

Fishing – HEKS/EPER - Focus Groups (Abriko, Grand Anse)

Transcripts for two focus groups conducted in Abriko, Grand Anse, one with male fisherman and the other with female fish merchants. The focus groups took place on January, 30, 2018.

Abriko Fishermen

List of participants:

#20: Male, 49 years, 7 Children, Fisherman & Farmer, No Education

#19: Male, 35 years, 5 Children, Fisherman, Secondary

#5: Male, 38 years, 3 Children, Fisherman & Farmer, No Education

#16: Male, 32 years, 1 Child, Fisherman & Farmer, 2nd Grade

#15: Male, 53 years, 7 Children, Fisherman & Farmer, 8th Grade

#18: Male, 34 years, Unknown Children, Teacher, Fisherman & Farmer, 3rd Grade

Abriko Machann

List of participants

#3 Female, age 73, Unkwn Children, Fish Trader, farmer, 26, 2nd Grade

#21 Female, age 32, 2 Children, Fish Trader, farmer, 6th Grade

#17 Female, age 50, 8 Children, Fish Trader, 17, No education

#31 Female, age 50, 7 Children, Fish Trader, farmer, 31, No education

#20 Female, age 26, 1 Child, Fish Trader, farmer, 20, 12th Grade

#5 Female, age 40, Unkwn Children, Traveling Merchant, 1st Grade

#15 Female, age 42, 5 Children, Fish Trader& Farmer, 3rd Grade

#19 Female, age 31, 2 Children, Fish Trader, No education

#16 Female, age 39, 8 Children, Fish Trader& Farmer, 7th Grade

#18 Female, age 40, 5 Children, Fish Trader & Farmer, No education

Below are the two focus groups combined—one with fisherman and the other merchants— and organized by topics. The topics are listed below. A topic can be copied and entered into the search tool for immediate access. For lists of participants, go to the individual focus groups listed in the previous menu.

##On becoming a Fisherman

##Types of Fish

##Fishing Technologies

##Fishing seasons and Times

##Ownership of Boats, Nets and Traps

##State and NGOS

##Eels

##Fishing Associations

##Regulation

##Conflict over Fishing Grounds

##Danger and Rescue

##Hurricane Matthew

##Why sell Fish

##Buying and Selling

##Processing and Storage

##Going to Market

##Cooperative Marketing

##Dependency on selling fish

##Other trade

##Selling Fish vs. Other Trade

##Selling to Restaurants and Formal Markets

##Price and Profits

##Sharing fishing proceeds with spouse

##fishing vs. Livestock and Gardens

##ON BECOMING A FISHERMAN

Natacha: I know all of you are fishermen, but is there anyone among you that would prefer to do something else besides fishing?

Natacha: Do you see it as your profession? Or just the product of your situation?

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7 , Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): That's a good question. In Haiti, people don't always [have the luxury to] choose a vocation.

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): It's just the situation that you are born into.

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7 , Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): You do it in order to provide for yourself. It's true for other professions as well. There are many carpenters that don't want to be carpenters...maybe they really want to be engineers or doctors.

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):But they have to make the best of their situation...

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7 , Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): Their mother couldn't send teach them something different and their father couldn't do anything else, so they had no other option but to follow the same path. Many people who fish don't do it as a vocation. They just see it as a way to make money. As a result, they never learn the trade, like how to select and tie the right hook. So they are relegated to working for other people. For example, if I make 1000 HTG, then I might give them 200 HTG. If they stick with it then they will learn and make more money, but not everyone does.

Tim: He doesn't know what he is doing?

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7 , Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): He comes to fish, but he is not a fishermen.

Natacha: What about you? If you are not a fishermen, then what are you?

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7 , Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): Me?

Participants: (Laughter)

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7 , Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): At my age it's a little late to learn something new...

Participants: (Laughter)

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): You said something that caught my attention about choosing a profession... It's not our fault or our parents' fault. You can't criticize mothers and fathers for not sending their children to school. My parents sent me to school, but I used to run away. I would hide behind the rocks and fish with a little line. They would come looking for me, calling my name. But I would stay hidden because I knew my dad would spank me. Ever since I was young I liked casting a line for fish.

Tim: You were after a large *balawou*! What did you catch?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): "Ti teta"

Participants: (Laughter)

#20 (Abriko, Male, 49 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, No Education): "Batakòl"

Tim: Ti teta?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): *Batakòl* is a type of fish. He's right it's not a vocation, just something we picked up.

Gana: That you chose?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): Not really. It was poverty that drove us to fishing. That was the best option to earn money. You might find a job working for somebody else, but that's not always steady work. You also have to wait 15 days before they pay you.

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): So you choose to do what is easiest instead.

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): You get to be your own boss when you fish. God decides what you catch. There is no one else to order you around or take advantage you.

#18 (Abriko, Male, 34 years, Teacher, Goat Farmer, 3rd Grade): You work for yourself

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): That independence drew us to fishing

##TYPES OF FISH

Gana: To start, let's compile a list of the most common fish in the area.

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): Ok, ok.

Tim: Give us the name of a fish that you catch.

#5 (Abriko, Male, 38 years, 3, Fisherman, Farmer, No Education): We catch *balawou* (*Scomberesox saurus*)

Tim: What else?

#5 (Abriko, Male, 38 years, 3, Fisherman, Farmer, No Education): We catch *doliv*.

Participants: Ton, he means ton (tuna, *Scombridae* f.).

#5 (Abriko, Male, 38 years, 3, Fisherman, Farmer, No Education): Yes, tuna.

Tim: Are they the same thing: *doliv* and *ton*?

Participants: Yes

#5 (Abriko, Male, 38 years, 3, Fisherman, Farmer, No Education): We also catch *bonit* (bonito, *Scombridae* f.).

Gana: Humm

#5 (Abriko, Male, 38 years, 3, Fisherman, Farmer, No Education): *Dorad* (dorado, *Coryphaenidae* f.), *taza* (baraccuda, *Sphyraenidae Sphyraena*), *lake* (?), *kanma* (?), *karang* (trevally, *Carangidae* f.)

Gana: *Karang*?

#5 (Abriko, Male, 38 years, 3, Fisherman, Farmer, No Education): And *batalake* (probably needlefish, *Belonidae*)

Gana: *Batalake*? That's the first time I've heard of that type of fish.

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):When he says *batalake* he means *pilòt kola* (?)

#5 (Abriko, Male, 38 years, 3, Fisherman, Farmer, No Education): *Pilòt kola* or another name is *kedrat*.

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):Do you follow? *Kedrat*

Natacha: So the fish has several names?

Participants: Yes, there you go

Tim: What other fish do you have?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):Hmm, we already mentioned *karang*... There is also *diven*. What's the other name for *diven*, again? (Direct translation of *diven* is wine).

#18 (Abriko, Male, 34 years, Teacher, Goat Farmer , 3rd Grade): *Jelekse*?

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): *Jelepse*

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): *Jilèt diven*, or *jilèt* (razor)

Natacha: *Jilèt* (razor)? (possibly surgeonfish, *Paracanthurus hepatus*)

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):It depends. In the deep ocean you find all types of fish: *balawou*, *taza*, *bonit*, *ton*, *dorad*.

Tim: Do you catch anything else in the sea? Such as eel or lobster?

Participants: (Laughter) Yes, you find those in the oceans as well.

Tim: Who buys them?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):Fishing has suffered since Matthew. There are some species, like eel, that became harder to find in the commune of Abriko. The fishermen in Abriko have suffered a lot. Sometimes we don't catch anything.

Gana: Does anyone fish for conch?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):Yes, but mostly in the 1st communal section of Abriko. There are

Gana: Does that mean there are people who specialize in conch?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):There are a few people that mainly fish for conch and lobster

Gana: But you don't fish [for conch?

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): No

##FISHING TECHNOLOGIES

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):Yes, we catch them by *palan* fishing.

Gana: *Palan* fish?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):*Palan* fishing. It's a way to catch live fish.

Gana: Hmm, *Palan* fishing? I don't totally understand what that is...

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):You use a hook.

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): And you hook it

Gana: And that catches certain types of fish?

Tim: These are all fish that you catch in the deep ocean?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):Yes, we catch them at Fish Attracting Devices (FAD) in the deep water.

Gana: How else do you catch fish?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):We mainly engage in three types of fishing: we longline fish, we fish with nets and we fish in the deep sea platforms (FAD) (with rods). FAD fishing brings in the most money. That's how we catch *balawou*, *ton*, *dorad*, *bonit*, *pilot*. But when the [tide] is low we do *palan* fishing.

Gana: *Palan* fishing?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):Yes. You catch a lot of types of fish that way, like *sad* (?).

Tim/Gana: *Palan*?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):It is a traditional way of fishing with a line.

Tim: Ahh ok, you use a line and hook on it?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):Exactly. And you bait the hook.

Tim: Ok, you use line to catch *sad*, etc.?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):All kinds of fish. *Vivano* (live) fish.

Participants: All kinds

Tim: Those seem to all be large fish?

Participants: Yes, large fish.

Tim: I didn't hear anyone mention small fish, like *fen* (?)..

Participants: We'll get to it, we'll say all of them (laughter)

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): There are other ways to fish, but they require certain equipment, such as *pèch batri*.

Natacha: *Pèch batri*?

Participants: *Pèch batri*

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): Yes, *pèch lumiere*

Tim: Ah ok, got it. Do you have to dive to catch it?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): No, no. *Pèch batri* uses a light to attract fish to your boat so that you can catch them. You catch all kinds that way: *fen, dorad, kadino* (?)..

#5 (Abriko, Male, 38 years, 3, Fisherman, Farmer, No Education): *Lake* fish...

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): All kinds of fish.

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): Another method of fishing is to use traps...

Gana: Wait, wait. So that makes four types of fishing: platform fishing, line fishing, fishing by light and fishing with traps?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): Yes, we use traps to catch *balbaren* (?), *fen, boutou* or *parokèt* (parrotfish, *Scaridae*l).

Gana: *Boutou* or *parokèt* are the same?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): We also fish for other types of fish. When the fishing season isn't any good, we fish with nets. That way you catch other types of smaller fish, such as *tik* (?), *karang* (trevally, *Carangidae f.*), *kwoko* (?), *pwèlkon* (?) and *woma* (lobster, *Palinuridae f.*)

Participants: Yes, they sink to the bottom or move in the current.

Tim: But could you find the location with a GPS?

Participants: Exactly

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): You could register the location on a GPS unit...

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): And then you use the device to return to it.

Tim: Have you heard of a "fish finder"?

Participants: "Fish finder"?

Tim: It's a tool that shows you where the fish are.

Participants: We've heard of it, but we don't have one.

Tim: You've heard of it?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): Yes, it uses "echo sound location."

Tim: Right, it uses sonar to show the exact location of fish.

Participants: (Agreement)

Tim: Does anyone have a GPS unit?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):No, we don't have one.

Tim: No one? So you don't use one?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):We took a training course to use GPS technology.

Tim: Who provided the training?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):An organization that was assisting us.

Participants: It was the people from Food for the Poor

Tim: Food for the Poor? Were they the same people that gave you solar panels?

Participants: Yes

Tim: Did they also provide the white fiberglass boat ("chaloupe")?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):That is from another organization.

Tim: Who?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):An organization called PADI

Tim: PADI gave you the white boat?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):We purchased it...

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): From Jeremie

Tim: You paid?

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): We purchased it on credit

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):We pay a little back each month

Gana: Does the boat belong to an association or is it owned by an individual?

Participants: It's privately owned by a group of fishermen

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): 3 or 4 [fishermen]

Tim: PADI financed the credit?

Participants: Yes

Tim: How much does a boat like that cost?

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): 135,000 HTG

Participants: No, it was more...

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): That was the retail price?

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): No, that was the subsidized price that PADI provided.

Tim: They contributed to the purchase with their own funds?

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): Yes, exactly.

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): All together, it could cost up to 66,000 – 67,000 *dola* (330,000 – 335,000 HTG)

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): Haitian *dola*

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): That sounds about right, because [PADI] agreed to pay half of the price. And we paid 135,000 HTG.

Tim: That makes sense.

Gana: Ok, returning to the fish in the area. You listed many different types of fish, but what type do you fish for the most?

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7 , Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): It depends on the time of year. For example, at this time we mostly fish at the FAD platforms for *balawou* and *ton*. Those are the fish that bring in the most money, because they are big and they are harder to catch. There are times when fishing at the FAD is not possible, so we catch and sell a lot of the other types of fish instead... Line fishing is important for many of us, especially starting in February and March. But it can be difficult. You can spend the whole night line fishing and not catch much. In general, fishing at the FAD platform has a better chance to bring in money, plus you can do it during the day. That's why we prioritize it.

Tim: Can you line fish anywhere?

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7 , Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): No, not everywhere

Tim: What about fishing at a FAD? Where do you install the platforms?

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7 , Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): It has to be in deeper water. Some people say at least 300 feet down. But starting at 15 feet to 150 feet depth. You have to go much deeper to catch *kadino* or *devin* or *dowon* (?).

Tim: What do you use for bait on the hook?

Participants: *Sadin* (sardines)

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):*Krapo lanmè* (literal: frog of the sea)

Gana: *Krapo lanmè*?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):That's *pyèv* (?)

Tim: *Pyèv*?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):Wi

Tim: Is that a plant?

Gana: *Pyèv* is a sea creatue. It has lots of legs.

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): *Chat wouj* (octopus)

Tim: Ok, ok I understand. You use that when line fishing?

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): Yes, as bait.

#5 (Abriko, Male, 38 years, 3, Fisherman, Farmer, No Education): Also *lanbi* (conch, *Lobatus gigas*)

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): Yes, for the most part. You can still spot the occasional person line fishing during the off season, but the current becomes stronger. It can be difficult to spear fish as well. Personally, I think spear fishing is better in the current, but you waste a lot of time finding the location.

Gana: Ok, ok.

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): It's much easier to find with a GPS, it's easier to find it. It leads you directly to the location where the fish are. It could be helpful to locate fishing traps as well. We use several tools to fish, such as traps, lines, nets...

Tim: When do you make the traps?

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): As soon as the "nòde" is ready (Abriko, May be a reference to the bamboo maturing to make the traps?). At this time you might find enough material to make a 2 or 3 traps, but starting in May there is enough to make a lot of traps.

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): March, April and May

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): All the way until the month October.

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): Yes, that's the best time to make them.

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7 , Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): Right now there's only a few people fishing with traps in the area, because the conditions are dangerous. The [current] can break the traps.

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7 , Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): I want to add to that. GPS technology would be very helpful. The problem is that donors only provide training. They don't provide the equipment to use the training. When I asked the price for a GPS unit, they said they didn't know...

Gana: Did you ask Alex to check on the price for you?

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): No, it's hard to track Alex down.

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7 , Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): Even the people who provide the training don't know the price. They were given the GPS units by the donor.

Tim: Where do you find line for your nets?

#15/#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):That's private property...

Tim: But where does one find the material?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):You buy it.

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): You buy it in the store.

Tim: Do they sell line in the stores here?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):In Jeremie

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): Or Port-au-Prince

Tim: What if I need a mask to dive?

Participants: From Jeremie or Port-au-Prince

Tim: What about a net?

Participants: Everything comes from Jeremie or Port-au-Prince

Tim: Is there no supply store here?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):None at all. That's one of the biggest problem we face as FAD fishermen here. We can't find the right line. There's a type of line called dayilòn (nylon?) that we need to fish.

Tim: A line that is very strong?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):Yes, 150, 160, 180 [lbs weigh limit]. It's hard to come by. You have to get it from the Dominican Republic.

Tim: It's only in Dominican Republic?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):Dominican Republic

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): Sometimes you can find it in Jeremie

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):No, not even in Port-au-Prince

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): The Dominican Republic or from Miami

Tim: Ok, but there is another type of net. It's very fine and made with line...

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):Layilon (nylon?)

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): Is it a blue net?

Tim: It's very durable. It can last a lifetime.

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):Yes, it lasts a long time. It helps us a lot.

Tim: Where do you find that material?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):Dominican Republic

Participants: Dominican Republic

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):Sometimes you can find it in Les Cayes

Tim: Are there people here that travel to the Dominican Republic to purchase it?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):There are some people who make a business doing it.

Tim: They come and go regularly?

Participants: Yes

Tim: Do you give them money to purchase it for you? Or purchase it when they return?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):They buy it and resell it for a profit.

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): If I needed it, I would go to Les Cayes myself.

Tim: How many nets are in the area?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):6 or 7

Tim: Does each net have an assigned fishing area?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):No

Tim: Can you cast the net any where you want?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):No there are certain norms to follow. If another group has a claim to a spot you have to give them priority.

Tim: What about if they are repairing their net.

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):Then you can take their place. For example, if they are already pulling in their catch, then you have the right to cast your net at the location. It will take them a long time to pull in their net.

Tim: You said there were 6 or 7 nets in the area?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):Yes, there are several in operation

Tim: Do all of the nets have a single owner? Or do many people share the same net?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):Some people have 2 nets, one for large fish and one for sardines.

Tim: Do you use the sardines for bait or do you sell them?

Participants: Sell them

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):They use some as bait for line fishing in the deep ocean

Tim: Do people catch fish from the shore as well?

Participants: Sure

Tim: Do you have any issue with that?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):No, it's not a problem

Tim: Even if they catch all the small fish?

Participants: (Laughter) Yes

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): We purchase our fishing gear directly from the store. We receive subsidies from Food for the Poor to purchase equipment and supplies. They provided the boats, fishing line, hooks and other things we needed to fish. Food for the Poor have supported us immensely.

Gana: Do you purchase them yourselves or...

Tim: Look, let me change the subject a little. When I visit other places they always tell me if you need a "bwa fouye" that Abriko is the place to get it.

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): It was, but after Hurricane Matthew it's hard to come by...

Tim: You can't find any or you don't have any wood to make it?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):Destroyed...

#20 (Abriko, Male, 49 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, No Education): There's no wood for it.

Tim: In the past, did you make a lot?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):Sure

Tim: Do you have any examples?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):If we could we would offer you a beautiful abriko fruit to eat.

Natacha: How many types of nets do you use?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): We had several types, but lost them in the hurricane

Natacha: What are they called?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): There are simple nets, blue nets, seine nets, "3 nap" (literally 3 sheets), "pase" net

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): "3 nap" has several "nap"

Gamna: Several layers?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): Yes

Natacha: Does that mean there is a special net to catch eels?

Participants: You can catch it with a mosquito net.

Tim: Does that work the same way as a seine net?

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): Yes, but the weave is much smaller

Tim: How many people are required [to fish with a seine net]?

Tim: We haven't talked about diving until now. Is diving not one of your methods of fishing?

Tim: Do you have a compressor? (spear gun or air compressor?)

#16/#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): No, we don't have one.

Tim: Does that mean you don't dive?

#20 (Abriko, Male, 49 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, No Education): I used to a long time ago to support my 7 children...but I have reached an age where it is too difficult. You need the equipment and you need to be in shape. I can't dive as deep as I used to or spend a long time underwater any more.

Tim: Are there other youth that do it today?

Participants: There are a ton of youth.

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): Yes, there are several in the locality.

Tim: Does it bring in money?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): For sure, it's a source of income

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): At least 20%

Tim: 20%?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): Yes

Tim: Spearfishing accounts for 20% of the weight of all the fish you catch?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): Yes, from spearfishing

#20 (Abriko, Male, 49 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, No Education): That's how most people catch lobster

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): But if the water is stirred up it's difficult to catch anything

#20 (Abriko, Male, 49 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, No Education): Sometimes you encounter 4, 5 or 6 lobsters, all walking in a line

Tim: (Laughter) I've heard of that.

#20 (Abriko, Male, 49 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, No Education): You don't see that any more. The country has fallen on hard times.

##FISHING SEASONS AND TIMES

Natacha: Is there a season that you fish?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):Yes

Natacha: Does each fish have a specific time to catch it?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):Sure, each has its own time...

Natacha: Can you always find them in the ocean?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):It depends. In the deep ocean you find all types of fish: *balawou, taza, bonit, ton, dorad*.

Natacha: OK, so I want to know more about the season... There are 12 months in year, which month brings in the most fish?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):During the hot time of the year

Natacha: Starting which month?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):The month of May

Natacha: That's when fishing is best?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):Yes, May until October

Natacha: Is the fishing good that entire time?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):Sure, you can catch fish most of that time. But some days you don't catch anything at all.

Gana: I know that sometimes the current prevents people from fishing?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):The current poses a problem because it's hard to find the markers for fishing sites. You can waste an entire day searching for the exact spot where the platform is anchored. It's much easier with a GPS unit.

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): I'll explain... It's difficult to navigate when the current is strong because the sites are deep underwater.

Participants: Yes, they sink to the bottom or move in the current.

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): We start line fishing in March through May. In June and July you stop catching fish.

Gana: So line fishing has a season?

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): Yes, for the most part. You can still spot the occasional person line fishing during the off season, but the current becomes stronger. It can be difficult to spear fish as well. Personally, I think spear fishing is better in the current, but you waste a lot of time finding the location.

Gana: Ok, ok.

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): It's much easier to find with a GPS, it's easier to find it. It leads you directly to the location where the fish are. It could be helpful to locate fishing traps as well. We use several tools to fish, such as traps, lines, nets...

Tim: When do you make the traps?

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): As soon as the "nòde" is ready (Abriko, May be a reference to the bamboo maturing to make the traps?). At this time you might find enough material to make a 2 or 3 traps, but starting in May there is enough to make a lot of traps.

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): March, April and May

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): All the way until the month October.

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): Yes, that's the best time to make them.

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7 , Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): Right now there's only a few people fishing with traps in the area, because the conditions are dangerous. The [current] can break the traps.

Natacha: Is there ever a shortage of fish?

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7 , Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): Yes, there is often scarcity.

Gana: Ok, I understand. I want to ask you something else of each one of you. When do you fish? Is there are specific time of the day? Early in the morning? In the afternoon?

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): Well, you have two options. You can choose to fish in the morning when the fish are feeding at the FAD. Or you can go in the afternoon and you'll find different fish.

Gana: At the FAD?

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): Yes, at the FAD. There are some fishermen who fish by line during the day and others that wait until the sun sets.

Gana: Does that mean you can fish anytime during the day or night?

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): Yes, you can choose anytime.

Gana: There's no special time to fish?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):As long as the fish are biting.

Natacha: What about when you fish with a net? Is there a time to lay the net and another time to pull in the net?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):You have to spot the fish first. They appear on the surface when they are feeding on shoals of sardines. The surface gets whipped up and turns white. That's how you know. Then you lay you circle them with the net.

Natacha: How long do you need to wait before pulling in the net?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): You wait for the fish to struggle against the net. They get caught in the weave. Then you can pull the net into shore/on board.

##OWNERSHIP OF BOATS, NETS AND TRAPS

Gana: Are there any fisherwomen in the community?

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): That's a good question. You might find them in Jeremie or Port-au-Prince. I have seen them when I left the town. I left when I was 20 years old. After 5 years I returned.

Gana: So there are no women who fish in the area?

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): No not here

Tim: There are no women that captain canoes?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): No

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): No, none of them own canoes.

Tim: What about nets?

Tim: Are there women around here who invest, in traps, in nets, in boats?

Public: Yes.

Tim: There are? You know women who have fishing boats?

Public: Yes.

Tim: How many?

#21 (Abriko, Female, age 32, 2 Children, Fish Trader, farmer, 6th Grade): I have canoes, I have nets.

Tim: Oh, and you?

#21 (Abriko, Female, age 32, 2 Children, Fish Trader, farmer, 6th Grade): I have a little canoe.

Tim: A little dugout?

#21 (Abriko, Female, age 32, 2 Children, Fish Trader, farmer, 6th Grade): Yes, a little dugout canoe.

#21 (Abriko, Female, age 32, 2 Children, Fish Trader, farmer, 6th Grade): I had two skiffs once but lost them both.

Tim : Both were yours?

#21 (Abriko, Female, age 32, 2 Children, Fish Trader, farmer, 6th Grade): Both were wrecked across the water.

Tim: And when they caught fish they had to give you a third, a share of the catch?

Public: Yes, you get a quarter of each fish.

Tim : And did you have any?

#17 (Abriko, Female, age 50, 8 Children, Fish Trader, 17, No education): I had a little dugout canoe but it got crushed when I tied it to a tree in a storm [laughter].

Tim: OK, when you say you had one, who went fishing in it?

#17 (Abriko, Female, age 50, 8 Children, Fish Trader, 17, No education): My husband fished with it.

Tim: And?

#17 (Abriko, Female, age 50, 8 Children, Fish Trader, 17, No education): In the little canoe, I had a little dugout canoe and my husband worked in it.

Tim: Do you have these things? Do you have a fishing canoe, nets?

26: I had a boat but not now. I don't have one any more.

Tim: You don't have any nets?

26: No, I don't.

Tim: And you, do you ? Number 5.

#5 (Abriko, Female, age 40, Unkwn Children, Traveling Merchant, 1st Grade): Yes, I had a little canoe, yes.

Tim: You had a canoe?

#5 (Abriko, Female, age 40, Unkwn Children, Traveling Merchant, 1st Grade): Yes, I had one. My son uses it.

Tim: But it's yours?

20 Minutes

#5 (Abriko, Female, age 40, Unkwn Children, Traveling Merchant, 1st Grade): Yes, it's mine.

Tim: And you, do you have one ? What's your number again?

#20 (Abriko, Female, age 26, 1 Child, Fish Trader, farmer, 20, 12th Grade): Number 20.

Tim: Do you have a boat?

#20 (Abriko, Female, age 26, 1 Child, Fish Trader, farmer, 20, 12th Grade): No.

Tim: Do you have... are you married?

#20 (Abriko, Female, age 26, 1 Child, Fish Trader, farmer, 20, 12th Grade): Well, I have nets.

Public: My husband has a net.

Tim: Your husband has nets. All of your husbands have nets?

Public: Her husband has nets. All of our husbands have nets.

Tim: Who does the net belong to?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):A local resident.

#20 (Abriko, Male, 49 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, No Education): It was that man you met earlier...

Tim: How many nets are in the area?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):6 or 7

Tim: Does each net have an assigned fishing area?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):No

Tim: Can you cast the net any where you want?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):No there are certain norms to follow. If another group has a claim to a spot you have to give them priority.

Tim: What about if they are repairing their net.

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):Then you can take their place. For example, if they are already pulling in their catch, then you have the right to cast your net at the location. It will take them a long time to pull in their net.

Tim: You said there were 6 or 7 nets in the area?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):Yes, there are several in operation

Tim: Do all of the nets have a single owner? Or do many people share the same net?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): Some people have 2 nets, one for large fish and one for sardines.

1. ORGANIZATION, REGULATION, AND CONFLICT

##STATE AND NGOS

Natacha: But as fishermen, does the state ever help you?

Participants: (Laughter) Well...

#18 (Abriko, Male, 34 years, Teacher, Goat Farmer , 3rd Grade): That's a good question...

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7 , Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): As far as I'm concerned, there is no support from the state.

#19 and #18 (Abriko, Male, 34 years, Teacher, Goat Farmer , 3rd Grade): If we waited for them, all the fishermen would die.

Tim: Do they not carry out any enforcement? To tell you that you can't fish at this time or in that place?

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): Oh no, they don't intervene like that.

Tim: Is there any area where you are not permitted to fish?

Gana: An area that is off-limits?

Participants: No, there are no such restrictions...

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): They provide neither enforcement nor support!

Participants: Between us fishermen there are certain restrictions. Like in Wozo...

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7 , Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): No, that's not what they are asking.

Gana: What restrictions? Is it a state law?

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7 , Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): No, these are two different things. There is enforcement of the law and then there is conflict between fishermen. The state might forbid you from fishing in a certain area. If you fish there then you break the law... But if another fisherman tells you not to fish in the area around his home then that's a conflict.

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):Wait, there is something you said that caught my attention as a fisherman.

Natacha: Yes?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):You asked about the Haitian government and that concerns me a lot. First, there is very little support from the government for fishermen, particularly out here in the Grand Anse department.

Gana: There is no support?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):And second, they just don't think about us. If it wasn't for NGOs, we would have all perished after hurricane Matthew.

20 Minit

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):That's why we take out hat off to Food for the Poor for everything they've done for us.

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): And we can't forget EPER...

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):EPER helped us a lot too.

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7 , Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): They gave us FAD platforms

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): (Agreement)

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):They gave us FADs, that gave us a motor, that provided the means for us to pick up the pieces and continue living. Do you know what I mean? That's why I find it hard to respond to your question about the support of the government. Because they haven't provided any support. We wouldn't be able to continue as fishermen if it wasn't for those two small NGOs.

##EELS

Tim: OK. Do you still fish for eel?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):Yes

Gana: Every fishermen fishes for eel?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):Yes

#20 (Abriko, Male, 49 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, No Education): No, not every fisherman

Tim: But at the moment there aren't any?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):No, none at all.

Tim: What would you do if you found some?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):When you catch eel you weigh it. Then you can sell it for a little money.

Tim: Who buys eel?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):Vendors

Tim: Are there special vendors that deal in eel?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):Yes

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): Let me explain, line fishing for eel is an activity that we do not do at the FAD. You have to be very patient to catch eels, but it's worth it because of the price it fetches. Eels are active at night. If you want to catch them you have to wake up early. I would wake up at 2am in the mornig to catch 3,4,5,6 – 10 grams. Now if I caught 10 “gram” eels in a night I could make 700 *dola* (3,500 HTG), but it's not easy...

Gana: 700 Haitian *dola*?

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): Yes.

Gana: Ok

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): Not everyone knows how to fish for eel. The majority of youth today no longer know the secrets of the sea (“afè lamè”). Many of them have left the countryside and don't know how to make a living fishing.

Tim: Where do you find eels? Are they in deep water?

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): They are closer to shore. They live in tunnels [in the reef].

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):At least half a meter down.

Tim: A half-meter? Is that where you generally find them?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):Exactly.

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): We were speaking about who buys...

Gana: Who buys the eels you catch?

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): Oh, people like me

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7 , Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): Some come from Port-au-Prince, but most are local entrepreneurs.

Tim: They come once there's a sufficient quantity to sell?

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): As soon as the fishermen come back from sea. They weigh the catch and sell it.

Tim: Is eel the only thing that they come to buy? They don't buy fish?

Participants: No, only eel.

Tim: Only eel? Does anyone buy lobster?

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): Rarely. It happened more in the past.

Natacha: Does that mean there is a special net to catch eels?

Participants: You can catch it with a mosquito net.

Tim: Does that work the same way as a seine net?

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): Yes, but the weave is much smaller

Tim: How many people are required [to fish with a seine net]?

Participants: 2 people

Gana: Do eels impact fishing? Ok, but does catching eels have and impact on other fishing around here?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): There was someone working here named Bernard Chevrett. He explained that eels chase the fish out of their hiding places in the reef and he warned against catching too many eels...

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): But we're not sure if it's true or not. There are fish that eat sardines and larger fish that eat bonito. Everything is connected in a food chain.

Gana: There's a season/order?

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): Yes, the big fish eat the small fish

Gana: During the season for eels, do you still find other fish? Or are there fewer fish during that period?

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): It varies, but you can still find other fish

Gana: So they coexist?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): Right. What makes me say that is that there used to be more fish, but since the departure of eels the fish population has declined.

Gana: Now there are are less eels and fish?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): Yes. I don't know if it's because they caught too many, but that's how it appears...

#20 (Abriko, Male, 49 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, No Education): Sometimes when fishing at the FAD, we see bonito. It appears they are hunting eels.

Tim: Do you see eels at the FAD?

#20 (Abriko, Male, 49 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, No Education): No, the bonito come to the FAD to eat the other fish that gather there.

Gana: Do you think the eels attract/chase the other fish there?

#20 (Abriko, Male, 49 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, No Education): Yes

Gana: So if the eels disappear, then there will be less fish?

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): Yes

Tim: Are you certain?

Participants: No, we don't know...

Tim: You're saying it's possible, but you don't know for sure?

#20 (Abriko, Male, 49 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, No Education): Since we set up the FAD there have been a lot of Bonito that have come to feed. It has created a plankton (ecosystem?) that attracts fish. The eels frequent the area as well.

Natacha: Were there more eels when you were young?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): Yes, but people didn't think to catch them

#20 (Abriko, Male, 49 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, No Education): They didn't catch them because there was no market to sell them. Sometimes the current would strand them on the shore and you could collect them.

Tim: Do you find them in fresh water too?

Participants: Yes, they enter fresh water

Gana: But now there is a market for eels. What is more profitable, fishing or catching eels?

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): Eels are more profitable at the moment.

Gana: Eels are more profitable?

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): For the people that can catch them.

#20 (Abriko, Male, 49 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, No Education): Sometimes when you go out at night, you encounter lots of other people, one on top of each other, all trying to catch eels.

Gana: Yes, I've heard that before.

#20 (Abriko, Male, 49 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, No Education): There are people that come down from the river.

Tim: Are these outsiders?

Participants: Yes

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): There are many people from the countryside that have taken it up

Gana: Including people from the 4th communal section...

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): Yes, they make up the majority of the [eel fishermen]

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):But they come from all over. Some 10% are from city/Jeremy.

Tim: Are they foreigners?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):Even 10% is too many!

Tim: 10%?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):The proportion of people who come from the city.

Tim: When we conduct focus groups with people in the countryside, they always complain that they can't find any workers because everyone has gone to fish for eels! (Laughter).

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):It wouldn't be a problem if they didn't bother us...

Tim: They bother you?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):Yes, like when we are sleeping.

Tim: They make noise?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): They make noise. They make trouble.

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): They're poorly raised.

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): They cuss and fight amongst themselves. Many things.

#18 (Abriko, Male, 34 years, Teacher, Goat Farmer, 3rd Grade): It started after the hurricane, people from the countryside started to come here to fish for eels.

Tim: They had to make a living.

#18 (Abriko, Male, 34 years, Teacher, Goat Farmer, 3rd Grade): They had no other choice, they were left with nothing. People from along the river and coast came to fish for eels after Matthew. They heard that you could make 40 or 50 *dola* (200-250 HTG) in a day. Initially they payed 4 HTG per gram, but now it's more than 70 *dola* (350 HTG).

Tim: What!? Per gram?

#18 (Abriko, Male, 34 years, Teacher, Goat Farmer, 3rd Grade): Per gram

Tim: Wow!

Gana : 70 Haitian *dola*?

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): Yes

##FISHING ASSOCIATIONS

Tim: You are 18. 15, how did you get started with fish?

#15 (Abriko, Female, age 42, 5 Children, Fish Trader & Farmer, 3rd Grade): Yes, it's like the lady said. Our husbands fished, and they would bring back fish for us to sell in the market. And when they formed the organization they asked for 40 merchants. With those 40 merchants, we trained 40 merchants and 60 fishermen in the association. All of the 40 merchants got together. The fishermen went, they got boats, they got motors. They left and they brought a DCP for

them. When they got all those things, life started to change for us, because there were more fish on the market for us to sell.

Tim: Are there people who aren't in the association ? I mean, merchants from around here who are not in the association?

#15 (Abriko, Female, age 42, 5 Children, Fish Trader& Farmer, 3rd Grade): Yes, there are merchants who aren't involved, because the association can't take just anybody.

Tim: They can't take everybody, every kind of person?

Natacha: But all of you here are in the association?

Public: Yes.

Tim: There's a limit...

[I can answer you because those people aren't in the association [laughter]]

Tim: OK, and you, 16?

#16 (Abriko, Female, age 39, 8 Children, Fish Trader& Farmer, 7th Grade): Me, 16, I'm in the association. That means, I might be a merchant, a merchant transports fish to me in Jeremie, and I sell it. Sometimes I make dried fish and I take it to sell in Port-au-Prince. Meaning, it's in Jeremie that I sell all my fish, and do everything having to do with fish.

#17 (Abriko, Female, age 50, 8 Children, Fish Trader, 17, No education): Well, by the time I get up my husband is already fishing.

Tim: 17?

Public: Number 17.

#17 (Abriko, Female, age 50, 8 Children, Fish Trader, 17, No education): Then he brings me fish. I sell the fish. Then I joined the association, and I sell fish. I buy, I dry it, and I go to Jeremie to sell. I buy it fresh and I sell in the market here, or in the market in Kalen. I'm everywhere. When there are no fish I buy coconuts, I buy plantains. I sell in Jeremie. Everything.

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): When he talks about paying for the FAD...

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): There is a fee for using the FAD.

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): There are FADs jointly owned by associations and there are privately owned FADs. You have to pay to use them in addition to the cost of gas.

Tim: You pay after you catch the fish?

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): Yes, after you catch them.

Tim: Do they take a cut?

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): Yes, they take a percentage. If you catch 5,000 HTG worth, then you have to pay 750 HTG to the owner of the private FAD.

Tim: Hmm...

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): Now, you still have to purchase 6 gallons of petrol, plus oil for the motor, and you have to pay your crew...

Gana: And what's left is profit?

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): That just how it is.

Tim: The fiberglass boats are for association?

Participants: Yes, they are the association's.

Tim: Does anyone have a private boat?

Participants: Yes

Gana: I want to return to something you said earlier about fishermen taking turns net fishing the same site... Are there any other informal rules between fishermen? Like controlling access to fishing at FADs? Or line fishing? Or fishing by lights?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): There are rules that govern FADs. Some are privately owned and you have to pay to access them. Others you have to pay an association for access. But some people cheat. They'll fish at night to avoid paying the fee.

Gana: Ou pedi nèt

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): Some of the payment systems were put in place by NGOs. They encourage people to contribute towards maintaining the FAD and covering other costs for the associations. But you don't have 100% confidence that the money is being used for that purpose...

##Conservation Efforts

Tim: In your lifetime, do you feel like the number of fish have declined since you were a child?

#20 (Abriko, Male, 49 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, No Education): Definitely, there is a less than when I was a child.

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): There are less fish in the sea.

#20 (Abriko, Male, 49 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, No Education): I used to spearfish.

Tim: You dove?

#20 (Abriko, Male, 49 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, No Education): I dove down in the water to spearfish

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): I selected them by size

#20 (Abriko, Male, 49 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, No Education): I speared the largest fish

Tim: You chose what you wanted?

#20 (Abriko, Male, 49 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, No Education): Yes, but now that's not possible

#20 (Abriko, Male, 49 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, No Education): Sometimes you encounter 4, 5 or 6 lobsters, all walking in a line

Tim: (Laughter) I've heard of that.

#20 (Abriko, Male, 49 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, No Education): You don't see that any more. The country has fallen on hard times.

##REGULATION

Tim: Do people catch fish from the shore as well?

Participants: Sure

Tim: Do you have any issue with that?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):No, it's not a problem

Tim: Even if they catch all the small fish?

Participants: (Laughter) Yes

#20 (Abriko, Male, 49 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, No Education): Haiti is not an organized country that has laws to manage fisheries. People keep the small fish they catch, even though they should really release them so the fish can mature. But when faced with hard times, people are forced to keep what they can catch. A more organized country wouldn't allow that.

Tim: In the U.S. they would put you in prison for catching lobsters that are too small. It's a problem for sure.

Gana: I want to return to something you said earlier about fishermen taking turns net fishing the same site... Are there any other informal rules between fishermen? Like controlling access to fishing at FADs? Or line fishing? Or fishing by lights?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): There are rules that govern FADs. Some are privately owned and you have to pay to access them. Others you have to pay an association for access. But some people cheat. They'll fish at night to avoid paying the fee.

Gana: Ou pedi nèt

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): Some of the payment systems were put in place by NGOs. They encourage people to contribute towards maintaining the FAD and covering other costs for the associations. But you don't have 100% confidence that the money is being used for that purpose...

##CONFLICT OVER FISHING GROUNDS

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): No, these are two different things. There is enforcement of the law and then there is conflict between fishermen. The state might forbid you from fishing in a certain area. If you fish there then you break the law... But if another fisherman tells you not to fish in the area around his home then that's a conflict.

Tim: And the people of Wozo won't allow you to fish there?

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): No, they don't allow us to fish the reefs in the area. Even though they are part of the same Food for the Poor project. If you try to fish the area they'll chase you away and hurl insults.

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): They keep it for themselves.

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): They'll do anything to chase you from the area. We don't do that here. If someone from another area comes to visit, we give them food to eat and a place to sleep. A fisherman will take them into their home, because we know that they are a fellow fisherman.

That's something that I proposed to Food for the Poor several times. I asked them to form a federation at the department or even national level for fishermen. Something to encourage collaboration, because many fishermen believe they are in competition with each other. For example, there is a fisherman from Bonbon that tried to fish at FAD platforms near Jeremie. When the fishermen in that area caught him fishing at their platforms they said many terrible things to him, because he was an outsider.

The fisherman [from Bonbon] knew the rules, but he fished there anyways. He told me that he had to make money. He wasn't carrying a machete or a pick to take from another's land, he just had a line in his hand to fish the ocean.

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): It's just a tool to make a living...

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): Right, he said I have fishing line in my hand the same as you. How can you call me an outsider? But you know the FAD is something that is fragile. A boat can cut the line and lose it. You have to be blind to not see that. He comes to fish in other communities, but he doesn't contribute to maintaining their platforms.

##DANGER AND RESCUE

Natacha: Do any accidents happen when you're out on the water fishing?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): All the time.

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): Especially when the sea is strong. It's only natural. The boat can flip over in the waves, people fall overboard, are struck by the propeller, or drown. Sometimes it's case of negligence, sometimes it's just [bad luck]

Natacha: But can't you see from land if the sea is too strong to go out to fish?

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): Sure, sometimes the sea looks rough, but we still have to catch fish. If we always stayed in, there would be no one to fish (laughter).

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7 , Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): The sea is stronger than us. Stronger than a motor boat. There are larger boats made specifically for rough conditions, but even those boats have their limits.

Natacha: Do you have any type of insurance incase something happens to you at sea?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):(Laughter) No no no

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7 , Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): No the state will not help you

Gana: There's no service like that?

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7 , Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): Where they insure you?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):Never

Natacha: Not even amongst members of the association? Where members help eachother in case of an accident?

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7 , Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): No, the association doesn't have an insurance system

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):We don't have access to insurance at all.

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): Yes, but we try to look out for each other. There's a rule that you must take a cell phone when you go out to sea. That way if you run into trouble you can call the association for help. They'll buy gas and send a captain to rescue you in his boat.

##HURRICANE MATTHEW

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):It's hasn't been easy. We lost our livestock, our gardens were destroyed, our canoes wrecked, our nets were lost, everything

was ruined. We hardly have any resources left in the months after the hurricane. Then nearly one year later, Food for the Poor donated 4 motors. It provided relief, but we still are seeking a long-term solution. People struggle to pay school fees or repair their homes.

2. MARKETING

##WHY SELL FISH

Gana: OK, so are all of your husbands fishermen?

Public: Yes, my husband's a fisherman.

Gana: So that means all your husbands fish?

Public: Yes.

#18 (Abriko, Female, age 40, 5 Children, Fish Trader & Farmer, No education): Number 18. We got into selling fish because we had husbands who fished in dugout canoes. Afterwards they would bring us the fish for us to sell. ...

Tim: You are 18. 15, how did you get started with fish?

#15 (Abriko, Female, age 42, 5 Children, Fish Trader & Farmer, 3rd Grade): Yes, it's like the lady said. Our husbands fished, and they would bring back fish for us to sell in the market. And when they formed the organization they asked for 40 merchants. With those 40 merchants, we trained 40 merchants and 60 fishermen in the association. All of the 40 merchants got together. The fishermen went, they got boats, they got motors. They left and they brought a DCP for them. When they got all those things, life started to change for us, because there were more fish on the market for us to sell.

#15 (Abriko, Female, age 42, 5 Children, Fish Trader& Farmer, 3rd Grade): Some people might sell fish that their husband brought them.

#17 (Abriko, Female, age 50, 8 Children, Fish Trader, 17, No education): Well, by the time I get up my husband is already fishing.

Tim: 17?

Public: Number 17.

#17 (Abriko, Female, age 50, 8 Children, Fish Trader, 17, No education): Then he brings me fish. I sell the fish....

Gana: OK, so are all of your husbands fishermen?

Public: Yes, my husband's a fisherman.

Gana: So that means all your husbands fish?

Public: Yes.

#17 (Abriko, Female, age 50, 8 Children, Fish Trader, 17, No education): But we don't just buy from our husbands. We buy from other people.

Tim: You buy from other people, too?

#17 (Abriko, Female, age 50, 8 Children, Fish Trader, 17, No education): You sell fish because there are times when you don't have 50 *gouds* to buy anything. You sell so you can come up with something to buy a little something for the children to eat.

Tim: But is fish the best market, is it the best business?

Public: Yes, when there's fish to be had, compared to other types of commerce.

Gana: What advantage does it have over the other types of commerce you do?

Public: It's better than all other types of commerce because fish sells the best. It's a hot item. Everybody needs it, so it sells better than anything else.

Tim: Because it sells... ?

Public: It's better than all other types of commerce because everybody needs it. They have to eat fish. If you have it, people can't just go without food. Sometimes you buy a bag of rice you go a month without selling it. As soon as you put down your fish you sell it within a week.

Tim: The same day?

Public: Yes, you'll sell enough to make 50 *gouds*. In one day, or 3 or 4, you might sell everything you have.

##BUYING AND SELLING

#17 (Abriko, Female, age 50, 8 Children, Fish Trader, 17, No education): But we don't just buy from our husbands. We buy from other people.

Tim: You buy from other people, too?

Public (Women focus group): Yes.

Tim: Who else do you buy from?

Public (Women focus group): Other fishermen who've been out fishing. People in the organization sometimes bring fish.

Tim: Even if you don't know them, like if it's not your child, your brother, they'll still sell to you, people other than your husband might sell with you?

Public (Women focus group): Yes, Yes..

Tim: They might sell with you because, if they don't know you at all, they still might sell to you?

Public (Women focus group): Yes, you have to have the food in your hands, you have to have cash, you have to have money.

Tim: You have to have cash?

Public (Women focus group): Yes, you have to have cash on hand to buy because they won't sell on credit. If you don't have cash they won't sell to you on credit.

Tim: Could a woman come from somewhere else and buy here without any problems, a woman from the countryside, for example?

Public (Women focus group): Yes, they come here to buy from us, when we buy in bulk, lots of fish, they are the ones who come help, they buy from us to go resell in other markets.

Gana: But there's something I'd like to know. You say it's around here... where do you find the most fish? Is it around here or is there someplace else you go to buy fish?

Public (Women focus group): We only buy around here. We stay here and here alone. The boats might come from somewhere else. They come here to sell, and we buy.

Gana: But you don't go other places to buy fish from somewhere else?

Public (Women focus group): No. [Tim clears his throat.]

#17 (Abriko, Female, age 50, 8 Children, Fish Trader, 17, No education): The boats sometimes go to Anse d'Hainault, too. They bring back fish to sell to us.

Tim: Now, when you have money you buy at the lowest price?

Public (Women focus group): Yes, when you have cash you get a better price. When they won't give me a price I like I turn them down.

Tim: But now, you don't have money so you take what you can get?

Public (Women focus group): When you don't have money you're stuck as you are.

Tim: You get fish from your husband?

Public (Women focus group): Yes.

Tim: But when you have money?

#17 (Abriko, Female, age 50, 8 Children, Fish Trader, 17, No education): You buy from anybody you want.

Tim: OK, but when you have no money you can't buy from everybody?

Public (Women focus group): You can't do anything but can't do anything at all but look. You just watch other people do business [Tim laughs] and wring your hands. You can't say anything, you're mute. You just watch, you can't say a word.

Natacha: What advantage do you get from selling fish? What profit do you get out of it?

#17 (Abriko, Female, age 50, 8 Children, Fish Trader, 17, No education): You sell fish because there are times when you don't have 50 *gouds* to buy anything. You sell so you can come up with something to buy a little something for the children to eat.

Tim: But is fish the best market, is it the best business?

Public (Women focus group): Yes, when there's fish to be had, compared to other types of commerce.

Gana: What advantage does it have over the other types of commerce you do?

Public (Women focus group): It's better than all other types of commerce because fish sells the best. It's a hot item. Everybody needs it, so it sells better than anything else.

Tim: Because it sells... ?

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Tim: The same day?

Public (Women focus group): Yes, you'll sell enough to make 50 *gouds*. In one day, or 3 or 4, you might sell everything you have.

Tim: OK, let me ask a question. 18, when you arrive in Port-au-Prince with a bag of dried fish, do you sell it all the same day, or do you have to stay?

#18 (Abriko, Female, age 40, 5 Children, Fish Trader & Farmer, No education): Yes, other market women come and buy it from me.

Tim: They buy it from you right there?

Public (Women focus group): Yes, they go and sell somewhere else in Port-au-Prince. They go sell in the Jeremie market, there are merchants who specialize in doing just that. They are there to buy from you when you get to Port-au-Prince.

Tim: As soon as you arrive you sell the fish?

Public (Women focus group): Yes, you sell it and then you get down.

Tim: You don't give credit?

Public (Women focus group): No, sometimes when there aren't a lot of vendors they might buy on credit, and the food too. Yes, they send you the money. There are merchants for that, when you return and haven't sold everything if you know the person.

Tim: Gana.

Natacha: Ok, I have another question. When you catch fish do vendors buy they directly from you? Or do you have to go to the vendors to sell the fish?

Participants: No, there are vendors that come buy fish by the river.

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):But it's not a perfect system. Sometimes the vendors aren't serious about purchasing fish and they go to waste. We work hard under the sun to catch them but find no market for them. For example, today I caught a bunch of fish but there was no where to sell them. There are not enough people [in the immediate community] to eat all of the fish while they are fresh. So we lose money on the fuel for our boats...and you can't pay for your children to go to school.

Tim: Because you can't sell everything?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):No, there is no where to sell them...

Tim: Even big fish?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):Yes, all kinds of fish

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): And we have no way to preserve them...

Tim: But the women could dry them?

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): They still go to waste.

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):When they are dried the price goes down a lot. If only there was a place to conserve them then we could transport them to Port-au-Prince to sell.

Tim: Because it's better to sell fresh fish?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):Yes, there's more profit to be made from fresh fish – for fishermen and vendors.

Tim: Who sells the fish?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): Merchants. They purchase them and resell them. Sometimes on credit.

Tim: And they go to Port-au-Prince?

Participants: No they sell them in the local market

Tim: Do people from Jeremie come here to purchase fish?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): No, just people from the surrounding districts.

Gana: That means you sell the fish you catch to the vendors that resell them in the community?

Participants: Yes

Gana: Do residents ever buy fish directly from you?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): Sure, sometimes

Gana: Does anyone from other areas come to buy fish here?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): Listen, it's hard to make a profit selling fish. For example, you might catch 5,000 HTG worth of fish, but some of it spoils in transit. So then you're left with some 3,000 HTG of fish. But you have to pay 2,000 HTG for petrol for transport, you have to pay the association and you have to contribute to the FAD. So even after working through the sun and the rain all day, you can't even make 5 HTG to feed your family or children.

Tim: Ok, let's clarify. When we talk about "machann," we refer to the women, right?

Participants: Sure, it could be any vendor. My wife, your wife, etc.

Tim: Who do you sell the most fish to?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):My wife

Tim: Your wife?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):Yes, my wife. I sell her fish and she resells them with other vendors that don't have husbands who fish.

Tim: She provides a little credit to the other vendors?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):Exactly

Tim: In general, do you first sell to your own wife?

Participants: Yes

Tim: Or perhaps, you sell to/through your daughter? Or mother?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):Yes, you sell to your kin first. Even your cousin.

Gana: Does that mean that the wife of every fishermen here sells fish?

#16/#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): The majority

##PROCESSING AND STORAGE

Tim: Is it dried, or...?

#18 (Abriko, Female, age 40, 5 Children, Fish Trader & Farmer, No education): Dried fish in Holy Week. [Tim: OK, in Holy Week you sell fish in Port-au-Prince.].

Tim: Even dried?

#16 (Abriko, Female, age 39, 8 Children, Fish Trader& Farmer, 7th Grade): No, fresh. I sell “green” fish, I sell dried, too.

Tim: OK.

Gana: You mean fresh fish?

#16 (Abriko, Female, age 39, 8 Children, Fish Trader& Farmer, 7th Grade): Yes, fresh fish. That means that whatever I have that I don’t sell right away, we put it on ice.

#15 (Abriko, Female, age 42, 5 Children, Fish Trader& Farmer, 3rd Grade): That is what I would say. Yes, sometimes the boats come in after dark.

Tim: You put the fish on ice, in a cooler?

#16 (Abriko, Female, age 39, 8 Children, Fish Trader& Farmer, 7th Grade): Yes, in a cooler. Then we crush ice and put it on top of the fish, and put it in the cooler.

#15 : Yes, we don’t have anything to process it. Sometimes we salt it.

#16 (Abriko, Female, age 39, 8 Children, Fish Trader& Farmer, 7th Grade): When necessary we buy ice and crush it. It’ll keep.

Gana: Between salt fish and fresh fish, which is better to sell?

Public: Fresh fish. There are people who don’t eat salted fish, so it’s not as good for you. When it’s salted it can take time to sell. It sells better if it’s fresh.

Tim: Fresh sells better?

Public: Yes, it sells faster.

Natacha: When you have fish like that how do you preserve them?

Public: We salt them or dry them in the sun.

Tim: Do you have freezers?

Public: No, we don't. We put them in the sun, but then they are hard to sell. When they are dried or salted people aren't as likely to want them. People resist. When your fish are salted you might be stuck with some of them. You lose money, too. But if we had a place where we could put them right away into a freezer, it would be good for us. We could sell them like fresh fish, but salting them isn't good for us.

Tim: Can you use any fish, no matter how big?

Public: Yes.

Tim: You can salt them all, too?

Public : Yes

Tim: All can be salted?

Public: Yes

Tim: When sales are good, OK, is there anything else we should talk about, that we need to know?

Public: Yes, we'd always have fresh fish. Instead of people coming and only finding some salt fish, having to eat salted fish, if we had a place to keep them there would always be fresh fish.

Tim: But is there anything, is there a lack of salt, is there a lack of limes?

Public: No.

25 Minutes

Tim: Is there any other product that could help you sell fish?

Public: The only thing that would help is a freezer, a walk in freezer so we could put them in coolers.

Tim: A freezer?

Public: We need a cold room, a freezer, so we could preserve them. So we could use coolers.

Tim: Do you need more coolers?

Public: Yes, we don't have any. Market women don't have them at all.

Tim: When you need them where do you go?

Public: We borrow them from people who have them, if they'll lend them to us.

Tim: If you have money and want to buy one, you get it in Jeremie?

Public: Yes, if you have money you can buy one in Jeremie, anywhere. Some are expensive, depending on the size. There are 500s, there are expensive coolers, 1500, 2000. 500 is a little one to carry ice. The big 2000 dollar (10000 *gouds*) is to put a ballyhoo in.

Tim: Ballyhoo.

#17 (Abriko, Female, age 50, 8 Children, Fish Trader, 17, No education): We don't have enough equipment, either.

Tim: Fishing equipment?

Public: We don't have enough equipment. When we sell fish it's with our bare hands. Our little knives are too weak. We don't have enough basins. When we buy fish we carry them on our heads. Water slops over and gets us all wet [laughter]. We suffer a lot, as women do. If I'm carrying a basin of fish and have to go up the mountain, the basin overflows on my head, fish spill out on my head. I have to return home. When that happens you don't make any money. You might go to the market crying, burning in the sun. And you wind up having to go home with nothing, discouraged. You can't buy anything.

Tim: So you have a place but it's not sufficient?

Participants: No, we don't have cold storage

Tim: Do you have a refrigerator?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):A refrigerator doesn't do the job.

Tim: Because it doesn't hold enough fish?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):The refrigerator is out of order.

Tim: Broken?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):Yes

Tim: So you're saying that a cold room is important to you?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):Very important

##GOING TO MARKET

Tim: But you say you sometimes go to Port-au-Prince?

#18 (Abriko, Female, age 40, 5 Children, Fish Trader & Farmer, No education): Yes.

Tim: To sell fish?

#18 (Abriko, Female, age 40, 5 Children, Fish Trader & Farmer, No education): Yes.

Tim: You, yourself?

#18 (Abriko, Female, age 40, 5 Children, Fish Trader & Farmer, No education): Yes, when there's a lot of fish.

Tim: Is it dried, or...?

#18 (Abriko, Female, age 40, 5 Children, Fish Trader & Farmer, No education): Dried fish in Holy Week. [Tim: OK, in Holy Week you sell fish in Port-au-Prince.].

#15 (Abriko, Female, age 42, 5 Children, Fish Trader & Farmer, 3rd Grade): When we don't have any ice to put on it we salt it. Then we look for a market, Kalen. There is another market where we can sell it.

Tim: Market Ka...

#15 (Abriko, Female, age 42, 5 Children, Fish Trader & Farmer, 3rd Grade): Kalen.

Tim: What's it called?

#15 (Abriko, Female, age 42, 5 Children, Fish Trader & Farmer, 3rd Grade): Kalen.

Tim: Kalèn.

Gana: Kalen, where is it?

Tim: Do you go by bus or on foot?

Public: Abricot.

Public: On foot, or motorcycle.

#16 (Abriko, Female, age 39, 8 Children, Fish Trader & Farmer, 7th Grade): We go on foot.

#16 (Abriko, Female, age 39, 8 Children, Fish Trader & Farmer, 7th Grade): Sometimes we take a motorcycle.

Tim: How long does it take to get there on foot?

#16 (Abriko, Female, age 39, 8 Children, Fish Trader & Farmer, 7th Grade): It doesn't take long.

[It takes an hour]

Tim: One hour?

Gana: But it's still in the section of Abricot?

Public: Yes, Abricot.

#15 (Abriko, Female, age 42, 5 Children, Fish Trader& Farmer, 3rd Grade): That's where we go to market on Mondays.

[Still the second section.]

#15 (Abriko, Female, age 42, 5 Children, Fish Trader& Farmer, 3rd Grade): Monday's market, we do it here.

Tim: OK, and you?

#17 (Abriko, Female, age 50, 8 Children, Fish Trader, 17, No education): Then he brings me fish. I sell the fish. ... I buy, I dry it, and I go to Jeremie to sell. I buy it fresh and I sell in the market here, or in the market in Kalen. I'm everywhere. When there are no fish I buy coconuts, I buy plantains. I sell in Jeremie. Everything.

Tim: After fish, what's the most important thing you sell around here?

#17 (Abriko, Female, age 50, 8 Children, Fish Trader, 17, No education): I sell rice by the bag...

Public: Rice, yes. Maggie, little things like that. You might buy plantains in bulk and sell retail.

#17 (Abriko, Female, age 50, 8 Children, Fish Trader, 17, No education): As for me, I'm a traveling merchant (madanm sara). I buy coconuts, plantains, and I go sell in Port-au-Prince.

Gana: OK, you do other things, but where I see there are a lot of you who go to Jeremie or someplace else to sell. Where, in what zone, do you sell the most?

Public: In the city, in the Jeremie market, in the fish market.

#17 (Abriko, Female, age 50, 8 Children, Fish Trader, 17, No education): I go to the Jeremie wharf and when I don't sell everything on the wharf I go into the market and sell there.

Gana: What number, what number are you?

Tim: 16.

#17 (Abriko, Female, age 50, 8 Children, Fish Trader, 17, No education): Number 17.

Tim: 17.

Gana: OK, that means, ma'am, that you sell most on the wharf?

#17 (Abriko, Female, age 50, 8 Children, Fish Trader, 17, No education): Yes, I mostly sell on the wharf.

Gana: And you, ma'am, 16 ?

#16 (Abriko, Female, age 39, 8 Children, Fish Trader& Farmer, 7th Grade): I sell inside the marketplace.

Gana: You mean inside the fish market itself?

#16 (Abriko, Female, age 39, 8 Children, Fish Trader& Farmer, 7th Grade): Inside the market.

Gana: So most of you here sell in Jeremie?

Public: Yes.

Tim: You do the best in Jeremie.

Public: We sell the most in Jeremie. That's the city, because I might have one sack of fish or two, I always sell everything I have in Jeremie. Here if you have one bag you can't sell all of it. Only when fish are scarce can you sell all you have here. If there are lots of fish you won't sell everything and you'll have to salt what you have left.

##COOPERATIVE MARKETING

Tim: Do you ever pool what you have to go sell, if you need to have a lot to sell?

Public: Yes, we do.

Tim: You work together?

Public: Three market women, or 4, might go together.

Tim: 3, 4?

Public: Yes.

Gana: Do you go together, or just pay?

Public: No, each one has her own business.

##DEPENDENCY ON SELLING FISH

#31 (Abriko, Female, age 50, 7 Children, Fish Trader, farmer, 31, No education): Me, what I sell, sometimes I'll buy fish and it will burn in the sun and it's useless. I don't make one *goud*. And when I don't make one *goud*, some people swear at me, call me all kinds of bad things, and I that's how I live. I hold on, I hold on, I hold on just to live.

Tim: OK, but you don't have another thing to sell that's reliable?

#31 (Abriko, Female, age 50, 7 Children, Fish Trader, farmer, 31, No education): No.

Tim: OK, and you, 19?

#19 (Abriko, Female, age 31, 2 Children, Fish Trader, No education): Only fish.

Natacha: In what period is there a lot of fish?

Public: Like right now, in this period, there's none. If you find fish now you'll make money from it. In this month (January) it's cold so there's not much fish. If fish come in you'll make a nice little profit. You'll find in March, in Lent, you won't get anything.

Tim: OK, let's finish with 16, you have something else stable to sell other than... ?

#16 (Abriko, Female, age 39, 8 Children, Fish Trader & Farmer, 7th Grade): I'm stable when I sell fresh fish. When I can't get it I sell dried fish.

Tim: That's your business...

Gana: That means only fish?

Public: Yes, only fish.

##OTHER TRADE

#18 (Abriko, Female, age 40, 5 Children, Fish Trader & Farmer, No education): Number 18. ... We all still sell fish, but when the fishing season is over we take up our other activities. We sell plantains, we buy bananas, we make rice, we buy bulk rice and we resell it to make a little money to feed our children. When the seas are rough and we can't find anything, we all buy something else. We buy chickens, we do anything we can to have something to sell.

#17 (Abriko, Female, age 50, 8 Children, Fish Trader, 17, No education): Then he brings me fish. I sell the fish. ... I buy, I dry it, and I go to Jeremie to sell. I buy it fresh and I sell in the market here, or in the market in Kalen. I'm everywhere. When there are no fish I buy coconuts, I buy plantains. I sell in Jeremie. Everything.

Tim: After fish, what's the most important thing you sell around here?

#17 (Abriko, Female, age 50, 8 Children, Fish Trader, 17, No education): I sell rice by the bag...

Public: Rice, yes. Maggie, little things like that. You might buy plantains in bulk and sell retail.

#17 (Abriko, Female, age 50, 8 Children, Fish Trader, 17, No education): As for me, I'm a traveling merchant (madanm sara). I buy coconuts, plantains, and I go sell in Port-au-Prince.

Public: The most profitable thing around here is fish, so, if there are no fish...

Gana: But what other business do you have that's stable, so that you know, even if you're in the market selling fish you know you have other business?

#5 (Abriko, Female, age 40, Unkwn Children, Traveling Merchant, 1st Grade): I sell rice. I sell sugar.

Gana: Number 5.

#5 (Abriko, Female, age 40, Unkwn Children, Traveling Merchant, 1st Grade): I sell rice, sugar, cooking oil. Yes, that's a stable business for me.

Tim: You always sell it?

#5 (Abriko, Female, age 40, Unkwn Children, Traveling Merchant, 1st Grade): Yes.

Tim: You sell it behind your house, too?

#5 (Abriko, Female, age 40, Unkwn Children, Traveling Merchant, 1st Grade): Yes, I sell from my house, and in the market. At night there's no fish. That's my real business.

Tim: OK.

#5 (Abriko, Female, age 40, Unkwn Children, Traveling Merchant, 1st Grade): When there's no fish that's where I make my 50 *gouds*.

Tim: That's what you get from it every day?

#5 (Abriko, Female, age 40, Unkwn Children, Traveling Merchant, 1st Grade): Yes, every day.

Tim: And you, what's your number again?

#21 (Abriko, Female, age 32, 2 Children, Fish Trader, farmer, 6th Grade): 21.

Tim: You have another business?

#21 (Abriko, Female, age 32, 2 Children, Fish Trader, farmer, 6th Grade): Yes, I sell gas.

Tim: You sell gas?

#21 (Abriko, Female, age 32, 2 Children, Fish Trader, farmer, 6th Grade): Yes, and rice.

Tim: You always sell gas? If I go to your house now and I need gas, you'll have some?

#21 (Abriko, Female, age 32, 2 Children, Fish Trader, farmer, 6th Grade): Yes, I have some at home. If you go you'll find some.

Tim: Rice?

#21 (Abriko, Female, age 32, 2 Children, Fish Trader, farmer, 6th Grade): [laughter, Yes, I have it.]

Tim: And you?

#20 (Abriko, Female, age 26, 1 Child, Fish Trader, farmer, 20, 12th Grade): Me, I sell raw rum.

Tim: What number?

#20 (Abriko, Female, age 26, 1 Child, Fish Trader, farmer, 20, 12th Grade): Number 20.

Tim: Number 20 you buy raw rum (klerin)?

#20 (Abriko, Female, age 26, 1 Child, Fish Trader, farmer, 20, 12th Grade): And milk, a little rum. [Another person coughs] Those times, we buy in Jeremie and come sell here.

Tim: You buy by the gallon?

#20 (Abriko, Female, age 26, 1 Child, Fish Trader, farmer, 20, 12th Grade): Yes.

#36: Me, I go buy a drum, a little drum of oil. I buy in bulk and I come sell in smaller quantities. I sell retail.

Tim: OK, and you, 18?

#18 (Abriko, Female, age 40, 5 Children, Fish Trader & Farmer, No education): Me, fish. When I can't get fish I go buy chickens to sell. I buy carrots. I buy cabbage. When I don't have anything else and I can't find fish, I cook food to sell.

Tim: But you say you go buy, that means you go to buy... ?

Public: She goes to Jeremie.

Tim: And you come back with it.

#18 (Abriko, Female, age 40, 5 Children, Fish Trader & Farmer, No education): Yes.

Tim: But then sometimes there's nothing for you to take?

#18 (Abriko, Female, age 40, 5 Children, Fish Trader & Farmer, No education): Yes, when I go I don't take anything. I just pay the motorcycle fare and go buy so I have something to come back and sell.

Tim: OK, but when there's fish, when they go to buy they take fish to sell in Jeremie or Port-au-Prince, you always buy something else and bring it back?

#18 (Abriko, Female, age 40, 5 Children, Fish Trader & Farmer, No education): Yes, when I'm coming back from Jeremie or Port-au-Prince I buy rice, I buy cabbage, I buy carrots, I buy anything a person can sell so that I can sell it and make more money from the money I've made, if I've made anything.

Tim: OK, 15.

#15 (Abriko, Female, age 42, 5 Children, Fish Trader& Farmer, 3rd Grade): Yes, I can't just stand there with my arms crossed, even if it's just a bag of charcoal I have to buy something to sell, because when there's no fish I have to have some way to make money so I can give the children a little bread in the morning.

Tim: You buy charcoal and go off to sell it?

#15 (Abriko, Female, age 42, 5 Children, Fish Trader& Farmer, 3rd Grade): No, I put it in front of the door. I might sell it for 10 *gouds*, 15 *gouds*, or 25 *gouds* the can.

Tim: OK

#15 (Abriko, Female, age 42, 5 Children, Fish Trader& Farmer, 3rd Grade): I put it there because when you get up in the mornings the children are your responsibility. You have to have something. You have to have something to get you through the day.

Tim: OK. 17?

#17 (Abriko, Female, age 50, 8 Children, Fish Trader, 17, No education): Ah, me, when I have no fish I go to the market and I buy a bunch of plantains, a bunch of bananas, I separate them into smaller quantities, and sell a hand for 50 *gouds* or 100 *gouds*. I sell so I'll have something to give the children.

Gana: If you had it to do over again, and find something else to sell, what would it be?

Tim: Number 5, what would you do?

#5 (Abriko, Female, age 40, Unkwn Children, Traveling Merchant, 1st Grade): The thing that sells best is food.

Public: Rice, everything. Sandals, clothes, bras. No women are using skin creams, perfume, used clothing, all those things.

Gana: If you could make a change, would you change from selling fish?

Public: Yes, we'd change.

Gana: So, you don't like the fish business?

Public : We like it but sometimes we don't have any to sell.

#8: I sometimes sell food down there, when the glass eels are running. I go sell food there. I sell food to the people hunting glass eels.

Tim: You sell food?

#8: Yes, cooked food, where there are glass eels. A little thing....

Tim: Ah, with other people who hold on... ?

#8: Other people have there own thing they do there.

Gana: And you don't have anything you do?

Public: She says she does. Not me... She says she sells klerin (raw rum). Me, sometimes I cut trees and make charcoal to sell when I can't get any fish.

Gana: So, if I'm understanding right, that means every one of you has something you do when you can't get any fish?

Public: Yes

30 Minit

Gana: Because now there were people who said that...

Public: But not with our own money, with borrowed money. I might borrow 500 dollars (2500 *gouds*) and it changes hands, it passes through our hands...

##SELLING FISH VS. OTHER TRADE

Gana: Listen, I was asking between selling fish and selling something else, what's better than fish?

Public: We'll always sell fish. We wouldn't change that even if there were another type of commerce. We would always hold onto fish even if the fishing boats came back empty, it won't go away. Even if it's just throwing out a net to catch a can of sardines.

Gana: No, you can't all speak at once. Let's do it by number.

Tim: 15, finish what you were saying?

#15 (Abriko, Female, age 42, 5 Children, Fish Trader & Farmer, 3rd Grade): Yes. I said, the women say they're ready to sell something else, but I'm saying even if I had some other type of commerce to do I'd never drop selling fish.

Public: I'd never leave it because I know what it has done for me and my five children. I know where to go to sell. Even if I had some other business to do, you know you can make 50 *gouds* with this, so the children won't go hungry. Selling fish is no reason not to also do some other business. Look, when there's no fish, I've gone five months without fish, if we had nothing to do how would we live, how would we feed our children? How would we pay for our houses, or school?

Tim: You mean you like fish but don't always have them?

#5 (Abriko, Female, age 40, Unkwn Children, Traveling Merchant, 1st Grade): We don't always have fish.

Tim: And 18, what do you have to say?

#18 (Abriko, Female, age 40, 5 Children, Fish Trader & Farmer, No education): Well, as the ladies say, there aren't always fish. Sometimes you go out and you find a little fish. Other people have fish but you don't. You don't have anything to sell. If you don't have some other business, something else to sell, you're stuck. You have to have some other commerce to go into.

Tim: If they could always get fish is that the only thing they would sell?

Public: No, I might only be able to buy one bag, and a bag of rice. Even if it's just every once in a while, you have to have something else to sell. If you're comfortable with charcoal, you put it in front of your door and sell that.

Gana: That means that people who, like you No. 18 who sell fish only, No. 19, No. 8, fish is the only thing you sell. You don't do any other type of commerce?

##SELLING TO RESTAURANTS AND FORMAL MARKETS

Natacha: So that is why you all might stay here to sell your fish?

Public: Yes.

Gana: Do you have restaurant clients? Do you know people who run restaurants, where you know when your husband arrives with fish you can sell to them?

Public: No, when you have fish they won't buy it all. Restaurants are more likely to just want snapper.

Tim: Restaurants?

Public: Yes, red snapper.

Tim: They don't want white fish?

Public: There are restaurants that take them, Taza. They take snapper, dorad, they also take things like conch. There are other people who say they are hard. Some foreigners come eat them. Snapper are the best, though.

Tim: They don't want snapper?

Public: They like snapper. We sell them to other market women.

Public: Yes .

Gana: Does anybody go take orders in, say, Port-au-Prince? Go looking for clients?

Public: No.

Tim: The association you were talking about, does it talk about the possibility of clients in Port-au-Prince?

Public: No.

Gana: OK, I have another question. Do you have any way to contract with clients, so that they pay you for the fish in advance? Like if you know that you are going to catch large fish?

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): No we haven't done that before.

Gana: Are there no large clients like that?

Tim: Clients that transport the fish to Port-au-Prince to sell at the central markets?

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): No, not that we know...

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): The only example that I am familiar with, is when vendors transport fish to sell in Port-au-Prince during the week of Easter. But it doesn't happen all the time.

Tim: What about selling the fish in Jeremie?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):It's too much for Jeremie.

Tim: Too far?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):No, there's too many fish on the local market. Many go to waste.

##PRICE AND PROFITS

Tim: OK, so let me say, if I 100 dollars (500 *gouds*) worth and I say I'm going to sell here, I won't be able to make any profit. If you buy 100 dollars worth of fish can you make any money?

Public: Yes.

Tim: If you buy 100 dollars worth to sell, how much profit can you make?

Public: You can make 100 *gouds*, or 150 *gouds*. Maybe just 50 *gouds*, depending on the market. You might make nothing at all.

Tim: The same amount of fish, if you take it to sell in Jeremie, how much will you make?

Public: You won't make anything on 100 dollars. There's nothing in it for you. You have to factor in the transport expenses, 1000 *gouds* roundtrip. You have to have a place to stay overnight. I spend two days, sometimes three.

Tim: To sell everything?

Public: Yes, 500 *gouds*. You might leave Sunday. You pay for the bag of fish separately. You pay 500 *gouds*. You have to have enough to pay expenses, and still have something as profit.

Tim: Ok, so imagine we are fishing in my [private] boat. We catch fish. and divide them between us. How much do I get to keep as the owner?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):As the owner of the boat and motor, you keep one third of the profit. The rest is divided between the crew. So for example if we make 3,000 HTG, you keep 1,000 HTG. The remaining 2,000 HTG is divided between the crew. If there are four crew members, each receives 500 HTG.

Gana: Ok, I understand. How much money do you make fishing? Per week? Per day?

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): That depends on the fish you catch during the week. There are some fishermen that make 40-45,000 HTG in a week if they catch tuna or balawou. A large fish can sell for as much as 25,000 HTG.

Tim: What do you with such a big fish? You said that it's hard to sell large fish...

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): Yes, we sell them to local merchants that divide them into smaller pieces to resell.

Tim: Is there no one you can call to sell the whole fish? Like if you catch a marlin?

Participants: No

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):No, that's our biggest problem... I want to add what he [#19] said. Yes, you might sell 25,000 – 50,000 HTG worth of fish, but you spend nearly that much on expenses.

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): If not more...

Gana: Ok

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):You have to purchase fuel, food, fees, etc. It's no exaggeration, you can fish with 4 people and not a single one of you takes home 1,000 HTG.

Gana: That sounds challenging.

Gana: What fish brings in the most money for you?

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): We already responded to that question.

Gana: No, because he [#16] just told me that you can catch a marlin that sells for some 25,000 HTG. What about dorad? How much do you sell them for?

Tim: A really large one.

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): Among all the fish, marlin fetches the highest price.

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):Marlin and tuna

Tim: Depending on the size?

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): Yes, it depends on the size of the fish. If I catch 10 dorad, then I will make more money than if I catch a single marlin.

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):It depends on the total weight.

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): And size

Gana: That means that there is not one type of fish that sells for the highest price, rather all fish bring in money according to the...

Participants: ...the quantity.

Gana: Of the quantity and size?

Participants: Yes

Tim: They don't distinguish between them to say that fish is more expensive than that one?

Participants: No

Tim: So it's the size and quantity?

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): Yes

##SHARING FISHING PROCEEDS WITH SPOUSE

Tim: Let's say, if your husband catches fish and brings them to you, if he sells them to another woman you won't be mad?

Public: No.

Tim: You let him sell to her?

Public: Yes, he helps me. He's helping me.

Tim: He helps you but do you take the money or does he... ?

Public: Yes, he takes the money.

Tim: He takes the money?

Public: Yes

Tim: Will he give it to you?

#17 (Abriko, Female, age 50, 8 Children, Fish Trader, 17, No education): Yes, he'll give it to me.

#18 (Abriko, Female, age 40, 5 Children, Fish Trader & Farmer, No education): Yes, he'll give it to you.

Tim: And if he doesn't give it to you, then you'll be mad?

Public: [laughter] If he doesn't give it all to me he'll give me some. They give us something, even if they take some of it for themselves. Even if they take part they'll give us the rest. [laughter].

##FISHING VS. LIVESTOCK AND GARDENS

Tim: 17, do you have goats?

#17 (Abriko, Female, age 50, 8 Children, Fish Trader, 17, No education): No, I don't have any.

Tim: Pigs?

#17 (Abriko, Female, age 50, 8 Children, Fish Trader, 17, No education): The hurricane killed them all. I don't have any more.

Tim: You don't have a farm?

#17 (Abriko, Female, age 50, 8 Children, Fish Trader, 17, No education): Yes

Public: Yes, we have our little gardens.

Tim: 15, you have a garden?

#15 (Abriko, Female, age 42, 5 Children, Fish Trader & Farmer, 3rd Grade): I do, but it doesn't have anything in it yet.

Tim: 15, you have goats?

#15 (Abriko, Female, age 42, 5 Children, Fish Trader& Farmer, 3rd Grade): No, I had 25 but they died in the storm.

Tim: OK, and you, 18?

#15 (Abriko, Female, age 42, 5 Children, Fish Trader& Farmer, 3rd Grade): Not one survived.

Tim: 18, you don't even have a garden?

#18 (Abriko, Female, age 40, 5 Children, Fish Trader & Farmer, No education): I have one but I'm just getting it started. My crops were destroyed but I'm getting them replanted.

Tim: What are you planting, mostly?

#18 (Abriko, Female, age 40, 5 Children, Fish Trader & Farmer, No education): I'm putting in yams, plantains, beans, manioc.

Tim: OK, and you, 16, you have a garden?

#16 (Abriko, Female, age 39, 8 Children, Fish Trader& Farmer, 7th Grade): I don't have a garden, no. I had livestock but they died.

Tim: They died, but you had them?

#18 (Abriko, Female, age 40, 5 Children, Fish Trader & Farmer, No education): Here, in Grand' Anse. The hurricane didn't leave anything behind for a poor soul like me.

Tim: But do you have a garden now, 5?

#5 (Abriko, Female, age 40, Unkwn Children, Traveling Merchant, 1st Grade): Now, I have a little garden that's just getting started, yes.

Tim: What do you plant, mostly?

#5 (Abriko, Female, age 40, Unkwn Children, Traveling Merchant, 1st Grade): Plantains, bananas.

Tim: You, do you have a garden, Momi?

: Yes, now I'm growing crops but in the storm all of my fields were destroyed. I'm starting all over.

Tim: Do you have, you have livestock?

##: All my livestock was killed in the storm. I have none left.

Gana: The storm, nearly two years ago, it is a point of reference for all of you, the hurricane. It was nearly two years ago.

Tim: And you, 19, do you have a garden, do you have livestock?

#19 (Abriko, Female, age 31, 2 Children, Fish Trader, No education): I have a little field I'm just starting to plant.

Tim: Now you're starting, you're, what number are you again?

#31 (Abriko, Female, age 50, 7 Children, Fish Trader, farmer, 31, No education): 31.

Tim: 31, do you have a garden?

#31 (Abriko, Female, age 50, 7 Children, Fish Trader, farmer, 31, No education): I'm just getting started now.

Tim: You're starting now, and, 20, you have a garden?

#20 (Abriko, Female, age 26, 1 Child, Fish Trader, farmer, 20, 12th Grade): Yes, now.

Tim: Now you have a garden

[The cost of living is so expensive you can't buy meat. If you don't have money you can't live.]

Gana: That means since the hurricane you've had time to replant?

Public: Yes.

Gana: It's just simple little things that give you the limited resources you have?

Public: Yes.

Gana: That's what I'd say after the storm, because...

Public: Yes, since the storm there's a little food, we find a little food in the market, even if we don't get anything from the earth, we find a little something to eat in the market.

Tim: Even what?

#15 (Abriko, Female, age 42, 5 Children, Fish Trader& Farmer, 3rd Grade): There are times you plant, you plant yams and you get nothing back. The yam you planted [you don't get anything else]. You replant and replant and they don't produce anything.

Gana: And, well, ladies, we are happy with the information you've provided...

#15 (Abriko, Female, age 42, 5 Children, Fish Trader& Farmer, 3rd Grade): We're happy, too.

Gana: We've collected a lot of information, a lot. I don't know if you have any other questions, Tim?

Tim: Between farming and fishing, what's more important for you?

Public: They are both important. Both are good. Sometimes, fishing, when you can get fish, you'll have something to eat. Sometimes, if you have crops in the garden, all you have to do is dig something up.

Gana: Number 16 just said something very important, Tim ?

#16 (Abriko, Female, age 39, 8 Children, Fish Trader& Farmer, 7th Grade): Yes, I mean when people plant crops they can harvest six months out of a year, but fishermen harvest from the sea. They might come back with nothing. When that happens, we wind up with nothing, too. When they go out and catch fish every day, we make money too. [We have hope]. What we sell, we can harvest, too.

Tim: You can harvest, you can plant crops?

#16 (Abriko, Female, age 39, 8 Children, Fish Trader& Farmer, 7th Grade): Yes, you can harvest your crops.

Natacha: Ok, outside of fishing what else do you do?

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7 , Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): There are some of us that fish, others that farm...

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): Some raise livestock

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):It's not just when the sea is strong. It's also when there are storms on the horizon ("*fume nwa*") that prevent you from going out to fish or docking the boat.

Tim: Do you have a garden?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):No, I don't have garden

Tim: Do you have goats?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):No goats

Tim: Do you have any other source of income?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):Nothing

Tim: Only the ocean?

#20 (Abriko, Male, 49 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, No Education): Well, I have a garden, but I don't have goats or pigs.

Tim: What about you?

#5 (Abriko, Male, 38 years, 3, Fisherman, Farmer, No Education): I have a garden, but I don't have goats nor pigs.

Tim: Who else?

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): We had more, but a lot of it was lost in hurricane Matthew

Tim: You haven't been able to replace it?

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): No, not yet

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade): Just fishing

Tim: (Laughter) No, no. You are overrun with goats. I can see them. You let them range freely in the bush.

#20 (Abriko, Male, 49 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, No Education): Only in the countryside

Tim: Do you tie them up?

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): You have to tie them or else they'll get into other people's gardens.

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): And they'll kill your goat

Tim: Ok, I want to know, among all of those different livelihoods – livestock, farming, fishing – which is most important for you?

Gana: Between fishing and livestock, what is most important in terms of income?

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): They are all important. They all serve a different function. I don't know about the other gentlemen, but in my appraisal they all have importance.

Gana: They are all important, but which one brings in the most money? Or most value?

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7 , Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): If I had to choose between them, then I would choose fishing. The sea is a resource that replenishes itself. It's not like selling a goat during a time of emergency. That goat is difficult to replace. The same with a cow. If you sell a cow to pay for school fees, then it might take 2-3 years to scrape together the means to buy another. But if you sell a fish today then there's a good chance you will catch another fish tomorrow. You can catch some 10 or 12 fish in a week.

Tim: What about in your garden? Which crop is most important? Such as yams?

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7 , Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): Yams and plantains

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):It's important to note the difference between farming and fishing. Farming has seasons. Some crops take as long as one year to harvest. There are some months you don't make any money from your garden. But fishing is something you can harvest all year. That is why we place more value in fishing than farming. Some people aren't able to maintain a garden, because they don't have time or money.

Gana: Ok

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):Of course, if you have the means then you should maintain a garden and fish. Both are part of our livelihood strategy. If you don't catch anything in the ocean, then you can always harvest a few yams or plantains to eat. Do you understand? It's important that you make note of that in your report.

Gana: Yes, I follow what you are saying...

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):The two are connected. Like my friend said, you might sell a cow to pay for expenses, but fishing allows you to raise money to purchase replace that cow.

Gana: A final question, if you had to ask for assistance, what would choose: support for fishing or support for your farm?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):I would choose both of them!

Tim: (Laughter) You can only choose one!

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): Fishing

Tim: What would you choose? Fishing? Garden? Or livestock?

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):Fishing

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7 , Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): I would choose my garden

Tim: Your garden?

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7 , Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): A garden gives you the best chance to be self-sufficient, especially at my [advanced] age. What we need most is a service to provide agricultural credit.

Tim: And you?

#20 (Abriko, Male, 49 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, No Education): For me, my place is at sea. I like it too much to give it up. I ask God that he let the sea be my final resting place (Laughter). I would prefer not to die on land.

Tim: (Laughter)

#15 (Abriko, Male, 53 years, 7 , Fisherman, Farmer, 8th Grade): I have to give up fishing, because that way of life is getting me down.

#20 (Abriko, Male, 49 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, No Education): I disagree. Even after all the expenses, you have a good chance to take home 100 *dola* (500 HTG) fishing *everyday*. While you can only harvest yam or plantains once a year.

60 Minit

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):You can make money fishing everyday.

#20 (Abriko, Male, 49 years, 7, Fisherman, Farmer, No Education): Everyone has their own priorities, but for me the sea is the most important resource.

Tim: Number 5, what would you choose?

#5 (Abriko, Male, 38 years, 3, Fisherman, Farmer, No Education): The sea is something that I value a great deal. I like my garden as well. But if I had to choose, it would be the sea... I'll give you a personal example, I might spend 1,500 HTG on petrol when I go out to fish. Even if I don't catch a single bonito and lose money, I would still return the again and again because the sea is my domain. I can't give it up, even if it drives me into debt...

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): Because you can make it up in a single good day of fishing.

Natacha: You place faith in it

Participants: Yes

Tim: You?

Unidentified Participant: I love the ocean so much. I love it as much as laying with my wife! (Laughter) I have 7 children. I was able to raise all of them on what the sea provided. It's sent them to school. They are too young to help me fish, but I plan to teach them when they come of age. I am very grateful.

Tim: Number 18?

#18 (Abriko, Male, 34 years, Teacher, Goat Farmer , 3rd Grade): Fishing provides money and food. You can eat your catch immediately. A garden takes time to yield a harvest. You have to wait 6 months or more for it to mature. Fishing lets you take on more debt because you know that you can pay it back tomorrow.

#16 (Abriko, Male, 32 years, 1, Fisherman, Farmer, 2nd Grade):In a single day.

#18 (Abriko, Male, 34 years, Teacher, Goat Farmer , 3rd Grade): A single large fish can bring in 25,000 HTG. Some times of the year are better for fishing, but you can do it all year. When you plant crops, you have to wait for the rain. Farming also requires a lot of inputs. All of those reasons make fishing more profitable.

Tim: Ok let's finish with number 19.

#19 (Abriko, Male, 35 years, 5, Fisherman, Secondary): I agree with everything they have said. Everything that I have I owe to the ocean and the good lord. Even after I went to school in Port-au-Prince for secondary school, I decided to return in order to fish for a living. And I don't regret it for a moment.