# The State of Spatial Economic Research on Haiti: A Selective Survey

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During the past five-year period, two excellent little books by Georges Anglade (1974, 1977), which deal with the economic geography of Haiti, written for use in Haitian schools, have appeared. These books constitute the only attempt to date to summarize and synthesize some of the information regarding the spatial features of Haiti's economy. This is a non-satisfactory state of affairs, for however excellent and useful Anglade's books may be (and they very definitely are), the fact that they are schoolbooks necessarily puts a limit to the type of material which can be presented. Thus, the spatial dimension of the Haitian economy remains one of the least known. So far, little systematic research on spatial and regional problems has seen the light of day. This is not, of course, to say, that no information on the regional dimension exists, but that the problem is that this information is hopelessly scattered in an enormous number of documents which are in turn scattered themselves among a host of official and unofficial organizations and libraries inside and outside Haiti.

One possible reason for the neglect of the regional / spatial dimension is the presumption that such a small country would display relatively little regional variation. However, this presumption is likely to prove incorrect in the case of Haiti. A second and perhaps more important explanation may be found in the degree of centralization of the "Republic of Port-au-Prince", as the country is sometimes jokingly labeled. Virtually everything of importance to the ruling parties is concentrated in the capital: governmental institutions themselves, higher education, communications, the bulk of industry, the

bulk of the urban population and last, but not least, the elite themselves. The capital has always come first in Haitian life, and the rest of the country, including the secondary cities, appears much as a hinterland in comparison to Port-au-Prince and its suburbs.

Whether this situation continue or it will be changed remains to be seen. One cannot exclude the latter alternative, however. It ought to be pointed out that when the second five-year plan for national development was formulated in the mid-seventies, regional problems were given much more consideration at the highest level than at any time hitherto, and the President, during the preparation of the plan, in a speech to the officials of CONADEP (the national planning body), repeatedly pointed to decentralization as a cornerstone in government development policy (Donner, 1977: 10-11).

A serious attempt to decentralize government and to foster regional economic development instead of concentrating on the capital and its surroundings requires economic information, however, and it is the purpose of the present paper to survey some of the existing works which deal specifically with regional and spatial problems. The paper is divided into four different parts, covering (1) studies dealing with all of Haiti's regions, (2) studies of particular regions, (3) studies of spatial aspects of the agricultural marketing system and, finally, (4) studies of external and internal migration. No attempt of completeness will be made. The intention is only to point to the major achievements in each of the four areas.

## STUDIES DEALING WITH THE ENTIRE COUNTRY

The first modern, somewhat unsystematic, attempt to deal with regional economic problems in a comparative fashion was made by Paul Moral, who devoted a chapter of *Le paysan haïtien* (Moral, 1961) to such issues. Moral wrote during a period when the relative isolation of the countryside was being eroded by the gradual penetration of the *camion* to hitertho more or less inaccessible districts. Still, he felt that the peasants by and large "remained locked up within their familiar horizons," (Moral 1961: 123) their main contact with the outside being via the local marketplaces. Thus, regional differences could be important, and Moral proceeded to describe these. He identified nine different geographical regions, described their topo-

graphic and climatic characteristics, attempted to determine some of their more important economic differences, and gave a summary account of the adaptation of farming to population and natural resources, His perspective was partly historic — often extending all the way back to the colonial period.

Judged with the wisdom of hindsight, the main deficiency of Maral's work on the regional economy is that emphasis is too much on description, while few analytical points are made. The same type of criticism may be directed against another monograph which appeared in 1962: Richard Schaedel's *An Essay on the Human Resources of Haiti* (1962). Schaedel who did not deal exclusively with regional matters) chose a somewhat different approach. Instead of attempting to cover entire regions in general terms, he picked particular communities in each of Haiti's five traditional *départements* and assumed that these represented "typically distinct cultural adaptations and adjustments" (Schaedel, 1962: 111).

Such an approach can be defended basically in terms of research economy, and provided that the communities chosen may actually be considered as "typical" for each particular region, some interesting differences and similarities may very well be uncovered. In Schaedel's case, the method does not work, however. Schaedel, while providing some interesting information, failed to select the communities studied carefully, i.e. in a way which allows comparisons to be made, both from the point of view of the communities picked and when it comes to the matters analyzed. Thus, his discussion of the Artibonite valley, for example, is heavily concentrated on a description of a rural *lakou,*[1] while in the South and North, a social survey was made of two small *towns.* The discussion of the Northwest, again, centers upon a rural *commune,*[2] while in the case of the West, finally, the *arrondissement*[3] of Belle Anse is dealt with in very general terms, and a very brief comparison is made of contemporary Mirebalais with the same community as described by Herskovits in the latter's classic study from the 1930s (Herskovits, 1971). Finally, an appendix presents tables of average cash farm incomes and outlays for four of the

[1] "The *lakou* or yard is used to describe the members of one large extended family (usually including 3 or 4 generations), having a common physically demarcated residence" (Schaedel 1962: 25).

[2] There were 116 *communes* in Haiti at this time.

[3] Haiti contained 27 *arrondissements* in 1962.

five *départements,* unfortunately without giving any details regarding the method for constructing the series.

In addition to the arguments already advanced, Moral and Schaedel may be criticized for another weakness: their failure to ask sufficiently specific questions. Narrowing the scope of the investigation is frequently a good strategy, as exemplified by Wolf Donner's attempt (1975) at regionalization of the Haitian territory. Donner's approach resulted from an appreciation that erosion was the major problem of Haitian agriculture. The task of agricultural planning, according to Donner, should be the physical defense and development of the territory, i.e. protection and controlled use of the natural resources. This, in turn, necessitated a "synopsis" of the items generally known as "land": soil, soil fertility, soil chemistry and physics, manipulation of soil fertility, natural vegetation, crops grown, and the whole hydrological and climatological complex. "These single phenomena have to be seen in their interrelation. They may be studied separately, but in nature they all interact withint the framework of a *watershed* or a *hydrological basin"* (Donner, 1975: 44).

Hence, Donner chose to base his regionalization on the concept of watershed. A catchment area should be conceived of as an entity "because of the close interdependence between soil and water, slopes and plains, natural vegetation and crops grown" (Donner, 1975: 49). Seven agricultural regions were identified according to two criteria:

1) Extensive watershed areas could be regarded as agricultural regions.

2) So could extensive plains which with their adjacent bordering slopes and their catchment areas would permit the establishment of integrated development plans.[4]

From here, Donner could go on to outline a regional development strategy for each of these regions.

The importance of asking specific questions is also clearly brought out in the study by Clarence Zuvekas (1978: 124-131) which is much more restricted in scope than those discussed hitherto. Zuve-

[4] These physiographic criteria constitute the cornerstone of the approach, but certain magnitude were applied as well to ensure that the regions demarcated did not turn out to be too large or too small. (Donner, 1975: 50) Finally, for practical reasons, an adjustment to the boundaries of the existing *arrondissements* had to be made.

kas surveys the available data with respect to the regional distribution of income in Haiti. From the point of view of statistical accuracy, the material leaves a lot to be desired. It is patchy, unsystematically collected, and is not homogeneous with respect to the date of collection. Individual margins of error are necessarily large. Still, by concentrating on one particular problem and by casting the analysis within a strictly comparative framework, Zuvekas manages to "confirm" some of the impressionistic views generally held as to which areas are the wealthiest ones (mainly the fertile plains) and the poorest (the Northwest and the adjacent islands). This is an important step in the right direction, for it allows the formulation of hypotheses which can be made subject to more rigorous testing at a later stage.

To sum up: the comparative study of Haitian regions has barely started. Naturally, in the beginning, we should, perhaps, expect much of the work to be of a fairly descriptive nature, but even so, it is surprising to learn that there have been so few attempts at spatially disaggregated *analysis*. It is futile to attempt to arrive at meaningful regionalization schemes without at the same time identifying the objectives of such disaggregation. Future comparative regional research in Haiti should begin by clearly specifying those objectives.

## STUDIES OF PARTICULAR REGIONS

One year before the publication of Moral's book (1960), the first detailed study of a particular region, the Southern peninsula, by John Street (1960), appeared. Street's neglected contribution, which includes natural and economic (historical and contemporary) geography, primarily aims to "describe the agriculture of the peasants of southern Haiti and to determine its origins and its relationship to the physical environment" (Street, 1960: 10).

Street spans a wide variety of issues. Geology, climate, soils, and vegetation are all dealt with in the section on natural geography, and the contemporary (1952 and 1953) economic geography of Haiti south of the Cul-de-Sac plain is presented. The physical setting is described as are techniques for planting, crop protection and harvesting, the methods of growing and uses of no less than 95 different plants, from abricotier to vetiver, and the domestic animals and their use. Street's monograph also deals with small-scale industries (in-

cluding crafts), forestry, fishing, transportation, stores and marketplaces, housing, settlement patterns, malnutrition, disease, literacy, land tenure (unfortunately far too briefly) and cooperative labor. Some of the best parts of Street's work are to be found in the historical sections in which he traces the island's history back to the Indian and Spanish periods and deals extensively with the French colonial period with good descriptions of technology and production methods which reveal a thorough familiarity with the historical material. It is also in the historical section of analysis that Street makes his major contribution. He shows that little from the pre-Columbian period or the Spanish period remains in today's rural Haiti, an exception being the livestock introduced by the Spanish. The French influence, on the other hand, is evident everywhere. All but a few of the crops cultivated by today's peasants were introduced by the French, and so were many of the production techniques. In principle, the contemporary peasant cultivates the same crops as he did in 1790, employing the same methods.

The breakdown of the plantation system during the nineteenth century is described, and an account of the changes in technology is given, pointing toward technological retrogression in certain cases.[5] Street also describes the changes brought by the American occupation (especially in communication where a vastly improved road network led to less isolation in the countryside) but also the decay after the departure of the Americans. He attempts to trace certain agricultural practices to West Africa and compares Haiti with the Dominican Republic in terms of pupulation and farm size (Palmer, 1976).

Another study of a particular region — in this case the *Département du Nord* — was reported in 1961 and 1963 by Harold Wood: of "something very close to the maximum productivity possible, in a variety of types of land" (Wood, 1963: 11) (the North being the most densely populated department of the most densely populated country of Latin America). Thus, Wood in a different way deals with the same problem as Street: that of obtaining a picture of man and his economic activities in relation to natural resources.

His main point here deserves to be stressed: Whatever differences that we are likely to find in the utilization of the natural resources by the human element derive from differences in the former — *not* the

[5] This issue is discussed in some detail in Lundahl (1979), Chapter 12.

latter. On the regional level, the observable differences are not large. Peasant cultivation dominates the scene, with plantation agriculture constituting an exception. As we focus on the local level, however, differences in cropping patterns emerge, and to explain these adequately, reference must be made to "variations in elements of the physical environment, such as the texture, fertility, and drainage of soils, the depth of the overburden, the gradients, and the amount and seasonal distribution of precipitation" (Wood, 1963: 126). The human factor, on the other hand, is comparatively constant: "In few parts of the world will one find so homogeneous a culture and so classless a society as in rural Haiti" (Wood, 1963: 22)

Thus an important hypothesis emerges: "...it is possible to appreciate the relations between the land and its people both qualitatively and quantitatively. Rock, soil, months of wet weather, and months of drought can be expressed in terms of the crops which will grow, the proportion of the land which can be cultivated, the number of people who are able to gain their livelihood from each square mile, and the occurrence of seasonal food shortages" (Wood, 1963: 141). Wood goes on to detail such differences. This is his main contribution to the regional economic geography of Haiti.

The third detailed regional study differs from the two previous ones in the sense that it was undertaken with a practical purpose in mind. In 1977, Wolf Donner completed a survey of the Northwest (including the Gonaïves area). This survey, which covered one of the seven agricultural regions identified by Donner in 1975, was to serve as a factual basis for agricultural planning in the region. Here, as in the studies of the Southwest and the North, emphasis is on descriptive economic geography while no economic analysis is made.

Basically, Donner divides his study into three different parts: physical, social, and economic. The first one involves topography, climate, geology and soils, hydrography, and, finally, vegetation. The social description deals with population (especially the economically active population and internal and external migration), education, health, family planning (one of Donner's favorite topics), and peasant community organization. The economic section leans heavily towards a physical interpretation of the economy (while the tools of economics are not used). Under the heading of agriculture, the situation with respect to arable land, land tenure, and agricultural production is described, and livestock, forestry, fishing, industry, transports and

communication, trade, and energy all receive treatments of varying length.

The Northwest study constitutes a formidable catalogue of information regarding that area. It should be mentioned that the purpose is not only to study a particular area of Haiti, but also to provide a methodology which can be used for regional studies in the rest of the country. It is only to be hoped that such studies will actually be undertaken in the future, since the careful descriptive studies of each of Donner's seven regions along the lines sketched by him would organize the material which is now scattered among a multitude of national and international organizations. The Northwest study should be an indispensable tool in any planning situation, with the shortcut it provides to information which is otherwise difficult and time-consuming to get access to.

Summing up: When we move from comparative regional studies to monographs dealing with one particular Haitian region, the few studies undertaken appear more meaningful. The emphasis continues to be on detailed description of the regions under study, but one can at least see the beginnings of regional analysis here. It is quite possible and perhaps even probable that no meaningful comparative work will be undertaken until the separate building blocks, in the form of studies of all the particular regions are available. It may very well be that one of the most important questions to be asked is to what extent it is really warranted to cast the analysis of the Haitian economy in regional terms. Are the existing regional differences important, or is it generally sufficient to deal with the country as an entity?

## SPATIAL ASPECTS OF THE AGRICULTURAL MARKETING SYSTEM

The best documented spatial aspect of the Haitian economy is the system of agricultural commercialization. A major survey made by the *Institut Interaméricain des Sciences Agricoles* (IICA) in 1975 identified 519 state-controlled marketplaces. (La Gra, Fanfan & Charleston, 1975: 3) These regular markets have been extensively described in the literature on Haiti, and several attempts of classification have been made. Officially, a distinction is upheld between *urban* and *rural* marketplaces. To be classified as urban, a market must be located in a community where there is a communal magistrate (La Gra, Fanfan &

Charleston, 1975: 10). Only urban markets are officially allowed to stay open more than one day a week (Moral 1959: 74), and only urban markets may possess warehouses and speculation posts (Moral, 1961: 240). In 1954, there were 106 urban and 188 rural markets in Haiti (Moral 1959: 74), and in 1975, the corresponding figures were 152 and 367, respectively (La Gra, Fanfan & Charleston, 1975: 7).

The theoretical differences between urban and rural markets are not observed in practice. Of the 188 supposedly rural markets in 1954, 35 were open more than one day every week, and seven of them every day (Moral, 1959: 74). Such discrepancies have led various authors to propose other classifications that better correspond to reality. These according to various criteria establish a hierarchical order of markets. Table 1 shows five such classifications. On the lowest level we find what has been termed local, intraregional, or semi-rural markets. This is the most common type of organized market in Haiti. No less than 426 of the markets in the IICA survey were classified as semi-rural (La Gra, Fanfan & Charleston, 1975: 7).

Although the characteristics of the local or semi-rural marketplace vary somewhat from author to author, some common characteristics emerge. Hence, the local market only touches the locality where it is situated. Its radius of action is limited to one or two kilometers. The trade that takes place there is either between peasant women from the local community or between peasant women and traveling intermediaries (*Madam Sara*) that are bulking foodstuffs to be brought

TABLE 1

*Classifications of the Haitian Marketplace System*

| *Author* | *1 (highest)* | *2* | *3* | *4 (lowest)* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Paul Moral | sea coast | regional | town | local |
| Sidney W. Mintz | — | strategic | captured | local |
| Harold A. Wood | port | interregional | — | intraregional |
| E. A. J. Johnson | port city | major inland assembly and wholesale | — | local |
| Jerry La Gra et al | urban | regional | — | semi-rural |

SOURCES: Moral (1959: 74-78), (1961: 241-47); Mintz (1960: 51-53); Wood (1963: 130-40); Johnson (1970: 83-92); La Gra, Fanfan & Charleston (1975: 10-13).

into urban areas. The latter also dispose of peasant necessities of urban or imported origin in these markets.

On the next level we find Moral's town markets, and Mintz' captured markets. The main difference between this type of markets and the purely local markets is that more bulking appears to go on on the former level. These markets are also somewhat more advantageously situated than the local markets (which are either points of origin or termini in the marketing process) in that they join plains and mountains or two different mountain ranges, i.e. they join producers and consumers from different economic environments.

Yet another step up the ladder are the regional or interregional marketplaces ("strategic" marketplaces in Mintz' terminology). Their influence extends over a wider area than that of the town markets, in extreme cases across almost the entire country. Larger and more varied quantities of good are bought and sold here. Staples come in from different regions, some of which are bulked by the large number of Madam Sara usually present to be taken into the largest cities, and yet another part is subdivided to be distributed and sold to the local communities in town markets and local markets. Some consumers may also buy directly in these markets to take advantage of the wide range of goods displayed there.

On the highest level in the hierarchy of marketplaces, finally, are the urban markets — the large sea ports and the department capitals. These are the points of final consumption for much of the peasant produce. The transactions that take place in this type of markets are mostly between consumers and middlemen and between different categories of middlemen before the goods reach the final consumer. These markets, if situated on the sea, are also the points where imported peasant necessities reach the country and undergo the first bulk-breaking operations.

The picture that emerges from the above classification of marketplaces is one of an essentially hierarchical system.[6] Most of the trade in this system is *vertical* in nature, i.e. the goods move between different categories of markets rather than between markets belonging to the

[6] E. A. J. Johnson calls this type of market system a *dendritic* system. (Dendrites are processes of a nerve cell extending from the cell body that transmit incoming impulses to the cell body.)

same category. This of course is not to deny that goods move also horizontally, but in principle for an item to move between two markets on the same level of the hierarchy, especially on the lowest level, it must also pass a market which is "above" or "below" these two markets. This, in turn, may be interpreted largely as a consequence of the geographical specialization of the intermediaries.

The *Madam Sara,* in order to develop as tight-knit a network of reliable trading partners as possible tend to stick to a given geographic route, moving upwards and downwards in the hierarchy of marketplaces rather than sideways or in circles. This usually gives them more opportunities of using the same contacts both as buyers and sellers than would horizontal or circular movements that always entail a certain amount of horizontal movements between markets supplying the same type of goods and with consumers with essentially the same needs.

Also when it comes to the special features of the marketing system, our knowledge is rather good. Thus, a great deal of information with respect to regional variation in the prices of different agricultural products exists, though until fairly recently it has not been made available to researchers. For many years data have remained more or less buried in the government organizations which have collected them, but due to the efforts of the IICA project, the best of these price data for the 1965-74 period have been published together with a discussion of their reliability (La Gra, Charleston & Fanfan, 1975; IICA, 1975a, 1975b).

Very little has been done to analyse this price information though. Only a rudimentary beginning has been made by James Johnson and Jerry La Gra (1975), who made use of six products for the 1971-74 period. Their main conclusions were that no significant price differences seem to exist between the three types of marketplaces defined by IICA, and that for each product the geographical price differences were large. Johnson and La Gra finally also identified which marketplaces and regions generally had the higher prices. It must be pointed out, however, that their study is severely limited by the fact that only *average* (yearly) prices were used in the analysis, It is therefore possible that their conclusions need to be revised, or at least qualified, when a more detailed analysis, involving seasonal patterns as well, has been made.

Related to the compilation of price data is also an analysis of the taxation of marketplaces which was carried out by Verdy Duplan and Jerry La Gra (1974), who checked how agricultural goods were taxed in Port-au-Prince. Not surprisingly, their main finding was that the taxation system was totally arbitrary, and that it led to abuses by the tax collectors in the form of highly unequal levies on the intermediaries in a way which created manifest ineffeciencies in the marketing system. This study was highly successful in the sense that it led to the suppression of these taxes by presidential decree in 1974.

The physical movement of goods has been subject to fairly detailed scrutiny, with emphasis, however, on movements to Port-au-Prince, and to a lesser degree, to Cap-Haïtien. Thus, Duplan and La Gra have undertaken two studies of transportation of agricultural products into the two largest cities, Port-au-Prince and Cap-Haïtien. The authors provide information on the mode of transportation used to bring the products into the cities (generally motor vehicles when the distance traveled was large, while the merchandise was as a rule carried on the head when it came from the immediate surroundings), where the products go once inside the urban areas, and during which week-days most intermediaries enter.

Two papers, by Locher (1974) and by Werleigh and Duplan, (1975) respectively, discuss in detail how the goods move inside the cities before they reach the final consumer. Murray and Alvarez (1973) analyze the commercialization chain of a particular commodity — from the producers in a community in the Cul-de-Sac plain to the consumers in Port-au-Prince, and René Dorville (1975a) has made a similar effort with respect to vegetables (produced in a zone near the capital). Girault and La Gra (1975) discuss marketing chains for various products, Verdy Duplan (1975) surveys the marketing system for agricultural inputs, Fatton (1975) covers sisal, and a team from the JWK International Corporation does the same for coffee (1976). None of these studies, however, is concerned mainly with spatial issues. Ira Lowenthal (1974) has checked how different actors involved in marketing understand and utilize the internal marketing system. Lundahl, (1979) finally, provides an overall evaluation of the economic efficiency of the commercialization of coffee and subsistence crops as well as a short account of the transportation system as an obstacle to increased competition in the marketing system.

It is not as easy to sum up the results of the research on the market systems as it is to provide an evaluation of most other spatial

aspects of Haiti's economy. One should, however, not lament this, since the reason simply is that our knowledge with regard to markets is greater than with respect to other areas. The main marketplaces have been identified, and their relationships have been described, even if we do not yet know in detail how and in what quantities goods move from market to market within and between particular regions. What we do have is a good grasp of the competitive aspects of marketing, although existing price data have not yet been analyzed in detail. We also know with some accuracy how the physical distribution of goods takes place, and what the commercialization chains for a number of important goods look like. Thus, in a sense, the topics for future research differ here from what we found in the first two sections. While in the latter, research is still very preliminary and exploratory in nature, when it comes to the marketing system we have often reached a sage where main hypotheses are already formulated and where future research will be able to yield also systematic quantitative data of the sort economists generally prefer to work with.

## EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL MIGRATION

The last spatial aspect of the Haitian economy to be dealt with in the present survey is migration, which in Haiti takes two forms. On the one hand, people migrate from the countryside to urban areas and in particular to Port-au-Prince. On the other hand, a steady flow of Haitians leave the country permanently or temporarily to make a living abroad.

The directions of the migratory currents are known with a fair degree of accuracy. Migration is not a phenomenon which is new to the country. Georges Anglade (1972, 1974) has described the earliest migratory movements: those taking place in the wake of the independence from French sovereignty in 1804. During the Spanish and French colonial periods, the best areas in terms of soil fertility had been occupied: the coastal plains, the river plains, and the mountain flanks surrounding these plains — basically the Northeast, the plains around Port-au-Prince and Léogâne, and the Cayes area, respectively, all of which were excellently suited to cultivations of sugar and coffee (the latter on the mountain slopes).

After independence, the population of Haiti slowly expanded and established new settlements in less fertile and less accessible areas. The

Plateau Central and other districts which had not been occupied and cultivated to more than a limited extent were now incorporated into the economy. This movement continued through most of the nineteenth century, until during the last quarter of the latter virtually all the arable land was either cultivated or claimed by some owner (Murray, 1977: 410). At this point, new migratory currents were triggered off, while some poor peasants pressed on to marginal lands, others turned back to the areas which had been populated during the days of the colony — to look for jobs in urban areas. Finally, a number of Haitians for the first time began to look for opportunities abroad.

Temporary or permanent emigration has become a major characteristic of contemporary Haitian life. The rise of American domination in the cuban sugar cultivation after 1898 and the subsequent displacement of some Cuban sugar interests to the Dominican Republic created a need for cheap labor during the sugar harvest in these countries, and this demand to a large extent was satisfied by organized or unorganized migration of Haitians for longer or shorter periods.[7] While the exodus of Haitians towards Cuba practically came to a standstill after Castro's rise to power, emigration to the Dominican Republic has continued more or less uninterrupted since the beginning of the present century, in spite of Trujillo's massacre on up to 25,000 Haitians in 1937 and in spite of the fact that the border between Haiti and the Dominican Republic has been officially closed most of the time.

In the 1950s, the Bahamas became a third important recipient of Haitian emigrants (Wingfield, 1966: 101-109; Segal, 1975). To serve the rising number of tourists to the Bahamas in the 1950s, unskilled labor was in great demand, and Haitians willingly rushed in to meet this demand. The last two decades have seen a further enlargement of the area of inmigration of Haitians. A number of other Caribbean islands now regularly receive Haitian immigrants (mainly illegally), but also, and perhaps more importantly, the United States and Can-

[7] See Lundahl (1979), Epilogue, for a summary view. Migration to the Dominican Republic is discussed by Moral (1959: 40-41), Wingfield (1966: 96-101), Hernández (1973), Segal (1975), Palmer (1976: 136-44), Díaz Santana (1976) and Zuvekas (1978: 75-76). As of recently, the living conditions of the Haitian cane cutters in the Dominican Republic have been brought to the attention of the UN. (See Anti-Slavery Society (1979).) Studies of the migration to Cuba are scarce. Moral (1961) devotes less than three pages to the issue, and Castor (1971) gives us about as much. Cf. also Wingfield (1966: 93-96).

ada are turning into important endpoints for Haitian migrants. It is thus rather certain that after Port-au-Prince, New York is the largest "Haitian" city in the world.

Altogether, an estimated 0.4 percent of the total Haitian population migrate abroad every year (Lundahl, 1979: 628), though this is believed by some authors to be a gross underestimate. In fact, the magnitudes involved in the migration currents are not known accurately. Estimates of their geographical distribution (summarized in Table 2) are subject to particularly wide margins of error.

TABLE 2

*Estimates of Haitians Residing outside the Country*

| | Country and Year | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Source of Estimate* | *Dominican Republic* | *Bahamas* | *Cuba* | *United States* | *Canada* |
| Schaedel (1962) | 18,772 (1950) | — | 27,543 (1953) | — | — |
| Rotberg (1971) | 300,000 (1968) | 11,000-20,000 (1968) | 50,000 (1968) | 75,000 (1968) | 10,000 (1968) |
| Díaz Santana (1976) | 42,142<br>200,000 (1970) | — | — | — | — |
| Dorville (1975: 2) | — | 38,000 (197?) | — | — | — |
| Segal (1975) | 100,000 (1975) | 20,000 (1975) | | 200,000 (1975) | 15,000 (1975) |
| Palmer (1976) | — | — | — | 21,466 | — |
| Joseph (1976) | 300,000-500,000 (1976) | — | — | — | — |

SOURCE: Zuvekas (1978), p. 75.

Our knowledge of internal migration currents is not quite as that of movements abroad. Thus, the census figures for 1950 and 1971 indicate that the urban population grew at approximately 4 percent during the 1950s and 1960s, with the capital displaying a growth rate of more than 6 percent per annum (Ahlers, 1978: 2). It also appears as if this high rate of migration into urban districts is a fairly recent phenomenon, while before the 1950s, and especially before 1920, the rural population was much less mobile (Lundahl, 1979: 629).

In examining the motivation for external and internal migration, presumably a distinction must be made between different categories. It has been estimated that some 80 percent of all Haitian professionals were living abroad in the mid-1960s (Rotberg & Clague, 1971: 245) oversupply of qualified manpower, due to a previous decline in real salaries for professionals, and due to the unattractive political conditions prevailing in Haiti at the time (Suvekas, 1978: 73-74). These conditions have, however, subsequently improved, so that today the share of Haitian professionals residing abroad ought to be lower (Zuvekas, 1978: 74).

The great majority of the emigrants and *a fortiori* the migrants from rural to urban districts within the country are, however, not professionals, but rather people with their roots in the peasant community. What causes this group to migrate? Most explanations, or rather hypotheses, offered, one way or another center upon the poverty of rural areas as the main determinant of migration (Lundahl, 1979: 625-34). The existing evidence is, however, not so simple to interpret. Thus, while it appears plausible that perceived differences in incomes between rural and urban districts à la Harris and Todaro (1970) should play an important (perhaps the *most* important) role, one important group of migrants may be those who move to town to get an education, and these elements in turn, frequently come from the better off parts of the rural population (Moral, 1959: 34; Ahlers, 1978).

Another interesting question in relation to migration which so far has not received any satisfactory answer is whether migration from rural areas to Port-au-Prince takes place in steps or directly. A pattern thought to be common is that of a person first moving from the countryside into the nearest town, thereafter to the province capital, and finally to Port-au-Prince. However, the most ambitious study of rural-urban migration so far undertaken, that of Theodore Ahlers, failed to provide definite support for the hypothesis. It rather appears as if the poorer migrants have to bypass the small towns entirely, since they are in immediate need of employment, and this they will probably not find, unless they move to the capital (Ahlers, 1978).

A final topic connected with migration, and one which has hardly received any attention at all, is what impact migration has on the areas left by the migrants and on the urban districts where they end up (except for the highly visible creation of vast slum areas). Of

special interest here are the remittances from Haitians abroad, which are believed to be somewhere in the order of 5 percent of the gross national product — a figure which should be sufficient to help ensure the subsistence of hundreds of thousands of Haitians (Segal, 1975).

## CONCLUSIONS

Our survey of spatial economic research on Haiti conclusively shows that we really know very little of the regional and other spatial dimensions of the Haitian economy. In the field of regional economics proper hardly anything — with the exception of three geographical monographs on particular regions — has so far been achieved. The marketing system has been far better researched, although quantitative data to permit tests of the main hypotheses are often lacking. In the field of external and internal migration, finally, we are in an 'intermediate' position. Many of the patterns are known (while others have hardly been researched), but not in much detail, and all attempts at quantification remain utterly uncertain.

There remain many issues which we have not dealt with at all. The most important of these is concerned with systematization of the patchy information on spatial problems hidden in general works on Haiti. Something of this kind has been started in the two works of Anglade cited at the beginning of the present survey. May we hope for a continuation in the future, but on a more ambitious scale?

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