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H A C H O
and the
COMMUNITY COUNCIL MOVEMENT

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INTRODUCTION

This evaluation of HACHO is undertaken in compliance with the requirement that there be an end-of-project evaluation at the time of the termination of AID's direct administrative support, September 30, 1979. The usefulness of this undertaking lies in its retrospective learning opportunity in general, and the information gathering and analysis pertinent for considering future Operational Program Grants.

The evaluation team was directed to focus the evaluation on the working relationships between community councils, HACHO and local communities in terms of their impact and effectiveness in furthering the goals of development. In order to elucidate these relationships and their consequences, HACHO was examined from a number of different perspectives. Community councils and federations were examined in terms of their internal structure and functioning, and also in relation to various projects. Since not all projects could be examined thoroughly, emphasis was placed on projects reflecting a greater degree of program activity pertinent to future AID interests. HACHO as an agency was viewed in its own terms and in relation to other organizations working in the area. Furthermore, an attempt was made to place all of this information in context, sketching salient socio-economic characteristics of the northwest region.

The team consists of a cultural anthropologist and a community organization specialist who evaluated the agency over a nine week period. Initially time was spent perusing documents and agency files and interviewing personnel in Port-au-Prince and Gonaives. The bulk of the time was spent in the northwest region in the field units of Anse Rouge, Bombardopolis and Jean Rabel. Terre Neuve was not visited since it had recently been the site of another evaluation (See Smucker, Delatour & Pinchinat 1979, pp. 65-76).

Sites were selected on the basis of interviews with HACHO staff in which suggestions were elicited regarding areas of most active programming and strongest community councils. This approach had the advantage of focusing on

HACHO's best projects according to staff opinion rather selecting projects at random. This also avoids the charge of evaluating "non-representative" projects. (See Appendix I for a general listing of HACHO projects.)

Field observation and wide-ranging open-ended interview techniques were used throughout the study, including both individual interviews and group discussions with administrative and field staff, council members and leaders local farmers, towns people and market ladies, government field staff and members of other agencies working in the region. Community council contacts included attendance at meetings and work parties as well as home visits. The gracious cooperation of all respondents was much appreciated.

SALIENT CHARACTERISTICS OF NORTHWESTERN HAITI

In order to better understand HACHO and the community council movement, it is essential to sketch out some of the key social, cultural and economic characteristics of the northwest. Like other areas in provincial Haiti, the northwest is a study in contrasts, but it also maintains a unique regional character. Unless the peculiar problems and potentials of this area are understood, the role of past development programs may be misunderstood; new program planning may be doomed to failure or irrelevance. The Donner report (1976) and United Nations study (1968) may be consulted for general descriptions of the area, data on rainfall and other useful information. The following discussion, however, is based primarily on field observations and interviews undertaken in the course of this evaluation.

Haiti's northwest is well known in development circles for its unusual aridity and propensity to natural disasters, usually drought, torrential rains and flooding. In September of 1979 it suffered the ravages of high winds, flooding, crop loss and erosion caused by Hurricane David (see St. Louis 1979). The northwest's reputation for disaster and chronic poverty should not, however, be allowed to camouflage the considerable wealth present on the peninsula. Not everyone is poor nor is poverty consistent. This in fact is one of the defining characteristics of the region: Viewed in the broader Haitian scheme of things, the northwest region is subject to wildly varying cycles of dearth and plenty.

This lack of consistency is reflected in the yearly cycle of the seasons, with fewer wet months than most other regions of Haiti, and considerable variation from one year to another. It is also reflected in stark ecological contrasts present within short distances, as between arid coastal lowlands and moist interior highlands, between the rain shadow sustained by the plains of l'Arbre versus the moist highlands of Terre Neuve to the east, between irrigated and non-irrigated arid lands, oasis and desert. It is this inconsistency that gives rise to a number of traditional strategies for evening out the odds: fishing-and-gardening, fishing-and-salt mining, arid land cultivation along with animal husbandry, a variety of indigenous forms of

irrigation including the channelling of seasonal run-off water, peasant farms based on scattered gardens in both plains and mountains, and of course the nearly all pervasive charcoal industry as adjunct to peasant farming.

The region is conspicuously less densely populated than many other parts of rural Haiti. The HACHO area holds an estimated 150,000 people. Relative density, however, varies considerably within the region, a pattern correlated with different land tenure, patterns of climate and farming strategy. Unlike the majority of peasant Haiti, the northwest has relatively large areas where people and dwellings are simply not in evidence for intervals of several kilometers or more, as on the road between La Pierre and Grande Savanne; Anse Rouge and Petit Paradis; Baie de Hennes and Bombarde; or, Mole St. Nicolas and points east along the northern coast of the peninsula.

Other identifiable characteristics include the existence of vast acreages of state owned lands, generally sparsely populated, much of it composed of badlands, salt flats, cactus shrub forest, and some grasslands. Grasslands are still used for open range grazing, in some measure, despite official suppression of the practice. Salt flats between Coridon and Baie de Hennes, along the southern coast of the peninsula, are dotted with scores of "trou sel" (salt holes) where rock salt is mined at considerable profit. Fishing villages exist in some number, especially along the southern coast. The commerce in fish, salt and charcoal sustains a lively maritime transport fleet of small sailing craft.

Where open range grazing practices still persist there are brush fences enclosing cultivated areas. There is high incidence of thatched roof housing in the area, with courtyards typically enclosed by brush or picket fencing, reflecting a tradition of wood abundance in the area. Tinroofing is relatively rare, even in towns. A general paucity of stores, except in the towns of Jean Rabel, Anse Rouge and Mole St. Nicolas, suggests a relatively low level of monetization, a factor not unrelated to regional isolation from national transportation networks.

Jurisdictions. The HACHO area is not made up of a unified departemental jurisdiction. Two unit offices, Anse Rouge and Terre Neuve, are located in the Departement de l'Artibonite, Arrondissement des Gonaives. The units of Bombardopolis and Jean Rabel are in the Departement du Nord-Ouest proper, Arrondissement du Mole St. Nicolas. The latter arrondissement has two electoral districts or circonscriptions. One deputé represents the communes of Mole St. Nicolas and Baie de Hennes. Another represents Bombardopolis and Jean Rabel. Both deputés, at present, are originally from Jean Rabel. The sole district agronomes resident in the region are at Gonaives and Port-de-Paix. Port-de-Paix is a town whose traditional political and economic importance to the western sectors of the region has been much diminished in recent years, due to a re-districting of the area in favor of Mole St. Nicolas, and to the effects of the new road from Jean Rabel to Gonaives.

Transportation & Market networks. The building of the Jean Rabel - Anse Rouge - Gonaives road has clearly had a dramatic impact on the region. It may well represent the single most significant achievement of HACHO as an agency. Even today the northwest region is unusually isolated from the national economy of Haiti. This is not to suggest that it does not participate in the national economy, for it has always done so. Coastal shipping, however, continues to play an important transportation role, reminiscent in some ways of the general pattern of interregional transport during pre-occupation Haiti.

The fleet of small sailing craft provides relatively inexpensive transportation to Gonaives, St. Marc and Port-au-Prince, but it is sometimes unreliable and time consuming. The Mole St. Nicolas - Port-au-Prince run may take only 24 hours when the winds are favorable, or it may take a week. On the other hand, from Baie de Hennes it is easier to sail up the coast to Anse Rouge than to travel overland to the highland town of Bombardopolis though the latter is somewhat closer. Neither route is served by commercial vehicle. The mountain town of Bombardopolis has its coastal port, La Plateforme, giving it access to urban markets by sailboat, but it lies at a

distance of 25 kilometers and freight must first be transported on foot or beast of burden. From Bombardopolis to La Plateforme it costs about 5 gourdes to rent a donkey and 7 gourdes to rent a mule. At two bags per donkey, it would cost 25 gourdes to haul a 10-bag lot of charcoal to La Plateforme, but only slightly more, 30 gourdes, to ship it to Port-au-Prince by boat -- perhaps seven times the distance. In short, transportation out of the area is not so cheap when the cost of interior transport is taken into account. As a consequence there are no stores in Bombardopolis and only very small ones in Terre Neuve, both mountain towns. As a corollary, produce is not shipped out of these areas on a grand scale even when there are considerable surpluses, thereby keeping prices down for local produce and prices high for manufactured consumer goods and other urban imports. In this sense the level of monetization in the northwest is notably less than in areas served commercially by roads. Economic interest in transport is reflected in the expressed desire of the Bombarde community council to purchase a truck.

Prior to the road to Jean Rabel through Anse Rouge, vehicles passed overland through Port-de-Paix over a road unfit for regular commercial travel. Jean Rabel shipped primarily by sea from the port village of Bord de Mer, a distance of several kilometers. Jean Rabel is the most productive agricultural area in the region. It periodically produces bumper crops of corn and has extensive banana plantations on river bottom land. Prior to the new road, corn prices characteristically dropped unusually low due to the glut on the local market. A handful of local merchants traditionally engaged in corn speculation, profiting from stocking and shipping out the corn by sailboat. Early attempts to trace a commercially viable road through Anse Rouge were initially not supported by these merchants whose interests were tied to the old network, both in terms of speculation and in the marketing of imported consumer goods. Local observers suggest that both retail stores and corn speculation have broadened their participation, incorporating larger numbers of small merchants since the road was built and used by commercial vehicles. Corn prices are reportedly more closely tied to the national market as well, giving better prices to the local producers.

Trucks operating regularly on the Jean Rabel - Anse Rouge - Gonaives road include three owned by a family in Coridon and three in Jean Rabel. The capital going into truck transportation from Coridon derives from the valuable salt basins in that area. There is also a truck owner in Sources Chaudes. Notably, Anse Rouge has no truck owners despite the obvious wealth in that town based on salt and fish. There is considerable Anse Rouge investment in sailing vessels, a sector which naturally fits well with the salt trade.

There are an estimated 4 to 5 hundred kilometers of jeep trails and roads in the HACHO area. Most of these provide access for HACHO and other agency or missionary vehicles. Some of these jeep trails date back to Protestant mission efforts in the 1950s. The Bombardopolis-Mole road reportedly dates back to colonial times. Protestant and Catholic clergy continue to benefit and contribute to road maintenance.

Agriculture. Agricultural activity in the northwest may be divided into a number of categories: 1) Well watered highlands, e.g., Terre Neuves; 2) arid zones, e.g., the plains of l'Arbre, 3) irrigation, traditional and modern, employing seasonal run-off as well as year-around water flow. A distinction may be made between "intensive" agricultural practices in the mountains and on irrigation land, and "extensive" practices more characteristic of arid land farming.

Mountain agriculture here is not dissimilar to other regions of Haiti where mountain peasant agriculture is practiced on small plots using intercropping, varied types of crops from tubers to low lying plants, bushes, vines and fruit trees. Millet is a favored grain. Manioc is a popular root crop. Peanuts, castor beans, red beans are commonly grown. The area around Bombardopolis also produces a fair amount of latanier (a type of fan palm) for use in weaving basketry.

Arid lands produce considerable millet and some beans. Such agriculture is much less diverse than in the mountains. Two types of millet are commonly grown during the same year: pitimi chandelle, a three month variety

planted in May, and gro pitimi, a five month variety planted in August or September. A two month variety is sometimes planted, but it is not favored as it doesn't preserve well and is generally less resistant. The driest season of the year usually falls between January and April, and livestock is especially important at this time as an alternative to gardening.

Irrigation agriculture is discussed in more detail elsewhere. Millet may be planted on irrigated land followed by congo beans. Corn is common where land is irrigated. Large amounts of shallots are traditionally grown in the irrigated areas around Sources Chaudes, Petite Place and l'Etang. Shallots are a three month crop customarily followed by corn. Irrigated land is invested with considerable labor with dirt canals and terraces known as carotaj and rampa.

Livestock and open range grazing. Animal husbandry is traditionally an important activity in the northwest, especially in the arid zones. Animals may be sold during the off seasons for agriculture in order to buy food and other necessities. In these areas, livestock are treated differently from the occasional animal kept in mountain peasant farm holdings. In arid lands livestock is a serious enterprise in its own right, the predominant activity during certain months, and for some the very basis of livelihood. In the mountains, animals more often constitute a form of savings, and land is scarce for grazing. Grazing land is generally more plentiful in the arid zones where even poor families own donkeys. Distances are greater between markets and water holes are few and far between, necessitating the use of animals to carry drinking water.

Livestock include beef, horses, mules, donkeys, goats, sheep and pigs. The swine flu sweeping across the island of Hispaniola in 1978 and 1979 severely diminished the local population of hogs. Livestock is marketed at Jeansoc and Beauchamps in the commune of Port-de-Paix, at Lacoma in Jean Rabel, at Anse Rouge and St. Marc. Among the smaller animals, sheep have the advantage of reproducing in greater numbers than goats, but fetch a lower price at the market, whereas goats are higher valued though less reproductive.

Animal husbandry has a seasonal character, for the price falls when many people sell stock during the off-season for grain harvests. This is also the time to buy, if capital is available, in order to build up one's herd.

It is important to recognize the traditional importance of livestock among the farmers in arid zones. It is a dry season complement to agriculture. It is also a productive enterprise even during a series of drought years, such as the "grangou twa riban" (three ribbon hunger) between 1966 and 1969. Finally, it is possible to graze stock even when one does not own or rent sufficient land to do so because of the large areas of "te kadas" (cactus land), state lands, and the custom of "elevaj lib" (free grazing). The tradition of open range grazing in the region is very much a part of peasant adaptations to this unusual environment, reminiscent in some ways of the Plateau Central.

Even in more settled parts of Haiti there are variations on the theme of foraging. Goats, even cattle, may wear wooden collars preventing them from entering enclosed gardens. The custom is for garden owners to be responsible for damages to their gardens in areas designated as free range, necessitating the careful enclosure of their land by fencing. As a corollary, animal owners are responsible for garden damages where animals are expected to be on a cord or penned. In such a case, if animals are found grazing in another's garden, the garden owner has a right to cut off the head of the animal (goat or pig) and hang the carcass in the crossroads or along the path. This constitutes a partial recompense for damages as well as a fine to the offender. Large animals are not permitted to be killed in this way but may be "captured" and taken to a rural policeman for judgement.

The open range has officially been abolished although the practice still continues in some areas. It is evident that this has had the effect of reducing livestock herding in the region, oftentimes to the detriment of less well to do peasant farmers. It is likely that the new policy has tended to increase charcoal production, as well, due to the increased availability of wood, especially dry wood from the obsolete wood and brush fences surrounding gardens. Another issue in herding is of course the problem of over-grazing.

It is the opinion of many farmers and community leaders in the areas most affected that the policy of abolishing the open grazing lands is one more blow to the low level economy already in delicate relationship to the climate. It affects the landless and poor in detrimental ways. In contrast, the people in irrigated areas are of course very supportive of the new policy.

The new grazing policy has apparently been on the books since promulgation of the Code Rurale Francois Duvalier (article 84) in 1962, but it has not been enforced in the region until the mid-to-late 1970s. Policy enforcement is easier in settled areas where private ownership of land prevails. It is more complicated in the barren state lands. Given the unique characteristics of the region and the traditional participation of landless farmers in open range grazing, it would make sense to establish a regional policy geared to erosion control and animal husbandry. The existence of state-owned range land lends itself quite naturally to a policy of rational range management. Such a policy would of course have to run in tandem with a policy of rational charcoal production and forest management.

Charcoal industry. The northwest has long been a supplier of various precious woods to the urban and export markets, including dyewoods and hardwoods. Nineteenth century statistics suggest that logwood was an important product of the region. It is incorrect to assume that the charcoal trade has such an old history in the area. To the contrary, it appears that widespread making of charcoal is quite recent, dating back to the 1950s, especially in the wake of Hurricane Hazel. At the point, the making of charcoal was not indigenous to the area, for even in towns people customarily cooked over wood fires. To this day peasant farmers in Haiti rarely use charcoal. The demand for charcoal is from the urban sector, and with the burgeoning population of Port-au-Prince during the last 25 years, the demand for charcoal has expanded rapidly. At present it might properly be considered the fastest growing economic sector of the north west region.

The area lends itself to charcoal manufacturing in a number of ways: There is traditionally an abundance of wood; coastal shipping provides a readily available mode of transport; local agriculture encourages cottage

industry and complementary forms of economic enterprise. The presence of uninhabited state lands invites random exploitation. Furthermore, the tax on cutting wood is not generally levied against the producer of charcoal.

Even the cactus forests provide wood for charcoal. The common bayahonde is hardwood and reproduces rather quickly, especially when cut. The common cadas, a pole-type cactus, does not make good charcoal but is a useful softwood sometimes used for posts. The tosh is another tree cactus with a hardwood trunk suitable for burning or making charcoal.

Beginnings of the charcoal trade are easily within living memory of local residents, even including who first made and purchased charcoal in specific local communities. In areas far distant from each other, the answers are similar: Charcoal was first shipped out of the area by outsiders coming from areas closer to Port-au-Prince. It was initially an accompaniment to the marketing of local hardwoods. Some communities visited in this study did not produce charcoal until the 1960s and 1970s.

Unlike certain other industries, such as the salt trade in Anse Rouge, the marketing of charcoal does not appear to be dominated by large monied interests (at least locally). Small peasant farmers, or even landless peasants, produce the charcoal. A large number of middlemen stock and ship it, as is visible in port areas such as Anse Rouge. Some have called it the poor man's commerce. At the time of this field visit, charcoal was being purchased at about 7.50 to 8.00 gourdes per bag and sold at 16 gourdes per bag in the city, about twice the price paid to the producer. A lot (10 bags) was being wholesaled in Port-au-Prince at 150 gourdes per lot, or 15 gourdes per bag.

Like other types of commerce, the charcoal trade has its seasonal fluctuations in price, tending to go up during rainy seasons. The northwest region presents a certain advantage given its characteristic aridity. Again, rational management of wood resources could make an important contribution to the economy of the area while helping to maintain national self-sufficiency in supplying cooking fuel.

Salt. The salt mining sector along the southern coast of the northwestern peninsula is a source of considerable wealth in the area. One family from the modest coastal village of Coridon owns several trucks. Salt merchants in Anse Rouge own a number of boats engaged in maritime commerce. The salt industry recently suffered a major setback when Hurricane David damaged most of the salt basins and interrupted the harvest. One salt merchant invested in a 3,000 dollar pump to clean out his salt basins. Like Anse Rouge, the economy of Baie de Hennes is traditionally based on salt, but unlike Anse Rouge the Baie de Hennes interests appear to be more modest and less dominated by a few monied families.

The salt trade is seasonal, most productive during the driest months, especially March, and least productive during the wettest months, especially May. The price varies accordingly, being at its highest point during May and June. In recent times the price has varied between 3 and 6 dollars per barrel. Since the hurricane damage in September, production has fallen off severely, and the price per barrel has gone to 8 and 9 dollars per barrel. The decline in salt production is expected to have a considerable negative impact on the economy of the area.

Migration. The northwest region is characterized by a lively pattern of migration, some seasonal and some permanent. During the off-season for agriculture, some local residents migrate to the Artibonite in search of wage labor. Out-migration reportedly increases during periods of sustained drought.

The region is a traditional supplier of illegal immigrants to the Bahamas and more recently to Miami. Florida immigration problems with Haitian "boat people" are closely tied to this region. Aside from the commerce in Haitian migrants to Florida, there is reportedly a flourishing trade in "contraband". Used American clothing was observed on sale in the Bombardopolis market. It was identified as coming from Miami by boat to Port-de-Paix. At the time of field visits in the area, a boat was observed in police custody at Anse Rouge. It was reported to have been en route to

Miami. A short time later, a large boatload of emigrant workers was reported to have left Bord de Mer Jean Rabel. During the last several months prior to the field visit, a number of HACHO employees emigrated to Miami in this manner.

The area also attracts migrants in search of wage labor. During the peak periods of salt harvest, the dry months, mountain peasants come down to the coast to gather salt crystals and load the salt aboard sailing vessels. A worker may be paid a percentage of the crystals he gathers in the course of a day, usually a third, or a cash rate of 3 to 4 gourdes per barrel harvested. Salt transport is mainly by sea, and workers load salt at the rate of 2 gourdes per barrel. Charcoal also generates a certain amount of labor for onloading at the rate of .15 gourdes per bag.

Irrigation agriculture attracts labor from outside the immediate area, usually from the mountains to the north and east, including peasant farmers of Terre Neuve. Irrigation agriculture requires considerable labor investment, whether for digging canals, building terraces or the heavy labor requirements of such intensive agriculture. Hired hands may come during peak seasons and stay with lowland irrigation farmers for a period of several weeks. Organized agricultural societies known as mazinga come in groups of 50 to 100 men for a day work party. Labor costs for agricultural wage labor appear to be about 6 gourdes per day in the irrigated zones around Anse Rouge, and up to 10 gourdes per day in the fertile river bottom land around Jean Rabel.

The towns. American Protestant missions have been active in the small towns of the northwest since the 1940s. Several Baptist missions persist, and more recently, Nazarens, Pentecostal, Adventist and Mormon missions have made inroads.

The region has an active network of rural markets, especially in the highland regions. These markets are linked to towns in the area and ultimately to Gonaives, Port-de-Paix and Port-au-Prince. Gonaives has assumed predominance as the regional metropole, effectively displacing Port-de-Paix in most respects.

Well-to-do peasants and townspeople still send children to school in Port-de-Paix or Gonaives, depending on which area of the peninsula they originate.

Although several towns in the region have supported a class of speculators in past times, only Jean Rabel has speculators in residence at present. There are a handful of families in Jean Rabel with large landholdings, a sizeable retail commerce, and speculation in castor beans, coffee, cane syrup, clairin, and grain. Jean Rabel is also a traditional producer of honey and beeswax. Plantains are an important cash crop in the river bottom land of the area. The town has grown considerably since the 1940s, a trend increasing since the new road was built.

Anse Rouge is dominated by sea transport, salt, charcoal, fishing and millet. Baie de Hennes is distinctly non-agricultural in character, depending primarily on salt, fishing, the charcoal trade, and some livestock. Mole St. Nicolas is but a shadow of its pre-World War II vitality. It once supported active speculation in precious woods (campêche, acajou, chaine, chandelle), skins (linked to livestock production), beeswax and castor beans. The Mole has decreased in population and has little economic activity at present aside from fishing, charcoal, and the housing of government functionaries. Towns such as Bombardopolis, Terre Neuve and Sources Chaudes are essentially agricultural villages.

HACHO AS AN AGENCY

Objectives. The agency's stated goal is "to improve the living conditions" of the population in its zone of action. It seeks to contribute to the "uplifting of the physical, economic and social status of local people with projects whose ultimate aim is to increase income by "mobilizing resources in agriculture and handicrafts." To carry out these goals, HACHO operates projects in the areas of health, agriculture and community education. It serves as a channel for relief and community development. In all of its activities HACHO seeks to work through local community councils.

History. The history of this agency constitutes a vivid case study in the range of issues confronted by many development efforts. The particulars of HACHO's past point to the hybrid character of its origins and subsequent development as an agency, both in programming and in terms of its status as an institution. The "hybrid" character revolves around such issues as the following:

- autonomy and the question of public versus private status;
- regional approaches to development: coordination role, direct project role;
- medical versus agricultural priorities;
- relief versus development agendas;
- temporary versus permanent options as an institution;
- foreign versus national financing and administration;
- state bureaucracies versus grass roots community organizations.

The task of administering an agency with changing priorities in the context of special problems of climate and geography is inherently difficult.

Created in 1966 to respond to special needs of the general northwestern region of Haiti, HACHO set up programs first in Jean Rabel and then in Anse Rouge. The region included sections of the departments of the Nord, Artibonite and later Centre in addition to the Nord-Ouest. In 1971 units were set up in Terre Neuve, St. Michel de l'Atalaye and Gros Morne, effectively expanding HACHO's field presence to points further east for a

total of five units. Budgetary and other restraints led to a demphasis of programming to the east by 1972. By 1973 two of the eastern units were dropped in favor of focussing on the more isolated western part of the northwestern region, retaining only Terre Neuve (Département de l'Artibonite). In 1976 a new unit office was created at Bombardopolis to the west, thereby dividing district responsibilities formerly under the Jean Rabel office. At present four unit offices remain active: Jean Rabel, Anse Rouge, Terre Neuve and Bombardopolis.

HACHO as an acronym has been used since the very beginnings of the agency. The actual name, however, has changed in keeping with changing orientations of the agency. Beginning as Haitian-American Community Health Organization, the English name emphasized both the American origins of the agency (a USAID grant to CARE) and the initial focus on disaster relief and medical services, including mobile health units. A new focus away from "health" alone is signified by the name change to "help" in the HAHCO of 1970, encompassing projects in road construction, education and food production. The period 1972-1973 saw discussion of competing health priorities, curative versus preventive. This period also saw new GOH funding beginning in October of 1973, an arrangement negotiated with a view to gradual withdrawal of the USAID subsidy, to be replaced by full GOH funding of HACHO by 1980.

The new financial arrangements did not prove to cover the costs of running the program, however, and further outside help was sought in order to respond to the broad based needs of the region. CARE gradually increased the level of its own direct involvement in the region and continued to collaborate closely with HACHO in the field outside of its direct contractual obligations. Pressures for a heightened focus on agriculture led to the incorporation of Fonds Agricoles from Deutsche Welthungerhilfe funds in 1976, a program operated by Germans under the umbrella of HACHO.

Another name change was proposed in 1977, the Organization pour le Développement du Nord-Ouest (ODNO), a name signalling the pending "Haitianization" of HACHO as an "autonomous government agency" with special

regional responsibility for coordination in the northwest. The suggested name was not undertaken, and HACHO again retained its English-derived acronym, taking as its new name in 1979 the title, Harmonisation de l'Action des Communautés Haitiennes Organisées. While underlining the link to community councils and a special role in coordination, the cumbersome French name is simply overlaid on the old English acronym, symbolizing something of the ambiguity of the present and prospective status of HACHO.

GOH funding increases have not in fact kept pace with the demand for program funds resulting from USAID withdrawal by 1980. CARE still maintains a presence and continuing funding interests. HACHO's status as a government agency is not clear nor is its role accepted as regional coordinator for development in the northwest, nor as local coordinator for non-governmental agencies. This ambiguity is heightened by the current presence of other government-related external funds in the area, especially PIRNO.

Personnel. See Appendix II for a table showing the structure of HACHO's current personnel allocation in terms of programming. A total of 165 employees are currently on the payroll, including a number of crafts apprentices only temporarily employed. This is down a third from the 245 employees on the payroll in 1978, reflecting the decline in funding. While only about a fourth of the employees are involved in general administration, administrative requirements include about 47 percent of all personnel when vehicles and maintenance requirements are taken into account. Health workers still account for a hefty 28 percent of all personnel, or over half of the actual program staff as compared to less than a fifth for agriculture and slightly over a fifth for the crafts program. The remaining agents polyvalents, engineer and road construction foreman account for less than 7 percent of total staff. The numbers for animation are in fact slightly higher than the percentages would indicate due to involvement of unit coordinators in the tasks of community organization. These figures are roughly comparable to the proportions indicated for 1976 and 1972, though radically different from 1967 when 92 percent of program staff was health

related (see Phase II Evaluation 1976, p.254).

In terms of location the 4 unit offices are quite equally endowed with personnel, each varying from 14 to 16 percent of the whole with Bombardopolis having the largest staff. Over half of the staff are at the four field locations; around 37 percent in Gonaives - the regional office and garage; and 8 percent in Port-au-Prince. The percentages show a conspicuously smaller proportion of personnel located in Port-au-Prince as compared to earlier years.

Many of the personnel assignments are of course under conditions of hardship given the urban orientation and training of the program personnel. As is common with other large agencies operating programs in rural Haiti, there are complaints in local communities about the common pattern of short work weeks in the field. It appears that the salary structure does not provide sufficient incentive for stabilizing this situation, a problem not unrelated to the general question of funding. There appears to be a problem of staff turnover, as well, including loss of personnel through emigration. Some personnel assigned to HACHO by the Ministry of Public Health have reportedly failed to arrive on assignment due to such fears as torrential flooding, for example, in Jean Rabel. An underlying issue in hiring is the preponderance of individuals from Port-au-Prince, or with families and other close ties there, tending to orient their lives less to the field site than to the capital city.

Finances. Since 1977 the general budget trend has been downward in keeping with the gradual programmed withdrawal of USAID funds. GOH financing has increased from \$150,000 in 1977 to \$450,000 (primarily for salaries) in 1980, while USAID funding has declined from \$636,000 in 1977 to 0.00 in 1980. (From 1966 to 1979 USAID has contributed \$5,130,000 of regular funding, GOH some \$900,000, and Fonds Agricoles \$1,500,000.) CARE's fund of an additional \$200,000 for 1980 is available contingent upon clarification of the legal status of HACHO, with about one third designated for personnel costs and two-thirds for materials and equipment. The Fonds Agricoles (Deutsche Welthungerhilfe) has contributed \$1,500,000

between 1977 and 1979. It is difficult to get a clear picture of just how the German funds are spent since the figures are not made public. An estimated two-fifths go for expatriate salaries and personnel maintenance, and three-fifths for actual programming. An estimated 70 percent of the German program funds goes for purchase of food used in payment for community workers, and the remaining 30 percent goes for equipment and materials.

Relations with other agencies. A key characteristic of HACHO as an agency is its umbrella role for other relief and development funds. In some respects such outside funds tend to define HACHO programming. The field offices, network of guesthouses and the regional orientation of HACHO all serve to channel funds into the area as in the Anse Rouge and Mole water projects (embassy funds, also SOVIR and Misereor), the Fonds Agricole component of HACHO, or the Chinese and French participation in the crafts program. Government ministries also have representatives who collaborate with HACHO. Finally, other missions and agencies work in the region even if they do not channel their activities through HACHO. The following list describes some of these relationships:

1) CARE - This agency has worked in Haiti since 1959, and has contracted to work with HACHO since 1966. Aside from the provision of two expatriate administrators, CARE presently works cooperatively with HACHO in the area of potable water, the crafts program, nutrition centers and the provision of food for work. The special relationship between the two agencies is to be enhanced with the projected increase in CARE funding of HACHO following withdrawal of AID funding. The two agencies cooperate closely in the field setting in other less formal ways, sometimes sharing personnel and warehouse space. CARE also operates food for work projects separately from those supervised by HACHO in the northwest, receiving requests directly from community councils. According to its log-book CARE has approved food for work projects in the region for construction of roads, schools, CINEC schools, nutrition centers, crafts centers, irrigation, soil conservation structures, and a de-salinisation plant.

2) Fonds Agricole- This is a project of the Deutsche Welrhungerhilfe,

financed by the Ministry of Cooperation of the Federal Republic of Germany. Fonds Agricoles works within HACHO on agricultural projects centered around irrigation. Aside from German technicians, it has also hired Haitian contractors making up an affiliate known as FONDEV, Fonds pour le Développement, to work along with regular HACHO staff on the projects in agriculture. Total funding amounts to \$500,000 per year. At this point Fonds Agricoles constitutes HACHO's primary program thrust toward agricultural priorities.

3) Republic of China - Three Taiwanese technicians are assigned to the HACHO/CARE crafts project, two of them teaching Haitian apprentices skills in furniture construction and bamboo weaving. The third member is assigned to the propagation of bamboo.

4) Volontaires du Progrès - Two French volunteers are assigned by the French government to the Ministry of Agriculture which has placed them with HACHO to work in the crafts program at L'Arbre and Sources Chaudes.

5) Government ministries - GOH health and agricultural personnel serve within HACHO. The Ministries of Public Health, Agriculture and National Education officially collaborate with HACHO. DARNDR's four agents d'extension agricoles in the region cooperate with HACHO projects. The agency's agricultural activities are formally under the supervision of the agronomes du district stationed in Gonaives and Port-de-Paix. HACHO medical facilities are dependent on assignment of medical residents by the Ministry of Public Health.

6) ONAAC (Office National d'Alphabétisation et d'Action Communautaire) This agency is attached to the Ministry of National Education. It was organized in 1969 although it had existed since 1961 as ONEC (Office National d'Education Communautaire). ONAAC has official responsibility for organizing community councils and gives official recognition to new councils formed. ONAAC personnel work closely with HACHO, and in some cases are employed directly by HACHO. Most councils in the northwest have been organized by HACHO than ONAAC. At this time ONAAC is not seeking to create

new councils in the area; rather, it seeks to reduce the number of councils, combining some or making one the sous-conseil of another. ONAAC presently concentrates its efforts in the northwest on adult literacy in the Creole language, using local people as moniteurs paid in food for work.

7) PIRNO (Programme Intégrée de Réhabilitation du Nord-Ouest)
This program was established with UNICEF funds in March 1978, following the 1976-77 drought in the region. It is presently attached to the Ministry of Agriculture. PIRNO has had a field office in Anse Rouge since 1978. In many ways its program resembles that of HACHO although the two programs in fact have little rapport. Cooperation thus far includes PIRNO use of HACHO warehousing in Anse Rouge, offer of PIRNO materials for potable water projects undertaken by HACHO, mutual participation in HACHO medical facilities.

PIRNO concentrates its projects in agriculture, education and health. To date it has been rather inactive in the northwest. Aside from its office staff, the main evidence of PIRNO in the area is a series of visits to community councils in the region last year. On these occasions PIRNO requested councils to gather materials and prepare a site for the construction of centers for day care and feminine education. Council members report a willingness to do so but lack a clear understanding of how the centers might be used.

Though PIRNO's program is similar and in some ways duplicative of HACHO's work, it has one important difference. While HACHO is committed to working in collaboration or dialogue with community councils, and seeks to respond to initiatives coming from the councils, PIRNO's approach seems to provide a program without even the appearance of council initiative. Finally, in light of the great need and serious limitation on available resources for the northwest, the overlap and duplication of services provided by HACHO and PIRNO is most unfortunate. Hindsight indicates this would have been less likely to occur if HACHO's role as coordinating agency had been clearly established. Furthermore, collaborating role need not imply incorporation of one agency by the other. Both could cooperate as equals,

providing complementary services to the region. As it stands the two agencies are perceived as rivals.

8) CONAJEC (Conseil National Jean-Claudist) - This recently formed government council is organized throughout the towns of the northwest. Its members are commonly drawn from community council leadership, council federation officers, the VSN, and other local politicians. Each local CONAJEC committee reports directly to Port-au-Prince. As perceived through field interviews the new council is fundamentally political in character. It constitutes an arm of the government devoted to the political oversight of the community council movement. It may call out the conseils communautaires for political meetings in town, or serve as a seat of judgment for community council leaders engaged in a dispute, especially if one party is a member of the VSN. It is not intended to supplant ONAAC staff in the tasks of community organization, nor is it intended to take part in elections.

A recent community council election was, however, rigged by a HACHO agent polyvalent and member of CONAJEC, raising the issue of "politics" versus "development" in the community council movement. In a rural council composed of peasant farmers, the agent's favored candidate was forceably put into office by townspeople using political and military intimidation, limitation of free discussion and refusal to permit monitoring of the election by other ONAAC and HACHO personnel. HACHO personnel have lodged protests with Port-au-Prince offices of ONAAC and CONAJEC. The general interpretation of the incident is one of a personal abuse of power rather than execution of a general policy. The response of residents in the locality is to boycott the council and its activities. The incident has effectively destroyed the community council movement in the immediate area.

9) Christian Missions - Protestant and Catholic clergy occasionally participate in HACHO affiliated councils and projects. The level of participation varies a great deal depending on the interests of the clergy. There is little cooperation, for example, between HACHO and the priest in Mole though the latter runs a medical facility. The priest and nuns in Jean Rabel, however, have taken a strong interest in the town water project. Protestant

pastors have long played a role in road construction and maintenance in the area. Missionary pastors and HACHO both work with the agricultural cooperative in Baie de Hennes. In Bombardopolis the HACHO clinic and the Association Medical International (Protestant) work closely together. The UFM and HACHO clinics cooperate informally in the Jean Rabel area. Protestant missions in the area include the Conservative Baptist Mission, Unevangelized Fields Mission, the Church of God (Pentecostal), the Mormons and a number of independent Baptist missionaries.

10) PDAI (Programme de Développement Agricole Integre) - This is an AID funded program operated through the ministry of agriculture. It is described in greater detail in the section on water users associations.

Special problems faced by the agency. At the time of this evaluation HACHO continues to maintain an active program but finds itself in a state of crisis with regard to its future. The crisis is linked primarily to two factors: 1) The withdrawal of USAID funding; 2) the delay in establishing GOH policy regarding its disposition of HACHO. Consequently, HACHO is officially in limbo and USAID has effectively dealt itself out of an active role in the agency's future. In the last analysis, ultimate responsibility for the vagaries of agency policy must lie with the funding sources. Some of the special problems faced by HACHO include the following:

1) Focus: The agency was originally set up as an ad hoc response to drought conditions in the northwest with a focus on emergency health services and provision of relief. It later broadened its focus to include a variety of public services and a longer range orientation to development. This led to a HACHO coordination role for other donor agencies in an isolated area with difficult logistics and few government services. The initial approach, disaster relief, made the shift to development programs more difficult to sustain. One consequence of this, for example, is a long standing policy gap within HACHO over the relative emphasis to be placed on medical services.

2) Funding: The essential issue revolves around the very definition of the agency in terms of its foreign donors. In retrospect it is clear that

no adequate provision was made for the agency to be transformed from a private agency with foreign donors, and local government support, to an autonomous government agency coordinating services in the region. Increased GOH funding has simply not made up for the loss of external funds, and it appears that government policy has been to treat HACHO as a device for assuring foreign donations rather than to actively participate in its transformation into a regional government agency.

3) Legal status: As a consequence, the issue of legal status is unresolved, awaiting governmental action along the lines of a tutelle relationship to a particular government department, with no apparent GOH commitment to the idea of a special role as regional coordinator either of government services or non-governmental programs. The withdrawal of AID funding without any further disposition for the agency through other means has severely demoralized many field personnel who identify HACHO as an American agency. Both field and administrative staff sense that AID withdrawal may ultimately signal the demise of HACHO, with PIRNO groomed to pick up the pieces. It is worth noting that CARE's willingness to subsidize HACHO is tied to the condition that HACHO be officially recognized as an "autonomous" government agency. Furthermore, the Welthungerhilfe is prepared to negotiate its Fonds Agricoles program directly with the Ministry of Agriculture in the absence of HACHO.

4) Personnel: A potential strength of HACHO is its capacity to put Haitian technicians into the field. The crisis in funding threatens this potential already strained by other factors. There is a relatively high turnover of personnel due to emigration, lack of GOH salary guarantees, and inadequate incentive for urban-oriented technicians to stay in rural field settings. Some personnel are lost to other agencies offering better working conditions. There is a certain problem of dual allegiance where employees of other government departments are seconded to HACHO. Finally, a majority of the field personnel are strangers to the areas where they are assigned.

5) Climate & geography: The specter of drought and disaster hangs over any programming in the northwest. The area is also isolated by geography,

and there is relatively little commercial overland transport due to road conditions. These factors do not make the work here impossible but they do make it expensive, a consequence reflected in the proposition of the budget devoted to logistics.

MEDICAL PROGRAM

This evaluation does not focus in depth on the medical aspects of the HACHO program in view of the programmatic shift of emphasis away from health. Field work did include visits to medical facilities and discussion of current operations with medical personnel in Anse Rouge, Bombardopolis and Jean Rabel.

Anse Rouge. The hospital in Anse Rouge was constructed by HACHO and the community council. As recently as 2 years ago its was staffed by 2 doctors, a nurse and 6 auxiliary nurses. Currently it has 1 doctor, a student nurse and 3 on-the-job trained auxiliaries. An additional doctor and nurse have been requested. Since January of this year the second doctor has not been replaced; the nurse has not been replaced since this past summer; and 3 departed auxiliaries have not been replaced since some months. The doctor in charge completed 2 years residence here and stayed on since October. In addition to his responsibilities for the hospital, the doctor conducts weekly clinics at Coridon, Atrél, Boucan Patriot and Sources Chaudes. Auxiliaries are no longer resident in Sources Chaudes and Atrél.

The hospital is attractive and clean. It appears to be well organized. Clients pay \$.10 for consultation and \$.10 for medication. There is a laboratory technician on duty. The most common health problems are malnutrition, typhoid fever, gastro-enteritis, respiratory ailments, tuberculosis, venereal disease and eye infections. Following Hurricane David there was an increased incidence of typhoid and malaria. Since the installation of potable water in Anse Rouge there has apparently been a diminution of skin problems.

Basic medication is available through HACHO and PIRNO; however, there is still a problem of receiving out-of-date medication which has to be discarded. There is a general problem of inadequate supplies and equipment. The generator has not been working for the past 10 months, and there is no adequate back-up lighting system such as Coleman lanterns. The hospital lacks an adequate supply of mattresses and sheets. The toilet is not working.

Kitchen facilities are not available for families of patients coming from a distance.

Bombardopolis. The program here includes the services of a resident doctor and dentist. The present doctor just arrived, his post having been vacant for some months. He works at the HACHO dispensary, mobile clinics and the Protestant missionary clinic (Association Médical International). The missionary clinic covers his food and lodging. The mission program plans to integrate the HACHO dispensary into its hospital-clinic operation; however it is not inclined to absorb the entire HACHO staff at the new facility due to both administrative and "moral" considerations.

The missionary hospital is well stocked with medication and supplies. They would like the HACHO dispensary to run more laboratory tests for them, but they find that the dispensary frequently lacks the necessary supplies.

The HACHO dentist reports that he is adequately supplied with medication. Due to lack of electricity he is unable to use drilling equipment. The main service he provides is pulling teeth, seeing about 10 patients per day.

The proposed integration of services between the missionary hospital and the HACHO dispensary seems desirable from the point of view of efficient use of resources. It is hoped that medical standards would form the basis of this integration rather than theological standards. Long lapses in the availability of a doctor at this unit seems particularly unfortunate. Dental services provided are minimal but helpful. A fuller range of dental services is desirable but unlikely to be achieved given current program restraints in the medical area.

Mole St. Nicolas. Medical services here are provided by an American priest trained as a pharmacist. With the help of volunteers he runs a small hospital providing medical services in the area for the past 12 years. There is little cooperation between HACHO and the priest's operation although HACHO has offered to collaborate.

Jean Rabel. The hospital here was severely damaged by Hurricane David. It was built in a highly vulnerable position given the history of torrential floods in this location at the river's edge. The storm damaged hospital

equipment, furnishings, doors and floors. Much repair work has been undertaken and the hospital has been scrubbed clean of river mud. There is staff and community sentiment in favor of re-building the hospital at a higher location though current efforts are devoted to repairing and refurbishing the hospital at its present site.

The doctor here feels he is overworked, desiring that a resident be assigned to share the burden. There are other staffing problems, there being no nurses at present though there were formerly two. One nurse assigned here did not come, it was reported, for fear of periodic floods. The staff includes 6 auxiliary hygienists and one auxiliary nurse, the latter with formal training and a diploma. A February 1979 report indicates that some staff members here were not receiving their salaries.

There are problems in the area of supplies and equipment. The generator is not working as no skilled mechanic is available to repair it. Laboratory losses from the storm have not yet been replaced, depriving the hospital of any laboratory services. The mobile clinic has not been functioning for some months. There is not an adequate supply of medications in stock. The doctor expresses a need for ambulance services in order to take patients to Gonaives when necessary.

Clients pay 1 gourde for consultation and 1 gourde for medication, although some medication is more costly. Common medical problems include respiratory infections, bronchitis, intestinal parasites, diarrhea, tuberculosis and Venereal disease. There was a rise in the incidence of typhoid and malaria following Hurricane David. The doctor cites a lower incidence of malnutrition since the establishment of nutrition centers in the area.

Conclusions. Throughout the medical program in the northwest there is the problem of staffing. As elsewhere in provincial Haiti it is difficult to keep top level personnel in the area. This issue can be addressed by providing better economic incentives. There is also the problem of staff lost to attrition with no replacement. Since there was to be a cutback in the HACHO medical program, it seems that allowing attrition to occur while placing a freeze on hiring may serve this function. If this is the case, it

has not been communicated to the staff or announced as a general policy. The current practice does not lend itself to comprehensive planning at the local level. It also frustrates the current staff and lowers their morale. On the other hand if staff are to be replaced, this should obviously be done promptly. This is further complicated when key staff appointments depend on the Ministry of Public Health.

The lack of adequate equipment, supplies and maintenance is notable throughout the region. Again, this is not peculiar to the northwest of Haiti. It does, however, reflect on the quality of care available to patients here, and constitutes yet another disincentive for qualified medical staff to work in the area.

In the HACHO files there is correspondence concerning an inspection tour of medical facilities in the northwest undertaken by Dr. Jasmin of the health ministry's Division d'Hygiène Familiale. Following his visit in May of 1979, Dr. Jasmin indicated special enthusiasm for the medical team at Anse Rouge, especially the medical director. He found no doctor in residence at Bombardopolis. He also noted that the dispensary was dirty, and a quantity of vaccine was lost due to negligence. In Jean Rabel Dr. Jasmin's investigation found problems of motivation and communication among staff members, and a lack of education among supporting personnel. He found the hospital to be dirty, and a large quantity of vaccines in a "lamentable" state. It should be noted that when Dr. Jasmin's investigation pointed up deficiencies in the HACHO medical program, HACHO responded promptly by setting up a meeting of medical personnel to review their program for the January-June period and to plan strategy for the coming July-December period (1979).

At the present time the entire medical program seems to be functioning on a day to day basis. It appears to lack an overall sense of direction. The medical program has indeed been diminished in the area of staffing; however, there has been no official word to this effect. If the attrition in staff and freeze on hiring is a question of policy rather than sluggish bureaucracy, it needs to be stated. It would be wise to assess program options and establish some clearly defined program objective within the limitations of present circumstances, thereby providing as good medical care as is possible within this framework.

NUTRITION CENTERS

Much attention has been focused on the nutritional problems in the northwest. For some years CERNs, maternal education-child feeding centers have been operating in the region. Under CERNs malnourished children are fed daily for a period of time until they show improvement; mothers of the children receive nutrition education. As a result of recent policy changes the program is shifting over to a new approach, the CSN (Center for Nutritional Supervision). In the new system a greater number of mothers and children are served but actual food distribution is less frequent. The emphasis is more on nutrition education.

In the course of this study, visits were made to a CERN in L'Arbre (Anse Rouge) and a CSN in Bombardopolis. The CERN was visited at the suggestion of HACHO personnel. The center at L'Arbre was viewed as a good one because of its regular attendance pattern. In contrast, AID staff later indicated that this particular center ought to be closed on the basis of the low level of nutritional education at this center. People interviewed in L'Arbre strongly supported the activities of the center.

Thirty children were observed to be eating a meal of bulgar wheat. It was indicated that the children would normally be fed vegetables and meat as well but that no food at all had been sent to the center for three months; the food being served at the time of this visit was in fact borrowed from community council stocks. Later discussion with the HACHO administrator confirmed that the arrangement for delivery of food supplies recently changed, with CARE being responsible, and direct delivery of PL 480 has been delayed in the process. Mothers at the center indicated that a pattern of take-home rations of wheat and oil was stopped five months ago for unknown reasons. The mothers present suggested that they have learned things at the center which they didn't know before such as recipes, sanitary practices and birth control measures. They pointed out, however, that the main problem they have in feeding their children is "lack of means."

People interviewed in Bombardopolis expressed the opinion that they used to have a good nutrition center here but it changed to the new surveillance pattern (CSN) in February. Local people, council members and nutrition staff in Bombardopolis are not enthusiastic about the new system, primarily because it de-emphasizes food distribution and emphasizes nutritional education in its **stead**. They feel that this does not really help the children and that mothers are less cooperative than under the old CERN system.

There is an interesting split in emphasis regarding the nutrition program. From the point of view of top level administration, the educational aspects of the program are primary. This view is of course reflected in the recent programmatic shift from CERNs to CSNs. From the point of view of local staff and community members interviewed the actual feeding of the children is perceived to be more beneficial than the educational aspects of the program. This discontinuity will certainly be a factor in the effectiveness of the new CSN program. If local level staff and recipients are not committed to the new program orientation, it is unlikely that they will be very enthusiastic about supporting and carrying it out.

COMMUNITY COUNCILS AS WATER USERS ASSOCIATIONS

What follows is a series of brief case studies demonstrating both traditional and development-based systems of irrigation and their relationship to the community.

Petite Place (Anse Rouge). In 1977 the Fonds Agricoles took an interest in the traditional spring fed irrigation system in this community, helping to build 2,600 meters of concrete canals along with capping the spring. The Fonds Agricoles also makes credit available in the form of seed, fertilizer, tools and insecticide. The project maintains a depot, demonstration plots and a 45,000 tree reforestation program. The reforestation project has been instrumental in eliminating open grazing practices in areas adjoining irrigated lands. Work on the irrigation system is accomplished through food for work payments equivalent to the national minimum wage. Each worker contributes a small portion of his payment to the council treasury and the Anse Rouge Federation. Community leaders are greatly appreciative of the aid from Fonds Agricoles and consider irrigation improvement the most desirable of projects. They did not initiate the request for aid but appear to have been chosen by Fonds Agricoles following an appraisal of the area.

Some 150 members of the community council here represent 77 households and 10 families. All council members reportedly have irrigated land. The more landed individuals own up to 5 and 6 carreaux. It is of particular interest to note that a system of dirt canals and cooperative labor existed in this community long before the community council was organized. The new canal system introduces a greater supply of water to a larger land area than before. Furthermore, it is now administered through the auspices of the community council rather than the old system. As under the old system some water surplus is sold to non-council members on land lying below the community proper. (In a neighboring area renters were interviewed who purchased water rights separately from their rented land, paying 25 gourdes for 1 hour's water per week for a 3 month period.) As before, water rights are purchased or inherited along with the purchase or inheritance of land, on the principle that each carreau of land

has a "right" to 2 hours of water per week. The owner of water rights may sell a portion of his water time to others if he wishes. Under the old system, dirt canals were built by collective labor in the style of a coumbit, but with an interesting difference: Where canal work benefited several people, the coumbit did not have a host but rather collected money by consensus, at 2 gourdes per person, to cover the expense of calling a coumbit. Under the Fonds Agricoles project, the workers were paid a wage rather than volunteering their labor, strictly speaking. Finally, the increased amount of land under irrigation has created an increasing demand for labor, attracting migrant labor from surrounding mountain areas at peak seasons.

L'Etang. Two water systems function in this community: 1) a traditional one based on dirt canals and run-off water from a river bed with only a seasonal water flow; 2) a modern one built under the supervision of Fonds Agricoles pumping water from a low lying pond up into a concrete canal, watering land never before irrigated and rarely or never before cultivated.

1) The traditional system appears to go back several generations in time: It is based on the seasonal flow of water in a ravine called the Rivière Froide. Customarily the water first appears in May and builds up its flow in June and July. Some years it may flow for only a week or so. This year it has flowed for an unusually longtime from May until November. There are presently 8 canals drawing water from this ravine, two of them private and 6 of them collectively owned. The canals lie on both sides of the Rivière Froide. As a consequence, the water flowing in the ravine is divided equally between the two banks of the river, each bank receiving 3 days of water during alternate 3 day periods. The farmers who benefit from the water are subject to the authority of one member of the community elected to assure fair distribution of the precious water. This person is called the syndic (this term is reportedly also used in the wet rice areas of the Artibonite). At L'Etang there is a separate syndic, and a separate community council for each bank of the ravine.

The syndic is traditionally chosen by election at a meeting of water users chaired by the chef de section and the agent agricole, the latter sometimes

known as the ajan riva. Recently, the syndic elections have been taken over by the community councils on each side of the ravine. The syndic's sole responsibility is to assure equitable water distribution. He receives no cash payments for his services but is assured 6 hours of water in exchange for his services. This water time is in addition to his rightful allotment of water in the regular distribution under his authority. The person chosen is generally a larger landowner respected by the group, consequently he has a particular interest in the water himself. He appoints an assistant known as the aide syndic who personally opens and closes the canal openings for each farmer's land at his allotted time. For this service the aide is paid 2 gourdes per farmer.

The water flowing in the ravine is divided into two categories: lavalas (dirty water) and dlo kle (clear water). The new water flow, the lavalas, is unregulated. Everyone has access to it so long as it flows, usually no more than 24 hours or simply over night. The only exception to this is rented land in which case the owner of the rented land has a right to deny access of the lavalas to his renter. The landowner has no right, however, to deny dlo kle to his renter, for all dlo kle is regulated by the syndic.

The syndic allocates water time according to need; that is, according to the amount of land a farmer has under cultivation, up to a maximum of 6 hours per week. In this fashion, each farmer is allocated a certain amount of water time per week. Allocation is made within 24 hours of the lavalas first entering the dry ravine. This is done by calling a meeting of water users, determining need and assigning times.

There are sometimes water disputes. A syndic may come under fire for unfairness or for selling water rights. In such a case the syndic is revoked and another chosen. There may be disputes between water users in which the judgement of the syndic is not accepted by the disputants. In this case the dispute is taken to the Chef de section and the agent agricole. If the dispute is not successfully resolved at that level, it goes to town to be heard by the juge de paix at the tribunal.

Canal construction and maintenance do not come under the authority of the syndic. A man who benefits but does not contribute his labor may come under

pressure to contribute funds or be cut off. Privately owned canals, dug by the owner at his own expense and across his own land are the sole responsibility of the owner. Should a neighbor hook into a private canal, the canal owner may charge a fee each year of 5 gourdes. If a man wishes to dig a canal across another's property, he must either purchase the right of passage or else allow one opening to the land affected.

2) Modern pump system of irrigation built under supervision of Fonds Agricoles: Construction of this new and separate system began in 1976. It is organized through the community council along lines similar to the case of Petite Place, but the technology is different and the land base poses unusual problems and possibilities.

The council itself has less than 100 members, although the community of L'Etang is somewhat larger. Council members are all peasant farmers, many of whom participate in the old ravine water system and all of whom are interested in irrigating with the new pump-based system. A significant sector of the community does not participate in the council which is oriented primarily to water users and potential water users, and that is the fishermen living along the coastal littoral on state owned land, literally squatters. These essentially landless folk do only a little gardening and do not participate in any kind of irrigation. The dominant agricultural sector of the community is composed of households with land holdings ranging from landless renters to those holding up to 25 carreaux.

Fonds Agricoles began work on the new irrigation project in 1976, working with the council to clear land for a road to the pump site, gather materials for construction and trace out the canal system. Construction of the main canal began in October of 1977. It is presently about 2 kilometers in length and supplies 7 feeder canals placed at intervals of 200 meters, each feeder canal with openings onto the land at 50 meter intervals. The main canal is fed from a large pumphouse housing a 20,000 dollar pump, lifting water from a spring fed pond. In this fashion about 80 hectares can be irrigated at present. Distribution is based on the purchase of water time at the rate of 7 gourdes per hour of water. A salaried pump operator is presently paid by Fonds Agricoles

with responsibility to shift directly to the council in January 1980. Water distribution is presently under the supervision of the council president and the HACHO representative in the area, the agent polyvalent.

The new irrigation system is based on making use of water in L'Etang that is readily available but lying so low as to not be available for irrigation. The pump solves the problem, technically, but several problems remain. First of all, the pump is very expensive, and maintenance poses problems of access to parts and skilled mechanics. Operation of the pump is costly, requiring intensive cash cropping of the irrigable land in order to raise the capital for maintenance and replacement funds. Secondly, the new irrigation system raises questions of land tenure security and land reform in the community.

The land lying below the canals has never been regularly cultivated, and has grown up in shrubs and trees. The task of clearing it is immense, hence Fonds Agricoles is using a bulldozer. Clearing the new land raised the question of clear title. The council does not have title to the land being cleared, and landowners took no particular interest in the proceedings until the land was cleared. At this point the potential value of the project was made manifest, and problems emerged.

The council's goal is to gain control of the land as a council rather than as private individuals. To do so, it desires to make proper settlements with the rightful owners offering any owner, whether living in the community or not, the right to share in the project as a member. The land is farmed in terms of equal shares. A plot is available to any community member who joins the council. The irrigation structure is clearly owned by the council, giving it powerful leverage for gaining ultimate access to the otherwise unproductive land. As it stands, land under irrigation under the new system is divided equally among all interested members at the rate of $\frac{1}{4}$ carreau per person regardless of whether the individual actually owns land in the irrigated area. As more land is cleared, individual shares may increase.

Actual title to the land is not clear. There are disputing claims. The block of land derives from three original tracts. The original owners have scores of descendants with potential inheritance rights. Some of the heirs

have bought and sold portions of the land many times without the benefit of surveying and legal title. Some heirs have moved away. One key deed is apparently lost, carried away many years ago by an heir who moved to the Gonaives plains. The man is now deceased, and the land deed reportedly was left in the hands of a surveyor pending payment for services. He also is deceased. A number of potential heirs and purchasers of plots in the disputed tract have conflicting claims. The situation is further complicated by the unforeseen possibility that the pump system may eventually overlap with the ravine system of irrigation, raising new problems of equity control of water and land.

In an attempt to clarify the situation meetings have been held with both the government commissaire and the depute at which time available land deeds were examined and complaints aired. It is evident that the land tenure problems can not ultimately be resolved until legal title is established, at which point the council could negotiate its interests in view of its leverage based on the irrigation system and the right to equal shares by all members of the community or owners of land in the irrigated area.

Baie de Hennes Cooperatif Agricole. The cooperative was originally funded in 1959 as an extension of the Baptist mission program in Bombardopolis and Creve. (Creve later became the site of the first community council in the northwest even prior to councils in Jean Rabel, a development linked to the Protestant movement.) Two American pastors took initiative to farm potentially irrigable river bottom land near Baie de Hennes on state owned land resting uncultivated except for one carreau. This area was used primarily for open range grazing by the people of Baie de Hennes. The majority of the initial 200 members were Protestant, primarily from Bombardopolis and a few from Jean Rabel, Mole St. Nicolas and Baie de Hennes. In 1962 President Duvalier granted a tract of 140 hectares to the cooperative. During the same time period, the American aid program donated the use of a bulldozer to clear the area and assisted in the building of concrete canals bringing some 70 hectares into production. With the departure of US aid in 1963, the cooperative ran poorly, losing money on its ventures. Subject to internal strife, the

cooperative lost half of its members. It reportedly reached a low point in functioning during the late 1960s and early 1970s. In 1973 HACHO took an interest in the cooperative, and by 1978 the coop had a cash reserve of 12,000 gourdes, by 1979 a reserve of 18,000 gourdes.

The improved 70 hectare tract was originally parcelled out into $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{2}$ hectare plots, the size depending on the productivity of the plot. At present a total of 99 members work 95 hectares on individual plots varying in size from $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 hectare. Prior to the September Hurricane David another 40 hectares were being prepared for production permitting the addition of 30 prospective members presently on a waiting list. The hurricane destroyed old and new garden lands, dealing a serious blow to the expansion plans. At the time of this team's field interviews, the president of the cooperative had been promised aid from HACHO and the Conservative Baptist Mission, but he appeared to be unaware of the aid offered by the American Embassy.

The cooperative taxes its members in terms of labor obligations to the group, working on the canals and on a collectively farmed plot. In addition it hires day laborers at the going agricultural wage. There is some difficulty getting all members to contribute their allotment of labor time. This problem has increased since the hurricane. The members are divided into 4 teams, each working 5 days per month, a requirement doubled after the hurricane.

There is a history of some resentment between the townspeople of Baie de Hennes and the cooperative, dominated by outsiders. People from Baie de Hennes did not initially show much interest in the project as they are not primarily farmers. They do breed livestock, however, and the cooperative presumably cut into the local grazing lands.

The history of the cooperative demonstrates considerable fluctuation in activity. It suffers from the fragmentation of its membership due to dispersal and distance from the cultivated land. The coop president himself notes that privately owned land is preferable to cooperative ownership in the eyes of local farmers:

"If you make 20 marmits of beans, you can take it all home with you, you don't owe anyone any part of it."

Lavaltière (Mare Rouge). The Comite Agricole in this locality is in effect a water users' association though it is a sub-committee of the community council. The community is quite recent in origin and presently lodges some 120 households. New water resources in the locality since the mid-1950s explain this agglomeration of peasant homes in an area otherwise sparsely populated and very arid. The first settler in the area dug out an underground water basin in 1956 and attracted others to purchase land and work in the area. Initially 5 farmers worked together on their own initiative, digging canals and irrigating their land. The first syndic here was appointed by the group in 1959. The group had no name, calling itself a "groupe" or "groupement" until 1961 when it called itself the Groupe Duvaliérist in an attempt to get government aid to build roads into the area. By 1968 HACHO was organizing councils in the Mare Rouge area, and Lavaltière formed a community council with the "groupe" organized into the comité agricole.

For a long time each community member had at least one full day's water available for irrigation each month. After 1974 the group of 84 planters restricted access to one-half day of water per carreau for each watering cycle. The government sent an outsider from the ministry of agriculture to serve as syndic in the community. This move was resisted by the comité and control over the office of syndic was eventually returned to the community. At present the 120 members of the comité are all local residents, and all farmers in the community benefit from the water and membership in the association. The fundamental principles of distribution at Lavaltière revolve around local control of the water, assured access to water on all land where a canal passes, and a half day's worth of water for each carreau of land during every watering cycle. It is worthy of note that the water association allows money to be raised for other purposes such as operation of a school in the community.

PDAI (Projet de développement agricole integree). With a view to gaining further information on the community council movement this team visited both the PDAI office in Jean Rabel as well as areas of PDAI programming. The project sheds further light on the problem of water supervision and the role of

local communities. The project merits more in-depth exploration than was possible under the circumstances of this assignment.

First of all, it is of interest to note that PDAI and HACHO engage in certain collaborative activities. HACHO is turning over tree nurseries and a farm to PDAI. Furthermore, at the time of this field visit animateurs from both PDAI and HACHO were observed to cooperate, along with a representative of ONAAC, in organizing and directing a town meeting.

Secondly, members of the PDAI staff expressed great concern about the present operation and future status of the organization. This concern seems to flow from two distinct problems: 1) The recent (September) damage resulting from the passage of Hurricane David destroying irrigated areas, roads and the bridge essential for vehicle access to the dam under construction at Nan Cocotier; 2) exaggerated difficulties surrounding general administration of the project, leading to what appears to be a fundamental demoralization of PDAI staff and a low level of accomplishment.

Frustrations expressed by key PDAI staff members include the following: The channelling of administrative matters through Port de Paix a town less accessible to Jean Rabel at present, than Port-au-Prince; a complicated system of procurement in which requests for needed parts and supplies are channelled through two government ministries, necessitating lengthy waiting periods for even urgent needs; irregular payment of staff salaries; an earlier cut in staff salaries despite a rise in cost of living. Three project vehicles are not presently working for lack of parts, leaving the project virtually without motorized transportation.

PDAI & community councils in Banannier Blain. Jean Rabel is an area with traditional systems of irrigation in a river valley. The river provides a steady source of water for irrigating fertile bottom land, especially large groves of banannes. The river is also the source of periodic flooding, a problem evident in the recent torrential floods following Hurricane David. In view of the pattern of periodic flooding as well as the proven potential for irrigation in the area, the PDAI dam at Nan Cocotier holds a certain interest for the future development of the area. Banannier Blain is a rural community

in line to benefit from the new dam, both in terms of work created by its construction and by its irrigation potential.

PDAI considers existing community councils to be "strategic" groups for making contact in rural areas, but does not ultimately use them as the primary channel for DARNDR programming. In principle the councils provide a point of contact for establishing smaller groups to be known as sociétés agricoles de développement (SAD) which in turn become the basis for organizing société de crédit agricole (SAC), local channels for agricultural credit administered by the Bureau de Crédit Agricole. Departing from the existing notions of "council," the PDAI staff wish to build on the idea of "group" already a part of the community council experience.

The council in Banannier Blair originated as an agricultural work society formed by a local planter, a "groupement" working members' gardens on an exchange labor basis and doing occasional wage labor for outsiders. As a community council it presently has 125 members, only about 15 of whom stand to benefit from the PDAI irrigation project. The council does not in any sense constitute a water users' association. Prior to the damage resulting from Hurricane David, two canals in the area irrigated land belonging to around 30 farmers. According to the community council president, council members benefit from the work created by the PDAI project, working 5 days per week and receiving wages for 3 days, donating one day for which no payment is made, donating another day for which payment enters the maintenance fund for the PDAI water project. The council provides laborers for such tasks as carrying rocks, cement and other materials, digging, and working on structures related to the dam including the road, canals and soil conservation projects. Neighboring councils also send workers, including Fond Zombi, Nan Solon, Academe, Nan Cocotier and Jean Rabel.

The principle followed in hiring workers for day labor is that preference be given to local residents and that councils suggest workers from their membership. Council leaders and workers interviewed suggest that not all workers are in fact council members, and many if not most workers may well not ultimately benefit from the irrigation project itself due to not

owning irrigable land. None of the 8 workers interviewed on the job owned irrigable land. A number of those who do benefit from irrigation decline to work on the day labor assignments, preferring to send someone in their place.

Work foremen say that day laborers never exceed 80 or 90 people, and since the road was cut off by the storm, there has been little work (since 3 months). The biggest problem with working on the PDAI project, according to community members and workers interviewed, is late and irregular payment for work done, as much as 6 weeks in arrears.

The irrigation project is of course of benefit to local farmers with irrigable land. The area has long had irrigation structures. Some farmers have expended considerable capital to erect aqueducts to carry water across the river. Such aqueducts include those constructed of concrete, but more commonly of split palm trucks, or, in one case, of fifty gallon drums cut in half the long way, welded and held in place by posts (one such bridge cost 1,000 gourdes to install). Local planters feel that the problem of replacing aqueducts lost to Hurricane David and opening up new areas to irrigation by similar means has not been adequately addressed by PDAI.

Such aqueducts have long been part of a system of dirt canals in use for many years. These canals have in the past been administered in two ways: 1) Through government appointed syndics with the responsibility of levying a tax, clearing the canals, judging disputes, allocating water and giving fines for use violations; 2) through less formal and locally based groupings of users who share labor costs of keeping the canals clear and do not pay for water use. (Planters irrigating further down river feel that the government syndic responsible in their area does not in fact "do" anything except to assure the annual collection of 11 gourdes tax per carreau.) Under the old system in Banannier Blain each carreau of land eligible for watering was allocated a day's water per carreau. The new system being instituted by PDAI is perceived as a re-institution of the old syndic system in which water distribution is regulated by the state, this time through the syndic and a comité agricole whose officers represent 7 different localities. Under the re-organized system, water distribution is taxed and the allocation based on quantity of irrigable land available to each farmer.

Summary. Water rights and patterns of irrigation seem to revolve around a number of issues. Some of these issues were investigated by this

evaluation team in L'Etang, Petite Place, Ramones-Figier, Savanne Ragé, Tête Bœuf, Baie de Hennes, La Valtière, Bord de Mer, Nan Dixhuit, Banannier Blain, Nan Cocotier. Not all of these sites can be reported in depth due to limitations of time and space. A number of observations and conclusions may be drawn from these field visits as follows:

1. Irrigation farming constitutes an important variation in the agriculture of the northwest. This form of intensive farming is perhaps the most dramatic development increasing production in the area.

2. Irrigation in the region has both traditional and modern variants. The traditional variants tend to be locally based, organized in diverse ways, and labor intensive. Modern systems are introduced by outsiders, usually foreigners, are generally capital intensive and state controlled.

3. Water sources for irrigation include systems based on run-off and seasonal water flow as well as wells, springs and rivers.

4. Water systems include collective as well as private ownership of both the land irrigated and the water distribution system.

5. Traditional systems tend toward privately owned land and entrepreneurial initiative, including the settlement of new areas.

6. Traditional systems incorporate several fundamental principles: inherited rights to both land and water, local control, assured access, variable levels of access based on need (irrigable land), and where there is scarcity, on a ceiling of maximum access.

7. A divergence of interest is commonly expressed in relation to town versus country where rural water rights involve townspeople.

8. The issue of local control versus state control of water distribution is commonly present wherever water distribution systems develop.

9. The need to distribute scarce water resources has had the consequence of encouraging successful forms of groupism and collective activity unusual in rural Haiti.

10. The water allocation specialist known as syndic takes a variety of forms and is not necessarily a state official. Not all traditional systems have syndics. Where the syndic is an outsider appointed by the state, there is commonly an antagonistic relationship between farmers and syndic.

11. In terms of the question of local autonomy and initiative, some of the most successful community councils, or sous-conseils, are those serving as water users' associations.

POTABLE WATER

In addition to irrigation considerable energy has been put into potable water in the northwest. A discussion of these projects provides insight into the complexities and variations involved in Community Council relationships.

Anse Rouge. The potable water system in use in Anse Rouge since 1977 was realized by the community council with support from various donor agencies. The system is currently functioning smoothly and appears to be self sustaining. Each household receiving water is charged a monthly service fee. People not on the direct line purchase water from their neighbors. The monthly service fee covers the services of five salaried employees and a reserve bank fund for repairs. There are also three free public fountains in different sections of town which run during the hours each section gets its allocation. People coming to Anse Rouge from the countryside purchase water from private individuals when the fountains aren't flowing. This water system also permits Anse Rouge residents to maintain small gardens in their courtyards.

At first glance this water system appears to be a complete success. However, if one looks further, certain problems have not yet been resolved. There seem to be:

1. Promised potable water for l'Arbre which has not yet been achieved.
2. Proposed change in location of the fountain and closing of a spigot at Savanne Ragé.
3. The serious problem of loss of irrigation water at Tête Boeuf.

1. L'Arbre. Currently there is some discussion of the availability of drinking water in l'Arbre, a rural community some distance from Anse Rouge along the pipe line for the town's water system. Drinking water for l'Arbre was planned from the beginning, however, it has not been achieved. It involves the expense of more pipeline to bring the water from the original line to l'Arbre. There are negotiations under way to secure these funds. It is interesting to note that some residents of l'Arbre are unclear as to who has responsibility for the water system, HACHO, the federation, or the Anse Rouge

community council. The community council of Anse Rouge, however, clearly assumes responsibility.

It is not clear why l'Arbre was unable to receive drinking water at the same time as Anse Rouge and the other localities involved. Extra pipe for L'Arbre, when the Anse Rouge system involved 17 km. of pipe, should not have presented a major obstacle. It appears that L'Arbre will eventually get its water but not without considerably strained relations.

2. Savanne Ragé. Savanne Ragé was fortunate to receive drinking water as part of the Anse Rouge system. Before the public fountains were installed the people had to travel to Sources Chaudes, a several hour trip on foot or by animal for their drinking water. The village is very poor; some people have been forced by economic circumstances to leave the area and go to the city to beg or try to find work. The people are very pleased to have the water. They have planted crops on the land adjacent to the fountain so as to use effectively the overflow from the public fountain.

However, the people are concerned about talk of putting in a cistern at a new location some distance from the fountain and closing the existing fountain. The new cistern is to provide drinking water only and is not expected to flow sufficiently long for the people to have a community garden. In fact, one of the spigots on the current fountain (there are two) has been turned off. This limits the water available for the garden. It also leads to arguments as there are more people coming for water than can be served by one spigot. Understandably, residents are not inclined toward the new plan although they have been asked to help with the installation of the new cistern.

The explanation the people of Savanne Ragé have been given for the change is that there isn't sufficient water for irrigation purposes; there is only enough for drinking. However, they note that the residents of Anse Rouge continue to have backyard gardens, and feel the removal of their single garden constitutes discrimination.

3. Tête Boeuf. The source for the Anse Rouge potable water system is located at Tête Boeuf. When the idea of bringing water from here to Anse Rouge

was first conceived, the HACHO coordinator and the president of the Anse Rouge community council came to discuss the idea with the people of Tête Boeuf. The people were initially opposed to the idea because they were afraid they would lose their source of irrigation water which they have had available for generations.

The project was not submitted to the people for approval; no vote was taken nor contract signed. The people were merely informed of the project and asked to cooperate with it. However, they accepted and worked on the installation of the system in exchange for food for work when they were informed that rather than lose irrigation water as the result of the project, their irrigation system would be augmented.

But, as a result of the installation of the water system, the residents of Tête Boeuf found themselves suffering serious economic loss due to a great loss of irrigation water. The first year was especially difficult because the loss was not expected and there was no rain. The people approached the community council of Anse Rouge and were told there was nothing that could be done. Since November 1979, however, the situation has improved somewhat. The people are permitted to receive irrigation water during the night, an amount still inferior to their traditional water supply.

It is interesting to note that in Tête Boeuf distinctions are not drawn between HACHO, the Anse Rouge community council and the Anse Rouge federation. They are all seen as the same thing.

This history of certain aspects of the Anse Rouge water project serves as a rather classic example of the kind of relationships that exist in much of Haiti between the towns and rural areas. The towns tend to exercise political dominance over rural areas as well as serve as trade and educational centers. HACHO seems to be taking a hands off attitude in relation to these problems. It appears to be allowing the Anse Rouge community council to handle them as it sees fit. One might question whether HACHO has a role in these matters since it was involved initially, if it should exert any influence, or whether its stance is appropriate. The answer would seem to lie in the role definition of HACHO itself.

Mole St. Nicolas. The potable water project of Mole St. Nicolas was inaugurated December 5, 1979. The source for the system is a waterfall located 4 km. from the town. This waterfall has always been the source of drinking water for the town. The difference is that people can simply turn on a spigot in their courtyard rather than travel to the source.

The project was initiated March 14, 1977 with a meeting of HACHO representatives, the French Ambassador, an engineer and representatives of the city of Mole. The people of Mole carried construction materials to the source as there was no other means of transportation and dug the passageways for the pipes. They received food for work for their labor, although this was somewhat late in the project.

In addition to the spigots in individual courtyards there are two public fountains in Mole. Installation was free. SNEP and the community council will have responsibility for the maintenance of the system. So far they have not established rapport. The community council is inactive. Also the financing of the maintenance has not been worked out. These factors could lead to some difficulties if they are not addressed before the system requires attention. Preferably they should have been addressed before the system was installed so that people would have had a clearer idea of what will be expected of them in maintaining a city water system. Without this clarity and acceptance it is not anticipated that the system will function smoothly.

In this regard it might have been and still could be of value for there to be discussion between the community council at Mole and the community council at Anse Rouge in order that the people of Mole could profit from the Anse Rouge experience. Additionally, this example points out that the potential success of technical projects often depends on non-technical aspects such as organizational and economic factors.

Jean Rabel. The city of Jean Rabel has had a potable water system since the early 1970's; however, it has some problems. It needs recapping and larger fountains. Since August, 1979, HACHO has been giving assistance for the recapping of the reservoir. In addition HACHO has approached the community council

with plans for a new water system. A new reservoir is being dug. The project is progressing slowly; the town's people are not enthusiastically contributing their support. The clear impression develops that the water project is a HACHO affair for which HACHO is trying to build support.

The major obstacle seems to be how contributions to the project from the town's people will be organized. (The meeting was attended chiefly by wealthy members of the community, and discussion centered around how to motivate the common people, with the question of food for work raised as a controversial issue.) There is a reluctance on the part of town leaders to commit themselves to a plan of action. At a public meeting chaired by the HACHO animator, seconded by the PIRNO and ONAAC animators, and attended by public officials and community leaders, questions were raised concerning the reasons for this difficulty. It was suggested that there is more cooperation among people in the countryside regarding projects than there is in the towns and that the reason for this has to do with greater homogeneity and common interest in the countryside than one finds in the towns. Additionally, there was a question raised by a public official about the significance of the absence of the HACHO coordinator at the meeting. The opinion was expressed that a project of such importance should be of sufficient interest that the coordinator be in attendance.

The low level of enthusiasm and commitment to the Jean Rabel water project is in marked contrast to the Anse Rouge project. This is understandable when one takes into account the differences of need in the two cases. However, one wonders how strongly HACHO should continue to push the project without strong back-up support and expression of interest on the part of the town's people. In view of the current response one suspects that the project is not perceived as a high priority need by the people of Jean Rabel.

CRAFTS PROJECT

The crafts project was started in 1976 with the goal of raising the income level of participants. People are trained in the hand production of craft items made from locally available raw materials such as cotton, latanier, bamboo, sisal and clay. The items are sold at the CANO (Centre Artisanal pour le Nord' Ouest) shop in Port-au-Prince. There is also some exportation of items and attempts are currently being made to expand the export market.

CARE is the primary supporter of the crafts project. The Phase II evaluation of HACHO had recommended that crafts projects be minimized due to the poor quality of goods being produced combined with the highly competitive market in this field. However, a former CARE director took a particular interest in crafts with the result that CARE has been making a growing investment in the project. The objective is to furnish an adequate income for 1150 families by 1982. It is foreseen that by 1982 the artisans will be able to produce \$200,000 worth of articles and that by the end of 1982 an artisan cooperative will be able to take total charge of the project.

Since the program started there have been some changes in thinking regarding its goals. It was first viewed simply as a means of creating employment. Its focus shifted to cooperative formation as the result of the project coordinator's suggestion. There is some talk at present about the possibility of a private company's buying the operation in the event cooperative approaches should fail.

L'Arbre. The crafts project at L'Arbre, the production of cotton goods such as hammocks, pillows, blankets and rugs, was built upon the residents' traditional knowledge and skill. The project revives the skills, teaches others, and provides a market for the goods. The project also provides the necessary weaving looms and spinning wheels, although some women prefer to use the more familiar hand method of spinning.

Shortly after the project started a prominent and powerful local resident who ran a small weaving business of his own was asked by the administration to

serve as a monitor for the program. After a while CANO staff become aware that thread production was falling off. While no complaints were registered, it became obvious that something was wrong. Upon investigation it was discovered that the spinners weren't being paid regularly and that they didn't know at what rate they were to be paid for their work. Therefore, the CANO administration removed this monitor and established a new way of organizing the center. The new organization consists of three committees. They are:

1. Filèz - Distributes raw cotton to the spinners and receives the spun cotton.
2. Artisan - Sells the yarn to the weavers on credit.
3. On Order - Handles the distribution of money coming from sales.

The evaluation team attended an artisan meeting at which a great deal of concern and a request to see the administrator was raised around the issue of the purchase of spun yarn. The artisans wanted CANO to appoint a salaried person to be available to buy spun yarn from the spinners whenever they had it to sell. At the time there was a shortage of spun yarn available to the weavers, but the discussion focused on the spinners' need for prompt payment. The French volunteers, a married couple assigned to work with the artisans, took the position that this issue should be handled by the filèz committee and that there was no need to hire someone specifically for this task although this had formerly been the arrangement. The volunteers reluctantly agreed to the meeting with the administrator but indicated their certainty that it would be fruitless.

The discussion was instructive in that two distinct points of view were represented. The French volunteers argued in favor of a cooperative orientation while the artisans argued for hierarchical authority. It became clear in the discussion that the artisans did not understand the nature of a cooperative and that they viewed decision making power to rest with top level administration rather than with the group. The following comments were made: a committee can't be responsible; if everyone is chief nothing works; if a school doesn't have a director it can't work; and finally, it is CANO who is chief.

While the goal of the program currently is the establishment of a cooperative (as well as generating income) it is not clear how this will come about. The French volunteers who are assigned to work closely with the artisans were frustrated and upset by this discussion. They were not effective in furthering the artisans' understanding of the principles involved in a cooperative. Additionally, it is obvious that decision making does take place at the top administrative level. The artisans are not involved in the process of struggling with discovering their own solutions to their problems.

Piéfrage. At Piéfrage the artisans weave latanier containers. Here also the project is built on locally available materials and traditional skills. The project started in 1976 with 30 members. It has grown to 50 but has stopped at this number because the artisans were told that this is the maximum number of members they can have; however, there are others involved in making the articles. They are called "volunteers". The volunteers receive payment for articles they make but do not share in the other benefits of membership. These benefits consist of possible year-end dividends. It is likely that the institution of the volunteer arrangement is a way people have gotten around the restrictions on membership. Residents were not able to explain why membership was limited. When further discussion brought up the question of what a cooperative is, they responded that they don't yet understand it.

Summary. The crafts project is commendable in that it is using local materials, building on traditional skills, and providing people with income. The quality of articles being produced is excellent; the CANO shop does a good business. What remains questionable is whether it will succeed in achieving its goals of cooperative formation -- forced savings, economic self sufficiency and collectivity.

Cooperatives are best formed when they start on a small scale at the grass roots level, build a solid base, and expand as they work through their problems developing insight and understanding along the way as well as technical and management skills. It is difficult to see how this is going to happen given the already formidable existing structure and administration. Emphasis has been

placed on the artisans' development of the technical skills necessary for production, but not on principles and management skills necessary to operate a cooperative. The concept of cooperative is foreign to rural Haitians. Much attention must be focused on educating people at the local level to what a cooperative is and on working closely with them as consultants, not administrators, through the process of cooperative development, if the cooperative is eventually to take total charge. Realistically, if this kind of commitment cannot be made, the only alternative is for the cooperative to return to its original wage labor orientation.

THE COMMUNITY COUNCIL MOVEMENT

HACHO has encouraged the formation of councils and worked through the community council structure ever since it began work in the northwest in 1966. There were at one time as many as 212 community councils in the region. Currently there are 108. The reduction resulted from a conscious effort to make the number of councils more manageable.

As background to the case studies and assessment which follows, it is appropriate to consider HACHO staff's orientation to community councils. The most frequently used term to describe the purpose of community councils is "tet ansanm" or working together for the common good. In describing actual councils a distinction is often made between two basic types: 1) "konséy séryé" -- a serious council which is interested in improvements and is motivated to work for itself; 2) "konséy manjé" -- a council which is primarily interested in receiving food for work or other payments. While the former is more desirable, staff talk about the difficulty of motivating councils without food for work.

A good council is described as one that has active projects and ties to HACHO. Another description is that a good council has meetings every week and a regular council work day; it asks what it can do for the country; it has a yearly week-by-week work plan and holds council without leaders. A bad council is described as one that is "sleeping", isn't "living", isn't doing work, exists in name only and is not active, and isn't motivated.

There are differing opinions about who should be council members. One view is that all area residents should be members. A contrasting view is that councils have too many members and that membership should be limited to the more intelligent and knowledgeable people.

A good council leader is seen as someone who is honest, someone in whom the people have confidence, someone devoted to the community rather than his personal affairs, and someone who is an advocate for the community. It is indicated that Animators are more interested in having "knowledgeable" people in office while local people are more oriented to conferring office on those with whom they have personal ties.

Types of community organizations in the northwest. There is a proliferation of terms and institutions which in some sense are spin-offs of the notion of conseil communautaire introduced in the region since the late 1960s. These include the following:

cooperatif- This term is used with reference to collectively owned projects of an economic character incorporating goals of forced savings and self-sufficiency. It is also used loosely to refer to any group project involving group-owned funds. Closely related is pré-cooperatif, sometimes used in relation to community councils, implying that councils are precursors of true cooperatives.

federation - Federations are composed of a number of member councils. They are usually located in towns serving as trade centers and seats of government for rural hinterlands.

groupement - Literally "grouping," this term pre-dates the existence of councils. It generally refers to small informal groups of neighbors oriented to a particular purpose such as group labor or water use. Some groupements have developed into more formally organized community councils, sub-councils or sub-committees.

sous-comité - This "sub-committee" usually refers to a project-oriented committee set up within a community council with a special function such as agriculture or crafts. The term is sometimes used interchangeably with sous-conseil.

sous-conseil - The "sub-council" seems to result from a policy of integrating several councils into one large council. This usually takes the form of a dominant council with one or more subordinate councils. Town councils characteristically have a number of satellite sub-councils representing the town's rural periphery. The term may also refer to proto-councils, newly formed conseils communautaires not yet "trained."

Other organizations have been created similar to councils but going by other names, e.g., the Union des Ouvriers Agricoles, and the Groupe d'Entretien de Routes in Terre Neuve. The former is a rival organization to

the council of the town: the latter is inactive but aspires to do road work in the hope of food for work payments.

Sources Chaudes. The community council at Sources Chaudes was formed in 1967. At that time HACHO came to the community with the idea of establishing a clinic/dispensary. The community council was organized as a vehicle of community involvement in establishing the clinic. The community council contributed funds for the project and HACHO provided technicians. Since then a number of other projects have been undertaken with the joint cooperation of HACHO and the community council. The community council provides burial funds for members in need, but it doesn't lend members money. There is a membership fee of one gourde per month which can be paid at the rate of .25 gourde per meeting.

The community council considers all area residents to be council members. They indicate however that some members are active while others are not. Total membership is said to be 187. There is an officer's meeting once a week: during busy seasons meetings are held less frequently. If a member misses 4 meetings he/she is contacted as to the reason for the absences. If the member indicates on-going interest he/she is kept on the roll. Six people have been president of the council since it started. When there are problems, three "notable" residents form a committee to take provisional responsibility for the presidency, after which an election is held.

The council collaborates with other councils in the area. It sees the other councils in the area as "sub-councils" of itself. Other councils have been involved in the market improvements and a town cleanup because people from the surrounding area use the marketplace, fountains, church and cemetery in Sources Chaudes. The council at Sources Chaudes sees itself as responsible for the formation of the sub-councils but indicated that HACHO and sub-council members select their own leaders. The Sources Chaudes council views the relationship of sub-councils to itself to be parallel to its own relation to the federation at Anse Rouge. The other councils in the area depend on Sources Chaudes in the same way that Sources Chaudes depends on the federation. The president of the Sources Chaudes council

may judge disputes for other councils. Sources Chaudes may lend money to the sub-councils.

The council at Sources Chaudes indicates that they don't benefit from their relationship to the federation. It is their impression that the federation had been badly formed from the beginning and that it would have been better had its origins been more democratic. They suggest that since Anse Rouge and Sources Chaudes are two different sections rurales, it would be better if each section had its own federation. They state that Anse Rouge is too far away for the active participation of people in their area in the federation. It was indicated that the federation judges disputes, but that it doesn't give aid. For a time each council contributed money monthly to the federation toward purchase of a truck, but the project was abandoned and the money returned. The council also contributes money to the federation each time it benefits from a food for work payment (1 gourde per worker).

PIRNO has initiated the building of a day care center at Sources Chaudes. People have begun gathering materials for the building of the center. Council members indicate that while they are accepting the center, their opinion regarding it was not solicited. They indicated a lack of confidence in PIRNO and contrasted this with their relationship with HACHO. With HACHO, they say, it is the council initiating a request for a project. HACHO reviews the request and gives the council a response within 15 days. They feel HACHO is truthful and realistic about what it can or cannot do and that it does not impose itself on them. They see themselves as making requests of HACHO and HACHO in turn tapping other resources for them. ONAAC provides instruction in literacy, but the council members feel that ONAAC has actually done little for their community.

Council members are grateful for what HACHO has done for them. They see themselves as collaborators with HACHO. They indicated that if HACHO left the area, the council would likely continue but with great difficulty since there are no other sources of aid. The council is currently interested in an irrigation system to augment their agricultural production.

L'Arbre. The community council at L'Arbre was formed in 1967 when a HACHO animator came to their community. Residents requested that HACHO assist them in forming a council because they had seen the benefits of the Anse Rouge council and wanted their community to benefit also.

L'Arbre is a small rather isolated community located in an arid area. This helps to account for the fact that all council members are members of one extended family and view their council as a "conseil familiale." Therefore, it was with some ease that they were able to put land together, 70 hectares of ancestral lands for a cotton plantation. There are some residents in the area who are not members of the council even though they may be members of the extended family. These non-members tend to be the poorer residents of the area. The economically better off are council members.

The council has had four presidents since its inception. It has set a limit of a three year term on the presidency. A past president assumes the position of "Leader Guide" and may well be more influential than the actual president.

The most active issues at L'Arbre are the potable water project and the crafts project, both described elsewhere. In addition to current projects the council would like to have a market and dispensary in their community.

Petite Place. The community council at Petite Place was formed in 1967 when a HACHO agronome came into the area. The agronome didn't have any particular project in mind but came to Petite Place with the idea of forming a community council. The irrigation system discussed elsewhere is their top priority. Next they would like to have a market and dispensary or hospital in their area.

It is interesting to note that while the council at Sources Chaudes considers the council at Petite Place to be a sub-council of itself, the council at Petite Place does not share this opinion. The council at Petite Place considers itself to be of equal status with the council of Sources Chaudes. The council at Petite Place describes the council at Sources Chaudes as its "brother" rather than its "parent."

Anse Rouge. The community council at Anse Rouge was formed in 1967 at the time HACHO came to the northwest. It was the first council in the area. HACHO talked about forming a council here to aid development; it didn't start with a definite project but rather talked about establishing priorities. Anse Rouge has been the site of many projects, the most prominent of which is the potable water project.

Of note are projects undertaken by the council with the assistance of HACHO which bear directly on the government service sector. The council built a market and turned it over to the magistrate; they also undertook a cemetery restoration project for local government. Council members explain this arrangement on the basis of the fact that the community council is a private organization; therefore it can ask for aid whereas government officials cannot. Also, HACHO files contain correspondence concerning a request of the communal magistrate to HACHO, through the community council, for 80 sacks of cement to improve the town square. The request, which was approved, further demonstrates the unique relationship between the community council, HACHO, and the public service sector.

Since its beginning the council has had five presidents; however, the treasurer has not changed during that time. The leadership in the council is held by the more notable residents of the town. There are six councils in the area which the Anse Rouge council considers to be sub-councils of itself.

It was said that if HACHO were to leave, it would be a great loss for the northwest. The council would continue to exist but it would be difficult. Without HACHO the hospital would become the responsibility of the government and the council. The council feels it would be burdensome or impossible for them to maintain the hospital without other support.

Anse Rouge Federation. The federation of Anse Rouge began in 1976. The idea for a federation came from HACHO employees. The presidents of all the member community councils are members of the federation. A number of local authorities participate in the federation. The officers of the federation are from Anse Rouge with the exception of the secretary, who is from L'Arbre. The role of the federation is to call all the councils in the area if there is a

need. If there is an incident or dispute between members, it can make a judgment. It has a treasury and collects .50 gourde per worker per job on food for work projects. The federation bought a windmill for an artisan project in one community, gave money for sisal plantation in another, and bought land for a reforestation project in a third. (The latter protects the spring in Tête Boeuf.) The federation began a project to buy a transport truck. They were not able to accumulate enough capital so they disbanded the project and returned the accumulated funds to the contributing community councils. The federation makes interest free loans available to community councils. ONAAC does not recognize community councils which are not members of the federation. There are 53 community councils which are members of the Anse Rouge federation.

L'Etang. The community council at L'Etang was formed in 1969. At that time a school teacher from Jean Rabel who worked with SNEM during the summer months came to L'Etang in the course of his SNEM work and talked about community councils. The visitor supervised elections and a community council was formed. At first the meetings were irregular. As much as a year's time went by without meetings. The council continued to be inactive until a HACHO technician came to the community and discussed the possibility of an irrigation system using the pond. Ever since formation, the council members had an interest in an expanded irrigation system, however, they never approached anyone concerning this interest.

The council counts its membership to be 90-98 members. This is down from a previous high of 160 members. The irrigation system is the force behind membership. Non-members tend to be fishermen and poorer residents. The council has had the same president since 1972. The old president is still a member of the council. The vice-president and secretary have held their offices since the founding of the council. All the officers are from one extended family. The council takes dues of 1 gourde per member per meeting.

Other projects being considered by the council are a home economy center, a bakery, and a fishing cooperative. The projects have been suggested to the council by a HACHO employee who indicated that the council

may be able to get aid for them.

Baie de Hennes Community Council and Federation. The community council of Baie de Hennes was formed in 1969. Residents formed a council because they became aware of community council activity in other areas and decided it would be good for them also. In particular what motivated them was the establishment of the Jean Rabel hospital, road building and other food for work projects.

The current president has been president of the council since 1971. He said that under the first president, his predecessor, not much was accomplished except for road building. More recently the council started a community bakery at the suggestion of the HACHO coordinator. Unfortunately, the building was recently destroyed by Hurricane David. A consumer's cooperative was also started but didn't go well because the benefit was too small.

The president of the council is also the federation president. The federation was formed one year ago. It encompasses Baie de Hennes and four rural sections. It was formed with the intention of giving aid to community councils. One of its functions is to preside over council elections. Each member council is expected to pay dues of 5 gourdes every three months. Some pay, others are unable to do so. With these funds the federation expects to lend money to councils as needed. Meetings are held once per month. The vice-president and secretary are a president and council member respectively from two different councils. The treasurer is a member of the Baie de Hennes council. The seven counselors represent various councils. Some of the federation members are also active in CONAJEC. All councils in the area are members of the federation. No new councils are being formed the localities are "too close" to each other to support more councils; however, there are people who would be interested in forming other councils.

Bombardopolis. The community council at Bombardopolis was formed in 1967. Residents of the community formed the council on their own without the assistance of a specialist, in response to the government's suggestion heard on the radio. In discussion, various projects were attributed to both the town council and the federation of Bombard. It is not clear what distinctions

are made between the work of the two organizations. The council has just held elections as a result of the death of the former president. The officers do not know how many members there are currently in the council.

Bombardopolis Federation. The federation at Bombardopolis was formed in 1972. The idea for the formation of the federation came from an agriculturalist who worked for CARE. In the beginning the federation at Bombard was also responsible for the areas of Mole St. Nicolas and Baie de Hennes; however, Mole and Baie de Hennes wanted their own federations. With the increase in the number of councils in each area this restructuring took place.

The role of the federation at Bombard is seen to be that of a channel for council requests for aid from HACHO. It may also settle disputes for member councils. It was indicated that if the federation doesn't recognize a council, it falls. The federation has a treasury which is supported by each member council contributing 5 gourdes per meeting. Meetings are held once per month.

Piéfrage. The residents of Piéfrage formed a community council in 1972 because they saw that others were doing it and they didn't want to be left out. The council started with 9 members and has grown to 83 members. Current projects are the crafts project and a cotton plantation. Former projects included soil conservation and reforestation projects supported through food for work, but since food for work was not continued, the projects were abandoned due to lack of financing. The council would like to have an irrigation and potable water project but lack the financing to carry these things out. They would also be interested in a cotton craft project to be able to make things from the cotton they are growing.

Mole St. Nicolas. There is the form of a community council and federation at Mole, but both are inactive. The Mole is idiosyncratic in that HACHO's collaboration has been mostly with député rather than the community council although the projects are done in the name of the community council movement.

Jean Rabel. The community councils at Jean Rabel have the reputation for being the first councils organized by the HACHO in the northwest. The Jean Rabel council was established with the collaboration of HACHO in 1967. Initially it was a channel for food for work distribution. Its current operation and that of other councils in the area continue to reflect this history. At first the council along with its four sub-councils had more than 300 members. Currently it has 110 members. The membership has diminished as the distribution of food for work has diminished, according to the council president. Current membership consists of the more prosperous rather than the poorer residents of the community.

The president of the council had formerly been the vice-president. He became president as the result of the former president's leaving the post to take a job with PIRNO in Anse Rouge. In addition to holding the presidency of the council, he is also the president of the federation and the president of CONAJEC.

In HACHO correspondence there is reference to a letter from the commune's magistrate to the HACHO coordinator in which he requests aid for city improvements. Once again this points out the unique relationship between HACHO and the governmental service sector.

Jean Rabel Federation. The federation at Jean Rabel was formed in 1968. 30 community councils and 150 sub-councils are members. The designation as to whether a council is considered to be a council or a sub-council depends on whether or not they are recognized by ONAAC. The federation does not establish the distinction. The reason given for the distinction being made is that there were too many councils and that introducing this distinction was a way of officially reducing the number. In fact the number of councils has not been reduced. New councils are still being formed.

Each member council is supposed to pay dues of 5 gourdes per month to the federation; however, this is not being done. With the exception of the president, the federation officers are from the countryside. The federation is interested in road building and gardening projects, but it

was indicated that since HACHO hasn't provided the funding, the projects are not being carried out.

Nan Dix-huit. The community council at Nan Dix-huit was originally a part of the Fonds Ramadoux community council. It was considered to be a sub-council of the Fonds Ramadoux council. The people of Nan Dix-huit joined the Fonds Ramadoux council in 1967 in order to receive aid from HACHO that was distributed through the Fonds Ramadoux council at the time of the famine. The Fonds Ramadoux council was formed through the efforts of a HACHO technician.

The Nan Dix-huit council broke off from the Fonds Ramadoux council because of the irrigation project at Nan Dix-huit. The people in the Fonds Ramadoux council were not interested in the proposed irrigation project because it would be of no benefit to them. The irrigation project came about as the result of a well drilled by the United Nations in the mid-1960's, a later investigation done by HACHO and the subsequent joint efforts of Fonds Agricoles and HACHO which got under way in 1976. Efforts at installing an irrigation system were being made as early as 1970 through the work of a HACHO agriculturalist. Some funds were collected then, but when the agriculturalist was transferred the project fell apart.

While the people in Nan Dix-huit don't participate in the Fonds Ramadoux council in general, it does happen that some residents who hold land in the Fonds Ramadoux area may participate in the Fonds Ramadoux council as well as in the Nan Dix-huit council. People in Nan Dix-huit who hold land in other areas often participate in the councils in those areas.

In addition to the irrigation project the council has an agricultural credit project and a demonstration garden. The workers in the garden are paid 5 gourdes per day for their labor. They are not necessarily council members. Non-members are generally non-landowners.

Members of the Nan Dix-huit council are not favorably disposed toward the federation at Jean Rabel. They don't see it as doing anything for them. They see the federation as almost synonymous with the Jean Rabel community

council and point out that both have the same president. They see it as asking for aid from people in the countryside and using the funds to help the town. They spoke of federation misuse of funds. In any case certain funds have not been accounted for.

Their opinion about the federation is shared by a community council officer at Banannier Blain who indicated that the community council at Banannier Blain does not send money to the federation because they don't have confidence in it. They see it as doing nothing. The federation was involved in a molasses project which was HACHO supported. When the HACHO coordinator who was interested in the project left, the project reportedly fell apart.

Residents of Nan Dix-huit are unfamiliar with CONAJEC and PIRNO. ONAJC is known but said to be rather inactive. The council would like to undertake an erosion control project but indicate that they lack the necessary resources.

An assessment of community council effectiveness in development. In determining whether the community council movement is effective as a development vehicle one must first address the question of which model of development one is considering. What follows is a discussion of HACHO and community councils in the northwest in relation to three of many possible models for community development.

An AID training manual, Développement Communautaire: Définitions et Principes, indicates that community development is a term used to define a method of profiting from the initiative and energy of local people in an effort to augment their production and improve the quality of their lives. It is clear that HACHO, through the community councils, is attempting to augment production and improve the quality of life. It is also clear that HACHO relies on the energy of local people to do so. The aspect that seems to be missing is initiative. The initiative in most cases comes from HACHO rather than local people.

The manual goes on to describe two methods of development, direct and indirect. In the direct method a specialist studies community problems, establishes a program and launches a campaign to encourage people to participate. Its main advantage is that it can produce tangible results rapidly. Its weaknesses are that it is expensive; it concerns itself less with responding to the felt needs of the population than executing projects already approved by outsiders and finally, the program usually stops with the departure of the specialist because it is more his program than the people's.

In the indirect method the worker discusses with the people their problems, needs, and wishes. The worker and the people jointly choose a problem to work on which can be resolved. They seek the necessary outside counsel and assistance. They pass from theory to action in working on a solution to their problem, passing on to other problems with confidence and acquired aptitude.

The indirect method has the following advantages: It plants a seed for further action since initiative is in the hands of the people. It is economical because the people furnish labor and material resources. It uses specialists as resources rather than operators of program. Programs born out of working together with the people reflect fundamental needs.

The indirect method has the following weaknesses: It is slower and doesn't show immediate results. Workers skilled in using this method are difficult to find and need to be trained. And lastly it may happen that certain projects chosen by the people cannot be integrated into the national development plan.

The AID manual favors the indirect method for the following reasons:

- 1) It views people as more important than programs.
- 2) The programs rest on a solid base, that of the felt needs of the population.
- 3) The people cooperating in the execution of plans also take part in their elaboration.
- 4) To make choices for people develops neither their initiative nor their strength. Making choices with them develops both.
- 5) People accomplish

things which make sense in their own eyes. 6) Because they accomplish something to which they attach value and importance, they experience a certain pride in the group and a desire to do more.

It is evident that the community councils in the northwest operate with reference to the direct method, with some variation, though commonly using the rhetoric of the indirect approach. The variation is that the community councils are responsible, in some measure, for labor and materials within projects and therefore make the program more economical than is usually the case with the direct method. While the direct method is not an encouragement to developing local initiative or community problem solving, its strength lies in the provision of services. HACHO does a good job providing needed services and community improvement projects through the channel of the community council movement. While this is not the model favored by the AID training manual, it is clearly a legitimate approach. In fact it is questionable whether a large bureaucratic government organization is capable of engaging in community development through the indirect method. From this point of view HACHO fares no worse than other organisations working in Haiti.

Though an AID manual discusses the virtues of the indirect method, most programs launched through AID channels seem to employ the direct method. If there were a serious commitment to the indirect method, the framework of AID and HACHO would have to be altered from a top-down to a bottom-up approach. Since this is unlikely to occur, the gap that exists between the theory and practice of community organization should be removed. Community councils could then be evaluated on the basis of their effectiveness as channels for resources and services provided through HACHO rather than on the basis of their being self-sustaining grass roots organizations, which they are not.

While the concentration on services is legitimate, it does have significant drawbacks. When people are not truly involved in the process, they do not integrate new ways of perceiving or doing things. Consequently they are unable to continue new programs after the development agent has left. Case studies in the northwest and other areas of the world

demonstrate this fact repeatedly. Frequently the failure of people to continue projects initiated by experts is attributed to their backwardness, but in all fairness the burden of failure often lies with the experts who have not been successful in helping people to integrate the principles underlying community development. People who do not understand the principles behind what they are asked to do, perform tasks mechanically. When this mechanical application breaks down, as it usually does, there is not the necessary back-up and the project is abandoned.

Another model one might consider in evaluating the effectiveness of community councils is Schaedel's approach (Schaedel 1975). Schaedel defines community development as a method for bringing about change at the community level through some degree of self help which involves the participation of a significant segment of the community in the decision making process. He indicates that his definition excludes programs concerned with dissemination of services through community development techniques, but whose emphasis is on product (service) rather than process. What Schaedel excludes from his definition is precisely what characterizes development efforts in the northwest.

Mr. Schaedel's definition carries with it certain assumptions that are in contrast with Haitian realities. These differences help to account for the difficulty that community councils have in measuring up to this standard. First, the definition comes out of a model of participatory democracy. While this model is laudable, it is foreign to the Haitian people who are more familiar with an authoritarian approach. It is oriented to change in a country where people are oriented to tradition. It assumes that local people have the power within themselves whereas local people see power as fixed within certain relationships beyond their control. Furthermore, Schaedel's definition, as well as the AID manuals, represent ideal types. Even in the US, where the assumptions are the same, these definitions are seldom realized.

Another way of looking at community councils is that used by the HACHO Phase II Evaluation. It evaluates the suitability of community councils as development vehicles on the basis of increases in membership,

number of active members, number of meetings per month, numbers of subcommittees, fund raising activities, treasury funds, number of completed projects, existence of current projects, whether representatives were sent to HACHO to discuss problems whether the community council attempts to solve problems on their own, and an estimation of community councils' potential for undertaking their own projects.

To evaluate councils according to these criteria is to evaluate them on the basis of form rather than substance. While these criteria are useful in considering how active a community council is, they do not address the question of what the council is actually accomplishing.

The case studies in this report show that the activity of councils bears a direct relationship to the level of community interest in the projects. In fact, one could say that the more important the project to residents, the more active the participation in the council. Secondly, the kind of project seems to bear a direct relationship to which community residents participate in the council. Haitian farmers are pragmatists in this sense. They do not maintain membership in community councils for its own sake. Rather they choose to participate or not participate on the basis of self-interest. Considering that HACHO is often responsible for initiating projects, it follows that if the above criteria are used for evaluation, HACHO effectively determines, to a large extent, which councils will be active or inactive.

One of the common functions of community organization is to secure community improvements through collective efforts. In the United States context this frequently takes the form of pressure groups which rely on a strength-in-numbers approach. Pressure is frequently applied to the governmental service sector for such things as better police protection, more adequate street lighting, better garbage pick-up and other civic improvements. In contrast this aspect is notably absent in the council movement in Haiti. In fact a kind of reversal occurs. The case studies indicate two instances where government officials have gone through the community council/HACHO network to secure resources for civic improvement. It is not reasonable to

expect therefore that the councils would form an effective lobbying group in relation to a government service sector which is itself lacking in resources.

This reflects a kind of blurring of private and governmental sectors. HACHO is an autonomous government agency. It works through community councils which are seen as private but have been organized through ONAAC, which is a government agency. In some cases HACHO provides funding via the community council network to the government sector.

If councils are to be effective vehicles of development one must consider the extent to which they have or can potentially develop the power to be instruments of social change. At this time there is no established outlet or channel through which they can apply pressure for change except HACHO. They are not building a foundation of power or influence. If HACHO leaves, it is likely that most of the councils will become inactive. Councils do not seem to have made a significant impact on altering the existing power structure in their communities. Unless this is done there is little expectation for improvements in the quality of life of those without resources except on a rather limited incremental basis.

If community councils are to become independent and self-sustaining agents of development, the likelihood of achieving this aim would be enhanced by using the indirect method. To do so would mean having staff work more closely with local people in a process-focused rather than project-focused manner.

SUMMARY DISCUSSION

Characteristics of the community council movement. The following discussion is based on agency files, prior contact with the agency and councils in Terre Neuve (see food aid report, Smucker 1979), case studies, and other experiences with peasant communities in the region. As the case studies demonstrate, there is considerable diversity within the movement. Certain patterns emerge, however, and certain generalizations may be made.

1) The council model, form and substance: All councils are organized along similar lines. They take a democratic form with elected officers and periodic elections. All members have the right to vote. All residents of a locality have the right to membership. In substance, however, the functioning of councils does not always fit the outward forms.

In principle all local residents are considered "members" of a council but not all of these members are active, and so there is an expressed distinction between "active" and "inactive" members. As a result, "active" council members may well not be representative of a certain locality but only of a particular faction within it.

There is also a pattern whereby a successful president is unlikely to be challenged. In such a situation new elections may be postponed indefinitely. Furthermore, there is a pattern of un-elected leadership in some councils, a role known as "leader-guide." The leader-guide may be a founding president or former president whose advice is sought by current council leadership. In some cases the leader-guide may never have actually held office though he may have played an influential role in the founding of a council. He may be a rural school teacher, an agricultural technician or other high status outsider with close ties to town or city. In some cases the current council president may be little more than a spokesman for the leader-guide. The relationship is sometimes one of exploitation but not always. Such relationships tend to follow traditional Haitian patterns of personal loyalties and patron-client relationships.

Community councils commonly show a pattern of authority and hierarchy reflected in the significant distinctions made between the executive committee and the mass membership. There are sometimes factions which compete for control of council leadership. Such factionalism lends itself to meddling by outsiders, creating a phenomenon known as "élections officielles" or "élection orientés." In such cases a president or executive committee is put into power by rigged elections or by naked force and intimidation.

2) Social class: The membership in councils is dominated for the most part by relatively more powerful and economically better-off area residents. While the membership itself varies a great deal in terms of the class question, the tendency is for leadership to reflect the larger landed families. This tendency is even more pronounced in the towns.

3) Localism: By virtue of both geographic dispersion and people's orientation, there is a definite strain in favor of local control and decentralization. This is evidenced in patterns of both federation and council membership. Where the council movement becomes a new trend as it has in the northwest, the tendency is for every little locality to want its own organization due to the evident link between councils and agencies delivering services to rural communities. It is interesting to note a counter-tendency among agencies such as HACHO and ONAAC. Proliferation of councils is discouraged in favor of larger population units, councils with sub-councils, sub-committees and regional federations.

4) Federations: Federations are not representative organizations. They tend to be dominated by townspeople whereas most of the membership is rural. The current trend toward federations strains in the direction of hierarchy, though it theoretically could be otherwise. Member councils are generally reluctant to contribute funds to the federation; however, Anse Rouge effectively elicits funds from any member councils receiving food for work. There does not appear to be a clear rationale for the existence of federations from the point of view of local councils nor is there a clearly enunciated policy from within the agencies helping to organize them. At the level of local communities there is widespread lack of understanding of distinctions between HACHO as an agency, the community

council of the local town and the new federations. The structure of these relationships tends to blur into "local" interests versus "outsiders."

5) Finances: The problem of factions and elections is often expressed in disputes over disposition of funds. A pattern of rural distrust of federations and town councils is also linked to pressures on member councils to pay dues. Allegations of "personal interest" as opposed to the interests of the group revolve around accusations of misuse of the council or federation treasury. A common problem reported by council members is the difficulty of building up a treasury because of dues payments in arrears.

6) Relief and Development: Where relief goods are distributed in the context of organizing community councils, the goal of self-sustaining local organizations is consistently sabotaged. The earliest wave of council organization in the region was a channel for food relief at a time of drought and famine. In Jean Rabel it is still unusually difficult to do community development, in contrast to Anse Rouge. It might be noted that councils do serve to channel food aid into rural areas better than other means using urban brokers whose interests and contacts do not reach so far. Such use of councils, however, should not be confused with goals of self-sustaining "autonomy". Relief goals and development goals come into conflict if relief is incorporated from the outset in councils intended to be development vehicles.

7) Project orientation: The community councils are generally organized in relation to various projects. In fact it is often the projects which shape the membership of the council, as at L'Etang (farmers, not fishermen), or determine whether a council is active or inactive. Councils may exist in name and have officers but remain inactive for years until a viable project becomes available. Where food for work is the type of project giving new life to a council, the distinction between konséy seryé (serious council) and konséy mangé (food council) is popularly used by local organizers. The problem with this distinction is that it tends to camouflage the fact that other projects besides food aid bring dormant councils to life in a way similar to those labelled as konséy mangé.

The project orientation of councils is part of a larger and more fundamental issue: pragmatism and vested interest. Where a council is active, it is because people are getting something out of it. This may be in the form of access to external donors bringing jobs and construction materials or a variety of public services such as potable water and agricultural extension. It may also be local control over economic structures perceived as useful, personally, such as an irrigation structure, or a council treasury with loan options to members. Where access to benefit is perceived as tied to the existence of a community council, a council may well spring into existence, even without professional organizers, on the strength of an observed link to projects. In sum, the fact that a council is active is an inadequate measure of its quality as an independent institution.

8) Initiative: For the most part projects are initiated by HACHO and accepted by community councils rather than the reverse. Even though council members may have prior interest in a project area, they usually wait to be approached by a HACHO technician rather than initiate a request themselves. This pattern emerges out of a close examination of project histories. The local context is one in which there is apparent acceptance of almost any project an agency might suggest, except for those which visibility threaten vested interests. As a result HACHO is readily able to mount a series of bakery projects when it receives an unanticipated offer of flour from a colleague agency. There is nothing wrong with bakery projects; this simply illustrates the point that bakery projects were not being initiated by community councils prior to the agency's flour donation.

9) Council as channel for services: The most common role played by community councils is that of being recipients of agency services. This is not necessarily a passive role per se; public services are perhaps best administered in the context of grass roots structures. Local initiative may well be a factor in what type of services a council receives. Even in this role, however, councils tend to take less initiative than the agency in determining what services are provided. The whole question of providing

services must be seen in the context of Haitian traditions of government in which few if any public services are readily available to peasant farmers. In this sense HACHO and private sector agencies provide services that otherwise would simply not exist. Community councils are a useful channel for agency services.

10) Council as self-sustaining institution: The rhetoric of community development anticipates the prospect of viable local institutions, a theme reflected in the AID grant objective, "... to develop self-sustaining community action programs." This role should be analytically separated from the role of councils as channels for public services. Given the fact that the very existence of councils is predicated on the flow of projects, it is not anticipated that they would have a "self-sustaining" capacity in the absence of agency goods and services. The reason for this is fundamentally political.

11) The politics of community councils: There is a blurring of public and private in the work of HACHO and other agencies. The conseil communautaire is a law of the land but remains in the private sector. HACHO functions as an autonomous government agency; ONAAC operates out of the ministry of education but serves a "private" clientele. In the northwest local government officials find it easier to seek funds for potable water systems and other civic improvements through HACHO and community councils rather than the official government sector. It is apparent that community councils and HACHO provide "public" services that the government, for whatever reason, is unwilling to provide directly. It is also evident that the political role of community councils is intentionally limited to the private sector. It does not function as a lobby or effective pressure group in relation to the political process. Aside from the question of local people's lack of experience or training in doing so, a separate issue, it seems clear that the community council is not permitted to do so. The problems of "initiative" and of being "self-sustaining" are unlikely to be resolved unless organizations of peasant farmers are able to exercise a political role. Historically Haitian peasants have never had an institutional means of representing their interests in the political process. Community councils could conceivably play such a role but are unable to do so as presently constituted.

General conclusions & recommendations. Conclusions are ~~existent~~ elsewhere in the body of this report. The key sections in this regard are the chapter entitled "Hacho as an Agency," the assessment section in "Community Council Movement" and the last section on "Characteristics of the Community Council Movement." As a final summary the following points are pertinent with a view to making appropriate recommendations:

1. The special character of problems in the northwest too often seems to overshadow the very real potential of the region. It is the pattern of inconsistency in climate and geography which gives rise to unusual modes of peasant adaptation providing a key to fruitful program areas. Overall, livelihood in the region is based on the ability to even out the odds during long dry seasons and the extreme fluctuations of longer-range weather cycles. This factor points to consideration of traditional pursuits worthy of capital investment in the form of Operational Program Grants.

a) Irrigation agriculture: There is already considerable programming along these lines, but given the potential returns, further development of this resource should be pursued. This may require closer attention to maximizing patterns of temporary water flow and seasonal run-off through the use of holding structures.

b) Arid lands agriculture: This less productive form of agriculture lacks the glamor of programs in irrigation despite a growing arid lands technology in other parts of the world. At present, however, it appears to be a relatively untouched area for programming in the northwest and demands serious consideration. Agricultural extension services specializing in arid land cropping should be developed to serve this sector.

c) There is evidence that the suppression of open range grazing has had a negative impact on the area, a burden falling most heavily on landless farmers and the poorest sectors of the peasantry. The issue of livestock and rational range management deserves special attention in view of the traditional importance of livestock during periods of low agricultural output. This should include veterinary services and disease control. The issue of grazing lands is also linked to the existence of state owned arid land areas.

d) Given an expanding urban market and the regional importance of charcoal as a cottage industry, attention should be given to promoting rational charcoal production in tandem with a regional approach to forest management. The existence of state lands is also a factor in this sphere.

e) Hurricane David afflicted considerable damage on the valuable salt mining activities in the region. Some efforts might be devoted to assessing damage and planning recuperation efforts, especially among the small scale operators in this sector.

f) The issue of commercially viable road access to such towns as Terre Neuve, Bombardopolis and Baie de Hennes is an expressed interest of local people, and with some economic justification. Existing roads to these areas are jeep trails. Bombardopolis has interests in building a road to La Plateforme, its outlet to the sea. The transport problem includes investment in vehicles as well as roads. Federations and councils in Anse Rouge and Bombardopolis have tried unsuccessfully to raise sufficient capital to purchase trucks. The transportation issue is worthy of serious consideration.

g) Projects have been proposed for the fishing industry in this region, but little seems to have been accomplished along these lines. The sector requires closer examination to determine needs.

2. HACHO has gone through many changes since its inception. Despite numerous problems, it continues to provide useful services in to the region. It is presently confronted with problems of funding, legal status, regional role and personnel. Due to the difficulty in working out HACHO's transition from AID project to government agency, the program is in limbo pending government resolution of HACHO's legal status. It is desirable that HACHO be in a position to exercise the following options:

a) It is desirable that HACHO be recognized as an autonomous agency of the Haitian government, exercising a coordination role in its capacity as a regional development agency.

b) It is appropriate that HACHO continue to provide services to local communities. This is presently a viable program and should continue. In providing such services, however, it is necessary to close the gap between the rhetoric of local initiative and autonomy, and the predominant reality. It is appropriate to deal straight forwardly with the issue of providing services using community organization techniques, but distinguishing between this role and the goal of self-sustaining local groups.

c) It would be desirable for HACHO to engage peasant communities with a view to developing self-sustaining community action programs. To exercise this option effectively is dependent on two factors: the eventual loosening of political restrictions or genuine participation of peasant farmers in the political process, and a willingness on the part of the agency to pursue a strategy of working from the bottom up, with an orientation to process rather than project alone.

d) The problem of high staff turnover in the agency could be addressed by a personnel policy giving adequate salary incentive for workers to stay with the agency and remain in the field settings. Hiring policies might be adjusted in the direction of preferential hiring of qualified people from the areas served.

e) The medical program is suffering from budget cuts most notably in the areas of staffing, supplies, equipment and general maintenance. Since no clear policy has been articulated, staff are engaged in a frustrating and demoralizing effort to maintain a higher level of programming than is possible. It is recommended that the realities of the situation be articulated so that programming can be rationally adjusted within current parameters.

4. Nutrition: A wide gap exists between the top level administration, and local residents and staff, regarding problem assessment (ignorance versus economics) and program content (education versus feeding). If this gap is not closed, the program will be hampered in achieving its goals.

5. Water users associations: Irrigation is extremely important in the northwest. It has been used here for generations; there exist a number of longstanding approaches to water distribution. In AID's work with water users associations it would be instructive to take into consideration these existing models.

It is predictable that new irrigation projects will sometimes result in land tenure disputes. This problem should be anticipated and an appropriate strategy worked out in advance.

It is probable that certain sophisticated equipment (e.g., large pumps) cannot be maintained by community councils unless there is some kind of ongoing back-up support. If such support cannot be assured, it is likely that the equipment will eventually be abandoned since community people lack the necessary knowledge and capital for investment in major repairs. This situation lends itself to a consideration of appropriate technology as an alternative. Cheap energy alternatives should be used wherever possible.

Water users associations visibly illustrate the fact that councils work best when they respond to the felt needs and self-interest of participants. This point should be a major consideration in any undertaking.

6. Potable water: As might be expected, the introduction of potable water systems raises the issue of access rights. HACHO's activity in this area should include special sensitivity to seeing that these rights are equitably worked out.

One questions HACHO's role in providing potable water to communities where there is little organized support or initiative for the project from local residents. HACHO's energies would best be put into projects that are organized with rather than for the community.

7. Crafts: The crafts program is laudable in that it uses locally produced materials, builds on traditional skills and provides employment. It is lacking in its efforts at cooperative formation. In this project as well as many others attempted in the region, the concept of cooperative is poorly understood by local people. To succeed, the cooperative movement requires intensive staff involvement with local people in a step-by-step process of education and practical problem solving along cooperative lines.

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APPENDIX I

CURRENT HACHO PROJECTS IN THE NORTHWEST

Terre Neuve

Reforestation	Institutions
Coffee nursery: Terre Neuve	Hospital
Trees: Ka Philippe	Nutrition centers
Road construction & repair	Terre Neuve
Ft. Dimanche road	Bassin
Daranne - Terre Neuve road	Daranne
Soil Conservation	Warehouses
Ka Philippe	Terre Neuve
Lagon	Ka Philippe
Irrigation	Guesthouse
Ka Philippe	Beekeeping
Hatte Dimanche	Crafts Project
Agricultural credit	Lagon
Ka Philippe	Potable water (CARE project)

Anse Rouge

Reforestation	Institutions
Grande Savanne	Hospital
Sources Chaudes	Guesthouse
Road construction	Residence
Anse Rouge - Ti Riviere	Warehouses
Demonstration garden	Anse Rouge
Petite Place	L'Etang
Sources Chaudes	Petite Place
L'Etang	Nutrition Centers
Irrigation	Anse Rouge
Petite Place	Boucan Patriot
L'Etang	Petit Carenage
Agricultural credit	L'Arbre
Petite Place	Fond Pouy
L'Etang	Labelle
Well drilling (AID grant)	Nan Raymond
Crafts project	Coridon
L'Arbre	
Petit Carenage	
Sources Chaudes	

Jean Rabel

Demonstration garden
Fonds Ramadoux
Irrigation
Fonds Ramadoux
Nan Saut
Sauval
Agricultural credit
Fonds Ramadoux
Crafts project
Bord de Mer

Institutions
Hospital
Guesthouse
Warehouse
Nutrition centers
Bord de Mer
La Montagne
Cabaret
Beekeeping
Potable water

Bombardopolis

Reforestation
Ti Rivière
Rivière de Hennes
Mole St. Nicolas
Cotton Plantation
Savanne Mole (2)
Coffee plantation
Cotes de Fer
Sisal plantation
Ti Rivière
Crafts project
Piéfrage
Clenette
Mare Rouge
Nan Soupran
Ti Rivière
Irrigation
La Valletière
Baie de Hennes
Agricultural credit
La Valletière
Baie de Hennes

Institutions
Dispensaries
Bombardopolis
Baie de Hennes
Mare Rouge
Guesthouse
Warehouse
Bombardopolis
Baie de Hennes
Ti Rivière
Mole St. Nicolas
La Valletiere
Nutrition centers
Dos d'Ane
Ti Riviere
Mole St. Nicolas
Baie de Hennes
Bombardopolis
Potable water
Mole St. Nicolas

SOURCE: Gonaives Regional Office, December 1979.

HACHO supervised food for work projects

According to the CARE logbook of projects approved, current projects approved for HACHO-related community councils are predominantly for plantations (cotton, sisal) linked to the crafts project. About one quarter of the projects are for road construction and repair. Since 1977, the trend in food for work programming has been in a downward direction in terms of volume (335,000 man - days approved in 1977 versus 168,000 man - days for 1979), less for roads (32 percent versus 24 percent) and more plantations (28 percent versus 57 percent in 1979).

APPENDIX II

DISTRIBUTION OF HACHO PERSONNEL BY CATEGORY AND LOCATION

	Jean Rabel	Anse Rouge	Bombarde	Terre Neuve	Gonaives	Port au Prince	Totals No.	Z
Administration								
General	5	4	5	4	10	11	39	-
Vehicles *	1	1	1	1	28	2	34	-
Project Former	-	-	-	-	4	-	4	47
Engineer, Surveyors	-	-	-	-	3	-	3	2
Crafts								
Apprentices	-	-	-	-	11	-	11	-
Monitors	2	2	2	2	-	-	8	12
Animation	1	1	1	-	-	-	3	2
Agriculture	1	3	7	4	1+	-	16	10
Health Services	13	11	10	9	4	-	47	28
Totals								
Numbers	23	22	26	20	61	13	165	
Percentages	14	13	16	12	37	8	100	101*

SOURCE: HACHO Payroll, October 1979.

* This category refers to drivers, driver aides, mechanics and other garage workers.

+ This veterinarian is included in the category of agriculture here, otherwise made up of agents agricoles and one agronome.

* Column does not add up to 100 percent due to rounding off.