TITUT INTERAMÉRICAIN DES SCIENCES AGRIÇOLES DE L'OEA

Representation in Haiti

Project: Analysis and Diagnosis of the Internal Marketing System for Agricultural Produce in Haiti
(Document No. 2)

12 LH/74

Original: English

Preliminary Version

THE INTERNAL MARKET SYSTEM FOR AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE IN PORT-AU-PRINCE

by

Uli Locher

April 1974

PREFACE

In 1973, the Interamerican Institute for Agricultural Sciences (IICA) inaugurated a Hemispheric Marketing Program as part of its new technical coope - ration concept to strengthen national institutions active in the agricultural sector. One of the first activities initiated under this hemispheric program was an integrated project for the Analysis and Diagnosis of the Internal Marketing System for Agricultural Produce in Haiti. The institutions partici - pating in this integrated project include Département de l'Agriculture, des Ressources Naturelles et du Développement Rural (human resources), Conseil National de Développement et de Planification (financial resources), Institut de Développement Agricole et Industriel (human and financial resources), Ministry of Industry and Commerce (human and financial resources), the Canadian Embassy (financial resources) and Interamerican Institute for Agricultural Sciences (human and financial resources). The objectives of this Project include :

1. Cooperation with national institutions to diagnose the problems (bottlenecks) of agricultural product marketing.

2. Create a broader understanding of the agricultural marketing system and show how the improvement of this system can help accelerate socio-economic development.

3. Provide on-the-job training for the development of human resources and institutions in agricultural marketing.

4. Provide a base of information valuable to the agricultural sector.

5. Create a national marketing committee (CONACA) which will develop strategies, programs and specific projects to improve the functioning of the internal marketing system.

The following report is the second* in a series resulting from the Integrated Project already mentioned. The author of this report, Uli Locher, was a PhD candidate in Sociology from Yale University doing research in Haiti. Mr. Locher spent approximately 18 months in Haiti gathering data for his Doctoral Thesis on immigration patterns into Port-au-Prince. This experience and his creole speaking capabilities made him an excellent candidate to continue the innovative research initiated by Gerald F. Murray and Maria D. Alvarez and directed by IICA/HMP.

The data presented in this report was collected by Mr. Locher, assisted by Messrs. O. Bonnet, H. Dorismond, J.K. Jacob, A. Jocelyn, F. Pierre and Y.F. Pierre (university students), between June and August 1973. The dedication and perseverance of these researchers can only be appreciated after reading this document.

---

* The first report is: "The Marketing of Beans in Haiti: An Exploratory Study", by Gerald F. Murray and Maria D. Alvarez.

THE INTERNAL MARKET SYSTEM FOR AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE IN PORT-AU-PRINCE

Table of Contents

List of Annexes

List of Tables

List of Models

List of Maps

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

bèf chèn	driver's helper riding along on a truck; his principle task is to load and unload merchandise
bouèt	wheelbarrow
bourgeois	term used to characterize a member of the upper classes; frequently carries negative connotations, especially when applied to the mulatto upper class
bourik	donkey
boutik	small shop selling foodstuffs
chofè	driver
dépôt	a place, usually of one room only, where merchandise is stored and frequently also processed and sold. Usually patronized by travelling intermediaries
dépo mâjé	"food dépo" located on or next to markets. Usually patronized by city marketwomen for overnight storage of products
dépo piblik	dépôt where the owner rents out space without doing much business himself
dépo privé (dépo pèsonèl)	dépo where the owner does much selling of his own and usually owns the merchandise stored
élite	term characterizing the upper class without much negative overtone
en détail	retail
en gros	wholesale
kamionèt	small pickup truck fitted with roof and benches to carry up to a dozen passengers
kamyô	truck
kinkay	small household articles which are frequently marketed together, such as pans, forks and spoons, brushes, soap, etc..

machâd	marketwoman, intermediary, door-to-door seller
machâd pouasô	marketwoman selling fish
madam sara	travelling intermediary
mèt	owner
mèt bouèt	owner or operator of a wheelbarrow
mèt dépo	owner or operator of a dépôt
percepteurs	tax collectors
pratik	business relationship based on regularity, predictability and some degree of mutual trust
rapadou	cane sugar in raw form
rêvâdès	seller, marketwoman (city-based)
sékrétè	driver's helper riding along on a truck; his principle task is to check on passengers and collect the fare
shop	manufacturing facility; usually large and foreign owned
taptap	kamionèt used for public transportation; term does not apply to the finer (Peugeot) kamionèt on the road to Pétionville
voudou	negro antillese cult, of animist origin, which uses some elements of the catholic ritual
zôbi	body of a dead person. It has no will or personality but follows the orders of the one who, by magical means, has trapped its soul.

THE INTERNAL MARKET SYSTEM FOR AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE IN PORT-AU-PRINCE

Foreword

The purpose of this paper is to describe the market system of Port-au-Prince and to furnish quantitative data about market activities which have, to our knowledge, not been presented before. In getting an initial overview, the first problem was that of definition and delimitation : What markets had to be included and what agents within the system had to be counted? The selling of agricultural produce takes place at many locations, only some of them being the city's market places. Tens of thousands of people engage in selling activities, only some of them being the women sitting in the market places.

The approach adopted in this study was that of following the products on their journey to the consumer. Most of them pass through three stations (bottle - necks) which have been identified as of primary importance to the market systems : the trucks, the dépôts and the markets. Each of these bottlenecks has become the target of an empirical study the results of which are reported in the three main parts of this paper.

The scale of this project was small, reflecting its preliminary nature. Less than 200 interviews were planned at the outset. However, completeness was desired in that all the major structural parts of the system had to be exposed and all of its major classes of agents had to be included. Two exceptions, though, had to be made. First, the taxation system for agricultural products was excluded and made the topic for a separate study which will be published in this same series. Secondly, the selling of agricultural products in supermarkets, neighbourhood stores, and boutiks was decided to be of lesser importance and would thus be reserved for a later study.

Due to time limitations and the lack of available secondary material, it was impossible to put this study of the Port-au-Prince market system in its proper perspective by way of international comparison; even the materials available on other Haitian markets could be used to a small extent only. Just the same it is necessary to express gratitude to the authors whose contributions to this research have been much greater than the few footnotes given in this text could imply. The studies of Sidney W. Mintz (4, 5, 6, 7,,8, 9 and 10), although based on field work done more than a decade ago, continue to be the prime source of reference in the analysis of Haitian markets. Gerald F. Murray and Maria D. Alvarez have, in the first study (11) carried out in this series of marketing studies, set the tone for marketing research in Haiti. Since their contributionpreceeded this work, many of the conceptualizations and points put forward here are implicitly or explicitly profiting from propositions made in their document. We are deeply indepted to all three of these researchers.

A. The Role of Truck Transportation in the Internal Marketing System

1. Introduction

According to the latest census figures (2), Haiti is still more than eighty percent rural. The capital city contains only one tenth of the total population, which is extraordinarily low by Latin American standards. Nevertheless, the city is of dominating importance to the country, concentrating government administration, import and export trade, manufacturing, transformation and tourist industries and educational facilities, to name only some of the sectors it dominates. So, although Haiti does definitely not count among those countries where most of the countryside has become the Hinterland of one large urban center, the fact remains that in a profound sense "all roads lead to Port-au-Prince". The provincial cities are in stagnation or outright recession and whoever wants to get ahead has to move to the capital. Massive rural to urban migration has set in and can be expected to continue. The problem of feeding the city population has taken on very major proportions.

How does the food get to the city? Most of the foodstuffs arrive on one of three major roads[1/]: the Route Nationale 200 from the southern peninsula, the road from Cap-Haitien and the central and northern pro-

---

1/ In addition to overland transportation of agricultural produce small amounts of root crops, coconuts and miscellaneous other products arrive to Port-au-Prince by motor and sail boats. Transport by this method will be the topic of another study in this same series.

vinces (RN 100 and RN 300 join shortly before Port-au-Prince), and the road from Kenscoff in the mountains to the east of the city. The vehicles carrying most of the products are trucks, small to medium sized by U.S. standards but gigantic in their importance for the physical survival of the city.

One of the things that strike the observer of Haitian kamyô (trucks, as distinguished from the smaller kamionèt and taptap) first is the fact that they carry names. Some are baptized after the saints of the catholic church - or, maybe, after the voudou spirits which have been dubbed with these names : there are "St-Christophe", "St-Pierre" and "St-Jacob et Ste-Rose". Some carry secular names like "Franck et Francklin", "Roro" and "Clara et Jacky". Some are cryptic and leave the observer guessing as to the author's intentions, like the "L'" shipping corn from Hinche, while others are straightforward, carrying their owners' convictions and hopes over the rocky Haitian roads : "Au Nom de Jéhova", "Toujours à la Volonté de Dieu" and that famous "La Vie Drôle" which is protected from the hazards of the journey to Jacmel by two zôbi who are at all times among its passengers - the "un-dead" who will perform their master's will even in his absence.

There can be no doubt that Haitian trucks do need protection. The calamitous state of repair of the country's roads is one fact mentioned in every single recent document, Haitian or other, on priorities for development aid (12). Together with the high price of spare truck parts, the absence of generally enforced safety standards, and the devastating effects of heavy rains on the nations roads, it results in a system of transportation that is both unreliable and dangerous.

It would be beyond the scope of this paper to describe the workings of this system nationwide. It should be useful, however, to characterize briefly the main agents in it, since they play an important part in the distribution of foodstuffs. But first we shall try to estimate the size of the truck fleet they operate.

2. The Size of the Fleet

The Armed Forces of Haiti (FAD'H) control the registration of motor vehicles in the country. The last published figures (1954-1968) (12) show that there were anywhere between 2346 (in 1956) and 1185 (in 1963) trucks on the Haitian roads, plus between 40 and 226 buses. The variations could reflect trends in private investment as well as annual differences in registration procedures. Today there are likely to be somewhere around 2500 trucks and buses registered, including the vehicles shipping sand and ciment to construction sites, bauxite to the port of Miragoane and tourists to the beaches. It is impossible to conclude from government statistics which percentage of these vehicles are actually committed to "public transportation". From the observation of city traffic in Port-au-Prince we would expect it to be between 10 and 30 percent. It is only these privately owned trucks for "public transportation" which are of interest in our context.

Reading the published figures of a traffic count realized in 1969 gives a more precise picture (12). Not counting the traffic within the metropolitan area of Carrefour/Port-au-Prince, Pétionville, none of the main arteries to the city had more than a few dozen trucks and buses per day. Gonaives, e.g., located on the most important of all roads, had only 25 trucks and buses going in each direction every day. The figures for the "Ouest" were 30, for the south 15 and for Kenscoff 20 respectively (12). A truck will, on the average, make the shorter trips six to nine times a week, the longer ones one to three times a week. With an average of 2.5 days estimated per trip (which is generous since many of the trips take no more than an hour), we thus arrive at an estimated truck fleet for "public transportation" of 225 for 1969 which could be expected to have risen to 300 in 1973 [1/].

Our own count corresponds roughly with such an estimate. In July 1973 we had three interviewers try to locate all trucks and buses used for "public transportation" during their stops in the city over a period of one week [2/]. Working at various times of day and night, we were able to distinguish 141 vehicles [3/] which we estimated to be close to one half of the fleet. The total would, thus, lie somewhere in the vicinity of 300 trucks and buses.

1/ These estimates will be actualized in a separate report in this series on national transportation of agricultural produce.

2/ The instrument used in this research is presented in Annex 1.

3/ Despite elaborate measures taken against double-counting, nine out of 150 trucks were surveyed twice.

3. The Truck Operators

On every truck we are sure to find three men indispensable for its smooth operation : the chofè (driver) is responsible for the trip but he is never alone. He has a sékrétè who will count and supervise the passengers and collect the fare. Besides, there is at least one bèf chèn who will load and unload the truck, especially the articles which go on the roof. It is frequent for a truck to have several chofè, sékrétè and bèf chèn, either because they are needed or because the owner wants to break them in for a better job they might get one day : every chofè would like to become owner, every sékrétè is a potential chofè and even the bèf chèn may have dreams.

Who are the owners of the trucks? Are there few of them, controlling dozens of vehicles each and monopolizing public transportation to Port-au-Prince? The opposite is true? Our interviews with 150 drivers have shown that most trucks are owned by small scale entrepreneurs rather than by large firms. Table 1 gives the results.

Table 1. Number of Trucks Owned by Haitian Entrepreneurs

89	Trucks	Owned	by	Owners	of	1	Truck only
27	"	"	"	"	"	2	Trucks
11	"	"	"	"	"	3	Trucks
1	Truck	"	"	an Owner	of	4	Trucks
1	"	"	"	"	"	5	Trucks
1	"	"	"	"	"	6	Trucks
1	"	"	"	"	"	7	Trucks

n = 141 1/ Trucks owned by a minimum of 112 owners

1/ 10 drivers did not respond to this question.

The accuracy of the figures presented here cannot always be taken for granted. Owners, when asked if they owned any other trucks, sometimes tried to hide that fact. In two out of the nine cases where a truck had been surveyed twice we were able to prove that the owner had in fact understated his property. Such behaviour is consistent with a rule which is generally applied in Haiti: never tell a stranger how much you own. Bragging with one's riches can only bring bad luck.

The fact remains, nevertheless, that most trucks are owned by small-scale entrepreneurs. Many of them do part of the driving themselves. In almost thirty percent [42] of our interviews we found the owner doing part of the driving. Of these owner-drivers, they reported doing about half the driving themselves. However, in some cases they may drive as little as one short trip a week. During his non-driving time the owner either rests, looks after his other properties, or functions as sékrétè on his own truck.

4. Moving People and Merchandise

Haitian trucks always look heavily overcharged and, as a matter of fact, they usually are. The cargo consists of both merchandise and people - it is important that the truckers take both. The collection and distribution systems are so decentralized at every level that the accumulation and efficient transportation of tons of one product is a rare thing. What is happening every day is that thousands of small-scale intermediaries make the trip to the city, accompanying their products, which in their entirety are usually less than 200 pounds at a time.

This is not to say that there are no large-scale intermediaries moving large quantities of produce and sometimes occupying half a truck at a time. These do exist, and some good examples have even found their way into the anthropological literature (9). Yet the average intermediary does not transport a very large quantity of products on her trips and, as Mintz estimated, "the movement of human beings, by weight, may even exceed the movement of produce itself". (5)

It would be wrong, on the other hand, to underestimate the amount of produce carried by the intermediaries. Although at the present time, there are no data available which could directly answer the question of the people/produce ratio, the data presented in the next table may, nevertheless, provide some indication as to the efficiency of the distributive system. For all the vehicles surveyed, we collected information about the last trip they had just finished. Let us first compare the numbers of people transported.

Several conclusions can be drawn from Table 2. The first one is that the scene is dominated by rather large vehicles. Almost half of those surveyed were large trucks, providing seats, on simple wooden benches, for more than fifty people each. The small trucks and kamionèt are not used much over long distances, with the exception of the well paved roads to Croix-des-Bouquets and Léogane. The total

Table 2. Number of Vehicles According to Size and Numbers of Passengers on 141 Trips

Passengers on last trip	Number of Trucks according to Size (max. capacity passengers in parentheses)					Total
	large truck (50 - 70)	normal truck (30 - 50)	small truck (15 - 30)	camionnette (14)	bus (40)	
0 - 10 passengers	20	14	1	1	0	36
10 - 19 passengers	19	12	8	0	1	40
20 - 39 passengers	14	15	8	0	2	39
40 or more passengers	7	2	0	0	2	11
no answer	6	3	4	2	0	15
Total	67	46	21	3	5	141

capacity for the 141 vehicles together is more than 7100 seats - officially declared seats, that is. Since overloading is commonly practiced, the actual capacity must be estimated at around 8500 seats, or 3400 seats per day, as a minimum 1/.

The second conclusion to be drawn is that the trucks transport much fewer people than their capacity. Not more than 25 percent of the vehicles surveyed were loaded to capacity with passengers. There is even a surprising correlation between size and passenger load to be observed : the larger the truck, the less people it carries, pro - portionally to its capacity.

The third conclusion to be drawn from Table 2 is the following : since half of the trucks transported less than twenty passengers each, the weight of human bodies can, on the average, not have exceeded 1.5 tons. Most of the trucks can carry between three and ten tons, with the majority probably between five and seven tons. We conclude, therefore, that the merchandise must have exceeded the weight of human bodies by something like three to one.

We will readily admit that our data at this point are still incom - plete and do not allow any final answer to the question of the people/ produce ratio. The evidence so far is, however, that the distributive system is less wasteful than it might appear or might have been at other times. Even discounting the few trucks which carried loads of

1/ Since the trips to Léogane and Arcahaie take no longer than an hour, there are vehicles which travel them dozens of times every week. It would not be unreasonable, therefore, to establish a capacity of 5000 seats a day, once the large numbers of kamionèt are included. Our interviewers were instructed to leave the kamionèt out of the data collection.

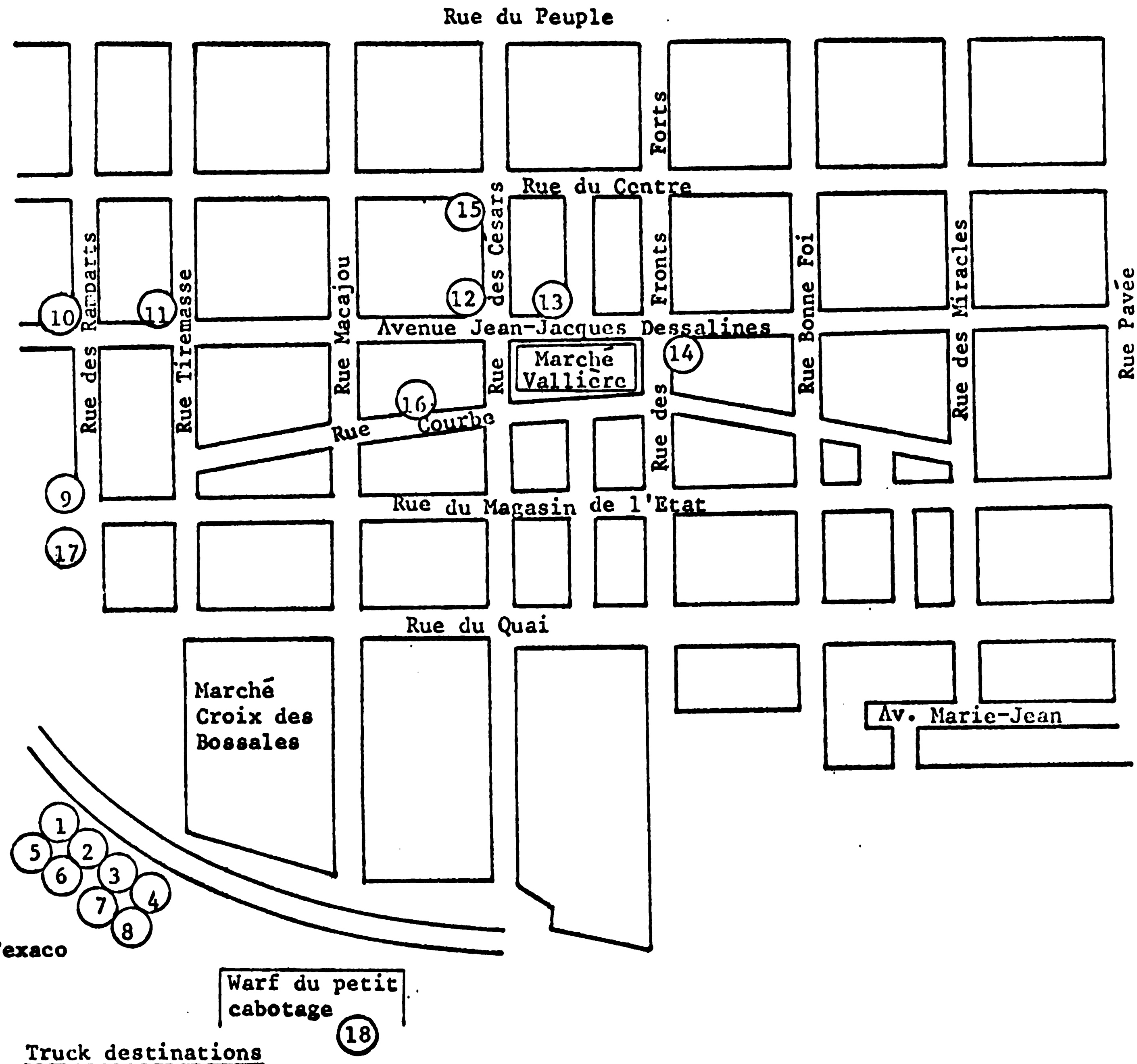
wood, the main load of the kamyô seems to be produce rather than people. This is entirely to the liking of the chofè: they always expressed a preference for transporting goods rather than people.

A final point can be made about the composition of passengers. How many of them are actually travelling intermediaries, the famous madam sara? According to our figures there is a sizable amount of variation. Some buses will not carry any of them; they are, according to the revealing comment of one interviewer, reserved for "élite" passengers. On the other hand there is the kamyô "St-François et St-Jacques" whose driver claimed that all of the fifty people he had just brought to the city were madam sara. On the average, we found that only about one third of the passengers were identified as travelling intermediaries, or about seven persons on an average truck. Our estimates of a truck fleet of 300 and an average trip of 2.5 days lead us to the conclusion that about 840 madam sara do arrive in Port-au-Prince every day.

5. The Truck Stops

The city has one large and around a dozen minor truck stations. The large one is the TEXACO station west of the Croix-des-Bossales market which offers a vivid and colourful scene at any time of the day. The minor stations are mostly located on the margins of the dépôt area. Map 1 gives an overview of some of these stations.

Map 1: Truck Departure Stations in Downtown Port-au-Prince



Truck destinations

1. Arcahaie
2. Port-de-Paix
3. Pte Rivière de l'Artibonite
4. Gonaives/Gros Morne
5. Miragoâne/Jacmel / Bainet/Petit Goâve/ Grand Goâve
6. Las Cahobas/Hinche
7. Petit Trou de Nippes/ Anse à Veau
8. Aquin/Cayes
9. Mirebalais/Las Cahobas
10. Carrefour-Bordes
11. Bon Repos/Croix des Bouquets
12. Delmas/Pétion-ville
13. Carrefour
14. Pétion ville
15. Carrefour Feuille
16. Cap-Haitien
17. Thomazeau
18. Boats : Jérémie, Gonaives, St Marc La Gonâve etc..

What is being called a station here is, with the exception of the TEXACO station, hardly recognizable as such to the outside observer. There are no signs, no maps, no loading ramps. They are not needed. Anyone desiring to take a trip to his home town will know where the trucks to his destination customarily stop. Even the ignorant outsider will quickly find his way around.

Truck arrivals are much harder to know. Drivers compete for passengers and are willing to do favours for their regular customers. It is not uncommon for a driver to spend, after a tiresome six hour drive from Jacmel, a full hour or more on the last mile, discharging three bags here, a few goats there, some people at the Portail Léogane and some more at the Marché Salomon. Some passengers regularly change into taptaps or taxis at the edge of the city in order to avoid long delays, but most make it with patience to the end. The fare is the same, anyway.

Main intersections, dépôts and markets are the principal stops of the arriving trucks. At all of them, porters stand ready to compete with the mèt bouèt (owners of wheelbarrows) for the jobs of transporting the products to the places where they are to be stored or sold. The madam sara will not be left on the street for long with their merchandise. Most often they have their contacts set up in advance, especially in the dépôt area. This is, after all, the secret of their success: contacts carefully cultivated over time.

In some cases drivers were found to take some of their regular clients right to their homes.

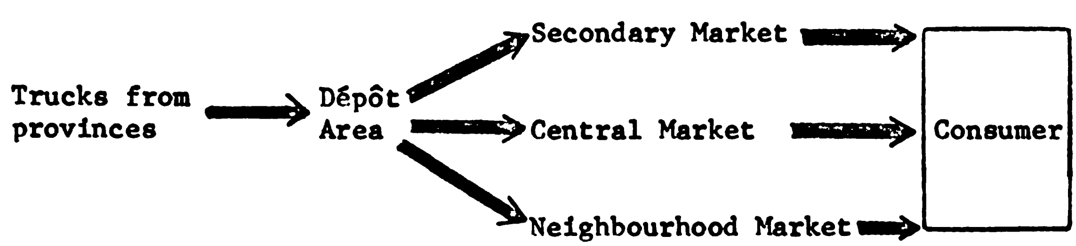
B. Distribution Channels for Agricultural Produce in Port-au-Prince

1. The Way Through the Dépôts

The flow of goods from the provinces to Port-au-Prince is relatively easy to observe. Most goods travel on trucks over one of the three main access roads, and what is being shipped by boat comes to the "Wharf du petit cabotage". Once the products are in the city, however, they can take any one of dozens of different ways to the consumer. This end of the distributive system is very complex. It is impossible and perhaps not necessary, at this time, to give a complete description of all the alternative routes and the reasons why they are chosen. What is being proposed here, then, cannot be more than a series of models - tentative in design and ready for correction by anyone whose empirical data suggest changes in one or all of them.

In its more basic form, our model of the city's distributive system looks like this :

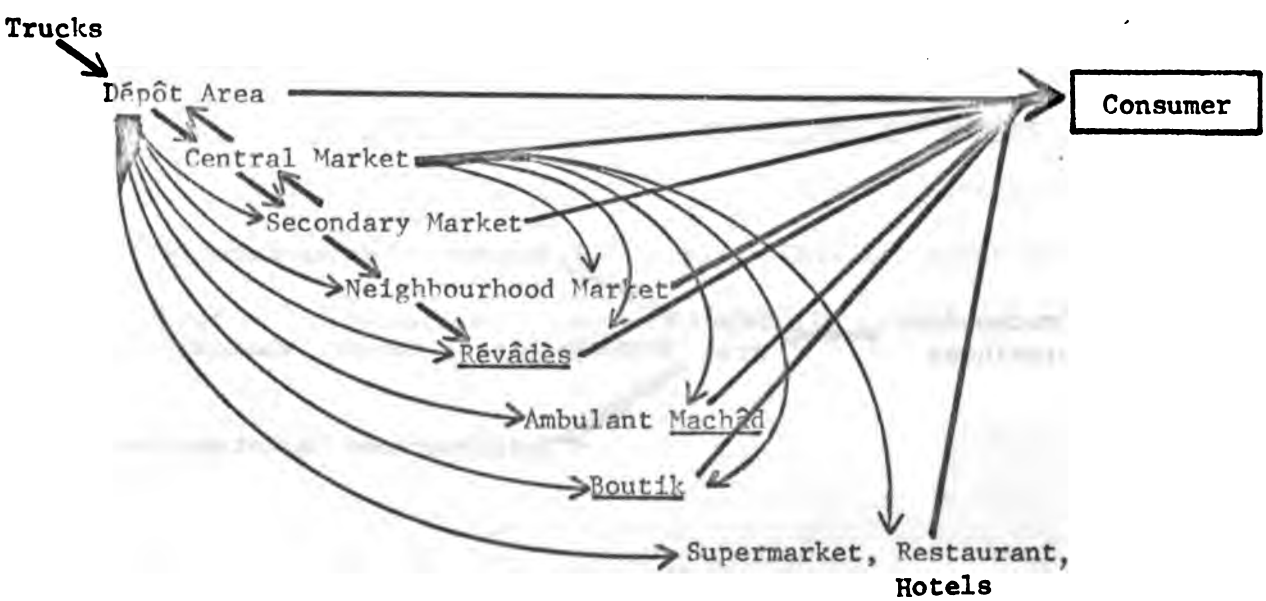
Model 1. Foodstuffs Move Through Dépôts and Markets



The flow of products, as seen in this model, is in one direction only. The goods move through the three structural parts of the system one after the other : trucks, dépôts and markets. We have divided the 23 markets of the city into three rough categories which will be justi - fied in a later chapter. There is one dominating Central Market Area (Croix-des-Bossales); there are three Secondary Markets (Marché Val - lières, Marché Salomon and Marché Nirvana), which fulfil some functions of both central exchange place and neighbourhood market, and there are 19 Neighbourhood Markets. Model 1 shows the dépôt area as the place where decisions are made about which of the possible channels the pro- ducts will follow. All exchanges taking place at the dépôts are as - sumed to be between intermediaries (mainly <u>madam sara</u>) and the city <u>révâdès</u> (the women who will transport the merchandise to the markets and sell it there or in the streets).

Model 1 does, without a doubt, present the distribution channels in a way which is accurate for many products under many conditions. There are, however, other possibilities, as shown in Model 2.

Model 2. <u>Consumers and Retailers Cut Short the Intermediary Chain</u>



Interviews with sellers on all levels have revealed that the chain of intermediaries handling a product before it reaches the consumer can be considerably longer than suggested in Model 1. Model 2 shows that a product can move down the ladder step by step and that there can be as many as six such steps.[1/] Different types of mobility can also be observed. Products can move both ways between certain types of markets. Cases were found where goods were wholesaled in a secondary market only to be retailed later in Croix-des-Bossales (central market). This is a reversal of the flow of most products. Hardest to research is the horizontal mobility of products on one level. We were told stories about goods having changed hands up to ten times before ever getting out of the dépôt area.

One would expect prices paid by the consumer to rise as a product changes hands more often. Strangely enough, this is often not true. Due to a near perfect competition or atomistic competition situation at all marketing levels between the Dépôts and the Supermarkets, the consumer can step in and buy at any point. Large price differentials, therefore, do not exist and the intermediaries margin is held to the minimum and is often a result of shrewd operating rather than obvious price increases. Thus, when cutting short the marketing chain all the consumer can hope for is a very slight price differential. This differential most often being a result of reduced transportation and/or handling costs.

1/ "Révâdès" and ambulant machâd are considered one step. Boutik and Supermarkets are considered one step.

While products do not necessarily become significantly more expensive to the consumer as a result of price gouging as they move through the intermediary chain, a significant selection process is continually underway, namely a selection in quality and price. Of the many different qualities of fruits, which are being offered at Croix-des-Bos _ sales, only the very best will later be sold at restaurants, hotels and supermarkets. Neighbourhood markets, too, reflect the economic status of their surroundings and their clientele. The selection of a particular distribution channel for agricultural products is frequently determined by the quality of the product. Some markets and neighbourhoods always get the very best qualities available while others hardly ever get a product of good quality. The curved arrows in Model 2 stand for this selective process.

On every level there are intermediaries specializing in this sort of channeling of products to a specific class of consumers. They are easily recognized among the ambulant machâd. There is no point for them to carry wilted lettuce into a bourgeois neighbourhood or first-rate tomatoes into a poor squatter settlement. Mintz has suggested that internal market systems function as "mechanism of social articulation" (5). It is precisely at this point that such articulation takes place: in the decision making about horizontal and vertical exchange of goods. Model 2 shows that most of these decisions are being made at the dépôts and the central market (Croix-des-Bossales).

2. The Way Around the Dépôts

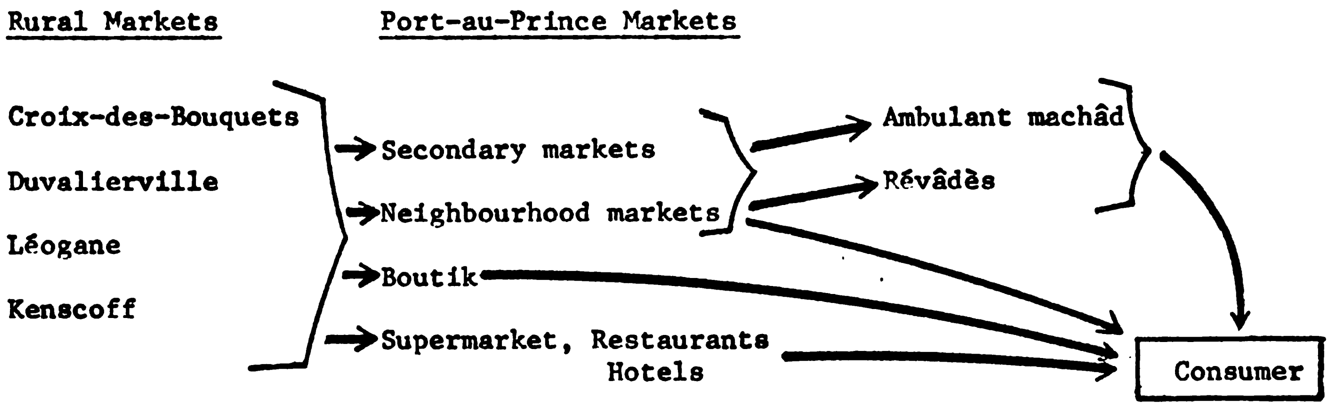
Both models we have used so far have presented the dépôt area as a crucial link between truck and market. Many exchanges could not take place and the "free competition" characteristic of the Port-au-Prince market system could not play so freely if it were not for these dépôts. There are, however, good reasons for avoiding them, too. The révâdès desiring to buy at the dépôt often finds herself at a disadvantage. Dépôts are for the madam sara, we were told. On other occasions, the révâdès explained that they would buy at the dépôt only when their special contact, a madam sara with whom they had established pratik, was present. At all other times they would prefer to buy at "the" market, meaning Croix-des-Bossales.

The most important reasons for not using the dépôts are economic. The use of a dépôt, for all its advantages, costs money:

1) Storage fees have to be paid for products left there.
2) While being tied up in a dépôt, the capital does not work (unless one has shrewdly calculated prospective price fluctuations).
3) There is no way to avoid the payment of taxes. Dépôts are supervised and visited several times every day by government agents (percepteurs). A woman with her goods free on the streets, by contrast, may devise some scheme to avoid at least part of the taxes (3), and
4) Many city révâdès operate on such little capital that they simply cannot afford to buy at the dépôt. "At the dépôt you buy per bag and need more cash", we were told on many occasions, which means

that the city machâd often finds it impossible to buy at the lowest wholesale price.

Model 3. The Money-Saving Way Around the Dépôts



Model 3 presents an alternative marketing channel. Many city révâdès avoid the dépôts not for lack of capital but rather because they have enough capital to enter, on a small scale, into direct competition with the madam sara. They find it advantageous to buy in one of the large rural markets within easy distance of the city and sell in secondary or neighbourhood markets or directly to the consumer. The risk is higher but so is the profit. An additional advantage lies in the fact that peasants are frequently in search for means of avoiding market taxes. The "gray zone" around the two Croix-des-Bouquets markets is overflowing, we were told, by city révâdès trying to higgle with the producers, escape the government agents and get a ride back to Port-au-Prince, all at the same time.

Products channeled around the dépôt area frequently reach their destination via only one intermediary intervening between producer and consumer. Nevertheless, such a shortcut is not used in a major proportion of all the exchanges. The reason for this must be that such operations cannot be executed on a very large scale. As soon as there are too many révâdès trying to buy this way, either the peasants or the tax agents will draw the consequences and the operation will no longer be worthwhile. On the other hand, as soon as a single révâdès tries to operate on too large a scale, she will inevitably confront the problem of safe storage, and it will be better for her to put up with the dépôt expenses.

3. Flexibility as a Way of Life

Let us now summarize some of the characteristics of this distributive system. There is, throughout all of its parts, a lack of capital. With the exception of truck owners, most of whom are small entrepreneurs, there seems to be hardly anybody who would be willing and able to invest large sums in the distribution of products. Credit is hard to get and interest rates are exorbitant - among machâd they are frequently 30% per month. One of the rules of the game is, therefore, that waste must be minimized at all levels.

The second characteristic is the abundance of cheap labor. On every level of the system there are thousands of people waiting to jump into every opportunity which opens up. Competition is thus maximized. The battle for the scarce resources is fierce.

A further characteristic is the absence or weakness of central controls. The government does, to be sure, collect taxes on every level and try to influence, to some extent, both production and price regulation of some products. Most of the actual decision making, however, is left to the individual agent. On the whole, merchandise can be moved anywhere, stored anywhere and sold anywhere. Occasional price controls on domestic production do not seem to be very effective and in fact probably do more harm than good since they often force a re - duction in the volume of produce in the marketing channel.

Like all internal marketing systems, this one has to adapt to fluctuations in agricultural output and in consumer demand. Over the past two years, the Port-au-Prince consumer's demand for agricultural produce has significantly increased while supply has remained about the same and in some cases [1/] decreased.

Given the abundance of cheap labor and thus the constant influx of new intermediaries into the marketing system, coupled with the <u>machâd's</u> desire to minimize waste (quantity if not quality) leads one to hypo-

---

1/ Lack of maintenance of irrigation systems and other infrastructure has seriously altered the agricultural sectors ability to respond to increased demand. In 1973, this resulted in a significant increase in imports of rice, corn and beans.

thesize that the internal marketing system is quite efficient [1/] By providing many channels for the distribution of goods and thousands of intermediaries, adaptation to fluctuations in supply and demand is usually achieved quite rapidly.

There may be serious delays in delivery from some parts of the country as road conditions are the limiting factor, however, the "people" element insures that the system returns to equilibrium by substituting products or increasing the work force in some sectors.

This equilibrium, however, is not the result of impersonal controls but rather of the occupational adjustments of individuals. In other words: most of the adjustments are achieved through human initiative and human suffering. In Haiti where resources are at a chronic low, adjustments to downward fluctuations of agricultural output often mean in effect that large numbers of people will eat even less than usual, will find employment even harder to get than usual and will compete for jobs at even less than the usual 60 cents per day.

But the positive side of the coin should not be overlooked. Resources and employment in Port-au-Prince being what they are, the employment

---

1/ Efficiency as used here refers to quantity of agricultural produce allocated and not quality. Due to the large number of times that products exchange hands and the limited packaging and storing facilities, it is quite likely that the quality of the produce, and thus its nutritional value, decreases substantially. For example, corn is seldom thrown away even when it becomes infested with weevils, instead the poor quality corn is mixed with a better quality corn and moved into the marketing channel without controls.

of very large numbers of people in the food distribution system of the city is a definite asset, a point which has been stressed by Mintz (5) as well as by Murray and Alvarez (11). In a later chapter of this report we shall present a more precise estimate of the numbers of people actually involved as city intermediaries. But first we shall concentrate on another crucial structural link in the system : the dépôts.

C. The Dépôt Area of Port-au-Prince : A Preliminary Description

1. Introduction

It is generally assumed that large amounts of Haitian agricultural produce, at one point of their journey between producer and consumer, are stored in the dépôts[1/] of Port-au-Prince. To the outside observer these dépôts appear as an ideal spot for the measurement of the quantities of different products being channelled into or through Port-au-Prince and for the analysis of the channel through which specific commodities flow. Any analytic model of the Haitian internal market system will show the dépôts as one of the crucial links (11) connecting two parts of this system: the travelling intermediaries (madam sara) and the city marchande, as well as the producer and consumer.

Producer ⟶ Madam Sara ⟶ Dépôts ⟶ City Marchande ⟶ Consumer

1/ Dépôts as the term is used here refers to secure storage areas where space is rented to intermediaries dealing primarily in the wholesale trade.

This view is oversimplified, however. Before starting the description of the Port-au-Prince dépôt area, it is necessary to present a more realistic picture of the true situation, and to draw attention to the limitations inherent to the type of analysis possible at this time.

First, the products do not always move in the simple way the above model assumes. There are dozens of alternate routes of which only a few are known at this point of our research. Some of them avoid the dépôt altogether and are, therefore, of special interest for the present study; e.g. :

- The madam sara bringing in beans or bananas or other produce can avoid the dépôts by selling at the truck stops directly to the révâdès waiting for them. However, this is possible only if transactions can be made fast (like in times of scarcity of a product) and where the product is easy to control. It has been observed in the case of bananas.

- The madam sara can have her products unloaded before the truck arrives in the main dépôt area. Such truck stops are often considered illegal - we do not know at this point if they actually are - and probably cost an extra fee. One of the most common areas for the trucks from the Southern Peninsula to make such quick stops is halfway between Carrefour and Port-au-Prince. Another area used everyday by some trucks is on the Avenue J.J. Dessalines, about halfway between lère Avenue and Portail Léogane. From there on, the products are transported by camionnette or taxi. Presumably, they go to the révâdès and markets.

Both of the ways mentioned have two things in common: First, they avoid the dépôts and thus promise a slightly higher profit for the madam sara because she saves the storage fees and taxes charged at the dépôt. Secondly, they can be chosen only for small quantities of produce at a time or for products that can be expected to sell very fast.

The second limitation of this study is set by the impossibility, at this point, to give quantitative data about the flow of products through - and around - the dépôts. We assume that the major part of agricultural produce is at some point stored in the dépôts since this is the most convenient way for the travelling intermediary to solve the problems of safety of her stock from rain, theft, etc.., until it is sold. However, there is no way of stating at this point what products, and what quantity are stored for how long? Furthermore, we do not know what quantities of the same products by-pass the dépôts nor how much of the foodstuff moved into the city is actually consumed there.

We do, however, have at least preliminary quantitative information about the areas of concentration of dépôts in Port-au-Prince. It is the aim of this study to locate geographically the dépôts of some of the most common products of Haitian agriculture and thus to establish with some accuracy this important link in the chain connecting pro - ducer with consumer.

2. The Method Used

The goal of mapping out the principal dépôts for several of the main crops can be reached in different ways.

First, one could ask révâdès where they get their stock, e.g. beans, and madam sara, where they store it. A sufficient number of inter - views with each category of women would give a precise picture of where a product is stored. Maria Dolores Alvarez has made an important first step in this direction in her work on the marketing of beans in Haiti (11).

Due to the pilot character of the work presented here a different approach was chosen. Since nothing is known in the literature about the location of the dépôts, it was felt desirable to get, as a first step, a preliminary map of the whole dépôt area, showing the main clusters of dépôts specializing in certain products. This overall picture could then lead to the detailed analysis of the dépôts of one area or the dépôts specializing in one product.

Interviews with several révâdès established that Port-au-Prince has only one dépôt area : that bordered by the Grand Rue, the Croix-des-

Bossales Market and the Wharf. None of the other market areas of the city, not even such remote ones like the Marché de Carrefour or the Marché de Pétionville, have dépôts.

A city révâdès with more than 40 years of experience of buying and selling many of the main products was chosen as guide for a tour of the whole dépôt area and the adjacent city blocks. For every house facing a street it was determined if it contained one or more dépôts and which were the main products stored there at the time (The pro - blem of dépôt specialization will be discussed later in this paper).

Finally, we interviewed a total of 13 mèt dépo (owners of dépôts) and 96 révâdès. The goal being to find out more about dépôt specialization and the extent to which the révâdès patronize one or several dépôts.

It is clear that the map compiled this way is far from complete. Dépôts which do not have a streetfront have systematically been omitted; There may in fact be a considerable number of them, although this was denied by the guide. Every street was visited twice, yet some dépôts which serve for storage only (and not for selling) have certainly escaped the screening. Yet these were felt to be minor drawbacks compared to the advantage of getting an overview of the whole of the dépôt area.

3. The Concentration Area of Dépôts

a. Concentration by city blocks (Table 3)

Out of the 25 city blocks on Map 2, 21 [1] have been studied as to the following items :

1) Predominant commercial activity
2) Number of dépôts located on the street fronts of the block
3) Main produce stored in each dépôt
4) Ratio of dépôts to stores in numbers
5) Ratio of dépôts to stores in terms of occupation of street front
6) Ratio of food dépôts to other dépôts.

As Table 3 shows, there is great variation among the 21 blocks studied. In some areas, e.g. block 18, there is no dépôt at all, while in others, like block 24, the dépôts represent the single most important economic activity. In terms of the street front occupied, we can distinguish five types of city blocks :

Block Type 1

Blocks 4, 5 and 24 are blocks where the dépôts are the predominant economic activity. In block 4 they take up more than half of the

---

1/ The remaining four blocks, 1, 3, 7 and 21 were not studied due to the fact that the paid informant reported no dépôts in these areas and casual observation confirmed this.

MAP 2: THE CONCENTRATION AREA OF DEPOTS IN PORT-AU-PRINCE

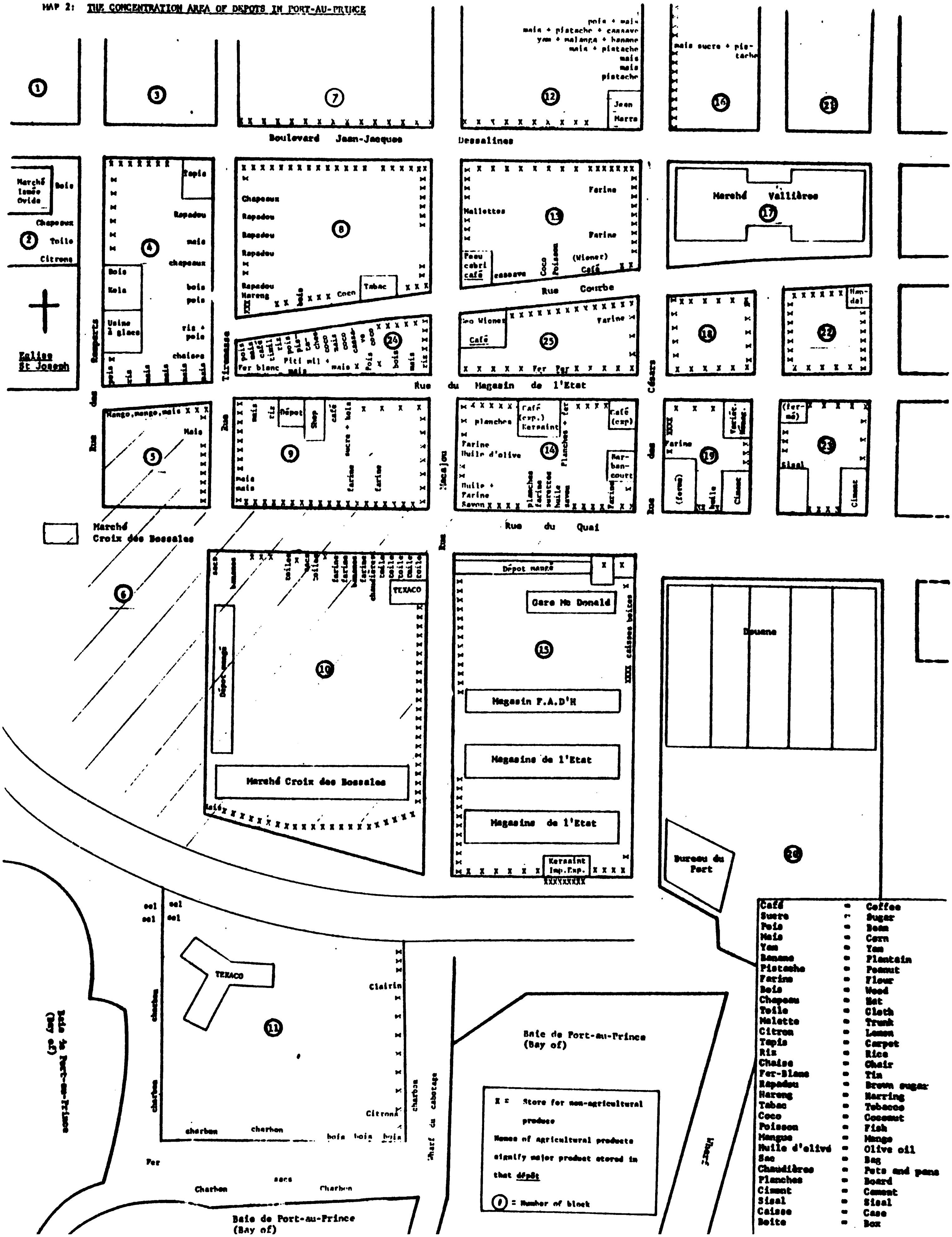


Table 3. The Concentration of Dépôts in Some City Blocks

Blocks		Type of Business				% Street front occupied by Dépôts	Observations
Type	#	Food Dépôts	Other Dépôts	Total Dépôts	Stores		
1	4	11	4	15	15	55	Usine de Glace
	5	4	0	4	11	40	Partly market area
	24	14	2	16	16	50	
2	8	8	1	9	44	20	HANDAL Export Tobacco
	9	8	0	8	40	10	"Shop" (Elect. parts Assembly Plant) "Dépôt" (mixed: for storage only
	12	9	0	9	16	(15)	(Half block studied)
	13	6	1	7	32	15	
3	6						Marché Croix-des-Bossales
	10	6 (30)	10	16 (30)	0	5 (20)	Mché Cx Bossales with mixed foodstuff "dépôt mangé"
	15	(30)	0	(30)	55	0	Mché Cx Bossales (Street extension Rue du Quai)
	17	0	0	0	0	0	Mché Vallières (Marché en Fè; Marché en bas)
4	2	1	3	4	0	0	Mahogany Market; Egl. St-Joseph (half block studied)
	14	5	3	8	0	5	Several Export Firms
	16	1	0	1	20	5	(quarter block studies)
	18	0	0	0	22	0	
	19	1	1	2	14	5	Constr. material in stores & dépôts
	20	0	0	0	0	0	Douane
	22	0	0	0	24	0	
	23	0	0	0	15	0	
	25	1	2	3	26	2	
5	11	10	(150)	(160)	11	90	Wharf du Cabotage
Total		(145)	(177)	(322)	361	—	

( ) = estimated

total street front; in block 24 they are so concentrated that two thirds of this narrow block consist of 16 dépôts and only two small stores. It is this area which can be considered the Central Wholesale Market of Port-au-Prince.

Block Type 2

There are four blocks in which dépôts play an important role, occupying between 10 and 20 percent of the total street front. However, they are concentrated on one corner or street only of the block. Blocks 8, 9, 12 and 13 belong to this type. These areas can be considered extensions of the Central Wholesale Market.

Block Type 3

A third type of city block is formed by the market areas, including the Marché Croix-des-Bossales and Marché Vallières. It is hard to find any product specialization among the dépôts of these blocks. They seem to function as storage areas where the madam sara and the rēvâdès rent space and deposit just anything they want. They are generally referred to as dépo mâgé (food dépôts). Under this type, we find blocks 6, 10, 15 and 17.

Block Type 4

The areas of this type are occupied by shops and export warehouses.

In terms of dépôts serving the internal market system, they contain almost nothing or nothing at all. Contained here are blocks 2, 14, 16, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23 and 25.

Block Type 5

One city block does not fit any of the four types presented thus far. Block 11 is the city's largest dépôt area, but it is very highly specialized : wood and charcoal are practically the only products stored there. The reason for this specialization is clear : block 11 is the harbour area for most of the products being shipped by sea. The bulkiest among them, with respect to price per unit volume, are charcoal and wood. They are stored and sold near the wharf where they are unloaded, on the landfill areas of block 11. Low quality salt which is regularly shipped by sea is the only "foodstuff" of any importance being stored in block 11.

b. Concentration of dépôts near markets

Since much of the produce stored in the dépôts is later sold in Port-au-Prince markets, we should expect to find the dépôts concentrated in the immediate neighbourhood of the markets. Surprisingly, this is not the case. Our informants have consistently denied (confirmed by observation) the existence of dépôts in the neighbourhood of all but two of the Port-au-Prince markets.

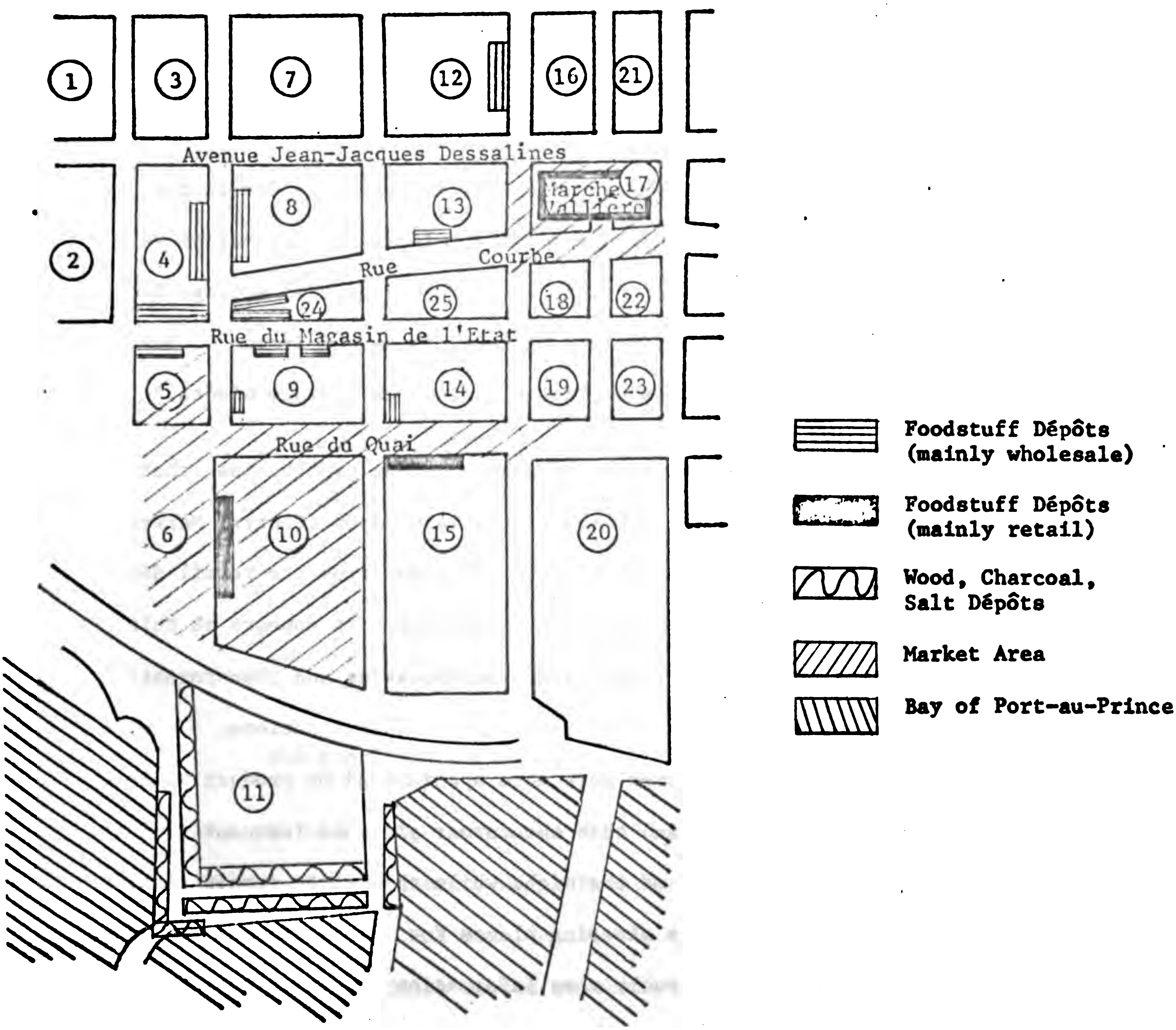
(This point will be qualified later.) The two exceptions are the Marché Vallières and the Marché Croix-des-Bossales.

Map 2 shows that none of the streetfronts facing the Marché Vallières contains even a single dépôt - the flour dépôts of block 13 are really stores which wholesale flour as a side-line. The Marché Vallières is completely surrounded by stores and located right in the business center of the capital.

As shown on Map 3 it appears that Marché Vallières, although near, is isolated from the dépôts. A detailed study would probably show that the only dépôts close to it (those of block 12), contain products which will never end up on the stands of this expensive "Iron Market".

The Marché Croix-des-Bossales offers a different picture: it contains large dépôt areas (the "dépo mâgé"of blocks 10 and 15). However, these dépôts are generally quite different in appearance from the streetfront dépôts in the rest of the area. They consist of small rooms built one after another in one line, about 30 to each of the two dépôt lines. With the exception of these dépôt lines, the situation at Croix-des-Bossales is similar to the one at the Marché Vallières: the streetfronts surrounding the market contain hardly any dépôts. The flour dépôts of block 10 are similar to those of block 13: they are stores wholesaling flour as a side-line.

Map 3. Food Dépôt Concentration near Markets



We thus arrive at the conclusion that dêpôts are not purposely located next to markets or vice versa. But this statement needs qualification. Every major market which is open throughout the week needs a place where the révâdès can store the stock they have been unable to sell during the day. Much of this storage is done right under the market stands, and many a marchande will spend the nights sleeping under the stand or table, right on her sacks. But much storage is also done in retail dêpôts in the market place or its periphery. The building of the Marché Vallières serves during nighttime as a closed, guarded storage facility. The areas' most modern Market, the Marché Simone O. Duvalier at Pétionville, is partially lined with storage dêpôts.

Without being able to give any proof, we can hypothesize that the dêpôts lining the streets of the main dépôt (Central Market) areas serve a function distinctly different from the retail dêpôts (dépo mâgé) located on and next to markets: it appears at this point as if the former had mainly bulkbreaking and transformation functions while the latter has mainly storage functions. It also appears as if the former were more specialized by product while the latter are not, and that the former are more frequently closed during at least part of the night while the latter remain open, frequently serving as sleeping places for the marchandes renting storage space. Obviously more information is needed to substantiate or alter this description of the dêpôts.

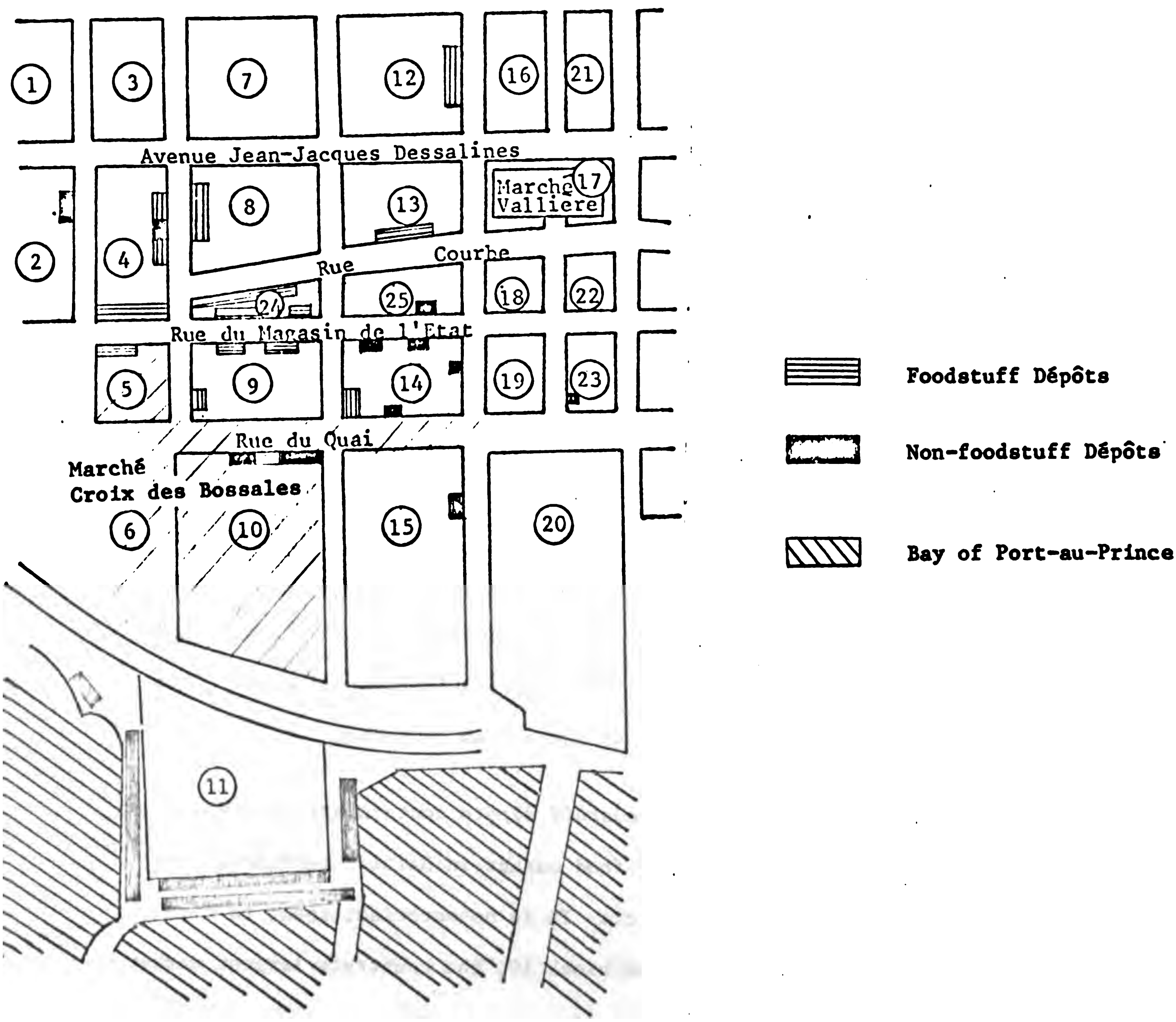
c. Concentration by commodities

If we leave the food storage (retail) dépôts in markets out of our considerations for the moment, the reputedly "chaotic" and "anarchic" (1) area appears much more orderly. Foodstuff dépôts and other dépôts are much more neatly separated than we had initially expected to find. Map 4 shows this separation very clearly. Discounting for dépôts which are the only case of their kind in the block, we find a concentration of food dépôts on and around block 24.

Non-foodstuff dépôts are hard to find in great concentration outside of block 11, the big wood and charcoal dépôt at the harbour. They are important only in two more blocks of the map: blocks 10 and 14. Even in these two blocks we find specialization, not accidental distribution of dépôts. Block 14 is one of the city's most important construction material areas, containing several of the medium sized businesses of this kind. The dépôts of this block are mainly construction material dépôts and appear like the poor little sisters of the stores next-door.

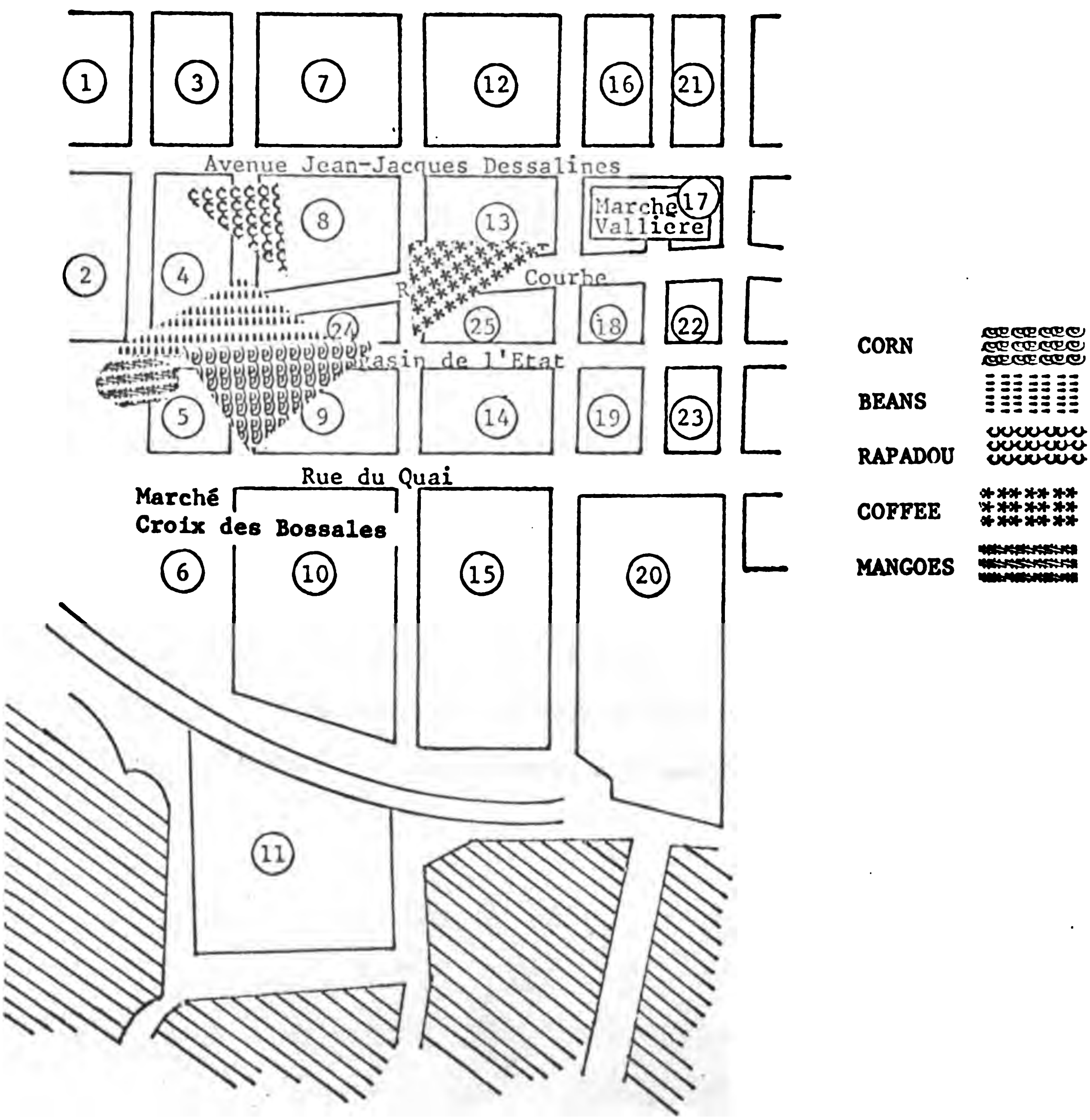
In block 10, the non-foodstuff dépôts contain articles which can be found in every major food market in Haiti: textiles, used bags, pots and pans, etc.. It is no surprise, then, to find these articles stored on block 10, the country's largest market (Croix-des-Bossales).

Map 4. The Geographical Stratification of Food Dépôts and Non-Foodstuff Dépôts



The same dépôt concentration that exists for non-foodstuff commodities, e.g., cloth, construction materials, charcoal and wood, can be found among the foodstuff dépôts. There are clearly defined main selling areas for many of the principal agricultural products sold through the internal market system. There is a bean area, a corn area, a rapadou area, etc.. (Map 5). This does, of course, not mean that there is no way to buy corn in the bean area, and vice versa. It only means that several dépôts with the same main line of produce stored are frequently concentrated on the same street or street-corner. The question of dépôt specialization needs further study. But it is already evident that the famous "chaos" does exist in the eyes of the tourist only. Every professional trader, every marchande involved, knows exactly where to go for the product she needs. It may take some time and some running around to find what she wants at the price she is willing to pay. The more successful révâdès will probably know several concentration areas for every product. But there is clearly a system - not just confusion - as shown in Map 5.

Map 5. The Concentration of Dépôts Specializing in Five Foodstuffs During June 1973



4. Dépôt Specialization

The reader has to be cautionned again against inappropriate use of the materials presented in Map 5. There are no doubt many more places where corn, beans, rapadou, coffee and mangoes are being sold. The map shows only those dépôts where one of these products was the main line during June, 1973. It might be true that during the rest of the year the mèt dépo do intentionally specialize with more or fewer commodities than was observed during this study. But the trend to concentrate certain products in certain areas is likely to prevail during all seasons. The streetfront dépôts we find in the dépôt area are very often specialized - by dépôt and by area.

Why this specialization? There is no single answer covering all of the dépôts. In some cases of bulky items, like charcoal, it is the necessity of holding transport costs down which imposes the specialization of an area. The percentage represented by transport costs on the sales value of every bag of charcoal is very high, compared to the margin going to the marchande.

Rice, on the other hand, with a high capital investment per pound has relatively low costs involved in transporting this capital back and forth within the city. Consequently, we find a high concentration in the charcoal business and a low concentration in the rice business. There are many dépôts handling rice as a main line or side-line, and they are spread throughout the dépôt area. But there is not a single charcoal dépôt of any size outside of block 11 (Map 2).

In other cases the specialization of dépôts is imposed by the functions they carry out. For example, corn dépôts seem to have as their main function the processing of corn. The electrical corn mills on the Rue du Magasin de l'Etat represent a considerable investment to their owners. There would be no point in letting them sit idle and diversifying the dépôt with mangoes, rapadou, etc.. The electric mill must be used at its maximum. Time and space allocated to other goods would often result in a loss.

The highest degree of specialization is to be found among the export crops stored in the area: coffee, tobacco, essential oils and animal skins. In only one case have we found two of these products being stored simultaneously in one warehouse (coffee and skins in block 13). In most cases, there are separate warehouses for each export commodity.

If dépôt specialization makes sense in so many cases, we have to answer the reverse question, too: Why is there not more specialization among dépôts and areas? Again, there are several possible answers that can be given, and they are not necessarily the same for all products :

First: Regional and temporal price differentials are one of the main sources of profit as well as of risk for many of the actors involved in the internal market system. If the mèt dépo enters into direct competition with the marchande, he is subject to similar risks. He counters the risk of loss resulting from price fluctuations by em - ploying the same strategy as the producer and the other intermedia - ries: diversification. We would thus expect diversification of dé - pôts to be high for products which have :

1) Great fluctuations in price and demand

2) Low capital investment for processing.

Specialization in any one of the products subject to such conditions would be risky for the <u>mèt dépo</u>.

<u>Secondly</u>: One of the characteristics of the Haitian economy and its internal market system is the abundant availability of cheap labor. Transportation costs within city limits are therefore low. Mintz (5) has repeatedly pointed out how much running around and carrying of stock a <u>marchande</u> is willing to do in order to make an often minute profit. As long as transportation is so cheap, many products will be unlikely to be stored in any single area, unless some special reason - like the need for cheap processing - keeps them there.

<u>Thirdly</u>: Murray and Alvarez (11) have found many bean dépôts to carry regional names, e.g. dépo Gonaives, dépo Mirebalais, etc... In terms of product specialization, this does not seem to make any sense at all: mangoes, coffee, corn, etc., are produced in many parts of the country and there is no reason why they should be stored or marketed according to area of origin. If we would find them marketed separa- tely, it would be logical to look for quality differentials as the

underlying reason for this regional specialization.

There is, however, a more plausible way to explain the existence of "regional specialization" among some dépôts. Mintz (8) was the first to point out the crucial role played by pratik relationships in the Haitian internal market system. Mèt dépo, madam sara and révâdès cannot be successful without having developed this type of business relationship with each other. The main component of pratik (proven trustworthiness leading to mutual advantages in commercial exchange) is likely to be found most frequently among people who know each other; and the people who know each other in Port-au-Prince are frequently the people originating from the same town or province. We hypothesize at this point that "regional specialization" of the dépôts is caused by the fact that pratik relationships tend to develop more easily and more frequently among people originating from the same province.

If a dépôt is specialized according to area of origin of its owner and his clientele, a specialization according to produce is unlikely to be found there; every area is the origin of several agricultural products ending up on Port-au-Prince markets. There is no reason why a mèt dépo would allow one of his good clients to store some products and not others, as long as the products are inoffensive to each other.

To summarize, we can say that much speaks for dépôt specialization according to main products. In fact, we find many dépôts which are highly specialized, and many others which are at least semi-specialized, carrying one or two main lines and leaving only limited space to other products. Furthermore, we find clusters of specialized dépôts for several of the main products. Among the reasons preventing at this point a further specialization of the dépôts are the need for diversification because of price fluctuations, the cheapness of transportation and the important role played by pratik in the Haitian internal market system.

5. Dépôt Flexibility

Like everyone else in the intermediation chain, the owners of dépôts are exposed to market fluctuations. When times are good, products come in in amply supply and move fast. The mèt dépo has his house full. During bad times stocks are small and move slowly. Due to the particular arrangement of storage fees in Haiti, the mèt dépo is pretty much tied to the luck of his clients. He is not paid by the bag and day but by the bag moved. Every time a madam sara brings in a bag or removes one from the stock, the mèt dépo gets his fee. If she does more waiting then selling, he is hurt economically.

If a mèt dépo would do nothing but wait and collect storage fees, his times would be hard indeed. But he can do more. In the following paragraphs we shall list some of the protective measures he is likely to take. They all fall under the same heading: diversification of functions. Instead of running a small warehouse only, the ingenious <u>mèt dépo</u> transforms his place into a turntable providing his clients with a whole roster of different services.

1) Most dépôts provide space not only for merchandise but also for people to stay overnight. When things are slow and the <u>madam sara</u> have to stay in town for periods of several days, the dépôt owner at least receives overnight fees from his clients.

2) Although the prices for storage are supposed to be fixed, and the same everywhere, the <u>mèt dépo</u> is flexible on this point. He will give special rebates to his regular and more important clients, giving them an incentive to keep patronizing his place.

3) Some <u>madam sara</u> have such good <u>pratik</u> with a <u>mèt dépo</u> that he will sell merchandise for them. All they need is equally good rela - tions with a <u>chofè</u> who will deliver the merchandise without taking advantage of the absence of the owner. This may save the women a trip and allow them to run several simultaneous operations.

4) For the city-based <u>révâdès</u> the dépôt frequently is the place where she can receive credit. We have found one <u>révâdès</u> who for many years picked up merchandise at the same dépôt every few days and regulated her account when it was sold (and she was by no means an isolated case). It was the death of the <u>mèt dépo</u> which finally terminated her permanent credit arrangement and wiped her out as a <u>révâdès</u>.

5) Some _mèt dépo_ become sellers and speculators on an irregular basis. When the market permits it, they move in; when the bonanza is over, they fall back on their previous functions.

6) On a more regular basis a similar arrangement can be made if the owner of a dépôt is willing to be _révâdè_ at the same time. We found one female _mèt dépo_ who leaves her place in the custody of family members during daytime, while she is in the market, and takes over in the evening.

7) Another way to do something similar was chosen by a dépôt owner who runs two places at once: one storage dépôt and one _dépo privé_ (_dépo pèsonèl_) where he does his own selling of coffee in direct competition with his clients.

All this suggests that the _mèt dépo_ has a much more secure existence than most of the intermediaries he does business with. He has a constant cash flow - even if only at a trickle during bad times. He occupies a crucial center of exchanges which permits him to act fast in taking advantage of particular market conditions. A skillful _mèt dépo_ is a master at choosing _when_ to play _which_ of his many roles.

It is hoped that future studies will eventually allow the formulation of a dépôt typology which will lead to a deeper understanding of dépôt activities. Streamlining the highly individualized and fragmentized food storage facilities will be one of the first steps in the modernization of the market system. We have been amazed by the multitude

Variable 4 - Processing Facilities

1. Important investment (e.g. hammer-mill)
2. Insignificant investment, but processing is done
3. No processing done

Variable 5 - Type of Selling done by Mèt Dépo

1. Wholesale only
2. Wholesale and retail
3. Retail only
4. No selling

Variable 6 - Type of Main Produce Stored

1. Mais
2. Rice, Beans, Pitit Mil (Millet)
3. Fruits & Vegetables
4. Coffee
5. Oil
6. Sugar, Rapadou (brown sugar sweetner)
7. Other

Variable 7 - Product Specialization

1. No specialization (3 lines of produce)
2. Medium specialization (2-3 main lines of produce)
3. High specialization (1 main line of produce; no more than 1/3 of dépôt for other commodities)

in point. We expect their non-specialized food storage function to be correlated with their geographical location: they seem to have much in common with the interior storage places at the Marché Vallières and many other markets, and to function quite differently from the streetfront dépôts in the main dépôt area on which we have con - centrated so far.

For the next phase in the analysis of dépôts it is suggested that the following 9 variables (the categories given are subject to change after a pretest) be used.

Variable 1 - Location of Dépôt

1. On market or its periphery
2. Not on market but at no more than 1 block's distance.
3. More that one block's distance from market.

Variable 2 - Size of Dépôt

1. Small dépôt (<10 m^3)
2. Medium sized dépôt (10 m^3 - 30 m^3)
3. Large dépôt (>30 m^3)

Variable 3 - Dominant Function of Dépôt

1. Storage
2. Processing
3. Wholesaling
4. Retailing
5. No dominant function apparent

mediaries must pay tax authorities (percepteurs) for each day that their produce remains in the dépôts. This tax tends to vary with volume, value, dépôt, influence and whim. Since the tax system in the markets and dépôts is the topic of a separate study in this series and due to the difficulty of obtaining accurate information from the mèt dépo this variable has not been included with the others.

The way now seems cleared for a thorough analysis of the operation of the Port-au-Prince dépôts. They all have in common their storage function, but there are important differences as far as their other functions are concerned. This is what further analysis will have to aim for. Correlating the eleven variables described will allow us to define the types of dépôts which are most important to the func - tionning of the internal market system.

It should not be forgotten, however, that large amounts of produce never touch the dépôt area. Some of the channels of the internal market system do need dépôts and others may be designed to avoid them. Also, the possibility cannot be excluded, that there are external factors influencing the functionning of dépôts which have so far deliberately been left out. Examples would be fluctuations in government interference (e.g. price controls, imports, etc.), seasonal fluctuations in the flow of produce, droughts and other factors influencing agricultural production in general. At any point the dépôts may quickly change their functions. Despite their static appearance in (mostly) cement structures they may in fact show the same flexibility that have been observed in other parts of the internal market system.

D. The Markets of Port-au-Prince [1/]

1. Introduction

Large amounts of the agricultural produce consumed by the population of Port-au-Prince are regularly being bought in one of the city's markets, either directly by the consumer or by the owner of a boutique, restaurant, hotel or some other intermediary. The exact amount of produce sold in these markets is, unfortunately, not known, nor is the total consumption of the city's population. It is, therefore, impossible to determine exactly and in terms of tonnage handled, the relative importance of the markets within the distributive network for foodstuff in the city.

However, this is probably an academic question. Anyone who has observed even casually the markets of Port-au-Prince will admit that they must be of foremost importance to the food distribution system and the city's economy. The sheer size of the markets in terms of surface and number of marchandes is impressive. Furthermore, it is evident that many products which can often be found in abundance in markets are virtually absent from boutiques and supermarkets. So, while the question of the relative importance of markets will be answered precisely only at a later point, we are certainly not going too far if we estimate that 85% of the agricultural produce consumed in the city have been bought in a formal market or streetmarket.

1/ A preliminary quantitative analysis of twenty-three markets located in the metropolitan area of Port-au-Prince.

right next to the new structure, on six afternoons a week. In the case of the Marché Tséradot in Carrefour, marketing activities were interrupted successfully: the private landowner, hoping to put his land to more lucrative use, evicted the marchandes. It is said that they all moved to the Carrefour market, about 1 km away.

This latter case, however, is an exception. In general, a neighbourhood market will appear wherever there exists a need. Markets cannot be created or eliminated by decree, without respecting the local conditions, e.g., population density.

2. The Method Used

The gathering of basic quantitative information about all Port-au-Prince markets was done in three steps : First, a map had to be designed containing all markets; Secondly, a visual inspection of the markets provided decisions about which markets to exclude from the map and how to design a short and practical instrument for the data collection; Thirdly, all markets were visited during the morning hours of a low business day - some on a Wednesday, some on a Thrusday (7/11 - 12/73). A sample of 11 markets was revisited on a maximum business day, the Saturday of the following week (7/21/73), in order to get an idea of the increase in market activity between low and high days.

The list of markets was compiled in the following way: women living and shopping and/or selling in different areas of the city were asked to name and locate all markets with which they were familiar. This process was continued until no new markets were being mentioned. The complete list resulting from this procedure contained 26 markets. All 26 markets were then visited. Two of them had to be dropped because the count of marchandes reveiled them as too small. In another case one market had merged with a second one. The final list thus contains 23 markets.

The systematic gathering of observational data had to be short and standardized for two reasons: the desire to reduce the influence of market fluctuations, and the limitation of time and resources. Six trained interviewers visited the markets and filled out a short questionnaire containing 19 items, for each market. The most important of these items were :

- name and location of the market
- physical characteristics (size of market place, street extension and roofed surface)
- complete number of all marketwomen (excluding ambulant marchandes on street extensions)
- special commodities being sold.

The instrument used in the gathering of these observations is contained in Annex 2. Special attention had to be given to the exact delimitations of each market in order to insure comparability of the data with those gathered during the second visit (a 47% sample). In order to achieve this, the interviewers drew maps of every market on the back of the questionnaire, indicating exactly where the counting had taken place.

An arbitrary decision had to be made with respect to market size. The city contains dozens of aggregates of a few marchandes which occasionally, especially on Saturdays, may grow to more than fifty. It would however, have been beyond the scope of this study to map out and count all of these smallest of the neighbourhood markets. We decided to set the lower limit at 40 marchandes (counted on low day), which is the size of the smallest market having weekly regular attendance (Marché La Rochelle).

Two of the downtown markets are hard to separate from their street extensions: the Marché Vallières (Marché en Bas, Marché en Fer) and the Marché Croix des Bossales. Here, too, the arbitrary decision had to be taken to count as street extensions only those streets [1/] immediately lining the market. A more complete and overall view of the city's downtown market will be given in a later section.

A short comment should be made about the accuracy of the data presented here. Systematic training of interviewers, occasional checks and detailed comparisons of sections counted twice by different interviewers,

---

1/ They are: Ave. Jn-Jacques Dessalines, Rue des Césars, Rue Courbe and Rue des Fronts Forts for the Marché Vallières, and Rue du Quai, Rue Macajou, Rue Tiremasse and a small portion of Rue du Magasin de l'Etat for the Marché Croix des Bossales.

have shown that the numbers of marchandes[1/] counted should be highly reliable. In no case has the error margin been found to be more than 3 percent, and there is no reason to believe that it should be higher.

The measurement of the physical characteristics of the markets, how - ever, was much more difficult to do in the short time available. Markets seldom are neatly limited and rectangular, and the only measuring units available and practical were each interviewer's steps. They were counted, measured and transfered into meters. The figures on surface, lengths of extension, and density of marketwomen on an estimated surface are, therefore, subject to an error margin of up to 25 percent. But this should in no way affect the overall picture; the location and counting of all major aggregates of market activity presented here remains the same.

3. The Location of Markets in Port-au-Prince

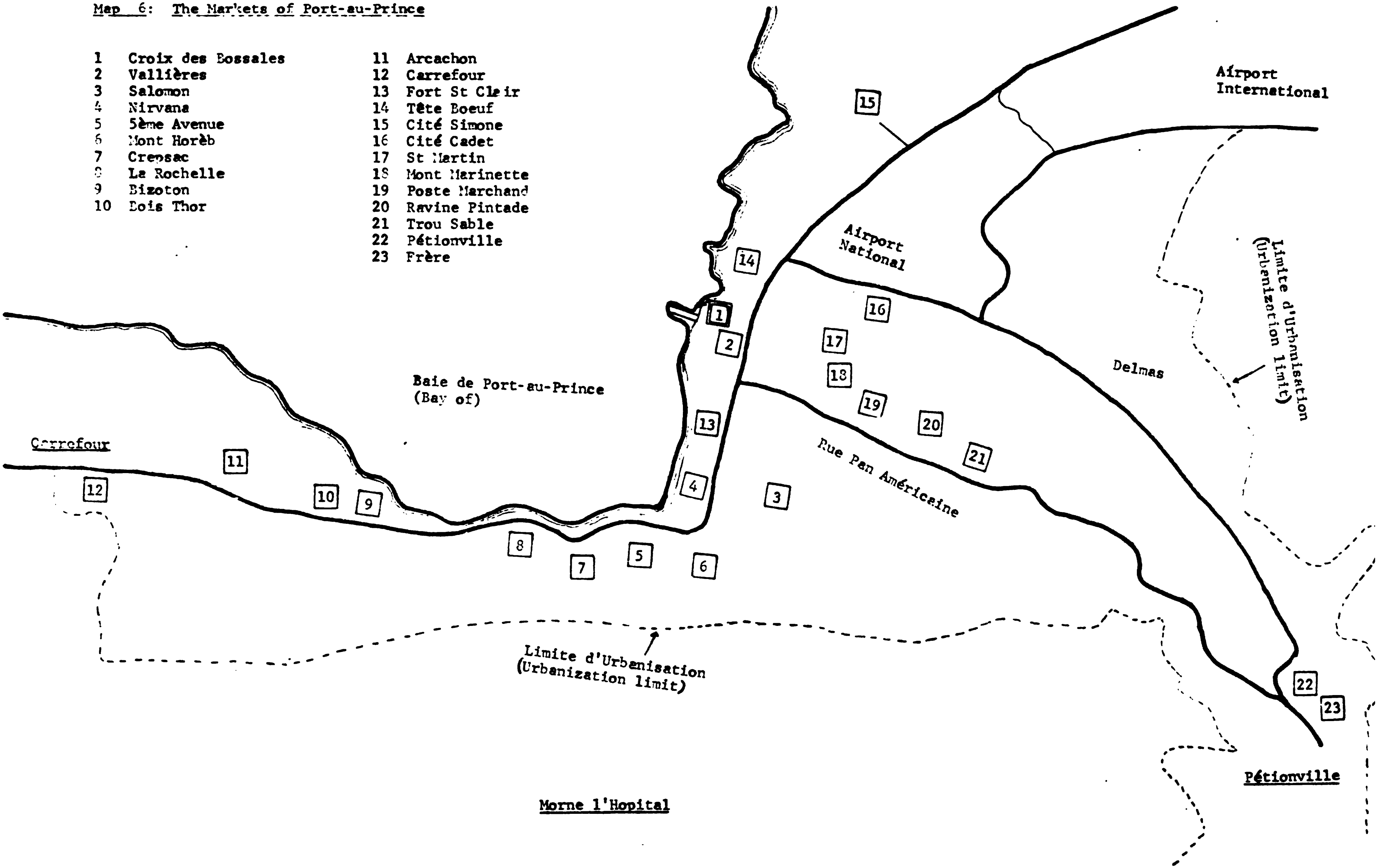
Map 6 shows the location of the 23 markets surveyed. Several observations can be made on the basis of this map:

1) Most markets are located either on or in close vicinity to the four main roads coming into Port-au-Prince. The only major exception is the Marché Salomon.

2) Some areas of the city have several markets in close proximity to each other, while others, even very large areas, have no markets at all.

1/ Marchandes selling all types of produce were counted. For a breakdown of marchandes by category of product sold, see Annex 3.

Map 6: The Markets of Port-au-Prince



3) The city's most important market area is "off center" in terms of the populated areas but ideally located in terms of transportation, with easy access to the main roads and the harbour.

This map thus confirms what is generally true for markets: since they are exchange mechanisms, their location [1] is dependent on a communication system making exchange possible and practical. Cheap transportation of produce seems to be the main determinant for market location on the seller side since intermediaries attempt to minimize transport costs. In the case of many city markets, however, a second element comes into effect : population density. Markets will emerge where there are sufficient numbers of consumers willing to buy.

Table 4 shows the distribution of the markets over the seven districts [2] of Port-au-Prince. Most of the Port-au-Prince markets are relatively small neighbourhood markets. Of the total of 23 markets listed, only 5 have more than a few hundred marketwomen on a low day, and of those only two (Croix-des-Bossales and Vallières) are not limited to serving a neighbourhood or specific area of the city.

There is statistical evidence for the statement that markets emerge where the consumers live. Discounting for the huge central exchange place of Croix-des-Bossales and for the suburban areas, the number of inhabitants per market is the following (Table 5).

1/ See Annex 4, The Location of the markets and their distance from the main dépôt area.

2/ Districts as defined by the Institut Haitien de Statistiques, Résultats Préliminaires de Recensement, (map) with minor modifications.

Table 4. The Distribution of Markets Over Seven City Districts

District	Inhabitants	Markets	Marketwomen per market	Marketwomen Total
Port-au-Prince EST	51 141	Trou Sable	126	
		Ravine Pintade	101	227
Port-au-Prince CENTRE	101 121	Vallières	1 032	
		Nirvana	694	
		Fort St-Clair	248	
		Salomon	860	2 834
Port-au-Prince NORD	152 551	Croix-des-Bossales	5 713	
		Cité Simone	276	
		Tête Boeuf	44	
		Marinette	157	
		St-Martin	93	
		Cité Cadet	131	
		Poste Marchand	140	6 554
Port-au-Prince SUD	77 391	5ème Avenue	516	
		Crepsac	120	
		Mont Horeb	78	714
Martissant & Bizoton	34 316	La Rochelle	40	
		Bizoton	119	
		Bois Thor	122	281
Carrefour	40 618	Arcachon	79	
		Carrefour	196	275
Pétionville	35 257	Frère	46 *	
		Pétionville	352	398
Total	492 395	23		11 283

* This market is located close to the Pétionville market "Marché Simone O. Duvalier" and might better be considered a street extension of the later.

Table 5. The Ratio of Inhabitants to Markets in Port-au-Prince (15 markets)

District	Inhabitants	Markets	Average Inhabitants per Market Area
Port-au-Prince EST	51 141	2	25 571
Port-au-Prince CENTRE	101 121	4	25 280
Port-au-Prince NORD	152 551	6	25 425
Port-au-Prince SUD	77 391	3	25 797

The apparent pattern shown in this Table **is amazingly clear:** for about every 25 thousands inhabitants of the city there is one market. The pattern is so exact in every one of the four zones that it makes one suspect a plan on the part of the city authorities to create a new market for every pocket of 25 000 people. However, there is no such plan. Only in rare cases does the city take steps towards the creation of markets or their physical improvement, and up until 1973 the city administration had no more than a very rough estimate of the city's population.

The amazing result shown in Table 5 is not so much that the average **numbers** of inhabitants per market are so very close (with a standard deviation of only 191) but that they should be close at all. The districts do include after all, considerable variations in economic status and degree of social homogeneity. Also, there is considerable variation in the size of the markets and the amount of produce handled. Our data do not allow us to explain why there is such a regularity in the distribution of markets in Port-au-Prince. All we can say at this point is that this regularity does exist and that there is a marked difference between the city and its outskirts : Carrefour has one market for every 20 309 inhabitants, Pétionville one for every 35 257 1/, and Martissant-Bizoton one for every 11 538.

The location of the Port-au-Prince markets is determined, then, by two conditions : proximity to main transportation arteries and the den - sity of consumers. A sufficient consumer demand seems to be created by a population on an average of about 25 000 inhabitants in the city and somewhat less in the suburbs.

While most of the markets are neighbourhood markets there are some which apparently operate on a much larger scale. These include the central market area of Croix-des-Bossales and its street extensions, on the one hand, and the secondary markets, Marché Vallières, Marché Salomon and Marché Nirvana on the other. Croix-des-Bossales is central in many respects : it is centrally located in terms of communications by road and by sea. It is the largest retail market in Port-au-Prince. It is the center where most of the exchanges between intermediaries are done en gros (depôt area). It is also adjacent to the center for almost all of the storage of agricultural produce in the city (see: The Dépôt Area of Port-au-Prince). Most of the products on their way to neighbourhood markets make their first stop at Croix-des-Bossales or the Dépôt area where they may be stored and wholesaled

1/ Considering Marché Simone Duvalier and Frère as the same market or both. This is usually the case even if this means by-passing the neighbourhood market of final destination. This results, of course, in increased handling and transport costs. In terms of retail sales, the central market area serves all of the city. Buyers from every district will go there as soon as the amount to be purchased justi - fies the expense for the trip.

The secondary markets have in common with neighbourhood markets the fact that they serve one area only, this area being, however, much larger and less homogeneous than a neighbourhood. Marché Nirvana attracts buyers from the southern parts of the city. Marché Salomon those from the South-eastern parts of the city. The Marché Vallières is a secondary market in that it serves only a select clientele : those clients who are willing to pay the higher prices. They are generally the buyers for the foreigners and hotels in the eastern part of the city. Secondary markets receive part of the products directly, without the detour to the central market area. Yet for much of the produce they are dependent on the bulkbreaking processing and storage facilities of the central market area.

The present classification of markets into central, secondary and neighbourhood is only a very tentative one. It does appear convincing in terms of size: Croix-des-Bossales is the largest market, and Vallières, Salomon and Nirvana are second, third and fourth. There could be considerable discussion, however, about assigning all of the remaining 19 markets to the neighbourhood type. The Carrefour and

Pétionville markets serve whole towns, not just neighbourhoods, with the latter having an almost complete monopoly position. Both also receive many products directly, without the detour to Croix-des-Bos _ sales. In terms of our rough typology, however, they have even more in common with neighbourhood markets : they serve only a relatively small geographical area with a population more homogeneous than the rest of the city. Rarely will anybody from a different area come and shop there. Clients will either shop in their own neighbourhood market or go to one of the secondary markets or directly to Croix-des-Bossales. Table 6 gives a summary of the elements used in the cons - truction of our typology.

4. The Accessibility of Markets

Since most goods in most markets have been channeled through the Croix-des-Bossales dépôt area, the distance of a market from the dépôt area can be expected to influence the final price paid by the consumer for a particular item. This is in fact the case. It is, however, not the geographical distance which accounts for the slightly higher prices on the neighbourhood markets, but rather the fare which has to be paid to transport the produce over this distance.

There are several means by which produce is transported : by truck, bouèt (wheelbarrow), taptap (small pickup), taxi, bourik (donkey), or simply by carrying it on the head. The cheapest way is to have the truck carrying the produce and the <u>madam sara</u> make a stop on its way

Table 6. A Preliminary Typology of Port-au-Prince Markets

Markets Ranked by Size	Type of Market	Means of Access	Residence of Clients	Storage Facilities (dépôts)	Processing Facilities	Wholesale Activity	Products not channeled thru Croix-des-Bossales	Size (# of Marketwomen)
Croix-des-Bossales	Central	road & sea	whole city	many	many	much	-	more than 5 000
Vallières	Secondary	road	large area	some	none	none	some	500 to 5 000
Salomon	"	"	" "	some	some	little	some	" "
Nirvana	"	"	" "	some	some	little	some	" "
5ème Avenue	Neighbourhood	road	small area	none	very few	none	some	516
Pétionville	"	"	town	some	" "	none	much	less than 500
Cité Simone	"	"	small area	none	" "	"	none	" "
Fort St-Clair	"	"	" "	"	" "	"	none	" "
Carrefour	"	"	town	"	" "	"	some	" "
Marinette	"	"	small area	"	" "	"	none	" "
Poste Marchand	"	"	" "	"	" "	"	"	" "
Cité Cadet	"	"	" "	"	" "	"	"	" "
Trou Sable	"	"	" "	"	" "	"	"	" "
Bois Thor	"	"	" "	"	" "	"	"	" "
Crepsac	"	"	" "	"	" "	"	"	" "
Bizoton	"	"	" "	"	" "	"	"	" "
Ravine Pintade	"	"	" "	"	" "	"	"	" "
St-Martin	"	"	" "	"	" "	"	"	" "
Arcachon	"	"	" "	"	" "	"	"	" "
Mont Horeb	"	"	" "	"	" "	"	"	" "
Frère	"	"	" "	"	" "	"	some	" "
Tête Boeuf	"	"	" "	"	" "	"	none	" "
La Rochelle	"	"	" "	"	" "	"	"	" "

between the provinces and the dépôt area. Such convenient stops are often made free of charge or for a small fee. Motorized access from the dépôts to the markets is cheap if the market is located on a regular route of the <u>taptaps</u> (camionnettes) anywhere on Grand'Rue or the route de Delmas, but may be quite expensive if one has to pay for a taxi or a camionnette de Pétionville. Often the intermediaries use a combination of several means. For example, if a révâdès wants to move a large bag of Thomazeau beans to the 5ème Avenue market she is likely to do it in the following manner: she will buy the beans at a dépôt next to the Eglise St. Joseph and hire a <u>bouèt</u> which will take it to the <u>taptap</u>. The <u>taptap</u> will take her with her beans to the intersection of J.J. Dessalines and 5ème Avenue where a porter will pick it up and carry it to the market. To pay these three fees is less expensive than using a taxi, but a <u>révâdès</u> who is in a hurry might still prefer the latter means since a bag of beans represents a rather large capital investment.

The accessibility of all markets from the dépôt area has been calculated on the assumption that the intermediary will travel alone and use the cheapest motorized means available. Every market has been given a score between 1 (less than 5 US cents per person) and 4 (more than 10 US cents).

Table 7. Mean Score of Accessibility by Types of Markets

Type Market	Mean Score
Central Market Area	1
Secondary Markets	1.7
Neighbourhood Markets	3.7

As shown in Table 7 there is a significant variation among markets in terms of the transport expenses involved in making foodstuffs available for sale. Furthermore, there is a strong correlation between this variation in transport costs and the type of market; secondary markets can be found only at locations with cheap access from the main dépôt area. Even neighbourhood markets can never be found more than a few hundred meters from a major communication artery offering cheap transportation. This explains the surprising "hole" visible on Map 6. There is a very large area of the city devoid of markets. The whole area in the south-eastern districts, roughly between Bolosse, Poste Marchand and Canapé Vert does not have a single market, although it is well populated. The cause for this can be found in a combination of factors, the most important being the high cost of transporting food into this area. Motorized access is possible by taxi only, and much of this area is even outside the 14 cent fare limit (one passenger). Based on some interviews with marketwomen, it appears that much of their profit margin would have to be spent on transportation should they try to sell in the southeastern part of the city. Due to these high transport costs, agricultural products would have to sell at premium prices (for the same or lesser quality produce) in the neighbourhood markets, thus reducing the probability that potential buyers would actually buy there.

5. Characteristics of Port-au-Prince Markets

a. Appearance

Most Port-au-Prince market places give the outsider the impression of confusion, improvisation and lack of planning. Frequently we find no formal market place but just streetcorners and whole streets taken over by marketwomen. Sellers and buyers, tax collectors and beggars, animals, trucks and wheelbarrows are all competing for a little space and it takes considerable skill on all sides to avoid the possible collisions and small catastrophes which can be sufficient to wipe out somebody's daily earnings or even her business altogether.

If the outsider intends to evaluate Haitian markets in terms of what is considered good and indispensable elsewhere, he is going to be disappointed. With few exceptions, there is no separation of wholesale from retail areas, or of domestic marketing from export areas. There is no cleaning, streetsweeping and garbage removal, there is no potable water supply and no supervision of health standards. Most of the marketing is done under the open sky, by marchandes who are protected by little more than their wide-brimmed hats.

There are, however, a few qualifications of this situation which must be made: First, it must be pointed out that seven of the 23 markets do have a roof which protects at least part of the buyers and sellers and their products. Three of them - Vallières, Salomon, Pétionville - even have solid walls. These tin roofs and steel or block walls give an appearance of orderliness and emphasize the fact that at some time in the past, governments have considered market places important parts of city life.

The second qualification has to do with the apparent underlying order of the activities in various major markets. Although the situation appears confusing at first, considerable order can actually be detected -- order which seems functionnally more important than the separation of wholesale and retail areas. For example, many of the products are concentrated in their special area, like perishable vegetables, grains, meat, fish, cloth and odds and ends (kinkay). Small repairs and manufacturing are frequently restricted to the outskirts of a market. Articles which can be sold to tourists are displayed in areas most visual to the passerby. The reason for the concentration seems to lie partly in consumer habits and partly in the system itself. Consumers like to buy where there is a wide selection to choose from. Thus, anyone who wants to sell an article like shoes does well to set himself up in that part of the market where there are already many others doing the same thing. It has been suggested [1/] that another reason for seller concentration by product, in Haiti, is that it offers the seller better opportunities to compare price information. The two reasons are complementary. Products which command stable and relatively high prices (e.g. shoes) can be found concentrated because the buyer wants them to be; products which are subject to rapid and continuous price fluctuations, like most agricultural products, are concentrated because the seller wants them to be. Since human labor and ingenuity are in ample supply, we expect to find in both categories some adventurous sellers who try to break loose from their direct competitors. Every market has, therefore, areas of mixed selling as well as areas of product concentration. The mixing of various articles in one area seems to be most prevalent where the same product can be had in many qualities and/or sizes at various prices, which is essentially true for perishables.

1/ Mintz, 1973 orally.

b. Physical Characteristics

There is a wide variation in size among the Port-au-Prince markets. The smallest market (La Rochelle) covers only 160 square meters while the largest (Croix-des-Bossales) covers almost one hundred times more - some 15 thousand square meters. Table 8 contains the estimated surface and the percentage covered by roof for all markets. As can be noted only some 20% (8946 m^2) of the total surface area is covered.

As one would expect only the larger markets have roofs and only two of these have more than 50% of their surface area covered by a roof. On some of the roofed markets it appears that the roof was originally intended to cover all of the marketing activities (the Marché Salomon is an example) while in other cases only partial roofing seems to have been intended from the beginning (the Carrefour market is an illustration).

Whatever the original intention of the people involved in building roofs and delimiting market places, it is quite obvious that none of the market places can hold all of the present activities, not even on days of minimum activity. In the case of the Carrefour market, the apparent problem is one of basic design: the roofed building was constructed too close to the busy main road, leaving considerable space behind for market activities. However, marketwomen prefer to be as close as possible to the main road

Table 8. Markets by Size and Roofed Surface

23 Markets Ranked by Size	Total Surface Area (m2)	Roofed Surface (m2)	% Total Surface with Roof
Croix-des-Bossales	15 342	-	-
Vallières	6 860	3 600	61 %
Salomon	5 408	2 420	54 %
Pétionville	4 652	1 453	34 %
Carrefour	2 000	460	23 %
Cité Simone	1 540	-	-
Nirvana	1 026	424	41 %
Cité Cadet	975	-	-
Bizoton	916	322	38 %
Bois Thor	734	-	-
St-Martin	706	267	41 %
5ème Avenue	650	-	-
Poste Marchand	581	-	-
Ravine Pintade	576	-	-
Marinette	560	-	-
Fort St-Clair	458	-	-
Trou Sable	444	-	-
Crepsac	368	-	-
Mont Horeb	362	-	-
Frère	231	-	-
Arcachon	224	-	-
Tête Boeuf	174	-	-
La Rochelle	160	-	-
Total Surface	45 331 m^2	8 946 m^2	20 %

Note: The surface area includes the market place and the street extensions. The surface of a one-sided street extension has been calculated by multiplying the length of street occupied by marchandes (in meters) by two meters, the average of depth used by a marchande for herself, her helpers and the layout of her products.

(potential consumers), so they occupy the ditches and street border in front of the market place, leaving large areas behind the building vacant. In all other cases the market activities have simply outgrown the existing limits. Not counting the street marketing between the Vallières and Croix-des-Bossales markets, almost one third of the marchandes sell on streets rather than market places. Counting the whole city, there are actually more marketwomen selling on the streets than on designated market places (disregarding the thousands of ambulant marchandes).

6. The Main Activities in Markets

It has already been pointed out that there is an enormous number of different activities going on at any one time in any major market. These activities can roughly be classified in six categories: transportation, storage, manufacturing, processing, selling and buying. These categories, although seemingly mutually exclusive, are in practice not always easy to apply. Many specific activities fall into several of these categories and most people in the market are involved in several activities at the same time. Nevertheless it may be useful to give a quick outline of some of the main activities as ordered around the above categories since it can illuminate the multiplicity of functions performed by the market people.

Transportation is the category in which we find most specialization. Transportation to and between the urban markets and between dépôt and market is most regularly done by specialists. The chauffeurs (_choffè_) of the trucks, pick ups and taxis are professionnals. The porters and the _mèt bouèt_ may be part-time workers. They all have in common that they perform their service for a fee and have no claim on the produce.

Storage of produce normally is done in dépôts. Storage dépôts (wholesale) are characteristically not located in markets, with two exceptions: the marketing area of Croix-des-Bossales partly overlaps with the city's main dépôt area, and the Pétionville market has neat little concrete structures which form part of the outer walls of the market and provide some space for short-time storage. Storage of produce being retailed in the markets is the responsibility of the retailers. This type of storage may be done under the tables used for product presentation or under guarded plastic sheets or in small rented compartments near the market place.

Manufacturing is uncommon in small markets but regularly present in the larger ones. The product manufactured in the Croix-des-Bossales market, for example, include just about everything the poor, lower class population will ever need to buy - from shoes and beds to pots and pans - with the exception of baskets, straw chairs and mats, which are brought in from the countryside.

Processing of products may or may not be done in markets. Whatever is practical for the marketwomen to do during her waiting periods between sales can be observed. Such activities as the shelling of nuts and the sorting out of beans were the most frequent processing activities observed.

Selling and Buying activities have been well described by both Mintz (9) and Murray (11). For our purposes here it may be sufficient to remember that wholesale and retail are sometimes going on at the same time and that our neat distinction between the two frequently tends to obscure the fact that there is not really a dichotomy but rather a continuum in both quantities and prices. It is possible for the same product to change hands many times at various intermediate levels between the original bulk wholesale at the dêpôt and the final small quantity retailed to the consumer.

In addition to the activities mentioned there are others which may be less visible but are certainly no less important. Buying and storage often involve assembling functions while transportation and selling frequently require bulkbreaking activities (11). Both buying and selling may involve elaborate credit arrangements which then, in turn, may involve inforcement of the credit terms or prosecution of those who break arrangements.

The present study does not provide any new information about the various activities of the marchandes. What it does provide, however, is some original quantitative information about markets. In this context it is important to always bear in mind that any one of the persons reported on may be carrying out several activities simultaneously. A proper understanding of the quantitative information is only achieved if what the reader sees in the numbers is not the thousands of women displaying marchandise, but rather their participation in an amazingly complex web of interactions and activities.

Functional specialization is prevalent within certain categories of activities, but is not general. Neither is the distribution of the sexes an absolute one. Transportation with motor vehicles is a male activity, but porters are sometimes female. Selling of vegetables is regularly done by females, but males have been observed on rare occasions. Manufacturing is usually done by males, but there are some articles which are often produced by females, e.g., paper bags. Any generalization about sex roles would have to be very specific as to the particular products or circumstances in order to hold up. Bearing this in mind the generalizations of Table 9 may help to put into perspective the sex role distribution on markets.

7. The Multitude of Market Women

It is not possible at this time to present some kind of precise indicator of the overall economic importance of markets. There is one

Table 9. Sex Role Specialization in Markets

Functions	Sex of Participant			
	Male	Predominantly Male	Predominantly Female	Female
Transportation				
by motor vehicle	x			
by wheelbarrow	x			
by porter		x		
on own head			x	
Storage				
in dépôt		x		
in market			x	
at home				x
Manufacture				
of metal objects	x			
of furniture	x			
of shoes	x			
of clothing		x		
og bags, paper and canvass			x	
Processing				
of agricultural produce			x	
of meat	x			
of charcoal			x	
Selling				
of agricultural produce				x
of meat (wholesale)		x		
of meat (retail)			x	
of imported goods			x	
Buying				
of foodstuffs (for resale)				x
" " " (for consumption)			x	
of all other products			x	
Administration and Police				
in small markets	x			
in large markets	x			

measure, however, which comes close to being such an indicator: the number of intermediaries operating in the market place.

Table 10 shows the number of marketwomen in 23 markets (8 453) and their street extensions (2 830) during one wednesday (July 11, 1973). This total of 11 283 marketwomen does not include the machâd ambulant nor does it include between 4 000 and 6 000 marketwomen operating in the streets between Marché Vallières and Croix-des-Bossales (see section D-9).

There is such an abundance of intermediaries ready to fill any promising slot in the market system that the presence of marketwomen in any geographical location in the city will indicate quite well the demand in that area. If the demand raises significantly in one market we can expect the number of marketwomen to adjust by the following morning, at the latest. This is not to say that all marketwomen are equally skillful or sell equal amounts of produce: the opposite seems to be true. Rather we tend to think that the presence of almost perfect competition among the marketwomen will tend to equalize prices and profits throughout the city, once the differences in accessibility are accounted for.

Proof of the capacity of the system to adjust itself quickly in response to fluctuations in consumer demand is given by the fact that prices do not tend to rise on weekends (as demand increases) for most

Table 10. The Number of Marketwomen in 23 Markets and their Street Extensions 1/
(Wednesday count)

Market	Market Place	Street Extensions	Total
Croix-des-Bossales	5 099	614	5 713
Vallières	747	285	1 032
Salomon	650	210	860
Nirvana	471	223	694
5ème Avenue	-	516	516
Pétionville	263	89	352
Cité Simone	276	-	276
Fort St-Clair	239	9	248
Carrefour	196	-	196
Marinette	-	157	157
Poste Marchand	-	140	140
Cité Cadet	131	-	131
Trou Sable	34	92	126
Bois Thor	99	23	122
Crepsac	-	120	120
Bizoton	99	20	119
Ravine Pintade	42	59	101
St-Martin	73	20	93
Arcachon	-	79	79
Mont Horeb	-	78	78
Frère	34	12	46
Tête Boeuf	-	44	44
La Rochelle	-	40	40
Total	8 453	2 830	11 283

1/ Marketwomen include persons selling non-agricultural produce. Only in the case of Marché Vallières is the percentage of market women selling non-agricultural products very high (68%). The average in the 23 markets for mar - chands selling non-agricultural produce is 32%. See Annex 3 for details as agricultural produce [1] What happens is rather that the anticipated higher demand mobilizes thousands of part-time marchandes and draws them to the dépôts and markets where they start retailing along with the full-time marketwomen. Adjustments are also made by the travelling intermediaries, the madam sara, who tend to plan their trips to the provinces in such a way that they arrive in the city on Friday or Saturday. Thus, on weekends, there tends to be an increase in the supply of agricultural produce as well as the sellers of that produce. Table 11 documents the increase in the numbers of marketwomen in eleven of the city's markets. [2]

1/ If supply does not increase on weekends the prices will augment. For example, since the supply of fish does not significantly increase on weekends the price almost doubles as a result of increased demand. Also see Murray-Alvarez (2) for a discussion of the variation in the prices of beans.

2/ A fifty percent sample of the secondary and neighbourhood markets shown in Table 10, considered representative of all market types and city zones.

Table 11. Fluctuations in the Number of Marketwomen in Eleven Markets

Market	Number of Marketwomen		% increase
	Wednesday	Saturday	over Wednesday
St. Martin	93	169	82 %
Tête Boeuf	44	70	59
Pétionville	352	552	57
Poste Marchand	140	214	53
Vallières	1 032	1 346	30
Mt. Horeb	78	93	19
Nirvana	694	776	12
Bois Thor	122	135	11
Carrefour	196	205	5
Cité Cadet	131	134	2
Fort St-Clair	248	216	-13
Total	3 130	3 910	25

According to this data there is an average increase in the number of marketwomen in the 11 market places on Saturday of 25% of that observed on Wednesday. There is a significant variation between markets (82% increase in St-Martin vs -13% in Fort St-Clair), however this sample is felt to be representative of all markets. Projected to the 23 markets shown in Table 10 the overall increase of marketwomen between Wednesday and Saturday is on the order of 2840, thus making the number of marketwomen active in the 23 markets on

Saturday surpass 14,000. And this does not include the 4 000 - 6 000 marketwomen active in the streets between the markets Vallières and Croix-des-Bossales (see Section D-9) .

The increase in market activity on Saturdays has two visible consequences on the market places : First, more marketwomen mean less space in the markets per marketwoman (higher density) and secondly, the markets tend to overflow into the neighbouring streets (street extensions). We shall deal with the question of density first and the street extensions later.

Most of the Port-au-Prince market places, at first view, seem crammed to capacity on any day of the week. There are, however, important differences among them which this study tries to articulate by calculating a density coefficient for every market. This density coefficient is the result of dividing the total surface of a market (including the extensions at a depth of two meters) by the number of marketwomen active there. It is thus the average space occupied by a marketwoman (mw) expressed in square meters. The less space an average marketwoman has to do business on, the lower the coefficient and thus the higher the density in that market. The density coefficients for the 23 markets are presented in Table 12.

The variation in density goes from a very highly dense $1.3m^2/mw$ to a very comfortable $13.2m^2/mw$ - the two figures being the coefficients for the 5ème Avenue and Pétionville markets respectively (both measured on low day, a Wednesday). The high density figure, although seemingly

Table 12. The Density of Marketwomen in 23 Markets and their Street Extensions

Overall Density	Market	Density Coefficient m2/mw	
		Wednesday	Saturday
High Density	5ème Avenue	1.3	
	Fort St-Clair	1.8	2.1
	Nirvana	2.0	1.8
	Croix-des-Bossales	2.7	
	Arcachon	2.8	
	Crepsac	3.1	
	Trou Sable	3.5	
	Marinette	3.6	
	Tête Boeuf	4.0	2.5
	La Rochelle	4.0	
	Frère	4.1	
	Poste Marchand	4.2	2.7
Low Density	Mont Horeb	5.0	3.9
	Cité Simone	5.6	
	Ravine Pintade	5.7	
	Bois Thor	6.0	5.4
	Salomon	6.3	
	Vallières	6.6	5.1
	Cité Cadet	7.4	7.3
	St-Martin	7.6	4.2
	Bizoton	7.7	
	Carrefour	10.2	9.8
	Pétionville	13.2	8.4

extreme, is not at all untypical: the markets of Fort St-Clair, Nirvana and Croix-des-Bossales all rank between 1.8 and 2.7 m^2/mw. In half of all the markets the average marchande has less than 4.2 m^2 to sit on and spread out all of her merchandise. The low density, however, need an explanation since they are very atypical.

The Carrefour market had a density coefficient of 10.2 on Wednesday and 9.8 on Saturday. The reason for this becomes evident upon inspection. Unlike most other markets the layout is the result of planning and the planning was generous although not necessarily well thought out. The problem seems to be one of poor distribution of available space with the result that large areas are not used, thus inflating the density coefficient. There may be seasonal fluctuations which might at some points in time justify a large market place on the edge of Carrefour. At the time of our counts, however, the place was only partially occupied. The actual market was of medium size and medium density, occupying only part of the large market place.

Pétionville has the highest of all coefficients, 13.2 m^2/mw on Wednesday, a day with extremely little business. But even on Saturday, with very much business going on, the average marketwoman still had some 8.4 m^2 to operate on. This is quite obviously the result of planning. The tables in the market are spaced wide apart, and inside the main building the marketwomen are not allowed to sell unless they have rented space on one of the concrete tables. This, together with the availability of running water and the regular cleaning by hired personnel, gives the market an orderly appearance

Two other markets have a density level which is artificially held low thru government control of available space : Marché Salomon has a density coefficient of 6.3 m^2/mw and Marché Vallières one of 6.6 m^2/mw, both measured on Wednesday. For the latter, the count was redone on Saturday and produced a coefficient of 5.1 m^2/mw.

8. Marketwomen in the Streets

One must be careful not to underestimate the importance of the mar - ketwomen operating in the streets. Of these street marketwomen there are basically three types : those operating as regular marchands in the 8 street markets included in this study 1/; those operating as marchands in the street extensions of regular market places, and the ambulant marchand that sells her produce in the street,or the market, or wherever she can find a buyer, while avoiding the tax collectors.

The total number of marketwomen operating in the streets (excluding ambulant marchandes which were not quantified) are shown in Table 13.

1/ Marinette, 5ème Avenue, Poste Marchand, Crepsac, Arcachon, Mont Horeb, Tête Boeuf and La Rochelle.

Table 13. Marketwomen Operating in the Street in 23 Markets

Category	Market	% of all Marketwomen	Number of Marketwomen	
Markets without marketwomen in the streets	Cité Simone	0	0	
	Carrefour	0	0	
	Cité Cadet	0	0	
Street Markets	5ème Avenue	100	516	
	Marinette	100	157	
	Poste Marchand	100	140	
	Crepsac	100	120	
	Arcachon	100	79	
	Mont Horeb	100	78	
	Tête Boeuf	100	44	
	La Rochelle	100	40	1 174
Markets with Street Extensions	Fort St-Clair	4	10	
	Croix-des-Bossales	11	628	
	Vallières	28	289	
	Salomon	24	206	
	Nirvana	32	222	
	Pétionville	25	88	
	Bois Thor	19	23	
	Bizoton	17	20	
	St-Martin	22	21	
	Frère	26	12	
	Trou Sable	73	92	
	Ravine Pintade	58	59	1 670
Total Marketwomen Operating in the Street in 23 Markets				2 844

As can be noted, only three of the 23 markets have not as yet expanded into neighbouring streets. The reason for this is simple one of location. These markets are located on the outskirts of Port-au-Prince (Cité Simone and Carrefour) or elsewhere where the available space exceeds demand for market space.

At the opposite extreme we have the 8 street markets which have sprouted up in their particular locations because the demand for market space has exceeded the demand for alternative uses for this space. A case in point is the market of 5ème Avenue which is located where there really seems to be no room for a market. It is squeezed into the streets because all open space has been used for housing. The neighbourhood (Sous Dalles - 5ème Avenue- Bolosse) has become one of the city's major stopping points for newly arrived immigrants from the southern peninsula. Room or no room, a very busy market place has developed.

The remaining 12 markets have street extensions. Of the total number of marketwomen, the percentage operating in the streets varies from a low 4% in Fort St-Clair to a very high 73% in Trou Sable. The average for these markets is 18 percent.

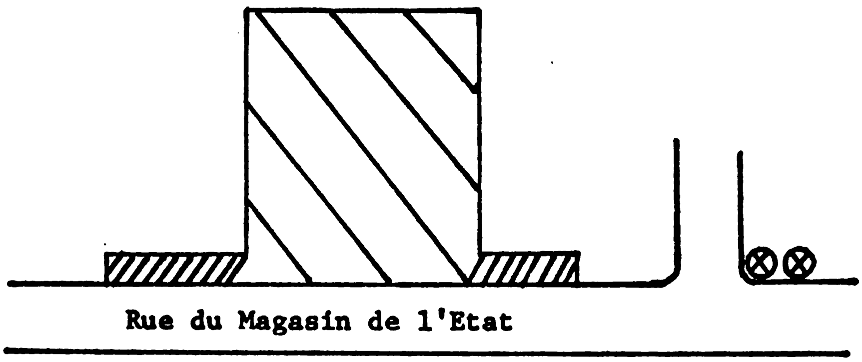
The total number of marketwomen operating in street markets or street extensions in the 23 markets totals 2 844, or 25% of the 11 283 marketwomen counted in this study.

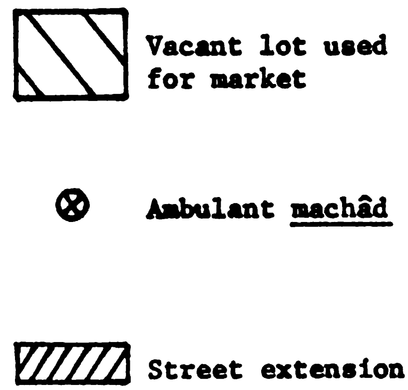
Maps 7, 8 and 9 show three typical market situations with various degrees of marketwomen activity in the street. Map 7 shows Marché Fort St-Clair which is pretty well contained in the market square with only 4% of its 248 marketwomen set up in the streets. Ravine Pintade (Map 8) presents an intermediate case with some 58% of its 101 marketwomen operating in the street. The Marché 5ème Avenue (Map 9) is strictly a street market. The marketwomen have created a fait accompli of a market on the streets and have expanded it in response to the population growth of the area.

In comparing Table 11 with Table 13 one can notice that the three markets with the smallest increase in the numbers of marketwomen between Wednesday and Saturday are the same markets with the lowest percentage of street extensions (Fort St-Clair) or no street extensions (Carrefour and Cité Cadet).

If we compare the Wednesday-Saturday fluctuations in number of marketwomen between main markets and their extensions (Table 14) we see that the percentage increase in the market extensions is double (46%) that of the percentage increase in the market-square (24%) at Vallières and 11 times higher (290%) in St-Martin.

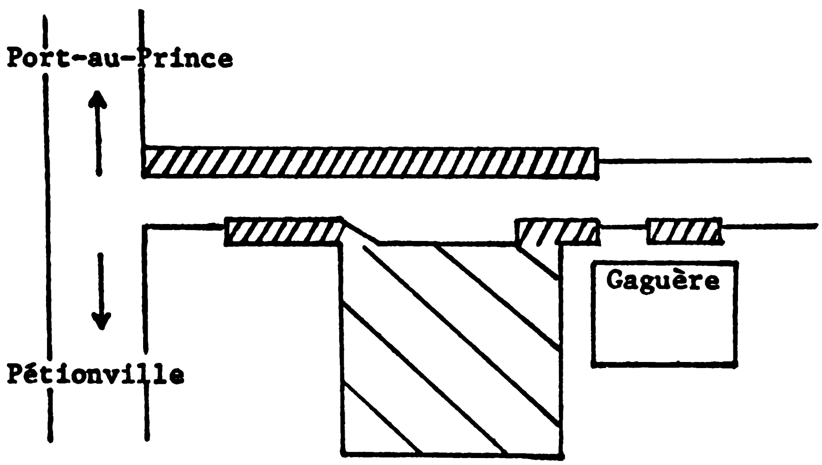
Map 7. The Marché Fort St-Clair





Note: We consider as street extensions of markets the presence of marketwomen selling their products on streets next to a market. An extension has its limits where a dis - tance of more than ten meters separates the last marketwoman in the street extension from the next marketwoman. Ambulant machâd on and next to street extensions were not included in this survey.

Map 8. The Marché Ravine Pintade



Map 9. The Marché 5ème Avenue

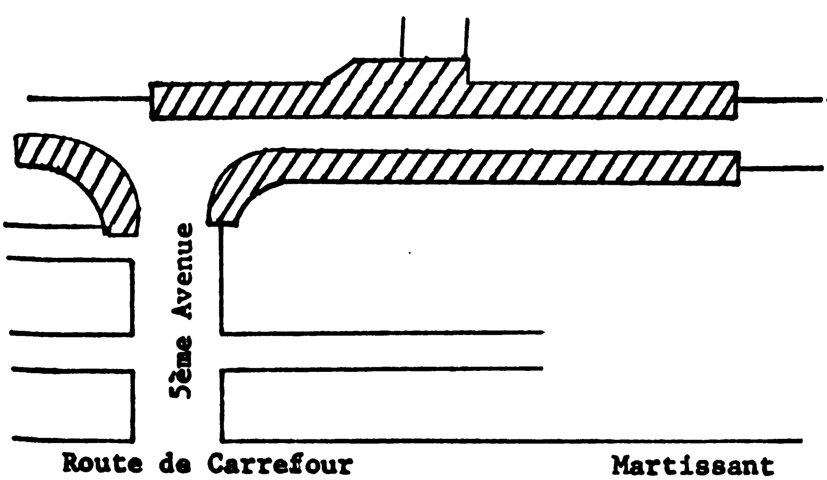


Table 14. Comparison of Fluctuations in Numbers of Marketwomen between the Market Square and their Street Extensions of Two Markets

Market	Number of Marketwomen		Percent
	Wednesday	Saturday	Increase
Vallières :			
market square	747	929	24
extensions	285	417	46
St-Martin:			
market square	73	91	25
extensions	20	78	290

What all of this data seems to say is that when markets are well planned, or at least well located, the available space will be used first and then market activities will spill into the streets and use the space necessary to meet the demands for the interchange of goods. When market places are poorly planned (poorly located) the facilities will not be used to the maximum (people will not travel there just to use the building or space). When no market places exist in areas, where there exists a demand for such services, markets will spring up by themselves. Due to the importance of accessibility, these spontaneous conglomerations of buyers and sellers will usually develop in city streets.

Markets are not defined by open spaces nor by four walls and a roof. As Port-au-Prince continues to grow, street markets and street extensions will grow in importance (in terms of surface area and number of marketwomen) thus making control of quality of produce, standardization, sanitation and taxation that much more difficult.

9. The Downtown Market Area

The largest market of Port-au-Prince has not thus far been presented on any map nor discussed in this report. It does not fit the common definition of a market and has received little, if any, attention in government publications. The area of reference is that street market area between, roughly, the Croix-des-Bossales and Vallières markets.

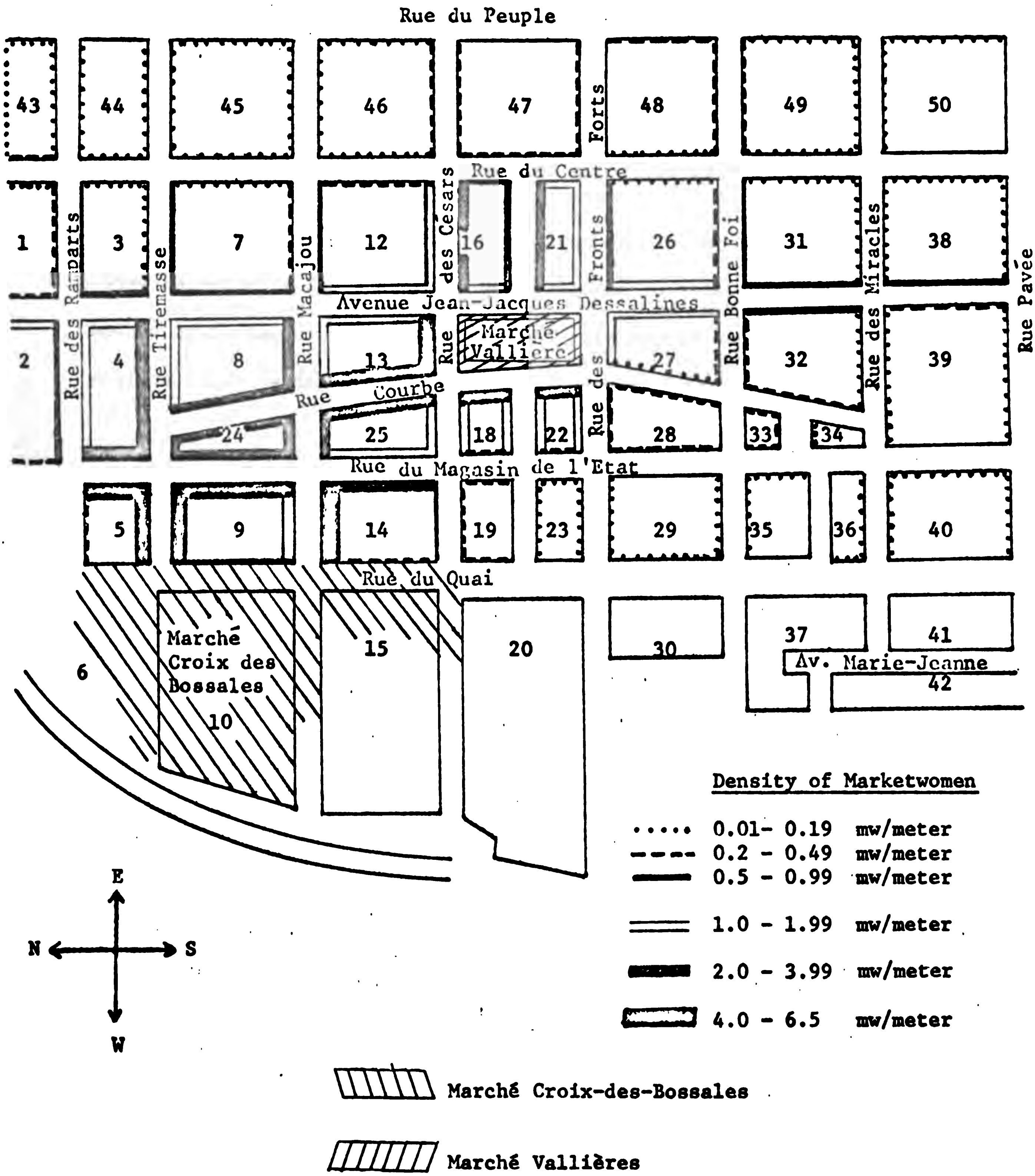
We treat this market area as a separate entity for purely practical reasons. To consider it a market like the other 23 markets is impossible; it has no clear limits and it borders on two markets. Rather than a market we could consider it a gigantic street-extension of the two largest markets. However, this would not do it justice either, because of an important difference: on street extensions, marketwomen occupy streets because there is not sufficient room for them on market squares. This is not true for a large part of the downtown market area. Its special quality is that it overlaps with the dépôt area. The marketwomen are there because they want to remain close to the dépôts. Many of them refuse to sell anywhere but right in front of the dépôt which they patronize.

Yet a comparison of maps 2 and 10 shows that the overlap of dépôts and marketwomen in the streets is by no means perfect. We find strong concentrations of marketwomen much farther south and east than we find dépôts. They are set up along the Avenue J.J. Dessalines as well as along the Rue des Fronts Forts and Rue Traversière, even as far as the Rue Bonne Foi. In other words, we find marketwomen throughout the main commercial district of downtown Port-au-Prince.

There are, thus, at least three different kinds of marketwomen operating in this downtown market area :

- First, those who form the overflow of the two largest markets. For them, the area is a network of street extensions.
- Secondly, there are the women who work in close vicinity of and continuous exchange with the dépôts.
- Finally, there are those who cater to the clients of the central commercial district. Among them we find many who de facto operate as saleswomen for area stores, extending the reach of the store owners far into the streets. They receive their stock of, say, textiles or pans or brushes on credit from the store owner. In the evening they return unsold stock and money to the owner. Very few of this type, which represent a high percentage of the total, sell agricultural produce.

Map 10. Density of Marketwomen in the Downtown Market Area



In addition to the marketwomen there are many kinds of craftsmen and repairmen who set up their tables, chairs, sewing machines, display cabinets and racks, etc., at regular locations each day. There are many others who prefer to stay mobile, walking around trying to sell their products and skills. Like many marketwomen, the craftsmen often congregate according to their specialties.

This area is one of the most impressive of all markets. Not counting the thousands of ambulant machâd, some 4 212 marketwomen were identified one Wednesday. Thus, in numbers, this market is second only to the Croix-des-Bossales market. Map 10 shows the distribution of the marketwomen over the area.

The density figures of map 10 have been calculated in "marketwomen per meter" 1/. Where there are more than one marketwoman per meter we can assume them to stand or sit in several rows. We have found, on some streets, up to five rows of sellers on each side, clogging them to the extent that passage of motor vehicles seems impossible.

The increase of consumer demand on Saturday lets the numbers of marketwomen in the area swell to incredible proportions. For the whole area, we counted 6 605 marketwomen on Saturday - an increase of 57 percent over Wednesday. The two blocks of Rue Courbe between Marché Vallières and Rue Tiremasse alone increased from 523 to 1 204

1/ as opposed to m2/mw used in calculating density coefficients.

(by 130 percent). For the 23 markets together we earlier estimated an increase of some 2 700 marketwomen on Saturday; the downtown market area alone has an increase of almost 2 400. If we combine the total number of marketwomen from the 23 markets with the totals for the downtown market area we arrive at a Grand Total of 15 495 on Wednesday and 20 666 on Saturday.

If we look at the whole of marketing in the center of Port-au-Prince (including Vallières, Croix-des-Bossales and the Downtown Market area), we arrive at an estimated 10 957 marketwomen on Wednesday and 15 092 on Saturday, or an increase of 4 135 (38%) over Wednesday. It becomes evident, then, that this area is affected to a much larger extent by weekly market fluctuations than the other 21 city markets. It is here that several of the structural parts of the market system overlap geographically; and it is here that changes in this system are felt most.

The implications of this for the future development of the market system seem clearly recognizable. The city will keep growing and downtown marketing will spill over into even more streets. The area seems inevitably bound for asphyxiation, unless some forceful intervention stops this process. Those involved in the modernization of the market system will probably have to consider geographical or functional decentralization of the system as a task of high priority. One of the determining factors for the success of such intervention might very well be whether the intermediaries will find voluntary cooperation in it profitable.

10. Observations on Port-au-Prince Markets

This last section will present some observations which can be drawn from the materials presented in this paper. It will also raise some questions about the differential importance of markets to neighborhoods of various socio-economic standings.

Generally speaking, the larger markets in terms of overall activity, occupy more space, have larger squares and more street extensions and are more likely to have partial roofed areas. They also tend to be located slightly closer to the main dépôt area in terms of both distance and accessibility. In addition, they tend to have a higher density of marketwomen, allowing less space to the individual machâd than the smaller markets, except in those cases (Vallières, Salomon, Pétionville) where Government controls have been successful in holding the density down.

Whether the marketwomen sell their marchandise on a clearly delimited market-square or on the streets is irrelevant. There is no reason to differentiate between street markets and market square. Street markets and street extensions are created in response to consumer demand, even if that demand exists only for a very short period of time. It is possible to find a full-fledged neighborhood market with close to a hundred machâd on Saturday on a street where nobody would suspect a market for the rest of the week.

The irrelevance of the distinction between marketing which takes place in a market place and marketing which takes place on the streets is consistent with an organismic view of the market system. Like an organism adapting to changes in its environmental conditions, the system will change, expand and retract in response to changes in population density, economic growth, season, agricultural production, government controls, etc.. The availability of abundant cheap labor and the existence of almost perfect competition among the intermediaries have the effect that these changes in the system usually come about very fast, reflecting even minor alterations in the variables mentioned. Comparison of prices received by the producer with those paid by the consumer will probably show that the system is even quite efficient in holding prices down. It works to the advantage of the consumer and yet, at the same time, gives employment to huge numbers of otherwise unemployed or unemployable people.

Frequent allusions to the adaptive ingenuity of the present internal market system in no way indicates a belief that the system ought to stay as it is, or that it could not be improved. It merely means that the system has demonstrated its ability to "take care of itself" and that it will probably continue to adapt to demographic growth. New neighborhood markets will be formed the way Ravine Pintade and Mont Horeb were formed - without outside planning. The market on 5ème Ave. will certainly become a secondary market, and Croix-des-Bossales will no doubt expand further. (There is ample space for thousands more machâd on its western border). However, without adequate Government planning and expenditures, storage, transportation, standardization of produce, sanitation, etc.. will continue to be inadequate or non-existant and will undoubtedly worsen with increased population growth.

Most of the products sold in the markets end up with the mass of lower class consumers. While government initiative has in the past improved some of the market places, it has not changed at all - but rather reinforced - the way in which the Port-au-Prince markets express the social status of their clients. The markets frequented by the lower class remain crowded and ill-equipped. Most of the improved markets cater to middle and upper class consumers. Table 15 shows this, using the examples of the markets of Cité Simone (lower class), Cité Cadet (middle class) and Pétionville (upper class).

Table 15. The Density of Three Markets and the Social Status of Their Neighborhoods

Markets	Neighborhood Status	Density Coefficient
Cité Simone	lower class	5.6 m^2/mw
Cité Cadet	middle class	7.4 m^2/mw
Pétionville	upper class	16.2 m^2/mw

Pétionville has the luxury of ample space and adequate furnishings in at least partof its market while the Cité Simone is crammed and has no furnishings at all. Does this mean that the market is that much more important to the economic life of Pétionville and the provision of its population with foodstuffs? The opposite is true, as can be seen in Table 16 :

Table 16. Market Size and Neighborhood Size in Three Areas

Neighborhood	*Machâd* in all markets	Inhabitants	Inhabitants per *machâd*
Cité Simone	276	6 000	21.4
Cité Cadet	131	6 214	47
Pétionville	398	35 257	89

The higher the status of a neighborhood, the fewer marketwomen it supports. IN Pétionville, it takes more than four times the population to support one *machâd* than in Cité Simone, despite the fact that the average inhabitant spends much more money on food. The higher the status of a neighborhood, the better equipped and the less crowded are its markets and, paradoxically, the less important are the markets to the neighborhood. We see the markets, thus, as an integrated part and a legitimate expression of their social surrounding, adapting both to the purchasing power and to the buying habits of their environment.

The wealthier population can afford to buy at the supermarket and to send servants shopping to the city. It needs the neighborhood market much less than the poorer population does. But there is at least one more way to explain the paradox: the flexibility of the machâd. The way to sell in a wealthy neighborhood is not to sit and wait for the customers to come, but rather to go after them. So it happens that a Pétionville resident is visited by sellers at his home several times every day, while the customer in poor areas has to do much of the walking himself. Both will end up buying at close to the lowest possible price. And both will keep supporting a system which seems premodern and irrational at first, yet keeps functionning efficiently in its own ways and logic - a mirror of the people whom it feeds.

POSTCRIPT

The preceeding report was originally intended to be three separate reports - Transport, Dépôts, and Markets - and were actually prepared separately. Due to their complementary nature, however, they were combined into one report on the Port-au-Prince internal marketing system. Presented in this form one can draw several conclusions valuable for developmental purposes of the municipality of Port-au-Prince. Some of these conclusions with corresponding recommendations are presented below.

1. The larger the trucks the fewer the passengers. This is because the larger trucks are specialized, hauling full loads of vetiver, sisal, cotton, etc.. These trucks often cross the city tying up traffic.

2. Most of the larger trucks coming into Port-au-Prince from the interior move slowly through the city making several stops along the way, with their final destination being the TEXACO station near Croix-des-Bossales. These trucks slow down the city traffic, particularly between Carrefour and Port-au-Prince.

3. Most of the agricultural produce arriving in Port-au-Prince by truck, for consumption purposes, is distributed or stored in that area identified on Map 2 by block numbers 24, 9, 5, 4, and 8. This area provides storage, bulk breaking and transformation functions.

4. Dépôts are not necessarily located near secondary nor neighborhood markets.

5. Dépôts seem to be focal points for marketwomen, offering them sleeping facilities and social contact in addition to storage facilities and economic exchange.

6. Additional study of the central dépôt area is required to determine certain efficiencies of these dépôts and estimate losses of produce (particularly corn and flour) stored. It is also necessary to understand the significance of the location of these dépôts and their dependance upon the Croix-des-Bossales market and the wharf.

7. Interest rates on loans to intermediaries are very high. Attempts should be made to identify the different sources of credit and quantify the rates of interest.

8. Additional study is necessary on the mèt dépo and their pratik relationships.

9. Markets are located next to roads or in areas with easy, low-cost access. Areas without low-cost access have no markets. Since the marketing margins are so thin, high transport costs will preclude the growth of a spontaneous market and will prevent the success of a planned market in these areas.

10. A successful secondary market will require a neighborhood population on the order of 25 000.

11. Dépôts are an expression of the marketwomen's needs, markets are an ex -

pression of their social surroundings (to a certain degree); both aspects must be taken into consideration for the planned development of Port-au-Prince.

12. Market planning in the past has not optimized the use of available space.

13. Unchecked growth of the "downtown" market area will result in making a very serious condition worse.

14. The need exists for considering a decentralized central market area.

15. Given the existing marketing conditions the internal marketing system allocates its ressources in the best manner possible. However, these resources are insufficient to improve the quality of the produce or to handle greater quantities more efficiently. Any expansion in production will likely see an increase in marketing activities along with the negative aspects that this increased activity implies (higher marketwomen density accompanied by congested traffic, poorer sanitation and health conditions, etc..).

16. An internal marketing system for agricultural produce does exist. This system has been developing over the past 200 years. Attempts to change the system will be futile. Practical attempts to improve the system can be successful.

LITERATURE CITED

1. BARTKOWIAK, C.S. Rapport au Gouvernement de la République d'Haiti sur la commercialisation des produits agricoles et l'artisanat en Haiti et l'établissement d'un centre d'études de commercialisation. Port-au-Prince, Programme des Nations Unies pour le Développement, 1967. 40 p.

2. HAITI, INSTITUT HAITIEN de Statistiques. Résultats Préliminaires du recensement général de la population, du logement et de l'agriculture. Port-au-Prince, IHS, 1973. 50 p.

3. LEGERMAN, C.S. Kin groups in haitian market. Man 62(233): 145-149. 1962

4. MINTZ, S.W. The role of the middleman in the internal distribution system of a caribbean peasant economy. Human Organization 15(2):18-23. 1956.

5. ________ Internal market systems as mechanisms of social articulation. In: Ray, V.F. (Ed) Intermediate societies, social mobility and communication. Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society, Proceedings. Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1959. 20-28 pp.

6. ________ A tentative typology of eight haitian market places. Revista de Ciencias Sociales (Porto Rico) 4(1):15-58. 1960.

7. ________ Standards of value and units of measure in the Fond-des-Nègres market place, Haiti. Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute 91(1):23-38. 1961.

8. ________ Pratik: haitian personal economic relationship. In: American Ethnological Society, Annual Spring Meeting, Proceeding, 1961. 54-63 pp.

9. ________ The employment of capital by market women in Haiti. In: Firth, R. and Yamey, B.S. (Eds) Capital, saving and credit in peasant societies. Chicago, Aldine, 1964. 256-286 pp.

10. ________ Men, women and trade. Comparative Studies in Societies and History (U.K.) 13 (3):247-267. 1971.

11. MURRAY, G.F. and ALVAREZ M.D. The marketing of beans in Haiti: an exploratory study. Port-au-Prince, Institut Interaméricain des Sciences Agricoles, 1973. 58 p.

12. ORGANISATION DES ETATS AMERICAINS. Haiti, integrated technical assistance mission. Washington, OEA, 1972. (3 vol).

A N N E X E S

ANNEX I

Questionnaire for Interviews with Truck Drivers

Name of Truck: .... Color: .... Licence Plate: ....

Dimension of truck: 1 camionnette
2 small truck
3 normal-sized truck
4 large truck

Farthest destination : ....

---

1. Who does this truck belong to ?
   1 to the driver — How many more trucks do you own? ...... more
   2 to somebody else — How many more trucks does he own? ..... more
2. How many people can this truck carry? .... people
3. How often do you travel (both ways) when the weather is good?
   .... times every week
4. And when the weather is bad? .... times per week
   .... times per month
5. How many days do you spend in Port-au-Prince before you return where you came from ? .... days
6. And when you arrive there - how many days do you spend there before coming back to Port-au-Prince? .... days
7. How many people travelled with you on your last trip which you have just made? .... people
8. About how many madam sara were among these people? .... madam sara
9. What products did the madam sara bring? ....
10. What other things did you carry on your truck? ....
11. Could you tell me every stop you made to unload your truck when you ar - rived in Port-au-Prince ? ....

location	what did you unload?
....	....
....	....

12. At which dépôts do you unload most often here in the city?

dépôt	what do you unload there?
....	....

13. Among all the dépôts you just mentioned: which one is it where you un- load most? ....
14. (INTERVIEWER: NOTE ALL STOPS ON THE MAP ON THE BACK OF THIS QUESTIONNAIRE).

ANNEX II

Questionnaire for Observation of Markets

Name of the Market : ....

Location : ....

Total Surface

a) market place: length .... .m; width ....m; surface ....m^2

b) street extensions

	machâd on both sides		machâd on one side only	
1.	......m	.....machâd	......m	......machâd
2.	......m	.....machâd	......m	......machâd
3.	......m	.....machâd	......m	......machâd
4.	......m	.....machâd	......m	......machâd
5.	......m	.....machâd	,.....m	......machâd
6.	......m	.....machâd	......m	......machâd
7.	......m	.....machâd	......m	......machâd
Total	......m	.....machâd	......m	......machâd

Overall length of all one-sided street extensions : ....m

Roofed Surface

length ....m; width ....m; surface ....m^2

Marketwomen (on market place; without street extensions)

with tables : .... Sitting, without tables : ....

Ambulant : .... Total of marketwomen: ....

Special commodities

1. .... 3. ....

2. .... 4. ....

Other observations

(draw map of market and street extensions on the back)

ANNEX III

Classification of Marketwomen by Product Sold

Throughout Section D, when reference is made to marketwomen the term is used in its broadest sense, including those selling agricultural produce and non-agricultural produce as well as those seated and ambulant. In order to clarify this generalization eight observers (including 5 who participated in the original market study) were mobilized to revisit the 23 markets included in this study and count the marketwomen selling agricultural and non-agricultural products, differentiating between those who were seated and those who were ambulant. This study was undertaken on March 6 (Wednesday) and March 7, 1974.

The results of this investigation are reported in the following three tables.

Table 1. Number of Marchandes Selling Agricultural and Non-Agricultural Products in 23 Markets, by Product Sold

Markets	Type of Products Sold							Total
	Essentially Agricultural	Forest Products	Meat	Sea Food	Ambulant machâd with agr. products	Non-Agricultural Products		
						Ambulant	Seated	
Trou Sable	60	10	3	0	0	3	25	101
Ravine Pintade	158	6	6	2	2	10	53	237
Vallières	456	0	24	0	13	159	881	1 533
Nirvana	343	68	34	0	3	18	69	535
Fort St-Clair	147	17	16	5	0	2	21	208
Salomon	787	0	22	28	7	80	238	1 162
Croix-des-Bossales	3 753	219	219	146	22	404	1 820	6 583
Cité Simone	184	44	12	10	0	0	55	305
Tête Boeuf	40	12	0	0	0	2	6	60
Marinette	133	26	12	2	3	11	55	242
St-Martin	179	20	17	4	0	17	27	264
Cité Cadet	154	26	12	2	0	2	37	233
Poste Marchand	256	41	27	6	2	18	87	437
5ème Avenue	244	3	39	9	0	8	26	329
Crepsac	63	6	5	0	0	0	11	85
Mont Horeb	61	18	0	0	0	3	5	87
La Rochelle	26	0	4	0	4	0	14	48
Bizoton	128	6	7	2	0	2	20	165
Bois Thor	85	0	5	0	0	2	8	100
Arcachon	113	8	4	0	0	2	4	131
Carrefour	222	30	16	2	2	8	41	321
Frère	20	22	2	1	0	0	17	62
Pétionville	306	0	29	11	5	25	133	509
TOTAL	7 918	582	515	230	63	776	3 653	13 737
%	57.7	4.2	3.7	1.7	.5	5.6	26.6	100

Table 2. Number and Percent of Marchands Selling Agriculture and Non-Agricultural Products in 23 Markets

Markets	Total Number of Marchands	Marchands with agricultural products 1/	%	Marchands with non-agricultural products	%
Trou Sable	101	73	72,3	28	27,7
Ravine Pintade	237	174	73,4	63	26,6
Vallières	1 533	493	32,2	1 040	67,8
Nirvana	535	448	83,7	87	16,3
Fort St-Clair	208	185	88,9	23	11,1
Salomon	1 162	844	72,6	318	27,4
Croix-des-Bossales	6 583	4 359	66,2	2 224	33,8
Cité Simone	305	250	81,9	55	18,1
Tête Boeuf	60	52	86,7	8	13,3
Marinette	242	176	72,7	66	27,3
St-Martin	264	220	87,1	44	12,9
Cité Cadet	233	194	83,3	39	16,7
Poste Marchand	437	332	75,9	105	24,1
5ème Avenue	329	295	89,7	34	10,3
Crepsac	85	74	87,1	11	12,9
Mont Horeb	87	79	90,8	8	9,2
La Rochelle	48	34	70,8	14	29,2
Bizoton	165	143	86,7	22	13,3
Bois Thor	100	90	90,0	10	10,0
Arcachon	131	125	95,4	6	4,6
Carrefour	321	272	84,7	49	15,3
Frère	62	45	73,0	17	27,0
Pétionville	571	396	69,0	175	31,0
Total	13 737	9 308	67,8	4 429	32,2

1/ Includes Forest Products. Meat. Sea Food.

Table 3. Number and Percent of Marchands Seated and Ambulant in 23 Markets

Markets	Total Number of Marchands	Seated Marchands	%	Ambulant Marchands	%
Trou Sable	101	98	97,03	3	2,97
Ravine Pintade	237	225	94,94	12	5,06
Vallières	1 533	1 361	88,78	172	11,22
Nirvana	535	514	96,07	21	3,93
Fort St-Clair	208	206	99,04	2	0,96
Salomon	1 162	1 075	92,51	87	7,49
Croix-des-Bossales	6 583	6 157	93,53	426	6,47
Cité Simone	305	305	100,0	0	0,00
Tête Boeuf	60	58	96,67	2	3,33
Marinette	242	228	94,21	14	5,79
St-Martin	264	247	93,56	17	6,44
Cité Cadet	233	231	99,14	2	0,86
Poste Marchand	437	417	95,42	20	4,58
5ème Avenue	329	321	97,3	8	2,7
Crepsac	85	85	100,0	0	0,00
Mont Horeb	87	84	96,55	3	3,45
La Rochelle	48	44	91,67	4	8,33
Bizoton	165	163	98,79	2	1,21
Bois Thor	100	98	98,00	2	2,00
Arcachon	131	129	98,47	2	1,53
Carrefour	321	311	96,88	10	3,12
Frère	62	62	100,00	0	0,00
Pétionville	509	479	94,10	30	5,90
TOTAL	13 737	12 898	93,9	839	6.1

As shown in Table 1, 58.2% (57.7 + 0.5) of the marchands sell agricul - tural produce (grains, fruits, vegetables, etc..) while an additional 4.2 % sell forest products (charcoal, pitch wood, small sticks), 3.7% sell meat or fresh meat products and 1.7% sell sea food, mainly dry fish. If we include all of these latter categories under "agricultural produce" we then find a total of 9,308 marchands, or 67.8% of the total, selling this type of pro - duce (Table 2). The non-agricultural produce includes canned and processed goods, metals, plastics, shoes, buttons, suit cases, soap, candles and other odds and ends. Of the 4429 marchands found to be selling non-agricultural produce, 26.6% were stationary and 5.6% were ambulant.

The fact that the count was undertaken over a two day period could have lead to some double counting, however, since the total number of am - bulant marchands was only 6.1% (0.5 + 5.6) this double counting should not be very high.

It should be pointed out that although the study was undertaken on the same day of the week as the 1st marchand count reported in Section D, the total number of marchands in the March 7-8 count (13 737) exceeded the total number in the July 11-12 count (11 283) by 2 454 or 21.7%. This is appa- rently a result of an increased volume of agricultural produce in the mar - kets due to seasonal fluctuations (high October-March; low April-September).

Annex 4. The Location of the Markets and Their Distance from the Main Dépôt Area

Markets	Census District	Air Distance Category	Accessibility Category
Croix-des-Bossales	8-B	1	1
Vallières	23-A	1	1
Salomon	18-B	2	2
Nirvana	21-A	2	2
5ème Avenue	25-A	3	4
Pétionville	36-A	4	4
Cité Simone	7-B	4	3
Fort St-Clair	21-A	2	4
Carrefour	33-B	4	3
Marinette	12-A	1	4
Poste Marchand	16-B	2	3
Cité Cadet	15-B	3	2
Trou Sable	1-A	3	3
Bois Thor	29-B	4	2
Crepsac	26-B	3	4
Bizoton	29-A	4	2
Ravine Pintade	1-B	2	3
St-Martin	13-B	1	4
Arcachon	32-A	4	3
Mont Horeb	25-A	3	2
Frère	35-B	4	3
Tête Boeuf	10-A	1	2
La Rochelle	28-A	3	2

Categories for "Air Distance and Accessibility"

Air Distance

1	>1500 m
2	1500 - 3000 m
3	3000 - 4500 m
4	<4500 m

Accessibility (Transport Cost)

1	0 centime (kob)
2	25 - 30 centimes
3	30 - 50 centimes
4	> 50 centimes

5 centimes = US$0.01