. People now can make two trips a day to Cap-Haitien, if necessary. In the past, it used to take up to three days to go from Pignon to Cap-Haitien. More trucks and buses are soon expected to be doing the shuttle between Dondon-St. Raphael. St. Raphael-Pignon and Pignon-St. Raphael, and Cap-Haitien.

With traffic increase goes also an increase in the volume of trade carried on. The tobacco produced in Pignon is sold to middlemen in Hinche and Lascahobas, and the White Rum and sugar cane syrup to businessmen from Leogane. There are now reported to be more middlemen visiting the area. Prices are not better yet, but for the farmer it means greater security. Now he can sell to middlemen or market the goods himself.

(b) Fare Reduction - Increased traffic also implies competition. The direct beneficiary is naturally the consumer. There is not any reduction in the cost of transporting agricultural goods, but the following table shows the reduction in passenger fares:

	<u>Bus fare in Gdes</u> <sup>1/</sup>	
	<u>Before</u> <sup>2/</sup>	<u>After</u> <sup>2/</sup>
Pignon-Cap-Haitien	7.50-8.50	2.50-3.50
St. Raphael-Cap-Haitien	6.50-7.50	2.50-3.00
Dondon-Cap-Haitien	2.50-3.50	2.00
Barriere Battant-Dondon	2.00-3.00	1.50-2.00

(c) Reduction in Fuel Consumption - One truck driver in Pignon explained that they used to consume 35 gallons of fuel on Route 100 from Port-au-Prince through Cap-Haitien to Dondon-St. Raphael and Pignon. Now driving through the Plateau Central-Hinche-Lascahobas, they consume only 18 gallons of fuel. They feel, that in the long run, frequency

<sup>1/</sup> It is cheaper to travel by truck than by bus. This explains the range in fare. Differences in fare reflect also the condition of the road during the rainy season.

<sup>2/</sup> Unfortunately, the before-after data are confounded somewhat by seasonal variation, as well. That is to say "Before" refers in part to rainy season; "After" refers in part to dry season.

of repairs, tire use and other wear and tear will go down also. But it is too early to have any data on that aspect.

People at Pignon want to be even better connected with Port-au-Prince through the Plateau Central. One priority, high in their minds is a bridge over the Bouyaha River. They are opposed to the present ford in the river bed, since in their view, this still represents a serious hazard during the rainy season. They will still have to wait several hours on either side after a rain before they can cross.

Generally speaking, some immediate beneficial effects of the road can be seen. People do not hide their opinions and want it be known that they are extremely happy with the road. Though the construction, because of its machine-based nature and the hiring practices, did not generate much local employment, the most important thing was to have a road operational year round.

A study to check on the long term effects of the road is indicated. Rigorous baseline data are needed. It would be then possible to varify more accurately, with quantitative and qualitative data, the factors contained under socio-economic and social analysis impact studies in the project design documents.