Distribution limited

FEM. 7

Original English

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL,
SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

MAKING THE INVISIBLE VISIBLE: INDICATORS FOR PLANNING FOR WOMEN IN CARIBBEAN DEVELOPMENT

By Joycelin Massiah

Prepared for Unesco

Institute of Social and Economic Research
(Eastern Caribbean)

University of the West Indies
Cave Hill, Barbados
March 1990

Table of Contents

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Acknowledgements

This study began in response to a UNESCO request to build a methodology based on indicators to respond to the priorities of silent women. In the process it became a review of the research and planning initiatives concerned with women undertaken in the region and over the past ten years or so with which I was familiar. In a very real sense, the initiatives selected themselves. The real task became one of re-assessing available published material in such a way as to refocus on known issues and to expose issues previously untouched. Many people contributed to the task.

First, acknowledgement must be given to UNESCO which provided funds for the study and the ensuing meeting; and to the CARICOM Secretariat for readily agreeing to co-host that meeting. Special thanks to the participants of that meeting whose comments and insights helped to sharpen many unclear sections of the draft.

I want to thank Magda Pollard, CARICOM Secretariat, whose enthusiasm, support and steady stream of information did much for shaping the nature and scope of the study and the format of the meeting.

Special thanks are also due to Audine Wilkinson, ISER(EC) whose remarkable ability to unearth scarce material was instrumental in filling outstanding gaps in the review. A particular debt of gratitude is owed to Frances Hinds, ISER(EC) whose patience, cheerfulness and ever-ready willingness to type endless versions of the manuscript was the inspiration for completing a study which turned out to be much larger than originally anticipated.

I am especially indebted to the review team whose critical responses were instrumental in reinforcing the theoretical underpinnings of the study.

Joycelin Massiah

March 1990

Abbreviations

BDD	British Development Division
BWA	Bureau of Women's Affairs
CAFRA	Caribbean Association of Feminist Researchers and Activists
CARICOM	Caribbean Community
CBI	Caribbean Basin Initiative
CDB	Caribbean Development Bank
ICIs	International Commercial Importers
ISER(EC)	Institute of Social and Economic Research (Eastern Caribbean)
NCSW	National Commission on the Status of Women
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
FLS	Forward Looking Strategies
PACCA	Policy Alternatives for the Caribbean and Central America
UWI	University of the West Indies
UN	United Nations
US	United States of America
WAND	Women and Development Unit
WICP	Women in the Caribbean Project
WID	Women in Development
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association

INTRODUCTION

This study provides an opportunity to extend the work accomplished by UNESCO in the San Marino meeting of 1985 and the Paris meeting of 1987. The former was concerned with the "Identification of Issues Concerning Women and their Consideration in Development Planning", the latter with the "Integration of Women's Issues in Development Planning" [UNESCO, 1986, 1987].

The general objective of the present study is to prepare an in-depth study for a better understanding of the socio-economic situation of women in the Commonwealth Caribbean and to identify basic indicators for equipping planners to take appropriate measures to improve their quality of life.

The specific aims were to:

i) review and analyze the latest national development plans and the programmes or actions therein for improving the quality of women's life in urban and rural areas;

ii) synthesize women's problems and concerns as noted in various studies and surveys undertaken in the Caribbean territories chosen over the last five years in order to identify indicators; and

iii) analyze the informal networks created by women in order to identify measures that could be taken to reinforce and develop such networks.

To accomplish this, the study relies on available material from official and survey sources. No primary data collection was undertaken. Rather the methodology consisted essentially of a review of statistical and documentary literature, reflection on the wide range of seminars/discussions/workshops in which the author has participated over the years, and consultation with key women in the region and government officials in the base territory, Barbados.

Preparing this study provided an opportunity to reflect on the question "Why are we, in 1989, still asking the same questions we asked in 1975 at the beginning of the UN Decade for Women?" The past two decades have witnessed a tremendous surge of activity in research, documentation, action programmes, organisational development, yet women in the Caribbean remain invisible in national development plans. Women in development is now firmly entrenched on the agenda of international donor agencies, even to the extent, in some cases, of rejecting proposals unable to identify significant benefits for women in target communities. Yet, in the

Caribbean, planning authorities are still reluctant to accept gender as a development planning issue. Why has this attitude persisted?

The answers have been many, varied and by no means definitive. One set of answers revolve around the disjuncture between traditional planning processes and techniques, which focus on macro-economic issues, and gender planning, which seeks to ally different planning interventions to different gender needs. Until planners become alert to the diferring roles of men and women in society and, consequently, to their differing needs, they will continue to assume that the 'trickle down' approach they adopt will benefit all persons equally.

It is by now, well documented that women around the world have not benefitted from development efforts to the same extent as men. In many cases, their economic and social position has deteriorated markedly through poor planning and ill-conceived development projects. The Caribbean is no exception. On the contrary, recent trends in the international and regional economies have exacerbated the disadvantaged situation of Caribbean women. During the decade of the 80s Caribbean economies have been characterised by falling export earnings, rising prices of imports, unstable exchange rates, increasing inflation, rapidly escalating public debt, and increasing flight of capital. The real costs of these strains have fallen on the poorest sections of the population in the form of falling real wages, growing unemployment and higher costs of basic needs. Efforts to address these have taken the form of structural adjustment measures based on a development philosophy which advocates export-led growth. The particular package of measures adopted in the region has included reduction of public expenditure, movement from direct to indirect taxation, investment promotion, trade liberalisation and privatisation.

Available evidence suggests that Caribbean women bore the brunt of the economic crisis and suffered most severely from the structural adjustment measures introduced [Antrobus 1989, Rivera 1989]. Because they have primary responsibility for the care of children, men, the sick and the elderly, women were the first line of defense as the men faced growing unemployment and the cost of living escalated. Household survival came to rely on women's productive labour, their earnings, and their domestic management skills to a greater extent than before. The price women paid in terms of their mental and physical health also became higher than it ever was.

Little, if any, of these matters can be found in national development plans in the region. Rather, women's issues continue to be interpreted as infant, childhood and maternal mortality and as social welfare programmes. For these some provision is included in the relevant sector of the plans. Anything else which may related to women is considered the concern of the women's bureaux, for which minimal provision is made. But in neither case is there any effort to link women's issues to the wider economy, thus to the plans proposed to stimulate that economy.

Further, even though Caribbean territories actively supported and participated in the events of the UN Decade for Women, nothing in the planning documents reflects the many conceptual and methodological insights offered in the research produced. Of particular relevance was the realization that women are not only beneficiaries but also participants in development, that women's productive and reproductive work are integrally connected; and that women's issues require a multidisciplinary analytic and planning approach. Because planners have failed to acknowledge this and because they continue to rely on the terminology and methodology of economics, they continue to equate women's issues solely with welfare issues. That this should be continuing after two decades of knowledge accumulation and sharing reflects more than the influence of traditional methods of training, planning techniques and processes to which planners are accustomed. It reflects the perpetuation of a gender ideology which subordinates women's interests to those of men, which marginalises women's activities and which fails to acknowledge the pivotal role played by women in the development and maintenance of society.

This raises the question of precisely what are these women's interests (or 'women's problems and concerns' as the study guidelines stated) which should be reflected in development plans. This notion implies a certain commonality of interest showed by women simply by virtue of their gender. But research repeatedly points to the differences between women in respect of age, socio-economic circumstances, ethnicity and so on. These differences necessarily shape the definition, articulation and policy responses to 'women's interests'. Recent work distinguishing between 'gender interests' and 'women's interests' between 'practical gender interests' and 'strategic gender interests' provide an important conceptual tool for identifying the interest and needs of women generally and of particular groups of women [Molyneux, 1985; Moser, 1989; Young, 1989].[1]

Clarifying the variety of 'women's' interests', however, assumes that the parameters of different groups of women are known. This brings us to the question of identifying 'silent'

or invisible women whose concerns the study was asked to highlight. Who are these invisible women and what determines their invisibility? It is clear, from the literature that the issue of women's invisibility has been discussed primarily in the context of the statistical invisibility of women's economic activity. The literature is equally clear on the point that economic activity represents but one aspect of the lives of women and one of the numerous characteristics by which women are differentiated. Identifying invisibility, therefore, like identifying women's interests, must recognise both the similarity and differences between women.

Invisibility may refer to women, their concerns or both. Its various forms may be recognised by women themselves, by external observers or both. Strategies to reduce invisibility (or increase visibility) vary across time, and between groups, both of which are affected by the prevailing socio-economic, cultural and political environment. Much depends on women's recognition of their own invisibility and their perception of the relative advantage to be gained from attaining high levels of visibility.

This raises the final question of the extent to which women perceive national development planning as a useful vehicle for meeting their practical needs and increasing their visibility. Related to that is the question of the extent to which women are prepared to unite around the common theme of gender interests in order to influence the national planning process. Whilst this issue really fell outside the scope of this study, closer collaboration of women's groups for this purpose is advocated as a strategy for the future.

Underlying each of these issues is the rapidly changing socio-economic environment of the region during the 1970s and 1980s. Changes have been initiated by both external and internal forces, sometimes by women themselves, more often not. These have inevitably affected women's circumstances and people's perceptions of and responses to those circumstances. Responses whether at the individual, group or institutional level have triggered direct or indirect effects which, in turn, have generated further change. The identification of 'women's problems and concerns' therefore needs to be placed in the context of this continually changing environment in which change occurs not in unilateral progression but in a continual process of ebb and flow, of challenge and response.

It is against this background that the present study argues that some of the momentum gained by research and action strategies of women has been lost by the inaction of planning authorities. However, creative use of information,

communication and collaboration can serve to develop new approaches to planning which can serve to maintain and sustain further development which truly benefits women.

The report first reviews three major regional research studies focussed on women and the issues they raise in respect of planning and policy making. Section II addresses questions of identification of the different needs of different categories of women, drawing on examples from national and micro level research studies. Section III examines five groups of women among whom different techniques are being used to facilitate the move from invisibility to visibility in development planning. The fourth section of the Report deals with the question of the development of appropriate indicators using data from Barbados. Section V examines the history of development planning and planning procedures in the region, the methods used for introducing women's concerns into development plans and the results achieved. Barbados and St. Vincent are the examples used. The final section offers suggestions for improving the planning process.

I. RECENT STUDIES ON WOMEN IN THE CARIBBEAN

Up until the late 1970s it would have been true to say that little research existed on women beyond that which focussed on family structure and fertility patterns. Useful as these studies were, they did little to enhance our knowledge about the problems and concerns of women and the strategies they adopted to confront these concerns. The decade of the 1980s however, has witnessed a considerable change under the impetus of a number of regional institutions.

At the governmental level, the regional CARICOM Secretariat, in response to initiatives from CARIWA and recommendations of a Regional Plan of Action for women in the English-speaking Caribbean, established in 1978 the post of Nutritionist/Women's Affairs Officer in 1978.[2] Two years later, the post of Women's Affairs Officer was fully established, with the main objective of promoting the integration of women in Caribbean development. Since then the Women's Affairs Desk has been involved in an active regional programme based on five priority areas identified by national governments. Included amongst these areas are data collecting, information dissemination and public education. In that connection, the CARICOM Women's Desk has promoted and supported research activities in a wide range of areas in consultation with relevant national, regional and international agencies.

At the non-governmental level, CARIWA Regional Plan of Action had also called for the establishment, within the regional UWI, of a unit concerned with promoting women's issues. This unit - the Women and Development Unit (WAND) - came into being in 1976 as a unit within the Department of Extra Mural Studies to monitor the plan of action for the integration of women in the social and economic development of the Caribbean and to assist in programmes designed for its implementation.[3] WAND's initial concern with integrating women into development entailed the provision of short-term technical assistance, the development of pilot projects, consciousness raising and the promotion of collaboration between relevant groups and agencies [Yudelman, 1987]. WAND has now shifted its focus towards a more activist stance in a search for alternative modes of development. Despite this shift, however, WAND has continued to pin its strategies for action on the basis of participatory research at the community level.

Also within the UWI, the Institute of Social and Economic Research (ISER) developed and implemented the first comprehensive project on Women in the Caribbean over the period 1979-82, marking the entry of women's issues into the academic programme of that University. One of the major

follow-up activities to that project was the establishment of an inter-disciplinary programme of Women and Development Studies linking teaching, research and outreach in a modular system of teacher training, undergraduate and graduate teaching and outreach activity.

Another regional development, this time with an international dimension, has been the establishment in 1979/80 of the post of Women's Affairs Officer at the headquarters of UNECLAC in Trinidad and Tobago. This officer is responsible for ensuring the inclusion of women's issues in the sub-regional programmes of Headquarters by liaising with relevant regional and national programmes.

Finally, the year 1985 witnessed the creation of an independent association of feminist researchers and activists (CAFRA) "committed to understanding the relationship between the oppression of women and other forms of exploitation in the society - and working actively for change" [CAFRA, brochure]. The major aim of CAFRA is to promote the inter-relationship between research and action and develop the feminist movement in the region by analysing women's problems from the perspective of race, class and sex and by analysing relations between men and women in non-capitalist and socialist societies. Unlike the CARICOM and UWI units, which are restricted to the Commonwealth Caribbean, CAFRA's activities embrace the Dutch, English, French and Spanish speaking Caribbean.

Working together, separately or in collaboration with other agencies, the CARICOM and UWI units have been largely responsible for bringing women on to the development agenda of national governments, regional development agencies and the curricula of regional tertiary level academic institutions. They have adopted a range of strategies including formal and informal research, workshops, seminars, conferences, technical assistance to government and non-government agencies, all designed to ventilate the concerns of women and to develop programmes aimed at alleviating those problems. UNECLAC and CAFRA have been engaged in a number of research undertakings, the former on women traders, the latter on women in agriculture, and women's history. The studies undertaken by these four regional agencies have provided, and continue to provide, a wealth of information which has widened the knowledge base about women's participation in the development of the region.[4] Perhaps more importantly, the information they have uncovered has clearly demonstrated that alleviating the problems of women necessarily improves the situation of all persons in the community.

To illustrate the range of issues in the research of the 1980s, the following section focusses on three regional studies which demonstrate the progression in research as the examination of issues concerning women widened and deepened from micro to macro level in the search for a model linking the two levels. The Women in the Caribbean Project (WICP) was concerned with the search for theoretical and methodological strategies to reflect the micro-level reality of the lives of Caribbean women and to use results to develop guidelines for defining social policy towards women. The WAND/Population Council project was concerned with assessing the impact of rural development schemes on low income households and the role of women. The PACCA project was concerned with the impact of international economic policies in the Caribbean and Central America and identifying an alternative development strategy, in the light of recent structural adjustment measures in the 1980s which have had most deleterious effects on women, especially poor women.

(i) Women in the Caribbean Project

This multidisciplinary study was conducted in 1979-82 under the auspices of the Institute of Social and Economic Research (Eastern Caribbean) (ISER(EC)) by a team of researchers from the UWI and the University of Guyana and covered the disciplines anthropology, demography, sociology, social psychology and political science [Massiah 1986 a and b]. Data were collected in two phases - a documentary phase at regional level and an empirical phase at the national level. The former phase consisted of a literature review of the situation of women in the five areas of law, education, the family, politics, work and development. A study of perceptions of women gleaned from newspapers in Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad and Tobago between 1838 and 1970 was also part of this first phase. The second consisted of a multi-level interviewing process involving a questionnaire survey of 1,600 women aged 20-64 in Barbados, Antigua and St. Vincent; life history interviews of a sub-sample of 38 women from the original sample; and sector studies exploring specific issues in Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica and the Eastern Caribbean. The various levels of interviewing produced a mix of quantitative and qualitative data linked by three themes - sources of livelihood, emotional support and power and authority.

The questionnaire survey concentrated initially on developing a socio-economic profile of respondents and locating them in their household contexts. Next it focussed on four major areas: education, family and kin, work, participation in group activities. In each case, the intent was not only to seek an indication of women's activity or

experience but also to obtain their assessment of that experience. It was anticipated that the data generated could assist WID practitioners in the government and non-government sectors, planning units, statistical agencies and future researchers. To assist in the latter, the project developed a multi-media dissemination programme aimed at directing different aspects of the findings to different audiences. The target groups included planners, policy makers, administrators of women's programmes, researchers, university students and the general public. The package included community and national workshops, a regional conference, a video tape recording, a synchro-slide production, published papers and reports.

Findings were reported and recommendations offered in a number of areas. In the area of education, data on levels of educational attainment, perfomance rates and extent of specialisation suggest that Caribbean women have been proceeding through the educational system without much hindrance [McKenzie, 1986]. However, it is equally clear that many women harbour unfulfilled aspirations especially in terms of their ability to transform their educational experience into significant and satisfying economic opportunities. They cherish ambitions for their children to achieve better education and better earning capacity than themselves, while at the same time accepting the limited options available to themselves. The project provided a number of recommendations relating to the formal school system, to vocational training, continuing education programmes, and public awareness programmes about women.

In the area of family and kin, a major finding is the high (about 40%) proportion of households headed by women, the persistence of the idea of marriage as the ideal family form, the high value placed on motherhood, and the importance of kinship and friendship networks as a means of enabling the woman to fulfill her family responsibilities [Powell, 1986]. Recommendations in this area focussed on programmes of family life education and the provision of day care services. Research studies were advocated on adolescent pregnancy, female household headship, household decision-making and male/female relationships.

Alternative employment status categories adopted by WICP suggest that conventional statistical systems adequately report the situation of women in the formal sector of the economy [Massiah, 1986 c]. The pattern remains one of high levels of participation in traditionally female areas (teaching, nursing, clerical and sales), low levels in manufacturing and low and declining levels in agriculture. However, in the informal sector there still persist difficulties in identification of what may be called the

invisible informal sector, of differentiation between self-employed (own account) and women in home-production and home services. These difficulties were, in turn, subsumed under the general problem of defining the informal sector which was not the primary focus of the Project.

Of more direct concern was identification of women's perception of what constitutes women's work. Here, the major finding was that women in the project consider work to be any activity which is functionally necessary to maintain themselves and their households. The criteria they used were time, physical or mental energy, income-earning potential and necessity. Paid employment, and self-employment, the two activities which provide a direct earned income, represent only two activities on a continuum of work activities along which women shift according to their situation and needs at different points in their life cycle. Other work activities include household chores, unpaid productive work in family business enterprises and home based production for both household consumption and sale. Further, income need not be the only product of this range of work activities. Goods, services and information, singly or in combination are also produced from a variety of sources including kin and friendship networks, institutional mechanisms, mating partner relationships and organisation and group membership. The management of this range of resources and activities is what constitutes work and what shapes the working lives of Caribbean women. The goal of the entire process is to maintain her economic independence, provide for the welfare of her children and contribute to maintenance of the household.

The recommendations from this sector of the study included suggestions for statistical measurement, infrastructural improvements of training programmes and public education campaigns. Several recommendations were offered for the improvement of facilities for women in agriculture and for research studies about women in a number of non-agricultural occupations.

The final area considered, organisation and group membership, revealed that although women strongly favoured group membership as a means of self-education, few actually belonged to any formal group [Clarke, 1986]. Those who did were to be found mostly in church groups where older women figured prominently. Involvement in group activities ranged from participation at the highest levels of decision making to involvement in routine activities. The women in the study exhibited limited knowledge of projects/programmes offered by organisations specifically for the benefit of women. But they did provide clear ideas on what such projects should be doing.

Recommendations arising from this sector focussed on the need to establish and/or improve national machinery for women, the need for improving organisational activity of non-government organisations and for greater collaboration between them, the need for involving NGOs in development programmes and the need for greater public awareness campaigns.

Apart from recommendations to government and NGOs, the WICP also offered recommendations to researchers for further study in the various sectors covered by WICP. Of specific interest to the present study was a proposal for

> "separate studies designed to obtain a profile of the following groups of women:
>
> - women in manufacturing industries, including those in industries operated by multi-national corporations;
> - women in agriculture, particularly in the smaller territories;
> - women in domestic service;
> - women traders, particularly those operating in territories in which the economic system appears to have broken down;
> - women in professions." [Massiah, 1983]

(ii) WAND/Population Council Project

This project, a joint venture between WAND and the Population Council, was conducted in 1982-83 in cooperation with the CARICOM Secretariat and the governments of Dominica, St. Lucia and Jamaica [UWI, WAND, 1983; Ellis, 1986]. The project was designed to develop links between various government ministries and agencies, to encourage a participatory approach to problem solving and to strengthen research and development networks between countries and agencies.

Each of the countries selected for analysis a rural development project which had been in operation for more than five years. Selected projects had each been originally envisaged as a possible model for replication, had experienced problems in achieving goals and had been exposed to minimal social analysis.[5] Each territory put together a research team consisting of a social science researcher, and one representative each from the Planning Agency, the Ministry of Agriculture, the national machinery for women and the

administrative staff of the development project itself. Consultative groups representing a wide cross section of interests provided support and advice as the project progressed. The research team worked together to develop an appropriate methodology, design survey instruments, implement the field work, analyse the material and present the findings to national workshops and a regional workshop.

The three projects chosen included a multi-million dollar integrated rural development project covering 20,000 persons in Jamaica; a micro project involving 11 households engaged in vegetable production in St. Lucia; and a cooperative project in eight small villages in north western Dominica. The projects differed in several respects. The Jamaica and Dominica projects were integrated rural development projects while the St. Lucia project was sector specific. The Jamaica and St. Lucia projects were initiated by government, i.e. top down, while the Dominica project originated from within the community, i.e. bottom up. The Dominica project included extensive participation of women in decision making at the initial stages, but that petered out. The Jamaica project had limited but direct involvement of women in decision-making through membership of farmer committees and women's groups. The St. Lucia project provided only indirect participation for women since the farmer advisory structure was very weak. One final area of differentiation lay in the degree of sensitivity exhibited to women's issues and reflected in the extent to which project design includes needs of women. The St. Lucia project was initially designed without reference to the needs of women; the Jamaica project introduced a women's component half way through; and the Dominica project did so from the start but did not follow through by involving women in the decision making process.

Despite the differences in organisational structure and focus, these three projects demonstrated several important lessons, among which may be included the following, which are of particular relevance to the present exercise.

1. the need to involve the community from the planning and design stage of the project.

   - Few participants in the Jamaica project knew about the project before it came on stream. One result of this was that the project ended up creating serious divisions between itself and the farmers who it was intended to be helping.

- The St. Lucia project failed to consult with local farmers about the selection of the site for the project. Advice from farmers familiar with the shortcomings of the site was ignored. The project failed.

2. The need for basic data about the farm families/ households in the project community to be reliable and to be reflected in the project design.

   - The St. Lucia project underestimated the structure and size of farm households and based its design on the assumption of a family size of four, whereas the actual family size was much larger.

   - The St. Lucia project recognised a high average age of farmers, a wide age-span of family members and considerable geographic scatter of children. Yet the design was based on the expectation of high input from family labour.

3. The need to assess the environmental context in order to anticipate possible problems.

   - one of the activities of the Dominica project - the Boxing Plant - was undertaken with no study of the production potential of the area, the flow of produce to market and the costs of operating the plant at different levels of utilization. It turned out that production levels were inadequate to start with and did not increase significantly due to inadequate supply of fertilizer and no changes in patterns of land use. The plant was eventually closed.

4. The need to include women and women's issues in the planning, design, implementation and evaluation stages of the project.

   - Pre-project survey data for the Jamaica project indicated that over half the total target population consisted of women as farmers in their own right or as joint farm managers. Yet a project design was developed as if male farmers were the sole clientele. When this gap was recognised, a WID component was tacked on to the project to provide women with vegetable gardening skills and nutrition education. But even though this was perceived by women, men and project officials as beneficial, nothing was done to extend the component to build on

those skills. Thus the opportunity was lost to assist women to contribute to the economic sector of their country by e.g. providing skills in processing and marketing of the food crops grown.

5. The need to include women in the decision making levels of the project.

   - The Dominica Cooperative consisted of 250 members, 90 or 36 per cent of whom were women. There was one woman on the initial steering committee and there continues to be one woman on the Board of 11. Despite general recognition of her contribution, the powerful male Board is strongly resistant to increasing the number of women on the Board. The single woman Board member reportedly felt "overpowered" by the majority of men. Without a strong presence on the Board to represent their interests, women as a social group, have failed to break the power structure in the Cooperative, to hold leadership positions or to influence critical decisions in the Cooperative. Thus, for example, despite overwhelming support from women members of the Cooperative for a woman to be offered a management position for which she was trained, and in which she had already given considerable voluntary assistance, this was summarily rejected by the Board.

In conclusion, it may be stated that this project clearly demonstrated the pitfalls in the way of development projects which fail to address, satisfactorily, or at all, the social and cultural environment in which potential beneficiaries reside. It demonstrated the need for planners to be involved not only at the planning stage of a project but at the implementation, monitoring and input assessment stages. Of special significance was the model the project developed for conducting policy-oriented research on women and development.

(iii) The Policy Alternatives for the Caribbean and Central America (PACCA) Project: Alternative Visions of Development

The PACCA project was executed by a team of seven, including two Caribbean based women researchers, one of whom was the Coordinator of WAND, two American-based women Caribbeanists, one of whom was associated with WICP, two male economists, one of whom was Caribbean and the overall

coordinator, a woman economist.[6] The project, conducted in 1987-89, was concerned with assessing US-Caribbean relations, locating the issue of gender in the design, execution and impact of those relations and devising a framework for alternative development strategies within the Caribbean and alternative US policy towards the region.[7] To achieve this, the project deliberately adopted a feminist stance and was accordingly structured to include the following:

(i) a feminist analysis of the crises in the Caribbean and its social consequences;

(ii) an analysis of the new social movements in the Caribbean and of the relative visions of development emerging from them;

(iii) an assessment of US policy towards the region;

(iv) the promotion of an alternative development strategy based on promoting self-reliance and democratic development; and

(v) the production of an alternative US policy towards the region.

Heavy reliance was thus placed on macro-economic data and secondary data about women in the region. No survey field work was conducted.

The project was organised as a team effort in which individual members contributed papers towards the preparation of a book, the structure and format of which was determined in a series of meetings. The first draft of the book was submitted for comment to a Board of Advisors since which time it has been undergoing revision for publication [PACCA, 1989]. It is proposed to produce a series of popular education materials for use by NGOs and other development groups in both the Caribbean and the US.

The genesis of the book is in the economic crisis in the Caribbean in the 1980s. Originating in the recession in advanced industrial economies and the ensuing collapse of institutionalised structures of capital accumulation within and outside the region, the crisis exhibited three facets: a balance of payments crisis, a fiscal crisis and a debt crisis. These, in turn, are reflected in declining foreign investment and unprecedented and rising levels of unemployment. Caribbean governments have responded with a package of structural adjustment programmes consisting of stabilization measures intended to reduce the balance of payments deficit and export diversification intended to increase economic growth. The project argues that by focussing largely on

trade, the proposals fail to address the fundamental structural problem of Caribbean economies i.e. the structure of production and the distribution of assets. Further, the proposals fail to address the potential and actual impact on the majority of the population and in particular of the most vulnerable sections among which women feature prominently.

Using data from Jamaica and the Dominican Republic the study has demonstrated that as a result of the economic crisis and structural adjustment measures, Caribbean women are experiencing higher rates of unemployment and lower wages. Cuts in the provision of government social services have meant an increasing cost of social reproduction. Reductions in public expenditure have also resulted in cutbacks in employment in the public service which has traditionally employed large numbers of women. Thus a major source of wages has been removed from women.

Because they have primary responsibility for the care of children, the sick and the elderly, women especially poor women have had to bear the brunt of the economic crisis. In response to the austerity measures introduced to solve the crisis, women have been developing a number of survival strategies. These have included acceptance of employment in export processing zones, despite the absence of union representation and the poor working conditions. They have also included increased participation in the informal sector and in contracted homework. They have expanded the size of their households in order to gain access to assistance with domestic and child care responsibilities as well as potential additional household income. They have altered the consumption and dietary patterns of themselves and their children, despite the resulting increase in malnutrition among both children and pregnant mothers. They have migrated in increasing numbers, particularly to the US and Canada, in order to seek employment and obtain income which can be returned as remittances to their dependents left behind.

The project argues for increased activism by women's groups, and increased collaboration between NGOs, the local communities and the political system in order to achieve the aim of an alternative development based on self determination, participation, self-reliance, regionalism, equity and sustainability.

The US aspect of the project was concerned with the design and impact of the CBI programme on the Caribbean. It argues that the CBI programme as part of an economic policy concerned with capital rather than labour and with bilateral rather than multilateral arrangements, has acted to worsen the region's economic crisis and heighten social tensions. The project argues that US policies to date have served to

integrate the Caribbean more closely to US markets, improve the US trade balance and enhance the profitability of US multinationals and finance capital. These have been achieved at the expense of the poor of the region with the result of increased poverty and social instability.

The project argues that an alternative policy needs to recognise the inextricable linkage between the standard of living of US citizens and those of the Caribbean. It also needs to recognise that sustainable and participatory development in the Caribbean serves the mutual interest of both areas. Such a policy should be concerned with -

(i) promoting measures for debt relief, expanding sugar quotas;

(ii) developing a non-sugar trade policy aimed at promoting Caribbean development;

(iii) a migration policy concerned with improving living and working conditions in the region;

(iv) development assistance more consistent with regional aspirations; and

(v) reduction of US military presence in the region and creation of the Caribbean as a zone of peace.

This project is especially useful to the present exercise in illustrating the importance of factors operative in the international geo-political arena to micro level issues of poverty among women in this region.

(iv) Lessons Learnt

The three projects described contain many useful contributions to the general body of knowledge about women in development. From the perspective of the present exercise, there are several lessons worth noting.

1. The wealth of data and research experience on women in the Caribbean now available provides a rich base on which to build policies, plans and programmes designed to improve the lives of women. Planners can no longer claim the absence or the insufficiency of data as a constraint to the formulation of appropriate policies and plans for women in development.

2. The available data clearly demonstrate the pivotal role occupied by women in Caribbean societies; the extent to which they participate in, benefit from and are excluded from development plans and projects; and the manner of and extent to which they are affected by events in the international arena. Planners can no longer claim that men and women benefit to the same extent from development activity.

3. Caribbean women are perfectly capable of assessing their life situation, of describing the contextual factors which shape that situation, of articulating their needs and of prescribing possible solutions. Planners need to listen to their voices.

4. Despite social conventions which marginalise women's issues there are male technical personnel in government ministries and agencies who are willing to listen to women's views, to participate in women's development projects and to rethink traditional approaches to development. Planners need to develop and expand that capacity within their agencies.

5. The research experience has highlighted the need to develop an integrated, participatory approach to women's issues regardless of whether the focus of the development activity is policy-making, planning, project implementation or research. Specialists in each of these areas must be prepared to apply their theoretical insights and practical experience to a team effort devoted to development issues.

6. Planning for women at the national level needs to take into account not only macro-level issues and indicators but also micro-level factors, many of which may be non-quantitative, but which are vital to an understanding of women's lives and to the design of realistic plans to assist women.

7. The development of indicators illuminating women's situation requires the creative application of standard statistical procedures to both traditional and non-traditional data sources.

8. Networking among researchers and between researchers and practitioners is highly developed. It is a structure on which they themselves will continue to build and on which planners must build, if the plans they design are to bridge the gap between macro and micro.

II. IDENTIFYING WOMEN'S INVISIBILITY

The brief overview of the three regional studies highlights some of the major issues to be considered in developing plans and projects, whether or not women are directly involved. Each of the projects reviewed provides evidence that neither women nor their problems/concerns are homogenous. Women are differentiated physically by age, culturally by ethnic group, socially by class grouping, occupational status and household structure - to name a few. The problems/concerns of women in each of these groups and sub-groups, also differ in kind, and intensity, even though it may be argued that all women in the region are confronted by the double subordination of gender and the economic dependence (impoverishment) of the region. Identification of different groups of women and of their general and specific problems thus becomes the first priority in attempting to establish appropriate indicators.

Concern with indicators of the situation of women stems essentially from a concern with the invisibility of women's contribution to development. This invisibility manifests itself in the CARICOM region in several ways. Inadequate provision for women in national development plans, as evidenced by the two plans reviewed later is one manifestation. The absence or limited mention of women in major regional policy documents is another. For example, after sixteen years of existence, the CDB mentioned women for the first time in the 1986 annual report of its President [Demas, 1986]. The influential CARICOM report on the development prospects of the region makes only passing reference to women in its discussion on unemployment, while there is no mention of women in the prescriptive section focussing on the development of human resources [Bourne, 1988]. Another kind of invisibility is to be found in the disregard of women's knowledge in the design and implementation of development projects. The Jamaica IDRP-II project described earlier provides an example of this. Yet another example of invisibility lies in existing official statistical systems in which data, though collected by sex, may not be disaggregated, tabulated or even published; qualitative data are not collected to supplement available quantitative data; reliance continues to be placed on the traditional approach to data collection which was inadequate to reflect the reality of women's lives or to guide the design of programmes to meet women's needs [CARICOM, 1986].

These varying examples of invisibility which, incidentally are not unique to the Caribbean, have resulted in numerous calls and responses for the development of appropriate indicators to measure the situation of women [UN INSTRAW, 1983 a, b and c, 1884 a and b, 1987; UNESCO, 1981].

However, despite a general awareness and acceptance of women's invisibility there is still a sense in which identification remains somewhat hazy.

Much of the early women in development literature which touches on the question of the invisibility of women concentrated on the statistical invisibility of women's economic activity occasioned by their heavy involvement in the informal sector and in unpaid labour in family enterprises. With the identification of the poorest amongst these 'invisible' groups came the identification of their needs. Increased economic activity for women was seen as a universal need. Access to land, credit and appropriate technology was seen as the specific needs of rural women.[8] Housing, transportation, day care services and skills training were identified as the major needs of poor, low-income urban women. Differences in levels of participation and access to facilities between men and women were assumed to signal a 'gender gap' which needed to be filled by specific development initiatives in order to increase women's visibility.

With the progress of the UN Decade came recognition of the multi-faceted nature of women's activities many of which are necessary but 'non-economic'. In effect, the link between production and reproduction became more evident, gradually leading to a better appreciation of the need to look not only at the factors impinging on women who were, or wanted to be, economically active, but also at groups of women who were particularly vulnerable because of specific 'non-economic' difficulties in their personal circumstances.

Up until the Forward Looking Strategies (FLS) it may be argued that the tendency had been to concentrate research and development efforts on increasing the visibility of groups operating on the margins of the economy but nevertheless making a significant economic contribution at the household and community level. But the FLS specifically recommended that

> "Basic to all efforts to improve the condition of these women should be the identification of their needs and hence the gathering of gender-specific data and economic indicators sensitive to conditions of extreme poverty and oppression." [UN, 1985 b, para. 282]

This implies a need for a wider definition of 'silent' or 'invisible' women than one based exclusively on their economic activities, a closer examination of the visibility/ invisibility issue and a distinction between women and their problems, both of which may include elements of visibility and invisibility. This remaining section of the paper attempts to

provide a framework within which such recognition may take place.[9]

Fundamental to the analytical framework prepared here is the assumption that women and their roles have traditionally been accorded lower status in Caribbean societies than men. Related to that assumption is the proposition that women bear an unequal share of social reproduction work in relation to men; and that productive work in exchange for cash, in which men are involved to a greater degree than women, is accorded higher status than the social reproductive work of women. A second set of assumptions revolve around the fact that women's work includes economic and non-economic activities both of which tend to be downplayed or ignored in the development literature of the region. Thus women, their activities, their problems and concerns remain largely invisible to policy makers, planners and, often, to women themselves. Thirdly, the framework assumes that the invisibility of women stems directly from a gender ideology which adheres to a hierarchial and asymmetrical division of labour in favour of males which is manifested in various ways and in different spheres of activity.

Together these assumptions contributed to the identification of five interrelated types of visibility operative at three different levels each being a precondition of achieving a higher level. Movement from lower to higher levels need not be unilinear, but the direction of the movement represents a move from recognition of the existence of gender disadvantage to action designed to reduce or eliminate that disadvantage. A schematic representation is shown in Figure II.1.

The first and basic level consists of two types of visibility. Conceptual visibility represents the perception of external observers that a particular sex is subject to a gender disadvantage. This is evident in the prevailing gender ideology of a society, the extent to which that ideology is articulated and the way in which it operates. Subjective visibility reflects the recognition by individuals themselves of the contributing effects of gender domination on their own attitude, behaviour, material and emotional circumstances. The difference between the two types of visibility is essentially one of perceptions. Sometimes the perceptions of the researcher and researched may coincide, but often they differ on several dimensions including problem diagnosis and prescription of solutions.

The second level of the scheme consists of theoretical and statistical visibility made possible by the generation and analysis of quantitative and qualitative data. This level of visibility stems directly from the conceptual visibility at

Level 1. It makes possible the identification of trends, patterns of gender domination and explains the mechanisms which perpetuate that domination. At this level, begins the process of understanding how the gender system operates and what kinds of action may be needed in order to minimise elements of disadvantage.

The third and final level of the scheme consists of two types of visibility - the socio-economic/political and the domestic. The former derives from increasing the power resources of the disadvantaged, from the removal of legal and political barriers to advancement and from the introduction of social policies designed to create an environment free of gender domination. This type of visibility flows directly from action external to the household. Domestic visibility, based on action at the individual and household level, is reflected in a changing system of gender relations in which male and female roles are structured in a more egalitarian manner than previously. This level of visibility flows directly from the conceptual and subjective and indirectly from the theoretical and statistical.

Beyond the general question of identifying different types and levels of visibility is that of distinguishing between the visibility of women (or groups of women) and that of their problems. Available evidence suggests that some groups of women e.g. women in petty trading, may be readily identified by conventional statistics. But in the absence of micro-level research, their problems, concerns and needs remain invisible. In effect, the group may have achieved a limited amount of statistical visibility (Level 2) but without the identification and articulation of their problems, without the introduction of mechanisms to solve their problems, the chances of moving up to Level 3 visibility are slim. Another kind of example may be found in the case of destitute women. Their problems may be highly visible through their visual presence on the streets and perhaps through human interest stories in the process i.e. theirs is a Level 1 conceptual visibility. But without their numerical identification and categorisation in a census or special purpose survey they remain 'invisible' and their chances of progressing to Level 2 visibility and beyond are also slim.

The separation of these aspects of visibility thus becomes an important precondition for operationalising the analytical framework. The first step in the process was to group women in terms of social (including household structures, age, socio-economic status, ethnic group, marital status, organisational groups); and economic (occupational group, outside of labour force) categories. From these a selection was made of those groups which available research and local knowledge suggested were experiencing specific

problems. That short list of groups was then arranged in a four-cell matrix according to the visibility or invisibility of either the women or their problems. The criteria adopted for each cell were as follows:

Women visible:	- group clearly identified in available statistical systems;
	- group can be visually identified.
Women invisible	- group either not identifiable in statistical systems or identified as small proportion of population;
	- group not usually seen.
Problems visible:	- problems articulated and discussed in public; research data available
	- effects of problems can be clearly seen.
Problems invisible	- little known or heard about problems;
	- effects of problems not easily seen.

Applying this conceptual framework to information yielded by the different levels of research available yields the categorisation appearing in Table II.1. From this it is clear, that although available research provides valuable information about Caribbean women as a group, little is really known about a wide range of sub-groups whether the discussion is concerned with economic participation, social status groups or marginalised groups.

The groupings are not of course mutually exclusive. There may be some double counting e.g. élite women may also be in the minority ethnic groups - thus compounding their invisibility. There may be some contradictions e.g. prostitutes may be easily identified in the areas they frequent and may thus be considered 'visible' but that does not mask the 'invisibility' of their needs which are seldom articulated. Differences in terms of such criteria as motherhood, class alliances, involvement in the formal or informal sector, are not introduced into the model. This is not to deny the existence or importance of such differences, but simply to reflect a recognition that such differences,

while affecting the degree of visibility or invisibility within specific groups, do not really alter the categorisation of the overall groups. Thus, for example, the group 'disabled women' may be statistically disaggregated in terms of socio-economic status. But unless specific information is available to elucidate the problems of each of the sub-groups, the total group may still be considered 'invisible'. The important point is that the constituent sub-groups are bound together by common identifiable needs by virtue of being in the same overall category. But their involvement in different social or economic sub-groups also yields another set of needs, specific to the particular sub-groups to which they belong. This combined, yet differentiated needs structure creates specific difficulties for planning authorities conditioned to think of women as a homogenous group.

Category I: Women Visible, Problems Visible

For the groups of women listed under Category I, studies exist on general issues about unemployment and manufacturing from which information can be gleaned about women. Major work on the other groups has been becoming available in recent years. From the perspective of the categorisation adopted, these groups of women and their problems may be considered generally visible. They have progressed beyond Levels 1 and 2 visibility and have achieved a limited measure of Level 3 socio-economic/political visibility but we are without data to determine the extent to which they have achieved domestic visibility. It would not however be necessarily correct to say that no further planning efforts on their behalf are required.

Category II: Women Visible, Problems Invisible

Groups in Category II can be readily identified from census and survey data, but little is known about the specific probems they face and, in general, it may be argued that little planning is effected on their behalf at the national level. Consider, for example, the case of domestic service. This is an area of employment activity in which significant numbers of Caribbean women have been involved from the earliest days of Caribbean history. In Barbados, e.g., census data suggest that the number of domestics hovered between 9,000 and 12,000 in the latter half of the 19th Century, rose to 14,000 by 1921 and by 1980 had resumed the mid-19th Century level of about 9,000. These numbers represent about 17 per cent to 25 per cent of the total female work force. Yet it is an area which has been poorly served by historians, sociologists and economists alike [Higman, 1983, p. 117].

From the different perspectives of three recent studies on the subject, it is clear that despite the inherent problems involved in an activity which is not necessarily a preferred economic option, domestic service performs a critical role in Caribbean societies.

The earliest of these studies was undertaken in Trinidad in 1975 and was concerned with the working conditions of a sample of domestic workers [Mohammed, 1986]. The study found that wages and other conditions of work were determined by private agreement between employer and employee. No protection was available to domestics in respect of minimum wage, sickness, maternity, old age, or disabilities. Relationships on both sides were characterised by "a strong element of distrust". The study identified four major needs for domestic workers. These centred around:

(i) a change in attitude towards housework and the labour performed by domestic workers;

(ii) establishment of a minimum wage commensurate with the job requirements and sufficient to meet the prevailing cost of living;

(iii) provision of inexpensive day care facilities; and

(iv) the need for domestics to organise themselves into trade unions.

These were predicated on the growing dependency of working and professional women on the services provided by domestic workers, and the need for many working class women to find employment [Mohammed, 1986].

The Higman study traces the pattern of growth and decline in domestic service in Jamaica over two centuries, 1750-1970 [Higman, op. cit.]. He links trends in the domestic service workforce to changes in the Jamaican economy and in the social status of the servant-employing classes. He concludes that although domestic service continues to be important, the socio-economic position of domestic servants has been on the decline since the middle of the 19th Century.

The Anderson study focusses on the domestic employment relationship in Jamaica as it relates to the domestic bonding which is necessary for its maintenance and to the prevailing intra-family sex roles which that bonding is intended to maintain. For Anderson, it is this heavy emotional investment in the domestic service relationship which separates domestic service from other types of income earning and which makes it difficult to identify essential research issues. Anderson

argues that it is to the interest of both parties to maintain a relationship which tends towards mutual accommodation and in which little evidence of conflict is apparent. On the one hand, traditional high levels of labour force participation force middle class Jamaican women to delegate more of their domestic responsibilities. On the other, domestic service is one of the most readily available employment opportunities for women with limited education and occupational skills. It is therefore to their mutual advantage for the two parties to seek and maintain a workable, long-term relationship. Those relationships which degenerate into the exploitative are usually short-lived; those which survive serve the separate interests of server and served. She concludes that taken together the beliefs and practices discussed by respondents in her study "form a coherent ideology of domestic service which serves to maintain a structured system of class and gender relationships" [Anderson, 1989, p. 16/17].

In effect, domestic service is contributing much more than employment for significant numbers of women. It is performing an important maintenance function in the society which goes well beyond what the employment numbers indicate. Yet, domestic servants, as a group, are not encountered in the development plans in the region, even though some territories have introduced legislation to ease their way. For example in Barbados, there is a Domestic Employers (Hours of Duty) Act which stipulates the working hours for domestics but makes no provision for a minimum wage. Domestic servants are also covered under the National Insurance Security Act; the Holidays with Pay Act and the Severance Pay Act. These legal measures serve to protect the domestic servant to a certain extent, as indeed do similar measures in other territories. But in the absence of trade union representation and the provision of programmes aimed at enhancing their employment skills domestic servants have to continue to rely on their own ability to influence their working relationship.

Women in Category II of this framework may thus be said to be progressing towards Level 2 - theoretical and statistical visibility. Their numbers are generally known; but little specific information exists about their problems, concerns and needs. Few, if any, policy measures exist on their behalf.

Category III: Women Invisible, Problems Visible

Women in Category III represent a particularly poignant aspect of invisibility. They are either relatively few in number or cannot be identified although they are known to exist. Yet the problems which they confront have been continuously expounded, though only in the case of victims of physical violence has the case been made specifically from the

perspective of women. In two other cases, disabled and elderly women, available information has been used as a basis for inclusion of programmes/projects in national development plans. Thus, for example, the most recent Development Plan for Barbados proposes in the health sector to focus on eleven major areas including:

- the development of programmes and provision of increased facilities for the disabled; and

- the implementation of a vibrant community based programme for the elderly.

No details are given with respect to the former, but for the elderly, it was proposed to

- upgrade the existing geriatric hospital;

- establish a geriatric service in the major Government Hospital;

- establish homes for the ambulant elderly; and

- develop Community Health Teams to maintain the aged in their homes.

In similar global terms, the Minister of Employment, Labour Relations, Community Development and the Environment proposes to

- expand the provision of home help and housing for the elderly;

- make greater use of existing facilities to establish day care centres for the elderly.

It may be argued that at least in this territory the provision of appropriate facilities and custodial care at least ensures that the physical needs of elderly women and men are being addressed. But a recent survey of the elderly in that territory suggests that although significant achievements have been realised in meeting 'tangible' needs much remains to be done. There are still sizeable pockets of inadequate provision, of unmet needs and of lack of knowledge about available services. And the question of non-tangible needs still has to be addressed [Brathwaite, 1985 and 1986]. To that list may be added the absence of separate analysis of the problems of elderly men and women.[10] Over 60 per cent of the sample in that survey were women yet their physical circumstances, the nature and extent of the problems they experience or their knowledge and use of available services, remain unanalysed [Nurse, 1986]. Thus, from the perspective

of this framework, elderly women remain invisible in terms of their specific problems.

When we turn to the group of women victims of physical violence, the position is much more hazy in terms of numbers involved, but information about the women affected is slowly coming to hand. A recent study commissioned by the Bureau of Women's Affairs in Barbados revealed that between 1977-1985 an average of 50 cases of rape and 26 cases of indecent assault were reported per year [Jordan, 1986]. These were cases of major indictable crimes which were dealt with summarily. Not included were minor crimes which either never reached the court or were dealt with in a magistrate's court. In 1985, 192 reports of such non-sexual physical violence were received. Of these 156 or 81 per cent were committed by males against females. Included amongst these are 82 cases of beating which resulted in minor or no physical injury - classified as 'minor crimes'. No record is available of the number of beatings which are not reported to the police.

The conclusion would seem to be that the relatively low number of indictable crimes which reach the court mask a much higher number of minor crimes which either never reach the court or are unreported. They also mask the terrible psychological scars which women develop after these incidents and the inadequacy of existing police and legal systems to provide adequate support services. According to one study of domestic violence among East Indians in Guyana:

> "It is only when husband-wife violence is pushed to the point where the female partner is seriously or fatally injured that she is not discriminated against by the police."
> [Shiw Parsad, 1988]

That study concludes that since recourse to the law has proven unsatisfactory and support from friends and relatives ineffective

> "... many abused wives are kept in a web of cultural, religious, economic and ideological trappings of an underclass."
> [Shiw Parsad, op. cit.]

In effect, in the context of this paper such women remain invisible, but studies such as those cited are slowly making their problems visible.

In terms of the framework, women in Category III may be said to have progressed beyond Level 2 and to be slowly gaining Level 3 - socio-economic/political visibility - in terms of measures being introduced to alleviate their

situation. Yet it would be correct to say that not very much is known really about these women beyond their numbers.

Category IV: Women Invisible, Problems Invisible

In this group are to be found those women about whom least is known whether in terms of identifying the numbers involved or the problems experienced. These could be viewed as the most clearly 'invisible' of all groups; for although they are known to exist, data are either sketchy e.g. women in trade unions, or non-existent e.g. élite women. But even amongst this group, information is slowly being extracted.

The WICP employed the category "home production" to identify those women who engaged in agriculture or handicraft for sale on an occasional basis as a supplement to their home service (housework) activities. Between six per cent and eleven per cent of the samples were found to be so engaged. These women were located mainly in rural areas and resorted to such activities when they could find money to purchase raw materials and a ready market for their produce. It was a device to help fill up their spare time, with little semblance of permanency and little hope of significant returns.

A 63 year old WICP respondent in Antigua recalls her occasional involvement in the production of handicraft from seeds - a skill she learnt from her mother.

> "I had was to do a little thing to keep life easier, you know. Couldn't just sit down so with your hands in your lap all the days."

She and her children would collect the seeds from trees in rural areas, boil and dye them and string them into jewellery, belts, tablemats and the like for sale during the tourist season. However, the government cut down the trees, ploughed up the land for an agricultural project and seeds now have to be bought. Loss of a free source of raw material, high cost of replacement and lack of sales, through competition from other types of handicraft have forced her out of the market and eliminated her single source of income earning. Increasing age and deterioration in vision have further reduced her ability to earn income from the only skill she has. She is now fully dependent on her only daughter, who used to help with the seed handicraft, but who is now involved in sewing garments for sale to tourists. She grows vegetables for household use and would sell any occasional surplus to neighbours. Also, she might still do occasional beadwork from her last remaining supply of seeds, because

> "You may get them sell, if not at the same price, just to say you get rid of them".

Women like this respondent can only be identified in a survey. They are not included in official statistics as workers, their problems of marketing and sales are not articulated by any collective, and their chances of being included in any project or programme aimed at improving their situation are minimal. Further, if they are elderly as in this case, their invisibility is further compounded.

Consider a more organised group - women in trade unions. In one sense, these should be a highly visible group by virtue of the prominent role played by trade unions in the economic life of the territories in the region since the 1930s. In another, they are highly invisible since their numbers on membership rolls are not known, even though they have been involved in the trade union movement from its inception. They are outnumbered 3 to 1 at decision making levels, thus the impact they have had on bringing women's issues to bear on conventional union approaches to labour policy has been minimal [Bolles, 1988; Gloudon, 1986]. Further, little is known about the problems which they confront as they attempt to enter and remain in an area traditionally regarded as a male domain. Thus both the women and their problems remain invisible.

Women in Category IV remain firmly at the lowest level of visibility, Level 1 - conceptual. Their numbers are unknown, their problems are unknown, no policy measures protect them. In effect, groups in this category may be considered invisible.

The conclusion to be drawn from this analysis is that while general information about Caribbean women is available, that for specific groups of women is generally lacking. In terms of the proposed model, most groups have not progressed beyond the first level of visibility. For the few groups for which some information is available, it may be said that they have attained a measure of statistical visibility. However, in the absence of planning and policy measures on their behalf they have been unable to move much beyond the second level of visibility.

III. ROUTES TO VISIBILITY

If women are to be enabled to expand and improve their life prospects, then specific efforts need to be made to transform their 'invisibility' into genuine visibility. Further that visibility must not only be limited to statistical visibility i.e. Level 2 of the model, but should be extended to the third and higher level. This involves the design and execution of specific strategies based on the realities of how women perceive themselves, determine their personal goals, allocate priorities and negotiate action. Lesson 3 learnt from the Chapter describing recent research is relevant here. Caribbean women can and do engage in an ongoing process of assessing their situation and devising action. Table III.1 identifies the range of strategies which have been and are being used to attain the highest level of visibility. Strategies are linked to different types and levels of visibility through a series of perceived or stated objectives. From this it is evident that the achievement of a specific level of visibility rests on a combination of strategies in which information and networking figure prominently.

Four case studies are used to demonstrate alternative strategies for moving from invisibility to different levels of visibility and the effect this movement has or has not had on the approach to national development planning for women. The first case study demonstrates the use of research as a vehicle for achieving conceptual visibility and moving towards statistical visibility. Illustrations are taken from a variety of studies on women in agriculture. The second case study illustrates how research followed by collective action of the researched helps to strengthen visibility at Levels 1 and 2 and to start the move towards socio-economic and political visibility. A UNECLAC study on women traders supplies the example. The third case study illustrates a participatory action programme as a mechanism for achieving Level 3 visibility. The WAND project in Rose Hall, a village in St. Vincent, provides the example. A fourth case study draws on the experience of a women's theatre collective to illustrate the use of drama to intensify Level 1 visibility and move directly to Level 3. The fifth and final case study demonstrates the use of regional networking as a strategy for attaining each level of visibility. The experience of Directors of Women's Bureaux in the region is used in this illustration.

1 (i) The Strategy of Research: Women in Agriculture

This strategy has been employed by groups external to the researched group [CAFRA, 1988; FAO 1988, Knudson and Yates, 1981, Springer, 1983]. Data are gathered from both primary and secondary sources. Planners may or may not be involved in the research process, but considerable effort is expended in disseminating the results as widely as possible. Individual studies focus on specific territories or crops, but taken together the studies provide planners with a wealth of information.

Available statistical data on employment in agriculture suggest a significant and steady decline in the absolute and relative numbers of the working population engaged in agriculture. Much of this decline may be attributed to the declining role of agriculture in the region. Evidence of the latter may be found in the declining share of agriculture in national GDP, declining levels of production, declining proportions of arable land under cultivation, declining returns on export agriculture and increasing food import bill. Each of these factors is evident in varying degrees in individual territories.

According to the 1980 Census, the proportion of the working population engaged in agriculture across the region ranged between 6 per cent and 37 per cent [Table III.2]. Of these between 2 per cent and 37 per cent were women. Within the female working population, between one per cent and 22 per cent were engaged in agriculture. Together these indicators suggest that few women are involved in agriculture. Yet the most casual observation in any Caribbean territory reveals that significant numbers of women are indeed involved in a wide range of agricultural tasks. Some of this occurs on large scale plantation type holdings where women are employed mainly as agricultural labourers [Springer, op. cit.]. This is the case on the sugar cane, cocoa, coconut and rice estates and is readily identifiable and measurable. A considerable amount of female agricultural activity, however, is concentrated in small scale peasant production, some of which is primary but much of which is secondary to the main activity of either the woman, her partner or both [Knudson and Yates, op. cit.; CAFRA, op. cit.]. Production is primarily for domestic consumption, with the surplus being sold on the local market, if possible. Because this type of productive activity is considered an extension of traditional domestic activity, much of it is not identified in national statistical systems. Thus, one micro-level study estimates that just under half of rural St. Lucian women engage in substantial farm work whereas the census data indicate only 19 per cent of employed women in agriculture. A third area of activity in agriculture is the marketing of agricultural (including fishing) produce in which

women are known to be predominant but which is not reflected in the statistics.[11] Two other groups of women who work in the agricultural sector are field technicians, and professionals, both of whom are usually employed by the Ministry of Agriculture. These are very few in number but virtually no data exist about their lives and work.

Information coming out of recent studies is slowly providing a clearer picture of the lives of rural women in agriculture, and detailing their hopes, aspirations and needs. The following stories highlight some of the findings from these studies.

(a) A Small Scale Cultivator

Linda, a 43 year old WICP respondent from St. Vincent, has been a self-employed cultivator since 1965. Linda first became involved in agriculture as a young girl helping her parents in their vegetable garden and selling the produce in town. She also learnt about soils and plants in her nature study classes in primary school. Shortly after their marriage, she entered into independent agricultural production when her husband went to the USA on a farm labour contract scheme and she had to find something to do to help maintain herself and the children. On his return, they bought a heifer and from there built up a livelihood based on his livestock tending and her gardening.

She cultivates root crops and vegetables on about 1½ acres of land under a type of share-crop arrangement in which her husband tends cattle for the landowner in exchange for the use of the 1½ acres. The landowner receives a portion of the produce and the remainder is sold. Produce is reaped on Fridays and transported by donkey to her house where it is sorted and packaged. On Saturday, the produce is taken by bus to town for sale to the market women there.

Preparation of the land is carried out in a "swap labour" arrangement by which a male friend helps her husband for a day and the husband, in turn, is obligated to the friend to return his labour on another day. Linda performs all the other tasks of crop production using hoe and cutlass, walking each day to her land in the mountain which is about 1½ hours distance from home [WICP data].

(b) A Plantation Worker

Didi is a 67 year old East Indian woman, a descendant of indentured labourers, who started to work in the cane fields of Trinidad and Tobago at the age of 10. Starting from the lowliest task of weeding, which was the lowest paid agricultural task assigned to women labourers, Didi has risen to become a cane cutter, an occupation usually associated with males. Her husband is also a sugar worker. They have 10 children, two of them having been born in the cane field. With innovation and thrift Didi has worked to improve the living standard of the family, transforming their house made of mud into a spacious property filled with furniture and appliances.

Didi is unable to read or write but she has been a union steward fighting resolutely for the rights of her fellow sugar workers. She was the major instigator of a famous strike in 1973, and again in 1975. She has been instrumental in gaining maternity benefits for women in the sugar industry in her territory. Didi has resolutely refused repeated offers of the job of field foreman in order to retain the freedom to agitate on behalf of her fellow workers [Haniff, 1988].

(c) A Higgler

Miss Tiny is a Jamaican higgler whose entire working life has been spent in selling.[12] Born in 1935, her work experience started as a child when she was left to guard the produce of her mother who was herself a rural higgler. After the birth of her first child she migrated to Kingston at the age of 16 and became a 'tray girl' i.e. selling small items of agricultural produce which she bought from country folk. This she did for five years during which time she had two children for one father and four for another. With the latter she established a common law household and tried operating a food shop, a short-lived experiment.

Miss Tiny then became a fish vendor buying and selling small quantities of fish from the large fishing boats which came into Kingston. As business improved, she began to buy larger quantities of fish until she realised that it was more economical to buy directly from fishermen in the country. This necessitated travelling to the country in the evening, waiting for the boats, sleeping on the beach, making the purchase

and returning next morning early enough to catch the market business. Miss Tiny bought a freezer and a van which her son learned to drive.

As the fish vending business improved, Miss Tiny was able to buy and furnish her own home by 'throwing partners' - a form of rotating credit association. But in 1980, the van was stolen and the fish vending business collapsed. Miss Tiny immediately entered the international higgler business through the good offices of a woman friend. She travels mainly to Panama to seek items which are scarce in that territory but available in Jamaica, using the exchange gained to purchase in Panama items for resale in Jamaica [Haniff, 1988].

These three vignettes barely touch the surface of the myriad features which characterise the lives of Caribbean women in agriculture. Details provided by several other studies provide a picture which may be summarised as follows:

Demographic Characteristics: Their average age is over forty; educational attainment levels are generally low, ranging from none to completed primary; they live in a married or common law union, with several claiming household headship even though a male partner was present; their average family size ranges between 4 and 7; their households tend to be two or three-generational with all members being involved in one or other of the farming activities.

Farm Work: Invariably entry into farming occurred through lack of knowledge and training in anything else and having been raised in an agricultural community. Work days are long and divided between household chores, child care, travel (usually walking) to and from the farm site or estate, working the land, and often selling the produce. In addition, some of them produce handicraft, raise livestock and maintain kitchen gardens from which they earn additional income. One study has demonstrated that 13 of the 16 waking hours of the farm woman are spent in work activities [Odie-Ali, 1986].

Information about Agriculture: Knowledge about farming usually comes from parents, partner and other farmers either by word of mouth or by observation. Agricultural extension officers did not figure prominently as sources of information - they were regarded as being either unreliable, unable to provide what was required, or providing impractical advice - "sterile help" as one woman farmer put it. But some women do credit extension officers with providing valuable assistance.

Decision-Making: Women participate significantly in decision-making on the farm. Independent decisions are taken in respect of what crops and livestock to produce, farm improvement, marketing strategies and hiring of labour. Decisions about credit, extension of farmland and crop protection, are made jointly with her partner. Decisions about the use of money realised from the sale of their own produce are the woman's prerogative. Invariably such monies are used for household maintenance purposes and for emergencies. Savings garnered through informal rotating credit associations are applied to the purchase of house and furnishings.

Access to land: Although nothing in Caribbean jurisprudence excludes women from land ownership, the traditional pattern of male ownership or control of land still persists. Where women gain access to land it is usually acquired through inheritance either from her father or her husband. Ownership through direct purchase though not unknown is less frequent. Access is also possible through leasehold, renting, squatting, each of which creates considerable insecurity of a tenure. Particularly in the smaller territories the average size of plots farmed by women is less than three acres, i.e. the lower end of the minimum range of 1-5 acres used in official statistics [Knudson and Yates, op. cit.; CAFRA, op. cit.].

Problems: The major problems identified by women farmers center on access to supplies (fertilizer, pesticides, weedicides etc.), access to credit, transportation to markets and praedial larceny. For women in agricultural wage labour the major need is for adequate representation of their interests by trade unions. For women selling agricultural produce, their need is for transportation and marketing arrangements.

The strategy of research has resulted in the identification of the nature, extent and quality of women's contribution to the agricultural sector, the quantification of the problems experienced by women working in that sector and the enumeration of suggestions for alleviating these problems. In several cases, planners and policy makers joined researchers in the interpretation of data, development of recommendations and dissemination of results. Yet minimal returns are evident in terms of policy action directed towards women in agriculture. Indeed, one commentator has concluded

> "agricultural and rural development policies and programmes in several Caribbean countries still do not include a perspective on gender,

and appear not to have been influenced by the wealth of data which now exist on women in this sector" [Ellis in FAO, 1988, p. 43].

In the context of the model, the strategy of research may be said to have propelled women in Caribbean agriculture towards theoretical and statistical i.e. Level 2 visibility.

1. (ii) The Strategy of Research and Mobilisation: Women Traders

One of the visible effects of the recent economic crisis has been women's increased involvement in the informal sector [Rivera, 1989; LeFranc, 1989]. This results partly from women's own initiative, partly from increasing government advocacy of small business and partly from NGO activity backed by donor financing, which attempts to assist small businesses by providing skills training and credit.

Caribbean women have been involved in informal sector activities from the earliest days of the history of the region. Initially concentrated in domestic service and trading in locally cultivated foods, these women had little or no education, and came from either a rural farm or urban unskilled labour background. Now, the range, character, and organisation of activities have changed. Domestic service is still important, though declining. Other services are provided by women's small business enterprises, and trading has expanded to include street foods and manufactured goods, some purchased on buying trips in neighbouring territories. In some territories, traders export local products and import basic commodities. Guyanese traders, for example, sell locally manufactured gold jewellery, garments, and straw baskets in neighbouring territories and buy food, medicinal drugs and school supplies to sell at home. Traders from Grenada and St. Vincent take fruits, vegetables, and shellfish into Trinidad and return home with hardware, lumber, building materials, and household supplies for resale. The volume and content of such trade are determined by shortages in the importing country and the gains that can be captured from currency conversion on the various transactions. Some territories experience little or no reverse trading. "Suitcase traders" from Trinidad and Barbados, for example, purchase consumer items overseas for resale at home.

Traditional traders have now been joined by men and younger women, who are likely to have secondary education and, often, white collar or lower-level professional experience. Participation of professionals increased significantly in the

1970s because of fewer jobs, government restrictions on importing consumer items, and, in the case of Jamaica, several devaluations of the local currency.

A recent study on women traders in the Caribbean has identified four critical aspects of the issue.

1. Where women predominate in informal sector trading activities the trade is generally in: a) wearing apparel and light goods, popularly referred to as "the suitcase trade"; and b) fresh agricultural produce.

2. Data, especially hard data which would allow serious analysis on the situation of women engaged in this sector, are practically non-existent or inaccessible.

3. Hard data on traders who travel within the region to sell agricultural produce - the so-called "inter-island traders" - are more accessible than data on the "suitcase traders".

4. The trading activity of the "inter-island traders" is confronting critical problems. Without remedial action it is threatened with disintegration. The implications of this might be:

   a) Loss of a vital service in the food supply for the region, and

   b) Loss of income for a large group of women in the sub-region who are sole providers for their households [UNECLAC, 1988].

The following information derives from the UNECLAC study.

(a) <u>Traders in fresh agricultural produce - Eastern Caribbean</u>

"Ramona, a thirty-nine year old St. Lucian, has been trading in Barbados for two years. She has five children and lives with her common-law partner. She reached standard four in primary school. She grows bananas on rented land in St. Lucia and says that she started trading because she could not get a job. She trades in grapefruit, mandarins, oranges, plantains and coconuts. While the boat MV Stella S is in dry dock she buys peanuts in Barbados for resale. She goes to Barbados every four to five months. She usually spends about four weeks in Barbados - never shorter than this -

and sometimes stays as long as seven weeks. Ramona indicates that she won't make a profit if she goes and returns with each boat trip.

When in Barbados, she lives with her brother who himself gets assistance from their mother in St. Lùcia. Ramona brings food. She does not pay for accommodation."

"Veda of St. Vincent is a large trader. She is 36 years old, divorced with seven children. She left secondary school at 17, having reached the third form. She has been trading for nine years. She trades in mangoes, plantains, coconuts, oranges, grapefruit, tangerines and sometimes nutmeg and eddoes. She travels to Barbados often by LIAT while her goods are shipped there. She usually spends three days in Barbados living with her Barbadian boyfriend who is the father of her last child. She stores her goods at her boyfriend's house."

These capsule portraits of a small (Ramona) and a large (Veda) trader merely hint at the considerable effort involved in organising and maintaining these trading activities in the Eastern Caribbean. It has been estimated that about 1,300 traders operate out of five Eastern Caribbean territories. The majority of traders are women from rural areas whose average age is over 35 and who have at least a primary education. Most of them live in a residential union with a male partner and several children - the average ranges between 5 and 10. Traders purchase, and often grow some of their produce in their own territory and travel to neighbouring territories for their resale. Some traders purchase commodities for resale at home; most simply purchase items for their own households.

The entire process of production or purchase, packaging, transportation, marketing and return travel is organised and supervised by each trader individually [Figure III.1]. It is heavily dependent on the creation and maintenance of a wide network of female and male contacts who provide information and services at each stage of the operation. An examination of the activities involved in the trading cycle suggests a heavy workload extending, on average, to 10 hours per day over a period of a few days to two months. The length of the trading cycle is determined by the distance between the territories involved and the number of territories visited in a single trading trip. Returns are reported as being minimal, with the majority facing financial losses which result in a high dropout rate. Yet,

"the image persists that traders earn substantial amounts of money and therefore do not need any organised assistance". [UNECLAC, op. cit., p. 8]

But it seems that in reality, success stories are limited to merely a few.

Of particular interest has been the efforts of traders in different territories to organise themselves into associations. The most successful and the only one currently operational, is the Dominican Hucksters' Association which was established in 1981 to promote the interests of hucksters by providing technical and financial assistance. So far, the Association has initiated a training project in basic costing and pricing and a pilot project on collective purchasing and post-harvest services. It provides insurance coverage and credit facilities by which members can obtain a sixty-day, short term loan of US$300. It has launched a public relations progamme using a multi-media approach based on radio, newspaper and a Newsletter. Despite these initiatives, the UNECLAC report warns that these efforts to improve the trading practices of traders to enable them to enter and compete in the formal trading sector may be detrimental to female traders who are generally less able to enter the formal sector.

The study identifies the needs of women traders as follows:

1. Recognition needs to be given to the vital service which traders and trading performs. Traders are the main exporters of agricultural produce in intra-Caribbean trade. Trading provides an opportunity for self-improvement and the development of entrepreneurial skills to significant numbers of women.

2. The working conditions of traders are deplorable. Long hours, exposure to the elements, lack of protection for produce, liability to physical abuse are just some of the factors.

3. The situation of traders is steadily deteriorating due to shrinking markets in the food importing countries and increasing competition in the agriculture exporting sector.

4. Increasingly restrictive national and regional trading requirements limit the ability of traders to adjust to the hostile trading environment.

5. Without incentives and government support to upgrade the trading sector, traders will disappear.

(b) International Traders

Up until the mid-1970s traders consisted essentially of sellers of agricultural products with a sprinkling concentrating on non-edible items of local manufacture. With difficulties in national economies resulting in import restrictions and tighter foreign exchange controls came shortages in basic consumer items and the opening up of a new area of activity for traders. Jamaica and Guyana were the two territories in which women traders capitalised on this opportunity. For Jamaica, the countries visited were Grand Cayman, Haiti, Curaçao, Panama and the US (mainly Miami) [Taylor, 1986, 1988]. The foods traded were foreign foodstuff, clothing, footwear and appliances. Goods were sold in Kingston in the main market, along the main shopping street in the city centre and in makeshift booths in shopping plazas. "Bend down" plazas became the place to find scarce foods brought into the country by "informal commercial importers" (ICIs) as they were subsequently called. In November 1987, the Government Revenue Board recorded 3,084 ICIs as registered traders, 60 per cent of whom were located in the Kingston Metropolitan Area. Among the latter group 90 per cent were women. These figures refer only to registered traders, but unknown numbers of women bring in smaller quantities of goods for resale from their homes - the so-called suitcase traders.

Survey data permit a statistical profile of the typical Jamaican ICI [LeFranc, op. cit.]. She is about 33 years old, a mother of two who went into the business on her own initiative because she was unemployed and needed to assist with family expenses. She started the business with her own savings and has been in it for about five years. She has had some secondary education and been engaged in a non-manual job immediately before entering into trading. She earns approximately J $1000 (US$182) per week, most of which is reinvested to keep the business going. Her approach to business is highly individualistic, with little or no support and involvement from family members. Her business practices are highly conservative - she sells mainly at retail, she restricts her search for supplies to a single country, she confines herself to a single selling location, she sells a limited and particular set of goods. The result is that, as Le Franc puts it "stable security [takes] easy precedence over risk taking and aggressive profit making", thus dampening the extent of capital accumulation possible. This is not to deny that traders do seem able to enjoy a lifestyle which suggests access to considerable sums of money, even though these may not reflect real wealth. But in the absence of written records of income and expenditure, no firm statement about the profitability of these ventures is possible.

In the early 1980s, the Government attempted to regulate the activities of traders by introducing a programme to clear the streets of sidewalk vendors. In the process some vendors suffered physical violence and damage or confiscation of their goods by the police. In response, vendors began to create associations to protect their interests. The United Vendors Association eventually became the umbrella organisation of the ICIs. The Association provides a range of services to members including counselling, security, a development fund and assistance to obtain small business loans. It has been instrumental in establishing two additional shopping arcades for vendors, an identification system for vendors, four chapters outside of the Kingston Metropolitan Area and a savings fund to develop a cooperative enterprise.

One study indicates two major features of trading with policy implications [Taylor, 1988]. First, there is the ambivalent attitude of Government. On the one hand, efforts are made to curtail trading activities by introducing various regulatory measures; on the other hand, various concessions are made in recognition of the service which is being provided. Secondly, there is the need for further strengthening of the Associations, through assistance from NGOs rather than government.

This case study illustrates how the strategy of research may serve to strengthen Level 1 and, to a certain extent, Level 2 visibility. But to consolidate that position and to begin to move towards Level 3, collective action is necessary in the groups own self interest. Individual networking allows individual traders to function. Networking to create associations enables individual traders to function a bit more effectively. However, without the provision of infrastructure and other support by the government, the ability to attain Level 3 visibility is severely curtailed.

1. (iii) The Strategy of Participatory Action: Village Women

Rose Hall is a small rural village community in northern St. Vincent with a population of 1500 persons. Like women in similar communities within and outside the Caribbean, the women of Rosehall face myriad problems of poverty. Low income, few and inadequate facilities, large families, poor returns on their main economic activity - agriculture, marginalisation on the fringe of St. Vincent's development thrust. The list seems endless. But the women of Rose Hall also have a strong potential for leadership, a strong vision of what they wish for their families and community and a burning desire to attain that vision.

Recognising the potential of that scenario, WAND initiated in 1980 a pilot project for the Integration of Women in Rural Development in Rose Hall. The objectives of the project were to

1. develop and test a participatory methodology as a model that could integrate women more fully in the process of rural development;

2. develop in rural women self-esteem, self-confidence and an ability to accept leadership and decision-making roles in their community; and

3. provide information on Women and Development issues that could influence policies of national governments in the region. [Ellis, 1986 b]

Over the life of the project the women and men of Rose Hall developed a package of activities based on their own assessment of their needs, their own system of prioritising action, their own project and programme designs and their own evaluation procedures. The entire process was based on a continuing dialogue between a Community Working Group, established to administer the project, and the entire community.

At the outset of the project, WAND organised a three-week training workshop in Participatory Approaches to Community Needs Assessment, Programme Planning and Evaluation. Participants included women from the community, members of the project working group, extension officers from government departments and NGOs working in the area. Apart from exposure to certain concepts and techniques, participants also learnt about their own skills and abilities and how these could be used to greatest advantage to the benefit of themselves and the wider community. This process of self-discovery and collaboration represented the basic tool for the furtherance of project objectives.

Through the aegis of the pilot project, the people of Rose Hall identified and participated in a number of activities including the following:

(a) Research

In recognition of the need for information to inform social action, great stress was placed on research which was identified, designed, and conducted by community members. Using this approach several types of survey were conducted. A basic household survey was undertaken to develop a profile of

the community. Special purpose studies were undertaken to develop a sense of community spirit e.g. an oral history survey of the oldest members of the community produced a history of Rose Hall. Baseline surveys were a prerequisite to any action programme proposed e.g. a survey on adult literacy levels in the community preceded the establishment of an adult education programme; a survey of the size, characteristics and needs of the population under five years of age preceded the building of a pre-school. The research which is carried out by a team over the entire community is usually "simple, direct, uncomplicated, specific and short" [Ellis, 1986 c, p. 146].

Dissemination of research findings also adopts participatory approaches. The preferred approach is to present the findings to a mass meeting of the community, using techniques of the creative arts. This is followed by general discussion and decisions on appropriate action to follow. This open discussion represents another aspect of the ongoing community-wide evaluation built into the entire process.

(b) Training

Following the inaugural workshop which was spearheaded by WAND, community members took over the planning and conduct of workshops which they identified as critical to community needs. As in the case of the first workshop, the objective was to teach members how to recognise their own skills and how to harness these to the betterment of the community. A wide range of topics were covered including personal development, interpersonal relationships, problem solving techniques, programme planning, project development, proposal writing, evaluation and small business management [Ellis, 1986 b]. In addition, skills training classes were conducted in income related areas such as sewing, food preparation and preservation, record-keeping and agricultural practices.

As in the case of the research, the community members determine the type, content, form, timing and direction of the training programmes and classes. They depend on their own skills, only rarely using resource persons from outside the community.

(c) Action Programmes

With the confidence of knowledge provided by the research and skills provided by the training, the community was able to progress to the planning and implementation of a wide range of community based projects. These have included:

- income earning projects e.g. sweet making, sewing of uniforms for school children, boy scouts and girl guides;

- building of a pre-school;

- establishment of a farmers' group which buys seeds and fertilizer in bulk, develops contacts with Ministry of Agriculture personnel, organises visits to other agricultural areas on the island etc.;

- establishment of a handicraft centre for girls;

- establishment of an adult education programme which provides literary training, agricultural information and home improvement skills; and

- revitalisation of a branch of the National Council.

These activities in which both women and men participate are coordinated by the Community Working Group, three quarters of whom are women. Women are therefore both contributors and beneficiaries of a development process which they themselves control.

(d) Community Mobilization

Although the Community Working Group was charged with the responsibility of implementing the project, and although it continues to be responsible for community activities even now that the pilot project has ended, the Community Working Group has never acted alone. It has always been conscious of the need to ensure that community members are actively involved in all aspects of planning, implementation and evaluation. Continuous informal discussions are maintained with individuals and groups. Formal community meetings provide the forum in which decision-making takes place. This continuous process of building self confidence has enabled the community to lobby on its own behalf at whatever level is considered necessary. Thus national planners, policy makers and non-government organisations have been approached, as have regional agencies and international donors. As a result the level of assistance which Rose Hall has received for its many projects is remarkably high.

(e) Conclusion

Because of the internal cohesiveness of Rose Hall and the readiness of that community for change, the introduction by WAND of participatory methodology was specially timely. It enabled the community to develop a technique for collective action geared to meet the development needs as defined by the community itself. It also enabled the community to systematically draw into their system the very planners and policy makers whose national development plans were making little difference in the village life of Rose Hall.

The range of strategies employed in Rose Hall served to clarify gender issues and to sensitize community members to recognise and respond to the inhibiting effects of gender disadvantage. In the process of that response knowledge about the situation and needs of women in the community became widely available i.e. visibility Levels 1 and 2 have been attained. Through self help measures the community seems well poised to attain Level 3 visibility.

1. (iv) The Strategy of Popular Theatre: SISTREN, a Women's Collective

SISTREN, a Jamaican women's theatre collective, was founded in 1977 as a part-time voluntary, recreational drama group consisting of thirteen women employees of the Special Employment Programme which was introduced by the 1972-80 government of Michael Manley in an effort to provide temporary unemployment relief. Of the 14,000 low paid, low-status temporary workers, 10,000 were women. It was 13 of these women who approached one of the women tutors from the Jamaica School of Drama for assistance to produce a play for presentation at a workers' week concert. The tutor, Honor Ford Smith, reports "I asked them what they wanted to do a play about". They replied "We want to do plays about how we suffer as women. We want to do plays about how men treat us bad". She asked "How do you suffer as women?" [SISTREN, 1986, p. xxii]. So began the process of drawing on their individual experiences to develop dramatic presentations which analyse the critical issues affecting women and the wider society.

By 1988, the collective had become a fully fledged company producing its own plays, touring abroad, publishing, undertaking research, training its members, conducting community workshops. In addition, it has developed a screen-printing project as a means of generating income. In the process, SISTREN has acquired a substantial local and regional following, and a tremendous international reputation. According to Ford Smith, SISTREN is often projected "as a successful model of a grassroots women's organisation... as a

unique way of organising, as an example of popular theatre in action, the empowerment of working class women, and of effective working class self-management" [Ford Smith, 1989, p.15].

The original aims of SISTREN were to

(i) analyse and comment on the role of women in Jamaican society through theatre;

(ii) organise into a self-reliant cooperative enterprise; and

(iii) to take drama to working class communities. [SISTREN, 1986]

These aims have remained intact, resolving themselves into the following activities:

- it offers an educational service to women and men on issues of gender in Jamaica and the Caribbean;
- it acts as a catalyst for, and participates in campaigns and actions directed at introducing specific changes in the situation of women;
- it performs popular theatre;
- it produces a magazine;
- it conducts and publishes research on issues affecting women;
- it prints and sells T-shirts and wall hangings.

[Ford Smith, 1989]

Basing its work on the personal experiences and individual testimonies of women, SISTREN has developed a drama methodology which allows its members as a collective, to identify themes and improvise dialogue which explores and analyses the events and forces shaping the lives of poor women. Thus, for example, **Bellywoman Bangarang** explores the theme of sexuality, mothering and society; **Muffet Inna All a We** deals with woman's constant struggle to control her own destiny; **Bandoolu Version** examines the issues of destructive male/female relationships; **Youth and Youth Know Yuh Truth** explores the issue of unemployment and single motherhood. The presentation of these works to the public, the media attention

they attract and the link a presentation may have with a particular contemporary issue have together assisted SISTREN in its aim of stimulating societal changes beneficial to women. Thus, for example, **Bandoolu Version** coincided with the struggle of Jamaican women to secure appropriate legislation for maternity leave. The legislation was passed.

Initially, SISTREN operated in a supportive context. An organised women's movement existed in Jamaica at the time. The government of the day pronounced and implemented policies which legitimized popular expression. For SISTREN this implied access to state facilities, including services of a tutor, office and rehearsal space, from the Jamaica School of Drama, assistance with training from the Women's Bureau. With a change of government in 1980, all this ceased. National priorities changed. Cooperative and community efforts were closed down. The women's movement collapsed, SISTREN was declared subversive and banned from radio and television. Without government infrastructural support, however limited, and no source of local funding SISTREN was forced to rely on external funds for its very existence. Together these events have meant that throughout the '80s, SISTREN was functioning in a less than sympathetic, even a hostile, environment.

Paradoxically, the level and range of activities increased and the organisation thrived. The silk screen textiles project was started. Design themes were linked to issues being explored in the drama productions. A research and documentation section began the process of documenting the organisations activities and airing issues on women. A series of activities, a film, a newsletter, later transformed into a magazine, a book on life stories of the original members, and booklets for public information and education resulted from this effort. Alliances were built with local, regional and international groups. A workshop programme was initiated in which members travelled throughout the country building and working with community groups using the drama methodology.

In a searching analysis of the first twelve years of SISTREN, its Artistic Director identifies a number of financial and administrative difficulties affecting the work and potential impact of the organisation. She concludes that the dictates of international funding agencies exacerbated internal contradictions in the collective structure. As a result, the organisation became constrained it its ability to deliver to the community, to clarify its administrative structure and to satisfy the needs of members for personal development [Ford Smith, 1989, p. 12/13].

Yet despite the many problems, SISTREN has done much to increase the visibility of women in Jamaica generally and the women of SISTREN in particular. It has done so by grounding its work in the personal experience of women by developing a particular form of participatory action which stresses women's creativity and by teaching women how to organise to effect change. For its members, this has translated in greater self awareness, greater self reliance, increased skills and a deeper sense of commitment to women in Jamaican society.

As an example of a strategy to increase visibility, SISTREN illustrates the linkage between conceptual and subjective visibility at Level 1; the move to Level 2 using research and documentation; and the move to Level 3 using education, mobilisation, networking to stimulate both policy changes for all women and behavioural changes within their own households.

1. (v) The Strategy of Regional Networking: Directors of Women's Bureaux

Following the establishment of the UN Decade for Women, women in the Caribbean hosted a sub-regional meeting in 1977 which produced a Regional Plan of Action [Seminar, 1977]. Among the several recommendations in the Plan was one calling for the establishment of institutional machinery.

> "Every territory in the region should establish a national mechanism for the integration of women in development in keeping with the structure of its government. This might range from the establishment of Women's Bureaux, National Commissions on the Status of Women within the structure of governments, to official recognition and utilization of non-governmental National Councils of Women's Organizations. Whatever the mechanism adopted, the following functions would need to be performed:
>
> (a) Data collection and research.
>
> (b) Participation in the formulation of national plans, policies, and programmes to achieve equality between the sexes and the full integration of women in the development process at all levels.
>
> (c) Co-ordination of programmes affecting women.

(d) Monitoring and evaluation of on-going and future plans and programmes, with a view to ensuring that the interests and concerns of women are reflected, and the involvement of women as beneficiaries and participants is assured.

(e) Documentation and dissemination of information, public relations, and publicity.

(f) Promotion of innovative pilot projects.

(g) Guidance and advisory services.

(h) Liaison with regional and international bodies." [Regional Plan of Action 1977]

That sub-regional plan was later incorporated into ECLA's regional plan for the integration of women in the social and economic development of the Caribbean which was submitted to the UN.

This call resulted in an acceleration of activity in territories which had been active before the decade (notably Jamaica and Guyana), by positive responses in several territories and by the creation of the full time post of Women's Affairs Officer in the CARICOM Secretariat in 1980. By the end of the Decade, the position was that seven territories had formally established units within government departments, one had established a full fledged ministry and four had allocated responsibility for women's affairs to officers within a specified ministry.[13] In addition four territories had appointed short term Commissions whose term of office had already ended and three had on-going Standing Advisory Committees or Councils. The region could thus be described as having in place the institutional mechanism for advancing women's affairs. Table III.3 presents the current situation.

However, the historical experience of these entities strongly suggests that the creation of institutional mechanisms by itself did not effectively anticipate, identify and develop assistance strategies for the various needs of women.

Critical to the operation of these entities is the location of the Director (or officer responsible for Women's Affairs) within the civil service structure. Throughout the Caribbean governments have been, and continue to be, the largest single employer of both male and female labour. However, women are concentrated in the lower clerical grades and in the teaching service. Virtually no women are found in the two most senior grades (Permanent Secretary and Senior Assistant Secretary) and those who do, achieve those posts on

the basis of professional qualifications rather than length of service which is the more usual criterion. A few women are to be found at the intermediate grades (e.g. Assistant Secretary).

As officers responsible for a discrete unit within a Ministry, Directors of Women's Affairs should be treated as Departmental Heads in terms of level of appointment, salary, emoluments etc. In practice, Directors are appointed at one or two levels below the Permanent Secretary i.e. either on par with or one level below all other Departmental Heads. Where there is no Director, but simply an officer responsible for Women's Affairs, that person is usually even further down the line. This means that programme proposals and budgets have to be approved by at least two senior personnel before unit requests are included in the annual estimates of expenditure for the Ministry or in the Ministry's section of the national development plan. Unless the Director has a very forceful personality or the relevant Minister has a particular interest in the work of the Unit, Directors have been able to do little to ensure adequate representation of their units in budgets and national development plans. Thus, these women remain invisible not only in terms of their location in the administrative system of which they are part, but also in terms of the work which they do, the allocation of resources to that work and the representation of that work in the major planning documents of the system.

To counteract this triple invisibility, women's bureaux have collaborated with each other, through the combined assistance of the CARICOM Secretariat and the Commonwealth Secretariat, in a slow process of building their institutional capacity. In this regard, the experience of collaboration between Women's Desks in the region is of particular interest. The initial effort centred on a seminar in 1981 "Strengthening National Machinery for the Integration of Women in Development" which was sponsored by the CARICOM Secretariat, through its Women's Desk, and the BWA of Jamaica. Two of the five objectives of the seminar were to

- develop understanding about Public Administration; and

- increase the skill of participants in analysis and planning [CARICOM, 1981]

Specialists in these two areas provided women's bureau personnel with insights into how their units were located within national public administrative systems and planning processes.

Two years later the CARICOM Secretariat, in collaboration with the Commonwealth Secretariat, embarked on a programme of activities aimed at continuing the process of strengthening national machinery for women in the region. The programme started with the preparation of case studies of the management, organisation and structure of six Women's Desk/Bureaux[14] [Gordon, 1984]. This was followed by a workshop consisting of the directors of the six agencies, the four consultants who prepared the Studies, the CARICOM Women's Affairs Officer and two resource persons from the Commonwealth Secretariat. Over two and a half days this group discussed the reports and prepared a document outlining the needs and identifying the supports required for effective performance. The group was then joined by Permanent Secretaries responsible for the six Women's Desk/Bureaux who spent the next two days preparing proposals for mechanisms which could assist both Permanent Secretaries and Bureaux Heads in better managing the bureaux.

The 1983 assessment provided compelling evidence of other types of constraints. These included overambitious objectives, inadequate staff and other resources, ineffective or non-existent links with other branches of the public service, and financial constraints. Together these factors acted to influence negatively the methods of operation of the Directors and to limit the initiatives they wished to undertake [Gordon, op. cit.].

Despite these constraints the six bureaux in the study had, individually or collectively, achieved singular achievements in developing supplementary structures for the implementation of their programmes; implementing legislative reform to improve the rights of women; developing production projects; and improving self awareness. But these achievements have not blinkered bureaux from recognising that an important gap in their activities relates to their apparent inability to mobilise women at the community level in order to ensure women's involvement in the diagnosis of their needs and the prescription of solutions.

The 1983 workshop was therefore followed by one in November 1985 which looked at strategies to strengthen the impact of bureaux and to implement the UN Forward Looking Strategies. The meeting of 11 Bureau heads and four Permanent Secretaries concentrated on recommendations in the areas of institution building, training and policy formulation [Commonwealth Secretariat, 1985]. Also recommended was the establishment of sectoral/parish/regional committees to ensure a two-way flow of information between community and policy maker with the bureaux as the conduit [Commonwealth Secretariat, 1985]. It is not clear to what extent this recommendation has been implemented. The one Director who had

effectively set up such a system even before the original workshop is no longer in the post.

Earlier in that same year, the Third Meeting of CARICOM Ministers responsible for Women's Affairs had identified as a priority the formulation of a national policy on women as part of an overall programme for strengthening the national machinery [CARICOM, 1985]. To support this and to follow up on the recommendations of the November meeting, the Commonwealth Secretariat provided a Consultant in 1987 to assist requesting bureaux with the preparation of policy statements. To date six of the bureaux have benefitted from that assistance, one is working on a statement independently and one has had a White Paper on the subject for many years. What is not yet clear is the extent to which those statements are merely administrative productions or are based on dialogue and discussion with NGOs and women at the community level. Further, it is far from clear whether these statements have provided the basis for the plans included in current national development plans. In the two territories whose plans are discussed later, it is known that no WID policy statement exists for one - Barbados - even though considerable information exists. For the other - St. Vincent - a WID policy statement is known to be available though not announced. It is not known whether its contents are reflected in the proposals outlined in the current development plan.

Parallel to the efforts to develop policy statements in individual territories, there has been a rapid endorsement of international instruments related to women. Thus, for example, all thirteen CARICOM member states have signed the UN Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women. To date, ten of these have ratified that convention. Yet the major policy document of at least the two territories in these examples reveals a systematic exclusion of reference to women in the various sector analyses and plans. Even in the brief section devoted to women there is no mention of male/female or even female/female differentials on any dimension. And this despite the fact that the major areas identified as critical by planners - unemployment, poverty and inequality of income - are the very areas in which research has shown women to be at the greatest disadvantage.

While the fundamental institutional and resource problems faced by Directors cannot really be solved by them as individuals or even in a collective, there are two regional resources available to them which have been instrumental in helping them to meet other problems. The WAND unit, has been instrumental not only in the establishment of several Women's Desks but also in the provision of training and technical assistance on Bureau and NGO projects in a wide range of areas in individual territories. The CARICOM Women's Desk has

been a useful mechanism for ensuring the discussion of WID issues at Ministerial level through a series of biennial meetings of Ministers responsible for Women's Affairs initiated in 1981 [CARICOM, 1981, 1983, 1985, 1988]. Further, it has been instrumental in organising training workshops in a number of areas intended to assist Directors in executing their administrative functions [see Table III.4]. Regional seminars organised by CARICOM have usually been followed either by specific assistance at the national level, by national seminars based on the original regional one or a combination of the two. Thus, for example, the seminars concerned with assessing national machinery (November, 1983 and November, 1985) were followed by the provision of a consultant who provided individual Bureaux with assistance in the drafting of national policy statements. The regional seminar on Management for Development (April, 1988) has been followed by a series of national level workshops on the same topic.

The activities of these two regional agencies working in collaboration with Directors has resulted in the maintenance of a strong regional network permitting sustained collective action, cross fertilization of views and strategies, access to knowledge, information and mutual emotional support. Yet, there remains a sense in which the Bureaux and their Directors remain a marginalised group within their respective bureaucracies.[15] At the policy level, this is reflected in the general absence of national policy statements on women; and the general absence (or limited mention) of provision for WID programmes in budgets and national development plans. At the practical level, the lack of staff and inadequate budgetary allocations and low status of Directors continues to militate against the ability of the bureaux to meet their demands and to encourage a dependence on international finance. There are, however, isolated cases of Directors who have succeeded in circumventing these difficulties.

The Women's Desk, now styled Directorate of Women's Affairs, in Antigua was established in 1980 as part of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Youth, Women's Affairs and Sports, in which location it has remained ever since. Initially staffed by a Director and a typist (with no typewriter!), the Directorate now boasts a staff of fourteen: the Executive Director, Assistant Director, Public Relations Officer, six Project Officers, two Secretaries/Typists, two trainee Office Assistants and one Cleaner/Messenger. The Directorate has also grown in terms of its physical assets from a single desk in the Ministry to two buildings, one on a quarter acre of land, and a range of office, kitchen and

serving furniture and equipment. This makes Antigua the territory with the largest establisment for Women's Affairs amongst the public sectors in the region.

No explicit national policy statement on women exists. Efforts by the Directorate to activate such a statement proved unsuccessful through lack of suport in 1981 and through severe editorial changes by the Minister in 1985. A third attempt based on widespread discussion of a draft throughout the island and a refined version prepared through the CARICOM Secretariat/Commonwealth Secretariat project mentioned earlier is currently before Cabinet. Despite this absence of a formal policy statement, mention is usually made of women and the Directorate's programmes in the Annual Throne Speech in which Government's plans for the year are outlined. In addition, Government has signed and ratified the UN Convention for the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women. These actions together with recent upgrading of the Desk to a Directorate suggest the existence of an implicit policy on Women's Affairs in this territory.

The programme of activities of the Directorate has moved from one concentrating exclusively on food production, preparation and preservation to one embracing a variety of skills training, classes in health and physical education, course in stress management, workshops on issues affecting women, research, publication of informative material. Present plans envisage the construction, on three acres of land donated by the government, of a complex consisting of a convention centre, an administrative block, residential accommodation unit and training centre. Also planned is the establishment of a bus service for rural women traders, a centre for children who have dropped out of school, a literacy training programme and several research projects. In effect, starting from a focus on traditional activities, the Directorate is gradually developing a broader based programme which is anchored in the stated needs of Antiguan women.

Funding is obtained from several sources. The government provides an annual operational budget and the provision of salaries and infrastructural facilities. Individual ministries, local sponsors and external donor agencies provide funds on an ad hoc project basis. Funds from the income generating projects are funnelled back into the Directorate towards recurrent expenditure. Except for government funds received through the estimates, all other funds are sought and obtained on the initiative of the Directorate.

As in the case of other Directors in the region, the Antigua Director is located in the public service structure which links to the main decision making body, Cabinet, through

the relevant Ministry. In theory, proposals for budgetary allocations and development plans are channelled through the Ministry to the Planning Unit, thence to Cabinet for ratification. However, in Antigua there is no national five-year development plan but Departmental plans and estimates are coordinated by the Department of Planning within the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development during the annual budgetary exercise. The basis of determining the actual allocation of resources however seems rather unclear. According to the Executive Director, requests from the Directorate, usually within the range EC$25,000 - 30,000, are always cut back to EC$10,000 without consultation and without giving her a chance to defend her submission. This she counteracts by lobbying for major items of need. Thus, for example, the extension of its first building, the allocation of the second building, the forthcoming new building, the bus for the proposed bus service have all been obtained by lobbying on the basis of need and insufficient allocation of resources.

Such levels of government support in the absence of a formally announced policy statement raises the question of how was the Director able to achieve such support. Her basic strategy rests on a combination of personal contact, letters of intent, close relations with community based groups, networking at the regional and international levels and widespread use of the print and electronic media. Prior to her appointment, the Director was a Specialist Supervisor in Home Economics in which capacity she had established a number of women's clubs dealing with family living, family nutrition and health. Working with and through those and other groups, enabled her to build the programme of the Directorate, on the basis of a broad target audience and within an environment receptive to the work of the Desk. Maintaining close links with regional and international agencies particularly through the programmes of CARICOM Secretariat enabled her to upgrade her knowledge, skills and self-confidence and to access external funding sources. By deliberately pursuing and maintaining a higher media profile for the Directorate, public awareness of its work is not only high but also serves to encourage support and commitment of government, NGOs and individuals. As a result the Directorate enjoys a very positive image in the Antiguan community which the Government cannot afford to ignore. All of this has been achieved on the initiative of a single woman using her wide ranging social and political contacts, her refusal to be stymied by bureaucratic obstacles, her enthusiasm and passionate commitment to the task of assisting women to improve the quality of their lives.

The example of regional networking as a strategy to counteract the invisibility of Women's Bureaux illustrates that much depends on the throughput from the national level.

The particular form the networking process has assumed under the guidance of the CARICOM Secretariat has yielded many personal gains to individual Directors in terms of knowledge, skills, and self-confidence. As a group, Directors of Women's Affairs may be said to have achieved a measure of conceptual and subjective visibility through their networking. But except in isolated cases the translation of these into higher levels of visibility for all women through greater government commitment in policy making, development plans and budgetary allocations has been very lethargic. Much of this relates to limited resources at the national level and attitudinal blockages on the part of male decision makers. But much is also due to uncertainty about the location of the bureaux in the planning process and mechanisms for ensuring that bureaux plans are reliably reflected in national plans. The next phase in the institution building process would thus seem to be a workshop on the processes and techniques of planning for women's development in these territories. The workshop should examine the role of the bureaux in the planning process and the steps which could be taken to reflect more clearly the needs of women and government proposals to meet those needs through bureaux activities. Further, bureaux must be able to identify how those needs are being met by non-bureau programmes and projects both within and outside the public service. Accordingly participants in the workshop should not be restricted to women's bureaux personnel.

The Common Thread

The five examples used in this section illustrate not only different strategies for attaining visibility but that two vital ingredients in the process are information and social networks. The former will be discussed in the next section of the paper. The latter takes the form of dynamic, informal structures which provide women with the information, material assistance, protection, self-confidence and emotional support to enable them to initiate and/or maintain their activities. Members of these networks may be kin or non-kin, colleagues or friends, ties may be close or distant, strong or weak, active or dormant. The important point is that these structures possess a flexibility which allows the woman to use them as circumstances in her life history change.

Thus Miss Tiny, the Jamaican higgler was able to draw from her network of higgler friends one contact who introduced her to the business of international trading when her fish vending business failed. Agricultural traders from the Eastern Caribbean continually develop and draw on contacts from a wide network in order to obtain assistance in dealing with the various activities in the trading cycle. The women of Rose Hall depend on their network of family, friends and

neighbours in the community to make the community programmes work. The women of SISTREN depend closely on each other for support in virtually all aspects of their lives. The Directors of women's bureaux constantly appeal to their regional network of colleagues for information, training and mutual support. They also rely on informal networks within their respective public sectors in order to carry out their functions. And all of the women, in these various groups, like other women throughout the region, rely on kinship networks for assistance with child care, household emergencies and so on. None of the studies reviewed analysed these networks. Rather their existence was just cursorily mentioned. No information is therefore available on which to base a detailed discussion of this phenomena in this paper.[16] However, while available data do not permit an understanding of the dynamics of the network systems, they do allow an understanding of the role they perform in supporting the work activities of women.[17]

A development strategy which fails to recognise the existence and importance of these networks therefore fails to recognise a critical reality of women's lives. They also miss the opportunity to build on an existing form of social relationship which is already designed to provide mutual support and with which women are already familiar.

IV. INDICATORS FOR PLANNING FOR WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

The importance of information in moving women from invisibility to visibility has been evident from the illustrations used in the previous section. This reflects one aspect of the numerous calls made in individual territories and regional meetings for reliable information about the real situation of women. WID specialists familiar with women's issues need to find acceptable measures for filtering that information into national development plans. Planners knowledgeable about planning techniques, need to become familiar with women's issues and to develop measures to include that information into national development plans. The previous sections of this study have drawn attention to a number of issues related to women which need to be considered if development plans are to address the needs of women. Included amongst these issues are the range of factors influencing the ability of women to participate in and benefit from development; the range of activities in which women can and do engage; the range of strategies they use to enable them to carry out their responsibilities; the range of strategies used to bring the situation of different groups of women to the attention of development planners. Overshadowing these has been the limited attention paid to women's issues in current development plans and the limited resources allocated to those issues.

Both at national and regional level, a number of initiatives have taken place over the years to sensitize planners to these issues. Fundamental to these initiatives has been an understanding that development planning based on a sectoral approach often fails to provide the integrative solution to women's concerns which is required. Thus, to provide employment without day care facilities, family planning services without skills training programmes, or housing without employment is to indicate that the linkages between these various programmes is not recognised. For women, these links are vital. Planners in the Caribbean have been exposed to these issues through seminars, workshops, conferences, research reports, media presentations, public discussions. Yet somehow this information is not being filtered into plans and programmes with periodic, specific, and realistic objectives designed to meet the interests and needs of women. Part of this may be related to the lack of clear objectives of the government agency responsible for women's affairs and the consequent difficulty of translating these objectives into the language and techniques of planning. Part may be linked to bureaucratic resistance to matching official rhetoric about women with firm commitment for resources. Part is undoubtedly due to the difficulty of transforming micro-level issues which are not easily quantifiable to macro-level statistical indices.

One possible approach to the problem is the production of a series of social and indicators which are simple to produce and easy to understand. Such indicators should depict disparities between different sub-groups of women and between women and men over time. The importance of indicators in development planning for women has been recognised in many countries. In Thailand, for example, a recent study insists that:

> "Indicators for women's development are essential for policy formulation, planning and programming as well as for evaluation of programmes and projects directed towards the development of women. These indexes describe the present situation and status of women, and if collected as time series indicators, could show the past trend and pattern of changes from which guidelines could be developed for planning for the future. In addition these indexes could serve as warning signals against negative aspects of development. More importantly, they also could be used as targets and objectives for development." [UNESCO, 1987, p. 139/40]

The question of devising appropriate indicators of women's participation in socio-economic development has occupied the attention of several UN agencies for many years, INSTRAW and UNESCO being particularly prominent [UN, 1983 a, b, and c, 1984 a and b, 1985 a, 1987; UNESCO, 1981]. At a UNESCO meeting in 1980, it was agreed that such indicators should:

> "measure change over time, refrain from seeking simple composite indices or profiles of women, differentiate or disaggregate among groups of women, stress comparison within a society rather than attempt cross-cultural generalizations, compare the relative condition of women with that of men, and be complemented by or able to pick up the contextual macro and micro variables that affect women's socio-economic participation." [Buvinić, 1981, p. 13]

It is important to recognise that all indicators are not necessarily quantifiable and that some quantitative indicators do not necessarily measure the total situation being described. For example, the studies on domestic service cited earlier clearly indicate the numerical importance of this form of employment for large numbers of women. However, such statistics reveal nothing about the links between the domestic service workforce and the social relationships between domestic and employer or the effect of those links on the

lives of those involved. Thus, it is not surprising to find no specific plans for these women in available development plans. A different kind of example comes from women in rural areas who are primarily engaged in agriculture. Available quantitative measures suggest that only limited numbers of women are so engaged. Yet the micro-level studies reveal not only much larger numbers, but also a considerable amount of variation in the type of agricultural activity in which women engage. Concomitantly, the range of problems they encounter and the range of programmes that could assist them is also varied. Yet the development plans don't even acknowledge women's involvement in agriculture.

Perhaps one of the major stumbling blocks is the small scale nature of the studies which unearth the micro-level issues and their probable inability to meet stringent requirements of representativeness. Another possible stumbling block may be the way in which the statistical material from these studies is presented. Is enough attention paid to methodology? Is the analysis tightly linked to macro-level issues? Can the recommendations/prescriptions be linked to available plans or do they require totally different institutional arrangements?

One possible approach to confronting this issue is to present indicators in the form of a system or model which attempts to answer the following questions:

- What are the parameters of the society with which we are dealing?
- How do women fit into the society?
- What are the institutional arrangements in place to assist women?

A model attempting to provide such answers for the Caribbean was first presented at the UNESCO meeting in 1980. That paper argued that a system of indicators should reflect

> "... the operation of sexual differentiation in areas other than education and employment, the conventional indicators, should reflect notions of differential power and authority between the sexes and should reflect the heterogeneity of the sub-group women. Ideally, such an approach requires both quantitative and qualitative measures. The quantitative measures should indicate the differential representation of men and women in different areas of activity, the differential exercise of rights and responsibilities, the differential control over material

rewards. Qualitative measures should indicate the perception of the individuals concerned of their own and their group's position in several spheres of activity and in the society as a whole". [Massiah 1980, p.14]

The original Caribbean model envisaged a system consisting of three panels. The first was concerned with the structural features which impinge on the society's efforts to develop. The second panel was intended to reflect the situation of women, while the third was intended to reflect the institutional arrangements in place to enable women to participate in and benefit from development efforts. Within the second panel, it was proposed that indicators should be arranged in the context of three themes - sources of livelihood, emotional support, power and authority - rather than in sectors. These themes were devised to reflect more clearly the integrated reality of women's lives which, it was felt, the sectoral approach obscured.

The suggested framework may be summarised as follows:

PANEL I	-	RESOURCES
Human:		population, education, health, social conditions
Physical:		land, mineral resources
Economic:		patterns of property ownership, performance of economic resources
Social Mobility:		socio-economic groups, incidence of social mobility, equality of opportunity
PANEL II	-	STATUS OF WOMEN
Sources of Livelihood:		involvement in production process, levels of income, alternative/supplementary sources of income, access to productive resources.
Emotional Support:		involvement in reproductive unions, extent of motherhood, job satisfaction, leisure activities including involvement in informal cliques/ associations

Power and Authority:	autonomy in family union; participation in political organisations; participation in socio/economic organisations; office-holding in organisations; management/supervisory positions in formal economic sector

PANEL III - LEGAL PROVISIONS

National Institutions:	constitutional guarantee of equality of sexes; universal adult suffrage; political independence; women's Bureau/Commission; paid maternity leave

A review of the available data sources from conventional statistical systems i.e. population censuses, sample surveys and administrative records suggests that even with the present and known deficiencies, there is enough to produce broad profiles of the situation of women [Appendix II]. The surveys reviewed in this study suggest that while they have produced valuable information, they have been small scale, localised investigations the results of which cannot be generalised to the country as a whole. However, the data they produce can be used to complement data from official national sources. Together these two sources provide, in this region, a sufficiently acceptable base on which to build such a system of indicators on the situation of women.

The remainder of this study presents indicators for one territory, Barbados, using a combination of census and other official data and survey data from other sources within the framework proposed in 1980.[18] The model is applied for the years 1970, 1980, and, where possible, 1985 or the nearest year for which relevant data are available. Results are shown in Tables IV.1. - IV.8 and definitions of indicators in Appendix III.

While the data presented are for the entire island, the entire model or subsections thereof may be adapted for particular groups of women. However, efforts to disaggregate indicators in a population of a quarter of a million need to proceed with caution. Two problems adhere to this question - the definition of the groups (e.g. urban and rural, socio-economic categories) and the availability of detailed data disaggregated in that way. While it may be possible to produce tabulations from census data in the required format, this often may not be possible for survey data where the numbers are so much smaller. A more realistic approach would be to undertake 'ad hoc' case studies of particular groups of women as the need arises. In Barbados, e.g., regardless of the definition adopted for urban and rural, census data suggest that the male and female populations are relatively

evenly spread throughout the country. So, too, are gender differences in terms of worker rates, occupational groups, educational attainment, mortality levels and so on. However, for specific details on any specific group e.g. housewives, the census is particularly unhelpful.[19]

As in the original model, rates, ratios or percentages are used for the indicators concerned with the structural features of the society. Where the position of one sub group of women is being compared to another, the proportion that sub group comprises of all women is used. This corresponds to Boulding's "Distribution Index" [Boulding, 1976]. Where the position of women is being compared to men, the proportion which women constitute of the total group is used. This corresponds to Boulding's "Index of Femaleness" [Boulding, op. cit.]. A gender gap is said to exist when this proportion diverges from one half. For those indicators reflecting the characteristics of national institutions, the age of the relevant institution is used. For the specific concerns of this assignment, certain indicators which were not discussed in the original model are now included while others have been omitted. Also, in keeping with the recommendations from the UNESCO 1980 meeting, composite indices have been avoided.

Barbados: A Case Study

According to a recent indicator study on the status of women in 99 countries, Barbados with a score of 74 points placed among a group of 23 countries which earned a rank of "Good". Barbados and Jamaica, with a score of 73.5, were the only developing countries in that group. Only 7 countries in the sample, none of which were developing countries, attained scores of 80-89.5 which placed them in the category "Very Good". None of the countries achieved a score of 90 and over which would have ranked them in the "Excellent" category.[20] [Population Crisis Committee, 1988]

Evidence such as this would seem to suggest that women in Barbados are sufficiently well advanced as not to require any specific developmental assistance from their government, This, in fact, is a view often expressed by key officials.[21] But closer examination of more detailed indicators provides evidence of groups whose numbers or problems are not reflected at the national level and which may be considered invisible. The indicators presented in the remainder of this paper attempt to identify some of those groups. The discussion proceeds in the context of the panels identified earlier.

Panel I: Resources

1. Human Resources

(i) Population: The indicators in this panel suggest that Barbados is a small population of about one quarter of a million with slow rates of growth, low birth and death rates. The sex ratio in both the total population and the population of working age suggests a relatively even balance between the sexes. The dependency ratios point to a gradually aging population in which the relative share of aged dependents is increasing. The increasing proportion of the elderly, almost two-thirds of whom are women, suggest that elderly women are an invisible group which should be targetted for greater attention.

Geographically the population remained relatively evenly spread between St. Michael, the main urban parish containing Bridgetown, the capital, and its suburbs, and the rest of the territory.[22] Women comprise just over half the population in both urban and rural areas.

(ii) Education: Turning to the quality of the population in terms of education, it is evident that both girls and boys are taking advantage of the available facilities. At primary level, virtually full enrollment has been maintained for both boys and girls with girls forming half of the enrolled population. At secondary level, the enrollment rates for boys increased only marginally, whereas that for girls incrreased by some three percentage points.

When levels of certification are considered, significant differences begin to appear. Less than 20 per cent of the adult population have achieved secondary level certification, with females comprising three fifths of that group. At University level, only three per cent of the female population has acquired degrees or diplomas, representing about two-fifths of all persons with such qualifications. These indices represent increases since 1970, so that a case for improvement may be argued. Similarly low but improving indices obtain for vocational training. With less than 40 per cent of the trained working population being females, there continues to be room for improvement.

Overall levels of educational attainment, again show no appreciable difference between rates for males and females at the different levels. Further, there is evidence that such differences as exist are closing at the primary level, where the gender gap is slightly in favour of the females, and at the secondary level. At University level, however, there are no signs of any significant change in the 'gender gap' over the period with females constituting less than 40 per cent of the University trained population.

(iii) **Health:** A history of considerable expenditure on health has paid off in terms of very favourable indicators for both males and females.

Life expectancies now exceed 70 years for both sexes with a difference of five years in favour of the females. That level of difference has remained steady since the decade of the sixties. Infant mortality rates have declined from 46 in 1970 to just 13 in 1984, reflecting not only better pre-natal and child care at the institutional level, but also within the home. Maternal mortality has been traditionally a minor cause of death. This rate has declined from 1.4 per 1000 live births to 0.2 in 1980 and has risen slightly to 0.7 in 1986. It should be noted that the years 1981-83 witnessed no maternal deaths. Low mortality among women in the reproductive years has been a feature of adult female mortality in this territory. In 1960 the probability that a woman aged 15 would die by age 45 was six per cent. By 1970 this had been reduced to two per cent after which it rose slightly to three per cent.

Two other indicators of female mortality relate to deaths due to cancer of the breast or cervix. Prevailing rates in 1984 were 30 and 25 per 100,000 women respectively, the highest rates obtaining for any individual cause of death afflicting women only. Indeed cancers represent the leading cause of death among women in 1984, contributing to a potential loss of 12.8 years of life from that disease [PAHO, 1986]. Women suffering from this disease should therefore be considered another group of 'invisible' women who merit special attention.

(iv) **Households:** An important feature of women's ability to manage their lives relates to their household responsibilities. In Barbados, approximately one fifth of the population of both sexes lives alone, while females contribute just under one half of all persons living alone. Among the population living alone, 43 per cent are aged 65 and over and of these 59 per cent were women in 1980, an increase from 56 per cent in 1970. Here again, is another area of vulnerability for elderly women and one pointing to the need for assistance.

The proportion of households headed by women has remained relatively steady increasing from 43 per cent to 44 per cent between 1970 and 1980. Approximately one third of all adult females and one half of adult males are household heads. The size of households for which heads are responsible has declined for males from 4.2 to 3.6 but remained stable at 3.7 for females. Available data for 1980 do not permit an estimate of the proportion of women who head households and are not in a residential union. In 1970 that percentage stood

at 42 per cent. However the 1980 census does provide data on household headship and family type. According to this, 37 per cent of nuclear families, 57 per cent of extended families and 49 per cent of composite families are to be found in households headed by women [23]. This may be viewed in terms of the proportion of female household heads in each family type. According to this, 57 per cent head nuclear familes, an unidentified number of which are single person families, 37 per cent head extended families and 7 per cent head composite families.

Almost 50 per cent of female household heads were in the 1980 workforce, increasing somewhat over the 1970 figure but considerably lower than the percentage for male household heads at both dates. The proportion of unemployed women who head households has risen from 6.6 in 1970 to 12.2 in 1980 while the female proportion of unemployment amongst all household heads has risen dramatically from 42 per cent in 1970 to 70 per cent in 1980. This points to another vulnerable group - unemployed women who are household heads.

2. Physical Resources

(i) Land: Barbados is a tiny island of 430 km but it ranks among the world's most densely populated countries. This is reflected in the population density which has been over 500 persons per square kilometer for many years reaching a high 567 in 1980.

The arable land area which stood at 200 km in 1964 is reported to be declining rapidly. Although we are without the quantitative data to support this, there is growing visual evidence of this phenomena. It must therefore be assumed that the densities relating population to the arable land are even greater. These measures, while of limited methodological validity, indicate the extent of the pressure of the population on the available land resources. Thus, whether in terms of total land area or arable land area, it is evident that Barbados is a heavily populated island.

Two other indicators of land resources have been selected. The first relates to the only known mineral resource available in the island - oil - which was discovered during the seventies. From a starting position of zero in 1970, Barbados was producing 300,000 barrels of crude oil by 1980 and almost 700,000 by 1985 amounting to more than half its domestic requirements. In addition by 1985 it was exporting refined oil to the tune of two million barrels, representing eight per cent of the exports from the Commonwealth Caribbean.[24] Even though Barbados remains a net importer of petroleum and derivatives, the existence of a

mineral resource base does provide a potential development asset from which women could benefit. Female involvement in the mining sector is virtually non-existent.

The second indicator related to land resources is agriculture which has traditionally been the mainstay of the Barbados economy but which is undergoing severe stress right now. This is evidenced in the declining output and contribution of agriculture to GDP and the declining employment in agriculture. With regard to the latter, female employment in the agricultural sector declined from 14.7 in 1970 to 8.4 in 1980 and 6.4 in 1985. Male employment in agriculture was minimally higher than female at each date. The proportion of agricultural employees who were women remained steady at 37 per cent.

(ii) Economy: Here the concern is with the performance of the main physical resources and the extent to which the returns from those resources are reinvested in the human resources in the form of social services.

This sector provides compelling evidence of an increasing per capita income for the Barbados population. From just under US$600 in 1970, per capita income has risen to over US$4,000 by 1985, suggesting considerable economic growth, most of which occurred during the seventies.[25] The new trend was characterised by declining agriculture, manufacturing which remained stable during the seventies and increased somewhat during the early eighties, tourism which grew fairly steadily and a public sector which also remained steady during the seventies but declined thereafter.

A major feature of recent trends in the economy is the rapidly escalating external debt outstanding which grew from US$15.7 m in 1970 to US$397.4 by 1985. This affected not only the foreign exchange reserves and balance of payments position but also the ability of the government to deliver social services to the population. Thus, central government expenditure in social services decreased in both real and per capita terms, particularly after 1980. Indeed, a recent study places Barbados among countries with the most severe cuts in per capita GDP and Health and Education expenditures [Commonwealth Secretariat, 1989]. That study has shown that government expenditure on health declined by 21 per cent between 1980 and 1984. The proportion of government expenditure allocated to health moved down from 16.7 per cent in 1970 to 16.3 per cent in 1980 and by 1987 had reached 13.0 per cent. In education, the corresponding proportions were 20.4 per cent, 21.1 per cent and 18.4 per cent. For all social services, the decline since 1980 has been from 52.8 per cent to 46.2 per cent in 1982 after which there was a slight rise to 49.4 per cent in 1984.

To summarise, the findings of the first panel, then, Barbados, a small-densely populated territory shows signs of low population growth and an aging population. That population has been relatively favourably equipped in terms of education and health, with only few signs of gender differences at the national level in terms of outcome indicators. In terms of housing, there are significant numbers of households headed by women, but no real difference in the size of households headed by men and women. There are, however, sizeable differences in the characteristics of female and male household heads particularly in terms of unemployment.

The capacity of the land to support its population is limited by its physical size, the use of the land for agricultural production, and the limited availability of mineral resources. However, the human capacity to manipulate the available physical and economic resources is evidenced by an economy which, on the surface, experienced significant growth during the seventies. But increasing external debt, growing unemployment and increasing inability to provide social services during the eighties signal an economy which is in problems.

The two sectors in this panel have highlighted four groups of women which may be considered invisible in the context of this study

- elderly women
- elderly women who live alone
- unemployed women who head households
- women suffering from cancer of the breast or of the cervix.

Earlier in this report (p. 55-56), reference was made to the provisions for the elderly in the current development plan, although elderly women have not been singled out for special attention.

In similar vein, the development plan speaks in general terms about unemployment but fails to identify any specific sub-group among whom unemployment is particularly severe. Thus, neither women nor sub-groups of women are targetted for specific employment creating strategies. Accordingly, no proposals exist for unemployed women who head households.

Similarly, it would be expected that the high rates of cervical and breast cancer would be reflected in related health programmes for women. Instead in the Ministry of Health's contribution there are general statements such as

> "special attention will be given to those suffering from diabetes mellitus, hypertension and cancer [Barbados, 1989 a, p. 77].
>
> "expansion of the cancer screening services so as to follow up 100% postnatal clients and provide routine pap smears and relevant education to women [Barbados, op. cit., p. 79].

But the point has to be made that the fact that no direct reference is made to certain groups or situations does not necessarily mean that nothing is being done. What the plan does reflect is a planning philosophy which assumes that national level plans automatically cover the needs of all groups in the society. Such a philosophy fails to acknowledge, hence to provide for, the differential needs of the various groups in that society.

Panel II: Status of Women

This section of the model seeks to describe the situation of women at a particular point in time or over a specific period and to relate it to that of men. In the process, attention is drawn to areas in which women are at an advantage and those in which they are at a disadvantage. This is the section of the model which lends itself most readily to disaggregation. Thus indicators may be produced at the national level, as is done here, or for any sub-group of women.

1. Sources of Livelihood

(i) Involvement in the Productive Process

The total labour force grew from 91,000 in 1970 of which 40 per cent were women to 108,000 in 1980, of which 45 per cent were women. Within the labour force, workers account for about 93 per cent of the males and about 87 per cent of the females at both census dates. Among workers, employment for wages accounts for over 90 per cent of both male and female workers, while self-employment has risen from 8 to 10 per cent among males and fallen from 8 per cent to 7 per cent among females suggesting some decline in the importance of self-employment among women during the period.

Despite this similarity of the male and female distributions on these two indicators, the relative position of women appears mixed in terms of the proportion which women constitute of these two categories of workers. The female share of the paid work force amounted to only 39 per cent in 1970 increasing to 44 per cent in 1980 and 1985 at which level it seems to have stabilised. Among the self-employed, females accounted for 39 per cent in 1970, but 33 per cent and 31 per cent respectively in 1980 and 1985.

The occupational distribution of the paid work force also provides initial evidence of a gradually narrowing gender gap. In the agricultural sector, in 1980, eight per cent of the female working population and 11 per cent of the male working population were engaged in agriculture. But of the total population so engaged just 36 per cent were women. Further, the detailed listing of occupations for the 1980 Population Census reveals that over 98 per cent of women in Barbadian agriculture are involved as "agriculture and animal husbandry workers" i.e. as agricultural labourers. The corresponding proportion for men is 80 per cent. Only one per cent of women in agriculture are designated farmers and one half of one per cent as farm managers. By contrast, four per cent and five per cent of men in agriculture are found in these two categories. The familiar picture of women being at the lowest level of a sector is here compounded by the declining importance of this sector in the economy to which reference has already been made. Hence another vulnerable group of women is immediately identified.

In non-agricultural occupations the position of women has not undergone much change. During the eighties over 90 per cent of the female working population has been engaged in these occupations, increasing from 85 per cent in 1970 proportions similar to those obtaining for males. The proportion which women comprise of the total work force in non-agriculture has increased from 39 per cent in 1970 to 44 per cent in 1985, most of the increase occurring during the seventies. Among these women, three groups merit separate attention on the strength of changes in their size. Women in the informal sector, perhaps the most difficult group to identify, have traditionally been regarded as operating on the fringes of the economy. Domestic service, petty trading and dressmaking were the three areas usually associated with women's activities in these areas on the basis of general observation. A more sophisticated approach has been proposed by a recent study in Jamaica which attempts to allocate industries to different labour market segments on the basis of the number of workers involved and a specified skill index.[26] [Anderson, 1987] According to this approach, the informal sector consists of all small scale industries i.e. those with less than 10 workers, and a skill index lower than 14. On

this basis, the informal sector is shown to comprise small scale agriculture; a protected informal segment consisting of private household workers; an unprotected informal segment consisting primarily of small scale food manufacture, petty trading, and small scale services; and a segment consisting of informal crafts.

No study of the informal sector of Barbados is currently available. However, if the Anderson model is accepted, it is evident that sizeable sections of the Barbados female work force can be located in these segments e.g. 68 per cent of female service workers in the 1980 Census are classified as maids; 19 per cent of all female sales workers are street vendors; 52 per cent of all female production workers are classifed as tailors, dressmakers and related workers. Even if the discussion is restricted to only these three categories, the predominance of women is evident. Together, the females in these three groups account for 30 per cent of the total female workforce and 90 per cent of all workers in those groups. Because of the labour intensive nature of these activities, the low returns and the relative absence of protection, the women in these groups may well be in need of special assistance. Yet the lack of both quantitative and qualitative data suggests that this group represents another example of invisibility.

The second sub-group among women in the non-agriculture occupations, to which attention might be drawn are women in the manufacturing industries. Much of the employment available in this sector is provided by export-oriented industries, especially in electronics and garments. Although many of these factories were locally owned, many were also foreign owned companies with an expressed preference for women. In the absence of other alternatives these manufacturing concerns represented a significant employment opportunity for poor women either within factories or at home on a 'home-work' basis. But the rates of pay were low, health and safety standards were poor and trade union membership was restricted.[27]

The 1980s have witnessed cutbacks in employment and the closure of over 100 factories. The resulting unemployment highlights the vulnerability of women in this sector to economic and technological changes, worker exploitation and the inability or unwillingness of governments to act on their behalf when negotiating terms. They also provide examples of what can happen to women when development plans are gender blind.

The third sub-group among women in non-agriculture occupations are women in professional occupations. Their number has risen marginally from nine per cent in 1970 to 11

per cent in 1985 of the total female working population while the equivalent per cent for males remained steady at 10 per cent. Simultaneously, women have been comprising an ever growing proportion of the total professional population. From 39 per cent in 1970, the proportion of women professionals increased to one-half by 1985. Most of this may be attributable to shifts in the structure of the female professional population. Traditionally, nurses and teachers, comprised the bulk of women professionals - over 90 per cent. But by 1980, this proportion had fallen to just under 80 per cent, with a corresponding increase of 'other' professionals from 12 per cent to 21 per cent. Included in the 'other' groups are such groups as architects and engineers, accountants, life scientists, statisticians, creative artists. In effect, the widening range of professional occupations in which Barbadian women are participating reflects not only rises in educational attainment but also widening economic opportunities. But numbers remain small and research information about their circumstances and needs is almost non-existent. Thus invisibility becomes an issue for another group of women.

When the occupational distributions of males and females are compared, the resulting index of dissimilarity declined minimally between 1970 and 1980, then rose thereafter. However the level of the index suggests that despite changes in the occupational patterns and the relative similarity of male and female distributions, there persists a relatively high degree of gender differentiation in the occupational structure of this territory.

(ii) Access to Productive Resources

Fundamental to the ability of a people to develop their own capacities must be the provision of basic infrastructure. But availability must be accompanied by accessibility. Indicators to illustrate accessability of services provide clues as to areas of need to which infrastructural development projects may be directed.

For Barbados, access to basic services such as pipe-borne water, electricity, suitable toilet facilities, cooking fuel other than wood appears to be of an acceptable level. Indicators illustrating this are readily available from census data. However indicators of access to services for specific groups need to be devised from special purpose surveys in which questions of women's access and control of resources and the derived benefits are specifically addressed. Thus, for example, although women traders in Barbados probably benefit from the basic services provided by the government, their particular occupation requires access to a number of other

services. Credit, technical assistance (e.g. accounting), security for themselves and their produce, primary market, insurance coverage, counselling are some of the services they may require. But the magnitude of the need and the range of areas remain unknown. The same may be said of the several other 'invisible' groups identified.

It is therefore recommended that a series of small scale surveys be undertaken of specific groups of women with a view to developing measures illustrative of their several needs.

Conclusion

Census and labour force survey data suggest that Barbadian women rely primarily on paid employment as their main source of livelihood. Other survey sources indicate that at least three other sources are important - the husband/partner, children and other relatives. Few Barbadian women appear to be self-employed. Patterns of occupational distribution suggest some amount of change but not enough to offset the relatively high level of gender dissimilarity. This makes it possible to identify groups of women whose location in the distribution renders them vulnerable or invisible.

2. Emotional Support

(i) Reproductive Unions

Sizeable proportions of Barbadian women within the reproductive ages have never been married but by the time they reach age 45, the converse is true. This suggests that the age at which women marry is relatively high, a conclusion supported by the indicator the singulate mean age at marriage which is well over 30 years - and increasing with only minimal differences between women and men. But that does not mean that no other type of reproductive union has been experienced or that child bearing had not already begun before marriage. On the contrary, the proportion of women in some form of reproductive union is high, though apparently declining from 50 per cent in 1970 to 44 per cent in 1980.

A high incidence of motherhood prevails both among women in unions and those who are not, 90 per cent of whom are mothers. Contraceptive use is also high. One survey taken in 1980/81 placed the proportion of ever use among women aged 15-49 at 63 per cent and current use at 37 per cent [Nair, 1982]. A companion study of males conducted in 1982 reports almost identical levels of usage among males in the same age range. Ever use stood at 61 per cent and current use at 37 per cent [Lewis and Heisler, 1985]. A more recent study

conducted in 1988 provides evidence that current contraceptive use among all women in unions is 55 per cent and 62 per cent among non-pregnant, fecund women in unions [Jagdeo, 1989]. These relatively high rates of usage suggest a society in which although a high premium is placed on motherhood, firm steps are being taken to protect the woman from the burden of large numbers of children.

(ii) Motherhood

Although Barbadian women may be said to be heavily involved in childbearing as suggested by indicators of proportions of motherhood, their actual fertility levels are low and declining. Child/woman rates, among women in the reproductive age range have declined from 2.4 in 1970 to 1.8 in 1980, and child/mother rates from 3.7 to 2.7. These declines coincide with a lengthening of the interval spent in childbearing. Declines obtain among working and non-working women and among women in different types of reproductive unions.

Childbearing among adolescents has been on the decline since 1970 in terms of absolute numbers, the proportion of total annual births occurring to teenagers and the adolescent fertility rates.

(iii) Job Satisfaction

The rationale for this indicator stems from an increasing awareness that women gain emotional satisfaction from activities outside of their involvement in reproductive and mothering activities. Evidence from at least one Caribbean study suggests that a job or income-earning activity provides a sense of self-esteem and control over one's life to which women attach much significance. WICP data indicate that the three most highly rated qualities about their job that women mention are the job itself, the income earned and the people they work with. Together these three accounted for almost 80 per cent of the responses to the question "What do you like most about your job?" Examples of responses related to the job itself include:

> "Meeting people and the responsibility that it entrusts on me";
>
> "Influencing the direction in which the institution goes; giving advice of one kind or another";

> "I feel responsible knowing that I am doing things for older people";
>
> "I like at the end of a lesson and a day the feeling that the children have gained something that would help them".

In other words, the fact of a challenging job, the opportunity to establish social relationships away from home and to contribute to household income provides a measure of satisfaction to women which should not be overlooked. Of course, these are not necessarily different from men. But the point is that women are now articulating these as needs which must be taken into consideration in the design of plans, programmes and projects on their behalf. It is not entirely valid to claim that women work (i.e. work for income) to get out of the house or to upgrade the lifestyle of their households, as is often said about middle-income women, or out of sheer necessity, as is often said about low-income women. Women may work for all of these reasons but they also work because they want to work for their own self-development.

In the Preface to the current Development Plan, the Prime Minister of Barbados states

> "... development is really about people's hopes and aspirations for improvements in the quality of their lives." [Barbados, 1989, p. (i)]

If this is accepted and women see a job as providing those aspirations, then indicators should reflect those perceptions.

Data from the WICP suggest two indicators of job satisfaction. The first is percentage of responses in which 'the job itself' is included in reply to a question what do you like most about your job. In the Barbados sample 38 per cent of the responses from employed women included 'the job itself'. The second possible indicator is the rank position of 'the job itself' amongst all responses to the same question. For Barbados, the rank position was 1. Together these two indicators suggest that a job is indeed an important source of emotional support for women.

(iv) Community Involvement

Here again recourse needs to be made to micro level studies. The WICP data indicate that about 34 per cent of the Barbadian sample belonged to organisations of one kind or another with 70 per cent of that number being highly active. The overwhelming majority - over 90 per ent - of the sample considered membership in organisations as being of importance

to women. Reasons varied from those clustered around self-development (39%), meeting new people (23%) and getting away from home (18%). In the words of one respondent

"It helps me become a person outside the home".

In other words, Barbadian women are looking beyond the home environment for sources of emotional support or psychological satisfaction. Involvement in community organisations represents an important source of such support.

Conclusion

National level data on mating and fertility suggest that Barbadian women are involved in different types of reproductive unions, eventually marrying at a relatively high age. Childbearing occurs both within and outside of the several union types but has been declining steadily, irrespective of age, union type or economic activity. Besides mating and childbearing, women also gain satisfaction from their job and from their involvement in community organisations. These various levels of activity together contribute to the woman's self-perception of her value as a human being.

3. Power and Authority

The final area considered of importance in an assessment of women's situation relates to the power and authority wielded by women in Barbados. In Barbados, the principle of equality of women and men and non-discrimination on the ground of sex is enshrined in Section II of Chapter 3 of the Constitution. This suggests that Barbadian women and men have the same rights and responsibilities in every area of civic life. However, the legal provision of rights often is not reflected in the practical enjoyment of power and authority. A variety of sources need to be tapped in order to develop indicators of power and authority in key areas.

In the area of the family, women's power and authority may be guaged first from the pattern of household headship. It may be argued that women who head households exercise a considerable degree of autonomy in the management of these households, even though many of them may be very poor. At the other end of the scale, it may be argued that where households are headed by men, the degree of women's autonomy within the households is restricted. And at some point within the scale, there may be found incidences of jointly headed households which imply an egalitarian system of management.

Census data provide ample evidence of high levels of female headed households, as was shown in Table IV.4. Without digressing to address the concepts of 'household' and 'headship' adopted by those censuses, it is clear that levels of that order represent a significant reality in the lives of Caribbean women. Large numbers of them do bear sole responsibility for their households. Survey data provide an interesting caveat. Not only is the proportion of female headed households slightly lower than census data suggest, but there is a small proportion (5%) of jointly headed households. This may indicate a new trend among women who are now recognising their own contribution to their households [Powell, 1986]. Alternatively, it may be simply the uncovering of a category of household which the census was not designed to catch. Whichever it is, the implication is that household headship is not necessarily a simple demarcation between male and female autonomy. An important consideration is the process by which decisions are made within the household.

This introduces the second set of indicators of power and authority in the familial setting - women's perceptions of the pattern of decision making in their households. WICP data suggests that for women in residential unions, women tend to be the main decision makers in matters related to childbearing, childrearing and routine household management. Decisions on matters such as expenditure on major household items, location of residence and the borrowing of money tend to be jointly made. But the type of union and the level of development of the territory appear to be major influences on the decision making patterns [Powell, 1986]. Further, if the views of Barbadian males are taken into account, it seems that the resources which the woman brings into the home may also exert an important influence on the extent to which women may exercise autonomy in household decision making [Barrow, 1986 a and b].

One corollary needs to be added. Virtually all the income earning women in the Barbadian WICP sample claimed that they made their own decisions about spending the money which they earned and saved. This is somewhat mitigated by the fact that most of these funds are spent on food, clothing and other household needs and that women rank the partner's contribution to household income as the most important. Thus, the extent of the woman's power within the household appears to be fragile and dependent on her ability to maintain a balance between her autonomy and an interdependent relationship with her partner.

In the economic sphere, the indicators selected to demonstrate elements of power are focussed on women in administrative and managerial occupations. There is clear evidence from census and labour force survey sources of low but increasing levels of female involvement. The proportion of the female working population engaged in these occupations has increased from less than one half of one per cent in 1970 to almost three per cent by 1985. The corresponding proportions for males are two per cent and five per cent. Simultaneously, the proportion which females constitute of all administrative and managerial workers increased from 11 per cent to 29 per cent over the same period.

In the area of social participation, no source was found providing information on office holding in non- governmental organisations, trade unions and similar groups. It is recommended that studies be developed on this topic which would require access to the records of a large number and diversity of voluntary organisations.

In the political arena, indicators were chosen to illustrate women's participation in elections, in the national legislature and on statutory boards. No sources were located with data which could allow the derivation of indicators of membership and office holding in political parties and senior executive positions in the public service. These are two important areas which require investigation.

Available electoral data suggest that Barbadian women account for over half of registered voters. Over 70 per cent of their registered number voted in the last elections for which data are available (1981 and 1986) and over half of the votes cast have been cast by women in all elections since 1951 [Duncan and O'Brien, 1983]. But this apparently solid involvement of women in the political life of the territory is not reflected in their parliamentary representation. Indeed the picture is far from encouraging.

Between 1971 and 1986 there have been four general elections in which candidates sought election for the 24 (27 in 1981 and 1986) seats in the House of Representatives. Within that period, only six women have contested for seats in the general elections, but only two have been successful, one of them winning the same seat in both 1976 and 1981. In the 12 member Senate, a total of 11 women have been appointed during the period, but at no time did the number sitting exceed three. Further, there has been only one woman Minister of Government in the 10 member Cabinet which prevailed up to 1981. She was first Minister of Health and then Minister of Education which post she retained after 1981 when the size of the Cabinet was increased to 12. The current Cabinet has no woman Minister. Prior to 1986, there was one woman appointed

at the ambassadorial level (1974-75) and since 1986 a woman has been appointed as ambassador to the United Nations. In effect, women in Barbados are not included in the top echelons of national government and thus opportunities for direct influence on decision-making in the territory are severely limited.

One final area of political participation is membership on statutory boards where appointment is made by the political directorate. Although the selected indicators suggest a somewhat more satisfactory position than obtains for participation in electoral politics life, much room remains for improvement. At the beginning of the seventies, there were 58 statutory boards with a total membership of 388. Female membership stood at 48 or 12 per cent. By the end of the decade, there were signs of marginal improvement with accelerating improvement into the eighties. Female membership increased to 14 per cent in 1980 and 23 per cent in 1985. However, in keeping with the position of previous years sizeable proportions of this membership continue to be concentrated on boards of educational institutions, child care and welfare agencies. Thus, the increased female membership on boards does not necessarily reflect access to the powerful boards.

Membership of statutory boards merely reflects one aspect of political power. Occupancy of the major decision- making positions on those boards - Chairman and Deputy Chairman - represents another. In 1980, there were four boards chaired by women two of them being boards of secondary schools. By 1985 the number had increased to 10, seven of which were boards of secondary schools. Also in 1985, there were 11 boards in which the deputy chair was female, seven of them being boards of secondary schools.

Once again the position is shown to be one of limited involvement of women in the power structure of the society. Where they are allowed entry, it is into areas traditionally associated with women - education, health, child care and welfare.

Panel 3: Legal and Institutional Provisions

In this panel, the concern is with the institutional framework provided by the society to enable its women to fully participate.

Taken together the indicators suggest that Barbados has had ample time to establish machinery to protect its women and to ensure that that machinery is effective. Twenty eight

years have elapsed since the territory gained full adult suffrage and twenty three years since the attainment of political independence and a constitution in which the principles of equality and non-discrimination is enshrined. The Women's Bureau has been in existence for the past thirteen years.

Within that general framework, many measures have been introduced to assist women e.g. paid maternity leave has been a feature of women's economic life for the past 13 years. Women are eligible to the same employment benefits as men e.g. paid leave during illness, national insurance provisions, old age pensions, protection at the work place, rights to fair employment practices and so on.

These measures, however, operate to the benefit only of those who are employed by others i.e. in the formal sector of the economy. For those in the informal sector, not only do these provisions not obtain, but there is no legal protection. Thus, immediately another vulnerable or 'invisible' group of women is thrown into relief.

Many other legal provisions in areas such as the conclusion of contracts, the ownership, acquisition, administration and disposition of property, the rights to jury duty, the right to hold political office are available to women in Barbados. Yet somehow, there remain pockets of need which clearly indicate that women may not be benefitting to the fullest from such provision.

Conclusion

The indicators for this territory tell a story of an economy with limited resources which has been able to provide a number of opportunities for its women. However, in recent times, that economy has experienced severe strains. Efforts to deal with problematic balance of payments and other macro economic problems produced the so-called structural adjustment measures which have taken little account of social cost. The measures adopted produced a situation in which Barbados became in danger of reversing the progress made in the past, particularly in health, nutrition, education and employment. As a result women have suffered particularly in respect of rising unemployment, declining real wages, reduced social services, increasing prices of food and other basic necessities and increasing hours of work.

All women have experienced these problems, some more than others. The indicators selected here have demonstrated how some of those groups may be identified. They also identify data gaps which need to be urgently filled if the full extent

of the issue is to be understood and if appropriate programmes are to be formulated, implemented and evaluated.

V. CARIBBEAN WOMEN IN RECENT DEVELOPMENT PLANS

In a survey of National Planning systems in 10 Caribbean territories in 1980, the Consultant who prepared the report identified three main features characterising development planning in the region:

> "(i) it has been and is closely linked with the receipt of development funds from external sources;
>
> (ii) it is geared to the restructuring of the economies;
>
> (iii) it is loosely organised and not yet an institutionalized part of the life of the societies" [Boissière, 1980, p. 1].

The link with international financial assistance was established in the 1940s with the establishment by the UK of what were known as Colonial Development and Welfare Funds. Colonial governments wishing to benefit from these funds were required to submit a ten year programme of development expenditure. Since then governments in the region have been engaged in some variety of economic planning as part of the general development effort. The assumption appears to be that planning permits the selection of appropriate economic choices for achieving desirable social goals. That planning can also provide guidelines for determining political choices appears to be a minor consideration. The major concern seems to be that of providing greater government direction to the path and progress of the economy. Planners therefore concerned themselves with the application of macro-economic solutions to problems defined at the macro-economic level.

Dissatisfaction with the results of this approach led to several critiques in which stress was laid on the critical importance of the relevance of policy and hence of political processes. With that view came a recognition that the economic development plan may function both as a tool of transformation and of mobilisation towards national goals. But that recognition has not necessarily affected the traditional view of planning which, as has been documented for at least one territory, continues to serve largely formal purposes. In the words of one commentator speaking about Jamaica,

> "They assure external financiers that the economy has the capacity to receive inflows of funds. At the same time, they help to foster the belief within the country that comprehensive policies are being formulated for the general welfare" [Brown, 1975, p. 12].

The implication here is that decisions about development priorities reflect the preferences of the dominant decision making group. When therefore interest groups lacking direct access to loci of decision making begin to voice demands, to be 'integrated into development planning', they are striking at the very heart of a system which is not designed to accommodate the demands of powerless groups. In the case of women's groups, such a cry creates two fundamental dilemmas for the system. First, there is the assumption that government is an appropriate mechanism for ensuring that women's needs are met. The particular dilemma relates to the multi-dimensional needs of women and the question of balancing those needs against those of other interest groups of, perhaps, more strategic importance to the government dominant political party. A related point has to do with the perceived cost to the government which opts in favour of satisfying women's needs. Such cost could be high in social and political terms and may well act as a disincentive to positive action.

The second dilemma relates to the assumption that development planning is a purely technical exercise which can accommodate new demands once an adequate information base is available. For planners concerned with meeting short term goals of incumbent governments, with the effects of past policy and planning decisions and with the current state of national and international economies, the mere availability of additional material is simply not enough. And the experience of women's groups has been that even with the available data their interests are not necessarily reflected in development plans. The point at issue here is that development planning in the region is a process embedded in a particular type of public administrative system. It is concerned with meeting the wishes of a political directorate whose ultimate objective is to satisfy the immediate wishes of its electorate and those of dominant groups both at home and abroad. The process is not easily amenable to the accommodation of changing definitions of need or a long term view of the planning exercise. Women's groups wishing to influence the process therefore face a formidable challenge. Women have traditionally not occupied positions in the upper rungs of the public service and women's groups have traditionally lacked the power to influence the political process.

The Planning Process

The process as it currently exists, involves a hierarchial submission of plans from individual departments, through Ministries and the Planning Unit to Cabinet and Parliament for ultimate approval [Figure V.1]. The process usually involves informal, interdepartmental consultation at lower levels and more formal inter-ministry consultation through a Coordinating Committee of all Permanent Secretaries. Consultation may also involve Advisory Councils (national or sectoral), and a number of para-statal agencies. Less formal and consultative arrangements may exist with various interest groups e.g. the private sector, NGOs. But in no territory is there provision for public participation in the formulation of sector plans and projects.[28] One territory, Jamaica, has attempted to develop a plan based on recommendations from a number of Task Forces created by the government. Members are drawn from a variety of sources including government, the private sector, the UWI and non-government organisations. Each Task Force reports on a specific issue and the reports provide the basis of discussions from which the plan is formulated. The mechanism, which is still very much experimental, functions on an ongoing basis. The main concern is the heavily bureaucratic and time consuming nature of the operation.

The entire process is geared towards developing a medium term plan - usually over five years - with short term sector plans and projects prepared from the perspective of the overall plan and reviewed annually as part of the budget exercise. One writer indicates that "it is hardly relevant to speak of short, medium and long term planning in the region as a whole". In a survey of 10 territories conducted in 1980, only three had five-year development plans, while none had any clearly specified long term policy objectives [Boissiere, 1980]. This position has changed little since then. Without such overall guidelines and priorities, there is little consciousness of planning except in the purely budgetary sense.

Several constraints in the operation of the system have been identified. Foremost amongst these is the fundamental difficulty created by a planning philosophy which focuses on the mobilisation and allocation of resources on the assumption that the overall objectives of the plan necessarily lead to benefits for all. Where issues affecting specific groups in the determination of priorities are considered, it is almost by default rather than through the activities of a specially constituted mechanism. Budgetary considerations connected with the difficulty of forecasting the level of local revenue, foreign aid inflows and the cost of necessary imported inputs represent a critical constraint limiting the effectiveness of

planning. A particularly disturbing recent trend has been the emphasis being placed on Public Sector Investment Programmes. Manpower deficiencies, in terms of quality, quantity and the utilisation of available skills also rank high amongst the constraints. Institutional difficulties created by uncertainties of the role of the Central Planning Unit, and inadequate consultation between the various entities involved in the process represent another hurdle. So too do data deficiencies - either general unavailability, unavailability in the desired format or availability after too long a time lag - and the absence of machinery for monitoring or evaluation on an ongoing basis.

Perhaps the most serious constraint is the precedence accorded to short term political priorities over long term developmental objectives. This not only prohibits the evolution of planning as a systematic process in the daily management of a society, but also creates rigidities which weaken the chances of the needs of powerless groups from being recognised and addressed. Some commentators go so far as to say that there have been no successful Caribbean development plans on the grounds that the premises of existing plans are questionable and that no dynamic process of planning really exists. Further, that the implementation of plans has been equally unsuccessful.

Planning for Women in Development

The administrative procedure adopted for planning purposes implies the need for a focal point within the system with formal and informal links both to other parts of the system and to the community. The placement of institutional mechanisms responsible for women's affairs within the public service suggests that governments have given women such a focal point from which to participate in the planning process. For women's bureaux/desks can legitimately channel their requirements directly through the host ministry and indirectly through other ministries sponsoring programmes/ projects relevant to women. That, at least, seems to be the theory. However, in practice, results have not been particularly encouraging, as the current development plans of two territories, Barbados and St. Vincent illustrate.

(i) Barbados

This territory has a long history of development planning, starting from a Sketch Plan of Development, 1946-56 which was prepared by a special committee appointed by the Governor of the day for that purpose [Barbados 194(6)?]. To date there have been 10 development plans, half of them

prepared after the territory gained political independence in 1966.

In its first development plan, that of 1946-56, this territory allocated the sum of $5,000 to a "Women's Work Bureau". Nothing in the text of the plan or in subsequent plans indicates what this sum was intended to provide and whether anything did materialise or, indeed, what a women's work bureau really was. However, it is worthy of note that at least one territory in the region had recognised the need for including provision for women in its development plans from as far back as forty odd years ago.

A review of those early plans suggests that women's issues, insofar as the term was used, consisted of issues related to infant, child and maternal mortality. As planning philosophy became more articulated , and even though acknowledgemnt was given to the need for a wider interpretation of women's issues, no effort was made to identify these issues either separately or within sectoral plans. Thus, women as a group were never targetted. Since that 1946-56 Development Plan then, nothing on women's affairs appeared in development plans until the 1983-88 plan, even though a Department of Women's Affairs had been established in 1976, a National Commission on the Status of Women had been convened in 1976 and reported in 1978, and a development plan for 1979-83 had been produced. It appears that the Department construed government policy to be contained in the various international conventions and agreements which government had signed and ratified, in the recommendations of the NCSW, the National Advisory Council and the biennial meeting of CARICOM Ministers responsible for Women's Affairs.[29] Within this context, the Department developed internal annual programmes of activity which, though not reflected in the National Development Plan or in separate Departmental budgets, were partially financed by the Ministry in which the Department was located.

From the 1983-88 plan, it is clear that only minimal efforts were envisaged for enabling the Bureau to conduct its work. Further, the location at that time within the Ministry of Information and Culture appears to have limited perspectives of the function of the Bureau to a purely informational one. This is reflected in the downgrading of the Department to a Bureau and in the proposals contained in the Plan [Appendix I]. One proposal focussed on the use of Community Development Officers as channels of information between the Bureau and women in the community. Two proposals related to the establishment of links with government agencies and the creation of an advisory body. A fourth proposal related to the continuation of grant assistance to women's organisations.[30]

The final proposal related to the identification of projects with income-generating potential and the willingness to "act as a channel for funding if a project is feasible and if a funding agency is willing to provide funds for its implementaion" [Barbados, 1983, p. 154]. As would be expected, activities flowing out of these vague proposals were sporadic, lacking in continuity and generally ineffective in meeting the overall objective of the development plan "Change Plus Growth".

Among its several objectives the Development Plan for 1988-93, focussing on the theme "A Share for All", aims to improve the quality of life; reduce the pockets of poverty that exist; increase the output of goods and services; provide jobs through productive activity; and improve income distribution. Within those overall objectives, the Plan seeks to reduce unemployment to an acceptable level and provide incomes adequate to provide food, clothing and shelter for families at the lowest income levels [Barbados, 1989a, p. 5]. In effect, employment creation is a cardinal feature of the Plan. Yet the Plan, like its predecessor, provides only general objectives for the unit within the public sector charged with responsibility for a section of the population in which "unemployment is considered to be unacceptably high" [Barbados op. cit.,p. 17]. According to the Plan,

> "Government, through a restructured Bureau of Women's Affairs will implement programmes geared towards:
>
> - researching and disseminating information on women and promoting educational programmes on women's issues;
>
> - encouraging and facilitating the further development of women's organisations;
>
> - reviving the National Advisory Council on Women's Affairs to advise Government on the formulation of policies relating to women; and
>
> - promoting, in collaboration with the respective governmental and non-governmental agencies and organisations, projects geared towards the fuller integration of women in national development, with special focus on employment generation for women.
>
> An inter-ministerial committee on Women's Affairs will be appointed to assess, monitor and facilitate the integration process". [Barbados, op. cit., p. 93]

No specifics are provided either in terms of targets, activities or estimated expenditures. And up to the time of writing no additional staff had been provided, and neither the National Advisory Council nor the inter-ministerial Committee had been appointed. There is therefore little to guage the extent to which the objectives are being met.

The priority area of employment generation is the main concern of the Ministry in which the Bureau of Women's Affairs is now located. The objectives of that Section of the Ministry are many and varied -

- to increase the total number of productive jobs available to persons in the labour force seeking employment;

- to minimize job losses and the social effects of such job losses;

- to pursue balanced economic, financial and industrial policies through which business enterprises can grow and develop, thereby contributing to job creation;

- to maintain appropriate education, training, and technology systems that will guarantee a ready supply of intelligent, diligent and trainable workers; and

- to maintain a sound health and safety regime for the purpose of minimizing job losses through ilness and contributing to increased productivity levels. [Barbados, op. cit., p. 88]

At first glance the proposed strategies appear geared towards infrastructural improvement rather than project implementation e.g.

- implementation of the recommendations of the Task Force on Employment;

- computerization of the records of the Labour Department and provision of more accurate and current labour market information for better utilisation of human resources;

- strengthening of linkages between the National Training Board, the Statistical Service and the Labour Department. [Barbados, op. cit., p. 91]

Within these general strategies, however are contained several unspecified project activities e.g. the National Training Board conducts several vocational training programmes aimed at both men and women; the National Employment Bureau is responsible for seeking job opportunities at home and abroad for unemployed Barbadians. But here again, without targets, activities and proposed budgets, little can be said of the outcome of these efforts particularly in respect of the extent to which women benefit.

Nothing in the Plan provides information on proposed expenditure for the programmes of the Bureau of Women's Affairs (BWA). Estimates for proposed capital expenditure for each agency are provided but nothing has been allocated to the BWA. Examination of the annual estimates of revenue and expenditure indicate no identifiable budget for the Bureau. Instead its resources are included in the sub-head "General Administration" of the Ministry. This suggests that the Bureau may not really be regarded as a viable entity within the Ministry, since the estimates for all other Departments are clearly spelt out. It is therefore not possible to make quantitative estimates of the extent to which the Bureau is financially equipped to implement the objectives listed in the Development Plan.

No specific long, medium, or even short term Women's Development Plan exists. What does exist is a generalised 'Plan of Action' developed during a recent Workshop on "Management and Development" - which links eight main issues to a series of suggested recommendations and strategies [Barbados, 1989 b]. Within that, the Bureau has carved out activities in public awareness, support systems for WID programmes, research and training for the current financial year. The evolution of the current programme of activities demonstrates the operation of the institutional framework which allows the Bureau to function even though its existence is barely acknowledged in successive Development Plans. The BWA is supposed to be guided by the recommendations from the various sources mentioned earlier (see p.) as well as by ongoing consultation with women's organisations. This process allows the Bureau to identify those activities which it can manage on its own, those which require collaboration with other agencies and those which require funding assistance. It thus becomes possible to develop a programme which may not reflect extensive governmental support but which may be meeting stated and perceived needs of beneficiary groups, even if only in a limited way. In addition, the Bureau is expected to collaborate with other Departments and Ministries in the public service which are involved in activities of direct relevance to women.

An examination of the activities of the Bureau provides clear evidence of collaboration with governments and NGOs and of independent project activity. [Table V.1] Further, of the 212 recommendations offered by the NCSW, 190 have been implemented by government agencies including 40 of the 46 recommendations for legal reform. In addition, sectoral plans in successive development plans have undertaken action which is not specified as being a consequence of the NCSW recommendations. Thus, the fact that recent Development Plans make only minimal reference to the Bureau does not necessarily mean that the Bureau is inactive or that women's needs as represented by the Bureau are not being recognised. The absence of specified programme and project activity in the Plans does however reflect the weak resource base and chequered history of the Bureau.[31]

Since its inception there have been two evaluations of the Bureau, one by the Commonwealth Secretariat and the CARICOM Secretariat, the other by ILO [Massiah, 1983; Gillings, 1987]. Both of these reports stress the inability of the Bureau to function effectively without adequate staff and other resources. This was interpreted as evidence of minimal government commitment to the Bureau as also was the absence of a policy statement or action plan, the frequent relocations and the omission or minimal mention of the Bureau in the National Development Plans. It was recognised that the Bureau was performing as well as it could within the available constraints. However, both evaluators felt that few of its activities could be construed as being part of a comprehensive plan with stated objectives, priorities, schedules and programmes. Rather activities appear to develop on an 'ad hoc' basis as needs arise or special requests are made. Clearly this is too fragmented an approach to yield constructive results. And within the context of a Development Plan which claims to set out "in a concise manner the Government's development objectives, strategies, projects and programmes for Barbados" over the next five years, this is clearly not acceptable.

(ii) St. Vincent and the Grenadines

As elsewhere in the region, development planning in this territory grew out of the local administration's response to British government policy which linked approval of loans and grants to the preparation and approval of development plans. Three development plans followed:

Interim Development Programme, 1963-1966

Five Year Development Plan, 1966-1970

Revised Five Year Development Plan, 1969-1973

According to the current (1986-88) Plan, these early Plans "failed spectacularly to meet their targets" as a result of a number of deficiencies. Disillusionment with planning as a tool for development followed and planning reverted to an annual budgetary exercise supplemented by economic reviews.

At the First Meeting of Planning Officials in the Caribbean held in 1979, the report on St. Vincent noted that

> "apart from what were essentially economic reviews and projects carried out periodically by international and regional agencies and traditional aid donors..., economic planning in this decade has been confined almost exclusively to annual budgetary proposals; and as the territory, in the grip of the post-1973 economic crisis became forced to place increasing reliance on British grants to offset widening deficits in the recurrent budget, the British Government (through BDD) came increasingly to exercise a considerable measure of control over the capital budget."
> [St. Vincent, 1980]

In 1978, a Central Planning Unit was established and immediately became involved, with the help of a World Bank mission, in preparing a Public Sector Investment Programme and financing plan for 1979-1983. This Economic Memorandum as it was called, provided the framework for planning decisions which were aimed at promoting export-oriented and employment generating agriculture, industry and tourism and at satisfying basic human needs.

Up to this stage the government of the day had neither articulated a policy on women's development nor established a national body with overall responsibility for the advancement of women. At first, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had been allocated responsibility for Women's Affairs, but no specific officer was assigned to the task. Thus, there was no real mechanism for ensuring that women's needs and concerns were channelled into the planning process. A major recommendation for St. Vincent from the WICP was therefore

> "that a women's desk should be established to accelerate and implement programmes aimed at improving living conditions, at ensuring female involvement in development planning and at coordinating the activities of government, NGOs and individuals". [Clarke and Cummins, 1981,p. 79]

It was further recommended that such a body

> "... should have a clear mandate and be provided with adequate support from Government. Such support should take the form of adequate staffing, funding and appropriate attitudes which would facilitate effective functioning." [Clarke and Cummins, op. cit., p. 79]

Following that project, an officer in the Ministry of Community Development was assigned responsibility for Women's Affairs, but this was in addition to that officer's substantive duties as Community Development Officer. To counteract this, efforts were made to work through the NGOs, but they themselves were weakly structured and starved of resources. Without a firm institutional focal point, without policy guidelines and with limited support from NGOs, it became virtually impossible to produce any significant WID activity.

With a change of administration in 1984 came a fundamental change in perspective on both development planning and on Women's Affairs. In the case of the latter, a Women's Desk was established within the Ministry of Tourism, Information and Culture and, in collaboration with the National Council of Women, it was required to be the catalyst for implementing strategies and programmes in the area of Women's Affairs. Development planning came to be seen as an ongoing process aimed at creating a favourable environment in which economic and social development could be maintained and enhanced. The 1986-88 plan, the current plan, adopts as its theme "Growth, Diversification and Redistribution". In this plan as in the Barbados plan, job creation and the alleviation of unemployment are the prime objectives.

The current Development Plan includes a modest programme of activities for the Women's Desk which is geared "to foster attitudinal changes in Vincentian men and women to enhance the integration of women into National Development and lead to the attainment of equality, development and peace" [St. Vincent, 1986, p.]. These include lobbying for legislative reform in several areas, training in different areas of agriculture, health and employment, skills acquisition, public awareness campaigns, technical assistance, providing access to credit.

Close collaboration with women's organisations, government and para-statal agencies is envisaged as a critical component of the programme [Table V.2]. The main objective of this range of activities is described as improving the standard of living at the community level and improving the ability of women to enjoy more fully the benefits of economic growth.

No capital expenditure is envisaged for the Women's Desk. However, recent estimates indicate that the Women's Desk represented 4.0 per cent of the Ministry's approved budget in 1986/87 and 5.0 per cent in 1987/88. At that time over half of the Desk's budget was allocated to training and related expenses, with small sums allocated for the NCW (5.0%) and research and data collection (4.0%). The remainder goes to personal emoluments of the staff of three - only one of whom had been appointed at the time of the 1987/88 Estimates. By 1988/89, slight changes occurred in the allocations such that personal emoluments for three staff members represented 51 per cent of the budget, but the Desk continues to consist of a single person. The St. Vincent Plan clearly identifies what is expected of its Women's Desk, in terms of programme activity. However those expectations are not expressed in quantitative assessment of the impact of its achievement.

As in the other territories in the region, women in this territory benefit not only from activities of the Women's Desk but from Government programmes in other sectors of the public service. Thus, for example, women can and do benefit from efforts at alleviating unemployment through the encouragement of private sector investment, the development of skills training programmes and the intensification of family planning efforts. But again, without quantitative targets, it is not possible to assess the WID impact of these programmes.[32]

In summary, it may be said that St. Vincent is an example of a territory which entered both the Development Planning and the WID arena fairly late, compared with other territories in the region. No specific Women's Development Plan exists, however the national development plan includes proposals for a modest level of activities by the Women's Desk which suggest a good grasp of the range of issues affecting women. But in the absence of supporting data, it is difficult to comment on the appropriateness of areas and groups selected for targetting or on the strategies proposed. The absence of quantitative targets also makes it difficult to determine the extent to which objectives are being met.

(iii) Conclusion

If the current development plans of these two territories contain what the Governments intend to do for women through there Women's Desks/Bureau, then the conclusion cannot be escaped that much ought not to be expected. Even if what is contained in the development plans is construed as indicative plans i.e. plans detailing Government expenditure on proposed projects, one is hard put to find indications of what government plans for women. The common missing ingredient is a policy framework within which WID plans are formulated. Such a framework provides not only general guidelines but also determines the size of the programmes which can be attempted and the contextual factors to be considered in determining programme priorities. It also provides linkages between the individual WID action plan and the larger national development plan.

In a seminal article published thirty years ago, the renowned Caribbean economist, W.A. Lewis argued that no scientific principles exist for assessing national development plans [Lewis, 1959]. Rather, one proceeds on the basis of 'commonsense and experience' to make lists of what to look for, changing the lists as circumstances dictate. The three most critical items on his list were policy, the size of the plan and its priorities. If this argument still retains its validity, it is presumably possible to apply those three criteria not only to an overall development plan but also to sections thereof.

Using the information provided in the previous sections it is possible to assess the WID content of the development plans reviewed by identifying positive and negative factors on each of the Lewis criteria.

Policy

At the most fundamental level, it should be axiomatic that an explicit policy statement is required which places WID issues and the activity of WID units firmly within a national development planning process to which all branches of the public sector are committed. Such a statement would elaborate the principles guiding its formulation, establish goals and priorities and determine implementation strategies. Yet the situation in respect of policy and policy making for women in the two territories whose development plans were examined seems somewhat ambivalent.

Positive	Negative
- Adoption/ratification of international WID conventions;	- Evidence of implementation of international recommendations not readily available;
- National planning mechanisms in place;	- Delays in production of policy statement;
- WID unit in place;	- No formal mechanism to link with other sectors of public service for policy implementation;
- CARICOM support for institution building available;	- No statements of objectives and strategies for WID unit in development plan;
- Technical assistance to prepare policy framework available;	- Limited resources for WID programme implementation limits ability of unit to integrate its programme throughout public sector.
- NGO and community participation exists;	
- Research data identifying issues available.	

The picture which emerges is one in which there exists a positive environment for the creation of WID policy guidelines but a negative reaction in terms of the actual production of those guidelines. This is particularly reflected in the vague proposals in the Barbados plan.

Size

Here the question turns on the resources available for implementing the stated policy objectives. It may be argued that without explicit policy statements, the question of the size of a WID plan becomes superfluous. On the other hand, the creation of units responsible for women's affairs suggests that an implicit policy exists. The question of size then becomes one of the extent to which financial, administrative and other resources are available to execute the programmes envisaged in the plans for meeting specified needs. Again the case material suggests considerable ambivalence.

Positive	Negative
- Overall needs already identified by government and NGO sources;	- Insufficient detailed information on needs of specific sub groups of women;
- Basic statistical data available and disaggregated by gender;	- Minimal financial provision for accommodation, staff and programme support;
- Research data from NGO sources emerging;	- No independent operational budget available;
- Project support possible from international sources;	- Heavy reliance on external project funding;
- WID unit personnel familiar with administrative system and processes;	- Institutional building relegated to agencies external to public sector;
- Formal and informal networks assist WID unit personnel to strengthen administrative ability.	- No monitoring/evaluation of either internal plans of WID unit or overall development plan;
	- Social analysis or social impact analysis not included in planning process.

The dilemma here turns essentially on the allocation of scarce resources between several competing claimants, particularly in a period of serious economic difficulties. But there is also to be considered bureaucratic perceptions of the size and importance of the problem being confronted, and the ability of women to influence those perceptions. Both of the plans reviewed reflect the limited economic base of the territories concerned. In terms of size of staff, number of programmes, the strategies proposed and budgetary allocations, the St. Vincent plan seems better placed to meet the objectives identified in the 'Women's Affairs' section of its plan. The same cannot really be said for Barbados. And in both cases, the need for an ongoing monitoring system which permits a continuing process of dialogue and consultation, designed to improve the plans is clearly evident.

Priorities

If a plan is to respond to changing circumstances, there should be evidence of some prioritisation of responses to changing needs. This should be reflected in strategies which include a continuing search for information, training, infrastructural development, involvement of community in programme planning and implementation and targetted action programmes. Because of the multi-faceted nature of women's practical gender needs, the plans and programmes to meet those needs should reflect a multi-sectoral dimension. At the same time, however, those plans also need to be integrative if they are really to meet the specific needs of women. Of the two national plans reviewed, that of St. Vincent comes closest to demonstrating this kind of strategy. But even there, it is still possible to identify that ambivalence which pervades the official approach to WID planning.

Positive	Negative
- WID units committed to research, training, community involvement;	- Programmes of WID unit not reflected in individual sector plans;
- WID unit plans emphasise need for infrastructural reform;	- No mention of women in sector plans;
- Proposed programmes concentrated in areas in which women have greatest need;	- No WID unit programmes included in public sector investment programme.
- Proposed programmes reflect inter-sector links.	

Much of this ambivalence to the inclusion of women's concerns and women's programmes in development plans has been attributed to the lack of data. This, in turn, has been directly linked to the statistical "invisibility" of women. Tinker draws attention to

> "the invisibility of women's work in a world which overvalues work and the unpaid economic activity of women in a world which overvalues profit." [Tinker, 1987, p. 72]

She argues that these are the primary factors explaining why women have been ignored by development theorists and practitioners alike. She advocates micro-level research which links the reality of people's lives to macro-level issues. For her "invisibility disappears when theory is not allowed to

triumph over reality".

For Overholt

> "visibility is the starting point for integrating women into development projects and visibility also comes through data." [Overholt, 1984, p. 4]

She proposes an analytic framework for integrating women into project analysis, the cornerstone of which is an adequate data basis which considers what women do and why. The framework involves four interrelated components - an activity profile; access and control profile; analysis of factors influencing activities, access and control; and project analysis.

Both of these authors are concerned with developing strategies for ensuring the inclusion of women's concerns into development programmes by methods other than merely adding a women's component. For them, the fundamental criteria is analysis and presentation of material about women in such a way as to increase their visibility and thus the ability of planners to include their concerns into planning and programme formulation. But the experience internationally, and also here in the Caribbean, has been far from encouraging even when relevant data are available. In the case of the two territories cited, the quantity and quality of data available for one, Barbados, should imply a considerably stronger input from its Women's Bureau into the planning process. But the reality is exactly the opposite. By contrast, St. Vincent with its paucity of data appears to give strong support to its Women's Desk. But again, the reality is exactly the opposite. The original question thus still stands. Why is it that so little about women's issues is reflected in national development plans in the region?

The staff structure of the two cases studied provides another clue. Units staffed by a single officer or even two or three may be reflective of bureaucratic resistance to taking on board another issue to contend with in the struggle to identify priorities. But they may also be symptomatic of an inherent administrative inability of the structure of which they are part to deal not only with the specific affairs of the unit, but also with the entire business of managing Caribbean societies, planning and implementation.

The variety and magnitude of the problems facing Caribbean governments as they move into the 1990s and beyond are integrally related to the size and openness of their economies and events on the international arena. All Caribbean economies have experienced a sustained lack of dynamism in key sectors during the 1980s. Capital formation

has declined, the region has moved from being a net exporter of labour to being a net exporter of capital, living standards have declined especially amongst the more vulnerable groups and new forms of deviant behaviour are becoming prevalent. All of this means that states are being overloaded by demands which they have neither the administrative nor financial capacity to meet. In this scenario crisis management not long term planning has become the preferred method of administration and women's issues stand in real danger of being further marginalised.

VI. PLANNING TO INCREASE WOMEN'S VISIBILITY

This review provides evidence that despite a considerable body of knowledge, ongoing strategising of women's groups, and perfunctory attempts by governments to incorporate women's issues into development plans, the level of women's visibility has remained fundamentally unchanged. It has been argued that women have generally achieved statistical visibility but not the socio-economic and political visibility which should be evident from fundamental improvements in the conditions of life of women in the region resulting from a thorough understanding of the prevailing gender system and from systematic policy efforts to mimimise gender disadvantage.

This study attempts to distinguish women and their problems and to identify elements of visibility and invisibility on each of those dimensions. This approach permits the identification of different types of needs among different categories of women. In the process it has illustrated that while economic needs are critical, perhaps even universally so, there are other needs which are just as critical even if only for the reason of making economic activity possible.

This approach also illustrated that different strategies enabled the achievement of different levels of visibility. The model developed earlier suggests that research and data production can serve to strengthen conceptual and subjective visibility (Level 1) of the group concerned and a measure of theoretical and statistical visibility (Level 2). It requires collective action of some kind e.g. mobilisation to lobby government, networks to spread training opportunities, participatory action projects to move upwards to social and political visibility (Level 3). None of the cases cited suggests that the strategies used have effectively changed the gender based division of labour in their communities. The move to Level 3 - domestic visibility is yet to be accomplished.

The strategies identified in these case studies seemed geared to meeting what has been termed the immediate "practical gender interests" of women [Molyneux, op. cit.] i.e. those interests deriving from the roles and responsibilities expected of women in a gender based system of division of labour. Practical gender needs arising from those interests relate primarily to women's attempts to ensure and maintain an adequate livelihood for themselves and those in their care. The strategies in the case studies focus on the satisfaction of those needs. However, confronting the underlying factors contributing to women's disadvantageous position in society, what Molyneux terms "women's strategic gender interests" seems not to be the primary objective of the

strategies identified. Rather, there seems to be the hope that in the process of securing the former, the latter will be met.

As they strive to align available resources with short term political priorities of policy makers, planners do not seem aware of these various distinctions. Rather, without the benefit of explicit policy guidelines, and steeped in traditional planning techniques and methodologies, planners appear incapable of introducing genuinely gender sensitive approaches to public policy planning. In a recent path breaking article Moser makes a distinction between 'gender aware planning' i.e. the attempt to graft a women's component on to a particular sector plan; and 'gender planning' i.e. a specific planning approach which recognises the differing roles and needs of men and women and takes these into account in the formulation of plans [Moser, op. cit.]. What exists in the Caribbean are planners who may be more or less "gender aware" but who seem unable (perhaps unwilling) to engage in "gender planning" geared towards dismantling the veil of invisibility from women's issues.

Fundamental to that dismantling process is of course, appropriate data. The indicators suggested in this study represent an attempt to signal the range of choice available to women, planners and policy makers using both traditional and non-traditional sources of data. This is just one illustration of the kind of indicators which may be of use to planners. There are many others. But statisticians, WID specialists and planners must begin the process of collaborating for the purpose of identifying, developing and utilising indicators as a basis for gender planning. No longer can planners and policy makers adopt the stance that development plans based on traditional data automatically benefit women. History has proven that to be a patently false assumption and the current economic crisis should have forced a recognition of the immensity of that falsehood, as has been demonstrated in recent research [PACCA, 1989; Antrobus, 1989].

However, the provision of suitable and reliable data, the design of appropriate indicators and even the inclusion of well designed programmes in national development plans will not by themselves ensure effective action. The political commitment of government must be demonstrated, in theory and in fact, by an increasing willingness to recognise the centrality of women's interests to societal survival, to restructure the model of development practised in order to accommodate those interests and to revise the bureaucratic processes in which development planning is embedded.

This review provides evidence that constitutional provisions, ratification of international conventions, creation of WID units, and introduction of legal reform have been largely cosmetic, bringing little significant long term change in the lives of women of this region. Administrative incapacity, bureaucratic resistance and financial stringency have been some of the reasons advocated for this failure. Underlying these however, is the particular top-down form of development practised in the region which permits individuals and communities little control over the decisions affecting their lives. Genuine political commitment to improving the lives of women would see efforts to ensure that women and women's organisations play a central and active role in a process of defining and guiding an appropriate Caribbean development identifying women's practical and strategic gender needs, devising and implementing strategies to meet those needs. It would see efforts to strengthen the institutional and operational capacity of women's bureaux, to assist women's groups to develop their advocacy skills, to inrease the level of gender awareness among staff in Ministries concerned with economic issues. It would see efforts to involve women's bureaux more fully in the formal planning process, to incorporate women's concerns in all aspects of government activity by creating women's units in all government ministries. It would, in effect, abandon strategies which deny or trivialise gender interests, adopting instead strategies in which gender interests are closely articulated with the overall goals of social and economic development.

For planners, the task is to complement their technical capabilities with a greater sensitivity to the needs of the people for whom they are planning and a willingness to adjust the planning process to reflect that sensitivity [Williams, 1989]. Much of the current criticism of development planning relates not so much to planning as an exercise, but to the particular form of that exercise and the bureaucratic conventions in which it is embedded. Greater conceptual and methodological flexibility are therefore the first priorities. In the present context, the two fundamental concepts which need to be incorporated in the planning strategy are that women play an important role in all aspects of a society, and that women and men perform different roles in society and consequently have different needs. This necessarily entails developing within planning agencies the capacity to identify the differing roles and needs of men and women in order to relate planning policy to women's specific requirements. Re-education of planners should therefore be a critical aspect in a revised planning strategy.

Methodologically a major criticism has been the formal, economistic bias of conventional planning practice with little or no regard for the social and cultural realities of people's

lives. In the present context, such realities as the pervasive influence of the sexual division of labour, gender differences in attitudes to land, work, education, housing, participation in community activities, access to credit, use of social services are some of the issues which planners need to confront when ordering development priorities. But the data which inform the planning process are stunningly silent on such issues. To counteract this, the process should incorporate procedures for the collection, analysis and dissemination of such information. Special stress should be placed on dissemination as the means for encouraging dialogue with relevant social groups, and involving them in a process of identification of needs and prescribing and implementing solutions. In effect, the planning process needs to make itself accessible to groups outside the formal, technical system and to devise means of addressing and utilising non-traditional types of information.

For women, the task is to devise strategies which would ensure commitment of the political directorate and penetration of the formal planning process. The examples of Rose Hall and SISTREN clearly demonstrate the importance of mobilisation and collective action around a concrete gender issue as strategies for moving directly from Level 1 to Level 3 visibility. Their strategies not only raised public awareness but also produced direct results in terms of remedial action in specific cases. However, that collective energy has yet to be channelled towards the planning process itself. For that stronger alliance between women's organisations and women's bureaux, closer working relationships with the media, constant dialogue with political parties and other interest groups, continuous lobbying of government is needed.

Women's groups (NGOs) need to develop an informal planning process which permits the collection, analysis and sharing of information with each other, the media, the general public and those participating in the formal, planning process. Development planning in the Caribbean may be a formal, technical exercise, but it is undoubtedly a political activity. Groups wishing access to that activity must necessarily function as political pressure groups. Women's Bureaux, by virtue of their institutional genesis and location, are not placed to do so. Women's groups and organisations, by virtue of their independence and the voluntary nature of their activity, are.

The major conclusion to be drawn from the Caribbean experience is that no single strategy by a single entity guarantees success. Government, planners, statisticians and women need to be engaged in an ongoing process of dialogue, experimentation and evaluation in which all are committed to the goal of greater self-reliance for women. Only when this

process is in place will women be able to perceive the end of the route to visibility.

Table II.1 Identifying Visibility and Invisibility

Women	Problems	
	Visible	Invisible
Visible	Category I	Category II
	------	Housewives
	Young unemployed	------
	Women in manufacturing	Domestics
	Women in EPZs	Women in the public sector
	Women in agriculture	Self employed women
	Women traders	Women in sales (other than traders)
	------	Women in service (other than domestic)
	Adolescent mothers	Professional women
	Women who head households	------
	------	Divorced Women
	Village women	Widows
	Category III	------
	Elderly women	Category IV
	------	Destitute women
	Disabled women	
	Retired women	
	------	------
	Victims of physical violence	Women in home production
		Women 'out' workers
		Prostitutes

Invisible		Immigrant (especially illegal) women

		Women in Trade Unions
		Women working in voluntary organisations

		Elite women

Note: Dotted lines indicate change of socio-economic category

Table ...: Objectives and Strategies for Attaining Visibility

Visibility Level	Type of Visibility	Visibility Objective	Visibility Strategies
Level 1	Conceptual Visibility	(i) Identification that a particular sex is subject to a gender-disadvantage	(a) Representation/articulation by group members (b) Identification by service agencies [government, NGOs, and media (c) Research
Level 1	Subjective Visibility	(i) Sensitization of disadvantaged group to recognize the inhibiting effects of gender domination	(a) Group self-analysis (b) Mobilization and education
Level 2	Theoretical and Statistical Visibility	(i) Establishment of pattern of domination and disadvantage (ii) Identification of mechanisms which maintain invisibility (iii) Identification of statistical indicators (iv) Assessments of extents of gender disadvantage	(a) Interviews (b) Case-studies (c) Group discussion (d) Statistical research
Level 3	Socio-Economic and Political Visibility	(i) Reduction/removal of gender disadvantage (ii) Increasing power resources of disadvantaged group	(a) Mobilization (b) Education/training (c) Legal reform (d) Gender-balancing distribution policies (e) Networking
Level 3	Domestic Visibility	(i) Re-working of gender-based domestic division of labour (ii) Recognition and strengthening of male domestic responsibility	(a) Education (b) Mobilization/education of male groups (c) Family policy (d) Networking

Table III.2: Indicators of Women in Agricultural Occupations, 1980

Territory	Proportion of Women in Total Working Population in Agriculture	Proportion of Female Working Population in Agriculture
Jamaica[ø]	N.A.	N.A.
Trinidad and Tobago*	15.7	4.6
Guyana	9.5	8.9
Barbados	3.2	5.6
Belize	36.6	8.4
St. Lucia	23.5	19.0
Grenada[+]	24.7	19.1
St. Vincent	22.4	17.3
Dominica[+]	17.9	20.6
St. Kitts/Nevis	30.1	22.1
Montserrat	22.1	7.7
Turks and Caicos	25.4	9.5
High	36.6	22.1
Low	3.2	4.6

Source: 1980/81 Population Censuses

Notes: [ø]Census taken in 1982

[+]Census taken in 1981

*Data refer to activity in past week. For all other territories reference period is the past year.

Table III.3: National Machinery for Women's Affairs in the Commonwealth Caribbean

Territory	Date of Establishment/Duration					
	Desk	Bureau	Department	Ministry	National Commission	Advisory Council/Commission
Jamaica	1974	1975				1972 - present
Trinidad and Tobago				1975[#]	1975	
Guyana		1980		1976*		1976 - present
Barbados		1984	1976		1976-78	1984-86
Belize		1981			1982	
St. Lucia				1981[+]		
Grenada	1979	1983		1979-83	1976	
St. Vincent	1985		1987	1984**		
Dominica	1980	1983		1978[ø]		1983 - present
Antigua	1980		1989[⊠]			
St. Kitts/Nevis	1981			1984 - present		
Montserrat				1983[++]		
British Virgin Is.				?		
CARICOM Secretariat	1978					

Source: Various reports

Notes: Ministry refers to the Ministry in which an existing officer was assigned responsibility for Women's Affairs except in the case of Grenada and St. Kitts which had full fledged Ministries of Women's Affairs for the periods stated.

[#]Permanent Secretary in Women's Affairs

*Ministry of Cooperatives

[ø]Ministry of State

[⊠]Directorate

[+]Ministry of Community Services and Chief Community Development Officer

**Ministry of Tourism, Information and Culture and Coordinator of Women's Affairs

[++]Ministry of Youth and Community Development

Table III.4: Regional Meetings and Workshops Organised by CARICOM to Strengthen National Machinery for Women, 1979-present

Date	Type and Place of Activity		Collaborating Institutions
1979	**Seminar:** Preparing Women for Effective Leadership	Jamaica	CARIWA
January 1980	Regional Meeting of Officials concerned with the greater involvement of Women in Development	Guyana	-
March 1981	First Meeting of Ministers Responsible for Women's Affairs	Dominica	National Governments
November 1981	**Seminar:** Strengthening National Machinery for the Integration of Women in Development	Jamaica	Jamaica BWA; UWI
March 1983	Second Meeting of Ministers Responsible for Women's Affairs	Guyana	National Governments
May 1983	**Workshop:** Strategies for Increasing Development Opportunities for Women in the Caribbean	Barbados	Commonwealth Secretariat
November 1983	**Workshop:** Assessing National Machinery	Barbados	Commonwealth Secretariat
May 1984	**Seminar:** Women in the Industrial Development Process	Guyana	UNIDO
April/May 1984	**Seminar:** Training Women for Effective Participation in Conference Diplomacy	Trinidad and Tobago	National Governments
May 1985	Third Meeting of Ministers Responsible for Women's Affairs	Antigua	National Governments
November 1985	**Workshop:** Ladies in Limbo Revisited	Belize	Commonwealth Secretariat
July 1986	**Workshop:** Data Collection and Statistical Analyses on the Situation of Women in the Caribbean	Barbados	IDRC
April 1988	Fourth Meeting of Ministers Responsible for Women's Affairs	St. Kitts	National Governments
April 1988	**Workshop:** Management of Development - Effecting Change	Guyana	CIDA; National Governments

Source: Information supplied by CARICOM Secretariat, Women's Desk

Table IV.1: Indicators of the Situation of Women in Population, Barbados, 1970-80

Population	1970		1980
Total Population			
Male	110,000		116,000
Female	125,000		128,000
Annual Rate of Growth	0.2		0.4
Crude Birth Rate	_____	19.8	_____
Crude Death Rate	_____	8.9	_____
Sex Ratio: Total Population	886		899
Sex Ratio: Population 15-44	903		943
Youth Dependency Ratio	678		495
Old Age Dependency Ratio	152		176
Population Aged 65+	19,500		25,500
Male Distribution Index	6.2		8.9
Female Distribution Index	10.1		12.0
Proportion Female	64.7		60.1
Urban Population	98,000		97,000
Male Distribution Index	40.5		39.1
Female Distribution Index	42.3		40.2
Proportion Female	54.2		53.3
Rural Population	137,700		147,300
Male Distribution Index	59.5		60.9
Female Distribution Index	57.7		59.8
Proportion Female	52.2		52.1

Source: CARICOM, n.d.
UWI, 1976

Table IV.2: Indicators of the Situation of Women in Education, Barbados, 1970-80

Education and Training	1970			1980		
	Proportion of Male Population	Proportion of Female Population	Female Proportion of Total Population	Proportion of Male Population	Proportion of Female Population	Female Proportion of Total Population
Enrolment at						
Age 5-14	97.5	97.8	50.1	97.6	98.2	50.0
Age 15-19+	39.5	44.1	52.8	39.7	47.5	54.5
Certification of Population 15+						
Secondary Certificate	7.1	6.4	52.5	12.8	14.9	57.9
University Degree/Diploma	2.2	1.1	37.4	4.6	3.2	44.5
Vocational Training for Current Occupation	12.8	7.6	42.1	29.2	15.4	37.9
Educational Attainment of Population Aged 15+						
None	0.1	0.1	62.4	0.6	0.6	54.0
Primary	22.1*	27.2*	60.1	51.1	53.8	55.2
Secondary	75.2*	70.9*	53.5	41.9	40.7	53.2
Tertiary	1.6	0.6	32.1	3.9	2.1	38.5
Years of Schooling						
Less than 5	7.9	9.8	60.2	2.2	2.6	58.8

Source: CARICOM, n.d.
UWI, 1976

Note: Data processing errors are believed to have produced a reversal of the primary and secondary categories [CARICOM, Vol. 1, n.d.]

Table IV.3: Indicators of the Situation of Women in Health, Barbados, 1970-84

Health	1970	1980	1984
Life Expectancy at Birth			
Male	65.8	70.2	N.A.
Female	70.8	75.2	N.A.
Infant Mortality Rate	46	25	13
Mortality Rates of Children Aged 1-4 Years	2.2	0.8	0.7
Maternal Mortality Rates	1.4	0.2	0.7
Mortality Rates due to			
Cancer of Breast	N.A.	N.A.	25.1
Cancer of Cervix	N.A.	N.A.	29.6
Probability of Women dying between the ages of 15-45	1.9	3.0	N.A.

Source: PAHO, 1986

Table IV.4: Indicators of the Situation of Women in Households, Barbados, 1970–80

Households	1970			1980		
	Proportion of Male Population	Proportion of Female Population	Female Proportion of Total Popn.	Proportion of Male Population	Proportion of Female Population	Female Proportion of Total
Single Person Households	17.4	22.5	49.2	21.8	22.2	44.3
Population 65+ living alone	24.9	37.3	55.8	29.3	41.0	59.4
Household Heads	53.5	30.9	42.9	50.3	33.9	43.9
Mean Household Size						
Male Heads		4.2	-	-	3.6	-
Female Heads		3.7	-	-	3.7	-
Household Heads						
- Never Married	27.8	54.3	59.6	30.4	53.5	58.0
- not in a reproductive union	n.a.	41.9	-	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
- in work force	83.6	45.5	29.1	77.1	48.9	33.3
- unemployed	10.3	6.6	41.6	9.0	12.2	69.5
- with primary level education only	30.6	47.5	49.5	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.

SOURCE: CARICOM, n.d.
UWI, 1976

Table IV.5: Indicators of the Situation of Women in Relation to Physical Resources, Barbados, 1970-85

Physical Resources	1970	1980	1985
Land			
Density	547	567	n.a.
Arable land density	807#	n.a.	n.a.
Employment in Agriculture			
- Proportion of male work force	16.4	10.9	7.3
- Proportion of female work force	14.7	8.4	6.4
- Female Proportion of agricultural work force	36.5	36.6	40.6
Exports of Refined Oil	-	931¥	2,322¥
Employment in Mining etc.			
- Proportion of male work force	0.59	0.46	n.a.
- Proportion of Female work force	0.06	0.05	n.a.
- Female proportion of work force in mining	5.94	7.17	n.a.
Economy			
GDP per capita	1,135Δ	6,186Δ	8,663Δ
Contribution to GDP of			
- Agriculture	13.9	9.8	6.9ϕ
- Manufacturing	10.8	10.9	13.0ϕ
- Public Sector	14.7	14.9	13.8ϕ
% Govt. Expenditure on			
- Health	16.7	16.3	13.0/
- Education	20.4	21.1	18.4/
- All Social Services	n.a.	52.8	49.4+
External Debt	31.4mΔ	319.8mΔ	794.8mΔ
Index of Retail Prices	7.0*	14.4	3.9
Unemployment Rate			
Male	7.5	7.4	13.2
Female	12.3	15.1	24.1
Female Proportion	52.6	62.8	59.4

NOTES: #1964
¥thousands of barrels
ϕprovisional figures for 1983
*1972
+1984
/1987
Δ$Bds based on $US equivalent given in IADB, 1986 $Bds [US$1 - Bds $2]

SOURCES: CARICOM, n.d.; UWI, 1976; IADB, various years; Barbados, 1988.

Table IV.6: Indicators of Sources of Livelihood among Women, Barbados, 1970-85

Involvement in the Productive Process	Proportion of Male Population	Proportion of Female Population	Female Proportion of Total Population	Proportion of Male Population	Proportion of Female Population	Female Proportion of Total Population	Proportion of Male Population	Proportion of Female Population	Female Proportion of Total Population
Sources of Livelihood		1970			1980			1985	
Employment for Wages	91.7	91.4	38.8	89.8	93.2	43.9	86.2	91.8	43.5
Self Employment	7.9	8.0	39.3	10.0	6.6	33.1	12.7	7.5	31.2
Employment in non-agriculture	83.7	85.4	39.3	89.1	91.6	43.4	93.7	93.5	43.8
Employment in Professional and Technical	9.5	9.3	39.4	9.8	11.6	46.9	9.9	11.2	50.0
Index of Dissimilarity of Occupational Gropus			36.3			34.0			38.2
Unemployment									
Population agted 15-24	83.9	87.1	54.3	85.9	77.7	59.5	57.0	50.0	56.2
Other Sources of Income									
Remittances	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	0.8	1.8	71.5	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Local (other than self)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	10.2	33.1	79.1	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Pensions and Other Public Assistance	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	11.5	15.6	61.1	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.

SOURCE: CARICOM n.d.; UWI, 1976; Barbados, 1988

Table IV.7: Indicators of Emotional Support for Women, Barbados, 1970-80

Emotional Support	1970	1980
Reproductive Unions		
Proportion of Population 15-64 ever married		
Male	39.9	33.3
Female	43.3	37.9
Mean age at marriage		
Male	36.5	37.6
Female	34.1	36.1
Proportion of Women 15-44 in Unions	50.1	43.8
Mothers per 1000 Women in Unions (14-64)	888	885
Mothers per 1000 Women not in Unions (14-64)	905	903
Contraceptive Use (15-49)		
- ever use	n.a.	62.9
- current use	n.a.	36.9
Motherhood		
Mean Age at first birth	22.6	22.1
Mean Age at last birth	33.5	33.7
Mothers per 1000 Women (15-44)	644	643
- per 1000 Working women	611	650
- per 1000 Housewives	822	850
- per 1000 Married women	899	883
- per 1000 Common Law women	910	890
- per 1000 Visiting women	366	387
Children per mother (15-64)	3.7	2.7
- per Working mother	3.6	2.7
- per Housewife mother	3.9	3.2
- per Married mother	4.3	3.1
- per Common Law mother	3.9	3.2
- per Visiting mother	2.6	2.7
Births per 1000 teenage women (15-19)	94.1	70.8
Job Satisfaction		
- Job as source of satisfaction	n.a.	38.2
- Rank position of Job as source of satisfaction	n.a.	1
Community Involvement		
- Group Membership		34.4
- Participation in Activities		70.0
- Membership of Committees		23.0
- Community Involvement as source of satisfaction		39

SOURCE: CARICOM n.d.; UWI, 1976
Nair, 1982
WICP Unpublished data

Table IV.8: Indicators of Power and Authority of Women, Barbados, 1970-85

Power and Authority	1970	1980	1985
Family			
- Household Headship	42.9	43.9	n.a.
- Decision Making			
Women only	n.a.	4	n.a.
Partner only	n.a.	-	n.a.
Joint	n.a.	6	n.a.
Economic			
Employment in Administration and Management			
- Proportion of Male Work Force	2.1	2.6	4.7
- Proportion of Female Work Force	0.4	0.8	2.7
- Female Proportion	10.7	19.0	28.9
Ownership of Financial Assets	n.a.	50.0	n.a.
Political	(1971)	(1981)	(1986)
Membership in			
- House of Representatives			
Male	23	26	26
Female	1	1	1
- Senate			
Male	10	9	8
Female	1	3	4
- Cabinet			
Male	10	9	12
Female	-	1	-
Membership on Statutory Boards	(1970-71)	(1980)	(1985)
Total Membership	388	565	565
Female Proportion	12.4	14.0	22.8

SOURCES: CARICOM n.d.; UWI, 1976
WICP unpublished data
Duncan and O'Brien, 1983
Barbados Civil Lists

Table IV.9: Barbados - Year of Establishment of Institutional Machinery for Assisting Women

Year	Legislative/Administrative Mechanism	Age of Institution (in years)
1942	Right to vote and sit in Parliament subject to specified property qualification requirement	47
1951	Universal adult suffrage	38
1966	Political Independence	23
1966	Constitutional provision for equal rights and non discrimination on grounds of sex	23
1976	Paid maternity leave	13
1976	Establishment of National Commission on Status of Women	13
1976	Establishment of Department of Women's Affairs	13
1984	Ratification of UN Convention 1967*	5

NOTE: In addition, between 1978 and 1982 extensive reform of Family and related laws were introduced either through amendment of existing laws or creation of new ones. See FORDE 198?; Gillings 1987.

*UN Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against All Women

Table V.1: Activities of Bureau of Women's Affairs, Barbados, 1979-1989

Type of Activity	Name	Participants	Collaborating Agency
Policy Formulation	Ongoing Monitoring of NCSW Recommendations	-	-
Public Education			
(i) Audio-Visual	Video on "Women in Barbados" prepared for showing at the UN End of Decade Conference	-	Government Information Service; ISER(EC), UWI
(ii) Seminars/ Workshops	Towards the Total Integration of Women, 1979	Representatives of Government and NGOs	CIM
	Civic Education for Effective Leadership, 1981	Women's Voluntary Organizations	Department of Extra Mural Studies, UWI
	Sex Role Stereotyping, Children's Expectations	Teachers and Guidance Counsellors	CIM
	Interpersonal Relationships in the Work Place, 1982	Youth Leaders and Representatives from Women's Voluntary Organizations	CIM
	Issues Affecting Women, 1982	Community Development Officers	CIM
	Laws as they Relate to the Family, 1984	Youth Leaders	CIM
	Family Breakdown, 1985	Representatives of Women's Organizations and individuals	CIM

.../

Table V.1: Activities of Bureau of Women's Affairs, Barbados, 1979-1989 (Cont'd)

Type of Activity	Name	Participants	Collaborating Agency
(ii) Seminars/ Workshops (Cont'd)	Development of Women in Post-Independent Barbados, 1985, (panel discussion)	General public	-
	Violence Against Women, 1987	Representatives of Women's Organizations, Health Workers, Individuals	Government of Netherlands
	Management and Development - Effecting Change, 1989	Representatives of government, Women's organizations, women managers	CARICOM, CIDA
Training			
(i) Direct	Leadership Training for Women from NGOs	Representatives of women's Organizations	-
(ii) Indirect	Management for Caribbean Women and Organisation Development, Jamaica 1980	1 Representative NOW	CIM
	Women and Education, Uruguay, 1981	1 Representative Ministry of Economic Affairs	"
	Mass Communications Media and Women's Image, Argentina 1982	1 Representative GIS	"
	Training and Employment for Women, Jamaica, 1982		"
	Inter-American Year of the Family, Chile 1983		"

.../

Table V.1: Activities of Bureau of Women's Affairs, Barbados, 1979-1989 (Cont'd)

Type of Activity	Name	Participants	Collaborating Agency
(ii) Indirect (Cont'd)	Income Generating Projects for Women in Rural Areas, Israel 1983	1 Representative, WID	Government of Israel
	Integration of Women in Industry, Guyana 1984	1 Representative, Ministry of Employment and Industry 1 Representative, Private Sector	UNIDO
Research	Women in Agriculture, 1981		
	Assessment of Status of Women in Barbados, 1985		
	Violence Against Women, 1986		
Projects	Careers Showcase - Annual - to provide school leavers with information on job opportunity, training requirements, etc.	School Leavers, general public	Business and Professional Women
	Dried Fruit Project, 1980-85 - to provide training in the preservation and sale of grown fruits	Individual women	OAS Appropriate Technology International

.../

Table V.1: Activities of Bureau of Women's Affairs, Barbados, 1979-1989 (Cont'd)

Type of Activity	Name	Participants	Collaborating Agency
Projects (Cont'd)	Legal Education/Legal Aid Project - to examine and analyse laws related to women - to provide background material for a public education programme on the laws examined - to organise and conduct seminars on women's rights for counsellors, social workers and City Development Officers	General Public	CIM GIS
Miscellaneous	Channel funds from Government to specified NGOs - annual	Specified Women's Organizations	Host Ministry
	Channel funds for international agencies to small NGO projects - occasional	Women's Organizations	" "
	Classes in self-defence for women - occasional	Individual women	Barbados Judo Association
	Promotion of Women's 10K Road Race - annual	Individual women	National Sports Council

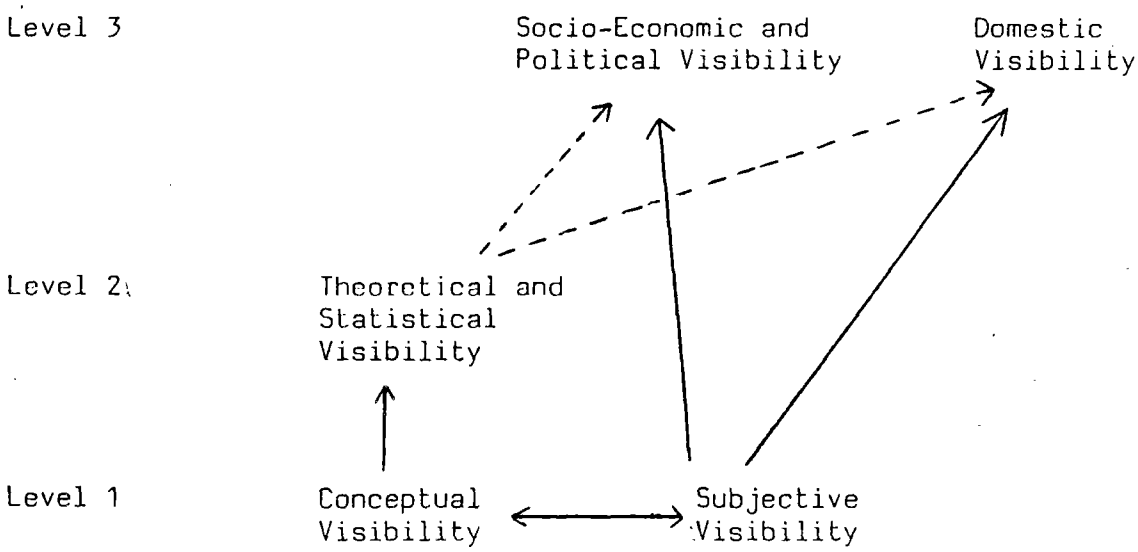
Source: Gillings, 1987; Massiah 1983; Information supplied by Barbados BWA

Table V .2: Activities Proposed for Women's Desk, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, 1986-88

Area	Activity
Law	- seek legal recognition of common law partnerships
	- seek upgrading of Maintenance Act
	- seek stricter penalties for rape, incest, assault and sexual abuse on the job
	- seek legislation for in camera trial of such cases
	- seek legislation for equal pay for work of equal value
	- seek legislation re ensuring job security for pregnant women
Employment	- seek representation of women on para statal agencies connected with employment, especially agriculture, industry and the public service
	- technical assistance for women in small business and cottage industries
	- credit for women in small business and cottage industries
	- support efforts to establish day care centres and pre-schools
Agriculture	- training of more female extension officers
	- provision of gender based statistics
Health	- assistance to victims of violence through provision of shelter, legal aid, counselling and guidance
	- support agencies working with drug abuse, mental health, family planning
	- encourage increased participation of women in formulating health policies at the community level
Education	- public awareness programmes on violence against women, the law
	- upgrading of curricula re Family Life Education
Strengthening of National Machinery	- increased training of Women's Desk personnel
	- increased staff for Women's Desk
	- support to women's organizations
	- seek membership of CIM/OAS

Source: St. Vincent Development Plan 1986-88, pp. 96/97.

Figure II.1 Relationships Between Levels of Visibility

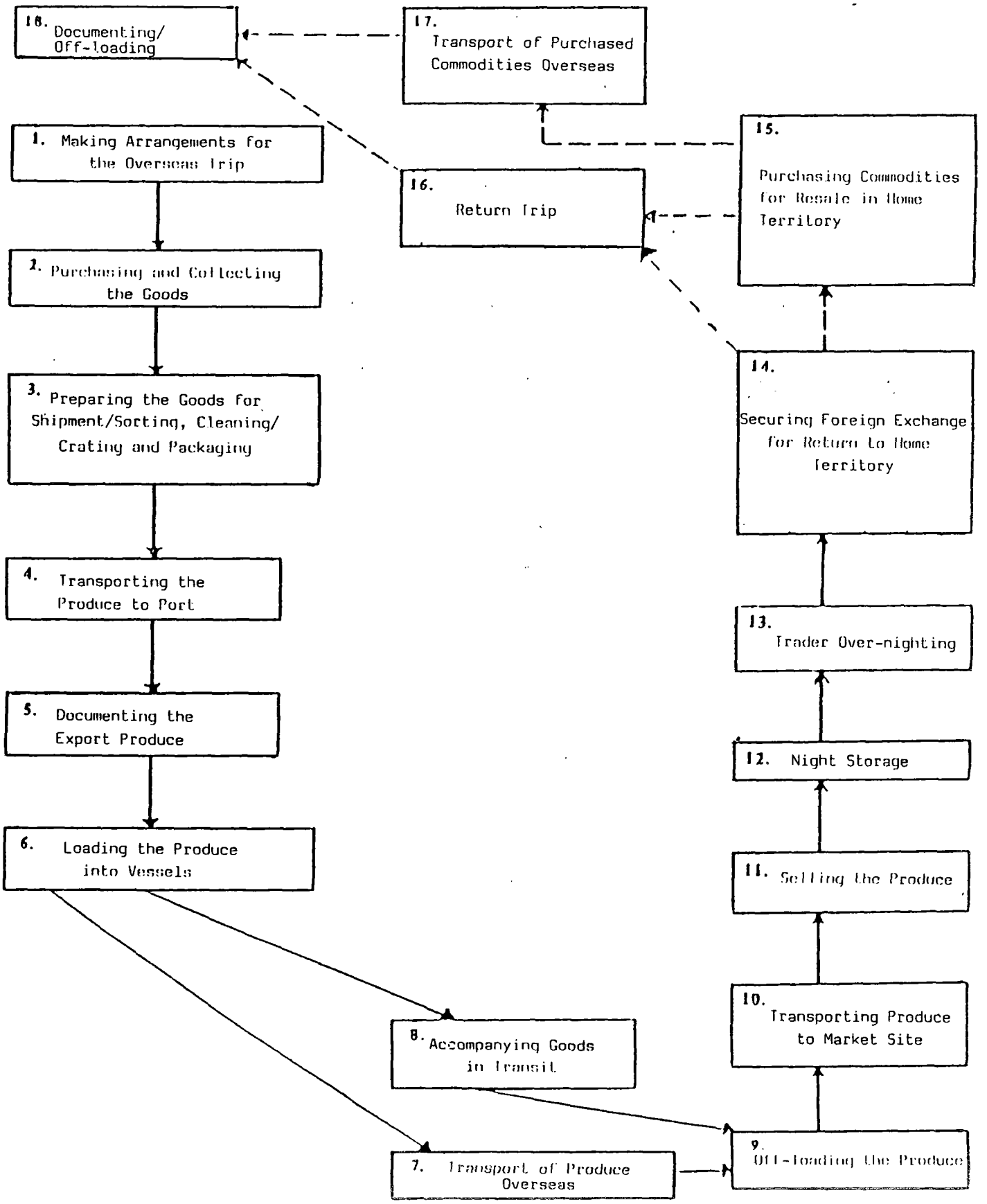


Notes

_____ Direct flows

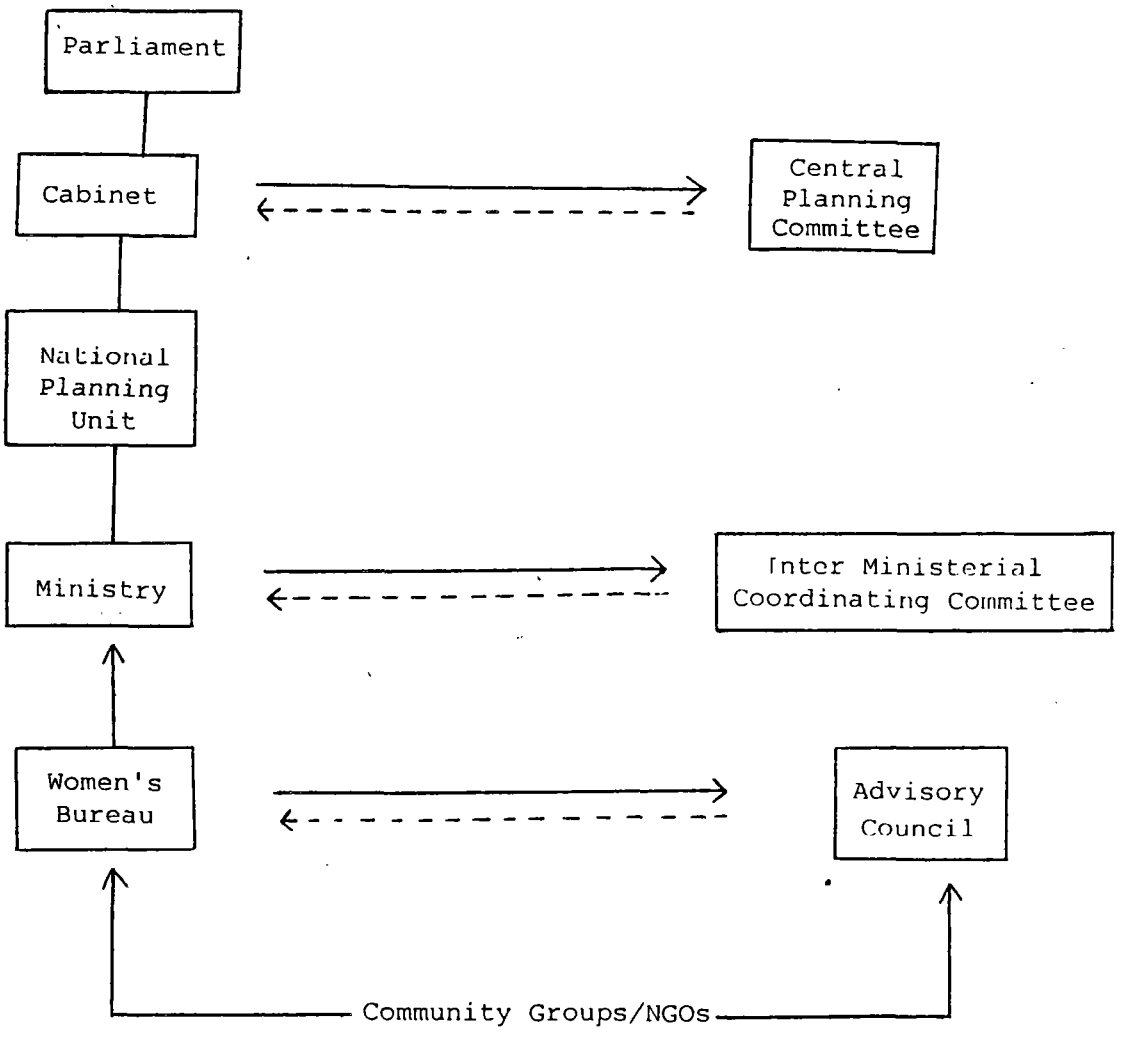
------ Indirect contributions

Figure III.1: The Traders Activity Cycle



SOURCE: UNECLAC, 1988, p. 11.

Figure V.1 The Planning Process



Footnotes

[1]Molyneux offered the initial classification in which 'interests' and 'needs' seemed to be used interchangeably. Moser distinguishes between 'interests and needs', equating the former with concerns and the latter with the means by which concerns may be satisfied. Young prefers to focus on practical needs, an empirical concept, and strategic interests, a theoretical concept.

[2]National governments in the region participate in a regional organisation entitled the Commonwealth Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM) which maintains its Secretariat in Georgetown, Guyana. The Community consists of thirteen member states - Antigua and Barbuda, the Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, Montserrat, St. Christopher-Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Trinidad and Tobago. Haiti, Dominican Republic and Suriname have observer status. The institutional regime within which CARICOM operates consists of:

Conference of Heads of Government

Common Market Council of Ministers

10 Standing Committees of Ministers with specified responsibility

3 Ministerial groups (which include Ministers responsible for Women's Affairs)

7 Associate Institutions

In addition, CARICOM works in close collaboration with a number of regional bodies. For a discussion of the operation of the system see Rainford, 1983.

[3]This was the plan of action established at a meeting of women representatives of 12 governments of the English-speaking Caribbean in 1977. [See Seminar 1977].

[4]The focus on the regional agencies is not intended to obscure national efforts. It is simply intended to reduce the amount of material presented to manageable proportions.

[5]The selected projects were

i) The second Integrated Rural Development Project IRDP-II) of Jamaica which was intended to increase farmers productivity and strengthen their standard of living by providing and/or improving soil conservation and erosion control, afforestation, roads, housing, rural electrification, small farmer organisations, credit components;

ii) the Black Bay Vegetable Farm Project of St. Lucia was intended to move farmers from subsistence to commercial farming for both the domestic and export markets. The project provided support services in credit, management and technical assistance, the project building, machinery and equipment, irrigation facilities, fertilizers, pesticides, weedicides and marketing arrangements;

iii) the Tans-G-TOC Cooperative of Dominica was a community based effort aimed at raising the standards of living of members of participating village communities. The Corporation raised funds to build a feeder road and to establish a health clinic, a consumer shop and a savings union. Other projects included a smocking programme, various adult education programmes and proposals for a fishing project and a fertilizer revolving scheme.

[6]Information on findings from this project has been obtained from the preliminary draft manuscript.

[7]PACCA is a US-based association of scholars and policy makers specialising in American and Caribbean affairs. Founded in 1982, the Association is dedicated to promoting policy alternatives to the current US political, economic and social policy in the region. Up until 1987, the bulk of the Association's work had focussed on Central America, however, in that year the presence of the Coordinator of WAND on sabbatical at the University of Massachusetts where one of the PACCA co-chairs was located, precipitated the collaborative research project described in this study.

[8]Underlying the phrase 'rural women' is usually the assumption that all rural women are engaged in agriculture as their main source of economic activity. Thus the needs of 'rural women' are seen exclusively in terms of women engaged in agriculture.

[9]It should be noted that the proposed groupings relate specifically to Caribbean conditions, but the framework is sufficiently flexible to allow the inclusion or exclusion of groups specific to other areas.

[10]The survey was presented in a two-volume series consisting of a summary of the findings and detailed tabulations [Nurse, 1986]. A more comprehensive analysis of the findings is to be found in Brathwaite, 1985.

[11]From census data it is possible to identify a sub group of hawkers/hucksters within the major occupational category "sales". But it is not possible to identify the proportion of those selling agricultural produce.

[12]Originally 'higgler' was the Jamaican term for small vendors of agricultural produce, but current usage of the term extends to all kinds of vendors. Elsewhere in the region vendors are known as 'hucksters', 'hawkers' or 'traders'.

[13]The Revolutionary Government of Grenada was the only government to establish a full fledged Ministry for Women's Affairs at that time. That disappeared with the demise of the Revolution and was replaced by a Women's Affairs Division in the Ministry of Health, Housing, Women's Affairs and City Development.

[14]The six were Barbados, Belize, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana and Jamaica. Summaries of the case studies are presented in Commonwealth Secretariat, 1985.

[15]At least three territories are known to have formally adopted a policy statement;one has had a White Paper on Equality for many years; and the remaining ones have statements in different stages of preparations.

[16]No travel expenses were included in the budget for this review study so that it was not possible to pursue this analysis amongst the groups for which research reports are available.

[17]The term 'work' is here used in the sense in which the WICP respondents used it i.e. any activity which is functionally necessary for the maintenance of a woman and her household.

[18]For discussion of data availability see Appendix II. For definitions of indicators used in model see Appendix III.

[19]Perhaps if the census tapes were available, cross classification at this level of detail might be possible but published data rule out analysis in terms of individual occupation.

[20]This study devised 20 indicators measuring women's well being in five sectors: health, marriage and children, education, employment and social equality. Data were converted to 5-point scales, with a maximum score of 20 per sector and 100 for the complete set of indicators.

[21]One Prime Minister wrote in the foreword to a women's magazine issued at the beginning of the UN Decade:

> "The designation by the U.N. of 1975 as International Women's Year is significant in some areas of the world. It has little meaning in Barbados... The goal of equality with men was won for them by the males a long time ago on this island." [The Barbadienne, 1975]

[22]This is a rough approximation since parts of St. Michael may be considered rural, while parts of Christ Church and St. James may be considered urban. These areas are not, however, readily identifiable in the census tabulations.

[23]The approach taken in the 1980 census was to consider 'family' as synonymous with 'household'. On this basis nuclear families comprise head of household, spouse or common law partner and their children; extended families included those same categories plus other relatives of head or spouse; composite families include boarders, domestic employees or others. Single person households are included as nuclear families. This was the first census which adopted this approach.

[24]About 90 per cent was exported by Trinidad and Tobago and the remaining 2 per cent by Jamaica.

[25]For a detailed analysis of the economy of Barbados from the 1960s see Worrell, 1987.

[26]The skill index is a summary measure of the education and training requirements of each industry.

[27]At least one factory closed when the women workers demanded trade union representation.

[28]The Revolutionary Government of Grenada did introduce such procedures, but they were abandoned after the fall of that government.

[29]Specific conventions/agreements with the UN and the Commonwealth Secretariat; the NCSW report contained 212 recommendations in a wide range of areas including law, employment, health, education, family, media; for explanation of CARICOM see footnote 7; a National Advisory council existed for the period 1984-86.

[30]This refers to small annual subventions to a number of NGOS including the National Organisation of Women, the Women's Corona Society, the Soroptomists Club, the Women's Self Help, the YWCA and the Girls' Industrial Union. Additionally, Government funds are available through the Bureau on an 'ad hoc' basis for special projects.

[31]In its short history, the Department has experienced numerous relocations moving between four Ministries, five Ministers and six Permanent Secretaries.

Ministry of the Attorney General, 1976-79

Ministry of Labour and Community Services, 1979-81

Ministry of Transport, Works and Community Services, 1981-82

Ministry of Information and Culture, 1982-85

Ministry of Labour and Community Services, 1985-present

[32]It is, of course, possible to conduct individual impact assessment studies of each programme. But that was beyond the scope of the present exercise.

Appendix I

Proposals for Bureau of Women's Affairs Contained in Barbados Development Plan 1983-1988

The Government considers that Women's Affairs should be seen within the broad context of community development. It is Government's intention to assist women in organising themselves at the community level so that they can participate more fully in community matters many of which directly affect their welfare and to ensure that as many women as possible participate in the productive sectors of the economy.

Women's Affairs and Community Development fall within the same section of the same Ministry and it is proposed that the Community Development Officers who already have direct contact with the community will investigate and feedback the felt needs, aspirations and plans of women whilst also disseminating information from the Department to the community.

It is also proposed to establish close links with the agencies of Government especially concerned with women so that on-going concerns of women, as they relate to those agencies, can be discussed, and an input from women's affairs can be made when decisions have to be made on matters which will affect women.

It is also proposed to establish a body made up of persons drawn from a cross section of the community to advise the Minister on the interests of women generally.

The Government will continue to grant assistance to women's organisations which are engaged in socially desirable progammes.

The Government is aware of the high unemployment among women and it is committed to ensuring that as many women as possible participate in the productive sectors of the economy. It will be endeavouring to identify projects which have income-generating potential and will act as a channel for funding if a project is feasible and if a funding agency is willing to provide funds for its implementation. [Barbados, 1983, p. 153/154/

Appendix II

The Data

A great deal of statistical material is generated by a number of agencies, regional, governmental and non-governmental. As a general rule, official data collection in each territory is executed mainly by the Statistics Department which is usually responsible for the collection of statistics on employment, income, migration, tourism, trade. This is supplemented by the social statistics collected by the various ministries on such areas as health, education, crime, social security and so on. Such an arrangement leaves considerable room for variation in scope and quality of statistics both within and between territories. In many instances, the material is irregular, unrelated, scattered and, in many instances, deficient. Much of this is reflective of the stage of statistical development in the individual territories, which in effect, is related to the stage of economic development.

At the regional level, the most comprehensive and consistent effort at production, publication and analysis of data has been the population censuses which were taken on a regional basis in 1946, 1960 and 1970, with plans to repeat the regional approach for the 1980 census. No other set of statistics is treated in this way at the regional level. General compilations of regional statistics have been produced by CARICOM and the OECS. Topic-specific compilations for the region are occasionally published by one or other of the regional institutions. For example, CARICOM has published a Digest of Regional Trade Statistics, a task formerly performed by ISER on behalf of the smaller territories. The School of Education, UWI has published a compendium of educational statistics for the region drawing on material from the various Ministries of Education.

Other compilations are produced by international organisations. For many years, UNECLAC has produced an Annual Report on the Economic Activity in Caribbean countries which is based on data provided by the various national statistical offices and agencies as well as by the various Caribbean regional integration organisations. The World Bank has recently published a volume which reports on the integration experience in the region, half of which is devoted to a compilation of relevant regional statistics. Each year the British Development Division in the Caribbean publishes an Economic Report for individual territories which contains compilations of relevant statistics for those territories. In each of the examples given, the focus has been on economic statistics, partly due to the concern of the specific organisation but also to the dearth or inadequacy of social

statistics. But whether the material is published at the regional or national level, no systematic application of indicator analysis appears to have been attempted.

In the context of women in the development of the region, the data at hand do permit a quantitative assessment of the differences between males and females in respect of education, household structure and employment and provide a statistical summary of mating patterns and levels of fertility. But even this limited material has only been used by one territory - the Bahamas - for the production of a compendium of statistics on women.

Appendix III

Definitions of Indicators

Table IV.1

Crude Birth Rate:	births per 1000 population
Crude Death Rate:	deaths per 1000 population
Sex Ratio:	males per 1000 females
Youth Dependency Ratio:	population under age 15 per 1000 population of working ages 15-64
Old Age Dependency Ratio:	population 65 years and over per 1000 population of working ages 15-64

Table IV.2

Enrollment:

- primary level:	proportion of population aged 5-14 enrolled in primary school.
- secondary level:	proportion of population aged 15-19+ enrolled in secondary school.

Table IV.3

Life Expectancies:	the average number of years of life which an individual at birth could expect to live under prevailing mortality patterns.
Infant Mortality Rate:	deaths of infants under one year of age per 1000 live births.
Child Mortality Rates:	deaths of children aged 1-4 per 100,000 population.
Maternal Mortality Rates:	deaths of women from complications arising from pregnancy or childbirth per 100,000 live births.

Table IV.5

Gross Domestic Product per capita:	value of total output of goods and services at current market prices per person.
External Debt:	value of total debt owed to foreign sources.
Index of retail prices:	percentage change in consumer prices.

Table IV.6

Employment:	work for pay or profit.
Index of Dissimilarity:	proportion of population which would have to change in order to make two distributions identical.
Unemployment:	those who are actively seeking work or who are available for work but have no work i.e. work for pay or profit.

Table IV.7

Reproductive Union:	union between man and woman within which sexual activity and childbearing take place.
Married Union:	partners are legally married and sharing a common household.
Common Law Union:	partners are not married but share a common household.
Visiting Union:	partners are neither legally married nor sharing a common household.
Job Satisfaction:	percentage of responses in which "job itself" included as source of satisfaction. [WICP]

Community involvement:	percentage of responses in which "self-development" included as reason for importance of community involvement. [WICP]

Table VI.8

Decision-making:	number of decisions in which women only, partner only or joint rank first - out of maximum of ten. [WICP]
Ownership of financial assets:	percentage of items owned which are financial assets. Includes land, house, business equipment, livestock, life insurance. [WICP]

Bibliography

Anderson, Patricia. "Informal Sector or Modern Labour Market? Towards a Synthesis", Social and Economic Studies, 36(3), 1987: 149-176.

Antrobus, Peggy. "Women and Planning: the Need for an Alternative Analysis". Paper presented at Second Disciplinary Seminar in Women and Development Studies, UWI, Cave Hill, Barbados, April 3-7, 1989.

Barbados. A Ten Year Development Plan for Barbados - Sketch Plan of Development, 1946-56, Barbados: Advocate Company Ltd., 194[6]?

_____. Bureau of Women's Affairs. Workshop on "Management for Development - Effecting Change". Draft Report. Mimeo, 1989 b.

_____. Ministry of Finance and Planning. Barbados Development Plan 1983-1988: Change Plus Growth, Bridgetown: Government Printing Department, [1983].

_____. Ministry of Finance and Economic Affairs. Government of Barbados Development Plan 1988-1993: A Share for All, Bridgetown: Government Printing Department, [1989 a].

_____. National Commission on the Status of Women. Report, Bridgetown: Ministry of the Attorney General, 1978. 2 Vols.

_____. Statistical Service. Labour Force Report, 1981-86, Bridgetown: Government Printing Department, 1988.

_____. Statistical Service and Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Consumer Affairs. Barbados: Report on the Pilot Study on Socio-Economic Indicators. November 1981. Mimeo.

Barrow, Christine. "Male Images of Women in Barbados" in Joycelin Massiah, 1986 a, Part II: 51-64.

_____. "Autonomy, Equality and Women in Barbados". Paper presented to XI Annual Conference of the Caribbean Studies Association, Caracas, Venezuela, 1986 b.

Boissière, Noel. "Survey of National Planning Systems in Latin America and the Caribbean - a Sub-Regional Report" in UNECLAC, 1980.

Bolles, Lynn. "Stuck in Second Gear: Women Trade Union Leaders in the Commonwealth Caribbean". Paper presented at Second Disciplinary Seminar on Women and Development Studies, UWI, Cave Hill, Barbados, April 3-7, 1989.

_____. "Women Leaders in the Caribbean Labour Movement". Paper presented to XIII Annual Conference of the Caribbean Studies Association, Pointe-a-Pitre, Guadeloupe, May 1988.

Boulding, Elise et al. Handbook of International Data on Women. New York: Wiley, 1976.

Bourne, C. Caribbean Development to the Year 2000: Challenges, Prospects and Policies. London: Commonwealth Secretariat/Caribbean Community Secretariat, June 1988.

Brathwaite, F. "The Elderly in Barbados - Problems and Policies". Paper presented to the XIII International Congress of Gerontology, Rockefeller Center, New York, July 12-17, 1985.

_____. (ed.) The Elderly in Barbados. Bridgetown, Barbados, Carib Research and Publications Inc., 1986.

Brown, Adlith. "Planning as a Political Activity: some aspects of the Jamaican experience", Social and Economic Studies, 24(1), 1975: 1-14.

Buvinić, Mayra. "Introduction" in UNESCO, Women and Development: indicators of their Changing Role. Socio-economic Studies 3, Paris, UNESCO 1981.

Caribbean Association for Feminist Research and Action. Women in Caribbean Agriculture Research/Action Project. Overall Report and Summary of Main Findings. December 1988. Mimeo.

Caribbean Community Secretariat. Women's Affairs. Seminar on Strengthening National Machinery for the Integration of Women in Development. Kingston, Jamaica, November 22-28, 1981. Report. 1981. Mimeo.

_____. Women's Affairs. First Meeting of Ministers with Responsibility for the Integration of Women in Development, Roseau, Dominica, 1981. Report. Georgetown: CARICOM Secretariat, 1981. Mimeo.

_____. Second Meeting of Ministers with Responsibility for the Integration of Women in Development, Georgetown, Guyana, March 17-18, 1983. Report. Georgetown: CARICOM Secretariat, 1983. Mimeo.

Caribbean Community Secretariat. Third Meeting of Ministers with Responsibility for the Integration of Women in Development, Dickerson Bay, Antigua, May 16-17, 1985. Report. Georgetown: CARICOM Secretariat, 1985. Mimeo.

_____. Women's Affairs. Fourth Meeting of Ministers with Responsibility for the Integration of Women in Development, Basseterre, St. Kitts and Nevis, April 28-29, 1988. Report. Georgetown: CARICOM Secretariat, 1988. Mimeo.

_____. Meeting of Statisticians, Women in Development Personnel and Researchers, St. Michael, Barbados, July 29-31, 1986. Report. Georgetown: CARICOM Secretariat, 1986. Mimeo.

_____. 1980/81 Population Census of the Commonwealth Caribbean. Barbados. 3 vols. Kingston: Statistical Unit of Jamaica, n.d.

Chaney, Elsa. Women of the World - Latin America and the Caribbean. Washington D.C: US Department of Commerce/ Bureau of the Census and USAID/Office of Women in Development, 1984.

Clarke, Roberta. "Women's Organisations, Women's Interests" in Joycelin Massiah 1986 a, Part II: 107-155.

Clarke, Roberta and Diane Cummins. Report on St. Vincent Workshops 1982. Paper prepared for Women in the Caribbean Project Conference, Barbados, September 12-16, 1982.

Commonwealth Secretariat. Women and Development Programme. Workshop on Ladies in Limbo Revisited. Belize City, Belize, November 11-15, 1985. Record. London: Commonwealth Secretariat 1985. Mimeo.

_____. Engendering Adjustment for the 1990s. Report of a Commonwealth Expert Group on Women and Structural Adjustment. London: Commonwealth Secretariat 1989.

Demas, W. Men, Women and Children in Development. Statement of the President of the Caribbean Development Bank at the Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the Board of Governors, Caracas, Venezuela, May 14-15, 1986. Mimeo.

Duncan, N. and O'Brien, K. Women and Politics in Barbados, 1948-1981. Cave Hill, Barbados: ISER(EC), 1983.

Ellis, Patricia (ed.) Women of the Caribbean. London and New Jersey: Zed Books, 1986 a.

Ellis, Patricia. "From Silent Beneficiaries to Active Participants", 1986 b in Ellis 1986 a.

_____. "Methodologies for Doing Research on Women and Development" in IDRC, Manuscript Report. Women in Development: Perspectives from the Nairobi Conference, Ottawa: IDRC, 1986 c.

Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations. Regional Office for Latin America and the Caribbean. Caribean Women in Agriculture. Santiago, Chile: FAO, 1988.

Ford Smith, Honor. Ring Ding in a Tight Corner: A Case Study of Funding and Organisational Democracy in SISTREN, 1977-1988. Toronto: Women's Programme, ICAE, 1989.

Gillings, Scarlett. Review of the Barbados Women's Bureau. Study prepared for the ILO Sub-Regional Office, Port-of-Spain, Trinidad and Tobago, October 1987.

Gloudon, Barbara. "Caribbean Women and the Trade Union Movement" 1986 in Ellis, 1986 a.

Gordon, Shirley (ed.) Ladies in Limbo: the Fate of Women's Bureaux - Case Studies from the Caribbean. London: Commonwealth Secretariat, Women and Development Programme, 1984.

Haniff, Nesha. Blaze a Fire - Significant Contributions of Caribbean Women. Toronto: Sister Vision, 1988.

Hart, K. (ed.) Women and the Sexual Division of Labour in the Caribbean. Kingston, Jamaica: Consortium Graduate School of Social Sciences, UWI, 1989.

Higman, B.W. "Domestic Service in Jamaica since 1750" in B.W. Higman (ed.) Trade, Government and Society in the Caribean, 1700-1920. Kingston, Jamaica: Heinemann, 1983.

Inter American Development Bank. Economic and Social Progress in Latin America. Annual Report 1972, 1980-81, 1986, 1988. Washington DC: IADB, [various years].

International Labour Organisation/UN Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women. Women in Economic Activity: A Global Statistical Survey 1950-2000. Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic: ILO/INSTRAW, 1985.

Jagdeo, T. Caribbean Contraceptive Prevalence Surveys, 4 - Barbados. IPPF/WHR. Mimeo 1989.

Joekes, Susan. Women in the World Economy. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Jordan, Merna. Physical Violence Against Women in Barbados, 1977-1985. Report prepared for the Bureau of Women's Affairs, Barbados, 1986.

Knudson, Barbara and Barbara Yates. The Economic Role of Women in Small Scale Agriculture in the Eastern Caribbean - St. Lucia. Barbados: UWI, WAND, 1981.

Le Franc, Elsie. "Petty Trading and Labour Mobility: higglers in the Kingston Metropolitan Area" in K. Hart (ed.) Women and the Sexual Division of Labour in the Caribbean, 1989: 99-132.

Lewis, G.L. and Heisler, D. The Barbados Male Family Planning Survey: Country Report 1982, Bridgetown: Barbados and Columbia, Maryland: Barbados Family Planning Association and Westinghouse Public Applied Systems, 1985.

Lewis, W.A. "On Assessing a Development Plan", Economic Bulletin for Ghana, 3 (6 and 7), 1959.

McKenzie, Hermione. "The Educational Experiences of Caribbean Women" in Joycelin Massiah 1986 a, Part II: 65-105.

Massiah, Joycelin. "Indicators of Women's Participation in Development: A Preliminary Methodological Framework for the Caribbean". Paper prepared for UNESCO meeting of experts on the indicators of women's participation in socio-economic development, Paris, April 21-24, 1980. Edited version in UNESCO, 1981.

_____. "An Assessment of National Machinery for Women in the Caribbean. Two Case Studies: Barbados and Dominica". Paper prepared for Commonwealth Secretariat/CARICOM Secretariat Workshop, Barbados, November 8-11, 1983. Extracts in Gordon, 1984.

_____. Report of the Conference on the Role of Women in the Caribbean, Barbados, September 12-16, 1982. Barbados: UWI, ISER(EC), 1983.

_____. (ed) Women in the Caribbean. Special Issue. Social and Economic Studies, 35(2 and 3), June and September 1986. [1986 (a)]

Massiah Joycelin. "WICP: an Overview" in Joycelin Massiah 1986, Part I: 1-29. [1986 (b)]

_____. "Work in the Lives of Caribbean Women" in Joycelin Massiah 1986, Part I: 177-239. [1986 (c)]

_____. "Postscript: The Utility of WICP Research in Social Policy Formulation" in Joycelin Massiah 1986, Part II: 157-181. [1986 (d)]

Mohammed, Patricia. "Domestic Workers", 1986 in Ellis, 1986 a.

Molyneux, Maxine. "Mobilization Without Emancipation? Women's Interests, State and Revolution in Nicaragua", Critical Social Policy, Vol. 4, 1984/85.

Moser, Caroline. "Gender Planning in the Third World: Meeting Practical and Strategic Gender Needs", World Development, Vol. 17 (11), 1989: 1799-1825.

Nair, N.K. Fertility and Family Planning in Barbados - Findings from the Contraceptive Prevalence Survey 1980-81. Bridgetown, Barbados and Columbia, Maryland: Barbados Family Planning Association and Westinghouse Health Systems, 1982.

Nurse, J. "Epidemiological Survey of the Aged: Barbados", July 1986. 2 Vols. Mimeo.

Odi-Ali, Stella. "Women in Agriculture: the Case of Guyana" in Joycelin Massiah 1986 a Part I: 241-289.

Overholt, Catherine et al. (eds.) Gender Roles in Development Projects. Connecticut: Kumarian Press, 1985.

PACCA. "Alternative Visions of Development in the Caribbean". Draft manuscript, 1989. Mimeo.

Pan American Health Organisation. Health Condition of the Americas, 1981-84. Washington D.C.: PAHO, 1986.

Population Crisis Committee. Country Rankings of the Status of Women: Poor, Powerless and Pregnant. Population Briefing. Paper No. 20, June 1988.

Powell, Dorian. "Caribbean Women and their Response to Familial Experiences", in Joycelin Massiah, 1986 a, Part I: 83-130.

Rainford, R. "The Decision Making Process and the Institutional Fabric of CARICOM" in IADB/CARICOM Ten Years of CARICOM, Washington D.C.: IADB, 1984.

Rivera, Marcia. "Women in the Caribbean. Underground Economics" in N. Girvan and G. Beckford (eds.), Development in Suspense. Selected Papers and Proceedings of the First Conference of Caribbean Economists, Kingston, Jamaica: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung and Association of Caribbean Economists, 1989.

Seminar on the Integration of Women in Development in the Caribbean. Report. [Social Welfare Training Centre, Department of Extra Mural Studies, UWI, Mona, Jamaica, June 6-10, 1977].

Sen, Gita and Caren Grown. Development Issues and Alternative Visions. New Delhi: Institute of Social Studies Trust, 1985.

Shiw Persad, Basmad. "Domestic Violence: A Study of Wife-Abuse among East Indians of Guyana". Paper presented at XIII Annual Conference of the Caribbean Studies Association, Guadeloupe, May 25-27, 1988.

SISTREN, (with Honor Ford Smith). Lion Heart Gal: Life Stories of Jamaican Women. London: The Women's Press, 1986.

Sivard, Ruth. Women... a World Survey. Washington D.C.: World Priorities, 1985.

Springer, B.G.F. "The Role of Women in Agriculture in three Eastern Caribbean States - Grenada, St. Lucia and St. Vincent". Paper prepared for UNECLAC, 1983. Mimeo.

Stamp, Patricia. Technology, Gender and Power in Africa. IDRC Technical Study 63e. Ottawa: IDRC, 1989.

St. Vincent. "Development Planning in St. Vincent" in UNECLAC, 1980.

St. Vincent and the Grenadines. Development Plan 1986-1988: Growth, Diversification, Redistribution. St. Vincent: Ministry of Finance and Planning, 1986.

Taylor, Alicia, Donna McFarlane and Elsie Le Franc. "The Higglers of Kingston" in Marianne Schmink et al (eds.) Learning about Women and Urban Services in Latin America and the Caribbean. New York: Population Council 1986.

Taylor, Alicia. "Women Traders in Jamaica: the Informal Commercial Importers". Paper presented for UNECLAC, March 1988.

The Barbadienne. Souvenir Magazine for International Women's Year. Barbados: Business and Professional Women's Club, 1975.

Tinker, Irene. "Street Foods: Testing Assumptions about Informal Sector Activity by Women and Men", Current Sociology, 35(3), 1987.

United Nations. Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, Statistical Office and International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women. Compiling Social Indicators on the Situation of Women. New York: UN, 1984 a. Series F No. 32.

_____. _____. Improving Concepts and Methods for Statistics and Indicators on the Situation of Women. New York: UN, 1984 b. Series F No. 33.

_____. Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean. Meeting on Women in Development Planning, Christ Church, Barbados, May 12-14, 1980. Report. UNECLAC, 1980. Mimeo. E/CEPAL/CDCC/63.

_____. _____. Second Meeting of Planning Officials in the Caribbean, Kingston, Jamaica, May 29 - June 2, 1980. Report. UNECLAC, 1980. Mimeo. CEPAL/CARIB 80/7.

_____. _____. "Women in the Inter Island Trade in Agricultural Produce in the Eastern Caribbean". Paper presented to Fourth Regional Conference on the Integration of Women into the Economic and Social Development of Latin America and the Caribbean, Guatemala City, Guatemala, September 27-30, 1988. Mimeo. LC/L.485/CRM.4/9.

_____. _____. "Comparative Status of Women in Selected Caribbean Countries as indicated by selected social, economic, demographic and legal parameters". July 1989. Mimeo. LC/CAR/G.273.

_____. International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women. Workshop on Statistics and Indicators on the Social and Economic Situation of Women particularly in the Informal Sector, Colombo, Sri Lanka, October 12-16, 1987. Report. Mimeo.

UNESCO. Statistical Office and International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women. Meeting of Expert Group on Improving Statistics, June 1983 a. Mimeo. ESA/STAT /AC.17/9; INSTRAW /AC.1/9.

_____. _____. "A User's Perspective of Social Indicators on Women", prepared by the Branch for the Advancement of Women, UN Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs, March 1983 b. Mimeo; ESA/ STAT /AC.17/6; INSTRAW /AC.1/6.

_____. _____. "The State of Statistics on Women in Agriculture in the Third World". Prepared by Constantina Safilivo-Rothschild, April 1983 c. Mimeo. ESA/STAT /AC.17/7; INSTRAW /AC.1/7.

_____. World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace. "Selected Statistics and Indictors on the Status of Women - Report of the Secretary-General". Nairobi, Kenya, July 15-26, 1985 a A/CONF.116/10.

_____. _____. "Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women". Nairobi, Kenya, July 15-26, 1985 b.

United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation. Division for Socio Economic Analysis. Women and Development: Indicators of their Changing Role Paris: UNESCO. 1981.

_____. _____. Women's Concerns and Planning: a methodological approach for their integration into local, regional and national planning. Paris: UNESCO, 1986.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation. Division of Study and Planning of Development. The Results of a demonstration project in Thailand. Paris: UNESCO, 1987. Mimeo.

_____. _____. International Symposium on Methods for the Integration of Women's Issues in Development Planning, Paris, October 5-9, 1987, Final Report, 1987. Mimeo. DEV 87/ CONF. 801/15.

University of the West Indies. Census Research Programme. 1970 Population Census of the Commonwealth Caribbean. Kingston, Jamaica: UWI, 1976, 10 Vols.

University of the West Indies. _____. Women and Development Unit. Planning for Women in Rural Development - A Source Book for the Caribbean. Barbados: WAND, 1983.

Williams, Gwendoline. "Women and Public Policy: Beyond the Rhetoric of Integration to a Focus on 'Mainstreaming' Gender Analysis in the Development Planning Process". Paper presented to Second Disciplinary Seminar in Women and Development Studies, UWI, Cave Hill, Barbados, April 3-7, 1989.

World Bank. Recognising the 'Invisible' Women in Development: The World Bank's Experience. Washington D.C.: World Bank, 1979.

Worrell, D. (ed.) The Economy of Barbados, 1946-1980. Bridgetown, Barbados: Central Bank of Barbados, 1982.

Worrell, D. (ed.) Small Island Economies - Structural Performance in the English-Speaking Caribbean since 1970. New York: Praeger, 1987.

Yudelman, Sally. Hopeful Openings: A Study of Five Women's Development Organizations in Latin America and the Caribbean. Connecticut: Kumarian Press, 1987.

Young, Kate. "Reflections on Meeting Women's Needs" in Kate Young (ed.) Women and Economic Development: Local Regional and National Planning Strategies. Oxford: Berg/UNESCO, 1988: 1-30.