Food Insecurity in Haiti:  
A gendered problem in the making

by

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ABSTRACT

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This dissertation applies a gendered analysis to the problem of food insecurity in Haiti, in order to document the impact from, and local responses to, a gender-blind and supply-centric world food economy. This is achieved by investigating the ways in which female and male rural and peri-urban peasant farmers and female urban poor, in northern Haiti, achieve food security. In so doing, I offer an alternative to the dominant narrative of food security, in Haiti, produced by institutional actors.

Employing mixed-methods and feminist methodology, I conducted 526 interviews with 260 respondents, of which 115 were members of four primary rural, peri-urban, and urban community-based organisations (CBOs) that constituted the main interest of the study. These respondents were interviewed before and after a state land grab that dispossessed them from land where they produced and collected food.

Four specific objectives combine to achieve the aim of the study. First, the study considers how powerful actors, who create a gender-blind world food economy, rely on gendered roles and responsibilities, paradoxically heightening food insecurity for rural women in Haiti. Second, the study examines how male and female rural and peri-urban peasants in northern Haiti interact in community-based organizations to reproduce themselves as the poto mitan, or centre pole, of local and regional food security. They use state land, and locally
defined concepts of moral economy of care, identity, and autonomy, to make critical and strategic contributions to Haiti’s food security and social stability. Third, the study documents how CBOs may act as a form of resistance designed to decolonize peasant identity by placemaking through food production. And finally, the research utilizes Sen’s capabilities (opportunities or freedoms one has) and functionings of value (action to engage an opportunity), an evaluative tool, to establish how all-women organizations in Haiti are able to address strategic gender interests and practical food needs.

These findings demonstrate the value of Haiti’s gendered, internally-oriented food economy, and how food security and social stability are established despite living within a retracted food economy. These findings indicate the need to make gender a central organizing and governing principle in food security policy.
DEDICATION

To mum and dad for teaching me to value justice and fairness,

Greg, Ryan and Michael for the inspiration and encouragement,

and

Nesly Dorismond, a stark reminder of the excessive inequities of our world.
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I, Jennifer Vansteenkiste, am the lead author of the following chapters of this thesis:

Chapter Four:

Chapter Five:

Chapter Six:

Co-authored Chapters include Chapter Seven:


The manuscript The Gendered Space of Capabilities and Functionings: Lessons from Haitian Community-Based Organizations was co-authored by Jennifer Vansteenkiste and Mark Schuller. Following the guidelines set forth by the Department of Geography, the work predominantly comprises the intellectual contribution of the first author: Conceptualization (JV 60%, MS 40%); gathering data (JV 100%), analysis (JV 70%, MS 30%); writing (JV 85%, MS 15%).

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Everyone who undertakes the challenge of writing a doctoral dissertation will be frequently asked why they are undertaking such a momentous task. This dissertation represents feminist activism, specifically disrupting the worn narrative of how the world is and should be, a narrative that excludes women and men who see the world from another perspective. My understanding of gendered constructions came later in life and so hard lessons had already become part of my mask and my way of being, my identity, my struggle for autonomy and the way I respond and react to people around me. I doubt these habits will ever be unlearned or undone. But despite this, I have other ways of being that are untouched and belong to me, places where my voice can still exist in the form that I envision it. One such place is in research and writing; it is still my place.

This move into research was not direct; rather, it began with a trip to Haiti. A local charity group lured me to the ‘exotic’. Saying this now I cringe and then find myself thankful, because this trip, although unethical on many levels, nudged me along the path to study development and gender at Huron University College and to challenge what Haraway (1991) claims, is a gaze from nowhere. Let me explain.

I returned home in a state of shock and confusion and processing the experience was slow; admittedly I lacked the intellectual tools to decipher the misdirection(s) told by trip leaders. These included stories of people who did not value life, desperate, hypersexual, and dangerous to my personal well-being. I was ripped out of my worldview, and rightly so; it was ill conceived. My understanding of normalcy changed. What had been important became trivial. What seemed ‘correct’ was now menacing and complicated. I was adrift with no compass, no wind. As I poled
my way back to some resemblance of functionality, I made the decision to study development formally. I needed answers. I needed to know the origins of the misunderstandings and most importantly why my ideas of poverty and Haiti were misconceptions. And by chance, when I studied the university guide I luckily also found feminist studies. So, at Huron University College I enrolled to complete my BA Honors in what was called International Comparative Studies. Three amazing professors, Dr. Wendy Russell, Dr. Mark Franke, and Dr. Arja Vainio-Mattila set about deconstructing my worldview, challenging me to see through Other eyes, and rebuilding my perspectives from intolerance to tolerance, from exclusion to inclusion, from misunderstanding to understanding. Haiti had shaken me awake; I was ready for the lesson. It was a slow process, and without these gifted professors I would have remained stagnant in my narrow and limiting worldview, suffering at times under the crushing weight of being a woman working in a refinery, a man’s world. To my Huron professors and to Haiti I am grateful, for the direction to a better place and eventually to research.

After I finished my BA Honours I returned to Haiti. I worked with the Urban Community Project helping poor urban women and children with food and medical needs. It wasn’t long before I decided that a Band-aid on what was a structural problem was just not good enough and more had to be done. It also became obvious that living through a particular set of historical circumstances had shaped people’s beliefs of who they were, what they were entitled to, and what they were capable of. I needed more tools. It was then that I returned to complete my Master of Arts and now my doctoral degree to show how food insecurity and the suffering of women and children is a product of policy and ideology—not a product of individual failings or the failings of culture or environment. I further want to demonstrate that in the middle of this constructed crisis, peasants, in particular women, were developing creative ways to make
critical and strategic contributions to food security and social stability for their households and community.

Research became a refuge. I had experiences that offered powerful places to bridge understandings with Others. And, simultaneously, I hoped that this process would be cathartic since "Memory work is healing work. Healing work is the anecdote to oppression, but we have to take the medicine" (Jacqui Alexander 2016). And so, carrying the weight of my own life lessons, I began to empathize with the oppressive weight of development narratives, and Haiti, the source and reflection of my angst became my study site.

The decision to engage Haiti was mine and I presented myself uninvited. I came with my feminist methodologies and keenly aware that I was a researcher with privilege, able to attend university, engage in scholarly research, and move in and out of the development industry. I had that position, so I needed to use it judiciously as I entered a landscape uninvited, imposing myself.

As I continue this work, in addition to good intentions, I better have my feminist methodologies right, try my best to restrain my situated knowledge biases, listen deeply, and be reflexive. I will never fully understand since knowledge is always partial, and there is no place for arrogance or laziness. In the midst of a structure that has left Haitian women trying to feed their families relatively voiceless, and a development industry that thrives on the Haitian struggle narrative, these women have became the focal point of this expression. The exercise is in part to heal myself and in part to help someone else, even in some small way, regain agency. In my worldview, honouring each others’ way of being and being generous are the only things we are entitled to. The goal is valid.

The reflections too are valid. How and why did we build a world food economy with a predominantly production and supply-centric agenda, void of spirituality, void of understanding
the sociological work of women, and void of meaningful personal connection? Similar questions were raised at the 2016 Caribbean Studies Association plenary as Jacqui Alexander queried: "How do we avoid a space of spiritual homelessness?" How could spirituality, in the present, play a role in our day-to-day work to help us create more meaningful systems? These are difficult questions. Yet, spirituality is a critical part of how people interact with the land and thus produce food. Therefore, research and policy that ignores spirituality, have failed to recognize other ways of being oriented towards land and have historically promoted policies that have severed some of these connections. The peasantry, however, work towards cultural continuity, to maintain a worldview that avoids the zero-sum games of material accumulation, by instilling a sense of community protections through sharing, a system that reduces vulnerability and risk.

Some ask why Haiti? It was more a matter of circumstance and opportunity than purposeful decision-making. Women all across the world need a conduit to magnify, embolden, and inscribe their voices into formal research thereby giving credence. But Haiti and the Haitian people stole my heart the moment I stepped into the bustling chaos, delicious aroma of street food, the Creole sounds, and of course, the plumes of dust and grime. As one research assistant, Kerby, advised, "just wait, you will see it, there is order in disorder." And as with the dust, grime, and my own perceptions and misunderstandings cleared away, I could see that Kerby was correct, there was order, it was a view from somewhere, and it was more effectively functional than I could have imagined.
The five years preceding the 1974 World Food Conference saw serious famines in Nigeria, West Africa, India, Ethiopia, Somalia, and Bangladesh. News footage brought masses of starving humanity to the world’s attention; there seemed little to no relief. In the moment, the problem was reduced to too many people and not enough food – a Malthusian verdict (Sen 1980; Watts 1983) then extended to include poor crops, drought, flood, and subsequent war, poverty, and migration, though the latter three were more representative of malfunctioning socio-economic and political systems (Devereux and Maxwell 2001; Watts 1983). On the heels of the crisis, the 1974 World Food Conference’s mandate was struck to devise a strategy to end all short-term famine. Despite this mandate, as well as decades of policies designed to address the situation, the food crisis continues even with increases in grain production outpacing population growth (de Schutter 2011). And unfortunately, since 1974, in the case of Haiti, food insecurity has actually worsened.

Case studies are useful to determine underlying causes of complex human problems; they allow us to consider contextual variations and to garner lessons at the local scale to inform theoretical and methodological approaches to address larger problems. Haiti fills the role of a case study that provides insight into how the world food economy falls short of providing food security to the global south. Haiti as a case study also serves to shed light on how local peasants¹ are responding to the crisis, and specifically how women, through their gendered roles and responsibilities, are the poto mitan for creating food security. Poto mitan is a Haitian-

¹ Small farmers in Haiti refer to themselves as peyizan (peasants), as depicted in Mouvman Peyizan Papay (Peasant Movement of Papay). I too engage this word in an effort to revalorise its meaning away from often homogenous and negative connotations. The peasantry is a diverse group with varying religious beliefs, ecological practices, ethnic lineages, etc.; however, as a class they are marked as backwards, inhuman, traditional and unproductive by the meta-narrative espoused by elite Haitians and foreigners.
creole word meaning ‘centre pole’, and metaphorically refers to women as the centre of household procurement of food and finances. This concept is extended to peasants as the centre of national agricultural production – the backbone of Haiti’s survival. However, a closer look reveals it is women who are mainly responsible for the production, distribution, and consumption patterns of food for the household and the majority of the population. Conjugal patterns are devised to allow women access to men’s heavy labour and land to make the system work. This pattern of production is disrupted as Haiti is integrated into the world food economy with imports displacing local production, causing rural-urban migration, and disrupting sociological patterns. Therefore, the aim of this dissertation is to examine how peasants, a diverse group of grassroots actors, seek to achieve local food security and social stability, in the face of a production/supply-centric world food economy, which thus far has resulted in local food insecurity.

Context

Haiti, a plantation colony, gained independence in 1804 as the world’s first black republic. Post-independence, for nearly 100 years, Haiti was largely isolated politically and economically from the rest of the world, stunting its technical advancements and foreign exchange reserves. Simultaneously, Haiti was laden with a burdensome debt repayment of f150,000,000 for France’s loss of land and slaves during the revolution; this was later reduced in 1838 to f60,000,000 (Mintz 2010; Dubois 2012). To that must be added f30,000,000 that Haiti borrowed from a French bank to begin repayment for a total debt of f90,000,000, which was finally paid in 1886 (Fatton 2011). This debt is credited for stunting Haití’s technical and infrastructure development into the 20th century, since four-fifths of the state budget was designated for debt payment (Hallward 2007). However, Dupuy (1989) extends the reasons for slow advancement to include elite classism inciting the state to direct investment away from the peasantry and rural agricultural for targeted investment desired by the elite business class.
Despite the lack of investment, and isolation from the world economy, peasant agrarian labour and its export production was responsible for relieving Haiti of its debt obligations (Fatton 2012; Dupuy 2012). To add to state revenues, throughout Haiti’s history, its sparse, arable, and fertile plains have been periodically appropriated from the peasantry and designated for export agriculture.\(^2\) The most notable occurred with the US Marine invasion (1915-1934) which saw the rewriting of the constitution to allow foreign ownership of land and the opening up of the northern plains, (the location of this case study), to plantations of sisal and sugarcane (Trouillot 1990).

Notwithstanding these barriers and disruptions, Haiti maintained a relatively self-sufficient agrarian-built, internally-oriented food economy (Mintz 1989; Dupuy 2012; Fatton 2002; Gros 2010). In the 1950s, agricultural production began a slow decline, falling behind the needs of a growing population. And again, there was no significant state response to invest in national agricultural production for local consumption; the government preferred to invest in export crops since they provided revenue for the elite. Throughout the 1970s and 80s, global economic restructuring and neoliberal ideology influenced Haiti’s economic and political trajectory, removing protective import tariffs and positioning Haiti’s under-supported peasant farmers in direct competition with cheap subsidized foreign food products. Finally, in 1986, in the midst of unmanageable cost of living increases and decades of two brutal Duvalier dictatorships, Haiti experienced its first food riot as people reached their breaking point; an action that cumulated in the departure of Baby-Doc Duvalier to France.

As a household unit, the peasantry, has historically been at a disadvantage in comparison to the elite class. This study considers three levels of analysis: 1) a national and international scale analysis of policy impacting Haiti’s agricultural production and food security;

\(^2\) Large tracts of land were appropriated for export crops by Haiti’s first independent government, during the US Marine invasion from 1915-1934 (Trouillot 1990) until the 1970s, and in the current “Open for Business” campaign.
2) food security issues among peasants who choose to organize themselves through community-based organizations (CBOs); and 3) looks within those groups to examine impacts and responses differentiated by gender. Other groups, or identities, exist within these two broad categories and are not addressed by this study. Women, as I mentioned, are the poto mitan of household and community food security and social stability. Women and girls suffer due to their lower position in social hierarchies and constructed roles, and their responsibilities to feed their families, including exiting secondary school earlier than boys (FAO 2013; WB 2012; UN Human Rights Council 2010; IFPRI 2012b).

Worldwide, women go to great lengths to ensure their families are fed. Women travel to dangerous places to collect food, water, and firewood, participate in sexual exchanges, and forgo their own food needs (Behrman, Meinzen-Dick, and Quisumbing 2011; Kabeer 1994; Carter et al. 2017). In Haiti, women collect uncultivated foods, cultivate crops with men’s help, create artisan goods, and produce charcoal to use in the households and sell in local markets. Together this portfolio of activities feeds the family and provides income to purchase food and goods in the market place. Men support the household by providing land, heavy garden labour, and also income from manual labour and cultivated export crops. Imports have disrupted this conjugal pattern of production by reducing women’s ability to sell cultivated and uncultivated products, putting the household at risk and spurring rural-urban migration in search of work. As the new food economy removed these lucrative forms of income generation, it left the responsibility of food distribution and consumption patterns to women. For women this fragmentation is contradictory. As women embody a new patriarchal regime that destroys food security, they are simultaneously required to remain symbols of the gendered internally-oriented food economy and of national identity. Constructed as apolitical dependents (gender exclusion), and politically silenced poor, black peasants (class exclusion), the intersection of social exclusions come together to ask women to identify and work towards a new gendered political subject with a new role. In the process they are not recognized as legitimate or full citizens, and
the patriarchal legacy of colonization continues. Grassroots CBOs respond to the unending colonization through organized collaboration and decolonized placemaking, to reestablish the peasant way of being, by calling upon traditions established prior to neoliberalism. The take-away point is that declining food production and increased marginalization of women are imbricated, and in the process women are subordinated through an intersection of social exclusions. Therefore to improve food security, policy must begin with women as the centre of the analysis.

In the following pages of this introductory chapter, I trace how the world food economy came to be, and was designed as a gender-neutral system by powerful actors who were able to define food security in terms of a supply-centric world model during the 1970s and 1980s, to the omission of gendered roles and responsibilities. I consider the qualities of Haiti’s gendered, internally-oriented food economy and trace the impact of its articulation with the world food economy. This discussion leads to the research gap, the research aim and objectives, and the dissertation outline.

**The World Food Economy and the Concept of Food Security**

Food has become a target of development, perceived as a tradable commodity, stripping away many other sociological functions associated with production, distribution, and consumption. In these processes, elite actors from the Government of Haiti (GOH), WB, FAO, IMF, USAID, agribusinesses, and others, have privileged neoliberal capitalism as an organizing frame to mediate social relations toward supply-centric world food economy. Large agribusiness lobbied international institutions and US government bodies to position themselves as having the institutional capacity to address food security through production (Clapp 2012). In this section, I will review the development of food as a tradable commodity for
the world food economy. Then, I will examine how the world food economy subsumed Haiti’s internal food economy, ultimately heightening food insecurity and social instability.

This concept of food security envisions a mixture of self-reliance through domestic production, and dependence on world food markets based on comparative advantage logic, leading to efficient use of resources to have cheaper food (Stuart 2002). The term food security has different and evolving philosophical groundings but remains a development concept. The first internationally recognized definition of food security was an outcome of the 1974 World Food Conference:

> Availability at all times of adequate world food supplies of basic foodstuffs to sustain a steady expansion of food consumption and to offset fluctuations in production and prices. (Maxwell 2001:15; UN 1975)

The 1974 definition was an outcome of a previously established trajectory toward industrialized food production (Clapp 2012:6), influenced by the green revolution, the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, and then the World Food Programme (WFP) in 1963, among others.

The green revolution was based on the industrial agriculture model with high-yielding seed varieties, high fertilizer input, agro-chemicals, and irrigation (Weis 2007; Stuart 2002). Green revolution thinking was grounded in earlier World Bank (WB) rural development work that was promoted as being directed toward small farmers yet had large social and economic consequences as it trapped peasants in a cycle of subsidized inputs to encourage large-scale production (Watts 1983).

The US Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, commonly known

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3 Food self-sufficiency, or food sovereignty, broadly refers to “the right of nations and people to control their own food systems, including their own markets, production modes, food cultures and environments” (Wittman et al. 2010:2); food self-sufficiency or food sovereignty is costly, from an economic viewpoint.  
4 Canada’s food aid assistance began in 1961 and was linked to regional economic cooperation in South Asia (Clapp 2012).
as Public Law 480 (PL480) or Food for Peace,\(^5\) was a program designed with input from grain-
trading and processing groups to find markets for grain surpluses, namely offering (dumping)
cheap food for humanitarian aid and concessional sales (PL480; McMichael 1998:100; Weis
2007). Along with agricultural support for farmers in developing nations, PL480 was the
cornerstone of the foreign assistance program.

The WFP’s aim was to provide food aid for the goal of development. Donor countries
benefited by saving storage fees, moving grains to distant markets to protect their own national
sales, and creating new markets traditionally not dependent on Western food stocks (Clapp
2012). Food aid is promoted by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) including the grain
industry, the milling industry, and the shipping industry, as well as the Coalition for Food Aid and
other aid agencies to meet their own economic interests (Clapp and Fuchs 2009).

The combination of these events linked world food security to industrial production
without concern for gendered roles and responsibilities. This strategy benefited developed
nations whose comparative advantage included the financial and technical resources to invest
in large-scale mono-cropping and processing, and relatively flat landscape that was suitable for
large-scale production. The private sector actors, who occupy the middle space, used their
resources – financial, technical, and human – to push the food liberalization agenda. The
Uruguay Round of trade talks (1986-1994) brought agricultural trade under the umbrella of
international trade and led to the creation of the WTO and its Agreement on Agriculture (AoA) in
system” through “market access; domestic support; export competition”; it called for the
reduction of agricultural subsidies over a designated period of time. Unfortunately, and until
recently, it simply led to the retention of subsidies and uneven trade for the Global South (Clapp

\(^5\) Haitians refer to this move as “politics of the stomach.” Food aid and food dependency is noted as a
useful geopolitical tool during the Cold War. As stated by US Senator Hubert H. Humphrey in 1957, “if
you are looking for a way to get people to lean on you and to be dependent on you, in terms of their
cooperation with you, it seems that food dependence would be terrific” (Weis 2007:66).
Furthermore, as the WTO creates the structure of the world food economy by overseeing trade rules, it treats food as a tradable commodity, and in doing so it removes the gendered social-political attributes of food from any policy consideration.

The 1983 definition of food security maintained attention to supply-and-demand thinking: “Ensuring that all people at all times have both physical and economic access to the basic food that they need” (FAO, 1983). Retaining this trajectory made it difficult to consider the growing concerns over gendered roles and responsibilities, and the pivotal work of Ester Boserup, *Women’s Role in Economic Development*, published in 1970. Later definitions move away from production and availability and focus more on access (Drèze and Sen 1989). In particular, 185 member countries that participated in the 1996 World Food Summit in Rome devised a more encompassing definition of food security:

> as a state when all people, at all times, have both the physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life. (FAO, 1996)

Here the contextual food preference differences are acknowledged, as is a standard of quality, both additions demonstrating a move away from supply and demand–limited thinking to a multidimensional development concept. The more recent and most widely cited FAO (2001) definition of food security states the following:

> Food security, at the individual, household, national, regional and global levels [is achieved] when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe, and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for a healthy and active life.

This 2001 FAO document explicitly acknowledges that food availability and access at the global, regional, or national scale is very different than availability and access at the household level. Here we begin to see Sen’s work on individual entitlements appear. Still, the definition neither

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6 There are structural mechanisms in place to highlight and renegotiate unfair trade agreements; however, as Weis (2007:130) notes, in detail, the process is far from equal, with some countries excluded from the process, back-room corporate lobbying, and the resources (human, technical and financial) available to each country for negotiations.
draws attention to where food is produced, nor does its application necessitate being attentive to the social relations of production.

Despite the evolution of the definition of food security within the FAO institution, the WB, along with the G8 Alliance for Food Security and Nutrition, is still promoting food production to solve food security (Clapp 2012; GPF 2014; USDS 2012). The conflicting ideologies of these institutions have major consequences for women in Haiti, a country deemed food insecure. Collins (2014) rejects the idea that local and global phenomena can be studied separately, citing the global is often viewed through a masculine lens and the local through a gendered lens limited to the household. In the same strand of thinking, Enloe (2014:343) reminds us that state and international structures are patriarchal, shaped for masculine needs, and result in the further subordination of women’s needs, and prompts us to contemplate the concept that “the personal is international; the international is personal.” This dissertation continues in this tradition by considering the construction of the patriarchal world food economy and its impacts and increasing marginalization on the day-to-day lives of women.

**Haiti and Food Self-Sufficiency**

A review of the literature reveals a scholarly consensus that Haiti was relatively food self-sufficient, independent of the world food economy, until mid-1980s (Dupuy 2012, Schwartz 2008; McGuigan 2006; Mintz 1989:262), despite an extractive central state apparatus. Temporal statistical data confirms the trend toward food insecurity – in particular in terms of calories quality and quantity. The FAO estimated that Haitians consumed roughly 1990 cal/capita/day from 1961 to 1985 (FAOSTAT 2015), which in 1989 declined to an all-time low of 1,696 kcal/capita/day (FAOSTAT 2016), well below the recommended 2,100 kcal/capital/day (WFP 2016). These numbers are rough estimates, which even the FAO (2015c) acknowledges are problematic, as do other researchers (Headey and Ecker 2013; de Haen, Klasen, and Qaim ...
This is not to say that food insecurity did not exist prior to 1985. Woodson (1997) notes that during the 1950s, falling prices of Haiti’s principle export crops, coffee and cacao, impacted peasant incomes. And Alvarez and Murray (1981) note the failure of the Haitian population to achieve sufficient nutritional status due to the deteriorating rural economy during the 1970s. Yet, as indicated by the data, serious food insecurity has its roots in historical political-economic changes of the 1980s. Specifically, the change occurred when producers transitioned from subsistence production to dependence on the global marketplace (Mazzeo 2009).

Today, Haitians are presently unable to produce enough food to feed themselves, even if exports were retained for domestic use.

Until recently, agrarian peasants constituted the majority of the population. An estimated 85 percent of rural inhabitants find employment through agriculture and commerce activities (IFAD 2013). When adding transport of food, food processing, and food commerce in the peri-urban and urban centres, the total population involved in national production increases. Some estimate that 80 percent of the entire population is directly dependent on agriculture (Lundahl 2015). Yet despite the possibility of national production as a viable source of income, 88 percent of the rural population is considered poor, and 67 percent of those are considered extremely poor (IFAD 2013). In 2011, food insecurity was reported as 28 percent nationwide and 48 percent in rural areas (World Bank Group 2015). Considering all these factors — high participation in agriculture, access to land, and a large urban market to supply — it seems odd that Haitian peasants are not more productive, and that so many are poor and hungry.

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7 Today 42.6 percent of Haitians are rural inhabitants (UN Population Division 2014).
8 The World Bank Group (2015) cites national formal employment at 13% and informal employment at 87%, in which 40% is directly in agriculture and 47% within urban centres, without accounting for the urban informal markets involvement in agricultural value chains.
9 In 2012-14 the prevalence of undernourishment was estimated at 5.7 million people, 53.4% of the total population, a small change from the 1990-92 period reported as 4.4 million or 61.1% (FAO/IFAD/WFP 2015).
Furthermore, gender factors have been absent in the analysis and evaluation of the production, distribution and consumption triad in Haiti, and therefore demand closer consideration in studies of root causes of Haiti’s underperformance. It is important to note that I have outlined the trajectory of Haiti’s food insecurity influenced by early conceptions of food security and development agendas. During the 2011 World Food Summit, the FAO broadened its concept to:

> Food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life. The four pillars of food security are availability, access, utilization and stability. The nutritional dimension is integral to the concept of food security (FAO 2011).

Availability refers to sufficient quantities from imports, local sources and donors, and within reasonable proximity and responsive to demand. Access refers to individuals having adequate incomes or other resources to obtain enough appropriate food to maintain adequate nutrition for physical and mental development, and to everyone without discrimination. Utilization refers to using food appropriately – proper storage and sanitation techniques, and having adequate nutritional knowledge to ensure proper energy and essential nutrient content. Stability refers to long-term environmental and economic viability so that future generations can enjoy the right to food. As I will document, women and men in the rural North and peri-urban and urban areas in the North and South have the perception that imported foods are making them sick, while Haitian foods are nutritious, fresh and keep people strong and healthy. Health statistics discussed in Chapter Four confirm these opinions. In this regard, I suggest that although the FAO may be able to move away from a productionist model and adopt a more meaningful and encompassing definition, there is a delay in seeing meaningful change in local Haitian food consumption patterns and health, especially in reversing the depth of production loss.

Presently the USAID Feed the Future North project has been given a failing grade by in regards to small farmer engagement (Tumusiime and Cohen 2017). Further, not included in this latest concept of food security are intangible factors such as gendered concerns, spirituality and social mechanisms that support a collective consciousness constructed to ensure community
food security. I argue that Haiti cannot be achieved food security until these factors are attended to, and Haiti as a whole will continue to make slow progress in the reduction of undernutrition.

This research is sympathetic to the concept of food sovereignty and the concerns that political and economic dimensions are inherent to food (Holt-Gimenez and Patel 2009; Edelman and James 2011). Wittman (2010:2) defines food sovereignty as “the right of nations and peoples to control their own food systems, including their own markets, production modes, food cultures and environments.” Like proponents of food sovereignty, this research stands as a critical alternative to the dominant production-supply model and supports a democratic, locally defined food system imbued with local meanings. At this point this research departs from the food sovereignty movement and looks for solutions to engage policy makers, in an effort to valorize local movements but to realize that top down engagement is part of the process to alleviate food insecurity.

Transition from self-sufficient food production to food dependency

Full participation in the world food economy transitioned Haiti from nearly being self-sufficient in food production to food dependence, and has engrained an assumption that Haitian peasants are unproductive. The fact that 60 percent of the food consumed in Haiti is imported (IFAD 2013) seems to verify this assumption. However, with a closer look, one finds that import tariffs, which are typically used to protect internal markets, are lower for Haiti than any other country in the Western Hemisphere (Steckley 2015). Tariff reductions were part of the 1986 structural adjustment program (SAPs) package of conditionalities, and are considered responsible for many negative impacts on national agricultural production (Dupuy 2010; Cohen 2010; Weisbrot 1997). For instance, rice tariffs were downgraded from 35 percent to 3 percent

In recent years activists have achieved some success in this area and tariffs for wheat flour, beans, rum, and pasta have increased (Belt 2013).
from 1986 to 1995, and now imported rice accounts for 80 percent of all rice consumption and one-quarter of Haitians’ total calorie consumption (McGuinan 2006; Mazzeo 2009; Furche 2013; Cochrane et al. 2016). Haitian rice production fell 13 percent during this same period despite a growing population (FAOSTAT 2016). The type of rice consumed changed too, from a diverse selection of whole grains to white processed fortified rice. USDA heralds imports as important for compensating low agricultural growth and productivity by Haitian peasants (Cochrane et al. 2016). However, I concur with others who suggest that food imports are too competitive, displacing peasants from their own markets, encouraging low productivity, underemployment, and massive rural-urban migration (Shamsie 2012; Mazzeo 2009). US producers take advantage of the geographically nearby market opportunities and export cheap food from large-scale mono-cropped and mechanized industrial agricultural farms. Combined with large taxpayer-funded subsidies, US production undercuts the cost of Haitian production. Meanwhile, Haitian producers are neither well-supported nor subsidized. Poor supports for national production have been characteristic of all Haitian governments even prior to SAPs (Dupuy 1997; Lundahl 2015). Besides tariffs, SAPs intensified Haitian peasants’ poor market position by reducing the size and ability of the government to function (e.g. Ministry of Agriculture, Natural Resources and Rural Development), and encouraged the privatization of national industries in an effort to reorient the economy toward export-oriented growth (Steckley 2015; McGowan 1997; Dupuy 1989). This approach aimed to integrate Haiti into the world food economy and to capitalize on Haiti’s comparative advantage of cheap labour and proximity to the US market. In summary, national food production retracted because policies placed peasants in direct competition with cheap, subsidized imported foods (Cohen 2013; Gros 2010).

The current FAO State of Food Insecurity in the World 2015 report centres its suite of food security indicators on availability, access, stability, and utilization (FAO/IFAD/WFP 2015),

\[11\] Investment into rice production emerged after the global food price spike and associated food riots, and improvements in production since 2009 are now apparent (FAOSTAT 2016).
and while there is a distinction between local or imported food, it excludes a discussion of gender as a hindrance or enabler to food procurement. Scholars suggest a greater emphasis is needed to understand the sociological aspects of food security and how they contribute to the development of social stability. For instance, Jackson, Ward, and Russell (2009) suggest that greater attention should be paid to the moral economy of food alongside its political economy to highlight our collective responsibility in designing food systems. It is important to consider the visceral aspects (intimate and material experiences) of food consumption and how food production, distribution, and consumption create racial, class, and gendered identity (Slocum 2010, Ulysse 2015). These attributes are particularly salient in a context where imported foods are changing food habits. In Haiti, Alvarez and Murray (1981) outline food-related linkages to the village belief system, which ultimately led to socialization during periods of scarcity – specifically sharing, portioning, and children’s sourcing of food outside of the household throughout the day. Mcpherson and Schwartz (2001) suggest that projects that change subsistence patterns and decrease biodiversity push women to migrate to urban centres. Schuller (2015) suggests that Haitian women being singled out as heads of households for food aid discourages men’s responsibility, and makes women targets for gender-based violence, such as trading sex for food rations. Overall, food security is not just about availability, access, adequacy, and utilization, but is about how societies are structured around food supplies, including considerations of gendered roles and responsibilities, spiritual connections, community development, identity, and belonging. All these attributes constitute the production of food security.

Further consideration of gender dynamics strengthens the argument that national agricultural production is important to food security and social stability. In Haiti, women are the traditional centres of household economics and food procurement (Maternowska 2006; Bergman and Schuller 2009; Woodson 1997), known as the poto mitan or centre pole, and traditionally have relied on eating and selling garden harvests to meet this demand (N’zengou-
Tayo 1998; Baro 2002). The *lakou*, the yard or homestead, is a largely women’s space. It is both a symbolic and material space and is where extended kinship-based exchanges occur (Merilus 2015; Woodson 1997). In rural Haiti, it also represents spiritual linkage to the land, ancestors, and extended family through practices of communal food exchanges (Stevens 1998; Lundahl 1983; Mintz 1989). Supporting the activities in the *lakou* is a healthy biodiverse ecosystem and different agro-ecological zones for harvesting resources for medicinal purposes, wild foods, fishing, artisan work, and charcoal production – a portfolio of strategies to deploy during abnormal times (Woodson 1997). One often unrecognized part of the internal food economy and a role of status for women is “Madan Sara.” Madan Sara is a name given to women responsible for the movement of agricultural goods from peasant farmers to peri-urban and urban markets (Lundahl 2015). As revealed in the interviews in Chapter Four, they are distributors of credit, health information and supplies, political news, and food goods to the countryside. The introduction of relatively unrestricted imports into the country has negatively impacted women in their traditional roles of producing for, and supplying, the food chain.

SAPs and the privatization of public services increased the burden of social reproduction for women, specifically because of traditional gendered roles (Schuller 2015). SAPs opened the door for neoliberal development, targeting “docile” women as low-wage labourers, a role women usually accept since they need to meet the socialized role and responsibilities of *poto mitan*. Difficult choices are made as women strategize to meet household obligations; school enrollment begins to decline for 16- to 20-year-old girls in Haiti, in part because girls are more likely to make an economic contribution to the household as the next generation of *poto mitan*; in part because they begin to have children of their own; and in part because the cost of school is prohibitive (Gardella 2006). The pressure of gendered roles contributes to the stunting of education, leaving women with the poor, low-wage employment opportunities of mostly informal

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12 Women are responsible for weeding and harvesting gardens and feeding chickens, goats, pigs, and donkeys, while men prepare and plant gardens (Baro 2002) and tend to cows.
marketeering. Traditionally, these women would have marketed local produce. As the world food economy subsumed Haiti’s internal food economy, it reshaped women’s sociological roles in the internal food economy. This altered women’s relationship with the land and with food production, distribution, and consumption, increasing their inequality and hardship, resulting gender-based structural poverty. Therefore, national production is tied to gendered roles and responsibilities. Policymakers need to be aware that this is the mechanism that heightens inequality and creates poverty in Haiti, and, conversely, this is how one addresses inequality and poverty; and, as Polanyi-Levitt (2003) has indicated, the reduction of inequalities is the key to macroeconomic stability and national growth.

**Research Gap**

In the past six decades, international organizations have accomplished much to increase food production and reduce hunger. However, the FAO (2015a) still considers 793 million or 10.9 percent of the world’s population undernourished, and this number increases to 19.8 percent (7.5 million) for the Caribbean. Overall the Caribbean has reduced hunger, but failed to meet the basic 1C MDG\(^{13}\) target with Haiti, a more populous country, home to 75 percent of those suffering (FAO 2015b). And, despite the goals outlined in the 1974 World Food Conference and the insertion of Haiti’s internally-oriented food economy into the larger neoliberal world food economy, Haiti is ranked 77 out of 79 in the Global Hunger Index (IFPRI 2012a) and has a 35 percent or more prevalence of hunger (chronic undernourishment) (FAO 2015d). In fact, the number of hungry people in Haiti has risen from 4.4 million in 1990-92 to an estimated 5.7 million in 2014-2016 (FAO 2015b). Today, the level of food insecurity in Haiti is

\[^{13}\text{1C MDG “Halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people who suffer from hunger” is the least desirable of three categories of MDG 1 To Eradicate Extreme Poverty and Hunger (2015b).}\]
the highest of all countries in the Western hemisphere. This is especially concerning as there is growing apprehension that further global food shortages and price volatility are expected.

Considering this alarming trajectory, Chapter Four examines whether the world food economy may be causing adverse effects to food security in Haiti, as some suggest, and specifically whether it ignores the roles and responsibilities of peasants, and specifically women, in Haiti’s internal food economy. Currently, the world food economy is treated like any business, based on the notion of economic comparative advantage (capitalizing on the economic activities carried out most efficiently), for instance, industrial agriculture in the Global North and cheap labour in the South. The business model is designed to omit the cost of the maintenance of the workforce, which falls primarily on the shoulders of women. In other words, the world food economy relies on underappreciated work of rural, peri-urban and urban women to function and, through this omission, heightens inequalities. Chapter Five, examines three core concepts of the peasant epistemology, specifically the moral economy of care (mutual support and vulnerability reduction through pooled resources), autonomy (the power to make choices as community and as individuals) and identity (control over the process of making meaning within the life of the community and the lives of members of the community). These constitute concepts, with the support of CBOs membership, sustain peasant’s critical and strategic contributions to food security and social stability. This study is able to provide direction for development and government policy makers by demonstrating how women within the peasantry envision and successfully contribute to the nation. As demonstrated in Chapter Six, the peasant CBOs, through placemaking, create decolonized identities as resistance to neocolonialism. Chapter Seven specifically documents how female peasants, the group experiencing the most inequality, resist by creating spaces and places within women’s CBOs to enhance capabilities and functionings they value, so as to address social exclusions to food procurement activities. These gendered lessons are often invisible and underutilized by development agencies. This research project recommends that to achieve food security and social stability in Haiti, greater
Policy attention must be placed on the lessons provided by grassroots actors. These successful local approaches oppose the approach of actors who espouse the world food economy as the solution to ensuring food security. The peasants involved in local efforts remain connected to the land and look for ways to retain and adapt the peasant epistemology, or worldview, to meet these needs.

In summary, this study considers the patriarchal design of the world food economy to be gender-blind, relying on gendered roles for its functioning. It is an example of a system that constructs spatial relations and imbalanced power, where powerful actors are able to appropriate the right to supply local markets to the detriment of rural and peri-urban rural women and poor urban women. By doing so, they successfully monetize the peasants’ opportunity to recreate their traditional epistemology and its social benefits including food security. Therefore, I argue attention needs to be given to understanding how the gendered internally-oriented food economy functions in Haiti, in order to inform a gender centred world food economy that links international and local gendered spaces.

Research Aim and Objectives

The overarching aim of this dissertation is to interrogate the ways in which grassroots actors – namely female and male peasant farmers within CBOs, located in northern Haiti – understand and seek to achieve greater food security and social stability, and to document how the gender-neutral and production-supply-centred world food economy has impacted their efforts. In this dissertation, the primary units of analysis are four CBOS located predominantly on the plains and in Northern Haiti, near a main transport route to the Dominican Republic and Cap Haïtien, but also having access to mountain agriculture. The experiences of these CBOs may differ from others in Haiti due to their geographical location near urban consumers and opportunities to access funding agencies, therefore they could be construed as more
In addition, Veterimed and Sonja Ayiti, supporting Haitian non-governmental organizations (NGOs), promote commercial enterprises that are sociological sensitive business models to fit the local culture and needs. The value added products made at the CBOs – cornmeal, chocolate, and peanut butter are traditional food fare and would be bought and consumed in mountainous rural and urban centers across Haiti. Cassava is a common CBO project across the plains in the North only. A steep mountain range divides the north and south of Haiti, dividing the population into two groups identifiable by slightly different dialects and food habits and food sheds. For instance, there is no geographical barrier between the north and the Dominican Republic, so in some regards the food shed flows more easily in this direction then to the main import port in Port-au-Prince.

Noteworthy is the general tendency for most Haitian CBOs to support the idea of resistance and decolonization, called revolisyoné (revolution). These tendencies are spoken about in scholarly literature (Steckley 2015 – Artibonite Valley, Central Haiti - resistance to participation in the export market; Schuller and Hsu - Île-à-Vache, South Haiti – resistance to tourist development; Field and Bell 2013 – peasant resistance to corporate control of local food systems), and found in the interviews in this research with market women in urban and peri-urban Port-au-Prince and Cap-Haïtien, and rural women in the Commune of Limonade. Bell (2001:33) explains the general mentality of Haitians best:

> conscientization and empowerment are critical variables in the spirit of resistance and one of resignation or defeat. It is the reason why the ruling class cannot seize control of the ideological terrain, they can only conquer the political an economic terrain.

A commitment to a decolonized future exists in different forms across Haiti and among the peasantry and urban poor. There are two revolutionary and political peasant groups – Mouvman Peyizan Papay (MPP) found throughout the country, and Programme D’appui Au Developpement Agricole (PAPDA) found in the northwest. Both support food sovereignty. Although these two organizations were not interviewed, Asosiyasyon Pwodiktè Lèt Bèf (APLB),
a splinter group from PAPDA, was interviewed and was found to have the same revolutionary tendencies. A Veterimed executive too, spoke of the sociological condition of the farmer being more important than profits and efficiency. The majority of all interviewees in all locations valorize the quality, freshness, and health benefits of Haitian food and its potential for rebuilding the nation. It was observed within the four primary organizations, that the women’s organizations are revolutionary in the sense of challenging gendered roles by way of adapting ideas from the feminist activist group Association Femmes Soleil Haiti (AFASDA) and Human Rights Watch, and making themselves aware of the legal provisions made for women within the judicial system. The pages that follow capture the struggles and opportunities of peasants involved in building a culturally specific food system that attend to revolutionary ideals. They achieve this by calling upon the peasant epistemology that privileges community caring and builds social stability. Remarkably, they achieve this while existing in a global system that works to marginalize their ability to contribute to the internal food economy.

The four specific objectives include:

1) Demonstrate how a purported gender-neutral world food system heightens gender inequality to food procurement in Haiti’s gendered internally-oriented food economy;

2) Examine how male and female peasants create community and regional food security in northern Haiti by using state land and locally defined concepts of the moral economy of care, identity, and autonomy to enhance local food security and social stability;

3) Document how CBOs are forms of resistance where peasants create a decolonized peasant identity by placemaking through food production;

4) Explore how CBOs attend to different social exclusions to address women’s strategic gender interests and practical gender needs by fostering capabilities so that women may choose functionings of value to improve food security and social stability.
The outcome of this research demonstrates that to improve food security in Haiti and the Global South in general, the world food economy and development initiatives must acknowledge gender as a central organizing principle in the effort to reduce inequality and create food security. This is achieved by understanding gendered roles in the local setting to better understand the local political economy of food and how the international is personal. Ignoring this important step actually creates food insecurity and social instability. Therefore, development interventions need to consider better methodologies to engage grassroots actors.

**Organization of thesis**

The thesis is comprised of these eight chapters: Chapter One - Introduction, Chapter Two - Conceptual Framework, Chapter Three - Methods and Feminist Methodology, Chapters Four to Seven are individual manuscripts described below, and Chapter Eight - Conclusion. The introductory chapter has outlined the problem for the study, highlighting that the research is a needed contribution to the debate on food security in Haiti, leading to the aim and the objectives of this study. In this final section of the introduction, I draw out how each of the four manuscripts meets the aim and objectives of this study.

Chapter Four – “Power in the World Food Economy: Gendered Dimensions of Transformations in Haiti’s Food Economy” – explores the broader construction of the world food economy and how Haiti’s internal economy has been commandeered to meet the goals of the global system. It argues that actors envisioning the world food system do so from a Western liberal gender-neutral perspective. The paper explores the gendered roles and responsibilities of women in Haiti’s internal political economy of food to demonstrate how the changing food economy heightens inequality and women’s ability to procure food for their families. The paper draws from scholarly work to explore how race, class, and mainly gender intersect to facilitate
changes that serve the goals of elite actors internal and external to Haiti, and following a supply-oriented production approach to food security. Interviews completed with local Haitian peasant women and key interlocutors explore how these changes have impacted their lives directly. The paper concludes that a gender-neutral world food system misses the contextual nuances that create food security and social stability in Haiti. This paper will be submitted to the International Feminist Journal of Politics.

Following up on the need for a closer look, Chapter Five – “Haiti’s Peasantry as Poto Mitan: Refocusing the Foundations of Prosperity and Development” – considers how peasants in rural and peri-urban Haiti create food security and social stability in a severely protracted agrarian economy. In this manuscript I look at project frameworks from three peasant CBOs impacted by a state land grab. This paper argues that peasants make critical and strategic contributions to food security and social stability by reproducing the concept of poto mitan. Poto mitan refers to a worldview wherein peasants are responsible for Haiti’s ability to function as a nation, as communities, and as households. It refers to the concept of building personhood, not as separate individuals, but as a people situated within the collective consciousness of Haitian society (McCarthy-Brown 2010). Through focus groups, semi-structured and structured interviews, and grounded theory, I highlight peasant perspectives on the constitutive attributes of poto mitan, namely moral economy of care, autonomy, and identity. These characteristics shaped commercially viable, value-added projects and subsistence agriculture prior to the land grab. I contrast these outcomes with the impact of a state land grab by Agritrans, a neoliberal agro-export plantation, to demonstrate how a project intent on short-term gains undermines peasants’ efforts at long-term food security and social stability. This paper is published in the Canadian Journal of Development Studies.

Chapter Six – “‘Haiti – Open for Business’: New Perspectives on Inclusive and Sustainable Development in Haiti” – looks at how five CBO projects contain elements of placemaking and decolonized identity formation. Again using again focus groups, semi-
structured and structured interviews, and grounded theory, I consider the element of placemaking and decolonized identity formation and its limitations in the face of current land grabs. This manuscript has been accepted as a chapter in *Resistance to the Neoliberal Agri-Food Regime: A Critical Analysis*, to be published by Routledge. The book is written by scholars considering ways of local resistance to neoliberal development.

The fourth and final manuscript, Chapter Seven – “The Gendered Space of Capabilities and Functionings: Lessons from Haitian Community-Based Organizations”, co-authored with Mark Schuller – engages in the question of how, specifically, Haitian women create food security and social stability. It’s an important question, considering they constitute the backbone of the internal food economy and are hardest hit by the liberalization of the internal food economy. Through focus groups and semi-structured and structured interviews, and using grounded theory, the paper compares and contrasts project framework priorities of two mixed-gender CBOs and two women’s CBOs. Then, drawing on capabilities and functionings, an evaluative tool, this paper explores the priorities women choose to challenge social exclusions that prevent strategic gender interests and practical gender needs from being met. The findings indicate that the women choose practical reasoning and affiliation, two selections from Nussbaum’s (2000, 2001) capability list, and utilize them in specific ways that respect Sen’s demand for plurality of individual freedom within society. The findings also indicate that when an organization makes gender central to a capabilities approach, women imagine, practice, and choose real opportunities and functionings that are otherwise prohibited. The gendered capability approach addresses political and social poverty and creates a space for building democracy and a central frame that is scalable to national policy. This paper is under second review for publication in *Special Issue Communities and Capabilities, Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*.

The concluding arguments in the final chapter outline the principal findings of the entire research project. The conclusion focuses on how the findings presented in the four manuscripts
tie together to tell one coherent story of how food insecurity was created in Haiti and how peasants are responding. Along with this dissertation and the four individual manuscripts, the research findings were disseminated through an opinion piece in the Huffington Post (Vansteenkiste and Schuller 2016). This research is important because it demonstrates to development agencies and practitioners that the model offered by the world food economy is ill conceived and unable to meet the needs of the majority of Haitians, and outlines an alternative model informed by empirical data.
CHAPTER TWO – CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: PREPARING THE FIELD

In order to examine and theorize the problem of the gendered nature of food security in Haiti, I pull together four threads of feminist study, and one evaluative framework\(^{14}\). These bodies of literature allow me to be attentive to power and seek to understand how both material and discursive processes shape the social condition. They include: a) gender and development; b) labour and production drawing on socialist/Marxist feminist thinking; c) power drawing on postcolonial feminist thinking; and d) ‘intersectionality and identity’ drawing on transnational and intersectional thinking as well as work on subsistence, moral economies, and placemaking. These four threads come together to support how a gendered capabilities approach, building on Sen and Nussbaum’s work, is an appropriate tool to explain how to address food security in the local setting. The Gender and Development Section examines the shortcomings of male-centric Western development. The Labour and Production Section outlines how neoliberalism conceives and shapes women’s labour to its own ends, and to the disadvantage of women. The Power Section describes power as a spatial phenomena working across different scales through the construction of knowledge and discourses. The Intersectionality Section outlines identity formation as informed by transnational feminist and intersectional thought, and focuses attention on the necessary subsistence and moral economies in place to manage risk. This chapter concludes with a discussion of how the Capabilities Approach (CA) allows women to respond to their marginalization through community efforts to improve livelihoods and its value as an important development tool.

\(^{14}\) In making sense of these data I explored a number of theoretical and conceptual traditions and each have informed the thinking in this dissertation; however, they are not all taken up evenly throughout the manuscripts.
Gender and development

Feminist geographers consider development to be a political project that uses discursive movements to propagate gender myths that serve development institutions (Cornwall et al. 2004). For example, feminist scholars were among the first to point out that early narratives of women being closer to nature, (and thus a good target for environment and development schemes), resulted in a double work burden on women (Rocheleau et al. 1996; Schroeder 1999). They also noted that resource consumption patterns, poverty, and environmental degradation were wrongly linked to women’s reproduction, obscuring the role of state and international financial institutions (Wangari 2002). Development organizations that implement ‘gender mainstreaming’ have been critiqued for missing the political dimensions of development issues (Cornwall et al. 2004; Moser 1993). To help unravel important political dimensions, feminist geographers bring attention to the relational aspect of space and society, focusing on missed and misunderstood impacts of socially-constructed roles. They challenge ideas of fixed identities and draw attention to the day-to-day production of social inequalities by revealing how embodied performances of social differences are products of temporal, historical, and institutional power relations.

For this reason, gender and development scholars describe how local women’s organizations counteract economic globalization to serve the interests of women (Rocheleau et al. 2001). Groups are constituted by individual and collective agency and this contrasts the representation of female and male peasants as a normative development category of poor and disempowered. Yet, as much as organizations help to reposition women, they also have the potential to represent a narrow selection of members’ interests, and are often an expression of gender- or class- differentiated meanings of needs, leaving others without support (Rocheleau et al. 2001). Humphries et al. (2012) argue collective action has the potential to support gendered social change within and beyond organizations. They contend all-women groups build
women’s self-esteem, knowledge, increase decision-making, and transform men’s attitudes to appreciate and have confidence in women’s abilities and roles. Within development programs caution is necessary though, as women’s empowerment may be instrumentalized for social change (Madhok and Rai 2012), or more commonly, exists as lip-service without meaningful change and hindering women’s agendas (Cornwall & Brock 2005).

Regardless, over the past three decades there has been a shift to persons as agents of change, as opposed to victims. Today more attention is given to collective agency, and autonomy of the individual within the collective (Messer-Davidow 1995). Messer-Davidow (1995) and Kabeer (1999) emphasize collective agency as mobilizing and empowering for oppressed women living in marginalized conditions. It is much easier for women to challenge oppressive social norms, through individual awareness and individual action, with the support of a collective that supports the process of conscientization (Ibriham 2017).

In the 1970s Women in Development (WID) discourse emerged largely as a response to liberal feminists efforts to achieve equal rights for women in patriarchal societies by making women visible. Specifically they challenged legal constraints and discriminative social policies (Miller and Razavi 1995), and challenging modernization and the role of women in economic development (Boserup 1970). Proponents of WID rejected the idea of welfare for women (Desai 2013). Critics argued that WID still privileged modernization as normalized and unquestioned, and continued to see women in the Global South as victims in need of liberal feminists to recue them. WID ignored social exclusions and social relations that created barriers to economic success for women, and failed to acknowledge the intangible and non-market aspects of their lives (Kabeer 1994; Miller and Razavi 1995). Women and Development (WAD) followed and was critiqued for not giving enough attention to class and gender constructions and international structures that subordinate women. Gender and Development (GAD) is rooted in social feminism and challenges patriarchy and capitalism. It shifts the focus from ‘women’ to ‘gender’ and gives attention to women and men in social, economic and political structures outside of
and within institutions and makes people agents of change (Kabeer 1994). Conscientization became central to women being able to understand and critically challenge their lived reality. Despite this important shift GAD is critiqued as depicting women in the Global South as homogeneous and is deployed with a very narrow Western feminist perspective. Transnational feminists argue that it fails to see power relations intersected by race, class, and gender, fails to understand subjectivity as derived from a collective consciousness, and speaks of women in the Global South positioned as ‘other’ (Nagar and Swarr 2010). Postcolonial feminists work to expose the falsehood of universalizing and colonial constructions of peoples (Mohanty 2003). Mohanty (2003) brings attention to the binary opposition and colonizing impact of the perspective that Western is the acceptable and desirable norm and subject, and women of the Global South are the object of development and improvement.

This dissertation builds on these scholars to examine food insecurity in Haiti through a feminist lens to consider how development: a) omits recognizing the role women play in the internally-oriented food economy, and therefore marginalizes women further; b) tends to exclude women’s knowledge and experience while privileging men’s; c) focuses on a women as single category, thereby missing the intersection of oppressions which individual women may experience; and d) needs to place gender as a central organizing principle in order to improve practical applications.

This dissertation agrees with the feminist understanding that there is no gender-neutral position and retells Haiti’s food insecurity history through a feminist lens. Specifically, I look at those systems or policies that shaped the construction of the world food economy which claim to be gender-neutral, yet tend to adapt or reinforce existing gendered roles and responsibilities. This action, alongside historically-constructed intersections of social exclusions, close down much needed-spaces for contestation and advancement toward equality. Attempts to make development an apolitical, technical exercise ultimately deny women resources, choices, and power (Wangari 2002; Moser 1993).
As an illustration of this scholarship, Hovorka et al. (2009) notes that in urban agriculture women and men may participate in equal numbers; however only a gender analysis will reveal who benefits from the activities. She finds pre-existing gendered roles and responsibilities impact who may have different-sized enterprises, differential access to land and ability to supply markets, and who has to divide their time between household and income-generating work. In my own work, Vansteenkiste (2014), I find preexisting gender roles close down spaces for knowledge exchange between men and women, and leave women in a state of dependence. Schroeder (1999) demonstrates how development agendas can work at cross-purposes with women. Rocheleau et al. (2001) determines that external economic, political and environmental pressures interact with local expressions of class and gender, strengthening men’s control over development and resulting in uneven development. This occurs when such agendas promote environment management policies and practices, yet establish uneven access to environmental resources for women while burdening them with the responsibility of ‘saving the environment’.

These case studies recognize the male bias in development, as well as the economic ideologies that underpin it. Specifically, neoliberalism continues to disproportionately burden women (Peake and Trotz 2002). Mies and Shiva (1993) argue it is impossible for development to extend liberal rights and freedoms, equality and self-determination to all women when, in reality, they are extended to only the wealthy. The devaluation of the subsistence-based economy and the concomitant overvaluation of industrial economies is a remnant of colonialism that needs rethinking in order to undo the supposed universal applicability of modernity over the traditional (Mies and Shiva 1993; Saunders 2002). Specifically, post-development theorists further deconstruct the Western development model. Such theorists reject the modern/traditional binary. They accuse the West of ‘Third World-ism’, which upholds a hierarchical relationship. Such a hierarchical relationship exists between donors and recipients of aid, or experts and those in need of development. These theorists create space in
scholarship to imagine other ways of being, including reworking the growth economy model to advocate for sufficiency and adequacy for everyone.

WID, and to a lesser extent WAD, focused on women’s practical needs, while GAD’s focus on gender identified the necessity of addressing structural inequalities and strategic gender interests (McIlwaine and Datta 2003). Strategic gender interests are concerned with addressing women’s subordinate position in society, while practical gender needs refer to inadequacies of basic needs (Molyneux 1985). Underlying structural inequalities prevent strategic needs and practical needs from being met. Gender planning is a political project that aims to make structural changes so that women may participate socially, economically and politically on more equitable terms with men (Hovorka 2006). This change requires “emancipation from larger institutional frameworks and social norms which produce and reproduce gender inequality” and a focus on self-determination and promoting choice that is determined by the women themselves (Hovorka 2006:56). Self-determination of needs must be determined by women for a process of conscientization to be achieved and to have change internalized. Jaggar (1998) and Crosby (2011) argue that achieving strategic gendered interests, within development projects approached from a Western liberal perspective, close off certain alternative strategies. Additionally, redistributive policies grounded structural inequalities in existing capitalist production and exchange offer further challenges (Rai 2004). Consideration needs to be given to the reality that different groups of women and men express different desired strategic and practical needs (Walker et al. 2014) based on social and environmental factors.

Together, these ideas have evolved into Critical Development Studies (CDS), which provide theoretical and conceptual frameworks for alternative solutions to address uneven development, while critiquing mainstream development and policy-making (Radcliffe 2015). CDS takes a critical account of how exclusion and marginalization continue to exist in development, engages in the debate about knowledge production, questions ontological and
epistemological authority, and pursues social heterogeneity (Radcliffe 2015). This dissertation follows this tradition and stays closely connected to feminist theory and methodologies to understand how women’s needs are missed, how power relations are spatial, and how an intersection of oppressions arise to shape identity.

**Labour and Production**

This dissertation is informed by political economy, feminist political ecology and feminist economic thought to consider and contribute to the analysis of gendered aspects of economic life in Haiti. Political economy scholars of Haiti (Lundahl 2015; Steckley 2015; Dupuy 2012, 1989; Mintz 2010, 1989; Mazzeo 2009; Hallward 2007; Farmer 2003; Fatton 2002; Woodson 1997; and Trouillot 1995) provide important historical and current thought regarding the structure in which peasants live. This is supplemented with work specifically on land grabs (Edelman, Oya, and Borras 2013; Steckley and Shamsie 2015). Feminist political ecologists (Rocheleau et al. 1996; Enloe 2014; Schroder 1999; Hovorka 2009) and feminist economists (Dunford and Perrons 2014; Jaggar 2008; Beneria 2008; Waring 2008) bring a nuanced understanding of how globalisation and policy-making impact the division of labour associated with production, distribution and consumption of food at the local level, as shaped by social expectations of gender, race and class. These threads of thought enable this study to demonstrate how neoliberal economics and social difference are constituent pillars of the uneven spatial power that shapes the world food economy. These pillars have the power to affect food security for women, and peasants in general, in Haiti. Neoliberalism is a masculine structure that requires historically-constructed gender roles and responsibilities for its functioning. Specifically, in the case of Haiti, it removes rural and peri-urban women from the role and benefits of production, and yet leaves these women with the responsibility of distribution and consumption. The outcomes are marginalized livelihoods, heightened inequality,
and increased food and social insecurity for women in the rural and peri-urban areas. This causes rural-urban migration. The quality of life and benefits of the environment are monetized for neoliberal elite.

In capitalist economies, the market is privileged as the core of all economic activity. Production numbers, along with employment statistics and income data, are used to design economic policy and planning, treated as a formula-driven technical exercise. This approach is a main driver to value large-scale development of land grabs over peasant production. However, feminist economists argue that economic theory incorporates gender and other value-laden biases unseen by large development (Dunford and Perrons 2014; Jaggar 2008) with presuppositions of who makes certain social contributions to uphold human welfare (Jaggar 2008:71) making it appear gender-neutral when, in reality, it requires gendered political decisions. Enloe (2014) reminds us that state and international structures are patriarchal, shaped for masculine needs, and work to subordinate women’s needs. This structure misrepresents the value of women’s work and makes women dependent on men on all scales.

Benería (2008) argues valuable work has been defined as ‘an activity contributing to the core economy’, yet this also defines which work is not included. What is missing is the unaccounted work of household reproduction, the invisible work of women and, to a lesser extent men (Beneria 2008). Unaccounted is labour of caring, including breastfeeding, community work, caring for the elderly, water collection, and laundry (Waring 2008). In Haiti, it also includes the activities necessary for an internally-oriented food economy – production to feed the household, collection and use of medicinal herbs, sharing cooked food and labour, and community-based organization work. Unpaid contributions are omitted from national statistics of production and income (Waring 1988), and this omission includes subsistence activities of

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15 According to the ILO, “The economically active population comprises all persons of either sex who furnish the supply of labour for the production of economic goods and services, as defined by the System of National Accounts, during a specified time-reference period” (ILO 2003:13).
peasants (Boserup 1970) (the main concern of this study). The underreporting of productive labour plays nicely into the narrative of unproductive peasants.

Neoliberal ideology takes advantage of this misperception. Neoliberal development projects are visibly grand in size and appearance, and produce profits to augment a country’s GNP and accounting spreadsheet. What is missed is the accounting of displaced peasant production for subsistence and contributions to informal markets. As formal activities such as seed boutiques replace informal seed trade, and formal imported food replaces informal production system, it appears on spreadsheets as economic growth when, in reality, it is displacing a functioning unmeasured economy. Subsistence activities for the production of the household fall outside of the conventional definition of labour. Also, informal labour for local market exchanges that fall within conventional definitions of labour are difficult to measure with accuracy, although attempts are periodically made to include them in GNP estimates (Benería 2008). It is counterintuitive. The very political and economic machinery that purports to integrate people into economic development is blind to the value of those small-scale cash and non-cash exchanges that support a productive population.

These connections became apparent to me when I worked with a foreign NGO in Haiti. Mothers of malnourished children would sell small shampoo bottles provided by the centre in urban markets. The shampoo was a hit; it sold quickly. In reality, though, the women would spend hours selling imported materials for just pennies. It is a perfect example of globalization, facilitated by an NGO, to place women in the cash economy where their earnings could be counted. In reality, it caused them to spend more time away from the household and the reproductive labour of care. It also caused them to eat more frequently from food vendors, resulting in reduced nutrition and increased expenditures.

This study also examines how rural peasants in mixed-gender organizations and rural and peri-urban women in all-women organizations demonstrate agency by using their labour in value-added processing activities. These projects restore meaningful subsistence to market
economies, and reinstitute their moral economy of caring to improve food and social stability
and to decolonize identities through placemaking, despite the lack of investment by a neoliberal
state. With this knowledge in mind, this dissertation documents what appears to be mundane
practices of peasants, specifically women and argues that the heavy lifting of creating food
security and social stability through day-to-day women’s work is deserving of greater weight in
policy decisions. As Enloe (2014:343) reminds us “the personal is international; the international
is personal” Currently, the significance of the contributions of Haitian women’s labour to the
functioning of Haiti and the world food economy is denied full credit.

**Material and Discursive Power in Spatial Relations**

The shaping of labour is a product of imbalanced power. In this section, I describe the
concept of power as material and discursive as understood through postcolonial thought. The
narratives that power relies upon are never singular or static, always adapting and being
reformulated to meet the goals of powerful ideologies. I describe this dynamic understanding of
power in two ways: by examining implications for space, and by viewing this dynamic as a
spatial phenomenon in North-South relations.

One of postcolonial thought’s greatest contribution is to explain why and how colonized
people’s lives are shaped by the discourses produced about them (Radcliffe 1999; McEwen
2002; Hoogvelt 1997; Prakash 1994; Peet and Hartwick 1999; Fanon 1967; Said 1979). This
dissertation attempts to draw on postcolonial theorizing, which asks us to reformulate our
knowledge, practices and representations by turning our gaze back onto the institutions and
systems formulated by developed countries for a critical self-analysis, in order to understand the
practice of domination and representation (Peet and Hartwick 1999). Further, this study follows
Kapoor’s (2008) request to valorize alternative positions and subjugated knowledges of the
global south. These lessons are applied to the context of Haiti’s issue of food security in order to
understand how power is spatial, gendered, and how it influences identities and material well-being.

To achieve this end, I engage postcolonial feminist theory to rethink depictions of gendered space, place, landscapes, and to understand gender as contingent to place and systems (Haraway 1991; Nash 1996; Rose 1993; Mohanty 2003). Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2007:91) suggest that the meanings in texts are never single or static, and that discourse analysis is helpful to determine the social meaning within language, discursive processes, and communication. These practices construct subjects through ideas and ideologies and therefore are contingent in the formulating of social reality, social exclusion, and the subjugation of knowledge. Feminists examine how the power of language may shape the structure of society, represent women, and influence women’s experiences. Radcliffe (1994:25) brings our attention to the fact that

[c]ommunication is thus not neutral, taking place in conditions of equality of exchange of information and dialogue; rather it takes place within various discourses and social relations of power, which shape the way that communication take place.

Therefore, power is both discursive and material.

Feminist theorists acknowledge gender as dynamic, negotiated and contingent with the historical political economy of place (Mohanty 2003). The effect of gender is demonstrated in this study through the examination of how women’s roles are manipulated and adapted to fit the needs of a masculine world food economy. The body retains its social difference and its roles and responsibilities as it transverses boundaries defined by state powers (Chatterjee 2002). This demonstrates that power is not stretched across space, but is linked from one spatial scale to a body, produced under certain kinds of discourses and postcolonial and imperial history.

Postcolonial feminism seeks to draw attention to the exploration of the experiences of people within spatial powers, and attempts to give a stronger voice to women marginalized within colonialism (Radcliffe 1994; Marchand and Parpart 1995). This study works to reduce the
spatial and temporal distances of ‘over there’, ‘non-productive’, ‘inhumane’ and ‘backwards’ to demonstrate that marginalized people are amongst us now. They contribute in remarkable ways to the existence of the West, and specifically to how women’s gendered roles and responsibilities are utilized in the process. In this sense, I reject accustomed ways of seeing and critique the development of the world food economy, dominant North–South relations, and the constructed positions for peasants. Like McEwan (2001) in response to postcolonialism, I attempt to re-write the hegemonic and historical account of who makes food security in Haiti, and bring attention to the spatial distribution of knowledge (power) that constructs relations. Like McEwan (2001), Peet and Hartwick (1999), Hoogvelt (1997) I do this by acknowledging a diversity of perspectives and priorities. Specifically, I look at: a) how power is imbalanced; b) how constructed roles in local and global societies shape priorities; c) whose voices are excluded; and finally, d) how to promote agency and subjectivity.

Chapter Four demonstrates how representation through the technical and economic concepts of food security impacts peasants and, specifically, women’s rights and responsibilities. This chapter concentrates on the construction of the international binary system of productive/non-productive, and links it to food security and women’s experiences in Haiti. Chapters Five, Six and Seven then document the responses by peasants and women to the technical and political exercise of marginalization within the world food economy by documenting their perspectives and practices. These chapters examine the invisible alternative narratives that are absent in government and development literature on Haiti.

**An Intersectional Notion of Identity**

This section discusses identity formation as informed by intersectionality and transnational feminist thought. Intersectionality theory considers the impact of multiple social differences of gender, race, class, ethnicity, age, sexuality orientation, geographic place, and others, in
constituting social enabling or, more often, exclusion (Butler 1997; Nightingale 2011; Nash 2014). The intersection of multiple points of social difference is frequently obscured, yet these social differences enhance or impede one’s ability to access material or social resources. Following transnational feminist thought and the recognition of intersectionality found in work by the likes of Salem (2014), hooks (1984), Mohanty et al. (1991), Smith (2008), Wekker (2006), N’zengou-Tayo (1998), I attempt to decolonize the research process (see Chapter Three) by privileging the multiple voices of local peasants and drawing attention to the peasant epistemology or worldview excluded from the dominant narrative.

The theory of intersectionality tells us that difference is not a universal experience and not consistently circumscribed by one attribute such as gender or race (hooks 1984; Mohanty et al. 1991; Nightingale 2011). Rather, different social exclusions come together for different people. They are overlapping, mutually reinforcing and inseparable, making it more difficult to achieve equality. It is difficult to reconcile because intersectional discrimination is mediated by political dynamics that are both internal and external to communities (Sylvain 2011). When power is located externally, it often obscures intersectionalities and assumes that people are homogeneous. Disrupting this process is important to ensure that peoples’ heterogeneous needs and choices are met (Cornwall 2003). What we first need to understand is the process: how does power create social exclusions and inequalities?

Power operates in multiple dimensions. Feminist political ecologists see power as exercised in hierarchical, as well as lateral, ways (Nightingale 2011: 159). This occurs through social, economic, political hierarchies, and through social norms within one’s own social group. Social difference and notions of identity are continually produced out of everyday practices, simultaneously undermining identities that may be more desirable, such as shared moral economies. Subjectivity is achieved when subjects exercise and internalize multiple dimensions of power within the same acts (Butler 1997; Nightingale 2006). The process of creating powerful social relations is frequently obscured, but this is where social exclusions are formed. It is not
easy to separate symbolic space from materially embodied performances (Wright 2006; Nightingale 2006; Vansteenkiste 2014). Therefore, it is useful to pay attention to how we are organized spatially, how the organizational patterns contribute to the production of society, how these patterns are a product of history and politics and the inequalities we produce, and how these patterns overlay to create greater inequality for some. It is important to note here that, as with the work of transnational feminists Smith (2008), Wekker (2006), hooks (1984); Mohanty et al. (1991), as well as the work of the earlier-mentioned feminist political ecologists and postcolonial feminists, this research follows the tenets of intersectionality in order to avoid universalizing the peasant experience.

This study, too, supports the idea that subjectivities are connected to the intersectionality of social differences (hooks 1984; Mohanty et al. 1991). It suggests that symbolic meanings of difference are produced in particular spaces, practices and bodies, and are (re)produced during everyday activities including agricultural work, food preparation and consumption (Nightingale 2011:153). Furthermore, and an important tenant for this study, is that transnational feminism supports the concept that subjectivity is rooted in collective consciousness, where individualism is not the norm. This approach demands a reconsideration or re-theorizing relationships to understand how the self-collective dynamics inform epistemological issues and politicization of consciousness (Mohanty 2006: 83; Nagar and Swarr 2010). This realization is important for retelling the impact of neoliberalism on the internally-oriented food economy and for investigating peasant responses, including those of men. This demonstrates, as Salem (2014) suggests, that patriarchy is a system that oppresses everyone, not just women. Like Moyo and Kawewe (2002), we need to look at the intersectionality of exclusions to understand why women are economically marginalized and vulnerable to classism and migration, within the food economy transition.

Knowing that identity, as Charles (1990) presents, is an outcome of historical and contemporary social constructions, social relations and social consciousness, I can frame the
analysis differently. Gender is not the must-be centre of analysis. Instead, as Radcliffe (2006) suggests, positionality should be the epistemological centre. This means that post-colonial and transnational feminism needs to grapple with how to combine place-specific political economies and historical nationalism in order to provide the context for relations. This approach is apparent in Chapters Four through Six. However, in Chapter Seven, I once again privilege gender to analyze the agency of women within a women’s organization in order to examine how they achieve strategic gendered interests and practical gender needs. Through these two approaches, I demonstrate that privileging different constituents of intersectionality is useful to explore varying interests.

This chosen approach answers the concerns of Haitian and feminist scholars Loth (2015), Glover (2012) and Ulysse (2010), who correctly identify the perpetual negative constructions of Haiti as a source of Haiti’s governance problems, and prefer to bring attention to what Haitian peasants are able to contribute to the nation. Further, in an attempt to alter the course of negative narratives, this study heeds Ulysse’s (2010, 40) call to avoid “emphasis on deconstructing symbols which only inscribes the dominant narrative.” The goal of this study is to produce more accurate counter-narratives based on representations of Haitian lives from Haitian perspectives. As much as possible, it privileges the interviewee’s words and epistemological view, but I acknowledge that what is written here is influenced by my own worldview and is not completely objective.

**Capabilities and Functioning Literature**

The Capabilities Approach (CA) is a critical piece of this dissertation. The main body of this study is dedicated to understanding power imbalances and spatial relations and how peasants respond and demonstrate agency. The very specifics of women’s agency is examined in Chapter Seven using CA as an evaluative tool. Through this tool, I am able to explain how
women are able to destabilize and disrupt gendered roles and responsibilities, and to reimagine new ways of being to improve their position of equality. This chapter is an example of people understanding their own subjectivity and responding to the marginalization of spatial relations. The outcome is a better livelihood, better opportunities, and better food procurement in order to meet the stubborn construction of women as the *poto mitan* of household economics and food.

Like Sen (1999), I found women’s organizations focused on what people are actually able to do rather than only privileging income. Sen argues that people’s real opportunities are what count and these are shaped by gendered roles and responsibilities. This is a critical piece missed by actors devising development projects and the world food economy. Through the promotion of capabilities and functionings, Sen contends development can be achieved.

Sen (1999) characterizes his approach to development of the person through a combination of various ‘doings and beings’. A person’s quality of life would be assessed in terms of the capability to achieve valuable functionings. Capabilities, here, are alternatives, such that a person’s ‘capability’ is the sum total of their real opportunities to live a life of value they chose. These are opportunities or freedom to achieve, for instance, if women have access to land through social structures to grow crops but have no market to sell into, then they do not have capability. Functionings, on the other hand, are well-being achievements, or capabilities that have been realised – when women are able to supply the market and chose to do so. In this study, I demonstrate that women have a diminished capability to supply the local markets because the world food economy has subsumed women’s market share. I also demonstrate that women challenge gender roles so that they may chose to participate in the production and selling of milk into a local factory and manufacture chocolate by taking on male roles of maintaining equipment and running the factory. When internal capabilities are combined with suitable external environment, the capabilities are able to function and are referred to as combined capabilities. Combined capability is the goal (of development or justice), such that, for
any given functioning, a person will have the ability to act, and the material and institutional environment in which they live will facilitate that functioning (Nussbaum 2011).

CA is essentially a ‘people-centred approach’. It puts human agency ahead of objectives of organizations, governments, or even the world food economy. In other terms, it privileges processes and strategic gender interests. It stands in opposition to the ideology that says that profits, efficiency, production and comparative advantage are the primary goals. As Nussbaum (2000) notes - women are too often treated as a means to the end rather than the end themselves, in their own right. Nussbaum’s primary task is to move beyond the merely comparative use of capabilities to the construction of a normative political proposal that is a partial theory of justice. This research case study demonstrates the crucial importance of putting ‘social opportunities’ as the central concern. Drèze and Sen (2002:6) remind us that by using the expression ‘social opportunity’, we should not view individuals and their opportunities in isolated terms. The options that a person has depend greatly on relations with others and on what the state and other institutions do. We shall be particularly concerned with those opportunities that are strongly influenced by social circumstances and public policy.

This reflects well with the previous acknowledgement of intersectionality of social exclusions and subjectivity as an outcome of a collective consciousness sitting within an historical context with social exclusions measured against liberal ideologies. Inequality through social exclusions limits social opportunities. At the community level, we can begin to examine community-desired capabilities and functionings that contrast to larger structures in which they live – for instance, the world food economy. It looks beyond the market to include doing and beings in non-market settings. This is important for women who spend more time working outside of the formal market (Robyens 2004).
CHAPTER THREE –

UNINVITED RESEARCH: METHODS AND FEMINIST METHODLOGIES

This chapter is written as an overview of the methods and methodologies of the research project, designed from a feminist viewpoint. It complements the methods and approaches found in each of the dissertation’s manuscripts, and links the planning and design of the research project in a single document. First, I describe the mixed-methods, those specific survey instruments found in the Appendices. My research team and I used these survey instruments were used between May 2013 and March 2014 with the four primary community-based organizations (CBOs), which are the focus of this study. They are located along a stretch of Highway 6 in the Commune of Limonade. The field season was then extended, to June 2014, due to a land grab. The land grab displaced the same interviewees from the state land from which they were creating food security--not just through their own organizations, but through another that specialized in cow milk. As a result, a fifth CBO was added to understand the full impact of the land-repurposing. Secondly, I discuss my philosophical and methodological approach to a) feminist activist research, by valuing the voices of the peasants as epistemologically valid in order to counter imbalanced power in the research process; and b) my commitment to making myself visible in the field, in order to build relationships with the community-based organizations (CBOs). This latter approach is an effort to address my own standpoint as well as the predetermined script of uninvited foreign researchers. It also represents an attempt to be a researcher who is embedded within the communities. Limitations of my efforts are noted.

The original selection of the CBOs and the design of the survey instruments were based on the original research objectives. Previous knowledge of Haiti had taught me that Haitians work in organizations to meet their needs; therefore it was deemed appropriate to study affects
and responses at the CBO level. Appendices I-IX contain the survey and interview documents, Terms of Reference for Research Assistants, Research Assistants report requirements, and Ethics Board Approval certificate, referred to in this chapter.

**Objectives of Data Collection**

The research project, as outlined in Chapter One, is designed to demonstrate how grassroots activists are responding to, and designing, their own gendered food economy in an attempt to achieve food security and social stability, and how the production/supply-centric world food economy has been detrimental to these efforts. These research objectives are scalar in focus:

Objective (1)/Chapter Four considers how powerful players who shape the world food economy rely on gendered roles to meet their needs. Paradoxically, this heightens inequality for women in Haiti’s gendered internally-oriented food economy;

Objective (2)/Chapter Five examines how peasant farmers in northern Haiti use state land and locally-defined concepts of the moral economy of care, identity and autonomy to enhance local food security and social stability;

Objective (3)/Chapter Six demonstrates how placemaking is decolonizing identity and an act of resistance;

Objective (4)/Chapter Seven (co-authored with Mark Schuller) explores how CBOs attend to different gendered social exclusions, and thereby foster gendered capabilities in order to improve food security and social stability.

By expanding on these four issues, I will explore the spatial nature of imbalanced power located within the world food economy, and the capabilities of local agency to respond and resist. All of this leads to the concluding chapter and to the overall objective: to demonstrate why gender matters when analyzing a world food system and designing food policy.
**Researcher Experience and Preparation**

My decade-long engagement in development and previous research projects in Haiti—namely, my Master of Arts degree, and an evaluation for IOM funded by CoPEH-Canada—made the prospect of continuing PhD research in Haiti an obvious choice. Contacts with Oxfam, UN, Makouti Agro Enterprises, IOM and Sonje Ayiti facilitated introductions to local organizations. Further, I had basic Creole language skills that I augmented with a six-week language training course in Haiti in May-June 2013, prior to the field research.

My doctoral research differs from my previous work in that I moved from examining socio-economic relations in the urban/peri-urban in Haiti’s second-largest city Cap-Haïtien, to examining socio-economic relations in the rural/peri-urban/urban setting of Limonade. Despite my understanding of Haiti that was garnered from previous experience, I sought a better grounding in this new research context prior to formalizing my research questions. To achieve this, I took the following four steps:

In the first step, I participated in market day at Ouanaminthe, the border crossing to the Dominican Republic. Market day occurs twice a week. It is attended by an estimated 18,000 mostly Haitian informal business women who cross into the Dominican Republic in order to take advantage of the free border entry to purchase food, clothing, and household goods to resell in local markets. The massive movement of people and goods is remarkable. There were two takeaways: 1) an appreciation for the unregulated and unaccounted for scale and variety of food imports available, underlining the difficulty in obtaining accurate FAO and national accounts of food imports and consumption patterns; 2) the market’s environment, marked with occasional disputes and theft, armed border guards, and loud Haitian men offering protection to truckloads

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16 Prior to fieldwork, letters of invitation were provided by Oxfam GB, Sonje Ayiti, IOM, and Makouti Enterprises to assist me with my research efforts. Research Ethics approval (Appendix X) was received for this project by the REB at the University of Guelph.
17 USAID (2013) estimate.
of female merchants, makes obvious the extent of gendered division of roles and responsibilities.

In the second step, I interviewed one Madan Sara. Madan Sara are women who are responsible for the collection and redistribution of an estimated 90% of the internal food production (FTF 2016). The women also exchange news, health information, and extend credit to rural people. Madan Sara are tough, smart businesswomen and represent the backbone of the food distribution system. The lesson learned: there is a well-organized system of distribution already within Haiti that is left largely unaccounted-for in scholarly and international literature. These women reach far into the interior of the countryside and offer important services that should be supported – not ignored.

Third, I visited food depots in Cap-Haïtien. These food depots were responsible for distributing imported food arriving by container ships at Cap-Haïtien and Port-au-Prince. The food stuffs include staple grains and processed foods – everything from evaporated milk, sugared drinks, spaghetti, rice and wheat flour from the US, orange juice from Egypt, beans and plantain from the Dominican Republic, among many other items. Through these efforts, I gained a clearer understanding of the extent of the larger food shed context in which peasant farmers of Limonade, my specific study site in North Department, needed to operate. These first three lessons deepened my appreciation for the field of competition within local food systems and how farmers are squeezed out of supplying local markets.

Finally, as a way to deepen my understanding of Haitian culture and spirituality, I attended two main conferences multiple times. These were the Haitian Studies Association, at which I have presented twice, and Kosanba, a scholarly association for the study of Haitian Vodou to better understand the spiritual benefits of Vodou to Haitian society. These conferences enlightened my understanding of Haitian connections to the land and the environment, as well as how oppression through colonialism (both historical and current), has left deep psychological impressions on people who identify as Haitian or of Haitian ancestry. More importantly, the
conferences were celebrations of the rich cultural traditions – literary, musical, dance, resistance, and new narratives – which are valuable contributions to our diverse world and should be given greater recognition.

Choosing the Study Site of Limonade in the North Department

The study site of Limonade provides an interesting case study. Post-2010 earthquake, the Northern Corridor is one of three areas in Haiti designated to receive development aid. This is part of the reconstruction objective of decentralizing the power away from Port-au-Prince. Cap-Haïtien and the Northern Corridor, made up of the North Department, North-West Department, and North-East Department, are divided from the rest of the country by a mountain range, and were historically separated at independence, with King Henri Christophe ruling north Haiti, and Alexandre Pétion ruling the south. In a Government of Haiti (GOH) document, the state land (plains) of Limonade are designated as vacant (CFI 2013). This sits in contrast to a USAID report that states over 50,000 households have cattle in the North Department, with another 20,000 people employed to care for 150,000 cattle, with 55,000 of those being cows (Paul 2011:34). The conflicting stories piqued my interest into what kind of impact would be made with the GOH “Open for Business” promotion of the North Department.

In the Limonade region, there are 36 active civil society organizations. The research objective required purposeful sampling of the CBOs that were working on food security projects with outside funding. To quickly identify groups for inclusion in the research, I contacted colleagues at Oxfam GB, Sonje Ayiti, Makouti Enterprises, Ministère de l’Agriculture, des Ressources Naturelles et du Développement Rural (MARNDR), the Ministère de la Planification et de la Coopération Externe (MPCE), and the UN Community Violence Reduction (CVR) team. I asked each of these colleagues and organizations to recommend various projects of which they had intimate working knowledge. Oxfam and CVR both personally took time from their
activities to introduce me to CBOs. Through conversations with these contacts, I identified other projects which were present in the northern corridor, but outside of their mandates. We visited an additional six CBOs using local transportation called *taptaps* (public-private transport - pickup trucks). In all, 10 projects were visited and reviewed by myself and the lead research assistant for: type of organizational structure (CBO, co-operative, social entrepreneurs, charitable projects), funding structure, type of food security projects, organization’s age, number of members, location, and gender composition (mixed, only women, or only men).

With the help of my research assistants and their local knowledge, I chose four primary organizations from the 10 reviewed. Together, these four contributed to the economic development of one area in the Commune of Limonade. Each participated in food value-added processing and all were funded by international sources. Mainstream development agencies consider economic development to be a gateway to poverty reduction and the CBO selection allowed the study to document how CBOs responded to this external pressure. Two were exclusively women’s organizations and two were mixed-gender, thereby allowing comparisons. The four primary organizations were interviewed in-depth. A fifth secondary organization that worked with peasant farmers to produce milk was added, when we realized that three of the four organizations had members involved in local milk production affected by the state land transfer. The names of the organizations are not provided due to reasons of confidentiality outlined in the signed ethics agreement with the University of Guelph, Appendix X. In Table 3.1, I list all the surveys conducted with the 115 members of the four primary CBOs, the seven executives of the secondary CBO, 20 expert interlocutors, 113 market surveys, five research assistants, and the executives of the CBOs (already in counted in the primary CBO membership). Pseudonyms are used to protect the identity of CBO members. In total, including the reports generated by the research assistants (considered another set of expert interlocutors), n=260 respondents contributing to this research. The primary CBO members were interviewed multiple times before and after the land grab, making a total of n=526 survey instruments deployed in this study. The
breakdown is noted in the following table.

Table 3.1 Community-Based Organizations, Interviewees, Surveys

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Target Group (CBOs represented by pseudonyms)</th>
<th>Year Est. and Location</th>
<th>Members and Type</th>
<th>Number of Interviewees</th>
<th>Governance Framework</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Primary CBO AMM (Asosiyasyon Manman Mamba) – Peanut cultivators for peanut butter | 2004 Peri-Urban, Rural | 400 Female peasants only | Total no. of respondents=32  
Total no. of surveys=114  
Total surveys prior to land conversion:  
Semi-structure=32  
Structure=32  
Focus groups=18  
Total surveys post-conversion=32 | -covered 9 zones, each with a committee, and all reporting to central leadership. Transparent and functioning democratic structure |
| Primary CBO MM (Mouvman Manyôk) Cassava Bread | 1988 Rural | 150 Mixed-Gender Peasants | Total no. of respondents=23  
Total no. of surveys=90  
Total surveys prior to land conversion:  
Semi-structure=23  
Structure=23  
Focus group=21  
Total surveys post-conversion=23 | -centralized leadership and less democratic |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Target Group (CBOs represented by pseudonyms)</th>
<th>Year Est. and Location</th>
<th>Members and Type</th>
<th>Number of Interviewees</th>
<th>Governance Framework</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary CBO OMM (Oganizasyon Moun Mayi) - Corn Meal</td>
<td>1995 Rural</td>
<td>115 Mixed-Gender Peasants</td>
<td>Total no. of respondents=24  Total no. of surveys=84</td>
<td>-centralized leadership and less democratic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total surveys prior to land conversion: Semi-structure=24 Structure=24 Focus group= 12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total surveys post-conversion=24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary CBO OFK (Oganizasyon Fanm Kakawo)</td>
<td>2002 Rural/Peri-Urban/Urban</td>
<td>300 Female urban poor only</td>
<td>Total no. of respondents=36  Total no. of surveys=86</td>
<td>-covered 3 zones, each with a committee, and all reporting to central leadership. Transparent and functioning democratic structure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total surveys prior to land conversion: Semi-structure=36 Structure=36 Focus group=14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No surveys post conversion - urban CBO</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary CBO APLB (Asosiyasyon Pwodiktè Lèt Béf) – Free range cattle (interviewed only at executive level)</td>
<td>1996 Rural</td>
<td>1000 Mixed-Gender Peasants</td>
<td>Total no. of respondents and surveys=7</td>
<td>-works in unison with other local CBOs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total surveys post-conversion=7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
To meet the objectives of the research, four main CBOs were selected for the following reasons:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Target Group (CBOs represented by pseudonyms)</th>
<th>Year Est. and Location</th>
<th>Members and Type</th>
<th>Number of Interviewees</th>
<th>Governance Framework</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Market surveys</td>
<td>4 sites in Port-au-Prince:</td>
<td></td>
<td>Total no. of respondents and surveys=113</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Marche Kwa de Bosal</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Kwa Bouke</td>
<td></td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Mache Salomon</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Mache Têt Bèf</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 site in Cap-Haïtien:</td>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mache Cluny</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expert Interlocutors</td>
<td>Mayors, CASEC, ASEC, representatives of government ministries, agronomists, non-governmental representative – Haitian and foreign, Madan Sara, medicine women, foreign entrepreneur, USAID project representatives</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Total no. of respondents=20 Total no. of surveys=24</td>
<td>Total prior to land conversion: Interviews=17 Total post-conversion interviews=7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research Assistants</td>
<td>Mixed gender</td>
<td></td>
<td>Total no. of respondents=5 Total no. of surveys=4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary Reports</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Executive Committee</td>
<td>2 mixed gender/ 2 women’s CBOs</td>
<td></td>
<td>Total no. of respondents counted in CBO numbers above Total no. of surveys=4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary Survey</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>CBOs, Expert Interlocutors, Market Surveys, Literature Review, Document Review</td>
<td>1965 members in catchment area</td>
<td>Total no. of respondents=260 Total no. of survey instruments deployed=526</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To meet the objectives of the research, four main CBOs were selected for the following reasons:
1) The geographic, economic, social, and political interlinkages between the CBOs represent complex and multifaceted grassroots development in the northern corridor between the city of Limonade and the Université Roi Henri Christophe of Limonade, along National Route 6 (Map 3.1). This same area is promoted as undeveloped by The Centre for Facilitation and Investment (CFI), a department of the GOH. Therefore, it was considered important to examine the extent of activities occurring prior to development.

2) Geographical nearness makes it easy to increase our visibility to the CBO members. We would visit the projects even after we had completed the interviews. For instance, membership meetings for all organizations are held only on Sundays, the cassavarie members bake bread on Tuesdays, the cocoa processors work Tuesday and Thursday mornings. Interviews occurred on every day of the week.

3) Gender composition. The four primary CBOs were divided into two mixed-gender and two exclusively women’s organizations. This gave us the opportunity to compare and contrast gendered aspects of the CBOs, a core objective of the project. The fifth CBO, added after the land grab, was also mixed-gender, but only interviewed at the executive level, and not used for comparative analysis of gendered outcomes.

4) Governance structure. The five CBOs all operated with a central executive committee that could interact with international funders. This structure is common in Haiti and represents a level of internal development. The women’s organizations also followed a gwoupman\textsuperscript{18} structure that allowed for greater democratic decision-making. All the organizations had over 100 members (see Table 3.1).

5) All the CBOs had value-added projects contributing to local food security and the local

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\textsuperscript{18} Gwoupman is a governance configuration introduced by Caritas in the 1970s and 1980s. It is designed to encourage democratic representation and decision making within CBOs that are geographically dispersed and have a large membership. Each gwoupman will have elected representatives that constitute, and report to, the CBO central executive committee. Each gwoupman may have membership fees, lending circles, and individual projects based on self-determined needs.
economy – corn meal processing, cassava bread, peanut butter processing, cocoa processing and milk production. All CBOs grew their own crops except for the cocoa processors, who would buy from local farmers.

6) The four primary CBOs spanned across rural, peri-urban, and urban locations. Therefore, they included rural and peri-urban peasants and urban poor. Designation was determined by the location of the central meeting location, processing mill, and member’s homes. This combination allowed us to glean interesting economic and food security linkages between the rural, peri-urban and urban. See Table 3.1 and Map 3.1 for distribution of interviewees (indicated as CBO members), CBO central meeting places, and processing centres.

Map 3.1 Distribution of CBOs

Source: Marie Puddister cartography, Dept. of Geography, Guelph, and data collection by author.

Descriptions of Four Primary CBOs

Asosiyasyon Manman Mamba (AMM) is a large women’s organization with a
membership of 400, established in 2004. Headquarters are located in the peri-urban zone, and
draws its members from a large geographical area. The peanut mill and artisan centre is located
in the rural area. Women in this group access agricultural plots in the mountains and plains.
This organization uses a “gwoupman” governance framework that allows for input and decision-
making to flow from nine zones in different geographical locations, to the central committee. The
gwoupman framework is common and is an outcome of Caritas presence in Haiti. This
organization has partnered with Oxfam, Agrisud, PAPDA19, Agrisol and USAID. Agrisud is a
French NGO funded through the Aquitune/Dordogne region of France. AMM cultivates and
processes peanuts into peanut butter with peppers, a traditional food in Haiti. The peanut
project started in 2012 and it sold unprocessed peanuts to Meds and Foods for Kids. However,
the presence of aflatoxins temporarily halted this market opportunity. The mill is rented out to
other groups and individuals to process peanuts. The CBO also participates in Veterimed’s
Mommy Cow project to raise cattle for milk for yogurt production, social and leadership skills
programs, and had a community garden and seed lending project. The association also had a
children’s program. Each International Women’s Day, new members are accepted after lengthy
interviews and evaluation periods. Some women in the area complained about being rejected by
the organization. The leader of the organization is very active in local politics and traveled with
APLB to Port-au-Prince to negotiate the use of leased state land used for the community garden
and cattle grazing, and lost during the land conversion. Thirty-two women involved in the peanut
project were interviewed.

Mouvman Manyòk (MM) is smaller, with 150 members of both genders, and was
established in 1988. This organization is structured around a central executive committee
comprised of one female and 8 men. Members of this organization live in a smaller geographical

19 Programme D’appui Au Developpement Agricole – large peasant organization in the North Haiti.
location and represent a community. The leader of the organization is a Cazek, an elected official who lives in the city of Limonade. The CBO grows manioc on the leased land for cassava bread production at the processing site, which is called a cassavarie. The processing site is also rented out to other groups, thereby creating income. The cassavarie project was funded by Oxfam GB and Agrisud. The project sells cassava bread locally and to diaspora that visit the region during important annual celebrations. Members of this organization are also involved in milk production. I interviewed twenty-three people in the cassava project were interviewed.

Ôganizasyon Moun Mayi (OMM) is a smaller group with 115 members of both genders established in 1995. This organization was structured around an all-male organizing committee. The members of this organization live in a smaller geographical location representing a community. OMM was the least successful and least organized of the CBOs engaged, despite the number of years in existence. The 24 members interviewed participated in a maize project with the Federation Chamber of National Agriculture (FECHAN), funded by the Government of Haiti, in which 150 to 200 tonnes of maize would be ground and purchased by Aquitune/Dordogne region of France for World Food Programme distribution. In this study, we interviewed 25 people involved in the FECHAN project. Members of this organization were also involved in milk production.

Ôganizasyon Fanm Kakawo (OFK) is a large women’s organization with a membership of 300, established in 2002. They are a rural/peri-urban/urban group, covering three zones, and follow a goupman democratic structure with central leadership. Their organization headquarters and processing centre is located in the city of Limonade. Members live mostly in the urban, some in the peri-urban, some having agricultural land. The organization had a mandate to empower women. Each International Women’s Day, it would take new members, regardless if they were single mothers or from well-established families. The organization
provided women’s rights training and socialization training. They were funded by Sonje Ayiti, a very strong Haitian and progressive NGO. I interviewed thirty-six members, all of whom were involved in the cocoa processing centre.

At over 1,000 members, both men and women, Asosiyasyon Pwodiktè Lèt Bèf (APLB) is the largest of all the organizations. It was established in 1996, and works closely with Veterimed to help farmers with cattle and milk production. This organization was instrumental in negotiating the leases with the central state for access to state land. I interviewed seven executive-level members after the state land conversion.

**Methods: Engaging the community**

The entry point of contact with each of the four primary CBOs began with the executive committee. This was the group to which I presented my research interests and objectives, and requested permission to ask the membership for volunteers. Since some of the organizations were large (over 400 members – see Table 3.1), we asked the executive committees to direct us to members who were participating in value-added food security projects (target interviewees of interest) that had outside funding sponsorship. Each CBO suggested projects that entailed value-added processing of agricultural products. While introducing the project to the executive committees, the larger general assemblies, at focus groups, and routinely with research assistants, I made public any concerns I harboured as to my political position with the community. In particular, I highlighted the fact that I had no right to speak for others and that I aimed to prioritize voices of the interviewees. I also made it clear that I was not bringing a project to the CBO, as is often expected of foreigners. We scheduled interviews at the convenience of the interviewees, and conducted them in Creole. Prior to each interview we reviewed the confidentiality agreement with the interviewee, who then signed.
Structured interviews were about 20 minutes long, while semi-structured interviews took approximately 45 minutes. Focus groups took approximately one hour. These three interviews were held on different days with each of the 115 interviewees of the four primary CBOs. It was my objective to build a relationship with the research assistants and the communities to obtain more meaningful data; hence, the multiple interviews with the same interviewees. This data was then contextualized by data from the following: 7 executives from a secondary CBO, 4 CBO executive committees, 20 expert interlocutors, and 113 market surveys and group reports from 5 research assistants. In total n=260 interviewees were engaged, and n=526 survey instruments deployed. The qualitative and quantitative data (including statistical analysis) were triangulated to ensure rigour, and interviews were conducted until it was deemed that a saturation of responses was reached. Triangulation is the use of multiple data sets to verify the answers of research questions. The survey instruments, list of who was interviewed and why, which objectives were met, and when the survey occurred, are all described in the following four sections: 1) Surveying the four primary CBOs; 2) Expert interlocutors and grey literature; 3) Learning about market food; and 4) Research assistants and executive committee surveys.

1. Surveying the Four Primary CBOs (qualitative and quantitative data)

a) Structured interviews (quantitative data)

The Individual Dietary Diversity Survey (IDDS) (Appendix III) was deployed to measure member’s diets from the four primary CBOs (OFK, OMM, MM, AMM) for the purpose of intra-CBO comparisons of food security. The IDDS survey in this study was adapted for the Haitian diet from the FAO (2007) survey. The IDDS was chosen over a Household Dietary Diversity Survey (HDDS) to look for gender-specific experiences between mixed-gender and all-gender CBOs. A twenty-four hour recall period was chosen, as it has been deemed less subject to
“recall error” in comparison to longer periods (FAO 2007). To avoid false readings, surveys were not gathered after celebrations or on Mondays, since Sunday is traditionally a larger and more diverse meal for Haitians. This IDDS score emphasizes micronutrient intake, rather than economic access to food or strategies to obtain food, and is a good measurement for assessment of dietary changes before and after an event (FAO 2007), which in this instance was the land grab. The IDDS Index allows for comparison of groups, whereas the individual components can be used to track how the land grab or membership in a particular CBO impacted one’s individual food groups. To add to the analysis, we employed a structured Food Strategy Survey (Appendix IV) that asked 19 questions representing strategies collected in my previous Masters fieldwork and then augmented by the knowledge of the Haitian research assistants. The strategies indicated the patterns and risks by gender, age, class (based on owned assets and education) and the risks that the respondents were willing to exercise before and after the removal of the state land from their portfolio of assets. Weakness in the IDDS survey include: a) false reporting to give the impression of being better off; b) false reporting in the hopes that the research team would provide assistance; c) the fact that this is only a snapshot in time and misses seasonal changes, as well as changes in household expenditures, such as the beginning of a school season.

Finally, Appendix V is part structured and part semi-structured. The structured section collects the Household Data – gender, age, martial status, educational data, house type, involvement and relationship with CBO, credit, land access, cultivated and uncultivated crop habits, etcetera.

b) Semi-structured (qualitative data)

A semi-structured survey, found in Appendix V, was conducted with the four primary CBOs (OFK, OMM, MM, AMM). The researcher holds a privileged position. He or she decides
which questions will be asked, directs the flow of conversation and knowledge, and interprets and decides the form in which the research should be presented (Rose 1997). Open-ended semi-structured questions are one small way to disrupt the power imbalances between the interviewee and the interviewer, and attempt to democratize the research process to allow the meanings of the community to come through (Sundberg 2003:188). They allow the interviewee to direct the conversation to their interests. The interviews in this study focused upon perceptions of the CBO and the impact it has on one’s food, livelihoods, ability to get along with other members and the larger community, the costs and benefits of participation, and redistribution of wealth.

c) Focus groups (qualitative data)

Focus groups were conducted with the groups from the four primary CBOs (OFK, OMM, MM, AMM). Focus groups followed the same open-ended technique as semi-structured surveys – they began with a selected topic, but allowed the discussion to grow organically from the interests of the people involved. Focus groups conducted with each of the four CBOs were designed to explore the specific themes broached in the interviews and surveys, but in greater qualitative depth. The focus groups were with the same interviewees as the structured and semi-structured interviews. The groups were organized by: a) all women – especially important in the mixed gendered CBOs to allow women to speak freely; b) geographic location – urban, peri-urban and rural – to gain a variety of perspectives; and c) executive or member CBO role. The topics included: a) gender roles and household responsibility, income opportunities, violence, human rights and the justice system; b) the mapping of the local food shed, including the production and movement of food within the commune and competition from the Dominican Republic and elsewhere; c) the role of food in Vodou, Catholic, Protestant, Baptist and Adventist rituals, as well as in familiar ceremonies – wedding, deaths, celebrations; and d) the role of
women in the CBO regarding decision-making, work roles, benefits, and participation.

d) Post land-grab structured and semi-structured surveys (quantitative and qualitative data)

A post land-grab survey (Appendix VI) was conducted with the four primary CBOs (OFK, OMM, MM, AMM). This survey instrument was conducted to document the impact of the land conversion on food security and livelihoods. It included a) structured IDDS survey; b) structured survey of food strategies; and c) semi-structured interviews to document feelings and perceptions to document the changes in food procurement and livelihood strategies.

e) Presentation of Findings (qualitative data)

Finally, in an effort to honour my commitment to include the interviewees’ voices in the research outcomes, two presentations were made by research assistants to the four primary CBOs. This gave respondents the opportunity to vette the content of the research for accuracy, improve data accuracy and more firmly incorporate community perspectives.

2. Expert Interlocutors and grey literature (qualitative data)

a) Expert interlocutors

I engaged expert interlocutors throughout the research process. The expert interlocutors included mayors, CASEC, ASEC\textsuperscript{20}, representatives of government ministries, agronomists, non-governmental representative – Haitian and foreign. The semi-structured interview instrument is found in Appendix VII. It was designed to collect a broader socio-economic, political and historical picture in which to couch the data collected from CBO members, and to examine the

\textsuperscript{20} CASEC – Boards of Directors of Communal Sections, ASEC – Administration of Communal Sections – locally elected officials
relationship of local authorities with the central government and local inhabitants. This survey instrument was useful at the outset, but was later abandoned and replaced with questions relevant for understanding the data being collected and the land grab. These expert interlocutors included:

- Three mayors from two offices – Limonade and Trou du Nord. In Haiti, each Commune has three mayors who work within one central office. The mayors belong to different political parties.
- One CASEC and one ASEC from the Commune of Limonade.
- Two local agronomists. One who had worked with some local CBOs on start-up of the value-added projects under investigation. Another was familiar with the general activities in Limonade.
- Three representatives of local NGOs. One French national from Agrisud, one Haitian from Oxfam, and one Haitian executive from Veterimed.
- Two government representatives – one from the Ministry of Agriculture and one from the Ministry of Planning.
- One Madan Sara – to explain food movement from the countryside to the urban centres and to verify the scholarly literature, and one medicine women (medsin fey) to understand the extent of local plant knowledge and use.
- One foreign entrepreneur – in order to understand his view toward Haitien production, and how he hopes to take advantage of Haiti’s “Open for Business” trajectory in the Northern Corridor.
- Five representatives working within the USAID funding programs: one representative from Vilaj la Difference and the Chief of Party of Feed the Future North, and three employees – gender specialist, human resources representative, and cocoa project director.
These interviews were conducted in both Creole and English. If the interview was conducted in Creole, it was translated with the help of a research assistant during the interview. Notes were taken in English as the interview occurred.

b) Grey Literature

Grey literature reviews, document and database reviews included: multiple Ministries of the GOH, non-governmental, US government, FAO and USAID, UNDP, UN Women, IMF, WB, WTO, EWG, CBI, and CHRGJ et al.. In all, I reviewed 120 official documents.

3. Market Survey (qualitative data)

The Market Survey (Appendix VIII) was deployed in four markets in Port-au-Prince and one in Cap-Haïtien. The chosen sites represented the largest and busiest markets in each city. Since Port-au-Prince is such a large city with the greatest variety of imports, I decided to interview in four sites (see Map 3.2). This would allow for the acquisition of knowledge of a variety of experiences which occurred during the global food crisis and associated riots of 2008, and would enable greater understanding of the food movements and food strategies used by the urban poor. The markets and number of interviews are listed in Table 3.1, and include Marche Kwa de Bosal (13), Kwa Bouke (29), Marche Salomon (14), Marche Têt Bèf (15) in Port-au-Prince and Marche Cluny in Cap-Haïtien (42).
As mentioned, the survey covered topics of internal food movement in Haiti, and how Haitians feel about imported versus locally-grown food, food choices in times of crisis, impressions of the Government of Haiti’s response to food insecurity and food price spikes, and the causes and responses to food price spikes in the 2008 food crisis. Having the survey deployed in Port-au-Prince allowed me to augment existing knowledge gained from the North, during my Master’s research, of how Haitians feel about the internal food economy. This knowledge allowed for a clearer picture of the contextual difficulties experienced generally by all Haitians, as well as the conflicting responses of how Haitians feel about imported and local food, versus their actual buying habits. All of these interviews were conducted in Creole and transcribed by the assistant into English.
4. Research Assistants Reports and Executive Committee Survey (qualitative data)

a) Team Reports

Following the interviews with each CBO, the research team was asked to submit a report covering six criteria – relevance and quality of project design, efficiency, effectiveness, impact, sustainability, and adaptive capacity from their perspectives as Haitians. All the research assistants were university-educated, the majority in agronomy, and, as a team, produced professional reports that were useful to my understanding of the contextual differences of each CBO. The research assistants produced the reports in English.

b) Primary CBOs

The same six questions were asked of each of the four primary CBO executive committees. The executive committee surveys (Appendix IX), too, shed light on some of the inner workings of the CBO that I had not had the foresight to question. As well, the executive committees were composed of individuals who were more educated with stronger social networks in comparison to the general membership interviewed. Therefore, it gave me the opportunity to observe different perspectives on each of the projects. The executive committees reported in French, which was transcribed into English.

Qualitative Data Analysis

Qualitative data was entered into HyperRESEARCH, software designed to help determine trends in qualitative data sets. This data was explored for patterns and themes in order to determine how Haitian respondents conceive and perceive food security, the internal food economy, the costs and benefits of being involved with a CBO, their position and feelings about the CBO, impressions of gendered differences pertaining to power and food procurement, and actions to improve the intersection of gendered differences. Grounded theory, an inductive
approach to data analysis, was employed. This approach allows codes and categories to emerge directly from the data (Hesse-Biber and Leavy 2007; Jayaratne and Stewart 2008; Glaser and Strauss 1967). Then, the relationships between the categories are examined in order to identify a pattern or structure that will represent the whole unified experience (Jayaratne and Stewart 2008). The data forms the foundation of the theoretical concepts (Charmaz 2006). Extensive reading of existing literature gave me the conceptual language to express the categories and patterns found in the data and to link them in current theories and debates. The codes and themes are presented throughout this dissertation. For instance, in Chapter Four, themes of identity, autonomy and moral community care were identified, while, in Chapter Five, themes of capability building through affiliation with a CBO and through autonomy building were identified. To ensure the interpretation was correct, a research assistant returned and presented the findings to the CBOs. This gave the interviewees some power over the process. However, limitations existed, including: a) doubt that the interviewees fully understood the results and felt comfortable disagreeing; b) participation would have been higher had the lead researcher made the presentation herself, and c) hesitation commenting on Agritrans’ impact on their lives now that the businessman responsible, Jovenel Moise, is President of Haiti. Despite the hesitation, new data was found and included in the manuscripts.

Quantitative Data Analysis

The quantitative data was entered into Excel and then SPSS, and was explored for trends and changes in diets, land use, income, milk production, food strategies, to name a few. Dependent variables, i.e., the response, outcome or effected variable (Laerd 2016), included diet choices. The independent variable, the cause, experimental or predictor variable (Laerd 2016) was considered to include forced land transfer. The data regarding changes to income, IDDS and diet changes, and milk production employed a Wilcoxon - Analysis, non-parametric,
related test when I was comparing the exact same interviewees before and after the land conversion, the data distribution was non-normal. Resulting statistical analysis are found in Chapter Five.

**Feminist Methodologies: Clearing and Planting the Field**

1. Doing research in Haiti

   More than two decades ago, feminist scholars began questioning the nexus of power, knowledge generation, and epistemology of field research (Nast 1994; Rose 1993; Haraway 1991; Harding 1987; McDowell 1993). When a researcher from the West interacts with local cultures, they bring a set of methods and methodologies, and a set of assumptions and a worldview that impact relations and knowledge production (Smith 2008). As Hall (1992) outlines, our Western methods and methodologies allow us to classify, categorize, represent, simplify, make comparable, and evaluate societies to Western standards, so that Other cultures are made to fit into Western systems of knowledge.

   The intersections of our political identities are omnipresent, making objectivity impossible; therefore, we cannot leave our positionality unaccounted to lead to biases and universal claims (McDowell 1993; Rose 1993). Instead, we need to consider our situated knowledge(s) and rethink how to engage our research as objectively as possible (Haraway 1991). To account for positionality, we need to question how we collect, analyze, and interpret data to build concepts and theory (Charmaz 2006), remembering that data is partial and selective, and neither universal nor exhaustive (Sundberg 2003). This dissertation engages these strands of thought, and engages feminist methodologies that recognize knowledge production as shaped by power and in relation to a researcher’s positionality. This dissertation incorporates the following methodological improvements in an attempt to address power
imbalances and to improve objectivity, yet simultaneously knowing these goals cannot be fully achieved.

My philosophical approach to knowledge-building privileges people to tell their own story. Through people’s accounts and described worldviews, we can push for social change to meet their epistemology approach for living with the land and each other. A person’s subordinate position gives them “epistemological privilege” of knowing from the inside (Jaggar 1997; Narayan 2004); therefore it is necessary to document local narratives. By doing so, we can disrupt existing spatial relations of power and establish patterns of knowledge creation, and ways of knowing space and place, in order to be more inclusive of other representations, epistemologies and ontologies, and acknowledging that there is no one universal way of knowing or being. By doing so, we recognize our own critical positioning within structures of power, and our own identity and worldviews as different than those of the respondents (Moss 1995). Therefore, my approach privileges the power of oral narratives in Haiti to build connections between people, ancestors and the landscape, and to create knowledge and material impacts through human practices and performances. Narratives of the land and the lakou (homestead) constitute social relationships creating a continuous circle of connection between generations. It also creates a foundation of knowledge, the basis of relations, which, in turn, builds kinship and personhood. Or as transnational feminists contend, subjectivity is a product of a collective consciousness (Mohanty 2006; Nagar and Swarr 2010). Understanding these characteristics takes time and methods that allow different worldviews to emerge as valuable concepts. In this sense, my attempt to allow the respondents to tell their own story follows a transnational feminist call for methodologies that decolonize knowledge production. This dissertation attempts to address this concern in three ways: First, by beginning with broad research objectives to understand the sociological underpinnings of food security, and then employing grounded theory to emerge the patterns and categories that represent a more accurate and precise representation of the Haitian peasant experience and perspective in the
Commune of Limonade. Second, it includes the diverse voices of the Haitian peasants through the analysis and direct quotations in an effort to insert their voices and varied knowledge(s) into the research process. Finally, as mentioned, the research findings were presented to the communities for vetting and verification of the knowledge generated in an effort to share power, while recognizing that power was mine to give and thus a power balance was not fully achieved. Accounting for power in the research process is problematic, difficult, messy and incomplete.

Harding (1991) and Haraway (1991) remind us that all knowledge is marked by its origins. Knowledge is not universally applicable, but subjugates other knowledges and their producers. So, as researchers, we never create full knowledge, only knowledge that is partial, specific and limited. This awareness is further complicated by the researcher-research assistants-interviewee relationships in the actual fieldwork, which further mediates knowledge generated during the research process.

2. Working with Research Assistants

I interviewed and selected research assistants based on criteria such as their university education, Creole, French and English language skills, personable interaction, and knowledge of agricultural projects in the North Department. Some had worked with me on previous projects, while others were new. In all, twelve research assistants were hired – eight men and four women. Not all assistants were retained for the duration of the project. To fully engage the assistant researchers and make the experience more meaningful, a Terms of Reference agreement (Appendix I) was provided with expectations, ethical research requirements, work details, timelines, and final report requirements (Appendix II). This approach to working with the research assistants provided a higher level of engagement and critical thinking. Team meetings were often energized and productive and the assistants each had documents that they could provide to future employers as proof of experience.
Two research assistants, Dr. Mark Schuller and myself, reviewed the Creole survey and instruments for clarity and meaning. The assistants chosen for the project were provided Research Ethics training to ensure they understood the meaning of free and informed consent. A second day was spent on gender training, since gender was a main theme in the data collection. Examples were used to demonstrate how different expectations of men versus women would enable or disable responsibilities and opportunities, and costs and benefits of projects, which, in turn, could enable or disable the ability to create food security for oneself or one’s family. On the second day, we reviewed the Creole interview schedules, going over each question to ensure the translation was accurate and the assistants understood the purpose and meaning of each question. Based on the research assistant’s understandings, I altered the questions for better accuracy. Finally, each assistant executed a test interview, which we discussed as a team. The purpose of this test interview was to allow us to review and change questions, and the order in which they were to be asked, as a means of ensuring that the desired data was achieved. These initial interviews were not included in the overall data findings. I had three main field working seasons: May-June 2013, October-December 2013, and January-May 2014. Data and theory verification presentations occurred in April 2016 and February 2017 by research assistants. After each field session, there would be a small addition or removal of assistants from the team, and the training package was repeated.

3. Working in Script

Fieldwork Session 2009

Haitian Research Assistant – “I am not who they told you I am.”
Lead Author - “And neither am I.”

Fieldwork is somewhat akin to acting in a play – the script is, at least in part, written
before our arrival, or as Schuller (2010:125) explains, "because our whiteness follows us and precedes us and affects others in our wake." In this sense, we are drawn into prescribed performances that we must acknowledge, negotiate, and be wary of, in order to realize how our presence may impact the lives of others. At the most overt level, white foreigners are constantly reminded of class- and race-based status by the incessant and public demarcation of being called blan. At a more covert level, practices and performances make it difficult to move beyond our prescribed colonial scripts. On covert levels, the performance unravels in different ways.

The prescribed script is present, but my ability to rewrite or discard it depended in part on flexibility or willingness of my Haitian co-actor. During my 10 years in the field, I have worked with some amazing research assistants and some have become my closest allies. These are the people who have been willing to build bridges of understanding with me, to openly talk about the covert script, and to use it to our advantage. These are the people who inform me whose face should be used to better our position – their black face or my white face. They would help me bargain a deal, alert me to lies in the interviews, and warn me of possible cultural oversteps that would either cause disrespect or put me in danger. They are the ones who took a chance on me and, by choosing to share their situated knowledge and personal stories, allowed me the honour and privilege to better understand Haiti. Through their stories and explanations and my small achievements in learning Creole, I began to gain a partial understanding of their culture, as well as a partial sense of insider status. These achievements meant that, we were able to rewrite the script with at least a few people. I had gained a degree of power over the script, meaning my subjectivity was not fixed, and I was able to partially decolonize myself.

These research assistants are the people with whom I have built relations and they are the ones who presented me to the communities. They are the ones who smile knowingly at me when people ask me “What kind of project did you bring?” and we needed to repeat, again, the story that I am a researcher and I do not work with an NGO. However, even the strongest of research collaborations can be difficult at times, and, there was one moment that in my usual
habit of triple-checking information, I inadvertently disrespected a close colleague. At that moment, we slipped back into well-worn roles of blan and Haitian, like an elastic snapping back after being overstretched. However, this colleague and I were able to start again to build an understanding and level of trust that subverts the script.

These close colleagues also remind me when my performance is obligatory. In Haiti, nearly every child demarcates white foreigners by screaming out blan. It is incessant. If they see a foreigner coming, then everybody knows a foreigner has arrived – there is no quiet entrance. One day, I was particularly annoyed by the script and I ignored two children as they branded me. A research assistant corrected my lack of participation in the performance, explaining the mother was bothered that I wouldn’t engage with the ritual rapport - smiling and interaction with her children. I corrected my behavior and played the obligatory role of blan. In all honesty, the children’s smiling faces and the knowledge that they were only demonstrating a learned performance and were too young to fully grasp the jaded undertones of the script, was a relief.

At times, it seems participating in the script I detest just makes the day easier; it was a process of gaining acceptance and then access. However, engagement may have negative consequences too. Earlier in my Master’s research, I visited the home of one interviewee who later reported that her landlord was pressuring her for an increase in rent because she was seen with white people. The script brings real impacts to both sides and is a reminder that I need to be careful when I move through someone else’s world.

I have also worked with assistants who would never subvert the script. Despite multiple attempts to explain my political position, my feminist methodology, and my understanding of Haiti, two people were more interested in holding onto their power over foreigners. My desire to subvert the script never became theirs, and there was nothing I could say to convince them that a different relationship was possible or even necessary. This lesson remind me that the inflexibility of the script depends on the individuals and that the negative impact of foreign interventions create deep scars that are not easily healed. I will always represent the source of
that scar and I cannot change that fact. I ended both working relationships, since lying and
misdirection were getting in the way of the research project; data from these two assistants
were struck from the record.

The interaction between the researcher and the interviewee has in some ways been
already prescribed. In Haiti, it is a performance shaped over centuries of class- and race-based
relations, and, more currently, the last five decades of Haitian engagement with international
non-governmental and governmental development organizations. The prescribed role is hard to
shake off. Or as Schuller (2010:106-107) states,

[m]y status, my position as a blan, as a white man, gives meaning to my
experiences by shaping what people say (and how they say it) in front of me
and how they interact with me.

Considering these challenges researchers face in cross-cultural settings—the first being a
challenge to understand another’s epistemology, the second, operating in a prescribed
performance or script, and third working through our own colonial and imperial history, then
leaves me with methodologies and positionality as my first line of defense to address these
issues. Realizing how the playing field is shaped reinforces the challenges of decolonizing
research and ethical dilemmas. However, it does not mean we should not participate. On the
contrary, engaging in the difficulties gives us further insights and contributions for development
institutions, which currently spend little effort in this regard. How to engage in these
entanglements and replace epistemologies that create hierarchies of knowledge production is
exactly the challenge that needs disrupting. As Sundberg (2015:120) acknowledges, we
researchers are "complicit with, and benefit from the very politico-economic systems that
constitute our research subjects"; therefore it is our responsibility to challenge them.
A Final Reflection on Uninvited Researchers

Most researchers, including myself, arrive uninvited. I introduce myself to the communities and present my research aim, but is this the best way to enter a community and is it the best way to be in service as an activist researcher? At the 2013 Haitian Studies Association, young researchers argued that foreigners should not conduct research in Haiti. I challenge this assertion and argue good research is constituted by three characteristics: a) employing good theory and methodology; b) knowing one’s positionality; and c) establishing an open dialogue on relation-building with the communities. During the conference, Haitian diaspora researchers argued that their race and ethnicity gave them the privileged position of doing better research than white foreigners. Many of these researchers had spent much of their formative years outside of Haiti, educated in foreign countries, and have stark class and spiritual differences. I would argue that these researchers need to progress through the same three steps to achieve decolonizing research. The same epistemological work is required by any researcher regardless of race or ethnicity, and is an outcome of class differences that shade our lens and places the diversity of voices of our respondents into the work we disseminate. On a positive note, privileged positions allow foreign and diaspora researchers access to resources that will allow us to unravel research problems that a Haitian national researchers may not achieve. This, again, reinforces the need for in-service activism. Finally, an outsider’s vantage point may allow us to see more easily how global power may be disrupted, and, since we are foreigners, we come to the field questioning everything we encounter. I am in no way discounting Haitian diaspora or Haitian nationals as researchers, since they offer important perspectives that are unavailable to me. More importantly, considering the protracted nature of colonialism and neocolonialism and the depth of the problems we aim to overturn, building linkages between researchers of all positionalities and with willingness to employ good methodologies, is a better choice than creating camps. Furthermore, I am not discounting
Sundberg’s (2015) argument that research is situated within colonial legacies and is never free of ethical dilemmas – there are no pure places from which to engage research.

Despite this claim that researchers should work together, we are still left with the concern that researchers of all backgrounds arrive uninvited. I subscribe to the belief that working closely with a community in order to achieve their research goals is appropriate. My own efforts to connect with communities prior to entering the field have taught me that only physical face-to-face communications and negotiations about research aims and relations will result in collaborations. Tobias, Richmond, and Luginaah (2013) call for researchers to embrace ethical community-based research so as to move beyond past research injustices. Scholars define ethical research as incorporating two characteristics: a) relational accountability as previously discussed; and b) mindful reciprocity, meaning researchers need to participate in thoughtful and compassionate relationships (Ball and Janyst 2008; Kovach 2009; Wilson 2008; Pearson and Page 2012). Strathern (2015) warns us, knowledge can be detached from the people who produce it and used by independent phenomena without permission. Research creates those detachments; therefore it seems necessary that we start redefining what counts as knowledge to be interrogated and imagining new relations with communities, and to look at the impact of our relation through knowledge exchanges. It means using cogenerated knowledge to push the agenda of the community through dissemination of research, in part through academic journals, and, also, through policy papers to development organizations.

These characteristics of relationship-building extend beyond the communities and to the research assistants. Engaging with people means contact post-research project. It means keeping in contact with communities and research assistants – finding employment opportunities, writing letters of recommendations, connecting CBOs to potential new networks and research opportunities, and being concerned for people’s health and well being.

Embracing community-based research has positive characteristics, including producing: a) research which meets community self-determined needs; b) research work that is practical
and usable; and c) research which is current and represents true service or activism. However, it is worth noting that research is an occupation with funding and academic deadlines that will not wait for local communities to formulate research needs. In an ideal world, it would be best if national universities or local research partners could act as nodes to match researchers with community needs. However, this has a number of drawbacks, including: a) difficulty in fitting into the research goals of academic institutions or funding agencies; b) political interference or exclusion of some communities; c) difficulty locating researchers with interests similar to community needs, and d) exclusion of women’s interests, or the interests of other socially excluded groups, by the vetting agency and communities. This conversation is more extensive than what I am able to present here.

**Limitation of the Study**

Gathering mixed empirical field data research is a useful research strategy. However, it remains a challenge to create a knowable world that reduces the human experience to a set of replicable categories, patterns and theories collected by a foreign observer. Although I aimed to generate decolonized knowledge with CBO members, I acknowledge the process to document the plethora of voices and perspective into attainable documents for readers to be a difficult task, and suggest that further engagement and research into community-engaged research is necessary.

The dichotomy portrayed of the world food economy versus an internally oriented food economy ignores overlapping areas of interaction and requires further investigation. These areas include: a) a more current look at the activities of Madan Sara’s engagement with the world food economy; and b) how the small middle class participate in business practices and consumer patterns through supermarkets, hotels and restaurants that encourage importation.
Conclusion

Geographic fieldwork has the potential to produce knowledge from a specific vantage point and, in doing so, reproduce power imbalances and obscure power relations, resulting in research that can serve to reinforce dominant narratives. The politics of research, therefore, must be central to learning and executing fieldwork to coproduce knowledge. Feminist activist research, or research in-service, is not about giving back, or paying forward. It is about standing in solidarity as an activist, and letting one’s privileged position be of use to someone who may benefit from the skill set. To achieve this goal, good methodologies need to heighten engagement and strengthen relation-building. It would be naïve to suggest that power was balanced in this research study, or the methods and methodology were perfectly seamless. Yet, I feel safe in suggesting that small successes were made. These improved my understanding, production and dissemination of the epistemological position and worldview of the community groups I interviewed. Therefore, I would say the goal in good research is good research practices combined with building meaningful relationships with the communities involved.
CHAPTER FOUR – POWER IN THE WORLD FOOD ECONOMY:

GENDERED DIMENSIONS OF TRANSFORMATIONS IN HAITI'S FOOD ECONOMY

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to explore how the penetration of neoliberal tenets to open up Haiti's internally-oriented food economy, in order to be accessible by the world food economy, relies on gendered labour and has profound gender affects on women's roles, responsibilities and health. A review of scholarly literature, institutional documents, and interviews with expert interlocutors and women from the rural, peri-urban and urban settings across Haiti, are used to meet two objectives: 1) to re-narrate the transition of the food system through a gendered lens; and 2) to demonstrate the gendered effects of the internal food economy transition. I found that policies designed to globalize Haiti's food economy to improve food security removed women's means of agricultural production and intensified their responsibility of distribution and consumption pushing them further into poverty. I argue that to improve food security, gender must be recognized and treated as a constitutive to the solution.

Key Words: world food economy, gender, peasants, food security, Haiti

Introduction

While the world food economy is widely credited for providing affordable food, it is also increasingly criticized for delivering price spikes and food insecurity to countries of the Global South (Clapp 2012). Haiti is no exception. Scholars who study Haiti identify the historically-constructed political economy, and greater current reliance on global food imports as the cause of Haiti’s protracted food insecurity (Dubois 2012; Cohen 2013; Steckley and Weis 2017; Mintz
Agriculture remains central to the Haitian economy; once responsible for 40% of Haiti’s GDP in the 1990s, today it contributes only 25% (USAID 2010; MARNDR 2010). National production supplies just 43% of Haiti’s food needs, while 51% is met by food imports and 6% by food aid, leaving the population vulnerable to global price spikes. By comparison, in 1981 food imports represented only 18% of the Haitian diet (MARNDR 2010; WFP 2008). Astonishingly, despite this decline in local consumption of local production, 60% of the Haitian population still participates in farming (USAID 2010b).

The Government of Haiti (GOH) encourages integration into the world food economy, even though the outcome is an increased dependence on cheaper food imports which undercut local cultivation of crops such as rice (Dupuy 2014; Cohen 2013; Wilcock and Jean-Pierre 2012; IFAD 2013; Gros 2010). The world food economy is a neo-liberal supply-production-centric economic model of trade that relies on production based comparative advantage. The world food economy is representative of a neoliberal ideological and political project because it works to improve human well-being by reducing and removing barriers to business and capital accumulation through liberalizing food markets and trade, and deepen integration into global markets. In reality, this approach privileges the business entities and powerful actors functioning within the world food economy over human well-being of Haitian peasants and urban poor. Haiti’s integration into the world food economy deepens as consumption patterns change and demand for national production shrinks. This works in cross-purposes with Haitian women, who are the main guardians and main beneficiaries of the internally-oriented food economy. The internally-oriented food economy is a locally designed system of production, distribution, and consumption layered with social meaning, roles and responsibilities. The aftereffect is an inability to generate enough income and food to feed the rural household and communities, and
increased migration to urban centres in search of employment. This results in increased food insecurity and social instability. It is useful to consider the two economies as a binary to make obvious spatial relations - who has power to shape economies, who benefits, and who becomes marginalized. Further, it helps us to examine and understand revolutionary motivations and actions. This approach comes with limitations in the sense that it plays down the fact that Haiti has always been part of the world food economy and that women, specifically Madan Sara, have always adapted their roles to access and benefit from the world food economy where possible. Haitians are well aware of their contradictory role as distributors and consumers of imports and the negative impacts these activities have on Haiti’s national production and individual health.

Scholars of Haiti too identify this inherent contradiction within Haiti’s political economy and are able to link class- and race-based ideologies as enabling this extractive process, they almost always neglect gender dynamics as constitutive of the transition that opened up Haiti’s land and labour for participation in the global food economy. Therefore, the aim of this paper is to examine how the penetration of neoliberal tenets to open up Haiti’s internally-oriented food economy, a women’s domain, to be accessible by the world food economy relied on gendered labour and had profound gender affects on women’s roles, responsibilities and health. Two objectives for achieving this aim are: 1) to re-narrate the transition of the food system through a gendered lens by reviewing institutional documents and scholarly literature; and 2) to demonstrate the gendered effects of the transition through field research in Haiti.

In addition to a review and analysis of peer-reviewed scholarship on Haiti, I analyze documents and data retrieved from the FAO, UNDP, WB, and GOH. Further, I draw on field

21 I argue rural-urban migration increased as income opportunities (market sales and agricultural labour) in the rural areas decreased caused by increased imports and a continued lack of investment by the state. However, migration patterns are motivated by multiple factors including access to secondary school, relatives in the urban, etc. Scholars argue for and against access to land causing migration (Lundahl 2011 versus Gardella 2006; Sletten and Egset 2004).
observations and data collected between 2010 and 2017. Focus groups, as well as structured and semi-structured interviews, provide insight into perceptions of changing diets, access to and availability of food, livelihoods, and household well-being. Expert Interlocutors, and groups of women interviewed, included peasants\textsuperscript{22} from rural and peri-urban areas in the Commune of Limonade in North Haiti, and rural-urban migrants in urban Limonade and Cap-Haïtien in the north, and Port-au-Prince in the west. These data were mostly collected in Creole, translated and transcribed by research assistants and the lead researcher, and entered into qualitative and quantitative software to catalogue opinions regarding food security and changing food regimes. To achieve this goal, I considered in detail the classed, raced, and gendered position of women, who are considered the \textit{poto mitan} (centre pole of responsibility) of the household and community (N’Zengou-Tayo 1998; Bergan and Schuller 2009; Vansteenkiste 2017). The transformation of Haiti’s food systems, and associated outcomes, is not just an economic problem or a political problem in which women are marginalized, but is also considered as a social problem in which gender relations are central.

\textit{Conceptual Framework}

There are three areas of literature that inform this paper. The first is a dominant critical narrative of Haiti’s insertion into the global food economy to explain how international entities (i.e. WB, IMF, UN, IDB, USAID), and Haiti’s national actors (i.e. the elite business and political class), come together to create a food system that results in structural poverty for Haitian peasants (Lundahl 2015; Steckley 2015; Dupuy 2012, 1989; Mintz 2010, 1989; Mazzeo 2009; Hallward 2007; Farmer 2003; Fatton 2002; Woodson 1997; and Trouillot 1995). In order to tease out and revise this narrative to focus more closely on the role of gender, I turn to

\textsuperscript{22} Small farmers in Haiti refer to themselves as \textit{peyizan} (peasants), as depicted in \textit{Mouvman Peyizan Papay} (Peasant Movement of Papay). I too engage this word in an effort to revalorise its meaning away from often homogenous and negative connotations.
transnational feminism and the gender and development literature. A transnational feminist lens helps explain how inequality experienced by Haitian women is grounded in the intersectionality of historically-developed class, race, and gender roles (Schuller 2015; Bell 2001; Charles 1995a, 1995b 1990; N’zengou-Tayo 1998). The gender and development literature focuses on the masculinized and gender-blind nature of development at the national and international policy levels. It achieves this by drawing attention to how development excludes women’s knowledge and experience, yet simultaneously relies on their labour in order to privilege men’s activities (Enloe 2012; Li 2007a, Schroeder 1999; Cornwall et al 2004; Moser 1993). Taken together, I bridge these conversations to help guide an interrogation into the intersection of shifts in food systems to expose how social exclusions are constructed to place women’s bodies (rural, poor peri-urban and urban women) in service to the world food economy despite their own marginalization.

Central to the marginalization of women is the treatment of power. I examine how the dominant narratives of causes and solutions to food insecurity are maintained, even in the face of evidence that Haiti is disadvantaged by its inclusion in the world food economy. The problem appears complex, since power from the international level is neither homogenous, nor does it come from one governing source with a singular intention or will; power comes from a range of actors and sources (Li 2007a). Clapp identifies this as the middle space, where actors called ‘intermediaries’ work to control and influence how the world food economy operates. It is in the middle space where norms, practices, and rules that govern the world food economy take form and shape powerful social relations. These social relations reach across geographical space to reproduce and adapt existing class, race and gender hierarchies in order to meet the goal of integration into the world food economy. In so doing, they have profound social and material effects on women’s lives. I demonstrate Enloe’s (2014:323) assertion that “the personal is international; the international is personal”. This signifies that international politics relies upon the manipulation of naturalized gendered roles and their multiple meanings to harness women’s
labour for its own ends. I do so by focusing on how Haitian women’s labour in the internally-oriented food economy is naturalized through its categorization of informal, subsistence or household, and used for the continued maintenance of the cheap labour force for exported goods and maintaining Haitian society. It is, in part, because of women’s intersecting social exclusions, - not only gendered as ‘apolitical’ dependent women, but also class and race constructions as poor, backward, black peasants -, that the food economy transition easily manipulates women's labour without their input, in order to uphold a system which simultaneously serves to marginalize them. The position is contradictory. It asks women to embody a position to serve a patriarchal world food economy, in an act of neocolonialism deployed by international and elite national actors, and denies them a voice in the design process as full legitimate citizens. As Fanon (1961) suggests in his own work, women are mere bodies used to meet the needs of colonizers.

Internally-Oriented Food Economy meets World Food Economy

What is Haiti’s internally-oriented food economy?

Haiti’s internally-oriented food economy refers to Haiti’s system of national production, distribution and consumption responsible for feeding the population. This system operates largely under the control of woman with the support of men (Gardella 2006; Charles 2010; Mintz 1971). As such, it is a feminized domain. It is complex and consists of six dynamic subsectors. First, the household economy, where rural and peri-urban women rely on the lakou (homestead) garden to feed the household, and includes goats, chickens and geese. This livestock simultaneously act as a savings account. Second is a subsistence food economy, in which rural and peri-urban women rely on natural resources to meet basic needs through cultivation and gathering uncultivated food outside the lakou. Third, is the social economy, in which rural and peri-urban women (more so than new rural migrant women to the urban setting), share plates of
food to build a food safety network. Fourth is the informal market economy, in which rural and peri-urban women sell cultivated or gathered foods, charcoal, home-processed foods, seeds, or artisan crafts, so that they might purchase or trade for food. Fifth is the informal market distribution system, organized and operated by Madan Sara. In this system, women collect and redistribute food to and from rural and urban Haiti, and even across the Caribbean and beyond, blurring the distinction between the global and local economy as women adapt activities to optimize their position in the transitioning food economy. Finally, sixth, a formal food economy in which urban women and, less so, peri-urban and rural women, buy and resell imported food goods working within a capitalist-style economy.

These subcategories are the domain of women, and they constitute what I consider the internally-oriented food economy. Within the gendered food economy, different groups of women have different roles and responsibilities. Women produce food crops for the internally-oriented market. They are responsible for the links between small rural gardens and consumers (Charles 1995a:144), either by selling directly, or through an intermediary called Madan Sara. Selling directly to consumers is often dependent on such factors as their nearness to market, other household responsibilities, and their need to retain higher profits. Men are not excluded, but play support roles to make the internally-oriented food economy operate. As Mintz correctly pronounces agriculture is a men’s domain, yet I contend, as does Mintz (1971), that the functioning of the internally-oriented food economy is a woman’s domain and includes the harnessing of men’s labour to meet these ends. Men are more often landowners. They provide the heavy labour that is necessary to support the cultivation of crops, which the women tend to and harvest. Women, not men, own the garden production (Gardella 2006; Murray 1977). Women access male land and labour through conjugal arrangements. However, there are also
women who are landless\textsuperscript{23} wage earners and independent small landholders (app. 1 ha) (Charles 1995a:144). It is almost always men that cultivate for the export-oriented food economy, by selling products for cash through intermediaries. Men also fish, labour for cash, raise large animals, and participate in supplying the world food economy by selling exports through intermediaries – a male domain. However, women are considered the \textit{poto mitan} of the household, meaning it is a women’s responsibility to care for household food and finances. Men contribute cash to the household, but often need reminding, and at times pressure, to fulfill this obligation. Men who are financially successful will often support more than one family, following a tradition of polygamy, and adding to a woman’s daily burden the worry of securing male financial support.

What is the world food economy?

The world food economy is complex in a different way. Clapp (2012:5) establishes the world food economy as an increasingly global web of production, trade, and processing supply chains influenced by countless international economies and political forces. Through international organizations and a myriad of intermediaries – large agribusiness, trading and shipping companies and corporate food processors, occupy what Clapp calls the \textit{middle space}. These actors shape the social, economic and ecological relationships associated with food between local settings, between countries, and with international actors such as the FAO, WTO, and WB and domestic actors such as USAID, agribusiness, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) who work and have influence internationally. However, these systems are poorly understood and rarely do the plethora of actors occupying the \textit{middle space} (or the

\textsuperscript{23} In rural Haiti 80\% of people have access to land and 70\% cultivate land (Gardella 2006; Sletten and Egset 2004). Land ownership is made up of small fragmented parcels accumulated over a lifetime mixed with access to rented land, sharecropping and state land (Vansteenkiste 2017). In all of the Caribbean peasants in Haiti have the most equitable land distribution (Steckley 2015). Owners of large land tracts are few.
scholars who study it), consider the use of gendered roles to facilitate and support the creation of the world food economy, or the additional costs to women as their roles, responsibilities and lives transition.

**Origins and Transformation of Gendered Roles and Food Economies**

I begin tracing the origins of the feminized internally-oriented food economy during the turn of the 18th century and independence, by including the establishment of class, race and gendered roles. I continue the investigation by paying attention to how actors in the middle space, specifically the FAO, WB and agribusinesses, help shape the neoliberal world food economy during the 1970s and 1980s. The narration then describes how actors with power within the space of the world food economy and Haitian elite adapted the feminized internally-oriented food economy and women’s roles and responsibilities to meet their goals. Finally I discuss the outcomes to women’s health. I am attentive to the ways in which men’s small-scale export food production activities traditionally support women in their role as poto mitan, and how both gendered roles are transformed. Further, I discuss how the transition to playing a greater role in the world food economy relies upon women’s labour to continue serving reproductive and subsistence roles in support of household participation in assembly industries and agro-exportation plantations.

**Origins of the Feminized Internally-Oriented Food Economy**

During colonial rule, slaves established an internally-oriented food economy that persists today. It began in gardens on small plots of land along the margins of plantations. It flourished for survival, since food and protections allotted to them were not provided as per stated in Louis
XIV’s 1685 Code Noir (James 1963)\textsuperscript{24}. These gardens allowed women to feed fellow slaves, and sell or trade food products with slaves at other plantations and at local markets. This planted the genesis of today’s feminized internally-oriented food economy and marked the beginning of the peasant class and economy (Trouillot 1990; Mintz 1985 Murray 1977:48-49, 54; Carney 2008). Plantation owners encouraged gardens, since the activity subsidized the cost of plantation production by feeding the labour (Weis 2007; Fick 1990:32).

In one of the few passages that discusses female slaves during colonialism, C.L.R. James (1963) identifies their triple burdens - manual labour, reproduction\textsuperscript{25} of the slave class via food production and childbirth, and as concubines for their white masters\textsuperscript{26}. It was from forced gendered subjugation of black women as sex slaves that the powerful mulâtre class was born. Race was constructed along a black-white continuum associated with varying privileges and burdens. The continuum included a mostly black peasantry relegated to slave labour, maroons or runaway slaves, free black slaves, free mulâtre (mixed European and African ancestry), and an elite white class, made up of petits blancs (professional or salary earners, soldiers, non-land owning whites), and finally gros blanc (plantation owners) (Fick 1990; James 1963; Mintz 1989). Mulâtre and the white elite were property owners, and this material foundation formed the basis of the social relationships with black labour and the state (James 1963:44; Fick 1990). Free mulâtre owned many of the plantations, and possibly a third of all land at the time of the Haitian revolution (1791-1804), and they owned slaves and hired petits blanc. However, they were

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item[24] Code Noir was a legal framework established to protect slaves from the brutal treatment inflicted by white planters (Schuller 2016), it also dictated that slaves were property to be divided between inheritors and required slaves be baptized and practice Catholicism (Fick 1190).
\item[25] At times, women resisted their reproductive role through abortions (Valdman 2000; Fick 1990), slaves in general resisted by poisoning masters (James 1963)
\item[26] CLR James (1963) has no reference to women, females, wives, girls, aunts or mothers in the index, demonstrating how women are sidelined in the telling of history
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
treated as inferior in every other way, including being unable to hold public office\textsuperscript{27}, or to practice law, medicine, and pharmacy (Fick 1990:20; Leyburn 1966).

Following independence, the Haitian elite attempted to recreate the plantation system and to re-proletarianize the peasants. The Constitution was used as a tool to meet this goal by enforcing the policing of farm activities through local geographic units called habitations. This ensured that labour was controlled and productive, in order to benefit economic development (Title IIX, Art. 34 and 35). President Boyer deepened control by instituting Rural Code in 1825, designed to remilitarize agriculture and force peasants back to the plantations. However, Haiti was borne out of slavery and the peasants were unwilling to return (Trouillot 1990). Despite this failed attempt at forced labour, power inequality remained between the peasants, the elite class and the state. Notably, peasants who provided crucial labour for small scale export to fill the state coffers (used mainly for debt payments) and to enrich business elite, were unworthy of state investments of education, health, or infrastructure to improve and prosper from their own labour (Dupuy 1989). Black females were further marginalized, earning only one-third the wages for their labour (Charles 1995b). The poor distribution of costs and benefits of state resources, and the extraction of peasant labour through exports and profits, deepened the intersecting class, race, and gendered divisions, shaping how and by whom benefits from land were enjoyed.

Political inequality also existed. Post-independence, women’s roles transitioned into family dependents – sisters, mothers, wives – in a patriarchal system that saw them as voiceless apolitical innocents; women did not gain suffrage until 1950 (Charles 1995b). Political exclusion was entrenched through language as all government business was conducted in French, the official language of Haiti, until Creole was added in 1987 making Haiti a bilingual country. Up to that point, the official language designation excluded Creole-speaking peasants from

\textsuperscript{27} Legislation in 1763
participating in the governance of their country or understanding any decisions made on their behalf. In an additional act of exclusion, legislation passed in 1825 marked rural peasants as second-class citizens, followed by a 1945 ruling whereby the term ‘Paysan’ was required to appear on birth certificates, until revoked in 1988 (N’zengou-Tayo 1998:119). The law impacted which schools peasants were allowed to attend, and, ultimately, which jobs they could secure. It served as a clear marker of mounn andeyò, literally, ‘people outside’. This marked the spatial boundaries between the extractive urban elite class and the peasants from which they extracted cheap labour with minimal contact.

Women’s responsibilities include selling the lakou garden harvest to contribute to the internal food economy and household economics - solely a woman’s domain (Mintz 1971; Lowenthal 1987; CNSA 2015). Rigid gender roles that tie women to production in the lakou limit political participation, employment opportunities, and movement, making access to land an important resource for women. These responsibilities are couched in conjugal mating patterns called plasaj (common law) restricting most women’s movements and obliging them to centre their activities around the home and local markets (Charles 1995b:142). Plasaj, common law marriages, constitute 85% of peasant unions. Within the framework of plasaj the woman establishes a house and cultivates a field on the man’s land. The arrangement gives women autonomy to pursue market activities while most often the man’s help is restricted to heavy garden labour. When the man is absent, children will help, as will neighbours and relatives in a konbit (team) system of sharing labour and harvests. Alternatively, landless labour may be hired. This mutually supportive arrangement is at the heart of the internally-oriented food economy and make possible participation to the world food economy through the male domain

28 Although often the literature states there is no gender preference in sending children to school (Gardella 2006), the opposite is true. Females are disadvantaged by gendered expectations that require them to exit higher levels of school earlier to support the household through labour and participation in the informal economy to recreate the normalized social arrangements expected of them (Gardella 2006; WB 2015).
of export crops. However, as exports from small farmers decreased due to global oversupply and decreased prices, women were expected to maintain their obligations with less male financial support. Then, when food imports displaced women’s share of local markets and income-generating opportunities, they began to leave the lakou and migrate to urban centres for work.

The gender relations just described supported Haitians during most of the 19th century when Haiti was largely isolated, politically and economically, from the rest of the world. This isolation gave the peasantry an opportunity to develop a strong, uninterrupted connection with the land, and to develop their Vodou spirituality and subsistence activities. By the turn of the 20th century, in the midst of a crippling national debt29, a lack of technical and social investment by the state, six decades of political-economic marginalization by the international community,30 and fighting amongst political factions within Haiti, the peasants still managed to build a relatively self-sufficient internal food economy which was independent of any world food economy (Mintz 1989:262). Scholars argue that Haiti was relatively food self-sufficient until the mid-1980s (Dupuy 2012, Mintz 2010; Gros 2010; Schwartz 2008; McGuigan 2006) and was able to export surplus commodities such as coffee, rice31 (Gros 2010), and sugar (see Figure 4.1) to the global market. The nation also developed magasins de l’état (state grain storage) as insurance during shortages (Gros 2010: 978). All of this internal development hinged on women’s labour to produce, distribute and establish consumption patterns of the internally-oriented food economy.

29 In 1825, under duress, President Boyer agreed to a f150,000,000 debt with France for their loss of slaves and land during the revolution. This debt was later reduced to f60,000,000 in 1838 but to that must be added f30,000,000 that Haiti borrowed from a French bank to begin repayment for a total of f90,000,000, which was finally paid in 1886 (Fatton 2011).

30 Haiti was recognized as a nation state by the United States in 1863 (Casimir-Liautaud : 1975)

31 Haiti was self-sufficient in rice production until 1987 (Gros 2010:980).
Along with the collaboration of the scholars just mentioned, during Mintz’s field work in 1958-9, he commented on how well the subsistence system worked to feed the majority peasant population despite no government investment in infrastructure, education, or health, and despite the peasantry being heavily taxed to support the “entire state apparatus, including the army” (Mintz 2010:121). The configuration allowed the elite to extract surplus peasant wealth to finance the Haitian state for much of the 19th and 20th centuries (Smucker et al. 2000; Trouillot 1995; Mintz 1985). Just as in the dialectical relationship configured during the plantation era, peasant’s labour subsidized a state structure designed to keep them oppressed and to serve the powerful elite. This period of isolation from the international community, and being only subjected to the extractive forces of the national elite, afforded the peasants time to become entrenched in their agrarian lifestyle, building their socio-economic and political
systems from the land. Mintz (1985) the main authority on agriculture production in Haiti, considers this the main reason for the persistence of Haiti’s fiercely independent peasant today.

The World Food Economy

The period of isolation was interrupted with the marine invasion (1915-1934), during which foreign and Haitian investors repurposed state land in the north for export production to the world food economy. This disruption ended in the late 1970s as global markets changed. However, on its heels, a new era of regulation was being formed. The FAO was organizing with the impetus to curb global hunger. Definitions and indicators were struck and used to strengthen and deploy the Western industrial agriculture model. The ideology was positioned perfectly, temporally, to converge with the onset of the debt crisis and associated austerity measures called Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) during the 1970s and 1980s. The climax of the changes converged with the fall of the Duvalier dictatorship in 1986. The converging of events presented an opportunity to reshape Haiti’s internal food economy. The changes explain how peasants lost the opportunity to supply local markets with their agricultural products, prompting massive rural unemployment and subsequent rural-urban migration. This transition occurred across the global south as leaders applied the economic tenets of Milton Friedman and the Chicago Boys (University of Chicago). Their market liberalisation was disseminated through SAPs and international institutions—namely, the WB, IDB, and the IMF. This caused rapid rural-urban migration, and what Mike Davis (2006) aptly named “hyper-urbanization or slumification”.

In Haiti, the very material food system transformation was symbolic of the women’s ongoing relationship with Haiti’s central state, international development institutions, and the newly

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32 In 1960 66.4% of the population in Haiti lived in rural areas; in 2015 46.1% lived in the rural areas (WB 2017b).
33 Market liberalisation, generated by the “Chicago Boys,” was already being applied to Chile after the 1973 coup that overthrew socialist Salvador Allende and brought General Augusto Pinochet to power (Harvey 2005).
restructured world food economy – one of political and economic exclusion, but expected to ensure the functioning of the workforce.

The period prior to the World Food Conference can be described as the alignment of Western industrial agriculture with neoliberal ideology. It is important to note that while the FAO has historically upheld supply-centric models of food security, and promoted trade liberalisation within the agricultural sector, the organization itself has undergone many shifts and transitions since 2005, and is currently positioned within a wider field of international forces that often promote alternative ideas of governance (Gustafson and Markie 2009). However, the period prior to this change is important for the consideration of Haiti’s case.

The FAO is a UN international governance structure, established in 1945 to deal with post-war concerns of production, distribution, consumption, and trade in an integrated fashion, with basic human dignity, economic development, and national and global security underpinning its work (Gustafson and Markie 2009). The FAO’s efforts to create a World Food Board to establish food reserves, redistribute world supplies, and stabilize prices, were met with national protectionism, leaving only international industrial and agricultural development and trade, and commodity policy, the main alternatives for advancement (FAO 1946; Gustafson and Markie 2009). In the 1970s, cereal prices tripled and fertilizer prices quadrupled, and a food crisis ensued. The FAO prepared for the 1974 World Food conference to deal with the crisis. One outcome was the first internationally agreed-upon food security definition:

Availability at all times of adequate world food supplies of basic foodstuffs to sustain a steady expansion of food consumption and to offset fluctuations in production and prices (Devereux and Maxwell 2005:15).

The 1974 definition of food security, influenced by earlier moves to industrialize food production (Clapp 2012:6), a less-than-completely-successful green revolution, the establishment of the US Food for Peace Program in 1954 to distribute US over-production, and then the World Food Programme in 1961, led to the conception of “food security” in terms of supply. This helped to
cement the idea that industrial agricultural was the best development goal to achieve global food security.

The objective of the conference was to ensure that no short-term food shortage would ever occur again despite forecasted population growth (FAO 1974: viii). The FAO’s contribution, “The State of Food and Agriculture 1974,” focused on three pillars to inform world food issues: production, trade, and regional analysis. This narrow path of analysis led the conversation toward privileging industrial agriculture and economic growth, with data on increased global trade utilized as a measurement of success. These priorities precluded discussions promoting agro-ecological practices, which are more suited to fit the socio-economic variations of individual countries within regions. Gender and development as a theoretical and practical approach to development was just gaining recognition, and not included in discussions at the international level. The FAO continued to focus selectively on the constraints of industrial agriculture, thereby failing to understand the contextual constraints of individual countries and populations. This created a misunderstanding of Haitian production, which was adopted by USAID. Furthermore, the FAO looked to regional analysis as opposed to individual country data, thus missing the differences experienced by Haitian producers and the intersectionality of differences among producers when applying the same policy across the global south. Together, the events minimized other ways of thinking about food, making it difficult to consider the benefits of social stability and the roles of women that come with small-scale peasant food production. These beliefs and approaches to food security were reflected in the budgetary allotments to agriculture and rural development. Disbursements from the Government of Haiti, (GOH) over the last 40 years and the international community over the last 25 years were

34 “Agroecology—the foundation of sustainable agriculture—is the science and practice of applying ecological concepts and principles to the study, design, and management of sustainable agroecology. Agroecology combines scientific inquiry with indigenous and community-based experimentation, emphasizing technology and innovations that are knowledge-intensive, low-cost and readily adaptable by small and medium scale producers” Ishii-Eiteman, M. (2009:225).
disproportionately small in comparison to other sectors (Shamsie 2012:133; Cohen 2013). This is an especially egregious fact when one remembers that 60% of the population works in agriculture (Shamsie 2012), indicating the sector should receive state investment and protection.

During the 1980s, the WB and IMF restructured Haiti’s internal governance system and enhanced trade liberalisation through SAPs (Gros 2010; Weis 2007; McGowan 1997). At its core was a neoliberal ideology that promoted the reduction of barriers to foreign direct investment, thereby allowing Haitians to meet their comparative advantage of cheap labour and tropical exports, supposedly to enhance the well-being of people. In reality, it promoted production of export crops for trade over staples for domestic use (Gros 2010). With heightening unequal trade liberalisation rules, foreign imported food rose to account for 60% of all food consumed in Haiti and 80% of all rice (IFAD 2013; Dupuy 2014; Cohen 2013; Wilcock and Jean-Pierre 2012). Rice imports disrupted consumption patterns of other locally grown crops, such as beans, roots, and tubers. The move to export crops specifically impacted women, since their main income stream relied on marketing garden crops. They moved from primary producers in the internal food economy to primary consumers. Overall, trade liberalization has been a failure for Haiti by most measures. Per capita GDP fell from UD$632 in 1980 to UD$332 in 2003; this decline mirrors the declining contribution of agriculture to Haiti’s GDP – from 32.9% in 1996 to 27.1% in 2002, yet agriculture accounts for 50% of the jobs (Gardella 2006). Meanwhile, the value of imports increased from US$354,158 in 1980 to US$1,188,000 in 2003 and US$3,700,000 in 2013 (see Figure 4.2) (FAOSTAT 2017).

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SAPs followed the Washington consensus prescriptions also included fiscal discipline, concentration of public expenditure on public goods, tax reform, market-determined interest rates, competitive exchange rates, privatization of state-owned enterprises, and legal guarantee for property rights (Gros 2010), and was applied to many countries in the global south.
Instead of increasing agricultural support and improving peasant functioning to meet the growing population, the structure that was built only deepened existing extractive tendencies of the middle space, the intermediary class, and refocused their energy and business activities on food importation. Instead, national production for national food security retracted through the installation of policies that placed peasant farmers in direct competition with cheap subsidized imported foods (Cohen 2013; Gros 2010) (see Figure 4.3 and 4.4). Simultaneously coffee\(^{36}\), sugar and textile exports (see Figure 4.5) declined and spurred the agrarian rural-urban migration patterns responsible for the urban slums found mainly in Port-au-Prince and Cap-Haïtien.

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\(^{36}\) Gros (2010) argues that Haitian coffee, which saw peak production in 1955, had trouble competing in the global market due to a lack of capital investment in production facilities, infrastructure, and technology. Competitors were more flexible in acreage and productivity to meet demands.
Migration to urban centres began with women and children (N’zengou-Tayo 1998:126). In the process, women lost control over their means of subsistence to provide for the household. With this, they descended into the lowest rung of social status as
underemployed trinket sellers and urban slum dwellers, increasingly vulnerable to political unrest, and illness (N’zengou-Tayo 1998:126; Charles 1995b:149). In this precarious situation, women at times turn to sex as a means to earn money. Interviewees explain that sex with bosses at NGOs and Haitian elite was a common practice to secure formal employment. Expert interlocutors validated this claim and their own participation in the practice. Further, field observations and scholars document the sex trade and violence women experience with MINUSTAH (UN) peacekeepers and UNIPOL officers (Kolbe 2015).

Unemployment serves the intermediary actors and the GOH who are interested in using cheap labour to increase Haiti’s export potential in industrial assembly and agro-export plantations, often on state lands displacing peasants. Legal minimum wage is not high enough to cover day-to-day living costs, and on a regular basis, employers do not pay the legally mandated rate (WRC 2013). An owner of a manufacturing plant, and expert interlocutor, reported he did not pay the full minimum wage until the employee was finished their training period, and this is legally acceptable per Haitian law (SC 2014). Plantations are not required to pay minimum wage of 300 gourde/day, rather, they pay an agricultural wage of 200 gourde/per day. Neither wage is sufficient since the actual living wage needed by a family is closer to 1006 gourde/day (SC 2014). Nationally, in all employment sectors, a worker earns only 79% of what they need to meet their family’s basic living costs (WRC 2013). Even this is a changing estimate, due to the declining value of the gourde. Either way, wages are not enough and the arrangement requires feminized work within the internal food economy, namely as poto mitan of the household and food provider, to subsidize the cost of export production.
Adapting the Feminized Internally-Oriented Food Economy

The place of the majority of women is still very much tied to the home. Women are the *poto mitan* of household economics and community food security and social stability, relying on harvests from gardens, marketeering food products, charcoal, artisan crafts, and raising animals. Men contribute heavy labour in the gardens, care for large animals, and contribute money from informal employment and selling export crops (Lundahl 1980; N’Zengou-Tayo 1998; CNSA 2015). The act of participating in food production, distribution and consumption, and sharing, is a moral marker that establishes personhood and membership into a social unit (Kivland 2012). To explain, household food does not mean food for only the immediate household in Haiti, which is fluid and dynamic in membership in and of itself, rather it extends outside of the *lakou* (family yard or homestead) to neighbours and relatives in a tradition of *sharing plates*. Households are linked together through a chain of sharing food and agricultural labour, and also clothes, phone credit, and money, creating a larger unit of interdependence. As observed during fieldwork, when a household shares food, it occurs in accordance to the importance of the person – the more critical one is to the woman’s network and survival, the larger the plate of cooked food one receives. Therefore, the household in Haiti is not a single production unit but a social network of neighbours and kin designed to reduce vulnerability through production and trade (CNSA 2015). These smaller units of production and support are situated within regional and national production and trade circuits. This larger internal distribution system mitigates a lack of appropriate food storage by taking advantage of the variety of micro-climates with differing harvest seasons to trade (CNSA 2015). The differing growing seasons also encourages a system of seed sharing (Murray and Alvarez 1975).

It is this within these interlinked units of production that the six subcategories described at the beginning of the chapter operate and provide strategies for Haitians to survive crises. To support this system, nearly every woman of the peasant and poor class participates in komés
(marketing goods) on streets, intersections, and in nearby local markets in rural, peri-urban and urban locations. Young girls are trained in the art of komés so that they too may become household income earners, and this becomes one driver for girls to leave secondary school earlier than boys. Markets usually operate twice a week with large urban markets running at a reduced level all other days. The distance to the market usually dictates whether a woman sells her produce directly or whether she sells to an intermediary called a Madan Sara.

Madan Sara are responsible for up to 90% of the internal trade in Haiti (FTF 2016). These women travel by donkey to remote mountain areas buying and selling food goods, sharing political, agricultural and health information and extending credit. Where possible, the women rent trucks and travel large distances and operate or supply food depots in a lucrative, intricate, regional and interregional distribution system that is necessary for Haiti’s food security system. One Madan Sara interviewee explained “I rent a large truck with two other Madan Sara and we travel up to the mountain where we trade food, news, and credit with cultivators.” The internally-oriented food distribution system is feminized space characterized by a class hierarchy of street vender, small market vendor, large market vendor, small boutiques, local Madan Sara to regional or national Madan Sara, and Madan Sara depot owners (wholesale and retail). Men also participate in this hierarchy. For instance Dominican buyers will enter Haiti and purchase maize when the markets are flooded at harvest and prices are low (USAID 2013). They also wholesale goods in Cap-Haitien.37 These scenarios were corroborated by field observations and interviewees. Elite Haitian males, often of Lebanese or German descent, run the export-import sector, including warehouses and depots. Yet, without the Madan Sara, the internally-oriented food economy would not function. In spite of this, development initiatives routinely neglect Madan Sara as a target group who make significant contributions to food security.

37 This observation is confirmed by USAID 2013.
Globalization changes the internally-oriented food economy. The transition relies on the adaptation and continuation of women’s roles, and then further marginalizes women. Elite Haitian males have further expanded their role as importers in the new food economy. Imports include staple grains – rice, beans, lentils, - and also highly processed foods – wheat flour, hotdogs, spaghetti, Coca-Cola and Tampico (processed artificial juice), cornflakes, crackers, processed snack foods, candy, evaporated milk, tomato paste, many vegetables and legumes from the Dominican Republic, along with the rejected food of American consumers – chicken feet – and Dominican consumers – broken rice. An expert interlocutor estimated that local markets are the distribution point of 70% to 80% of all imported goods. As imports enter the market, consumer preferences change, encouraged by: cheap prices, the lack of necessity of clean water, fuel, storage, or labour for preparation, and the perceived status of consuming ‘white’ foods. In turn, the market shrinks for local produce and for women to earn an income from their production. One urban interviewee reported feeding her children sweet pop and bread for dinner when she could afford nothing else. Nutrition and income earning from garden production are important subcategories for household survival.

Although men provide the heavy labour to cultivate gardens for women, their participation after that is more often directed to coffee or cocoa production for export. Men’s export crops, since the 1940s, have been under the jurisdiction of state-selected rural and urban elite families who control both imports and exports (Charles 1995b). As exports began to fall in the 1970s with the associated debt crisis recession (see Figure 4.2), men began to migrate in search of work, sometimes to sugar plantations in the Dominican Republic, or further. This results in leaving women without male labour for cultivation. It also results in less income, greater

38 It is worth noting that some food products are misrepresented in Haitian markets such as Corn Soy Blend sold as Corn (USAID 2013). Milk products are edible oils and Haitians are generally unaware of the difference.
39 See Steckley (2016) for a description of status, race and food.
40 Between 1961 to 2010 total migration to all countries increased from 51,997 persons/year to 150,000 persons/year (WB 2017), representing economic and politically motivated movements.
hardship and the weakening of the production unit. As reported during an interview, one urban women migrant lamented: “My husband went to the Dominican Republic; I have waited five years for him to return.” As the global market shifts and wanes, the female-dominated internally-oriented food market is assumed to always serve its reproductive and subsistence roles, despite the pressures put upon it, as well as assurance for a better future.

Figure 4.5 Haiti, Declining Exports - Coffee, Sugar, Sisal (1961-2012)

As elite Haitian males capture parts of the food market with imported staples and processed foodstuffs, the change is felt throughout the food-distribution hierarchy as women adapt their roles to the new pressures. Madan Sara, like elite Haitian males, take advantage of the new tariffs and leave behind smaller producers in their rural circuits and add distribution of imported goods from the Caribbean and neighbouring Dominican Republic. Likewise, Madan Sara will buy rice in the Haitian market and sell into Dominican markets (USAID 2013). Local women who can no longer rely on sales of their cultivated and uncultivated produce, begin to adapt and buy and resell foreign products. Simultaneously, export demand from small farmers

41 In the 1970s there arose an international Madan Sara who would travel to other countries within the Caribbean or to bring back material items for sale (N’Zengou 1998).
declined, and men began to travel further and further in search of work. Sometimes, men will send remittances home, and other times not. Men occasionally will begin new families in new locations, adding competition for their resources.

Peasants’ source of production – the local garden – is replaced by offshore agriculture, and the value of their activities – support for the household - is captured as profits in a value chain. Haitian women and men have become unpaid consumers and distributors for the world food economy; their participation dialectically undermines their own production system and well-being. In the midst of this increasing inequality and marginalization, women begin to migrate with their children to urban settings. This transition began in the 1970s and in earnest in the 1980s. In 2012, the WB (2015) estimated that 33.7% of urban household in Haiti are extremely food-insecure, and that number increases to 45.5% for rural areas. As well, while extreme poverty has declined over the past 12 years in urban Haiti, it remains stable in rural Haiti (WB 2014). Along with pressure from the global food economy, development agencies continue being a conduit for neoliberal market structures. This is because they are distributors of food aid which are well-documented in their ability to undermine local farmers (Cohen 2013; CHRGJ et al. 2010; Clapp and Fuchs 2009; Schwartz 2008; WB 1998:33-35; USAID 2013). USAID (2013) identifies food aid in the 1970s as responsible for the presence of bulgur wheat in the Haitian diet and 99% of the 11 553 MT of bulgur in Haiti in 2013.42 Schuller (2015) suggests that Haitian women being singled out as heads of households for food aid discourages men’s responsibility and makes women targets for gender-based violence, such as trading sex for food rations.

Second, USAID Feed the Future project has installed seed boutiques impacting the seed selling in men’s and women’s portfolio of livelihood strategies - moving the activity from the informal sector to one that can be counted as part of the formal economy. Seed selection includes local corn and beans and imported tomatoes, carrots and cabbage – some passed expiry dates.

42 Food aid enters the markets duty free and is often monetized to provide operating costs for NGOs (see Schwartz 2008)
Today, under the pressure of globalization, an urban interviewee revealed: “I share less
and I hide my own food shortages from my neighbours. They don’t need to know my business.”

As the internal food economy declines, traditions of mutual solidarity are lost, leading to a
demise of social stability. Today, many women sell imported food products. Many have
abandoned their own production and migrated to urban centres in order to get by in a
marginalized political economy of food. Haitians are very aware of the problem and are not
happy with the situation, reporting: “The imported foods are bad for the country. Those foods
prevent Haiti from being a country that can produce for itself”, and “We feel ashamed when Haiti
imports foods. Eating other foods is not good because we don’t encourage the local production.”

Although aware of the issue, and motivated to change the internally-oriented food economy to
improve their circumstances, they are unable to do so because of their lack of financial power
and political voice.

Rural-urban migrant women have lost the opportunity and autonomy to produce for
the household and the community through garden production, gathering of uncultivated
foods, charcoal making and animal husbandry, remembering that animals have the
added benefit of being a savings account. Expert interlocutors draw attention to the
number of young girls in urban centres who will no longer have the economic autonomy
of marketing production enjoyed by the last generation. The social economy and
extended family that act as a trade, credit, labour sharing, and safety networks are also
left behind. Migrants often arrive in the city without a social network of support, leaving
them extremely vulnerable. Many of the new migrants to urban Haiti rely on humanitarian
assistance and church support to meet food needs and to treat their malnourished

43 Flour is duty free when imported on market day at Ouanaminthe (border town with DR). Officially tariffs
are 3.5% on wheat flour and 4% on bulgur and hard wheat. The number of wheat flour importers is more
than twenty. There are three main importers for rice, two for vegetable oil and one for wheat grain. Palm
oil is imported from Malaysia through the USA (USAID 2013). World Bank Group (2015) suggests the
concentrated nature of importers is leading to higher prices.
children. An interviewee indicated that with the loss of autonomy, women are more dependent on male-dominated wage labour. Further, formal labour for female rural migrants is sparse. Still unqualified for many jobs, they compete for the few jobs available in the low-paying (below living wage) assembly industries, or join the mass of komès (market) women selling market trinkets and imported food for little profit. The changing food economy separates women from their livelihoods, and exponentially increases their vulnerability and health problems, as their diverse diets are replaced by highly-processed foods. Women interviewees from peri-urban Cap-Haïtien reported: “We work in the garden to make Haiti strong. Our food is fresh; the imports make us sick”; and, “Imported foods are not the same as our food. I prefer food that is grown in Haiti. They have more vitamins, are organic, fresher and taste sweet”; and, “We need to put our heads together and solve this problem. The land is sick and we are sick.” Women understand that the current hardships they experience are directly tied to the changing internally-oriented food economy caused by imports.

Meanwhile, transnational corporations flex their power and push for greater trade flexibility to sell and source within and between nations, strengthening their linkages and power globally. In essence, moving regulations out of the reach of governments and citizens, with the help of supranational institutions, sovereignty has shifted from national governments to the world food economy regime (Weis 2007:132; McMichael 2000; Clapp 2012). In Haiti, international corporate actors of the middle space made alliances with Haitian elite intermediaries to alter their activities from exporting small scale coffee, and cocoa, that yielded poor profits in the world food economy, to becoming profitable food importers. These intermediaries shifted the internal food economy to align with their economic interests, heightening inequality and existing class tensions.
The Changing Internal Food Economy and Women’s Health

Not only have there been impacts to women’s labour as detailed above, but also on women’s health. Here I examine changing diets with corresponding statistical information reported by the FAO, and the impressions of the changes by scholars and—most importantly—by the interviewees. As this section proceeds, it will become clear that the roles and responsibilities women have, within the new internal food economy, limits their choices, increases their suffering, and promotes unhealthy bodies.

Through Haitian women’s roles as the poto mitan of household economics and as food providers, they understand themselves as the centre of the functioning of society. Equally though, women understand that Haiti’s macho and classed society constructs them as klas defacorize—marginalized class, a socio-economic position that is an outcome of Haiti’s historical political economy (Bell 2001; N’Zengou-Tayo 1998). Interviewees from rural, peri-urban, and urban areas report the following changes to consumption patterns.

Rice is no longer a special Sunday meal, it is eaten every day because we can buy cheap Miami rice. It replaces locally grown rice, root stocks, millet, pitimi and sorghum (female reported during rural work konbit).

Lam veritab made good flour and cakes, but now cheap imported wheat flour is used (peri-urban market woman).

Spaghetti with hotdogs is a traditional Haitian breakfast. (urban female interviewee)

We used to feed our babies alaroot, a wild food. It is not recultivated and people are eating it less. This knowledge is lost between generations and young people use imports. Alaroot is good for the soil. Even as late as 1998, we could find women selling it in the streets in Cap-Haïtien (female leader of rural and peri-urban group).

We used to eat tchaka more often. It is made with corn; we break the corn to take off the shell. It takes a lot of time to cook. Then we mix it with beans and meat, sometimes pumpkin. It is delicious and has lots of nutrients. If you eat it at 9 a.m. and you won’t need anything else until 6 p.m. Less popular now because it is a lot of work and we need to get to the market to work, and in the city it would take a lot
of money for charcoal. It is African food and we leave some on the ground for the ancestors – the Lwa (rural female focus group).

These interview finding are corroborated by Steckley (2016:28), who reports male and female rural interviewees privileging the consumption of spaghetti over traditional cornmeal and root-based dishes, wheat flour over traditional cassava, and imported oats over traditional corn porridge. Changing consumption patterns are not considered a good change for Haiti. When asked about changing food production from local production to exportation, a male agronomist explained:

When we make changes we don't improve. We start back at zero, because we replace our ideas with American ideas and don't take the time to critique them. We are losing a lot of knowledge with this system of replacing knowledge instead of transferring knowledge.

The FAO estimated that Haitians consumed roughly 1990 cal/capita/day during the period of 1961 to 1985 (FAOSTAT 2015), almost meeting the recommended average of 2000cal/day (WHO 2015). In the mid-1980s calorie intake began to plummet and by 1989, intake was less than 1700cal/capita/day. Today, caloric intake is closer to 2100 cal/capita/day (FAOSTAT 2015)

These numbers are rough estimates, which even the FAO (2015c) acknowledges are problematic, as do other researchers (see Headey and Ecker 2013; de Haen, Klasen and Qaim 2011; Weikard and Gabbert 2010; Yeh et al. 2010; Gabbert 2001). It was not until 2012 that the FAO's annual State of Food Insecurity in the World integrated household survey data into its methodology for measuring the number of food insecure people for national reporting (FAO 2012).

Currently, Haitian women show the highest mortality rates in the Americas due to circulatory and cerebrovascular disease related to chronic hypertension (Malino et al. 2014). These statistics beg the questions: How has nutritional value of the caloric content changed, and what impact do these changes have on health? What appears to be improved caloric intake
masks the change of diet to processed foods, and an alarming increase in consumption of fat from 26g/capita/day in 1961 to 50g/capita/day in 2015, while relatively little change has occurred in protein consumption of 43g/capita/day to 47 g/capita/day (FAOSTAT 2015). This has changed the fat-to-protein ratio from a healthy intake of 1:2 to an unhealthy 1:1 (see Figure 4.6).

Figure 4.6 Fat versus Protein

[Graph showing fat and protein consumption trends from 1961 to 2015]

Source FAOSTAT (2015)

The traditional Haitian diet is largely plant-based, consisting of yams, manioc, sorghum, sweet potato, millet, maize, and eggs, and with less poultry, pork, goat, and beef. Cultural nuances that are left unrecorded by FAO data include the addition of *moringa* leaves for strength, and *alaroot* flour for making baby formula, to suggest two of many. Jean-Baptiste (1994), offers a deeper look at the ethnobotany of green leafy vegetables used for food and medicine in Haiti, and gives evidence to suggest that the Haitian diet is more complex than Western measurements of consumption may capture. The changes to local diets concerns women, as one older woman explained:

*When our children were sick we would just go to the garden and get the medicine. Now we have no garden and no knowledge. The food in the market is less fresh; it has to be transported four hours, plus harvest time, plus sitting in the market. And medicine plants need to be fresh for the best potency, not sitting for hours in the market.*
These mismeasurements lead to underrating healthy eating practices of local actors. Currently, changed consumption patterns reflect changing trade policies. Trade policies make it possible for Haitians to enjoy their favorite Sunday meal, rice and fried meat, every day of the week, thus displacing traditional consumption patterns, especially of sorghum. As Steckley (2016) suggests, for people who have very few ways of achieving better education or employment, eating up the social ladder—that is, consuming imported food as a sign of white status—is a superior option. One interviewee commented on the changing production patterns on Haitian lives and subjectivity.

After our parents are finished working in agriculture who is going to replace them? We are victims of acculturation. City dwellers think they live in New York or Boston; their mentality changes with movies. We have young parents and they have nothing in their minds to help themselves. They go to the market early to earn money and they don’t know how to garden or teach their kids to garden—everyone is poorer. We have many single parent families, this is common now, and it makes it difficult for the society to improve.

Despite knowing that the food system is failing, Haitian consumers are trapped, trying to stretch their meager earnings further and further; they have no choice but to buy cheap imports. As cheap rice fills families’ stomachs, so do sugary beverages (Stevens 1998), displacing traditional fresh fruit juice. Healthy consumption patterns, and linkages of structural food insecurity to poor health, are often lost in the discussion of production, which focuses attention on efficiency and yields.

Conclusion

This chapter has re-narrated the transformation of the Haitian food economy through a

44 The concept of ‘the peasant in need’ is engrained in the American consciousness. Post-earthquake American Rice farmers donated rice to Haiti as part of their relief efforts, stating: “The U.S. rice industry has long enjoyed a trade relationship with Haiti that is very meaningful to us”. USA Rice Chairman Jamie Warshaw said, “We would like to demonstrate our concern for their suffering by donating rice, which is a staple in the Haitian diet”. (Western Farm Press 2010).
gendered lens, to demonstrate how food insecurity was entrenched into a structure paradoxically designed to alleviate hunger. Despite the portrayal of a gender-neutral world food economy, I have demonstrated that actors in the middle space have organized a food system that demands women’s participation in order to function and is, therefore, not gender-neutral but works across scales, and through people’s bodies, to shape gendered relations. Intermediary actors ignore the demands placed on women and their critical role as poto mitan of the internally-oriented food economy, removing women from the production side of the equation, yet counting on them to embody, and fulfill, the responsibilities assigned to them as women. Without offering meaningful support mechanisms, the arrangement asks women to uphold: a) food distribution and consumption; and b) a socio-economic system that sustains community well-being marked by food security and social stability. The outcome is loss of income, food insecurity, social instability, migration, poor livelihood choices, poorer health and greater dependence on a global food system that is causing their woes. Women are subordinated to remain politically marginalized and placed in a contradictory position representing a patriarchal food economy that threatens food security and guarantors (symbolically and through practice) of the gendered internally-oriented food economy and national identity. This case study allows us to see the material impact of powerful social relations between peasants, their internally-oriented food economy, and actors shaping the world food economy. This study contributes to Enloe’s position that scholars must use a feminist-informed gender analysis to understand the complexity of international relations, who benefits from particular constructions of women, and to subvert globally gendered hierarchies.
CHAPTER FIVE – HAITI’S PEASANTRY AS POTO MITAN:

REFOCUSING THE FOUNDATIONS OF PROSPERITY AND DEVELOPMENT

Abstract

Peasant farmers in northern Haiti have lost more than access to state land in a recent public–private partnership between the agro-export corporation Agritrans and the Government of Haiti. Using the Haitian concept of poto mitan, characterised by locally defined attributes of the moral economy of community care, identity and autonomy, this research establishes how peasants lose the ability to make critical and strategic contributions to food security and social stability. This suggests large-scale agro-export development trades peasants’ welfare for shareholders’ and for GDP growth and does not truly create a net benefit for Haiti.

Key Words: land grab, moral economy, Haiti, food security, community-based organizations

Introduction

Haitian Proverb – Yon sèl dwèt pa mange kalalou
“You can’t eat okra with one finger”; or
“it takes a community to create food security”

The aim of this chapter is to demonstrate how peasant farmers in northern Haiti use state land and locally defined concepts of the moral economy of care, identity and autonomy to enhance local food security and social stability. The analysis uses the Haitian concept of poto

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46 Small farmers in Haiti refer to themselves as peyizan (peasants), as depicted in Mouvman Peyizan Papay (Peasant Movement of Papay). I too engage this word in an effort to revalorise its meaning away from often homogenous and negative connotations.
mitan to highlight peasant perspectives on community relations, social change and economic development. Poto mitan, which translates literally as “central post”, refers to a worldview wherein peasants are the central post holding up Haiti’s ability to function as a nation, as communities and as households, or the central axis around which all activities originate and find support. It refers to the concept of building personhood, not as separate individuals, but as a people situated within the collective consciousness of Haitian society (McCarthy-Brown 2010). In contrast, policymakers overlook the functionality of the moral dimensions of small-scale peasant economies. They disregard and ultimately undermine the contribution of such small-scale economies to stabilise livelihoods and food security, and to ecological and socially sustainable development. This oversight is demonstrated with a case study of the conversion of state land in the Commune of Limonade from a community-controlled agricultural economy to a large-scale agro-export banana plantation called Agritrans. This study serves as an example of how repurposing state land may impact food security and social stability of peasant farmers.

The Agritrans plantation, designed and implemented by Haitian businessman and current President Jovenel Moïse, is used as a blueprint for Haiti’s development future (CFI 2015).47 Since the 2010 earthquake, Haiti has been subject to an increasing number of land grabs (Edelman, Oya, and Borras 2013) under the development priority “Haiti: Open for Business” supported by international actors and the Government of Haiti (GOH). The large-scale reconstruction approach disrupts the day-to-day livelihood strategies and community support networks of Haitian small farmers (Steckley and Shamsie 2015). Small farmers refer to themselves as peasants,48 and in agreement with Steckley (2015) and Shanin (1972), I conceptualise peasantry as a dynamic and modern process, fitting contemporary socio-

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47 Charles (2015). Moïse – with the election moniker Nèg Bannann (Banana Man) – ran on a platform promoting Agritrans as Haiti’s future economic model.

48 Small farmers in Haiti refer to themselves as peyizan (peasants), as depicted in Mouvman Peyizan Papay (Peasant Movement of Papay). I too engage this word in an effort to revalorise its meaning away from often homogenous and negative connotations.
economic needs with multiple sites and scales of activity. The peasants constitute the centre pole of the nation, community and household; they are the poto mitan.

My findings were developed during research in 2013–2014, when I examined peasant small economic development projects prior to the Agritrans land grab in 2014. My pre- and post-land conversion data provide a unique opportunity to document the immediate impact on peasant activities and lives. The state land grab considered in this study (displacing nearly 1,000 farmers) is one small example of many land conversions already in progress, with more expected to materialise in the near future, according to local mayors and the Centre for Facilitation of Investment (CFI 2015).

To meet the study goal, I describe how peasants’ self-determined moral economy of care, autonomy and identity shaped commercially viable value-added projects and subsistence agriculture prior to the land grab. I contrast these outcomes with the impact of the Agritrans’ land grab to demonstrate how a project intent on short-term gains undermines peasants’ efforts at long-term food security and social stability and their strategic contributions to local and national well-being.

**Case study area**

The study area is located in the Commune of Limonade, North Department, Haiti. The commune is 131.9 km² and in 2008 had a population of 33,340 rural and 29,538 city inhabitants (DSDS 2015). It is located 13 km east of the second largest city in Haiti, Cap-Haïtien. The Commune of Limonade has three administrative sections comprising 36 local organizations plus a mixture of local and international nongovernmental organizations. The participants in this study are located in the administrative section called Roucou, home to 17,896 peasants plus the city of Limonade, 10 churches, three primary schools, one lycée school, one university, a
vocational school of construction and 23 bitasyon\textsuperscript{49} habitations; the area is 48 per cent plains and 52 per cent mountains (Agrisud 2013). The main activity of the area is farming with some charcoal production. Here they grow cassava, yam, plantain, banana, peanuts, beans, maize, sweet potato, taro, orange, lime and cashew, and raise goats, chickens and cattle (Agrisud 2013). The area is semiarid with a one-metre layer of fertile loam. Irrigation infrastructure is the limiting factor to most agricultural efforts in this area, although flooding is also a seasonal problem.\textsuperscript{50}

\textit{Historical activities in North and Northeast Departments}

The peasants interviewed in this study live in North Department and used to access state land directly adjacent, in Northeast Department. Since the 1980s, they have used the land to cultivate agricultural products and collect wild foods for households to eat and sell in the local markets, to harvest small trees for charcoal\textsuperscript{51} production, and to raise free-range cattle. From 1927 to 1966, the state land in question comprised 50,000 hectares (ha) of sisal and sugar cane operated by the Dauphin family, the Haitian American Sugar Company and the Welch family (Paul 2011, 27). The plantations closed due to changes in global markets and national restructuring caused by structural adjustment programs (SAPs),\textsuperscript{52} demonstrating the impermanence of large-scale projects in comparison to the longevity of the peasantry. Since that time, local peasants have utilised the state land, first unofficially and then after 2009

\textsuperscript{49} Bitasyon, or habitation in French, is a cluster of lakou, (homes and yards) similar to a homestead or a family compound, and formerly a plantation.

\textsuperscript{50} Rainy seasons are November to January and mid-August to October. The subterranean water source is located 100 to 150 feet down (Agrisud 2013).

\textsuperscript{51} Charcoal production has been documented as a highly lucrative industry in the region, since the surge of imported foods and associated decline of national agricultural production beginning in the 1980s (Murray and Bannister 2004).

\textsuperscript{52} The Structural Adjustment Programme occurred post-Duvalier under the direction of the US-created National Governing Council. The conditionalities, designed by the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, impacted agriculture by liberalising domestic markets in pursuit of export-led growth (see Bernstein 2001; Steckley and Shamsie 2015).
through a legal contract negotiated with the Ministry of Economy and Finance (MEF) to use approximately 1,000 ha for farming activities until 2016. On average the peasants interviewed had worked the state land for 16 years, with some reporting multigenerational use of up to 35 years.

Since the 2010 earthquake, North and Northeast Departments have become the centre of business development, with the installation of Caracol Industrial Park (246 ha), University Roi Christophe (25 ha), Grand Marnier orange plantation (150 ha), Villaj la Différence and Caracol-EKAM USAID housing developments (50 ha) and now Agritrans’ plantation (987 ha). The banana plantation occupies the land that the peasants were legally farming. The land used for this particular development was small in comparison to the 50,000 ha available in Northeast Department (CFI 2015).

The Agritrans plantation, conceived and implemented by President Jovenel Moïse\(^53\), received US$6 million from the Haitian Ministry of Finance’s Industrial Development Fund and US$10.2 million from an anonymous shareholder group, with an expected US$27 million needed to complete the project (Saint Pre 2015; Vansteenkiste and Schuller 2016). The first agricultural export trading zone established in Haiti, the plantation benefits from tax-free status, special customs treatment and exemption from communal taxes for 15 years (USDS 2015). The project was portrayed during the 2015–2016 election as a successful model for Haiti’s future economic development blueprint.

The transition to the agro-exportation plantation was abrupt. Mayors from Limonade in North Department and Trou-du-Nord in Northeast Department stated that they were unaware the development would happen so quickly. In 2014, both mayors commented that they still see government surveyors on their department lands and have no knowledge of why they are

\(^{53}\) During the building of Agritrans, Jovenel Moïse had not yet announced his candidacy for President.
present. Under Haiti’s Constitution, local mayors, ASEC and CASEC\textsuperscript{54} have responsibility for the development of state lands in their departments. Unfortunately, the national state works without recognition of this legal framework.

**Conceptual and methodological frameworks**

The Haitian *poto mitan* informs the conceptual framework of this study. The concept embraces peasants’ epistemological understanding of what constitutes full personhood, which comes with responsibilities for the well-being of nation, community and household. This study explores how peasant epistemology develops the concepts of the moral economy of care (mutual support and vulnerability reduction through pooled resources), autonomy (the power to make choices as community and as individuals) and identity (control over the process of making meaning within the life of the community and the lives of members of the community) as characteristics of the *poto mitan* to deliver outcomes of food security and social stability. This approach stands in contrast to the mechanistic business process and outcomes of a plantation.

All three concepts reside within communities and are outcomes of social norms, conventions and mechanisms (Thompson 1971; Jackson, Ward, and Russell 2008) to provide a subsistence ethic, or normative root, to minimise vulnerability and risk in peasant societies that live on the margins (Scott 1976). Scott argues that the moral economy is derived from norms of reciprocity and the right to subsistence. For peasants, the moral economy takes precedence in the design of economic projects and works to embed the market into society (Polanyi 1944; Nicholas 2005) and to prioritise community care – as opposed to the prioritisation of power in a commodity system (Dixon 1999; Jackson, Ward and Russell 2008). As individuals, peasants utilise the value of community structures to reduce their vulnerability and risk.

\textsuperscript{54} CASEC = Boards of Directors of Communal Sections; ASEC= Administration of Communal Sections.
My methodological approach, consistent with transnational feminism, is to embrace the interviewees’ voices as valid expressions of their own epistemology and to ensure that their narrative and way of being is documented authentically, as well as to rethink the researcher–researched relationship (Charles 1995b). Researchers can realign the power of scholarly work by involving participants in the creation, verification and falsification of narratives. Activist research is a step toward the process of social change, an approach demonstrated by Haitian feminists Charles, Ulysse, Loth, N’zengou-Tayo, Glover and Davis. This choice answers the concerns of Loth (2015), Glover (2012) and Ulysse (2010a), who identify the perpetual negative constructions of Haiti as a source of the country’s governance problems. Further, this study heeds Ulysse’s (2010b) call for new narratives of Haiti, by producing narratives that are more precise representations of Haitian lives from Haitian perspectives and that counter misinformed negative metanarratives.

In summary, my study design aims to create space within the research project for the locally derived concept of _poto mitan_. This approach allows Haitian peasants to become the subjects and voices of their own narrative, to express their epistemology in the face of capitalist indicators of success and to demonstrate that development of personhood is more important than profits. This evidence-based research is suited to inform Haitian policy and governance decisions with substantiated ways to capitalise on the strategic and critical contributions made by peasants to national well-being. Through this process, peasants become agents in shaping the symbolic and material space of social change.

55 N’zengou-Tayo (1998) outlines the characteristics of women as _poto mitan_ of the household, community and nation, roles shaped by the historical political economy of Haiti. 56 Haitian scholars have noted the power of negative narratives – conflating the Haitian body with food insecurity and abhorrent living conditions (Loth 2015). Dehumanised as subjects of research and representation, Haitians are “often been portrayed as fractures, as fragments – bodies without minds, heads without bodies, or roving spirits” (Ulysse 2010a, 2) and “consistently heralded for its exceptional, superhuman ability to withstand. To be bullied. To be displaced and disenfranchised” (Glover 2012, 200).
**Sampling and methods**

Before undertaking this study, I spent eight years conducting research with urban and peri-urban women in nearby Cap-Haïtien and building a network of contacts throughout North Department. For this project, 10 community-based organizations (CBOs) were considered for inclusion. All are located in the Commune of Limonade (Map 5.1). Three primary and one secondary CBOs were chosen because of the interesting interlinkages among them and with the Haitian nongovernmental organization Veterimed and its Lèt Agogo (Milk in Abundance) milk factory.

Map 5.1 Field Site, Commune of Limonade, Haiti.

Source: Marie Puddister cartography, Dept. of Geography, Guelph, and data collection by author.

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57 Veterimed is led by a volunteer Board of Directors and has over 40 salaried professional employees across Haiti (Veterimed 2013).

58 This translation from Creole to English, as well as all the quotations in the present article, were done by the research team; see section “Sampling and methods” section.
The first primary CBO is Asosiyasyon Manman Mamba (AMM), a women’s organization with a membership of 400 drawn from a large rural, peri-urban and urban area. Its headquarters are located in the peri-urban area, and its peanut mill and artisan centre in the rural area. This organization has partnered with Oxfam, Agrisud, PAPDA, Agrisol and USAID. Agrisud is a French NGO funded through the Aquitaine/Dordogne region of France. Thirty-two women involved in the peanut project were interviewed.

The second primary CBO is Mouvman Manyòk (MM), a smaller, rural mixed-gender group with 150 members. MM received project funding from Oxfam GB and Agrisud. Twenty-three people (11 men and 12 women) involved in the cassavarie (cassava bakery) project were interviewed.

The third primary CBO is Óganizasyon Moun Mayi (OMM) is a small, rural mixed-gender group with 115 members. The 24 members (8 men and 16 women) interviewed participate in a cornmeal project with the Federation Chamber of National Agriculture (FECHAN), funded by the GOH and Aquitaine/Dordogne region of France.

The secondary CBO where interviews were conducted is Asosiyasyon Pwodiktè Lèt Bèf (APLB). With over 1,000 male and female members, it is the largest of the surveyed organizations. APLB works closely with Veterimed to help farmers with free-range cattle and milk production, and was instrumental in negotiating leases with the central state for access to state land. Seven men at the executive level were interviewed after the state land conversion. Members from the previously mentioned CBOs are also APLB members and milk producers, demonstrating the organizational interlinkages.

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59 Programme D'appui Au Développement Agricole, the largest peasant organization in Northern Haiti.
All the peasants interviewed were small farmers. The lands they utilise include state, rented, owned, family-owned and sharecropped. The average size of nonstate land was 0.51 ha, with sizes ranging from 0.1 ha to 2 ha. They grow a mixture of crops that include beans, maize, banana, cassava, sugar cane, peanuts, cocoa, spinach, sweet potato, peppers, cabbage and carrot. There is no outstanding difference among individual farmers’ crop choices; however, some would grow a larger volume of a specific product to supply their CBO’s processing project. Three men from OMM thought they had personally reduced the variety of production too much in favor of maize. Aflatoxin had impeded their maize sales in the previous season, and they were rethinking their choices and risks.

A research team comprising four university-educated Haitians and myself interviewed 79 members, 19 men and 60 women, from the three primary CBOs on three occasions between May 2013 and February 2014, before the surprise land grab, and then added a fourth interview between April and June 2014, after the grab. The interviews spanned several sessions with the same interviewees in order to build rapport and a deeper understanding of the peasant epistemology. In April 2016, the findings were presented to the communities for verification, and members were given an opportunity to correct any misrepresentations and add new insights to bring clarity and accuracy to their narrative. In addition, we interviewed seven executives of secondary APLB and expert interlocutors (EIs) – mayors, a CASEC, a Veterimed executive, agronomists – and finally we spent time observing events in the region. Studying this combination of grassroots entities enabled us to assess how local economies and societies were being built in one concentrated area.

The overall research objective, to compare food security frameworks employed by local organizations, was explained to the leadership committee. From there, we received permission...
to present our research and ask for volunteers at the general assemblies. The research assistants and I collected data using focus groups and semi-structured and structured interviews. We recorded the interview data in audio and written form in Creole. All data were transcribed into English by the research assistants and checked against the audio recording by another assistant who worked outside of the main group. After entering all data into Excel, SPSS and HyperRESEARCH, I coded and analysed them using grounded theory for patterns and themes. The structured interviews collected dietary diversity\textsuperscript{61} and income information from before and after the land grab.

**Findings**

Interview findings are divided into two sections. The first presents pre–land conversion qualitative data demonstrating the three constituent parts of the poto mitan – the moral economy of care, identity and autonomy – within commercial and subsistence activities. The second section presents qualitative and quantitative data on the impact on livelihoods after the land grab.

**Pre-land conversion: commercial value and subsistence activities**

Peasants built a modern local economy that included both commercial value-added processing and subsistence activities. The activities are shaped by the poto mitan concept and its constituent parts – the moral economy of care, autonomy and identity – to enhance food security and social stability. The poto mitan is a foundational concept, as explained by one EI:

\begin{quote}

\end{quote}

Mothers are the foundational *poto mitan* of the household food, economy and family life; peasants are the foundational *poto mitan* of agriculture, economy and the base of society; and ancestors are the *poto mitan* of agriculture knowledge, spirituality and morality (Female EI, Haitian NGO).

**Moral economy of care**

Haiti has been the destination for cheap food products since the early 1970s. This deluge of imports has squeezed local farmers out of local markets, causing four decades of massive rural-urban migration (Dupuy 2010; Steckley 2015). To remain a peasant farmer, as in much of the Global South, one needs to find market niches not subsumed by imported products. The interviews indicated that all four CBOs embark on commercially viable value-added production to meet traditional food market niches, reversing the historical trend of declining agriculture. An interviewee explains her motivation:

> The system of agriculture has not advanced well since the 1970s and 1980s. People have a loss of pride and loss of motivation. People move to the city and forget about sharing. Now we have changing rainfall patterns; everyone is hungry. Now we put our heads together to produce food again. (Female, OMM)

Members from all four CBOs expressed similar sentiments about their loss.

> We used to be able to provide for our needs. When someone was sick we would just go to the garden and get medicine. We are losing this knowledge and we feel helpless, so we started the community garden to share lessons (Female, AMM).

This need for a role in production that allows peasants to be able to care for one another is an example of the moral economy of care.

During our investigation it was found that AMM, in cooperation with international funders, had established a peanut mill and sold traditional Haitian peppered peanut butter in local markets and raw peanuts to Meds for Foods and Kids (MFK), an international NGO that makes medical peanut butter for malnourished infants. MM, in cooperation with funders, grew and processed cassava into bread to sell to the local market and visiting diaspora. OMM, in
cooperation with funders, milled maize for the local market and sold to the World Food Program for distribution to school feeding programs. These activities worked to strengthen members as the *poto mitan*.

The project mission is to promote production in the area and to improve the living conditions of local citizens, socially and economically. Socially, the members meet more people and with training learn how to interact professionally. They gain more knowledge about how to process our products. Economically, they gain more money and increase the food for the household. In this way they improve how they feel about themselves, they independently care for themselves and their family and participate in helping other CBO members and community members. The organization is the central axis to making everyone strong (Female leader, AMM).

Peasants in Haiti are contemporary actors. They adapt traditional social mechanisms to build small economic enterprises that create employment and benefit more than just the individual.

It was found that APLB organized peasant farmers who raise free-range cattle for milk and meat production. The milk was sold to Veterimed’s local milk and yogurt factory, *Lèt Agogo*. Veterimed’s first factory was located in Limonade; the NGO now has 35 factories across Haiti. The product is of the highest quality, winning international recognition from *l’Agriculture familiale que la Commission économique pour l’Amérique latine et la Caraïbe* (first place of 1,600 submissions from 35 countries) in Santiago, Chile, in 2013. Veterimed uses a cooperative framework, which includes regular contact with peasants to assess production issues. These include: (1) securing government-subsidised veterinary treatment for cattle infections; (2) installing water points on state land for cattle during the 1999 drought; and (3) addressing gendered barriers to include women in production. Through Veterimed’s support, a greater number of Haitians participate in the milk industry to improve local and regional food security. Veterimed is a good example of how a network of Haitian NGOs and CBOs facilitate the peasants to be the *poto mitan* of food security and create a contemporary platform for economic development and dialogue between the GOH and farmers.

CBO projects are focal points for activities. As reported, the “*cassavarie* is the *poto mitan* of our community” (Male, MM). APLB members expressed similar sentiments about milk
production, while AMM and OMM members identified their CBO, as opposed to one single project, as the axis. These examples demonstrate how peasants materialise the *poto mitan* worldview into economic projects that have commitments to community well-being.

**Moral economy of care and sharing/reciprocity**

The moral economy of care is shaped by reciprocity and is represented by the proverb “Fe byen lajounen pou ou ka mache lannwit,” which conveys the meaning “If you do good work for others, then good things will come to you.” Reciprocity was observed on two scales: first, among members within a CBO and second, among CBO members and the larger community.

The projects provided opportunities for social cohesion through *konbit*, a traditional Haitian social mechanism representing reciprocity. *Konbit* requires shared work for shared harvests or project benefits, and ultimately strengthens social capital within the community. It was easy to observe the camaraderie, trust and community built through working with and caring for one another.

*With the profits from the sour cassava we buy roots for our cooperative garden. The work in the cooperative garden is done on special days by work teams called *konbit* (Male, MM). The *konbit* brings us together. We share the work, we sing, we eat and at harvest we share the benefits. This is how we work together to survive (Male, OMM).*

Reciprocity of work in commercial niche food production builds obligations and trust that creates a moral economy of care. Members contribute to strengthening CBOs: “The money is reinvested in root-stock to increase production in the cooperative garden, and that helps all of us” (Male, MM). In return, CBOs take care of members: one interviewee said the earnings from sales to MFK were returned to AMM “to buy equipment and help members with their problems and needs” (Female, AMM). Another reported:

*When we need cassava we just come here and our children can eat each morning. The children eat other things too, but if we don't have anything we eat the cassava bread (Female, MM).*
This is another example of CBOs materialising as the *poto mitan*. CBOs support a moral economy of care designed to provide for the needs of members. Examples of sharing CBO benefits with the larger community include the following:

The money from our cooperative efforts is used to help women in the community join the organization (Female AMM). Other people can rent the cassavarie to process cassava bread; I serve the organization and the Limonade community. We all benefit this way (Male MM). People in the community know me from the cassavarie, and when people see me they are more willing to help me because I helped them. We live in solidarity now (Male MM).

Reciprocity here refers to the moral economy of care, a Haitian tradition of providing mutual support and vulnerability reduction through pooled resources to strengthen social networks and community structures. The rental income is redirected back into CBO programs – agricultural training, socialisation skills training, economic projects, helping a member in need – and by sharing the benefits to the larger community through bringing in new members and giving access or opportunity to participate in small-scale value-added production. All of this helps build food security and social stability.

The moral economy of care extends further than the local commune. CBO projects enhanced food security regionally by providing commercial food products across the region and as far as Cap-Haïtien, and by providing humanitarian assistance nationally: as mentioned above, OMM contributed cornmeal to school feeding programs and AMM’s peanuts were used for medically enhanced peanut butter. CBO members spoke about their obligation to meet national food security needs.

I am Haitian. It is my responsibility, and the responsibility of all farmers, to reject imports and to grow food for my country. I am proud to make this contribution and I consider myself the *poto mitan* of production (Male APLB).
Autonomy

Respondents explained how commercial and subsistence activities lend themselves to building independent producers who strengthen food security and social stability. Many respondents viewed their responsibility for the success of their CBO not as a burden but as a duty to an organization that facilitates a path to a better life. The responsibility to the organization was balanced with their own household subsistence activities. One respondent described the interdependent relationship:

This organization is where women feel autonomy. We receive help from the organization to increase our own production. If we have a bad season we don’t have to give the organization anything. It is not an obligation (Female, AMM).

Women who farmed peanuts would divide their harvest between their household and the organization. The women would decide on the division themselves, exercising a healthy autonomy and independence from the organization and strengthening the CBO’s social network of independent producers, to which people also turn in times of food insecurity.

Haitians know that food security is a risky business, and traditional pluriculture with community support has long been the strategy to prevent food shortages. As one interviewee puts it:

Sometimes when waking in the morning I have no money, so I’ll go in the garden to get something to cook. That is why I love doing association of plants and cultivation, so in case I am hungry I can eat and sell at the same time (Female, AMM).

Pluriculture, unlike monoculture, allows for a continuous harvest and income independent of global price spikes and is an important strategy for the subsistence portfolio. It provides autonomy from the marketplace, yet simultaneously produces for the market. This is a typical Haitian peasant response to managing risk in a context of uncertainty – uncertainty of government support, Haitian harvests and global food pricing.
One respondent makes a clear linkage between poor health and changing patterns of food production and consumption initiated by SAPs and the related loss of autonomous local food production:

We are disconnected from our grandparents. Starting in 1986–1987, a slogan began: *Lew granmoun se domino ou jwe* [Grandparents, go and play dominos]. Now we have sages in many categories and we don’t take their cultural, spiritual and political wisdom, and we don’t listen to their advice on how to produce in the garden. With this kind of practice we make a deficit and import almost everything. Now you can observe that we have a lot of disease; our grandparents did not have diabetes or high blood pressure (Male OMM).

All CBOs involved in this study acknowledged these changes and all indicated they were working to reestablish cultural food traditions across generations. AMM had a one-hectare community garden project to promote agricultural knowledge sharing; unfortunately, this was lost during the land conversion.

Veterimed understands the local challenges and, to its credit, runs a program to challenge the gender construct that women naturally fear cattle. This creates opportunities for women to autonomously earn higher incomes as commercial producers and to provide milk for their households, building social status and identity. A woman leader explains: “We can execute a project to improve the lives of women – economically, culturally, socially, with skills that usually just men have” (Female, AMM). The programs are designed to strengthen the community members as strong autonomous units or nodes in the moral economy of care social network, in the face of globalisation. By strengthening individuals of the CBO, the whole community’s ability to tolerate risk is improved.

**Identity**

Globalisation and the decline of pluriculture and ancestral knowledge impacts identity. During one focus group, we spoke about different food types. Participants spoke enthusiastically
of the emotional connection they felt with their ancestors when they produced and ate traditional foods, and said this was in stark contrast to the feelings aroused by imports.

*We feel well when we eat traditional food. The ancestors’ food keeps us strong (Female, OMM). The Dominican Republic tries to sell us everything just to fill our stomachs, not quality. Food in our country is so fresh. Imports make us sick (Female, MM).*

Poto mitan is considered foundational, and begins with the ancestors’ knowledge of agriculture, spirituality and morality. The demise of production impacts the use and reproduction of the ancestors’ foundational knowledge and changes farmers’ identity as *poto mitan*. It also impacts spiritual relationships. Leaving traditional foods for the *lwa* (Vodou spirits) is important to the peasants. “The *lwa* eat *tchaka*. We leave *manje marasa* [mixed natural food] for the *lwa*. We leave only local food for the *lwa*, no Miami rice” (Female, AMM). “Miami rice” refers to any cheap imported rice – and serves as a salient example of how imports have disrupted local production, distribution and consumption patterns to heighten food insecurity in Haiti. According to the interviews and the research assistants, since traditional products are no longer readily available, linkages to ancestral foods such as *tchaka* are being lost. Changing food patterns affects one’s ability to maintain spiritual identity.

CBO members often spoke of the importance of valorising Haitian production and traditional consumption patterns as a path back to good health and regaining Haitian identity. Regaining this knowledge is a process of materialising the *poto mitan*. All four of the CBOs produce traditional products – cassava bread, peanut butter, milk, and cornmeal – and members recognised that:

*These products enhance our relationship with our ancestors. Cassava is served at funerals and *konbit*, or is put out in a special location for the spirits. Ancestors had__________

62 With tariff reductions from 50 to 3 per cent in 1995 (McGuigan 2006), Haiti’s rice region, the Artibonite valley, halved production between 1989 and 2004 (Lundahl 2004), despite a growing population.
the habit of feeding the Vodou spirits. Generation after generation feed the spirits. Children continue these protections like the ancestors did before (Female and male, MM).

The *poto mitan* extends deep into past generations and ahead to future generations, thickening one’s sense of place, identity and belonging, shapes morality and forms the process for creating food security and social stability.

**The land grab’s impact on local activities**

Early in 2014, the state land was converted into an Agritrans banana plantation. Respondents stated that the equipment showed up overnight, frightened away free-ranging cattle and destroyed agricultural crops. Prior to the land grab, 78 per cent of respondents reported they were not worried about losing access to state land. However, by the time we began re-interviewing in April 2014, CBO members’ lives had changed in distinct ways. One recalled:

> We didn’t even have time to collect our cattle. We just went in the morning and they had run off. Some people have never found their cattle because they have run to the mountains (Male, MM).

Cattle are an important component of a household’s livelihood strategy, and their loss impacts both the economic security and the identity of peasant families. The heavy equipment that scared the cattle was there to clear the vegetation for development of the banana plantation. Simultaneously, workers destroyed crops used for households and markets, large trees that provided fruit and in which the *lwa* lived and scrub trees that were utilised for charcoal. On the cleared land a 987-ha plantation was built, with a 700,000-gallon aquifer-filled lagoon and a 12,000 m² greenhouse to grow Costa Rica seedlings (Baptiste 2014; Saint Pre 2015). These changes had profound impacts. Peasants previously using state land were displaced. Land-poor peasants became labourers for the plantation, losing their status as autonomous producers and household providers.
A local agronomist who had worked with MM but was not a member was concerned with the impact to household livelihoods and social structures:

People were either selling their cows or killing them for market. And this is not good for the household economy. The banana project has changed the socialisation of the farmers (Local male agronomist, EI).

From FAO Dietary Diversity Surveys taken before and after the land grab, we found a 49 per cent (n=79, p=0.001\(^{63}\)) increase in meat consumption and an 18 per cent (n=79, p=0.000) increase in cooking oil consumption as consumers benefitted from the culling of cattle herds and a decline in cattle value (15,000g to 10,000g). The long-term impact on meat consumption has yet to be determined. At the Limonade milk factory, we met a local milk producer waiting to make his daily delivery. He relayed his production experience:

Before the Haitian government took the land I had 10 cows that gave eight or nine gallons a day, and now I collect only two gallons because the cows have no food or water. Before, they wandered freely on the state land and now I have them corralled (Male cattle rancher, EI).

The changes have brought extra farm work. Unlike the previous fieldwork season, it was now commonplace for us to see peasant farmers transporting, by bicycle, tall stacks of elephant grass for feed. Table 5.1 presents interview data from AMM, MM and OMM members that demonstrate the loss of cattle, charcoal and crop income after Agritrans’ land conversion.

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\(^{63}\) All Dietary Diversity Study data are calculated with Wilcoxon-analysis, non-parametric, related.
Table 5.1 Lost milk production and income due to Agritrans’ state land conversion.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>n=79</th>
<th>Milk production before</th>
<th>Milk production after</th>
<th>Milk income lost</th>
<th>Crop money lost</th>
<th>Wild food collected</th>
<th>Charcoal income lost</th>
<th>Total income lost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Avg. income USD/year/person</td>
<td>$1393</td>
<td>$319</td>
<td>$1074</td>
<td>$69</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>$314</td>
<td>$1433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of interviewees using state land for the stated activity</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>Private land</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The plantation wage offered for peasant labour was 200 gourde per day or roughly US$3.53. Table 5.1 shows the percentage of interviewees who used state land for each activity and total income lost from production (sales) – US$1,433 per year or US$3.93 per day. Beyond the income loss, there are also reports of less wild food, crops, meat, milk and charcoal produced directly for household consumption. In addition to producing market and household items, farmers would work sporadically as labourers within the nearby cities of Limonade and Cap-Haitien or further afield. As mentioned, 65 per cent of respondents also accessed private land holdings. These activities combined to create a portfolio of livelihood strategies that peasants use, depending on the season, climatic issues and household needs.

Finally, among the losses to Agritrans’ land conversion is the food grown to feed the lwa and the loss of large trees in which the lwa live. The lwa are an important feature in the Haitian social fabric; alongside the Christian deity, lwa provide guidance for understanding and

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64 Average milk production before land conversion = 2.19gal/day/farmer; after land conversion = 0.5gal/day/farmer. Most respondents have 1-2 milking cows.
65 Wilcoxon - Analysis, Non-parametric, Related p=0.000
66 The gourde is Haiti’s basic monetary unit.
67 Types of wild food noted by respondents: soursop, mango, orange, guava, cashew, grapefruit, lime, passionate fruit, avocado, watermelon, common purslane, lanman laye, cucumber, papaya, pumpkin, mushroom, yam, and elephant grass and cow spinach for animals.
upholding social norms around behavior and food practices. The loss of large trees such as mangos through land conversions is equivalent to *dechouké*, or the uprooting, of the Haitian belief system, one of the defining characteristics of Vodou spirituality.\(^68\)

The lost grazing lands and the corresponding loss of milk production resulted in lower consumption of dairy products. Individual Dietary Diversity Surveys show a 63 per cent decrease in milk consumption among respondents who are CBO members \((n=79; \ p=0.000)\). Moreover, Veterimed’s yogurt jumped in price from 25 to 30 gourde, impacting milk consumption in the whole region of Limonade and Cap-Haïtien.

The changing grazing patterns also disrupted the tradition of pluriculture that was practiced along the edges of cooperative gardens on the state land. As one land-poor CBO member explained, “After the state land upheaval, jealous farmers opened up the fence to the protected MM land and let animals in to eat. The animals ate my beans and peanuts” (Female, MM). Although this respondent is not a cattle farmer, she was indirectly affected by the land conversion. When asked how she would now feed her family, she replied that she would participate in *degage*, that is, taking long-term lovers to make ends meet. The impact of land conversions extend beyond a person’s position in the moral economy of care to their personal health, safety and identity.

A member commented land conversions may be perceived as acceptable by peasants if they benefit the larger community.

The university was a good project. When they took land we accepted the decision because it was for the benefit of many people. But now the government is not supporting us. The land for the plantation is for one person now and not many. The land was already prepared to plant and some was ready to harvest. Everything was destroyed and now we cannot touch the land (Female, AMM).

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\(^68\) “Vodou is omnipresent in Haiti’s social life and “by providing moral coherence through cosmological understandings” represents a key element of Haitian consciousness (Michel 1996, 283).
AMM members in particular felt the loss of land on their fresh vegetable intake. The machinery arrived without notice and bulldozed the garden and signage. There was no opportunity to save any of the vegetables ready to harvest. The garden fulfilled a material aspect of the *poto mitan*, making place for sharing of production knowledge and for testing new cropping regimes in the light of changing climatic conditions – thus strengthening food security and community. As one member reflected, the garden was a place to strengthen women.

We had one hectare of land to help feed ourselves and to learn better agricultural techniques, but the state has taken it. We had planted gardens, grass for animals and beans, and they erased everything, even our billboard (Female, AMM).

In addition to impacting identity within knowledge exchange, the land conversion also negated local peasants’ identity and autonomy in the planning and use of local state land. Respondents reported using the land an average of 16 years and by multiple generations. Planning, coordination and communication (PKK) is considered a critical element of development by local actors. The Haitian Constitution mandates that local administrators work with local farmers to plan and design state land use. Yet, the state made the land conversion decision “without the local administration in any of the three sections,” according to a local mayor (Male mayor, EI). One CBO leader reports:

There was no PKK between the government and local authorities or the people. They just took the land. The CASEC, ASEC and mayors were not informed. Now we don’t know what to do. We asked for a meeting [with government officials] but without success (Female, AMM).

And, from an executive of Veterimed:

The farmers work with APLB and had a legal contract from MEF to use the state land. Now they cannot feed their cows and must sell them, thereby losing their income. This encourages labour migration to the Dominican Republic, adding to the government’s problems. It doesn’t make sense. First the government tries to put in place a system to stop people from migrating to the Dominican Republic, then they crush the farmers’ way of making a living, and finally they talk about national production. The president needs to understand that he has affected 1,000 farmers. These farmers were self-reliant, they did not ask for any assistance from the government, and now they will have trouble taking care of their families’ needs (Male Veterimed executive, EI).
The mayor of Limonade stated he was disheartened by the turn of events since the communes of Limonade, Limbe and Bas Limbe had worked with local community and international NGO partners to devise a strategy to combat local food insecurity and poverty. The plan was published in three separate reports, one for each commune, plus an overall report entitled Démarche D’élaboration des Plans Prioritaires Communaux de Sécurité Alimentaire (Agrisud 2013). Diverse pluriculture to support local value chains is the strategy envisioned within this report, yet it is not included in land conversion planning. He articulated the main advantage:

With pluriculture we eat earlier because we are harvesting continuously; monoculture makes more money for shareholders and the government, but it has more risks for the local population (Male mayor, EI).

Through these examples we can begin to see how government policy undermines the process of building the poto mitan and the critical contributions peasants are making to food security and social stability.

**Discussion**

As documented, peasants represent the poto mitan of household and community food security locally, regionally and nationally. Further, the poto mitan creates social stability through community networks that exchange traditional agricultural knowledge, techniques to meet changing conditions and food and resources to reduce risk. Finally, activities strengthen peasant identity as important members of the moral economy of care and as autonomous food producers linked to traditional lands, valorising Haitian culture as it is being challenged by globalisation. The GOH, as demonstrated by the land grab, is more intent on short-term profits for shareholders, improved GDP growth and transitioning peasants into income-earning labour units.
Feminist methodology gives us the tools to understand how the government’s agenda leads to a net loss for local communities and for Haiti as a nation. The methodology allows us to unpack *poto mitan* as: 1) the conceptual space of the ideal community, spanning time when decisions are made to meet strategic needs that include the preservation of local knowledge and the long-term stability of the community; and as 2) the material place where practical gender needs are met through actions in one’s daily life. It is important to recognise that both aspects of the *poto mitan* are present and needed because it is not just about making a wage or eating food; it is about the means and process that people take to get to those ends.

Peasants as Haiti’s *poto mitan* have longevity as a development model when supported by adequate mechanisms. Peasants reach back into traditional knowledge of reciprocity, obligation and trust and adapt it to the present context to facilitate building commercially viable as well as subsistence food systems. Central to the functioning of these systems is the moral economy of care, autonomy and identity; together they make a process of belonging. Through these actions the peasants assert themselves not only as necessary for national food security and social stability, but also as a critical platform for leveraging government policy.

In contrast, the Agritrans land grab – premised on the idea that efficient agro-export production would better serve the economic interests of Haiti – is far from a poverty reduction strategy. This case study demonstrates that the artificial separation of economic from social concerns misses the critical and strategic contributions that peasants make, as citizens, to national food security and social stability. Further, the policy choice negates the government’s obligatory role to reaffirm citizenship rights of the peasant electorate and to abide by the Haitian Constitution, which mandates participatory decentralisation as a planning methodology for state land use. National government actors and a wide array of American politicians, foreign and national business elites and development agencies support this negation. The chosen development approach breaks the *poto mitan* axis, coincidentally creating poverty and reaffirming class hierarchies. It appears that this wider array of actors chose an ideological trap.
that provides a single lens for understanding progress, one where the construction of large-scale projects is equated with success that omits a space of inclusion for alternative ways and remains difficult to extricate from the political economy of development. Reversing this disorder would take commitment to prioritise, maintain and celebrate local strategies for food security and to create a strategic plan on a wider spatial scale without diminishing local efforts. In fact, local networks of CBOs such as those in this study form that essential platform for policymakers to engage in planning dialogue, an opportunity that to date they neglect.

**Conclusion**

Haitian peasants are who they are because they imagine themselves as the *poto mitan* of the nation and create tangible spaces that express their central role. This stands in opposition to the way large-scale projects construe people as homogenous labour units, whereby self-determination and the metaphysical sense of humanity and community is lost. The difference is stark. In essence, the land conversion project, through dispossession of land, monetises belonging, food security and social stability so they can be funnelled up to a different scale.

In response to Ulysse’s call for new narratives, this article has presented evidence contrary to the common negative meta-narratives of Haiti and Haitian peasants as backwards, inhumane and unproductive. Instead, I emphasize the significance of peasants’ work to actively produce Haiti’s food security, local economies and social stability, and when provided with land resources and government support, are better situated to make the greatest impact. Further, this case study offers evidence to support participatory decentralisation, as mandated by the Haitian Constitution, as a governance methodology that is worthy of further exploration to maximise the benefits of natural resources through peasant activities in Haiti and elsewhere.
CHAPTER SIX – ‘HAITI – OPEN FOR BUSINESS’:

NEW PERSPECTIVES ON INCLUSIVE AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Abstract

This chapter draws on mixed empirical field data to argue that community-based organizations in Haiti are forms of resistance that use project frameworks to create space and place for decolonized identity formation. Using the example of Agritrans, owner of a large-scale export-oriented banana project, this chapter explains how recent communal land conversions are capable of meeting only short-term, temporary development goals and thwart more complex goals of decolonization and placemaking. Agrarian political economy, identity formation, and the conceptual use of space and place are deployed here to compare economic relations of two different models of land use. This chapter builds upon the observation that people organize differently to resist neoliberalism, and provides insight on forms of appropriate and meaningful capitalism.

Key Words: placemaking, decolonization, identity formation, peasants, Haiti

Introduction

This chapter examines how five Community-Based Organizations (CBOs) in the Commune of Limonade, Haiti, remake economic relations with Haitian peasants to facilitate

decolonized placemaking, representing organized resistance to four decades of neoliberal policy. In Haiti, identity, status and well-being are enmeshed with one’s CBO. CBOs became popular during the 1990s, encouraged by: a) the impact of the structural adjustment period of the 1980s retracting services such as education, healthcare, agricultural infrastructure; b) the freedom to assemble after the 1986 departure of dictator Jean Claude Duvalier; c) the substantial funding set aside in the national budget for CBOs by President Jean-Bertrand Aristide (Adrien 2011); and d) the presence of international NGOs and charitable organizations such as Caritas that influence small organizational structures. According to Adrien (2011), approximately 16,135 CBOs are registered across Haiti. Membership in a CBO is seen as one of the few ways to access development benefits or to improve one’s life. This chapter investigates this claim to understand the characteristics that make CBOs so important to peasant lives and finds they facilitate resistance through efforts to decolonize spatial relations and identity formation. This chapter provides empirical evidence and a critical analysis of five peasant CBO applications of placemaking and decolonization and outlines the factors that hamper their implementation.

**Background**

In the last eight years Haiti has experienced five devastating hurricanes, an earthquake, and cholera that have destroyed homes, crops, and lives. International and national actors have forged ahead with large-scale efforts to boost the economy and revitalize livelihoods. This revitalization structures economic relations along race, class, and gender lines. Since the 1970s, westernizing Haiti’s food system has been the preferred strategy and promoted as a way to address food security. However, the integration of Haiti’s internal food economy within a
global structure has limited and in some cases eliminated opportunities for peasants\textsuperscript{70} to supply local markets. Peasants have abandoned non-competitive farming in large numbers, leaving Haiti dependent on world markets for 60 percent of its food (IFAD 2013). Inequality for women increased, since they are excluded from production and remain responsible for household food procurement. The outcome has furthered hardship, as demonstrated during the 2008 and 2010 world food prices spikes, when poor Haitians were unable to afford their daily food needs, creating greater hunger and food riots.

Proponents of liberalized food trade have used this convergence of events combined with narratives of an unproductive peasantry to promote large-scale development as the way forward. These narratives are contested here and by scholars who argue Haitian peasants have shown themselves capable of food self-sufficiency (Dupuy 2012; Schwartz 2008; McGuigan 2006; Mintz 1989), including national industrial food production (Stratton 2017; Vansteenkiste 2017). As Mintz (1989) claimed, prior to the full impact of liberalized trade and structural adjustment, peasants in Haiti had succeeded in building an independent internal food economy despite protracted political-economic marginalization. Marginalization occurred, in part, because post-independence, elite Haitians adopted the colonizer discourse and practice, thereby positioning themselves as the universal political subject and alienating the individual peasant from their own subjectivity (Lee-Keller 2009). The narrative against the peasants is powerful and justifies neoliberal development by those who benefit, namely Haiti’s oligarchy and international actors within development agencies and the world food economy.

In recent years, farmers have been dispossessed of their land for a tourist development on Île-à-Vache in the South Department (Schuller and Hsu 2014) and assembly manufacturing at Caracol Industrial Park in the Northeast Department (Steckley and Shamsie 2015). Further,

\textsuperscript{70} Small farmers in Haiti refer to themselves as \textit{peyizan} (peasants), as depicted in \textit{Mouvman Peyizan Papay} (Peasant Movement of Papay). I too engage this word in an effort to revalorise its meaning away from often homogenous and negative connotations.
peasants have been displaced by large export-oriented plantations including mango exports by AgroTechnique in the West Department (Steckley and Weis 2017), orange extract by Grand Marnier in the Northeast Department and banana exports by Agritrans in the North Department (Vansteenkiste 2017), to name a few. Haitian activities to decolonize their landscape, recreate their local food systems, and build identity, belonging, and social stability through placemaking were not accounted for during these development initiatives. Yet peasants consistently resist the neo-colonial structure, organizing into CBOs and embarking on value-added processing projects to recreate economic relations. They achieve this by calling on the peasant way of being, theorized here as decolonized identity formation through placemaking. Fanon (1961) refers to decolonization as a process in which people, who were formally colonized, free themselves from restrictive and oppressive economic, social and racial ideologies and practices. In this study, I refer to peasants reproducing cultural traditions, practiced prior to neoliberalism, to decolonize themselves from neoliberal ideology. According to Pierce, Martin, and Murphy (2010:54), “placemaking is an inherently networked process, constituted by the socio-spatial relationships that link individuals together through a common place-frame.” It is the creation of identity and belonging rooted in space and place and influenced by the physical environment and everyday social and cultural practices (Feagan 2007; Main and Sandoval 2015). Placemaking reshapes traditions to meet current challenges and self-identified ways of being. As such, placemaking is decolonization as people establish and maintain control over sociological processes – imagining, practicing, and performing various peasant roles – that generate community and individual identity. The findings are substantiated by comparing and contrasting outcomes from CBOs and Agritrans activities regarding land access, funding mechanisms, and economic benefits, and then to food production, distribution, and consumption. Two angles are explored:

- CBO economic projects are rooted in a sense of self-determination that builds identity and personhood through feelings of ownership and autonomy via locally built economies,
national pride and heritage, caring communities, and a deep spiritual connection with the
land – all tied together as decolonization and placemaking;
• Agritrans’ plantation thwarts agrarian placemaking and heightens livelihood vulnerability
and food insecurity.

This coming together of two systems – large-scale export-oriented projects premised on
dispossession of land, known as land grabs, contrasting with placemaking of community-based
agriculture that stems from history, traditions, and ecology – makes Haiti an interesting case
study. This chapter examines small-scale peasant community agriculture as a process of
decolonization and placemaking, and contrasts the benefits of these efforts to those created by
Agritrans, a large-scale corporate export-oriented plantation. The case study is unique as
interviews took place before and after the land grab occurred in 2013 and 2014, and then again
in 2017 to present these findings to the community; it reflects on crucial questions: How do
Haitians successfully create decolonized placemaking in the midst of neoliberal and neocolonial
development? What hampers, detracts, and limits these efforts? This chapter argues that recent
state land grabs for large-scale export-oriented production in Haiti are capable of meeting only
short-term, temporary development goals, and fail in the complex goals of placemaking,
decolonization, and community development.

**Identity Formation – Key Terms**

Haiti’s national struggle is twofold: it relies on development assistance, yet at the same
time resists acculturation. As the Haitian proverb says, *Pwason fè dlo konfyan; men se dlo kap
blouyi li demen* (The fish trusts in the water; the water will boil the fish tomorrow). The creation
of identity and belonging is grounded in everyday practices, influenced by imbalanced power
relations. The spatialization of social relations follows Marxist structuralist thinking of class
relations and economic roles, but also that space is located historically, so it is actively repurposed and colonized through social activity (Lefebvre 1991; Hubbard et al. 2004). In turn it influences other cultural, economic, political, and social spaces (Hubbard 2004); therefore, space shapes the way we understand the capitalist world and our role in it (Shields 2004). Place has subjective meaning as perceived by the individual through experience and instilled in memories (hooks 2015). Geographers emphasize the power of place in constructing a person’s identity, whether through race, class, gender, or other social differences, a meaning that remains fluid and dynamic (McDowell 1997; Massey 2005; Henderson and Sheppard 2006). While transnational Haitian feminists argue that subjectivity and individual identity is grounded in collective consciousness (Mohanty 2006; Nagar and Swarr 2010), decolonized placemaking by local peasant CBOs offers a space and place for a new collective consciousness to be determined.

**Methods**

Five CBOs, represented by pseudonyms (see Table 6.1), located in the Commune of Limonade, North Department, were chosen for this case study since their interlinkages enabled an assessment of how local economies and societies were being built in one concentrated area. AMM, MM, OMM, and OFK represent the four primary organizations in this study and were interviewed in depth. APLB was interviewed after the land grab at the executive level only, since its membership overlapped with AMM, MM and OMM.
Table 6.1 CBOs Interviewed (May 2013 to June 2014)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name/Type</th>
<th>Value-Added Project</th>
<th>Number of Members/Number Interviewed</th>
<th>Member Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AMM (Asosiyasyon Manman Mamba) – Peanut cultivators for peanut butter Exclusively women</td>
<td>Peanut</td>
<td>400/32</td>
<td>Rural, peri-urban,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MM (Mouvman Manyök) Cassava Bread Mixed-gender</td>
<td>Cassava Bread</td>
<td>150/23</td>
<td>Rural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OMM (Òganizasyon Moun Mayi) – Corn Meal Mixed-gender</td>
<td>Milled Corn</td>
<td>115/24</td>
<td>Rural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OFK (Òganizasyon Fanm Kakawo) Exclusively Women</td>
<td>Cocoa</td>
<td>300/36</td>
<td>Rural, Peri-urban, urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APLB Mixed-gender</td>
<td>Milk &amp; Meat</td>
<td>&gt;1,000/7</td>
<td>Rural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Interviewed</td>
<td></td>
<td>122</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Research data was collected in Creole by the researcher and research assistants using focus groups and semi-structured and structured interviews. In all, 122 people were interviewed, between May 2013 and June 2014. The interviewees were selected based on whether they participated in the value-added project listed in Table 6.1. The information on Agritrans was gathered through government documents, specifically from the Centre for the Facilitation of Investment (CFI), field observations, interviews with expert interlocutors including mayors and expats from nearby international projects, and interviews published by journalists and other researchers. The mixed-methods approach allowed for triangulation of data and confidence in the rigor and accuracy of the results.
Local Context

The Commune of Limonade, North Department, is 131.9 km$^2$ with a population of 33,340 rural and 29,538 urban inhabitants in Limonade (DSDS 2015). The North and Northeast Departments contain state-owned fertile plains. From 1927 to 1966, the land comprised plantations of sisal and sugar cane operated by the Dauphin family, Haitian American Sugar Company (HASCO), and the Welch Family (Paul 2011, 27). Changes in global markets and national restructuring during structural adjustment$^{71}$ led to their closures – demonstrating the vulnerability of large-scale activities to global forces. Since then, local peasants have utilized the land, first unofficially and then through a contractual agreement negotiated in 2009 with Ministère de l'Economic et des Finances (MEF) to use almost 1100 ha for farming activities until 2016. The peasants interviewed had utilized this state land for agricultural activities for an average of 16 years, with some reporting multi-generational use for up to 35 years.

The CBOs in this study embarked on value-added production of agricultural products, listed in Table 6.1. The products are either grown locally by the members themselves or purchased locally and processed by members. Profits from these activities strengthen the CBOs, allowing them to offer programs and training and to extend assistance to new members.

Comparison of Legal Access to Land

The four primary CBOs are smaller in geographic area and project size than APLB. APLB, a larger peasant farmer organization with over 1,000 members, was responsible for negotiating access to 993 ha of state land in 2009. MM had negotiated use of 103 ha for its

$^{71}$ Structural Adjustment Programme occurred post Duvalier under the direction of the US-created National Governing Council. The conditionalities, designed by the IMF and WB, impacted agricultural by liberalizing domestic markets in pursuit of export-led growth (see Bernstein 2001; Steckley & Shamsie 2015).
organization alone, while AMM had negotiated use of 1 ha for a community garden. OMM used land negotiated by APLB, while OFK did not use state land directly. A delegation representing AMM, MM and APLB, signed contracts with the MEF\textsuperscript{72} to pay US $1.16/ha each year for rent.

The CBOs’ contracts, negotiated one year prior to the disastrous 2010 earthquake, were valid until 2016. Post earthquake, reconstruction efforts ramped up as donations flooded in, and in a neoliberal effort to colonize space, government officials and former President Clinton promoted “Haiti: Open for Business.” Early in 2014, Agritrans converted the state land into a large-scale export-oriented banana plantation, ignoring existing AMM and APLB’s legal agreements. The transition of the lands to an export-oriented plantation was abrupt.

Interviews revealed that in 2013, local mayoral administrations, CASECs (Board of Communal Section), ASECs (Assembly of the Communal Section), NGOs, and CBOs of the Communes of Limonde, Limbe, and Bas Limbe had worked together on a food-security plan to pursue pluriculture. Local mayors, recognized by the central government, and locally elected CASEC and ASEC members, recognized by the Haitian Constitution, are responsible for the development of state lands in their departments. Unfortunately, as the mayors reported, the central state circumvents the participatory nature of this legal framework. In the aftermath of the earthquake and in frantic efforts to create reconstruction projects, the Government of Haiti (GOH) used the ideology of decentralization, which was intended to mean decentralization of power, to instead spatially decentralize economic development without consensus (Oxfam 2011). When interviewed the mayors noted that “people lost housing and access to farming without sufficient compensation” and that “no institution was put in place to address food security.” They reported the central government “agitated local people against the local administration by saying we have been denying them development” and “created friction

\textsuperscript{72} (MEF) is tasked to develop and implement economic and financial policy of the state. The land negotiation occurs with Institut National de la Reforme Agraine (INARAH), whose mandate is to “organize the revision of real property structures and to implement an agrarian reform to benefit those who actually work the land” (Haitian Constitution 1987 Article 248).
between local administrations.” The central state articulated land use in the interests of global capital, defining state relations with the peasantry as oppositional by privileging export-oriented production to benefit shareholders. Dispossession from land for pluriculture reduces peasants’ ability to recreate their socio-economic system.

**Comparison of Funding Partners**

Interviews found that linkages among farmers in the rural, peri-urban, and urban landscapes are necessary to increase production and support value-added transformation centres. Investment in the CBO is also part of the role of members, who pay modest weekly dues and share cooked food as well as harvests grown from shared seed supplies on a daily basis. Interviewees explained that sharing was a necessary practice of a granmoun (adult), a concept that resonates with the idea of acquiring personhood. Economic development based on agricultural production is one way Haitians build socio-economic and political institutions; these are permeated with the peasant worldview of community caring. Traditional agrarian morality preserves community priorities through distribution of project benefits, including food and money, stronger social networks, and improved livelihood needs, in a context mostly lacking government support. Social capital is important to Haitian peasants to reduce risk and vulnerability (Steckley 2015), and development of personhood facilitates itself to these ends.

The CBO work is still dependent on external funding, though four of the five organizations have grown in strength and organization. In 2017, interviewees remarked that funding partners are more interested in the technical aspects of projects, “they are not Haitian projects because they forget to study our traditions,” and “it is difficult to include cultural needs because it takes more time and projects have requirements.” However, the experience and strength of CBOs means they can place projects within a larger program framework to reproduce and adapt peasant epistemology and ontology to fit the current political-economic
context. OMM is smaller and less well-organized, and follows the protocol of the government-funded Federation Chamber of National Agriculture (FECHAN) cornmeal project. Within this particular project, members reported social division and exclusion. In comparison, CBOs AMM and OFK were remarkable in creating space for women to challenge socio-economic barriers, in part because funders Oxfam and Sonja Ayiti (Haitian NGO) were sensitive to sociological demands of CBOs. All CBOs reported privileging traditional agriculture and community norms of participation and sharing, and credited their agricultural work for providing the means to strengthen themselves as Haitian farmers and to live in relationship to the land and ancestors.

In a recent trend to revitalize small-holder initiatives, the USAID-funded Feed the Future program and other donors have increased investments. However, USAID still follow the ideology that agriculture is business, not a social activity (Cohen 2013). In 2017, interviewees expressed concern that CBOs find it difficult to retain their emancipatory visions and to aba blankomani (reject white people as superior) in the presence of powerful actors and when Haitians are more concerned with needs for food and money.

In contrast, Agritrans plantation was envisioned and executed by businessman and now president Jovenel Moïse. As the first agricultural free-trade zone established in Haiti, the plantation benefits from tax-free status, special customs treatment, and exemption from communal taxes for 15 years (USDS 2015). During the 2015-2016 election campaign, presidential hopeful Moïse portrayed the project as a successful model for Haiti’s future economic development. According to the Centre for the Facilitation of Investment (CFI) (2013), a branch of the GOH, the plains in the Northern Corridor were empty, fertile, and “Open for Business” for future development. The presence of peasant activities noted in this study contradicts this claim. Interviewees stated that the Northern Corridor is regularly visited by government officials with potential investors. Agritrans itself plans to expand in size from 1,000 to 3,000 ha.
**Comparison of Economic Contribution to Haiti**

Peasants had used the state land to grow crops, harvest wild foods, process wood into charcoal, and graze free-range animals to sell in the local markets or for household consumption. Crops from state and private lands were also used for value-added processing. AMM, in cooperation with Oxfam GB and French-based Agrisud, has established a peanut mill and sells traditional Haitian peanut butter locally and plain peanut butter to Meds for Foods and Kids (MFK), an international NGO that makes medical peanut butter for malnourished children. MM, in cooperation with Oxfam GB and Agrisud, grows and processes manioc into cassava bread for sale to the local market and visiting diaspora. OMM, in cooperation with the Federation Chamber of National Agriculture (FECHAN), the French Embassy, the Aquitune/Dordogne region of France, and Oxfam GB, mills corn for sale locally and to the World Food Programme (WFP) for distribution to school meals programs. OFK buys and processes cocoa from local farmers for local markets and tourists, and hopes to provide chocolate to schoolchildren through WFP. APLB assists cattle ranchers with milk production for processing at Veterimed into milk and yogurt, and meat production for local markets. The interviewees from all CBOs reported pride in creating products that help their fellow Haitians, representing the concept of granmoun or full personhood. This represents placemaking as successful producers offering resistance to foreign imports.

Each of the four primary organizations embarked on value-added transformation of traditional Haitian fare, finding niches in the local market not saturated by cheap imports and, in the case of MFK and WFP, given preferential sales. Many of the members also used state land to graze cattle. The cow milk produced was sold to Veterimed’s milk and yogurt factory. Veterimed’s first factory was located in Limonade; the Haitian NGO now has 35 factories across Haiti. The product is of the highest quality, winning international recognition at l’Agriculture familiale que la Commission économique pour l’Amérique latine et la Caraïbe (first place out of
1600 submissions from 35 countries) in Santiago, Chile, in 2013. Through these projects, members of the CBOs improved food production, distribution, and consumption and simultaneously reproduced community caring, producing a genre of capitalism that reflects peasant concerns. Interviewees commented: “Haitian products are fresh and better than imports for our health” and “we are proud to draw upon the ancestors’ knowledge when we produce.” Further, interviewees stated the importance of “feeding the lwa (ancestral spirits) local food” with “no Miami rice.” The connection to past generations is important to the identity and sense of belonging and place. Performing the vodou rituals with local food is a further act of sharing food to establish connection with one another and ancestors. Vodou is also used to protect cultivated crops and ensure good production. These are material acts of placemaking, of creating a space and place that is embedded with the worldview and identity of the Haitian peasant and of creating social security.

Agritrans’ economic priorities are focused less on local development and more on extracting natural resources to create money for the anonymous shareholder group, a typical expression of neoliberalism. It is unclear whether Agritrans will repay the Industrial Development Fund for the US $6 million startup funding. As with many large-scale projects, employment is dangled as the economic fix-all for Haitian food shortages and other expenses. Caracol, a nearby industrial park, advertised 65,000 jobs, but employs only 2,000 (USDS 2014). Similarly, Agritrans promoted 3,000 jobs, yet as of March 2015 had produced only 600, – many of which are offered on 15-day shifts and inflate employment figures (Steckley and Bell 2016). Many of these workers – agronomists, engineers, and farm labourers – migrated to this workspace. Agricultural workers are paid 200 gourdes for a day of work (US $3.53), a wage that covers only 19-37 percent of the daily cost of living (Steckley and Bell 2016). Meanwhile, profits and dividends, the rent from the land, are funneled away from the community and upward to shareholders and government coffers.
Comparison of Models of Agriculture

Development in Haiti is taking place in two ways: through community-based organizations and through land grabs. Each has very specific objectives.

CBOs build collective community consciousness

CBO members materialize an agrarian economy inside the economic activities just described. The agrarian economy is historically situated; it exists prior to the newly imagined small economic project and is a response to the colonial mentality brought with foreign NGOs. It is the remaking of social relations with land, markets, and society. It is relational (space being folded into social relations). Materializing the space of community care, where identity and autonomy are imagined, produced, and performed, is an act of placemaking. There is no one homogeneous construction of placemaking shared by all the CBOs; however, there are some general characteristics. These include the backward linkages to traditional Haitian social norms of konbits (work parties), sharing, and an emphasis on community well-being. They also include forward linkages to CBO lending structures and aid for those in need, combined with efforts to revitalize national agriculture and finding niche markets in an internal food economy dominated by neoliberal globalization. The interviewees reported “the organization helps us 24/7; they give us everything we need, training, human rights knowledge, conflict training, knowledge from our ancestors, and a garden to practice” and “this organization is where people improve as autonomous producers.” This approach creates a strong social network to reduce vulnerability in times of need. In 2017 the weakest CBO, OMM, reported it was challenging to get young people to participate because they worked at Caracol in the nearby industrial park, and the CBO had little to offer them as an alternative.


**Agritrans builds short-term profits**

Agritrans is structured to create profit margins and efficient production, not community well-being, food security, social stability, and a collective community consciousness. The project thrives on what Harvey (2004) calls accumulation by dispossession, where peasants to some degree have had food security, autonomy, identity, collective consciousness, and identity extracted from their portfolio of well-being and monetized for others. The value to Agritrans is about converting nutrients, water, and labour into profit.

**Comparison of Production**

**CBO Model**

Since the 1980s, the peasants have used a combination of state land and privately owned lands to cultivate agricultural products. Pluriculture tradition includes cassava, yam, plantain, banana, peanuts, beans, maize, sweet potato, taro, orange, lime, cashew, goats, chickens, pigs, and cattle (Agrisud 2013). CBO members make distinct use of CBO projects to continue producing traditional Haitian fare – cocoa, peanuts, cassava, and corn-meal. They also collect wild foods and produce charcoal for household consumption and to sell in the local market. The state lands are preferred over mountain plots because they are vast plains with one-meter-deep, semi-arid fertile loam soil with close proximity to markets. Irrigation infrastructure is the barrier to improved agricultural efforts in this area, along with seasonal flooding. According to a Veterimed executive, there was no investment in irrigation by the GOH, so Veterimed installed water points for cattle. Interviewees in 2017 reported Agritrans had lowered the water table and production was decreasing, even for MM’s cassavarie project.

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73 Rainy seasons – November to January, mid-August to October. Subterranean water source located at 100’ to 150’ (Agrisud 2013).
Through these activities, peasants build their local economic, political, social, and spiritual systems. When asked about producing traditional foods respondents report: “I feel connected to my ancestors and community.” Production evokes a traditional social mechanism of sharing labour, called a *konbit*, utilized to share the work and the benefits of the harvest and to strengthen trust in social capital within the community, building a sense of belonging and greater social stability. Members’ relationship to the land remains the basis of identity as self-sufficient, self-caring, and autonomous communities in the context of a state that is largely absent in their lives.

The Commune of Limonade, known for milk and yogurt production, has vast cattle-grazing lands with an estimated 150,000 cattle, including 55,000 cows, located in the northern departments (Paul 2011). Veterimed, in cooperation with local peasants, strengthens the visibility and territorial identity of the commune as a place of successful milk producers. From a view of productivity or efficiency, the factory and land was underutilized, but peasant farmers and Veterimed executives spoke more about displacing importation with a better quality products, improving livelihoods, and building social support and community for local peasant farmers. A respondent said, “We need to all put our heads together and improve production and show the world what great products Haiti can have.” The Veterimed executive stated:

> It doesn’t make sense. First the government tries to put in place a system to stop people from migrating to the Dominican Republic, and then they crush the farmers’ way of making a living, and finally they talk about national production.

Haitians spoke often about their sense of personhood as deeply linked to their country. The interviews collected resonate with the idea that continuity through placemaking would ensure the Haitian way of being. This supports economic projects that attend to decolonization rather than profit margins.
Agritrans Production Model

The neoliberal export-oriented project Agritrans is not structured on the intent to build community, which brings all the benefits described in the previous section. Agritrans is a typical capitalist for-profit model benefiting shareholders and GOH by monetizing benefits from the environment and people’s quality of life through dispossessing the ability to reproduce their agrarian community. The land conversion was a surprise. Families lost their homes (Steckley and Bell 2016) and cattle ran from equipment that removed the semi-arid vegetation to build a 330-ha plantation and a large water lagoon (Saint Pre 2015). In the Northeast Department, land conversion includes thus far 150 ha converted for Grand Marnier orange production, 25 ha for Université Roi Henry Christophe, 246 ha for Caracol Industrial Park, and 50 ha for Villaj la Différence.

State land, when utilized by the peasants, materializes the concept of an agrarian community with support mechanisms. Removing the land from peasant production weakens the CBO, the community, and the territory, turning many peasants into landless labourers and diminishing their quality of life. Table 6.2 denotes the reliance on state land and the subsequent percentage of participants who lost access. OFK predominately purchases from farmers as opposed to producing and so is not included in the table, and APLB was interviewed at the executive level only.
Table 6.2 Reported State Land Access

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CBO</th>
<th>% of respondents who farmed on state land</th>
<th>% of farming respondents who reported losing access to state land</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AMM</td>
<td>19/32=59%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MM</td>
<td>17/23=73%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OMM</td>
<td>10/24=42%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If state land conversions continue as indicated then this number will continue to rise. When communities are dispossessed of the land they use for sociological functions of creating a decolonized collective community consciousness, a sense of placelessness and social instability will grow.

Comparison of Benefits from Production

CBO

The benefits of the projects are distributed among members in terms of training, programs, providing work, school, improved nutrition, and credit loans. The project creates a social safety net. Simultaneously, members have autonomy through individual production.

The loans are dispersed through an internal credit institution called a mutual or gwoup solidarite. Local credit structures are an alternative to informal lenders charging high interest, and fill the void left by formal institutions that avoid loans to rural peasants and poor urban dwellers. These actions make salient the concept of community care as it creates a root of resistance, a space that challenges classism and create an alternative social safety net.

The CBOs also offers a space of material resistance against dependence on international aid and food imports. AMM’s harvested peanuts were processed into medical

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74 Urban OFK did not participate in this survey.
Plumpy Nut paste for malnourished children at MFK, and OMM’s cornmeal fed school children through WFP. The projects established a sense of self-sufficiency and cooperative care of the most vulnerable of Haitian society. An interviewee reported, “These projects mean we may take care of our families and our community.” These actions reinforce symbolic spaces of Haitian identity with backward linkages to traditional community caring and strengthening self-determined identity. The CBOs also create a space for peasants to negotiate with international agencies’ support for their conception of agrarian economic development, proving the forwardness of peasant decolonization. Unfortunately, AMM and OMM’s projects ran into difficulty with the lack of technical assistance to address aflatoxin contamination, which temporarily stopped both projects.

*Agritrans*

Once disposed of state land, peasants reported slaughtering cattle due to a lack of feed, losing crops, and ceasing charcoal production and the collection of wild foods, drastically changing the household economy. Data collected revealed an average loss of income over US $1,400 per year in market sales, as well as loss of charcoal, wild and cropped foods, and cattle milk and meat consumed directly by the household. Household expenditures increased; household income decreased. Individual Dietary Diversity Surveys indicated a decline in day-to-day nutrition, in particular a loss of fresh fruit and vegetables and milk. Diets increased in imported rice, and red meat, and cooking oil as consumers took advantage of the abundance of cheap market meat caused by the reduction of cattle prices from 15,000 to 10,000 gourdes. As one interviewee summed up, “People either have to sell their cows or kill them. This is not good for the household economy.” Cattle are a source of income and savings that can be liquidated in emergencies. The selling of cattle creates long-term vulnerability.
Beside this tangible loss there have been intangible losses: exchange of agricultural knowledge in AMM’s community garden; space and place to practice spirituality; and social networks through shared labour and production. The garden allowed a space and place to exchange knowledge, test crops in the face of changing climatic conditions, and strengthen community networks of reliance. A CBO leader explained, “They took our community garden where we share our ancestors’ knowledge and practice new ways of gardening.” CBO members’ opportunity to build a strong civil society through identity making and placemaking had been diminished. When the GOH repurposed state land for Agritrans, it ignored the local context, heightening food and livelihood insecurity.

Comparison of Benefits from Consumption

CBO

Community care is accomplished by providing nutritious food for members and the local community. CBOs take seriously the need to valorize Haitian traditions and agriculture in a time of globalization. Respondents complained that many food production and consumption traditions have declined since the intensification of globalization and importation. They noted that imported food caused poor health while ancestral foods made them healthier and stronger. The loss of traditional products impacted the feeding of the Lwa spirits too. As one interviewee stated, “The Lwa eat only local foods, not imports.” Changing production, distribution, and consumption patterns weave their effects deep into one’s identity, including into spiritual rituals. Regaining consumption knowledge is an act of resistance to materializing identity and autonomy by valorizing linkages to ancestors and to what Haitian land may provide. Revalorizing Vodou and its practices of food sharing and crop protection are part of that resistance and part of building social stability. All four of the primary CBOs produce traditional products – cassava
bread, peppered peanut butter, chocolate, and cornmeal – and a proud member testified: “These products enhance our relationship with our ancestors.” The moral economy of care and consumption patterns extends deep into past generations, strengthening one’s sense of place and identity.

Agritrans

In early 2016, Agritrans reportedly exported 40 containers of bananas per week to Germany, shy of the 150 shipping containers agreed upon in negotiations, and suggesting the expansion of the land grab to 3,000 ha will become a reality (Steckley and Bell 2016). Meanwhile, while the product of land, water, and labour resources – mixed with state support in the form of loans and tax breaks – is being exported to Europe, Haitians remain food short. Haitians lack sufficient land and water resources and state support – investment and technical support to address irrigation, transportation, and market protections – to produce for their own consumption, leaving them reliant on imported food.

Discussion

Relativizing space to an agrarian political economy, as a community, is a necessary step toward decolonization. It is the space where the symbolic expression of community, with a collective consciousness, materializes into improved production, distribution, and consumption activities, and more importantly it is where identity and autonomy are locally imagined, produced, and performed. It should be noted, the CBO presented a collective consciousness toward community building it left space for individual expressions, as in differing variations of spirituality – Vodou, Vodou mixed with Christianity, or Christianity alone. This space-shaping links back to ancestral traditions and forward to international organizations. It is resistance by
decolonizing through placemaking.

The limit to this way forward is the vision of the role of agriculture at the central state level. Policymakers designated agriculture as an economic growth engine rather than allowing it to fulfill its various socio-ecological functions. In this model peasants are only a resource, their way of being is inconsequential, and everything is subject to discipline. “The conviction that market forces will generate the conditions for economic development and social progress informs all of Haiti’s recent policy documents” (Shamsie 2012:140). Yet, the reality in Haiti is that “[n]eoliberalism ignores the potential of smaller geographical scales” (Merilus 2015, 37) as an economic engine and a space and place to strengthen social stability. Therefore, peasant strategic and critical contributions to food security and social stability are starkly absent in the neoliberal worldview.

Small-scale agriculture has huge potential in Haiti. When investment is made in a manner allowing CBOs to be the drivers of projects they are able to call upon important sociological functionings to shape project frameworks. As Tuck and Yang (2012) remind us, decolonization is not a metaphor; it takes real action. By taking back space in the internal food economy and relativizing material place to Haitian epistemology and ontology, peasants are able to decolonize food production. The concern is how power imbalances accompanying land conversions and interest in small-farmer production by US Feed the Future will impact CBOs’ abilities to retain their Haitian placemaking and identity formation efforts. As warned, “inclusion is central to hierarchical power” as it serves to control and absorb rather than allow radical transformation by differing perspectives and goals (Arvin, Tuck, and Morrill 2013:17).

Conclusion

Haitian society, like all societies, is a communally imagined project – and a unique expression of what it means to be Haitian in the current world system. CBO agriculture projects
are upended, threatened, and unbalanced by ongoing efforts of colonializing, resource
eextraction, and labour exploitation. Plantations for export are spaces and places for agricultural
production and not human reproduction, hence unchecked global processes create
placelessness and ultimately physical suffering and social instability through a loss of ability to
create subjective identity, autonomy, and a meaningful community. Through an agrarian political
economy analysis, coupled with theories of identity formation and the concept of space and
place, it becomes apparent how power and knowledge play out spatially to include or exclude
peasant desires. Understanding the world through one paradigm of market-based neoliberalism
misses and excludes the rich complexities of cultures that make up the totality of human
existence. Likewise, we need to recognize that there is no one model of reality, no hierarchy of
modern or backward in civilizations; there are just different ways of being.
CHAPTER SEVEN –

THE GENDERED SPACE OF CAPABILITIES AND FUNCTIONINGS:

LESSONS FROM HAITIAN COMMUNITY-BASED ORGANIZATIONS

ABSTRACT  Different frameworks for building capabilities result in different material outcomes for women in four Haitian community-based organizations: two mixed-gender versus two all-women organizations. This study shows that frameworks deployed by the all-women organizations pay attention to strategic gendered interests by enhancing capabilities and functionings that communities and individuals value. Their frameworks resembled Nussbaum’s (2011) 1) practical reasoning and 2) affiliation, enabling combined capabilities and valued functionings in a manner that respects Sen’s demands for plurality of individual freedoms within society. We contend that when an organization makes gender central to a capabilities approach, space is created for women to imagine, practice, and choose real opportunities and functionings of value that are otherwise prohibited. This gendered capabilities methodology addresses political and social poverty and creates a platform for building democracy, offering a central frame scalable to national policy.

Keywords: Gender, Haiti, Community, Amartya Sen, Martha Nussbaum, Capability Approach

Introduction: Women Continue to Fall Behind

Despite concerted effort and commitment, the recently expired Millennium Development Goals (MDG) achieved mixed successes in the global south with wide variations among regions, among countries, and within countries. Vertical inequalities such as skewed income distribution and horizontal inequalities such as discrimination and exclusion based on race, gender, ethnicity, etc., have been targeted as the cause (Grynspan 2016). For example,

In Latin America and the Caribbean, the ratio of women to men in poor households increased from 108 women for every 100 men in 1997 to 117 women for every 100 men in 2012, despite declining poverty rates for the whole region (UN 2015, 8).

Looking to Haiti and gender, the area and focus of this study, we note a Gender Inequality Index (a composite measure of reproductive health, empowerment, and the labor market) at a dismal .603, ranking Haiti 138 out of 188 countries; only 22.4% of women have some secondary education; maternal mortality sits at 380 per 100,000 live births, seriously missing the MDG target of 210; and only 3.5% of seats in Parliament are held by women (UNDP 2015). Clearly, barriers exist to human development for women in Haiti, preventing them from meeting their full political, social, and human potential.

The MDGs, and now the Sustainable Development Goals, are anchored in the concept of “human development” contained within the annual Human Development Report and Human Development Index (HDI), which measure, evaluate, and monitor human well-being. Haiti’s HDI is .483, similar to Rwanda’s and Uganda’s, ranking it 163 of 188 countries. Human development has its foundations in Sen’s capability approach (CA), an approach grounded in the philosophy of agency and plurality of individuals within societies. He argues that to be truly democratic, people need substantive freedoms—the right to choose lives they value by prioritizing a capability set of real opportunities (Sen 1999). The advantage of Sen’s capabilities approach is its commitment to protecting pluralism, agency, and choice and an acknowledgment of
permanent structures of representation associated with politics, power, and social exclusion. We agree with Sen’s evaluation, and suggest that the capabilities approach, accompanied with attention to addressing gendered social exclusions within the space of an all-women CBO, has the potential of giving women capabilities (real opportunities) to choose functionings of value. These functionings of value represent strategic gender interests. Strategic gender interests are concerned with addressing women’s subordinate position in society (Molyneux 1985). Once strategic needs are met then women are able to achieve practical gender needs to meet inadequacies of basic needs (Molyneux 1985). This is possible because women’s CBOs offer a process that protects pluralism, agency, and choice by giving women space to question, through deliberate discussions, the value of social institutions and then to imagine and practice alternatives in an act of self-determination. Murphy (2014) suggests the capabilities approach also attends to self-determination through collective capabilities, arguing capabilities are not only a basic human right but have real developmental consequences to meet basic needs. This process allows women to target opportunities and functionings they value through democratic social arrangements.

The CA is critiqued for missing the interactive relationship of community or collective institutions in solidifying agency and common values with individual capabilities (Stewart 2006; Ibrahim 2006; Lessmann and Rauschmayer 2013; Murphy 2014; Godfrey-Wood and Mamani-Vargas 2017). To explore the group-individual dyad, we compare and contrast the frameworks of four CBOs in Haiti to unveil how the adoption of gender as a central organizing principle encourages pluralism, agency, and choice. The CBOs that were successful provided: a) a safe space for people to discuss and imagine alternative and meaningful capabilities that challenge gendered barriers; and b) a material space to practice and perform external capabilities that challenge gendered social exclusions. By analyzing the frameworks, we will be better able to explain how CBOs can facilitate the process of attending to different gendered social exclusions to foster gendered capabilities, recognizing they do not engage this language to describe their
activities. Further, we observe how women’s CBOs address Sen’s (1999, 2000) concern of social justice and of plurality of individual’s choice of substantive freedoms, and how this creates a platform for engagement by policymakers.

**Haiti: the Local Context**

In Haiti, class structures support a predatory state (see Fatton 2002) designed to limit the building of a government sensitive to the needs of the poor, instead serving the needs of the rich (Mintz 1989; Trouillot 1990; Fatton 2002). In response to the lack of vertical linkages to their government, the disenfranchised peasantry puts effort into building horizontal linkages, or social networks, within the local peasant community to reduce vulnerabilities during crises and for daily livelihood strategies (Smith 2001; Richman 2005). In Haiti, social classes remain disconnected from one another; powerful groups invariably dominate the state and benefit from institutional power structures, excluding and even harming other groups (Trouillot 1990; Fatton 2002). The emphasis on horizontal linkages and the lack of vertical linkage are legacies of traditional Haitian society, with its colonial past, and products of international development. Thus, locally shaped spaces to enhance strategic gender interests and capabilities are more useful and obtainable for improving livelihoods than macro-economic and mega-development projects (Vansteenkiste 2017).

In Haiti, collective forms of social capital are rooted at the local level in organizations united by a shared interest or need. They may overlap with kinship or patron-client relations, and people may belong to more than one organization. The arrangements often stem from traditional groups, such as konbit, eskwad, or kominotè (work groups), sòl (credit groups), rara (religious processional societies), or religious or sèvi lwa (serving Vodou spirits) (McAlister 2002; Kivland 2012). Alternatively, they can take the more contemporary form of cooperatives (from the Duvalier era), gwoupman (small organizing groups influenced by Caritas in the 1970s
and 1980s), or mouvman peyzan, peasant movements (White and Smucker 1998; Maguire 1990; Smith 2001). According to White and Smucker (1998, 10-11), the organizations most effective in reducing poverty “are in effect ‘hybridized’ social innovations.” They reflect a legacy of Haitian traditional institutions, Haiti’s political economy, and the influence of foreign development actors. Today, CBOs are often seen as the main vehicle to access development money or government support, and they offer a space to build one’s social network.

When considering gendered social networks, we need to consider ways men and women build social capital. Although women in Haiti have long been recognized as the center of household food and economy (N’Zengou-Tayo 1998), there has equally been a long history of relegating women to subordinate positions. Only in 1979 did married Haitian women gain full legal recognition as adults and not minors to the senior household male and dependents of the state (Charles 1995b; N’Zengou-Tayo 1998). Two observations apply here: first, subordination weakens an individual’s or group’s ability to create powerful social networks. Second, the more diverse the social network, the greater the individual’s ability to confront poverty and vulnerability (Narayan 1995; Moser 1996; Woolcock and Narayan 2000). Thus, women in Haiti face multiple intersections of oppression, including gender, age, class, and race, constituting a complex layering of social constructs that limit networks, and inevitably lack opportunities to imagine, practice, and perform more beneficial roles (Charles 1995a, 1995b; Ulysse 2011). These limitations bind women’s strategic gender interests, prohibiting access to practical gender needs to fulfill their role as poto mitan.

**Collective and Individual Capabilities**

The CA is grounded in a philosophy of agency and plurality of individuals within societies. Sen (1999) argues that to be democratic, people need substantive freedoms and the right to choose a life they value by prioritizing a capability set of real opportunities. Scholars
critique Sen’s CA for missing the group-individual dyad necessary to solidify agency, common values, and individual capabilities. Nussbaum (2000, 84), too, suggests that one’s internal capabilities must be combined with a suitable external environment to generate functionings that one chooses. Communities may provide this environment through a shared group identity, a sense of affiliation, and group capabilities (Stewart 2005; Basu 2013). Stewart (2005) asserts that group capabilities are more than the sum of individual capabilities; rather, they are a rethinking of group norms and values to challenge social inequalities and facilitate individual action, supported with access to political and economic resources. Ibrahim (2006) and Murphy (2014) have documented communities that provide shared space, or environments, to facilitate collective and individual capabilities and political self-determination. The mechanics for achieving these benefits, however, are under-researched (Murphy 2014).

Recent attempts have been made to document the processes. For instance, Ibrahim (2017) offers a 3CModel that stresses conscientization of individuals, collective agency through conciliation, and collaboration through institutions to achieve sustainable and scalable results. Lessmann and Rauschmayer (2013) look at the sustainability of the CA by considering intergenerational impacts to individual- and group-achieved functionings based on the reverberations of choices made today. Godfrey-Wood and Mamani-Vargas (2017) and Stewart (2005) note that collectively determined capabilities can be both harmful and beneficial, the former identifying gender as a point of concern. Scholarly work thus far points to the need for more exploration and discussion regarding how collective capabilities relate to individual capabilities and the gendered characteristics in this relationship. To extend this discussion, we compare all-women and mixed-gendered groups to further the discussion of gender in collective processes and collective group limitations and benefits to capabilities.
Description of CBOs

Two women’s CBOs and two mixed CBOs were included in this study. All were located in the commune of Limonade (see Map 7.1).

The Association of Peanut Butter Women, or Asosiyasyon Manman Mamba (AMM), an all-women peri-urban and rural CBO, has the largest geographical distribution, covering nine zones, with a membership of over 400 peasants and some urban poor. Each zone is represented by a gwoupman, which has up to 60 members and a coordinator. The organization started in 2004 with six women who wished to “execute a project to improve the women’s economic, cultural, social aptitude and leadership skills like men” (AMM-leadership). The founders wished to address the barriers preventing women from accessing more lucrative livelihoods. The CBO supports gardening, peanut processing, production of sweets, artisan activities, and raising cows, goats, rabbits, and chickens. The members process peanut butter at the CBO mill; the women sell it for their own profit and for the CBO. The peanut mill is also rented to other community producers. The executive committee meets monthly and each Sunday afternoon with members. The mission of the organization is to

[m]ake all women independent, to make women believe in values and principles that will benefit them and their families, and to help women develop to their full potential (AMM-leadership focus group).

Established in 2002 within the city of Limonade, the Organization of Chocolate Women, or Òganizasyon Fanm Kakawo (OFK), an all-women rural, peri-urban and urban CBO, has 300 members who participate more in commerce than in farming. Like AMM, OFK follows a federated structure with an executive committee and gwoupman in five zones. The executive committee meets monthly and each Sunday afternoon with members. The research team interviewed women participating in OFK’s cocoa processing project. Members buy cocoa beans
from local farmers to process and sell. The organization’s mission is “[t]o create a better life for women” (OFK-leadership focus group).

The Manioc Movement, or Mouvman Manyòk (MM), was established in 1988 and has a mixed-gender membership of 150 rural peasants (70 women and 80 men). They are located 5 km west of the city of Limonade. Members live near in the surrounding area and many are neighbors, friends, and relatives. The executive committee meets with members each Sunday afternoon, but MM has no local gwoupman representation. Sour cassava is processed into cassava bread in MM’s cassavarie (bakery). The cassavarie is rented out to the greater community, generating further income for the organization. MM also has 12% ownership of a nearby restaurant. The mission of the organization is “[t]o have a better life socially, financially, culturally, and religiously” (MM-leadership focus group).

The Organization of Maize People, or Òganizasyon Moun Mayi (OMM), was founded in 1995 and has 115 rural members (55 female and 60 male). It has no gwoupman structure and, of the four organizations, has the fewest projects running. OMM works with Federation Chamber of National Agriculture (FECHAN) to grow and mill maize for the World Food Program (WFP). The organization’s mission is to be “[a] cooperative where the members can find loans at low interest rates in order to buy seeds and other inputs to help them with their farming activities” (OMM-leadership focus group).
Our research was conducted between May 2013 and June 2014. Four CBOs were chosen as part of a larger study on peasant contributions to food security in northern Haiti. Each CBO ran a project funded by foreign donors to process raw agricultural products for sale in Haiti. Overall (n=115), members from two rural peasant CBOs, one peri-urban/rural CBO, and one peri-urban/urban CBO were interviewed. The mixed-data collection included two structured interviews, one semi-structured interview, and one to two focus groups for each CBO. All interviews were conducted and recorded in Creole and translated into English. Interview questions centered on topics of perception, for instance: ability to make decisions within CBO processes; ability to voice opinions; access to resources, new roles, skills, and knowledge; feelings of happiness, satisfaction, and belonging; the perception of how they are perceived in
the community; and whether their families were satisfied with their CBO membership. Data were analyzed with HyperRESEARCH, SPSS, and Excel.

We contend that the perspectives of people considered to be living on the margins are epistemologically valid. To further this epistemological approach, grounded theory was used to find patterns in the data to explain the local phenomena. Two main categories emerged that matched Nussbaum’s two architectonic capabilities—affiliation and practical reasoning. Practical reasoning means being able to conceive, critically reflect, and plan choices; affiliation refers, briefly, to be able to live with and toward others, building institutions that nurture socialization, and acquiring self-respect and dignity (Nussbaum 2011, 34). Because of the vagueness of her categories, we used grounded theory patterns to add definition through subcategories representing the local context. The patterns and themes identified were:

1) Critical and Practical Reasoning Skills with subcategories
   a) Building Leadership
   b) Building Autonomy.

2) Status Through Affiliation with subcategories
   a) Legitimacy of Organization
   b) Legitimacy of the Individual.

The findings are divided into two sections reflecting this categorization.

**Interview Findings**

The following interview data consider 1) how members imagine and practice leadership skills within the CBO framework to enhance their status and the status of the organization and 2) how CBO members realize internal capabilities to choose functionings of value, namely becoming autonomous producers strengthening the social network of the CBO. Both characteristics explain the group-individual dyad to improve the critical and practical reasoning
skills of members and the capability of the overall organization, and lend themselves to strategic gender interests.

Section One: Critical and Practical Reasoning Skills with subcategories a) Building Leadership and b) Building Autonomy

Practical Reasoning refers to the ability to conceive, critically reflect upon, and plan choices; these abilities, as Nussbaum (2000) outlines, lie innately within all of us in varying degrees of development and need nurturing to become internal capabilities. The CBOs, to different degrees, offer knowledge-sharing and skills training in an environment with opportunities to try out practical reasoning supported by necessary material resources. The framework enables members to choose functionings of value that include leadership positions within the CBO and autonomy from the CBO as independent producers. In the all-women organizations these are fertile functionings because they challenge gender stereotypes and open up opportunities to choose functionings of value/strategic gender interests, such as participating independently from men in the local milk economy or local politics. In this sense the women become innovative leaders for the larger community through what Ibrahim (2017) identifies as conscientization (of individuals) and conciliation (collective agency).

Autonomy refers to becoming independent producers outside of CBO activities. Building autonomous producers means building strong nodes within the CBO social network to be relied upon in times of vulnerability and need. Therefore, building autonomous capability strengthens the whole network. A respondent from an all-women CBO explained:

A long time ago we didn’t have an all-women organization. We joined together as an organization to change the face of women in the community. We can execute a project to improve the women’s lives—economically, culturally, socially—and to learn leadership skills like the men. Men have economic power because men have cows. Today women can milk cows and process milk like men; we manage the cows by ourselves. (AMM-female)
This finding reveals the interdependent group-individual dyad. Building the capabilities of members strengthens the status and functioning of the CBO, which strengthens the legitimacy of the CBO as a platform for women. As individual capabilities are strengthened, the members’ status and livelihoods improve. Table 7.1 compares and contrasts the frameworks employed by each CBO to demonstrate how the capabilities of Critical and Practical Reasoning Skills are, or are not, realized.
Table 7.1 Critical and Practical Reasoning Skills

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Building Leadership</th>
<th>Women’s CBOs</th>
<th>Mixed-Gender CBOs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AMM</td>
<td>OFK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. <em>groupm</em> federated structure creating vertical linkage to executive level and exercising democracy</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. rotating leadership elected every 5 years</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. socialization skills training</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. statutes to monitor CBO activities</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Interviewee Reported Outcomes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Women’s CBOs</th>
<th>Mixed-Gender CBOs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AMM</td>
<td>OFK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. building civic and leadership skills for women</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. able to better represent one’s self publicly</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. members knew CBO statutes and could explain details</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. lack of knowledge exchange, uneven distribution of project benefits and decision making</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
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Building Autonomy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Women’s CBOs</th>
<th>Mixed-Gender CBOs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AMM</td>
<td>OFK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. membership fees collected to support mutual/solidarity lending groups</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. spaces for discussing production for the CBO</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. production training</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women's CBOs</td>
<td>Mixed-Gender CBOs</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>AMM</td>
<td>OFK</td>
<td>MM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. access to seeds or rootstock for CBO project</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. access to resources for diversified cultivation (seeds, tools, cows, goats) for personal use</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. access to land for CBO project</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviewee Reported Outcomes:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. women seeing themselves as equal decision-makers with husbands</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. CBO worked to create producers independent from CBO</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. lending circles improved autonomy from money lenders</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. spaces for women to design projects</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.1 Explanation

*All-women organizations:* The elected *gwoupman* federated structure allows for democratic representation and decision-making within each geographical zone. Elections at *gwoupman* and executive levels occur every five years. In AMM, four of the six founding members remained in the 10 leadership positions. OFK featured a larger rotation of leaders with the retention of one founding leader. The committees meet regularly to relay information and participate in CBO decision-making, such as project designs and community outreach. Each *gwoupman* has membership fees and lending circles, creating opportunities for members to practice leadership and decision-making by deciding who gets loans.
Mixed-gender organizations: The central executive committees were male-dominated. MM had one female executive member in response to a funder’s request, and OMM also had one female executive member. Neither CBO had gwoopman structures to share knowledge, generate ideas, and make democratic decisions. They held elections every five years but the core group retained control in both organizations. The lack of democratic structure resulted in structural inequality. In MM and OMM, a strong central core of members benefited immensely from the CBO, reporting improved livelihoods, self-confidence, and greater likelihood of taking out loans from the solidarity-lending group, while others on the periphery were unhappy. In both mixed-gendered groups we observed women, and women reported, struggling to meet day-to-day needs. OMM interviewees reported a lack of knowledge sharing, especially among women. All CBOs provided socialization training to improve professionalism and know-how to handle conflict. Each CBO had statutes to guide decisions. All the organizations had Sunday general assembly meetings where people could discuss production issues regarding CBO operations; however, only all-women organizations discussed women’s issues.

Women in MM saw themselves as equal decision-makers in collective community decisions. However, during a women’s focus group, women were asked if they had participated in design and implementation of the mixed-gender cassavarie. They responded: “We bring water, carry materials, sing songs, cook, and things like that. Only men work on the project design; we don’t know about the plans” (MM-female). When gender is not addressed or even discussed, it leads to a lack of what Ibrahim (2017) calls conscientization and Nussbaum calls practical reasoning skills.

Asked about the CBO statutes, the women of MM stated they knew they existed but could not recite them. A young man stated,

Yes, I know the statutes. If someone in the executive is taking too much of the benefits we can have him removed. And we need to vote on decisions. But the executive is made up of old people and so I am not listened to. (MM-male)
The young man revealed that he had access to knowledge-sharing, yet age discrimination created an environment that prevented him from meeting strategic gender interests. In other words, he was unable to exercise practical reasoning and choose functionings of value.

This contrasts the response from the all-women CBO. “We can execute a project to improve women’s lives—economically, culturally, socially—and to learn leadership skills like the men” (OFK-female). And,

At the gwoupman meeting we talk about our problems and think of ideas to fix them. Our gwoupman leader takes this to the executive committee meeting and they decide if a project is possible. The conversation goes back and forth until we find a solution that works. (AMM-female)

These respondents reveal that a discussion space is deliberately created where members can imagine, practice, and adopt leadership and decision-making roles to exercise practical reasoning skills and enhance long-term strategic gender interests.

Production at the cassavarie had specific gendered roles.

The men dig the cassava, the women carry and peel, men wash and carry to the grinder, men grind and then put in sun, women make the flour with the sieve, men bake the bread, women sell (MM-female).

It was observed that a group renting the cassavarie followed the identical division of labor, indicating that gendered roles were entrenched in food production and easily replicated without discussion.

Only all-women organizations provided seeds, tools, and pregnant cows, goats, or rabbits to increase personal production and strengthen women as producers independent of the organization. If production is good, the women return seeds, the mother animal, and half of the babies. This way members work to strengthen the organization and autonomy for themselves. As one participant noted: “We are not obligated to give all our harvest to the organization. We decide ourselves and it depends on the climate and our harvest” (AMM-female).

While AMM works to create autonomous producers, the mixed-gender organizations focus more on the CBO project. They provided seeds for maize and rootstock for cassava, and
nothing for personal cultivation. On the positive side, “MM gives us seedlings or money to begin
planting the cooperative garden instead of us going to get credit, and this way we avoid Lout Ponya” (MM-male). Lout Ponya refers literally to a soldier’s knife and metaphorically to credit
with a high interest rate that slashes household income. These CBO loans are made to
individual members to grow cassava to sell to the cooperative. This production is separate from
the cooperative cassava gardens. The system increases production, strengthening the
cassavarie; however, while protecting members from high interest rates, it also makes them
dependent on the cassavarie because they forgo growing the diversity of crops needed for
household food and marketing. In a sense this diminishes autonomy and creates dependency.
Alternatively it could be argued that it offers a market opportunity where few exist. This
arrangement is particularly difficult for women, since in Haiti it is a woman’s responsibility to
feed the family through garden production and by selling products, all grown with men’s help.
Strengthening the cassavarie at the expense of household production and sociological
considerations puts women in a precarious position. As one female explained:

    Mostly I just come to clean the cassava roots. The CBO did teach me how to speak
to children, behave in public, handle money, and they let me plant pigeon peas
along the edge of the cooperative garden. Cattle broke into the garden and ate my
crop. (MM-female)

This woman was observed to be one of the more marginalized members, and there was
no CBO support for her loss. She reported that her only recourse was to participate in
degage, which in this instance means taking on more long-term lovers to meet one’s basic
needs, also known as “getting by.” Diminished diversity in agricultural production
increased dependence on a male-dominated CBO.

    Both all-women organizations encouraged women, through training and providing
opportunities to try traditionally male roles—leadership and animal husbandry by AMM,
leadership, animal husbandry, and machine maintenance by OFK—and both cited autonomy
from men as a CBO objective. Independence for women is important since traditionally they
need to make demands on men to meet household needs. Loans were made to support all of
the diverse activities.

AMM gives us pregnant animals to introduce us to animal husbandry, lends
us seed for our gardens, makes a community garden for us to share ideas,
and lends us money to hire people to weed (AMM-female).

AMM’s focus is to build independent, autonomous women.

In comparison, consider OMM’s partnership with FECHAN. OMM was one of 19 groups
that supplied the FECHAN mill, which in turn supplied WFP and school meals. When the mill
was not in operation for FECHAN, individual farmers could grind maize to sell locally. The
FECHAN-directed project was interested in milling and marketing to WFP, not in production or
sociological conditions. One executive reported that the role of FECHAN was “to help only with
marketing maize” (FECHAN-Male). OMM did not provide training in maize production; some
female members commented that they knew little to nothing of the FECHAN project. The project
guaranteed a set price for cornmeal, which reduced production of other vegetables for local
markets; reducing livelihood strategies is risky in this context, especially for women and
household well-being. Men were more positive:

The maize production improved our status in the community and we were able to
find a loan for our building. At the same time, we have reduced our production of
other types of food; we have moved from minifundis to latifundis and more people
produce maize. We suggested producing black beans to FECHAN, but there was no
response. (OMM male)

Producing black beans would improve nitrogen fixation, a necessary input for maize
production, and reduce dependence on maize sales. From this quote we can see the
project was not holistic in its approach to the environment and household needs but
grounded to production for the WFP humanitarian market niche.

From this section we find that attention to the marketing and economic output of a
project, to the exclusion of gendered needs and associated capabilities and functionings,
ignores the sociological needs of women. This puts women and families at risk.

Meanwhile, the women’s CBOs are attentive to enhancing internal capabilities as
freedoms or opportunities in a supportive social, political, and economic environment that strengthens autonomy of women from the CBO and men and depicts the benefit of the group-individual dyad.

Section Two: Framework to Status Through Affiliation with Subcategories a) Legitimacy of Organization and b) Legitimacy of Individual

“Affiliation” refers to being able to live with and toward the future with others, and here means protecting and building a CBO that gains legitimacy by nurturing members and the larger community to promote nondiscrimination, individual self-respect, and dignity. Building the status of the CBO requires building the status of the individual and vice versa. Specific capabilities achieved are the ability to believe and perform an identity of positive self-worth and status (Ibrahim’s conscientization); the CBO provides an environment that promotes and sustains that belief, and makes space for the new identity to be practiced and materialized (Ibrahim’s conciliation). Once barriers are leveled, women may choose functionings they value with practical reasoning skills already obtained, gaining strategic gender interests. These functionings, and the symbolic space of self-confidence, materialize in the place of the CBO, community, and household.

As one female respondent reported:

We create greater unity between ourselves, so we have more strength, and we try to change our ideas into realities. In the organization we promote women to know our value, inside and outside of the organization. We have received training about our rights and about rape, and we share this knowledge with our families and grandparents. (OFK-female)

This finding demonstrates the value of the CBO to a woman’s self-worth, giving her an opportunity to imagine her internal abilities as something more than social norms allow—as
useable capabilities to meet strategic gender interests. With the supportive environment provided by the CBO, women may use these opportunities to choose functionings of value, including adopting a positive self-identity and promoting that identity to the larger community. Table 7.2 compares the different CBO frameworks and different outcomes in regards to status through affiliation.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Women’s CBOs</th>
<th>Mixed-Gender CBOs</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AMM</td>
<td>OFK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Legitimacy of Organization</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. horizontal linkages to new members</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. vertical linkages to partner organizations</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. offers support during times of hardship</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. provides new livelihood strategies other than the main project</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. affiliation with a strong women’s rights organization or provides training</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. large geographical area # of zones</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. CBO managed relationship with funder and maintained gender component</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Interviewee Reported Outcomes:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. livelihood insurance reduces vulnerability to all members</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. regard organization as strong, well organized, and progressive</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. critical symbolic space where inequalities are built is monitored through deliberate public discussions</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7.2 Explanation

Table 7.2 demonstrates how CBOs build legitimacy of an organization and the individual. Improving horizontal linkages within the CBO and the larger community improves CBO status by creating visibility and strengthening a network of producers with improved collective capabilities as milk producers, making it more difficult for socially constructed barriers to be reinstituted. Therefore, community capabilities are necessary to support individual capabilities.

Interviews found that the all-women organizations invite new members to join each International Women's Day. Their growing geographical presence and strength in membership is logistically possible because of the **gwoupman** governance structure. The structure enhances the presence and legitimacy of the CBO in the commune; members find this legitimacy attractive. Interviews found that AMM drew members from nine zones and OFK from five zones,
while the mixed-gendered organizations MM and OMM drew members from three and two zones, respectively. Some female MM members were also AMM members; they spoke highly of AMM’s animal husbandry program. OFK makes horizontal linkages between different spatial communities—urban and peri-urban and rural—and between poor and mid-income classes. OFK also purchases cocoa from male farmers, thereby making linkages to men too. This dynamic component improves visibility and status of the organization and the individual members.

To ensure the smooth running of the cocoa production, we sometimes distribute cocoa seedlings to the farmers in the commune. Farmers may sell their harvest to OFK, but we don’t do it for the reward; we do it to contribute to reforestation. (OFK-female)

This choice strengthens the presence and social network of OFK. The size and legitimacy also attracts international funders and enhances the CBOs vertical linkages. Although all four CBOs were linked upward to development organizations, the all-women organizations were better connected and had a greater variety of connections representing what Ibrahim (2017) labels institutional collaborations.

• AMM (women): OxfamGB, Veterimed, CRAPS, Kolektif Ayiti Frans, Heifer International, Konsey Nasyonal Finansman Popilè, Platfòm Ayisyen Pou yon Lòt Altènatif, CESVI, Agrisud, AFASDA

• OFK (women): Sonja Ayiti, Zet Fem, USAID, Banque National Central, UNICEF, FTFN, AFASDA

• MM (mixed-gender): Agrisud, OxfamGB, USAID, Sonja Ayiti

• OMM (mixed-gender): FECHAN, French Embassy, WFP

The women’s CBOs have more and more varied vertical linkages. For instance, they are connected with women’s rights organizations as part of their efforts to validate women’s identity as equal to men. As Ibrahim (2017) points out, these connections are imperative for challenging existing unequal power relations.
The mixed-gender organizations had linkages only to organizations that dealt with their economic project. Neither of the mixed-gender organizations addressed gender issues; in fact, MM was linked to an international organization, Agrisud, that refused to use gender as an organizing principle, preferring to work at the household level. By doing so, Agrisud ignored constructed gender differences and needs. This issue became apparent during interviews, as women continued to see their responsibilities as task-oriented and had difficulty asserting themselves as planners and decision-makers. As reported: “At a membership meeting we can speak up if we don’t like the decision, but we need a lot of women together to have the power to say no” (MM-female). The project framework was not focused on improving women’s strategic gender interests and the long-term benefits they bring.

Further, women’s CBOs can better maintain the integrity of a project’s commitment to building women’s capabilities when dealing with external funders; for instance, they are always diversifying and training for new livelihood strategies, regardless of whether they are considered women’s or men’s roles. For instance:

Women from OFK have faith in their autonomy; they work on the mechanical and business aspects of their projects and understand themselves as equal to men. We cannot kneel down in front of our husbands. We want mutual respect. (OFK-female)

Equally, however, the all-women organizations adapt their messages. For instance, “[w]e do not make a big slogan against men. We aim to work together. Sometimes men think we are planning against them” (AMM-female). This response demonstrates adaptability; women are willing to create a deliberate space and place for discussions that challenge gendered roles, but are mindful of the power of established social norms.

In response to this larger gendered environment, all-women organizations try to bring their messages of equality to the wider community. AMM educates the next generation through its children’s organization, which has 300 members. OFK operates a school for children, and every International Women’s Day holds a community celebration geared to women and men to spread the message of women’s rights, non-violence, safe sex, and pregnancy prevention. The
mixed-gender organizations do not focus on challenging or changing traditional roles; rather, the goal is to operate an economic project for the cooperative, which creates a space within the project for normalized gender inequality to be recreated.

The long-term outcome of not addressing gendered inequality within a project framework means that there is no shift in socio-economic structures. This is demonstrated in OMM’s cornmeal project, which began in 2002. It had continuous production problems, namely presence of aflatoxins, which were not addressed, and resulted in members producing maize that FECHAN would not purchase. During the 2014 research field season, it became apparent that the project with FECHAN was ending. During the project, women commented on their position of inequality in the production process, requiring them to strategize for their share of resources. As reported: “Women measure the maize to sell to FECHAN and get the money. If they don’t, then their husbands will give it to other women” (OMM-female). When the project failed, there was no lasting positive change for the women. A project can be utilized to address socio-economic inequalities and build multiple livelihood strategies, but political will is needed. The peanut project also suffered from the aflatoxin problem, and MFK ended purchases, yet since AMM ran multiple projects to support women in other roles, such as animal husbandry, artisan crafts, and vegetable production, it better addressed women’s vulnerability to attend to multiple capabilities and functionings.

All the organizations offered support during times of extreme hardship; however, because of the gwoupman structure, the all-women organizations could offer a more comprehensive support system and one that was judged to be fair.

At first, I had a sister; she died. I spent a lot of money on her funeral. Three months later my husband died also. I went to the AMM executive committee and asked for assistance. They gave me a cow, and I’m grateful to the organization. This helped my life improve. (AMM-female)

MM has two important sources of income: a successful cassavarie and ownership in a local restaurant. However, even though the organization was resource-abundant, structured
surveys indicated that both men and women felt mostly “neutral” to the idea that resources were equally shared among members. Semi-structured interviews revealed that benefits from the projects were unevenly distributed by age, gender, and class. One poorer woman said, “I work all day at the cassavarie for only half a cassava bread” (MM-female), while another woman from OMM complained she was told nothing about the FECHAN project. Equality and hence legitimacy of the organization and the individual were jeopardized.

Discussion

In this section we return to theory and reflect on how the different frameworks presented use, or do not use, gender as a central frame to address social exclusion, enhance capabilities and functionings, and improve strategic gender interests and practical gender needs through collective institutions to solidify agency, common values, and individual capabilities. These results are specific to these organizations, but serve as a lesson as to why paying attention to gender is so important in designing project frameworks and give us pause to consider potential regional and national framework.

We begin, by returning to Srinivasan’s (2007, 476) assertion that the formulations of justice, committed to agency, choice, and plurality,

must seek to guarantee each individual’s equality of substantive political freedom to effectively participate in and influence the formation and assessment of important social arrangements.

To achieve this, social exclusions must be minimized so that collective and individual capabilities may be maximized, and reflecting Murphy’s (2014) position that we must have self-determining political communities to realize democracy and capabilities of the individual.

The CBOs discussed in this study have presented different frameworks for achieving capabilities, two that addressed socio-economic gendered constraints through a gwoupman structure and two that focused on economic projects. The democratic gwoupman structure was
better at providing opportunities for members to practice leadership and critical and practical reasoning to enhance strategic gendered interests. This goal was achieved because the structure enabled deliberate space and place for discussions to address socio-economic functions without male power subverting attention and making the CBO economic project the only group priority. This reflects on Bohman’s concern that public deliberations need monitoring to avoid political poverty and to set a direction favorable to the women and the concerns of Godfrey-Wood and Mamani-Vargas (2017), who contend that community organizations have the potential to be coercive. This study confirms these suspicions and elaborates, using gender as a central evaluative tool, to distinguish between good and bad processes. The all-women groups were able to direct the priority toward gaining real opportunities (capabilities). This occurred in a supportive environment without competing agendas that would reinstitute social exclusion, thereby encouraging women to choose functionings of value to meet their role as the center of household economics. This finding corresponds with Nussbaum’s (2011, 35) suggestion that the process goal should consider “each person as the end,” meaning building the capacity of the individual for his or her own use is an appropriate outcome, and not to instrumentalize some people to enhance the capabilities of others or for an economic project. This has huge consequences for how we should design projects and policy to meet strategic gender interests; therefore, a further examination of the frameworks is needed.

To complete this examination we return to Sen’s contention that capabilities are grounded in plurality and agency of individuals in society, and that poverty cannot be truly addressed unless deprivation of capabilities caused by social exclusions are attended to. It was easy to see how gendered constructions remade in mixed communities excluded women from fully participating in leadership and decision-making. Sen (2000) refers to this as constitutive relevance of social exclusion, where a person’s ability to take part in the life of community is restricted, directly impoverishing the person’s life. This, as mentioned, resembles Ibrahim’s (2017) concern for conscientization. This is why having a deliberate space and place monitored
for social exclusions, which in this case was the omission of the male voice and the presence of a democratic structure, is so important. In this protected space, social norms and exclusions are discussed as a shared experience, not the result of a personal flaw, then social institutions are challenged, and new “ways of being” are imagined, practiced, and internalized as capabilities and real opportunities. When combined with the material strength of resources such as insurance, seeds, cows, etc., and CBO affiliation—with legitimacy through collective capabilities—women have the status to demand the newly imagined norms to meet desired strategic gender interests in the wider community.

By understanding how social exclusions work it becomes evident that a framework needs to ensure substantive freedoms and the right to choose a life that one values. Nussbaum’s two architectonic categories of Practical Reasoning and Affiliation constitute one way to evaluate a CBO framework. Nussbaum’s capabilities list demonstrates flexibility to reflect what local participants deem important, therefore making the categories a tool for evaluating local processes.

What is clear, too, is that group affiliations are instrumental to achieving capabilities and functionings of individuals. As Stewart (2005) outlines, by allowing members access to group capabilities, by providing a supportive as opposed to extractive relationship, by sharing political and economic resources, one can create group norms and values that help internalize positive capabilities. The political resources include the space and place to discuss social exclusions and to make democratic decisions concerning which social exclusions to tackle to achieve positive capabilities and functionings. As for limitations, it is difficult to achieve an objective assessment of the equality of capabilities because group dynamics are intertwined and complicated with an intersection of social norms that exclude people, as demonstrate with examples of age and class divisions; however, this is still an important examination.
Conclusion

This case study aligns with Sen’s position that political participation, social choice, and democratic public reasoning are necessary to achieve individual agency and autonomy, the liberal foundations of the capabilities approach (Sen 1999). It also demonstrates Srinivasan’s (2007) and Bohman’s (1997) assessment that creating a just society requires working to guarantee each individual equal and substantive political freedom to effectively participate. To achieve this, individuals must be able to critique, challenge, and influence social arrangements so that people may imagine a new way of conscientization to meet Molyneux’s (1985) strategic gender interests and practical gender needs.

This study has provided a look at the process or methodology required to achieve these goals. By adapting Nussbaum’s (2011) architectonic roles of affiliation and practical reason, with subcategories identified from the data during ground theory analysis, the two roles represent the pluralistic concerns of individuals situated in the collective local society in northern Haiti. During the analysis of how the frameworks may enhance capabilities, it was found that CBOs either challenged or reinstituted social exclusions to shape community and individual capabilities and impact the strategic gender interests and freedoms of others. This exploration serves to demonstrate how freedom and democracy are formed in the local setting.

On a policy-level consideration, a gendered capabilities framework deployed by the CBOs could be scalable to a regional and even a national level. This would require a few steps. First, it should include government support for separate women’s and men’s groups to discuss issues directed toward socio-economic concerns that impact the household and small-scale agriculture. Second, the separate groups need space and place at the regional and national level for their concerns to be heard—for instance, women need strong regional and national presence, such as through the Women’s Ministry, to negotiate with regional and central governments, as do peasant farmers. Finally, there needs to be a process of using a gendered
capabilities approach at the national level to monitor and evaluate government policy to understand the impact to locally defined needs. As Bohman (1997) contends, public deliberations in the context of present social inequalities need monitoring to avoid a reenactment of the threshold of political poverty and to prevent powerful actors from limiting social choices.

Free expression and social and political participation are the constitutive pillars of freedom. Sen (1999, 31) recognizes that individual freedom is quintessentially a social product, and there is a two-way relation between (1) social arrangements to expand individual freedoms and (2) the use of individual freedoms not only to improve the respective lives but also to make social arrangements more appropriate and effective.

This foundational thinking applies also to the state’s relationship with its citizens, transcending the dichotomy between agency and structure. Without a methodology to actively engage citizens, the central state actively excludes them, creating political poverty, reducing freedoms to choose, and interfering in democracy. With a gendered capabilities approach, protections would guard democracy—namely, pluralism, agency, and choice.
CHAPTER EIGHT – CONCLUSION

Despite the evolution of policies and strategies addressing global food security, there remain places, such as Haiti, that continue to suffer disproportionately. This dissertation makes four main contributions to the study of food security in Haiti. The first contribution interrogates the ways in which grassroots actors understand and seek to achieve greater food security and social stability, and documents how the production-supply-centred world food economy has impacted their efforts. I achieve this by using intersectionality theory to detail how powerful actors, who create a gender-blind world food economy, rely on gendered roles and responsibilities, paradoxically heightening food insecurity for a diverse set of people in Haiti. Second, the study examines how male and female rural, peri-urban, and urban peasants in northern Haiti interact in community-based organizations to reproduce themselves as the poto mitan of local and regional food security. I achieve this by using three constituent pillars of the peasant epistemology – moral economy, identity and autonomy – to examine how a public-private land grab thwarts their efforts. Third, the study documents how CBOs act as a form of resistance designed to decolonize peasant identity by placemaking through food production and how large scale development has different goals and lacks the ability to make similar contributions. Finally, the research utilizes Sen’s capabilities (opportunities or freedoms one has) and functionings of value (action to engage an opportunity), an evaluative tool, to establish how all-women organizations in Haiti are able to address strategic gender interests and practical food needs. Through this investigation, I draw upon and make contributions to three primary bodies of literature: food security, feminist methodology, and the capabilities approach.
Employing Feminism to Theorize Food Security

This study contributes to the discussion of how best to create food security, and suggests an expansion of the concepts that constitute the 2001 FAO definition of food security to include social relations of production, distribution and consumption. The current definition fails to properly acknowledge the discourses of social exclusions that support and hinder the agency of actors in internally-oriented food economies, and who has power to direct this masculinized system to shape social relations and outcomes. In other words, the definition itself is written as a gender-blind starting point for the discussion of food security. This dissertation demonstrates through empirical evidence, how the theory of intersectionality can be employed to highlight the importance of recognizing where and by whom food and food security is safeguarded and the social relations involved in that process.

Further though, I have moved away from Mintz’s depiction of agriculture as a man’s domain being the prominent area of concern for food security in Haiti. Instead I have refocused the conversation on the internally-oriented food economy composed of production, distribution and consumption, as a woman’s domain. In this conversation I reposition men as a support role for women to ensure food security and social stability. Meanwhile, I retain Mintz’s argument that men are agricultural export producers. In this way, I believe I have stayed true to the scholarship yet told a more accurate story of women’s and men’s roles. This move allows me to use intersectionality more easily to explain the marginalization of the internally-oriented food economy and decline of food security. Further, intersectionality – race, class and gender concerns - is used to explain how women, and peasants in general, are excluded from the decision making process of how the internal food economy is shaped by the world food economy. Further though, understanding social exclusions explains how peasants and specifically women resist their marginalization and respond to rebuild food security and social stability. Finally, intersectionality reveals how members within CBOs themselves may
experience exclusions based on class, gender and age. Further research is needed to examine
the depth of exclusions within the larger community when CBOs reject members.

As Polanyi-Levitt (2003) has indicated, the reduction of inequalities is the key to
macroeconomic stability and national growth. Therefore, using intersectionality to understand
how inequalities develop within, thus diminishing the functioning of the internally-oriented food
economy, is essential to understanding food security. To achieve this I bring together an
intersection of exclusions – political, economic, and social to document how: first, the state,
since independence, has mediated intersectional discrimination by documenting the denotation
of raced, classed, and gendered norms; second, detailing who has power and benefits from the
narrative that marginalizes rural peasants and poor peri-urban and urban women in the
transitioning food economy; and third to document how intersectionalities hide peasant diversity,
adaptability, resistance, independence and ingenuity. Women who lose access to production
are forced to migrate with their children to urban centres where traditional conjugal relationship
structures are no longer based on land and food production and where new, more dangerous,
relations are adopted. In Haiti, peasants lose control over their system of production and
associated social stability. Policy made by international and national actors thus far has
excluded the voices of local actors, diminishing their political freedoms to have a voice and
scrutinize authorities thereby eliminating transparency in the governance system and
diminishing their ability to achieve self-determination. This study therefore contributes to the
discussion of how best to create food security, and challenges the idea that production for
export is the solution for Haiti’s food security woes.

**Empirical Contribution to Feminist Methodology**

To answer and contribute to: a) Ulsyee’s (2010:40) call to avoid “emphasis on
deconstructing symbols which only inscribes the dominant narrative” of Haiti; b) transnational
feminists Mohanty (2006) and Nagar and Swarr (2010) who argue subjectivity is rooted in collective consciousness; and c) in the spirit of feminist methodologies, this study illustrates the importance of the peasant epistemology and worldview. This study offers an alternative to the derogatory narrative of Haiti and Haitians. This examination highlights the peasant’s moral economy of care, noting the sociological features designed to improve food security and social stability, those traditional norms recreated and adapted for the present day context. This study confirms, with empirical evidence, scholarly work that suggests the moral economy maintained by peasant communities is constituted by social norms, conventions, and mechanisms to provide subsistence ethic to minimize risk and vulnerability. Each of the grassroots CBOs embed societal structures into their value-chain production projects, demonstrating these peasant members prioritize community well-being over the commodity systems. This stands in stark contrast to actors shaping the world food economy who work toward the goals of production, supply, efficiency, and profits.

Second, the case study contributes to the concept of placemaking. Evidence confirms placemaking, in the context of the CBO, as processes of networking constituted by socio-spatial relationships. Projects were used to strengthen individual members so as to reduce the vulnerability of the network, and to practice skills to make a stronger and more stable community. Through this I infer identity and belonging as rooted in space and place, and influenced by the physical environment and everyday social and cultural practices. Geographers emphasize the power of place in constructing a person’s identity, whether through race, class, gender, or other social differences, a meaning that remains fluid and dynamic. Transnational Haitian feminists maintain that individual identity, and subjectivity, are grounded in collective consciousness. In this dissertation I contribute empirical evidence to these concepts and argue that CBOs offer a place for decolonized placemaking by offering a space and place for a new collective consciousness to be imagined and practiced in a newly constructed and marginalized internally-oriented food economy. I stand in agreement with interviewees that stated
decolonization is difficult to achieve when the bourgeois, the universal political subject, control everything, noting that CBOs may espouse radical agendas yet are faced with adapting cultural traditions and ways of being to meet present day basic needs, ultimately engaging a difficult decision to balance desire and need.

**Contributions to the Capabilities Approach**

The Capability Approach was employed as an evaluative tool to demonstrate how capabilities and functionings can explain how women’s CBOs enhance strategic gender interests to improve practical food needs. This is a useful line of inquiry and adds to the development debate within Haiti of how to move forward, by arguing that supporting local CBOs is the appropriate solution. These findings also enter into a very specific debate amongst capability scholars of whether CBOs indeed have the ability and potential to enhance capabilities and functionings of individuals. These are two important topics of discussion within the field of development in Haiti, the latter being underutilized by development practitioners.

By adopting gender as the central organizing principle of their project frameworks, women’s CBOs are able to enhance their capabilities to achieve functionings of value. The framework produces spaces and places for women to imagine, practice, and perform real opportunities and functionings of value that are otherwise prohibited due to social exclusions. In other words women are able to meet their strategic gender interests to achieve practical gender needs. The case study demonstrates that these specific women’s CBOs chose Nussbaum’s two architectonic roles of practical reasoning and affiliation in a manner that respects Sen’s demands for plurality of individual freedoms within society. This allows women to challenge barriers to improved capabilities and functionings, and to increase participation, social choice, and democratic public reasoning.

This proves that Sen is correct in arguing that a just society must work to guarantee each
individual has equal and substantive political freedom and to have social choice to effectively participate. And it suggests that communities have the potential, and may even be the best place, for enhancing capabilities and functionings of women in Haiti. To achieve this, organizations provide the space and place for individual women to safely, (and with support), critique, challenge, and influence unjust social arrangements, through democratic public reasoning, so that they may imagine a new way of knowing and being, and improve their agency and autonomy.

This study has contributed to Molyneux’s (1985) thinking by identifying the importance of women’s strategic gender interests being central to planning principles. Women achieve this by identifying which capability and functioning of value they need, for instance milk production knowledge or leadership skills, to improve their livelihood outcomes. Further, this study tackles Moser’s apprehension that gender is not used as a central organizing principle because of the difficulty of translating socio-economic indicators as universal planning indicators. This study shows that gender can be a central organizing principle within planning by always putting women’s strategic gender interests as the focal point of concern, monitoring the space, and using Sen’s capabilities and functionings as a methodological and evaluative tool. The crucial act is to allow the local participants to determine the capabilities and functionings of value they need, those dictated by their local context, to address strategic gender interests. Presently, development initiatives are driven by outside masculine agendas of efficiency, production and supply, measured on spreadsheets and missing sociological contributions.

By putting women’s strategic gender interests forefront in the fight to improve food security, women’s unaccounted labour becomes visible. Subsistence activities for the production of the household, that fall outside of the conventional definition of labour, are now realized. And this shift reveals the error in the neoliberal world food economy system in just instrumentalizing women as opposed to enhancing their ability to make contributions.
Implications and Limitations of Conducting Research

During the conduct of this research it became clear that, although the research aim was meaningful, it needed to be embraced by the local community as valid. Although there are often long-term positive outcomes from research, immediate tangible benefits are less achievable for the local participating CBOs. For some feminist researchers this is a growing ethical concern, and there is a growing sensitivity to appropriating voices for means other than directly being ‘in service’ for a community, recognizing other conversations are possible.

First, when engaging a community we should make visible our own critical positioning within structures of power (McDowell 1993), since when interviewing there are questions of authority, communication, representation; all of which are political questions (Radcliffe 1994). To alleviate this tension, reflexivity is needed to look back and inward to the identity of the researcher, and outward to one’s relations with the community and to one’s research. Moss (1995) calls this a double reflexive gaze and spatial division between inside and outside. However, I argue holding the double gaze is not enough. Instead, I argue that the relationship between researched and researcher must also be open to debate. To be in relations with a community which shares knowledge, requires an open discussion of researcher reflexivity. This exposure of one’s problematic positionality, the articulation of the researcher’s awareness, sets a new tone of transparency in the relationship. It demonstrates self-critical introspective reflection, vulnerability and authenticity, and makes space for negotiating a relationship. This shifts power to the community. Exposing ourselves is just the first step. Research is limited in meeting this goal because of the lack of pre-fieldwork training available within institutions and, often, of researcher’s inexperience in the field.

The second is to dialogue on what entering into a relationship of knowledge exchange exactly means. This is difficult in the context of Haiti where the scripted performance is so ubiquitous. This is where having a local research team, which is strongly committed to the
objective of the research project, is helpful to set the tone of engagement with the community, along with the luxury of time to build meaningful communication and relationships. This reflects back again to the neoliberal ideology of efficiency and yields, and how it even invades the research process. The proposal process and funding mechanisms create timelines that constrain and pressure researchers to produce outcomes, such as research objectives, prior to appropriate community engagement, and to finish dissertations on timelines that limit opportunities to verify research results with the communities engaged. Without meaningful processes, the end outcome is neither worthy nor sustainable because the community is not fully engaged. This is true for research and development programs.

Third, is the question of accuracy and rigor. Although the volume of interviews taken during this study n=526 is adequate, with the number of interviewees in the four primary CBOs n=115 and overall n=260, at the community level the numbers in each organizations dropped to the lowest point of n=8 men. At this point there is a question of representation. Furthermore, there is a question of whether the four primary CBOs specific experiences are representative and generalizable to Haiti or the global south. I argue that general lessons are applicable. In feminist work, situated knowledges are about the community, not the individual voice; we work to join partial views into a collective subject position to create a view from somewhere (Haraway 2008:350). With only eight voices, one can begin to question the validity of community representation. This was in part remediated by presenting the data to the communities for validation. As a feminist, however, I know that the voices I bring together are at best a partial representation of the dynamic experiences and multiple knowledges in any given context, and I must resign myself to the fact that the research process is inherently messy.

Finally there are matters of a second voice, that of the research assistants and translators and their perspective entering into the data. However, even in a more subtle way, our perspectives and interpretation enter the data. In part this is minimized with the volume of data and the triangulation of methods. Yet, interpretation of responses is a matter of power and
this returns us to the discussion of reflexivity, and points to the need of a well-trained research team that understands their positionality in the research process too.

**Further Research**

Feminist methodologies and theories are known for their continual evolution to improve outcomes and findings. There is an opportunity for researchers to participate in preliminary assessments, with local communities, to evaluate the barriers to strategic gendered interests and practical gender needs. The evaluation outcomes would become the basis of project designs, making gender the central organizing principle. This would make research usable, and set development projects on a more appropriate trajectory. This approach has the benefit of generating research that becomes the basis of a funding proposal, if the community desires; this gives the researcher a way to reimburse communities for their time. Further, it makes community needs transparent and more difficult to compromise or bend to meet agency funding calls. However, the issues still remain of the script and the uninvited guest. Although these effects are difficult to overcome, I argue that specialists who employ good methodologies, exercising reflexive positionality, and who have open dialogue with the communities regarding positionality, may counter them in small ways.

Participatory research methods and methodologies need improvement to help researchers engage communities in this fashion. The objectives of preliminary engagement work must then be integrated with broader research interests belonging to the researcher. These must be included in funding proposals, with broad objectives fashioned to be flexible to meet the objectives determined by the community in the preliminary engagement work. This will tend to lengthen the fieldwork session; however, in my opinion the addition will deepen the engagement and improve research outcomes. Methodologies must also include ways of removing the community’s desire to create false or covert objectives in order to 1) exercise
power over researchers or 2) to create false needs that would require funding. Finally, researchers must include funding for returning to the field to present results, write research summaries for each community, and write policy briefs to development organizations that impact local lives. The policy briefs, research summaries, and funding proposals for the communities should be included within the larger dissertation and count as finished dissertation work.

Second, the study documents positive outcomes for women when gender is incorporated as a central organizing principle of CBO project frameworks. To my knowledge this is the first time the capabilities and functionings evaluative framework has been applied to a CBO in Haiti, and this gives an interesting opportunity to contrast and compare similar work in India and other South Asian countries. I suggest valuable lessons could be found in such an exercise. In addition, further research in Haiti is needed to verify these preliminary findings. By adapting Nussbaum’s (2011) architectonic roles of a) affiliation and b) practical reason with subcategories, the two roles represent the pluralistic concerns of individuals situated in the collective local society. Although, as I stated, I agree with Sen that a universal set of capabilities is not appropriate I would, nevertheless, suggest further research to demonstrate whether this finding is isolated to the organizations within this study or whether it is a shared characteristic of successful women’s organizations across Haiti. The thought is, that perhaps these two categories are vague enough that they would be useful as a standard evaluative framework to enhance locally desired strategic gender interests and functionings of value.

This research outlines how the seminal work of Sen, and other scholars in this area of expertise, is sidelined by capitalist style development. This is despite a large body of work that grounds and makes applicable Sen’s premises of entitlements and the value of individual rights and freedoms promoted by capabilities and functionings. It is underutilized by most researchers and remains a specialized framework. As noted by Uvin (2010), despite the UNDP’s adoption of Sen’s work, the 2000 Human Development Report lacks mainstreaming of human rights and
remains largely a technical exercise. As Uvin (2010:169) states it is little more than “a standard repetition of the end-of the-1900s liberal dogma of the sanctity of economic growth combined with some human-resource development.” However, researchers have been discussing these issues for decades and although adding Haiti to the list of case studies is necessary, it also begs the question of how do we put into practice the research already proven as better grassroots development and policy approaches. This question in itself requires greater consideration.

Research is needed to bolster concrete methodologies so as to utilize rights-based framework as a way to include the engagement of different local practices as the foundation of regional and national policy making, and protect local food systems. In detail, this requires making gender and other intersections of social exclusion the central organizing principle of such a methodology.

**Implications for Development Industry**

This study provides three important messages for development NGOs. First, the study clearly demonstrates that local food systems provide more than just food. They provide spaces and places to reproduce moral caring, identity, autonomy, social security and opportunities to recreate peasant epistemologies and ontologies (the peasant worldview constituted by the moral economy of care), and this builds social stability. With the correct supporting framework, the internal food system may also provide space to imagine, practice, and perform new capabilities to achieve self and community determined functionings of value. Removing those opportunities for export, foreign currency, and profits is only a short-term goal designed to create short-term benefits as opposed to the long-term goal of enhancing the human capital of Haiti’s majority to be self-sufficient. It is important to remember that large-scale agriculture in Haiti comes and goes with changing market demands, yet the peasants’ mode of production
has the constant potential to adapt and provide. This study demonstrates that the meta-narrative of backwards, inhuman and unproductive assigned to Haitian peasants is inaccurate; clearly they are structuring themselves for present and future community survival. Peasants survive by creating their own food security and social stability by engaging their own ways of knowing and being to make critical and strategic contributions. These productive peasant outcomes would increase with the correct support mechanisms.

Second, I suggest that the support mechanisms begin with market protections especially for traditional agricultural products, to encourage import substitution. For instance, wheat flour displaces root flours, processed baby food displaces natural products such as alaroot, imported processed and enriched white rice displaces the five main varieties of Haitian whole rice. This will be a difficult task since Haitian consumption patterns have changed and ‘white foods’ are entwined with ideas of social mobility and status. However, there is an equally strong discourse among the Haitian people that imports are bad for the country and personal health, and this local narrative needs to be capitalized upon. This may be achieved through a three pronged approach of a) increasing tariffs and taxes to increase the cost of imported products; b) invest in a buy Haitian local campaign; and c) provide funding for CBOs to develop small market niches that support traditional Haitian production. Enhancing local production will decrease dependency on foreign imports and improve food security.

Third, a feminist process or methodology, focused on equality and justice as perceived by local actors, is required to achieve these goals. As noted above, further research is needed to establish whether Nussbaum’s (2011) architectonic roles of affiliation and practical reason with subcategories is a shared characteristic of successful women’s organizations across Haiti. If so, then a methodology could be developed to adapt this conceptual and evaluative framework into terminology useful for communication between Haitians and NGOs. However, I would caution against forcing these two universal capability categories, despite their vagueness, into existence. Rather, I equally recommend starting with an evaluation to determine the
capabilities and functionings of value desired by each CBO. The former suggestion would provide an easier transition for development agencies toward understanding and implementing gender central frameworks; the latter, however, would be a better but time-consuming exercise. Either way, development agencies need to empower people and CBOs by giving up power, and moving away from approaches that are often neo-colonial and patronizing. NGOs frame their work as promoting attention to social exclusion and gendered central frameworks, using a human rights approach that is driven by community self-evaluation. This requires investment into promoting dialogue to frame projects that address locally identified barriers and constraints to desired capabilities and functionings of value. And requires a commitment to long-term engagement and funding over short-term funding cycles. To increase credibility, agencies need to be transparent to their clients with their aims, assessments, resources, and constraints (Uvin 2010). Like activist research, activist development must follow a mantra of “in service”.

During the analysis, it was found that frameworks matter, since they shape processes, and the process is more important than the ends if one wishes to achieve sustainable outcomes. To achieve a sustainable framework of engagement, NGOs need to walk with CBOs through an exercise of self-determination-evaluation of the capabilities and functionings that they desire, and to identify the entry points for achieving these. It would then be up to the NGO to provide training on the meaning and impact of social exclusions with emphasis on gender, and to work with the communities to develop an evaluative framework for measurement, which both the NGO and the community follow for monitoring and funding purposes. I would suggest that the majority of responsibility, for the development of the evaluative framework, sit in the hands of the community so that they have control of the process and ownership. This means that NGOs must stay with the community in a long-term relationship and not one-off short-term projects.
Implications for Policy Making

On a policy-level consideration, a gendered capabilities framework deployed by the CBOs could be scalable to a regional and even a national level. This would require a few steps. First, it should include government support for separate women’s and men’s groups to discuss issues directed toward socio-economic concerns that impact the household and small-scale agriculture. Second, the separate groups need separate spaces and places at the regional and national level for their concerns to be heard equally. A methodological approach and framework is needed to facilitate local CBOs to constructively consider the barriers that are preventing local solutions to food security. This can be achieved by using the capabilities approach as an evaluative tool. Space must be made at the communal level administration, local NGOs, and the Bureau Communal Agricole, then with the department administration and the Departmental Agricole, then with national administrations and the Coordination Nationale de la Sécurité Alimentaire. This framework of civic engagement would be scaled up to all in-country levels and internationally to foreign NGOs and international development agencies such as USAID, GAC, and the FAO. This framework has the potential to strengthen vertical linkages for women, through the Women’s Ministry, to enhance their regional and national presence and to negotiate with regional and central governments. Likewise small farmers would make vertical linkages with stronger national organizations such as Mouvman Peyizan Papay and the government department Institut National de la Réforme Agraire. Finally, there needs to be a process of using a gendered capabilities approach at the national level to monitor and evaluate government policy to promote regionally defined and designed capabilities and functionings of values, and then to evaluate the policy impact on locally defined strategic gender interests and practical gender needs. As Bohman (1997) contends, public deliberations in the context of present social inequalities need monitoring to avoid a continuation of political poverty and to prevent powerful actors from limiting social choices.
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1. Background and Rationale

Agriculture is central to the Haitian economy; once responsible for 40% of Haiti’s GDP in the 1990s, today it contributes only 25% (USAID 2010; MARNDR 2010). Today, national production supplies just 43% of Haiti’s food needs, while 51% is met by food imports and 6% food aid, leaving the population vulnerable to global price spikes; by comparison, in 1981 food imports represented only 18 % of the Haitian diet (MARNDR 2010; WFP 2008). Astonishingly, despite this decline in consumption of local production, 60% of the Haitian population still participates in farming (USAID 2010b). Reduction of
agricultural income means a large cross section of Haitian society are at risk of a net reduction in food consumption, entrenched malnutrition, and related reduced intellectual potential, and shorting life expectancy. Many including USAID, Oxfam, Veterimed, MPP, Le Goût d'Haiti, FECHAN, the Government of Haiti, the Haitian Ministry of Agriculture, and academic and development professionals believe that development of the agricultural sector is key to economic growth for Haiti, to reduce poverty, improve food security, and promote a healthy population. Yet, despite decades of development projects attempting to address food security in Haiti, little success has been found, leaving a large cross section of Haitian society at risk of a net reduction in food consumption, entrenched malnutrition, and related reduced intellectual potential, and shorting life expectancy. Today the caloric intake of the average Haitian has dropped to less that 73% of the recommended intake (FY 2011), with pockets of severe malnutrition existing in Departments Nord and Nord-Est, as well as elsewhere.

Food systems experts look at food through different theoretical approaches. Most common approach is a Malthusian look at agricultural yields versus population growth. An outgrowth of this approach are those that: 1) take a productionist approach to food security focusing upon yields and science and technology; 2) those that are concerned about the global food supply and focus upon exports to maintain that system. The second main approach to food security are those that worry about distribution, mainly redistribution of the global food supply to areas of the world that are food deficient. This group includes entities like the World Food Programme and other charities who are critiqued for untimely distribution food into regions and undercutting local small farmers, thereby creating long-term damage to local markets. The third group is concerned with regulation and policy. This group may focus on controlling efficiencies in the food system such as transportation, irrigation, food waste, and water usage, but also include addressing climate change and government grain reserves. The fourth and final group is more concerned with local production. These groups may be food sovereignty or food justice people, or may be more main stream development projects.

This project is mainly concerned with local food production, since it is the belief of the researcher that place making through food production has great cultural meaning that actually augments local food security in undocumented ways. The following five organizations we will be examining all take different approaches to local food production and are as follows:
Oxfam with MM (cassavarie) and AMM (peanut processing): complete
FECHAN with OMM: current
Le Gout d’Haïti (private entrepreneur)
MPP (food sovereignty)
Veterimed (productist approach to local production)

The main thrust of this research project is to use social and gender criteria, and established evaluative criteria to determine whether food security development projects operating in Haïti today, and who seek to improve local food production, are aware of and respect what this project calls the moral economy of food. The moral economy of food may be defined as social and environmental obligations people practice to ensure food security for themselves and their community.

2. Importance of Social Science Research

This research is designed with a methodology to privilege Haïtian perspectives of food security and development. Critiques of development interventions from this perspective is needed for the long-term benefit of Haïti, to help change the endless cycle of poor development by putting more power into the hands of Haïtians. This is an opportunity to contribute to turning the tables of power. This research aims to take political and social differences and turn it into action; to challenge existing political power structures and reconstruct political space. We are privileging the Haïtian voice(s) over the development apparatuses. This project has a political agenda and as such we need to account for the political context of the development project in which people’s lives engage. We will be looking for ways in which the development project framework and its deployment oppress, exploit, marginalize, exclude, dominate, colonize, normalize and naturalize – that is, how the projects actually work. Our recognition of difference matters and is the crux of this research, difference between us and the interviewees and difference between the development project being studied and interviewees. Also, there are intersections of multiple
nodes of power and difference to be considered. But to do this in the most helpful way, we need to be aware of our own political and social agendas –reflexivity discussed above.

**Objectives**  ***please keep the objectives in mind when you are writing the research report***

Over-arching research aims: (1) To explore how social processes, that is small scale informal food practices (production, distribution, consumption and exchange), contribute to local food security and (2) to examine how mainly women, but also men, negotiate the effects of formal development interventions on these efforts. By exploring these two issues, I will be able to identify practical and strategic gender food needs, articulate best practices, and establish a framework to allow best practices to be scalable to larger development interventions. Specific sub-objectives have been selected to meet each to the two main objectives.

Within objective 1, to explore how gendered and socio-cultured small scale informal food practices (production, distribution, consumption and exchange) contribute to local food security, the following three sub-objectives have been identified:

A – To identify the socio processes that shape informal food practices (production, distribution, consumption and exchange), which are the underpinnings of the moral economy of food, and identify local definitions of food security.

B – To determine, through quantitative surveys (indicator based) and qualitative interviews (perceptions based), whether the community fulfills its definitions of food security through day-to-day practices (production, distribution, consumption and exchange).

C – To determine a livelihoods baseline for participants within and outside of the development project, and compare with existing regional surveys, thereby establishing anomalies and explore the usefulness and applicability of food security definitions and practices in meeting protracted food security. **CNSA report will be provided for the comparison.**

For objective 2 to examine how mainly women, but also men, negotiate the effects of formal development interventions on social processes that impact small scale informal food practices. Four specific objectives will aid me in answering the second core research aim:

A. To identify and assess food security initiatives on the basis of the extent to which they treat food
as a commercial product as opposed to treating food as a moral product that is distributed based on ethics, tradition and justice.

B. To explore both quantitative (indicator based) and qualitative (perceptions based) aspects of food security in a sub-set of actors within and outside of the development initiatives identified in step 2A.

C. To analyze how participation in food security programs influences decision-making dynamics by focusing on the different impacts of initiatives that are based on food as a commercial commodity versus those that are based on food as a moral commodity. Particular attention will be paid to the gendered aspects of food security and how development initiatives affect decision-making dynamics.

D. To develop a conceptual framework to classify food security strategies and their contributions to both the material aspects of food security (e.g. calories available, micronutrients, etc.) and the moral aspects of food security.

Research Questions **** please remember these questions need to be answered when you are working through the Evaluation Criteria

This section has been structure in the same way I would like the research report to be structured. Each of the research questions follow out of the above objectives and should be applied to each of the four organizations evaluated by the team.

A. A thorough description of social and gender mechanisms that are food strategies. To identify the socio processes that shape informal food practices (production, distribution, consumption and exchange), which are the underpinnings of the moral economy of food, and identify local definitions of food security. This is the most difficult of all the concepts in this project and deserves revisiting often to ensure that the research assistants are understanding the project well. I am looking for practices, for instance how people share food, how people create strategies to ensure they have food today and tomorrow, building social networks so they have people to call upon in times of need, what kind of practices they have in place to have sure they have food
for rituals, celebrations and holidays, what kind of environmental practices do they have to ensure the environment will provide them food today and in the future. Think about different patterns of activities and beliefs men and women have.

B. Comparison of local livelihood indicators and those in the CNSA report. A comparison of the CNSA report and our interview survey must be done immediately to compare the data we are collecting to ensure a comparison is possible. Widley is currently working on this.

C. At length description of the organizations that are implementing the project and the funding organization. These descriptions should information regarding the project we are examining including the mission statement, project objectives, how the local organization (CBO) and project came to be, who supports and who funds the organization, does local government, religious groups or other entities influence the project. A full thoughtful discussion is needed to determine the approach of the organization bringing the development project, for instance: is it a project for production (increased yields or science based), is it designed to strengthen the local CBO first and production second, does the project framework see food as a moral economy or production. Are the development project objectives forgotten in the implementation stage. Cautionary note: often people will get confused and start talking about their own organization and forget the specific project we are discussing. For instance, OJDL members may begin speaking about OJDL only and forget to focus on the FECHAN project for which they grow maize. We need insights into how both organizations are working.

D. Participation is very important. I would like participation to be noted in the research report. How people participated, who benefitted the most, who benefitted the least and why, who gave up resources for the project and what was the pay back. Resources are physical items like land, money, animals, but also intangible items like work hours/day, knowledge, status, social networks. We need to think of the material and the immaterial. Again, look at the difference of the impact between men and women and different ages and different classes, races.

E. Interviews (30-40 / until saturation) must be completed with participants for each project under examination. An equal number of interviews must be completed with women and men. Ethical standards must be met (see below). Each interviewer should try to push deep to extract more
complicated and thorough answers with follow up questions – what, how, why, when, where.

Each interview needs to be inputted into a standardized word document and in English. Utmost care must be taken to have correct translations. These documents will then be sent to the lead researcher for analysis. Please right memos after interviews and focus groups of your thoughts and impressions of the interview – this is especially important when interviewing development project leaders and CBO leaders. These memos should also be emailed to the project leader. This will be followed by focus group work. The topics will be determined at a later planning session.

**Scope and deliverables** (i.e. responsibilities of Project Leader)

**3. Supervision**

To supervise, organize, and oversee the research assistant’s work to ensure the research objectives and questions are met to the fullest possibility. The research team is made up of four trained individuals, each will participate in interviewing the employees of the development initiative, introductory meetings with development project/community-based group (leaders and then community), interviewing project participants, focus groups, and writing the reports. Each will have the opportunity to debate, combine or list difference of opinions in the report (differences are encouraged as I am not interested in just one person’s perspective as that will put error into my work). The role of the project manager is to ensure that this work is achieved in a timely fashion by working with the research assistants to ensure procedure is being followed. This may be accomplished by following the direction given in the TOR, including the Evaluation Guidelines to keep the project on track (time and milestones, key deliverables) and for final report writing please refer to Section 7 “What criteria should be used to evaluate a project/ programme?”

**a. Roles and Responsibilities**

Work with assistants to solidify their contact and knowledge for the organizations of interest. Ensure they are following time and evaluative guidelines to reach the end goal of report production for each
organization of interest – including collection of literature from development project, meeting community-based organization leaders and then to hold a community meeting, complete interviews, write preliminary work, run focus groups, and then complete final report, all the while ensuring project objectives and questions are met. Ensure Research Assistants work to meet this goal and stay on target (time and conceptually too).

Estimated time required by Project Manager to accomplish project as designed.

Visiting Development Project Office .5 day x 4 organizations = 2

Presence at CBO Leadership Meeting or Community Meeting .5 day x 4 organizations = 2

Working with assistants to organize interviews and follow up on performance 1-2 days x 4 organizations = 8

Review literature and interviews and aid in direction of report writing 4 days x 4 = 16

Review Report and comment 1 day

Participate in group meeting to decide on focus group topics 1 day x 4 = 4

Review Focus Group Memos and Final Report 1-2 days

Budget report 1 day

Total days work 36-40 days

b. Resources

To manage research budget to ensure completion of work within budget constraints.
c. Work breakdown and schedule

(i.e. when it will be achieved)

1. New Organization

1.1 Key development organization contacted and interviewed (i.e. FECHAN); meet with leaders of CBO and interviewed (ie OJDL); community meeting to ask for volunteers for research interviewees. With each step the research project is explained to those people being contacted. Interviews and Memo notes should be send to Jennifer.

1.1.1 Interviews and data input are completed. Risk of research assistants not available.

1.1.2 Focus groups are structured, completed, and inputted.

1.2 Project information is collected through interviews with development organization personal and project literature (collected from the same people and web sites and other reports).

1.2.1 Information from step 1.1 and 1.2 are used to develop reports for each organization
d. Schedule of Work Events 2013-2014

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEV ORG</th>
<th>Local Organization</th>
<th>Time frame</th>
<th>Organizational Analysis and Report</th>
<th>Project Leader Revisit Organization</th>
<th>Presentation to Organization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FECHAN</td>
<td>OMM</td>
<td>Dec 2013</td>
<td>Dec 30, 2013</td>
<td>Jan 2014</td>
<td>Feb 2014</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

e. Detailed Work Schedule

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major Evaluation Task/Output</th>
<th>Dates or Deadline</th>
<th>Who is Responsible</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation Terms of Reference finalized, including budget</td>
<td>April 5, 2014</td>
<td>Project Manager, in consultation with Project Leader.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction to development projects (i.e. FECHAN) and evaluation information retrieved, and interview key staff by Research Assistants and Memo notes drafted and submitted to both the Project Manager and Project Leader.</td>
<td>December 5th, 2013; January 2nd, 2014; February 1, 2014; March 1, 2014 .5 day</td>
<td>Coordinated by Research Assistants, with Project Leader and Project Manager.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction of research project to community leaders, and interview community leaders about structure of project and Memo notes drafted and submitted to both the Project Manager and Project Leader.</td>
<td>By December 1st, 2013; January 4th, 2014; February 3, 2014; March 3, 2014 .5 day</td>
<td>Coordinated by Research Assistants, with Project Leader.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction of research project to community and request volunteers for interview process.</td>
<td>By December 6th, 2013; January 6th, 2014; February 5, 2014; March 5, 2014 .5 day</td>
<td>Coordinated by Research Assistants, with Project Leader.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 4. Ethical Research (this section was part of the first training session with the Research Assistants)

We aim to do no harm. We enter the field as neutral objective researchers and leave it as unaltered as possible. By following a few ethical procedures we may accomplish this goal.

- every participant is respected for their own unique beliefs, no judgments are made. We do not offer alternative opinions or become involved in disputes. If the respondent is not understanding a question we may offer a small example that is remote but relevant to the topic in question. For instance, if we ask a question about distribution of resources in the home and the interviewee does not understand, then we may encourage the interviewee to consider land, money, assets such as animals.
- every participant is a volunteer participant and has to be at least 16 years of age, there is no money paid for interviews. We do not pay interviewees for two reasons: 1) it creates an industry
where false answers will be generated for money; and 2) paying people encourages people to take risks they should not take.

- every participant is a volunteer. Please inquire if the interviewee is participating of their own free will. If you suspect that a community leader, spouse, project leader, or other, has forced the interviewee to participate then ask them a few meaningless questions and thank them for their time, then note forced participation.

- participants will be informed of the right to withdraw from any activity, at any time, during information sessions, within the informed consent form, and during the interview process. If they decide to withdraw, there will be no penalty and the decision is at their discretion. They are welcome to inform us of their reason for withdrawal if they wish. If an interviewee changes their mind during the interview process, or seems to become uncomfortable during the interview, then please remind them that they do not have to answer any question that makes them uncomfortable and allow them to leave the interview if they wish. This interview will be marked as incomplete and disregarded. If an interviewee seems under undue stress, please end the interview delicately and call for assistance from other research assistants, myself, interviewee family members or appropriate community or project leaders.

- all interview material will be kept confidential. The information will be discussed in team meetings at the end of the day in reflection, but will not be discussed outside of the team meeting as per the signed agreement between myself, research assistants, and the interviewees. Confidentiality is of utmost importance since repeating information may have negative impact(s) on the lives of the interviewees or others.

- to ensure confidentiality individual interviews will be a location that cannot be overheard by others.

- verbatim material will not be used in written work if it is felt it would identify the interviewee

- in the end I will be the only person with recorded data (audio, photos or written) and all other assistants are required to delete any electronic files they may store.

- interviews are assigned a number, not a name, and kept confidential.
• written informed consent forms need to be signed by the participants indicating they understand our responsibility and commitment to ethical research and their rights as an interviewee. The consent forms will be offered in the language of their choice – in English, French or Kreyol. In the case of illiterate participants the document will be read to them. A signature identifying voluntary participation will be required; an X will be accepted as a signature by those who cannot write their name and the interviewer will note the circumstances on the form. The informed consent will be obtained by the PhD student or the Haitian research assistants.

5. Research Methods

This is case study based research. Collecting ‘human stories’ in all their detail is of utmost importance. Researchers should meet regularly, with each other and with the lead researcher, to discuss the social and gender material they are collecting.

Objectivity (this section was part of the training session with the Research Assistants)

• first we need to understand that objectivity in its fullest form is unattainable, yet there are steps we may take to strive towards objectivity during our research
• remaining neutral and supportive during the interview process
• understand that subjectivities are built through social constructions and we are interested how people understand their subjectivities, perform their subjectivities, and recreate their subjectivities through their actions
• understand that we bring our own belief systems and subjectivities with us, so we need to be reflexive and understand that the way we interpret people’s actions and words is a reflection of our own perceptions.
• understand that development initiatives bring their own beliefs and perspectives too, and these are built into the frameworks and project designs. It is the contact of two different believes systems and the outcomes of this interaction that we are studying
understand that our words, actions and power dynamics influence participant responses, thus we need to work to be neutral, to not share opinions or stories, to down play our own education, power and status, and to be supportive and honest listeners.

How to explore and unpack responses.

As mentioned earlier we need to respect interviewee responses and respect their opinions and perspectives, but that at times the questions will not be understood and examples may be needed to demonstrate how the question could be answered. However, our first choice, when confronted with superficial or minimal answers is to dig deeper with follow up questions such as WHY, HOW, WHERE, WHAT, WHO, WHEN, or others that pertain to the interviewee’s life, in order to get deep and revealing answers. This methodology is more effective than giving examples of possible answers, since interviewees may have a tendency to repeat back examples as answers, thereby contaminating the interview process. If you feel the response has been influenced by an example then please mark this on the interview form.

Neutrality - we seek to be neutral in all our questions. This includes neutral in our own perspectives and opinions, and in soliciting responses of gender, class, age, race, ethnicity, etc. For instance, the question: “How did the development project increase your work load?” should be asked as: “How did your workload change once you became involved in the research process?” and gender questions should not be: “How do women control reproduction?” to: “What methods do men and women address reproduction and contraception?” In other words, we need to avoid leading questions.

Assumptions - if you ask how much is spent on household food, don’t assume that this means only people in the household are fed. It is important in Haitian culture to feed others.

What criteria should be used to evaluate a project/ programme?
Part A. Evaluation Summary Table – scoring against core evaluation criteria

Evaluators are to assign the project/programme a Rating and Score for each criterion as follows:

Very Good/4: The project/programme embodies the description of strong performance provided below to a very good extent.
Good/3: The project/programme embodies the description of strong performance provided below to a good extent.

Fair/2: The project/programme embodies the description of strong performance provided below to a fair extent.

Poor/1: The project/programme embodies the description of strong performance provided below to a poor extent.

N/A: The criterion was not assessed (in the ‘Justification,’ explain why).

D/I: The criterion was considered but data were insufficient to assign a rating or score (in the ‘Justification,’ elaborate).

Evaluators are also to provide a brief justification for the rating and score assigned. Identify most notable strengths to build upon as well as highest priority issues or obstacles to overcome. Note that this table should not be a comprehensive summary of findings and recommendations, but an overview only. A more comprehensive presentation should be captured in the evaluation report. The report can contain sensitive material since it will only be shared amongst the Research Assistants, Program Manager, Project Leader
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating/Score</th>
<th>Description of Strong Performance</th>
<th>Evaluator Rating/Score</th>
<th>Evaluator Brief Justification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Relevance</td>
<td>The project/programme addresses the necessary factors in the specific programme context to bring about positive changes in food security targets (please consider the following: impact of programme on diversification of food production and consumption, environmental management, ecosystem services supporting human well-being, social process, gendered roles and responsibilities, risks and benefits).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quality of Design</td>
<td>1. The project/programme has rigorously adhered to program design</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Efficiency</td>
<td>1. Most/all programme activities have been delivered with efficient use of human &amp; financial resources and with strong outcome of improved food security or other recognizable benefits.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effectiveness</td>
<td>1. Most/all intended outcomes—stated objectives/intermediate results regarding key threats and other factors affecting project/programme targets—were attained.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impact</td>
<td>1. Most/all goals—stated desired changes in the status of project objectives were realized for the development agency</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sustainability</td>
<td>1. Most or all factors for ensuring sustainability of results/impacts are being or have been established.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adaptive Management</td>
<td>1. Project/programme results (outputs, outcomes, impacts) are qualitatively and quantitatively demonstrated through regular collection and analysis of monitoring data.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Part B. Evaluations should address some or all of six fundamental criteria (see Figure 1):

1. Relevance and Quality of Design

2. Efficiency (of delivery of outputs)
3. Effectiveness (of delivery of intermediate results and outcomes)

4. Impact (on environment and social and gender roles, plus any unintended effects)

5. Sustainability (of progress, benefits, and impact realized)

6. Adaptive Capacity (adaptation, and learning)

This is largely consistent with evaluation frameworks used by the OECD-DAC, World Bank, UNEP, IUCN, EU, and other major development and conservation organizations/agencies. See below the example from WWF.
APPENDIX II – ASSISTANT RESEARCHER’S CBO REPORT REQUIREMENTS

Thus far our focus has concentrated on six fundamental criteria:

1. Relevance and Quality of Design
2. Efficiency (of delivery of outputs)
3. Effectiveness (of delivery of intermediate results and outcomes)
4. Impact (on environment and social and gender roles, plus any unintended effects)
5. Sustainability (of progress, benefits, and impact realized)
6. Adaptive Capacity (adaptation, and learning)

These are all important criteria. At this point I would like each of us to consider a little more deeply what we are hearing and observing in the field.

Six attributes have been identified to aid in the assessment of the development process. The development process accompanies each food security intervention approach and is responsible for the outcomes of the project. Each attribute listed requires specific measurement indicators and specific data collected to meet that attribute. Below is an explanation of the attribute and indicators.

(i) **interdisciplinary learning that values and enhances local expertise and knowledge**: refers to building knowledge without honoring one person or group’s knowledge over another’s. Rather all persons and groups come together as equal partners to share and develop knowledge together, honoring all types of knowledge – technical, traditional and experiential thereby capturing gendered and socially segregated knowledge.

This knowledge is identified through semi-structured interviews and focus groups, desegregated by gender.

We inquired about transfer of knowledge from development project experts, between the social networks developed or expanded with the project, whether traditional expertise is honored and whether people feel their voices and opinions are heard.
(ii) *addressing social and gender equality*: refers to the process of building socially constructed roles within the symbolic space of the project that eventually materialize as real roles with real costs and benefits. Equalities are found by participant observation of roles, through interview questions to monitor changes in livelihoods, prevalence of food strategies, dietary diversity, ability to participate, roles of responsibility and decision making, and having needs met and opinions heard. This information is desegregated by gender. We also performed an analysis of project literature to understand the stated approach to gender and a comparison of literature to actual occurrence in the field.

(iii) *advancement of participatory methodologies*: refers to equitable participation by all participants in the development process. Through interviews and focus groups, and desegregated by gender, perceptions of participation, ability to influence the project, conflict resolution, participation in knowledge exchange and accumulation, ability to have one’s voice heard are all measured.

(iv) *equitable distribution of project costs and benefits and access to common pool resources*: refers to resources brought to the project by the participants in the form of economic, human, social, natural, cultural and moral capital as well as the realized benefits from the project. Interviews and focus groups compare perceived and real material resources brought to the project, desegregated by gender.

(v) *equitable development in the form of improved capability and reduced vulnerability*. Having capability is the basis of human value. Capability is first, having ability and second, working in an environment that supports the use of that ability to meet one’s goals and objectives. To collect data relevant to this indicator surveys measured food strategies and changes to food strategies with the presence of the development project, measured participants ability to gain new knowledge and utilize new knowledge, measurement of dietary diversity indicate as an outcome of food strategies, and measured participant’s perceptions of ability to utilize new knowledge and skills.

(vi) *degree of support for informal food security processes.*
Informal food security processes include considering diversification of food production, distribution and consumption, environmental management of ecosystem services that support human well-being, social process, gendered roles and responsibilities, risks and benefits. This proves to be the most difficult of the indicators since first one must understand the existing informal food security processes to be able to judge whether the development project offers support.
APPENDIX III – INDIVIDUAL DIETARY DIVERSITY SURVEY

COLLEGE OF SOCIAL AND APPLIED HUMAN SCIENCES
Jennifer Vansteenkiste, PhD Candidate
Department of Geography
jennvan@uoguelph.ca

Development Intervention Participant Survey 2013

Participant Group:

Date:

Interviewer:

Location:

Introduction to Interviewees:
This interview is designed to find out what food security means to you as an individual and how the development intervention has impacted your food security. We do not represent the development organization and all your answers will be strictly confidential. All the information we collect from this development organization and others will be compiled and results presented to the interviewees and the organizations to check for accuracy and to help the organizations assess their work. If at anytime you are uncomfortable with the interview questions you may refuse to answer that particular question or terminate the interview. No reprisals or repercussions will occur if you exercise these choices.

Please describe the foods (meals and snacks) that you ate yesterday during the day and night, whether at home or outside the home. Start with the first food eaten in the morning.

Was yesterday Sunday or a feast day when you would eat more than usual?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question number</th>
<th>Food group</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>YES=1</th>
<th>NO=0</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>CEREALS</td>
<td>bread, noodles, biscuits, cookies or any other foods made from millet, sorghum, maize, rice, wheat + insert local foods e.g. ugali, nshima, porridge or pastes or other locally available grains</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>PROVITAMIN A RICH VEGETABLES AND TUBERS</td>
<td>pumpkin, carrots, squash, or sweet potatoes that are orange inside + other locally available pro vitamin-A rich vegetables (e.g. sweet pepper)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>WHITE TUBERS AND ROOTS</td>
<td>white potatoes, white yams, white sweet potatoes, cassava, or foods made from roots.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>DARK GREEN LEAFY VEGETABLES</td>
<td>dark green/leafy vegetables, including wild ones + locally available pro vitamin-A rich leaves such as cassava leaves etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>OTHER VEGETABLES</td>
<td>other vegetables (e.g. tomato, onion, eggplant), including wild vegetables</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>PROVITAMIN A RICH FRUITS</td>
<td>ripe mangoes, cantaloupe, dried apricots, dried peaches + other locally available pro vitamin A-rich fruits</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>OTHER FRUITS</td>
<td>other fruits, including wild fruits</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>ORGAN MEAT (IRON-RICH)</td>
<td>liver, kidney, heart or other organ meats or blood-based foods</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>FLESH MEATS</td>
<td>beef, pork, lamb, goat, rabbit, wild game, chicken, duck, or other birds</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>EGGS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>FISH</td>
<td>fresh or dried fish or shellfish</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>LEGUMES, NUTS AND SEEDS</td>
<td>beans, peas, lentils, nuts, seeds or foods made from these</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>MILK AND MILK</td>
<td>milk, cheese, yogurt or other milk products</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>OILS AND FATS</td>
<td>oil, fats or butter added to food or used for cooking</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>SWEETS</td>
<td>sugar, honey, sweetened soda or sugary foods such as chocolates, sweets or candies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>SPICES, CONDIMENTS,</td>
<td>spices (black pepper, salt), condiments (soy sauce, hot sauce), coffee, tea, alcoholic beverages OR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Individual level only | Did you eat anything (meal or snack) OUTSIDE of the home yesterday? |
| Household level only | Did you or anyone in your household eat anything (meal or snack) OUTSIDE of the home yesterday? |

1 FAO/Nutrition and Consumer Protection Division, version of May, 2007. Please acknowledge FAO in any documents pertaining to use of this questionnaire.
Development Intervention Participant Survey 2013

Participant Group : Date :
Interviewer : Location :

Introduction to Interviewees:

This interview is designed to find out what food security means to you as an individual and how the development intervention has impacted your food security. We do not represent the development organization and all your answers will be strictly confidential. All the information we collect from this development organization and others will be compiled and results presented to the interviewees and the organizations to check for accuracy and to help the organizations assess their work. If at anytime you are uncomfortable with the interview questions you may refuse to answer that particular question or terminate the interview. No reprisals or repercussions will occur if you exercise these choices.

Has the project changed the food strategies you use when you have food shortages? For instance, do you have more or less people you can rely upon when you have food shortages?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strategy</th>
<th>Occurrence of strategy</th>
<th>Influence of Project on Strategy</th>
<th>How has the project change the strategy?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1=never</td>
<td>(1)=no change</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2=seldom (&lt;1 day/wk)</td>
<td>(2)=a little change</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3=sometimes (1-2 days/week)</td>
<td>(3)=some change</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4=often (3 or more days/week)</td>
<td>(4)=a lot of change</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5=daily</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Sharing
- Selling assets
- Calling in Loans
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eating smaller portions</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Some members going without food</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All members going without food</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eating less desirable food</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migration (exodus) for work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eat at relative or friends house nearby</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrate (exodus) to family</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food aid/Other NGO assistance -specify</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buying on credit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taking a loan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asking friends and family for help</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eating farm animals – cows, pigs, goats, rabbits</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asking an organization for help</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delay paying school fees or other expenditures</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remove children from school</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harvesting more wild foods</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participate in different casual labour nearby (without migration)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consuming seeds</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More adults are available for wage work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Development Intervention Participant Survey 2013

Participant Group: _____________________________ Date: __________________

Interviewer: __________________________ Location: __________________

Introduction to Interviewees:

This interview is designed to find out what food security means to you as an individual and how the
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organization and others will be compiled and results presented to the interviewees and the organizations to
check for accuracy and to help the organizations assess their work. If at anytime you are uncomfortable with the
interview questions you may refuse to answer that particular question or terminate the interview. No reprisals or
repercussions will occur if you exercise these choices.

Section 1 Household Data

Respondent information

1. Indicate gender of respondent: Male Female
2. Age: ______
3. Marital status? Married Polygamous Widow/Bachelor Single Divorced Co-habitating
4. Does your partner live with you? Yes No, then where
5. Your highest Level of Education:
   no education
   1-5 grade of Primary
   6th grade of Primary
   7th-11th Secondary
   Technical or Apprentice
   University

6a. How many adults live in your home?
List the ages and their relationship to the participant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age and gender</th>
<th>Relationship</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6b. If you are sick and you don’t have money, who over the age of 18 can give the household food and money? **ENSA**

7. How many children live in your home? List the ages and their relationship to the participant and if they go to school then what grade they are in.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>age and gender</th>
<th>Relationship to new gardians</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7b. How many of your children have been sent to live elsewhere?

8. Have you had an increase in household members now that you are involved with **Enter CBO Name**?
9. Do the children miss school? Why? Is this better or worse now that you are involved with the **Enter CBO Name** project.
10. What % of your income goes to food for the household?
11. Does household food go to people that don’t live in your house? Yes  No
12. How many times does your family eat together each day? ENSA Comparison
13. What kind of food does your children, who are less than 2 years of age, eat at home? ENSA
14. Do you pass days without eating? Sometimes_ Rarely_ Often_ Never_ ENSA Comparison
15. What % of people are doing animal husbandry in the community? ENSA Comparison
16. What quality of water do people drink in the community? ENSA Comparison
16.b Is the source a well, pump or protected spring?
17. What big problems have blocked people from accessing food in the last 6 months? ENSA Comparison
18. How many times per year do you sell animals so that you can buy food? ENSA Comparison
19. Do you know people in foreign countries that can send money to you?
20. How much did you spend per day for home cooking?
21. How far you go to obtain safe drinking water?

**Section II Housing Materials – by observation if possible**
22. Do you have a permanent home?
23. Do you own your home? Or does your spouse own the home (if applicable)?
24. What is the major construction of the exterior walls? (circle)
   1. Concrete/burned bricks
   2. Mud blocks
   3. Mud and straw
   4. Wood
   5. Plastic
   6. Other (specify)

   What is the major material of your roof? (circle)
   1. Concrete
   2. Tiles
   3. Straw (grass, papyrus, banana fibres)
4. Wood
5. Plastic shelter
6. Tol= Galvanized iron
7. Other (specify)

25. Has involvement with Enter CBO Name impacted:
8. You owning a home?
   a. Yes / No (circle one).
   b. If yes: How has Enter CBO Name affected your home ownership?

26. Who owns the home?
27. The materials used in the construction of the house?

**Section III  Access to Credit** (Source WFP 2007)
28. Do you have access to a place to borrow money? Circle all that apply.
   A. Relatives and friends
   B. Charities and NGOs
   C. Local lender
   D. Madan Sara
   E. Bank
   F. Cooperative
   G. Village head
   H. Community-Based Organization of which you are a member
   I. No access to credit

29. In the last 3 months, how often did you use credit or borrow money to purchase food? Circle One
   A. Never
   B. On one occasion
   C. On two occasions
   D. On three occasions
   E. On more than three occasions

30. Has the Enter CBO Name project changed who borrows money in your household?
14. Since the project came is it easier to get credit?
15. Since the project came is it easier to pay back credit?

**Section IV  Agriculture**
31. What type of land do you use for your A) own home and market crops; and B) for maize for the Enter CBO Name project. (Interviewer –please mark an answer for A and B)
   A. Agricultural land
   B. Garden around the house
   C. Garden around unused private lands other than where you live (specify)
   D. Public lands
   E. Community garden
   F. Other (specify)

32. What is the size of each? A) B)
   A. Who owns the land this household family uses.
      a. Family, land lord, other (circle one)
      b. If the family owns it then who in the family Wife__Husband__Wife’s family__Father’s family__
         other(explain)__.
   B. Do you have a contract?
   C. Use with permission?
D. Use an absent relatives land without official permission?
E. Use an absent non-relatives land without official permission?
F. Use common community property?
G. How much do you pay and for how many HA or Carreau?
H. Other (specify)

33. Are you afraid of losing the ability to farm/garden on the land you have mentioned?  
   Yes / No (circle one)
   
   33a. Why? Or Why not?
   33b. Has this changed with the project?

34. How did you get the land to be involved in the project?

35. Name three food crops, or non-food cash crops, that you cultivate and that are the most important economically.
   a. My most important crop is ......; why?
   b. My second most important crop is ......why?
   c. My third most important crop is......; why?
   Has this changed with the Enter CBO Name project? Yes / no (circle one)
   If yes, explain why:

36. Name three foods that are expensive to eat. Has this changed with the Enter CBO Name project?

37. Name one food that you grow or harvest from nature(wild) because it is too expensive to buy. Has this changed with the Enter CBO Name project?

38. Where do you get your seeds, or cuttings? Has this changed with the Enter CBO Name project?

39. Do you use commercial fertilizers or synthetic pesticides/herbicides?
   Fertilizer: yes no (circle one)
   Has this changed with Enter CBO Name?
   Pesticides: yes / no (circle one)
   Has this changed with Enter CBO Name?
   39b. Do you use compost and bio-pesticides?
   Compost: yes/no (circle one)
   Has this changed with Enter CBO Name?
   Bio-Pesticides: yes / no (circle one)
   Has this changed with Enter CBO Name?

40. Do you irrigate by pump or bucket?
   Pump: yes/no (circle one)
   Has this changed with Enter CBO Name?
   Bucket: yes / no (circle one)
   Has this changed with Enter CBO Name?

Section VI  Food Activities and the Development Project

41. Do women participate in the project involve more or less in degage (having multiple partners)?
42. What kind of gardening/agriculture did you do before the project came?
43. Can you name these crops? (Note to interviewer – please try to find out uncommon crops too).
44. Which of these crops don’t need so much water or need good soil?
45. Why did you leave this kind of gardening or do you still do it?
46. Did your families experience positively or negatively influence your decision to farm?
47. Did the project influence your decision to farm? Why?
48. How has the presence of the development project has influenced my relationship with the environment?
49. What habits do you perform to prevent erosion ?
50. What habits do you have to limit the damage of flooding?
51. Did the project influence how you planted different crops together? (intercropping)
52. When the project came, how did men and women’s roles change, or older people?
53. How do people manage the project work and household work too?
54. Who in your household is more involved with the Enter CBO Name project?
55. Did anyone force you to participate in the project?
56. Do you or a household member participate in a cooperative or association? How active is your participation? Are you a leader?

57. We are interested in changes in your life since the project has arrived. Please tell us which activities have changed by indicating how much they have changed. **Please ask the respondent to explain each of the categories that are flagged as #1 or #5**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Increased a lot</th>
<th>Increased some</th>
<th>No change</th>
<th>Decreased some</th>
<th>Decreased a lot</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Since the project arrived: I have experienced conflict between community members</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Since the project arrived: I have experienced conflict between family members</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Since the project arrived: I am using different networks of people</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Since the project arrived: People are less willing to share and trade with me</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Since the project arrived: People are more willing to share and trade with me</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Since the project arrived: I am more likely to attend social events</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Since the project arrived: I am less likely to attend social events</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Since the project arrived: My ability to make a living is better</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Since the project arrived: My ability to make a living is worse</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Since the project arrived: There has been a change in how I access land</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Since the project arrived: Changes in who makes decisions in the community</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Since the project arrived: Changes in class status</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Since the project arrived: I eat better foods</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Since the project arrived: I eat worse foods (worse = poorer quality, less diversity)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Since the project arrived: My family eats worse foods</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Since the project arrived: My family eats better foods</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Since the project arrived: My family goes hungry more often</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Since the project arrived: My family is hungry less often</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

57a. How has the project changed how you can find food to feed your family?
57b. How was the project change what food you can find to feed your family?
57c. What would happen if the project did not take place? 
What would happen if you had a different project partner? 

**Section V Society and Culture**

[For Interviewer: Culturally important crops: ie pumpkins for Jan 1, pigeon peas for Easter, sales for Fet Champêt and other celebrations] Please find out others.

58. Can you tell me in which season you plant which crop for cultural events?
59. Why do you share your harvest?
60. What is the benefit from sharing? (for interviewers –looking for community impact, individual social network) Remember the what, how, why, where, when questions.
61. Has this changed with the development project?
62. Do you feel the products you prefer and use to meet your daily demands were enhanced or eroded by the project?

**Section VII Costs and Benefits of Participation**

The objective of this section of the survey is to establish the participant’s understanding of the development initiative and how it has impacted their life. **COSTS and BENEFITS – redistribution of risk and redistribution of wealth**

63. Did the project bring new sources of income? Yes / No (circle one) if yes, please explain.
64. Did the project bring new sources of food? Yes / No (circle one) if yes, please explain.
65. Did the project bring new farming practices? Yes / No (circle one) if yes, please explain.
66. Did the project bring other things? Yes / No (circle one) if yes, please explain....”
67. What kind of resources did you bring to the project?
68. Now we would like to know about your experience with the project. **If the respondent answers #1 or #5 to any of these questions then please ask them to explain**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Over the course of this project my:</th>
<th>Increased a lot</th>
<th>Increased some</th>
<th>Decreased some</th>
<th>Decreased a lot</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ability to influence the project...</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is your voice heard in meetings</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interests and objectives are met</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My food needs were improved</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The conflicts were handled well</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My family was happy with my involvement</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I was treated well by project employees</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We improved the environment</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We improved our living environment</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We enjoy being involved</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We have the same opportunity to learn new skills and knowledge, and have the same access to resources, as other participants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My personal knowledge is enhanced by the project</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My personal skills are enhanced by the project</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My agricultural land or practices are enhanced by the project</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My networks of people are enhanced by the project</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My family connections are enhanced by the project</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My personal position is enhanced by the project</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

69. Please name three things that have changed in your daily or yearly activities because you are involved in the Enter CBO Name project.

70. How are conflicts handled now?

71. How many development projects have you been involved with in the community?
Development Intervention Participant Survey 2013

Participant Group: 
Date: 
Interviewer: 
Location:

Introduction to Interviewees:

This interview is designed to find out what food security means to you as an individual and how the development intervention has impacted your food security. We do not represent the development organization and all your answers will be strictly confidential. All the information we collect from this development organization and others will be compiled and results presented to the interviewees and the organizations to check for accuracy and to help the organizations assess their work. If at anytime you are uncomfortable with the interview questions you may refuse to answer that particular question or terminate the interview. No reprisals or repercussions will occur if you exercise these choices.

Gender________
Age________

Seksyon VIII FOR EVERYONE Kesyone Divèsite Alimantè

Please describe the foods (meals and snacks) that you ate yesterday during the day and night whether at home or outside the home. Start with the first food eaten yesterday morning.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kesyon nimewo</th>
<th>Gwoup Manje</th>
<th>Men kèk egzanp</th>
<th>1 Non=0</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>sereyal</td>
<td>pen, nouy, biskwit, bonbon oswa nepòt lòt manje te fè soti nan, sorgo pitimi, mayi, ble diri, + ensere manje lokal, egzanp ugali, nshima, labouyl oswa kole oswa lòt grenn ki disponiblokalman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Text</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>vitamin A legim rich ak joumou</td>
<td>tubèrkul, kawôt, joumou, oswa patat ki zoranj andedan + lôt vitamin-A ki disponib lokalman legim rich (egzanp pwav dous)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tubèrkul blan ak tout rasin</td>
<td>pòmdetè blan, yann blan, kasav, oswa manje ki te fè soti nan rasin.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Legim, féy vèt fonse</td>
<td>legim vèt fonse / vèt, ki gen ladan yo menm nan bwa + lokalman ki disponib vitamin-A féy rich tankou kasav kite elatriye</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>lòtlegim</td>
<td>lôt legim (egzanp tomat, zonyon, berejenn), ki gen ladan legim nan bwa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Fwi rich nan vitamin A</td>
<td>mango mi, Kantaloup, abriko ki sèch, pèch sèch + lôt vitamin ki disponib lokalman A-rich fwi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Lot fwi</td>
<td>lôt fwi, ki gen ladan fwi sovaj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Vyann ògà ( KI RICH AN FÉ)</td>
<td>fwa, ren, kè oswa lôt ògàn vyann oswa san ki baze sou manje</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Vyann de chè</td>
<td>vyann bèf vyann, kochon, mouton, kabrit, lapen, bwa jwèt(Jwèt sovaj), poul, kanna, oswa lôt zwazo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Ze</td>
<td>Ze</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Pwason</td>
<td>fre osinon chèch pwason oswa lôt bèt lanmè</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>legum, nwa ak grenn pwa,</td>
<td>pwa, lantiy, nwa, grenn oswa manje te fè soti nan sa yo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>lèt ak PWODWI LETYE</td>
<td>lèt, fwomaj, yawout oswa lôt pwodwi lèt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Lwil ak grès (matyè gras)</td>
<td>lwil oliv, grès oswa bè ki ajoute nan manje oswa itilize pou kwit manje</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>bagay dous</td>
<td>sik, siwo myèl, oswa manje ki gen sik tankou chocola, bagay dous oswa sirèt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>féy santi bon, kondiman, BWASON</td>
<td>epis santi bon ( pwav nwa, sèl), kondiman (sòs soya, sòs cho),</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Section VI

1. Do you do commerce?  Yes___ No___
2. Do you farm on land that is NOT state land?  Yes___ No___
   a. Do you farm on state land?  Yes___ No___
      b. If yes, then how many years did you use the state land?
3. Did you lose access to state when the state gave contracts to large corporations?  Yes___ No___
4. Where was this land located? (can they name the location)_______
5. What did you use the state land for?
   a. Elevage Cattle____
      How much milk produced/day before state land taken_______ How much now?_____
      DO you sell your milk to Let Agogo?  YES____ NO____
   b. Goats____
   c. Charcoal___ Please estimate how much income/year lost _____
   d. Cultivate crops___
      Please list what kind of crops:
      Can you estimate how much money you used to make/year from those state land crops only?_______
   e. Wild Food (please give them examples)
      Please list what kind:
      Did you eat and/or sell this food?  EAT____  SELL____
      Can you estimate how much money you used to make/year from those wild foods?_____
7. a. Did you do an activity on the state land not mentioned (cultural? social? economic? political?).  Yes___ No___
       b. If yes, then PLEASE DESCRIBE:
       If they used the state land for ANY purpose then please answer the next two questions and the table:
9. How did the land transfer change your work or activities?
10. How did the land transfer impact your life?
11. Do you need to participate in degage more often?

PLEASE NOTE: THE COLUMN HEADINGS HAVE CHANGED A LITTLE
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Estrateji</th>
<th>Occurrence of strategy</th>
<th>How much did this change because of the state land transfer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1= pa janm</td>
<td>(1)=pa gen chanjman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2= raman (&lt;1 jou / semenn)</td>
<td>(2)=yon ti chanjman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3= pafwa (1-2 jou / semèn)</td>
<td>(3)=kek chanjman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4= souvan (3 oswa plis jou / semèn)</td>
<td>(4)=anpil chanjman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5= chak jou</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pataje</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vann byen (aktif)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mande Prete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manje pòsyon ki pi piti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kèk moun rete san manje</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tout moun rete san manje</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manje manje ki mwen dezirab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrasyon pou travay / al travay lot kote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manje la kay fanmi oswa zanmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emigre / deplasman nan fanmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éd Manje / Lôt ONG asistans-presize</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achte kredi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pran yon kout ponya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mande zanmi ak fanmi èd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manje bèt ki nan fèm - bèf, kochon, kabrit, lapen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mande èd a yon oganizasyon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reta nan peye frè lekòl la, oswa lôt depans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retire timoun nan lekòl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rekôlte plis manje sovaj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patisipe nan diferan travay okazyonèl tou pre zòn ou (san migrasyon)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Konsome grenn (semans)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lôt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX VII – EXPERT INTERLOCUTOR SURVEY

UNIVERSITY OF GUELPH

COLLEGE OF SOCIAL AND APPLIED HUMAN SCIENCES
Jennifer Vansteenkiste, PhD Candidate
Department of Geography
jennvan@uoguelph.ca

Development Intervention Participant Survey 2013

Participant Group : Date :
Interviewer : Location :

Introduction to Interlocutors:

The objective of this interview is to explore how this particular project is addressing food security, in this particular location, and then to compare and contrast with other food security initiatives. The best practices will be combined into a scalable best practices model and disseminated back to the participating organizations. We do not represent the development organization and all your answers will be strictly confidential. All the information we collect from this organization, and others, will be compiled and results presented to the interlocutors and the organizations to check for accuracy with the goal of providing the participating organizations with useful data and critical assessments of their work. If at anytime you are uncomfortable with the interview questions you may refuse to answer that particular question(s) or terminate the interview. No reprisals or repercussions will occur if you exercise these choices.

1. What is your role in the development project?

2. How long have you worked for the organization RAVAFAL?

3. How long have you worked on this particular COCO project?

4. Can you please describe your organization. (ie International, Haitian, community-based, religious, grassroots, women organization, farming organization, government, regional, national, etc.)
5. Where does your funding come from? (USAID, Churches, members, Oxfam, CIDA, WFP, Government (specify which one), or other (please specify).

6. Can you please identify the COCO in RAVAFAL project activities? And rank by importance to meeting the project objectives.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Important------N/A-------Not Imp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Emergency Food Aid</td>
<td>1  2  3  4  5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working with smallholder farmers and agro-enterprises with tradable commercial products for internal food trade</td>
<td>1  2  3  4  5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working with smallholder farmers for tradable commercial products for international export</td>
<td>1  2  3  4  5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plantations for corporations</td>
<td>1  2  3  4  5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sustainable environment</td>
<td>1  2  3  4  5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Addressing land tenure</td>
<td>1  2  3  4  5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improved Nutrition</td>
<td>1  2  3  4  5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improving Production</td>
<td>1  2  3  4  5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work with other NGOs</td>
<td>1  2  3  4  5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work with local authorities in regards to agricultural markets</td>
<td>1  2  3  4  5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work with local authorities in regards to a resource management and sustainable development</td>
<td>1  2  3  4  5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work to influence global level factors that affect local food security</td>
<td>1  2  3  4  5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1  2  3  4  5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Relevance and quality of design

The project/programme addresses the necessary factors in the specific programme context to bring about positive changes in food security targets (please consider the following: impact of programme on diversification of food production and consumption, environmental management, ecosystem services supporting human well-being, social process, gendered roles and responsibilities, risks and benefits).
What is the main objective of the project?

What are the sub-objectives?

Where is the project located?

How was this site chosen?

Please describe the important economic, political, social and physical characteristics of this location that may make it different from other locations?

How were the participants chosen?

What is the average retention of participants in the project?

Thinking about production, distribution and consumption - what is your organization’s definition of food security?

What is the definition of success in terms of the project target?

What evidence do you have that this project achieved success in this way?

What is future approaches have been added to the project to take into account key factors of targeted food security issues that have occurred since the project started?

How has the project assessed possible threats, weaknesses, opportunities and strengths?

Rank threats and priorities that influence the actions and decisions taken.

How has the stakeholder’s position been considered and accounted for in this project design and implementation?

Was this consideration of the stakeholder’s position taken on a community or individual level?

How can the stakeholder influence the project on an ongoing basis?

How were age, class, and gender considered?

How has the project been designed to be enabling?

How was the project changed from when it was initially designed to how it was implemented?

What were the strategies behind the interventions financed and how were these relevant for addressing these problems?

How do you see the project portfolio of contributing projects making sense in regards to meeting the
objectives of the community-based organizations?

How do you ensure participation from the stakeholders in this project? How is that methodology received?

How do you feel about this methodology?

How do you transfer knowledge to the participants? How is that methodology received?

**Governance**

How does it take into consideration the differential impact of poverty by disadvantaged groups?

How does the project/programme design take into account potential conflict?

How often is financial reporting carried out? How widely are the results circulated and how understandable are they?

What anti-corruption monitoring tools are there in place and how effective are they?

**Criterion 2: Efficiency**

Efficiency is a measure of the relationship between outputs (i.e. the products or services of an intervention) and inputs (i.e. the resources that it uses), and may include a measure of ‘value for money.’ An intervention can be thought of as efficient if it uses appropriate, sufficient, and least costly avenues to achieve the desired outputs (i.e. deliverables) and meet desired quantity and quality. (e.g. use of human and financial resources, design of work flows, division among roles and responsibilities) to achieving the same outputs.

What improvements could be made in financial planning and resourcing in terms of delivering food security outcomes?

What is the fundraising strategy being implemented, and how does it result in sufficient funds flowing to the project/programme?

How does actual spending compare with the budget?

What savings could be made without compromising the quality of results delivered?

Can you explain your work plan flow? How is it monitored? How do they respond and adapt as necessary?

Discuss how the project/programme is delivering value for money in that costs are reasonable given the outputs and outcomes generated?
What inputs were financed by the project and how efficient were the beneficiary organizations in making use of the resources available?

To what extent was project funding mixed with and/or replaced with other funding?

Criterion 3: Effectiveness

Effectiveness is a measure of the extent to which the intervention’s intended outcomes—its specific objectives or intermediate results—have been achieved. More explicitly, effectiveness is the relationship between an intervention’s outputs—its products or services or immediate results—and its outcomes—the intended changes in key factors affecting conservation targets (e.g. threats, behaviours, enabling conditions for conservation).

Has project improved the ability of the environment to provide more food?

How?

And by how much?

Thinking about production, distribution and consumption - what is your organization’s definition of food security?

Has food security improved? How and by how much?

Have income levels increased? How and by how much?

Has agricultural production increased? How and by how much?

Can the change in the observed outcome be attributed to the intervention?

How effectively were the target groups reached? How? Were there problems?

What benefits has this brought to them at individual and/or household level and/or organizational level?

When considering resources (e.g. land, capital, inputs, political power) what groups have access to these?

And how the project has influenced who controls resources?

What did the intervention do to advance gender equality at a) the level of the individual (economic, social, political equality, bodily integrity); and/or b) the collective level?
What anticipated and unanticipated factors have promoted or impeded the programme’s progress?

To what extent has coordination/communication been effective within and between the implementation team, stakeholders, partners and participants, as well as donor offices?

Criterion 4: Impact

Impact is a measure of all significant effects of the intervention, positive or negative, expected or unforeseen, on targeted gender/social issues – e.g. cost and benefit of people’s relationships and networks, access and use of resources, visibility and invisibility in project, improved knowledge and ability and the environment to use those improvements whose needs were met (think of age, class, gender, race).

At what scale (local, landscape, national, regional, global) has the project attained its stated vision and goals, in terms of outcomes effecting positive change in diversity of strategies to improve food security, human well-being? What specific evidence can you present?

What changes do you think would have occurred without the project?

What unforeseen impacts were there (whether positive or negative)?

What could have been done differently to repeat or avoid these unforeseen consequences?

How could the project have acknowledged them earlier as emerging consequences?

How might the programme increase its impact in terms of associated human and financial capacity needs?

How was the process of increasing impact understood at the design stage (e.g. project replication, good practice guidelines through policy change, multi-stakeholder processes)?

Is there evidence that the project design has achieved the impact desired or is likely to achieve it?

How does this project affect the participant’s vulnerability to the impacts of changing commodity prices?

How does this project affect participant vulnerability to currency devaluation?

How does this project affect participant vulnerability to changing donor priorities?

How does this project affect domestic institutional dynamics on local food security?
Environment

How adequately were environmental constraints/ opportunities considered in project design?

What good environmental practices are followed in project implementation (in relation to use of water, energy, and materials, production of wastes, etc)?

How does the project relate to traditional, successful environmental practices?

What increased pressures does the achievement of project results and objectives generate on fragile ecosystems (natural forests, wetlands, coral reefs, mangroves)?

What increased pressures does the achievement of project results and objectives generate on scarce natural resources (e.g. surface and groundwater, timber, soil)?

Criterion 5: Sustainability

Sustainability is a measure of whether the benefits of an intervention are likely to continue after external support has ended.

Sustainability is in many ways a higher level test of whether or not the project/programme has been a success.

What local or national policies support the project objectives?

What steps have been taken to consider group differentials (e.g. by gender, religion, ethnicity, economic class) and/or on benefits realized by them?

How would you describe informal socio-cultural processes that affect food security in this community? And how does the project address these issues?

Technology (if applicable) that is appropriate to existing conditions and capacity?

What external factors could have a high or medium likelihood of undoing or undermining the future sustainability of project/programme positive impacts? (e.g. political stability, economic crises and shocks, overall level of development, natural disasters, climate change).

How adequately is the project/programme anticipating the above concern and taking measures to ensure resilience to these?
What are the key strategic options for the future of the project/programme (e.g. exit, scale down, replicate, scale-up, continue business-as-usual, major changes to approach)?

Criterion 6: Adaptive Capacity

Adaptive Capacity is a measure of the extent to which the project or programme regularly assesses and adapts its work, and thereby ensures continued relevance in changing contexts, strong performance, and learning.

Assessments of adaptive capacity must consider the rigour with which the project/programme goes about monitoring, evaluating, and adapting its work.

Describe what the project/programme did to establish the baseline status of livelihood targets and key contextual factors?

What are the ongoing systematic monitoring of these?

What steps are taken to ensure regular reflection on efficiency, effectiveness, and impact by the project/programme team and partners? How adequate are these? How is monitoring information used to support regular adaptation of the strategic approach?

Identify any exceptional experiences that should be highlighted regarding what worked and didn’t work (e.g. case-studies, stories, good practices)?

How often were the original risks and assumptions revisited during the intervention cycle? What was done to assess the risks and identify external assumptions? Was this both adequate and realistic? How were mitigation strategies identified and responded to by the intervention team to optimize?

What capacities exist (within project, project partners and project context) to deal with critical risks that could affect project effectiveness such as climate risks or risks of natural disasters (in the case of projects in sensitive geographical areas / natural disasters hotspots)?
APPENDIX VIII – MARKET SURVEY

COLLEGE OF SOCIAL AND APPLIED HUMAN SCIENCES
Jennifer Vansteenkiste, PhD Candidate
Department of Geography
jennvan@uoguelph.ca

Development Intervention Participant Survey 2013

Participant Group: Date:
Interviewer: Location:

Introduction to Interlocutors:

This interview is designed to find out what food security means to you as an individual and how the development intervention has impacted your food security. We do not represent the development organization and all your answers will be strictly confidential. All the information we collect from this development organization and others will be compiled and results presented to the interlocutors and the organizations to check for accuracy and to help the organizations assess their work. If at anytime you are uncomfortable with the interview questions you may refuse to answer that particular question or terminate the interview. No reprisals or repercussions will occur if you exercise these choices.

Collection #

1. When the main market closes, where did you buy food? OR Where do you think people bought food?

2. What are your feelings on imported food? Do you prefer selling/eating foods that are from Haiti or from afar (ex. Rice from US, or beans from DR)?

3. What do you think about Haiti selling food to neighbouring countries (like US, Dominican Republic, other Caribbean Island, south America or other places)?

4. Do you remember the riots/strikes in Cap-Haïtien and PaP in 2008? Can you tell me what you remember about those days? Who were the rioters? Do you think they were related to rising prices of food and fuel or some other thing?
5. Have you ever worried for your safety in the market? What market? What was happening?

6. Have you seen anger in the market? How did you feel? How was it resolved?

7. When people are mad in the market – what do you think some of those things are that make people mad

8. What foods do you need to feel secure/satisfied/happy/content? (ex. Oil, rice, sugar, flour, plantain, cassava) What is the basic food basket for your house? How might your diet changed over time?

9. What happens when prices for those foods are high? How do you feel? What do you think makes those prices high?

10. Do you have any stories about food that you would like to share? (ex. with family, parents, cooking, sharing, politically, growing, prices….).
L'objectif de cette entrevue est d'explorer comment ce projet aborde la sécurité alimentaire, à cet endroit particulier, puis la comparer et contraster avec d'autres initiatives de sécurité alimentaire. Les meilleures pratiques seront combinées en un modèle évolutif et diffusés vers les organisations participantes.

Nous ne représentons pas l'organisation de développement et toutes vos réponses seront strictement confidentielles. Toutes les informations que nous recueillerons auprès de cette organisation, et d'autres, seront compilées et les résultats présentés aux informateurs et aux organisations de vérifier l'exactitude dans le but de fournir les organisations participantes des données utiles et des évaluations critiques de leur travail.

Si à tout moment vous ne vous sentez pas à l'aise de répondre à certaines questions de l'entrevue, vous pouvez refuser de répondre à ces questions ou mettre fin à l'entrevue. Aucune mesure de représailles ou répercussions ne produiront si vous exercez ces choix.

Quel est votre rôle dans le projet de développement?

Combien de temps avez-vous travaillé pour l'organisation CBO?

Pouvez-vous s'il vous plaît décrire votre organisation.

Organisation Internationale, organisation Haïtienne, communauté de base, communauté religieuse, organisation féminine, organisation agricole, organisation gouvernementale, organisation régionale, organisation nationale, etc.

Quel est votre source de financement ? (USAID, L'Église, les membres d'une église, Oxfam, CIDA, WFP, Le gouvernement ?) Spécifiez votre source de financement.

Pouvez-vous s'il vous plaît identifier les activités du projet? Et ranger par ordre d'importance pour atteindre les objectifs du projet.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activité</th>
<th>Important---------N/A--------pas important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aide alimentaire d'urgence</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travailler avec les petits agriculteurs et les entreprises agro-alimentaires avec des produits commerciaux négociables pour le commerce alimentaire interne</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Les petits agriculteurs pour l'exportation</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plantations pour les entreprises</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environnement durable</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Addresser régime foncier</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marketing</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nutrition</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Améliorer l'alimentation pour les opérations de réseau social</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travailler avec d'autres ONG</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travailler avec les autorités locales en ce qui concerne les marchés agricoles</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travailler avec les autorités locales en ce qui concerne une gestion des ressources et le développement durable</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travailler aux facteurs d'influence au niveau mondial qui affectent la sécurité alimentaire locale</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travailler pour influencer les facteurs globales qui affectent la sécurité alimentaire locale</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. La qualité et l'importance du modèle

NOTE : le projet ou le programme expédie les facteurs nécessaires dans le contexte spécifique du programme afin d’apporter un changement positif dans la sécurité alimentaire. Considérons les impactes du programme dans la diversification de la production alimentaire et leur consommation, la gestion de l’environnement les services qui supportent l’écosystème pour le bien être humaine, processus social, le rôle des deux sexes et leurs responsabilités, les avantages et les inconvenients.
Quel est l'objectif principal du projet ?

Quels sont les sous-objectifs ?

Où se trouve le site du projet ?

Comment ce site a été choisi ?

Pouvez-vous décrire les caractéristiques importantes économiques, politiques, physiques et sociales de cet endroit qui le rend différent des autres endroits ?

Comment les participants ont été choisis ?

Quelle est la retention des participants dans le projet (combien de temps reste-t-il dans le projet) ?

En se référant à la production, la distribution et la consommation, pouvez-vous donner l’approche de votre organisation sur la sécurité alimentaire ?

Quelle est la définition de réussite dans l’objectif du projet ?

Avez-vous une définition claire de succès pour l'objectif du projet ?

Est ce que le CBO nom a un plan futur/procédé qui prendra en compte les facteurs clés des problèmes de sécurité alimentaires qui ont eu lieu depuis que le projet/programme a commencé ?

Comment le projet a-t-il détecté les dangers, faiblesses, opportunités et atouts qui peuvent se présenter ?
Pouvez-vous classer les dangers et les priorités qui influencent les actions et les décisions prises ?

Comment la position de l'investisseur a été examinée et pris en compte dans la conception et la mise en œuvre du projet ?

La position de l'investisseur a-t-elle été prise en considération au niveau individuel ou communautaire ?

L'investisseur, peut-il influencer le projet de façon permanente ? Comment ?

L'âge, la classe ou le sexe ont-ils été pris en considération ? Pouvez-vous expliquer ?

Comment le projet a été conçu pour être habilitant ?

Est-ce que le changement de projet à partir de laquelle il a été initialement conçu pour la façon dont il a été mis en œuvre ? Comment ?

Quelles ont été les stratégies derrière les interventions financées et étaient-elles pertinentes pour résoudre ces problèmes ?

Le portefeuille de projets contribuant de projet de sens en ce qui concerne la réalisation des objectifs des organisations communautaires ?

Comment assurez-vous la participation des parties prenantes dans ce projet ? Est-ce que la méthodologie bien reçu ? Que pensez-vous de cette méthode ?

Comment peut-on transférer les connaissances aux participants ?

Quel est votre impression sur la méthodologie ?
Gouvernance

Est-ce que le projet prend en considération l'impact différentiel de la pauvreté par les groupes défavorisés ?

Est-ce que le projet / programme conçu de manière à ce qu'il prenne en compte les conflits potentiels ?

Est-ce qu'on effectue l'information financière régulière? Est-ce que les résultats trouvé sont largement diffusés et compréhensible ?

Y at-il des outils de surveillance anti-corruption efficaces qui sont en place ?

Critère 2 : Efficacité

L'efficacité est de montrer relation entre les entrées les entrées (ie les ressources que le projet utilise) et sorties (c’est à dire les produits ou services du projet) qui peut inclure la «valeur en argent. " Une intervention peut être considéré comme efficace si elle utilise les voies appropriées, suffisantes et moins coûteux pour atteindre les résultats souhaités (c. livrables) et répondre à la quantité et la qualité souhaitée. (par exemple, l'utilisation des ressources humaines et financières, de la conception de flux de travail, la division entre les rôles et les responsabilités) pour atteindre les mêmes résultats.

Y at-il des améliorations à apporter en matière de planification financière et des ressources ?

Y at-il une stratégie de collecte de fonds en cours d'exécution qui sera suffisant pour l’exécution du projet / programme ?

Est-ce que les politiques et pratiques de gestion administrative et financière appropriées sont suivis?

Est-ce que les dépenses réelles sont en accord avec le budget ?

Y at-il moyen de faire des économies sans compromettre la qualité des résultats fournis ?
Pouvez-vous expliquer votre plan de travail ? Sont-ils contrôlés ? Peuvent-ils répondre et adapter au besoin ?

Est-ce que le projet / programme livre des produits pour l’argent dans un coût raisonnable compte tenu des entrants et des résultats générés ?

Quels sont les apports qui ont été financés par le projet et comment les organisations bénéficiaires utilisent les ressources disponibles de manière efficace ?

Dans quelle mesure le financement du projet a été mélangé avec et / ou remplacé par d'autres financements ?

Critère 3: Efficacité

L'efficacité est un mesure qui tend vers les résultats de l'intervention - ses objectifs spécifiques ou intermédiaires. Plus clairement, l'efficacité est la relation entre les réalisations et les produits ou services d'un projet ou du moins ses résultats immédiats - les changements prévus dans les facteurs importants qui influencent les objectifs de conservation (par exemple, les menaces, les mauvais comportements, les conditions non propices à la conservation).

Est-ce que la capacité de l'environnement à produire est améliorée ?

Comment ? et de combien ?

Est-ce que la sécurité alimentaire est améliorée ? comment ?

Est-ce que les niveaux de profits ont augmenté ? comment ?

Est-ce que la production agricole a augmenté ? Comment ?

Évaluer la mesure dans laquelle le changement dans les résultats observés peuvent être attribués à l'intervention du projet (par exemple est ce que le projet d'écotourisme conduisait à la baisse du taux d'érosion ?).

Quel a été le niveau d’efficacité que les groupes ciblés ont atteints ? comment et pour quoi ?
Quelle est la signification / importance stratégique du processus, ou n’importe quoi qu’avait fait jusqu'à aujourd’hui ? Est-ce qu’il n’y a pas de manquement jusqu'à ce jour ? Dans quel point les facteurs ciblés (clés pilotes, opportunités, menaces) ont affecté le degré des besoins pour atteindre les objectifs fixés ?

Dans quelle niveau que les organisations ciblées / femmes / hommes / vieillards / les classes peuvent utiliser efficacement les ressources (connaissances, habilité, sensibilisation ...) mis à leur disposition ?

Quels sont les avantages que cela leur apporte, au niveau individuel / au niveau familiale et / au niveau organisationnelle?

Quels changements quantifiables a été mis en place dans ceux qui contrôle les ressources ?

Qu’est ce que l’organisation avait fait afin de promouvoir l’équité de genre ?

a) Au niveau de individuel (égalité économique, social et politique, intégrité physique) et / ou
b) au niveau collectif ?

Quels sont les facteurs prévus et imprévus ont favorisé ou entravé les progrès du projet ?

Dans quelle mesure, la coordination ou la communication a été efficace entre l'équipe de mise en œuvre, les intervenants, les partenaires et les participants, ainsi que les bureaux des bailleurs de fonds ?

**Critère 4: Impact**

L'impact est de montrer tous les effets significatifs de l'intervention. (positif ou négatif, attendu ou imprévu) sur les questions de genre / social - par exemple le coûts et les avantages des relations et des réseaux sociales, l'accès et l'utilisation des ressources, la visibilité et l'invisibilité du projet, l'amélioration des connaissances et de la capacité de l'environnement pour utiliser ces l'améliorations de ceux dont leurs besoin sont rencontrés. (penser à l’âge, la classe, le sexe, la race).

Est-ce que le projet a atteint sa vision et ses objectifs fixés, en termes de résultats des changements positifs dans la diversité des stratégies visant à améliorer la sécurité alimentaire, le bien-être humain? À quelle échelle (locale, paysage, national, régional, mondial) donner des preuves?
Quel changement d’après vous, pourrait arriver si le projet n’y était pas?

Y at-il des imprévus qui etaient (positifs ou négatifs) ? Qu’est ce qu’on avait fait differemment qui les provoque ou les evite. On doit les reconnaître plus tôt afin de ne pas subir les conséquences qui en decoulent?

Comment le programme pourrait accroître son impact et quels seraient les besoins de capacités humaines et des besoins financières? Comment a-t-on compris le processus de la croissance du projet (par exemple la duplication du projet , les lignes directrices de bonnes pratiques par le biais de changement de politique , processus d’avoir plusieurs actionnaires) Est-ce qu’il y a des preuves qu’on a réalisé quelque chose ou quelque chose est entrain de se réaliser?

Pensez-vous que ce projet réduit la vulnérabilité du participant sur la securite alimentera locale face à l’impact des facteurs au niveau mondial et les nuances institutionnelles nationales?

L’environnement

Est-ce que les contraintes environnementaux ou les opportunités ont été suffisamment pris en compte dans la conception du projet ?

Est-ce que les bonnes pratiques de protection de l’environnement ont été suivies au cour de la réalisation du projet (par rapport à l'utilisation de l'eau, de l'énergie et des matériaux , production de déchets , etc) ? Est-ce que le projet respecte les pratiques environnementales traditionnelles qui donnent succès?

Est-ce que les resultats ou les objectifs du projet sont susceptible d’augmenter une pression en vue accroître les écosystèmes fragiles (forêts naturelles, les zones humides, les récifs coralliens , les mangroves ) et les ressources naturelles rares (par exemple : la surface du sol et des eaux souterraines , du bois , de la terre ) ?

Critère 5 : Développement durable

Le développement durable est une évaluation pour savoir si les bénéfices d’un projet sont en mesure de supporter le projet quand il n’y aura plus d’aide extérieur.

Le développement durable est, dans bien des manières un test de niveau supérieur pour savoir si oui ou non le
projet / programme a été un succès.

Y a-t-il un règlement locale ou nationale qui supporte les objectifs du projet ?

Est-ce que des mesures ont été prises compte pour considérer les différences de groupe (par exemple : le sexe, la religion, l'origine ethnique, classe économique) et / ou sur les bénéfices obtenus par eux-mêmes ? [Afin d'assurer la motivation nécessaire, le soutien et le leadership des individus et des groupes concernés]

Comment décririez-vous les processus socio-culturel informels qui affectent la sécurité alimentaire dans cette communauté ? Et comment le projet répond à ces questions ?

Technologie (si applicable) appropriée aux conditions et aux capacités existantes ?

Quels facteurs externes comme impact positifs qui pourraient avoir un risque élevé ou moyen de ruiner ou de détruire la durabilité future du projet / programme ? (par exemple, la stabilité politique, les crises et les chocs économiques, le niveau global de développement, les catastrophes naturelles, le changement climatique). Est le projet / programme anticipe et prend de manière adéquate des mesures pour assurer sa subsistance?

Quelles sont les options stratégiques disponible pouvant assurer l'avenir du projet / programme (par exemple, de fermer, réduire sa capacité, reproduire, augmenter sa capacité, continuer les affaires comme d'habitude, des changements majeurs à aborder) ?

Critère 6 : Capacité d'adaptation

La capacité d'adaptation est une mesure dans laquelle le projet ou le programme évalue et adapte son travail de façon régulière de ce fait, il assure son importance en produisant une bonne performance et de l'apprentissage dans des contextes changeants.

Les évaluations de la capacité d'adaptation doivent tenir compte de la rigueur avec laquelle le projet / programme va surveiller, adapter et évaluer son travail.
Est-ce que le projet / programme a établi des normes référentielles pouvant l’aider à vivre en utilisant les moyens de bords essentiels? Est-ce qu’il y a un suivi continu en permanent en ce sens?

Est-ce qu’on a pris des mesures adéquates pour supporter l’efficacité et l’impact des équipes et des partenaires du projet / programme ? Est-ce qu’on utilise le suivi des informations afin de soutenir l’approche de l’adaptation stratégique et régulière?

Identifier des expériences exceptionnelles qui devraient être soulignées en ce qui concerne le fonctionnement du projet ce qui a bien fonctionné et ce qui n’a pas fonctionné (par exemple, des études de cas, des histoires, bonnes pratiques) ?

Pendant le cycle du programme, combien de fois on a revisé l’hypothèse et les risques qu’on avait dès le départ? Est-ce que les risques ont été évalués de manière adéquate et les hypothèses externes identifiées sont-ils réalisables?

L’Equipe d’intervention, comment a-t-elle optimisé sa stratégie d’intervention afin de réduire l’impact d’un éventuel risque ?

Quelles sont les capacités qui existent ( au sein du projet, les partenaires du projet et les moyens de bord du projet ) pour faire face aux risques critiques qui pourraient affecter l’efficacité du projets tels que les risques climatiques ou les risques de catastrophes naturelles ( dans le cas de projets dans des zones de géographique sensible / catastrophes naturelles) ?
RESEARCH ETHICS BOARD – General

REB-G

Certification of Ethical Acceptability of Research Involving Human Participants

APPROVAL PERIOD: April 16, 2013 to April 16, 2014
REB NUMBER: 13MR031
TYPE OF REVIEW: Full Board
RESPONSIBLE FACULTY: EVAN FRASER
DEPARTMENT: Geography
SPONSOR: INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH CENTRE
TITLE OF PROJECT: Reducing food insecurity by better development interventions: a study of donor and grassroots activity in Haiti

The members of the University of Guelph Research Ethics Board have examined the protocol which describes the participation of the human subjects in the above-named research project and considers the procedures, as described by the applicant, to conform to the University’s ethical standards and the Tri-Council Policy Statement, 2nd Edition.

The REB requires that you adhere to the protocol as last reviewed and approved by the REB. The REB must approve any modifications before they can be implemented. If you wish to modify your research project, please complete the Change Request Form. If there is a change in your source of funding, or a previously unfunded project receives funding, you must report this as a change to the protocol.

Unexpected events and incidental findings must be reported to the REB as soon as possible with an indication of how these events affect, in the view of the Responsible Faculty, the safety of the participants, and the continuation of the protocol. If research participants are in the care of a health facility, at a school, or other institution or community organization, it is the responsibility of the Principal Investigator to ensure that the ethical guidelines and approvals of those facilities or institutions are obtained and filed with the REB prior to the initiation of any research protocols.

The Tri-Council Policy Statement, 2nd Edition, requires that ongoing research be monitored by, at a minimum, a final report and, if the approval period is longer than one year, annual reports. Continued approval is contingent on timely submission of reports.

Membership of the Research Ethics Board - General: S. Banerjee, Community Member; J. Carson, Community Member; C. Carstairs, COA; S. Chuang, FRAN (alt); K. Chuong, Graduate Student; J. Clark, PoliSci (alt); J. Devlin, OAC; J. Dwyer, FRAN; M. Dwyer, Legal; B. Ferguson, CME (alt); H. Gilmour, Community Member (alt); J. Goertz, CME; B. Gottlieb, Psychology; B. Giguere, Psychology (alt); S. Henson, OAC (alt); L. Kuczynski, Chair; R. Ragan, Legal (alt); V. Shalla, SOAN (alt); R. Stansfield, SOAN.

Approved:
per Chair, Research Ethics Board- General
Date: _______________________

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