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**INTERNAL MIGRATION AND URBANIZATION: A DUO FOR
RETHINKING THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE
CENTRALIZATION OF HAITIAN CITIES**

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I dedicate this paper to all Haitians, especially the residents of the Port-au-Prince Metropolitan Area, who are going through a difficult time. Haiti, "*the pearl of the Antilles, the first black republic of the new world...*", with "*Port-au-Prince*" as its capital, has today become an anxious, agitated, unstable country; in a word, one of the least safe places in the world.

INTRODUCTION

From 1950 to 2024, problems linked to the spatial distribution of the population and the socio-economic and political system were identified, and the prospects opened up by the studies and framework documents drawn up by the ministries concerning the relationship between internal migration, urbanization and urban planning in Haiti proved to be quite interesting. However, according to specialists, citizens and observers, for a variety of reasons, these efforts have failed to achieve the desired results. Today, the challenges are immense, and the advances of the last seventy years have been countered by a multidimensional crisis with a new component, insecurity, which is fuelling the dysfunction of the country's major cities. Indeed, the causes of internal migration and the factors motivating displacement have facilitated an increase in the continuous flow of newcomers to the cities. At the same time, the lack of an adequate reception structure has gradually led to a change in the social configuration, which is closely linked to social inequalities, especially poverty, culture and politics. Data from the four censuses carried out in Haiti by the IHSI in 1950, 71, 82 and 2003 show a low percentage of internal migrants (5% to 10% of the population), while the urbanization rate is rising at a dizzying pace, from 12.2% (1950) to 55.7% (2003). The vertiginous growth of the population, provoking the expansion of cities in the face of a lack of organization within urban agglomerations, has not led to better living and working conditions. In fact, urban concentration and urban marginality combine to form a complex whole that exacerbates the problems associated with the centrality of Haitian cities.

Although little work has been done in Haiti on this urbanization process, which has as its corollary the centralization of economic, social and political activities, as well as university centers, it is easier to draw on old and conclusive census data to get an overall view of the consequences of the concentration of Haitian cities. A review of the literature on urbanization presents the work of Saint-Louis Coilo, in 1985, who gave an overview of the process. Other authors include Saint-Vil J., Devauge R. Buch H.C. , Henry Godard and others have focused on the influence of the colonial past in explaining this phenomenon. In 1996, a study by Jean-Louis Louinel showed the influence of rural development policies on the acceleration of migratory flows and the advent of disorderly urbanization¹ . In 2005, Carline Joseph Duval, in her research entitled "*exode rural des jeunes dans les pays en développement*" (*Rural youth exodus in developing countries*), demonstrated that the population surplus in urban centers stems mainly from the movement of young rural people to the cities. In addition, his 2013 work on the growth of cities focused on the nature of urban growth and the link between urban structure and the level of national development. Particular emphasis was placed on the increase in the number of extra people living in urban areas, which was over 3 million between 1950 and 2003, and a further 1.7 million in 2012.

In the same vein, a number of research papers and documents from government ministries on the relationship between population trends and urban planning in Haiti have been published. A quarterly magazine published by the Ministry of Planning, "*planification &*

¹. Jean Louis Louinel. "*Villes Haïtiennes et pauvreté ; une réflexion pour une stratégie de survie*" Le Nouvelliste Haïti, No. 35314 Monday, September 8, 1996.

développement", was set up in 1985 to inform and educate the public as far as possible in the fields of planning and development. Topics such as the national planning system, regional development issues, spatialization, regionalization and decentralization, as well as highlighting national and regional planning and development approaches, strategies and policies, formed the core content of this periodical. Later, in 1989, the IHSI, via its Direction d'Analyse et de Recherches Démographiques (DARD) published a study on the relationship between rural exodus and urban planning in Haiti. The issue of rural exodus and urban planning worldwide was explored, while rural exodus and urban planning in Haiti were extensively discussed, followed by proposals and recommendations.² In the same year, the same department presented a study on the relationship between population and regional development in Haiti. This text was made possible thanks to the cooperation of the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) and the Department of Technical Cooperation for Development (DTCD). The debate on population and space, as well as the problems of marginal areas, were discussed. In addition, the weight of the MPA and the impact of regional development on the Haitian population were highlighted. This was followed by a proposal for a regional development policy.³ After the 2010 earthquake, other documents were drawn up, including: the strategic development plan for Haiti, an emerging country by 2030, in which the major projects for recovery and development were listed. A spatial economic policy (1970-1986) and the main spatial planning instruments, including the schéma d'aménagement du territoire (1981-82), were also written. Other documents, such as the Document de Stratégie Nationale pour la croissance et la Réduction de la Pauvreté (DSNCRP), with its spatial strategy, and the Plan d'Action pour le Relèvement et le Développement d'Haïti (PARDH), with its territorial refoundation aspect, formed the backdrop to general government policy statements from the 2000s onwards. Also noteworthy is the MEF document ("*le défi de la reconstruction économique en Haïti du ministère de l'économie et des finances*") published in 2010, which showed the inability of the urban system to ensure economic promotion, given that the territorial dynamic is the ultra-metropolization of the Port-au-Prince Metropolitan Area and that the provincial urban agglomerations are experiencing a crisis situation that manifests itself in two forms: a process of shantytownization and a strong urban movement affecting all social strata.⁴ More recently, in May 2011, the national framework for spatial planning policy was launched, providing public policy guidelines for the implementation of spatial organization.⁵

All these works and documents have made it possible to understand the process of urbanization evolution in Haiti, and that urban planning does exist, but in documents. It is clear that in this country, the interventions and strategies adopted to reorganize the country's main cities and reduce the pressure on the country's largest urban agglomeration have not effectively resolved the problems posed by this form of migration influencing this type of urbanization, which undoubtedly requires other specific interventions.

²IHSI, DARD.1989. *Étude des relations entre l'exode rural et la planification urbaine en Haïti*, Port-au-Prince, Pp 8-64 .

³IHSI, DARD, 1989, *Étude des relations entre la population et le développement régional en Haïti*, Port-au-Prince, Pp 8-49

⁴Ministry of Economy and Finance. Groupe de réflexion et d'appui technique Port-au-Prince. "*Le défi de la reconstruction économique en Haïti. Integrated strategic framework for the short, medium and long term*" Summary report. March 2010. Pp 1-30

⁵Ministry of Planning and External Cooperation. Direction de l'aménagement du territoire, du développement local et régional. June 2011 "*Le Cadre de la politique nationale d'aménagement du territoire*". Page 6

This research addresses this general issue. The problems associated with the high concentration of the population, the indicators identified, the strategies advocated and the far-reaching structural changes all point to the following questions: What are the root causes of accelerating urban growth in Haiti? What are the consequences of urban concentration? What is the essence of spatial planning and the role of public authorities in the social production of Haiti's urban spaces? The aim of this paper is to provide a brief overview of the issue; then to present the evolution of migration, urbanization in Haiti over nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ of a century; to finally interpret the orientation of urban growth towards large cities and show the consequences of the ensuing transformations. To this end, we trace the volumes and trends in internal migration and urbanization over the four censuses in the country's ten departments and departmental capital cities. We will review some key urban planning documents adopted since 1950 to elucidate the factors influencing the country's urban development; and outline the management and responses to the challenges arising from urban reorientation programs. Finally, we propose some possible strategies to deal with the non-integration of migrants, territorial imbalance and the dimension of precariousness.

METHOD AND DATA

The data used come from the 1950, 1971, 1982 and 2003 censuses, as well as estimates made in 2012 and 2024⁶. For the purposes of this work, migrants will be captured from the question on place of birth via various tables published by the IHSI.⁷ The calculation of urbanization rates, city size, total urban and rural population tables over the same period will be obtained in the same way. To understand the consequences of centrality and the dynamics of urban crisis situations, the essential points of the plans and programs advocated to influence the Haitian space will be recorded. The ten departments of the Republic of Haiti, the Port-au-Prince Metropolitan Area⁸ and the nine departmental capital cities (Cap-Haitien, Gonaïves, Port-de-Paix, Fort-Liberté, Hinche, Jacmel, Cayes, Jérémie and Miragoâne) are selected for analysis of the relationships between population, internal migration and urbanization. In addition, certain framework documents guiding the urban future, especially those drawn up by ministries, will be recorded to demonstrate unstructured urban planning and management. However, census data have two main limitations. The first concerns the shortcomings of migration data since 1950, especially the 1971 census, which was a mixed operation, exhaustive in urban areas and limited to rural areas, where a 1/10^(é) sample was taken. The second is dependent on the matrix of migratory exchanges, which could not be published in 1982.

⁶IHSI.Direction des Statistiques Démographiques et Sociales (DSDS). Disaggregated estimates of the Haitian population in 2024. July 2024.509 pages

⁷Tables IV, IV bis, IV ter, V, VI, VII from volumes I, II, III, IV, V show the place of birth of Haitians, foreigners and immigrants for each department (1950 census). For the 1971 and 1982 censuses, place of birth is cross-referenced with place of residence, and tables 5.18, 5.15, 5.16 and 5.12 from volumes II, III, IV, V and VI of the 1971 census; and tables 6.03 from volumes I will be used. For the 2003 census, we refer to tables 409 published for the country as a whole and for each geographical department.

⁸ The AMP is the Port-au-Prince agglomeration, which includes the towns bordering the capital (Port-au-Prince), namely Pétiön-Ville, Delmas, Carrefour, Cité Soleil and Tabarre.

RESULTS

I.INTERNAL MIGRATION, URBANIZATION AND URBAN GROWTH IN HAITI

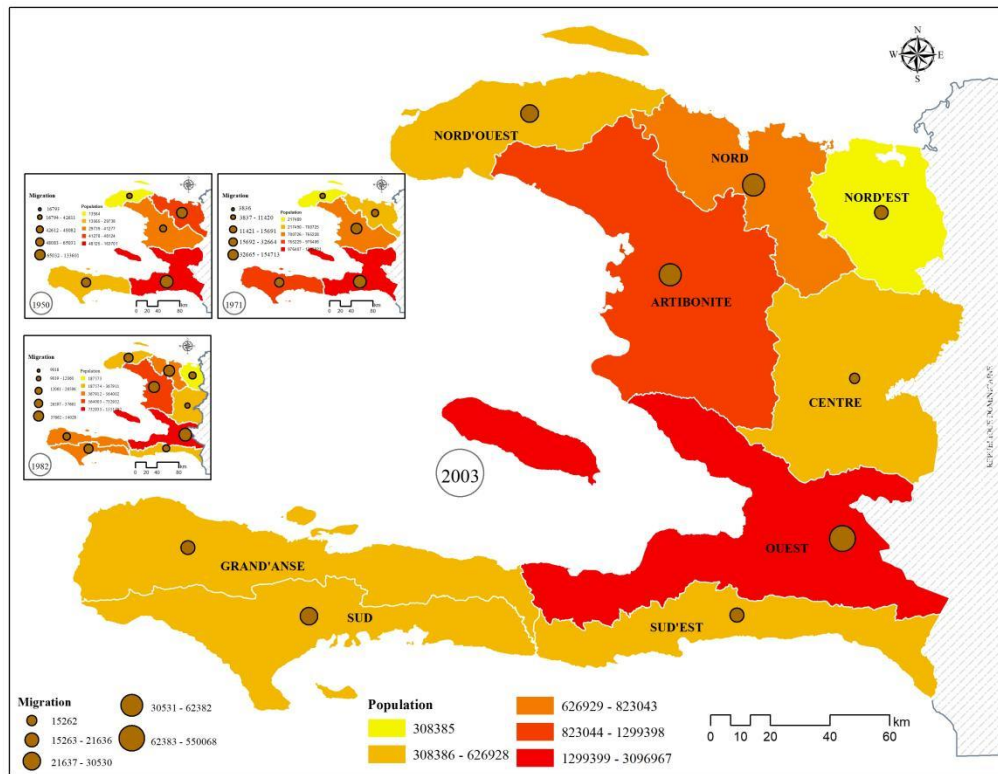
1.1 INTERNAL MIGRATION TO HAITI'S DEPARTMENTS AND MAIN CITIES ACCORDING TO THE 1950, 71, 82 and 2003 CENSUSES

The varying degrees of ease of access to land in rural areas, the decline in remuneration for agricultural production and the economic policies implemented in post-independence Haiti have long contributed to the State's inability to contain the waves of migration to the cities (IHSI, DARD 1989). Indeed, Haitian migration is characterized by a young population forced to leave their places of origin for areas where they hope to find employment, services and more or less adequate basic infrastructures (IHSI, UARD⁹ 1980 ; DARD 1989). Since the 1950s, this migration has adhered to the mutations and transformations inherited from the lack of management of accelerating population growth, particularly urban growth. Thus, the lack of integration of migrants, and socio-political and economic crises have not led to harmonious development of the territory, and consequently to the orderly and profitable development of large cities. Threats linked to the problems of urbanization and social reaction, such as the rising unemployment rate in precarious neighborhoods, juvenile delinquency and the crime rate observed in recent years, outweigh the opportunities that migration could offer if actions were coordinated, and if, above all, legal texts were accompanied by new and operational strategies likely to protect and integrate migrants.

In fact, the volume of internal travel in Haiti was 306,118 and 218,324 in 1950 and 1971 respectively, while it was 213,711 and 808,030 in 1982 and 2003 (Map 1). During the first 2 censuses (1950 and 1971), the country was made up of five departments (Ouest, Nord, Artibonite, Sud, Nord-Ouest), then nine in 1982 (Nord-Est, Sud-Est, Centre ;Grande-Anse) and after the 2003 census, a tenth, called the Nippes department. The data in Table 1 show that the West receives the highest number of migrations than the other departments (12.34% to 17.76%). It is followed by the Nord (12.06% to 7.58%) and Nord-Ouest (9.98% to 5.37%) departments. However, the Nord-Est department recorded a high proportion of migrants in 2003, i.e. 6.05%; this result can be explained by the development of certain commercial activities in communes adjacent to the Haitian-Dominican border.

⁹ UARD: Unité d'Analyse et de Recherche Démographique (Demographic Analysis and Research Unit)

Map 1: Total population, volume of migrants during the 1950, 1971, 1982 and 2003 censuses



Source: Author's calculations based on IHSI data

Table 1: Proportion of migrants by department in the 1950, 1971, 1982 and 2003 censuses

Departments	Census years			
	1950	1971	1982	2003
West	12.34	12.83	2.43	17.76
North	12.06	1.63	3.85	7.58
Artibonite	7.51	4.27	3.63	4.70
South	6.50	1.61	10.75	4.91
Northwest	9.98	1.76	3.07	5.37
Southeast	n/a	n/a	3.28	4.11
Center	n/a	n/a	5.96	2.62
Grande-Anse	n/a	n/a	4.18	3.45
Northeast	n/a	n/a	5.66	6.05
Total	9.88	5.65	4.23	9.65

Source: Author's calculations based on IHSI data

Table 2:Urban population distribution by department for the 1950, 1971, 1982, 2003 censuses and the 2012 and 2024 estimates

Departments	1950	1971	2003	2012	2024
West	25.02	43.45	66.69	80.40	96.21
Southeast	4.85	5.56	12.31	14.54	30.47
North	12.69	16.90	39.53	48.15	70.04
Northeast	18.00	14.46	38.22	46.21	68.43
Artibonite	8.84	11.86	32.51	40.84	63.43
Center	6.47	10.20	16.27	19.36	38.35
South	7.76	8.05	17.63	21.72	41.66
Grande-Anse	7.27	10.09	16.71	22.10	42.01
Northwest	8.06	12.27	22.36	26.64	47.31
Nippes	n/a	n/a	n/a	17.02	36.11

Source: Author's calculations based on IHSI data

Table 2 above shows the overall trend in the urban population of the various départements from 1950 to 2024. The West still leads (25.02% to 96.21%), followed by the North (12.69% to 70.04%) and North-East (18% to 68.43%), while the South-East ranks last (4.85% to 30.47%).

As for the country's major cities, the taste for cash is especially prevalent in the Port-au-Prince Metropolitan Area (AMP). It should be pointed out, however, that migration to the departmental capital cities was an underestimated phenomenon during the 1971 and 1982 censuses, since the data collected during these operations did not give a very good picture of migration. It was also difficult to remove migrants from the departmental capital cities for the 1950 census. The type of data used for the analysis of the AMP and the targeted head towns is the volume of migrants in relation to the total population. Table 3 shows that AMP has the highest volume of migrants. The cities of Gonaïves and Cap-Haïtien compete for second and third place in these censuses, while the city of Jérémie proves to be the least affected by migration.

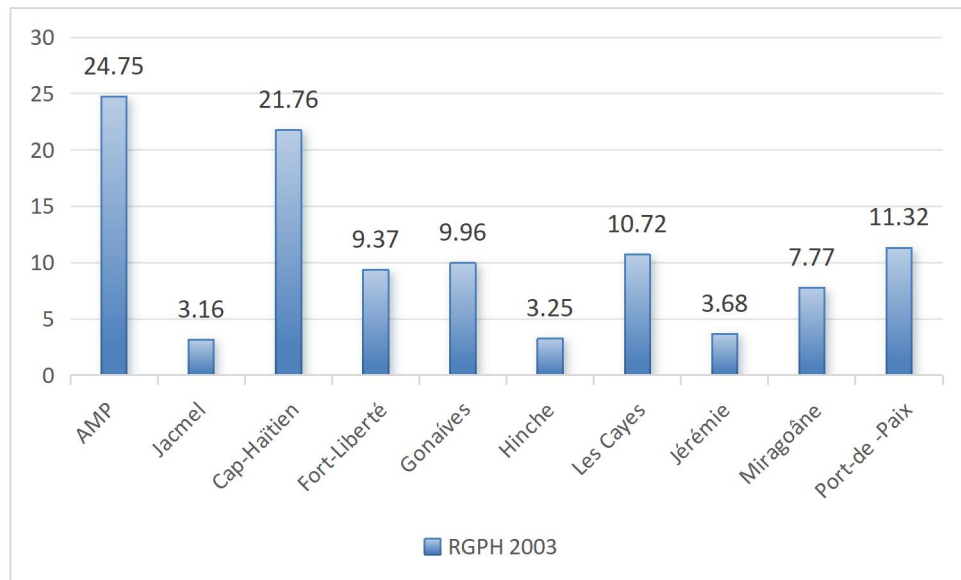
According to graph 1 on the share of migrants in the total population of cities during the 2003 RGPH, the proportions of migrants observed confirm the highest volume for AMP (24.75%) and Cap-Haïtien (21.76%). Among the remaining towns, the proportion of migrants ranged from 11.32% to 9.37% in Port-de-Paix, Cayes, Gonaïves, Fort Liberté and Miragoâne. The towns with the lowest proportions and virtually no difference were Jérémie and Hinche.

Table 3: Total and migrant population of AMP and departmental capital cities during the 1971, 1982 and 2003 censuses

POPULATION AND MIGRANT NUMBERS IN TOWNS AND DEPARTMENTAL CAPITALS OVER THE LAST 4 CENSUSES						
Agglomeration/ Head cities Locations	1971		1982		2003	
	Population	Migrant	Population	Migrant	Population	Migrant
AMP	493983	140872	719617	26313	2014029	498455
Jacmel	11383	133	13730	874	142969	4519
Cap-Haïtien	45688	2142	64406	7600	211630	46060
Fort-Liberté	3000	138	5012	1887	26679	2500
Gonaïves	28749	3823	34209	5257	263716	26261
Hinche	8465	1874	10070	3450	93899	3051
Les Cayes	22296	1001	34090	4016	132406	14200
Jérémie	17199	453	18493	795	103889	3821
Miragoâne	3574	n/a	4327	1487	78108	6070
Port-de -Paix	14494	1109	15540	2718	157032	17783

Source: Author's calculations based on IHSI data

Graph1: Proportion of migrants in the AMP and departmental capital cities in relation to the total population of the cities during the 2003 census



Source: Author's calculations based on IHSI data

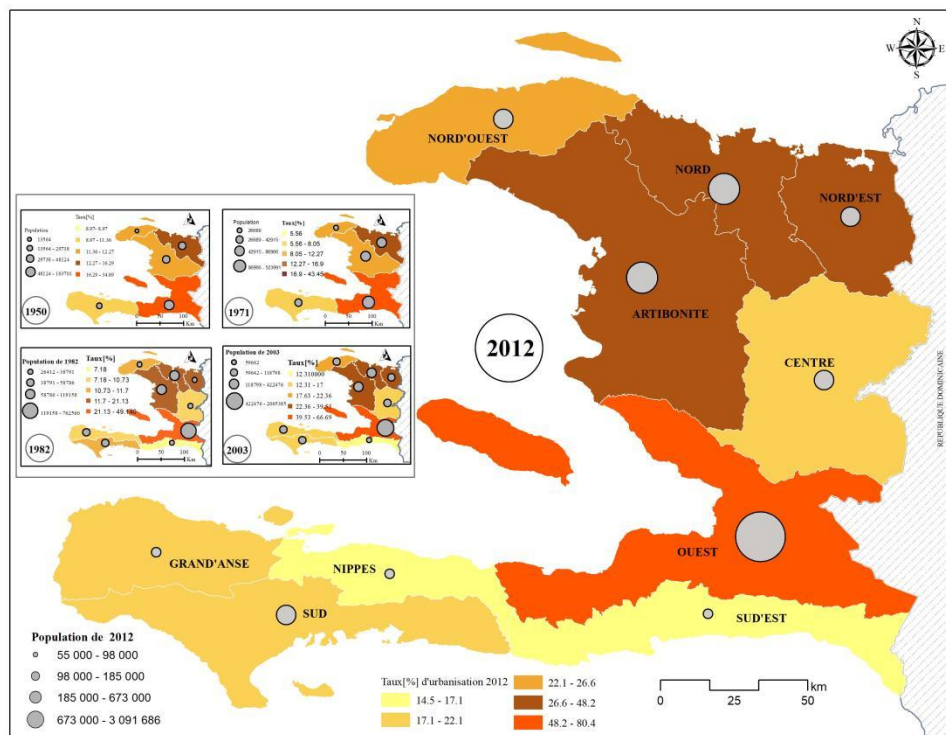
1.2 URBANIZATION IN HAITI SINCE 1950

Urbanization: From national to departmental dynamism

Since 1982, Haiti has seen a sharp acceleration in urbanization, leading to an increase in the urban population. In 1950, the country's urbanization rate was 12.23%, rising from 20.12% to 24.53% in 1971 and 1982 respectively, before reaching 40.82% and 49.50% in 2003 and 2012. At the same time, the urban population, which stood at 378,732 in 1950, increased significantly, by a factor of 13, from 570,825 in 1971 to 5,154,920 in 2012. This trend has continued from 1971 to 2012 and until 2024.

In short, the country's urban population continues to grow at the same rate as that of the various departments. However, the rate of urbanization in the Nord-Est department has risen at an ever-increasing pace since 1982, to rank with the country's most urbanized departments, such as the Ouest, Nord and Artibonite. Map 2 below illustrates this rapidly increasing urbanization, and stipulates: On the one hand, a major redistribution of the national and departmental urban population, then the rapidity of the urbanization process, which has led to a growing concentration of the urban population in the major cities over the period; On the other hand, it elucidates the heterogeneity of urbanization levels, notably the imbalance of departmental urban systems, based on the poor hierarchization that characterizes them.

Map 2: Urban population, heterogeneity of urbanization levels from 1950 to 2012



Source: Author's calculations based on IHSI data

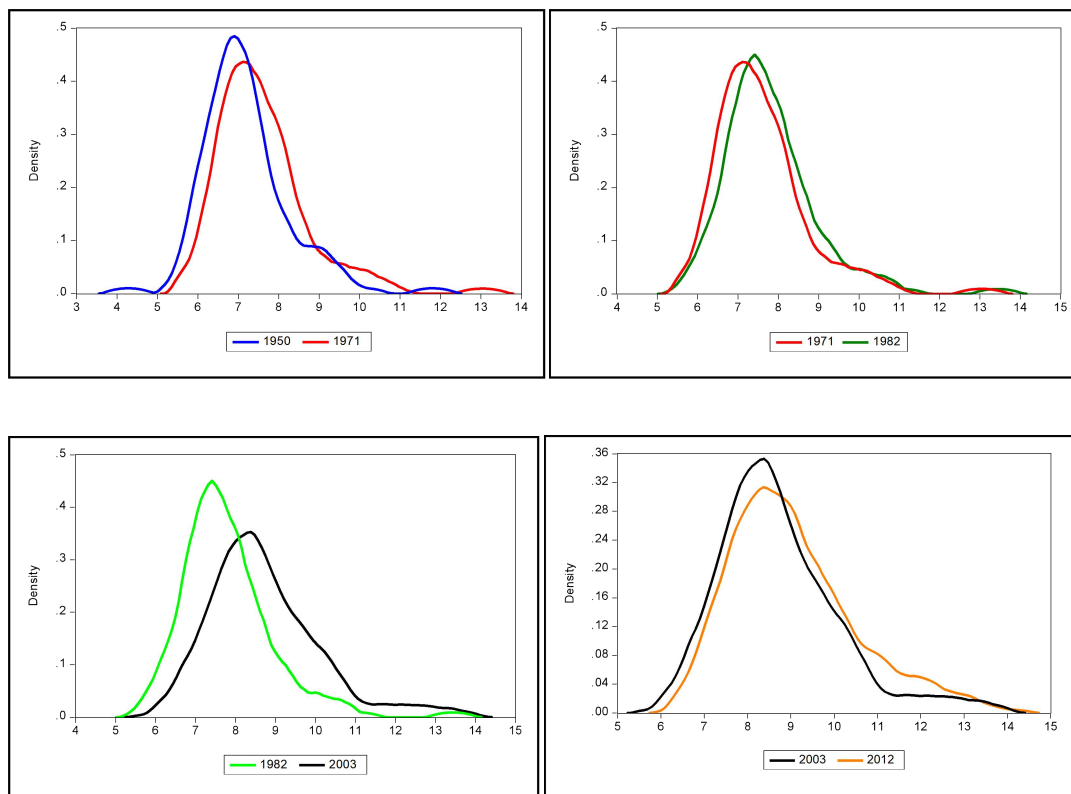
1.3 Urbanization trends and city growth from 1950 to 2012

It is well known that this strong departmental urban growth has particularly benefited the large departmental capital cities. It is also recognized that the minimum, average, median and maximum sizes of Haitian towns increased considerably over the period 1950-2012. In fact, the number of cities rose from 114 in 1950 to 140 in 2012, while the minimum and average city sizes were 72 and 2,741.8 respectively from 1950 to 2012, and 840 and 34,070.5 respectively over the same period. In this sense, the standard deviation, which was 11,172.2 in 1950, rose to 100,914.6 in 2012. This supports the idea of the presence of primate systems where the population of the country's largest city far exceeds that of the other cities.

1.4 Focusing urban growth on large cities

Graph 2, relating to Kernel density, traces the changes observed in the rank-size distribution of Haitian cities between 1950 and 2012. These four figures show that the curves shift to the right as the average city size increases. In all four figures, the weight of cities shifts to the right, meaning that the size of large cities is greater than that of medium-sized and small towns. Moreover, both the base and the top of these curves have widened, confirming the entry of new cities and the low weight of medium-sized towns, which is unable to counterbalance the growth of large cities and small towns. This reaffirms that, over this period, Haitian urban growth has always been oriented towards the big cities, and the Haitian urban landscape is becoming increasingly hierarchical.

Graph 2: Kernel density of the rank-size distribution of Haitian cities (1950 to 2012)



II.A CLOSER LOOK AT THE CAUSES OF URBAN GROWTH AND THE CONSEQUENCES OF POPULATION CONCENTRATION IN HAITI

The study of migration brings us to the evolution of urbanization, and urban concentration refers first and foremost to density measurements that have enabled us to observe zones of attraction and repulsion. Indeed, the densities of Haiti's communes and departments published by the IHSI, and in particular the 1980 UARD map based on analysis of the 1971 census, show that the Haitian population is concentrated around valleys, water points and large towns. In reality, this concentration of the population is due to high density, which is largely linked to the rural exodus. The inequalities and socio-economic development of the départements remain an inescapable factor in urban intensity, since the major challenges of this rapid urbanization have not been countered by the increase in urban population growth. The surface area of the départements and their classification in descending order of size show very different inequalities. According to the IHSI, the Port-au-Prince Metropolitan Area has the highest urban concentration, with 23% of the country's total population and 56% of the country's total urban population; in 2003, it had one million nine hundred and sixteen thousand one hundred and thirty-three (1,916,133) inhabitants and welcomed six hundred and thirty-seven thousand and thirty-eight (637,038) migrants (see photos 1 and 2). It has maintained its dominance over these decades, with the first four departmental capital cities (Cap-Haitien, Gonaïves, Port-de-Paix, Cayes) having a population ranging from 204,058 to 55,276 over the same period. In Haiti, however, it seems clear that population growth does not go hand in hand with the development process. Similarly, the cities of the most urbanized departments have not had the capacity to accommodate people from rural areas and small and medium-sized towns. Faced with this situation, and in the absence of respect for the State's prerogatives as a public authority, phenomena such as urban poverty and urban marginality, particularly juvenile delinquency, were gradually induced. These are linked to: firstly, the security structure introduced by the dictatorial Duvalier regime, and the vacuum that seems not to have been properly filled after 1986; secondly, the transformation of social classes, notably social inequalities, particularly the glaring gap between what the richest 10% earn and the poorest 10%; and lastly, the character of young people, their level of education, and the level of violence and criminality. It should be noted that little attention has been paid to the consequences of the dynamics of this poverty and its reshaping, without forgetting the effects of public action and the reactions of the population. This state of affairs has undoubtedly led to the emergence and proliferation of armed groups known as "*gangs*", which today terrorize the entire population. These observations confirm author Mathieu Van Criekingen's assertion that "*the state plays a pivotal role in the production and distribution, both social and spatial, of urban marginality*".¹⁰

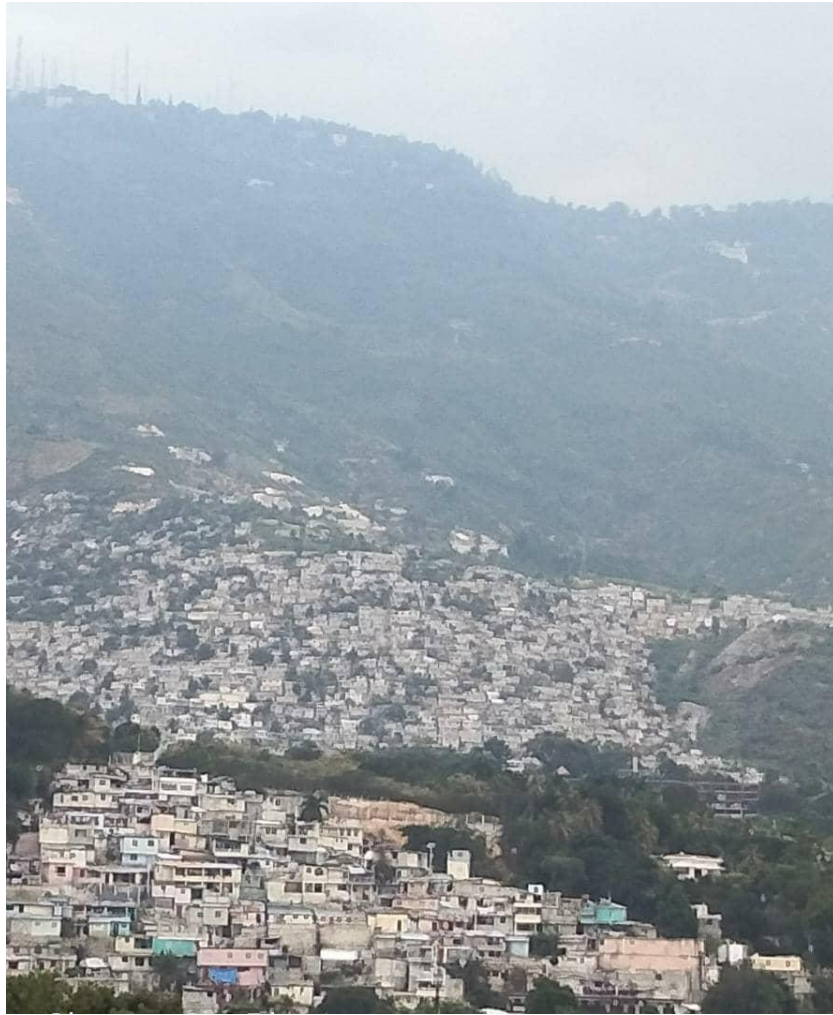
¹⁰Mathieu Van Criekingen. "advanced marginality and urban politics-A situated reading of Urban Pariahs through the lens of urban gentrification". 83/ 2013, online November 2018 . Available at/ <http://journals.openedition.org/ris/342i>. p 23

Photo 1: A view of part of the Port-au-Prince Metropolitan Area (AMP)



Source: Photo Carline Joseph Duval, 2011 (Photo taken from the Montana size hotel in Bourdon)

Photo 2: An illustration of anarchic urbanization in Port-au-Prince



Source: Photo Carline Joseph Duval, 2023

III.LAND USE PLANNING, URBAN REORIENTATION PROGRAMS: WHAT ABOUT URBAN MANAGEMENT AND RESPONSES TO CHALLENGES?

During this period, the various development planning programs for Haiti's major cities had almost no influence on the high urban concentration. Urban reorientation programs do not seem to have focused on the ruralization of cities, nor on the sources of social control in precarious neighborhoods. Urbanization is anarchic and the influx of migrants is deemed too great for the AMP and the departmental capital cities. However, the projects and programs advocated have not led to the integration of migrants, leading to a worsening of phenomena such as poverty and urban marginality. As a result, efforts to harmonize or even improve living conditions in urban areas have been unsuccessful.

In fact, since the 1980s, governments have recognized that social problems cannot be solved without tackling demographic issues. The authorities had noted that population

growth for some time had disrupted the economic situation, as the available resources did not have the capacity to finance services (United Nations 1990). At that time, as a population policy was to emerge, the National Population Council (CONAPO), via its technical secretariat, was tasked with defining and adopting priority programs likely to integrate demographic variables into economic and social planning (United Nations 1990). Similarly, the objective of reducing population growth, extending family planning services to 60% of the population with the aim of reducing the birth rate to 20‰ were the main measures set. In addition, the creation of growth poles was presented as one of the solutions to radically modify the geographical distribution of the population and at the same time reduce flows to Port-au-Prince and the country's small and medium-sized towns. In 1982, the Office Nationale du Logement (National Housing Office) was set up to deal with housing problems, and job creation, decentralization of administrative services and industry, and improvement of living conditions in rural areas were the main efforts advocated to discourage the rural exodus. In addition to these, raising the population's level of education and improving conditions for women were objectives of the **1981-1986 five-year plan**.¹¹

In May 2011, a document entitled "Spatial Planning Policy Framework" was drawn up. It presented the guidelines for a coherent national spatial planning policy and the elements of the new spatial planning policy. This document, which is neither a land-use plan nor a development plan, set out the main efforts made between 1970 and 1986: (Politique économique de l'espace; Schéma d'aménagement territoire in 1982; loi sur la politique nationale cohérente d'aménagement du territoire et de développement régional September 1982). After the fall of the Duvaliers, in 1986, it became clear that regional planning was no longer a preoccupation for the new leaders of the day. It was only in 2000 that land-use planning began to attract a certain amount of attention in government policy statements and in certain activities implemented by the Ministry of Planning and External Cooperation (MPCE).¹² It is more than obvious that inequalities and the socio-economic development of the departments during this study period remain an inescapable factor of urban intensity, since the major challenges of this rapid urbanization have not been countered by the increase in national population growth, particularly the urban population. In the case of Haiti, one of the challenges of this situation lies in the failure of attempts to integrate the population into development. Indeed, since 1989, some authors have pointed out that the efforts made have not lived up to expectations, and the problems posed, given the obstacles identified, have been unable to find solutions due to the complexity of the situation.

IV. INTEGRATION OF MIGRANTS, POVERTY AND URBAN MARGINALITY

Policies drawn up at national level can influence city development directly or indirectly. In Haiti, since 1950, programs, policies and/or draft policies as well as certain initiatives have been taken by the authorities to achieve development and deconcentration. However, it has to be said that these have failed to shape the drivers of urban growth. For the most

¹¹United Nations. Department of International Economic and Social Affairs. 1990. *Politique de Population Document # 25 : Monographies sur les politiques de population -Haïti*. New York, pp 2-4

¹²Port-au-Prince, MPCE. Direction de l'aménagement du territoire , du développement local et régional. June 2011. Le cadre de la politique Nationale d'Aménagement du Territoire. Pp 6 à13.

part, they have been unable to respond, as responses in terms of health, education, wage levels, housing in shantytowns, and anything else that might have an impact on migrant flows, remain very weak. The cities have remained the most attractive areas, with their impact concentrated in the MPA and the departmental capital cities. In fact, the mechanical effect of this increase in density is seen in these urban areas.

The question of population integration was one of the important conclusions of the World Population Congress held in Bucharest in 1974. It has to be admitted that demographic methods alone are not enough to solve the problems of population and, a fortiori, those of development in Haiti. During a seminar on population and development organized by the IHSI in 1991, a number of authors sought to understand how to proceed, why integrate and what to integrate with what, in order to achieve development by focusing on population problems. They demonstrated how research essentially confined to the economic sphere failed to provide effective solutions. What's more, they argued that the concept of development, which had been so blurred by many research studies, was not unanimously accepted. For this reason, they believed that integrating the population into development would be very difficult to achieve. Moreover, they recounted the many failures of cooperation initiatives that had focused development on economic growth alone. However, a little later, beyond the concept of economic growth, social concerns and conditions for better income distribution were introduced. Still, they stipulate that the integration of the population into development was far from being achieved (IHSI, SEPODE, 1991).¹³

V. POSSIBLE STRATEGIES AND THE ROLE OF THE COUNTRY'S URBAN POLICIES

To integrate migrants and alleviate poverty and urban marginality in Haiti, it will be necessary to limit urban growth, combat economic stagnation and reduce social inequalities. A number of strategies have already been developed and presented in various research studies and documents by the country's ministries. For our part, we have added the main variables on which action is urgently needed. These are: reducing territorial imbalance; managing the influx of migrants into the cities; reducing or even eliminating blatant poverty in the most attractive cities; controlling the settlement of newcomers and promoting new middle-income households.

As for urban policies, they should focus on the effects of urban growth, and the precariat in Haitian cities. The main thrust of these strategies would be to support the population, particularly young people, by encouraging and initiating them into the process of transforming their living environment.

DISCUSSION

Certain weaknesses in the migration data from the 1971 and 1982 censuses, and in particular the territorial divisions across the census years, make it difficult to validate the migration trend without reservation. It is clear that the acceleration of urban concentration

¹³IHSI, 1991. *Séminaire national sur la population et le développement (SEPODE) Final report*. Port-au-Prince, Pp. 55-57

due to poor urban management has led to numerous problems in Haiti's departments and departmental capital cities. The proportion of urban dwellers and migrants in our observation units has increased considerably. The urbanization rate has risen from 12.2% in 1950 to almost 50% in 2012, while the Ouest department and the AMP have remained at the top for $\frac{3}{4}$ of a century. It should be noted that the research and framework documents of the ministries showed that the factors were reinforced in the face of this strong population growth in the absence of effective socio-economic and political interventions. The management of migratory flows was more than necessary to counter phenomena such as poverty and urban marginality. However, despite the efforts made in the field of urban planning, Haiti's major cities were faced with the saturation of their facilities, and the country became increasingly unbalanced from one day to the next. It has also been shown that a large proportion of the population is concentrated in the MPA, and that the big cities, particularly the departmental capitals (Maps 1, 2 and graph 2), are faced with anarchic urbanization, poverty and urban marginality. Several authors have pointed out that annual urban population growth is often dominated by migratory flows from rural areas. Others have argued that the rural exodus has been accompanied by the disorganization of urban space, involving urban poverty, pressure on basic social services and increased unemployment (IHSI, SEPODE, 1991). In his 1991 article entitled "Quid de l'intégration de la population dans le processus de développement", Frantz Fortunat described the meaning and functions of a plan in both developed and underdeveloped countries, asserting that no single economic model was likely to meet the diversity of specific situations. Without overlooking the efforts made to integrate the population into development plans, he nevertheless highlighted three sectors that had nevertheless been taken into account: health, education and employment.

CONCLUSION

All in all, our research has shown that migration and urbanization are a pair on which the authorities should act to give cities an optimum population. In the case of Haiti, this involves changing and transforming the high urban concentration that is due to the worsening of urban poverty and advanced urban marginality resulting from the genesis of the social and economic non-integration of migrants. Over the past decade, Haiti's networks of hospitable, safe, calm and attractive cities have lost their ability to solve the problems caused by the mismanagement of strong demographic growth.

In this paper, the trends and characteristics of internal migration and urbanization in Haiti have been explored over a period of seventy years. A small percentage (5% to 10%) of the total population moves within the country, while movements are mainly linked to economic and political causes and the quest for basic services. The actions undertaken by governments, in a word the State, have not been able to lead to an even distribution of the population over the territory, nor to effectively contain the influx of migrants towards the big cities. At a national level, the heterogeneity of urbanization has been noted, and the consequences of the strong growth and non-integration of migrants are generating, in the long term, economic stagnation, social and security problems. The effects of the negative responses and the scale of the challenges are concentrated around a set of activities that are centralized in certain points of the territory, and the poor living conditions of the newcomers who have settled there. The strengths and weaknesses of this migration have not found a harmonious articulation of the efforts undertaken by the authorities that could take advantage of the opportunities and reduce the threats. Furthermore, the evolution of migration, urbanization and urban growth in Haiti from 1950 to 2024 demonstrates the imbalance that characterizes departmental urban systems, based on factors that explain this trend, and particularly on the lack of attention paid to the widening of social inequalities and the reshaping of urban poverty. The hierarchical evolution of cities, the dynamics of population impoverishment and urban poverty resulting from the deterioration of living conditions for the population in general, and the corollary impact of migration, particularly on education, employment, etc., have led to the spectre of precarious neighborhoods serving as hotbeds for armed gangs. This advanced marginalization of the population is accompanied by an increase in juvenile delinquency and the emergence of blatant criminality in some of the country's cities. Finally, in the face of this complex situation, two questions remain: What course of action should the State adopt to influence urban concentration? How should it act on the main factors likely to reduce the influx of migrants to the big cities and the MPA, and establish a better spatial distribution?

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