Evaluation of Local Purchasing and School Canteen Pilot Project

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Table of Contents

Overview of the Longitudinal Evaluation 1
Overview of Present Report 2
2.1 Focus Groups with Children/Students in Canteen Program (FG 10 & 11) 3
Feeding before School (see focus group text, #Morning food) 3
What Children Buy at School (see #Buying Food at School) 4
Sharing Food as Strategy for Getting Enough to Eat 4
After School Feeding (see #Afternoon Food) 5
The Canteen 5
#Salt-Food (see #Salt-Food) 12
Attitude toward Prospect of Cold Meals (see #Salt-Food) 13
2.2: with Canteen Supervisors: Assessing the Self-Purchasing Pilot Program 15
Research 15
Pre-Program Focus Group (see Annex B, Organized Commentary) 15
Post-Program Focus Group (see Annex B, Organized Commentary) 18
Complaints 18
Preference for BND Purchasing 20
2.3 Female Traders Focus Groups vs. All-Male Farmers (FG 12, 13, & 16) 22
Farming as the Main Form of Production and Survival for Men and Women 22
Farming and the Gender Division of Labor 22
Female Defense of their Control over Produce 23
The Feeding Program as an Opportunity for Men to Cut into Female Trade 24
3. Major Recommendations 33
3.1: Major Recommendation 1: Truly Local Meals 34
Rounding off the Meal with High Calorie and Low-Cost Juices 40
Comparative Costs 41
3.2: Major Recommendation 2: Promotion of Local Staples 42
3.3: Major Reommendation 3: Women's Groups, Aggregation & Food Processing .. 45
3.4: Major Recommendation 4: Haiti Informal Economy Volume Measures 47
ANNEX 51
ANNEX A: Organized Commentary Canteen Supervisors Before vs After Pilot 52

ANNEX B: Organized Commentary for All-Male Farmers and All-Female Traders ... 86
ANNEX C: Organized Commentary for Child Focus Groups ... 153
ANNEX D: Test of Impact on the Scholastic Performance of Children ... 214
Methodology ... 214
Results ... 215
ANNEX E: Ethnography of Haitian Foods ... 220
The Syntax of Popular Class Haitian Food System ... 220
Food Rules ... 221
Respect for Organic and National Foods ... 223
Fortified folk Concoctions (*Remontan*) ... 225
Food Combinations and Awareness of Nutrition ... 225
The Rise of Street Foods ... 227
Conservatism ... 229
Change ... 229
ANNEX F: Potential for Breadfruit Flour Production ... 232
ANNEX G: Summary of Factories Visited and Interviews ... 234
ANNEX H: Methodological Tool Farmer Associations/Cooperatives in Haiti ... 235
ANNEX I: Test of Impact on the Scholastic Performance of Children ... 243
Methodology ... 243
Results ... 244
WORKS CITED ... 249

SIGNIFICANT ACRONYMS

MARNDR	Ministry of Agriculture, Natural Resources and Rural Development
MAST	Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour
MENFP	Ministry of Education and ProfesLabosional Training/National School
BND	*Bureau de Nutrition et Developpement*
ROPANIP	*Réseau des Producteurs/Productrices Agricoles des Nippes*
CASEC	Municipal Section Administrative Council – *Conseil d'Administration de la Section*
CNSA	National Commission for Food Security – *Commission Nationale pour la Sécurité Alimentaire*
GoB	Government of Brazil
GoH	Government of Haiti
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OPA	Farmer Cooperative – *Organisation Professionnelle Agricole*
PNCS	National School Meals Programme – *Programme National des Cantines Scolaires*
USD	United States Dollars
WFP	United Nations World Food Programme

Overview of the Longitudinal Evaluation

This document is the third of three reports pertaining to a longitudinal evaluation of a local procurement school feeding pilot project in the Department of Nippes for the years 2015-2017. Until the end of 2017, the project was supported financially by the Government of Brazil (GoB). It is implemented with oversight and logistic expertise from WFP and the Haitian organization BND (Bureau de Nutrition et Developpement), the latter of which oversees quality and delivery of the food to the schools. Also involved is the Haitian non-governmental entity ROPANIP (Reseau des Organisations des Producteurs/Productrices Agricoles de Nippes), which coordinates purchases from and support to farmer associations.[1] The research is intended to examine the Local Purchasing and School Canteen Pilot Project with respect to the following issues,

- the system for purchasing and controlling quality of local agricultural products
- integration of local purchasing into the procedures of Haitian public entities
- distribution to schools
- the school canteens and distribution to student-beneficiaries
- nutritional substance of the meals, regional and local differences, preferences and availability
- whether the project design and execution contribute to the increasing of farmer revenues and production
- whether the project design and execution reinforce of the organizational structures of agricultural producer organizations
- durability of the model
- potential for scaling up for a national program of providing school meals in communes across the country

[1] The project is part of the GoH goal of creating a national school feeding program by year 2030, one that makes “the largest possible use of local agricultural produce.”

Overview of Present Report

The research presented in this report begins with a series of analyses of data from seven focus groups: two with children discussing their views of the canteen program; two before and after discussions with school directors who participated in a pilot project in which the schools purchased their own produce from local markets; two with market women who are familiar with the project and some of whom have children who attend schools involved in the feeding program; and one final focus group with members of an association.

It is the opinion of the author the most important take-way from this and the prior two reports is the role that women should play in the school feeding program. Haitian women have a near monopoly on every aspect of the food industry. This is true in both cities and the countryside, but it is especially true for the rural areas. The canteen program has failed to put those traditional skills to work to the advantage of the children. With this shortcoming in mind, the report concludes with the following recommendations and data, and analyses:

- Major Recommendation 1: make the feeding program "Truly Local." Although WFP is constrained by international standards, particularly regarding hygiene, the fact is that rural Haitian schools are deeply embedded in an informal economy, one that makes administration and provision of foods extraordinarily cumbersome and expensive. The irony is that the local internal marketing economy and street food industry could—and outside of the schools does—meet the nutritional needs of rural Haitian children. The report provides an overview of the costs and nutritional content of these foods in contract to a typical canteen meal and we here recommend that WFP work through 3rd party organizations that will allow it to somehow harness the local street food industry. Not to do so is to doom the program to restricted number of beneficiaries and eternal dependency on international donors.
- Major Recommendation 2: use local measures in purchasing and rationing foods for the canteen program. The report presents of types of local measures, something that could assist WFP and BND in moving away from a system based on weights, one that school officials, cooks, market women, and sellers find onerous and that causes confusion among the directors and contention between purchasers and sellers
- Major Recommendation 3: Promote the processing of high yield local staples that could be turned into flours used in low cost, readily prepared and nutritious porridges, breads and cakes. Specifically, promote the local processing of manioc, sweet potato, millet, breadfruit, and peanut flours.
- Major Recommendation 4: Promote the organization and employment women's organizations that process the products mentioned in Recommendation 3 and link those organizations to a voucher system similar to that used in other WFP, USAID and Wrold Bank Programs in Haiti.

2.1 Focus Groups with Children/Students in Canteen Program (FG 10 & 11)

Two focus groups were conducted with children. The responses corroborate comments from focus groups with adults, add insight into the children's eating patterns as well as perspective on the program from the point of view of the children. Specifically, we find children in the focus groups corroborating that their parents typically feed them in the morning before school and in the afternoon when they return home; and that parent's never give them food to carry to school but commonly do give them money to buy snacks at school. Regretfully, we did not ask specifically if these practices had changed with the onset of the program. Nevertheless, the fact that children overwhelmingly reported being given money in the morning, suggests that the shortcomings in canteen fees—a bitter complaint from all school officials-- may be in part an issue of children not giving up the canteen fee, something that the adults responsible for the canteen repeatedly suggest in other focus groups (i.e. that the "children" will not pay the fees).C hildren, as will be seen below, deny that they keep the fees for themselves. Other significant points highlighted are the salience of fried dough as a staple for the children and their acceptance of the idea of cold meals. Regarding almost all issues, the children echoed sentiments of their parents: for example, sweet foods in the morning aggravate worms and local food is superior to imported foods.

Feeding before School (see focus group text, #Morning food)

All the children readily responded positively to being fed in the morning, indicating that their parents usually feed them before school, something that reiterates what we found in the Parent Survey during Phase 1 of the evaluation, specifically that 97% of parents reported always or usually feeding the children before sending them to school.

The children reported eating imported spaghetti as a common breakfast food, cornmeal or rice with greens and Aktive, also called. Little Panic (ti panik), an imported mixture of rice, dried meats, peas and carrots. Somewhat oddly, none of the children mentioned coffee and bread, something adults in parental focus groups never failed to mention as the most important standby for feeding their children in the morning.

Echoing parents reports in both the parent survey and in focus groups, participants in both of the child focus groups said that they do not carry food to school (see #Carrying Food to School). Typical were the following comments,

> Socio-Dig, Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy): OK. Do your mothers make food for you in the mornings? They give you food to take to school?
>
> Children: They give us food, we eat it. But we don't carry food to school. We eat at the house, but we don't carry it to school.

Parents do not give food to take to school, but they do commonly give money (see #Parents and School Money). Typical were comments such as the following,

> Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): When she does not have money, when she does not have money, we don't get any. When she does, I get it.
>
> Socio-Dig: How much money they usually give you?
>
> Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): At one time, she will give me 10 or 15 *goud* (.10 to 16 cents)

What Children Buy at School (see #Buying Food at School)

Several children in both focus groups talked of spending the money on cookies, lollipops and hard candies. But most of all they reported buying fried dough, something the children find filling and that sells for an inexpensive two pieces for 5 *goud*.

> Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #1 (Female; 11 years-old; 5th grade): Sometimes she gives me 10 *goud*, she gives me 15 *goud*. Before I come to school they fry dough. I take the fried dough. Before recreation I go and get some more fried dough.
>
> Socio-Dig: OK. In the morning you eat some fried dough. How much does fried dough cost?
>
> Participant #3 (Male; 13 years-old; 5the grade): They give you 2 for 1 *dola* (1 Haitian *dola*= 5 *goud*)
>
> Socio-Dig: 2 for 1 *dola*, OK, and you?

Sharing Food as Strategy for Getting Enough to Eat

In rural Haiti, children are strongly encouraged to share food. It is a point that is hard to miss when living and working in the countryside and one that field workers commonly remark on. Alvarez and Murray (1981) observed, "It is not rare to see 15 children drink out of a bottle of kola, or to watch a dozen children eating from a piece of corn" (see also, Socio-Dig 2014). Similarly, money for school snacks opens the opportunity for sharing as a strategy of getting enough to eat.

> Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): Me, my mother often gets up in the morning and she doesn't have anything to give me. I say, "You don't have anything to give me, I am going." When I get to school I can't do anything. I sit in class and we work. Joking keeps me going. Now, when they let us go for recess, even though my mother didn't give me anything, I eat, I have friends, their mother gave them some money to buy fried dough, I go into the classroom and eat with them.

After School Feeding (see #Afternoon Food)

Children in the focus groups also reported that they usually get fed when they get home from school in the afternoon. Cited foods typically included rice with meat. One child mentioned bread and eggs.

> Socio-Dig: ... When you get home from school, do you always find food waiting for you?
>
> Children: Yes, yes, yes.
>
> Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): We find food already prepared when we get home from school.

Similarly,

> Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #3 (Male; 13 years-old; 5the grade): Me, as soon as I get home I always find food waiting for me. Because my mother, she sells cooked food. Even if I don't find anything at the house, I just go to where my mother is, and I say, "Mama, I'm hungry!" She takes food out of the cauldron for me…. She will leave rice, cooked food. Once we remove the uniform we can sit to eat and then after we can sit and study.

But, again as with comments from parents, the children do not always get fed when they get out of school, as one child commented: "…there are sometimes though that we don't find anything."

The Canteen

Fees (see #Fees)

Collecting of the Fees

Older children understood the need to pay the fees.

> Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Socio-Dig: Wait, let me be clear with you. Do you think the parents should pay?
>
> Participant #3 (Male; 13 years-old; 5the grade): Yes, because we eat every day.

Parents who cannot pay fees

Children also understood and expressed some sympathy for some parents who cannot pay fees.

> Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy), Socio-Dig: … Even if it's not you, are there children whose parents can't pay the 50 *goud* per month?
>
> Children: Yes.
>
> Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): There are some no matter what.

However, there was also implied sentiment that some parents were negligent and that there was need for action to collect the money.

> Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): … There are mothers who never pay the canteen. They send them home to get the money to pay the canteen because it's that money they need to collect to pay the teachers… Eh, not for the professors, rather to make food.

Some of the children admitted that they too had, at times, not paid,

> Socio-Dig: OK. … Is there anyone here who they've sent home because of the money for the canteen?
>
> Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): Yes, they've sent me home. When they sent me home, when they sent me home… I went and told my mother they sent me home because of the canteen money. I said, "Mama, work it out so that you can give me the money to pay." When my father came back he came and gave me 40 *dola* (200 *goud*) for the all the weeks I hadn't paid. He gave me 40 *dola*, and I went and paid it straight away.
>
> Socio-Dig: OK.
>
> Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): Sometimes they send me home. Like they sent me home, as soon as my parents have money I asked my parents' permission to take it. I didn't miss a day getting it paid. As soon as the month begins, I pay.

Children's Role in not Paying Fees

There is a suggestion that the program with collection of fees may be more of a problem with children not giving up the money or spending it on something else as much as it is a problem of parents not giving the children the money. As seen, parents overwhelmingly do give children money to take to school, we saw this in the Parent Survey from Phase 1 of the evaluation and it was seen in this report that children in the focus groups said that their parents gave them money. Thus, the issue might be what this money is intended for, or what children think it is intended for or, rather, what children reinterpret what it is intended for, in effect, spending it on snacks. But when we asked, Children in both focus groups were emphatic that they did not spend money meant to pay fees.

> Children: I'm not involved in anything like that. That never happens with me, but it happens with other kids.
>
> Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): A boy name Kenny who's in the 4th grade. His father gave him money to pay and he spent it. … And they thought that he paid. When they asked him if he'd paid, he said yes. And then when they went to the school administration to pay the next time, they said they hadn't paid the last month…. …When they got home,

> they whipped him. After that they didn't trust him with the money to pay again. Now the parents themselves go to pay. They know that he's in school, they'll pay the canteen fees. He didn't pay, he took the money.

Punishments for not paying Fees

Being Sent Home

As seen above, children corroborated that they were sometimes sent home for not paying fees, grades withheld and/or discriminated in terms of rations they were given when they did not pay.

> Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Socio-Dig: …. Do they give you food every day?
>
> Children: Somedays, somedays they don't give us any.
>
> Socio-Dig: Somedays they don't give you any?
>
> Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): When we don't pay the fee.
>
> ***
>
> Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Socio-Dig: They send you back home or they don't give you food?
>
> Children: They don't give us food
>
> Socio-Dig: That means you are looking at the other kids eat, and you don't get any food?
>
> Children: Yes.
>
> ***
>
> Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): At times when we don't pay, those who pay receive a bigger portion and those who don't pay receive a smaller portion.

The children emphatically did not agree with being sent home. Typical was the following comment,

> Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): When they send a child home, that's not good for him. A teacher could give a lesson, when exams come it will he hard on him. I don't really like when they send children home. There are times when parents really don't have anything to give them. But then there are parents who do not pay when they could. That's what I have to say.

Withholding Grades for not Paying Fees

Also, similar to reports from parents, children reported that school directors sometimes withhold grades until they have been paid the balance for the canteen.

> Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy), Socio-Dig: OK. Let me ask if it ever happens that the school keeps your grades at the end of the year, they don't give the grades because you owe money for the canteen.?
>
> Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): Yes.
>
> Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): There are some kids that happens to. But me, that's never happened to me.
>
> Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): That happens, but it's never happened to me.
>
> Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): They can go give them the money to get their grade book, they hand you the payment book for the canteen, so you can see that you haven't paid.

Beating Children for not Paying Fees

Once again similar to what parents said, children spontaneously talked of being beaten for not paying fees,

> Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Children: Yes, they sometimes send us home and they sometimes beat us.
>
> Socio-Dig: When you don't have the fees?
>
> Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): They say that our parents give us the money and we squandered it on other food.

However, also similar to parental focus groups, in the end it was not clear if the children were really ever beaten for not paying fees.

> Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Socio-Dig: OK. What do your mothers tell you when you tell them you were beaten? When you get home, do you tell your mothers?
>
> Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): I don't say anything.
>
> Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): We don't say it.
>
> Socio-Dig: Why don't you tell?
>
> Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): If we say that, we will receive another beating …
>
> Socio-Dig: Why would she beat you?

Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): If I misbehave I will get a beating and when I tell her I will get another beating.

Socio-Dig: No, not for being naughty. For instance, if you don't give the school the fee for food, do they beat you for that at the school?

Children: No.

Ambiguity in Reports on Punishments for not Paying Fees

It was also not clear to what extent children were punished for not paying fees,

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Children: If the child is there, they always feed them.

***

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette),Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): … No, I said they don't send me back home, they only make me sit.

***

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy), Children: No, no. They still feed them.

Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): Sometimes…. Sometimes they send them home. …

Praise for the Program and Opinion of Impact on Scholastic Performance (see focus group text, #Praise for Program)

Similar to parents, teachers, school directors and virtually everyone associated with the program, the children who responded to the question identified the value of the program for all stakeholders,

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): When they do something to give children food, it helps the parents a lot….Parents cannot have the money to give their children to go to school with. But because of the canteen, they can give their head a rest….

Participant #1 (Female; 11 years-old; 5th grade): It does a lot for us. Because there are some days, I go to school, my mother goes to sell, she doesn't leave any money for us. That, that can give me a program because when I get to school I can't eat. But now, even if they don't prepare the food early in the morning, at least we don't go home hungry.

Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): Me, sometimes I finish bathing, I put my uniform on, my mother and father don't have anything to give me. I go to the kitchen at my house, get a little pebble of salt and put it under my tongue. After that I go to school. Because I take the little pebble of salt, that's what helps me get

> through the day until they feed us. As soon as they feed us, I'm good to go. After that I go home.

And, once again similar to the adults, children say the program helps them get better grades,

> Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): There is a way that the canteen is very useful to me, and it helps my parents too… When I get home from school, they may not even give me money, they may not even have food, because there are no days when we don't get fed at school. That makes me not afraid. I just study.
>
> ***
>
> Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy), Socio-Dig: Does the canteen help you guys study more?
>
> Children: Yes, yes.
>
> Socio-Dig: It make us do better in school?
>
> Children: Yes, yes.
>
> Socio-Dig: Really?
>
> Children: Yes, yes.
>
> Socio-Dig: Why?
>
> Children: Because it helps us. When we eat, when our stomachs are full we don't get discouraged…
>
> Socio-Dig: You work more?
>
> Participant #3 (Male; 13 years-old; 5the grade): Yes.

Canteen Food (see #School Feeding)

As with the parents and as evident in the Parent Survey (see Report for Phase 1), children reported regular feeding, there are few complaints about quality, the children generally reported they like the canteen food. High on the list of favorites is rice, cornmeal, and all the common local staples: rice, sweet potato, manioc, yam, malanga, plantain, beans and bean sauce. Spaghetti was also mentioned. There were complaints about stew, but something that came up several times was that it lacks dumplings, a fact also mentioned by women in other focus groups (dumplings are typically made from wheat but can can be made from manioc and breadfruit flour—see #School Feeding Preferred Foods). Children rated the food high on taste, although some children also discussed personal predilections, for example, one did not like stew, some did not like beans.

Food Quantity (see #Food Quantity)

The children clearly preferred bigger helpings of food, but it was not a significant complaint.

> Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy), Socio-Dig: Is the amount of food they give you enough? Is it enough for you, or is it too little?
>
> Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): Seeing as there are so many children, they can't give us a lot. But when there are children who do not come to school, they give us bigger helpings.
>
> Socio-Dig: But when that happens, you guys are happy that they increased your serving? (laughs)
>
> Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): When they increase our food, we're happy. (laughs) When they don't have it, we're happy too…

Selling Your Canteen Meal

Children reported selling food they did not like, as evident in the following

> Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Socio-Dig: You can tell me if you really don't like it, you will not be in trouble.
>
> Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): At times, I give it away. Other times I sell it.
>
> Socio-Dig: Sell? You sell the food to other kids [laugh]. How much do you sell it for?
>
> Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): For 5 *goud.*
>
> Socio-Dig: For 5 *goud.*
>
> Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): Yes
>
> Socio-Dig: Why do you sell it?
>
> Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): Because I will not eat it.

What Foods Children Would Like to Add to the Canteen Meals

When asked what foods they would like to see added to the school menu, the children in both focus groups, once again, responded exactly as parents had in their focus groups: they mentioned fried plantains, corn meal, corn meal with greens, corn meal with beans in it, corn meal with bean sauce and millet. They also mentioned milk, as the adults have been so prone to do. One difference is that the children talked about meat and fish, something that no parents had done. The only imported food they mentioned was cracked wheat, something that some parents were prone to do when asked about additional foods. And they talked at length about adding juice, as parents and teachers had done.

Imported vs. Local Foods (see #Imported vs Local)

When asked about the value of imported vs. local food the children once again responded almost exactly as their parents had, with resounding preference for local foods and pejorative comments about imported food. Typical were comments such as,

> Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): Because [our food] it is better. The foreign one has worms in it.
> ***
> Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): Number 4. The local food has better taste and the foreign food …. some are made with plastic.
> ***
> Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): The reason I like the local rice it is because it has vitamins in it.

Alternative Foods for the Canteen (see #Alternative Foods)

When asked about substituting cold foods for hot meals, we got a positive reaction from the children and recommendations,

> Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): Non-cooked food? They can give me milk with peanut butter and bread.
>
> Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): Milk, bread and eggs
>
> Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): I would like milk with bread with… peanut butter with cassava and apple.

When asked if they would drink Akasan (a nutritious porridge or oatmeal), the children also responded positively.

#Salt-Food (see #Salt-Food)

Children were upbeat about the prospect of alternatives foods, but they also echoed their parent's preference for salt vs. sweet food and notably the problems with eating sweet-food (something that contradicts their admission early on in both focus groups regarding purchase of lollipops, hard candy, and cookies, but, at the same time, is consistent with the obious preference for fried dough).

> Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Socio-Dig: … What do you prefer to eat most, sweet or salty food?
>
> Children: Salty food
> Socio-Dig: Number 3 why do you prefer salty food, go ahead you can talk.
> Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): For me not to have upset stomach. [this child did in fact report purchasing fried dough and did not report purchasing candy].
>
> ***

> Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): Why is it that I eat more salty food? If I eat … rather if I eat sweet food I would be full of worms. I would rather eat salty food instead of sweets in the morning.
>
> ***
>
> Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy), Socio-Dig: OK, thank you. A question I would like to ask, what do you most like to eat, salt-food or sweet-food?
>
> Participant #3 (Male; 13 years-old; 5the grade): Salt-Food.
>
> Socio-Dig: Salt-Food, why?
>
> Participant #3 (Male; 13 years-old; 5the grade): Because it gives me strength. Sweet food can give you any kind of bad sickness.
>
> ***
>
> Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): Before you go eat something sweet, you are supposed to eat something salty first. Because when you eat something sweet in the morning it can give you worms, make your stomach hurt. Me, I'm a person who before I come to school can't eat something sweet. If I eat something sweet, I'll vomit the salt-food I ate before.

And once again just as with adults, children had a solution for the salt vs sweet food dilemma.

> Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): Like before too, before they give us hot food they could give us something salty, we would take it too. We would take it too, like cheese puffs, salt crackers, Guayrina.

Attitude toward Prospect of Cold Meals (see #Salt-Food)

When asked specifically about a cold vs. a hot meal at school children, like adults, expressed acceptance. Typical was the following exchange,

> Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): Cassava with peanut butter. And then the next day, they give you a hot meal that would be good.
>
> Socio-Dig: It would be good?
>
> Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): That wouldn't be a problem.

Opinions on Losing the Canteen

> Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy), Socio-Dig: If they were to say that they were going to take the canteen away, what would you do?

Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): If they were to take away the canteen it would discourage me a lot. And it's not just me that it would bother. It would bother all the children. There are times when they make food, when I eat fired dough, I don't worry about food. I go get it, I get it and eat it, but it's not really that I would even eat it.

Socio-Dig: OK. And you?

Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): If they would take away the school canteen it would be like a terrible thing they did to us. It's not only us, but also the parents because it helps them a great, great, great deal. When our parents have the means to give us 5 *goud*, they know that we're going to eat something at school no matter what. That's all I have to say.

Participant #3 (Male; 13 years-old; 5the grade): Because it would discourage us, because at about 11 o'clock you see that before you get out of school you're going to eat. Sometimes our parents don't have money to give us. We go to the canteen, we eat, we're satisfied. When we get home, we aren't so worried about food because we've already eaten. But if they were to take the canteen away, it would bother us a lot.

Socio-Dig: It would bother you a lot, OK.

Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): Like, sometimes food is useful because when it's about 11 o'clock we make food. Because food makes us study a lot, makes us understand what the professor is saying. Sometimes when they had not yet made the canteen we were hungry, the professor would be working on the chalk board, we couldn't even follow him, we would get discouraged.

2.2: with Canteen Supervisors: Assessing the Self-Purchasing Pilot Program

In the Fall of 2016, WFP initiated an experimental program whereby five Ti Rivye schools were given money to make purchases of fresh produce for their respective canteens. BND continued to deliver dried staple goods--such as rice, salt, and cooking oil—but school officials were to purchase their own fresh produce in local markets. Almost immediately schools began dropping out of the program. Hurricane Matthew, on October 3rd, completely disrupted the program. However, none of the schools subsequently wanted to return to purchasing their own produce. In this section we examine the reasons why the self-purchasing pilot program did not work.

Research

In September 2016, Socio-Dig researchers held a focus group with professors and school directors responsible for the pilot program for each of the five schools. The objective to explore their thoughts and aspirations for the pilot program. In July of 2017 Socio-Dig held another focus group with representatives from three of the five schools to assess why they did not want to return to the purchasing program. Below we provide the most significant points emphasized in both focus groups.



Figure 1: Canteen Supervisor Focus Group, September 2016

Pre-Program Focus Group (see Annex B, Organized Commentary)

Complaints

Spoilage (see #Complaint Rotten Food)

During the pre-program focus group, all the focus group participants complained about poor quality produce and high rates of spoilage. Participants belabored this point, complaining about every product BND delivered: manioc, spinach, eggplant, millet. Virtually all five of the participants had something to say.

> Participant #1 (Male; 2 Children; School director; 12 years employment): …. The yams too were a problem…. The people who were selling yams were saving money because they gave us a lot of yams that were “manboule”… they are old yams. They aren’t dry at all. They are no good. Merchants who buy yams to resell, when they find yams like that they take them out. And the person who is selling yams to the canteen knows very well that those yams are no good.
>
> *****

Participant #2 (Male; 0 Children; Teacher; 6 years employment): … the produce is not of good quality. Let me take an example. Spinach. When the spinach comes you always find that it's full of insects. The leaves are eaten up with holes. Most of the spinach rots.

*****

Participant #3 (Male; Child; Teacher; 12 years employment): Well… sorghum and millet…. was no good at all. Not at all, at all, at all! There were some beans they brought that we burned because they had insects in them. The sorghum too, when you put it on the fire it stunk. When something stinks you know that you can't eat it. ... The eggplant they bring, sometimes it's completely rotten.

*****

Participant #4 (Male; 6 Children; School Director; 3 years employment): … manioc also… There was a day they brought me some. They had peeled it and there wasn't 5 pieces that were any good…. The yams too, it's the same thing with the yams. They told me that it's when they are almost finished, seems that's when they brought them. I don't know if they abuse what they bring, but they're really no good.

*****

Participant #5 (1 Child; School director; 19 years employment): They bring millet and often it's no good, it's no good… It's spoiled… Just like how you find lumps in brown sugar, that's how it is. They can bring it to you today, tomorrow when you go to cook it, you look, when you open it, you see that it has little lumps and the lumps are full of green worms. Green. And when you take some in your hand, you see that your hand becomes black.

Quantity (see #Complaint Quantity)

Participants also complained of insufficient quantities,

Participant #5 (1 Child; School director; 19 years employment): … all the school directors who have a canteen in the program in the past year have the same complaint. I think that us five here plus the others feel the same way. … It is that the fresh product they give, sometimes it's short. When I say it's short, I mean in quantity. The quantity the program intends to give, it's not what we get. And the quantity the program intends to give, what BND intends to give, it's small too. … We went almost the entire year like that. We complained a lot….

Participant #1 (Male; 2 Children; School director; 12 years employment): …what they give us to, well, I'm repeating myself again, it's not enough. What they give us is not enough. There was a day that they brought yams for us. They said that they had brought 16 kilos. When I weighed it, I got 13 kilos. I called the agronomist and I told him how much they brought, that it was short. And another thing they do

> that isn't good for us, there was a time they brought the food in the night. When they do that I don't have an opportunity to weigh it. You understand. That's not good. Well, since it's an experiment, as the director said, it's an experiment, and we'll just have to wait and see what works and doesn't work.

The same participants that complained specifically about being shorted in quantities seemed to suspect that the BND staff was cheating them.

> Participant #5 (1 Child; School director; 19 years employment): …it's like they put it in water, it swells up, it gives you a quantity of kilograms, but the next day you go and weigh it and you don't get the same weight… they're always wet, always wet. When I weigh them, for example, they give me 5 kilograms, 6 kilograms of yam, when you weigh them, if they gave you exactly 6 kilograms, the next day when you go weigh them you'll get 5.85 kilograms. They always give you them every Monday, you, for you to cook them Wednesday, to make stew. Every week it's the same complaints in almost all the schools.

Concerns about the New program (see #Time Complaint and #Complaint Fear of New Program)

Even before the new program had gotten started, the teachers and directors responsible for purchasing were concerned about having the time necessary to make the purchases.

> Participant #5 (1 Child; School director; 19 years employment): … The worry I have now is that it's going to be an even bigger annoyance [laughs]. We complain now because, me, personally, I'm at 95% very, very busy already and that's just with the school. I only have a little time now to give to the school. Now there is the canteen activities that they've piled on top of everything else. …. I just have to give it a try. I'll try for the first month to see how it goes…
>
> *****
>
> Unidentified Participant: For me it's an abscess on top of a boil. I don't know if you know that expression, abscess on a boil? It means that they're increasing the pain, they're increasing the work.
>
> *****
>
> Participant #2 (Male; 0 Children; Teacher; 6 years employment): … When they told me that they were going to have us purchase the produce, before the school even opened I went to the director and I explained to him, I said that they've chosen the school for this pilot program that has us purchasing the produce. I said that if it's me who is responsible of the canteen, I'm going to need some free time so that I can manage the canteen for the school the way it should be done. Well, he didn't listen, he didn't hear me….

Positive About the New Program (see #Positive Sentiments about Pilot)

At least one participant was convinced that the program was the result of their complaints that it was a type of justice.

> Participant #5 (1 Child; School director; 19 years employment): … We complained a lot. Finally, BND decided that they would allow the five schools represented here to buy the produce themselves. Now what worries me, my worry is that I don't know if the other four schools are really going to get it, not that I feel I have it.

Moreover, despite the complaints, at least one participant felt the program was an opportunity,

> Participant #1 (Male; 2 Children; School director; 12 years employment): For me, I think it's a pleasure that they came with this program for these five schools. For me, I feel that it's a graduation of these five schools. I'm proud of it, despite the difficulties it brings…

Post-Program Focus Group (see Annex B, Organized Commentary)

Most complaints that came after the program were different than those mentioned before. The three post-program focus group participants complained about the difficulties that came with using scales rather than buying by volume, having to get receipts signed, and insufficient funds to purchase food for the children. A complaint that was not new was that they simply did not have the time. All the preceding were complaints aggravated by the frequency scarcity of produce. When they could not find a product, the buyers would have to spend more time and energy looking for it. At the same time, scarcity meant that the price went up. Similar to other focus groups (see Phase II Report), the participants also took the opportunity to complain about collecting fees from children, paying cooks and, most significantly, the challenge of procuring wood for cooking fuel. The pilot experience seemed to instill some empathy for BND. All three directors preferred that BND should be the one to continue to do the purchasing.

Complaints

Weighing (see #Weighing)

WFP and BND demand that produce be measured by weight. But as discussed in the section on Major Recommendation, the informal Haitian economy relies on a system of volume. Canteen supervisors for two of the three schools represented in the follow-up focus group described the problem that this contrast in measures causes.

> Participant #4 (Male; 57 years of age; 3 Children; High school; School Director): … We sent two representatives of the committee to purchase [in the market]. When they arrived, after two markets, let me see if I can say it the way they said it, they said it was a humiliation. Because when they got there, because they must take the scale to weigh things, they didn't find everything at once. … And as soon as

> the vendor sees that you're weighing the produce, she's already passed the word and every other vendor is impossible…
>
> ***
>
> Participant #1 (Male; 55 years of age; 8 Children; 10th grade; Teacher): … I went with my scale. I put it at the house of a friend. And I bought and weighed, bought and weighed. But when I looked, I saw that it wasn't good like that….

Receipts (see #Signing/Receipts)

Another frustration for one of the canteen supervisors was that BND requires the school purchasers to have sellers sign receipts

> Participant #3 (Male; 36 years of age; 1 Child; University; Teacher): … I ran into some difficulties because the peasants don't want to sign for you. Because you must verify the things, you get it approved by the people who sell to you. Well, if it were for that, you can just leave the stuff. That caused a lot of problems. … [And] The person on the committee who could go in my place, he doesn't know how to write to make the receipts [he's illiterate].

Not all the participants had trouble with the receipts,

> Participant #1 (Male; 55 years of age; 8 Children; 10th grade; Teacher): … Us, we didn't have any trouble getting people to sign. Because the people who brought it to me, I gave them the receipts, they signed them and gave them back to me. After that, when we arrived, we gave them back [to BND] and when they finished going over them they gave us money again. That's how it was done.

Scarcity (see #Scarcity)

Another issue that had to be dealt with was the scarcity of produce.

> Participant #4 (Male; 57 years of age; 3 Children; High school; School Director): … And the way things are, they go up and down. Sometimes there is abundance, sometimes there is not an abundance. Well, at the time we went to buy it could be a time when a lot of produce is finished, well, the price…
>
> ***
>
> Participant #3 (Male; 36 years of age; 1 Child; University; Teacher): …. it was a beautiful experience for me, except that there was produce that, like the director said, were difficult to find. I would replace them by the lot. Some were really expensive too, like yam. There are times where yams are more expensive than other times.

Not Enough Money (see #Money Insufficient)

Virtually all focus group participants complained about that the money was not enough. Typical were comments such as,

> Participant #4 (Male; 57 years of age; 3 Children; High school; School Director): …… when I sent the fourth person the last week, he came and said, 'ahh, my good friend, you know the misery I'm going through because there are products you can't find and secondly, they're expensive and the money, it's not enough for the children we have, it doesn't make it.
>
> ***
>
> Focus Group 15, Canteen Supervisors After Pilot, Participant #1 (Male; 55 years of age; 8 Children; 10th grade; Teacher): …. The money they gave us wasn't enough. so we put some of our own money on it to pay for gas for them to bring the produce to us. That's what we did…

Time (see #Time Complaint)

A major complaint, anticipated in the pre-pilot focus group, was that the supervisors simply did not have the time.

> Participant #3 (Male; 36 years of age; 1 Child; University; Teacher): … I found it difficult to continue because I was going to go to University. I go each Saturday and each Sunday. … [And] the other person won't go, especially on Sunday because he's part of the ministry at the church…
>
> ***
>
> Participant #4 (Male; 57 years of age; 3 Children; High school; School Director): No matter what, I couldn't have continued. Like I said already, I didn't' have time. Every Saturday and every Sunday I go to the University. I don't have time to go to market.

Preference for BND Purchasing

At least one of the three participants professed newfound empathy for the efforts that BND endures.

> Participant #4 (Male; 57 years of age; 3 Children; High school; School Director): … One observation I made is that I saw the trouble that BND must go through to find the fresh produce.

In the end, all participants decided that they would prefer that BND do the purchasing.

> Participant #4 (Male; 57 years of age; 3 Children; High school; School Director): Well, I already had talked to BND and told them that for the month of October they did not need to give Blank-School-1 money. They could give ROPANIP the money to continue buying…
>
> ***

Participant #3 (Male; 36 years of age; 1 Child; University; Teacher): … It was a beautiful experience. [Noise of a truck coming from afar]. That's what made some people already rent a storage depot? But I couldn't continue.

***

Participant #1 (Male; 55 years of age; 8 Children; 10th grade; Teacher): Well, for Blank-School-2, if BND gives it to us, we'll take it. I would rather they give me food than money.

2.3 Female Traders Focus Groups vs. All-Male Farmer Focus Group (FG 12, 13, and 16)

The final three focus groups conducted in Phase Three of the evaluation included two with female traders and one with male farmers (see Annex A for Organized Commentary). Commentary was typical of focus groups seen in Phase 1 and Phase 2 of the evaluation. Participants proclaimed enthusiasm for the program, preference for the local foods, and preference for hot meals; they preferred that hot meals were served at schools and they counseled against children eating sweet foods in the morning; they expressed despair over damage from the hurricane and despair over declining crop yields, low rain fall, lack of resources to invest in production, and the millet blight that began in 2015. The men in the all-male focus group wanted inputs for gardens, specifically seeds, fertilizer and money advanced against future harvests so they could pay laborers to help prepare gardens; the women wanted low interest loans to use as capital in trading ventures. Again, all these points were typical of earlier focus groups. But while also evident in earlier focus groups and discussed in the Report for Phase II of the evaluation (see final section of Phase II report), two points stood out and have such critical bearing on the program that, as we approach the conclusion to the evaluation, we feel that that it is useful to again emphasize them here. Specifically, these points are gender based division of labor in rural Haiti and the special role that women play in food handling.

Farming as the Main Form of Production and Survival for Men and Women

Both men and women in rural Haiti consider themselves farmers. The point is obvious with men, who define themselves as cultivators and livestock raisers, but women, too, emphasize dependency on farming as their principal means for survival (see #Women are Farmers)

> Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): … I would say that we're farmers. … We're obliged, we must plant, because that's what we live on.
>
> ***
>
> Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): … Yes, we work, we are farmers. But when we are not making gardens, we work, we work the land.

Farming and the Gender Division of Labor

To really understand farming in rural Haiti, one must understand the role that gender plays in the division of farm labor. It must be understood that while male roles tend to be circumscribed, women can and often do perform all farming tasks. When present, men plant gardens and care for livestock;[i] but in the relatively frequent case that no man is

present, women readily perform male tasks. Common are commentaries such as the following (see #Gender Division of Labor),



Figure 2: Traders in Petit Rivye

> Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): Well, we do it all. I'm talking to you now, a father died leaving me with 6 children. It's me who makes the garden. With the help of God, I work hard with my own arms. I toil in the ground. I handle a hoe, I handle a machete to make a garden and raise my children. I raised all my children and I paid for their educations.

Women also perform tasks that men rarely if ever perform. They wash clothes, clean the home, fetch water, prepare and cook food. When it comes to actual farming, women have roles that are almost exclusively their domain. They are typically responsible for harvesting. Although when present men most often till the soil, weed, and are considered the owners of those gardens, the harvests are thought of as the property of a woman. Whether it be a wife, mother, daughter or sister of the man who maintained the garden, it is typically her task to physically do or at least oversee the harvesting. It is also her task to process the crop. Last but by no means least of all, the transportation to market and sale of produce is almost exclusively the domain of women. Men in the focus group emphasized the exclusivity of female gender roles and their dependency on a wife (see #Gender Division of Labor),

> Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #6 (Male; 68 years of age; no Children; Farmer; No school): When a man takes a woman it's so that she can help him in all that he does. All that you do, if you can't have your wife when you finish working in the garden, or you finish working and it's you who has to go and sell the produce in the garden?... Do you see that it's possible? And it's the woman who should go measure the produce. You, you should work to give the woman something to sell. [laughs]
>
> ***
>
> Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #8 (Male; 40 years of age; 3 Children; High school diploma; Teacher, Farmer): … a person has a wife when he does the garden, what I mean is that it's the woman who takes the produce and goes to the market with it and sells it.

<u>Female Defense of their Control over Produce</u>

The point cannot be gainsaid: from the harvest to selling and purchasing in market to cooking and serving food, women dominate in all aspects of food handling. They are

taught to do so since they are children, and they excel at it. They also aggressively defend their rights to monopolize the sale and purchase of produce to the point of ridiculing and chastising men who dabble in female marketing roles (see #Men Selling). The women in both focus groups belabored this point.

> Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Socio-Dig: You know there are men who sell, who do everything in the market?
>
> Public: Yes, there are men who are stingy low-lifes [laughter]
>
> Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): No, our husbands are not like that?
>
> Socio-Dig: Yes, I know that (laughs). A question I want to ask about that…
>
> Public: Yes, they have them, they have them. They keep me from walking around the market when I go. [laughs] … My husband isn't like that, no, my husband is a good man.
>
> Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): There are some men, they do business, you understand. There are men who do business, who buy charcoal down there and go resell it in the market. Women are doing business, they're doing business… But there are men too who are stingy bums. Breadfruit, sweet potatoes, my little plantains…. My husband isn't like that. He doesn't know the price of plantains. My husband doesn't sell the little passion fruit he has, the little carosol he has. He doesn't know the price of breadfruit, price of mango, he gives me my load, I go to the market, my money is for me... Because women are responsible for the house, and so women sell (laughs).

Men, it should be added, make no pretense to be experts in handling food or marketing. We saw this in earlier reports (Report II, page 23). One example was a school director man responsible for a canteen recounted groups seeking advice from women regarding storage and handling of food. Women, on the other hand, define themselves as cooks and traders in produce (ibid, page 25).

The Feeding Program as an Opportunity for Men to Cut into Female Trade

WFP and BND should not miss the point that the pilot program offers real opportunities for men to bypass their wives. The two sexes, by virtue of their unique interests, have different aspirations they associate with the program. What we have seen throughout this evaluation is that men advocate for inputs and labor to invest in production. They do so relentlessly and give little consideration to female endeavors that may have a greater and more immediate impact on the canteen program, through skills such as processing, transport, and trading.

Male Special Interests

Whenever we have asked about how we can lower prices to feed more children in the canteen program, men talk about getting inputs from WFP. We saw this advocacy *ad naseum* in all the focus groups with men. In Tamarin, virtually every participant plugged for aid,

> Participant #8 (Male; 40 years of age; 3 Children; High school diploma; Teacher, Farmer): The best way for you to buy food at a low price is the way that he said a little while ago. WFP would enter with some aid. Especially with aid for the farmer...
>
> ***
>
> Participant #6 (Male; 68 years of age; no Children; Farmer; No school): … I believe that aid is for us. We would also like to sell with those people...
>
> ***
>
> Participant #5 (Male; 37 years of age; 4 Children; No school; Farmer): Yes, what the man said is good, because us, what makes us lack produce is that we lack structure… if we had a system to irrigate, that means that we would not have to wait for the rain to fall. We would always have produce. And if WFP facilitated us finding that means, as the man just said, a plow to turn the soil for us, and an agricultural office for us to find seeds when we needed them to plant, with the pump to irrigate, now, not only would we find an adequate amount for our families and ourselves, but we could help WFP too.
>
> ***
>
> Participant #4 (Male; 40 years of age; 5 Children; 8th grade; Farmer): First off, we would need a pump. Secondly, we would need a tractor available so that we can work …Well, eh, we're telling you what we need. Now it's the program that can go and tell…
>
> ***
>
> Participant #1 (Male; 67 years of age; 2 Children; 6th grade; Farmer): Something else I would ask: is it us alone who will produce this food, or will we get help so that we can produce more food? …

BND and WFP Handing Men Control of Female Food Handling Tasks

The point cannot be overstated. The project offers real opportunities for men to bypass their wives and sell produce on their own. And BND and WFP have virtually assured that men get the opportunity. BND has only one female purchaser in its program; all canteen supervisors are male; as are all school directors. The only women we encountered in the program were those given the least decision-making power: cooks, at least some of whom complained of not being heard when advising on how to more effectively manage the feeding program (ibid). Indeed, the fact that the failed market pilot program discussed in

previous focus group section (that with the canteen supervisors), was all-male should leave any observer mystified: why did they not send a woman to the market? Why did they not simply employ a market woman to make the purchases? Why did BND not hire a market woman to be responsible for supplying each of the school canteens?

Male Awareness of the Opportunity to Trade

Men are apparently aware of special opportunity the canteen program has offered them and at times seem deliberately bent on keeping women out. The point seemed evident as early as the original June 21-22 meeting in Pallant with Socio-Dig, WFP, and BND, and farmer groups. When Socio-Dig staff suggested that Madan Sara should provide produce, the male farmers at the meeting—who in fact were handling the produce-- were adamant about dangers of using them, saying things like, "They'll eat you alive"—meaning they were hard bargainers. Yet the very reason they would "eat us alive" is because of their superior competence as traders. Such comments were clearly intended to help assure a continuation of Association over food supplied to the schools and hence a *de facto* male monopoly over the purchasing of produce for the program. Mind you, these conversations revolved around the high costs and wastefulness of the project.

We also see deliberate efforts on the part of men to exploit the opportunity to sell produce apart from their wives, such as pictures of men cleaning beans that they intended to sell to the program without involvement of a woman, who would under any other circumstances be the marketers of the beans and the custodian of the money earned. (see Figure 2).



Figure 3: Men Doing Women's Work in Paillant

Again, the WFP and BND program itself has offered men this opportunity to exclude women—uncontested food handling experts. WFP and BND have all male purchasing staff, effectively putting men into the roles of women and mothers, challenging female dominion over an economic opportunity that has arguably assured rural Haitian women a level of gender equity unrivaled in most countries and certain far superior to that of their middle class, Haitian female counterparts (who suffer significant gender equity vis a vis their male spouses; see Schwartz 2015).

Men in Tamarin Campaigning for Control of Purchases

Getting back to the focus groups, this male drive to actively elbow their way into their wives' dominion over food was abundantly in evidence (see #Women Selling).

> Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Socio-Dig: OK. Now let's say we get together, we create a group of farmers. Now let's say that there is an institution that's going to come and buy food from us. Who's going to oversee selling that

food? Is it the woman who oversees selling that food? Or is it you men who are going for selling the food?

#6 (Male; 68 years of age; no Children; Farmer; No school): We will always have a woman who is at the head who will take responsibility of selling the food…

Socio-Dig: But it's men that I see here. I don't see any women, no.

Participant #8 (Male; 40 years of age; 3 Children; High school diploma; Teacher, Farmer): Like what you just said there, you said that if we had an opportunity, if we grouped in an association and some other group wanted to buy produce from us, how would we organize to sell it. Well, since we're an organization, we feel that we would put 2 or 3 people in charge of selling. It doesn't have to be women because men can sell too. Men can measure, men can sell. Me, I can measure and I can sell. Even this man here can measure. Everyone can measure….

Socio-Dig: OK, that means that what I'm trying to understand here is if you give it to an individual you will give it to a woman, but if it's a group, men can sell, women can sell?

Participant #8 (Male; 40 years of age; 3 Children; High school diploma; Teacher, Farmer): Yes.

Socio-Dig: That means that if you are alone, you can go sell too?

Participant #8 (Male; 40 years of age; 3 Children; High school diploma; Teacher, Farmer): No, well, men can go sell too. You know, there could be some men here that sometimes go and sell but they don't want to admit it. Me, I have not yet gone and sold, but there are men who have sold.

Socio-Dig: Why haven't you sold?... [laughs] What I'm trying to understand is why, if you're alone, you agree that a woman sells, but when your together, you say that men can sell…Why is that? Why is it that when you're in a group you say that men can do it, but when you're alone you say that it's women you give to sell?

Participant #8 (Male; 40 years of age; 3 Children; High school diploma; Teacher, Farmer): No, we don't say that it's because women are women, because it's her who feels she has more time than us. We are always busy. That's why it happens that she can do it for us. But if she didn't have the time, we could go too, yes.

Socio-Dig: If an association of women had more time, you could have them sell for you too?

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #8 (Male; 40 years of age; 3 Children; High school diploma; Teacher, Farmer): Well, that's what I would say to you, because it's an association we're starting here, to sell it can be women or it can be men too.[ii] [iii]

Advice from Women on how Women can Improve the Program

The reliance on men is especially significant for the school feeding program, not only because men cut into market share, but because women are significantly more competent at harvesting, aggregating, transporting, storing, processing, and cooking foods. It is the profession of virtually all rural women in Haiti. It is what they do. Rural Haitian mothers teach their dughterrs the skills of food harvesting, handling, transport and sales beginning when they are girls. And the unique economic role of women means that they should best understand the possibilities for improving procurement for the school program. Indeed, women, and not men, should be doing it. Almost any woman is imminently more qualified to purchase in the market than the men overseeing the canteen in the pilot purchasing program—seen in the previous focus group section--none of whom wish to return to purchasing in the market.

In highlighting this argument, three points came through during the focus groups that should be emphasized: 1) unlike men in any focus group, women eagerly expounded on the techniques necessary to effectively make purchases, 2) women abhor formal credit and, 3) recommendations women made for purchasing in the immediate vicinity of schools.

Women & Purchasing Techniques

When asked about how the Canteen program could save money, women immediately began expounding on the prices and techniques for purchasing (see #Saving Money).

> Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #5 (female: 8 children: middle school; Trader): … Money matters, money in your hands, go to the market.
>
> Unidentified participant: I am going in front of a merchant and ask for price, if she does not give it to me at my price I will just return to my chair. When I return to my chair…. I will try another merchant. You must have experience to buy in the market, you must buy well.… When you don't know the price for something, a person should not tell you a product is 10 *goud* and you, you just hand her the 10 *goud*. You shouldn't give it to her. You give her 7 *goud*. You can give her 6 *goud*? [Laughs] … You must haggle.

Abhorrence of Credit

Important to also understand is that women do not want credit. They sometimes take the credit offered them. But they do not want to pay the interest rates and many claim they eschew borrowing from big traders and organizations (see #Credit).

> Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): … there are big traders who may want to sell your credit because the big traders are also buying on credit. You may take the

credit and you go sell on credit, but you give your good friend some credit and you know sometimes, it's not all of us who pay. There are people who take a little something and she makes a sacrifice and pays. But when you trade on credit, it's going to be a problem for you.

***

Socio-Dig: …Do you get credit from an institution that you can borrow from and put into commerce?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): No, we don't do that. …I don't do that, because it's something I'm afraid of. I'm afraid because sometimes you borrow money and you lose your merchandise…. There are times you borrow money from someone and you lose your merchandise. You didn't have your own money, it drives you into a state of frustration, you must pay it back.

***

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): ..You know, FONKOZE was here and they came and did something with them. They loaned … the director offered it to me. I told him no, I don't like it.

Socio-Dig: You don't like it?

Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): Every time there's a meeting, the women go. And every time they take some money to give FONKOZE. The director offered me. At that time, I had a baby, I said no, I'm not taking the littlest thing because I don't like it. If I have 50 *goud* I made, then with that 50 *goud* I'm not going to give it to someone else. If I lose, I lose; if I win, I win by myself.

Socio-Dig: Did you tell FONKOZE that it's a headache?

Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): Aaa (laughs) A headache.

***

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Socio-Dig: OK. When you used to sell, did you take credit?

Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): No, I traded with my own money. Slaughtered animals, slaughtered pigs, and then invested in other activities. Bought millet, bought beans, bought peanuts, sold them with my own money. I'm always afraid of borrowing.

Socio-Dig: You never borrowed?

Participant #3 (Female; 47 years-old; 3 children; 6th Grade; Trader): Yes, I borrowed, yes.

Socio-Dig: Where did you borrow?

Participant #3 (Female; 47 years-old; 3 children; 6th Grade; Trader): At BNC.

Socio-Dig: Do you ever buy merchandise at the big depots?

Participant #3 (Female; 47 years-old; 3 children; 6th Grade; Trader): Yes, I used to buy, yes, I bought with my own money, so I didn't wind up owing.

Women do not want to borrow, but they want to use money.

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Socio-Dig: Have you borrowed money from any institution, like FONKOZE?

Participant #1 (female; 69 years old; 6 children; No education; Trader): No, no I don't go to FONKOZE. Like now other people lend me money.

Socio-Dig: The people who loan to you are family or friends?

Participant #1 (female; 69 years old; 6 children; No education; Trader): Friends…

***

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): What I mean, like me, if I am struggling with my limited means, I see that she already has a few 1,000 *goud* to manage. But while I don't go on the bus, I might let her borrow 1,500, 2,000 *goud* to add to her 1,000 *goud*, she goes and hustles and when she returns she will give me mine back. That's the way it is.

Socio-Dig: She doesn't have to give it back to you with interest.

Participants: No

***

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): No. We have some people giving it with interest. Those people are called "Eskont." But the way we live, we do not have people who *eskont.*

The preceding points are important because they highlight the significance of trading, the keen interest and knowledge women have, and how women can participate with the program, for example by purchasing for the program and earning profits in the exchange.

Unidentified Participant: As soon as the you have the money, you can buy the items. If they give you something to buy for them, they might pay 10 *goud*, you

bargain, and you get it for 8 *goud*. Even 8 *goud,* they can afford to give you in the market.

Purchasing in the immediate vicinity of schools

The knowledge and the capacity women as purchasers came through when they were asked if they could devise an effective strategy for purchasing in the immediate vicinity of schools (see #Saving Money**)**.

> Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): OK. What I would do…. the entire neighborhood is going to know everything that is happening. In the neighborhood, when someone has plantains, or yams, now that person is going to market, and for me, I would buy it. I would buy everything that that those women have who are going to sell. Mme Fred, Florans, Mme Franck. Yes, like it was a market. Mme Franck could be responsible for buying from everyone who comes there. They wouldn't need to carry their loads to the market. They would not need to go down to Ti Rivye anymore. Now, we know that when someone had plantains it would be something that's already right here in the neighborhood… people who are marketers, who have produce that they are going to sell, food that they have that they are going to sell in the market, that they don't need go to 6th section with it. Now, they'll get money because I will buy from them, I will buy that merchandise and you know that it's local food, that's for the school because it's local food they give the schools now. I would buy all the food in the neighborhood, and that food they no longer need to go to the 6th section with it.

Similarly, as marketers, the women immediately grasped the complexities of transport and opportunity costs,

> Socio-Dig: OK. Do you think that the food you would buy here in the neighborhood would be a better deal than what you would buy in the market at Miso?
>
> Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): No, they will not give you a better deal…
>
> Socio-Dig: She doesn't pay transport, she doesn't have to go through all the trouble.
>
> Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): The only thing, if she had to pay 3 *dola*, I would say she can give me 25 *dola*, like if she did not have a pack animal to carry the produce and it was on her head that she carried it. I could be easy, she could give her 25 *dola* that I put as the smallest amount. If they were going to sell at 50 *dola* or 60 *dola*, and she had to pay 50 *goud* for transport, she could give it to us for 40 *dola*. She could give Malanga or Yams, depending on the quality of yam. If they were yam that were going to sell for 80 *dola*, she would get 60 *dola* for it,

because carrying it… Since our neighborhood doesn't go down to the 'Cemetery' any longer, it's only one market that we have, Miso. Yes, because the person must look to see if she has a pack animal. If you give me a price that's not good, if the price is no good, I'm going to saddle my animal and go sell the produce at the market. I'm not going to sell to her any more, they aren't going to sell to me. Now, I'm going to load my animal, she doesn't give me a good price for the plantains, for malanga, or for the yams. Now she has her animal right there, as soon as she sees I'm not going to give her a good price, she's going to put the produce on the animal and go with it.

3. Major Recommendations

It is the opinion of the author the most important take-way from this report is the role that women should play in the school feeding program. Haitian women have a near monopoly on every aspect of the food industry. This is true in both cities and the countryside, but it is especially true for the rural areas. From harvesting food from gardens to transport and processing to sales and purchases to the actual preparation of food. Women are taught from childhood to manage food. Men on the other hand are taught to laborious tasks associated with farming—taking care of crops and animals—as well as skilled labor such as house construction and fishing. The importance of women and the neglect to make effective use of their expertise in food handling was manifest in the focus groups and in the program in the following ways,

- Inefficiency of purchasing for the program: first two years of the pilot program were highly inefficient in terms of administrative costs, such that the WFP and BND support respectively, cost more than the food for the program.
- Arguably, one major reason inefficiencies were not overcome has been the use of largely male dominated farming associations as suppliers of produce. However,
- Despite the salient role of women in food handling and the relatively low competence of men in this area—the result of entrenched cultural rules—almost all decisions makers in the program are male. No school directors in the program are female, only one BND purchaser was reported to be female, and all the canteen supervisors we met at the 12 schools studied were male. The only significant roles that women have in the program are as cooks, essentially the lowest and least empowered role in the entire program. Cooks in fact complained during focus groups that their advice is not heeded.
- In late 2016, WFP and BND shifted to a strategy of purchasing from the markets, an area of female economic activity, yet there has not been a concurrent shift in use of women as purchasing agents.
- Perhaps most conspicuous in terms of ## is The failure of the pilot program where 5 schools were selected to purchase their own produce in the market stands out as a likely example of the consequences of using males in an area where they are not competent and of ignoring. In every case it was a male who ran the pilot program and was responsible for purchases. And when they delegated authority to others, in every case we gathered information on, they delegate purchasing task to other men. Why did they not send a woman to the market? Why did they not simply employ a market woman to make the purchases? Why did BND not hire a market woman to be responsible for supplying each of the school canteens?
- The shift in program strategy from supplying schools by purchasing from the male dominated associations to purchasing from the female dominated markets did not come with a congruent shift to relying more on women as food handlers.

3.1: Major Recommendation 1: Truly Local Meals

WFP is constrained by high, codified standards. However, if the Haitian national school feeding program is ever going to be truly local, if it is going to be sustainable, if it is going to promote domestic agricultural production—the vast bulk of which is peasant production--and if the Haitian government is ever going to assume full fiscal responsibility for the program, then arguably the program, a) must depend on local economies, b) must be low cost and c) must be administratively simple. In effect, the national school feeding program should tap into the local internal marketing system (see ##, Report Phase 2) and it should tap into the local industry of prepared food, thereby eliminating the need for high administrative costs associated with the current program and relieving school officials of the burden of the program. With these goals in mind, we present in this section a series of the most commonly available local foods together with street costs and a cursory nutritional analysis. The suggestion is that prepared food containing twice the calories and protein available in a 200 gram meal of rice, beans and vegetables could be delivered to the school by local vendors for as much as ½ or less the current cost.

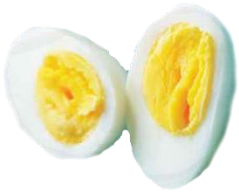


Figure 4: Typical School Kitchen in the Nippes Canteen Program

(Note that all quantities are based on actual samples purchased and prices from telephone surveys conducted with respondents in the department of Nippes. The nutritional content analyses are only meant to be suggestive as they are based on resources available through rapid online searches and likely do not include full calorific content as the value of cooking oil tends to be underestimated (in what might be a strategy to maximize caloric intake for price, Haitians tend to saturate foods with cooking oil, see Section, Major Recommnedation 3.2.3)..

Banana and





43g for 23¢

Calories	30
Protein	2.2g
Fat	1.9g
Carbs	.5g



120g for 15¢

Calories	126
Protein	1.2g
Fat	0g
Carbs	28g



60g for 8¢

Calories	63
Protein	.6g
Fat	0g
Carbs	14g



21.5g for 12.5¢

Calories	15
Protein	1g
Fat	1g
Carbs	.3g

Peanut





32g for 15¢

Calories	192
Protein	8g
Fat	16g
Carbs	4g



16g for 8¢

Calories	96
Protein	4g
Fat	8g
Carbs	2g

Cassava bread and peanut





27g for 8¢

Calories	81
Protein	0.7g
Fat	0.14g
Carbs	192g



Cassava=27g + PB=8g for 15¢

Calories	129
Protein	3g
Fat	4g
Carbs	193g

Breadfruit nuts





224g for 15¢

Calories	448
Protein	19g
Fat	14g
Carbs	56g



112g for 8¢

Calories	224
Protein	9g
Fat	7g
Carbs	28g

Plantain and Sweet Potato





23g for 15¢

Calories	127
Protein	1g
Fat	6g
Carbs	18g



12.5g for 8¢

Calories	69
Protein	0g
Fat	3g
Carbs	10g



45g for 20¢

Calories	63
Protein	0.8g
Fat	4g
Carbs	7g



22.5g for 10¢

Calories	31
Protein	0.4g
Fat	2g
Carbs	3.5g

a) Fried manioc sticks, b) boiled yam, c) fried sweet potato, d) fried plantain, e) fried breadfruit slices,



a)



27g for 8¢	
Calories	97
Protein	0.3
Fat	4.3
Carbs	15

b)



110g for ¢8	
Calories	90
Protein	2
Fat	0
Carbs	20

e)



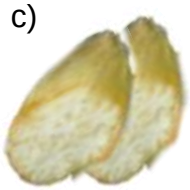
112g for 8¢	
Calories	115
Protein	1
Fat	0
Carbs	30

d)



22g for 8¢	
Calories	55.4
Protein	0.3
Fat	2.9
Carbs	7.9

c)



50g for 8¢	
Calories	88
Protein	1.12
Fat	3.5
Carbs	13

Grilled corn





50g for 15¢	
Calories	194
Protein	5g
Fat	2g
Carbs	37g



25g for 8¢	
Calories	97
Protein	2g
Fat	1g
Carbs	19g

Popped corn





44g for 15¢

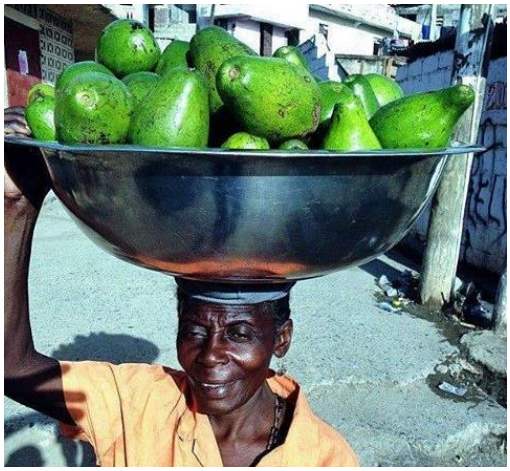
Calories	170
Protein	4g
Fat	2g
Carbs	33g



22g for 8¢

Calories	85
Protein	2g
Fat	1g
Carbs	16g

Avocado





398g for 23¢

Calories	636
Protein	8g
Fat	64g
Carbs	32g



100g for 6¢

Calories	160
Protein	2g
Fat	16g
Carbs	8g

ChanmChanm
(Corn & Coconut)





21.5g corn & 21.5g peanuts for 8¢

Calories	212
Protein	16
Fat	19
Carbs	68

Coconut and/or Peanut





5g sugar + 14g peanuts for 8¢

Calories	103
Protein	4g
Fat	7g
Carbs	7g



12g sugar & 6g coconut for 8¢

Calories	67
Protein	0g
Fat	2g
Carbs	13g

Akasan (Haitian Corn Shake





425ml for 15¢

Calories	510
Protein	9g
Fat	6g
Carbs	417g



330ml for 8¢

Calories	396
Protein	7g
Fat	4g
Carbs	323g

Rounding off the Meal with High Calorie and Low-Cost Juices

As with most Westerners, Haitians use a wide variety of fruits that they consume in the form of juice. However, they also make juices from vegetables, opening the opportunity to efficiently provide high-calorie with fresh produce in the form of a juice. While 'nutritionally incorrect' in developed countries, sugar is arguably the reason many Haitians have been able to survive on extremely low incomes. After edible oils at 7 calories per gram, sugar has the most calories per gram of any food, 4. per gram. More importantly however, it is the lowest cost staples per calorie (1.5 US cents per 27 grams). The raw reality of poverty facing Haitian children and their need for calories first and formost. Moreover, during focus groups school directors claimed that parents would provide fruits free to schools. The juices can be an addition to any meal, typically drank after the solids are consumed—such as those listed in the previous section-- or they can and are consumed with bread, something that is culturally appropriate and a commune breakfast strategy. In the case of local procurement school feeding, wheat bread can be replaced with cassava, or other candidates for the introduction of alternative bread products are breadfruit, millet. Moreover, juices are impregnated with sugar, something that together with edible oils is the most cost-effective source of calories and can thereby be used to assure that children get enough caloric intake while the other foods assure the consumption of vitamins and proteins.

List of Produce that Haitians use to make Juice

1) Zoranj (Orange)
2) Chadek (Grapefruit)
3) Sitwon (Lime)
4) Tamarin (Tamarin)
5) Seris (Cherry)
6) Gwayav (Guayava)
7) Kowosol
8) Papay
9) Mango
10) Fig
11) Kokoye
12) Kawot (Carrot)
13) Ponmdete (Potatoes)
14) Liyan panye
15) Banan
16) Mayi
17) Pitimi
18) Patat
19) Lam
20) Yam blan
21) Yam jon
22) Manioc
23) Malanga
24) Joumou
25) Militon
26) Berejen
27) Bet rav
28) Nave
29) Chou
30) Pwatann
31) Piman
32) Kalalou
33) Kresan
34) Epina
35) Tomat
36) Kokom
37) Squash

Comparative Costs

The significant point about the foods presented on the preceding pages is that they are a) completely local in the sense that they are typical street foods sold throughout Haiti, b) the prices and quantities are known local prices on the street, c) the costs include preparation and delivery, i.e. vendors would/could provide these products to the schools. Thus, compare 2017 WFP and BND meals plus administrative and preparation costs for vegetables with rice and beans to similarly balanced local meals.



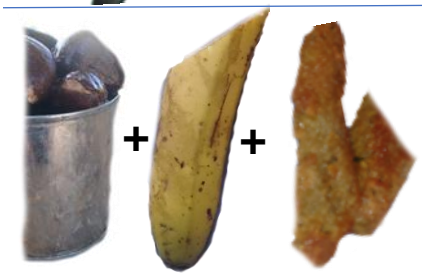
200g of 16¢

Calories	200
Protein	5g
Fat	3g
Carbs	40g

+ **BND at 18¢**

+ **WFP at 17¢** = **59¢**

+ **Parents at 8¢**



24¢

Calories	384
Protein	15g
Fat	11g
Carbs	57g



24 grams at 2¢

Calories	96
Carbs	24g

=

26¢

Calories	480
Protein	15g
Fat	11g
Carbs	81g



14¢

Calories	372
Protein	18g
Fat	35g
Carbs	76g



24 grams at 2¢

Calories	96
Carbs	24g

=

16¢

Calories	466
Protein	18g
Fat	35g
Carbs	100g



23¢

Calories	525
Protein	10g
Fat	8g
Carbs	517g



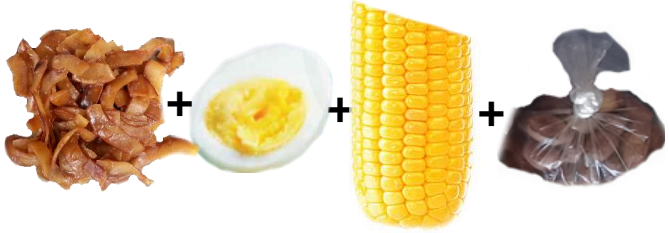
24 grams at 2¢

Calories	96
Carbs	24g

=

25¢

Calories	621
Protein	15g
Fat	11g
Carbs	105g



36.5¢

Calories	311
Protein	11g
Fat	17g
Carbs	31g



24 grams at 2¢

Calories	96
Carbs	24g

=

38.5¢

Calories	407
Protein	11g
Fat	17g
Carbs	55g

3.2: Major Recommendation 2:
Tropical Staples, Nutrition and Promotion of Local Production

Regarding interventions that focus on linking farmers to school feeding: If WFP is going to assist farmers to increase production—and it has been argued elsewhere that they should focus first on processing—then they should focus on nutritional crops best suited to be grown in Haiti, among them Manioc, Millet, Peanuts, Sweet Potatoes, and Breadfruit are five of the most important tropical food crops on earth, highly suited for cultivation in Haiti; in fact widely grown, but vastly underutilized in terms being processed into storable and transportable flours that can be readily consumed by school children in the form of nutritious pastes, cakes, breads and porridges.

Manioc (Manihot esculenta) is one of the most productive tropical food plants on earth in terms of calories produced per square meter, surpassed only by sugar cane and sugar beets. It needs more rain than sweet potatoes to grow (see below), but it is more tolerant of drought, easily surviving dry periods longer than six months and it grows in marginal soils. Unlike sweet potatoes, cassava has the unique ability to be stored in the ground and is hurricane proof because it can lose all its leaves and its branches may break but the root, which is where the food is, will not die. After drought or hurricanes the plant draws on carbohydrate reserves in the roots to rejuvenate itself (see Toro and Atlee 1980; Cock 1985). Manioc is globally the 3rd most important tropical food: 500 million people eat it. The leaves are a good source of protein and iron that Africans chop, boil, season and then eat like people in North America and Europe eat spinach. Its roots are the source of most its carbohydrates and can be pounded into a flour that is easily shipped and stored. The flours can be stored months and can be mixed with other flours and/or corn meal to make bread and a host of other durable comestibles. It is also used to make at least a half dozen other comestibles, including Chikwangue, a fermented and savory paste that ships well and stores at ambient tropical temperatures for up to two weeks. Ironically, despite all these possibilities and the ostensible need for storable local food crops, Haitians rarely make powder flour with manioc (foufou), they do not mix it with other flours to make cakes, only a few make chikwangue, and they do not eat its high protein leaves, all a rather startling summary for a population highly anemic and close to the caloric margin.

Millet (Pennisetum glaucum) is another wonder crop that yields with minimum rainfall. The roots reach more than eight feet beneath the surface, enabling the plant to withstand over two months of drought. When the crop is entirely lost to drought or has been harvested, the stalks can be cut back and with the first rains the plant will begin growing again; it can potentially yield 10,000 seeds for every seed planted, it grows on land otherwise lost to salinization, and it's hard kernels store as well or better than wheat (see Nzeza 1988). It is also one of the tropics most eaten foods and nutritionally on par or superior to corn and wheat. It can also be used to make a wide assortment of storable and marketable comestibles, including bread. Haitians eat it and they grow it. Although

millet in Nippes has recently suffered an epidemic, the environmental and edaphic practicality and adaptability of millet mean that Haitians depend on it--as they do manioc. But similar to manioc they make none of the mentioned foods--delicacies in some parts of the world-- and they eschew millet for rice, wheat, and corn, high prestige cereal foods that have been intensively marketed by US interests (corn followed by wheat are the two premier US exports with a long history of highly sophisticated in-country marketing support from US interests).[iv]

Peanuts (Arachis hypogaea) are even more drought resistant than millet. They can be planted in a wide variety of soils, including sand and in chaparral where only cacti and xerophytic plants are found. It is also the premier high yield cash crop in the mountains, taking over the role that corn and beans fill on the plains (see Nzeza 1988). Not only are peanuts suitable for massive cultivation in Haiti, they are a nutritional super-food highly appropriate for specific needs of impoverished Haitian children as they blow the top off the charts in terms of calories and protein and, as or more importantly, fat content. Regarding fat, while western NGO employees, most of who struggle with too much fat in their diets, tend to look with jaundiced eye on food with high fat content, most Haitians do not get enough fat. Edible oils are a critical component in the human diet: necessary in building cell membranes as well as regulating hormone, immune, cardiovascular, and reproductive systems. USDA recommends that daily fat/oil intake not exceed 30% and not fall below 20% of total daily calories fat.[v] As seen in Table 3.2.3, below, low income countries tend to dip beneath the recommended minimum; Haiti is among them.[vi]

Breadfruit trees (Artocarpus altilis) are, at 16 to 32 tons/hectare (6.7-13.4 tons/acre), another of the world's most productive food crops, one for which Haiti is an ideal location as breadfruit grows within the tropics and subtropics. and up to 3,500 feet above sea level. The young trees begin producing fruits as young as 24 months after planting and at 7 years of age yield average 5 tons per hectare. They thrive in marine environments, soils high in sand content, and they will grow in saline soils. They are maintenance free, the trees being monoecious, meaning that male and female flowers grow on the same tree. They also yield all year round with a peak season per tree of 5 to 6 months and with some 30% of fruits being produced in off season. In Nippes breadfruit is so abundant year round that school directors in focus groups considered it essentially cost free, frequently reporting that canteen cooks add breadfruit where there is a shortfall in the program supplies. For example, in focus group included in the present report,

> Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #3 (Male; Child; Teacher; 12 years employment): I don't know if it's that they leave them in the sun or what. The manioc, sometimes you peel it and put in the pot and it's no good. There is a lot of manioc that rots on us before we can use it. There is no way you can feed it to the children. Sometimes you peel as many as 15 breadfruits, put

them in the cooking pot so that you can complete the little bit that we get from the program to feed them. What they bring is not enough….

The fruits are nutritious: 27% carbohydrates and 1% protein, high in vitamin C, thiamin and potassium with a relatively high 100 grams of breadfruit provides 102 calories. In Petite Riviere de Nippes, there is an annual breadfruit festival during which local women process breadfruit into 22 different forms of porridges, cakes, breads, chips, fries, balls, pastries, and preserves. Yet, despite all the uses and despite that breadfruit can be processed into a flour that will store for as long as one year, there is no breadfruit flour produces in the Nippes region. Nor does the canteen program purchase breadfruit flour from anywhere else (see Jones et al. 2010; Jones 2014; Moron 1987).

Sweet potato (Ipomoea batatas) go into a state of dormancy during drought and then come back vigorously at first rain and may yield as much as twelve metric tons per acre on as little as four inches of rainfall. The more it rains, the more the vine produces (see Bouwkamp 1985; Onwueme 1978). They are available year-round in rural Haiti. They are considered the cheapest of foods and yet they are highly nutritious, with 86 calories per 100 grams and a super-source for vitamin A. Like breadfruit, sweet potatoes can be processed into porridges, cookies, chips, fries, pastries, and flour that will conserve for months. Yet, also like breadfruit, there are no producers of sweet potato flour in Nippes. Nor does the canteen program purchase sweet potato flour.

Table 3.2.1: Nutritional Comparison of Common Staples

	Calories	Carb (Grams)	Fat	Protein
Peanuts	**567**	16.13	**49.24**	**25.8**
Wheat	342	**75.9**	1.71	11.31
Millet	206	41.19	1.75	6.12
Blackeyed Peas	193	33.62	4.34	5.24
Rice	193	41.41	0.83	3.6
Plantain	122	31.89	0.37	1.3
Black Beans	91	16.56	0.29	6.03
Corn	86	19.02	1.18	3.22
Soy	60	5.57	0.1	10.51

http://www.twofoods.com/compare/query/c295/cGVhbnV0

Table 3.2.2: Nutritional Comparison of Common Staples					
Product (100 grams)	Calories	Carb (Grams)	Fat	Protein	Cost ($k per ton)
Peanuts	**567**	16.13	**49.24**	**25.8**	**2.2**
Wheat	342	**75.9**	1.71	11.31	.30
Millet	206	41.19	1.75	6.12	.20
Blackeyed Peas	193	33.62	4.34	5.24	
Rice	193	41.41	0.83	3.6	.42
Plantain	122	31.89	0.37	1.3	.95
Black Beans	91	16.56	0.29	6.03	.
Corn	86	19.02	1.18	3.22	.19
Soy	60	5.57	0.1	10.51	45

http://www.healthaliciousness.com/nutritionfacts/nutrition-facts-compare.php

Table 3.2.3: Estimate of Percentage of Calories per day from fat

	Calories per day from fat[1]	Total calories per day[2]	% of daily calories from fat
North America & EU[3]	1305	3,380	0.39
Latin America and the Carib.	711	2,830	0.25
Near East	630	2,910	0.22
North Africa	576	3,180	0.18
East and South East Asia	468	2,660	0.18
Sub – Saharan Africa	405	2,190	0.18
South Asia	405	2,400	0.17
Haiti (unlikely) best case	**711**	**2,830**	**0.25**
Haiti (probable) mid case	**405**	**2,190**	**0.18**
Haiti (possible) worst case[4]	**342**	**2,086**	**0.16**

1 = Total FAT calories per day from FAOSTAT 2003

2= Total Calorie per day from FAO 2001

3 = North America and EU is Average from FAOSTAT 2003

4= From FAO, cited in CRS Report for Congress 2007

3.3: Major Reommendation 3:
Women's Groups, Aggregation and Food Processing

It is not enough to have farmers who produce foods necessary for school feeding, there must be strategies for aggregating and processing foods so that schools get enough food for their canteens and they get the foods in a form that is readily transported, stored and prepared. With this in mind one area of intervention that should be considered is women's groups, processing foods.

- Women processing groups could as processing enterprises
- WFP and BND should promote training in processing techniques such as conservatives, flours, enriched peanut butter blends
- Through the groups WFP and BND could also introduce new storage and processing techniques of foods such as those mentioned in Recommendation 3. Specifically,

        - manioc: garni, pudding, chikwangue, foufou
        - millet: flour, bread
        - peanuts: peanut butter and fortified RUTFs
        - sweet potatoes
        - breadfruit
- Promote new or little used recipes (millet bread, cakes)
- Train in seed preservation storage

These cooperatives should be linked to voucher system whereby WFP and BND can provide redeemable vouchers that schools can use to purchase the processed foods from women groups, thereby building on other recent strategies that WFP, USAID and the humanitarian sector working in Haiti have implemented.

3.4: Major Recommendation 4:
Haiti Informal Economy Volume Measures

The School pilot project depends on weight measures to quantify purchases and school meal rations. However, similar to the old European, British and US systems that used “dry gallons,” “wine gallons” and “corn gallons”, the Haitian informal economy in which virtually all stakeholders other than WFP and BND operate uses volume measures.

The most significant measures for both the market woman and the typical customer are those used to measure the most popular staples foods. Cans and cups from the mammit (3 litre can), to the ti mammit (500 ml can), to the gode (440 ml), demi gode (320 ml) and the the Bwat Let (180 ml) are used to measure grains and pulses such as corn, rice, beans as well as sugar, salt and even charcoal. Also common are bottles used to measure cooking oil, gas for lamps, and raw rum. These measures are a main feature of the domestic economy, such that every child becomes familiar with them when running errands to the market. For the *marchann* (vendor) they represent the most common measures used to sell. At a higher level, and most familiar only to the big traders and transporters, are the sacks used for wholesales and transport and the buckets and drums. Quite different are the baskets used to measure and transport products that could otherwise be crushed, such as mangos, tomatoes, oranges, and vegetables as well as bread. Although they are an ancient means of handling, nothing has yet replaced them.

Insisting on weights causes confusion among the purchasers and cooks in the school feeding program, most of whom are significantly less educated than their BND and WFP counterparts. It also causes conflict in markets, as seen with the purchasing pilot program discussed elsewhere in this report (see ##). Merchants not only calculate in volume measures, they derive profits through relationships between the different measures. The cultural rule is that profits are earned not by price but by volume. Thus, a mamit sells for specific price and 5 Little Mamit always sell for exactly the same price as one Big Mamit, but there are really 6 Little Mamit in a Big Mamit. In this way, for every Big Mamit that a vendor sells in the form of little Mamit, she earns a profit of 1 Little Mamit. Because of the prevalence of these measures and the difficulty for local stakeholders in adapting to weights, it would behoove WFP and BND to consider using local measures rather than weights.

Sacks and Cans

Used to sell hard not-easily damaged produce such as cereals corn and rice, as well as peanuts, beans, flour, salt, and even charcoal.



Ti sak kat mamit = 4 mamit



Sak nef mamit = 9 mamit sack



Sak diswuit mamit 18 mamit



Sak ven mamit = 20 mamit sack

Sak barik =40 mamit sack or



Sak chabon =Charcoal/salt



Ti ve Pistach =Small Peanut cup 25ml



Ti bwat let = Little milk box 180ml



Demi Ti mamit = Little half mamit 220ml



Demi Gode = Half Gode 320ml



Gode = Gode 440ml



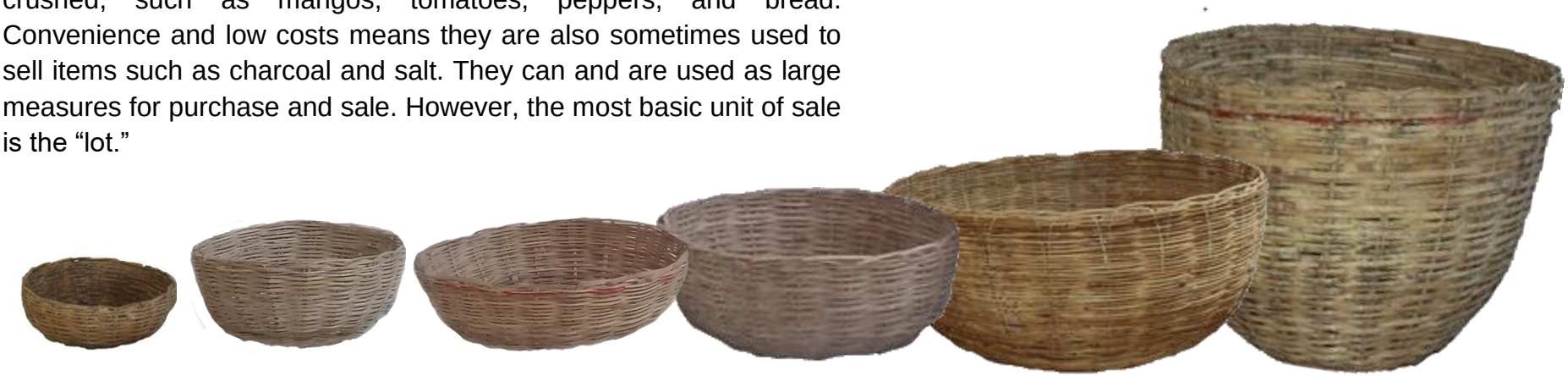
Ti Mamit/Gwo Godee = Little mamit 500ml



Gwo Mamit = Big mamit 3,000ml

Baskets

Similar to a bushel, baskets are made of vines and bamboo. They are used to transport and sell items that can be easily smashed, bruised or crushed, such as mangos, tomatoes, peppers, and bread. Convenience and low costs means they are also sometimes used to sell items such as charcoal and salt. They can and are used as large measures for purchase and sale. However, the most basic unit of sale is the “lot.”



Panye denye dimansyon = Small basket used to transport and sell potatoes, hot and sweet peppers

Ti panye mango = Little mango basket used to transport and sell mangos, tomatoes

Demi panye pomdetè = Half potato basket used to transport and sell potatoes, hot and sweet peppers, onions, and shallot

Gwo panye pomdetè = Large potato basket used to transport and sell potatoes, hot and sweet peppers, onions, and shallot

Gwo Panye mango = Large mango basket used to sell fruits such as mangos, soursop, cachiman, sweet and sour oranges, spansih limes, papaya, pineapple, guava,

Gwo Panye = large basket used to transport and sell bread and tamarin.

Barrels, Buckets, and Bottles

Rum, cooking oil, gasoline, diesel, kerosene, honey, cane syrup,



3 gallon, used to transport and sell water



5 gallon, used to transport and sell water



5 gallon, used to transport and sell water



8 gallon, used to transport and sell water



15 gallon container, used for water and fuel



30 gallon container, used for water and fuel



55 gallon used to sell rum and cane syrup



Demi glos = 70ml, used to measure and sell cooking oil



Glos = 110ml, used to measure and sell cooking oil



Foka 180ml, used to measure and sell rum, cooking oil



Penk, boutey devin o demi lit 350ml



Ka o Lit (9 glos) 750ml



Demi Galon 1,893 ml



Galon 3,785 ml

ANNEX

ANNEX A:

Organized Commentary for School Canteen Supervisors Before vs After Pilot

Focus Group 14: School Canteen Supervisors Before Pilot
September 2016
Duration of focus group: 01:00:30

Participants
#1: Blank_1; Male; Blank_School_1; 2 Children; School director; 12 years employment
#2: Blank_2; Male; Blank_School_2; 0 Children; Teacher; 6 years employment
#3: Blank_3; Male; Blank_School_3; 1 Child; Teacher; 12 years employment
#4: Blank_4; Male; Blank_School_4; 6 Children; School Director; 3 years employment
#5: Blank_5; Male; Blank_School_5; 1 Child; School director; 19 years employment

Focus Group 15: School Canteen Supervisors After Pilot
Date Focus Group: 8 July 2017
Date of Transcription: 2 July 2017

#1: Male; 55 years of age; 8 Children; 10th grade; Teacher
#3: Male; 36 years of age; 1 Child; University; Teacher
#4: Male; 57 years of age; 3 Children; High school; School Director

#Complaint Quantity

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #5 (1 Child; School director; 19 years employment): Well, eh… all the school directors who have a canteen in the program in the past year have the same complaint. I think that us five here plus the others feel the same way. … It is that the fresh product they give, sometimes it's short. When I say it's short, I mean in quantity. The quantity the program intends to give, it's not what we get. And the quantity the program intends to give, what BND intends to give, it's small too. Thus, if it's already small and when they come you weigh it, and me, personally, there some things I tell them. Take cabbage, for example…. when I weigh it on the scale, it gives me X kilograms that BND intended to give. But because they came on Monday, when they come and give it…. it's like they put it in water, it swells up, it gives you a quantity of kilograms, but the next day you go and weigh it and you don't get the same weight. Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, you're always fighting for Wednesday and Thursday. Sometime too, you weigh it… They would give me… I have 85-87 children. When I weigh it I always find it comes up short. For example, if we take the case of carrots. If I'm not mistaken they give us about 12 kilograms of carrots. When they give them, they have everything on them, heads, beards. You can't cook the beards. It's the carrot that you can cook [laughs], But they weigh it all. They weigh it, but you, when you take of the heads and the beards, it's like one half to two thirds what you got. You don't really get what they gave you… And then when the next day comes, you weigh it again and you see that already several grams are lost, they're gone. The yams, I don't know where they dig them up, but me, and I'm in town, they're always wet, always wet. When I weigh them, for example, they give me 5 kilograms, 6 kilograms of yam, when you weigh them, if they gave you exactly 6 kilograms, the next day when you go weigh them you'll get 5.85 kilograms. They always give you them every Monday, you, for you to cook them Wednesday, to make stew. Every week it's the same complaints in almost all the schools. Me, personally, I know, I believe, I made the foreign lady, what's her name, BLANK, we had to have her come twice. In the end I told her you must come and see because in the contract… Well, there was a time, that I even told the guys from ROPANIP, 'you can take the food back, take it back…' I encountered him in front of my house, I told him I wasn't going to take the food.

Socio-Dig: Why?

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #5 (1 Child; School director; 19 years employment): Because it wasn't enough. And when I weighed it, it wasn't the amount they were supposed to give me. We went almost the entire year like that. We complained a lot. Finally, BND decided that they would allow the five schools represented here to buy the produce themselves. Now what worries me, my worry is that I don't know if the other four schools are really going to get it, not that I feel I have it.

[Two other unidentified participants laugh]

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Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #1 (Male; 2 Children; School director; 12 years employment): Yes, we put other things in. And what they give us to, well, I'm repeating myself again, it's not enough. What they give us is not enough. There was a day that they brought yams for us. They said that they had brought 16 kilos. When I weighed it, I got 13 kilos. I called the agronomist and I told him how much they brought, that it was short. And another thing they do that isn't good for us, there was a time they brought the food in the night. When they do that I don't have an opportunity to weigh it. You understand. That's not good. Well, since it's an experiment, as the director said, it's an experiment, and we'll just have to wait and see what works and doesn't work.

#Complaint Rotten Food

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #5 (1 Child; School director; 19 years employment): …Now, what I can suggest … is to pressure ROPANIP to improve the quality of the produce. For example, manioc. The manioc always comes spoiled. Is it their fault because of where they dig it up? Because it's something that as soon as you dig it up you must cook it within one or two days. I don't know if where they buy it they then put it in a storage room for 4 or 5 days and it's already turned black because when you cook it, it's rotten. Maybe manioc needs to be replaced by a product that is more resistant. I don't know. For example, if we take sweet potatoes, they can last for 3, 4, 5 days and they're fine. So, what I'm saying is that I think they could make an improvement in the system here. They bring millet and often it's no good, it's no good. It's no good. So, I think that now, perhaps they could replace it with corn meal, corn meal. Is what I'm saying clear?

Socio-Dig: What's wrong with the millet?

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #5 (1 Child; School director; 19 years employment): It's spoiled, it's spoiled.

Unidentified Participant: It lumps.

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #5 (1 Child; School director; 19 years employment): Just like how you find lumps in brown sugar, that's how it is. They can bring it to you today, tomorrow when you go to cook it, you look, when you open it, you see that it has little lumps and the lumps are full of green worms. Green. And when you take some in your hand, you see that your hand becomes black.

Socio-Dig: Who else has something to say?

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #1 (Male; 2 Children; School director; 12 years employment): For me, I think it's a pleasure that they came with this program for these five schools. For me, I feel that it's a graduation of these five schools. I'm proud of it, despite the difficulties it brings. Despite as my director colleague already

said, we are obliged to spend more time managing the canteen. Me, like with the manioc that spoils, I think that it's because they dig it up too many days in advance. The yams too were a problem…. The people who were selling yams were saving money because they gave us a lot of yams that were "manboule".

Socio-Dig: The yams were what?

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #1 (Male; 2 Children; School director; 12 years employment): "Manboule," they are old yams. They aren't dry at all. They are no good at all. Merchants who buy yams to resell, when they find yams like that they take them out. And the person who is selling yams to the canteen knows very well that those yams are no good. But they put them in as means of saving money. I came to realize that if it was us who was buying them from people in the community we would choose those that are good. But starting today I'm not going to be discouraged. Director BLANK, as we already said, we'll put our heads together to see who we can advance. That makes me very happy, even though there are some hurdles, I feel like the way we get together and talk is good. For us to put our heads together and share our difficulties and search for solutions.

Silence

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #4 (Male; 6 Children; School Director; 3 years employment): It's almost the same complaint, except manioc also… There was a day they brought me some. They had peeled it and there wasn't 5 pieces that were any good. I left it, went and called Agronomist Emile. I told him, here's the manioc they brought me, here it is, come look at it. And he told me to wait for him to come by and see it. The yams too, it's the same thing with the yams. They told me that it's when they are almost finished, seems that's when they brought them. I don't know if they abuse what they bring, but they're really no good.

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Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #3 (Male; Child; Teacher; 12 years employment): Well… sorghum and millet. There was a millet they brought us that was no good at all. Not at all, at all, at all! There were some beans they brought that we burned because they had insects in them. The sorghum too, when you put it on the fire it stunk. When something stinks you know that you can't eat it.

Socio-Dig: Does that happen often?

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #1 (Male; 2 Children; School director; 12 years employment): Not so often, not so often.

Unidentified Participant: They even tell us to put the sorghum in the sun.

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #1 (Male; 2 Children; School director; 12 years employment): Yes, and Agronomist Emile said something. He said, that or wet it. He said they wet it and they gave it to us completely wet.

Unidentified participant: In transporting, in transporting.

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #1 (Male; 2 Children; School director; 12 years employment): While they were bringing it to us it got wet. What they did is not good.

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #3 (Male; Child; Teacher; 12 years employment): Almost the same thing, almost the same thing for all the schools, except we did not mention eggplant. The eggplant they bring, sometimes it's completely rotten.

Several other participants: Completely rotten.

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #3 (Male; Child; Teacher; 12 years employment): I don't know if it's that they leave them in the sun or what. The manioc, sometimes you peel it and put in the pot and it's no good. There is a lot of manioc that rots on us before we can use it. There is no way you can feed it to the children. Sometimes you peel as many as 15 breadfruits, put them in the cooking pot so that you can complete the little bit that we get from the program to feed them. What they bring is not enough. And after that, as you guys said, you can carry the word, we have a problem in the schools, the children do not want to pay what's needed to make the canteen function. Sometimes, I give the cook 50 dola. I must, she's tending the fire and cooking for the children. Well, I don't know if in the recommendations we can say something about the cooks who are working their backs off because it's not easy, it's not easy at all.

Unidentified participant: That's very important.

Socio-Dig: All of you have that problem?

Public: All the schools, every one of them.

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #2 (Male; 0 Children; Teacher; 6 years employment): I think that everything they said there is the same for everyone, I don't need to repeat it all. Except I will add that the produce is not of good quality. Let me take an example. Spinach. When the spinach comes you always find that it's full of insects. The leaves are eaten up with holes. Most of the spinach rots.

#Supplementing Food

Socio-Dig: When you have problems like this, do you cancel the canteen for the day or what do you do?

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #1 (Male; 2 Children; School director; 12 years employment): No, we do what we must to feed…

Socio-Dig: What do you do?

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #1 (Male; 2 Children; School director; 12 years employment): We do what we must to feed. When the food is no good, we put breadfruit on the fire.

Socio-Dig: You're the ones who buy it?

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #1 (Male; 2 Children; School director; 12 years employment): Yes, we buy it, we put it on the fire. We put flour in it so that we can feed the children.

Unidentified participant: We put other things in it. Sometimes we put in plantains.

#Complaint Fear of New Program

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #5 (1 Child; School director; 19 years employment): What I mean is that it might be worse. The worry I have now is that it's going to be an even bigger annoyance [laughs]. We could be complained now because, me, personally, I'm at 95% very, very busy already and that's just with the school. I only have a little time now to give to the school. Now there is the canteen activities that they've piled on top of everything else.

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Unidentified Participant: For me it's an abscess on top of a boil. I don't know if you know that expression, abscess on a boil, it means that they're increasing the pain, they're increasing the work.

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #5 (1 Child; School director; 19 years employment): Oh, the work. Work. And you must do your work well. Now you're a slave. Every morning from Monday to Friday I'm obliged to devote at least 1 hour to the canteen. That's just every morning. Sometimes I have a couple classes to give…. Sometimes I give classes in another school at 7 am, often I can't go. That bothers me… because when you take on a responsibility you honor it. Well I think that BLANK-SCHOOL, it will publicly withdraw their contract…. Well, me… I just have to resign myself. I'll try for the first month to see how it goes because you always must try, you must be able to try. But I feel that the way things are going it's going to be more work….

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Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #2 (Male; 0 Children; Teacher; 6 years employment): … I'm the one responsible for the school canteen. I created a committee of four people. Two of us do most of the work on the committee. Me and a man named BLANK. This year he's not there. They fired him. I'm almost entirely alone. I'm the only one remaining. When they told me that they were going to have us purchase the produce, before the school even opened I went to the director and I explained to him, I said that they've chosen the school for this pilot program that has us purchasing the produce. I said that if it's me who is responsible of the canteen, I'm going to need some

free time so that I can manage the canteen for the school the way it should be done. Well, he didn't listen, he didn't hear me. The 6th grade teacher they fired, ans so it's me, he gave me more responsibilities in the school. He sent me to teach the 6th grade class. Since last year, I'm teaching 5th grade. I had some help from another man. But this year I don't have any help at all and I must teach 6th grade. I've taught 6th grade before, but that was three years ago. I forget much of the material. No, I've got both activities on me and I don't have time.

Socio-Dig: Most of you say that you have other responsibilities. If the canteen was to become an obligation for the school, do you think that you would find a way to continue to feed local food the same way you have been without all these headaches you're mentioning?

#Morning Feeding

Socio-Dig: What do you feed your child in the morning?

Public: Laughter

Same Unidentified Participant: In the morning I might give them a little corn meal, early in the morning. If I have breadfruit, I give them a little breadfruit, early. And sometimes I a little bit of plantain too. Sometimes, especially if they are going to school.

Another Unidentified Participant: Sometimes you give them bread and coffee.

Socio-Dig: And you, what do you feed them?

Unidentified Participant: Ah, I feed them…. Well, I don't give just one thing in the morning, no, things very.

Unidentified Participant: Yes, that's right.

Socio-Dig: Give us a couple of examples of what you feed in the morning.

Unidentified Participant continues: He eats yam, plantain, breadfruit…

Socio-Dig: You boil them?

Unidentified Participant: Yes.

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #2 (Male; 0 Children; Teacher; 6 years employment): Me, I don't have any children.

Unidentified Participant: I usually give mine a variety of different foods. When it's bread and coffee we have, we give them that.

Different Unidentified Participant: Sometimes it's bread and egg that we feed them. They can take a little juice with them when they go. Sometimes it's breadfruit they can boil. They boil it and eat it.

Earlier Unidentified Participant: They boiled it and eat it and they take a little fish with them and go to school. It varies.

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #1 (Male; 2 Children; School director; 12 years employment): Well, we do the same, we give them yams because where I live there is a time of year when we have a lot of yams. We give them sweet potatoes. We give them malanga and manioc and every now and then we give them spaghetti, a little corn meal, those are the types of things we make.

Unidentified Participant: That we give in the morning.

Socio-Dig: You always give them those foods before school?

Public: Yes, before they go to school.

Socio-Dig: So, your children, obligatorily eat something before they go to school?

Public: Yes, before they go to school.

Socio-Dig: Do you think that all the children in school eat something before they come to school?

#Necessity of Program/ Hunger

Public: No, no, no, most do not eat.

Unidentified Participant: No, most do not eat. Let me explain it to you. You see that there a lot of merchants that come here. Sometimes I sit in the office and children come to me and that they have a stomachache. When they tell me their stomach is hurting, what's wrong with them?

Another Unidentified Participant: Hunger, hunger.

Previous Unidentified Participant continues: Right away I send for something from the merchant. Sometimes when I pay, I pay at the end of the month. I can pay as much as 30 or 40 dola for the children because the children asked for it, I say, 'give them a fried dough, a little stew….' In this way, the canteen helps the children.

Other Unidentified Respondents: It's helps them a lot.

Previous Unidentified Participant continues: It helps us in the administration too because a lot of the time I don't have that problem anymore. Not the way it used to be. That's why it helps us. But it's not all the children who get fed in the morning.

Socio-Dig: You were going to say something?

#Cooks

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #1 (Male; 2 Children; School director; 12 years employment): There's a problem that just came up…. It concerns the cooks, we have a lot of difficulties managing the cooks. As my colleague already explained, the children need to eat, and they don't know when the food will be ready. And

also, maybe their parents neglected to give him money, or maybe they kept the money to buy food. While this is going on, we're having difficulty to pay these people. It's not that we don't pay them at all, but we have times when we can't find anything to give them. Me, I started with two cooks. Since January, I only have one because the other found something else to do, she was no longer interested. For example, when WFP visited my school, it was someone else I was obliged to go get so that the food would be prepared on time. Because just one cook could never get the food prepared on time. If I have two cooks who had taken the training…. I don't know what we're going to do. Even when we call the parents to a meeting, they don't give enough money to pay the cook.

#Alternative Foods

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #1 (Male; 2 Children; School director; 12 years employment): Another thing I was going to say concerns the yams, the yams we have most around here and that all the other schools consume are yellow yams. We know that yellow yams aren't in season yet. I think they begin in December and last until April, May, even in June we still have some. The yams we have now, that are beginning to be finished, are Guinea yams. It's a yam that's more expensive than yellow yams. I was asking myself, can we find something to replace the yams?

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Socio-Dig: Why don't you feed bananas or peanut clusters?

Unidentified Participant: It would be good, you're right, but it would cost too much money?

Socio-Dig: It would cost a lot of money?

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #1 (Male; 2 Children; School director; 12 years employment): Yes, especially the bananas.

Unidentified Participant: Can they replace one product with another? We were talking about the problems with manioc, could we replace manioc with plantains?

Socio-Dig: Aren't plantains expensive?

Same Unidentified Participant: Plantains are expensive.

Another Unidentified Participant: That's going to depend.

Same Unidentified Participant: Plantains are expensive, yes. But it depends what season it is.

Socio-Dig: Do you guys have the right to make changes like that in the system?

Same Unidentified Participant: I don't think so, no.

Socio-Dig: Have you asked?

Same Unidentified Participant: He could ask that, he could ask that. It would be could good to replace one with the other.

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #1 (Male; 2 Children; School director; 12 years employment): For me, we could replace manioc with sweet potatoes.

Socio-Dig: Would you find it all year round?

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #1 (Male; 2 Children; School director; 12 years employment): Sweet potatoes, there are always sweet potatoes. Manioc, right now there is no manioc.

Same Unidentified Participant: There are sweet potatoes and there are always plantains. We're never out of sweet potatoes and plantains.

Socio-Dig: In your opinion, and given the problem with cooks, do you think that cooking food is the best and only way for you to feed the children every day?

Silence…

Unidentified Participant: That's going to depend on your objective.

Socio-Dig: Couldn't you give the children the same things that you feed them outside of school, a form of processed food like peanut clusters, coconut and corn meal mix, thinks like that, or boil something to feed them every day?

Public: Yes

Socio-Dig: Do you think it's possible that it would be better to give them these things at school?

Unidentified Participant: Only that?

Socio-Dig: You could vary it because there are a lot of items. I was speaking to a woman who explained to me that with breadfruit alone you can make 21 different types of food?

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Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #1 (Male; 2 Children; School director; 12 years employment): To support what you're saying, like bread, you can prepare something and put it on bread and then give the children something to drink afterward, that would satisfy them.

Socio-Dig: You're talking about bread made with wheat flour?

Public: Yes

Socio-Dig 1: It's not locally produced. Like it you were talking about cassava, or breadfruit or something else [those are local].

Socio-Dig 2: We don't have anything predefined. We're just a team of researchers trying to understand. You could have a product that we don't know about. It's in discussing that we can learn about it. We're talking about salt-food, but you know there are lot of foods

that get processed that are salt-food. In what category would you put cassava, salt or sweet?

Unidentified Participant: It can be both.

Socio-Dig: And chanmchanm?

Public: [laughter] Both

Socio-Dig 1: There could be other foods.

Socio-Dig 2: There are others. There are in the sense that there's a proverb that says, "to kill two birds with one stone" or you spend some time inside the community and you note that there is some big potential that could allow the area to develop. A lot of the time we have the intelligence… [Buying local food for the school], it's a big advantage for people who produce food, who transport food, who process it. For example, take coconut sugar clusters, people who make them are waiting, waiting all day to sell them for 200 goud or 250 goud profit. If she could sell the tablets she can survive, she can pay for her children to get to school, she can build a house, she can get by. But she doesn't find a place to really sell them. With the school program, it would allow her to sell them faster. All this means people in the community could make more money.

That's what makes you see… We were talking of bread. Everyone eats bread, everyone eats flour. But the program can help us with more movement… so that people can benefit. People would sell more. If we have more money moving, people can produce more, sell more, encourage farmers to produce more. They would prefer that it's manioc, cassava bread, or even sweet bread. There are other things that are made from foods we produce. Where I live they have what they call 'doukounou' and they make it with manioc. There are different foods they make from manioc. What do they call that, 'Galet'. Galet too you could make. All of these things we are accustomed to eating. All of us, we are Haitian. We know that they can eat these things. If we eat these things at our homes, it's not a problem for the children to eat them in school too.

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #3 (Male; Child; Teacher; 12 years employment): I see that it would not be a problem if we could find those things, but we have such a problem collecting the money from the children already, how would be go about getting those things?

Socio-Dig: What do you mean?

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #3 (Male; Child; Teacher; 12 years employment): How would we go about finding those things to replace the other produce?

Socio-Dig: You're talking about tablet [peanut, cashew, and coconut clusters] and things like that? We could buy them with the same money from the program.

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #3 (Male; Child; Teacher; 12 years employment): But is there enough?

Socio-Dig: How much money could a tablet cost?

Public: 10 goud, 10 goud, 5 goud

Socio-Dig: If I was in your place, as a teacher or school director who doesn't have time, I would be thinking that it might be better if I didn't have to deal with the canteen. I would do something else. I would have a merchant who sells bananas, tablet, and cassava sell me a quantity. Every day, I would give the children something different. The same way that someone was saying that when the children used to complain about being hungry he would buy something in front of the school, it's a simple way to avoid problems with the cook and getting ingredients to cook the food. And what you buy in the community would help the economy.

Unidentified Participant: It would help get money circulating in the community.

Socio-Dig: That's it, the idea is to get some money circulating!

Public: Yes, money circulating in the community.

Socio-Dig: Really, we don't have anything to teach you. We've come to learn from you. That's why we came to sit down with you and talk. We can better find a solution together because you live here, you know the system.

Silence

A participant laughs.

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #3 (Male; Child; Teacher; 12 years employment): For example, when I take the commune of Ti Rivye, it's an area that has a lot of breadfruit. I think it's the produce they make the most of. And there are multiple ways to prepare it. If we could try with breadfruit, what formula we can use to see how they would eat it? They don't have to boil it or fry it.

Socio-Dig: You know some products they make with breadfruit? How do they make them?

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #3 (Male; Child; Teacher; 12 years employment): I have an idea, but I'd like to try some out. For example, when they have the breadfruit festival.

Socio-Dig: If they fry it in grease the children get more food than if they boil it.

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #3 (Male; Child; Teacher; 12 years employment): Yes. And they eat it boiled and they eat it fried. I believe they eat in every form, every form. Even flour. I don't know.

Unidentified Participant: Yes, they make flour too.

Socio-Dig: They make flour with breadfruit?

Public: It takes time.

Unidentified Participant: It takes a lot of time because you must peel it, you must peel it, they must cut it into pieces, put it to dry in the sun before they pound it [in a mortar and pestle]. You understand. It takes time.

Socio-Dig: This work, it's not you personally who does it?

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #3 (Male; Child; Teacher; 12 years employment): Yes, we can do it, we can do it, we can do it.

Socio-Dig: It's not a particular person who processes it.

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #3 (Male; Child; Teacher; 12 years employment): If it's a supplier who gives it to you, the supplier, we would pay them to do it, it would conserve better now because it's a flour.

Socio-Dig: Could you find people to do that for you?

Unidentified participant: Well, since I have not yet seen where they do that, I haven't seen people who do it. Like people who do it to sell or to do something else with it, sometimes you meet people who do it at their home because it's something they have in their head… They do it, but not to sell because I've haven't ever seen a place where they sell the flour.

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #3 (Male; Child; Teacher; 12 years employment): And everyone has it [breadfruit].

Socio-Dig: We would say that you have a lot of sweet potatoes too. What do you do with them all?

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #1 (Male; 2 Children; School director; 12 years employment): It's the same thing with breadfruit, people fry sweet potatoes the same way they fry bread fruit and they eat it the same way. They boil them. They roast them. The same as with bread fruit.

Socio-Dig: There is a person in Ti Rivye who told me that with breadfruit you can do more than boil breadfruit and put it on a plate to eat. You can make flour, juice, akra (fried sticks), patties, breadfruit balls, chips.

Unidentified Participant: Yes, they make all that with them.

Socio-Dig: They fry it, they make cookies, they make ponmket (heavy brown bread), they make cake, they make pizza, and they make jam with breadfruit. In all of those products, which one do you think could be used in the canteen?

Unidentified participant: Tells us all of them again.

Public: [laughter]

Socio-Dig: She told me they make juice, mashed breadfruit, fried sticks, patties, breadfruit, chips, fries, cookies, brown bread ponmket, cake, pizza, jam.

Unidentified Participant: And they boil it too.

Public: [laughter]

Socio-Dig: [laughs] We didn't mention boiling because we all talked about that already. And it's not a means of processing. The list I just cited was a list of processed foods. She told me that all those foods, with the exception of fried breadfruit, can last for a week.

Unidentified Participant: I think yes, I think that's what she said…

Unidentified Participant: It really can make those things.

Socio-Dig: What do you think?

Unidentified Participant: Well, there's one that can't last a week. For example, Tonmtonm.

Socio-Dig: Yes, we know, there are some that can't last a week.

Unidentified Participant: Tonmtonm is good for a single day.

Socio-Dig: But is there one that you see that we can use in the canteen? Like, we could choose one day per week, we don't cook, and we give one of these foods?

Unidentified Participant: Ah, ok, I see what you mean, is there something we can give the children one day per week?

Several Unidentified Participants: Yes, for one day. We could give chips. And we could give juice.

Same Unidentified Participant: Now the question is who will process the food for us?

Socio-Dig: Someone in the community who's accustomed to doing it. We already know that we could give children chips and juice.

Public: Yes, for one day, for one day.

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #1 (Male; 2 Children; School director; 12 years employment): In my area, the only people I'm going to find is someone to fry breadfruit and tonmtonm. I won't be able to find anyone for the rest of the products. Cake, chips, I won't find anyone to do that.

Socio-Dig: Does everyone in the area eat tonmtonm?

Public: Not all children eat tonmtonm. I don't eat it…. I don't even know anyone who makes it.

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #1 (Male; 2 Children; School director; 12 years employment): If it's around my house, it's already impossible. Except

that I could take it from somewhere around here and carry it to my house, because where I live we don't have breadfruit.

Socio-Dig: They don't have yam where you live?

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #1 (Male; 2 Children; School director; 12 years employment): No.

Unidentified Participant: We can't make chips with plantains too?

Socio-Dig: What did you say you make with sweet potatoes?

Public: They fry them, they boil them, they make sweet potatoe bread with them.

Socio-Dig: You do that, I hadn't heard of sweet potatoe bread.

Unidentified Participant: Ahh, something that's delicious (laughs).

Focus Group 15, School Directors After Pilot, Participant #4 (Male; 57 years of age; 3 Children; High school; School Director): … I think they could find fresh fruit juice to replace it. I think it would be good for the children. The children could take a glass of juice in the morning with a sandwich or, I don't know, something. And I would think it would be less expensive. And for the children, I think it would be better still. And if they tried it to see what happens, now we wouldn't need wood or a cook, they could just come and give the children something and finish. There would be less problems for the school director, less problems for the committee, we wouldn't have to deal with contracts for wood, complaining about wood every end of the year… I think that would allow us to move forward.

Socio-Dig: OK. That means that you think they would stop the cooked food completely or one day they could have cooked food and one day a sandwich and juice?

Focus Group 15, School Directors After Pilot, Participant #4 (Male; 57 years of age; 3 Children; High school; School Director): Yes, that's it, that's what I was saying, that's what I was saying. To make things better.

Socio-Dig: OK, thanks!

Focus Group 15, School Directors After Pilot, Participant #4 (Male; 57 years of age; 3 Children; High school; School Director): They could also make a week, one week what they give cold and one week hot.

Socio-Dig: But, who do you think could prepare the food? Where do you think they would get it?

Focus Group 15, School Directors After Pilot, Participant #4 (Male; 57 years of age; 3 Children; High school; School Director): That I don't know. I'm just trying to offer some ideas.

Socio-Dig: Yes, I understand you're just offering ideas. But do you think that if the food came from somewhere else it could cost more? Could they find it around here? For fresh juice, we know you have a lot of passion fruit.

Focus Group 15, School Directors After Pilot, Participant #4 (Male; 57 years of age; 3 Children; High school; School Director): You can find a lot of grapefruit, oranges, good oranges that make better juice than sweet oranges.

Socio-Dig: What do you think they could give the juice with?

Focus Group 15, School Directors After Pilot, Participant #4 (Male; 57 years of age; 3 Children; High school; School Director): It's a headache now to put them in a pitcher, it's another problem.

Unidentified Participant: Yes, it could cost more.

Focus Group 15, School Directors After Pilot, Participant #4 (Male; 57 years of age; 3 Children; High school; School Director): No, they could just put it in a big thermos, big thing, and when they go by a school the children already have a cup and the cook is there to wash them each day. The same way the children have a cup to drink water, you understand?

Socio-Dig: OK

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Focus Group 15, School Directors After Pilot, Participant #1 (Male; 55 years of age; 8 Children; 10th grade; Teacher): … And I see the last time that BND did something, they made an experiment giving snacks. They gave a snack in the morning to wait…

Socio-Dig: Is it popcorn like puffed cheese? It's made with millet?

Focus Group 15, School Directors After Pilot, Participant #1 (Male; 55 years of age; 8 Children; 10th grade; Teacher): It's not extruded cheese snack, no. It's made with millet. But there is another in the form of extruded cheese snack. I don't remember what it's called, no [says this last phrase in French].

Socio-Dig: Hmm. It's made with millet. It's sweet and it has salt. How does it go over?

Focus Group 15, School Directors After Pilot, Participant #1 (Male; 55 years of age; 8 Children; 10th grade; Teacher): Oh, it was good. The children like it.

Unidentified participant: I never tried it.

Socio-Dig: Ohh, you never tried it? But it was a sample, it was a pilot project too.

Focus Group 15, School Directors After Pilot, Participant #1 (Male; 55 years of age; 8 Children; 10th grade; Teacher): Yes, I had some, it was good. The children liked it a lot. If they ate some this morning, tomorrow they would ask if there wasn't any more. (laughs).

I said, well, there's a little, and I gave it to them and after they finished it 'it was good, it was good.'

#Fees

Socio-Dig: I don't know if in the program they give you something that could replace them. Are the parents supposed to make a contribution to the canteen?

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #1 (Male; 2 Children; School director; 12 years employment): Yes, the parents have a contribution they're supposed to make. The contribution is for us to buy spices, to buy wood, and for us to find a little something to give the cooks so that they can wash their cloths.

Socio-Dig: It's a monetary contribution?

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #1 (Male; 2 Children; School director; 12 years employment): The contribution is 5 goud

Unidentified Participant: Five goud per day. Per day.

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #1 (Male; 2 Children; School director; 12 years employment): Yes, per school day.

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #1 (Male; 2 Children; School director; 12 years employment): Me, for example, I have 94 children, in a day I might collect 100 goud. Another day I might get 150 goud. For example, when exams come, the children know that if they take their exams, then they will go, and I'll never get my money. And after all that time they've been insisting that we have food for them. When exams come we always make sure that we make food so that we do not start hoping that we'll find 5 goud at all [makes little sense, I can only infer that this is convoluted way of saying that they withhold grades for money. Perhaps the speaker realized in the middle of saying this that WFP doesn't/wouldn't approve]. And that's the way things always are.

Socio-Dig: You always collect the 5 goud each Monday or Friday.

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #1 (Male; 2 Children; School director; 12 years employment): Yes, yes, sometimes too we collect it, for example, we collect 5 goud each day. Because the children already know that they must give 25 goud per week. In that 25 goud, we might get 10 goud. And then, there are some students who don't give anything at all, and they insist that all the children get fed.

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Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #5 (1 Child; School director; 19 years employment): …So, I feel like this is a problem we're confronting and when I ask for more, I get less. When you have more children, it allows you to collect more and it can be useful, but when you have fewer children you have more problems. It comes to 15 dola, 75 dola that you collect from the children to do everything. And the food isn't enough.

You must buy flour, you must buy breadfruit to put in the food, you buy plantains top put in it. Especially Wednesday, it's a veritable headache. That what makes us say that while there are many advantages to the canteen for the parents, the school and the children, and we would really like it to continue, there are many annoyances too that we could find solutions to resolve them because it could be better.

Unidentified Participant: It could be better.

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Focus Group 15, School Directors After Pilot, Participant #4 (Male; 57 years of age; 3 Children; High school; School Director): Every school has the same complaint. It's about the money they ask from the parents to manage the kitchen and buy other things to make food. There are schools where they must buy charcoal. Some schools, they buy wood. Some schools must get their own wood or make their own charcoal to cook food. m. But all this is a Chinese fire drill. They're all in school. The parents don't want to pay, and we can't send them home. Imagine for the month of June, I collected 425 goud for the canteen for the month. For me to pay the cook, to buy wood. And I made a contract with someone to bring me wood from all the way on the top of the mountain, from behind Sileg, because there is wood in town. For all the trips, 500 goud each month. 300 dola (1,500 goud) each month. The cook, we expect to give a little 750 goud per month. Well, that's already 450 dola (2,500 goud) per month. Obligatory, because you can't have someone work and not pay them. You can't put them in the kitchen, she makes food and you don't pay her. And there you go, you need to get 425 goud when your done to buy spices to put in the food because you can't just put salt and oil in the food to give to the children. Cook rice and beans with oil and salt only? Well, BND doesn't do anything there, it's us, us schools. Therefore, you see the headaches that all the school directors have. All the time I'm complaining to BND about this, they could help us manage this. I don't know. Now there's this problem of erosion we battle. Because when you cut trees it's the land you're tearing open. … And secondly, we're in a mess with people who would bring us wood. I remember one time they were trying to give us briquettes. Or, I don't know, maybe…. If it were possible for them to give us briquettes because normally I don't know where they found them, if they're difficult to produce or to find them or what. They could find another source of energy to cook food. It's not obligatory that it's charcoal or wood. But the schools don't have the means. They don't have the means and if the parents can't give money for us to make do, you can ask the director of the school there for him to to start giving you examples of how difficult it is to get money from the parents. A stove, a gas stove could make food. The children like food, we're very happy. The consequence it has had is positive, it yields scholarly dividends, grades are up. When the children used to come to school, they'd sit there, sleeping. You don't see that in school anymore. Because they find a little food, they eat. The parents, when the children get home from school, the parents know that the child has eaten, they don't have to worry so much about

finding something to feed them. When they get back home they only have to give them something at night, a little supper…. And when the children get home they can force them to study because they know their stomach isn't empty. I think that all that is an advantage that the canteen has. It's really a good thing, except with all the problems it has, if WFP could help us manage those problems we would really say, halleluiah (laughs), those of us who believe in God anyway, and Ayibobo (laughs) for those who believe in demons, things like that.

Socio-Dig: OK, thank you. Let's hear from someone else.

Focus Group 15, School Directors After Pilot, Participant #3 (Male; 36 years of age; 1 Child; University; Teacher): The way the director was saying, it's all the schools that have difficult collecting money from the children. In my school I'm the one responsible for getting the money from the children. Well, what happens, every week we ask that they give 20 goud per week. First day, we might get 250 goud! After that we might get 500 goud from the children during the rest of the week. With that we must buy ingredients to cook the food. What happens is that I don't make a contract with the cook. I can't say here's how much money I have for you. I give them something. But I can go three months without giving them a cent. I don't get it, I don't have it. Sometimes the little bit of money we get, I must buy spices. I tell the women, take it and do what you can. Sometimes the food lacks in taste because to manage it during the week, to make food for five days and with spices, the little bit of money just isn't enough for you to buy spices for the entire week. That gives me problems with the women after they've worked for three months and I can't give them a goud. Sometimes what we get can't buy spices at all. Sometimes the children complain. Sometimes they say I pocketed the money they gave. The kids give me a rough way to go. And the women, sometimes they must wash their clothes. They ask for a little money to buy soap, I don't have it. I don't have money for soap. You can explain to them A + B, I don't have it, but sometimes that bothers me so much I tell them if I had anything in my pocket I would give it to you. Especially sometimes they complain, 'Director, if you had the means you could get me some wood …. I'm the one who must go into the forest and look for the wood. I can't do two jobs at once.' That really gives me problems. Well, if WFP could give us those briquettes again, like the other director already said, it would be very good for us.

Focus Group 15, School Directors After Pilot, Participant #1 (Male; 55 years of age; 8 Children; 10th grade; Teacher): The issue of wood is the most difficult regarding the children paying. The children, the parents do not want to pay. When the director said that he gives people 1,500 goud for wood, we too had someone who we gave a contract to for wood. We asked 1,000 dola (5,000 goud) each month. 1,000 dola. With a lot of haggling he agreed on 600 dola (3,000 goud). He said he'd begin to supply us with wood and he really did start to give it to us. We paid the first month. We paid the second month. Third month nothing (laughs), What saved us, you know that around here when we have

bad weather we get a lot of wood that falls to the ground. We pay people for that wood. They cut it up and leave it there. That's the wood we got to make food. Well, we arrived in the month of June, month of May, the children didn't pay, we don't have wood. A parent I have that has not paid could never pay, ever. He told me he has problems top pay. I asked him and he gave me wood for the rest of the days. And I said to him that we had a couple more days in May and another week remaining in June, could he give us wood? He said yes, he'd give us wood. Well, really, he said to me it would not be a problem. I have a big log I carried to split up. He came and split it and after that he brought wood and gave it to us. That's what saved us. But if BND could come and give us those briquettes again it would be better for us.

#Praise

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #5 (1 Child; School director; 19 years employment): Well, what I can say, eh, let's begin in a general way to get to the point. The school canteen helps us in several ways. It permits the children to learn, that's something we all observe. Because when children are hungry, as my colleague was just saying there, they don't eat, they don't listen when you speak to them… I lose time teaching them. And when the child gets home, if he doesn't find something to eat, he won't pick up a book to study. So, the next day when you expect him to come and recite his lesson he doesn't know it. He didn't do his homework. He doesn't know. But when the child gets fed he can't tell the teacher that he was hungry, after all, he ate in front of the teacher. So, the dividends in terms of learning increase with the feeding. The parents too, you know the economic situation here in Haiti, when they know that the child got fed at school they don't have to spend so much time trying to find something to feed them before they come to school, because they'll get fed at school. That's the advantage of the canteen I'm trying to show you. And what's more, us too, the teachers and the director, we sense the improvement.

Unidentified Participant: They're better, they're better.

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #5 (1 Child; School director; 19 years employment): My experience when I wasn't yet in the canteen program, I always said that come Friday, there is a bogey man in the school. It's a way of speaking to explain that children don't come to school on Friday. There's a bogey man that's devouring the children on Fridays because it's four days, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, but come Friday, the children don't come to school. The parents are happy to say it's the weekend, there is no school. But now, it's my impression that if we had a canteen on Saturday, the children would come to school. The rain is pouring down, no one can go out, I get to school at 7:00 am or 7:15 am, well at 6:30 am the children are already in the school yard. As soon as I arrive they're yelling good morning director and at the same time they go and check what's happening behind the school. When they get to school they say, 'what's going on, there's no cooking fire yet today? There's no food today?

[Laughter]

They say, ‘no, I saw the cook…that means there’s food, just wait…’ When they come they see that bad weather is coming, 15 or 20 of them have arrived, they say, ‘let’s pray to God that the rain gets worse now, so the rest of the students don’t come so we get more to eat.

[Laughter]

That shows you how the canteen is useful. If there was no canteen it would very much affect the students. It would really disturb them. For example, I just said a little while ago what would happen if there was no food on the fire? Well, let’s suppose they didn’t make food. Now, you would have to give the children something to replace the hot meal. It can’t be something sweet. If it’s something sweet I think it could make the children sick, like a type of worm or something like that. But when the children eat salt-food I think it can help his body and permit him to study better.

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Focus Group 15, School Directors After Pilot, Participant #1 (Male; 55 years of age; 8 Children; 10th grade; Teacher): Well, me, in the morning, when I see the children come to school, the first place they look is in the kitchen to see if there’s a fire. As soon as they see there’s fire you see that they’re happy. Sometimes I’m in the office and I hear children say, ‘teacher, my stomach hurts.’ ‘Your stomach hurts? You didn’t eat this morning?’ ‘No.’ Or I send them to get some fried dough from the vendor while they wait for the food to cook. And when they don’t have any food, you look at how much I spend per month. The vendor, I must pay her for fried dough that I owe. Why? For the children. When the children come complaining, you can’t let them go like that. …

#Parents

Socio-Dig 2: I notice that you all have many years working at schools. Do don’t you think that the parents could plan a role in the managing the food at the school?

Public: Yes, for the food, yes.

Socio-Dig 2: For that to happen there should be a parent’s committee?

Unidentified participant: Yes.

Socio-Dig 1: Do you think that could work?

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #4 (Male; 6 Children; School Director; 3 years employment): Yes, eh, do we see the parents?

Socio-Dig 2: If they could play a role in making this work better?

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #2 (Male; 0 Children; Teacher; 6 years employment): In my school the parent’s committee doesn’t work so good. The

parents could help. For example, they could bring us wood. It would be good. Because here in Ti Rivye we must buy wood. We can pay as much as 80 dola [400 goud]. You understand. And the parents, they don't really give money. In my school it's 10 dola [50 goud] we ask parents to give every month. Sometimes we don't get it. You understand. Sometimes we must take it out of the director's fund to buy wood. Since the school has some sponsors too, we use that to pay the cooks. That's what makes the process possible…. But I would think that the parents could play an important role in the canteen.

Socio-Dig: Have you asked them to that?

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #2 (Male; 0 Children; Teacher; 6 years employment): Well, it's not me who's the director of the school. I always encourage the director to make the parents participate, to get them involved, have meetings with them and get them involved, have them participate.

Socio-Dig: Ok

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #4 (Male; 6 Children; School Director; 3 years employment): Yes, the parents could play a role in the program. When the canteen just started there were two parents who came, and they spent two days and they made food for the students. But after that they wanted to be paid. They had to get paid. Since there was nothing to pay them with they left and didn't come back….

Silence

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #3 (Male; Child; Teacher; 12 years employment): The parents think, people in the canteen… they think we have a bunch of money to do the canteen.

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #2 (Male; 0 Children; Teacher; 6 years employment): Yes

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #3 (Male; Child; Teacher; 12 years employment): That means that if you ask for a favor, right away they say you have money … The parents don't really want to collaborate. Me, like, I often need wood. When they used to send it, they send charcoal just one time, the charcoal had just run out. I use wood. Sometimes when I can't find any at all I have to go to my house and use what I have on reserve… The parents don't really want to collaborate. You see what I collect, when I send someone to the market I give them 1,000 goud, but sometimes I can't collect 1,000 goud. The parents don't really want to collaborate with us.

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #5 (1 Child; School director; 19 years employment): My experience, and I should say first that each school has its particular experiences. The professor here, he's at a national school. Mine, it's a private school. Yours it's a, what would you say? Private mission?

Unidentified Participant: Private, private.

[laughter]

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #5 (1 Child; School director; 19 years employment): Let's say, private mission. Each has its particularities. Yours is private?

Unidentified Participant: National, national. And his is a religious school….

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #5 (1 Child; School director; 19 years employment): He said that you have a big partner, he said a word a little while ago that, what was it?

Unidentified Participant: A sponsor?

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Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #4 (Male; 6 Children; School Director; 3 years employment): There is a watchman here and it's not his job but sometimes I ask him if he could go with the wheelbarrow to bring wood for the children, so they can make food for the children. You see that the parents don't want to collaborate with us? 10 goud, 20 goud. A Little bit of wood.

Unidentified Participant: 20 goud per month.

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #4 (Male; 6 Children; School Director; 3 years employment): Per month, eh, and a little bit of wood.

#No Help

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #5 (1 Child; School director; 19 years employment): A sponsor. Me, for example, I took Blank-School. It's one reason we have almost 200 and how many students. The students reduce in number, little by little. We don't have neither PSUGO nor EPT, which means that it's the parents. The pig cooks in its own fat. Imagine, for you to have a school that has 100 and how many children in it and only 85 come to school and the rest aren't there because they can't pay the 2,000 goud for the year, which has all the costs included. And that's all we have to do everything we have to do, to pay the teachers… So that means it's a school that you're forcing to happen, it's by force.

#Wood

We had a parent that consented to sell us wood. Because we're in town, he had to go all the way BLANK to get the wood. He supplied us for a 2nd month, a 3rd month. The 3rd month he started not to bring it to us all the time. We went 2 days when we could not cook because we didn't have any wood…. He had a child who was in the school, eating at the canteen. That means that it wasn't someone who had nothing to do with the school, who didn't know the importance of what was going on with the children in the school. Finally, when I saw this, I had to forget about him and take someone else who is all the way in Rouso. When I got to the seaside [to get the wood] …. I took a taptap to go get it. He said

[the taptap driver], ‘for 50 dola I’ll get the wood and deliver it to you.’ And him, he was giving the wood for 400 dola per month. You see the situation? Each school has its problems. 400 dola for wood and I must go get it. And it wasn’t just one hit I took. For the vehicle it was 250 goud ever time to go get the wood. When I took a motorcycle, it was more expensive because I had to make two trips. What’s more, I have 2 cooks. Those 2 cooks, one of them has children in the school. The child is in 5th grade, going into 6th grade now. We gave her 150 dola, the other cook we gave 150 dola. So, when she came she makes 700 dola, obligatory, to pay for the wood plus the transport. So, we took out the money for transport, we took 700 dola. What’s more, because the first time we did not get salt, we had to buy salt and then after that BND gave me salt for a month. It’s only oil and food they gave us. You can’t cook food with only that. So, with the canteen management committee… it’s a teacher who collects the money for the children, a member of the committee who doesn’t even have children in the school. It’s him who every day comes and gives the food [gets it out of storage]. And I have another parent in the school, who has children in the school, the child died, but she comes twice a month [people laugh]. At the same time Mr. Blank is coming every day, every morning at 6 am to give the food. Me, I’m there only to supervise him. I go to where the teacher is… I do the accounting… He comes and gives me a report on the food, things like that. The first month the teacher tells me he collected 400 dola, but I need 700 dola minimum to pay the cook and the wood. The 2nd month he collected 975 dola. 3rd month he collected 190 dola. And for the month of June, he finished with 65 dola. So that’s to show you that the problem with wood, the problem with the cook is a serious problem.

I think we told BND this, if they could help the way they did at first.

Unidentified Participant: Briquettes

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #5 (1 Child; School director; 19 years employment): continues: I think briquettes would really be a help. There are areas like here, we must buy it [wood]…. There are some areas in the countryside you can find wood for a good price, but in the town.

Unidentified Participant: It’s out of sight, completely out of sight.

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #5 (1 Child; School director; 19 years employment): Because when someone comes here, he brings a little bit of wood

Unidentified Participant: 50 dola, 100 dola

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #5 (1 Child; School director; 19 years employment): He wants 50 dola, 100 dola, it’s a big headache and it’s not enough to cook with for more than 2 days….

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Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #4 (Male; 6 Children; School Director; 3 years employment): And to show you that the parents really don't want to collaborate, we asked parents that each month the children bring a little bit of wood with 20 goud. Each month, eh. For example, if their on the path coming to school and they find some wood, give 10 goud, the month would be 30 goud. By the month, eh. The children don't bring it. The parents, they'll curse you in the street. There are children who do not want to carry wood. There's a child down there, they told me that his mother followed him with a switch from the house all the way to there.

Unidentified Participant: He wouldn't carry it.

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #4 (Male; 6 Children; School Director; 3 years employment): He doesn't want to carry it and he has a parent, he has a parent who came there and stood out there, really angry, came to curse me. I said ok, that's how you are, that's how your child will be too. The person stood there and cursed me. I turned and went into the office, left them there cursing. Why?

Unidentified Participant: A little bit of wood.

Unidentified Participant: It's not easy.

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #4 (Male; 6 Children; School Director; 3 years employment): Sometimes it's the person making food who must go look for wood.

Unidentified Participant: Look for straw, look for straw.

[laughter] …

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #2 (Male; 0 Children; Teacher; 6 years employment): Couldn't you guys find a way to do training for the schools, for example, for the committee members to replace the wood with, what's it called again?

Unidentified Participant: Briquette

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #2 (Male; 0 Children; Teacher; 6 years employment): Show us how to make it because that would be very useful to us. It would eliminate the expense of wood if all the school had a large quantity of briquettes to work with.

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #4 (Male; 6 Children; School Director; 3 years employment): I think that what you said, to add something, we told Agronomist Emile this, couldn't they show us…

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #2 (Male; 0 Children; Teacher; 6 years employment): Yes, so that we have less problems.

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #4 (Male; 6 Children; School Director; 3 years employment): He told me that BND doesn't make them, that it's WFP that would have to show them how to make them, that's what he told us.

Socio-Dig 1: I know a person in Port-au-Prince who makes them. There are several NGO, like USAID, WFP that give them the paper to make them. They mix it with something else to make a kind of paste, like when they make cement blocks. I don't know the details but that's how he told me they make them. I think that maybe you could make them around here with straw. But I don't know for sure.

Socio-Dig 2: Well! If there isn't someone else who wants to say something more, we'll close the discussion.

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #1 (Male; 2 Children; School director; 12 years employment): Me, to conclude, what I see…

Unidentified Participant: There is no solution.

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #1 (Male; 2 Children; School director; 12 years employment): there is no solution because when I analyze the situation I see the problem with wood is everywhere. The past year it was my father-in-law who was giving me wood. Every now and then he cut a tree near his house. Every week he gave me wood for the canteen. And when we had some money we gave it to him. What discouraged him, he would have quit already, but he said he didn't want to create any difficulties between us, and that made him continue giving it to me…. In the end he told me he was finished with that. What did I try to do, buy wood and put it on the ground, have someone bring it to me little by little. And it was me who would go and cut it. And I always used a motorcycle because it would cost me money to get someone else to do that for me. Because I couldn't pay a person, there was no money. Me, I spend all my time on the canteen. All my time for the canteen so that the canteen can succeed for the year. I think the biggest problem is wood and the cooks.

#Purchasing Experience

Socio-Dig: Now what we would like to know is what happened with that program? What difference is there between BND bringing food for you and when you are responsible yourselves for buying?

Focus Group 15, School Directors After Pilot, Participant #4 (Male; 57 years of age; 3 Children; High school; School Director): I say hello to everyone, the representatives of WFP. Well, I represent "Blank-School-1." I am "Number 4". To respond directly to the question that you asked, it is indeed a pilot project. All pilot projects can end. It depends on how the project goes. In my view, it was a good experiment because as they say, even in failing you learn. It was good that they tried the pilot project no matter what. Also, when we arrived at the market we made a lot of observations. One observation I made is that I saw the trouble that BND must go through to find the fresh produce. Because me,

personally, at the Blank-School-1," the first time, well, you know that we felt that an oversight committee could manage the canteen. We sent two representatives of the committee to purchase. When they arrived, after two markets, let me see if I can say it the way they said it, they said it was a humiliation. Because when they got there, because they must take the scale to weigh things, they didn't find everything at once. They could buy all from a single vendor. And as soon as the vendor sees that you're weighing the produce, she's already passed the word and every other vendor is impossible. And the money isn't enough. And the way things are, they go up and down. Sometimes there is abundance, sometimes there is not an abundance. Well, at the time we went to buy it could be a time when a lot of produce is finished, well, the price….Well, times like that I'm obliged to go ... suffer. Finally, I had to work only the second week of September. The third person who did it, he came and asked, 'director, do me a favor and do not send me to the market again to get humiliated' etcetera. OK, so when I sent the fourth person the last week, he came and said, 'ahh, my good friend, you know the misery I'm going through because there are products you can't find and secondly, they're expensive and the money, it's not enough for the children we have, it doesn't make it. Well, I already had talked to BND and told them that for the month of October they did not need to give Blank-School-1 money. They could give ROPANIP the money to continue buying. Then, unfortunately, we the had the hurricane. [laughs].

Focus Group 15, School Directors After Pilot, Participant #3 (Male; 36 years of age; 1 Child; University; Teacher): I am number 3 from Blank. It was a beautiful experience for us with the pilot project. [a bird is singing loudly]. I was going to the market every Sunday. [noise of a motorcycle and singing bird]. I would go to the top of the mountain to Javel where they produce, where the source of the stuff is. I would find the produce and some money would be left over. Because down here, they sell for more than up there. Hmm. But I ran into some difficulties because the peasants don't want to sign for you. Because you must verify the things, you get it approved by the people who sell to you [BND required the school purchasers to have sellers sign receipts]. Well, if it were for that you sell, you can just leave the stuff. That caused a lot of problems. After that, I found it difficult to continue because I was going to go to University. I go each Saturday and each Sunday. The person on the committee who could go in my place, he doesn't know how to write to make the receipts [he's illiterate]. Now, he could go and manage the money, but the other person won't go, especially on Sunday because he's part of the ministry at the church… The school chores [buying the food] are difficult to get done on Sunday, he wouldn't have time. That's what made me stop in October and the hurricane came and stopped everything too. Now they send the produce to me. That's how things went. But it was a beautiful experience for me, except that there was produce that, like the director said, were difficult to find. I would replace them by the lot. Some were really expensive too, like yam. There are times where yams are more expensive than other times. It was a beautiful

experience. [Noise of a truck coming from afar]. That's what made some people already rent a storage depot? But I couldn't continue.

Focus Group 15, School Directors After Pilot, Participant #1 (Male; 55 years of age; 8 Children; 10th grade; Teacher): I am number one of Blank-School-2. Well, I salute my representatives too. Just as Director Blank-1 talked about the humiliation that his people suffered, my first experience was in the market. It was me and someone else on the committee. I went with my scale. I put it at the house of a friend. And I bought and weighed, bought and weighed. But when I looked, I saw that it wasn't good like that. We found people from Payan itself. We called them to come sit with us and make a contract. We said, here is so many kilos we need of each product. We did that despite that the little bit of money they gave us wasn't enough. We created a way that we could find the things…. We gave money for the moto, and we made arrangements, and they brought the produce to us. They brought the produce and we gave him the money right there. The money they gave us wasn't enough. so we put some of our own money on it to pay for gas for them to bring the produce to us. That's what we did. But in the end, it wasn't us who left the program. It was the hurricane that made us stop. You understand. They had stopped bringing us the produce. And when they did that I saw it was good because when they brought it, there used to be some produce that was rotten. Especially the eggplant, they would rot with us. We told them when to bring it. They brought it every Monday. They brought it to us, and after that we put it somewhere. But when they buy it they would have it for as long as 5 or 6 days. Yes! On the ground, before we got it. I told someone this. I told the woman this, and she told me that it was because they didn't find it around her. They would go and get it all the way on the other side. They told me would go and get them in Port-au-Prince, and that's what made them go through so much that they would rot. That's the way it was.

#Purchasing

Focus Group 15, School Directors After Pilot, Participant #4 (Male; 57 years of age; 3 Children; High school; School Director): One observation I made is that I saw the trouble that BND must go through to find the fresh produce. Because me, personally, at the Blank-School-1," the first time, well, you know that we felt that an oversight committee could manage the canteen. We sent two representatives of the committee to purchase. When they arrived, after two markets, let me see if I can say it the way they said it, they said it was a humiliation. Because when they got there, because they must take the scale to weigh things, they didn't find everything at once. They could buy all from a single vendor. And as soon as the vendor sees that you're weighing the produce, she's already passed the word and every other vendor is impossible. And the money isn't enough.

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Socio-Dig: How would they give you money? How would they manage it? Did you have a receipt that you would give when you bought? Was there an exact amount of money they gave you? Was it before you bought that they gave you money or after?

Public: Before we bought.

Focus Group 15, School Directors After Pilot, Participant #1 (Male; 55 years of age; 8 Children; 10th grade; Teacher): Before we bought they gave us money. Us, we didn't have any trouble getting people to sign. Because the people who brought it to me, I gave them the receipts, they signed them and gave them back to me. After that, when we arrived, we gave them back and when they finished going over them they gave us money again. That's how it was done.

#Weighing

Focus Group 15, School Directors After Pilot, Participant #4 (Male; 57 years of age; 3 Children; High school; School Director): … We sent two representatives of the committee to purchase. When they arrived, after two markets, let me see if I can say it the way they said it, they said it was a humiliation. Because when they got there, because they must take the scale to weigh things, they didn't find everything at once. … And as soon as the vendor sees that you're weighing the produce, she's already passed the word and every other vendor is impossible. And the money isn't enough.

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#Signing/Receipts

Focus Group 15, School Directors After Pilot, Participant #3 (Male; 36 years of age; 1 Child; University; Teacher): I would go to the top of the mountain to Javel where they produce, where the source of the stuff is. I would find the produce and some money would be left over. Because down here, they sell for more than up there. Hmm. But I ran into some difficulties because the peasants don't want to sign for you. Because you must verify the things, you get it approved by the people who sell to you [BND required the

school purchasers to have sellers sign receipts]. Well, if it were for that you sell, you can just leave the stuff. That caused a lot of problems. … The person on the committee who could go in my place, he doesn't know how to write to make the receipts [he's illiterate].

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#Scarcity

Focus Group 15, School Directors After Pilot, Participant #4 (Male; 57 years of age; 3 Children; High school; School Director): And the money isn't enough. And the way things are, they go up and down. Sometimes there is abundance, sometimes there is not an abundance. Well, at the time we went to buy it could be a time when a lot of produce is finished, well, the price….Well, times like that I'm obliged to go ... suffer. Finally, I had to work only the second week of September. The third person who did it, he came and asked, 'director, do me a favor and do not send me to the market again to get humiliated' etcetera. OK, so when I sent the fourth person the last week, he came and said, 'ahh, my good friend, you know the misery I'm going through because there are products you can't find and secondly, they're expensive and the money, it's not enough for the children we have, it doesn't make it. Well, I already had talked to BND and told them that for the month of October they did not need to give Blank-School-1 money. They could give ROPANIP the money to continue buying. Then, unfortunately, we the had the hurricane. [laughs].

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Focus Group 15, School Directors After Pilot, Participant #3 (Male; 36 years of age; 1 Child; University; Teacher): … That's what made me stop in October and the hurricane came and stopped everything too. Now they send the produce to me. That's how things went. But it was a beautiful experience for me, except that there was produce that, like the director said, were difficult to find. I would replace them by the lot. Some were really expensive too, like yam. There are times where yams are more expensive than other times. It was a beautiful experience. [Noise of a truck coming from afar]. That's what made some people already rent a storage depot? But I couldn't continue.

#Hurricane

Focus Group 15, School Directors After Pilot, Participant #4 (Male; 57 years of age; 3 Children; High school; School Director): Hurricane Matthew began on Monday, the 3rd of October. I'm not mistaken because on Sunday, the 2nd, Monday the 3rd of October

and, well, since the hurricane, all the month of October school was closed. BND didn't give us any fresh produce at all, not for the pilot program or other schools. Because they couldn't find any. The hurricane took all the produce. You couldn't find any. They began again in January. Well, for the project, that's the way it was. But it wasn't the hurricane, it was BND that gave us produce. Well, Blank-School-1 wouldn't have continued in the month of October. I think that that my colleagues are going talk about that. They already took their money since Friday on the 30th of September, so that they could go to market over the weekend for the first week of October. But Blank-School-1 didn't take its money because it said that it would not get into that system again because it was too difficult …

#Improvements Change of View

Focus Group 15, School Directors After Pilot, Participant #4 (Male; 57 years of age; 3 Children; High school; School Director): For Blank-School-1, I think that BND continued giving us produce because before we would complain. The food wasn't enough. Well, they started again in 2017 and for us at Blank-School-1, what they gave became a great quantity, sufficient. And secondly, the eggplant is good. I don't know how they organize now, if they're getting the food directly from the producer or what, but since the 2nd of January what they give us is always good. It's fresh, like something they picked Monday morning and Monday they brought it. But after a lot of talk about how the food is not good, it's rotten, well finally they seem to have fixed the problem. I think that if they will continue to do like they did since January 2017, they may continue to give us the food [no need to change].

Focus Group 15, School Directors After Pilot, Participant #1 (Male; 55 years of age; 8 Children; 10th grade; Teacher): Well, for Blank-School-2, if BND gives it to us, we'll take it. I would rather they give me food than money.

Socio-Dig: You prefer that it's BND that brings it?

Focus Group 15, School Directors After Pilot, Participant #1 (Male; 55 years of age; 8 Children; 10th grade; Teacher): They may bring it, they may bring it.

#Milk

Focus Group 15, School Directors After Pilot, Participant #4 (Male; 57 years of age; 3 Children; High school; School Director): There are some things they announced in training. Since the very first meeting they said they would give the children something. There are some schools that got it. There are some schools that did not get it. And we think that at our level that it would be good for children. And that's the question of milk.

Socio-Dig: OK

Focus Group 15, School Directors After Pilot, Participant #4 (Male; 57 years of age; 3 Children; High school; School Director): … there are two or three parents that do not give it at all, but there are a lot of schools that don't get it. You don't get it?

Unidentified Participant: No, I don't get it.

Unidentified Participant: No, only three schools get it.

Unidentified Participant: For the entire commune?

Unidentified Participant: Yes, three schools in the commune that get it.

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Focus Group 15, School Directors After Pilot, Participant #1 (Male; 55 years of age; 8 Children; 10th grade; Teacher): The only thing that we wish you would do is that in the coming year give milk, isn't that right director? (laughs). We would hope that the milk gets to us.

Socio-Dig: If the milk hasn't gotten to you [this year], do you think there is something else you could put in it's place?

….

Focus Group 15, School Directors After Pilot, Participant #1 (Male; 55 years of age; 8 Children; 10th grade; Teacher): Agronomist Emile told us, he told us that. I told him that, and he told us that they really did not have a lot of it. But the director proposed something too. He proposed something good, yes. The director proposed something that would be good. This Wednesday they could give one school and the next Wednesday they could give to another school. [a rooster crows]. Even if they don't get it every Wednesday, they'll know that all the schools got it.

Ok

Focus Group 15, School Directors After Pilot, Participant #1 (Male; 55 years of age; 8 Children; 10th grade; Teacher): Even if it's just once a month, they get it. The director said this, and I see that it would be good if we did it like that.

#Market vs. Purchasing

Focus Group 15, School Directors After Pilot, Participant #3 (Male; 36 years of age; 1 Child; University; Teacher): Something else, it's a proposition. I think that BND is in almost three zones with this local food experience. Hmm. I think that buying in the market vs buying from the producers they'll pay a price. But them, if they would try to arrange themselves in a group with them, they have land, I have the impression that eggplant and things like that during the past 6 months they've been buying it fresh. I don't believe they've been getting it at the market. The way it is so fresh for the past 6 months, it's somewhere they're producing it and they just buy it. That's the supposition I'm making. Couldn't they do the same for all the rest of the produce? I think that… What BND is already doing is part of us one way or another. So now if it stops, it will be a problem for us, and me as the school principal, if the school canteen program stops it will bother me and the kids will be asleep in the classroom. The performance of the students will not be

the same as before. It is a question for me to contribute for the advancement of the program. My interest in dealing with it, contributing. So, we committed to get together to make sure that BND found the best way to market, if it was in the market they're going to purchase. From the producer nothing to do with BND itself. So, all those products that we might not have at least to have some of that diminishing, the cost goes down. Is BND itself unable to go in this direction? PAM could not go, right? I did not say PAM. Maybe BND could not go as far as to allow it as well? Although it would not be for 2017-2018 but at least for the 2018-2019 part, I think that could improve the situation.

Socio-Dig: You think they could do that with the BND members or with the professors, school directors?

Focus Group 15, School Directors After Pilot, Participant #3 (Male; 36 years of age; 1 Child; University; Teacher): The members of BND, that's why I say it's just a suggestion.

Socio-Dig: You don't think that could work with the professors, school directors?

Focus Group 15, School Directors After Pilot, Participant #3 (Male; 36 years of age; 1 Child; University; Teacher): No, it would work with them also because it's a problem of land. Where they produce rice, BND might not have land, but a school director could help the get access, etcetera. He could put the land at their disposition, rent it…. Corn meal, or people, I can't work the land of others, but we can make a contract. It's a form of… we make a contract, etcetera. It's a matter of contracts and cooperation no matter what.

Socio-Dig: Thank you. Is there someone else who would like to add something else?

#Hunger

Focus Group 15, School Directors After Pilot, Participant #1 (Male; 55 years of age; 8 Children; 10th grade; Teacher): … Sometimes I'm in the office and I hear children say, 'teacher, my stomach hurts.' 'Your stomach hurts? You didn't eat this morning?' 'No.' Or I send them to get some fried dough from the vendor while they wait for the food to cook. And when they don't have any food, you look at how much I spend per month. The vendor, I must pay her for fried dough that I owe. Why? For the children. When the children come complaining, you can't let them go like that….

#Time Complaint

Focus Group 15, School Directors After Pilot, Participant #3 (Male; 36 years of age; 1 Child; University; Teacher): … After that, I found it difficult to continue because I was going to go to University. I go each Saturday and each Sunday. … but the other person won't go, especially on Sunday because he's part of the ministry at the church… The school chores [buying the food] are difficult to get done on Sunday, he wouldn't have time. That's what made me stop in October and the hurricane came and stopped everything too.

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Focus Group 15, School Directors After Pilot, Participant #4 (Male; 57 years of age; 3 Children; High school; School Director): No matter what, I couldn't have continued. Like I said already, I didn't' have time. Every Saturday and every Sunday I go to the University. I don't have time to go to market.

#Money Insufficient

Focus Group 15, School Directors After Pilot, Participant #4 (Male; 57 years of age; 3 Children; High school; School Director): … And the money isn't enough.

Focus Group 15, School Directors After Pilot, Participant #4 (Male; 57 years of age; 3 Children; High school; School Director): …… when I sent the fourth person the last week, he came and said, 'ahh, my good friend, you know the misery I'm going through because there are products you can't find and secondly, they're expensive and the money, it's not enough for the children we have, it doesn't make it.

#Positive Sentiments about Pilot

Focus Group 14, School Directors Before Pilot, Participant #5 (1 Child; School director; 19 years employment): Because it wasn't enough. And when I weighed it, it wasn't the amount they were supposed to give me. We went almost the entire year like that. We complained a lot. Finally, BND decided that they would allow the five schools represented here to buy the produce themselves. Now what worries me, my worry is that I don't know if the other four schools are really going to get it, not that I feel I have it.

[Two other unidentified participants laugh]

ANNEX B:

Organized Commentary for All-Male Farmers and All-Female Traders

Focus Group 13: Male Farmers (Tamarin)
Date of focus group : 9/07/17
Date of transcription: 23/07/17-4/08/17

List of paticipants
#1: Male; 67 years of age; 2 Children; 6th grade; Farmer
#3: Male; 50 years of age; 2 Children; 6th grade; Fisherman, Farmer
#4: Male; 40 years of age; 5 Children; 8th grade; Farmer
#5: Male; 37 years of age; 4 Children; No school; Farmer
#6: Male; 68 years of age; unknown number of Children; No school; Farmer
#7: Male; 40 years of age; unknown number Children; 4th grade; Farmer
#8: Male; 40 years of age; 3 Children; High school diploma; Teacher, Farmer

Focus Group 16: Traders in Dupuy
Date of Focus Group: 7/07/2017
Date: 08/02/2017

List of Participants
#6: Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader
#5: Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader
#3: Female; 47 years-old; 3 children; 6th Grade; Trader

Focus group 12: Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye)
Date of focus group : 07/28/17
Date of transcription : 08/25/17

Participants list.
#1: female; 69 years old; 6 children; No education; Trader
#5: female: 8 children: middle school; Trader
#4: female; 67 years old; No education; Trader
#6: female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader
#3: female; 5 children; Education unknown; Trader

#Love Trading

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #5 (female: 8 children: middle school; Trader): I like to do trade quite a lot… Since the last hurricane, there is no business, and I love to trade.

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #3 (female; 5 children; Education unknown; Trader): I like to do my little trade a lot. Now that I am getting older, the activities I used to do I can no longer do them…

#Women are Farmers

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #4 (female; 67 years old; No education; Trader): We do all type of work, we just work. Nowadays when we work the land, the land does not produce anything, do you understand me? It does not give anything

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Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): Same thing, I would say that we're farmers. That's what we plant even though when we're finished planting we don't, we don't… We're obliged, we must plant, because that's what we live on. If we have something we can sell in the market or something else that isn't available, they buy it from you and we can make 50 *goud* to eat. What that doesn't mean, I'm telling you that the gardens yield. That means there are some gardens you must buy fertilizer to put on them. And you can finish making a garden and you can't buy fertilizer, you don't have the money to put fertilizer on it.

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Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): Yes, I am number 5. Yes, we work, we are farmers. But when we are not making gardens, we work, we work the land.

#Decline in Livelihood/Hurricane

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #4 (female; 67 years old; No education; Trader): … When natural catastrophe occurs all your crops go to the sea, you don't even see the road. The water took away the remaining land taking it to the sea leaving only the skeleton (the bones).

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Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #5 (female: 8 children: middle school; Trader): I am "Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #5". … Now there is no business. Since the last hurricane, there is no business…

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Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #3 (female; 5 children; Education unknown; Trader): I… If you don't have anything, you just have to sit. As a matter of fact, not too long ago we had some activities, the last bad weather, it did not leave anything for us to survive.

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): I am a trader of cosmetics. I sell imported staples and sometimes, when there is no hurricane, when we can find something in the garden, we load up our donkeys and head to the market. But now as I told you earlier we must start over, that is the situation everyone is in at this time. On occasion, when our trade had crashed, we would sell our little goat. Or our little pig, but now it has a sickness called "broken hip", this is for the pig. It will kill them. The goats, at times it would be some type of diarrhea that would take them away. But now it is not some type of the diarrhea that takes them. Not diarrhea. What was this Hurricane called? It is the hurricane that really broke us.

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Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #3 (female; 5 children; Education unknown; Trader): Yes, October 3rd really broke us.[2] We are now starting over again and then see if we can't make five 5 cents.

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #5 (female: 8 children: middle school; Trader): Well that October 3rd, God saved only our lives. Our houses were destroyed, chaos.

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): Nowadays the land does not produce anything.

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Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): Nowadays it is hard to make any money because soap is selling for 30 *goud* in the market, a small bottle of cooking oil 60 *goud*, a *mammit* of sugar 200 *goud*, a *mammit* rice 150 *goud* in the market. Nowadays, you need a good amount of money to run your errands. For me to buy a small fish head. Things are lost. when you finish you must find enough to take home [some participant laughs].

[2] "Twa Oktob," 3rd of October, the date of Hurricane Mathew hitin 2016 and a reminder of what the elderly referred to as Douz Oktob, 12th of October, when Hurricane Hazel hit in 1954.

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Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader):… I am a trader. A Sara (wholesale of rural produce) I am a Sara, despite since the hurricane we don't find anything to buy to Sara anymore.

Socio-Dig: Yes.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): We just sit. We don't do anything.

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Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #3 (Female; 47 years-old; 3 children; 6th Grade; Trader): Yes, excuse me. The plantains have come back, and they're beautiful, yes, despite the fact that we haven't harvested yet because the 3rd of October passed and destroyed our gardens. But the plants are beautiful now, I don't know, soon we'll get some plantains no matter what because I see that the trees are beautiful.

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Socio-Dig: Can you say that you guys are Madan Sara?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): Yes, I can qualify myself as a Madan Sara because I was in it. Now we don't have anything. You know that I mostly bought plantains to resell but there aren't any since the storm. That's why I don't go anymore….

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Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #6 (Male; 68 years of age; no Children; Farmer; No school): Since I was raised up, what my parents taught me was to farm. They did not even put me in school. Farming is what's supported me right up to the old man I am now. But now I've become weak at it. What made me become weak, my body is discouraged. I break my neck working. And me, I don't see why I work so hard. We don't have irrigation. The rain doesn't fall. And on top of everything else, what supported us was planting millet. It would be right now that we started getting the land ready to plant millet. And we would have some millet stashed away. Used to be that when you felt you had a problem, you would take a few mamit out of your stash, prepare it, and you go sell it for two cents. You don't get any now. It's like you're working and you don't see why you're working. We don't have any help. It's only with the little bit of money we have that we do it … [Loud truck goes by] Well, after all, don't have any help. The little bit we do, it's wash your hands and then dry them in the dirt. We see things are odd for us nowadays.

Socio-Dig: OK, thank you. And how many times per year do you harvest?

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #6 (Male; 68 years of age; no Children; Farmer; No school): Well, we can tell you that it's only one harvest we get each year. We start weeding in January, February, stop in the month of March. If we get rain-- because we don't have irrigation--if we get rain in March we plant in March. But if we do not get rain, we plant when we get rain. The rain might not fall until April, May, it's when we get it, that's when we go to planting. When we plant, if God is with us and the rain continues, we can harvest in the month of January. After that, it's the next January that we have a harvest.

Socio-Dig: OK. Everyone can participate. Let me elaborate on what I'm trying to say for a minute. Do you harvest all the food you plant at the same time? Or does each type of food have it's time to be harvested?

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #6 (Male; 68 years of age; no Children; Farmer; No school): Well, like corn. Corn doesn't have a problem.

Socio-Dig: OK.

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #6 (Male; 68 years of age; no Children; Farmer; No school): Corn, you can plant corn and at three months you harvest it. Millet, you can plant it in the month of May, June, July. You're going to harvest it in January. Now, it's only a single harvest you can get with millet. After that there is a millet they call 14th Century. I hear that millet yields in three months. That millet, you can plant in the month of August, September, November and it's ready

Socio-Dig: OK, you were going to say something?

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #6 (Male; 68 years of age; no Children; Farmer; No school): Me?

Socio-Dig: Number 5. You weren't going to say something? I see that you wanted to say something.

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #5 (Male; 37 years of age; 4 Children; No school; Farmer): [Laughs] No, well, what Papi said is what I was going to say too. When we work we can't get anything because it doesn't rain when we plant produce these days. To plant corn, corn doesn't get rain, and when it does get rain, it's already lost. And we can't find anything to put on it too. After that, people let their livestock loose, we lose everything, we don't get anything at all.

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Socio-Dig: OK. Is there no one else who would like to add anything? What crop can land around here not produce?

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #6 (Male; 68 years of age; no Children; Farmer; No school): Well, a long time ago when the rain used to fall regularly, whatever you put in the ground the earth produced. But now, the way the rain has become, now the rain doesn't fall when it's supposed to fall. We feel like the soil is not good nowadays….

#Millet

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #4 (Male; 40 years of age; 5 Children; 8th grade; Farmer): Me, I'm number 4. We plant corn, millet, manioc, plantains, sweet potatoes, several other things too. But… a long time ago when we planted, we got a good harvest. But now, when we plant, we almost don't get nothing, especially regarding millet. When we used to plant millet we got a harvest. Even our animals, it was good for our animals too. But now, we almost lost the sight of millet. Because when we plant it there is something they let loose on it, like a an oil that kills it. We don't get anything, not even for the livestock, because the oil makes it turn black. It gels. Even the livestock won't eat it anymore. And the beans, it's the same thing. Sometimes we find a little harvest but with a great deal of effort. Because the land now, it's covered with trees and brush, we have to fight to get a little harvest. Because when you work, you understand, it's us who have to work with our own hands. We don't find anyone to work for us. They have plows and oxen to turn the soil in other places. But us, even for workers, we can't find them around here.

Socio-Dig: OK, number 6, you were going to say something?

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Socio-Dig: OK. Is there no one else who would like to add anything? What crop can land around here not produce?

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #6 (Male; 68 years of age; no Children; Farmer; No school): Well, a long time ago when the rain used to fall regularly, whatever you put in the ground the earth produced. But now, the way the rain has become, now the rain doesn't fall when it's supposed to fall. We feel like the soil is not good nowadays. Well, me, for me the biggest crop we have now that was good is millet. Well, our millet has been destroyed because the way…. Well, I can tell you why the millet has been destroyed. I see that they detroyed it. Because it's an oil that falls on the millet. I've never seen anything like that. For the last 2 to 3 years we've had that problem with the millet, isn't that right?

Public: Two or three years.

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #6 (Male; 68 years of age; no Children; Farmer; No school): For the past 2 or 3 years, you plant millet and a completely black oil falls on it. There are totally white little insects that gel on the millet. And the millet becomes completely black. Even animals won't eat the leaves and straw. You plant it for the past 2 to 3

years, we see that we can't do anything until the plant is completely destroyed. That plant is totally lost to us. We don't succeed with it anymore at all, not at all.

Socio-Dig: When this happens, is it the whole garden that's a loss, or only a part of it?

Public: The whole garden.

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #6 (Male; 68 years of age; no Children; Farmer; No school): In general, the whole garden. Total loss. I've done research everywhere to see if I can find some plants. I can't find them.

Socio-Dig: Yes, there was a scarcity. You know that malta and things like that are made with millet. Beer. There was a time all that became really scarce on the market.

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #6 (Male; 68 years of age; no Children; Farmer; No school): It's a loss for the country, its something…. Since you guys are agronomists, I would like to know if this is something that comes from people or God?

Socio-Dig: I'm not an agronomist, no Papi.

Public: It's like some kind of epidemic.

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #6 (Male; 68 years of age; no Children; Farmer; No school): That's what I would like to know?

Public: Is it an epidemic? It must be an epidemic.

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #6 (Male; 68 years of age; no Children; Farmer; No school): That's what I would like to know?

Socio-Dig: Well, if it's everywhere… It's in the whole territory of Haiti?

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #6 (Male; 68 years of age; no Children; Farmer; No school): Well, we don't know about other places…

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #5 (Male; 37 years of age; 4 Children; No school; Farmer): And me, I was listening to the news, they said that in the North too, in the North too there is a lot of millet lost, just like you see ours around here. And they say not even animals can eat the leaves and stalks. Animals that eat it die. Well, I don't know, but for us around here it's an epidemic. It's these little white insects you see flying by. You even see them in the street. You see them passing by. And when they land on you they leave this grease on you. This means that when you see them like that, better not go to the garden, the garden you can just leave like it is, it's useless.

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Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): Well, we plant plantains, yams, despite yams, now I see that yams have a problem because sometimes yams almost want to be a loss, the garden is lost. We plant corn, millet, but our millet, we lose it too because we don't have millet any more. Because all the millet that we planted already had something that falls on them… This means that we don't have millet, we can't cultivate millet, we don't plant it any longer…. Because if you plant it, there is a type of syrup that's on it, the millet dies. It's corn that keeps us going, and we have avocado trees, banana trees, and some yam. Without planting corn, beans, beans in February, black beans, bean season, butter beans… But there are times you plant, you lose them. But no matter what, since you're there, you're in the countryside, you live in the province, you must plant a garden, you must plant a garden no matter what.

#Crop Types

Socio-Dig: OK I understand that the land does not produce, but do you have any crop that is year-round?

Public: Beans, beans.

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #3 (female; 5 children; Education unknown; Trader): The beans, even if it is lost, even if I lose mine, or if you can save yours, all can barely do a little something.

A participant says: We planted in October for December. In December, if you do not die and it is not lost, you can harvest it. In January you can have more.

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #5 (female: 8 children: middle school; Trader): January, even though not everyone will freely admit, it will give 3 harvests for the year.

Public: Not everyone. You must plant three times?

Socio-Dig: Do you also harvest three different times?

Public: Yes, you can harvest it.

Unidentified Participant: You can plant it in January, you can plant it in March or in April.

Unidentified participant: If it's good, if it's good. We plant in July, then we plant in October.

Some of the participants are talking simultaneously.

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #3 (female; 5 children; Education unknown; Trader): … look you can plant the peas …. Now you wait on the rain, now it grows.

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Socio-Dig: The first question I can ask is about agriculture. Do you work the land? And what do you do?

Public: Yes, I work …

Socio-Dig: Anyone can respond, but you must say your number.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): Yes, I am number 5. Yes, we work, we are farmers. But when we are not making gardens, we work, we work the land.

Socio-Dig: OK, what do you harvest? What do you do most?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): Well, we plant plantains, yams, despite yams, now I see that yams have a problem because sometimes yams almost want to be a loss, the garden is lost. We plant corn, millet, but our millet, we lose it too because we don't have millet any more. Because all the millet that we planted already had something that falls on them… This means that we don't have millet, we can't cultivate millet, we don't plant it any longer…. Because if you plant it, there is a type of syrup that's on it, the millet dies. It's corn that keeps us going, and we have avocado trees, banana trees, and some yam. Without planting corn, beans, beans in February, black beans, bean season, butter beans… But there are times you plant, you lose them. But no matter what, since you're there, you're in the countryside, you live in the province, you must plant a garden, you must plant a garden no matter what.

Socio-Dig: You must plant a garden no matter what.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): Yes, you must plant a garden no matter what. You can't not plant a garden.

Socio-Dig: OK, and you, you do anything else?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): Same thing, I would say that we're farmers. That's what we plant even though when we're finished planting we don't, we don't… We can finish spending money, we plant a garden and after that you don't make a dime. The garden is lost, and you don't make anything on what you spent. But no matter what, we can't get

mad at God. We're obliged, we must plant, because that's what we live on. If we have something we can sell in the market or something else that isn't available, they buy it from you and we can make 50 *goud* to eat. What that doesn't mean, I'm telling you that the gardens yield. That means there are some gardens you must buy fertilizer to put on them. And you can finish making a garden and you can't buy fertilizer, you don't have the money to put fertilizer on it.

Socio-Dig: OK, thank you. Number three you were going to say something?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #3 (Female; 47 years-old; 3 children; 6th Grade; Trader): I would say the same thing. We plant plantains, malanga, yams and that's all because since the 3rd of October (the day of Hurricane Mathew) we almost don't find anything in the gardens. Because it destroyed everything.

Socio-Dig: OK, what produce do you usually have all year around.?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): All year round. During the whole year what produce do we have, we have bread fruit, we have mango, we have avocados.…

[5 Minutes]

Socio-Dig: That yields all year round?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): No, it's every year that it yields?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #3 (Female; 47 years-old; 3 children; 6th Grade; Trader): That could mean plantains.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): That means for all year we only have plantains.

Socio-Dig: Only plantains?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): Yes, yams yield every year. Bread fruit too, mango. Only plantains we can say yield all round.

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Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #3 (Female; 47 years-old; 3 children; 6th Grade; Trader): The only thing that traders come to buy around here is breadfruit.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): Yes, breadfruit.

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Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #6 (Male; 68 years of age; no Children; Farmer; No school): Well, nowadays even manioc stems are almost gone. We can' find them [to plant].

Socio-Dig: OK. You plant rice? You have rice around here? Number 8.

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #8 (Male; 40 years of age; 3 Children; High school diploma; Teacher, Farmer): Eh, what we plant, we plant rice. We plant rice around here since long ago. My father, who is a farmer too, but he's deceased now, there was a little land behind there that was a marsh, when the rain fell it held water and he would till it and plant rice in it. They would plant rice every year there. Every year they would get a harvest of rice. When they plant it with millet, the rice is ready…. If they plant it first, it's already ripe before the millit. There was an animal they call a Sara bird.

Public: Sara bird.

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #8 (Male; 40 years of age; 3 Children; High school diploma; Teacher, Farmer): The Sara bird eats it. But it's supposed to be ripe at the same time as the millet.

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Socio-Dig: OK. You may continue. What fruit do you have, what fruit do you pant around here?

Public: We plant plantains, manioc.

Socio-Dig: Fruit, fruit.

Unidentified speaker: We have breadfruit.

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #3 (Male; 50 years of age; 2 Children; 6th grade; Fisherman, Farmer): We have mango

Socio-Dig: Yes.

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #3 (Male; 50 years of age; 2 Children; 6th grade; Fisherman, Farmer): We have Chachiman

Socio-Dig: OK.

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #3 (Male; 50 years of age; 2 Children; 6th grade; Fisherman, Farmer): We have soursop? We have soursop too, some have almost disappeared.

Socio-Dig: OK.

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #3 (Male; 50 years of age; 2 Children; 6th grade; Fisherman, Farmer): We almost don't have soursop anymore. But mango, I guarantee you that's something peasants like a lot, like they're going to plant them despite they don't take root, but they still plant them. You understand.

Socio-Dig: OK. Thank you. Eh, what food do you have? What food do you produce around here that as soon I arrive in the market I would find it, anytime?

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #3 (Male; 50 years of age; 2 Children; 6th grade; Fisherman, Farmer): Well, I always say that's about finished, but we always have some yams.

Socio-Dig: That means that if I arrive in the market…. Where is the market, the market for Ti Rivye?

Public: Yes, the Ti Rivye Market, yes.

Socio-Dig: What food do you know that you have, that if I go to the market I'll find it anytime, anyday, anytime I go to the market I will find, something that you plant around here?

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #3 (Male; 50 years of age; 2 Children; 6th grade; Fisherman, Farmer): Almost all our plants appear at certain times of year. There is a millet harvest. You understand. There is time for corn. But there is a place they call it Sixth that plants all the time, they always have produce. They have cabbage, sweet potatoes, they have yams. Even us, it's them who supply us.

Socio-Dig: OK, you may speak, yes.

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #3 (Male; 50 years of age; 2 Children; 6th grade; Fisherman, Farmer): There is manioc. Even us, it's them who supply us with it. But for us, it's yams….. We have manioc….. we almost don't have it any longer too.

Socio-Dig: Yes.

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #-4 : The food you'll find on the market any time is plantain, yam, sweet potato. Those are things that you can't not find.

Socio-Dig: You can't not find them?

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #4 (Male; 40 years of age; 5 Children; 8th grade; Farmer): Yes, any time?

#Subsistence Strategies (#Buying gardens)

Socio-Dig: There is a system. I don't know if they've made it around here. For example, you can have a produce in your garden. For example, let's say yams. You could have yams in your garden and someone comes to buy all of them. They do that around here?

Public: No. Above in Miso they do that. It's in Miso that they do that. You'll see that they do that with yellow yams. In Miso they sell the whole garden. But here, we don't do that.

Socio-Dig: They sell gardens?

Public: If they have a garden of cabbage, that's how they sell it wholesale. They have traders up there that do that. But down here, we do not…

Socio-Dig: You don't do that?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #3 (Female; 47 years-old; 3 children; 6th Grade; Trader): No.

Socio-Dig: For the program to work well, another way they could come, they could come and buy the whole garden. Wouldn't that be more in the advantage of the program, or would it be better to buy the way they are doing now?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): No, they would not sell, they would not sell the whole garden.

Socio-Dig: They don't sell the whole garden around here?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): No, it doesn't happen often.

Public: … You know, they are not accustomed to doing that around here.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): Also, if they plant, they also plant other things in the garden.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): It's not easy for them to sell it like they do in Misot. It's a mixed garden here. If someone makes a garden of yellow yams, he makes a garden of yellow yams. He sells that garden, after they dug up the yams, they plant something else in it, they immediately plant something else. If it's a cabbage garden, the person plants only that. He puts in cabbage and a lot of it.

[25 Minutes]

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): Around here, like if it's yams that the person plants, he doesn't put a lot of yams.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #3 (Female; 47 years-old; 3 children; 6th Grade; Trader): And the person could have only one garden.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): You understand? People don't make a garden of just yams. In the 6th section, they're on the yams, they give them fertilizer. It's not the same as here. Do you understand what I'm saying?

Socio-Dig: I understand what you're saying.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): They are not the same way. That means that a person here, he plants yam, he plants a little malanga too, he has a little of something else, he has plantains in the garden. You get it? That means he can't sell it just like that.

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Socio-Dig: You have two. OK. The goal of the canteen is to give children food, local food. According to you, what food do you suppose they could give children that represents food you grow in your garden around here?

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #8 (Male; 40 years of age; 3 Children; High school diploma; Teacher, Farmer): The food they should give children, we have rice, we don't grow it right here but in the commune. We produce yam and I see they give them too in the canteen. Sweet potato we grow too. And millet too, albeit it's a little destroyed at the moment, but they used to give millet in the canteen.

Socio-Dig: OK. Thank you. Is there anyone one else who would say something about local food they should give children?

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #4 (Male; 40 years of age; 5 Children; 8th grade; Farmer): What they should give is manioc, manioc.

Socio-Dig: Umm.

#Bad Harvests

Unidentified Participant: As one would expect, it grows, it grows and then it's lost.

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): Now you have the year we just had, and you do not produce anything at all.

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #5 (female: 8 children: middle school; Trader): We had corn that we have planted. But we lost it all. We cannot even find enough corn to give the kids… As a woman, when you have a little money you

are going to manage, you are going to the market, there is always food at the market, always food at the market. When things are good I will buy a nice big plantain.

Socio-Dig: OK. Since all of you here are traders, I would like to ask you what you usually sell and what market do you usually sell your goods at?

#Processing

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): Well, we don't really eat mango in this area. We don't have the means for that. We have heard of processing, but we don't know how to do it.

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Socio-Dig: Does anyone in the neighborhood do processing, fry things, do they have that around her, nothing processed for example?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): If someone fries food they go sell it in the market.

Public: They sell fried stuff in the market. The person could take some fried dough, a little basket, a little bucket of bread fruit.

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#Trader Business Descriptions

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #4 (female; 67 years old; No education; Trader): I usually go sell in section 6th. If weather does not destroy the plantains, we take a load to market, we go sell them and make money, we make our little money. Other times it's Kongo beans we have. If you want, you can let the beans dry. If you're in need, you can go to the garden, because it belongs to you, you can gather a bin of beans and go and sell, make some money! After that, you can plant yam. if you don't get anything, if the weather destroys everything, you can plant a bucket of malanga. Sometimes you'll get a sack of malanga and you go sell it. After that there is nothing else. You're just surviving. The last thing for you to do is with the money…. You put your head in your hand like a little Jesus, just staring off

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Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #1 (female; 69 years old; 6 children; No education; Trader): I sell at Misot. I used to go to Port-au-Prince but now I am old. I don't take the bus to go sell in Port-au-Prince any longer.

Socio-Dig: When you go to Misot, you are selling to people who are going to sell in Port-au-Prince?

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #1 (female; 69 years old; 6 children; No education; Trader): Yes.

Socio-Dig: What do you usually sell?

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #1 (female; 69 years old; 6 children; No education; Trader): I sell the products of my garden that I work on. Whatever I cultivate in the garden, I take to the market. Products such as beans. If I have plantains in the garden, I go and sell them. Whatever I have in the garden, I will go and sell.

Socio-Dig: You sell wholesale?

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #1 (female; 69 years old; 6 children; No education; Trader): Yes, I sell wholesale to other traders who will resell.

Socio-Dig: Wholesale, as by "*mammit*" or sack?[3]

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #1 (female; 69 years old; 6 children; No education; Trader): By *mammit*. You only sell by *mammit*? The green beans you sell by *mammit*. The green beans you sell by *lot* for resellers to sell in Port-au-Prince.

Socio-Dig: OK do you sell yams also?

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #1 (female; 69 years old; 6 children; No education; Trader): Whatever I have, I will sell.
Socio-Dig: How much money can sell a *lot* of yam for?

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #1 (female; 69 years old; 6 children; No education; Trader): No. I don't usually have *lot* of yam because I come from Misot.

A participant says: People in the high lands have yams.

[3] 1 *mammit* = 5.75 lbs of rice or 5.5 lbs of beans

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #1 (female; 69 years old; 6 children; No education; Trader): Us here in the lowlands, it's only a small white yam we have. Only a few sacks of yams we take along for sale.

Socio-Dig: So, you sell more beans?

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #1 (female; 69 years old; 6 children; No education; Trader): Like butter beans, or normal beans, I go to weigh them, and I sell them by *mammit*. Dry like that.

Socio-Dig: For how much, more or less, do you sell a *mammit*?

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #1 (female; 69 years old; 6 children; No education; Trader): Ah, according to the price it is sold. There are days when sell I sell for 12, you sell at 10. Depends on the price it is selling at. The price it is selling at and the price you sell it at too.

Socio-Dig: Let me ask you, where do you sell?

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): Sometimes I go buy in Misot. I go and sell things from the garden. Sometimes I go to Port-au-Prince. I buy in Misot and sell in Port-au-Prince.

Socio-Dig: Hmm. What do you buy in Misot and sell in Port-au-Prince?

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): Sometimes I buy yams. Whatever you find, you take. I buy a small *lot* of Malanga [other inaudible conversation in the background]

Socio-Dig: Do you buy by the sack?

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): I buy by *lot*. A *lot* it is 2 or 3 pieces together, that's what we consider a *lot*.

Participants: [Many speaking together- no clear conversation] A big *lot* they put on the ground and you must give an offer, you give them a price. Carrots are bought by the sack.

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): When it is a sack you buy, a sack of carrots, when you get there, you must work it well, so you do not lose the investment.

Socio-Dig: Where in Port-Au-Prince do you usually sell?

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): I used to go to Carrefour to sell.

Socio-Dig: Carrefour? OK. When you get there, do you sell them by *lot*?

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): I sell by *lot*. Sometimes I sell wholesale.

Public: [laugher]

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): I sold by *lot,* I sold wholesale.

Socio-Dig: How many days do you spend when you go to Port-au-Prince to sell?

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): I usually do not stay long… 2 to 3 days. If you go on a Monday, you return on Wednesday.

Socio-Dig: Ahh that means you sell to resellers?

Participants: Yes, you sell to resellers.

Socio-Dig: OK. It not like if you to go sit in the market place, you don't sell to individuals for personal use.

Public: No, you sit in the warehouse. There is no place. You pay for a space. You sit there, and you divide your produce into *lot*, you sell with a big market woman who is going to divide it into smaller *lot*, but you must pay her, yes. A lot of other people are going to participate in selling it (laughs). That's how it is, yes.

Socio-Dig: These resellers, do you also sell to them by *lot*?

Public: by *lot*.

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): By *lot*, by *lot* depending on the size it can be sold for, 60, 80, 100 per *lot,* according to what you brought.

Public: Many, many.

Unidentified Participant: Many, they in turn must sell the product for a profit.

Unidentified Participant: You sell all your load. If you brought, it they will nickel and dime you, haggle you… they will buy it.

Unidentified Participant: At times, you hurry home as well, you hurry home. My children don't want me to use the bus for transport, so I hurry home.

Socio-Dig: How much can you buy a portion of yams for in Misot? How much profit will you do if you were to sell it in Port-au-Prince?

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): Oh, you can buy a *lot* of yams for up to 2,500 *goud*. You can buy a *lot* of yam and when you get there to unload it you can resell it for 2000 or 2500 *goud*.

Unidentified Participant: For you and the transport, it is for the transport you are working.

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): I do it on each. I do, at times you don't even earn the money to pay for what you bought. It is in your own money you have drawn to pay for transportation.

Socio-Dig: Let us give number 3 a chance to talk. I see her daydreaming [laugh].

Public: [laugh]

Socio-Dig: It can be the heat that makes you that way?

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #5 (female: 8 children: middle school; Trader): No, it is cool over there, problem, problem.

Socio-Dig: Good, the question is the same, what do you sell and where do you sell?

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #5 (female: 8 children: middle school; Trader): Canape-vert.

Socio-Dig: Huh, what do you sell in Canape-Vert?

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #5 (female: 8 children: middle school; Trader): I could carry five sacks of charcoal [laughs]. I might buy some small passion fruit if they're in season. When it's season, I ripen bananas. I get there, the comptroller gives it to traders who in turn give them to the resellers. I don't carry merchandise that for retail. What I am buying are bananas for around 5,000 *goud* worth. I buy 5,000 *goud* of bananas. Now, once they ripen, I will pay for transportation to go to Port-au-Prince with them. Now the retailer comes and takes them form you, you count and give to the reseller to sell them by the piece.

[participant says simultaneously: so, they would go and resale individually].

Socio-Dig: How do you carry these bananas?

Public: In a basket, in a basket.

Socio-Dig: How big might the basket be?

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #5 (female: 8 children: middle school; Trader): You can buy a small basket for 75 *goud*. It is not tall, it is not made tall.

Public: [laugher]

Socio-Dig: I am shocked because I have seen the type of basket Jacmel has!

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #5 (female: 8 children: middle school; Trader): No, it is not the basket from Jacmel

[Many people are talking simultaneously]

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #5 (female: 8 children: middle school; Trader): This is a small basket, it is made of bamboo.

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #5 (female: 8 children: middle school; Trader): That is the small basket. They used to carry the basket for you for 15 *dola* (75 *goud*). Up, up, up it went up, 100 *goud*. Up, up, up, it went up 25 *dola* (125 *goud*). 25 *dola*. 25 *dola*, 125 *goud* per 25 *dola* for loading of each basket, put it on top of the truck. You'll pay the worker 25 *goud* for each basket. Each basket must be paid. If you have 4 baskets of bananas, 100 *goud*. If you have 6 baskets, 30 *dola* (150 *goud*). Upon arrival the same way it was loaded in Misot on the truck, you must pay to offload in Port-au-Prince. This will cost you about 60 *dola* (300 *goud*). On arrival, if you're lucky and the bananas are not squashed and you are at a total lost…

Public: [laugher]

Unidentified participant: Now they don't even want to load up for 50 *goud*.

[Someone speaking inaudibly]

Socio-Dig: OK. How about number 6?

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): I'm not accustomed to to taking the bus for this type of trade. My trade is cosmetic products. It's sandals, notebooks during school year, I would sell these types of products. And, I buy and sell sacks of sugar, rice, things, I sell oil, little things to eat. After that, whenever I have garden stuff such as like when I have yams, the yams we don't want to go to waste. We load up our donkeys and go to sell them. Plantains. If the Hurricane did not occur, we used to have them. We could be taking 2 loaded animals to the market. Now if I can find a small one to buy other little things. But now I usually don't go sell retail on top of the bus.

Socio-Dig: Where do you go to buy your cosmetic products?

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): Sometimes I would buy in Port-au-Prince, I can sometimes buy in Fond Des Negres.

Socio-Dig: You said you buy rice by the sack, do you sell retail?

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): Yes, I sell retail, I sell by *mammit*, there is something called *gode* or a *glass*

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Socio-Dig: Where do you go to sell?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): Canape Vert.

Socio-Dig: Canape Vert, Port-au-Prince? How do you transport? How is that done?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): Transport? We buy at the market. We pay a vehicle. We pay to load, we pay for loading. And we pay the driver who brings them for us. And when we get there we pay again to unload. There are times … you pay dearly, and you don't even make any money. You go through all that trouble for nothing. And sometimes, and especially when some other place brings in a big quantity, you also don't make money, you understand?

Socio-Dig: OK. The question I would ask, does the vehicle… Where do you buy? You buy here, or you buy…?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): No, I buy in the market because you must… You buy it down below here from a person. You must have a pack animal to get it from the mountain, for me to come sell it. But, I don't have an animal to carry it to the market, no. I buy it in the market and I put it right away on a vehicle to bring it. There are times also you go through misery, we get to Port-au-Prince at midnight. When you arrive at midnight, we unload and it's 1 o'clock in the morning. 2 o'clock in the morning. And then we bath and just get a little sleep and by 4 o'clock we get up so we can sell.

Socio-Dig: OK. When you go to sell in Port-au-Prince, do you sell wholesale or you sell per regime?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): No, we don't sell them…. Yes, we sell them only retail, you understand? But if someone needs a big bunch, we can sell to them. But the bananas we sell also by the small bunch, and sections so that they can ripen them...

Socio-Dig: Bananas?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): Yes.

Socio-Dig: You sell bananas or plantains?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): I buy plantains and I ripen them.

Socio-Dig: You ripen them, OK. You sell them by the small bunch. I see that they have places where they sell bananas by the basket.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): No, we don't sell bananas by the basket. Bananas by the basket is when they come from the Dominican Republic.

Socio-Dig: OK. Where in Port-au-Prince do you sell.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): Canape Vert.

Socio-Dig: Canape Vert?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): In the Canape Vert market. I used to go to Carrefour. But I don't go anymore. I go to the market in Canape Vert.

Unidentified voice: Why doesn't she go to Carrefour anymore?

Socio-Dig: OK, and you ma'am, what did you used to sell when you were selling?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): Well, I was never a Madan Sara. I always sold loads (by the pack animal). Go up to the mountains, get a load of plantains, put them on the animal, take them to sell in the market.

Socio-Dig: OK.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): I didn't Sara. I went to sell things in the market at Ti Riviere, Miso that is over there. That's where we would go and sell our loads.

Socio-Dig: What did you sell the most?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): Plantains, yams, malanga. It can be avocados. We bring everything to sell in the market. When we get there, the merchants buy them from us, or anyone who needs to buy.

Socio-Dig: OK. Let's take an example of yams. Let's say yams. Let's take yams for example. How do you sell yams? Do you sell them by the pile or, by the '*lot*' or per individual fruit?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): You can sell by the '*lot*.' You put 3 or you can split the pile… or if a merchant asked for the pile you can sell a pile.

Socio-Dig: How many yams does a pile have?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): You can ask 250 *dola* (1,250 *goud*) for a pile of yams. Depends on how big they are.

Socio-Dig: How many yams could be involved?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): It could have many. I don't remember. It could be a lot.

Socio-Dig: It would be a lot?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): Yes, a long time ago, yes. If they're in season, they're more expensive, yes. You know, things are not the same anymore. Nowadays they're costlier. And yams are not as plentiful. Nowadays, the number of yams are less in quantity. Nowadays, in all gardens you almost don't find any yams. Yams are more expensive. 250 *dola* for a yam, for a pile of yams, yes….

Socio-Dig: There are many yams?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): You sell it both for 100, 120 or so. It depends on the size. If they're small, you could sell it for 80, 90 *dola*. But nowadays, if you have them, they're more expensive. It's not the same as it was. It's more expensive.

Socio-Dig: What thing?

[10 minutes]

Socio-Dig: You sell by the basket when you get to the market with them?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): You think we have baskets?

Socio-Dig: You don't sell by the basket?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): No, avocados, when you transport avocados, it's by *lot* you sell them. You count the *lot* and you put them in the sack of the buyer. You count them, then you put them in the person's sack.

Socio-Dig: And breadfruit, how do you sell bread fruit?

Public: By the dozen, by the *lot*, and by the individual. Four make a *lot*.

Socio-Dig: How much could a dozen breadfruit sell for?

Unidentified voice: What's a dozen?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): That depends on the price. They could sell for 100 *dola* (500 *goud*), they could sell for 80 *dola* (400 *goud*)

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #3 (Female; 47 years-old; 3 children; 6th Grade; Trader): Last year, they were already selling for 100 *dola*, yes. But now, they're selling for 35 to 40 *dola*.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): They went down.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #3 (Female; 47 years-old; 3 children; 6th Grade; Trader): Even 25 *dola*.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): The price is down now.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #3 (Female; 47 years-old; 3 children; 6th Grade; Trader): Because when they have a lot, the price comes down.

Socio-Dig: Beans. You guys said that you grow beans around here. Green peas too?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #3 (Female; 47 years-old; 3 children; 6th Grade; Trader): No, no green peas around here.

Socio-Dig: Butter beans?

Public: Butter beans, black beans.

Socio-Dig: Butter beans and black beans, how do they sell beans like that around here?

Public: By the mammit.

#Credit

Socio-Dig: Hm- I know the difference between *gode* and *glass*. Do you purchase on credit from people so that you can go and resell?

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): No. I mean if someone is accustomed to buying from you, there may be a day the person can't pay for all of it and so you let them owe you the balance. But I do not like it because even if you want to do it, there are big traders who may want to sell your credit because the big traders are also buying on credit. You may take the credit and you go sell on credit, but you give your good friend some credit and you know sometimes, it's not all of us who pay. There are people who take a little something and she makes a sacrifice and pays. But when you trade on credit, it's going to be a problem for you.

Socio-Dig: Have you borrowed money from any institution, like FONKOZE?

[Many participants are talking inaudibly]

Unidentified Participant: You shouldn't say FONKOZE. We are in SENKAMI. We can go to SENKAMI anytime.

Socio-Dig: Are you a member?

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #5 (female: 8 children: middle school; Trader): Because when you borrow and pay back, that is a good thing.

Participant says: I have good credit, I have good credit.

Socio-Dig: What is the most amount of money you can borrow?

[Many participants talking simultaneously]

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #5 (female: 8 children: middle school; Trader): We usually don't take too much.

Public: laughter

Socio-Dig: Well, I don't know, it may not be a lot. But I would like to know the most you can borrow and at what rate it would be?

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #1 (female; 69 years old; 6 children; No education; Trader): We can take 2,000; like 1,000; 1,500, you can go higher but I don't choose to.

Socio-Dig: If you would want to go bigger how much they would lend you? If I would want to do more. I can take 4,000 to 5,000, if I would want to rise the stake.

Public: We are all in the same position.

Unidentified participant: Yes, just one word.

Socio-Dig: Are you also in the credit program ma'am?

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #5 (female: 8 children: middle school; Trader): Heeeyyyy, I would do it, but I don't know how to do it.

Socio-Dig: The lady who usually does it cannot show you how to do it?

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #1 (female; 69 years old; 6 children; No education; Trader): No, no I don't go to FONKOZE. Like now other people lend me money.

[Many Participants doing small talk simultaneously]

Socio-Dig: The people who loan to you are family or friends?

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #1 (female; 69 years old; 6 children; No education; Trader): Friends.

[Many Participants talking at the same time with Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant # 1]

[While the conversation continues Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 says: Godmother… let me talk…_]

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): What I mean, like me, if I am struggling with my limited means, I see that she already has a few 1,000 *goud* to manage. But while I don't go on the bus, I might let her borrow 1,500, 2,000 *goud* to add to her 1,000 *goud*, she goes and hustles and when she returns she will give me mine back. That's the way it is.

Socio-Dig: She doesn't have to give it back to you with interest.

Participants: No

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): No. We have some people giving it with interest. Those people are called "Eskont." But the way we live, we do not have people who *eskont.*

[several people talking at simultaneously]

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #1 (female; 69 years old; 6 children; No education; Trader): You may have a place you usually buy your product. Like I buy rice, sugar cooking oil, soap and so on. My money may not be enough if I owe on it and I don't borrow. Because if I borrow it is not more for me, because when I am done I return the credit I borrowed, it is not good for me. Like when I go to buy, I always

must have other money to buy with. That's the reason I don't ever go and borrow money [she says the rest at a lower tone].

Socio-Dig: Does your husband do gardens as well?

Public: Yes

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): Yes, they are the ones sowing the land for us.

Public: Laughter

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Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): Me, in that sense, I've never seen WFP talking. I would think that even if it wasn't' today, maybe not even tomorrow, but I would think it has a vision for people who are having to take high interest loans at SENKAMI or FONKOZE.

Socio-Dig: [laughs] That is why you thought I came? I didn't come for that. But it's not impossible that one day they can put that in the program. But for now, the most important thing for WFP is that all schoolchildren can get school meals, and how this program can cost less so that they can feed more children.

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): We would hope that WFP make the changes for the food to cost less and to be able to support the traders, that is what they would like to do, support the traders. Because there are occasions when they can call the trader for a loan. There are those people who are afraid to borrow from bank other association pushing the trader to sign, come on, come on come on. That means if WFP is World Food Program, if it would give the trader support too, I believe me that would be… another beautiful thing. Because it is the children of the trader, their family who are eating the same products.

[many participants saying yes]

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Socio-Dig: …Do you get credit from an institution that you can borrow from and put into commerce?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): No, we don't do that. …I don't do that, because it's something

I'm afraid of. I'm afraid because sometimes you borrow money and you lose your merchandise.

Socio-Dig: Umm.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): There are time you borrow money from someone and you lose your merchandise. You didn't have your own money, it drives you into a state of frustration, you must pay it back.

Socio-Dig: From someone?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): And me, I'm someone who doesn't get frustrated for nothing. If it's money, I don't get frustrated. I do what I can do to get by. But if you borrow money, you must pay it back. There are times you buy merchandise, the merchandise spoils or s thief can steal it, or steal your money. Now you're frustrated. You pay it back. That's what makes me not like borrowing.

Socio-Dig: OK. When you used to sell, did you take credit from…?

[Everyone is speaking at once]

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): No, I traded with my own money. Slaughtered animals, slaughtered pigs, and then invested in other activities. Bought millet, bought beans, bought peanuts, sold them with my own money. I'm always afraid of borrowing.

Socio-Dig: You never borrowed?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #3 (Female; 47 years-old; 3 children; 6th Grade; Trader): Yes, I borrowed, yes.

Socio-Dig: Where did you borrow?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #3 (Female; 47 years-old; 3 children; 6th Grade; Trader): At BNC.

Socio-Dig: Do you ever buy merchandise at the big depots?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #3 (Female; 47 years-old; 3 children; 6th Grade; Trader): Yes, I used to buy, yes, I bought with my own money, so I didn't wind up owing.

Socio-Dig: But that's clients of people who know you?

Public: Yes, we buy from people who know us.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #3 (Female; 47 years-old; 3 children; 6th Grade; Trader): At the big depots.

Socio-Dig: When I say wholesale, for example, if you're selling rice, you're selling beans, you're selling cooking oil, do you get to the depot and take merchandise on credit. You buy I buy it's after you sell that you come pay them?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #3 (Female; 47 years-old; 3 children; 6th Grade; Trader): Yes, that's what I do, that's what I do.

Socio-Dig: You do that?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #3 (Female; 47 years-old; 3 children; 6th Grade; Trader): Yes.

Socio-Dig: And you?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): No, I don't take big things on credit.

Socio-Dig: Do you take little things to eat on credit?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): Yes, I don't take big things on credit.

Socio-Dig: And you too?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): I don't buy big things on credit.

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Socio-Dig: Is there no association of women around here?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): They had a chicken farm. You know, FONKOZE was here and they came and did something with them. They loaned them…

[Telephone rings]

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): The director offered it to me. I told him no, I don't like it.

Socio-Dig: You don't like it?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): Every time there's a meeting, the women go. And every time they take some money to give FONKOZE. The director offered me. At that time, I had a baby, I said no, I'm not taking the littlest thing because I don't like it. If I have 50 *goud* I made, then with that 50 *goud* I'm not going to give it to someone else. If I lose, I lose; if I win, I win by myself.

Socio-Dig: Did you tell FONKOZE that it's a headache?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): Aaa (laughs) A headache.

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Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #4 (Male; 40 years of age; 5 Children; 8th grade; Farmer): Produce, sometimes we already owe it. Because when you don't have anything to work with you go look for it from someone else who has it, you go get a little money. And like that you don't even know if you're going to harvest anything at all because you already borrowed money both for millet and for corn. Whatever you get you almost don't find anything even for you to eat because you already owe it, you must give them a low price.

#Workers

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): Yes, those men with a mere 50 *goud* they have, they buy land [many voice talking], buying buildings now. Hm, hmm, in the past, people, anytime they touched land, like the group leader sometimes used to encourage the group to do more [work], 'let us do one more.' Nowadays people look, you see the workers arrive and telephone in hand aah they are still there. They stay from six to ten in the morning and they would not do anything else. Some may arrive at the site and there is not a place to plant a *mammit* of beans. [a participant is talking at the same time] You can find around six workers … or if they work they will be well rewarded.

#Men Selling

Socio-Dig: Do your husbands ever go to the market to sell?

Public: No

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): No, they don't go. Sometimes if they have some cows, they go sell or if they need to buy a cow. If they want to go buy a cow, they go to the market. But we are the ones, when there are some plantains, we go and sell them. If the market day was profitable, we take 50 *goud* and add it to our existing cash to pay our debt. But at times it is not enough to buy food for the household.

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Socio-Dig: OK, agreed! Do men go and sell at the market?

Unidentified Participant: No, men could go, but where I live, we don't have that.

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): Men at times might take a woman to market with pack animals. They get them through difficult passages. When they reach the market, they drop the women and head back home.

Unidentified Participant: Men in this little neighborhood, we can say they don't go. There are men who go to the market.

Socio-Dig: You don't see it as a big deal for a man flanked by his wife to go sell at the market?

Public: No, No

Unidentified participant: We don't have that. But sometimes it's the man who goes and tries to sell at the market.

Unidentified participant: I've watched men selling for themselves alone. Like a man yesterday who stood by me. A participant asked, 'what are you selling there, a load of mangos? … a load of mangos.

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Socio-Dig: OK. You know there are men who sell, who do everything in the market.

Public: Yes, there are men who are stingy lowlifes [laughter]

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): No, our husbands are not like that?

Socio-Dig: Yes, I know that (laughs). A question I want to ask about that.

Public: Yes, they have them, they have them. They keep me from walking around the market when I go. [laughs] Yes, there are some men too… My husband isn't like that, no, my husband is a good man.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): There are some men, they do business, you understand. There are men who do business, who buy charcoal down there and go resell it in the market. Women are doing business, they're doing business.

Socio-Dig: OK.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): But there are men too who are stingy bums. Breadfruit, sweet potatoes, my little plantains…. My husband isn't like that. He doesn't know the price of plantains. My husband doesn't sell the little passion fruit he has, the little carosol he has.

He doesn't know the price of breadfruit, price of mango, he gives me my load, I go to the market, my money is for me.

Socio-Dig: OK. I'm going to ask a you a question. According to you, who do you think should be responsible for selling all those things?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): Women.

Socio-Dig: Why?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): Because women are responsible for the house, and so women sell (laughs).

Socio-Dig: And you number five, can men sell too?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): Yes, men can sell, men can sell. Men can sell everything, men can do everything too, yes.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): Men have their stuff to sell.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): Men do everything, but like carosol, passion fruit, kachiman, those things, when a man gets up to go sell those things, it's not pretty. But for activity, men do everything, everything. But men are not supposed to go to the market with those things.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): Since we're in the countryside, because in the city men do everything. Men [in the city] don't make a distinction in what commerce to engage in.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): Listen, men don't have anything they don't do. Men do everything.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): But since we're in the countryside, the man has a wife in the house, he's not supposed to do it. If his wife isn't sick, he's not supposed to take those things to the market and sell them. His wife is supposed to do it. He's supposed to do another kind of work for the house.

Socio-Dig: Umm.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): You understand? His wife goes to the market. He's supposed to plant a garden.

Socio-Dig: And if he and wife both go to the market?

Public: Right up to now he could be in the market.

Socio-Dig: He would be selling with his wife.

Public: He can sell, yes (laughs). He can stand, that's rare, yes, but it happens, he can stand, he can stand.

Socio-Dig: If your husband did that, you wouldn't have a problem with that?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): No, I would not have a problem with him, no. Because I already know the money that I have he's not going to be messing with it, he won't' tell me what to do with it. Me, if I want to give him some of it, I'll give him some. But there are men who can go and try to manage what you're selling, after he sees what you're making he says give him the money. People like that are not possible to have in the house and I manage the house and I'm the woman and I can manage the house.

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#Women Selling

Socio-Dig: Manioc. OK. I have another question I want to come back to. With respect to gardens, where do you sell produce? When you harvest, where do you sell the produce? Who goes to sell it?

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #8 (Male; 40 years of age; 3 Children; High school diploma; Teacher, Farmer): Produce, when they harvest, when we are in the house we have a basket, a person has a wife when he does the garden, what I mean is that it's the woman who takes the produce and goes to the market with it and sells it.

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Socio-Dig: OK. Is there anyone who would like to say something more? OK. I'm going to return to the topic of the garden in a bit. You guys told me that it's your wives who sell produce, correct?

Public: Yes, yes.

Socio-Dig: Is there no one who goes and sells produce? Why is it your wives who go and sell? If you want to sell, can you do it?

[30 minutes]

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #3 (Male; 50 years of age; 2 Children; 6th grade; Fisherman, Farmer): Well, it's her.

Socio-Dig: Number 3, you may speak.

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #3 (Male; 50 years of age; 2 Children; 6th grade; Fisherman, Farmer): It's my wife who has time. Well, she's not working. Us, we're always working. Sometimes we have a group of workers working for us, we have to represent ourselves in the group. You understand? We are in involved in every little thing, because if we are not involved in every little thing, you can say that the children's school tuition will not get paid. Any little thing, it's us who have to beat the water to make butter, you undestand.

Socio-Dig: That means that it's your wives who….?

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #3 (Male; 50 years of age; 2 Children; 6th grade; Fisherman, Farmer): Yes, it's her who is at the house, who has to turn her hand, who has to bring a little something to eat.

Socio-Dig: OK. Yes.

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #6 (Male; 68 years of age; no Children; Farmer; No school): When a man takes a woman it's so that she can help him too in all that he does. All that you do do if you can't have your wife when you finish working in the garden, oyou finish working and it's you who has to go and sell the produce in the garden?

Socio-Dig: OK.

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #6 (Male; 68 years of age; no Children; Farmer; No school): Do you see that it's possible? And it's the woman who should go measure the produce. You, you should work to give the woman something to sell. [laughs]

Socio-Dig: OK. Now let's say we get together, we create a group of farmers. Now let's say that there is an institution that's going to come and buy food from us. Who's going to be in charge of selling that food? Is it the woman who is in charge of selling that food? Or is it you men who are going to sell the food?

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #6 (Male; 68 years of age; no Children; Farmer; No school): We will always have a woman who is at the head who will take responsibility of selling the food.

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #8 (Male; 40 years of age; 3 Children; High school diploma; Teacher, Farmer): Because we group ourselves in an association or an organization, or a 'regwoupman' the way we say.

Socio-Dig: But it's men that I see here. I don't see any women, no.

Public: Yes.

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #8 (Male; 40 years of age; 3 Children; High school diploma; Teacher, Farmer): No, but it is an invitation that we received.

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant # 6 : In the invitation that I got it said that we don't need women that's why….

Socio-Dig: We were looking for cultivators, we were looking…

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #6 (Male; 68 years of age; no Children; Farmer; No school): That's what I received because I asked if I may come with… The women told me no, it's men. That's why you find men here. If it wasn't for that you would find several women. The organization has several women too.

Socio-Dig: Women cultivators?

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #8 (Male; 40 years of age; 3 Children; High school diploma; Teacher, Farmer): Well, that's what I tell you, yes, that's what I heard, that's why you only see men here. And what could happen is that she comes here, it's not good, she has the right to come here to listen to our meeting, but because she knows that the organization isn't going to have an extraordinary meeting. When there is something like that she should know. But often it's by invitation or often by telephone call they say men, that's why you find men here.

Socio-Dig: No, that's nothing, no.

Serge : Yes, it's nothing. Maybe after this we can get an idea of how many women you have.

Socio-Dig: Yes, we'll ask some questions about that.

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #8 (Male; 40 years of age; 3 Children; High school diploma; Teacher, Farmer): Like what you just said there, you said that if we had an opportunity, if we grouped in an association and some other group wanted to buy produce from us, how would we organize to sell it.

[noise of a vehicle passing].

Well, since we're and organization, we feel that we would put 2 or 3 people in charge of selling. It doesn't have to be women because men can sell too. Men can measure, men can sell. Me, I can measure and I can sell. Even this man here can measure. Everyone can measure.

Socio-Dig: OK, that means that what I'm trying to understand here is if you give it to an individual you will give it to a woman, but if it's a group, men can sell, women can sell?

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #8 (Male; 40 years of age; 3 Children; High school diploma; Teacher, Farmer): Yes.

Socio-Dig: That means that if you are alone, you can go sell too?

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #8 (Male; 40 years of age; 3 Children; High school diploma; Teacher, Farmer): No, well, men can go sell too. You know, there could be some men here that sometimes go and sell but they don't want to admit it. Me, I have not yet gone and sold, but there are men who have sold.

Socio-Dig: Why haven't you sold?

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #8 (Male; 40 years of age; 3 Children; High school diploma; Teacher, Farmer): Yes, there are men who have sold. They might not want to say because they see that you're a woman, they don't want to admit it.

Socio-Dig: I don't have any problem with that… [laughs] What I'm trying to understand is if you're alone, you agree that a woman sells, but when your together, you say that men can sell Why when you're alone, you can't sell, but when you are in a group you don't say the same thing. Why is that? Why is it that when you're in a group you say that men can do it, but when you're alone you say that it's women you give to sell?

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #8 (Male; 40 years of age; 3 Children; High school diploma; Teacher, Farmer): No, we don't say that it's because women are women, because it's her who feels she has more time than us. We are always busy. That's why it happens that she can do it for us. But if she didn't have the time, we could go too, yes.

Socio-Dig: If an association of women had more time, you could have them sell for you too?

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #8 (Male; 40 years of age; 3 Children; High school diploma; Teacher, Farmer): Well, that's what I would say to you, because it's an association we're starting here, to sell it can be women or it can be men too.

Socio-Dig: OK. No problem.

[35 minute]

Socio-Dig: Number 7 hasn't said anything.

Public: You haven't said anything. You sell cows. With cows we know it's men who have to go [sell].

#Understanding Program

Unidentified participant: About the program? I have not heard anything

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): BND has given training for committees, how to manage the

food. Parents are supposed to participate. They charge 25 *goud* per week, that means 5 *goud* per day. They do not take the money each day…. If a person has the money, they give 100 *goud* for the month. If the child gives the money you feed them, if they don't pay, you feed them. That means that the parents must assume the responsibility for paying the food because it's with the that parents give that they cook the food. Because BND gives the food, but there are some things they don't give. That means that the little bit they collect, sometimes they give it to the people who cook the food, so they can buy a little soap to wash their clothes, because they don't pay them.

#Praise

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Public [Some participants are talking together with the monitor] "Yes, we do not have cook for the children. Yes, if we give them bread and coffee they can wait for the food at school.

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Socio-Dig: If it was you who was managing the program, would you leave it like it is or would you change something about it?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): For me, it's not bad. It's good for the children. They make food, they give them nutrition, that's good. They do not spice the food with bouillon cubes. They give them vegetables every time. They have different foods that they give them and with juice, food that doesn't go through a lot of shipment and storage, that doesn't have chemicals in it. It's good for the children. Me, I don't see that there is anything wrong with it. It's very good.

Socio-Dig: It's very good. OK.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): The canteen that is in the school, it's very good for the children because it's natural food, they give natural food. …

#Morning

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Public [Some participants are talking together with the monitor] "Yes, we do not have cook for the children. Yes, if we give them bread and coffee they can wait for the food at school.

#Purchase locally

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Unidentified participant: Even if we would know something, there are some things that they wouldn't be able to buy in the community.

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #1 (female; 69 years old; 6 children; No education; Trader): Well, when they bring the food we don't know what quantity they bring. We don't know what advice we would give them. You could tell them to buy locally, but we don't know what quantity they would want.

Unidentified Participant: As soon as the you have the money, you can buy the items. If they give you something to buy for them, they might pay 10 *goud*, you, you bargain, and you get it for 8 *goud*. Even 8 *goud,* they can afford to give you in the market.

Socio-Dig: Let's take an example of beans they give to the children around here.

A participant says: yes, we give beans around here. but I don't believe they are buying it from us.

Public: No, they don't buy from us.

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): Once, I, I had an agronomist come by to see my beans. They had just started to flower, when Mr. Pharrel came to see me. He said, when the beans are ready to let him know. I was to let him so that he could buy them from me. But I never was in touch with him again. That means that we don't know how they buy, if they buy at a good price, do they buy at a better price? That means we don't know in this sense. Can we give them advice? Can we not give them advice?

Unidentified participant: Yes, we can give advice!

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): The advice that I can give them now in this area is that a *mammit* of beans is selling for 300 *goud*. But there are people who will not give it for 300 *goud*. In the market nowadays, it is going for 300 goud

Unidentified participant: 300 *goud* it is at the market

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): That means that they would make the difference, they will

buy it themselves if they buy at 300 *goud*. If they buy at 325 that's when I can give advice and say, 'well, beans around here can be bought for 300 *goud*.' Now, that 25 *goud* would be in the interest of both us parents and the people doing the buying. They would buy more. If they used to buy, for example, rice, since around here we don't produce rice, we must buy it, and we buy Haitian rice too. If they were accustomed to buying at 25 *goud* wherever it is they usually buy, we sell it around here for 20 *goud*, then I would say, buy it here. But we don't know how they buy. Because of that, we don't know. We don't know what we're going to say.

Unidentified: We only see, we don't know.

Socio-Dig: You see, you don't know. That's why we've come to speak with you today, to help you understand, and to get some ideas from you too. We would like that you help us find some ideas. Like we would say to you that the food they make now costs too much. They would like to get a better price. What would you propose that would be a better price for local produce, that's the question?

Unidentified participant: Something local? They could give them sweet potatoes,

Unidentified participants: They already give that.

Unidentified participant: They give sweet potatoes, carrots, eggplant, chayote, cabbage, they give all those things.

Socio-Dig: OK. They give all these things in the Canteen Program. You have committees as well?

Unidentified participants: We don't have that stuff here, but you will find them up higher .... in the Misot market.

Unidentified participant: Something else, and it's a good thing too, corn meal. Corn meal is good for children, they could cook corn meal and give it to the children…Oh, they give the same food every day. And you would think that they would give a different food each day.

Another unidentified participant: They should give a different food each day.

Earlier unidentified participant continues: You don't give them corn all the time, they must change it. You see what I'm saying to you, it's a good food, it gives the children strength.

Another participant says: They need to have stew on the menu.

Participant first said: They never have stew.

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Socio-Dig: There is a system. I don't know if they've made it around here. For example, you can have a produce in your garden. For example, let's say yams. You could have yams in your garden and someone comes to buy all of them. They do that around here?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Public: No. Above in Miso they do that. It's in Miso that they do that. You'll see that they do that with yellow yams. In Miso they sell the whole garden. But here, we don't do that.

Socio-Dig: They sell gardens?

Public: If they have a garden of cabbage, that's how they sell it wholesale. They have traders up there that do that. But down here, we do not…

Socio-Dig: You don't do that?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #3 (Female; 47 years-old; 3 children; 6th Grade; Trader): No.

Socio-Dig: For the program to work well, another way they could come, they could come and buy the whole garden. Wouldn't that be more in the advantage of the program, or would it be better to buy the way they are doing now?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): No, they would not sell, they would not sell the whole garden.

Socio-Dig: They don't sell the whole garden around here?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): No, it doesn't happen often.

Public: … You know, they are not accustomed to doing that around here.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): Also, if they plant, they also plant other things in the garden.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): It's not easy for them to sell it like they do in Misot. It's a mixed garden here. If someone makes a garden of yellow yams, he makes a garden of yellow yams. He sells that garden, after they dug up the yams, they plant something else in it, they immediately plant something else. If it's a cabbage garden, the person plants only that. He puts in cabbage and a lot of it.

[25 Minutes]

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): Around here, like if it's yams that the person plants, he doesn't put a lot of yams.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #3 (Female; 47 years-old; 3 children; 6th Grade; Trader): And the person could have only one garden.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): You understand? People don't make a garden of just yams. In the 6th section, they're on the yams, they give them fertilizer. It's not the same as here. Do you understand what I'm saying?

Socio-Dig: I understand what you're saying.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): They are not the same way. That means that a person here, he plants yam, he plants a little malanga too, he has a little of something else, he has plantains in the garden. You get it? That means he can't sell it just like that.

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Socio-Dig: OK. If there were a school that wanted to buy food from you to cook and feed to the children, would that be something that interests you to participate in?

Public: It would be interesting. It would be good.

Socio-Dig: Why would it be good?

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #8 (Male; 40 years of age; 3 Children; High school diploma; Teacher, Farmer): Because the food that the school bought from us, it would be the children who consume it. That's good again because we would be proud because it's our local food. Especially since it doesn't have any chemicals in it like the imported food.

Socio-Dig: OK. You were going to say something else. Is there anyone who would add something else to the question I'm asking. If you found a school that would buy food from you, would you agree to sell it food and why?

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #6 (Male; 68 years of age; no Children; Farmer; No school): Ah yes, it would be good if the school would buy. I know that my children would get fed. That would be better for me.

Socio-Dig: OK, how so?

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #6 (Male; 68 years of age; no Children; Farmer; No school): Me, I agree if it's a project that buys food from us to help in

school. I believe that aid is for us. We would also like to sell with those people. Even at the best price because we know this is aid is for us.

Socio-Dig: OK. And now let's say the school agrees to buy from you. How would you prefer to give that food. Would you prefer that you take it to the school or would it be necesary that the school come and get the food in your garden?

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #1 (Male; 67 years of age; 2 Children; 6th grade; Farmer): No, the school would not come get the food in my garden. The school would organize and create a base in the area and people in the area would go and sell at the base.

Socio-Dig: OK. Is there anyone who would say something else?

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #8 (Male; 40 years of age; 3 Children; High school diploma; Teacher, Farmer): Number 8.

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #1 (Male; 67 years of age; 2 Children; 6th grade; Farmer): Is it any kind of food? Or is it a certain kind of food, like millet?

Socio-Dig: Local food that everyone can eat, that's what we're looking for.

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #1 (Male; 67 years of age; 2 Children; 6th grade; Farmer): Something else I would ask. Is it us alone who will produce this food or will we get help so that we can produce more food?

Socio-Dig: OK. To give you an answer, what you're looking for right now is that they give you help, but you produce food in your garden and they could buy it from you.

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #1 (Male; 67 years of age; 2 Children; 6th grade; Farmer): Eh, they are not going to give us aid?

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Socio-Dig: OK. Thank you. Well, I still have a couple of little questions. I'm almost done. For the parents who have children in the program, what importance to you does having local versus imported food have?

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #8 (Male; 40 years of age; 3 Children; High school diploma; Teacher, Farmer): We will always prefer local food because it's us who produce it with our own hands. We already said this before, it doesn't have any chemicals in it. When the children eat it, they could get sick. When they take a local product with no chemicals in it, us, especialy around here, we do not put any fertilizer or anything like that in it. Local food is best for us. That's what the children eat.

Socio-Dig: OK. Thank you.

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #8 (Male; 40 years of age; 3 Children; High school diploma; Teacher, Farmer): Another thing, it helps us farmers too when they eat local. They'll buy from us and that brings some money into the household.

#Saving Money

Socio-Dig: OK let me ask this question in another way. If it was you who was in charge of the program, how would you manage it? Anybody can answer.

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): This is a trap I see you setting for us, if we were managing the program? [laughs]

Socio-Dig: Yes, how would you manage it to spend less money?

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): Well it is how I told you if you buy 15 *goud* and I find it at 10 *goud* then I buy it …… I start to manage it, I have an edge. But when I buy at 12 and I find places giving me 10 to 8, now I find the profit. But I tell you very clearly, we don't know the price, how they buy it, if they buy high or low. It means you look and look, every Monday afternoon they bring them food in the school.

Unidentified Participant: Yes, they bring rice, beans….

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Socio-Dig: [Laughs] WFP is exploring the possibility of the canteen costing less money, because it costs them a lot of money to keep the school canteen program in schools. The program should not be only in the Nippes department, all the children in the country should be able to benefit from this program. But because of insufficient funding they cannot expand it. But if we could find the means for the Nippes program to cost less money, we could continue in other areas until all schools in the country have it. We talk with you as vendors because you know more about where we can find a cheaper product. And we should buy in an area and what we suppose to buy.

A participant says: Yes, I understand.

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #5 (female: 8 children: middle school; Trader): Cost of living is high, everything is expensive

Another participant says: Things are really more expensive in the countryside, but when you buy it in the countryside versus the market, it is not the same.

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #5 (female: 8 children: middle school; Trader): It would never be the same. Money matters, money in your hands, go to the market.

Unidentified participant: I am going in front of a merchant and ask for price, if she does not give it to me at my price I will just return to my chair. When I return to my chair…. I will try another merchant. You must have experience to buy in the market, you must buy well.

Socio-Dig: OK

Participant continues: When you don't know the price for something, a person should not tell you a product is 10 *goud* and you, you just hand her the 10 *goud*. You shouldn't give it to her. You give her 7 *goud*. You can give her 6 *goud* ? [Laughs]

Unidentified participant: You must haggle.

Earlier participant continues: You must haggle.

Socio-Dig: Is there an association of women around here, something like that?

Public: Yes.

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): They have become a bit tough, they are discouraged not finding the proper support. Perhaps they could get support in the sense of women having a place where they can borrow a little money, like they were saying, rather than going to take a high interest loan at a big bank.

[Many participants say yes]

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Socio-Dig: OK. If you they gave you responsibility for this program as a woman, as a woman, I would like each of you to give me an idea if they would give you responsibility for this program how would you buy? Because you already know that it's local food they give the children. How would you take responsibility, what would you make them buy for the program?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): Now, would put…

Socio-Dig: Number 5.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): OK. What I would do…. the entire neighborhood is going to know everything that is happening. In the neighborhood, when someone has plantains, or yams, now that person is going to market, and for me, I would buy it. I would buy everything that that those women have who are going to sell. And Mme Fred, Florans, Mme Franck. Yes, like it was a market or Mme Franck could be responsible for buying from everyone who comes there. They wouldn't need to carry their loads to the market. They would not need to go down to Ti Rivye anymore. Now, we know that then someone had plantains it would be something that's already right here in the neighborhood. The person would know that Sunday ... she could leave church go and make a chicken meal …

[20 Minutes]

Now, he is going to know because it must be something that's already in the neighborhood, for everyone knows that we're going to have these plantains, or these yams, or these breadfruit, that they don't have to go to the market with them. They'll know that Mrs. Tony's house has a market where they will buy from them, that will buy everything that the women have from the people who are marketers, who have produce that they are going to sell, food that they have that they are going to sell in the market, that they don't need go to 6th section with it. Now, they'll get money because I will buy from them, I will buy that merchandise and you know that it's local food, that's for the school because it's local food they give the schools now. I would buy all the food in the neighborhood, and that food they no longer need to go to the 6th section with it.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #3 (Female; 47 years-old; 3 children; 6th Grade; Trader): Since I don't know. Since it depends on the quantity of food, because people in the neighborhood might have the food, but I don't know, could the people who come to buy, will they be able to buy all the food that's there, that we sell? You understand? Because we don't know, could the people who buy, could they buy that quantity of food? All those people are going to carry food because they know that it' me who is going to buy or it's Mrs. Alfred who is buying, they must know that Mrs. Alfred is buying all the food in the neighborhood.

Socio-Dig: OK.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #3 (Female; 47 years-old; 3 children; 6th Grade; Trader): If the responsibility was Mrs. Franck's, will Mrs. Franck have the money to buy the quantity of food that they will have to sell?

Socio-Dig: OK. Do you think that the food you would buy here in the neighborhood would be a better deal than what you would buy in the market at Miso?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): No, they will not give you a better deal.

Socio-Dig: It would not be a better deal? It would be more expensive?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): Yes.

Socio-Dig: Well then, better you buy in the market?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): The people already know for how much they're going to sell plantains in the market. She already knows the price.

Socio-Dig: But here's something too, she won't have to pay transport.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): Yes, she doesn't pay transport.

Socio-Dig: She doesn't pay transport, she doesn't have to go through all the trouble.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): The only thing, if she had to pay 3 *dola*, I would say she can give me 25 *dola*, like if she did not have a pack animal to carry the produce and it was on her head that she carried it. I could be easy, she could give her 25 *dola* that I put as the smallest amount. If they were going to sell at 50 *dola* or 60 *dola*, and she had to pay 50 *goud* for transport, she could give it to us for 40 *dola*. She could give Malanga or Yams, depending on the quality of yam. If they were yam that were going to sell for 80 *dola*, she would get 60 *dola* for it, because carrying it… Since our neighborhood doesn't go down to the 'Cemetery' any longer, it's only one market that we have, Miso. Yes, because the person must look to see if she has a pack animal. [Horn honks]. If you give me a price that's not good, if the price is no good, I'm going to saddle my animal and go sell the produce at the market. I'm not going to sell to her any more, they aren't going to sell to me. Now, I'm going to load my animal, she doesn't give me a good price for the plantains, for malanga, or for the yams. Now she has her animal right there, as soon as she sees I'm not going to give her a good price, she's going to put the produce on the animal and go with it.

Socio-Dig: OK. Thanks.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #3 (Female; 47 years-old; 3 children; 6th Grade; Trader): Because even breadfruit, the way that people buy it, they could buy it at 30 *dola* in the 6th section. The seller sees that she's going to sell it for 40 *dola*, better she goes to the 6th section.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): She'd rather go to the 6th section, she'd rather carry it.

Socio-Dig: Oh?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #3 (Female; 47 years-old; 3 children; 6th Grade; Trader): She'd rather take it to the 6th section.

Socio-Dig: Even if she would have to pay transport for it?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #3 (Female; 47 years-old; 3 children; 6th Grade; Trader): She won't be paying transport for it if she has a pack animal, she won't pay transport, because you know, there is no road for vehicles to reach the market.

#Estimated Cost

Socio-Dig: How much do you think it costs the program to provide each of these children with a plate of food?

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): How much it can cost a day, the program itself, how much does it cost them?

Socio-Dig: Yes, daily how much money do you think it costs the program to feed each of these children a plate of food?

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): Well, since they are with their parents, they are asking for 5 *goud.* If the school has, for example, 100 kids, it means it cost the parents 500 *goud*.

Socio-Dig: What about the program, the organization itself, how much you think it costs them?

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): For the program now, it will cost X

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): Yes. OK let us define the X it will cost. Consider you are this organization. If you were to manage it how much do you think it will cost you to provide a plate for each kid?

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): For me to spend, I would need to know the program's allocated budget.

Socio-Dig: Do you cook? Are you a good cook or a bad cook?

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): Yes, I cook for myself [and family], but this this is for the program. I don't know the amount in its budget.

Socio-Dig: You don't even have to think about the program. Let us say you were the one doing it. How much money do you think you would need to feed each kid Since you are always buying wholesale [you should know].

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): Well, since it is not something you are going to cook for only one child, for you to say today I chose to spend 100 *goud* for the child. At the lowest, let us consider the food for cooking oil, beans, all ingredients for each kid say they can eat 50 *goud* worth for the day in …… 5 *goud* from the parents, in my estimate…

Socio-Dig: According to you?

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): Yes, and you Madame?

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #5 (female: 8 children: middle school; Trader): The same thing… 50 *goud*

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): 50 *goud* for a child, in my opinion.

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Socio-Dig: OK. I have two or three more questions to ask. After that I'm finished. In your opinion, how much money do you think the program costs for each student to eat a hot meal. For people who do not have children in school, maybe they don't know, because they don't have much information on the canteen. But people who have children, how much money do you think it costs the program to give each child a plate of food?

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #6 (Male; 68 years of age; no Children; Farmer; No school): I believe that the parents of the children do not konw how much money it costs.

Socio-Dig: Around how much could it cost?

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #6 (Male; 68 years of age; no Children; Farmer; No school): They don't understand how much it could cost. But the parents of the children spend for this, all the parents pay the canteen for them.

[45 minutes]

Socio-Dig: You think that the money they pay is for food or something else?

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #6 (Male; 68 years of age; no Children; Farmer; No school): For the food, because it's the canteen they're paying.

Socio-Dig: I think that the parents pay 5 *goud*.

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #4 (Male; 40 years of age; 5 Children; 8th grade; Farmer): Do you think that money is enough to give a child a plate of food.?

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #6 (Male; 68 years of age; no Children; Farmer; No school): I don't know, but they pay the canteen.

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #8 (Male; 40 years of age; 3 Children; High school diploma; Teacher, Farmer):. The money is to pay for the children, because it's 5 *goud* per week

Socio-Dig: per day.

Public: Per day.

Socio-Dig: Per week?

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #8 (Male; 40 years of age; 3 Children; High school diploma; Teacher, Farmer): Yes, per week, it's 5 *goud* per week. I don't believe that 5 *goud* per week could give a child a plate of food. It can't give food, but it's not that the children don't pay. Because when you take a month, that has 4 weeks, or less. If it's 31 days he would pay 1 *dola* per day, it would be 31 *dola*. Me, I'm in a school that has the program. When they make a child pay 50 *goud* per month, well, he could not come with even 4 *dola*. Evaluate at 4x4=16, he could come with 6 *goud*. The same for 10 *goud*. Can 10 *goud* feed a child? The child doesn't pay, the parent doesn't pay. There are alot of parents always talking in the street oh, yes, they pay for the children, 'it's this and and that.' That's not paying. Even the public canteen down there, to eat you gotta have 10 *goud*. But, just like when you send your child to school and they don't have a canteen at the school, can 10 *goud* feed the child for the whole day? You have to give the children 25 *goud*, and you have to get up early and feed the child at the house. But because you know that the school has food, the children already know they're going to get something to hold them over. Now you can give 5 *goud* and you say, 'go.' But if you pay one *dola* per week per child, I don't believe that's really paying. Before you could tell the children to carry a piece of wood. Parents talking in the street say that their children don't carry wood. You

always find that, parents who think they're too good. They make their children arrogant too. Me, I had three children at home. I sent all three with some wood. I made them carry. I had one that was on the road. He gave another smaller children the wood to carry for him. I saw him with both hands empty. I told the child to put the wood down and made him carry it. I'm not going to have my children arrogant like that. The other parents complained. So they changed the system. They tell each parent to gave 50 *goud* per month. They were all happy. But you see that most of them don't really pay at all. The majority don't pay. If you would send the children who don't pay home… the school could have 50 or 60 children left. The children don't really pay, they don't really pay.

Socio-Dig: OK.

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #8 (Male; 40 years of age; 3 Children; High school diploma; Teacher, Farmer): But it's not that they don't pay. It's a nominal sum they make parents pay to participate so that they parents give the thing some importance because sometimes Haitians are like that. If they don't pay for something, they don't give it any value. That's the reason they make them pay. But they aren't really paying for the food.

#Alternative Foods

Socio-Dig: OK. Since the cooks do not earn a salary, let's say they have another choice. Now what do you think is going to happen…. What do you think if the program could give another person who's not inside, for example a person who could make food in the school. For example, there are vendors around here who could make food, make fried dough or something like that. They could give a vendor the responsibility of making food and taking it to the school for the children. What do you think of that?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): Well, we don't know.

Socio-Dig: No, it's what do you think? What do you think?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #3 (Female; 47 years-old; 3 children; 6th Grade; Trader): Where will you find the food? We're talking about giving them the same food?

Socio-Dig: Yes, yes.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): People would make it at their house?

Socio-Dig: For example, let's say that… Let's offer several options. They give people food to make food and carry it to the school or they give people some money, the person is responsible for making food and bringing it.

Public: That's nothing. It would not be good. Bringing it isn't good.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): There are those who would make food and benefit, there are those who would eat the food (laughs).

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #3 (Female; 47 years-old; 3 children; 6th Grade; Trader): There are those who cheat because they don't get paid. Now if you go and give them the food to make at the house, even when they made money it wouldn't be good, they would make a mess.

Socio-Dig: There would be a mess?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): Yes, there would be a mess.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): That means, while some people would not get paid, him, like the Teacher Alfred who oversees the school, even though he wasn't making any money, he would have to keep an eye on the person. The person doesn't get paid, myself I would not be responsible for making food. You understand? I'm not responsible for making it. But while the person isn't making money, they'll want to make a mess with the food. But when they know that someone higher up is keeping an eye on them, they won't do just anything they want with the food.

Socio-Dig: And if it's a person who is paid?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #3 (Female; 47 years-old; 3 children; 6th Grade; Trader): If the person gets paid… …

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): I don't know, I don't know about people getting paid because…

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #3 (Female; 47 years-old; 3 children; 6th Grade; Trader): If it's someone who gets paid and she did not do the job well, they would fire her and put someone else in her place.

Socio-Dig: OK. If you added that you had children, that you had children in the program, you have children. What food would you add that they don't have?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): The food that I would add?

Socio-Dig: Yes.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #3 (Female; 47 years-old; 3 children; 6th Grade; Trader): Corn meal, we don't have corn meal.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #3 (Female; 47 years-old; 3 children; 6th Grade; Trader): Millet, some plantains.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): Millet, dumplings, like when they make stew, they could give some wheat dumplings, corn meal, cracked wheat. Cracked wheat is a food that's very good for children. A long time ago they used to have a canteen that gave cracked wheat. We had a priest named Father Machand who used to come up here. It was a flour called "Bèdèkfòw". It was a cracked wheat that they gave at the canteen. Cracked wheat is important and the flour too. Flour "Bèdèkfòy", since we don't see it anymore, now it would be very important. When they make stew with bean sauce you could make dumplings with "Bèdèkfòy" and put it in the stew you give the children.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #3 (Female; 47 years-old; 3 children; 6th Grade; Trader): That's what makes the children not like stew, because of the flour, it doesn't have dumplings in it.

Socio-Dig: It doesn't have flour in it?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #3 (Female; 47 years-old; 3 children; 6th Grade; Trader): Because there's no money. You must buy 2 or 3 mamit of flour…

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): Me, what I would add.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #3 (Female; 47 years-old; 3 children; 6th Grade; Trader): But because here is no money…

[30 Minutes]

You don't make it. It's just the little bit they send us, that what you make for the children.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): Me, what I would add to the food is cracked wheat flour.

Socio-Dig: Cracked wheat flour?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): Yes, because cracked wheat is important.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #3 (Female; 47 years-old; 3 children; 6th Grade; Trader): Corn meal too.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): Corn meal too.

Socio-Dig: OK. Now if you would imagine that, for them to give all the children the food they eat, that costs money. Even if… It costs a lot, it's expensive, it costs money. How do you think that the program can continue, by what means? If today they said, OK, things are too expensive, we can't continue to pay, we must go. But you, you would like the

program to continue. What? What food? How could they buy food to supply the program in a way that costs less money than it costs now?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #3 (Female; 47 years-old; 3 children; 6th Grade; Trader): We would not make cooked food.

Socio-Dig: Anything you say to me, I'm looking for options. What do you think would cost less money?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #3 (Female; 47 years-old; 3 children; 6th Grade; Trader): I would give children peanut butter and cassava, and a glass of milk and a banana. That would hold the children.

Socio-Dig: OK, you don't have anything else to say? What do you think would cost less money to make for the children?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): Well you know, if you make food it's going to cost money. No matter what food you make, it costs money. So, I don't know what I can say. At least they could give the children some bread and peanut butter and some juice in the morning. Local juice, natural juice.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #3 (Female; 47 years-old; 3 children; 6th Grade; Trader): They said they would give some milk every Thursday. But they never made that, not one day.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): And as for something sweet, there are parents who make something and give it to children in the morning. But in the same way, there are parents who send their children to school without feeding them anything. You understand what I'm saying?

Socio-Dig: I understand what you're saying.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): Those parents might not have anything to give the children in the morning. She washes the child, puts on her uniform, and sends her to school, says, 'when you get home, I'll have something to feed you.' At the same time, there are parents who make a lunch box for their children to take to school. All parents don't have the same resources. Well, when a child eats something sweet at school, it's not good for him. You understand?

Socio-Dig: Uh huh.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): It's not good for him. A child needs to eat something salty. Even though they might not eat much, it helps with the worms in his chest.

Socio-Dig: OK, for example, something salty that does not cost much money, what could that be?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): Despite, you could make some white cracked wheat for the children, you understand, make some white wheat or some white corn meal, some good corn….

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #3 (Female; 47 years-old; 3 children; 6th Grade; Trader): Corn meal with greens.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): Corn meal with green, you understand. You understand, you could make a corn meal with greens in the morning for the children. But, like for you to give juice, and bread and peanut butter. Because there is something called worms and not all parents have the same resources to give their children something in the morning.

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Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Public: To encourage the children in the morning, you could give them some cassava with peanut butter. Yes, the cassava must have peanut butter on it. A piece of bread with peanut butter and something to drink afterward. It would be salty, and after that there is nothing sweet to give.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #3 (Female; 47 years-old; 3 children; 6th Grade; Trader): Cassava is good for the children's memory.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): Yes, cassava is always good.

Socio-Dig: They don't make cassava around here?

Public: No, no, we don't make it.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #3 (Female; 47 years-old; 3 children; 6th Grade; Trader): You know, manioc crops are almost wiped out. But we can buy it in Miragoane. They have a lot in Miragoane.

Socio-Dig: OK.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): You can find a lot in Miragoane, but enough to feed all the children in every school, that would be difficult.

Socio-Dig: It would be difficult?

Public: Yes, La Gonav, you know, they bring a lot, they come from La Gonav with it.

Socio-Dig: OK, well, if you don't have any more questions for me, I say thank you very much.

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Socio-Dig: You have two. OK. The goal of the canteen is to give children food, local food. According to you, what food do you suppose they could give children that represents food you grow in your garden around here?

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #8 (Male; 40 years of age; 3 Children; High school diploma; Teacher, Farmer): The food they should give children, we have rice, we don't grow it right here but in the commune. We produce yam and I see they give them too in the canteen. Sweet potato we grow too. And millet too, albeit it's a little destroyed at the moment, but they used to give millet in the canteen.

Socio-Dig: OK. Thank you. Is there anyone one else who would say something about local food they should give children?

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #4 (Male; 40 years of age; 5 Children; 8th grade; Farmer): What they should give is manioc, manioc.

Socio-Dig: Umm.

#Salt vs Sweet Food

Socio-Dig: Do you think it would be a problem if they give the children something sweet to eat in the morning?

Unidentified Participant: Sweet food? Sweet food is not too good for the children. They should not give it to them every day. They can't give it to them every day. But at times they can give it to them, The sweet food will not affect them, They can give it to them in the morning.

Socio-Dig: If they were to serve sweet today and hot/salt tomorrow, would that be a problem?

[Many participants talking]

Unidentified participant: No, it is not a problem it would not be a problem, The children are accustomed to eat sweet food at their homes. They are given porridge at home.

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Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): Those parents might not have anything to give the children in the morning. She washes the child, puts on her uniform, and sends her to school, says, 'when you get home, I'll have something to feed you.' At the same time, there are parents

who make a lunch box for their children to take to school. All parents don't have the same resources. Well, when a child eats something sweet at school, it's not good for him. You understand?

Socio-Dig: Uh huh.

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): It's not good for him. A child needs to eat something salty. Even though they might not eat much, it helps with the worms in his chest.

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Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): Corn meal with green, you understand. You understand, you could make a corn meal with greens in the morning for the children. But, like for you to give juice, and bread and peanut butter. Because there is something called worms and not all parents have the same resources to give their children something in the morning.

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Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Public: To encourage the children in the morning, you could give them some cassava with peanut butter. Yes, the cassava must have peanut butter on it. A piece of bread with peanut butter and something to drink afterward. It would be salty, and after that there is nothing sweet to give.

#Association

Socio-Dig: Is there no association of women around here?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): They had a chicken farm. You know, FONKOZE was here and they came and did something with them. They loaned them…

Socio-Dig: Is there no association of women around here?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): They had a chicken farm. You know, FONKOZE was here and they came and did something with them. They loaned them…

[Telephone rings]

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): The director offered it to me. I told him no, I don't like it.

Socio-Dig: You don't like it?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): Every time there's a meeting, the women go. And every time they take some money to give FONKOZE. The director offered me. At that time, I had a

baby, I said no, I'm not taking the littlest thing because I don't like it. If I have 50 *goud* I made, then with that 50 *goud* I'm not going to give it to someone else. If I lose, I lose; if I win, I win by myself.

Socio-Dig: Did you tell FONKOZE that it's a headache?

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #6 (Female; 40 years-old; 6 children; None; Trader): Aaa (laughs) A headache.

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Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #8 (Male; 40 years of age; 3 Children; High school diploma; Teacher, Farmer): Yes, we're part of an association.

Socio-Dig: How does that work?

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #8 (Male; 40 years of age; 3 Children; High school diploma; Teacher, Farmer): Well, the association is made up of planters. Because it's made of up planters, we work in agriculture, that's what we do. And we have meetings every month so that we can exchange ideas to see how we can change the life of the planters. Even though we can't do it alone, with regard to what we're looking for, I hope that WFP comes too because they ask for planters and we are an organization of planters. [With their help] Perhaps tomorrow we can accomplish more.

[20 minutes]

Socio-Dig: OK, when you say that you're an organization of planters, does that mean you're registered? Did you go to the mayor's office and register? You have papers? Or is it just some farmers who get together and help one another and refer to yourselves as an organization?

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #8 (Male; 40 years of age; 3 Children; High school diploma; Teacher, Farmer): Well, we are not yet registered. We're in process. That means we've prepared the papers and afterward we're going to the mayor's office and after we finish with the mayor's we're going to the Ministry of Social Affairs. But we're preparing, we're working on it.

Socio-Dig: OK. Do you have another organization that is helping you, that helps you find tools, credit? For example an association. Do they buy your harvests? Do you get together and sell all your crops? Anyone can respond.

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #4 (Male; 40 years of age; 5 Children; 8th grade; Farmer): It's like you say. When we produce, us small farmers, it almost doesn't help us at all. It's the big land owner who makes the money, you understand. Because he invested his money in us, we give it to him the way you said there. Do we sell by the mammit or in bulk you asked. Well, it's the big investor who can sell in bulk because we don't have time. For us we have 10, 15 mamit to go sell. It's the big man who can sell in bulk.

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #6 (Male; 68 years of age; no Children; Farmer; No school): Everything we used to do, we used to do verbal. It's only now that we have formed this little organization that we would know how to manage these things. Because it's this man Mr. Dessalines, who gave us the idea to form a group. We made a group so that we can become bigger together, so that we can organize ourselves.

Socio-Dig: OK. Yes, Mr. Dessalines.

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #8 (Male; 40 years of age; 3 Children; High school diploma; Teacher, Farmer): It's like that because I was bothered when I look and saw that in the community…. There is an organization of fishers. There's another social organizatiion, and I see that planters, I felt that it's them who work to give us food…. who send food to the city to give to the big senators. Even the president eats some. I see that they don't do anything to help us. Well, I took the initiative, I found some people who shared the same idea and we got together and created an organization. We put together an organization and every 1st of May we sit down together and exchange ideas. Well, I can say that it's a day of recreation for us because we enjoy eachother. We talk about farming, how we'll change things, we exchange ideas, we don't let the day pass unnoticed because 1st of May we call an agricultural worker's holiday. Those of us in the domain, we can't let the day pass. It's along those lines that we get together. Now, we're preparing the papers that will make us legal so the State will recognize us. After that, when the State knows who we are, we can make ourselves better known. Why can't we make ourselves better known now? Because the mayor could come and give us a problem. We don't want a problem with the law because we're not yet legal. But we're working on all the papers. All that remains is for us to go to the Mayor's office and legalize them.

Socio-Dig: OK, thank you. As farmers do you think that a program like this could make things better. For example, problems that you have at the moment, the program costs too much. It costs too much money to give the children food. They're looking for a way to give the children more food, but that costs less. That means that now, where they buy the food is on the market, they can go to the market in Fon de Neg. Is there another way that WFP and BND could buy the food locally? A way that would cost them less money so that they could feed more children? What advice, as planters, would you give them?

Socio-Dig: Yes. Number 4.

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #4 (Male; 40 years of age; 5 Children; 8th grade; Farmer): First off, we would need a pump. Secondly, we would need a tractor available so that we can work.

Socio-Dig: OK, you need a pump to work the land. That would do what? What would you give WFP and the program?

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #4 (Male; 40 years of age; 5 Children; 8th grade; Farmer): Well, eh, we're telling you what we need. Now it's the program that can go and tell…

Socio-Dig: What would you offer the program that you're saying if they give you this. You, what would you offer the program?

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #4 (Male; 40 years of age; 5 Children; 8th grade; Farmer): Well, when we harvest, we're going to share what we bring in with WFP to pay them back.

Socio-Dig: OK.

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #5 (Male; 37 years of age; 4 Children; No school; Farmer): Yes, what the man said is good, because us, what makes us lack produce is that we lack stucture. For example, every year we sit there, it's when the rain falls that we can cultivate. If the rain doesn't fall all year round, we don't plant all year. But if we had a system to irrigate, that means that we would not have to wait for the rain to fall. We would always have produce. And if WFP facilitated us finding that means, as the man just said, a plow to turn the soil for us, and an agricultural office for us to find seeds when we needed them to plant, with the pump to irrigate, now, not only would we find an adequate amount for our families and ourselves, but we could help WFP too.

Socio-Dig: OK. Thank you. I want to return to the topic…. Is there no one here who would add something more? Everything you say is important. I know that number five, you were going to say something. Number five. Come closer, I want to hear you!

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #4 (Male; 40 years of age; 5 Children; 8th grade; Farmer): [Laughs] Yes, well, me, I see that regarding planting, if like we had a pump for real it would be good for us, because when the rain doesn't fall we would still find water to do everything for us to live.

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Socio-Dig: Since you are in an association, let's talk about the association. In your opinion, is this something that's serious. What I mean is that when the association gets some aid, does everyone get aid? Number four.

[50 minutes]

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #4 (Male; 40 years of age; 5 Children; 8th grade; Farmer): Yes, for me, it's the opposite. You said how if WFP invested in farmers it is going to recuperate the money it invested. Should each individual sell theirs. The way I see it, it would not be each person, it would be the president of the organization. You understand.

Immediately, if you know that you need 50 mammit of millet from the organization, it's the president who knows if it's 2 mamit that he'll take from you. Will the 2 mammit add up to 50 mammit that you're asking for. This means that the individual doesn't need to sell their produce. It's the president. It's the same as with a church that has a pastor. It's the pastor who knows what he's doing in his church, isn't it? It's the same for the association and the president. It's him we put our trust in. All that comes, should come to him. Everyone will participate.

Socio-Dig: OK. Thank you very much. I don't know if you have any questions. I feel that I'm finished with my questions.

#Fees

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #5 (Female; 60 years-old; 5 children; None; Trader): But one thing, the people in the kitchen, it's a problem for the teachers. There are times when the children don't have 5 *goud*, there are those who don't have 5 *goud*. There are those too who might have 5 *goud*, but they buy candy with it, they don't understand. There are some too who don't have 5 *goud* to pay for food. But the people in the kitchen, those people don't earn any money. You understand? They don't get paid. They don't get paid for that. It's a problem.

#Cooks

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #3 (Female; 47 years-old; 3 children; 6th Grade; Trader): There are days, anytime you might go there, you see that people might not show up to make food. It could be market day, 'I'm going to see what I can make in the market.' But if you had a little money that you were making, they would know that that they had a responsibility, they must be there.

#Milk

Focus Group 13, Market Women/Traders (Dupuy), Participant #3 (Female; 47 years-old; 3 children; 6th Grade; Trader): They said they would give some milk every Thursday. But they never made that, not one day.

#Tenure

Socio-Dig: OK. And that land you plant, that land, is it your land? Or is it land you rent?

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #6 (Male; 68 years of age; no Children; Farmer; No school): We rent it.

Socio-Dig: Yes.

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #6 (Male; 68 years of age; no Children; Farmer; No school): We rent it. We take partners to work it. There are some people who have their own land too.

Socio-Dig: To take a land on rent, how much does that cost?

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #6 (Male; 68 years of age; no Children; Farmer; No school): How much it costs depends on the land. A rental can cost you 1,000 *dola* (Haitian = 5,000 *goud*). There's land that can cost 2,000 *dola* too. If Zanka has land, that can cost you 1,500 *dola*, it depends on the land.

Public: Yes, that depends on the price of the land. If the land can produce plantains and other things, it can be expensive.

#Inputs

Socio-Dig: OK. And for seeds. Where do you buy seeds to plant?

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #5 (Male; 37 years of age; 4 Children; No school; Farmer): Well, us, we don't use seeds. Our land is hot land. That means we can't use seeds.

Socio-Dig: And fertilizer, do you use fertilizer? Yes, I give each person a chance to say something. What number do you have again?

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #5 (Male; 37 years of age; 4 Children; No school; Farmer): Number five.

Socio-Dig: Yes, you may speak number five.

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #5 (Male; 37 years of age; 4 Children; No school; Farmer): We cannot really use them, no! What causes that? They now say it's only where it's cool that you use fertilizer. But us, if we put on fertilizer I don't know if it can be good, no. If you just put it on, it can burn it. And our soil is hot soil. We don't use fertilizer.

Socio-Dig: OK. Yes, number 4, you were saying something?

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #4 (Male; 40 years of age; 5 Children; 8th grade; Farmer):Yes, ah, we have fertilizer that is good for us, yes. But we don't have an agronomist who really helps us to do that kind of work. That means it's something that, it's by force that that we make it happen. It's us who force it. We don't have people to help us understand. They help other people. The fishermen have help. Everyone else, other people have help. But us farmers, we don't get help. We would do it. But I can tell you that we do not find help, neither economically or technically.

Socio-Dig: Techically. OK.

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #8 (Male; 40 years of age; 3 Children; High school diploma; Teacher, Farmer): Concerning, see, us, we don't have a State agricultural extension office, an agricultural service where we can get seeds when we need to plant them. It's us, with our own produce. We take out a little part for us to eat in the home. We take out a little part to sell. We take out a little part to save. When we need to plant, we plant. That's to say that we would ask, especially the functionaries of WFP, well, I don't know, I'm not saying for them to do anything, but they could ask on our behalf.

[10 minutes]

Eh, how could we put an agricultural extension office in place, so that when the farmers have a need for seeds, they would know where to go. They would not need to go and walk around the market. It could happen that they go to the market and buy bad seeds. They don't grow. But if it's the State that makes an extension service available, that has plants in the program, they'll give plants that are good, plants that grow. We need that. And we also need an office that can loan us money when we do not have enough resources to work. After that, we go to work and give back a part of our harvest to the bureau. After paying back to the fund, we always take out a part for us to eat. If we work, we have to eat. We have wives, we have children. The household needs to eat. We take out a part to satisfy the bureau, to pay the debt we have there. And one part we eat. Now, we ask the State to take on it's responsibility, to touch us because we feel isolated in this area. We do not find any assistance. We hear that we have an agronomist, but we've never seen one. They sit behind a desk in Port-au-Prince, we never see them. I know that an agonomist should work with the peasants on the land, to say, 'here is how you plant a plant.' Because us, we don't have any training. We don't know how to plant. It's true that we've found ourselves farming the soil, but we don't really know how to plant! We don't really know how to plant a plantain tree! We don't know how to put a millet seed in the earth? Because when we plant, we plant with our hands. Sometimes there are so many of them that we have to yank some of them up. When they are too many, they can't grow. But if we had an agronomist who could tell us how many seeds to put in an area, now the plant would develop faster, the same plant would develop better. When we plant corn, we put 4 or 5 seeds in a hole. If we had an agronomist he could tell us, 'Four is too many. Here is how many you should put.' But we have no training. We could do everything when planting, but the little harvest we get is only enough for us to make food. We can't make money.

#Aid

Socio-Dig: Yes, well, you do this work, right? You work in your garden, right?

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #1 (Male; 67 years of age; 2 Children; 6th grade; Farmer): We work, but if we had aid we could produce more.

Socio-Dig: Yes, I understand what you're saying.

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #1 (Male; 67 years of age; 2 Children; 6th grade; Farmer): And when 3 people are working somewhere or you have somewhere 10 people are working, they produce more.

Socio-Dig: Um, yes, I understand what you are saying.

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #1 (Male; 67 years of age; 2 Children; 6th grade; Farmer): And sometimes there are people who work with his own strength, he doesn't have the means to produce much. There are people who can hire workers, there are people who have to do it themselves. We must look at this, there are people who do not have enough means to sell, and they must have something for the household. But if we had some help, he could participate too!

Socio-Dig: OK, thank you. Let me ask you a question too.

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #1 (Male; 67 years of age; 2 Children; 6th grade; Farmer): Yes, I'm listening. I'll respond.

Public: [laughter]

Socio-Dig: In your opinion do you think it would be better that they put several farmers to work together to buy from them or do you think it would be something that each farmer could do alone, that they buy from each individual farmer?

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #1 (Male; 67 years of age; 2 Children; 6th grade; Farmer): No, it can't be done like that. They'll have a storage place where they will buy. The person responsible for purchasing will have somewhere they go to sell. They'll know what day that people come to buy, that when they'll go sell. But they can't go sell in small quantities. They'll be a day to sell. The person can't come and buy retail. At the least they will designate someone to be responsible for buying.

Socio-Dig: OK. Thank you. Is there anyone else who would like to add anything?

[40 minutes]

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #1 (Male; 67 years of age; 2 Children; 6th grade; Farmer): What I said you didn't add. Tell me, it was no good?

Socio-Dig: O no, me, no.

Public: No, it's OK ma'm, it's OK. It's good, there's no problem.

Socio-Dig: What he said was good, there's no problem. What you said is good Papi. What we're doing here is looking for knowledge. We're trying to find out if there was a program… I don't know, we're a little behind. If WFP has a canteen around here you might know. There are several schools that give children food. But we're just trying to understand what possibilities there are to buy food from farmers, if that's better, will it cost the program less money if they could buy closer to the school.

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #1 (Male; 67 years of age; 2 Children; 6th grade; Farmer): Yes, and for the program to have food, you need to work a lot.

Socio-Dig: Um, um.

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #1 (Male; 67 years of age; 2 Children; 6th grade; Farmer): For the program to have food, there must be a lot of work. There must be people who can care for the gardens so the weeds don't take them over. Sometimes people take a garden, they get weak on the road, the way it should yield doesn't happen like that. It's his own little strength, that's all he's got. But if he had some money in hand to pay workers, now the garden wouldn't be lost.

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Socio-Dig: OK. Thank you. Now, for people who know the canteens, I would like to ask you a question. In your opinion, in what way do you think it would be best for the children to get fed at a low price?

Socio-Dig: Number 4.

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #1 (Male; 67 years of age; 2 Children; 6th grade; Farmer): Buy at a low price?

Socio-Dig: Yes, buy at low price, how is that done?

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #1 (Male; 67 years of age; 2 Children; 6th grade; Farmer): Yes, one helps the other… If a person finds some aid for his garden, he wouldn't ask if a mammit of rice sells for 15 *dola*. He's gotta sell at the best price because he remembers that the buyer helped him. But if they didn't help him, a mammit of millet sells for 15 *dola*. It's you who was struggling, you sold your little goat to make a little garden. You remember your expenses. You have to make up for them. If it's 15 *dola* you stick to the 15 *dola*. But if the person helped you, you have to remember that the person helped you. When the person comes to you, you have to help them too. But if you didn't get help, it's me who struggled alone and I remember I sold my little goat so I could save the garden….

Socio-Dig: OK.

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #1 (Male; 67 years of age; 2 Children; 6th grade; Farmer): If you are afraid that they are going to correct your notebook, you don't know how to read.

Socio-Dig: OK, thank you Number 1. Is there anyone else who would like to add something? Number 8.

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #8 (Male; 40 years of age; 3 Children; High school diploma; Teacher, Farmer): Yes.

Socio-Dig: You're a school teacher, correct? Does your school have a canteen?

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #8 (Male; 40 years of age; 3 Children; High school diploma; Teacher, Farmer): The best way for you to buy food at a low price, is the way that he said a little while ago. WFP would enter with some aid. Especially with aid for the farmer. That means we would find some means to plant. An agricultural extension service. When we needed something we could borrow omney. Or they could give us something to go plant. Afterward we say, 'here is a quantity for us to return to the office, we have no problem. Or give us seeds to plant. They can tax us a little. They can tell us at what price they are going to buy them from us. That's the only way you can buy them at a better price. But if it is us with our own pump of strength and with our own pump of money that we invest in the land, hey, we'll have to sell it at market price. We can't take anything off, we can't give a rebate.

#Measure

Socio-Dig: OK. When you sell, do you sell by the mammit or in bigger units? For example, a market woman comes, she comes to buy everything in bulk from you or your wives go sell it in the market by the mammit?

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #8 (Male; 40 years of age; 3 Children; High school diploma; Teacher, Farmer): Usually, even when a buyer comes to buy in bulk we still measure it by mammit. Longtime ago, the elders used to use « Barrel. » They say that 40 mammit makes a barrel. As soon as you get to 40 mammit you say, 'I made a barrel!' If it's corn, you say, 'I made a barrel of corn.' If it's millet, you say, 'I made a barrel of millet.' But it's still measured by the mammit, no matter what.

#Gender Division of Labor

Focus group 12, Market Women/Traders (Ti Rivye), Participant #6 (female; 3rd grade; Education unknown; Trader): Well, we do it all. I'm talking to you now, a father died leaving me with 6 children. It's me who makes the garden. With the help of God, I work hard with my own arms. I toil in the ground. I handle a hoe, I handle a machete to make a garden and raise my children. I raised all my children and I paid for their educations.

***

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #6 (Male; 68 years of age; no Children; Farmer; No school): When a man takes a woman it’s so that she can help him too in all that he does. All that you do do if you can’t have your wife when you finish working in the garden, oyou finish working and it’s you who has to go and sell the produce in the garden?

Socio-Dig: OK.

Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #6 (Male; 68 years of age; no Children; Farmer; No school): Do you see that it’s possible? And it’s the woman who should go measure the produce. You, you should work to give the woman something to sell. [laughs]

ANNEX C: Organized Commentary for Child Focus Groups

Focus Group 10: Children in Cholette
Date of Focus group: 8/07/17

List of Participants
#1: Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade
#3: Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade
#4: Female; 13 years old; 5th grade

Focus Group 11: Children in Dupuy
Date of Focus Group: 7/ 07 /17
Transcription: 24/ 07/ 2017- 28/ 07/ 17

List of Participants
#1: Female; 11 years-old; 5th grade
#7: Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade
#5: Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade
#4: Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade
#3: Male; 13 years-old; 5the grade

#Favorite Foods

Socio-Dig: Give me a list of your favorite food?... Number 1 tell me all the food you like and the food you don't like. What do you like?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): Rice, beans, vegetables

Socio-Dig: Hmm, what else besides these that you like?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): Food that has beans.

Socio-Dig: Do you like food that has beans?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): Yes, with meat.

Socio-Dig: With meat

Children: [laugh]

***

Socio-Dig: Mango? Tell me all food you like to eat, and all type of food you don't like?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): I am number 4, I like rice and beans, I like rice, beans, vegetables.

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): I like mixed rice with vegetables.

Socio-Dig: Hmm

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): I like rice, beans sauce, vegetables.

***

Socio-Dig: OK what type for fruit do you prefer?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): Mango

Socio-Dig: Hmmm, what else?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): Avocado

#Least Favorite Foods

Socio-Dig: What food don't you like, what don't you like at all?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): I don't like Sapotil

Socio-Dig: You don't like Sapotil?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): No

Socio-Dig: OK. Give the food you don't like: corn meal, millet you don't like them.

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): Corn meal, millet

Socio-Dig: Don't you like these?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): No

***

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): I don't like …. Breadfruit, I don't like plantain.

Socio-Dig: OK, Hmm Socio-Dig: What else do you like?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): I don't like millet

Socio-Dig: Don't you like millet?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): No

#Morning food

Socio-Dig: What about in the morning, what do you like to eat in the morning?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): Milk and cornflakes

Socio-Dig: Hmm

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): Milk and cornflakes.

Socio-Dig: Milk and cornflakes, you prefer to eat in the morning?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): Yes

Socio-Dig: OK, what about fruit. What fruit you like to eat the most in the morning?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): Mango

***

Socio-Dig: In the morning, what do you in the morning before heading to school?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): I eat corn meal in the morning.

Socio-Dig: Corn meal and what else?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): Corn meal

Socio-Dig: What do you prefer to eat the most in the morning?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): Mango

Socio-Dig: Mango, OK and you what is your favorite food before heading to school?

***

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): In the morning before going to school, I eat spaghetti.

Socio-Dig: You eat spaghetti?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): Yes

Socio-Dig: What else do you like most to eat in the morning?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): I like to eat spaghetti, I like to eat rice.

***

Socio-Dig: OK. In the morning before you go to school, what do you eat?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #1 (Female; 11 years-old; 5th grade): Spaghetti.

Socio-Dig: Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #1. Spaghetti, and after that, what else?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #1 (Female; 11 years-old; 5th grade): Rice.

***

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): Before I come to school I eat Aktive. Sometimes I don't eat Aktive. I eat Spaghetti.

Socio-Dig: What is Aktive?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): Aktive? A rice.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): A rice that they call Little Panic.

Socio-Dig: A rice that's called Little Panic? What's it made of?

Children: It has all kinds of meat. Carrots.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): It has all kinds of milled meat. It comes in a closed bag.

***

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): Before I go to school, I eat rice with greens. If I don't eat rice with greens, I eat spaghetti.

***

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): When I go to school, sometimes I eat spaghetti. If I don't eat spaghetti, I eat rice.

***

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #3 (Male; 13 years-old; 5the grade): Before I go to school, I eat spaghetti. If I don't eat spaghetti, they give me corn meal with greens.

***

Socio-Dig: OK.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): After that they ring the bell and I go to my house.

Socio-Dig: OK. You go to your house.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): Me, my mother often gets up in the morning and she doesn't have anything to give me. I say, "You don't have anything to give me, I am going." When I get to school I can't do anything. I sit in class and we work. Joking keeps me going. Now, when they let us go for recess, even though my mother didn't give me anything, I eat. I have friends, their mother gave them some money to buy fried dough, I go into the classroom and eat with them.

***

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): There is a way that the canteen is very useful to me, and it helps my parents too. Even that doesn't make me afraid. When I get home from school, they may not even give me money, they may not even have food, because there are no days when we don't get fed at school. That makes me not afraid. I just study.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #1 (Female; 11 years-old; 5th grade): When they have the canteen, I eat when my mother isn't there. When my mother comes home she makes the food I eat.

***

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): Me, sometimes I finish bathing, I put my uniform on, my mother and father don't have anything to give me. I go to the kitchen at my house, get a little pebble of salt and put it under my tongue. After that I go to school. Because, because I take the little pebble of salt, that's

what helps me get through day until they feed us. As soon as they feed us, I'm good to go. After that I go home.

#Afternoon Food

Socio-Dig: OK. And you, what food do you favor most? Ahh don't tell me! I know already … home cooked food. You don't like the school food? OK. In the afternoon, after school, when you get home, what does your mother leave for you?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): She will leave rice, cooked food. Once we remove the uniform we can sit to eat and then after we can sit and study.

Socio-Dig: What type of food do they usually leave for you?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): At times, rice.

Socio-Dig: Rice.

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): At times corn meal.

Socio-Dig: OK and you…?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): At times rice and other times corn meal

Socio-Dig: Same thing for all of you?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): Yes.

Socio-Dig: And you what type of food they leave for you after school?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): At times, they will leave me rice with meat for me [laugh] … with bread and eggs.

***

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #1 (Female; 11 years-old; 5th grade): … When my mother comes home she makes the food I eat.

Socio-Dig: She makes food for you. OK.

***

Socio-Dig: It's you who produces it? OK. When you get home from school, do you always find food waiting for you?

Children: Yes, yes, yes.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): We find food already prepared when we get home from school.

Socio-Dig: Every day?

Children: Yes, there are sometimes though that we don't find anything.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): There are times that we get there, we tell our mothers that we are hungry. And also, there is food that's just been prepared. We take off our school uniforms, and after we eat, we bath. When we're down bathing we study on the porch. In the morning we go over our lessons again. We get to school, and they make us recite them. Finished.

Socio-Dig: OK, that means that there are times that it's you who must make food when you get home? Number 7.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): There are times that I also make food. But, whether I eat at school, I don't care. Me, I'm the type of person, all the time I don't know my lessons, I can't put a taste of anything in my mouth. It's when I'm finished with my lessons that I eat. Everyone at my house knows how I am. If you see me lying down and studying, no one calls me because all the time I don't know my lesson no one is going to see my eyes on anything else. As soon as I know my lesson, I eat.

Socio-Dig: OK. And you number 4?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): I don't have anything to say, no.

Socio-Dig: You don't have anything to say?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): No.

Socio-Dig: And you number 3?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #3 (Male; 13 years-old; 5the grade): Me, as soon as I get home I always find food waiting for me. Because my mother, she sells

cooked food. Even if I don't find anything at the house, I just go to where my mother is, and I say, « Mama, I'm hungry! » She takes food out of the cauldron for me.

#Carrying Food to School

Socio-Dig: OK. Do your mothers make food for you in the mornings? They give you food to take to school?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy), Children: They give us food, we eat it. But we don't carry food to school. We eat at the house, but we don't carry it to school.

Socio-Dig: OK, you eat at the house, but you don't carry food to school with you.

Children: No.

***

Socio-Dig: Ooo. OK. When your parents give you money to go to school, do they give you food to eat too?

Children: Yes

Socio-Dig: For you to take to the school?

Children: No, no.

#Parents and School Money

Socio-Dig: OK, only in the morning, your parents always give you money for school?

Children: Yes

***

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): When she does not have money, when she does not have money, we don't get any. When she does, I get it.

Socio-Dig: How much money they usually give you?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): At one time, she will give me 10 or 15 *goud* (.10 to 16 cents)

***

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): When she does not have money, when she does not have money, we don't get any. When she does, I get it.

Socio-Dig: How much money they usually give you?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): At one time, she will give me 10 or 15 *goud* (.10 to 16 cents)

Socio-Dig: OK what do you do with all that money?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): If she gives me 15 *goud*, I will pay for food for 10 *goud* and with the remaining 5 *goud* I will buy lollipopst.

***

Socio-Dig: Any type of cookies. And you when you receive money, what do you do with it. How much money do you usually receive?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): They sometimes give 10 *goud* (.10 cents). I pay 5 *goud* to buy fried dough to eat.

***

Socio-Dig: … OK. In the morning when you come to school, do your parents give you money?

Children: Yesss.

Socio-Dig: OK, let's begin with you. How much money do they give you? And what do you do with the money?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #1 (Female; 11 years-old; 5th grade): Sometimes she gives me 10 *goud*, she gives me 15 *goud*. Before I come to school they fry dough. I take the fried dough. Before recreation I go and get some more fried dough.

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Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): Sometimes I come to school with 25 *goud*. When you she doesn't' have anything, the smallest she gives me is 10 *goud*….

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Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): Before I come to school, if it's a moment when my mother has money, she gives me 20 *goud*…

#Buying Food at School

Socio-Dig: OK, only in the morning, your parents always give you money for school?

Children: Yes

Socio-Dig: What do you do with that money?

Children: At times we pay for other food with it.

Socio-Dig: Hum, what do you do with it?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): At times I would pay for food with it. At times, we eat fried dough.

Socio-Dig: Fried dough?

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Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): At times I pay for food. I buy candies or fried dough with it.

***

Socio-Dig: And you what do you do with your money?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): At times, I pay for food with it and at times I eat candy with it.

***

Socio-Dig: And when they give you money to go to school what do you do with the money?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): I use it to buy food.

Socio-Dig: To buy food?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): Yes.

***

Socio-Dig: OK what do you do with all that money?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): If she gives me 15 *goud*, I will pay for food for 10 *goud* and with the remaining 5 *goud* I will buy lollipops.

Socio-Dig: You buy candy, besides the lollipops. What else you like to buy with the money?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): Cookies

Socio-Dig: What type of cookies?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): Any type of cookies.

Socio-Dig: Any type of cookies. And you when you receive money, what do you do with it. How much money do you usually receive?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): They sometimes give 10 *goud* (.10 cents). I pay 5 *goud* to buy fried dough to eat.

***

Socio-Dig: Salt-food, OK. In the morning when you come to school, do your parents give you money?

Children: Yesss.

Socio-Dig: OK, let's begin with you. How much money do they give you? And what do you do with the money?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #1 (Female; 11 years-old; 5th grade): Sometimes she gives me 10 *goud*, she gives me 15 *goud*. Before I come to school they fry dough. I take the fried dough. Before recreation I go and get some more fried dough.

Socio-Dig: OK. In the morning you eat some fried dough. How much does fried dough cost?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #3 (Male; 13 years-old; 5the grade): They give you 2 for 1 *dola* (1 Haitian *dola*= 5 *goud*)

Socio-Dig: 2 for 1 *dola*, OK, and you?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): Sometimes I come to school with 25 *goud*

[5 minute]

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): When you she doesn't' have anything, the smallest she gives me is 10 *goud*. And also, when I come to school, I get there, I take a little fried dough before I put my bookbag inside the classroom. After recreation, I do the same thing again [eat fried dough].

Socio-Dig: You do the same thing also?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): When she doesn't have more, she gives me 10 *goud*. Eh, in the morning I buy two pieces of fried dough for 1 *dola* (5 goud). At recreation I buy for 5 *goud* again.

Socio-Dig: For 5 *goud* again.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): When they let us out of school they give us food.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #3 (Male; 13 years-old; 5the grade): You mean before they let you out of school?

Socio-Dig: OK.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): Before I come to school, if it's a moment when my mother has money, she gives me 20 *goud*. Before I enter into the classroom I buy 10 *goud* of fried dough. After recreation I can't eat fried dough again, I buy Salix crackers

Socio-Dig: Salix cookies. You're speaking to us? Speak louder, you're not shy. Speak louder. You can speak louder.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #3 (Male; 13 years-old; 5the grade): When I go in, I buy 5 *goud* of fried dough in the morning. At recreation I buy for 5 *goud* again.

***

Socio-Dig: OK, what type of cookies/crackers do you eat most?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #3 (Male; 13 years-old; 5the grade): Salt-crackers.

Socio-Dig: Salt-crackers, which brand?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): Guarina

Socio-Dig: Guarina, OK. But isn't there a type of sweet crackers that you buy?

Children: Sometimes we buy Anika. We buy fried dough. Or some Salix crackers..

Socio-Dig: OK, I hear you telling me that you buy crackers or cookies, you buy fried dough. But what do you drink?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): We buy a juice or a cola. When they ring the bell for us to go inside, we go so we can work.

Socio-Dig: OK.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): There are those who don't have much money. There is a juice that sells for 5 *goud*. We buy one of those little juices.

***

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): …. At times, we eat fried dough.

Socio-Dig: Fried dough?

***

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): At times I pay for food. I buy candies or fried dough with it.

***

Socio-Dig: And you what do you do with your money?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): At times, I pay for food with it and at times I eat candy with it.

Socio-Dig: You eat candy?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): Yes

Socio-Dig: What type of candy do you like to eat?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): Salty cookies/cookies

***

Socio-Dig: Salty cookies. Do you like to eat cookies too?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): Yes

Socio-Dig: What type of cookies you like?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): Cookies Anika

Socio-Dig: Anika?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): Yes

Socio-Dig: OK, you like cookies or you prefer fried dough?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): Fried dough

***

Socio-Dig: Do you purchase cookies at school?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): Yes

Socio-Dig: What type of cookies do you buy?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): Salix

Socio-Dig: Salix is your favorite?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): Yes, and lollipops.

#Alternative Foods

Socio-Dig: OK. Now if they were to tell you that today you will get, for example, cooked food and tomorrow they will give you other non-cooked food. What type of non-cooked food would fill you up you would prefer? Number 3.

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): To fill my belly, rice and pureed beans?

Socio-Dig: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): No, rice and pureed beans are cooked food. Non-cooked food?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): Non-cooked food? They can give me milk with peanut butter and bread.

Socio-Dig: Milk with peanut butter and bread

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): Yes

Socio-Dig: And you?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): Milk, bread and eggs

Socio-Dig: Milk, bread and eggs?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): Yes

Socio-Dig: OK you were saying?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): I would like milk with bread with… peanut butter with cassava and apple.

Socio-Dig: With apple OK, you know what is akasan (corn milk puree) do you drink akasan?

Children: Yes

Socio-Dig: You don't like…. If they give you akasan in the school wouldn't you like it?

Children: Yes

Socio-Dig: Why didn't you mention akasan then?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): Me I don't like it

Socio-Dig: You don't like akasan?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): No

Socio-Dig: Really?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): No

Socio-Dig: If they were to give you oatmeal, would you like oatmeal?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): Yes

Socio-Dig: And you?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): Yes

Socio-Dig: You would prefer oatmeal?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): Yes

#Salt-Food

Socio-Dig: Fried dough, OK. What do you prefer to eat most, sweet or salty food?

Children: Salty food

Socio-Dig: Number 3 why do you prefer salty food, go ahead you can talk.

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): For me not to have upset stomach.

Socio-Dig: Not to have upset stomach.

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Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): Why is it that I eat more salty food? If I eat … rather if I eat sweet food I would be full of worms. I would rather eat salty food instead of sweets in the morning.

***

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): Me, the reason I prefer to eat salty food, if I eat something sweet it will upset my stomach.

Socio-Dig: OK your stomach hurts when you eat?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): Yes

Socio-Dig: Something sweet?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): Yes

***

Socio-Dig: OK, thank you. A question I would like to ask, what do you most like to eat, salt-food or sweet-food?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #3 (Male; 13 years-old; 5the grade): Salt-Food.

Socio-Dig: Salt-Food, why?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #3 (Male; 13 years-old; 5the grade): Because it gives me strength. Sweet food can give you any kind of bad sickness.

Socio-Dig: OK, any kind of bad sickness, like what?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #3 (Male; 13 years-old; 5the grade): Well, like diabetes.

Socio-Dig: Like diabetes. OK. Hmm.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): It can give you a stomachache. Sometimes. If you haven't yet eaten something salty in the morning, you eat something sweet and it can give you a stomachache.

Socio-Dig: It can give you a stomachache. That means that you prefer…

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): Salt-food.

Socio-Dig: You prefer something salty in the morning?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): Yes.

Socio-Dig: OK,

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): When you have not yet eaten something salty, you go and eat something sweet and it can give you a toothache. I prefer salt-food.

Socio-Dig: OK.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): Before you go eat something sweet, you are supposed to eat something salty first. Because when you eat something sweet in the morning it can give you worms, make your stomach hurt. Me, I'm a person who before I come to school can't eat something sweet. If I eat something sweet, I'll vomit that salt-food I ate before.

Socio-Dig: OK, number one

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #3 (Male; 13 years-old; 5the grade): Speak louder.

Socio-Dig: What do you like more, salt or sweet food?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #1 (Female; 11 years-old; 5th grade): Salt-food.

***

Socio-Dig: What if they were to give you a sweet, like a cookie, something in place of a hot meal, if they said they were going to give you something like that, what would you choose?

Children: The hot meal, the hot meal. The hot meal would be better.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): Because when you finish eating, that's when you take dessert.

Socio-Dig: It's when you finish eating that you take dessert?

Children: Yesss.

Socio-Dig: OK

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): Like if we were to finish eating and go into the classroom and they brought us cookies and gave them to us, we would take them. But it's when you've finished eating that you take dessert.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): Like before too, before they give us hot food they could give us something salty, we would take it too. We would take it too, like cheese puffs, salt crackers, Guayrina.

Socio-Dig: Cheese puffs, OK. You think that cheese puffs have a lot of vitamins in them?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): Cheese puffs do not have vitamins in them because it's something light.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): It's something like straw.

Socio-Dig: OK. If they gave you cheese puffs…

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): It would kill a worm no matter what.

Socio-Dig: It would kill a worm no matter what. In the place of hot food, you would accept cheese puffs?

Children: No.

#School Feeding

Socio-Dig: OK, in the school what do they give to eat?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): Rice and pureed beans.

Socio-Dig: Everyday? Tell me during the week what food do you eat every day number 3. Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday what do you eat?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): Monday, I eat rice with pureed beans.

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): Tuesday, they give us mixed rice with mushed vegetables, Wednesday, they usually give us stew. Thursday, rice with pureed beans again and Friday they give us rice with mushed vegetables.

***

Socio-Dig: Now I'm going to ask some questions about the canteen food you eat at school. What do they feed you each day?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #3 (Male; 13 years-old; 5the grade): They usually give us…

Socio-Dig: Let's say, let's begin….

Children: Monday they feed us rice and bean sauce. Tuesday, they give us rice with beans and mushed vegetables. Wednesday, they give us white rice and stew.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): No, Wednesday they give us stew.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): Wednesday is stew.

Children: Thursday, white rice, mushed vegetables and bean sauce. Friday, rice and beans and mushed vegetables.

Socio-Dig: OK. You said Monday…

Children: White rice, bean sauce, mushed vegetables.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): Tuesday, they give us rice and beans with mushed vegetables. Wednesday, they give us stew. Thursday, they give us rice and bean sauce.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #3 (Male; 13 years-old; 5the grade): Rice and beans with bean sauce.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): No, white rice and bean sauce.

Socio-Dig: Rice, beans and mushed vegetables.

Children: Friday, they give us rice and beans and mushed vegetables.

#Imported vs Local

Socio-Dig: You like sweet potatoes. OK. Do you know the meaning of local food and imported food. Do you know the difference?

Children: No.

Socio-Dig: No?

Children: No.

Socio-Dig: You know what is local food? If I say local food, do you know what that means?

Children: No.

Socio-Dig: Local foods are produced and prepared locally, in the local, in the neighborhood, in the area. As an example, plantain, manioc most of those are cultivated here. Imported foods are foods that come in a plastic bag from foreign lands. You usually don't know what is in them and how they are manufactured. I you must choose the best food which one the two choices would you choose? Number….

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): In what?

Socio-Dig: Between foreign food and locally produced food?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): Our local.

Socio-Dig: Locally produced food, why?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): Because it is better. The foreign one has worms in it.

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Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): Number 4. The local food has better taste and the foreign food …. Don't have … some are made with plastic.

***

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): The reason I like the local rice it is because it has vitamin in it.

Socio-Dig: Because it has vitamins in it?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): Yes.

***

Socio-Dig: OK. Do you know what is local food and what is imported food? Do you know the difference? Imported food, that means food that comes from another country. What do you think is best? Local food or…

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #1 (Female; 11 years-old; 5th grade): Local food, that's what's best.

Socio-Dig: Local food.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #1 (Female; 11 years-old; 5th grade): It's us who produce it.

***

Socio-Dig: Let's go over it again. Which food do you think is better, food that is produced in Haiti or food that is produced in other countries?

Children: Food that is produced in Haiti.

Socio-Dig: Why?

Children: Because it's us who produce it.

#School Feeding Preferred Foods

Socio-Dig: OK, of all these meals, which one do you prefer the most and which one do you like the least.

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): Rice with pureed beans.

Socio-Dig: You like the most?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): Yes

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Socio-Dig: OK. Do you like it? Does it taste good?

Children: Yes

Socio-Dig: Does the food taste good?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): Yes

Socio-Dig: Tastes good?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): Yes

Socio-Dig: You like it?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): Yes [laugh]

Socio-Dig: You can tell me if you really don't like it, you will not be in trouble.

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): At times, I give it away. Other times I sell it.

Socio-Dig: Sell? You sell the food to other kids [laugh]. How much do you sell it for?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): For 5 *goud.*

Socio-Dig: For 5 *goud.*

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): Yes

Socio-Dig: Why do you sell it?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): Because I will not eat it.

Socio-Dig: You will not eat it? There are several children that beans do not go well with, they don't eat the black beans.

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): I don't eat black beans. They gives me heart burn.

Socio-Dig: OK. And you?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): I usually eat mine, but at times I would sell it as well.

Socio-Dig: You sell it too?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): Yes.

Socio-Dig: What type of food you sell the most?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): Rice and mushed vegetables.

Socio-Dig: You don't like them?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): No.

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Socio-Dig: OK, now if you had a choice of other food to give you in the school? Each one of you will tell me 3 foods you would prefer to be served?

Socio-Dig: Number 3

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): They should give rice.

Socio-Dig: No, you already have rice. It is food you don't have now.

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): Corn meal.

Socio-Dig: Corn meal. What else?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): They can give cracked wheat.

Socio-Dig: Cracked wheat.

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): Dumplings

Socio-Dig: There are no dumplings?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): There are no dumplings.

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): Spaghetti.

Socio-Dig: They don't give you dumplings. The stew has no dumplings?

Children: No

Socio-Dig: What does the stew have in it?

Children: Sweet potato, manioc, yam

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): At times they put breadfruit.

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): Breadfruit.

Socio-Dig: OK and you what would you like to be added? What other food you like you would you like to be added?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): Manioc.

Socio-Dig: Manioc?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): Spaghetti.

Socio-Dig: Ummh, Spaghetti.

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): Plantain.

Socio-Dig: Plantain, there is sweet plantain or, what type of plantain?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): Plantain.

Socio-Dig: Plantain ummmh

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): Malanga.

Socio-Dig: Malanga OK. To add to the stew?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): Yes.

Socio-Dig: And you number 1, what food would you like to be added… would you like any other food to be added to what you get now?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): Plantains.

Socio-Dig: Ummh, how would you like the plantains to be prepared, boiled?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): No, fried.

Socio-Dig: Fried plantain. What else?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): With milk.

Socio-Dig: With milk. And what else?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): With bread and peanut butter.

Socio-Dig: Bread and peanut butter?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): Yes

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Socio-Dig: What food would you like to take off the menu?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): They can take off stew.

Socio-Dig: They can take away the stew?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): Yes.

Socio-Dig: You don't like the stew?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): I don't like it.

Socio-Dig: If they were to add dumplings to the stew?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): We will take the dumplings.

Socio-Dig: You would take the dumplings?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): Yes.

Socio-Dig: OK. It is the lack of dumplings that troubles them.

Socio-Dig: If the dumplings are added, would not have any objection to the stew.

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): No

Socio-Dig: OK.

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): Personally, they can leave the stew on the menu.

Socio-Dig: Oh?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): Yes, with sweet potatoes.

Socio-Dig: With Sweet potatoes.

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): Sweet potatoes.

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Socio-Dig: Which one do you like the least?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): I don't like the stew.

Socio-Dig: Why, why don't you like the stew, do you know? [it has too many good stuffs in it] [laugh]

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): I like rice and vegetables, rice and bean sauce. I don't like stew. I like rice with mushed vegetables, rice and pureed beans, I don't like the stew.

Socio-Dig: Why don't you like the stew?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): No reason.

Socio-Dig: No reason?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): Yes.

Socio-Dig: And you?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): I prefer rice, and I like the stew with rice and pureed beans and mushed vegetables.

Socio-Dig: Vegetables?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): Yes.

Socio-Dig: You don't like….

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): Rice

Socio-Dig: You don't like the stew?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): That's what I like the most.

Socio-Dig: The stew?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): Yes.

Socio-Dig: Really?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): Yes

Socio-Dig: OK. What do you like the most in the stew?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): I like the plantains

Socio-Dig: OK

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): I like it, I like it what is in it, like the dumplings. I like them.

Socio-Dig: Dumplings. OK.

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): I like manioc and sweet potatoes.

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Socio-Dig: OK. And out of all that food, what do you like the most?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): Me, the food I like the most….

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): Bean sauce I don't really like. Nor stew. The food that I most like that they give is rice and beans with mushed vegetable.

Socio-Dig: OK. Why don't you like bean sauce?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): Sometimes it doesn't digest well.

Socio-Dig: Beans, when you eat bean sauce at your house, it doesn't digest well there too?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): No, all beans.

Socio-Dig: Beans that are cooked at school, or even beans that are cooked at your house?

Children: Same thing…

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): Even beans cooked at my house.

Socio-Dig: They don't sit well with you?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): No.

Socio-Dig: And you, what food do you most like?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): I most like… I don't really like bouyon. But rice and bean sauce and rice and beans with mushed vegetables I like.

Socio-Dig: OK.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): Only mushed vegetable I don't like so much.

Socio-Dig: Why don't you like mushed vegetables? What's wrong with them?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): Not mushed vegetables, it's stew that I don't really like

Socio-Dig: Why don't you like stew?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): Stew, eh, it doesn't sit so well with me…

Socio-Dig: It doesn't sit so well with you, what's it do to you?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): It makes me vomit.

Socio-Dig: It makes you vomit. OK.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): Me, when they make stew at my house, they don't put any aside for me. They give me rice with bean sauce.

Socio-Dig: That means that it's stew that you don't like. It's not stew at school that makes you sick. It's that you don't like stew at all.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): That's right.

Socio-Dig: OK, and you, what food do you most like? And what food do you most not like?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): I don't so much like rice with bean sauce because sometimes I drink bean sauce and it gives me acid.

[10 minutes]

Socio-Dig: It gives you acid when you drink it a school or in general?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): I can drink it at the house and it does the same think. It gives me acid.

Socio-Dig: It gives you acid?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): Yes.

Socio-Dig: OK. And what do you most like?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): Ha, I most like rice and beans and beans and mushed vegetables.

Socio-Dig: Rice and beans and mushed vegetables. OK.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #3 (Male; 13 years-old; 5the grade): I most like white rice with mushed vegetables. I don't really like bean sauce. Sometimes it makes me vomit.

Socio-Dig: It makes you vomit?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #3 (Male; 13 years-old; 5the grade): That's right

Socio-Dig: OK. It makes you vomit, OK. That happens even when you drink it at school?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #3 (Male; 13 years-old; 5the grade): In general.

Socio-Dig: In general. OK.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #1 (Female; 11 years-old; 5th grade): I most like rice and beans.

Socio-Dig: With mushed vegetables?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #1 (Female; 11 years-old; 5th grade): With mushed vegetables.

Socio-Dig: What do you not like at all?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #1 (Female; 11 years-old; 5th grade): Stew

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Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): There's one food I never eat at school.

Socio-Dig: What's that?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): Only the stew.

Socio-Dig: You don't like stew at all.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): No, I don't like it at all, at all. Even at home, I don't eat it.

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Socio-Dig: No. OK. (laughs) If there was a different food that they added to what they give you, what food would you want them to add?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): We would add cracked wheat.

Socio-Dig: Cracked wheat.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): Corn meal would be even better.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): I don't really like corn meal.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): Corn meal gives people strength.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): I don't really like cracked wheat. I would like it if it was corn meal with greens

Socio-Dig: Corn meal would be better?

[25 minutes]

Children: Yes, corn meal gives strength.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): Corn meal with beans in it.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): The food that they should give is cracked wheat, that's my food.

Socio-Dig: Cracked wheat?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): Yes.

Socio-Dig: Each person is going to tell me something that they would agree to add.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): They could add corn meal with beans, or like corn meal with beans and fish sauce. What I like most is corn meal, bean sauce and fish sauce.

Socio-Dig: That's what you like most? corn meal, bean sauce and fish sauce?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): Me, myself, I most like corn meal with beans and especially with fish sauce, because they make that at my home. My father is a fisherman. When he comes from Bomon, he brings fish to us. We like to eat that a lot.

Socio-Dig: OK.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #3 (Male; 13 years-old; 5the grade): I most like corn meal with beans and fish sauce. Because when I eat it, it doesn't do anything bad to me.

Socio-Dig: It doesn't' do anything to you?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #3 (Male; 13 years-old; 5the grade): No.

Socio-Dig: OK, you would not agree to add millet too, if they added millet?

Children: Yes, they can add millet. They could add it because that's food of our country.

Socio-Dig: And you, what food would you add?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #1 (Female; 11 years-old; 5th grade): I would say for them to add corn meal and bean sauce.

Socio-Dig: Corn meal with bean sauce, OK.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): I don't like corn meal. I would prefer they add cracked wheat or millet.

Socio-Dig: [Laughs]

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): I don't like cracked wheat. I like rice with meat, what they call Little Panic. And I would most like to see them add corn meal with greens.

Socio-Dig: Corn meal with greens. OK. Now let's talk about juice and milk. I know that they don't give you juice and milk in school. Between those two things, which would you most agree that they give you.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #3 (Male; 13 years-old; 5the grade): Juice.

Socio-Dig: Juice?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): Juice is good. In a little bottle it would be better.

Socio-Dig: O, juice.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): Something with gas, something with gas isn't good for us.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): Juice is good, yes.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): It's natural juice, carrot.…

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): Well, it's not natural juice.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #3 (Male; 13 years-old; 5the grade): You don't know what kind of juice?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): It's not a natural juice.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): Pineapple juice, carrot, papaya.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): It's got gas in it. When you open it, you hear it go pssss.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): Well, that one doesn't make any noise.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #3 (Male; 13 years-old; 5the grade): Try shaking before you open it.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): No, what thing shakes like that.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): The natural juice that I like is Tampico, lime, like pineapple.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): I like the natural juice most, but when you don't have a lot of money, get them to buy you a tasty juice or a Tampico to drink.

Socio-Dig: Do they sell cassava with peanut butter around here?

Children: Yes, not so much

Socio-Dig: Not so much. You don't like cassava with peanut butter?

Children: Yes, a lot.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): Bobori.

Socio-Dig: Bobori?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): Bobori is when they put sugar in it.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): I like it most.

Socio-Dig: Cassava, peanut butter, and banana, you guys don't like those?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): Banana, I love bananas.

Socio-Dig: OK, if they said that they were going to give you a hot meal and the next day they were going to give you a cassava, peanut butter, and banana, would you agree with that?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): Mmm. No, O! Because banana, cassava, and peanut butter…

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): If today they give us a hot meal and tomorrow they give us….

Socio-Dig: A cold meal.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): Cassava with peanut butter. And then the next day they gave you a hot meal that would be good.

Socio-Dig: It would be good?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): That wouldn't be a problem.

Socio-Dig: It wouldn't be a problem for you number 1?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #1 (Female; 11 years-old; 5th grade): No.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): It would not be problem, no.

Socio-Dig: A little while ago you said that it would be a problem. (laughs). And you number 3, would you like that?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #3 (Male; 13 years-old; 5the grade): Yes, because we eat the food from our country all the time. That's a food that just arrived. It wouldn't be a problem for us.

Socio-Dig: OK. What work do you do at home? Do you help your family make gardens? You said your father is a fisherman. Do you ever fish with him?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): No, because where he goes so far way, I can't be involved.

Socio-Dig: You can't go?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): No.

Socio-Dig: OK, what do you do at home?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): When I'm at home…

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#School vs Home Cooked Food

Socio-Dig: What type of food do you like the most, the school food or the food at home?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): Home cooked food.

Socio-Dig: Why? [Silence…] What type of food you prefer to eat, home food or at the school food?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): I like both.

Socio-Dig: You like both?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): Yes.

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Socio-Dig: Because it's us who produce it, OK. What do you most like to eat, canteen food or food that is cooked at home.

Children: Both, both food that is cooked in the canteen, and food that's cooked at home. We eat both.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): Canteen food has something we like more because in the morning when our parents don't have money to give us, we go there, we get sustenance that can kill a worm for us. But homecooked food, it's only when we leave school at noon that we eat it. [Bird is singing loudly]. If we don't get it in the morning before we go.

Socio-Dig: OK. Canteen food is tasty?

Children: Yess.

Socio-Dig: All the food is good every day?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): There's one food I never eat at school.

Socio-Dig: What's that?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): Only the stew.

Socio-Dig: You don't like stew at all.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): No, I don't like it at all, at all. Even at home, I don't eat it.

#Feeding Time

Socio-Dig: Why don't you like stew? Umm, you don't know. (laughs). Is it every day that they feed you?

Children: Yes!

Socio-Dig: At what time do they give you food?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #3 (Male; 13 years-old; 5the grade): Sometimes they feed us at 11 o'clock.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): Sometimes they feed us at 10 o'clock. When it's prepared early, they give it to us.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): When it's not prepared early, they feed us at 11 o'clock.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): Or even at noon.

Socio-Dig: OK. Are there days that they don't feed at all?

Children: No, everyday.

Socio-Dig: They feed everyday?

Children: Even when we have exams, they still have food.

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Well, the one thing is that food at school isn't made very early.

Socio-Dig: Umm.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): But we don't die because of that.

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#Fees

Socio-Dig: …. Do they give you food every day?

Children: Somedays, somedays they don't give us any.

Socio-Dig: Somedays they don't give you any?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): When we don't pay the fee.

Socio-Dig: When you donot pay the fee, they don't give you food?

Children: No.

Socio-Dig: OK. In what school do they do that, in the National school? Are you in the National school? When they don't give you money they don't give you food.

Children: No.

Socio-Dig: They send you back home or they don't give you food?

Children: They don't give us food

Socio-Dig: That means you are looking at the other kids eat, and you don't get any food?

Children: Yes.

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): The ones who have not paid the fee.

Socio-Dig: The ones who did not pay the fees, they do not get to eat?

Children: Yes

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): Sometimes we step out.

Children: Sometimes they ask us to leave the room or sometimes they ask us to sit in anyway.

Socio-Dig: Sometimes they ask us to leave the room or sometimes they ask us to sit in anyway. Do they send you back home or beat you?

Children: Yes, they sometimes send us home and they sometimes beat us.

Socio-Dig: When you don't have the fees?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): They say that our parents give us the money and we squandered it on other food.

Socio-Dig: Ooo. Is it true your parents give you the money but you use it to buy other foods?

Children: No.

Socio-Dig: No?

Children: No.

Socio-Dig: OK. What do your mothers tell you when you tell them you were beaten? When you get home, do you tell your mothers?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): I don't say anything.

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): We don't say it.

Socio-Dig: Why don't you tell?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): If we say that, we will receive another beating. No, I said they don't send me back home, they only make me sit.

Socio-Dig: OK. What if you tell your mother about it, she will beat you?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): Yes

Socio-Dig: Why would she beat you?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): If I misbehave I will get a beating and when I tell her I will get another beating.

Socio-Dig: No, not for being naughty. For instance, if you don't give the school the fee for food, do they beat you for that at the school?

Children: No.

Socio-Dig: They don't give you food?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): Yes, the Grade 6th teacher would say he/she will send us back home.

Socio-Dig: OK. Do you have to pay the food fees daily?

Children: No, not every day. Sometimes when our parents do not have the fees… no not every day we have to pay.

Socio-Dig: How much money do you give every week, or every day?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): We pay 25 *goud*, 50 *goud*, 20 *goud*, 15 *goud.* They don't accept 5 *goud.*

Socio-Dig: They don't take 5 *goud*?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): No.

Socio-Dig: Go ahead, what are you saying?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): They take 5 *goud* from me.

Socio-Dig: Number 3.

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): Yes, they have taken 15 *goud* and I have given 25 *goud.*

Socio-Dig: For how many days the 25 *goud*?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): For the week.

Socio-Dig: For 5 days, one week. When you give 15 *goud,* it is for 3 days?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): Yes.

Socio-Dig: That means they remember when you give. If you don't pay, they will cook the food and you will not get any?

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Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): At times when we don't pay, those who pay receive a bigger portion and those who don't pay receive a smaller portion.

Socio-Dig: OK

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): Those who don't give.

Serge: How do you see that?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): They don't give all kids the same quantity.

Socio-Dig: They don't give all kids the same quantity?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): No, some get smaller portions, others bigger portions, some
get smaller portions.

Socio-Dig: Ah. Ok

Serge: And why do they do that?

Children: [laugh] Because they don't pay

Socio-Dig: Do you like when that happens?

Children: No

Socio-Dig: What do the kids say when that happens?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): What?

Serge: What do they say?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): [laughs] Nothing

Socio-Dig: They don't say anything?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): No, at times some kids would speak up to get more food and they will get a belt to quiet them down.

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Socio-Dig: It's money… You know that every parent is supposed to give 5 *goud* to pay for the food.

Children: It's 50 *goud*, yes, per month.

Socio-Dig: Fifty *goud* each month, OK. Even if it's not you, are there children whose parents can't pay the 50 *goud* per month?

Children: Yes.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): There are some no matter what.

Socio-Dig: There are some no matter what, OK. When that happens, what happens with those children. They don't get fed, they send them home?

Children: No, no. They still feed them.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): Sometimes.

Socio-Dig: Ehen, number 4.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): Sometimes they send them home.

Socio-Dig: They send them home, OK.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): Yes.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): When they never pay the canteen, ever. There are mothers who never pay the canteen. They send them home to get the money to pay the canteen because it's that money they need to collect to pay the teachers.

Socio-Dig: Hmm.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #3 (Male; 13 years-old; 5the grade): Eh, not for the professors, rather to make food.

Socio-Dig: To make food, OK. But do those children, for example, the mothers or family who do not pay the canteen, is it the case that when they make food they do not give them any?

Children: If the child is there, they always feed them.

Socio-Dig: They still feed them?

Children: Yes

Socio-Dig: OK, in your opinion, do you think it's a good thing when parents do not pay the 50 *goud* and they send the children home?

Children: No, it's not good.

Socio-Dig: It' not good?

Children: No.

Socio-Dig: Why not?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #3 (Male; 13 years-old; 5the grade): Because the money for the food is less, that's what makes many parents not pay.

Socio-Dig: Wait, let me be clear with you. Do you think the parents should pay?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #3 (Male; 13 years-old; 5the grade): Yes, because we eat every day.

Socio-Dig: OK, you eat every day. When they send the children home, is that a good thing?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #3 (Male; 13 years-old; 5the grade): It's a bad thing. But they're supposed to pay for the canteen.

Socio-Dig: You were not going to say anything number 4?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): When they send the children home it's not good. When they're going home, a vehicle could lose it brakes and hit them, all because they sent them home.

Socio-Dig: OK

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): All because they sent the child home.

Socio-Dig: OK.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): When someone…. When, eh, they send children home and they're in the street, they could ask the child why they sent him home. He could say it's because of the canteen. And then without looking behind him, he can cross the street and a vehicle could hit him.

Socio-Dig: OK..

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): When they send a child home, that's not good for him. A teacher could give a lesson, when exams come it will he hard on him. I don't really like when they send children home. There are times when parents really don't have anything to give them. But then there are parents who do not pay when they could. That's what I have to say.

Socio-Dig: OK. And you guys… You want to speak?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #1 (Female; 11 years-old; 5th grade): When they send children home…

Socio-Dig: Hey, no kidding around!

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #1 (Female; 11 years-old; 5th grade): When they send a child home, a motorcycle could hit him?

Socio-Dig: That's happened, that they sent a child home and a motorcycle hit him?

Children: In another school, that happened in another school.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): But there was a time once, they sent me home. While I was on my way home, I took off my uniform. I went to play football by my house. I smashed my ear. If they had not send me home that would never have happened.

Socio-Dig: You hurt it? (laughs)

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): Yes.

Socio-Dig: Why did they send you home?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): I think it was because of the money for the canteen.

Socio-Dig: For the money for the canteen?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): Yes.

Socio-Dig: OK. And you, they've sent you home too before? Is there anyone here who they've sent home because of the money for the canteen?

[15 minutes]

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): Yes, they've sent me home. When they sent me home, when they sent me home… I went and told my mother they sent me home because of the canteen money. I said, "Mama, work it out so that you can give me the money to pay." When my father came back he came and gave me 40 *dola* (200 *goud*) for the all the weeks I hadn't paid. He gave me 40 *dola*, and I went and paid it straight away.

Socio-Dig: OK.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): Sometimes they send me home. Like they sent me home, as soon as my parents have money I asked my parents' permission to take it. I didn't miss a day etting it paid. As soon as the month begins, I pay.

Socio-Dig: You pay. OK.

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Socio-Dig: OK. Does it ever happen that they give you money to pay, you take that money, but you spend it on something else?

Children: I'm not involved in anything like that. That never happens with me, but it happens with other kids.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): A boy name Kenny who's in the 4th grade. His father gave him money to pay and he spent it.

Socio-Dig: OK.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): And they thought that he paid. When they asked him if he'd paid, he said yes. And then when they went to the school administration to pay the next time, they said they hadn't paid the last month.

Socio-Dig: They hadn't come to pay that month?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): They hadn't paid that month. Now you can…When they got home, they whipped him. After that they didn't trust him with the money to pay again. Now the parents themselves go to pay. They know that he's in school, they'll pay the canteen fees. He didn't pay, he took the money.

Socio-Dig: OK. Let me ask if it ever happens that the school keeps your grades at the end of the year, they don't give the grades because you owe money for the canteen.?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): Yes.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): There are some kids that happens to. But me, that's never happened to me.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): That happens, but it's never happened to me.

Socio-Dig: That's never happened to you?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): No.

Socio-Dig: OK.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): They can go give them the money to get their grade book, they hand you the payment book for the canteen, so you can see that you haven't paid.

#Praise for Program

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): When they do something to give children food, it helps the parents a lot.

Socio-Dig: Umm.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): Parents cannot have the money to give their children to go to school with. But because of the canteen, they can give their head a rest. If a single worm were to kill a child in the school, it would….

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Socio-Dig: Do you like the canteen?

Children: Yesss!

Socio-Dig: Why? Let's begin with you. What does the canteen do for you and for your parents?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #1 (Female; 11 years-old; 5th grade): It does a lot for us. Because there are some days, I go to school, my mother goes to sell, she doesn't leave any money for us. That, that can give me a program because when I get to school I can't eat. But now, even if they don't prepare the food early in the morning, at least we don't go home hungry.

Socio-Dig: OK.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): Me, sometimes I finish bathing, I put my uniform on, my mother and father don't have anything to give me. I go to the kitchen at my house, get a little pebble of salt and put it under my

tongue. After that I go to school. Because, because I take the little pebble of salt, that's what helps me get through day until they feed us. As soon as they feed us, I'm good to go. After that I go home.

Socio-Dig: OK.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): After that they ring the bell and I go to my house.

Socio-Dig: OK. You go to your house.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): Me, my mother often gets up in the morning and she doesn't have anything to give me. I say, "You don't have anything to give me, I am going." When I get to school I can't do anything. I sit in class and we work. Joking keeps me going. Now, when they let us go for recess, even though my mother didn't give me anything, I eat. I have friends, their mother gave them some money to buy fried dough, I go into the classroom and eat with them.

Socio-Dig: OK.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): But before they let us go, they feed us. If I leave early…. [Sound a push cart passing]

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): There is a way that the canteen is very useful to me, and it helps my parents too. Even that doesn't make me afraid. When I get home from school, they may not even give me money, they may not even have food, because there are no days when we don't get fed at school. That makes me not afraid. I just study.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #1 (Female; 11 years-old; 5th grade): When they have the canteen, I eat when my mother isn't there. When my mother comes home she makes the food I eat.

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Socio-Dig: At 2 o'clock. Does the canteen help you guys study more?

Children: Yes, yes.

Socio-Dig: It make us do better in school?

Children: Yes, yes.

Socio-Dig: Really?

Children: Yes, yes.

Socio-Dig: Why?

Children: Because it helps us. When we eat, when our stomachs are full we don't get discouraged. We more…

Socio-Dig: You work more?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #3 (Male; 13 years-old; 5the grade): Yes.

Socio-Dig: OK, do you think the canteen should stay?

Children: Yesss!

Socio-Dig: If they were to say that they were going to take the canteen away, what would you do?

Children: That would bother us a lot. That would discourage us a lot.

Socio-Dig: It would discourage you. OK. Each person can say something.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #3 (Male; 13 years-old; 5the grade): Because it would discourage us, because at about 11 o'clock you see that before you get out of school you're going to eat. Sometimes our parents don't have money to give us. We go to the canteen, we eat, we're satisfied. When we get home, we aren't so worried about food because we've already eaten. But if they were to take the canteen away, it would bother us a lot.

Socio-Dig: It would bother you a lot, OK.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): Like, sometimes food is useful because when it's about 11 o'clock we make food. Because food makes us study a lot, makes us understand what the professor is saying. Sometimes when they had not yet made the canteen we were hungry, the professor would be working on the chalk board, we couldn't even follow him, we got discouraged.

Socio-Dig: OK.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): If they were to take away the canteen it would discourage me a lot. And it's not just me that it would bother. It would bother all the children. But there are times when they make food, when I eat fired dough, I don't worry about food. I go get it, I get it and eat it, but it's not really what I would even eat it.

Socio-Dig: OK.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): And if it was stew that I took, sometimes I would get it and eat the tubers without taking the bean sauce.

Socio-Dig: OK. And you?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): If they would take away the school canteen it would be like a terrible thing they did to us. It's not only us, but also the parents because it helps them a great, great, great deal.

When our parents have the means to give us 5 *goud*, they know that we're going to eat something at school no matter what. That's all I have to say.

Socio-Dig: OK.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #1 (Female; 11 years-old; 5th grade): If they were to take the canteen away, it would not be good for my parents.

Socio-Dig: OK. Children, I say thank you. I would like to take a photo with you. Can we do that?

Children: Yes!

#Food Quantity

Socio-Dig: OK. Is the amount of food they give you always…. too small or enough? When you are done eating, do you still feel hungry?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): Sometimes I still feel hungry and sometimes my belly is full.

Socio-Dig: OK. What type of food they give you that would make still feel hungry most often.

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): Rice with pureed beans

Socio-Dig: Rice and with pureed beans are usually not enough for you?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): Yes.

Socio-Dig: But when they give it to you, you still feel hungry.

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): No, I don't eat that much.

Socio-Dig: You don't eat a lot [laughs]?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): Rice and pureed beans can fill me up.

Socio-Dig: When it is stew does it fill you up.

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): Yes.

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Socio-Dig: Is the amount of food they give you enough? Is it enough for you, or is it too little?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): Seeing as there are so many children, they can't give us a lot. But when there are children who do not come to school, they give us bigger helpings.

Socio-Dig: But when that happens, you guys are happy that they increased your serving? (laughs)

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): When they increase our food, we're happy. (laughs) When they don't have it, we're happy too…

Socio-Dig: You're satisfied? But is there no time when you finish eating and you feel like you could eat more?

Children: [Laughter]. Yes, that happens. When, when there is rice and mushed vegetables. [Laughter].

Socio-Dig: When there is rice and mushed vegetables you would like for them to give you more?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): Since there are a lot of children, we don't think too much about that.

#Hunger and Timing of Meals

Socio-Dig: OK. When do you feel most hungry during the day? Number 3, are you saying something? When do you feel the hungriest, morning, noon or night? When do you feel most hungry?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): In the morning I feel hungry.

Socio-Dig: In the morning. Hmm, you when do you feel most hungry?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): When they give me food in the morning?

Socio-Dig: When you get food in the morning?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): Yes

Socio-Dig: And you?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): In the morning

Socio-Dig: In the morning OK. Do you like the time that the meal is given at school? When they give the meal, would you prefer it earlier or later?

Children: Earlier

Socio-Dig: Earlier?

Children: Yes

Socio-Dig: Why earlier?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): Because when they do not cook at home, so we would eat
earlier?

Socio-Dig: Even though they serve the meal earlier, around the same time, would you still feel hungry?

Children: Yes

Socio-Dig: When you feel hungry again, what would you do?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): Nothing

Socio-Dig: Hey?

Children: Nothing

Socio-Dig: You would not do anything?

Children: No

Socio-Dig: Would you like to get the meal earlier?

Children: Yes

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Socio-Dig: What time during the day do you feel most hungry?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #3 (Male; 13 years-old; 5the grade): About 1 o'clock.

Socio-Dig: About 1 o'clock is when you most feel hungry? That's when you have school or when you do not have school?

Children: Not when we have school. School always let's out about noon. At 1 o'clock there is no school.

Socio-Dig: There's no school?

Children: 1 o'clock in the afternoon is when we leave.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): There are times that my parents don't have anything to give us. I just get up…I just get up and go anyway [laughs]

Socio-Dig: Let him speak.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): I can get up at times like that and go the whole day without eating. I can even end up going to bed like that. I'm tough.

Socio-Dig: Really?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): Yes.

Socio-Dig: OK, but for example, what time during the day do you feel the hungriest?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): Around noon.

Socio-Dig: Around noon?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): Yes.

Socio-Dig: OK. And you number 5?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): Me, I feel hungry around noon. I'm already in school and I don't yet know the thing. But around 1 or 2 o'clock I start feeling hungry. I tell my mother that I'm hungry. She says.

“oh, well, you ate at school. I don’t have anything to give you. Now you’ve come to pester me.” I just put up with it, go sit on the porch and study.

Socio-Dig: OK.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): When I don’t have school on Saturday and I’m washing clothes, I get to feeling hungry around 4 o’clock. I go play football. When I’m done playing football….

[35 minutes]

Socio-Dig: You play football too?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): Yes.

Socio-Dig: OK. And you number 1. At what time during the day do you feel that you’re the hungriest?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #1 (Female; 11 years-old; 5th grade): At 2 o’clock.

#Rations

Socio-Dig: At times do you think some kids would get more food than others? You think… You think each kid gets the same amount of food?

Children: Yes

Socio-Dig: Or are there kids who get more food than you?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): No, we get the same quantity

Socio-Dig: Same quantity

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): Yes

Socio-Dig: And you?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): At times when we don’t pay, those who pay receive a bigger portion and those who don’t pay receive a smaller portion.

Socio-Dig: OK

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): Those who don't give.

Serge: How do you see that?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): They don't give all kids the same quantity.

Socio-Dig: They don't give all kids the same quantity?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): No, some get smaller portions, others bigger portions, some
get smaller portions.

Socio-Dig: Ah. Ok

Serge: And why do they do that?

Children: [laugh] Because they don't pay

Socio-Dig: Do you like when that happens?

Children: No

Socio-Dig: What do the kids say when that happens?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): What?

Serge: What do they say?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): [laughs] Nothing

Socio-Dig: They don't say anything?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): No, at times some kids would speak up to get more food and they will get a belt to quiet them down.

#Children and Work

Socio-Dig: OK, I have other questions for you, do you known how to do a garden with your
mother and father?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): Yes

Socio-Dig: What crops do you do plant?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): I usually help them in planting corn, I would help them dig holes for the corn seeds and after I help with the weeding.

Socio-Dig: OK

Serge: You know how to throw a hoe?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): Yes

Socio-Dig: You know how to pick corn as well?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): Yes

Socio-Dig: Have you ever helped carry produce to the city of Miragoane to sell with your parents?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): No, I have not done so.

Socio-Dig: You have not done so?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #4: (Female; 13 years old; 5th grade): No

Socio-Dig: And you what do you know how to do?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): When my father goes to plant the corn, I would help him place the corn and I would help covering the holes.

Socio-Dig: You know how to pick beans.

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): Yes

Socio-Dig: And corn, you know how to sow it?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): Yes.

Socio-Dig: Have you ever been to the market?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): Yes

Socio-Dig: Really?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): Yes, I go to the market with my sister.

Socio-Dig: To go and sell?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): Yes

Socio-Dig: OK. When you go to sell, what do you to sell?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #1 (Female; 8 years-old; 4th grade): We usually go and sell plantains and breadfruit.

Socio-Dig: OK. And you what do you know how to do?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): What?

Socio-Dig: And you what you know how to do?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): When my father goes to the field, I help him carry the wood to make charcoal.

Socio-Dig: OK. And you usually help you father sow too.

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): Yes.

Socio-Dig: What do you usually help plant?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): I usually help when he plants corn … I help put it in the hole.

Socio-Dig: OK

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): I cover the holes.

Socio-Dig: Cover the holes [laugh], you know how to pick corn?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): Yes.

Socio-Dig: Really. corn to eat or to sell?

Focus Group 10, Children (Cholette), Participant #3: (Male; 10 years-old; 4th grade): To eat.

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Socio-Dig: Do the people at your house plant crops?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): No, because where I live is by the sea.

Socio-Dig: OK, and you number 3?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #3 (Male; 13 years-old; 5the grade): People at my house plant.

Socio-Dig: They plant?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #3 (Male; 13 years-old; 5the grade): Yes.

Socio-Dig: What do you do? Do you help in the garden?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #3 (Male; 13 years-old; 5the grade): Yes, I help my father. For example, I weed when he plants corn.

Socio-Dig: You weed?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #3 (Male; 13 years-old; 5the grade): Yes, sometimes, even when it's not me who digs the holes to plant, I put the corn in the dirt and cover it with my foot. I do that.

Socio-Dig: You do that?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #3 (Male; 13 years-old; 5the grade): Yes.

Socio-Dig: OK, number 5.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): My grandmother cultivates. My mother doesn't make a garden. My grandmother makes a garden. A big one. They put up a fence. There's a little child at my house who likes to mess with the fence. They must make it so he can't pull it up. But the fence isn't so high

… Like when they are going to tie goats. But when they made the garden I didn't do any work in it.

[30 minutes]

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): When they cultivate, I don't do anything except I put beans in the thing… I put beans in the thing. That's all I do. I do not weed. I did not do anything.

Socio-Dig: OK.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): In cleaning the garden, I didn't do anything.

Socio-Dig: OK.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): I help my parents plant. I do not weed. I help them dig holes. I cover the holes with dirt. I do not weed. When it's time to harvest, I help them.

Socio-Dig: You help your mother or your father?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): My aunt. My mother's sister.

Socio-Dig: OK. And you number 1?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #1 (Female; 11 years-old; 5th grade): I don't go help.

Socio-Dig: You don't go. What work do you do at your house? When you are at your house, what do you do?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #1 (Female; 11 years-old; 5th grade): I clean the floor, do housework.

Socio-Dig: Do you make food?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #1 (Female; 11 years-old; 5th grade): Yes

Socio-Dig: What food do you make? (laughs).

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): What do you most like to make? (laughs)

Socio-Dig: You two are good friends? You two are friends?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): Yes.

Socio-Dig: What would do you do at home number 7?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): I sweep. I clean the floor. I work in the house. I was dishes. Sometimes, if I'm not too busy,

I make food. I work. I go to the water when we have none. I work. But, as long as I don't yet know my lessons, I don't work.

Socio-Dig: You make food?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): Yes.

Socio-Dig: What food do you most like to make?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #7 (Female; 16 years-old; 6th grade): Rice and beans, or bean sauce and mushed vegetables. It's not food that I really like to make.

Socio-Dig: It's not food that really like to make. And you number 5?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): I get up in the morning and make the beds. I clean the floors. I sweep. I wash dishes.

Socio-Dig: That's it?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): I make food for the baby

Socio-Dig: You make food for the baby?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): Yes

Socio-Dig: OK.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #5: (Female; 10 years-old; 5the grade): Yes. Sometimes I make soup for him. Sometimes I make spaghetti.

Socio-Dig: And you number 4?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): I most like to make food like rice, or corn meal with bean sauce and fish sauce.

Socio-Dig: You? [laughs]

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): Yes, I make food all the time.

Socio-Dig: Really?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): Yes.

Socio-Dig: You make food for yourself or you make food for everyone in the house.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): For everyone in the house.

Socio-Dig: Umm.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): That's right. Sometimes my stepmother is not there. My father doesn't ask anyone else to make food in the house. It's on me.

Socio-Dig: You're the biggest?

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #4 (Male; 13 years-old; 4th grade): No, yes, I'm the biggest. Like, it's not me… Among those who are living with my father, I'm the biggest. But I have a big sister, after that I have another big sister… A big brother too. There he is, over there.

Socio-Dig: But in your father's house, you're the oldest child, OK.

Focus Group 11, Children (Dupuy) Participant #3 (Male; 13 years-old; 5the grade): Me, what do I do? Like, sometimes I go look for firewood in the afternoon. I go to get water and to play. Like water to wash the dishes. I'm the one who does it. I'm the one who gets the water to wash dishes.

ANNEX D: Test of Impact on the Scholastic Performance of Children

An enthusiastic claim we often heard from stakeholders was that the program had a positive impact on the attendance and academic performance of the students. School directors and teachers said it (see Report Phase II, Section 'Impact on Scholastic Performance, page 43); parents said it (ibid); even children made the claim (see this report, page ##). To test that claim, we examined changes in rates of enrollment as well as pass, fail and drop-out rates that came with the school feeding program vs. before the program existed. We also compare these rates to schools in the region that were not involved in the program.

Methodology

The evaluation included 12 of the 23 schools involved in the feeding program and that were randomly chosen for study. We were able to obtain data for 8 of the 12 schools in the program and that were used in the evaluation. The data covered the school years,

- 2014-15, before the program was in place
- 2015-16, the first year of the program and
- 2016-17, the second year for feeding program, but interrupted by hurricane Matthew

We also compared findings from those schools in the program to 10 schools in neighboring commune of Petite Trou, none of which were included in the school feeding program.[4]

We analyzed individual class-grades 1st thru 6th grade for each school (here on referred to simply as classes). For those in the program, this amounted to a total of 48 classes. For those schools not in the program, this amounted to a total of 60 classes.

The **Sign Test** was used to evaluate statistical significance. The sign test replaces absolute numbers with simple directional signs. For example, if a particular class in a particular school had more students enrolled in 2015-16 than in 2014-15, that observation would be scored as +1, indicating enrollment had increased. If there had been fewer students, the change would have been scored as -1, indicating a decline in enrollment. What makes the Sign Test especially useful and appropriate for evaluating changes in the school feeding program is that it omits the specific degree of change for any one school, something that might bias results as a consequence of inordinately large changes from a single class or school.[vii] If one school had a dramatic increase in school enrollment—for example, doubling the number of student in all classes—it would not inordinately impact the overall pattern for all schools. In summary, no matter how great or

[4] Five schools were eliminated from the test: two because they had canteens prior to the program and three because of a lack of data.

how small the change for any particular class, the Sign Test method means that it is scored as a simple +1 or -1, making the Sign Test highly sensitive to any trends in the overall data.

Results

Based on the tests of the treatment group, i.e. those schools in the program, we would have to conclude that from the period when there was no program (school year 2014-15) to the first year of the program (school year 2015-16) there was no statistically significant impact on any of the parameters in question: not on the number of students enrolled per class, not on the proportion who passed, and not on the proportion who failed or abandoned school.

In the 10 treatment group schools in neighboring Petit Trou where there is no program, we found a statistically significant decline of 4.2 students per class ($p<.01$) and a 2 percent increase in the number who abandoned.

Similarly, we find the same trends for the first year of the program (school year 2015-16) to the year of the hurricane (2016-17): specifically, no evidence of any statistically significant changes for any parameter for the program schools in Petite Rivye; but, for the control schools in Petite Twou, enrollment declined by 4.6 students per class ($p<.01$), the percentage who failed increased by 1 percent ($p<.01$), and the proportion who abandoned school during the year increased by 2 percent ($p<.01$).

CHANGE IN ENROLLMENT, PASS, FAIL AND ABANDONED FOR YEAR 2014-15 WHEN THERE WAS NO CANTEEN PROGRAM, TO YEAR 2015-16 WHEN THERE WAS A CANTEEN PROGRAM PETITE RIVIERE

Table ##: Treatment Group and Data by School 2014-15 to 2015-16

Pilot Program Impact (total of 48 classes from 8 Schools)

Name of School	Change			
	Enrolled*	Passed	Failed	Dropped out
Nat Fond Lianne	11	3%	-8%	5%
College Moderne P.R.N	-13	-5%	0%	5%
Ecole Lalane et Pascale	-6	4%	-10%	5%
Ecole Maledonia Platon	-20	23%	-18%	-5%
Ecole Nationale Communitaire de Moneron	9	-17%	15%	2%
Ecole Nationale de Cholette	51	-1%	7%	11%
Ecole Nationale de Syllegue	-46	2%	4%	-7%
Presbytherale de Syllegue	-12	-15%	6%	-8%
TOTAL	-26	-1%	0%	1%

*Absolute number students that enrollment increased or decreased

Table ##: Treatment Group, Ti RIviere 2014-15 to 2015-16 Probability of Pilot Program Impact (total of 48 classes from 8 Schools)				
Measures	Enrolled	Passed	Failed	Abandoned
Average Change per class	-3.25	-1%	0%	+1%
Observations positive (N=48)	21	23	19	26
Probability for Two Tailed Test	0.47	0.89	0.19	0.67
Probability for One Tailed Test	0.24	0.44	0.10	0.33

PETIT TROU

Table ##: Control Group, Ti Trou and Data by School 2014-15 to 2015-16 for Pilot Program Change (total of 60 Classes from 10 Schools)				
	Change			
Name of School	Enrolled*	Passed	Failed	Dropped out
Edner Jeanty vision Gosen	-7	2%	-15%	13%
Mixte Assemblée de Dieu	-27	-12%	9%	3%
Com. de bois d'homme	1	-1%	0%	1%
Saint Paul	-89	13%	-9%	-3%
Ami Bertho de Petit Trou	-30	7%	-9%	2%
Béthel de Petit Trou	-61	9%	-9%	0%
Evang. de Bethel Lafond	9	-41%	41%	0%
Com. de Carrefour Lundi	-74	18%	-16%	-2%
Bon Berger de Nan Raymond	-13	-10%	0%	11%
Bethesda MEBSH de Petit Trou	40	-5%	9%	-4%
TOTAL	-251	-21%	1%	21%

- Absolute number students that enrollment increased or decreased

Table ##: Control Group, Ti Trou 2014-15 to 2015-16 Probability of Pilot Program Change (total of 60 Classes from 10 Schools)

Measures	Enrolled	Passed	Failed	Abandoned
Average Change per class	-4.2	+1%	+1%	+2%
Observations positive (N=60)	12	26	20	18
Probability for Two Tailed Test	0.00	0.37	0.01	0.00
Probability for One Tailed Test	0.00	0.18	0.01	0.00

IMPACT of HURRICANE

CHANGE IN ENROLLMENT, PASS, FAIL AND ABANDONED FOR YEAR 2015-16 WHEN THERE WAS NO DISTRUPTION DISASTERS, TO YEAR 2016-17 WHEN THERE WAS A HURRICANE AND THE CANTEEN PROGRAM WAS DISRUPTED FOR 3 MONTHS

PETITE RIVIERE

Table ##: Treatment Group and Data by School 2015-16 to 2016-17 Pilot Program Impact (total of 42 classes from 7 Schools)				
	Change			
Name of School	Enrolled*	Passed	Failed	Dropped out
Nat. Com.de fond des Lianes	-25	6%	-3%	-2%
Moderne de Petite Riviere	14	-7%	-5%	12%
Lalane et Pascale	0	-4%	-4%	8%
Macedonia Platon	-14	-19%	11%	8%
Nat. de Syllegue	-87	9%	-3%	-6%
Pre. de Syllegue	19	-12%	18%	-6%
Nat. Com, de Moneron	-16	-2%	-2%	5%
TOTAL	-109	-4%	2%	3%

Table ##: Treatment Group, Ti RIviere 2015-16 to 2016-17 Probability of Pilot Program Impact (total of 42 classes from 7 Schools)				
Measures	Enrolled	Passed	Failed	Abandoned
Average Change per class	-2.6	-4%	2%	3%
Observations positive (N=60)	13	18	19	25
Probability for Two Tailed Test	0.01	0.24	0.64	0.28
Probability for One Tailed Test	0.01	0.12	0.32	0.14

PETIT TROU

Table ##: Control Group, Ti Trou and Data by School 2015-16 to 2016-17 for Pilot Program Change (total of 60 Classes from 10 Schools)				
	Change			
Name of School	Enrolled*	Passed	Failed	Dropped out
Edner Jeanty vision Gosen	-20	7%	6%	-13%
Mixte Assemblée de Dieu	-38	-20%	11%	9%
Com. de bois d'homme	-2	-6%	11%	-4%
Saint Paul	-12	-19%	20%	0%
Ami Bertho de Petit Trou	-58	9%	-7%	-3%
Béthel de Petit Trou	-14	-23%	9%	14%
Evang. de Bethel Lafond	-66	14%	-14%	0%
Com. de Carrefour Lundi	-50	-3%	3%	0%
Bon Berger de Nan Raymond	-55	9%	-9%	0%
Bethesda MEBSH de Petit Trou	36	6%	-6%	0%
Total Enrolled	-27.9	-3%	3%	0%

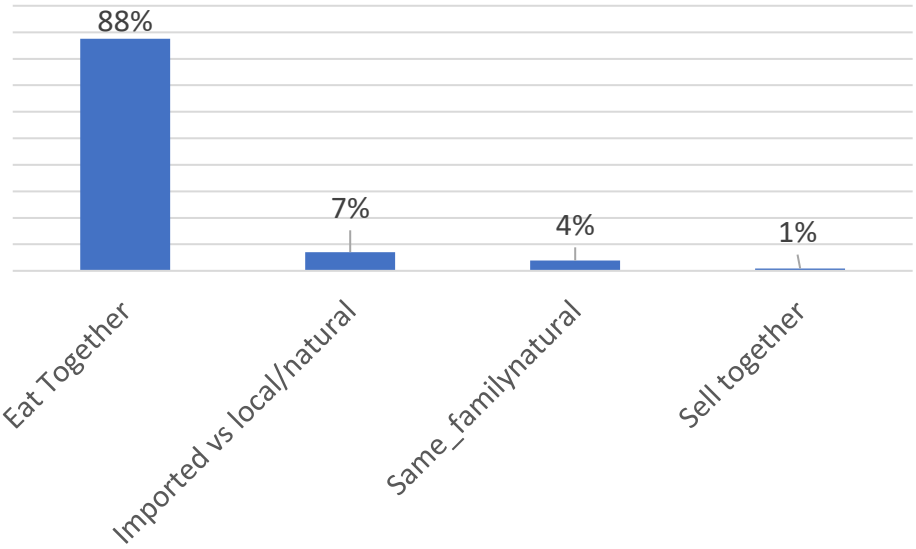
Table ##: Control Group, Ti Trou 2015-16 to 2016-17 Probability of Pilot Program Change (total of 60 Classes from 10 Schools)				
Measures	Enrolled	Passed	Failed	Abandoned
Average Change per class	-4.6	-3%	-3%	0%
Observations positive (N=60)	20	25	24	12
Probability for Two Tailed Test	0.01	0.24	0.20	0.00
Probability for One Tailed Test	0.01	0.15	0.10	0.00

ANNEX E: Ethnography of Haitian Foods

The Syntax of Popular Class Haitian Food System

When categorizing foods, popular class Haitians tend not to emphasize food groups, *per se*. They are more apt to distinguish foods as ingredients in a dish or concoction (i.e. *soup* or *bouyon*), or as things eaten together (such as peanut butter and cassava). Exploring this point, the 49 respondents who participated in Consensus Analysis research (see ##) were asked to categorize 92 foods into piles. Totaled they came up 919 piles. For 805 (88%) of the piles, the respondents explained that they lumped the foods as ingredients of a single dish; in 7% of the cases they made piles of local vs. imported foods; and in only 4% of the cases did they sort by food family (Figure 12).[viii]

Figure E1: Why Respondent Sorted Foods into Same Pile
(N =919)



The highest level of inclusiveness in terms of what should be eaten together is the mid-day meal, what is arguably, as will be discussed shortly, the only true meal that Haitians eat. Using the mid-day meal as a guide, we can derive 7 major food groups: *viv* (starchy vegetables), *legim* (non-starchy vegetables), *fey* (greens), *seryal* (grains), *vyann* (meats), *pwa* (beans, which are so important as to constitute a group of their own), and *fwi* (fruits)—see Table 6. To this we would add other important categories that respondents do not readily assign to groups, specifically edible oil, sugar, alcohols, peanuts and cashews, chocolate, coffee, dairy products and eggs. We could use the latter categories to create a more complete food classificatory system, but we did not find popular class Haitians employing such an all-inclusive system of food categories. More important is the system

of rules governing food consumption--what foods should be eaten together, and when..[ixx]

Table E1: Essential ingredients and Food Categories for the Typical Main Meal

Base			Sauces, meats and seasoning				Fruits
1 *Viv* Starchy vegetables	2 *Seryal* Cereals	4 *Pwa* Beans	5 *Fey* Leaves	6 *Legim* Non-Starch Vegetables	7 *Vyann* Meat, poultry or Fish	8 *Epis* Spices	9 *Jis* Fruit Juice & Sugar
Plantain	Corn	Black	Spinach	Eggplant	Chicken	Clove	Lime
Green banana	Rice	Congo beans	Lyan Panye	Cabbage	Goat	Thyme	Passion Fruit
Manioc	Millet	Lima beans	Panzou	Papaya	Beef	Garlic	Orange
Yam	Bulgar		Zeb	Carrots	Dried fish	Parsley	Corosol
Lam			Koupye	Militon	Pork	Peppers (all)	Carrot
Sweet Potato			Watercress	Pwa tan	Shellfish		Water Melon
Potato			Navè				Cherry
Malanga							Papaya
							Mango

Food Rules

Examining what is considered the ideal mid-day meal demonstrates more clearly the value placed on a balanced meal. The ideal lunchtime plate should include at least one item from each category described in Table ##. Specific rules govern which foods may appear together, which may be included in the meal, and how many foods from each group may appear. The main meal can have multiple *viv* but not multiple grains. It has either rice or millet or corn meal, but never a combination (as seen, for example, in US and European breakfast cereals). Nor are meats mixed (something common in the neighboring Dominican Republic where a national dish is a stew with seven types of meat). Bread is never present except as a base in 'bread soup,' an alternative to the main meal in Table 7. Nor are peanuts or peanut butter ever included in a main meal. The meal never includes anything sweet other than juice--dessert is an elite concept that has not spread to the popular classes. Discussed in detail in Section 5, sweets and other "snacks" are employed as inter-meal foods or on the go substitutes for other secondary meals. With respect to the mid-day meal, we can readily identify 24 such rules (see Table E2).[xi] [xiixiii]

Table ## demonstrates that popular class Haitians recognize the importance of a balanced meal. At a minimum, a meal must include a starchy vegetable or cereal, and some sort of oil-laden sauce—ideally with meat or fish, although vermicelli or a smashed non-starchy vegetable such as cabbage or eggplant will do. Anything less is not considered a meal. The next most important ingredients to improve--or if necessary

substitute for--the sauce are beans, embedded in the cereal or pureed. The importance assigned to the bean cereal combination is itself powerful evidence for nutritional appreciation as they comprise of the least expensive and most readily available food combination to obtain a complete source of proteins. Our observations suggest that any cereal with beans also qualifies as a minimal meal. [xiv]

Table E2: Main Meal Rules
1. The main meal only includes foods in the salted food groups, *manje sel* (juice after the meal is the sole exception)
2. Everything is boiled or sautéed
3. Meats are always in sauces of spices and edible oil, so much so that respondents often say, *sos vyann* (meat sauce) rather than *vyann* (meat)
4. *Legim* (non-starchy vegetables) are smashed and mixed with meat or sometimes no meat, but also impregnated with edible oil
5. Greens (*fey*) go into the *legim* (non-starchy vegetable)
6. All foods that can absorb edible oil are impregnated with as much of it as possible
7. All grains are impregnated with bean or have pureed bean sauce poured over them
8. The only condiment is hot sauce prepared in a base of coconut or sour oranges (no butter or margarine)
9. Only one grain per meal, i.e. grains are never mixed nor are there multiple grains at same meal
10. Only one fish or meat, i.e. fish and meats never mixed nor multiple fish and meats at same meal
11. No pork with main meal (rather it is an evening snack)
12. Viv can be mixed, as in more than one *viv* on a plate or more than one *viv* in soups
13. No bread with the meal (not even in the case of soup or stew—see below)
14. No milk or milk product with main meal
15. Fixed spices (i.e. bouillon cube)
16. No peanuts in or with the main meal
17. Main meal should be followed by a sweet drink, ideally natural juice but if nothing else Tampico or soda
18. Juice is strained, and rarely are two juices mixed
19. Water should be drank after the main meal (after juice)
20. No desserts, only juice (Cookies and solid sweets are snacks)
21. As much sugar as possible in the juice
Exceptions to the rules: *Vermisel (angel hair pasta), kalalou (okra) are exceptions to the meat rule; used as a meat substitute in sauces. Boulet (meat or fish balls) are an exception to the meat sauce rule; they are fried without sauce. Cashew nuts and chicken sauce is unique among the meat sauces and approaches violating the no peanuts in a meal rule, offering a prospective opening for peanuts to be conceptually incorporated into sauces.*

Respect for Organic and National Foods

No account of consumption patterns and attitudes is complete without noting the emphasis and respect for natural foods, particularly (if not exclusively) those produced in Haiti. Even though more than half of the national diet is derived from imports, Haitians overwhelmingly prefer local products. Some specific and common ethnographic illustrations of the point,

- *Diri peyi* (national rice), *ji peyi* or *ji natirel* (national juice or natural juice), *poul peyi* (national chicken), *let bef* (real cow's milk)—these goods are revered for their flavor and perceived nutritional value.
- Haitians sometimes refer to imported chicken as *poul pepe* (secondhand chicken). and Imported fish is *pwason pepe* (secondhand fish).
- Local rice takes longer to cook than imported rice, and often contains small teeth-breaking pebbles, yet it is esteemed over imported rice and sells for as much as twice the price.
- Local chicken is blood brown, leather tough, and prepared with no formal hygienic controls. Yet, it too often sells for twice as much as its imported counterpart—even in the elite supermarkets discussed in Section 8.
- Local eggs are inconsistent in size and color, and half the size of imported eggs, yet they traditionally sell for 50% to 100% more than imported eggs. The price differential has recently narrowed due to pressure on imported eggs--making imported eggs almost as expensive as *kreyol* eggs—but vendors who sell local eggs in popular neighborhoods still shout, *ze peyi* ("local eggs") because they know many people are certain these eggs are healthier than imported ones. In contrast, no vendor of imported eggs who was in her right mind would ever broadcast that her eggs are not local. That could only dampen sales.

Haitian consumers often insist that local foods "have more vitamins" than their Dominican counterparts, even though they are produced on the same island and even though the Dominican versions are almost always bigger and visibly more appealing. Similar to developed world organic food advocates, popular-class Haitians will commonly defend their preferences based the use of artificial inputs, explaining, "It is because we do not use chemical fertilizers and pesticides." The point came through powerfully in the consumer survey, in which 80% of respondents said they preferred local over imported produce in four categories (Table E3).

Table E3: Preference for Imported vs. Local				
Product	Imported	Local	Same	Total
Cookies	11%	80%	9%	100%
Rice	10%	82%	8%	100%
Corn	9%	85%	6%	100%
Juice	2%	93%	6%	100%

The appreciation and preference for local produce is also evident in the choices respondents made when asked to list the most nutritious foods. Foods identified as the healthiest tended to be crops most commonly grown in Haiti (see Table E4). This is true not only with adult foods, but also with preferred baby foods, which corresponded to those nutritionists recommend and were often mixed with milk or fish (see Table E5). [xv]

Table E4: Comparison of Most Nutritious Produce with National Yields	
Most Frequently Cited Nutritious Foods	Most Commonly planted Domestic Crops (HLCS 2003)
1. Corn	1. Corn
2. Beans	2. Beans
3. Plantain	3. Sorghum
4. Rice	4. Plantain
5. Sorghum	5. Manioc
6. Sweet Potato	6. Sweet Potato
7. Flour (Wheat)	7. Yam
8. Manioc	8. Rice
9. Yam	9. Malanga

Fortified folk Concoctions (*Remontan*)

Popular class Haitians' remarkable understanding of nutrition and fortification can be seen clearly in a special category of nutritional concoctions called *remontan*, "rebuilding" juices. *Remontan* are best described as fortified folk beverages (Table 11). They include many of the ingredients seen in main and secondary meals described above, but their emphasis is on combining sources of high protein and carbohydrates.

Table E5: *Remontan*

Type/name	Ingredients
Spaghetti juice	spaghetti, milk, sugar, vanilla, cinnamon, salt (pinch)-cheese (optional)
Breadfruit juice	breadfruit flour, milk, banana, potato, milk, sugar, vanilla, cinnamon, salt (pinch)
Beet juice	beet juice, sugar, carrot, navé, crescent, coconut oil/juice, salt (pinch)
Manioc juice	manioc, milk, sugar, vanilla, cinnamon
Potato juice	potato, milk, sugar, carrot, breadfruit, manioc, banana, cheese, papay
Ponch	egg (local), milk, cheese, banana
Coffee remontan	coffee, raw liver, coconut oil/juice, egg (local)
Beet *remontan*	beet bagasse, coconut oil/juice, malta
Akamien	Black beans (loca), cooked beef, carrot, greens, *navé*, pumpkin, milk, cheese

Food Combinations and Awareness of Nutrition

Another set of foods eaten in association with the main meal illustrate how Haitian food consumption patterns are, as Alvarez and Murray put it, part of a socialization for scarcity. The 'rules' associated with these foods result in a highly efficient means to consume maximum calories for minimum cost.

The Oil Rule: All food items that can absorb edible oils should be impregnated with as much oil as possible. Fat from oils is a critical component in the human diet. It is required for building cell membranes, and regulating hormone, immune,

Table E6: Estimate % of Calories per day from fat

Region	Calories per day from fat[1]	Total calories per day[2]	% of daily calories from fat
North America & EU[3]	130	3,380	0
Latin Amer, Carib.	711	2,830	0
Near East	630	2,910	0
North Africa	576	3,180	0
East and South East Asia	468	2,660	0
Sub – Saharan Africa	405	2,190	0
South Asia	405	2,400	0
Haiti (unlikely) best case	**711**	**2,830**	**0**
Haiti (probable) mid case	**405**	**2,190**	**0**
Haiti (possible) worst	**342**	**2,086**	**0**

1 = Total FAT calories per day from FAOSTAT 2003
2= Total Calorie per day from FAO 2001
3 = North America and EU is Average from FAOSTAT 2003
4= From FAO, cited in CRS Report for Congress 2007

cardiovascular, and reproductive systems. The USDA recommends that daily calories from fat/oil intake not exceed 30% and not fall below 20% of total daily calories. As seen in Table E6, above, low-income countries tend to dip beneath the recommended minimum, and Haiti is among them. The Haitian masses do not ingest large, unhealthy quantities of vegetable oils; they desperately try to get enough. Edible oil is also the most cost efficient source of calories: fats contain 9 calories per gram, alcohol contains 7, and cane sugar 4. Thus, we find Haitian using as much oil as possible and as often as possible. Extra oil is not wasted. For example, oil is added to water to boil vegetables and then reused in the meat or vegetable sauce.[xvi] [xvii] [xviii]

The Sugar Rule: A similar rule holds for sugar, third in calorie content after edible oils and alcohol. Drawing on ethnographic observation, the rule is that most beverages—juices in the context of the main meal but also breakfast drinks coffee and chocolate--should be impregnated with as much sugar as they can possibly hold. They should also be consumed with bread, per calorie the least expensive form of carbohydrates and protein available.

The Bean Rule: Grains should be impregnated with beans or consumed with highly digestible bean sauce. This is the most inexpensive and readily available source of high quality protein in the Haitian diet.

The Fried Food and Spicy Coleslaw Rule: All deep fried foods—whether meats, starchy vegetables, or dough—should be served with *pikliz,* a spicy coleslaw composed of cabbage, carrot, onion, shallot, red pepper, and juice from sour orange

Rule of Exclusiveness: Grains, meats, and fruits are to be served one at a time, meaning not mixed with others of their kind. Fruits are not mixed in juices (there are elite exceptions to this rule). One type of grain, and one type of meat is included per meal. This rule also applies to snacks and sweets. Peanuts are not mixed with cashews to create a peanut-cashew cluster, nor are sesame seeds or coconut mixed with peanuts or any of other primary high oil content ingredient. Each is the primary ingredient in a sugar aggregate that may include spices, such as cinnamon, nutmeg, ginger, and cloves.

Rule of Water Chaser: No compendium of rules associated with popular class Haitian food consumption patterns would be complete without mentioning that all foods should be followed by water. With respect to the main meal, this is often true even if the person has drunk juice. With respect to lesser food consumption events, juice, soda or water may be consumed. This rule is associated with a general appreciation for drinking as much water as comfortably possible. Some informants said they liked salted “snack foods” such as crackers, popcorn and cheese puffs “because they make me drink water.” [xix]

The health and adaptive value of the rules

Summarizing the preceding, Haitian food consumption patterns appear to have evolved to assure maximum nutrition at the lowest possible cost, something highly logical given

the harsh natural and economic environment. There is also great respect for local foods, to the point where what popular class Haitians consider to be highly nutritious appears linked to what is most frequently produced locally. Even with respect to imported staples, for the nutritionally stressed majority, the system is nothing short of remarkably well-adapted.

All is not perfect. There are health costs for those who cling to the high-sugar, high-oil dietary strategies after experiencing an increase in personal income. Those who can afford to eat large and frequent meals but continue to 'follow the rules' face elevated risk of obesity, high blood pressure, and diabetes.

Moreover, new imported foods, many of which are poor in nutrition, enter the diet in an almost chaotic and haphazard manner or are incorporated into the existing food categorization system in a way that gives them undue respect as a source of high nutrition. For example, different forms of pastas—which only became widely consumed in Haiti only during the 1970s, 1980s--are classified and function as entirely different foods. Spaghetti is treated as a breakfast food and is a main dish; vermicelli is treated like a meat and used as a core ingredient for sauces; macaroni is treated as a side dish, and mostly eaten only on Sundays and special occasions. Similarly, salted crackers have entered the Haitian menu as "salted" food, and are thought of as nutritious and sometimes given to school children as a meal substitute.

The Rise of Street Foods

With urbanization, towns, villages, and especially cities in Haiti have experienced an explosion in street foods. As early as 1983, a study of 174 Port-au-Prince secondary school students found they obtained 25% of their calories and 16% of their protein from street foods (Webb and Hyatt 1988). Eating street food has cost advantages. The 100 HG (25% the cost of the meal) that goes to buy fuel to feed a family of six can now be used to cook for 30 people. Contrary to developed countries where the rule of thumb for fast food and restaurant markups on food is 300%, in Haiti the economy of scale and intense competition among the thousands of restaurants and street vendors drive the markup down to less than 50% and, if the economy of scale on fuel and water costs is considered, 10% to 20% for a meal on the street, making it equal to or lower than the cost to make a similar meal at home (see Table E7).

Table 2E7 Street Food

Foods	Cost to entrepreneur To make 1 serving	Sale price of 1 serving	% markup without costs of labor and cookware	% difference home vs. street costs If consider fuel and water	Net % markup without costs of labor and cookware
Rice, beans, chicken	87	150	42%	~30%	12%
BBQ	87	125	30%	25%	5%
Patey (fried dough)	19	25	24%	20%	4%
Spaghetti	45	60	25%	25%	0%

To give and idea of the extent of the industry and items sold in Tables 19 and 20 is a list of vendors that we counted at intersections in Cape Haitian and in front of schools in Gonaives, and the foods they were selling. [xx]

Table E8: School Vendors in Gonaives
(Schools= 19, Vendors = 48)

Food Items	Vendors
Candy, cookies, puffs, gum	17
Bread	9
Fried dough	9
Sugar drinks	8
Peanut butter	6
Bananas & eggs	2
Oranges, guavava	4
Roasted peanuts	3
Coconut peanut mix	1
Water	2
Rice and beans	1
Coffee	1
Yogurt	1
Other	2

Table E9: Intersection Vendors Cape Haitian
(Intersections = 18, Vendors = 59)

Food Items	Vendors
Bread &/or casava	16
Banana & Eggs	12
Avocado	10
Peanut butter	10
Rice and beans	10
Sugar drinks	13
Cookies, Crackers, Suckers, gum	9
Coffee	5
Roasted peanuts	5
Breadfruit	4
Water	4
Processed cheese	3
Puffed cheese snacks	3
Milk	2
Powdered juice	2
Coconut clusters	1
Oranges	1
Peanuts clusters	1

Conservatism

There are elements of the Haitian diet that might appear exotic to foreigners. Rural Haitians will eat almost any bird, except buzzards. Cat too is on the menu. But Haitians have many food taboos. They do not eat rats (57 societies on earth eat rat, including many in West Africa where originated most Haitian ancestors), mongoose (eaten in neighboring Jamaica), snake (eaten in most non-Western and many Western countries), or dog (eaten in many Asian countries). Horse and donkey meat are traditionally taboo (commonly eaten until recently in France).

All things considered, popular class Haitians are definitively conservative in their food preferences. There are powerful social constructions that reinforce suspicions of foods. For example, a lingering, once common belief holds that cured hams are really dried children. Another belief holds that people killed by magic may be turned into a cow or goat, slaughtered, and their meat sold at market. Sheep, common throughout Haiti are taboo. Yet they all get eaten. In what can only be called a cultural practice of widely accepted duplicity, they are slaughtered in secret and sold as goat, often (according to Alvarez and Murray 1981) with a goat head strategically placed next to the body parts to convince skeptical buyers.

As Murray and Alvarez note elsewhere, fear of poison serves as a powerful limitation on begging. And it also contributes to a general fear of new foods. Anecdotally, we can recount first-hand stories of high-protein gourmet foods presented as gifts to peasants, then found later concealed in a plastic bag and discarded in a trash heap or the bush. The suspicion of unfamiliar foods extends to manufactured products. Sardines, for example, were long thought to be snakes and therefore rejected. Lentils introduced through USAID food programs in the late 1990s also were met with stubborn resistance. This skepticism represents a formidable obstacle to any marketer trying to introduce a new product.

Change

It is not possible to explain all underlying logic behind cultural food choices in Haiti and why food consumption patterns and preferences change, but there are obvious drivers. Cost and availability will, of course, figure into any analysis of how and why consumption patterns change. For example, the small size of the average Haitian farm (~1 hectare), means that few people own more than one or two cows, a demographic feature surely linked to the absence of cheese or yogurt production (both common in the neighboring Dominican Republic), i.e. there are not enough cows. Haitians generally do not consume goat milk, even though 80% of rural households own a goat. The absence of using goat milk commercially is arguably linked to the importance of the animals' role as a source of savings to meet school, medical and ceremonial expenses, i.e. rural Haitians are more interested in the value of breeding and obtaining offspring, which need the milk, than they are in drinking the milk themselves (similarly, although cows are milked and the milk is

sold on the street, the industry is far less developed than, for example, the neighboring Dominican Republic).[5]

An example of changing preferences documented during the course of the research is the erosion of the popular taboo against eating horse and donkey meat (mentioned above). Over the course of the past 20 years, this taboo has eased to the point where today horse meat is a commonly sold street food in the North of Haiti, so much so that farmers interviewed for this research complained of epidemic levels of horse rustling. The loosening of the taboo appears to be linked to a high rate of urbanization and, perhaps more importantly, a massive influx of cheap Chinese motorcycles that have diminished the importance of horses for transport. The acceptance of sardines into the Haitian diet is easier to explain. Sardines offer protein at exceptionally low cost, which has helped make them a staple for the poorest segment of the population, despite the original suspicion that they are really headless snakes and the initial aversion to them.

There are numerous similar examples. Most popular class Haitians decided that lentils, given away as food aid for several years, tasted good enough to eat. Hotdogs—a candidate to be anything, including the rounded body of a snake--have become one of Haiti's most common street foods over the past two decades. Why is relatively obvious. They are the most inexpensive industrial meat, easily stored and shipped, and typically impregnated with seven different preservatives, making them a super-meat in terms of shelf-life and resistance to heat and bacteria. They have largely replaced the traditional Haitian *griyo*–fried local pork that was a ubiquitous evening street food as late as the 1990s. The decline of *griyo* rise of the hotdog may also be linked to the USAID sponsored eradication of the Haitian pig during the early 1980s and the resulting decline in the availability of pork. The subsequent massive importation of hotdogs and advantages of hotdogs might also help explain why pig re-introduction programs have largely failed in Haiti (i.e. the costs and benefits of producing pork vs. the cheaper long shelf life hotdog).

Even bread has a story. Long a rare commodity, bread became a staple throughout Haiti after the US built a flour mill in 1957 and began giving international aid to the Haitian government in the form of wheat. Similarly, rice emerged as the 'national dish' only after the US government began sending heavily subsidized rice to Haiti as food aid.

The most important change for this study is another one that can be traced to urbanization and the need for convenient, ready-made, storable and shippable products. Until the 1990s, *biswit*--a hard bread or cracker commonly made in bakeries and sold in the streets—was a major snack food. But over the past two decades *biswit* has been supplanted by imported and packaged salted crackers. Packaged cookies, rarely seen

[5] Although in fact Murray and Alvarez [1981] mention goat milk consumption, we are not aware of any other examples, not in our own experience, nor the literature.

during the 1990s, have cut deeply into demand for local, organic, and highly nutritional artisanal produced treats, such as peanut and coconut clusters (*dous* and *tablet*, discussed below). [xxi] [xxii]

In summary, there is in Haiti a popular class conservativism in food preferences, appreciation of quality, and fondness of natural foods, especially those produced domestically. But the limited resources of popular class Haitians make them acutely sensitive to economic stress, and it is possible to get consumers to break food consumption rules in favor of less expensive and more readily available commodities. This is the engine of change. Thus, Haitians in the North of Haiti are eating horse meat, many Haitians eat snakes (sardines), lentils have entered the diet. However, more significant than any other point about changing diet, is that, despite the profound appreciation for organic foods grown in Haiti, the market is being invaded with cheap processed foods, such as cookies and salted crackers, powdered milk, and processed cheese. As with the other changes in food consumption, the entrance and acceptance of low quality food substitutes and snack foods is associated with underlying demographic and economic factors: specifically in this case urbanization, accessibility and cost. But before showing why and how this has happened, it is useful to understand the more general adaptive drivers of Haitian food consumption patterns, and specifically, how popular class Haitians get their food, share and prepare it, for as with the cases seen above, it is in no small part this that determines just what they end up eating.[xxiiixxiv]



Sardines, ‘snakes in a can’, why else would they be headless



Smoked herring, with heads

ANNEX F: Potential for Breadfruit Flour Production

Below we include a discussion of Breadfrtui production in the Grand Anse. However, note that on February 1st 2018 the consultant visited the project TTFF claims to support in Jeremie and found no evidence of it ever having produced anything. The “factory” –a tin shed valuing less than $1,000 and that could have been built in the 3 days before the consultant arrived—was brand new. The agronomist responsible for the factory admitted to never having had anything to do with bread fruit production. Yet the organization claims online summary of their activities named "Lam veritab sove pep la" (Breadfruit saves the people) that it was Founded in 2008 and that,

- It was completed nearly USD2 Million in construction and infrastructure projects;
- Operates/manages agriculture project with 230 farmers in Jeremie commune; farmers incorporating as cooperative
- Operates Mondrian breadfruit orchards; operates own nursery
- ZanmiSasye—Partners with Sassier (ZS) http://www.partnerswithsassier.org/
- Founded in 2005, provides financing, technical assistance and executive management for OZGA and other organizations and Diocese of Jeremie.
- TTFF and ZS are US based not-for-profit entities; OZGA is a Haitian based not-for-profit registered with Haitian Government
- Operating since 2005

Interview with Michael McLaughlin of Trees That Feed Foundation (TTFF). Interview with Mike

Socio-Dig: What is the investment needed to put someone in business: costs of equipment and manpower, etcetera?

Mike: *Total costs, including shredder, dryer, grinder mill, accessories, US$10,000. This does not include a building to house a small factory. Manpower needs, first and foremost, a local entrepreneur or leader; staffing depends on workload, generally 2 to 4 people additional.*

Socio-Dig: How much they would be producing (lbs per day, for example)

Mike: *1,000 pounds per month is typical; maximum capacity guesstimate, 4,000 pounds per month;*

Nutrition Facts

Serving Size 1 cup (100g)

Amount Per Serving	
Calories 302	
	% Daily Values*
Total Fat 1.7g	**3%**
Saturated Fat 0g	**0%**
Trans Fat 0g	
Cholesterol 0mg	**0%**
Potassium 903mg	**26%**
Sodium 12mg	**1%**
Total Carbohydrate 86g	**29%**
Dietary Fiber 4g	**16%**
Sugars 0g	
Protein 7g	**14%**

Vitamin C 15%	•	Calcium 4.7%
Iron 5.6%	•	Thiamin 20%
Riboflavin 5.9%	•	Niacin 1%
Phosphorus 10.2%	•	Magnesium 21.8%
Zinc 1.7%	•	Copper 8.5%
Manganese 8%		

*Percent Daily Values are based on a 2,000 calorie diet. Your Daily Values may be higher or lower depending on your calorie needs.

	Calories	2,000	2,500
Total Fat	Less than	65g	80g
Sat Fat	Less than	20g	25g
Cholesterol	Less than	300mg	300mg
Sodium	Less than	2400mg	2400mg
Total Carbohydrate		300g	375g
Dietary Fiber		25g	30g

Socio-Dig: -costs of making the breadfruit (for example, 'we typically buy 100 pounds for X, it cost us Y to produce, and we get Z lbs of flour)

Mike: *Hard to answer precisely but we estimate US$0.40 to 0.60 per pound including the price of the fruit and processing costs. One issue is, it's hard to compete with free or heavily subsidized wheat flour coming from the US. (This is an example of charitable giving potentially hurting local businesses.)*



Figure 5: TTFF Breadfruit Factory under construction in Jeremie (not the same structure showed to the consultant on February 1st 2018)

Socio-Dig: -how quickly it can be made.

Mike: *The limiting factor is the time of drying. A batch typically requires 4 to 8 hours of drying time.*

Socio-Dig: How long does the flour last?

Mike: *Shelf life is 12 months or more.*

Socio-Dig: How do you typically bag it and costs of bagging it?

Mike: *Manually, cost included above; bagging equipment for a commercial size facility would be a much larger investment.*

ANNEX G: Summary of Factories Visited and Interviews

On the week of July 3rd to the 7th, a Socio-Dig consultant visited three Port-au-Prince factories to gauge the prospects of WFP contracting for school snacks.

CRISTO S.A. (DEKA GROUP) / BONGU

Robert Deeb. Owner. Bongu produces alimentary paste products such as pasta long and short, corn flakes and flour. All other products are imported. They also represent imported products by putting Bongu name on them and using their distribution channels. They are unwilling to take any financial risks to sell vitamin enriched products.

Arlequin Food Products, S.A.

Mr. Jean Marc Riviere, Owner/Partner. Similar to Bongu, profit margins for what school's need are slim to nonexistent. Highly competitive business environment "does not permit any socially conscious impulses."

Caribbean Food Manufacturing S.A.

Mr John Batroni. Same as above. Batroni had some kind of bad experience with WFP and felt misled. Details unclear, but Mr. Batroni contacted Socio-Dig and requested that nothing he said in interview with Socio-Dig consultant be used in this report.

ANNEX H: Methodological Tool for Evaluating Capacity of Farmer Associations/Cooperatives in Haiti

- This document concerns a Methodological Tool for Evaluating Capacity of Farmer Associations and Cooperatives in Haiti.
- The idea and system is based on WFP's Purchase for Progress Central American Tool (see Compras para el Progreso LAC 2016), but adapted to the unique situation found in Haiti.
- The tool was developed in the context of WFP-Haiti's department of Nippes Local Procurement School Feeding Pilot Project. The project originally worked with farmer associations to purchase foods for school feeding. It also made interventions targeted for long-term investment in increased agricultural production, such as provision of seeds and credit. The tool was intended to accomplish three objectives:
    1) Identify associations that have the capacity to provision the school feeding program
    2) Identify areas of intervention, i.e. how WFP can assist associations in their endeavor to help farmers increase production and aggregate produce
    3) Evaluate the impact WFP purchases and investments have on the associations accounting and organizational capacity, the services given to members, assets owned, and the sustainability of the associations
- The school feeding project no longer purchases from associations. Nevertheless, there is a definitive need for an evaluative tool similar to the one WFP has developed for use in Central America. The State and humanitarian aid organizations working in Haiti depend on associations and cooperatives to expedite the delivery of technical and material assistance to farmers and Haiti has a nearly 80-year history during which cooperatives and associations have been active. The State and international organizations have made significant investments in these organizations, particularly over the past half century. Nevertheless, the organizations exhibit only the most rudimentary competences and internal capacity. Moreover, to date, no objective mechanism for evaluating and monitoring the progress of associations exists. This tool is meant to address that shortcoming.
- The Haiti scoring system proposed here has four sub-categories:
    1) Administrative Score: based on accounting and book keeping practices
    2) Service Score: based on the services provided to association members
    3) Infrastructural Score: based on assets the association owns
    4) Sustainability Score: based the extent to which all the preceding scores depend on assistance from humanitarian agencies or the State or, put another, the capacity of the organization to provide services and assist farmers without support from the State or other organizations

- The Document is being circulated among WFP staff so that they can contribute their expertise in developing the document. This is a first draft of the instrument and, based on feedback from WFP staff, it may be subject to significant changes. We welcome the participation and insights from all who read this. Particular attention should be given to those needs that WFP has in order to engage the associations in terms of finances and legally as well as needs for aggregating and marketing produce.

ADMINISTRATION SCORE

There are currently 25 indicators in the Administrative score (Table 1). The principal objective, as conceived thus far, is to evaluate fiscal and accounting capacity. Is the organization registered with the State, does it have a bank account, does it have basic records of their membership and member capacity (such as land and crops produced), does it keeas well as a system of accounting. There is a dimension for self-reporting vs. being able to demonstrate that they in fact have the capacity. For example, an organization is credited with points for claiming that it engages in a practice—such as keeping a list of members—but loses point for not being able to produce a list. It is recommended that one area modifications should focus on WFP specific accounting needs for engaging associations.

Table H1: ADMINISTRATION SCORING (0 to maximum of 50 points positive; can lose 22)	Scoring	Positive
1. Is the association registered and where	Mairie	5
	MAST	5
	Both	10
2. Respondent claimed reg. but cannot show paper for any registration	No	-5
3. Respondent claimed mayor only reg. but cannot show paper	No	-5
4. Respondent claimed MAST only reg. but cannot show paper	No	-5
5. Respondent claimed Both but cannot show paper	No	-10
6. Registration is up to date (for those who were registered before 2013	Yes	5
7. Association has a bank account	Yes	5
8. Association cannot show you a bank book or deposit receipt	No	-5
9. Association showed a list of members	Yes	5
10. List does not show how many members are active	No	-2
11. Association has accounting for membership dues	Yes	5
12. Association has and shows list of land owned per member	Yes	5
13. Association knows quantity of main crop that all members together harvested the	Yes	5
14. Association knows the total quantity of produce sold for its members in the past 12	Yes	5
15. Association knows the number of members that contributed to sales to ROPANIP	Yes	5
16. Association knows the quantity of fertilizer sold	No	1
17. Association knows the quantity of fertilizer gifted	No	1
18. Association knows quantity of fertilizer that an NGO or the State gave over the last	No	1
19. Association knows the quantity of pesticide sold	No	1
20. Association knows the quantity of pesticide gifted	No	1
21. Association knows quantity pesticide State or other organization gave over the last	No	1
22. Association knows the quantity of seeds sold	No	1
23. Association knows the quantity of seeds gifted	No	1
24. Association knows quantity of seeds State or other organization gave over the last	No	1
25. Association knows the quantity of tools that it sold or gave in the past year	No	1
TOTAL		50

INFRASTRUCTURE SCORE

There are currently 13 indicators in the infrastructure score (see Table 3, below). Points accrue for ownership of land, buildings, transport vehicles, farming equipment, communication devices and computers. However, the number of points given for different assets should be refined to better reflect their respective contributions to the cultivation process. For example, a tractor should arguably be assign significantly more points vis a vis sprayer. The categories could also be made more precise regarding the quality of the asset and its productive potential. For example, a small hand powered mill is not differentiated from a larger mill powered with a diesel motor; there is no quantification of storage capacity; size of tractor; transport capacity of vehicle. There is also no dimension for assets purchased on credit, nor source of assets (i.e. donor gift, purchased with membership fees), nor age and condition of equipment. That said, the associations assessed in Nippes during the development of the instrument had so few assets—see Table 2, above--that it was decided to simply record whether or not an association had any of these assets all, regardless of age, quality, capacity or how they came to own the asset.

Table H2: Associations Possessing at Least One		
Assets	Yes	No
Building	3	26
Land	7	22
Vehicles	0	29
Tractors	0	29
Mill	3	26
Rototillers	2	27
Sprayers	5	24
Pump	3	26
Phones	0	29
Computers	0	29
Tablet	0	29
Calculator	4	25
Bank Account	11	17
Other	6	23

Table H3: INFRASTRUCTURE SCORE (0 to unlimited points)	Scoring
1. Association owns Y number of Building	Y x 1
2. Association owns Y *Santyem* of Land (1/100 of a	Y x 1
3. Association owns Y number of Vehicles	Y x 5
4. Association owns Y number of Tractors	Y x 5
5. Association owns Y number of Mills	Y x 3
6. Association owns Y number of Tillers	Y x 3
7. Association owns Y number of Sprayers	Y x 2
8. Association owns Y number of Pumps	Y x 3
9. Association owns Y number of Silo	Y x 3
10. Association owns Y number of Barrels	Y x .25
11. Association owns Y number of Computers	Y x 2
12. Association owns Y number of Telephones	Y x 1
13. Association owns Y number of Tablets	Y x 1
TOTAL	Unlimited

SERVICE SCORE

There are currently 19 Service Score indicators (see Table 5, below). Each indicator assigns points based on services provided to association members. In its present form, these scores are a standard five points for each service. They do not reflect the dimension of quantity, quality and frequency of availability. For example, how many tools? How much fertilizer? What is the quality of the tools and fertilizer? Are they available all the time or only occasionally? Similar to the Infrastructure Scores, the associations assessed in Nippes during the development of the instrument offered so few services—see Table 4, above--that it was decided to simply record any services at all, regardless of quantity, quality or frequency of provision.

Table H4: Services for Members		
Variable	No	Yes
Sold members Fertilizer last season	27	2
Gave members Fertilizer last season	23	6
Sold members Pesticide last season	28	1
Gave members Pesticide last season	29	0
Sold Seeds to members last season	23	6
Gave Seeds to members last season	19	10
Has ever produced Seeds for members	17	11
Sold Tools to members last season	27	2
Gave Tools to members last season	15	14
Gives members Credit	15	14
Technical Assistance (5 missing)	5	19

Table H5: SERVICE SCORE (0 to maximum of 95 points)	Scoring	Positive
1. Association helped members sell their	Yes	5
2. The Association sold fertilizer over the	Yes	5
3. The Association gifted fertilizer over the	Yes	5
4. The Association sold pesticide over the	Yes	5
5. The Association gifted pesticide over the	Yes	5
6. The Association sold seeds over the last	Yes	5
7. The Association gifted seeds over the	Yes	5
8. The Association produced seeds in the	Yes	5
9. The Association sold tools to members	Yes	5
10. The Association gifted tools to members	Yes	5
11. In past season/year Association sold	Yes	5
12. Association has a program to loan	Yes	5
Type of assistance the Association gives	13. Living	5
	14. Ravine walls	5
	15. Drainage	5
	16. Reforestation	5
	17. Castration	5
	18. Give improv.	5
	19. Training	5
TOTAL		95

SUSTAINABILITY SCORE

There are 9 sustainability indicators. They measure that extent to which an association is independent of outside support and hence is capable of providing sustained assistance to its members in the absence of State or international aid. The scoring strategy depends on the source of assets, money loaned to members, materials given or sold to members, services, and if the association collects membership fees. The points are negative in order to illustrate that the more points, the more dependent the organization is on outside assistance and, hence, the less sustainable.

Table H6: SUSTAINABILITY SCORE (0 to -36 points)	Scoring	Negative
1. Source of capital	Not Members	-5
2. Source of assets	Not Members	-1 x Asset Score
3. All produce sold went to ROPANIPS	Yes	-5
4. Association collects no membership dues	No	-5
5. State or an NGO help sponsor the	Yes	-3
6. All fertilizer given or sold came from an	No	-5
7. All pesticide given or sold came from an	No	-5
8. All seeds give or sold came from an NGO	No	-5
9. At least part of the tools given or sold	Yes	-3
TOTAL		-36

SUMMARY OF SCORES

- ADMINISTRATION SCORING: 0 to 50 points positive (can lose 22)
- INFRASTRUCTURE SCORE: 0 to unlimited points
- SERVICE SCORE: 0 to 95 points
- SUSTAINABILITY SCORE: 0 to -36 points

SCORING CATEGORY	NUMBER of INDICATORS
Administration Scoring	27
Infrastructure Score	13
Service Score	19
Sustainability Score	9

SOME TENTATIVE RECOMMENDATIONS

- Adjust for same number of indicators for each score
- Adjust for the same number of points per score
- Improve logic and relevance of score. For example, the Infrastructure Scores should more precisely reflect the quality of and productive output of the asset. The Administrative Scores should more precisely reflect the needs of donor agencies.

Supplement to ANNEX H

Overview of WFP's Purchase for Progress (P4P) Central American Tool

General Summary

- 4 central American countries: El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras & Nicaragua
- 130 OP's with membership of 35,760 producerss, for 5 years, and
- Will continue working in these countries and add: Haití, Cuba, Colombia y Ecuador
- Focuses on producers with 5 hectares or less, but works through the OPs
- Objective of tool: monitor progress of organizations but also to determine what support to give them
- Intended to contribute to an understanding of the capacity of the OPs and faciliate decisions that contribute to the understanding the capacity of the OPs and assisting them

Purpose of Tool

- Diagnosis: Baseline = Determine whether they can or should have the capacity to participate in Purchases for Progress.
- Who the farmers are (how much land they have)
  - Type of organization (livestock, ag, marketing…)
  - Capacity to produce
- Targeting
  - Where specifically they should intervene/in what way (credit, seeds, cultivation strategy, transport)
- M & E
  - Is the organization increasing its capacity
  - Where and how can the assistance be improved

Logic of P4P Scoring System

- Based primarily on Farming process and needs:
  - Organization-management
  - Production
  - Post harvest
  - Sales
  - Gender

No.	Categories of Analysis	Number of Variables	Number of Indicators
1	Organization-management	5	16
2	Production	3	7
3	Post harvest	3	10
4	Sales	4	8
5	Gender	2	4
TOTAL		17	45

Critique of P4P Central American Tool

- Logical and useful for an in depth evaluation of the extent to which organization meets farmers needs
- BUT somewhat haphazard: Management is organization; production, harvest and sales is producer services; Genders is a development agenda.
- Difficult difficult to readily apply and break down, because based on the behavior of the farmer rather than the organization
  - i.e. How readily separate credit, training, infrastructure
- The Central American tool is heavily self evaluative, looks at type of leadership, history (how it came into being…), specific capacity…
- It gets detailed
  - Average yields
  - Costs of production

- Contracts
- Potential for production

ANNEX I: Test of Impact on the Scholastic Performance of Children

An enthusiastic claim we often heard from stakeholders was that the program had a positive impact on the attendance and academic performance of the students. School directors and teachers said it (see Report Phase II, Section 'Impact on Scholastic Performance, page 43); parents said it (ibid); even children made the claim (see this report, page ##). To test that claim, we examined changes in rates of enrollment as well as pass, fail and drop-out rates that came with the school feeding program vs. before the program existed. We also compare these rates to schools in the region that were not involved in the program.

Methodology

The evaluation included 12 of the 23 schools involved in the feeding program and that were randomly chosen for study. We were able to obtain data for 8 of the 12 schools in the program and that were used in the evaluation. The data covered the school years,

- 2014-15, before the program was in place
- 2015-16, the first year of the program and
- 2016-17, the second year for feeding program, but interrupted by hurricane Matthew

We also compared findings from those schools in the program to 10 schools in neighboring commune of Petite Trou, none of which were included in the school feeding program.[6]

We analyzed individual class-grades 1st thru 6th grade for each school (here on referred to simply as classes). For those in the program, this amounted to a total of 48 classes. For those schools not in the program, this amounted to a total of 60 classes.

The **Sign Test** was used to evaluate statistical significance. The sign test replaces absolute numbers with simple directional signs. For example, if a particular class in a particular school had more students enrolled in 2015-16 than in 2014-15, that observation would be scored as +1, indicating enrollment had increased. If there had been fewer students, the change would have been scored as -1, indicating a decline in enrollment. What makes the Sign Test especially useful and appropriate for evaluating changes in the school feeding program is that it omits the specific degree of change for any one school, something that might bias results as a consequence of inordinately large changes from a single class or school.[xxv] If one school had a dramatic increase in school enrollment—for example, doubling the number of student in all classes—it would not inordinately impact the overall pattern for all schools. In summary, no matter how great or how small the change for any particular class, the Sign Test method means that it is

[6] Five schools were eliminated from the test: two because they had canteens prior to the program and three because of a lack of data.

scored as a simple +1 or -1, making the Sign Test highly sensitive to any trends in the overall data.

Results

Based on the tests of the treatment group, i.e. those schools in the program, we would have to conclude that from the period when there was no program (school year 2014-15) to the first year of the program (school year 2015-16) there was no statistically significant impact on any of the parameters in question: not on the number of students enrolled per class, not on the proportion who passed, and not on the proportion who failed or abandoned school.

In the 10 treatment group schools in neighboring Petit Trou where there is no program, we found a statistically significant decline of 4.2 students per class ($p<.01$) and a 2 percent increase in the number who abandoned.

Similarly, we find the same trends for the first year of the program (school year 2015-16) to the year of the hurricane (2016-17): specifically, no evidence of any statistically significant changes for any parameter for the program schools in Petite Rivye; but, for the control schools in Petite Twou, enrollment declined by 4.6 students per class ($p<.01$), the percentage who failed increased by 1 percent ($p<.01$), and the proportion who abandoned school during the year increased by 2 percent ($p<.01$).

CHANGE IN ENROLLMENT, PASS, FAIL AND ABANDONED FOR YEAR 2014-15 WHEN THERE WAS NO CANTEEN PROGRAM, TO YEAR 2015-16 WHEN THERE WAS A CANTEEN PROGRAM

PETITE RIVIERE

Table I1: Treatment Group and Data by School 2014-15 to 2015-16
Pilot Program Impact (total of 48 classes from 8 Schools)

Name of School	Change			
	Enrolled*	Passed	Failed	Dropped out
Nat Fond Lianne	11	3%	-8%	5%
College Moderne P.R.N	-13	-5%	0%	5%
Ecole Lalane et Pascale	-6	4%	-10%	5%
Ecole Maledonia Platon	-20	23%	-18%	-5%
Ecole Nationale Communitaire de Moneron	9	-17%	15%	2%
Ecole Nationale de Cholette	51	-1%	7%	11%
Ecole Nationale de Syllegue	-46	2%	4%	-7%
Presbytherale de Syllegue	-12	-15%	6%	-8%
TOTAL	-26	-1%	0%	1%

*Absolute number students that enrollment increased or decreased

Table I2: Treatment Group, Ti RIviere 2014-15 to 2015-16 Probability of Pilot Program Impact (total of 48 classes from 8 Schools)				
Measures	Enrolled	Passed	Failed	Abandoned
Average Change per class	-3.25	-1%	0%	+1%
Observations positive (N=48)	21	23	19	26
Probability for Two Tailed Test	0.47	0.89	0.19	0.67
Probability for One Tailed Test	0.24	0.44	0.10	0.33

PETIT TROU

Table I3: Control Group, Ti Trou and Data by School 2014-15 to 2015-16 for Pilot Program Change (total of 60 Classes from 10 Schools)				
	Change			
Name of School	Enrolled*	Passed	Failed	Dropped out
Edner Jeanty vision Gosen	-7	2%	-15%	13%
Mixte Assemblée de Dieu	-27	-12%	9%	3%
Com. de bois d'homme	1	-1%	0%	1%
Saint Paul	-89	13%	-9%	-3%
Ami Bertho de Petit Trou	-30	7%	-9%	2%
Béthel de Petit Trou	-61	9%	-9%	0%
Evang. de Bethel Lafond	9	-41%	41%	0%
Com. de Carrefour Lundi	-74	18%	-16%	-2%
Bon Berger de Nan Raymond	-13	-10%	0%	11%
Bethesda MEBSH de Petit Trou	40	-5%	9%	-4%
TOTAL	-251	-21%	1%	21%

- Absolute number students that enrollment increased or decreased

Table I4: Control Group, Ti Trou 2014-15 to 2015-16 Probability of Pilot Program Change (total of 60 Classes from 10 Schools)				
Measures	Enrolled	Passed	Failed	Abandoned
Average Change per class	-4.2	+1%	+1%	+2%
Observations positive (N=60)	12	26	20	18
Probability for Two Tailed Test	0.00	0.37	0.01	0.00
Probability for One Tailed Test	0.00	0.18	0.01	0.00

IMPACT of HURRICANE

CHANGE IN ENROLLMENT, PASS, FAIL AND ABANDONED FOR YEAR 2015-16 WHEN THERE WAS NO DISTRUPTION DISASTERS, TO YEAR 2016-17 WHEN THERE WAS A HURRICANE AND THE CANTEEN PROGRAM WAS DISRUPTED FOR 3 MONTHS

PETITE RIVIERE

Table I5: Treatment Group and Data by School 2015-16 to 2016-17 Pilot Program Impact (total of 42 classes from 7 Schools)				
	Change			
Name of School	Enrolled*	Passed	Failed	Dropped out
Nat. Com.de fond des Lianes	-25	6%	-3%	-2%
Moderne de Petite Riviere	14	-7%	-5%	12%
Lalane et Pascale	0	-4%	-4%	8%
Macedonia Platon	-14	-19%	11%	8%
Nat. de Syllegue	-87	9%	-3%	-6%
Pre. de Syllegue	19	-12%	18%	-6%
Nat. Com, de Moneron	-16	-2%	-2%	5%
TOTAL	-109	-4%	2%	3%

Table I6: Treatment Group, Ti RIviere 2015-16 to 2016-17 Probability of Pilot Program Impact (total of 42 classes from 7 Schools)				
Measures	Enrolled	Passed	Failed	Abandoned
Average Change per class	-2.6	-4%	2%	3%
Observations positive (N=60)	13	18	19	25
Probability for Two Tailed Test	0.01	0.24	0.64	0.28
Probability for One Tailed Test	0.01	0.12	0.32	0.14

PETIT TROU

Table I7: Control Group, Ti Trou and Data by School 2015-16 to 2016-17 for Pilot Program Change (total of 60 Classes from 10 Schools)				
	Change			
Name of School	Enrolled*	Passed	Failed	Dropped out
Edner Jeanty vision Gosen	-20	7%	6%	-13%
Mixte Assemblée de Dieu	-38	-20%	11%	9%
Com. de bois d'homme	-2	-6%	11%	-4%
Saint Paul	-12	-19%	20%	0%
Ami Bertho de Petit Trou	-58	9%	-7%	-3%
Béthel de Petit Trou	-14	-23%	9%	14%
Evang. de Bethel Lafond	-66	14%	-14%	0%
Com. de Carrefour Lundi	-50	-3%	3%	0%
Bon Berger de Nan Raymond	-55	9%	-9%	0%
Bethesda MEBSH de Petit Trou	36	6%	-6%	0%
Total Enrolled	-27.9	-3%	3%	0%

Table I8: Control Group, Ti Trou 2015-16 to 2016-17 Probability of Pilot Program Change (total of 60 Classes from 10 Schools)				
Measures	Enrolled	Passed	Failed	Abandoned
Average Change per class	-4.6	-3%	-3%	0%
Observations positive (N=60)	20	25	24	12
Probability for Two Tailed Test	0.01	0.24	0.20	0.00
Probability for One Tailed Test	0.01	0.15	0.10	0.00

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NOTES

[i] Male roles that women never perform are craft oriented labor such as building houses, and sawing boards as well as fishing.

[ii] Interestingly, when asked why they do not market too, men in the Tamarin focus group downplayed female marketing as if it were the consequence of woman not having anything else to do.

> Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #3 (Male; 50 years of age; 2 Children; 6th grade; Fisherman, Farmer): It's my wife who has time. Well, she's not working. Us, we're always working. Sometimes we have a group of workers working for us, we have to represent ourselves in the group. You understand? We are in involved in every little thing, because if we are not involved in every little thing, you can say that the children's school tuition will not get paid. Any little thing, it's us who have to beat the water to make butter, you understand.
>
> ***
>
> Focus Group 13, All Male Farmers (Tamarin), Participant #8 (Male; 40 years of age; 3 Children; High school diploma; Teacher, Farmer): No, we don't say that it's because women are women, because it's her who feels she has more time than us. We are always busy. That's why it happens that she can do it for us…

[iii] This male exploitation of humanitarian aid programs in gaining access to female market opportunities is not unique to the canteen program. It is evident in other programs as well. As seen in the report for Phase II of the Evaluation, there is documented evidence that NGO programs have helped men encroach on the female domain of marketing with fishing and mangos. In the case of fishing, aid organizations seeking to help fisherman gain access to the urban market have helped create an entirely new genre of male purchasers (the *achtè*), translating to a loss of market share for women as well as a loss of value added opportunities in gutting, cleaning, drying and transporting the fish to market. In the case of mangos and the USAID-IDB-Coca Cola funded Haiti Hope project, over the five-year course of the project, males took five percent of market share from females, the impact of which women reported during focus groups when they complained of their husbands selling mangos without their knowledge. In short, the NGOs that contract with male dominated associations, give men a way to sell produce that would otherwise have been under the control of their wives.

[iv] Evidence of the influence on Haitian gustatory preferences of the politco-marketing power of US food interests can be gleaned from the history of wheat. Studies of nutrition in Haiti prior to the founding of the Minoterie d'Haiti (the only mill in Haiti, the contemporary Le Moulen d'Haiti, LMH), suggest that wheat flour was rare in Haiti, particularly in rural areas (Bernadotte et. al). The 1958 establishment under the first

Duvalier regime of the Minoterie, a government monopoly, changed that. A team of Columbian nutritionists wrote in 1963,

> Although no wheat is produced in Haiti, white wheat bread is a preferred item and is eaten whenever it can be obtained. The construction of a large flour mill in 1958, where imported wheat could be milled, made white wheat flour available in Haitian cities, but the Haitian peasant obtains little white wheatbread because of lack of money, fuel and baking facilities. [King et. Al., 1963]

Since that time wheat bread has become a ubiquitous staple even in the most remote areas.

The Dominican Republic shares a mill-monopoly history similar to Haiti. The first mill was constructed in 1961, three years after the LMH, under then dictator Leonidas R. Trujillo. It remained a state owned monopoly until it was semi-privatized (50% if it was sold) in 1998, the same year that LMH was privatized. Today there are four mills in the Dominican Republic: Molinos del Ozama (the former State mill), Moilnos del Cibao (source of much of the flour imported into the North of Haiti), Molinos del Higuamo y Molinos Cesar Iglesias. All the mills are currently importing flour into Haiti.

[v] According to the 2005 USDA Dietary Guidelines for Americans, "A low intake of fats and oils (less than 20 percent of calories) increases the risk of inadequate intakes of vitamin E and of essential fatty acids and may contribute to unfavorable changes in high-density lipoprotein (HDL) blood cholesterol and triglycerides." For children the recommendations are 25 to 35 percent.

[vi] In a WHO (2009) summary: The richer a country the more fat its people consume. Of the 24 countries found above the maximum recommendation of 35%, the majority of were in North America and Western Europe. The population of the only 19 countries on earth that consume an average of less than 15% fat in their diet were in sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia. Much of the population of Haiti would fall in this latter group.

How FAO arrives at per capita consumption and how they arrive at recommended per diem fat consumption is beyond the scope of this report. It is be assumed that the prevailing methodologies are logical and sufficiently supported by academic research.

[vii] One reason the sign test is especially appropriate is that, technically, the statistical sampling strategy we used is flawed. It violates the assumption of independences among sampled units. More specifically, we have data for only 8 schools; and because of the devastating impact of hurricane Matthew in in 2016, we can evaluate rates of change for only the years 2014-15- to -2015-16 (the school year before the canteen program and the first year of the program). Thus, we cannot test and compare by entire school because we do not have enough schools and we only have the change from one year to evaluate. To compensate, we have used grades, there being 6 grades in each primary school, thereby yielding 48 observations for the sample of 8 treatment schools and 60 observations for the 10 schools in the control group (in the main text these class-grades are referred to simply as classes).

[viii] Alvarez and Murray (1981) identified food categories that closely resemble western categories with three principal categories of viv (starchy vegetables and cereal, and pastas), legim (non starchy vegetables), and vyann (meats). In our own research we found similar, but not identical groups. (as Alvarez and Murray did, as it appears to have been on the part of Alvarez and Murray themselves, as researcher seeking classification and order, rather than their informants).

[ix] Nor do Alvarez and Murray 1981, find that popular class Haitians have an all-inclusive food categorizations system. Alvarez and Murray take it upon themselves as researchers to complete the categories while admitting that the informants do not make such a complete categorization.

[x] With the exception that while Alvarez and Murray found their informants sometimes lumping grains with *viv*, the latter which they identified as 'vegetables', we found that they keep grains and *viv* distinct. We also identify *viv* as a sub category of vegetable—what we call 'starchy vegetables' vs. green vegetables—something that is arguably closer to the scientifically appropriate

categorization than the US lumping of these foods into a single category of vegetable (green vegetables have little to do nutritionally with starchy vegetables such as potatoes, or plantains).

[xi] In the following analysis, we try to make sense out of Haitian food categories and consumption by identifying local categories that make the most sense in terms of our own experiences and those of people we interviewed and developed. It is important to emphasize in organizing and understanding the data that we give precedence to local categories. Thus, some categories such as fried pork vs. fried beef and goat may appear identical and could best be lumped together, but the fact that Haitians make a clear distinction in the foods and their value prompted us to break them into distinct categories. In this example, fried pork is called griyo while Haitian lump fried goat and beef into the category of taso. Thus, we did the same. See Annex 3 or more details

[xii]

Table N1: Wheat Foods		
How the	Wheat food	Food accompaniments
Baked	Bread	Peanut butter, peanuts, banana, coffee, sandwich (meats,
	Bread	Cheese, milk, hot chocolate, coffee, sweet corn meal, soda,
	Bonbon dous	0
	Bonbon sel	Peanut butter, cheese, jams,
Fried	Paté	Smoked herring, salami, hotdog, pikliz (spiced coleslaw w/o
	Marinad	pikliz (spiced coleslaw w/o mayonnaise), meat sauce
Boiled	Boy	Soup, stew
	Espeghetti	Tomato sauce, bread, smoked herring,
	Boy olé	Milk

[xiii] Yet another type of rule that seems to be underpinned with nutritional logic is that traditional work parties –house-building, boat hauling and agricultural labor groups—must be provided with rum, the highest source of immediate food energy.

[xiv] Observations from Alvarez and Murray (1981) support this point although they add that some respondents in their research community would consider a lone *viv* or grain as the bare minimum criteria for a meal.

[xv] The point can be taken to somewhat of an extreme in noting that the most commonly planted foods are also those present in Haiti for the longest time.

Table N2: The Most Commonly Plant Crops (n = 1,539)

Crops Planted	Origin	Percent Farmers	Crops Planted	Origin	Percent Farmers
Corn	aino/Americas	87.9	Yam	Africa, Asia	2.6
Beans*	aino/Americas	70.8	Okra	Africa	2.5
Sweet Potato	aino/Americas	59.1	Taro & A.		2.0
Cassava	aino/Americas	44.9	Castor Bean	Africa	1.8
Peanuts	aino/Americas	39.1	Egg Plant	Asia	0.9
Millet and	Africa, asia	32.1	Carrot	Brittish Isles	0.5
Pumpkin		20.6	Tomato	aino/Americas	0.4
Plantain	Phillipines	8.7	Echalot		0.3
Sugar Cane	Asia	7.2	Squash	aino/Americas	0.3
Water Melon	Africa	6.0	Other		5.6
Sesame	Africa, Asia	3.4			

[xvi] According to the 2005 USDA Dietary Guidelines for Americans, “A low intake of fats and oils (less than 20 percent of calories) increases the risk of inadequate intakes of vitamin E and of essential fatty acids and may contribute to unfavorable changes in high-density lipoprotein (HDL) blood cholesterol and triglycerides.” For children the recommendations are 25 to 35 percent.

[xvii] In a WHO (2009) summary: The richer a country the more fat its people consume. Of the 24 countries found above the maximum recommendation of 35%, the majority of were in North America and Western Europe. The population of the only 19 countries on earth that consume an average of less than 15% fat in their diet were in sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia. Much of the population of Haiti would fall in this latter group.

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[xviii] The best way to describe Haitian treatment of edible oil is ‘trying to inject as much oil as possible.

- The standard rice, beans and meat sauce illustrates the point. Meat, such as chicken, is first boiled in water and oil; when the meat is cooked they then fry it in oil. The original water together with the vegetable oil and the animal fat is not discarded but used to boil rice and or make bean sauce. In both cases additional oil is added and before rice is completely cooked the chef will often *wouzé* (sprinkle) more oil on the rice, and then *toufé* (smoother) the rice (meaning seal the pot with a plastic bag) for the final 5 to ten minutes of cooking.
- Meat sauce takes the case even farther: literally swimming in oil, Haitian sauces are best described not as meat, spices, and onions heavily embedded with oil but oil embedded as much as possible into the oil (point being that oil is the primary component)

- Treatment of spaghetti also supports the point. Haitians informants consistently said, “spaghetti doesn’t like oil” (*spaghetti pa reme luil*). By which they mean that noodles will not absorb much oil.
- Eggs are literally drenched in a soup of oil;, doe (*patay*), sweet potatoes, bread fruit, plantains, and pork are all deep fried in oil and are street and bus stop favorites in Haiti.

This lack of oil in the diet and attempt to inject as much as possible into food leads many observers—myself included before this research—to think that Haitians are getting too much oil in their diet. Bailey (2006:6) generalized this observation to conclude that, “Haitian cuisine traditionally makes a liberal use of cooking oil, especially for meat and fish products, well beyond the daily caloric intake requirement... as much as family income permits.” However, as stated in the text, if USAID nutritional requirements can be accepted, the impoverished Haitian masses are best described not as ingesting large and unhealthy quantities of vegetable oils, but rather as desperately trying to get enough. Short of guzzling it—something that would present other gastronomic problems—the only way to do this is to saturate foods.

In summarizing, would warrant repeating that in contrast to the caveats of other Westerners who tend to be appalled by the copious amounts of oil used in the cuisines of impoverished Haitians, most Haitians are in much greater danger of not getting enough fats and oils in their diets rather than getting too much. Atherial Schlerosis and … are afflictions developed world afflictions associated with what is called the epidemiological transition—the transition from low life expectancies where people are killed by infectious and contagious viral agents –to one where people are long-lived by plagued by chronic diseases In Haiti heart disease is arguably an affliction of the successful few and overweight “big men” and *marchann.*

[xix] The most recent break down on frequency of purchases and expenses that I could find, in order of important,

Frequency: Cooking oil, bread, rice, brown sugar, plantains, beans, tomato paste

Expenditures: Rice, beans, cooking oil, plantains, bread

Source: Jensen, Helen 1990 Food consumption patterns in Haiti Center for Agriculture and Rural Development. Iowa State University Staff Report 90-SR 50

[xx] The counts are only meant to be illustrative. Many items, such as processed cheese and condensed milk, were missing because they are often buried in vendor baskets. There is also the issue of timing: the surveys were conducted late in the morning. Had they been conducted earlier we would have expected more vendors of banana, eggs, bread and peanut butter. Also absent were seasonal items such as mangos, which were not in season at the time of the survey. Following the data from the vendor surveys are three pages of photos and food prices to give the reader a sense of actual foods and their costs.

[xxi] Notable recent examples of change in availability of foods in Haiti are the demise of the informal milk industry. People interviewed during the course of field work remember street vendors sold milk out of milk pails in the 1960s and 1970s. Thus, while a high esteem for local milk remained, the domestic milk industry disappeared during the 1980s. Another common food that has largely disappeared in the past two decades are ready to eat oranges. A common sight in front of schools in the 1970s to 1990s where male vendors selling oranges out of wheel barrows. The men skinned

them so that only the tender and non-acidic white protective pulp remained and then sold them to school children.. Today mandarins (tangerines) are more common The source of the change in the domestic milk industry can be understood in the context of declining soil fertility, erosion, and the resulting lower milk yields ultimately leading to a replacement of domestic milk on the urban market with imported condensed and powder milks. The disappearance of oranges and emergence of the mandarin is related to NGO programs that promoted the planting of easily peeled and mandarins vs the traditional sweet oranges.

[xxii] What's in Your Wiener? Hot Dog Ingredients Explained By Katherine Harmon Courage | July 2, 2011 | http://blogs.scientificamerican.com/observations/2011/07/02/whats-in-your-wiener-hot-dog-ingredients-explained/

[xxiii] The point cannot be gainsaid. Haitians are extremely nationalistic in there food preferences and, whether a derivative of patriotism or not, they tend to be highly idealistic in their appreciation for organic and natural foods. It should also be understood however, that they are just as extremely simplistic and conservative. Contemporary main staples have been part of the diet for over two centuries. Indeed, many of the main Haitian staple foods were here during pre-Columbian times, such as sweet potatoes, manioc, cassava bread, peanuts, pumpkin, and corn. Even imported herring and cod have been around since colonial times (some argue are the foods that made long colonizing ocean voyages possible; see The Fish That Changed the World by Mark Kurlansky Walker).

[xxiv] Food consumption patterns are governed by cultural specific rules. These rules have to do with nutritional combinations (such as the nutritional balancing of the main meal), cost and availability of products (as in the combination of sugar and bread and the saturation of with edible oil of any food stuff that will readily absorb it), and to the efficiency of preparation (as illustrated by trends such as pre-processed foods eaten in the morning and more elaborately cooked foods in at mid-day, fried foods in the evening, and boiled foods before bed).

Although to consummate such an analysis would require input from someone with deeper knowledge of nutrition than the authors, it is tempting, with all the examples of protein, carbohydrate and fat mixtures given above, to posit a guiding principal of nutritional efficiency in Haitian food: *minimal mixing to obtain a sufficiently powerful combination of least expensive nutrients.*

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