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# PLANNING FOR WOMEN

in

# RURAL DEVELOPMENT

*A SOURCE BOOK FOR THE CARIBBEAN*

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A Collaborative Project of  
The Population Council of New York and  
The Women and Development Unit (WAND)  
Extra-Mural Department  
University of the West Indies  
Barbados, W.I.  
In Cooperation with the Governments  
Jamaica, Dominica and St. Lucia.

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DECADE FOR WOMEN  
1976 - 1985

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# PREFACE

## Brief Description of the Project and Orientation to the Monograph

This monograph provides information on and information generated by the Caribbean Regional Project entitled "Assessing the Impact of Rural Development Schemes on Low Income Households and the Role of Women." This project was a joint venture of the Women and Development Unit of the University of the West Indies and the Population Council (an international agency based in New York) in cooperation with the CARICOM Secretariat and the governments of Dominica, St. Lucia and Jamaica. Funds for this effort were provided by the Latin American Bureau of the United States Agency for International Development.

Each of the three countries selected the project they wished to analyze. These projects were rural development schemes with some history and a presumed future. They were, in all instances, projects that had had some significant difficulties in achieving their goals. They are also projects in which there had been minimal social analysis. Each participating country formed a research team consisting of *at least* an analysis/researcher, a representative of the Planning Agency, a representative of the Ministry of Agriculture, a representative of the country-level unit concerned with women's roles in development, and administrative staff from the development project itself. In most instances a central team was complemented by consultative groups at different levels. This interdisciplinary approach to project evaluation was one of the most innovative aspects of this effort.

A regional Workshop was held on the completion of the field work. This Workshop, held in Dominica from April 18 - 22nd, 1983, provided an opportunity for the teams to share their findings with each other as well as with representatives of the staff of Planning Agencies and other government departments from the other CARICOM governments. The Workshop was also attended by members of staff of the Departments of Agricultural Extension and Government of the University of the West Indies thus laying the foundation for the use of the data, research findings methodologies and guidelines in future training programmes and on-going University courses.

USAID funds for the representatives of other CARICOM governments were supplemented by a grant from the Commonwealth Secretariat through the CARICOM Secretariat. The United Nations Voluntary Fund for the Decade for Women and UNICEF both contributed to the Workshop by providing the services of consultants, who presented case studies on methodologies used within their programmes for training and sensitizing planners to Women in Development issues.

The selection of Dominica as the venue for the Workshop had special significance because it had been the only country in the region to have elected a female Head of Government. The Workshop was officially opened by the Hon. Eugenia Charles, Prime Minister, who also holds the portfolio of Development Planning.

Opening statements presented at the regional Workshop (see Section I and Appendix I) provide perspectives from regional personalities on this effort and a general look at levels of commitment and approaches to supporting women's roles in development in the Caribbean.

These three case studies were not costly social science exercises. Rather, they review project operations from clients' perspectives, bringing out contrasts in the experience of different participant groups. Chapter II in this monograph, on methodology, details the characteristics of this user-centred approach to evaluation.

The general objectives of each of the evaluations were:

- (1) to generate operationally useful information about the mechanics of development projects, from the viewpoints of both administrative and client populations, and about the relationship between programme plans and impacts;
- (2) to generate substantively useful information about the effects of development actions on women's roles and the connection between these roles and the welfare and survival of low-income, rural families and communities;
- (3) to encourage practical application of the knowledge gained, by involving planners, implementers and clients throughout the process; and
- (4) to expand capacity to conduct programme research using an interdisciplinary technique.

Despite broad uniformity of objectives, each of the evaluations has something unique to offer. Included here in the monograph are condensed versions of the reports made by Jamaica, St. Lucia and Dominica (see Section III). In addition to their evaluations, annexes to each study provide commentary from team members as to their view of the value of this interdisciplinary team research. Planners were included in each of the research teams to influence the content of the evaluation and increase the likelihood that the knowledge gained about rural people, about participation, and about women would be applied both to the specific project under study in its later phases, and might, with luck, influence the broader planning process in the specific country. Other ways of involving planners were discussed in the regional Workshop and two of these — a report on an innovative training programme in Africa and an experience in sharing information about women in agriculture in Guyana — are described in Section IV.

Section V focuses on methods of participatory research, a key practical and conceptual issue throughout the project. Two offerings are included. UNICEF's methodology for the design of basic services in which prospective participants help set stan-

ards for these services is summarized. WAND's experience in Rosehall, St. Vincent, where the community took full control of planning and implementation, is presented.

Sections VI and VII are designed to be of technical use. Section VI outlines the kinds of information planners and those wishing to influence planners should gather from clients of development projects. These data are important tools for learning more about men and women in rural areas, the dynamics of their lives and their aspirations. There was great support at the regional Workshop for an expansion of the original core concern with women's roles in development to look more deeply at 'whole' community development. These guidelines reflect attitudes and procedures which were expanded upon, and, in effect, 'created' through the discussion at the regional meeting. Other parts of the guidelines reproduce approaches taken by the three research teams (as noted next to specific items).

Section VII is an annotated bibliography on the literature on women in the Caribbean, prepared by Kathleen Staudt, who served as the technical consultant on this project.

We have all learned through this project. Men and women of different nationalities and from governmental and non-governmental institutions have cooperated well. For us at the Council, we feel we have benefited from an unconventional approach to development research. We thank our collaborator, WAND, Ms. Peggy Antrobus, its director, and her staff, the researchers: Sonja Harris-Williams, Beryl Carasco and Noreen John, and their teams for their fine contributions, Kathleen Staudt for sharing her considerable expertise, and the support provided to us by the United States Agency for International Development especially our liaison, Ms. Roma Knee, and Magda Pollard of the CARICOM Secretariat.

Judith Bruce  
Associate  
Population Council  
New York  
September 1983

# I INTRODUCTION

*This introduction is based on the address made by Ms. Peggy Antrobus, Tutor—Coordinator, Women and Development Unit Extra-Mural Department, UWI, Barbados, to the opening session of the Regional Workshop for the Project to Assess the Impact of Development Schemes on Rural Households and the Role of Women (April 20 - 22, 1983) in Roseau, Dominica.*

This Workshop represents the final stage of a regional research project for assessing the Impact of Development Schemes on Rural Households and the Role of Women

Nearly two years ago, in May 1981, at the first meeting of Ministers responsible for the Integration of Women in National Development, the project that we are now here to address was first brought to the attention of our policy makers at a regional forum. I am particularly satisfied that this workshop is taking place in Dominica. Firstly, because Dominica is the first country in our region which has elected a woman as Prime Minister. Secondly, it is a country in which we feel very comfortable when we deal with women's affairs because we are working with colleagues like the Director, Miss Hyacinth Elwin, of what is now the Women's Bureau and with a Minister who is an outstanding example of a Caribbean man who is sensitive to women's issues and a model which we wish all our male colleagues to emulate.

It is also a source of special satisfaction that the CARICOM Secretariat, who facilitated us with this workshop, is represented by their Women's Affairs Officer, Ms. Magda Pollard. I would like to express my appreciation to Ms. Pollard for her cooperation in assisting by issuing the invitation to attend the workshop to all CARICOM Governments and for obtaining funds from the Commonwealth Secretariat to assist in their expense. Assistance in this regard was also provided by USAID.

In order to give you an *overview of this project*, I wish to present it in the context of the United Nations Decade for Women, a Decade intended to promote action which will ensure equality between the sexes and enhance and increase participation of women in development.

Within the framework of the Decade for Women, there are numerous resolutions and recommendations in the Plans of action at international, regional and national levels, but none of these is going to be meaningful or of any value whatsoever unless their implementation is planned and monitored. While the goals which are stated in the resolutions are certainly important it is even more important for us to define very specific programmes and strategies which should be used, by whom they should be implemented and why we need to implement them.

Among the recommendations from those international meetings has been the recommendation to all governments to establish what we now call National Machinery for the Integration of Women in Development. This machinery or mechanism serves as a focal point to stimulate, monitor and coordinate actions which governments must take to implement recommendations in various plans of action. In the last four/five years, many of the CARICOM governments have established National Machineries. However, the establishment of Women's Desks and Bureaux raises more questions than it solves, for example how are they to be structured what are their objectives, and do we need them at all?

I would like to reflect on my own experience in 1974/75 in trying to establish one of the first of these Units in the region — the Jamaican Women's Bureau. As the Director, I soon came to realise that I was constantly having to answer the question: why is there need for a Women's Bureau? But unless I had certain information, unless there was research, there was no way we could give meaningful answers to this and other questions. It was against that background that I became aware of the work of the Population Council in this field and in particular their special concern with policy-oriented research which generates new knowledge and attempts to use that knowledge to inform the planning of mainstream development efforts. I felt this was an area that we needed to get into in the region; that we needed to go beyond the development of small women's projects and special programmes for women, and seek an effective integration of this concern into national level planning.

I would like to say something now about the work of the organisation which I represent, the Women and Development Unit. In this Unit, we have three primary objectives: to provide short-term technical assistance for women in development projects to test innovative strategies for change, and to raise awareness of these issues. In this project I think all three are combined.

I want to say something about the project. The three countries participating in the project are Dominica, Jamaica and St. Lucia. How did these three countries come to be selected? They selected themselves, and I want to congratulate the countries for being the first to indicate their interest in participating in this project. What is very interesting about the project is that

each country is at a different stage of development, particularly in development of National Machinery. Jamaica has the longest-established Women's Bureau; St. Lucia has not yet established a full Women's Bureau, although they are in the process of establishing a Women's Desk; Dominica has recently upgraded its Women's Desk into a Women's Bureau. The three projects selected are also different.

At one end of the scale in Jamaica, a multi-million dollar integrated rural development project which focuses on soil conservation — a project covering much territory and many individuals; a classical example of top down planning. Later, the addition of communications and a women's component attest to a growing awareness that such projects cannot be designed as merely technical.

The St. Lucia project on the other hand is a very small-scale project with intensive technical inputs — only eleven farmers of which one is a woman. The focus of this project is on vegetable production and is based on the premise that small farmers, given access of management and credit facilities, produce more than if they were left on their own. And then there is the Dominica project: where the Jamaica project is a classical example of top down planning, the Dominica project, covering a series of seven villages along the North-Western part of the island, is an example of planning and initiative coming from the community

As I said before, we have to move beyond the focus on small women's projects and even beyond the focus of women's components in larger projects to see or to recognise that what is happening to women in any country will depend much more on the general systems and strategies of development in the society, rather than on any number of special projects for women, special women's components and special machinery for women. We have to recognise that unless these systems, structures and strategies are sensitive to women's contribution to productive activities, to the pressures of their multiple roles, to *systemic differences between men and women's daily lives and survival strategies*, women's status will not improve and developmental schemes will fail. The classical example that I like to give is that of the farmer who happens to be a woman and who has a different set of needs from the farmer who happens to be a man. For a start, she has to look after the farmer who is a man! The woman, before she gets to the field, has to do half a day's work, preparing the food, helping the children to go to school (the future leaders and labour force of the country) and when she comes back, she has the other half of the day's work to do. If national planning is to reflect women's contribution and concerns, we need data of all types not only on the female labour force levels of education but evaluative studies which document the successes and failures of special schemes designed to benefit women as well as the effect of general development schemes on women.

The methodology of the project is of special significance. It was designed to *create working links* between various government ministries and agencies. Links between the National Machinery for the Integration of Women in Development and the Planning Unit is especially important, as is the link between these agencies and the Ministry of Agriculture — in the context of Rural Development.

The setting up of multi-sectoral, multi-disciplinary and inter-agency teams is a very important feature of this project. The assumption is that through that kind of mechanism each agency begins to have a clearer understanding of the special perspective of the other agency. Each agency begins to understand the kind of questions that the others are asking, their administrative features, resources constraints and so on. It becomes more than just a data collecting exercise, more than just an evaluative exercise but the forging of connections that carry up to national planning levels.

Another special feature of the study is its participatory approach at different levels. In the planning stage, from the outset the participation of different agencies, international, regional and national, in the formulation of that project; and later on the participation of people within the project communities in those studies. We believe that this approach provides data of greater validity than isolated analytic exercises. We also believe that the methodology of the teams approach sets in motion and creates a greater capacity to initiate change by the client community.

A third interesting feature of this project is the opportunities that are provided for sharing experiences and skills between Caribbean countries. I think this is very important because I think it is only as we begin to recognize the special skills that exist in the region and find ways of bringing people together from different parts of the region in programmes of technical cooperation that we are really going to achieve a close unity among our islands and set ourselves firmly on the path to development for our countries.

Fourthly, this project is a model for the way in which agencies — international, regional and national — can collaborate with each other. In this connection I would like to take the opportunity to pay special tribute to the Population Council, which gave us the opportunity of working in a very special way with the technical and moral support of its staff and that of the funding source, USAID. All too often, (and I say this conscious of the fact that there are many international agencies represented here), the way in which international agencies approach development assistance inhibits the very thing they are intending to promote. In this instance, we were able to develop a project which met the needs of the countries: identify, build and extend the research skills of Caribbean women and strengthen the link between the countries and agencies laying the foundations for future programmes of technical cooperation. I think there are many things in that process we will need to reflect on and build into other projects.

Finally, I want to say a word about the value of the project for future programming. It is through our link with the University that we are going to be able to take forward the findings of the research into the area of training. The University trains people at all levels, people who play crucial roles in the development of our societies such as agricultural extension officers, community development officers, planners, future prime ministers and ministers. I think the University has a role to play in sharing the findings of these studies and feeding them into the training programmes that we are offering. I want to say, for

instance that I am particularly happy that we have here representatives of the Department of Government and of the Faculty of Agriculture. Their presence will help to lay the foundation for the inclusion of some of the material, case studies and guidelines from this project, in the course content in Public Administration and Agriculture Extension. WAND hopes that this project will demonstrate how the three aspects of our University – outreach, research and teaching – can be linked to contribute in an important and meaningful way to the development of our countries.

## II METHODOLOGICAL OVERVIEW

Kathleen Staudt

Over the last decade, an enormous amount of research has been produced about the work that women do and its relevance for development. Some of the later research has an explicit policy and programme focus, yet its utilization in planning has been minimal. The failure to translate this research to policy can be attributed to a research-centered approach to planning, in which academics initiate the research, formulate the research design, and draw planners into the process too late, if at all. In contrast, the more successful planning-centered approach to research involves planners from the inception of the research process. Planners collaborate on the research design and even undertake some of the research themselves. Research questions are chosen with an eye to policy consequences and possible project re-design.<sup>1</sup> The planning-centred approach is an action-oriented approach geared toward improving people's lives and addressing development problems. Completing the collaborative circle is involvement from people in the project communities.

In this chapter, component parts of our methodology are discussed focusing first on policy-relevant research on women and development, next on the evaluation methodology, and last on project, community and bureaucratic factors which provide a basis for comparisons elsewhere in the Caribbean.

### (i) *POLICY-ORIENTED RESEARCH ON WOMEN AND DEVELOPMENT*

Familiarity with past research provides a firm foundation from which to generate new knowledge in several ways. First, past research findings suggest important factors on which to focus, methodological options from which to choose, and interpretations which enrich the insights of on-going research. (As important, criticism can be levied against faulty interpretations, biases, inappropriate methods, and gaps in the analysis undertaken.) Second, past research supplies data which on-going projects can use, thus avoiding duplication. Finally, in the absence of a longitudinal research design, previous research can supply a rough 'baseline' from which to compare change.

Mainstream research on development had, until the 1970s, virtually ignored women. Those studies either were based on men and then generalized to all people with men as the norm, thus neglecting the work, perceptions, and motivational differences between men and women, or they prescribed a future of development in which men were the sole decision-makers and the bread-winners on whom women and children depended. By-passed in such approaches was a recognition that women were the bread-winners, either solely or in part with men, or that they worked in key areas related to development goals. In the meantime, development opportunities, training, and credit were being systematically channelled to men, thus widening resource gaps between the sexes while women's responsibilities were great or growing.

Even when attention was given to women in mainstream studies, it was not linked to policy-making in any meaningful way. For example, a World Bank-sponsored study in 1967 noted that extension officers neglected women farmers and another in 1976 criticized project designs for pushing women agricultural producers into home economics, yet a World Bank internal evaluation of sub-saharan Africa development projects faulted three failures for no attention to compensating or involving women producers.<sup>2</sup>

Prior to 1970, the little research done on women tended to be descriptive or overly abstract and thus of limited utility for planners. In the Caribbean, there was a profusion of studies on women's fertility and on women in varied types of households — typical of research viewing women almost solely in their reproductive roles. Only recently has a comprehensive, policy-relevant analysis of Caribbean women been done,<sup>3</sup> but other scattered pieces of action-oriented research have been located which suggest a number of planning-relevant issues that inform our efforts. The issues include the sex division of labour, household authority and decision making, the distribution of services, differences among women, and women's organizational participation. Both world-wide and Caribbean-specific research are briefly outlined below, as are some implications for actual effects on project goals.

*Division of Labour:* That men and women do different kinds of work is self-evident; that women's work often overlaps with men's or that women's work relates to development is not. Women's farm work is now finally recognized, and while it varies, the extent of it is much more significant than had been thought. Official statistics in St. Lucia cite 43% female 'farm operators, dependents and other unpaid workers', and 35% female 'paid workers' while in Dominica women are 36% of the agricultural work force. In a study of 245 households in St. Lucia, a third of respondents reported that men's and women's occupations were primarily farming, yet far more women, 84%, reported that they do some farm work. A survey in the Christiana area of Jamaica found that 22% of farms were managed solely by women.<sup>4</sup>

As important as the knowledge that women are farmers and farm managers is specific information on the *tasks* they do on particular *crops* at certain *times* of the year with what *returns*. A study in the Blue Mountains area of Jamaica attributed the failure of soil erosion projects to ignorance about how changed practices would differently affect men's and women's income and labour. Besides helping men in the fields and marketing farm crops, women grow and market their own crops and depend on the income they receive for their own security. Women have no interest in men's tree crops, so essential for preventing soil erosion.<sup>5</sup>

Women traders (higglers and hucksters) in the Caribbean are very visible in research. Studies differentiate between the full-time and part-time higgler, the latter of whom also farm part-time.<sup>6</sup> These women provide timely price and supply information and a convenient marketing arrangement for farmers, and their earnings form an important part of total household income.

Agricultural projects which aim to change cropping patterns and farm practices must communicate directly with those concerned and must understand how these changes fit into the overall context of the individual's income and labour situation. In other words, the internal dynamics of the household will be critical to promoting development. Marketing projects must recognize the functions of higglers for farmers and for households. Rather than propose large-scale, centralized marketing arrangements to replace them, planners could consider ways to build on the already existing trading networks.

*Decision-Making:* Studies reveal as much shared decision-making between partners as single decision-makers in households. In the Christiana area of Jamaica, studies found that husbands and wives share decision-making in two-thirds of households, while the previously cited St. Lucia survey found a little over a third so characterized. Another Jamaica study found decision-making to vary according to the stability of the relationship; of sixty male farmers with wives who were interviewed, all but five said they discuss farm decisions with wives. Nowhere is female decision-making so pronounced as in female-headed households. The Caribbean censuses of 1970 report high rates of female headship, hovering around 40%.<sup>7</sup>

To meet project goals and to avoid undermining women's authority in decision-making in the household, projects must understand and communicate with all relevant parties. Such was not the case in a rice settlement scheme. A study comparing women's decision-making on general, household and farm matters found that a higher percentage of women always make decisions *outside* the scheme, compared to women in the scheme, suggesting that project management undermined women's authority in the household.<sup>8</sup>

*Distribution of Services:* Despite women's involvement in productive work and decision-making, numerous studies have found clearly different patterns of service delivery, such as extension visits, training, and credit, whereby men receive far more than women farm managers.<sup>9</sup> While the previously cited studies in the Caribbean found access to extension services to be limited, ranging from a majority with access in the Christiana area to 17% of women in the St. Lucia study, none breaks down receipt by men and women to determine whether inequitable patterns found elsewhere apply as well.<sup>10</sup> The few female extension officers, though, suggests that women are being by-passed. If appropriate inputs, such as training and credit, are not put into the hands of those who will use them, project aims are thwarted.

One cannot assume that husbands and wives share agricultural information or that they share household resources when project resources are channelled through men. A tradition of separate incomes exists within some families, described in parts of the Caribbean and much of sub-saharan Africa.<sup>11</sup> If men appropriate the value of women's labour and share little or none of that income, women have no incentive to continue their labour. Moreover, project aims to improve farm standards of living may be undermined if none of the increased income reaches women and children. Project managers were puzzled about the increased black-marketing of rice in an irrigated scheme and the dramatic fall of pyrethrum production in another area despite the existence of newly formed marketing cooperatives. Later they discovered in both schemes that husbands, recruited into the cooperatives and paid for crops, shared little of the income with their wives. Women, accustomed to acquiring income to meet household responsibilities from their labours, resorted to marketing outside official channels in one case and simply withdrew their labour in the other.<sup>12</sup>

*Difference among Women:* Just as differences among men are relevant to planning and project design, so also are the many differences among women, by world region, country, economic status, age and ethnic background. Caribbean countries have severe inequalities in the distribution of land holdings.<sup>13</sup> While some of this is accounted for in differences between estate and smallholder agriculture, there are also significant differences *within* smallholder communities. The difference between a two- and five-acre holding can be profound for meeting food subsistence requirements and thus for the risks farmers are prepared to take in responding to agricultural promotions.

Age, class and ethnic differences among women are relevant within project communities. Material resource differences, such as land ownership, and amount and security of income earned have profound effects, not only on women's access to opportunities and life situations, but also on the attitudes those differences create. Agricultural studies in Jamaica and Dominica report that the women contribute more far labour in low-income/low-acreage households. A sociological study of Montserrat found that middle-class women accept a 'male dominance ideology' more than working-class women. Still, women heads of households swell the category of low-acreage households. A 1979 agricultural survey in the Christiana area of Jamaica found that 35% of women, but only 5% of men, have one-acre holdings or less.<sup>14</sup>

*Women's Organizational Participation:* A crucial part of the development process is people's participation in decisions which affect them. Organizations are also means by which to save and to secure credit, such as in rotating credit societies,

known variously in the Caribbean as meeting turns, sou sou, coud-main and sub. Women participate in women's organizations and other organizations, but in the latter, at lower rates than men. This imbalance partially accounts for the disadvantages they experience as individuals and as a group with respect to development projects. If women are disadvantaged as a group, it is important to understand their consciousness of that, or if they act on that consciousness, whether it is separately or in other groups.

A Christiana area study in Jamaica notes that a third of women report being members of the Jamaica Agricultural Society. In the comprehensive Caribbean-wide study of over 1,500 women, approximately a third are part of organizations, primarily church-related.<sup>15</sup>

Past action-oriented research suggests that, at minimum, policy-oriented research must look beyond the household as a single unit to examine the specific tasks and responsibilities of its members, decision-making within the household, and the distribution of project services to men and women generally and within the household, and women's decision-making in the project and community. These are common research issues that our three project teams focused upon. Clearly evident in the brief review above are significant differences in the experiences and perceptions of men and women. As important, uninformed policies that are translated into programmes and projects create a new reality which can be detrimental to women and men as well as to the achievements of project goals. The next section will address the mechanics of research methodology in evaluation.

## (ii) EVALUATION METHODOLOGIES

Planners need accurate and relevant information on and from people about whom they plan. More specifically, they and programme staff need information about projects due for evaluations or re-design, about categories of people that projects benefit or burden, and about management processes undergoing review. Policy evaluation can supply that kind of information, as well as serve as an accountability tool for superior to simple auditing or internal project reporting and monitoring. The sketch below outlines the movement from traditional evaluation approaches through their reformulations and then culminates in a description of our methodology.

*Traditional Evaluation:* Traditionally, evaluators sought to answer the question, "Did this project accomplish what it set out to accomplish?" Evaluators started with the original goals, and then attempted to document the extent to which goals had been realized. Answers to the questions could sometimes be found in project documents, especially if the project involved technical matters such as construction, in which records are usually kept and results are easily observable. Documenting change in projects involving people was much more difficult. Project managers do not always maintain records of people's situations from the project's inception to the time of evaluation. And even if they did, the pieces of information collected represent only a small slice of the whole reality. The lofty goals of improving standards of living or increasing agricultural productivity must involve interchange with people affected by the project.

Traditionally, this recognition called for interviews with a representative group of participants. Optimally, both project participants and a similar group of people not involved in the project would be interviewed. With foresight and plentiful resources, information collected on both groups would have started when the project began. In this way, change on a certain dimension in the project community, but not in the comparison group, could be attributed to the project. Evaluators would question both groups about income, information, labour, attitudes, or whatever data were relevant to the project. Elaborate sampling procedures would be formulated, to secure a random or stratified group in large enough numbers from which to generalize. Were outcomes found that conformed to project goals in the project group and not the other, evaluators would hesitatingly conclude some project impact.

Given the time and expertise required in this traditional evaluation approach, outsiders would generally be commissioned. This had the advantage of integrating supposedly neutral people with fresh approaches, who were not mired in bureaucratic politics, alliances, and career ambitions. Outsiders have the time to supplement already busy insiders.

Yet this separation between evaluators and practitioners had substantial disadvantages. Outsiders brought elaborate methodological techniques and along with that, a jargon and indeed language of their own needing translation at times and causing communication barriers between them and practitioners. Often, they are committed to one single, sophisticated technique and they sought hard, documented proof only in quantifiable terms. Outcomes without quantitative indicators are ignored, sometimes by-passing the most important aspects of the project. Seemingly, the more complex the technique, the more objective it was. Practitioners wondered about the value of the whole process, and sometimes felt threatened by it. The elaborate methodologies were time-consuming to administer, and did not provide administrators with timely information. Most importantly results were not always linked to planning, re-design and practical use inside the agency. Outsiders had little sense of the bureaucratic context in which they were operating, and were insensitive to the internal bureaucratic dynamics of information use.

The result of this traditional approach was a fine piece of research, intelligible to other researchers, but often divorced from action. Evaluations sat on shelves, unused. Administrators continued to work from an informational void, and project communities wondered about their brief intrusion into their lives. The time and money spent for the benefits received seemed grossly inefficient, and planners were unimpressed with the benefits evaluation could bring. Their preferences remained with internal auditing and reporting which prevented a fuller review that evaluation could bring.

Quite the opposite can come about in reaction to or replacement of this traditional approach. "Quick and dirty" studies are done with great speed and without any coherent methodology. Were they duplicated, a new set of personalities would likely mean different results, for the procedures are beset by biases and the results serve only to legitimize the aims of administrators or evaluators. A World Bank study cites the common biases of quick and dirty research by the 'rural development tourist' investigators who speak mainly with the wealthy, the users of services, communities on a tarmac road or houses by the roadside, and men rather than women. In response to this approach which lacks both credibility and usable results, Rapid Rural Appraisal has been developed to counteract the problems of 'inappropriately complex methodologies and of sloppy biased data gathering.'<sup>16</sup>

*Changing Conceptions of Evaluation:* While the fundamental tasks of generating useful and valid information remains for planning, evaluation methodologies have gradually changed, in the following ways.<sup>17</sup> A key question underlying this conception is, "What works best in which settings?" These changes, representing advances from the traditional approaches, have been fully incorporated into our evaluation methodology, as outlined later.

*User Focus:* Evaluators must work together with decision-makers to design evaluations. In this way, practitioners' needs related to policy and project design remain uppermost and the prospects for using the information are enhanced.

*Goal-Free Evaluation:* In recognition that pre-determined, initial goals are often externally imposed and actually change over time, data should be gathered on actual, evolving goals. As important participants' goals and expectations must be sought and integrated into analysis. How do they judge projects?

*Multiple Methods:* Diverse data sources and methods are essential to understand the complex reality of project implementation. Surveys are not sufficient; they need to be supplemented with participant observation, varied interview formats (groups, trusted informants, staff, etc.) and document analysis.

*Qualitative Approaches Supplement Quantitative Ones:* To restrict a reality to hard, measureable response and behaviour is to touch only a superficial part of that reality. Evaluations need to be complemented with respondents' responses to open-ended flexible questions, along with narrative comments, and with unobtrusive measures that insightfully reveal impacts, changes, or operations difficult to unveil with quantitative measures alone.

*Familiar Methodologies:* Overly complex, sophisticated methodologies should be avoided, for they confuse and even mystify readers. Rather a sound, reliable, and valid procedure should be developed to acquire as much representative information as necessary. At the same time, steps need to be taken to avoid communication biases of conventional evaluations which, for example, by-pass women.

*Participatory Approaches:* Besides having a basic right to be involved and informed, project participants provide insights and expertise in any evaluation. The evaluation process can also stimulate dialogue among people, who are also important users of information, just as administrators. Evaluation results can provide communities with tools by which to foster a more responsive administration.

*Process and Context:* As important as evaluation outcomes or impacts in a particular populace are process dynamics which need to be explored in, for example, staff interaction with participants, and staff interaction across hierarchies and agencies. The bureaucratic contexts of evaluation use must be understood, as must the rationale for evaluation. Full evaluative reviews may not be necessary for all projects. Rather, a well-selected project, once its contextual factors are understood, can provide lessons about similarly situated projects.

Still, none of these single approaches, alone or together, involves the comprehensive, collaborative involvement of practitioners and researchers which forms our methodology. While our project was infused with these changing conceptions of evaluation, the three projects under review were subsumed within agencies or received support from institutions with their own evaluation methodologies. The next section reveals the extent to which those existing agencies use traditional or changed evaluation approaches.

*Existing Agencies:* A variety of national, regional and international agencies are linked to our project. Their own evaluation procedures (or lack of them), reflect trends outlined above, as discussed below. Each project operated within the larger context of a planning agency. The Black Bay vegetable irrigation scheme project in St. Lucia is overseen by the Ministry of Agriculture and receives CARDATS assistance. The Jamaica Integrated Rural Development-II (IRDP-II) is linked to numerous national agencies and received assistance from the US Agency for International Development. The Tans G Toc Cooperative Society is a private organization, operating within national cooperative law, which has received assistance from various ministries and from several outside sources, including the US Inter-American Foundation and the Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO).

National planning agencies, in gear to set the stage for forecasting and planned coordination, are linked with planning units in sector agencies and receive regular reports. Less common is the establishment of independent criteria for evaluating sector plans and projects in terms of conformity with the national plan or other social and technical goals and then the application of those criteria to all projects.

St. Lucia's Planning Unit has comprehensive evaluation guidelines. Evaluators are asked to judge the project's background description and objectives in light of actual performance. Evaluations must also include a description of inputs, assumptions and outputs (along with the efficiency of outputs). Evaluators also assess operational factors, such as time-tables adherence, monitoring, reporting and financial analyses. Importantly, guidelines call for 'social analysis', with evalu-

ators specifying actual and expected benefits and differentiating among beneficiaries. Finally, guidelines call for evaluators to draw key lessons from the evaluation for future aspects, for continuing project operations, and for the findings in other evaluations

The *Canadian University Service Overseas* (CUSO), a decentralized organisation, has only recently begun addressing systematic evaluation for its projects. CUSO offers no standardized guidelines, but encourages on-going, regular, and participatory evaluation which is linked to programming.

The *US Agency for International Development* (USAID) evaluations were formerly divorced from management, re-design and legislative oversight. In 1967, a thorough-going overhaul of the project design process was instituted, one important part of which was requiring the evaluation plan to be formulated in each project design along with indicators and methodologies specified to determine the extent to which the project had achieved goals. Both the design and evaluation processes left little room for evolving goals or for people's participation in decision-making and evaluation. Evaluations were conducted quite quickly, within the narrow confines of plans specified earlier and observable, quantitative indicators. The massive number of evaluations were costly and burdensome on staff and provided little real guidance for re-design or sector analysis. Budgetary constraints prohibited extensive interaction, if any, with project participants. In those projects with sufficient resources to examine more than documents and interview managers, men (or men's labour, income, credit receipt, training, productivity, etc.) were the focus, given the predominance of men as 'target groups' explicitly or implicitly.

In 1979 and thereafter, dissatisfaction with the mass of existing evaluations gave rise to several large and key impact studies of older projects. Evaluation procedures are currently undergoing revision, leading to a reduction in the number of evaluations, decentralization of evaluation planning to USAID field offices, and evaluations linked to sector and programme goals. Successful evaluation is to be judged according to its utilizability for future planning and design.

The *US Inter-American Foundation*, which has funded private, rather than official, organizations since 1969, has taken a qualitative approach both to criteria for project design and project evaluation. While budgetary objectives and standard of living improvement are important for judging projects, the IAF is as interested in what it calls 'Social Gains'. These include greater access to opportunities, collective bargaining strength, the ability to make wider choices, and improved self-image, critical reflective capability, the legitimization of participants' causes, self-imposed work discipline, and creative perceptions.<sup>18</sup> Such indicators are not readily operationalizable into quantitative terms, but are critical to the development process.

Significantly, though, none of these related agencies completed thorough evaluations of these three projects or incorporated women-sensitive information.

*Women-Sensitive Evaluation:* Evaluators and planners could adopt virtually all the improved conceptions of evaluation methodologies outlined above, yet still by-pass women in evaluation. Typically, the only evaluation data available on women is found in projects for women specifically or in women's components of larger projects. Whether and how women participate in the bulk of mainstream projects remains a mystery. Even when agencies have internal monitoring mechanisms concerned with women or women's bureaux within government, they may be unable to or uninterested in penetrating the monitoring and evaluation procedures surrounding mainstream projects.

Since few mainstream projects specify women as 'targets' in project goals, and evaluation procedures rarely include distributive justice between men and women among their criteria, project managers have little incentive to collect data regularly to monitor implementation effects on women or for evaluators to examine such impact. Ungrounded assumptions are made that men universally head households and share resources with wives and thus that women automatically benefit from projects that focus on men. The previously-cited applied research belies such assumptions. Even if household members share resources and decision-making, members have different stakes, incentives, and returns for contributing the labour on which projects depend. Consequently, evaluations often do not elicit information about the distribution of benefits among men and women, women's participation in project decision-making, and overall project impact on women. Paradoxically, planners and designers seem content with increasing women's dependency on men even though development is antithetical to dependency.

If people are part of the evaluation, analysis stops at the household as a unit of analysis, without regard for the distribution of information and benefits, the division of labour and income, or for the different perceptions of men and women in the household. And there appears to be a peculiar blindness to female-headed households and the disadvantaged circumstances they are frequently in. What results are many missing gaps which leave unanswered questions that are crucial for design and planning purposes.

An evaluation methodology sensitive to women assumes that women need project benefits as part of a clientele and they must participate in decision-making, rather than dismisses women as dependents, uninterested in or unworthy of direct project benefits.<sup>19</sup> Some women and development checklists are available, but they tend to be vague and general rather than region- or sector-specific. They provide little guidance on *what* information to collect regularly or *how* to collect it. Moreover, they rarely penetrate the evaluation procedures within agencies, a not surprising outcome, given planners' uninvolved involvement in the development of those checklists. Consequently, planners cannot answer some of the following questions with any certainty. What was the project's impact on women, and women compared with men? How does women's participation or exclusion affect success in meeting project or development goals? What lessons can be derived for future planning and re-design?

At minimum, a foundation for women-sensitive evaluation must include the following:—

descriptions of women's and men's labour, incomes and responsibilities and how that has changed, both within the context of the household and the community;

analyses of special needs or constraints of men and women and how that affects project participation;

sex-disaggregated data on all project outcomes and impacts;

sex-disaggregated data by household on all project outcomes and impacts;

assessments of all qualitative changes, not immediately evident or quantifiable (i.e. options, analytical skills, etc.);

analyses of men's and women's participation in project decision-making;

conclusions about changes, both *absolute* (improvement or deterioration for men and women, compared to their previous situation) and *relative* (narrowed or widened gaps between men and women), at the household and community levels;

interpretations about *why* differences occur. (For example, if few women receive credit compared to men, what is it about collateral requirements, procedures, etc. that causes this?)

The means by which this foundation is carried through involve integrated evaluation teams (male and female) and continual cross-checking by way of matching observable reality with interview results.

A foundation cannot specify universal indicators, for they vary according to the project, its sector, and the context. Our project has generated Caribbean-specific guidelines and reviewing development schemes through a process of practitioner-researcher dialogue. These guidelines are found in an appendix.

### (iii) THE THREE COUNTRY METHODOLOGY

Besides incorporating the advances made in changing conceptions of evaluation, our project contained the following more specific characteristics. Chapter I contains statements which indicate the philosophical approach of these in the region to this project, while this chapter outlines the mechanics of our approach.

*User Focus:* Our project is characterized by a strong user focus. Each local country team contained at least one planner and researcher, and between the first and second tier teams each also had one project representative and a sector specialist. Team members selected the projects with an eye to what might be generalized from the analysis about on-going, mainstream service-delivery projects in which the 'household' (either explicitly or implicitly) is the focus. Team members chose the IRDP-II in Jamaica, the grass-roots Tans G Toc multi-purpose cooperative society in Dominica, and a highly technical Black Bay vegetable irrigation scheme in St. Lucia.

Each project was operational, but had either a stormy past or uncertain future. In Black Bay, a combination of displaced squatters and poor communication between initial project managers and participants led to a previous breakdown. Tans G Toc, once characterized by widespread community involvement in decision-making and benefits, was in retreat. The Jamaica IRDP-II, a reincarnation of an older soil erosion project later supplemented with a women's component, faced both an evaluation and timetable for its continuity established outside national or local control.

*A Common Research Design:* After selecting the project, visiting the site, and formulating key issues to address, three members of each team met in a regional workshop, at which time interchange within and across groups resulted in research designs with common elements. Teams sought information from a variety of sources, the most prominent of which was a sample of project participants. The project group was compared with another sample of similarly-situated individuals nearby but not participating in the project. The longest of research instruments, a questionnaire for project participants, was developed by country teams and then compared and fine-tuned by researchers at another regional meeting. Researchers gathered once again for a regional meeting to discuss preliminary findings, commonalities in analysis, and an upcoming country meeting at which results would be discussed with team members and other institutions.

Since development never affects everyone uniformly, teams anticipated the categories of people most likely to have had different experiences with the projects. Categories included household typologies (which varied, but one common category was the woman-headed household), economic status, age, men and women, and geographic area. During the course of research, other categories emerged, such as partisan identification. Each also pursued the extent of people's, and especially women's, participation in decision-making over the course of project history.

*Collaboration:* Our project was collaborative in its fullest sense, involving practitioners, researchers, consultants, and WAND representatives from a variety of disciplines. While time-consuming, there is no substitute for the enrichment that collaboration brings to the research process and to the utilization of results. Indeed, research utilization begins instantly, as new information is exchanged through dialogue.

*Multiple Methods:* Team members recognized the importance of generating information in multiple ways to obtain the most comprehensive picture. These multiple methods also provided ways to cross-check information and thus serve as a valid way to sift through and judge the quality of information. Finally, the various methods allowed researchers to grasp the multiple angles and ultimate multiple realities of development project impacts.

Teams started first with project documents which were few and far in between for the Tans G Toc cooperative, highly technical but sporadic in Black Bay, and voluminous for the IRDP-II in Jamaica. A second important source of information consisted of interviews with relevant administrators in oversight ministries and project managers or leaders. In St. Lucia, the project extension officer was a member of the second tier team, while in Dominica, a founding member and current leader of the cooperative, and in Jamaica, the current project manager, were on the first tier teams. Women extension officers in Jamaica proved invaluable in the interview process. Third, a great deal of survey information was generated in individual interviews with project participants whose situations were then compared with similar non-project people. Fourth, individuals from within the survey group were singled out for more in-depth interviews. Historical information about the changing roles of men and women were gathered in this way in Jamaica. A fifth source consisted of group interviews to understand community and project history, women's and men's work, and the nature of group dynamics. In Dominica, groups of women revealed women's involvement in and benefit from the cooperative since its inception.

In Jamaica, two home economics groups, one with 9 and another, 31, members, were visited; a tape of one meeting was later analysed. Besides interviewing relevant staff, in-depth interviews were also conducted with special informants in a sixth source of information. In St. Lucia, questionnaire checklists were prepared and used to interview Marketing Board members and buyers at a local hospital to address Black Bay's endemic marketing problems. Interviewed in Dominica were previous and current Cooperative Board members and in Jamaica, former project and women's component directors. Finally, researchers drew on anthropological techniques with their frequent presence in the project community and their close observation of project and community events. For example, the Dominica researcher attended three Cooperative Board meetings, and as participant observer, was able to compare the reality of internal cooperative political process with that described elsewhere.

*Sample Selection:* With extensive time and resources, researchers could have developed census lists of all residents and then drawn random samples from them, but the intent in our project was to develop a time-saving, but reasonable methodology and avoid the 'tyranny of strict sampling'.<sup>20</sup> Besides, our conclusions about the precise project impacts on different categories of people are not meant to be generalized to each country or the whole Caribbean, but rather to identify project impacts in a particular area. All three researchers drew representative samples, although in the case of St. Lucia and Jamaica not technically random ones. In St. Lucia, husbands and wives from all participating households were interviewed. In Jamaica selection procedures could be termed a geographically purposive sample; the researcher identified geographic areas she wished to target and interviewed residents in them. In Dominica, the original intent to draw a random sample of cooperative members from the cooperative membership list was followed after issues of changing membership and outdated membership lists were classified. Sample sizes and modes of interviewing are explored below.

In Jamaica, the IRDP-II is spread over a wide area, and interviews were conducted in three parishes, 22 districts and 10 sub-watersheds. With the assistance of three research assistants, women extension officers who knew the area, the researcher identified and interviewed 98 persons, three-fourths of whom were women. Of this group, 74 respondents were project participants, and 24 were not. Eight persons from the whole sample (six women and two men) were selected for in-depth interviews. A typical interview for the standard questionnaire took 35-45 minutes, while the in-depth interviews lasted about an hour. Another forty women were interviewed in two group meetings.

In St. Lucia, 22 members of the project farm families were interviewed, and separate interviews were conducted with husbands and wives. The team obtained assistance from two research assistants, a male teacher and a female home economist. Repeated visits from team members made for a strong familiarity with the people and area.

In Dominica, 30 cooperative members (15 men and 15 women) were interviewed. Half of the women were heads of households. In the interest of obtaining geographical representation in an area where nearness to the cooperative buildings was expected to be relevant, ten interviews were conducted in three of the eight dispersed villages the cooperative serves. In addition, ten persons (5 men and 5 women) who were not members of the cooperative were interviewed. Interviews lasted an hour. Here too, the researcher was a familiar figure to community residents, living in the locale for part of the time.

The following chapters contain case studies analysing the three projects with these techniques. Readers will be interested in the broader project, community and bureaucratic characteristics about which insights are available for planning and re-design purposes, as follows.

#### (iv) *COMPARATIVE STRATEGIES*

Although this research consists of three case studies, an effort has been made from its inception to make comparisons about project types, participant populations, and bureaucratic contexts. The outline below poses questions about reaching and including low-income households and women which flow from the three analyses.

*Project Type:* The three-country comparison permits an assessment of sector-specific project performance (Black Bay) with integrated rural development projects (Tans G Toc, IRDP-II). Sector specific projects allow specialization, in-depth investments of a particular expertise, and easier management, but may touch only a slice of development reality. Currently in vogue, integrated rural development projects recognize the artificial fragmentation of reality into sectors and how all sector constraints operate on one another, but they are administratively complex and may diffuse precious resources. Although coordinated in form, their reality may only superficially link a series of sector components. Our analysis should

allow some of the following questions to be answered. Which project type best addresses development goals, defined how? Which reaches and include those categories of people typically excluded from development, such as women and the poor? Which interfaces better with the dominant reality of sector ministries and integrated planning units?

The three projects also vary in terms of whether they are government initiated (IRDP-II and Black Bay) or generated from the community itself (Tans G Toc). In top-down, official efforts, local demand for projects must be generated, and the prospects for healthy interchange and participation, at least initially, are more limited than when people articulate their own needs. Official development, with the one-way provision of resources, can engender local dependency. Locally generated efforts tap local initiative and free people from total dependency; they also provide officials with clues about unmet needs, maldistributed services by region, or thriving senses of self-help. Yet when development efforts are locally generated, the supply of resources can be problematic unless the community has a self-sustaining capacity to find or create resources. Eventually, some linkage with official support is essential (for example, government-supported teachers and health personnel for community-built schools and health clinics), otherwise participants must draw from within or engage in continual quests for uncertain outside funding. Securing an appropriate balance between self-sustained development and official support is a challenge for any development effort. While Black Bay was officially sponsored, Tans G Toc was a grass roots effort, and Jamaica is an official effort tempered with a highly politicized populace. What is an optimal balance to meet this challenge of self-sustained development with official support? If officially supported, what ministries (or ministry) have oversight, who has responsibility to oversee projects, and how many different personnel are involved? How effective are these operations in serving low-income households and women? What are project funding sources, and how secure are they? What degree of institutionalized attention to and support for benefiting low-income households and women is necessary without generating dependency and stifling initiative?

People's participation in project decision-making, whether official or not, builds stake and interest in projects and brings to the implementation process people's various experiences and different perspectives. Various studies document how participatory approaches lead to a more equitable distribution of benefits to low-income households (if local elites do not capture the participatory mechanisms),<sup>21</sup> but women's participation in decision-making is so minimal with token or no representation that the effects of equitable male-female participation have not been assessed. Previous studies also document how a learning approach, that is learning lessons from implementation, without fixed pre-planned project goals, leads to more successful outcomes than a "blueprint model".<sup>22</sup> Yet official and especially official foreign assistance agencies, with their complex procedures, virtually institutionalize a blueprint approach. Our three projects permit some conclusions to be drawn about women's participation, as they range from indirect women's participation in an already weak farmer advisory structure (Black Bay) to limited but direct female participation on independent farmer committees and separate women's groups (IRDP-II), and extensive participation (Tans G Toc) albeit in the cooperative's initial stages. Our project also permits an assessment of how women's participation in decision-making affected (or could have affected, were approaches more flexible) project goals. Some of the following questions can be addressed.

Under optimal conditions, how extensive is women's participation, in what kinds of structures, and at what stages of planning, implementation and evaluation? What is an appropriate, representative male-female mix for development projects sensitive to the needs of all its clientele, including women and low-income households? If a representative structure substitutes for mass participation, how are representatives selected? How can people ensure that those usually underserved, such as women and the poor, have voices in decision-making? How stable is leadership and at what point does that stability stagnate? What roles do participants play in evolving goals? How does project participation link upwards to ministries and to planners?

Projects also varied in terms of the sensitivity to women built in at planning, early or later implementation stages, with Black Bay initially designed without the needs of women in mind, IRDP-II, a belated women's component, and Tans G Toc, (at least initially but later not reinforced with women's participation in decision-making), integrated. What overall gender characteristics best meet the needs of and involve women and low-income households in *all* its components? Do mainstream projects, designed by men with men in mind, benefit women if so, how? Do women's components divert or substitute project attention to women within the confines of the single component? What effects do women's components have on sensitizing or transforming other (male) components? Do male-female monitoring, evaluation, and participatory mechanisms vary with the overall gender characterization of the project? Which type of project moves operations toward an equitable rather than stereotyped conception of men and women? Do male-only or women's components implicitly create a conception of appropriate male and female roles toward with participants might eventually conform?

Our three projects also reveal insights about the scale and territorial coverage of project operations. These projects range from the tiny Black Bay, covering only eleven households, with its own project manager and technician, to the massive USAID-assisted IRDP-II covering approximately 20,000 people living in a 46 square mile zone, and a seven-village project which secured funding from a string of sources. At what thresholds, both floor and ceiling, do projects cease to operate efficiently and effectively?

*Project Community.* The following case study chapters reveal the rich diversity of community characteristics. Several characteristics stand out which are relevant to these comparative issues and have great bearing on optimal planning, participatory, and project design toward equitable outcomes. First, what was the local tradition of community, local government, and self-help organization? Second, what were the selection criteria for permitting people's involvement in the project? Third, what are women's work activities and real preferences, and how can they be separated from the stereotypical conceptions that schools and policies create?

*Bureaucratic Context:* The larger bureaucratic context into which these projects fit differs markedly. That context sets boundaries around the possibilities for re-design and replicability.

Studies on bureaucracy in the Caribbean stress the historical legacy of colonialism. While there is a growing tendency to move from a law and order party welfarist administration toward development administration, colonial orientations are said to linger. A study of one hundred Jamaican civil servants revealed that a vast majority had little time for outside reading and that turnover was rapid. Moreover, while formal coordination mechanisms were often established, "inter-ministry communication is based on an 'old boy' network".<sup>23</sup> According to an academic specialist on bureaucracy in the Caribbean, "we still await a single first class study as to how one Caribbean government actually works and operates".<sup>24</sup> Our study goes far in revealing the actual inter-ministerial linkages and modes of operation that characterize the bureaucratic contexts of these three projects.

The role of the planning unit contrasts widely. The planning unit's perception of its missions provides either possibilities for or sets limitations on monitoring, evaluation, and participation of local people. Does planning set criteria for monitoring and evaluation, and are those criteria sensitive to technical as well as equity and social issues? How does planning organize itself internally and link to sector planning units in ministries? Is planning an active or reactive unit, initiating or receiving reports and activities? What sort of leverage does planning wield to encourage conformity to the whole plan? For example, if located in Treasury or Finance, does planning use the budgetary process to encourage conformity? Is planning limited to the macro-perspective, or does it concern itself with micro-level, single projects? What links exist between planning and regional or local communities? Does planning have a field presence? At one time, Jamaica instituted a Bureau of Regional Affairs to foster local participation in planning. Regional and parish councils were set up for this purpose, and 'suggestion boxes' were even distributed throughout the country.<sup>25</sup>

The centralized or decentralized context in which projects operate affect the timeliness with which projects are developed or redesigned and sensitivity to local contexts, and the prospects for people to participate in making government more responsive to them. As part of the colonial heritage, Caribbean governments inherited a centralized government, with little decentralization of authority to regional and local administrative units. Rather, decisions are made at the centre, and little authority is delegated to localities. Even local government councils, where they exist, are heavily dependent on the central government from whom they obtain most of their funding. In Jamaica, local governments secure 94% of its resources from grants and only 6% from local sources.<sup>26</sup> In the interests of increasing administrative effectiveness and expertise and avoiding duplication, many functions were transferred from local government to central government, as for example in Jamaica's creation of National Water and National Road Authorities. Even community development is a central function.<sup>27</sup> Still, the problems of centralization in the Caribbean are not nearly as aggravated as elsewhere, due to the small size of the population and territory.

With these questions about project, community, and bureaucratic characteristics in mind, readers will now move to the three development project cases.

## FOOTNOTES

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### III REPORTS FROM JAMAICA, ST. LUCIA, DOMINICA

#### (i) THE SECOND INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECT (IRDP-II) OF JAMAICA A REVIEW OF CLIENT'S EXPERIENCES AND RESPONSES TO THE PROJECT

Sonja Harris-Williams

##### *PREFACE*

The case study of the IRDP-II of Jamaica below highlights the findings of a project review conducted by Sonja Harris, Associated Director of the Cultural Development Institute, Jamaica. This research was initiated by the National Planning Agency's Desk Officer for Community Development and Women's Affairs. The research was guided by a three-tiered team including a research team of six persons, a consultative group of seven persons, and a specialist group of four persons. (See the annex to the case study for more details on this process and an evaluation of it.)

Given the massive documentation devoted to the IRDP-II project, it was surprising that the opinions of those living in the project area had been so rarely tapped. This project review tries to fill in some of the missing data and imagery so that readers might understand the cultural and productive impact of the project from (some) clients' perspectives.

This project was selected by the National Planning Agency because as the regional project guidelines specified, it was a multi-faceted rural development effort, which, by intention, would change people's lives. Further, there were significant 'unknowns' and implementation problems that could be fruitfully investigated through small scale qualitative research.

Unanticipated, however, was the abrupt decision not to extend IRDP-II. Thus, the findings of this study cannot easily feed into recommendations for its revision. The Pindars River and Two Meetings Watersheds and their resident populations continue to exist and their problems persist but IRDP-II no longer exists as a vehicle through which these problems can be addressed. It is the hope of the author of this study and the teams which provided her guidance that new, far smaller (than IRDP-II) programmes with a better understanding of the local needs derived both from the apparent success and failures of IRDP-II – can be initiated in the near future.

##### *A BRIEF LOOK AT THE AREA AND HISTORY OF THE PROJECT*

The Pindars River and Two Meetings Watersheds are located in the central mountains of Jamaica, ranging in height from 2,000 – 3,000 feet. In the first decades of this century, population density increased and people sustained their livelihood by clearing the wooded land and cultivating steep slopes. That set the pattern for what would be a heavily populated area, where farming occurs on increasingly eroded land. The major crops are sugar cane, citrus, banana, cocoa, yam, coconut, coffee and Irish potato.

This second Integrated Rural Development Project (hereafter IRDP-II) resulted from a UNDP/FAO study of watershed areas in Jamaica. Five of these watersheds, including Pindars River and Two Meetings, later the focal points for IRDP-II were then identified as first priority for rehabilitation. The decision was later made in the Agency for International Development (AID), US Department of State, and the Ministry of Agriculture, Government of Jamaica (GOJ), to have a second integrated rural development project covering the main interior mountainous belt of the island of five parishes, the two main ones being Clarendon and Manchester. Of the 30,000 residents in the natural limits of the watersheds, around which project boundaries were drawn, 20,000 comprised the target population, or about 4,000 target farmers.

The project is classical in terms of the kind of development programmes undertaken by national governments in bilateral agreements with cosponsoring countries. It is also a costly one, totalling Ja\$46 million for 4,000 farm households, resulting in a \$10,000 cost per household. The project is also costly to the Jamaican government. While USAID put up Ja\$26,670,000 and the government the remainder, the bulk of external funds were in soft loan form rather than a grant.

Problems identified which justify the selection of this area for rehabilitation include first, historical dislocation in that area with its heavy out-migration over several decades. Second, small farmers, three-fourths of whom own over five acres had limited access to basic agricultural services, especially credit. Third, the area contains what some agricultural experts

call a "disjointed" marketing system, controlled mostly by higglers.\* Fourth, the per capita income of small farm households is less than US\$200. Finally, the most important in the eyes of project planners, the area experiences excessive soil loss, particularly during the rainy season.

IRDP-II, initiated in 1977, aimed to strengthen local and national institutions so as to increase farmers' productivity and thereby improve their standard of living. The means by which this goal is realized included soil conservation and erosion control, afforestation, roads, housing, rural electrification, small farmer organizations, and credit components. Notably absent among initial components were marketing (subsumed under small farmer organizations), the needs of women, communication (both added later), and the needs of youth, who predominate in the area although not in the agricultural sector as farmers.

Early project survey data indicated that 22% of the holdings in the area were managed by female farm heads, meaning that almost 1,000 of the 4,000 target farmers were women. Project data also showed that another 40% of farms were managed jointly by men and women. In other words, over half the total target group consisted of women as farmers in their own right or joint managers. Yet project design proceeded as if male farmers were the clientele. Instead, a few remarks were made about little action to involve women in the 'change process'. With the justification, women are then mentioned briefly in terms of staff recruitment. Specially, women extension agents were to be recruited and trained, and women were to receive advanced training to work in the planning department of the extension services. Planners and project designers assumed that female-managed farms would be included as recipients of credit, extension and other component parts of the project. Yet no monitoring or evaluation procedures were developed to assess whether women farmers' access to these various components was similar to men's. If little was done previously to involve women, a reasonable question would ask why this would change with the infusion of huge monetary sums.

After some time, however, management became aware that project components might by-pass women living with their husbands. To address this likely possibility, a Women in Development (WID) Component, known locally as the Home Economics Component, was added in 1979. The component had two primary goals. First, through the Family Food Production Plan, women were trained to grow a vegetable garden which would supply the family with a balanced diet to complement the starchy crops already being grown. Second, nutrition education was provided about foods women had available. The WID component trained women extension agents to work individually with farm women and to facilitate homemaker groups in which women worked together in various projects ranging from banana fig production to sewing, wine-making and nutrition education. Even though the IRDP-II was generously funded, no seed money was initially available to begin this component from project sources. Once approached, the Women in Development Office in AID/Washington agreed to supply the seed money.

#### *SAMPLE SELECTION AND RESEARCH APPROACH*

The IRDP-II spread over a wide area, and interviews were conducted in three parishes, 22 districts and 10 sub-watersheds. With the assistance of three research assistants, women extension officers who knew the area, the researcher identified and interviewed 98 persons, three-fourths of whom were women. Of this group, 74 respondents were project participants, and 24 were not. Eight persons from the whole sample (six women and two men) were selected for in-depth interviews. A typical interview for the standard questionnaire took 35-40 minutes, while the in-depth interviews lasted about an hour. Another forty women were interviewed in two group meetings. In addition to project area residents, eight IRDP-II staff, representing different administrative levels and carrying different service roles, were interviewed. Unless otherwise specified, all percentages refer to the respondents in this sample.

The approach used in this study was one of weaving into the survey instrument a series of perceptual, open-ended questions covering the period prior to the project and the project era. In this way, participants had freedom to define their own issues, and state what value those issues hold for them and the community. Of particular focus was first, quantitative and qualitative change in production-related and personal/group areas; second, new attitudes and behaviour; and finally, the differences among groups, especially men and women. Such differences are to be expected in their perceived needs, problems and aspirations they once had or now have for their children. Also of concern in the study are the problems of youth, changing values connected with materialism, and the psychological orientations produced by the market instability and insecurities of rural life. Included in this focus is an assessment of the project's impact, including its various components, on the populace. On occasion, readers will find that respondents' expectations do not mesh with project intentions and goals. Gaps like these reveal the limited participation of residents in planning and on-going communication difficulties in the project. Of concern for project impact is whether respondents have gained new knowledge, new income, and opportunities to participate in decision-making.

#### *FINDINGS: A PROFILE OF THE PEOPLE IN THE PROJECT AREA*

Population density in the area is among the highest island-wide. In 1969, according to the National Planning Agency,

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\* Contrary to the views of such "experts", other experts judge higglers as efficiently moving fresh produce from farmers to the market. Cash returns for higglers are, however, quite low for the time they invest in their work.

density was estimated at 500 persons per square mile in the Two Meetings Watershed, and 350 in the Pindars River Watershed area. Density is high despite the fact that between 1960 and 1970 there was a population decline in the project area of 18.7%, due primarily to out-migration. Much of this movement was to local urban centres and some to overseas countries. In the sample, 70% had relatives who had migrated in the 1950s (14%), 1960s (22%), and 1970s (25%), but only 6% left since 1979 when the project started.

Land ownership varies by sex, age, and marital status. Twice as many married and older respondents had land, compared to single and younger respondents. The majority of residents (55%) control only 1-2 acres of land. A full fifth owns less than one acre. Still, large acreage is rare, with only 5% controlling ten or more acres. Single unemployed respondents under 30 have either no land, 1/10 acre or used family land. Acreage is also larger among married respondents. While a third of the youngest group owns less than an acre, half or less of that number control such smallholdings in the middle and older group. Land distribution is differentiated by sex as well; more women farm on low acreage than men.

Women in these communities fall into three distinct categories: wife, single head of household, and single woman still living at home. In our sample, approximately half of those in the latter group start having children while still at home. Of the women, 41% were aged 40 years and above; 26% were between 30 and 40 years; and 35% ranged from 19 to 29. The first two categories of women were married or in stable unions (82% and 76% respectively). Most of the younger women, or 64% are single.

The effects of the World Depression of the 1920s and 1930s were strongly felt in the Caribbean, especially in the area of health, as many women raised children alone because spouses died prematurely or had migrated to Central America. In fact, almost half those in this sample were raised by their mothers. With World War II, the value placed on men who win (or lose) wars and who rebuild financial, commerce and banking sectors increased their status compared to women. As health and nutrition improved, the national death rate decreased significantly. In the post-war era, rural family life went through a period of stabilization, with males assuming the most dominant position they may have enjoyed since slavery days. Yet at the same time, this was a period of heavy outmigration, undoubtedly dividing some families.

The rural farm family is typically large, lives in a small two-room wooden house, on very little land, without running water and electricity. In the research, the median number of children is slightly over four, with almost 13% of the sample having nine or more children. The vast majority, or 72% of respondents have a primary education, and 24% had a secondary education. A small percentage, only women, had advanced education. Overall, women achieve higher levels of education than men.

The rural farm woman has perfected partnering, which involves the art of allowing the man to feel like he is the 'boss' and decision-maker and she is his mere assistant. He is given this respect and the title of 'head of household' and 'breadwinner', even though it is she who works magic every day to find enough cash to clothe and send children to school. She also regularly works at what are seen as female agricultural tasks, such as picking coffee, cocoa and ginger and now, growing vegetables, and contributes labour during peak seasons. She appreciates both the gruelling nature of hillside farming and her mate's unflinching efforts to feed his family daily. Over time, woman's relief from the strenuous tasks of field labour perhaps reduced her decision-making roles in the family; she still contributes to the farm effort, but is accorded no status in the agricultural sector unless a farmer in her own right.

Men and women differ in the length of time with which they identify themselves as farmers. The majority of men, and some older single women, perceive themselves to be lifelong farmers; another quarter of women say they are farmers with 11-20 years of experience. The biggest proportion (31%) of women see themselves as just having begun farming, while the next largest category (26%), as farmers of 11-20 years. Many young women have just started vegetable gardening in the past three years since the inception of the Home Economics project component.

The farm families headed by men and women, share such common experience, even at the level of child care and household activities. The rural male is at home more often than his urban counterpart. Cramped quarters, housing as many as nine persons, forces an intimacy and involvement on everyone.

Youth in this area who are not involved in their parent's farm are mostly unemployed. Those in farming also do not control their own farms, homes or means of production. These youths are distinct from those who hold jobs in the project as extension officers. Older community residents painfully observe the class barriers between these two groups. They feel that young people from outside the community benefited from the project, and that youth inside the project area have not been trained to hold responsible jobs or to exercise leadership in local organizations. Organizations such as the Jamaica Agricultural Society and Development Committees offer leadership positions largely to the older residents or younger staff, rather than local youth.

## *SURVEY FINDINGS*

Leadership in the community has undergone some significant transitions. In the past, parsons were perceived to offer the greatest leadership, but now their pre-eminence is shared with farmers and politicians. Table 1 reveals the different perceptions that men and women have about leadership in the past and present.

**Table 1 Past and Present Leadership Perceptions, by Sex**

	No. of MEN = 19		No. of WOMEN = 57	
	Past	Present	Past	Present
Teacher	5%	5%	5%	—
Farmer	26	21	9	21
Parson	32	21	52	32
Politician (MP/Councillor)	16	21	9	4
Businessman	—	—	7	—
Elderly	—	—	—	11
Other	—	5	7	5
No Leaders	16	21	9	24
Missing Data	5	6	2	3
	100%	100%	100%	100%

The largest proportion of all respondents saw parsons as exercising the most leadership over the past two decades. An increasing percentage of both men and women see no leaders now, and parsons have declined as the most popular choice. Women perceive more leadership now among other farmers than formerly, but apparently pay little heed to politicians then and now.

Women assume leadership outside the home less frequently than men and participate less in non-religious organizations than men. Both women and men view men as speaking out at twice or more than the rate of women on important issues.

Respondents were asked about past parental decision-making in the household, and their responses offer contrasts with how they make their own decisions. In the previous generation, the percentage of men stating that their mothers were responsible for decisions was 42%, fathers 37%, both 11% and grandmothers, 5%. In contrast, 35% of women saw their mother as predominant, 39% their father, 21% both, and 5% their grandmother. Table 2 reveals respondents' perceptions of current decision-making on various matters. Historically, men perceive a greater female role in the past than now and a greater role for themselves as compared with their fathers. Women on the other hand, perceive as large a decision-making role for themselves, as they see their mothers had.

**Table 2 Perception of Household Decision-Making by Sex**

	MEN					WOMEN					
	Missing	Self	Spouse	Both	Other	Missing	Self	Spouse	Both	Parents	Other
Money	—	74%	5%	21%	—	1	18%	25%	37%	16%	3
Children's upbringing	11	26%	21%	42%	—	2	39%	5%	40%	14%	—
Upgrading home	5	68%	11%	16%	—	3	30%	9%	40%	14%	4
Upgrading farm	5	84%	—	11%	—	4	14%	33%	35%	12%	2

In the past, women perceived combined decisions more frequently than men, though such decisions were not the norm. Now more women describe decisions as being made jointly. Women who have completed secondary school rely more on spouses or parents. Men, on the other hand, now see themselves as dominant decision-makers in all areas, except the children's upbringing where decisions are perceived to be made in a joint manner. Both men and women express more joint decision-making than they perceived in the earlier generation.

Of interest, though, are the contrasting figures between spouses in citing joint decision-making. Moreover both husbands and wives minimize the sole decision-making responsibilities of their spouses. Up to three times as many women cite decision-making responsibilities than husbands concede to them — this is especially marked in farm matters. Up to eight times as many men cite themselves as decision-makers as wives specify. In contrast to these data, project surveys had indicated that two-thirds of both men and women say they consulted spouses on farm matters.

Intriguing about these data on women's limited decision-making in the home and community is their higher educational achievement than men and their active economic roles in sustaining families. Whether the project addresses this incongruity is taken up in the following sections

*FINDINGS: PROJECT AREA RESIDENTS' VIEWS OF THEIR NEEDS AND THEIR ROLE IN SHAPING IRDP-II*  
*The Participants' Advance Knowledge/Role in Shaping IRDP-II*

Very few project participants (21% of men and 15% women) heard about the project before it actually came on stream, and those that did were more likely to have secondary education. None of the respondents outside of the project heard about it until after it started. Project boundaries, cutting off some of the same roadway as future participants, were arbitrarily drawn, seemingly without advice from local people. Even fewer state they were able to make any suggestions about the project before it started; only 16% of the men and none of the women did so.

Once in place, respondents were unclear about the sponsorship of the project. Five per cent of the men and seven per cent of the women were correct in their knowledge of this being a joint GOJ-US venture; more women than men thought it was a Jamaica government venture, and more men than women thought it was sponsored by the US alone. Still, the vast majority (95% men and 82% women) welcomed the idea of a project in the community.

Pre-existing knowledge of the extension service was quite low; about half the men and a quarter of the women knew of an extension service in the area. Once the project was in place, however, many cite an extension officer (67% of the women and 79% of the men) as having a major influence on their decision to join the project. Extension services increased significantly after the project began.

*Participants Views of their Problems/Expectations of the Project, Broad Impacts*

Projects which aim to involve people rather than just machines or technology need some sense of what people identify as problematic in the area. Before discussing the different perceptions of problems men and women have, a summary of respondents' historical assessments of changes in community life is provided to allow insight on what is important to them. Moreover, respondents' perceptions of current times say something about project impact.

In comparing the past and present, respondents cite more buildings now like schools, churches, and libraries, and better housing. They say that less cash was around previously, but it was enough for one's needs. Now people are far more educated, but employment opportunities have not changed.

Respondents recall that women had no free time in earlier generations. Women's former control of cultivation in coffee and pimento has now slowed down. Respondents remember more loving and friendly relations among people. Table 3 contrasts men's and women's perceptions on changes in key problem areas.

**Table 3 Perception of Past and Present Problems by Sex**

	MEN		WOMEN	
	10 years ago	Now	10 years ago	Now
Money/Employment	26%	58%	42%	68%
Infrastructure (water light, roads)	5	26	5	19
Combination of above	37	5	40	4
No problems	21	—	—	—
Other	11	5	2	4
Missing	—	6	11	5
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

People have greater clarity about the kinds of problems they now face. Employment and money, already problematic a decade earlier, now looms as the over-riding area of concern for men and women. The project has made little dent in the primary long-standing problems. For contrast purposes, 57% of women outside the project cite money and employment as problematic, a jump down from 29% a decade ago, and 21% cite infrastructure, up from 14% a decade ago. When asked about community services still needed, almost half of all project women and men cite infrastructure; more women than men, employment; and more men than women, industries.

In more specific questions about agriculture, respondents perceive not so much problems in yield, or the quantity produced, but in the quality of crops, citing disease problems, marketing (half of men and women cite problems here), and the lack of money to increase production. More women (23%) than men (16%) cite money problems in agriculture; single women especially face labour costs. Respondents expected the project to supply cash for them to hire farm assistants, a costly affair (as rates range from \$8 – 12, per day plus meals) and complained bitterly about its failure to supply this money.

Aspirations, both of respondents' parents for themselves and of respondents for their children, reveal something about values and hopes within a community. The vast majority of respondent parents had no special aspirations for themselves, especially for female children; no parents with definite aspirations wanted their offspring to go into farming. Respondents developed aspirations themselves, only few of which (less than 10%) have been fulfilled. Men wanted a trade, which does not include farming; four men did want to be farmers, however, and fulfilled their aspirations. Dressmaking was the popular choice for women achieved by one; other choices were teacher, extension officer, secretary, nurse and policewoman.

Regarding these respondents' aspirations for their sons and daughters, few men or women hope their offspring will be farmers. Half the women desire professional and white collar jobs for their children, compared with 32% of the men, and men are much more likely to want children to acquire blue collar jobs. The more educated the respondent, the greater their aspirations for children. Aspirations have clearly risen, but little improvement exists in aspirations connected with farming.

More specifically yet, respondents were asked about changes in their lives since the project began. In all cases they perceive their knowledge to have improved, their income to have increased, and their free time to have decreased. Fewer women than men, however, cite increased income, and more women than men cite decreased free time.

Table 4 Life Changes by Sex

	MEN				WOMEN			
	Increase	Decrease	Same	Missing	Increase	Decrease	Same	Missing
Income	63%	11%	16%	10%	54%	16%	14%	16%
Free Time	5	53	32	10	2	83	11	4
Knowledge	84	—	11	5	86	4	5	5

More single than married women say their income increased. In general, reporting on income was a sensitive matter (in light of delinquent loans) as farmers did not know how this information would be used. Also many farmers were unfamiliar with the concept of weekly or monthly incomes.

#### FINDINGS: PARTICIPANTS' VIEWS OF PROJECT IMPACT BY COMPONENT

The large IRDP was implanted upon the communities described above and the needs and expectations laid out above. From the elaborate IRDP headquarters, surrounded by many vehicles, a series of project managers supervised a huge staff (numbering over 600, including two-week rotational workers) and a complex project, covering a wide expanse of two non-contiguous watersheds. The section below discusses project impact in respondents' eyes, component by component. As such it represents a very different way to assess impact than project management, which assigns 'targets' and reports on the percent achievement of the target they set.

*Soil Conservation:* By far, the most important and largest funded component in the project involved efforts to use material incentives to stimulate changes in farmers' behaviour. After dialogue with extension officers and a collaborative plan between farmer and officer, farmers received a 75% subsidy from the project for the costs associated with instituting changes to prevent soil erosion. Farmers contributed a quarter of the total cost, often with in-kind labour of themselves and of family members. It is in this project component that great disparities were found between men and women citing benefits. Among men respondents, 53% cite assistance, compared to 19% of women. Of these few women, involvement tended to increase with age.

Procedural requirements were not always acceptable or convincing to farmers. Many farmers did not believe that a seven-foot ditch was necessary, as the plots of land are small and clearing ditches, hard. Nor were they convinced that the recommended spacing in terracing should be a must.

*Credit:* The vast majority had heard of credit facilities being available in the project, but only 33% of the women, compared to 63% of the men, reported they had used the credit facilities. Among those women who used credit, more were married than single. This may indicate a preference of the Credit Committee to give loans to applicants with supportive spouses.

Residents saw credit procedures as rigid and restricted and therefore unworthy of their trust. Farmers felt their own authority was eroded with that approach, as no flexible decisions about the use of loans were permitted. For example, a farmer cannot use a loan ear-marked for buying a cow to plant crops. As one older single woman explained in a case history interview, "They pay the person selling the cow the exact amount, and you cannot get any extra money out of it to even buy a sweetie." In her case, she borrowed \$4,000, bought 19 pigs, sold 6, and repaid 1,000. Later, 9 pigs died. She has now used her own money to buy a cow, and is uncertain how and when she will ever repay the loan balance.

*Marketing:* This service was subsumed under the Small Farmers' Organizations component, and never commanded any clear importance as a service component. No plans were made for the absorption of the increased produce. Instead, assistance given was in the form of marketing information, with actual strategies left to farmers who faced high transportation costs, poor roads, and low prices. Farmers could not rely on the local market. In response to questions about marketing assistance from the project, all the men, and 81% of the women, said they had received no assistance.

*Farmers' Organizations:* Local, politically active Development Committees were set up to increase farmers' involvement in decision-making. These committees competed with older, established Jamaica Agricultural Society (JAS) chapters, and the split between these two organizations eroded any gains in increased membership. Among respondents, 37% of the men belonged to the JAS, while 21% to the Development Committee. In contrast, 9% of the women in the project, mainly older and single, belonged to the JAS and 12% to the Development Committee, which attracted younger, married, or secondary school respondents.

Many women also joined the homemaker groups, but these groups operated separately and were uninvolved in general development decision-making. Given the importance of partisanship in allocating some of the project benefits, women's relative political invisibility may have decreased their knowledge and receipt of benefits. Still, party loyalties were generally known in the community, permitting preference or discrimination on these grounds.

*Housing:* Housing was a very small component in the project, and the Member of parliament decided, usually along political lines, who could have their homes upgraded or a new farm house built.

*Home Economics/Women in Development:* Once in operation, project managers realized little had been planned for women, especially those living with, or jointly managing farms with their husbands. Consequently, funds were added onto the project to train women extension agents who organized homemaker groups (totalling 300 women) and visited women in their homes to encourage women to grow a cycle of nine nutritious vegetables and thereby improve nutrition in their families. Women gained gardening skills and nutrition expertise. Women appeared to have also gained self-esteem and developed new awareness, although they (like all respondents) show significant increases in their concern about money.

Among both men and women respondents, the majority saw this component as having the most meaning for women. Interestingly, a fifth of men saw themselves benefiting from this programme. It was mainly those in the younger age group (36%) who benefited from this service, compared to 29% of the middle-aged group, and 22% of the older ones. The younger secondary school level female benefited most from the home economics programme, and they are now on the lookout for options since the project closed. Their low levels of involvement in farming parallel their high levels of unemployment.

Group interviews were conducted in two homemaker groups, both quite different in style and function from one another. The first was a small but active group of 11 mostly older women, ranging in age from 22 to 66 years. The group had a strong and dynamic extension officer. Intrinsic strengths of group members were probably enhanced through positive group dynamics. In the meeting, women related many farming problems, which included no market for pigs, citrus, or potatoes, disease and pests on coffee and yam, and a lack of water for one woman's demonstration plot. To address these problems, members acquired information about the project from their extension officer, suggested to her that a place be built to store their products and hoped that government will build a processing factory nearby to avoid food wastage.

The second group was made up of 19 largely young, restless women (ten were under 20), ranging from 16 to nearly 50. This group was heavily dependent on their home economics officer to stimulate and organize them; they stated categorically they need an outsider to organize them. The older members play a wait-and-see role, as they know that the youth will not readily accept their leadership, but are equally unprepared to exercise it themselves. Most had positive feelings about the kitchen vegetable gardens, but saw problems in exchanging vegetables for chicken backs (common for stewing flavour and protein) or marketing increased production. Most lacked self-confidence and were desperate for work and money so that they could lead more independent lives. They appear to be isolated from the main project, although this is compensated for by a developing sense of group identity.

The returns on investment of this low-cost effort are far greater than the project overall, which spent ten times as much on each participant as this component. Moreover, the quality and commitment of staff appears to have influenced other project components.

## *FINDINGS: AREAS IDENTIFIED BY PROJECT AREA RESIDENTS AND IRDP-II STAFF FOR IMPROVEMENT*

### *Project Area Residents' Views*

Respondents were also asked for their suggestions about ways to improve the project. For the home economics component, women saw the following needs, in this priority: training centre, equipment, greater variety of seeds, and markets.

On the question of how respondents would set up a project, men spoke of helping farmers to plant more, whereas women saw the need for more loans to buy lands, crops and manure, for better marketing, for a community centre, and for factories to be built to deal with unemployment. One woman in the case history interview said that "the project helped with the terracing, but not with the children". Her big son got work with the project, but the smaller children got nothing. She felt that there are no community leaders. To paraphrase, if you want a house, you have to go to the MP, and he is likely to insult you.

Overall, the vast majority of all respondents (96%) felt that the project helped the community. Those few that felt otherwise saw it creating more political divisions. These responses were from October 1982, a marked contrast to the angry mood of some participants in mid-March 1983, after the project closed.

High expectations had been created in the minds of project participants during the project, but the abrupt end of the project caused anger and a guardedness about trusting new 'promises'. Farmers felt that they were treated badly, as they said they were given no notice of closure. They complain bitterly of unkept political promises to the farming community. Some say the project was never designed to benefit the farmers, but to provide jobs for Jamaica School of Agriculture graduates. Had information about closure been known, a pertinent evaluation question would have been: "What would the community members do if another such project were to come to their community?"

### *STAFF VIEWS*

Eight past and present staff members were interviewed regarding their views of project operations. The following information is based on those interviews. Overall administration of the IRDP was complex, given the size of the population and the unwieldy area, but management relied on a dedicated core staff who lived in the area. Beyond that core staff, however, personal problems abounded. Young staff were unprepared to manage the new power, vehicles, and status thrust upon them, just out of school. Some of the female staff experienced harassment. Temporary workers were aggressive and over-confident, due to the political selections made; this lowered overall staff morale. Over the course of IRDP-II, extension services improved for area farmers, but young staff had difficulty relating to older farmers, and staff turnover was constant, meaning that training could not keep pace with needs.

Despite the main vehicles and various services, the system for allocating transport and seed distribution services was disorganized. Although tractors were available, only farmers with power and influence had access to them.

The achievements and shortcomings of project components were also relayed to staff interviews. While soil conservation efforts improved farming technology, curtailed soil loss from flooding, and improved aesthetics of the countryside, staff felt farmers had distorted views of its philosophy and used it primarily to get the generous subsidy in the short run. Afforestation brought long-term benefits in food, fruits and lumber to the area, but due to inefficient marketing strategies, there was agricultural waste, especially in food and fruits.

Despite the fact that credit amounts and terms of repayment were flexible and interest low, there was an extremely high rate of delinquent borrowers. Farmers felt they could not repay without guaranteed markets. Credit was supplied in goods and materials rather than cash, an arrangement farmers did not like because it reduced their flexibility. An extension of the personnel problem was reflected in farmers' mistrust of young staff to handle their loan applications.

The day labour employment, with its higher rate of pay than normally available, resulted in competition between two needy groups — local male youth and women, though women were perceived to have benefited most. Jobs were allocated on political grounds, and this favouritism caused some deterioration in community relations. The two-week rotation system did not allow for skills to be acquired or for permanent assignments.

From the project's engineering component, some roads substantially improved, but many others still had potholes. Feeder and subsidiary roads are still rough and rugged. Here again, political favouritism determined which areas would benefit. Electrification was installed along most major roads, but farmers were unable to afford the cost of bringing electric service into their homes. Also, staff were unable to give needed supervision in construction.

As stated earlier, marketing was a belated addition, but one greatly needed in the project. The component depended heavily on costly foreign consultants who provided information to farmers through Development Committees. Only near the project's end was a storage facility being considered.

The farmers' organizations provided a vehicle for farmers to express grievances and exercise leadership, but channels to take farmers' needs into the administrative system were limited. Moreover, organizations were not used to reinforce the educational process of other project components. Though represented, women had an unsupported and hence minimal role in decision-making in these organizations.

The Home Economics/Women in Development component had many positive features. First, farmers were afforded the intensity of extension contact of thirty home economics officers and field assistants. Women acquired practical and business-related skills. Nutrition improved in target families, and family income was conserved through vegetable production at home. The component was also cost-effective, with low investment costs and demonstrable returns. Despite these achievements, this component also had shortcomings. The component was an 'after-thought' and not thoroughly integrated with Ministry of Agriculture goals or those of other project components. Still, the women extension officers were members of the soil conservation/agricultural extension subwatershed teams. While introduced to some business skills, women were

not sufficiently prepared to manage their own group and were heavily dependent on their home economics officer. The component was not always taken seriously by overall project management; the coordinator post was eliminated well before the project closed, and the component was never funded with adequate resources to provide, for example tools.

## CONCLUSION

The impact of the IRDP-II project on the rural households can be assessed against the overall levels and quality of involvement which were made possible, the increasing consciousness and awareness in the minds of the participants, the kind of participants who made use of the different components of the project, and actual long-lasting gains to the communities.

Involvement of the entire community in the project preparation phase was low, and the concept of community participation was not seriously considered until after the project began. As is traditional in top-level bilateral project arrangements, government planners are allowed little input into the design, structuring, timing, cost scheduling, or monitoring of the project. They served in an advisory capacity, and received monthly information on the gross output, but not on the quality of the process, where all the problems eventually surfaced. The government planners do not see themselves as part of a technical decision-making network.

The IRDP-II project implanted a complex process on the people's lives, which did not build on, or treat seriously, their original life traditions. In this way, the communities were given few choices. They had to 'buy into' the soil conservation programme, the credit system, the increased political manipulation, and the new forms of farmers' organizations. The farmers helped to shape none of these systems, and so could defend none fully. The problem was not simply top-down planning, but a failure to communicate the planned design to farmers for feedback. More divisions were created between those who bought into the services and those who did not. The replacement in importance of the JAS with the Development Committees had a qualitative impact on the very community unity which the project was hoped to address.

With the credit system, although many mistrusted it or resented it, many used the service, and then they felt pained by the experience when they could not repay their loans, due to poor markets. Ninety per cent of loans were now in delinquency. So the very problems which the project set out to address including low access of farmers to services, the disjointed marketing system, weak organizational membership, and lack of cooperation among farmers remain at best unresolved or qualitatively worsened.

The technological and structural approaches used, because they were imported (from urban centres within the country, as well as from the US) were superimposed, rather than integrated within the traditional community process of technological and structural growth. There was a heavy reliance in the project design on a costly soils conservation technology, and on other discrete capital inputs. Materialist values, now taken hold of youth, were reinforced by an ostentatious project structure. Moreover, individualism and immediate material gratification were emphasized, contrary to rural communities accustomed to long-term sacrifice, spiritual beliefs in rewards coming later, and communal sharing of resources. Competition increased between those who received project favours and those who did not.

The project never truly addressed a valid integrated approach to development. There was no coordinated human development or education component, which would inter-relate the impact of the different services on people's lives, and the cultural contradictions which would emerge. The approach used unwittingly fostered a focus on monetary gains and competition for resources, rather than on permanent change or community cohesiveness.

Traditionally, many farmers return to their old habits after a project like this ends. Not only is technological change not equivalent to behavioural change, it is dependent on behavioural change for its success.

The Home Economics programme has been able to offer appropriate skills which can be naturally incorporated into people's lives. It also attracted a mix of age groups and status groups to its programme of activities. A more broadly defined component would have developed a means by which the women could contribute fully to the nation's productive base, to the secondary processing of food which goes to waste in their area, and therefore, to the critical question of Jamaica's trade imbalance.

Yet, the relationship building which occurred across different status levels among the women, as well as the transfer of skills, remain the most solid base on which a natural sequence of a development strategy can be built. However, this strategy must now move beyond mere skill acquisition to entrepreneurial development. This strategy can also build on the positive consciousness and self-identity, expressed by the women in these communities.

It is difficult to predict the permanence of the gains made during the project process. These suggest that it slowed temporarily the high rates of out-migration which have been a destabilizing influence on rural family life. The project has reduced heavy soil loss, but whether this gain is permanent remains to be seen since little genuine education helped farmers internalize the need and philosophy behind conservation, and farmers' change was heavily dependent on financial incentives. The afforestation programme remains as the most significant index of permanent and positive change.

Many project participants feel acutely cheated by a process which trapped them into short-term benefits, e.g. credit, while their family needs, which have actually intensified over the years, still go unmet. The project spanned two political administrations in Jamaica which, to the extent they are ideologically opposed, gave contradictory and confusing messages to farmers. Some projects benefits, rather than being allocated on the basis of merit or need, were thoroughly partisan in their distribution. Of course, the current political administration must live with the external decision not to extend the

project, the sponsorship for which was always confused in farmers' minds. As well, the Jamaican people will be repaying the cost of the temporary US contribution, put up primarily in soft money loans.

Even in Home Economics without a continued programme to keep the women together in a business management relationship, the gains made can remain home-based and therefore at an ad-hoc level. Home Economics, however, does not compensate for the other valuable services that women have less access to than men. Women's limited access to basic information reduced them to powerless and passive positions in decision-making.

In the area of agricultural infrastructure, much of the maintenance of the inputs depends on the support from the Ministry of Agriculture and their relationship with the farming community. The abrupt closure of the project, without community consultation, offers no prospect for redesign.

## ANNEX

### REFLECTIONS ON THE TEAM RESEARCH PROCESS

Affette McCaw

The Jamaican research was initiated by the National Planning Agency's (NPA's) Desk Officer for Community Development and Women's Affairs. The process selected involved the establishment of a three-tiered team:

1. Research Team (5 persons)
2. Consultative Group (7 persons)
3. Specialist Group (4 persons)

The *Specialist Group* was composed of persons with training and experience in Social and Regional Development, drawn from the University of the West Indies, and the National Planning Agency.

The *Consultative Group* comprised mostly technical officers in the NPA from a wide range of social disciplines, along with representatives of related government organizations.

The *Research Team* consisted of the Research consultant, IRDP-II project officers, Ministry of Agriculture representatives, and the NPA Coordinator.

In reality, the Research team, and in particular the Research Consultant, bore the brunt of the workload. Questionnaire development, field collection of data, data coding and analysis, report preparation and amendments, were solely her responsibility to either do directly supervise or sub-contract.

Most of the actual work of the Consultative group took place during the start-up phase. This involved selection of an appropriate research consultant, selection of the rural project to be evaluated, making inputs into the content of the questionnaire and the scope of the assignment. A core of the consultative group assisted in the planning of the National Workshop and participated in the examination of the findings along with project participants and others at that Workshop.

The Specialist group was most active as resource persons. They were called on to prepare background papers, useful in filling information gaps, and orienting the research process.

Present at the National Workshop was a wide cross-section of disciplines in the Social Sciences, Agriculture, Human and Community Development, and Planning. Four participants from the IRDP-II project were also there, as well as representatives from the three-tiered Research team.

A questionnaire was administered to elicit their opinion of the team approach to evaluative research. In particular, they were asked to identify problems experienced working in a group process, and the usefulness of this methodology.

The problem identified most frequently by the Workshop group was that of time, particularly the extra time needed in a team approach to arrive at a group consensus. However, the group felt that this team approach was usually useful, informative and provided an opportunity for exchange of ideas and analysis. It was also recognised that the process of team building, where an identified leader was absent or weak, could sometimes result in competition among members for power and authority.

In summary, the group did feel that the positive aspects of the team approach far outweighed the negative. The majority felt that the team process maximized on multi-disciplinary inputs, thus ensuring a more objective and thorough analysis. The process provided a forum to facilitate greater understanding, exchange of ideas, and an opportunity for both working and learning.

## (ii) THE BLACK BAY VEGETABLE SCHEME OF ST. LUCIA: A REVIEW OF PARTICIPANTS' EXPERIENCES.

Beryl Carasco

### PREFACE

This assessment of the Black Bay Vegetable Farm Project in St. Lucia has not been undertaken in isolation, neither was the choice of Project a random one.

The current evaluation forms part of a wider assessment of projects within other countries of the English speaking Caribbean (viz: Jamaica and Dominica), as well as within Latin America.

The rationale for such an evaluation is born out of the recognition that 'many rural programmes directed at women (or in which women participate) have sought to provide welfare services such as health or family planning, while ignoring women's productive roles and needs'. Indeed, in the instances where income-generating projects for women have been initiated within the context of rural development programmes, 'those projects are experimental and rarely receive adequate institutional support'.<sup>1</sup> Since women carry roles and responsibilities which are crucial to family survival, it is important that their contributions as well as privations – within the context of development schemes in which they participate directly – be measured, in order that the inherent problems of low-income rural women and the families which they support can be brought to the attention of policy makers and planners.<sup>2</sup>

The Black Bay scheme was selected for review not only because it met the criteria for study outlined in the evaluation proposal, but because out of a small range of possible schemes, it has been in operation for several years, as opposed to other comparatively newly started schemes. Crucial to the selection of the Black Bay scheme is the fact that it was initiated as a pilot scheme, to be replicated in other areas in the island. The implications and experiences of this scheme are therefore of significance to both on-going and future national development projects.

## PART I

### METHODOLOGY

The methodology employed for acquiring information about the project, as well as for reviewing and analyzing the information, has included both formal and non-formal techniques of research and evaluation; and has also involved a participatory process.

The techniques for information-gathering have ranged from individual and group oral interviews and discussion, to written questionnaires, case profiles, national and regional research meetings, workshops, professional document appraisals, reviews of existing documentation, observation, and correspondence.

The major issues studied through the evaluation focussed on:--

- (1) The pre-project versus post-project situation of farm families;
- (2) The nature and extent of farm family involvement in the pre-planning stage of the project;
- (3) Project successes and failures and the favourable or adverse effects of these on farm families; and
- (4) The impact of the project – both in terms of the economic and social – on farm families.

Also central to the assessment were the issues of the role of women and children within the project; the division of labour among family members; the economic and legal status of women; the participation patterns of women within the community organizations; the level of women's participation in project activities versus women's economic status; the family relationships consequent on participation in the project.

The target groups for the study included three levels. The main target groups were those of farmers, farm assistants, and a sampling of adult females from all twelve households linked to the project. An off-project sampling of respondents from forty households within a specified radius of the project site, comprised a secondary target group; while the tertiary group involved Project Management, Marketing and Project Development personnel.

The entire research and evaluation exercise was conducted by a team of evaluators, drawn from a cross-section of disciplines, and the Government departments of Community Development, Planning and Education. This inter-sectoral approach to project evaluation afforded a more accurate, objective and profound insight into the Black Bay Project's impact. Team members were able to build on each other's skills, expertise and experience. This also alleviated the onus of responsibility and work being placed on the shoulders of one person.

The research process which was developed involved the Research Team in frequent dialogue with the Black Bay Project officials at the Ministry of Agriculture. Several field trips were made to the project site to acquaint farmers and others with objectives of the evaluation; and also to cultivate relationships with them so that the quality of the information

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1. 'The Impact of Rural Development Schemes on Low-Income Households and the Role of Women – An unsolicited Proposal to the Latin America Bureau/The USAID', 1981, page 2.

2. Ibid, page 1.

received would be enhanced. Other activities comprised familiarization tours through the neighbouring communities and farms, including meetings with farm families.

Various documents pertaining to the project were examined including past evaluations by the Ministry of Agriculture and CARDATS. Also coming in for scrutiny were the farmers' individual accounts, which are operated by farmers and Project Management alike. Throughout the entire process, the Research Team had access to a support team comprising past and present officials of the Ministry of Agriculture and other officials, some of whom had been involved in the design and implementation of the Black Bay Project.

Phase I terminated with the preparation by the Research Team of a preliminary report for discussion with other participating member countries at a regional workshop held in St. Lucia. The purpose of this workshop was to facilitate Phase II of the evaluation, and so help to crystalize the appropriate approaches to questionnaire development.

In the next phase, questionnaires were developed for the collection of data about farmers and farm families. For this purpose, two Research Assistants, both of whom are teachers from two communities in the vicinity of the project, were recruited and briefed prior to the commencement of their mission. They were also introduced to the Project Management Team, farmers, and their families, so as to facilitate the development of friendly relations between them.

This approach was warranted, particularly in view of the personal nature of some of the information which had to be obtained.

While the Research Assistants were collecting data, the Research Team was conducting interviews with overseeing government officials as well as with officials from the various organizations through which the Project's produce is marketed.

The data which was collected about the Black Bay Project from farmers, farm families, Project Management Team, support team and marketing organizations was collated and a preliminary analysis undertaken for presentation and discussion at a national workshop. The comments and recommendations of the workshop participants were taken into account in the formulation of a report presented at the final regional workshop, and out of which this case study has been drafted.

The process has opened up communication at local, regional and extra-regional levels. It has ensured the participation of Government departments, NGOs, project participants and management, non-project persons from the vicinity of the Project other researchers, agencies involved in establishing development projects and a wide variety of resource persons and institutions. (APPENDIX I & II)

The main features of the process have also centered on awareness-building, sensitization, and (where possible) problem-solving. The important skills related to research and evaluation have been enhanced, not only for the Research Team, but also for the research assistants from within the project area. Above all, the inter-disciplinary team approach which characterised the evaluation exercise, has contributed in large measure to broadening and refining the perspectives on the project evaluation.

## PART II

### OVERVIEW OF THE BLACK BAY VEGETABLE FARM PROJECT

#### I. Description of the Site

The Black Bay Vegetable Farm Project comprises approximately 32 acres of mainly flat land, located near the southern town of Vieux Fort. The Project lands lie on both sides of the Black Bay River. The lands nearer to the river course consist of easy draining alluvium, and have been under vegetable, root crops and bananas; while the area further from the river is more clayey and poorly drained.<sup>3</sup>

The area tends to be dry throughout most of the year, but is prone to flooding each year during the rainy season. Conversely, the land becomes hard and difficult to prepare during the dry season. Two types of soil are found in the area. One is in the nature of a dark brown clay loam, and the other is a dark greyish-brown clay, which is not as fertile as the first type.

One portion of the site is in close proximity to the main road, and a raised ridge is located on the north east part of the site. Within a one to six mile radius of the project site are the three communities of Augier, Laborie and Vieux Fort.

#### II Pre-Project History/Origin of Project

Up to 1973 -- before the Project was conceived -- thirty-three families had been either renting or squatting on the lands, which were state-owned. These families farmed on plots varying in size from half an acre to three acres. The major crops produced were sweet potatoes, bananas and greens. Some of the farmers were productive, while several were otherwise employed, and spent very little time on the land. Many simply tethered animals in the area.

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3 'Black Bay Cooperative Vegetable Project Proposal and Tenancy Agreement', Ministry of Agriculture, St. Lucia (undated).

The Project was conceived in the early 1970s by the British Development Division (BDD) and the St. Lucia Ministry of Agriculture.<sup>4</sup> Once the site was selected, the lands were leased from the National Development Corporation and farmers were given a year's notice, following which the land was levelled. Many farmers did not heed the notice, and went ahead and planted new crops which were destroyed, and for which they were not compensated.

### III Objectives/Expected Outputs

The rationale behind the scheme was that small farmers, given access to management and credit facilities, produce more than if left on their own. The overall intention was to 'initiate an irrigated vegetable production scheme for small farmers in which inputs and services were provided to the participants while their produce was sold and receipts handed over after deductions were made for the inputs and services provided on credit'.<sup>5</sup> It was intended to move participants from subsistence to commercial farming for both the domestic and export markets.

The project was established as a pilot, with the stated objectives as follows:--

- (1) To use fully an area of flat fertile land to grow food crops and vegetables;
- (2) To produce selected vegetables, particularly during low supply periods, with the help of irrigation;
- (3) To test an approach to economic food crop production by which small farmers are provided with land and inputs except labour. The management element for organizing, planning and control will be provided by the extension service;
- (4) To demonstrate the benefits of integration of production and marketing and especially the aspects of forward contracting arrangements;
- (5) To encourage producers to form a cooperative;
- (6) To collect farm activity data for future planning of production of vegetable and food crops.

### IV Selection of Participants

Eleven farmers were eventually selected -- one of whom was a female. Among other criteria, persons were to be selected according to age, number of dependents, family income, farming experience, and other occupations engaged in.<sup>6</sup> They were requested to provide this information by filling out a form. Only eleven farmers were to be entrenched, since it was argued that if the plots were more evenly distributed, and approximately two and a half acres were allotted per farmer, interest, productivity and income per family would increase. However since less than eleven farmers met the required criteria, there were made more flexible and the requisite number was reached. The eleven farmers were allowed to remain on the plot which they had previously occupied, and each plot was simply extended.

### V Project Content and Operations -- 1974 to 1977

The scheme was hurriedly implemented in 1974 and had collapsed by 1977. Support services included credit facilities, management and technical assistance; as well as a project building, machinery and equipment, irrigation facilities, fertilizers, pesticides, weedicides, and marketing arrangements. An initial grant totalling EC\$133,840 was made available, followed by a loan of EC\$25,000. However, the project ran into difficulty from the first year of operation, when inadequate irrigation systems, poor germination of seeds, diseases, pests, floods and, to a lesser extent, management deficiencies, heightened skepticism on the part of farmers.

In 1974, project expenditure amounted to about EC\$36,000, while revenue from sales totalled EC\$20,000. In 1975 and 1976, some farmers made small profits; but these fell far short of compensation for the losses incurred in 1974. In fact, only one farmer made gains throughout the first three project years, while four farmers consistently registered losses in all three years (Appendix III).

After June 1977, the project continued under new management; but this service was short-lived. Simultaneously with the manager's departure, land preparation activities were delayed due to the waterlogged condition of the soil in the aftermath of heavy rains. The loss to farmers was considerable, particularly since they received no compensation, as the project was not insured. Then farmers were informed that they were to purchase their own materials, although tractor services remained available to them. From that point onwards, farmers resorted to grazing cattle on the land, and virtually ceased planting vegetables.

A grant and loan from CADEC, totalling EC\$5,000 failed to rescue the project, whose problems were now compounded by an extended drought which hindered the flowering of tomatoes and sweet peppers. The resulting low production, coupled with frequent breakdown of equipment, unauthorized harvesting, praedial larceny, improper transport facilities,

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4. CARDATS Evaluation Report, Hoekstra & Clery, page. 2.

5. Ibid.

6 Specific information regarding cut-off points which determined farmer eligibility were not immediately available for scrutiny.

and the inability of the St. Lucia Marketing Board (SLMB) to absorb produce and remunerate on a weekly basis, were major set-backs which led to the demise of the project by 1977.

## VI *Project Operations – Developments since 1978*

Measures suggested to the Ministry of Agriculture to restructure the Project included the following:—

- (1) That the total number of farmers must be reduced to about five;
- (2) That the acreage per farmer be increased from two and a half acres to five acres;
- (3) That the five farmers be carefully selected from the present eleven;
- (4) That the individual bank loan from Barclays Bank be made the tenants' own responsibility.

These recommendations were reportedly never acted upon.

In 1978 the Caribbean Agricultural and Rural Development Advisory and Training Services (CARDATS) reviewed and restructured the project. During the period 1978 to 1981, cropping intensity increased by 80%, and the acreage production value increased from ECS\$4,744 to ECS\$8,007. Returns to family labour per farm were estimated at EC\$5,000 over the three years. Between 1977 and 1981 approximately ECS\$390,000 was invested in the Project (Appendix IV) while revenue from produce accounted for an estimated ECS\$227,000 in the same period.

Nevertheless, to date (1982), aspects of marketing, pump operations, tractor services, and credit facilities continue to be cited by farmers as problematic; and therefore adversely affecting crop output and family income. The SLMB in particular continues to default in purchasing project produce as contractually agreed. Even when it does purchase, the price is usually below the agreed figure, and payments are delayed for several weeks. The irrigation pump is regularly out of order; and when it is functioning the water pressure is low, so that farmers at the far end of the project site often do not receive water at crucial times. Tractor services are reportedly irregular and incomplete due to improper maintenance of the tractor.

When CARDATS took over the project in 1978, the practice by management of extending credit to farmers was discontinued. Farmers were made to either pay cash or use a bank loan to pay for the services and inputs supplied by management. The farmers would sign a monthly transfer form, authorizing management to credit the Project account. Farmers were therefore expected to monitor their own affairs, including those of loan repayments and payments to hired helpers.

However, half of the farmers are still not familiar with loans granted and deductions made from their accounts. Most are unaware of their loan balance and of payments made on their behalf.

## VII *Agencies Involved*

In the case of the Black Bay Project, the main local agencies which have influenced the project are the Ministry of Agriculture, the National Development Corporation, and the Agricultural Development Bank which provided the technical services, the land, and the credit respectively to the project. The external agencies include the British Development Division (funding assistance), UWI (training), CARDATS (funding and technical assistance), and UNDP/FAO (technical assistance).

## VIII *Profile of the Participating Families*

### (a) *Sex*

Women form fifty per cent of the farm families participating in the project, although ten of the farmers on scheme are male and only one is female; and the ratio of male children to female children involved in farm work is 3:1.

### (b) *Age*

There is a marked similarity in the mean age among males and females in the farm families — that of the male being 41.5 years, and the female 40 years. Age appears to have a direct bearing on production levels and earned income, with farmers under the age of 40 being more productive and thus earning higher incomes than those over the cut-off point of 40 years.

### (c) *Ethnic Groupings*

Thirty-one per cent of farm family members in the project are of East Indian origin; while forty per cent are of African descent. Twenty-nine per cent are of mixed race — an indication of the extent to which the ethnic groups have mixed in the area.

### (d) *Marital Status*

Two-thirds of the client population are involved in what can be termed stable unions — either married or common law. One-third of the sample is either single, widowed or separated.

### (e) *Household/Type/Family Structure*

Half of the farm families can be classified as nuclear families; one quarter as extended ones; and a further quarter as

single-parent families. Among Black Bay farm families the average number of persons per household is seven, and close ties exist among farm families in the Project.

Over ninety per cent of the farm households are perceived by families as being headed by men, although in eighty per cent of cases the male farmers and their partners are jointly responsible for decision-making and household financing. The male partner of the female farmer is recognised by both as head of their household.

*(f) Education/Literacy*

The majority of adults from farm families participating in the Black Bay Project have only attained primary education. This is more true among the men than among the women, who tend to be less literate, and less able to read and write. However, among the younger generation, the majority of both boys and girls have reached primary and, in some cases, secondary school level.

*(g) Occupation/Economic Activity*

Very few families make their living solely from farming on the Project, as it does not generate enough income to support them. Farming is therefore the principal occupation among the men, the vast majority of whom work outside of the home. However, farmers have had to seek other employment (mainly at night) in order to supplement income from agricultural farming. Others have had also to depend on the sale of livestock, or products from livestock.

The majority of the farm family women do not work on a full-time basis outside of the home. Their economic activities are mainly restricted to the performance of domestic chores for those on the project, while home gardening and huckstering are irregular work from which a small amount of money is earned.

*(h) Ownership of Property/Land Holding*

Ten of the farm families - including that of the female farmer - own at least one house. Insofar as can be ascertained, the farm families do not have legal title to the land on which they farm - although the general expectation among the families is that the land will be inherited by them.

*(i) House Location/Settlement and Migration Patterns*

Only one family has been relocated on the Project site. The remaining families live anything from a quarter of a mile to six miles away, in the communities of Augier, Laborie and Black Bay. Nonetheless, the majority of family members and farmers access the project on foot. Forty per cent of the families have migrated from elsewhere to their present location. Project families who have re-settled in the area have done so from six to twenty-five years prior to 1982.

### PART III

#### *FINDINGS REGARDING PROJECT IMPACT*

##### Introduction

In collating and analysing the considerable wealth of information which has been generated during the interviews and field work, it became evident that, although the data had been initially solicited along the lines of the issues referred to in PART I, certain clusters of major issues were surfacing. These clusters were naturally indicative of factors which either diluted or enhanced the positive/negative impact which the Black Bay Vegetable Farm Project has ultimately had on the lives of the families which participated in the scheme.

These issues include:

- (1) the state of readiness of the project;
- (2) the extent of alienation versus inclusion of women and children in the project;
- (3) social mobility for farm families;
- (4) economic mobility for farm families;
- (5) the impact on the status of women.

##### *I. State of Readiness of Project*

It is abundantly clear that when the Black Bay Vegetable Farm Project was implemented in 1974, inadequate preparations had been made at extremely crucial levels. This observation is supported not only by the omissions within the project proposal itself, but also by the recollections of farmers, their families, project planners and implementers, and associated agencies.

The set-backs and eventual failure in 1977 of the Black Bay scheme found their origin, therefore, in both the conceptualization and premature implementation of the project, as well as in the ad hoc micro-planning of food production and marketing that characterized this project from its very beginning.

*(a) Marketing Structures*

In assessing the self-sustaining capacity of the Black Bay Project, the major focus must be placed on the marketing institution as a case in point. The desired integration of production and marketing, although sound and cost-effective in principle, depended very much on: (1) the ability to honour forward contracting arrangements made between the project management and its principal buyer – the St. Lucia Marketing Board; and (2) the capacity of the SLMB to absorb project products.

The SLMB by its own admission, has never enjoyed the kind of capital and support it requires. Its storage facilities, as well as consumer outlets, are reputedly insufficient. The SLMB is cognizant of import substitution on tomatoes, sweet peppers, cabbages, carrots and onions – all of which are grown on the Project. The possibility therefore of gluts on the local market has always been very real.

Further, from the outset, no special or protective arrangements were made between the SLMB and the Project. In fact, project farmers are offered similar prices as non-project farmers while SLMB management discloses that no formal contracting arrangements has ever been made between the two agencies, but rather, an informal, implied commitment to purchase is all there is. In fact, only fifty percent of project produce was absorbed by the SLMB in 1981 (Appendix V).

The fact that such problems were either not envisaged or dealt with in the preparatory stages, seriously questions the adequacy and effectiveness of project planning; and is undoubtedly directly responsible for current project problems related to (1) SLMB non-acceptance of certain quality produce, (2) disputes over fair prices, and (3) delays in payments to farmers, which adversely affect family survival.

*(b) Single Sector Focus of Project*

The Black Bay Project was formulated as a sector-specific project – the sole component being an agricultural one. From pre-project information collected, the scheme was conceived and implemented by the Ministry of Agriculture – acting alone.

Although for example, one of the planned objectives of the scheme was 'to encourage producers to form a farming cooperative' there was no planned cooperative education programme to prepare the farmers and families for the eventuality of running the project themselves. Nowhere in the Project proposal/document or in the pre-planning phase, as reported, was emphasis placed on an educational or training component. Yet the farmers, who were largely illiterate, would be expected to keep farm records and do their own accounting, as well as read and understand the important instructions on labels on cans and bags of fertiliser, pesticides, weedicides, etc.

The need for inputs from other sectors, such as Education and the Cooperatives Department, was evidently overlooked at the inception and has a direct correlation with the fact that farmers are: (1) confused about their financial records and loans (2) have not been able to organize themselves into a cooperative; and (3) generally feel that although their knowledge of farming has increased, their general knowledge has not, and neither has their level of literacy improved.

Further, no human development component was integrated into this project, which focussed exclusively on increasing agricultural productivity, without providing the essential self-development that should accompany economic development.

*(c) Availability/Utilization of Technical Data*

Page two of the Project document indicates that 'except for those portions with a high water table (and naturally impeded drainage) the project area is unsuitable for the cultivation of most root crops and vegetables'. The same document states that 'there are two soil types in the area', one of which is 'very hard when dry and very sticky when wet' (page 1). The document also refers to the topography of the area as being 'generally flat' and 'approximately 25 feet above sea level'.

Yet the choice of a location prone to severe flooding in the wet season, with soil which is difficult to prepare in the dry season, and which is also affected by land crabs, leaves much to be desired concerning the adequacy of the information collected, and the extent to which it influenced site-selection, for example.

In effect, therefore, the data collected was either inappropriately used or was not sufficiently comprehensive to suggest the feasibility of the project at the time of implementation. Project literature identified does not include a feasibility study, its findings and recommendations.

The size of the individual farm parcels is approximately two and a half acres per farmer. In an unrelated study done to identify appropriate farm sizes for resettlement of farm families, discussion with farmers indicated that five acres 'is thought to be the necessary amount of land to sustain a full-time farm family'.

The question of satisfactory plot size was reinforced by several Black Bay farmers, who felt that the project needs to expand available land per farmer, since the current parcel sizes are thought to be insufficient to maintain an average family of seven, and production levels cannot be greatly increased due to limitations on acreage. The sufficiency of data collected is again therefore debatable.

*(d) Analysis of Participants Household Survival Strategy*

Another significant oversight was that of the unavailability of important basic information from and about the farmers and their families. Farmers were reportedly to be selected on the basis of information collected about their age, number of dependents, family income, farming experience and other occupations engaged in.

Yet ironically, the actual structure and size of farm households was under-estimated, and the project was inappropriately designed to sustain a family of four. Also, data concerning the advanced age of some of the farmers, and the age-spread and geographic-spread among their children is not commensurate with the expected high input of family labour for the farms. Neither is the number of part-time farmers selected consistent with the smooth transformation to a properly functioning cooperative, or with the optimum utilization of the land allotted.

There are also interesting variations in the farmers' family economic situation, which seem to suggest that not enough analysis was applied in the selection process, which appears to have been designed simply in an effort to reach the required number of eleven farmers and so bring the Project on stream.

*(e) Contact with Host Community*

The question arises then as to whether the farmers – who were perfectly aware of the shortcomings of the site, having themselves occupied the land for some time – were consulted on some matters related to project operation, as well as on their family and other needs.

According to just over eighty per cent of the farmers interviewed, they communicated to the Agricultural Supervisor and Extension Officer what their financial, farming and family situations and needs were, and the majority of them recall having made specific suggestions on how they thought the project should be run. The majority perceive that one of their ideas were incorporated into the project plan or actualization.

Farmers indicate receiving information however, on some aspects of the plan and proposed project operations; but they state that the information was hardly detailed, and focussed mainly on the marketing, financial and management aspects of the project whereas farmers would have preferred to know more about technical assistance, training and benefits to the family to be provided through the project.

Their involvement at all levels of planning would perhaps have: (1) identified certain weakness in the project; and (2) set the stage for the farmers to have taken control of the project, as intended, since they would be familiar and comfortable with it.

Similarly, no attention was paid to the very real problem of relocation of the rest of the original thirty-three families living and farming on the land. Although they were given a year's notice of their pending fate, there is still a residue of dissatisfaction at the manner in which their eviction was handled and their newly-planted crops levelled. Compensation was vaguely promised but never paid, and many of these farmer tenants were without employment and the means of family survival for varying lengths of time.

*(f) External/Political Expediency*

As previously stated, the Black Bay scheme was originally conceived of by the British Development Division, which provided the initial grant for the implementing Government agency, viz: The Ministry of Agriculture.

Reliable information indicates, however, that the project was 'rushed into action due to a political error', and therefore certain aspects of the project plan were never covered on account of this.

The issue of governmental and agency pressure on the implementation of a project of that nature for strategic reasons, is also an important factor in assessing the readiness of the Black Bay scheme for operation.

## *II Alienation/Inclusion of Women and Children*

The Black Bay Farm Project did not allow for the full contribution of the entire farm family – particularly women and children – in its design and conceptualization. Nevertheless, in the implementation of the project, women and children have inevitably become involved and affected. The underlying implication is, therefore, that since the farm family as a unit is necessarily affected, then the farm family as a unit should, of necessity, be properly integrated into all or some components of the project, so that all family members would not have borne the burden of responsibility and work, but would have had direct access to any benefits expected to accrue.

*(a) Role of Women in Project Design/Project Planning*

The criteria for selection in the project document, do not single out either women or children as a specific target group. The project plan merely refers to 'farmers' (which, in the St. Lucian context, generally implies male farmers). In fact, the large percentage of female-headed households in St. Lucia, the number of females with agricultural skills (90% of female spouses in the project area sample, for instance, had had previous farming experience), the fact that 60% of the male farmers selected already had other jobs, and the fact that unemployment among women is known to be higher than that of men, were not factors considered in the selection process or in the identification of expected project beneficiaries.

The objectives, as stated, do not allow for the potential participation of the women and children of the farm family. However, research has unearthed the unstated objectives as that of getting the entire farm families involved in planting, labour, use of machinery marketing, management and accounting, as well as ultimately making the farm families of the district self-sufficient in vegetables for consumption and sale. Yet ironically, women and children were even more removed

than the farmers from discussions concerning the proposed project from which they were vaguely supposed to benefit. All of the families indicated that their information concerning the project was received second-hand through farmers and that their opinions were sought on specific occasions through the same medium. They were never directly involved in the planning, and are unable to judge the extent to which their suggestions were considered.

Only the farmers -- who are predominantly male -- were expected to have enjoyed the benefits of the extension, mechanical and technical services, and marketing arrangements, the credit facilities, and the increased incomes, which were the major expected benefits outlined in the project document. The assumption can be made that the same would have applied to membership in the anticipated cooperative.

The only stated benefit expected to accrue to the farm family is implicit in the following:--

the tenant may be allowed to transfer his interest to an heir, subject to the following: that the tenant's intention was clearly stated at least twelve months prior to the date of such transfer, that the transferee worked full time on the holding of the tenant for a period of not less than six months, and that the transferee is acceptable to the (Project) Committee.<sup>8</sup>

*(b) Role of Women in project Implementation/Operations*

Half of the women respondents from farm family households are not active in any direct project-related activities. However, they perform related domestic tasks (cooking, laundry etc.) for those on the Project. The 'active' women on the project site reported spending between 1.5 to 6.5 hours per day (year round) on project related tasks such as planting, harvesting, watering, weeding, the care of livestock, and marketing of produce.

Likewise, in all families where there are children living at home (as in the case of six of the eleven families), children contribute some time to project tasks. This is done out of school time, for those who attend school. The most intense time of work is the harvesting season, when as many as 4.5 hours per day are contributed by children. Planting, weeding, and haulage of wood are less time-consuming -- three hours per day being typical of time spent performing these activities.

The Project has therefore involved women, and the children of the farmers, as well as non-project women (hired helpers), in economic activities and productive roles. Their input in terms of time and effort is reasonably significant, and has proved to be crucial to any project successes to date.

*(c) Project Exploitation/Benefits*

Despite their heavy labour inputs into the Project, women's areas of influence over decision-making and on-going shaping of the project are virtually negligible. The majority -- eighty per cent -- of women from farm families still do not make suggestions about the project directly to management. A few of the women indicated having been invited to attend project meetings. But very few of farm family women have actually attended, and these have gone either along with or deputized for a male farmer.

So that, although more than half of the project-active women expressed satisfaction with their labour input into the project, they simultaneously voiced the wish to be more involved in the decision-making process of a project which, they state, affects the welfare of their families

Another area of exclusion/exploitation relates to the fact that the women who assist at the project do so for minimal, often delayed, or no financial recompense. In the instances where wages are paid to women, these are generally below that of wages earned by their male counterparts in the agricultural sector, and certainly significantly below national minimum wage standards.

Conversely, although women's participation had not been planned for, and although the project has relied heavily on women's unpaid family labour, there have been some unintended benefits to women. For example, forty per cent of the women have received advice on their kitchen gardens, which are generally operated profitably on a commercial scale, and which are providing an additional source of family income.

### *III Social Mobility for Farm Families*

The Black Bay Project has impacted reasonably favourably on the social situation of participants.

*(a) Amenities/Utilities*

The social situation of the Black Bay Project farm families has generally improved with regard to household amenities and utilities acquired during the post-project as opposed to pre-project situation. In part, this improvement has been due to overall community improvements in public utilities.

However, by comparison with a random non-project sample (drawn from within a six-mile radius of the project site, and from communities in which project families reside), the Black Bay farm families' social standards -- in terms of acquired amenities and utilities -- are substantially above those of non-project families.

The table which follows presents comparative figures for the pre versus post-project situation for Black Bay farm families. It also indicates comparisons between project and non-project families:—

Items	% of Project families who currently own/have items detailed	% increase in ownership of items over that of pre-project situation	% of non-project families who currently own/have items detailed
Electricity	72.7	36.4	35
Pipe-borne water	63.6	18.2	55
Fridge	63.6	27.3	30
Stove	63.6	18.2	32.5
Telephone	9	Nil	2.5
Furniture	90.9	Nil	52.5
Vehicle	27.3	Nil	15
House	90.9	27.3	90
Radio	90.9	Nil	62.5
Television	9	9	10

*(b) Health/Nutrition Status*

All respondents from project families, except one, indicated that their families' diets had improved over the last five years on account of their connection with the project. In effect, families generally reported the consumption of more of a range of vegetables, ground provisions, meats, beans, cereals, milk and milk products — an indication of increased quantities of vitamins, minerals and protein — the last of which is a fairly common deficiency in the diet of many West Indian families.

Sixty per cent of respondents felt that income from the project had indirectly helped to alleviate family health problems, in the sense that it contributed to payment of medical/health services, and that excess reject food from the project could either be consumed by the family, or sold to purchase other desirable food items. (The nutritional value of these was not ascertained, since items were not specified.)

*(c) Education/Skills Training/Information*

None of the respondents felt that they had increased literacy skills as a direct result of participation in the project. (Although some farmers indicated that they can now recognize some information printed on can labels etc.) However, farm family members have learnt/improved upon the following skills due to involvement in the project: farming, marketing, food preparation, budgeting and mechanical; the female family members improving upon skills of marketing, food preparation and budgeting. The female among the farmers has not improved upon mechanical skills, unlike her male colleagues. Some of the women have received advice and agricultural information from management about their home gardens.

Just over half of the farmers considered that there was a reasonable possibility that their children might have been unable to attend school were it not for project-earned money to pay for the increased costs of uniforms materials and transport.

Other farmers in the area, and further afield, have benefited also from information and advice, because of their proximity, or on account of visits, to the project.

*(d) Family Relationships*

Fifty four per cent of respondents indicated that their involvement in the project has decreased the amount of time which families spend together. Twenty-seven per cent considered, however, that this time together has increased.

In terms of the quality of the family relationships, sixty-eight per cent felt that there has been no change one way or another due to participation in the project. The rest felt that the project had served to enhance the relationship with family due to the fact they they work together more regularly.

*IV Economic Mobility for Farm Families\**

*(a) Income/Economic Activity*

Farmers in the Black Bay Project have moved from the pre-project situation of being mainly subsistence farmers (46%), or selling items through the local street markets (54%), to the position of commercial farmers with at least 50% of their produce being marketed by the SLMB. This change is also replicated at the farm family household level, by means of the

\* Due to incompleteness of economic data, analysis is in part indicative of trends, and relies on estimates.

kitchen gardens being controlled and operated on a commercial scale by women (mainly) of the farm families. Indeed, the average yearly income from the sale of kitchen garden products by families operating these, has been estimated at EC\$13,720 (Appendix VI).

Farm families undoubtedly therefore have access to increased incomes while some very small savings are made on expenditure for food, on account of availability of food items from the project. In fact, incomes of almost three quarters of the farm families have generally increased over the last five years of association with the project. Between 1977 and 1981 for instance, returns to family labour were estimated at EC\$5,000 over the three years<sup>9</sup> – a substantial increase over that of their pre-project situation. Nevertheless, incomes are viewed by families in general as not being commensurate with increased living costs, and responsibility towards family dependents (Appendix 10).

In terms of earnings from the project for women, it was difficult to disaggregate this from overall family earnings, since this appeared to be absorbed within the general family income.

*(b) Household Credit/Savings*

Whereas in the pre-project situation, not one farm family had access to credit sources – 64% having not considered it, and the remaining 36% having tried unsuccessfully – all farmers currently have access to credit services through the project – for farming activities only, however. The female farmer uses these facilities to a lesser extent than the male ones.

However, although credit is not available (via the channel of the project), to other farm family members for non-project, private enterprises, on the strength of increased incomes and small savings coming out of the project, some of the farm families have been able to purchase household items 'on terms', thus enhancing their purchasing power. As far as family savings are concerned, families save 5% on average, of income earned through the project (Appendix VII).

*(c) Ownership of Property/Security of Land Tenure*

As already pointed out, 90% of families presently own a house – a 27% increase over that of the pre-project position. In one instance, ownership by one family of three houses has been directly attributed to earnings from the Project. The families however, do not have freehold of the land on which they farm, and security of tenure is not guaranteed, since any tenant can be suspended or expelled at the discretion of the Chief Agricultural Officer or his assignee, acting on 'the advice of the Committee and with the concurrence of the head of the Extension Service'.<sup>10</sup>

*V Impact on Status of Women*

Family participation in the project appears to have effected very little observable change in the status of women, both within the household and community settings.

In terms of their economic status, the women – despite extra earnings – still tend to be financially dependent on their male partners, who remain the major wage earners as before. However, only a small percentage of the women viewed the benefit of extra earnings (through participation in the project or through their own enterprises), as being negated by this continued dependency.

Rather, the majority placed the emphasis not so much on the need to be financially independent of the male, but on the responsibility and importance of contributing to family labour, and so cutting costs. Similarly, women saw their increased cash flow – which they stated is spent primarily in the purchasing of perishables for family consumption, and on household items – as an essential means of servicing the family and therefore enhancing the position of the women in the household.

The disparity in the wages paid to male and female hired workers and the lack of equal value given work – whether done by men or women – was of concern to many women.

Insofar as decision-making within the household is concerned, the men have been – and continue to be – perceived as household head. However, joint decision-making has traditionally been practised in most of the families, and was not cited by any of the women as a source of dissatisfaction, due mainly to the fact that they do not need to be designated 'head of household' to effectively participate in family-related decisions.

Generally the up-graded houses and furniture of the farm families, which have resulted from involvement in the Project, have increased women's work load and decreased slightly their leisure time. However, a quarter of the women point out that this loss of leisure time is compensated in their minds by the fact that the project has enabled them to acquire pipe-borne water, stoves and fridges in some instances, which are time- and labour-saving devices.

The women in the Project are not very involved in community affairs except insofar as they have religious overtones. They tend to leave the men to initiate and participate at that level.

From inquiries made, one women's organization and one development project which incorporates women in the area, were identified. Age appears to have a bearing on the level of female participation, since among the younger women of the farm families, traditional roles are changing, and several involve themselves in youth groups and school organizations.

The aspirations of the women, particularly with regard to their children have, by their own admission, soared far above those of pre-project days. These relate mainly to the hope and assurance of a sound – often nonfarming – education for

9. Hoekstra and Clery.

10. Project Proposal and Tenancy Agreement

their children. This seems to conflict with the desire of the men of the families to encourage the children to farm from an early age. The influence of the women has apparently prevailed, since the predominantly male farmers lament that the majority of their children have not remained in farming.

## PART IV

### A GUIDELINES AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The following guidelines and recommendations have implications at project, national and international levels. They have emerged at various stages of the entire process referred to in Part I. The recommendations reflect the views and suggestions of a cross-section of people and agencies, and are primarily meant to act as brief reinforcers of the comments, discussion and findings presented in the body of this study.

The guidelines and recommendations are generally either action or research oriented, and are not listed in order of priority, since priorities fluctuate, and change considerably at times.

#### Recommendations for Consideration at the National Level

##### *Planning and Evaluation Procedures*

1. Pre-project data should be collected as a mandatory benchmark for determining the feasibility and readiness of a proposed project, and for measuring its eventual impact. Pre-project data must include information about household survival strategies, differential roles of different family members, and feedback from prospective clients of the project as to its realism and desirability. Full use should be made of all technical materials available and these too should be reviewed with the proposed client population particularly for projects that rely upon behavioral change to achieve their goals.
2. No productive project should be planned that does not also provide critical literacy and numeracy skills to participants so that they might take management roles in the project. Project should seek a balance between anticipated quantitative (economic) gains and qualitative (social, legal) gains for participants and their families.
3. Mechanisms should be incorporated into all projects so that participants views are taken into account at all levels and in all phases of the project. It is important that participants are subjects and not objects of development programs.
4. Judgements of project feasibility should not be influenced by outside pressures
5. When planning a new project, pre- and post- project data on similar efforts should be reviewed. (In this regard, the Rouseau development scheme - see Appendix VIII - resembles the Black Bay Scheme and lessons learned at Black Bay can be applied in Rouseau).

##### *Planning in the Agricultural Sector*

6. The St. Lucia Marketing Board should be carefully evaluated in order to measure its capacity to support agricultural development schemes. Steps should be taken to improve its financial capability, facilities and services. It is essential that it fulfill its contracts with farmers.
7. Tenants on lands used for agricultural development should be granted permanent lease holds which guarantee inheritance of the lands by family heirs. This procedure will both increase productivity and serve as an incentive for the next generation to continue farming.
8. As women and children provide significant - usually unpaid - labour on agricultural schemes, their needs, capabilities, incentives and disincentives to produce should be taken into account in the design, implementation and evaluation of agricultural projects. It is advisable that their productive contributions to the development projects be adequately rewarded, and that similar wages be paid for similar tasks.

##### *Recommendations for Consideration by the Project*

1. A clear and rationalized policy regarding a marketing and sales outlet for the project should be established. The project manager should approach the management of potential buying institutions to secure all available markets for project produce. The marketing board should receive from the project a schedule of items available and reliable projections on quantities available.
2. Sorrel and passion fruit should be included as additional crops in the scheme. Overseas investors often express an interest in the utilization of these two commodities for agro-processing purposes and both are short-term crops which bear fruit within one year of planting.
3. Project farmers, farm hands and hired helpers should be covered by life insurance and hospital plans on a coinsurance basis.

4. Discrepancies between wages paid to women and children for similar tasks performed in the project should be remedied.
5. Farmers and farm families' literacy and numeracy skills should be improved. Special attention should be given to the high illiteracy among the older farm family members.
6. Farmers and farm families should be formed into a cooperative. Both their literacy, numeracy and management skill levels will need to be improved to make the cooperative function effectively. The cooperative should gradually take over management functions of the project and have an input into policy.
7. The project aims should be more widely publicized to gain community support for it; several persons living in the area had never heard of it or were barely familiar with it.
8. A continuous paid nightly watch should be established to protect exposed crops and decrease larceny. The irrigation system and tractor services should be improved; damaged equipment should be repaired.
9. The farmers from the Black Bay Scheme should be given the option to join the Vegetable Producers Association when and if it is set up.

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#### C. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

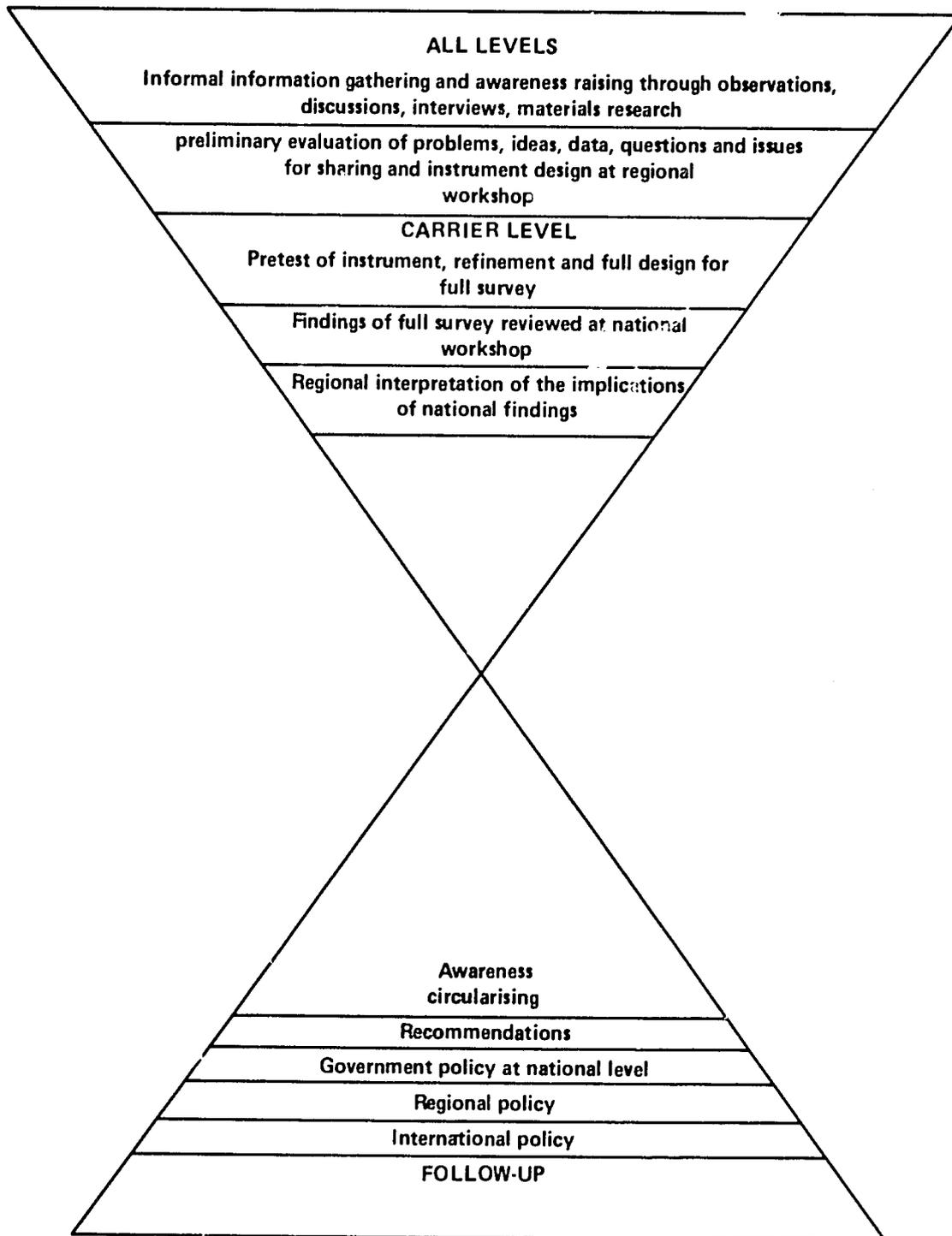
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**APPENDIX I**

**IMPLEMENTATION PROCESS**





APPENDIX III

BLACK BAY VEGETABLE PROJECT  
 Tenant Account (Revenue & Expenditure) 1974 – June 1977

YEAR		FARMER 1	FARMER 2	FARMER 3	FARMER 4	FARMER 5	FARMER 6	FARMER 7	FARMER 8	FARMER 9	FARMER 10	FARMER 11	TOTAL
1974	REV.	650.25	830.23	1,625.79	2,285.96	716.13	1,110.21	705.07	3,095.45	3,956.01	2,666.15	2,547.92	20,189.17
	EXP.	2,970.86	2,103.14	2,842.76	4,035.18	2,078.61	3,130.57	3,704.50	3,850.40	3,534.80	4,227.15	3,516.92	35,994.89
1975	REV.	1,713.90	1,785.83	857.68	3,234.82	2,266.45	4,755.27	1,777.60	5,623.91	4,174.21	4,507.54	4,050.16	34,747.37
	EXP.	2,446.35	2,642.37	2,405.94	2,872.05	3,146.42	2,753.24	2,566.41	2,924.02	3,035.64	3,424.11	3,108.65	31,325.20
1976	REV.	1,345.80	1,356.90	1,458.26	2,699.40	2,540.01	2,965.75	1,660.45	3,974.60	3,984.72	3,338.78	2,671.51	27,996.18
	EXP.	1,579.51	1,629.95	2,120.22	2,350.61	2,169.75	2,160.48	2,065.52	2,494.52	2,608.21	2,573.00	2,196.21	23,947.98
1977 Jan – June	REV.	792.67	379.85	238.65	285.55	1,721.75	1,124.98	1,065.80	2,272.95	2,322.40	625.85	1,097.07	11,927.52
	EXP.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

N B Quoted in ECS

**APPENDIX IV**

**RESOURCES THAT HAVE GONE INTO THE BLACK BAY PROJECT**

		<u>EC\$</u>
<b>BDD Grant</b>	<b>Tillage equipment</b>	
	<b>Irrigation equipment</b>	
	<b>Associated facilities</b>	
	<b>Drainage and contingencies</b>	<b>133,840</b>
<b>Government contribution</b>	<b>Project Manager</b>	
	<b>Project Technician (approx)</b>	<b>166,000</b>
<b>Agricultural Association Loan</b>	<b>Working Capital Loan</b>	<b>25,000</b>
<b>CARDATS</b>	<b>Parts for improvements &amp; repairs</b>	<b>6,939</b>
	<b>Two Disc ploughs</b>	<b>4,300</b>
	<b>Disc harrow</b>	<b>7,500</b>
<b>Agricultural &amp; Industrial Development (Aid) Bank</b>	<b>Loans to farmers</b>	<b>45,684</b>
	<b>Overdraft facilities to Management</b>	<b>7,000</b>
		<hr/> <b>390,263</b> <hr/>

**APPENDIX V**

**BLACK BAY PROJECT**

**FARMERS' AVERAGE YEARLY RETURNS**

	<u>EC\$</u>	
<b>Sales to SLMB</b>	<b>19,600</b>	<b>50%</b>
<b>Street market</b>	<b>7,800</b>	<b>20%</b>
<b>Own use</b>	<b>4,360</b>	<b>11%</b>
<b>Gifts</b>	<b>1,620</b>	<b>04%</b>
<b>Sale of spoilage</b>	<b>5,600</b>	<b>15%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>38,980</b>	<b>100%</b>

**APPENDIX VI**

**BLACK BAY PROJECT**

**YEARLY VALUE OF PRODUCE OF WOMEN'S KITCHEN GARDENS**

	<u>EC\$</u>
<b>Sales to SLMB</b>	<b>5,000</b>
<b>Street market</b>	<b>4,100</b>
<b>Own use</b>	<b>3,300</b>
<b>Gifts</b>	<b>620</b>
<b>Sale of spoilage</b>	<b>700</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>13,720</b>

APPENDIX VII

BLACK BAY PROJECT

AVERAGE YEARLY DISBURSEMENTS OF PROJECT INCOME  
BY PROJECT FAMILIES

	%
Saving	5
Loan	7
Hired hand	13
Food	55
Transport	4
Clothing	9
Electricity	4
School Expenditure	3

## APPENDIX VIII

### SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE BLACK BAY VEGETABLE PROJECT AND THE ROSEAU SETTLEMENT SCHEME

#### *Similarities*

Although these projects have different objectives, many aspects of structure etc are common to both.

- 1 Both obtain finance from international agencies.
- 2 Both are agricultural projects.
- 3 Both have similar criteria from selection such as ability and willingness to farm employees of Geest; literacy does not matter, etc.
- 4 Both are smallholders projects.
5. Both are managed by a management committee.
- 6 Both do not have dwelling on farm.
7. Both sets of farmers are provided with physical, technical and marketing facilities.
- 8 Both have similar accounting and administrative functions; viz: management receives payment for produce on behalf of farmers Individual farmer accounts are debited for cost of inputs, rental of land and loan repayments. The remainder is credited to the account of the individual farmer.
- 9 Both expect farmers to eventually do their own accounts.
- 10 Both initially pay farmers a wage until first crops are harvested.
- 11 Both provide loan financing to farmers.
12. Both provide transportation, farm machinery and irrigation services.
- 13 Neither one singles women out as a special target group.
14. No literacy/educational programme exists for farmholders in both schemes.

#### *Differences*

	Black Bay		Model Farms
1	Farmer has no rights to property	1.	Farmer has all rights to property except the right to pass on to heirs and successors.
2.	Initially farmers were given land and inputs and they did their own planting.	2.	Initially farmers are allotted farms just before the crops is nurtured.
3.	Concentrates on vegetables for mainly the local market.	3.	Concentrates on tree crops mainly for the export market.
4	The size of lots are between 2 – 3 acres each.	4.	The size of lots are between 5 – 15 acres each.
5.	Does not provide for housing facilities.	5.	Makes provision for housing in communities.
6	Is run by the Ministry of Agriculture.	6.	Is run by a Government Corporation with own Board of Directors.
7.	Aspires to turn into a Cooperative.	7.	No cooperative notions are considered.

George Jude  
Economic Planning Officer II

## ANNEX

### REFLECTIONS ON THE TEAM RESEARCH PROCESS

Martina Mathurin

These are my views on the 'Rural Households Project'. Initially, I hesitated to be associated with the project as it seemed like an added burden to my work-load. The comments which follow are a clear indication of a positive outlook when I eventually played an administrative role in the project.

The methodology used in the research project and the team approach helped me to realise my capabilities, and that I could make valuable contributions towards the implementation of the project. There was also a constant re-examination of another project I had written the proposal for, implemented and evaluated, to see how much of that methodology had been practised. What was most important at the time also was how the methodology could be used in future projects/programmes.

Much knowledge has been gained about the lives of rural men and women from this research project. This has further heightened my commitment to work with people for the betterment of their family, community and individuals themselves. In consideration of the financial resources needed to implement projects, research or otherwise, the time available for technical people to work with people at community level determines how well or poorly projects accomplish the task of development.

The process of sharing and finding of the research project has started. Two members of the Research Team attend meetings pertaining to the development of projects at a national level, and ascertain that information regarding women is available to the technical people. In turn, the Ministry of Community Development is approached for heightening community involvement in projects. Discussions at meetings also focus attention on women and support system necessary to promote their involvement in National Development.

With the realization that financial and skilled human resources are limited, the integrated or team approach to development and research is encouraged. It is difficult to get a commitment from personnel from varied disciplines to work as a unit, but once the support is obtained, results are maximized.

In conclusion, I wish to express my gratitude for the opportunity to be associated with the Research Project on Rural Households. Knowledge gained has implications for my work in coordinating Child Development Programmes and initiating programmes to benefit women and their families. It has also enhanced my personal development.

I look forward to –

- (a) Some follow-up to the research project with the Black Bay farmers;
- (b) Future involvement in a similar type of methodology in which people at community level and technocrats pool together for the development of people.

The conceptualization and implementation of this project was timely as it came at a time in the development of St Lucia when the various insitutional bodies are being consolidated within the context of national planning strategies to ensure the wholesome development of the State.

Such consolidation requires an integrated approach involving all sectors and by implication all disciplines. In this respect the research process was a leader in demonstrating the benefits of inter-disciplinary approach to research and planning. More explicitly, the involvement of an Administrator, a Social Scientist and an Economist in the research process removed the traditional bureaucratic administrative arrangement which is often a constraint to development, and allowed for the innovative process of comparing the social and economic aspects of the Black Bay Farm Vegetable Project. The desirability of this approach cannot be overstated as like all development projects, being an agent through which to create change the need to ensure a balance between the qualitative and quantitative gains is a fundamental aspect of national planning.

The participatory methodology employed in the Research Project and the influence which it had on the findings, revealed clearly the need to involve similar approaches in the planning of development projects. More significant was the involvement of an Economist in the Research Project. This allowed for a process of sensitization of the National Planning Machinery to impact upon the development thrust. Consequently, several projects, some on-going and others in the planning stage, are being examined with the view to incorporating in them the development potential of women in our society.

It is with interest that I note -- through an acquired sensitivity to women's development and my particular role within the National Planning Machinery -- a significant success in sensitizing a top level administrator towards the appointment of a woman in what had hitherto been a predominantly male field. Although this success should not be exaggerated I have the yet unconfirmed feeling that this initiative was also responsible for influencing the appointment of another woman within the same department, in a role traditionally performed by men

Within the same context of sensitization, it has not become possible to influence the process of selecting participants for the Roseau Model Farms. Whereas the selection criteria invites 'interested farmers' for participation, there has traditionally been a great disparity between the number of men and women applying for participation in agricultural projects. A similar situation exists for a Farmer Resettlement Project which is in the process of being developed. Several other projects which I am coordinating on behalf of the Central Planning Unit are now being reviewed to ensure the participation by women in more productive and administrative roles which will facilitate a shift from the traditional pattern of involvement of our women in the economic, social and cultural development of St. Lucia.

To further enhance the process of changing roles of our women, emphasis must be given to the development of appropriate machinery to influence the planning and implementation of new projects and wherever possible, on-going projects to ensure the inclusion in them of aspects related to the integration of women in the development thrust. In this respect such machinery must have access to the Planning Agency so that the development of new capital projects could be monitored with the view to ensuring that the 'women's issue' is reflected in them. Similarly, all developments of a recurrent nature must be closely monitored and impacted upon.

Finally my involvement in the Research Project brought home to me an awareness of the need for an intersectoral approach to planning. In this respect, I was able to employ that process in rationalizing the operating division of all Government ministries and departments, a task for which I was given full responsibility. It is hoped that this rationalization will facilitate the realization of greater community participation in identifying and planning for their own needs and thus a movement away from 'top-to-bottom' planning to 'bottom-up' planning.

*The Research Team:*

Noreen John  
Hyacinth Elwin  
Sylvia Charles  
Hannah Clarendon

## *PREFACE*

The Tans-G-Toc Cooperative was chosen for this evaluation exercise because of the multiple purposes that it serves. It was, and is the sole agency dealing with developmental problems in the northwestern tip of Dominica. It was hoped that the findings and recommendations of the evaluation would be useful for further guidance for the Cooperative, whose future is assumed and, at the same time, might insure more governmental support to this effort in key areas. In light of the goal, a research team was formed that included representatives from the Women's Bureau, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Cooperative Division and the Planning Agency. Further, this research team was supported by a consultative group which drew representatives from the Economic Development Unit, a private group called the Social League, the Community Development Agency, the Banana Growers Association and IFAD (farm credit programme) and included the founder of the Cooperative itself.

This evaluation exercise has served to break down Tans-G-Toc's isolation – in some key areas – from the governmental agencies that could help guide it. The people of the area and the cooperative leadership is to be congratulated for persevering in very difficult circumstances. We hope our findings will help change the course of the Cooperative and ensure its survival.

## *I PROFILE OF THE TANS-G-TOC AREA AND POPULATION*

The Tans-G-Toc Community comprises eight small villages about five kilometers apart dotting the foothills of the northwestern tip of Dominica.

In most areas, the lands between the sea and the forest are steep, allowing only for limited cultivation of crops on the sloping hillsides. In other areas with better terrain, large under-utilized estates predominate leaving marginal lands to farmers who must go into the forest to cultivate. Distances from the villages to the agricultural plots are, therefore, long and often through difficult terrain.

Coconuts, which are cultivated for the production of copra, feature mainly on the larger estates and holdings, while full production has largely been in the hands of small farmers. Small farmers predominate individual land holdings averaging between three and five acres. Prior to the setting up of the Tans-G-Toc Project, the area was largely cut off from the mainstream of national life. Although the nearest village to the town of Portsmouth is about nine kilometers away, the area remained isolated up until 1979 when motorable road replaced the original dirt road.

The economy of the area, at that time, revolved mainly around the cultivation of root crops for subsistence and for local trade by hucksters. Active fishing, too, contributed in making area residents fairly self-sufficient in food.

In former years, the area's links with central administrative units have been weak. Consequently, vital social and welfare services have been absent. Some of the villages are still without potable water supplies. Electricity is absent in the area, and a health clinic was only set up in recent years in the village of Clifton.

Migration to the neighbouring French Islands has increased steadily over the years as the general national economic picture shows little progress. Migrants have tended to be younger adults (ages 18 to 30). The population of the area has increased moderately from 1970 figures to 1,300 to 1,500 in 1980.

Employment opportunities in the area are scarce except for the seasonal public works programme in roads, maintenance and repairs. A few people are engaged as public servants. Off-farm employment has been largely limited to the construction industry and domestic service.

Most families are engaged in subsistence agriculture with incomes necessarily supplemented, sometimes by remittances from relatives abroad. Huckstering, the informal marketing of agricultural crops to neighbouring islands, has previously contributed much to the economic lives of the people of the area. However, in recent years this activity has declined in importance because of the introduction of various immigration measures and new trading procedures.

Households in the area are large, averaging in most cases over six persons. The typical younger household with adults(s) under 35 comprises a young woman, usually unemployed with dependent children, and economically linked to her 'visiting' partner. This partner still resides with his parents. Households with adult members over 35 are more likely to have both adult men and women present and, of course, their children tend to be older. Whether in a 'marriage' or 'visiting' relationship women cannot rely solely on the man's insufficient, and sometimes erratic contribution and therefore women need to produce food and earn money to support the children. In addition to caring for the children and doing other

household chores. The women in the area engage themselves in growing root crops for family consumption, as well as doing varied agricultural tasks, including backyard gardening and small stock rearing. For income, a few women are also employed occasionally as banana carriers/packers in the Portsmouth Boxing Plant on banana reception days. Tans-G-Toc itself has provided some additional employment opportunities for women.

The older men in those villages are generally occupied fully in agriculture, and engage in fishing as a sideline occupation. The young males, particularly those living with older parents, are less inclined to agriculture. They, most likely, will seek employment in the construction trade, and will also engage in fishing as a part-time activity. However, in the absence of off-farm wage-earning opportunities, adult males in nuclear-type households are fully involved in agriculture.

Generally, men bring in the bulk of non-agricultural earnings and they enjoy the respect and command leadership in both the households and the community that comes with cash earnings. Men, therefore, have tended to be more involved in community activities like farmers' groups and youth groups. However in recent years, women have slowly taken up leadership positions and are beginning to play active roles in community affairs.

## II A BRIEF HISTORY OF TANS-G-TOC AND DESCRIPTION OF ITS COMPONENTS

The Tans-G-Toc Cooperative, deriving its name from the first letters of the eight villages it was designed to serve, began as a community based effort that was geared to addressing the needs of the people and raising their standards of living. The main initiator of the project had been trained in Cooperative Development Methods and, although not of the area, had previously worked there and later took up residence in the area.

Beginning with a core group of three, a campaign was started early in 1976 to get people interested in the idea of a Cooperative. A Steering Committee comprising eight persons (seven male and one female), one from each village, was elected and posters were used to announce meetings. Attendance at those meetings averaged twenty at first, but in time, members increased.

The Cooperative was started in 1977 with 50 members, at the time of its legal registration (1979) and 125, and currently (1983) the number stands at 250 out of a total population of about 1,500. This means that virtually every household has a member in the cooperative.

Over a four-year period, funds totalling over US\$50 000 were obtained from various agencies to build a feeder road, to set up a Boxing Plant, a Health Clinic, a Consumer Shop, and a Savings Union. In addition, a smocking programme, directed at 'creating employment' for young women in the community, was sponsored by the Cooperative. Funding for a fishing project was obtained, but that project was never implemented.

### *Participation and Training in the Cooperative*

When Tans-G-Toc was formed, and while still in the planning stages, there was a fair amount of communication with the Tans-G-Toc villages. The majority of respondents had heard of the Tans-G-Toc Project during its planning stage. Both men and women were encouraged to join. The Steering Committee, which was responsible for making decisions early in its history took advice from a variety of elements in the community. Equal proportions of the male and female sample of this study (25%) indicated they had served as advisors to the Steering Committee.

Community-wide meetings were held about the Cooperative during its planning phases. Fifteen percent of the women sampled, as opposed to 45% of the men, felt that their views were considered during this time. The women who made inputs at this point had, in almost all instances, a history of community activities before and possessed leadership qualities.

Two hundred and fifty adults belong to the Cooperative. Thirty-six percent of them are women, and 64% men. The mean age of Cooperative members is 46. They belong as individuals, not as families.

Women of the youngest age grouping (21–25) have joined the Cooperative more readily than men in the same age group. For the most part, these women are married or unemployed with dependent children, and they look to the Cooperative for economic benefits. Their relatively higher participation attests to the growing involvement of younger women in community affairs. Older women, as well, are members in the cooperative – the programmes that attract women the most seem to be the consumer shop and health clinic.

The lesser involvement of men below the age of 30 in the Cooperative reflects their general attitude of skepticism about the value of the community development process, change agents and, importantly, the decision-making structure of the Coop. Their lower participation may also reflect less immediate economic pressures as their children often do not live with them.

The Cooperative appeals more to the active middle-aged (36–45) farmer who has made agriculture and fishing his central occupations. Men in this group tend to be more involved in banana production.

After its establishment, and in its early formative years, the Steering Committee, under the direction of the Chairman, continued to decide the Cooperative's direction in terms of projects to be undertaken and how they were to be funded. A manager was later trained to manage and run the day-to-day operations of the shop and the savings union. Most recently, the manager has given up his position and the Cooperative Board now handles both day-to-day affairs and makes important policy decisions. By and large, the various project components discussed above were selected after discussion by the mem-

**bership** These projects were generally seen as genuine attempts to deal with the depressed state of the economy of the area. However, because of poor participation, poor attendance at meetings, and the emergence of a power group within the Coop these selections do not reflect fully the needs of the community.

Men control the managerial and directorial positions of the Coop, although women, as well as men, have been encouraged to participate from the beginning. Many women feel they cannot participate fully because of their domestic commitments. There was one woman on the initial Steering Committee and there continues to be a single woman on the Board of eleven. Although her contribution to the development of the project is generally felt and recognized, her male counterparts have expressed strong reservations about placing a woman in charge of the Cooperative

### *Project Components*

#### *Boxing Plant*

Before the Tans-G-Toc Boxing Plant, there was only one larger banana Boxing Plant, about ten kilometers away. It would take farmers an entire day of travelling to use this facility.

The Boxing Plant which opened in 1978 provided the facilities for processing bananas, preparing other root crops and often the agricultural produce for the inter island trade. The presence of the Boxing Plant in the area was designed to: (1) save on time spent in travelling to Portsmouth for marketing; and (2) cut down on reject fruit, thereby increasing the earnings of the farmers. Increased earnings from banana production were expected to stimulate greater investment in agricultural production in the area.

Though the boxing plant served the Tans-G-Toc community well (as will be seen) there was insufficient production in the area to operate the plant on a profitable basis. Therefore it was closed in 1981.

There are plans to reopen the plant in 1984-85 when it is hoped that increased inter island trade will make it profitable.

#### *Consumer Shop*

Prior to the coming of Tans-G-Toc, there were no consumer shops in that community. Villagers walked the eight or more kilometers to the town of Portsmouth to purchase consumer items. Prices for consumer goods were high. The consumer shop, opened in 1977, was designed to provide basic goods required by the Coop members closer to their homes, at prices 5% below those in Portsmouth. The basic goods sold include flour, sugar, rice, salt, fish, frozen chicken parts, and oil. There have been difficulties in keeping these in stock and in the last few years the shop had been experiencing serious difficulties.

#### *Savings Union*

When the Coop was established, the majority of members had never saved before. Those who did had to work eight kilometers, about 1-1/2 hours, to Portsmouth to make deposits in Barclay's Bank. The Savings Union was expected to capture the anticipated increased earnings from banana production and encourage thrift among members, thereby leading to better budgeting of scarce financial resources. Currently it has more than one hundred depositors.

#### *Feeder Roads*

Prior to Tans-G-Toc, farmers walked for over an hour to holdings, through rough and difficult terrain. The feeder road was directed at facilitating access to the plots of farmers in the area. It was to create incentives for farmers to increase production, thereby increasing earnings from agriculture and raising the standard of living for the farm families in the area. Two one-mile feeder roads were built by the Cooperative in areas that were natural extensions to village by-roads.

Members were expected to benefit from time spent walking to plots since, in time, the feeder road was hoped to be surfaced. Banana production was to be given a further boost since vehicles could then drive one mile into farming areas for transporting the bananas.

#### *Health Service*

The nearest hospital to Tans-G-Toc is in Portsmouth, and when the Coop was established, there was no resident nurse in the area. With the opening of the Health Centre, a nurse holds weekly clinics in the area and a resident nurse has been appointed to the area.

The services of the Health Clinic are open to minor emergencies and for general and maternity care. Referrals are made for serious complaints or surgery. Family planning information but not services are offered.

Basic drugs, when available are given free of charge or for a nominal fee. The costs of running the clinic are supported by the members, who are required to pay a 50 cents fee for each visit.

#### *Smocking*

The Smocking Programme, sponsored by the Cooperative was part of a National Project that was directed to providing part time employment for women around the island. Tans-G-Toc acted as an agent for receiving and distributing material, and disbursing payments. It took on this role because it reviewed the programme as one which would create employment for women in Tans-G-Toc. Women were paid fifty cents a piece for smocking pieces of materials which were exported to Barbados for use in the construction of children's and ladies frocks. At its high point, in the Tans-G-Toc area, about two

hundred women were engaged in the Smocking Programme. It was closed in 1981 owing to island wide difficulties in the programme.

#### *Fishing*

Funds for setting up a fishing component were received in 1981. A 6.4 meters of fibre-glass boat for fishing, with an 85 horse power motor was acquired. There were plans to process surplus fish, possibly through drying and packaging. The general membership of the Coop was unaware of the development of a fishing component, or the existence of a fishing boat, which reportedly was lost at sea and never recovered. The fishing project was never implemented.

#### *Training*

The early members of the Cooperative studied Coop procedures as stipulated by the Cooperative Division before the Tans-G-Toc became a legal entity in 1979. In the early life of the Cooperative formal training opportunities in Cooperative Development and Management were pursued by two of the members who attended several week long classes.

The larger Cooperative body participated in 1 or 2 day training seminars and 'field trips' to see how other cooperative efforts were run. These exchanges were designed to provide training procedures and management.

The Cooperative runs an occasional Adult Education Programme which has included literacy training and lectures on agriculture, health practices, domestic budgeting, sewing and cooking. Government extension agents and some personnel from non-governmental development agencies serve as trainers free of charge.

#### *Fertilizer Revolving Scheme*

Until recently, Tans-G-Toc members have acquired fertilizer from the Dominican Banana Growers Association, a non-governmental body designed to serve the interests of banana growers. However, prices for fertilizer and other inputs remain high, and farmers are often unable to purchase them.

The currently planned Fertilizer Revolving Scheme is designed to provide fertilizer and other chemical inputs to members of the Cooperative at reduced prices and on credit terms where necessary. Although not yet operational, the Cooperative has already acquired funds for purchase of fertilizer.

### III APPROACH TO THE STUDY AND DRAWING THE SAMPLE

A considerable amount of time was spent by the entire research team in determining which aspects of the cooperatives operations should be researched. A preliminary set of 'key issues' was presented at the first meeting of the research team (including Jamaica and St. Lucia) in May 1982. As this list put the key issues at over 20, the full team made repeated field visits to Tans-G-Toc spoke with members of the Cooperative Board, informally polled residents and convened three working sessions to distill their list of concerns down to six. It was concluded that the data collected on these six issues (listed below) would give a picture of the impact of Tans-G-Toc in terms of developmental change (broadly defined) and personal changes experienced by men and women in the area.

The research was intended to elucidate information in several areas:

- 1 The Cooperative's impact on agricultural practice and levels of production.
- 2 The nature and extent of Cooperative and non-Cooperative members involvement in or benefit from Cooperative components.
- 3 The influence of the Cooperative on social and power relationships in the household and within the communities.
- 4 Participation and decision-making in the Cooperative -- this included a concern with the degree to which females or males had an impact on the direction of the Cooperative.
5. A wider understanding of women's roles in general in the Tans-G-Toc area and a specific understanding of how the Cooperative affected them.
- 6 The appropriateness of the Cooperative's selections of developmental goals and strategies -- both in historical context and looking to the future.

A sample of thirty respondents were drawn from the Cooperative register. Apart from weighting the sample to have equal numbers of male and female respondents, it was largely random; roughly every eighth member in the Cooperative register was selected. In cases where chosen respondents had moved and therefore were unavailable for interview, the succeeding name on the list was picked. Ten non-Coop members whose names were drawn from residential lists in the eight Tans-G-Toc villages were interviewed for purposes of comparison.

A preliminary questionnaire covering all areas of the research team's interest was pretested with ten respondents. It was revised after the best way of asking questions was determined. The final questionnaire had 96 questions.

All 40 respondents were interviewed for at least one hour. Ten of these (all women) were interviewed more intensively for at least two hours about their daily lives, problems, operations and the idea of the cooperative. In addition, and more informally, small group meetings of persons not in the sample were organized with open agendas to discuss the Coops operation

All interviewing was done by the researcher, sometimes with the assistance of one of the core research team. The researcher lived in each village (of eight villages) for four days on the average. In the course of these 'residencies', she had much informal contact with villagers in addition to the formal interviewing experience. Another few weeks was spent reviewing the operations of the Tans-G-Toc with the researcher team, who stayed overnight in the area when they could.

The sample broke down as follows:

Table 1

<u>Age</u>	<u>Coop Members</u>		<u>Non-Coop Members</u>	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
21-35	3	6	1	4
36-50	8	3	3	2
51-65	5	5		
	16	14	4	6

#### IV. LIFE IN TANS-G-TOC: HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE, SOURCES AND USES OF INCOME AND DIVISION OF LABOUR

Though we did not draw a representative sample of Tans-G-Toc in the strict sense of the word, most social and economic features of our sample are quite typical of the area.

An adult member of 40 separate households was interviewed. These households can be classified as follows:—

52% had both male and female partners present

15% were single adults with no children living with them and of these six individuals, one one was female

10% were widows (3), widowers (1)

3% were separated or divorced

20% were unmarried women with dependent children.

If we look at the comparative family structures of the males versus the females, 70% of the men were in households with an adult partner, as compared to only 35% of the women. Sixty per cent of the women were sole heads of household — unmarried with dependents, widowed, or separated — and the majority of these had numerous children, averaging six per family. The overall average number of persons in all types of households was six.

Nine of 40 respondents or 22%, reported they were living with other relatives, such as grandparents aunts, and so forth. This was far more common among joint-headed households, indicating that intact families also often had benefits of an extended family support system. Single (almost exclusively female) headed households not only had a high dependency burden but also were relatively less likely to have adult kin living in. (Though they may have access to these kin to help out.)

All of the respondents in the sample have had some elementary education, but literacy levels in the sample group are low on 8% of the sample had more than a primary, and school education

Though both men and women have little education, the women were worse off. They reported they have had to cut their schooling short because of expected responsibilities at home. They often felt obliged to help with domestic chores and in the caring of siblings. Others were deprived of education because of pregnancy and inability of the family to provide for further education.

Earnings are low in the Tans-G-Toc area. The income of sample of households reflect this.

Table 2

<u>Income</u> ( <u>\$</u> )	<u>MEN</u>		<u>WOMEN</u>	
	married	unmarried widowed separated	married	unmarried widowed separated
0 -- 99	4	1	4	6
100 -- 499	6	3	4	5
500 +	3	2	—	—
Undeclared	1	—	—	1

Note. One difficulty in the data above is the accuracy of married persons knowing what their partners earn.

The relatively lower income reported by (married or not) women indicates the extent to which they are unemployed or under-employed and the greater access men have to wage earning opportunities

All households in the sample depend on their agricultural plots to meet part or most of their basic food needs for daily subsistence. However, incomes from agriculture remain low, and this strongly supports conclusions of national surveys conducted which indicate that levels of small farmers' incomes are much too low to allow for decent standards of living for them and their families.

Although farming and agriculture-related activities take up a significant amount – probably the majority – of time of more than half of the sample, it is also true that more than half of the sample households' incomes from agriculture accounts for less than 50% of total household income. Other sources include off farm employment, transfers from children and remittances from other relatives abroad.

**Table 3: Sources of Household Income**

Percentage of Households	Agriculture/fishing		Deriving income from: Off-farm employment	Remittances or other transfers
	under 50%	50% or more	50% or more	50% or more
	70*	30%	45%	35%

\* of this number, over half put the contribution to household income of agriculture under 25%.

Just as there is some variation between households as to the mix of income from agriculture and non-agriculture sources, similarly men's and women's individual sources of income vary tremendously.

**Table 4: Principal Source of Personal Income (over 50% of annual income)**

	Respondents	
	Male	Female
Off-farm employment	60%	50%
Agriculture/fishing	35%	20%
Transfers, remittances, pensions	5%	30%
No personal income	100%	100%

The principal off-farm employments for men reported were construction, carpentering, masonry work, and employment as drivers. Women had fewer choices. They reported domestic work, occasional government service, and some banana boxing and portorage.

**Table 5: Perceptions of Locus of Responsibility for Generating Income Required for Different**

Critical Household Needs	Percentage of Respondents			
	Food	Clothing	Rent/Tax	Farm Supplies
Male primarily responsible	13%	18%	43%	57%
Female primarily responsible	78%	73%	57%	33%
Joint responsibility	9%	6%	—	10%
Others responsible	—	3%	—	—
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Note: The data were analyzed, separating out male and female responses and married from single heads of household. Differences in their responses were not great and, as the numbers are small, totals are used here to give an overall view.

Responsibility for different areas of expenditure does not ensure that the partner with the greater responsibility will necessarily be given the control of income he or she needs to fulfill their household duties. It is always very difficult to investigate who controls the income, but our respondents agreed on certain overall patterns. In joint headed households, men had greater control of income than women -- even the income the women earn. Income from bananas, for example, though both men and women worked this crop, was generally controlled by men. Women who headed households exhibited greater control over their lives and livelihoods, even where their visiting partners assisted with labour on the farms. These

women, too, tended to take greater initiative and be dominant in decision-making about agricultural practice. From our overall sample, 56% of the women who work directly in productive agriculture controlled the income from the sale of their crops and 44% did not. The latter 44% were more likely to be married women. Women and children are responsible for the rearing of small stock but women have only equal control, with men, over the income yielded therefrom.

Responsibility for household maintenance and repair, and the occasional purchase of a larger piece of household furniture (household appliances are generally absent) rests primarily on men. Women, on the other hand, even in nuclear families, are generally responsible for expenditures on food, clothing and smaller household items, and their income is seen to be devoted to its provision. Naturally, in women-headed households women are responsible for all the basic survival items. In these households, responsibility for finding the income for larger items and for agriculture investments varied some depending on the nature of the woman's relationship with her visiting partner

#### *Division of Labour, Daily Activities*

The in-depth surveys revealed that a typical day of the sample family starts about 6:10 A.M. with women starting off with household chores like cleaning, cooking for breakfast, and the preparation of children for school. In a joint-headed household, the man of the house usually leaves for the field or work by 7:00 A.M., the woman continuing the chores until the children have left for school, whereupon she proceeds to the fields or to the garden or to fetch provisions or firewood. She usually returns to the house by 11:00 A.M. to cook the mid-day meal. In the afternoon period, the women continue with chores around the household and may do some field work. The man spends the greater part of the day at work in the fields clearing and planting. Some afternoons are spent fishing or mending nets and boats at the seaside.

Women's crops, in this sample are, typically, root crops with some small vegetable production. Men devote themselves heavily to banana production.

In a woman-headed household and joint-headed households, during some seasons, women will spend the majority of their day in the field. But, usually, women spend an average of four hours daily doing tasks such as weeding and helping to clear the land. Women are primarily responsible for harvesting crops. Women and children play an important role in heading bananas from the fields to the reception points. The huckstering of produce is also done by the women.

#### *Land Tenure*

Agricultural plots in the sample population reflect the general picture of land ownership in Dominica. About 69% of national landholders have five acres or less. In the sample area, plots average 2 – 5 acres, and about 80% of the sample hold five or fewer acres. 40% in the sample do not own or rent land but have access to family-owned land. Twenty-two per cent of the sample population rent lands. Seventeen and a half per cent own land and about half of these hold legal title. The remainder in our sample cultivated land in common without specific ownership – generally available for use by village people, especially those residing in the village of Clifton, where lands which were donated by a former slave mistress continue to be cultivated by succeeding generations in the area. These lands cannot be sold or divided. Lots tend to be far from homes; walking distances to these plots are long and often are through difficult and rough terrain. Farmers walk an average of one hour and ten minutes to their holdings.

### *V UTILIZATION OF TANS-G-TOC SERVICES AND THE BENEFITS OF TANS-G-TOC AS VIEWED BY AREA RESIDENTS, COOPERATIVE MEMBERS AND NON-MEMBERS*

Both Coop members and non-members utilize Tans-G-Toc services. In some cases, the conduit to participation for a non-member is through a Coop member related to them. In other cases, the components of the Cooperative which have generally intensified production in the area, or have added conveniences such as the building of a feeder road, can either be accessed without Coop membership or have affected the overall economic environment to the degree that non-members feel the impact.

#### *(i) Agriculture Production Services*

The most active beneficiaries of the intensification of agriculture encouraged by the feeder road, the boxing plant and extension services – especially banana cultivation – were men, both Coop and non-Coop members with less than two and a half acres of land. 30% of the sample indicated significant economic benefit and 20% reported increased incomes as a direct result. Only 10% of the women reported a similar benefit directly from increased agricultural production and none reported a direct income payoff.

The marketing of bananas through the Tans-G-Toc Boxing Plant was designed to stimulate greater agricultural production in the area, thereby raising the standard of living of the people. Fifty-five per cent of the sample population indicated that the presence of the Boxing Plant had contributed to their growing more bananas. Thirty-eight per cent reported no change in production. Thirty per cent reported that though they had not increased their production, they had sold a higher proportion of their produce since Tans-G-Toc.

Although marketing through Tans-G-Toc was restricted to members only, non-Coop members sold bananas through family members and friends who were members.

Twenty-two per cent of the sample indicated that marketing of fruit through Tans-G-Toc saved on transport costs.

This benefit was clearly determined by location those living in the Toucarie/Cottage area (those villages surrounding the Boxing Plant) saved, while those living in the northernmost villages of Clifton/Capuchin continued to pay transportation costs to market their bananas. The Boxing Plant's impact on levels of reject fruits is ambiguous. Twenty per cent of the sample reported that the Tans-G-Toc Boxing Plant had lowered the incidence of reject fruit. Thirteen per cent reported that they had received more reject fruit since Tans-G-Toc. The remainder of the sample indicated no change in fruit reject levels.

The Boxing Plant was set up with no study of the production potential of the area, the flow of produce to market, and without anticipating the costs of operating the plant at different levels of utilization. It happened that production in the area was not sufficient at the time the Plant was established and did not increase because there was no increased availability of fertilizer, nor change in patterns of land use. To the great disappointment of many of the farmers in the area (a repeated observation of our respondents) the Plant closed. After this event, the farmers reverted to taking produce over the dumpy roads to Portsmouth, thereby increasing the cost of marketing and the level of reject fruit.

Little data was collected as a basis for locating the feeder road. Twelve and a half per cent of the population reported improved access to their agricultural plots, via the new roads. None of those utilizing the roads were women, although women cited the long distances to their plots as a particular hindrance to increasing their work in agriculture. No provision was made for the maintenance of the road and a number of respondents complained about its disrepair following rains and wind. In some cases, the road was in such a state that it was impossible to pass.

Tans-G-Toc did not sponsor extension services. These were government-sponsored. However, the existence of Tans-G-Toc drew these services to the area and brought with it an indirect but potentially significant benefit. However, our findings indicate that the relationship between the extension officer and the sample population is still weaker than that which the community would like. Sixty-five per cent of the sample responded that they received no direct services and indeed 'hardly saw' the officer. Thirty-five per cent of the sample reported utilizing the services of the Extension Officer through acquiring plants, seeds, or fertilizers from him, as well as obtaining information. Those who reported direct assistance also indicated that in most instances they had to seek out the officer in the village.

Although 65% of respondents claimed they 'hardly saw' the Extension Officer, 50% reported they followed extension advice which seems to suggest that some respondents received information through others whom the officer had visited. Coop and non-Coop members had equal access to extension services.

Women's access to agricultural information via the Extension Officer appears limited. Only 10% of the women reported contact with the officer and those beneficiaries were women who relied primarily on agriculture for their livelihood, were heads of household, and who sought out the agent. The lack of female benefit is assumed to be attributed to the small size of the plots women control, the fact that in joint-headed households they generally spend less time on the farms than their male counterparts, and finally a possible reluctance for the male extension worker to contact them.

### *(ii) Consumer and Financial Services*

Eighty-two and half per cent of the sample reported having to travel outside the Tans-G-Toc area for shopping prior to the setting up of the Tans-G-Toc Cooperative. The Consumer Shop was very popular among Coop and non-Coop members alike in the beginning. Seventy-five percent of the sample utilized the services of the shop. The great majority of those utilizing the shop were women and a good many were non-Coop members. The shop is less used now. More shops have opened and some of these offer credit. The attraction of credit at these shops offset the attraction of the 5% subsidy the consumer shop once offered. That subsidy was removed as utilization of the shop fell off. And in a continuing vicious cycle, the shop has cut hours, inventory and laid off staff.

The savings union is well patronized by the sample population. Seventy-five percent of the sample save through the savings union. More than half of all savers registered through the union are women. Before the Tans-G-Toc Savings Union, women's only saving mechanism was informal groups of up to ten women who put a fixed amount of money each week into a common pool (called the "sub"), the benefit of which rotated to each member in turn. Since the opening of the savings union, many women have left the "sub" to join the savings union which gives no interest but offers security for savings.

Tans-G-Toc has made no provision for credit apart from that offered by credit unions and the development bank. Men and women seeking loans need to have collateral (such as title to land), a co-signee or a steady job. Given the low rate of land ownership and formal title, and lack of steady employment, a number of men and women have difficulty accessing credit available only on these terms. Indeed the women in our sample indicated they lacked the collateral and "confidence" to seek credit.

### *(iii) Health Services*

The use of the Tans-G-Toc health clinic was not limited to Cooperative members. Thirty-five percent of the overall sample population utilized the services. Women and children make up 71% of health clinic patients. This is logical as the clinic provides maternity care and child welfare services heretofore lacking. Men's lower utilization has other explanations as well. Men often seek medical services out of town -- in Portsmouth for example -- because they can afford to do so. Furthermore, some of the men in the sample described the Coop facilities as poor and inadequate.

The women using the clinic are not free of complaints about it. Problems cited include occasional unavailability of medicines and dressings and the distance of the clinic from some Tans-G-Toc locations. Additional facilities the women

would like include the presence of a doctor to perform procedures for which they otherwise have to travel, and family planning services. It was clear during the interviewing that there were manifold nutrition problems as well in the population

(iv) *Employment Creation*

As with the extension services, Tans-G-Toc was not the initiator of the smocking project, though it did ultimately serve as the local sponsor. Tans-G-Toc's facilitation made it possible to communicate to the residents about the national smocking programme and provide materials at a convenient location and dispense payments.

Thirty-eight per cent of the sample reported that someone in their household had been employed in the smocking project. twelve and a half per cent (all women) in the sample were directly employed. The smocking program provided some income but respondents indicated that there were problems. Payments for the work done and supplies and materials were often irregular. Women were required to work at home but, for some, the conditions prevailing at home resulted in poor quality of work produced. To avert this, women sometimes worked in teams at central locations, the more efficient ones aiding the less so. As with the Boxing plants closing, the local disappointment over the termination of the smocking program was great. With all its problems including a low return, women still felt positively about gaining some income for time they had available and have not been able to use productively since.

The Boxing Plant and the Consumer Shop at their heights employed eight on a salaried basis. With the boxing plant closed and the consumer shop in decline these positions no longer exist. Though small in the global sense, this employment for eight people and increased to eight families in a poor area was greatly appreciated. Twenty-two per cent of the sample indicated an economic benefit to their household from employment provided through either the plant or the shop. It was the women who benefited most; of the eight employees six and sometimes all eight were women. The majority of those (women) employed by Tans-G-Toc had never received wages before. Tans-G-Toc provided their first income activity – apart from payments for agricultural produce.

(v) *Leadership and Participation Opportunities*

Decision-making powers over Coop matters rests with the Cooperative Board of Directors, an elected body responsible for managing the affairs of the Cooperative. The Board is required to meet at biweekly intervals to review progress of the Cooperative. However, at the time the research was being conducted Board meetings were infrequent; at one point the Board had not met for over two months. Meetings have tended to focus on the operations of individual components rather than overall issues of strategy.

Two women were nominated to serve on the eleven member Board of Directors and one serves. The influence of this woman on the Cooperative Board has been minimal since she often feels 'overpowered by the majority of men'. Members of the larger community body generally felt out of touch and uninformed about developments in the organization. Cooperative members in the northernmost villages of Capuchin and Clifton feel the least involved and make the least use of cooperative services. As the physical components of the Cooperative are located near the Cottage/Toucarie area, members in this area have been more active.

Training through Tans-G-Toc, for the most part, has been unstructured and informal, directed to building Cooperative membership. Thirty-eight and a half per cent of the sample had participated in some short-term cooperative training. Three people received extended, more formal, training in cooperative management, including one woman. The two men went on to take up administrative positions in the Cooperative but the woman was not employed it appears because the Coop Board was uncomfortable with having a woman in a management position.

## VI *THE RESEARCH TEAMS ASSESSMENT OF TANS-G-TOC: PAST AND FUTURE*

Following the collection of these data, the team met to analyze the respondents' experience and add to it their knowledge of development change in Tans-G-Toc. In this section team members' views of economic, social and organizational impacts are presented.

*Economic Impact* From most indications, it appears that the economy of the Tans-G-Toc area received a boost with the launching of the Tans-G-Toc project. This is seen primarily in the response to the boxing plant, the consumer shop, and the services and employment they provide.

Since marketing of bananas was facilitated with the setting up of a boxing plant in the area, not only were farmers spending less time and, for some, less money in marketing their bananas, but increases in earnings were reported by some 20% of the sample. Some women in the Cottage area also capitalized on the presence of the Boxing Plant by increasing sales of small craft items and fruit on reception days.

However, there is a down side to the increased banana production. For those increasing their banana production, they often do so by means of decreasing their production of basic food crops – root crops and vegetables. There have also been reports of land previously utilized for grazing of cattle brought under banana cultivation with the coming of Tans-G-Toc.

A longer term issue the Coop needs to consider, now that the boxing plant is shut, is whether the selection of banana production and marketing as a focus, though correct and admirable in the historical context – continues to be an appro

appropriate selection. The nature of land tenure, soil quality, and production patterns in the area indicate that Tans-G-Toc is not prime banana production country. It may be worthwhile to consider giving more attention to crops that grow more easily and for which there is a market such as copra. Further, when selections are made – whether they include new crops or not, it is important that the Cooperative begin to build a more comprehensive marketing strategy. The current strategy is geared totally to export oriented production. There needs to be a re-examination of local and regional market needs.

One area in which the Cooperative has provided significant economic efficiencies for some residents in the area of transportation to critical services. For those utilizing the consumer shop – the necessity of not travelling to Portsmouth is considerable. And while the consumer shop prices were low, this was a special benefit. For those needing health services, the availability of health services nearby – particularly for vulnerable groups such as pregnant women and young children – is of considerable value.

The feeder road provided fewer benefits. It was not effectively utilized by the client population. Apart from the fact that the roads were built in areas that were not the most frequented, the rapid deterioration of the roads, in some respects, sometimes became an actual hindrance to farmers. For example, when it rained heavily, the road became impassable and certain farms inaccessible. The impact of the feeder road on the lives of the farm community was further minimized by the lack of support of village by-roads that led into the feeder road.

The provision of employment to local women is to be applauded. The smocking programme was specifically targeted at young women in the community to provide employment, income and skills. The Boxing Plant, though not specifically targeted also employed disproportionate numbers of women. Both were successful in reaching a fair number of participants, both from the Cooperative membership and in the larger community as well. The majority of the sample population feel it was a good programme with potential for development. And, indeed, anything that brought in 'a little extra cash' for buying a little bit of sugar' was welcome despite the very modest returns on women's labour.

The Coop might review the appropriateness of smocking as an income generating project for women in the future. Export-oriented production is risky. Given the existing infrastructural support and the character of the goods produced (fashionwear that could be dispensed with any time), unless a local market is developed smocking will fail again. The women may want to redeploy their manual skills on a different kind of product with a more secure market at least partially local, and with better returns.

There is another area of economic impact worth commenting on here. It might be called income-utilization. Tans-G-Toc has for some, increased incomes. The money earned from both employment, fuller marketing of banana production, and so forth, from Tans-G-Toc, based on respondents' reports, was either spent immediately through the consumer shop on basic goods and food or set aside in the savings union. Significant numbers of persons who had never saved before now have the opportunity.

In the broadest sense, the flow of money in the community has increased since Tans-G-Toc. Previously, farmers marketing bananas and receiving incomes from sales would tend to spend in Portsmouth and save through a bank outside of Tans-G-Toc. After Tans-G-Toc, money being generated by community members was used in the community itself. A challenge here remains how to make the best use – in terms of extension of credit – of the new financial resources Tans-G-Toc has made available.

#### *Impact on Women's Roles*

As revealed in the in-depth information with the smaller sample of women, the Tans-G-Toc Cooperative provided the avenue for many women to involve themselves in production enterprises and work in organizations other than church-affiliated ones. Fifty-five per cent of the women sampled reported positive personal development as a result of Tans-G-Toc.

The more involved women in the Cooperative benefitted directly from the training programmes, acquiring knowledge, and from increased exposure. Several of these women moved on to start business on their own, to play leading roles in local government bodies and to take leadership positions in community affairs. However, despite personal gains made, women as a social grouping have failed to break through the power structure in the Cooperative, to hold leadership positions or to influence critical decisions in the Cooperative. For example, the Cooperative Board resisted placing a woman in a Management position for the Cooperative despite the fact that that very woman had given much voluntary assistance in that position; and despite the overwhelming support she received from other women in the Cooperative.

Although women generally indicated improvement in self-perception and greater self-confidence in work, in social relationship and in their homes, there was not the sense that women were able to alter domestic work patterns and responsibilities. Increased involvement in the Cooperative meant for some women increased conflicts in their relationship to their partners. Despite the fact that some women participated fully in cooperative activities, there was not the corresponding support or relief from domestic duties. Consequently, burdens for those women increased. Caught up in the daily struggle to provide for their families, women then were not able to maintain interest and influence the decision-making process because of time constraints and responsibilities at home. Even in paid employment, women continued to be seen as being best able to do the more tedious tasks of packing and washing bananas as opposed to recording and supervising.

#### *Social and Organizational Impact*

In broad terms, the Tans-G-Toc project brought out a new level of involvement by people in the community. There was a new sense of awareness to their needs and to the potential of the community to confront those needs. Members of the community were, for the first time, reaching out beyond their narrow confines of village life to know and see first hand

how other production centers operated and to think critically about their own area.

Taking affairs 'into their own hands' and deciding on a course of action generated new interest in Tans-G-Toc on the part of central administrative units. The subsequent building of roads, the appointment of a health visitor to the area, as well as the coming of extension services to the area, are all attributable to the establishment of the Tans-G-Toc Cooperative. However, after about five years of what could be termed relative success in the sense of the physical components established, and programme underway, general community interest in participation has begun to lag as communication between management and the Cooperative body has become strained.

The members personal development has been limited. The Cooperative initially tapped the potential of the members to organize, and prepared some of them to help manage the cooperative but most never utilized their new skills.

Also, the priority accorded the Boxing Plant back fired when the project failed. The suspension of operations in the Tans-G-Toc Boxing Plant signaled a decline in the operations of the Cooperative itself. There are other activities of potentially broader impact the cooperative has not considered. For example, a significant percentage of the population is still without potable water. The total area lacks electricity and one pre-school still serves the entire area.

## VII. RECOMMENDATIONS

### *For Government Consideration*

1. Representatives from all the government agencies with sectoral responsibilities relevant to Tans-G-Toc (for example, the Cooperative and agriculture Division of the Ministry of Agriculture, the Planning Unit, the Women's Bureau, the Community Development Office, the Communications and Works Office) should form a resource group available to the Cooperative, providing them with technical help as requested. There should be one central contact point that representatives from Tans-G-Toc can reach with their request.

2. The government agricultural extension service needs to assess with Tans-G-Toc the productive work of women. Indications are that women could and need to increase productivity of the domestic crops and, at the same time, could minimize the laborious tasks involved in weeding, planting and harvesting. As regards marketing, agricultural extension services could provide valuable help to the women in the area regarding the type of packaging material they might use that is both low in cost and reduces the damage inflicted by some packaging techniques during transport to market, storage, or display for sale.

3. The Women's Bureau should consider extending its current credit programme into Tans-G-Toc. This programme makes loans to individual women who are part of groups that serve as the guarantor to support income generating ventures.

### *For Consideration by Tans-G-Toc*

4. Tans-G-Toc should do far more systematic assessments of production levels and capabilities in their area before undertaking new components. Much data already exists from which they could profitably draw. For example: a) any future decisions about *feeder roads* should be based on knowledge about how many families will be served by the road, the number of acres along the proposed road beds, the types of crops that are grown and their transportation requirements, b) the proposed *fertilizer project* should not proceed before there is more information gathered from the Ministry of Agriculture on land use in order to decide what kind of type or types of fertilizer should be bought, the quantity that is appropriate, and the likely increases in production that will have to be absorbed through a marketing component; c) in laying the plans for the reopening of the *Boxing Plant*, the above-mentioned land use information is also necessary, as well as projections about the needed level of production to justify the Plant, and what this implies about adequate agricultural extension, levels of planting material, fertilizer, implements (and repair of implements); d) for the proposed *fishing project*, information should be gathered on fishing yields to data and plans made for the marketing of fish.

Much of this information should be available from the Ministry of Agriculture. Where it does not exist, the Ministry of Agriculture should be able to provide technical assistance to get the information.

5. Tans-G-Toc needs to markedly improve its management and evaluation skills. More members of the Cooperative and more members of the Board need to have advanced training in Cooperative management. The Cooperative needs to move from its dependence on its funding father figure to a broader leadership. Care needs to be taken that individuals from all the eight locations in Tans-G-Toc are represented on the Board so that decisions do not have a locational bias.

6. The reconstituted and strengthened Tans-G-Toc should develop plans for evaluation of their current projects. Full evaluation should be undertaken before any new activities are planned. These evaluation exercises of each of the components should focus on their efficiency, their cost to the Cooperative against their returns, and the degree to which Tans-G-Toc area residents are satisfied. This current evaluation should help to some degree, but small group meetings with Cooperative members should be used to share the results of this evaluation and judge its validity and validity of these recommendations.

7. Tans-G-Toc needs to understand more fully how women use their time, what tasks could be made more productive with labour saving devices, what womens' skills are and what materials are available at low cost. A new income generating project(s) (substitute for the now closed smocking project) should be designed based on market study feedback from

women regarding their interest in undertaking income generating projects the time they have available, and what they would consider a fair and worthwhile return.

8. Though the IFAD project and development banks provide some loans — principally to men for agricultural projects, they cannot be accessed by all community members and generally only provide funds for agricultural related projects. Therefore, the Cooperative should consider opening another “window” with minimal collateral requirements using other means of guarantee (such as groups) and offering technical assistance to those starting new enterprises

9. The quality of the primary health care programme should be reviewed. Consideration should be given to establishing sub-units and training local health experts in locations far from the current health center. A doctor might be engaged for specific dates regular and known in advance in the community. Special clinics might be established for family planning, children’s needs, and diabetic and nutritional conditions.

10. The Consumer Shop should be reorganized. It should be operated on a more regular basis, at hours convenient to customers, and hold bigger supplies of basic goods like kerosene, matches, oil, and so forth. Staff need to be retrained to deal with customers politely. A credit programme might be added to the Consumer Shop to increase its attractiveness. A complimentary food for work programme might be instituted to pay staff to work in the Shop and in other Cooperative-sponsored, productive ventures.

11. Tans-G-Toc, within one year, should convene a Cooperative-wide meeting to discuss its goals and strategies. Data should be presented to the membership regarding current reliance on counterpart funds, technical support, and overseas grants. Overall operations should be reviewed at several levels. Consideration should be given to: a) focusing cooperative efforts on crops other than bananas, like copra; b) the development of marketing components to complement all production-oriented schemes; c) terminating components which are not supporting themselves and not benefitting enough people, concentrating on fewer projects at a time; d) convening an annual meeting of government and non-government agencies who do development work to guide support the Cooperative.

## ANNEX

### REFLECTIONS ON THE TEAM RESEARCH PROCESS

Hyacinth Elwin

In the first four months of the TANS-G-TOC Cooperative there had been evidence of a number of Government Agencies working in the area. However, the level of involvement petered out and therefore the inter-disciplinary approach to the research carried out was very vital and appropriate, not only in terms of assessing the impact of the Scheme on the householders but more particularly in terms of future planning in general and for the community in particular.

The approach, emphasised, as nothing else could that 'planning' should be done as a 'package' rather than in 'sections' if it is to be of any lasting benefit to the beneficiaries.

If development is to be meaningful it has to be total development and it must be seen through the eyes of those who will benefit, with their full participation and at all levels of decision-making.

I found the process used in the Research attempted to a large degree to do just this and has certainly given clear indications of how the Community can be helped to help themselves develop.

Hannah Clarendon

In Dominica, we studied the Tans-G-Toc Cooperative, which has very many facets overseen by a number of different government agencies I work in the Ministry of Agriculture and have been involved with the project from its inception and therefore, could give very critical support to the researcher. I think the team approach is useful, especially when members of the research team have direct responsibility for the sector being studied. Our team was a good example of this. It was comprised of the Director of the Women's Bureau, who had been involved in the community development aspect of the project and had been responsible for support to one of the sub-projects (the smocking project), a representative of the Ministry of Planning, which oversaw project preparation, evaluation, and monitoring, and Mr. Cleve Butler, a founding member of Tans-G-Toc. A larger consultative group of seven persons provided guidance to us. This included persons representing government and non-government agencies working in northerwestern Dominica, such as the Community Development Office, the Division of Agriculture, Youth Division, the Social League, the I FAD Project (an agricultural credit scheme) and the Dominica Banana Growers Association.

All four members of the team felt themselves responsible for all work done. The researcher was principally responsible for reporting and writing up of documents such as the questionnaire, the reports for regional meetings, the report on the national workshop and the report for the regional workshop and the final document. However, the full team was involved in selecting key issues for research, took part in field visiting, designing of the questionnaire, organizing and participating in national and regional workshop, and giving specific guidance in preparation of documents.

The members of the research team were highly appropriate, both in terms of technical know-how, but also in terms of knowledge of the people, area, and operations of the Coop. They were in a position to give more meaningful support when devising strategies as to how to get information and how to interpret it. For example, in agriculture it is normal practice for farmers to say they 'never see their extension officers'. Thus, when speaking to farmers, no one direct question will give the answer about the degree to which they benefit from agriculture extension. Indeed, in this study, most farmers claim never to have seen extension officers, many still manage to get help in the form of fertilizer or information. Local attitudes have to be interpreted, be they political perspectives on attitudes to male/female relations, and taken into account. This team research process, with all the experience it implied, cut down on misinterpretation of the data. Figures are necessary but can be misleading if one does not know the local situation.

In conventional development research, the researcher is not always a local person. Hence, the people being interviewed are not relaxed with them. The interviewees, in order to be open, need to have a person to whom they can relate. Our team was well known to the local community and the research effort accepted. Those in the community – trusting us – were candid and comfortable.

Development projects need to be assessed with an historical perspective. What looked promising five years ago might be regarded as totally wrong today. Given the situation, the decisions taken may have been historically correct. Such was frequently the situation with Tans-G-Toc. The presence of persons on the research team who were aware of the developmental process over the long term and who had first hand practical experience lent a constructive dimension to their analysis and critique.

In our study, we sought to measure impact. To do so, we aspired to being sensitive and therefore benefited from our wide knowledge about the area being studied. Impact is very difficult to measure. It is not simply concluding that the project succeeded or failed or relying solely on quantitative data. An outsider or a brief visitor looking at the Tans-G-Toc Cooperative's financial statements might say the project had failed. But the team tapped the broader views and feelings of the community and knowing what we do about the histories of these communities and the wider process of develop-

ment change in Dominica, we arrive at a very different conclusion, that the project had a significant, and largely positive, impact on the life of the people in the area. Though I believe we are in need of more tools useful for measuring the psychological impact of projects on people, still it is fair to say that Tans-G-Toc's psychological impact has been great, but that it has not yet exploited the excitement of the community and the knowledge now available to conduct a far-reaching economic programme.

As positive as we feel this team approach has been, there can be problems. Though the team was able to meet as frequently as scheduled, data was not always written up and prepared on time.

Timetables affect quality in a group effort because busy people cannot be asked to repeat again points made earlier. I recommend that future research team approaches define one person as "head of the team", and have that person in the name of a government department disperse funds. This procedure would specifically locate responsibility for a final product.

## **IV APPROACHES TO REACHING PLANNERS: REPORTS FROM THE REGIONAL WORKSHOP**

### **(i) THE EASTERN AND SOUTHERN AFRICAN MANAGEMENT INSTITUTES APPROACH TO THE SENSITIZATION OF PLANNERS: THE WOMEN AND DEVELOPMENT TRAINING COURSE**

Olubanke Akerele

#### **I. INTRODUCTION**

All of us who have been engaged in the substantive work of development and, most particularly, those of us who have a special concern with women's roles, have tried to think of the best ways and means of reaching planners. Below is a description of one approach, specific to Africa, which was developed with the goal of reaching planners with data and the analytic tools they need for incorporating them in mainstream development planning. It is based on both my personal experience as a trainer in this course, my knowledge of the documentation, and an ongoing dialogue with the staff responsible for the ESAMI program. However, as a summary, it does not tell the whole story, but merely presents some highlights.

#### **II. BACKGROUND**

ESAMI, the Eastern and Southern African Management Institute, is an African Sub-regional Institute that became operative in 1975 with the objective of providing management training, consultancy and research services to the organizations and institutions of the then East African Community and the governments of the partner states of Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda. The original East African orientation of the Institute began to change in 1977 and the institute now responds to the expressed needs of the neighboring countries in that sub-region as a whole, notwithstanding the dismantling of the East African community.

The fundamental objective of the Institute remains that of assisting public and private organizations of the member countries to improve managerial and organizational performance through the tripartite mandate of the training, consultancy and research. Regional management training programs have been offered by the Institute in a variety of areas including project planning and management, International Trade and Export Promotion, Management of Health Services, Training of Management Trainers, agricultural and rural development management, amongst others. Most of these courses are self-supporting — fees being paid by sponsoring government agencies and sometimes by individuals. Credentials from ESAMI are meaningful in the region and this fact was considered when it was selected to serve as the base of the Women in Development Planning Training Program.

In 1979, ESAMI, the UN ECA African Training and Research Center for Women and the Population Council agreed to co-sponsor a training program for African planners, policymakers and program officials in development planning and women. A number of international funding agencies have been involved in providing support at various stages of the program, including the Carnegie Corporation, with support for the first and second courses by the U.N. Voluntary Fund for Women and the Ford Foundation and USAID.

The program resulted from the increasing awareness of African governments and non-governmental organizations that national productivity goals could not be met unless women's productive capacities were better understood and supported in large scale development projects and sectoral plans. This means that women's productive roles require explicit considerations. Thus, to ensure that women participate in mainstream development activities, there is the need for better data, improved analytical tools, improved technical and managerial skills and better understanding on the part of those government and women's organizations who desire to influence policy.

The program aimed at developing a cadre of senior officials conversant with the issues of the involvement of women and development and with the requisite management and project planning skills for effective formulation and implementation of policy and program. It represents a rather unique incorporation in Africa, of an institutional capacity to train planners and a course content designed to enable participants to generate and use information on women in meaningful national level planning and policy formulation.

### III. OBJECTIVES OF THE ESAMI TRAINING PROGRAM

The objectives of the training program are:

- (a) To provide opportunities for women who hold middle and senior level administrative and professional posts in the public sector to improve their skills in managerial and supervisory capacities on the job.
- (b) To enable senior level officers, men and women, to improve their skills in policy analysis and implementation strategies in ways that would adequately represent the importance of women's impact into development.
- (c) To build a constituency within the senior level, administrative and managerial ranks, which recognizes the needs for development planning to broaden its focus in order to improve the situation and contribution of women.
- (d) To build capacity for training in policy analysis of women's roles in an African institution as means of harnessing local human resources and technical skills to advance knowledge and development efforts.

To satisfy these objectives, the course was designed to present information about women's current participation in the development effort, to provide an understanding of the administrative aspect of the development planning process, to enhance research capabilities (so that participants could assess impacts on both men and women — both inside and outside the household), to build up managerial, project analysis, implementation and the evaluation skills of the participants. Emphasis was placed on gaining (Africa specific) knowledge. Application of the new knowledge was promoted through field visits and participant research papers.

To date (Spring 1983) three middle level training courses have been held, the first covering a ten week period from 1 June — 6 August 1981, with a total of 20 participants from Botswana, Kenya, Lesotho, Swaziland, Tanzania and Zambia. A second course of a six week duration was held from 5 April — May 14, 1982 with fourteen participants covering a second group of countries in the subregion namely, Zimbabwe, Uganda, Seychelles, Malawi, Ethiopia and Tanzania. Funding for the second course, though largely by VFDW, was also provided by USAID/WID. The third course from 21 February — 31 March, 1983 with eighteen participants (including three men) from Tanzania, Malawi, Ethiopia, Lesotho, Swaziland, Kenya and Uganda. This course was funded by UNDP.

Participants: Most of the participants in the first course held positions as Officers in community, cooperative or agricultural development units. There was one officer from the Ministry of Planning and the remaining participants were either trainers or representatives of women's organizations. The participants in the second course were generally of a higher level than those in the first in terms of education and were more highly placed administratively. A number were very senior government officials. Both men and women participated, the women predominated strongly. There were four men in the first course and two in the second course, despite efforts to obtain more male nominees by governments. ESAMI has recently considered removing the word "woman" from the course title, simply because this encourages governments to "give a woman a chance" rather than have them reflect on male or female — based on their mandate — should understand more about women's roles. Hence, there is some contemplation of changing the title to stress equity and remove the word woman.

### IV. TRAINING METHODS USED

The program utilized a combination of lectures, group discussion sessions, case methods, field work, films show, exercises and preparation of papers. The participants were divided into three groups for discussion of cases and doing exercises. The groups came together at the end of each case or exercise for a general sharing of ideas.

During field visits, the participants formed informal groups for interacting with villagers and government officials. Examples of topics chosen by the participants to write papers on include women in decision making; a case study of women's role in the poultry industry in Uganda; women's programs in Agricultural Development Department, etc.

Resource persons utilized in the courses included both ESAMI staff who focused on management and project planning and implementation aspects of the program while external (but largely African) resource persons covered women and development topics.

The participants were requested to fill out weekly evaluation sheets on the quality and relevance of the material covered during that week.

### V. COURSE CONTENT

The course has been revised between the offerings. Focusing on the second program, it will be observed that the first two weeks were devoted to the issues of development and women, the third week, to project planning and implementation, the fourth week to field visits, the fifth week to management concepts and the sixth week to the role of women's organization and presentation of participant papers.

The first few sessions covered introduction, overview of development and women roles. This was followed by in-depth analysis of women's positions in major sectors such as agriculture, employment, education and the legal status of women. The project planning and implementation segment covered the techniques involved in the entire project cycle i.e. planning, imple-

mentation, monitoring and evaluation. Incorporating women as participants and beneficiaries in project planning and implementation, evaluating an on-going project for sensitivity towards women and adding women's components to projects were part of the material covered during the third week.

Management aspects have been highlighted in the new course title "Development Planning Management and Women".

#### VI. SUMMARY OF A METHODOLOGY PRESENTED AT FIRST SEMINAR ON "THE HOW OF INTEGRATION OF WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT PLANNING"

Among the presentations at the first seminar on Development Planning and Women was a paper proposing one methodology on the "How of Integration of Women in Development Planning." The full text of that paper has been included in the annexe to this report since it is considered an integral part of this case study of the ESAMI approach. The gist of that presentation is summarized below.

The methodology involves a study of the Development Plan of a particular country, with a focus on individual sectors and an analysis of the objectives and strategies of that sector and their implications for concerns of women and development. The presentation involved Zambia's third national Development Plan (1979-1983) with a focus on the agriculture sector and analysis of the objectives and strategies outlined for achievement of that sector's goals.

To illustrate the result of application of the methodology, we have highlighted here one key element of Zambia's strategy for the agriculture sector, namely, that special measures will be taken to increase the level of productivity of medium and small scale farmers and subsistence producers in the agriculture sector. Implementation of such a strategy will involve action programs to promote an increase of commercial farming among small and medium sized farmers through

- (a) fuller use of rural labor force, especially family workers since the major part of planned increase in marketed output of crops is expected to come from small and medium farmers;
- (b) an increased number of farmers to be trained in Farmers' Training Institute.

As regards the implications of the above for women; it should be noted that the source of the major part of planned increase in marketed output will be family workers. We know from research studies and census data that the bulk of family workers are women and that the majority are "unpaid" family workers. Clearly, women's labor power will be called upon but their contribution in terms of benefits received and due consideration of their critical role in achievement of the agriculture sector's objectives, could again be insufficiently recognized or provided for unless it is taken into consideration at the outset and provision made for it.

The paper further points out that the planned program for increasing the number of farmers to be trained at the Farmers' Training Institute also has implications for women. If women are among small farmers in Zambia then one must ensure that they participate in this opportunity for increasing commercial farmers. Unless some provision is made for this at the outset, the net result is that women farmers will continue to be excluded from efforts at improving agricultural productivity.

In its conclusion on the proposed methodology, the paper emphasizes the fact that since the Zambian plan recognizes the need to ensure that the process of Development does not "by-pass" the poor and underprivileged and is concerned with concrete measures to impact this, there already exists a policy within the context of which the implications or impact of such measures on women can be highlighted at the outset, so as to ensure women's effective participation.

#### VII. LESSONS FROM ESAMI PROGRAM

1. The need to expose higher level officials to the training provided in the ESAMI program. It is instructive that this was proposed by both resource persons and participants following the first course. The organizers of the program took note of this and just such a high level training was organized in late November 1982 financed by Ford Foundation.

2. More men must be involved in the training. This is essential since the objectives of the program will be fully realized only when more men, who are the policy makers, planners and development officers, are exposed to and sensitized to the issues with which the seminar is concerned.

3. To achieve this, the title of the training course may have to be changed and the word "women" eliminated. Perhaps something on the order of "Introduction of Equity Considerations in Development Planning" or "Development Planning, Management and Equity". Certainly, the management dimensions must be highlighted more than has been the case hitherto.

## INTRODUCTION

Over the past few weeks we have, in line with the objectives of the seminar, been covering a variety of subjects relating to the issue of Development Planning and Women. Specifically, we have discussed the concept of the New International Economic Order; Policy analysis; agriculture – sex divisions of labour and productivity; land reform; Employment/income generating activities; labour market analysis; formal/informal sector dichotomy; marketings; technology legal issues; we have been introduced to new concepts and methodologies such as the “PIP” management tool, ECA’s unit of participation’s approach to calculating extent of responsibilities by sex in the rural area, and the Basic Needs approach. Accordingly, it is appropriate to take stock at this point and ask, where does this all lead us? Is it not time to see how we can begin to interrelate all of this?

Indeed, this is exactly the issue with which we are concerned today. I am supposed to speak on women’s work and national plans. As such, I would like to expose you all today to what I call a “Practicum in the Incorporation of Women in Development Planning and Programming” – that is, one proposal on the “HOW” of integration of women in Development Planning. The methodology involves a study of the Development Plan of any country. For our purposes here, we will (1) focus on certain specific objectives as set out by a country’s plan; (2) look at the strategies and actions programs designed to implement that objective in one particular sector and (3) pose questions and suggest answers as to “how” we would go about incorporating the concerns and interests of this seminar into those policies and action programs. In this connection Zambia’s Third National Development Plan (1979–1983) covering the period will be used to illustrate the application of our approach.

## ZAMBIA’S THIRD NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN (1979–1983)

### I. Objectives

Two of the objectives of Zambia’s TNDP are of particular significance for our purposes. The *first*, calls for a shift in the country’s investment pattern in favour of the three productive sectors, agriculture, industry and mining with emphasis on increasing agriculture productivity and industrial production within the economy so as to decrease the country’s dependence on imports. The *second* is to ensure that in the establishment of a humanistic and egalitarian society, the process of Development does not by-pass the poor and underprivileged, viz, the provision of gainful employment opportunities to local labour force – a major development objective.<sup>1</sup>

### II. Strategy

Realizing that wage employment opportunities during the plan period will absorb a little more than a quarter (468,000) of the estimated increase in the size of the Labour Force during the TNDP, the plan relies on opportunities of self employment and the fact that the bulk of the labour force will have to be absorbed in increasing agricultural production and in settling people permanently on the land. Essentially, it is a strategy that calls for the surplus labour to be gainfully employed in agriculture<sup>2</sup> and occupations supporting agriculture.

For our purposes, that is the sector with which we are concerned in this analysis, i.e. Agriculture. The key elements of the strategy are:

- (1) settling people permanently on the land;
- (2) taking special measures to increase the level of productivity of medium and small scale farmers and subsistence producers in the agriculture sector;
- (3) setting up of village and small scale industries in both rural and urban areas.

### III. Action Programmes

Implementation of the above strategies will require the following action programmes:

- (1) Establishment of projects for rural health clinics, rural electrification and *rural water supplies* so as to make the rural areas attractive. These services are to be backed up by a well organised extension service throughout the country that “will not only emphasise the effective and widespread use of various inputs like improved seeds, manures and fertili-

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1. See, Government of Zambia, Third National Development Plan (1979–1983), President Kaunda’s introduction, Government Printing Office, Lusaka, Zambia.

2. Zambia’s Third National Development Plan, *ibid*, p-57-58.

sers etc., but will also promote the adoption of *improved agriculture practices* to optimise production of various agriculture commodities”.

- (2) promotion of an increase of commercial farming among small and middle sized farmers through:
  - (a) fuller use of rural labour force, especially family workers since the major part of planned increase in marketed output of crops expected to come from small and medium farmers;
  - (b) an increased number of farmers to be trained in Farmers Training Institute.
- (3) The setting up of village industry service to provide various artisan services, training etc, leading to the creation of artisan class to provide services to the rural population so that the bulk of their basic needs are met.

#### THE "HOW" OF INCORPORATION OF WOMEN'S CONCERNS IN ZAMBIA'S AGRICULTURE STRATEGY AND ACTION PROGRAMMES

Having summarised briefly the major dimensions of Zambia's agricultural strategy and policy during the TNDP period, our objective in this section is to illustrate "How" concerns about women in development can be integrated within the strategies and action programmes of the agriculture sector.

The Zambian TNDP recognizes the fact that the bulk of the Labour Force will have to be absorbed in increasing agriculture production. As a result of this, the plan has, as one of its agricultural's strategy the settling of people permanently on the land. This in turn requires action programmes to make the rural areas attractively by certain specific projects designed to satisfy the "basic needs" of that sector.

Focussing on one of such projects, increasing rural water supplies, we are reminded that this is an area that will have tremendous implications for women. We know for example that "fetching" water is woman's work in the rural areas. The ECA's report on women's participation in food production and processing activities revealed that this task is 90% women's work and further that it is a very time consuming task.<sup>3</sup> For Zambia, in particular, it has been estimated that of a total of 16 hours work day during the planting season, women spent three quarters of an hour fetching water (1-2 Km. or more each day).<sup>4</sup> Clearly then, increased rural water supplies, namely "piped" water, will mean (a) that women will spend less time on that task (b) have greater possibilities for the development of backyard gardens with attendant prospects for planting more nutritious foods. With the possible lightening of women's work load resulting from such developments, how can one programme for the more effective use of such time for the women's benefit? such time could be utilized for upgrading women for example? This might be approached by identifying those areas where increased water supplies will first be introduced and assessing the actual impact on the women's time utilization and the implications.

Yet another dimension of the agriculture strategy calls for heavier reliance on small and medium farmers, and especially the small farmers, who, because of greater labour intensiveness are expected to make greater use of rural labour force, and especially *family workers*. This is to be the source for the major part of planned increase in marketed output. What are the implications for us? We know that the bulk of family workers are women and that the majority are "unpaid" family workers. Here surely is a case in point-women's labour power will be called upon but their contribution in terms of benefits received could again be insufficiently recognized or provided for unless it is taken into consideration of the outset and provision made for same.

Closely related to this is the planned programme for increasing the number of farmers to be trained or Farmers' Training Institute. If women are among small farmers in Zambia, how do we ensure that they participate in this opportunity for increasing commercial farmers? unless some provision is made for this now, the net result is that women farmers will continue to be excluded from efforts at improving agricultural productivity.

Lastly, there are the plans to set up village industry service which are to provide various artisan services through training in carpentry, masonry, blacksmith, basket weaving, grinding, oil pressing etc. A question that should immediately come to mind is whether any of these are services present provided by women in the rural areas? If so, are there plans for including women among those who will be trained to be part of this artisan class? The objective, it must be emphasised is that the bulk of the basic needs of the rural people should be supplied by this new artisan class. It is essential that one tries to guard against the displacement of those already gainfully employed in the rural areas and this includes women. Thus, one might investigate to what extent, have rural areas in which the village industry service has been introduced, might have already impacted the sexual division of labour as re-the provision of the above mentioned services. Sensitizing oneself to such issues, it is possible to make provision for them in the further expansion of the concept, and thereby ensure that women are given the opportunity to participate from the start in the development of the village industry services.

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3. UNECA, The Data Base for Discussion on Interrelationship between the integration of women in Development, their situation and population factors in Africa, E/CN.14/SIV/37, May 1974.

4. UNECA, *ibid.*

## ***CONCLUSION***

We have attempted here to show how one might go about integrating concerns about women's role in development into national development plans. Given, for example, that the Zambian plan recognizes the need to ensure that the process of Development does not "by-pass" the poor and underprivileged and is concerned with concrete measures to impact this, there clearly already exists a policy within the context of which the implications or impact of such measures on women can be highlighted at the outset so as to ensure women's effective participation in this.

### (iii) STRATEGIES EMPLOYED IN THE PROCESS OF DISSEMINATING RESEARCH FINDINGS ON WOMEN IN AGRICULTURE: THE GUYANA EXPERIENCE

Stella Odie-Alie

#### *BACKGROUND*

During the period 1981–1982, the Institute of Social and Economic Research, U.W.I., Cave Hill Campus, Barbados, in collaboration with the University of Guyana, sponsored the Guyana Sector Study – WOMEN IN AGRICULTURE – of the Women in the Caribbean Project. This paper briefly outlines the strategies employed in the dissemination of the findings of this study over the two-month period immediately following the compilation of the research findings.

Because we aimed at both information dissemination and feed-back, it was agreed that a series of one-day workshops should be arranged – one Country and four Community – within which groups were to discuss the various problems to which the findings related.

#### *COUNTRY WORKSHOP*

##### *Participants*

A list of the immediate target audience was compiled and included in it were key personnel in:

- (i) Ministry of Agriculture – policy formulators and policy-implementors.
- (ii) Parliament
- (iii) Funding agencies and institutions – international and local
- (iv) Representatives of the respondents in the study
- (v) Media
- (vi) Women's groups
- (vii) Members of the Faculty of Social Sciences, Department of Agriculture and Extra-Mural Studies, University of Guyana
- (viii) Adult Education Association
- (ix) Institute of Applied Science and Technology
- (x) The Guyana School of Agriculture

##### *Date and Venue*

Research into what dates were free of national events, statutory and other major meetings in which members of the target group were involved, decided the date and time. A suitable, centrally-located venue was selected.

##### *Ensuring Attendance*

Approximately 40% of the invitees were contacted by telephone and the importance of their presence at the workshop was stressed. In some cases the matter was discussed with the Secretaries of busy bosses and in one case the wife of another busy government official was contacted. All invitations were hand-delivered. Overnighting arrangements were made for those respondents' representatives who could not possibly return to their homes.

Of a list of four important Guyanese women, the first contacted – the President's wife – consented without hesitation, to giving the opening address.

##### *Pre-Workshop Publicity*

Releases on the workshop were aired on three major newscasts, daily women's radio programmes and the farming news' programmes. The release also appeared on the back-page of the Sunday's newspapers.

##### *Workshop Activities*

An eight-page summary of the major findings together with the completed report were distributed to each participant. Following was the day's programme of activities:–

### *Morning Session*

Welcome and Introduction of Cde. Viola Burnham,  
Chairman Women's Revolutionary Socialist Movement

– Ms. Sybil Patterson, Coordinator, Social Work Unit,  
University of Guyana

Opening Address

– Cde. Viola Burnham

Overview of the Project

– Dr. J. Massiah, Deputy Director, ISER, U.W.I.,  
Cave Hill Campus

Presentation of the Guyana Study

– Ms. Stella Odie-Ali & Field Workers

Questions and Clarification

### *Afternoon Session*

Planning for Women in Agriculture

Group discussions – Technology  
– Nutrition  
– Credit  
– Education and Training  
– Communication

Resource persons were attached to each group.

Presentation of Group Recommendations

Break

My life in Agriculture Evaluation

– Cde. Shirley Field-Ridley, Chairman on the Con-  
ference on the Affairs and Status of Women in  
Guyana.

Vote of Thanks

– Dr. George Walcott, Chairman of the Committee of  
Deans, U.G.

With regards to the group discussions, guidelines which referred the discussants to the relevant pages in the report, were distributed.

### *Post Workshop Publicity*

The proceedings were publicised in both press and radio.

## **COMMUNITY WORKSHOPS**

### *Dates and Time*

These were arranged to ensure minimum interference with farming activities, especially marketing of produce.

### *Participants*

These lists included:

- (i) Respondents and other community members
- (ii) Opinion leaders
- (iii) Members of the Police Force
- (iv) Local Administration
- (v) Local Women's groups (wherever existent)
- (vi) Representatives of the local marketing centres
- (vii) Ministry of Agriculture personnel (area)
- (viii) GAIBANK Personnel (area)
- (ix) Senior primary and Secondary School Students
- (x) The media.

*Publicity*

Releases for pre and post-workshop publicity were prepared and the following Sunday's Newspapers carried feature articles.

*SOME IMMEDIATE RESULTS*

*GAIDBANK – (Guyana's Leading Lending Institution).*

- This institution
- (a) changed its initial uncooperative attitude towards the research project.
  - (b) issued instructions that staff members at the various locations offer their assistance in the completion of loan application forms.
  - (c) a review of collateral demands was initiated by the late Cde. Shirley Field-Ridley.
  - (d) at an International Women's Day (1983) function in one of agricultural areas researched, the women called on the University of Guyana to investigate the percentage of loans disbursed to women farmers as against that of the male farmers.

*UNIVERSITY OF GUYANA*

- The Department of Sociology
- (a) hosted a colloquium and a student's seminar at which participants of this study were discussants.
  - (b) decided to use this study as a base document for further research.
  - (c) have discussed with the Department of Mass Communications, the possibility of offering their services to the GAIDBANK to assist in an evaluation of the BANK'S Services.

*WOMEN'S BUREAU*

Discussed the findings at their 3-day seminar in December, 1982.

*MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE AND MINISTRY OF REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT*

Have indicated to the Department of Extra-Mural Studies, U.G. their desire to have their field staff receive training in communication and intervention techniques.

## V IN THE DESIGN OF DEVELOPMENT SCHEMES APPROACHES TO INCLUDING PARTICIPANTS

### (i) THE CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPATORY PLANNING METHODOLOGY FOR BASIC SERVICES

Dr. Vesna Bosnjak

At the regional meeting, Dr. Vesna Bosnjak presented an overview of a methodology which she has applied within the context of UNICEF assisted programmes in Columbia. This methodology incorporates client groups in defining standards for basic services and setting up goals, for development projects. Client groups' participation in setting standards is just the beginning of their involvement in carrying out these basic services schemes.

#### 1. *LIVING CONDITIONS*

The approach was the external approach to basic needs and therefore, this meant that the planners (change agents) who want to collect base-line data should have knowledge of the conditions of life of the community. The diagnosis of needs should cover all conditions of life. These included water, sanitation, nutrition, health, education, income and work, communication, housing, participation and cultural expression. Also to be treated parallel with material needs was the need for participation and cultural expression and these should be taken into account for the development of any developmental project. One should also have knowledge of differences in basic conditions of the various groups in the community, including the women of various households, their level of access to water, fuel, markets, as well as their specific health and nutrition needs, (eg. pregnancy, breast-feeding mothers), participation etc.

#### 2. *CONDITIONING FACTORS WITHIN THE COMMUNITY*

Those included: productive and social activities, organization forms, resources, technology, attitudes, opinion and cultural expressions which influence or determine the status of nutrition, health education, participation or cultural expression of various social groups.

##### 2.1. *Women's Time Budget*

With the time budget of women's activities, one can find out in which of the performed activities should the women want to reduce the time, effort or health risks, so that they can have more free time for productive activities. Therefore, income-generating projects should always take into account the time budget of women's already existing non-remunerated activities and possible savings in time, effort health risks in those activities, through technological and/or organizational changes such as collective corn mills, children's day-care centres etc.

#### 3. *CONDITIONING FACTORS OUTSIDE THE COMMUNITY*

Those referred to government policies, physical environment, past events, dominant culture and other external inputs.

#### 4. *HOW TO APPLY THE ABOVE-MENTIONED CONCEPTS*

The needs are divided into 9 groups and its analysis consists of assessment of level of their satisfaction, their interrelationships and conditioning factors that operate inside and outside the community. The following matrix outlines the model:



It is supposed that a set of the above-mentioned needs exist in any human group, that they are mutually interrelated and that within each human group, there are differences in a level of satisfaction of those needs in accordance with particular characteristics of various sub-groups (occupation, land-tenure, age, gender, ethnic background, etc). Chart I describes in more detail how the above-mentioned matrix can be further developed. In participatory diagnosis through dialogue with formal and informal groups, change agent tries to identify what the level of nutrition, health, education, housing etc. of various groups in the community is. She does not define in advance what she means by nutrition level, health status, etc. nor the groups whose differences are important to measure. The analysis is done in groups composed of community members and it is desirable that in one group, discussion of only one living condition be analyzed. The discussions do not necessarily follow the order of questions suggested below, but it is expected that they be answered or confirmed in all groups involved in the diagnostic process.

#### 4.1. Living Conditions

The first set of questions to the group is:

How do you describe eg. good housing condition (or any other condition, eg. nutrition, health, sanitation, etc) in your community?

For whom is it good, and approximately how many households (or individuals) are in this condition?

How do you describe average (neither good nor bad) condition in. . . . .?

For whom is it average and approximately how many households (individuals) are in such a condition?

How do you describe a bad condition in. . . . .?

For whom is it bad, and approximately how many are in this condition?

This part of the analysis may lead to the technical systematization as the following one:

Living Condition	Typology's Qualitative Category	Typology's Quantitative Expression: %
HOUSING	A. Brick Houses with tile roofs B. Wood with zinc roofs C. Wood with thatch roof	A. 50% of households B. 30% of " C. 20% of "
WATER	A. Access to a well with year-round availability but low quality of water. B. Access to an irrigation trench for 6 months/year low quality; the other 6 months low quality rainwater due to inadequate collecting system. C. Use rain water; low quality and quantity due to inadequate collecting system (size & quality)	A. 30% of households B. 25% of households C. 45% of households
ENVIRONMENTAL SANITATION (HOUSEHOLDS)	A. With septic tanks in good condition B. Which dump the garbage C. Throw the garbage in the river	A. 10% B. 40% C. 60%

The above summary may leave out some important aspects of the living condition. For example, it may be that wooden house with zinc roofs have inadequate floors. This requires either the extension of the qualitative category as such or adding new categories. The case portrayed in the next condition (Water) shows a more extended description of each category.

Once the agent and the community agree on types of conditions and for whom they are good, average and bad (typology of needs satisfaction), she may continue to add sub-questions within each particular community definition of good, medium and bad. These sub-questions would refer to additional characteristics and/or population sub-groups which are pertinent to the above-mentioned conditions, as suggested in Chart I.

#### 4.2. Interrelationships among living conditions

The next question is:

How does each one of the above-mentioned situations influence other things in life (other conditions)?

Once the agent has the first assessment of the levels of satisfaction of a particular need and the perception of the community of the influence of it in other conditions, the dialogue (which may be repeated in various groups and deepened through more elaborate instruments applied by community members whenever possible), continues with the diagnosis of conditioning factors.

#### 4.3. Conditioning Factors

Those are related to the following questions:

- What contributes to such a condition of . . . . . ?
- What do you do, and how do others influence in it?
- With what tools and resources?

The change agent classifies this information into the following categories:

##### *Conditioning factors Within the Community*

Activities (traditional and "modern" )which contribute to the particular level of need's satisfaction;

- organization forms and roles performed;
- resources and technologies utilized;
- attitudes, opinions and beliefs;
- past events.

##### *Conditioning Factors Outside the Community*

- Institution, physical environment, past events, dominant culture, other external inputs.

Chart II gives an example of the type of information which may be collected through the above process for the condition of nutrition.

Change agent and the involved community do not need more than 10 days to complete an initial diagnosis of the 9 conditions and corresponding conditioning factors in the community which do not exceed 600 families. If she dialogues with three groups a day that may total 60 individuals. In ten days she may have approximately 600 persons involved in the diagnostic work. When parts of the community do not show interest in group's dialogues the change agent complements her initial diagnosis with the interviews with the individuals who belong to the groups which did not participate and belong to the previously established typology of levels of needs' satisfaction. Again, her questions are open ones and are concerned on the description of living conditions and corresponding conditioning factors.

#### 4.4. Summary of needs and their prioritization – Setting of desirable Action Objectives

Once all the needs are surveyed and vulnerable human groups identified, (according to needs or clusters of them), the desirable changes in the life conditions of various social groups should be identified. The objective for action is a desirable change in a life condition. The setting of desirable action objectives as carried out through dialogue with the groups in the community (those should be representative of the groups of households gender and age characteristics identified as different in terms of needs-satisfaction). The above-mentioned is the first instance in which all the identified deficiencies are narrowed down to a set of desirable action objectives in accordance with the groups' preferences. In the same groups' meetings three additional points should be discussed:

- 1) Why the group wants the particular change, for whom (target group) and what are the wider implications of it? (Side effects in other conditions, for example).
- 2) What can they themselves do to bring about the desirable change and what they expect from outside (change agent, other institutions).
- 3) Which of all those changes can be undertaken immediately (immediate action)?

The following is an example of systematization of data obtained at a diagnostic work on nutrition condition and in setting of objectives and strategies.

**EXAMPLE OF RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN LIVING CONDITION VS. OBJECTIVES AND  
CONDITIONING FACTORS VS. STRATEGIES**

DIAGNOSIS STAGE	PROJECT FORMULATION
<p><i>A. Condition of Life: Nutrition: Statements</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The nutritional status of . . . .children aged 0-5 according to the following (age, sex) groupings. . . . .and belonging to the following types of households. . . . . is as follows: . . . . .</li> <li>2. The food intake consists of . . . . .by household type. For specific groupings (age, sex) of persons it is as follows: . . . . .</li> </ol>	<p><i>A. Nutrition Objectives: Statements</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. To improve the nutrition level from. . . . . to. . . . .of the following groups of persons which correspond to the following household categories. . . . . with special emphasis on the following (age, sex) groupings.</li> <li>2. To change food intake from. . . . . to. . . . . according to the following household/persons categories.</li> </ol>
<p><i>B. Influences on other Conditions: Statements:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The low nutritional status – as observed – is having the following negative influences on health: . . . . . according to the following persons/household groupings. . . . .</li> <li>2. It also affects the condition of work in the following ways. . . . . etc.</li> </ol>	<p><i>B. Influence type of Objectives: Statements:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The improvements of nutrition level is expected to contribute to a better health status for the corresponding persons/household groupings: . . . . .</li> <li>2. Its improvement will lead to the following positive changes in the work condition: . . . . .</li> </ol>
DIAGNOSIS STAGE	PROJECT FORMULATION
<p><i>A. Conditioning Factors: Information</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Food production, by household type. . . . .</li> <li>2. Existing food preservation techniques . . . . .</li> <li>3. Sources, agents and types of food purchased . . . . .</li> <li>4. Prevalent food preparation techniques. . . . .</li> <li>5. Characteristics of intra-family food distribution . . . . .</li> <li>6. Food-related technologies being used . . . . .</li> <li>7. Inventory of Existing/relevant human and material resources. . . . .</li> <li>8. Organized ways of food production and preservation, attitudes, beliefs and traditional practices. . . . .</li> </ol>	<p><i>A. Nutrition Strategies: Definition &amp; Description</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Preparatory activities set &amp; time frame. . . . .</li> <li>2. Training for implementation/timing. . . . .</li> <li>3. The project activities:</li> <li>4. Technologies to be upgraded and/or introduced . . . . .</li> <li>5. Required community and external resources . . . . .</li> <li>6. Programme Management Plan . . . . .</li> <li>7. Roles of institutional agents and community members . . . . .</li> <li>8. Consultation and organization for decision-making . . . . .</li> <li>9. Strategy to overcome or minimize possible obstacles in project implementation . . . . .</li> </ol>
<p><i>B. Outside/Conditioning Influences:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Food markets, prices, government policies and programmes, periodic climatological changes, etc. and their effects on the condition of food nutrition.</li> </ol>	<p><i>B. Strategies: Definition and Description</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Plans to overcome/minimize negative influences while maximizing those with positive effects/ tendencies.</li> </ol>

The list of desirable changes in life conditions are systematized by change agent and prioritized when possible within the professional team or higher organization level in accordance with a set of criteria and through application of a certain type of prioritization scale.

The following is an example of criteria which may be used for prioritization of objectives:

*EXAMPLE OF A GUIDELINE TO ASSESS A SET OF OBJECTIVES*

CRITERIA	Objective 1*	Objective 2	Objective 3	Objective 4
What is the number of objectives being influenced by this one?				
To what degree does this objective improve the condition of the most vulnerable group?				
To what degree does this objective strengthen the organization capacity of the community and/or involves members who do not participate regularly (women, poorest members, etc)?				
To what degree are the main inputs for accomplishment of the objective readily available?				
To what degree the accomplishment of the objective produces multiplying or demonstrative effects in the community or outside?				

\*The participants will have the list of objectives to be assessed. The phrasing of objectives as well as the criteria should be adapted according to the main linguistic, educational and cultural characteristics of the persons involved.

Once the team or change agent knows what the priorities are in his view, he generates the same process (or prioritization of all desirable objectives) with community groups, without any pre-established set of criteria. The discussions in groups should be concentrated on selection of priority objectives. Explanation of reasons for choosing certain set of priorities by community member, should reveal to the change agent the implicit or explicit reasons behind their proposals. This process will usually be reiterative, especially when various groups hold different views and have to reach the consensus.

Only when the community clarifies its preferences the change agent informs about the results of her team's prioritization. The very process of community prioritization may have given already new elements for agent's reconsideration of 'her' priorities. If this does not happen she is obliged to clarify her considerations in relation to priority objectives and to open the dialogue through which consensus should be reached.

What is more likely to happen is that consensus be reached on some objectives and that the other ones be postponed due to lack of technical, and/or financial, and/or economic feasibility or due to lack of interest or knowledge on the part of the community.

*4.5 Priority Objectives and Feasible Strategies*

The consensus between the community and change agent still does not mean that the objectives chosen as more important would be implemented in the order of their importance. First because for each objective a strategy should be developed, and this very process of assessment may question the objective's feasibility.

Project strategy is a summary of changes in conditioning factors, as suggested in the example on page 76. The questions discussed with the community (page 76) already generated some of their ideas on activities, resources, organization forms, outside inputs, etc. The main features of a strategy could be summarized as follows:

- activities (type, time, etc.) and organizational forms in which these actions should be carried out;
- human material and other resources within and outside the community (including technology) which are needed to implement these activities;
- possible obstacles within and outside the community, predictable future events, (eg. drought, political changes, etc.) and suggested ways to overcome them;
- information required for follow-up and evaluation;
- forms of community participation in project implementation and evaluation.

In addition to dialogues with community, generation of strategy may imply various types of feasibility and/or market studies (including horizontal communication between the community and other communities in which similar projects have been undertaken) which take time, on the one hand, and which may lead to the reconsideration of project objectives.

In addition to the above-mentioned the interrelationship between various objectives and strategies should be assessed. Again, the process of technical assessment and/or dialogue with the community may lead to the conclusion that certain objectives and/or strategies are necessary inputs for other objectives and strategies, or that certain order of implementation would reduce economic and social costs or produce wider impact on groups' well-being.

#### 5. *INSTITUTIONAL ADAPTATION TO THE PARTICIPATORY PROCESS.*

The institution which supports these projects should be committed to strategies for basic needs and should accept community participation. It should also have some in-built flexibility, so that priorities which emerge from diagnostic work can be met by the project or programme. If issues described earlier are not taken into account, the pre-packed programme will not work. If the institution is too rigid, it will not bring the most relevant benefits to the community and to the women's situation. Within the project women can be referred to as potential beneficiaries of programmes and/or as agents of change, in accordance with their present life conditions and their role in the families and community. Therefore, in the overall community diagnosis, we should always analyze specific women's needs as well as their time budget. In many instances, women work very hard for the much-needed family subsistence, yet, these activities are not considered as productive activities because of the concept that whatever work is done which does not produce money, is not productive.

#### 6. *INVOLVEMENT OF THE COMMUNITY*

In this methodology, it is important to note that there is no step made in the diagnostic project preparation/evaluation without community-based activities and that is why the professional is not only doing her technical work but she is also trying to help the community to design some method of evaluating, of having accounting systems or having any type of instruments that permit the community to analyze its problems in its own way. Change agents can help the community to carry out self-help projects or its own system of evaluation, for example. This process is thus conceived as a mutual learning process and the one which helps the communities in creating sound demands to the institution involved as well as to other potential institutional partners (banks, voluntary organizations, etc).

## CHART I

### Sample of Types of Information Required for an Assessment of Living Conditions and Conditioning Factors

Living Condition	Conditioning Factors
<p><i>Nutrition</i> Nutritional status (NS), food intake, diet patterns of various groups of households and within them age and sex groupings. -- Influence s on health, income generating capacity, education, etc.</p>	<p>Type of food produced, consumed, purchased, preserved, stored, prepared -- Breast feeding and weaning practices -- Resources and technologies used -- Roles performed and organization forms utilized for activities -- Traditional beliefs and practices -- Attitudes towards improvement -- Health, income, education and other conditions influencing nutrition situation. -- Other social groups and factors outside the community influencing the condition of food and nutrition. -- Obstacles and potential for action.</p>
<p><i>Health</i> Service coverage for vulnerable groups, morbidity, mortality, difference between household types -- influences on nutritional status, income, etc.</p>	<p>Institutions and services accessible to the community -- Resources and technologies used -- Availability of specific types of service personnel and under what conditions -- Traditional beliefs, practices and attitudes towards improvement -- Other relevant living conditions which influence the health situation (nutrition, water, housing, etc.) --External influences on health condition -- Obstacles and potential for action.</p>
<p><i>Education</i> Primary school coverage (including absenteeism and dropouts), existing skills, level of literacy according to occupational status and sex -- Condition of pre-school children in terms of social, psychomotor and intellectual development. -- Influence of education on other conditions of life (income, health, etc.)</p>	<p>Schools within and near the community. -- Personnel, curricula and maximum years of schooling available -- Schools' equipment and other resources -- Forms and content of adult education activities, literacy courses, etc. -- Traditional beliefs, child-upbringing practices, educational practices and attitudes towards acquiring knowledge and skills. -- Nutrition, health, income and other conditions influencing education opportunities -- Factors outside the community influencing education opportunities. -- Obstacles and potential for action.</p>
<p><i>Water and Environmental Sanitation</i> Accessibility of sources of water, its quantity and quality according to various groups of households -- Levels of environmental sanitation of various groups of households in terms of garbage disposal, proximity to other sources of infection (sewage, etc.) -- influence on other conditions (health, nutrition, etc.)</p>	<p>Activities and time required to obtain water according to uses of water (personal hygiene, washing, productive activities, etc. -- Person who performs those activities -- Environmental sanitation measures and person in charge of their maintenance -- How are the water systems maintained, with what personnel, resources and technologies. -- Traditional beliefs and practices related to water and environmental sanitation, attitudes towards improvement -- Outside factors influencing the water and environment condition of the community -- Other factors (natural and man-made) which influence the condition of water and sanitation -- Obstacles and potential for action.</p>

Living Condition	Conditioning Factors
<p><i>Income, work and expenditure</i></p> <p>Occupation and working relationships of heads of households – Types and levels of income according to working relationships and/or occupations - Occupations of heads of households and their level of income in households whose consumption standards (nutrition, housing, etc.) fall below standards, – secondary occupations, production in kind, domestic work and other means of income in those households - The role of women, children and other family members work and income generation. – Influence fo the condition of income, work and expenditure on other conditions of life (nutrition, housing, education, etc.)</p>	<p>Work done and income obtained inside and outside the community. – Frequency of activities during the year and corresponding absorption of labour force – Type of workers by sex and age in main occupation. – Historical and present economic and political factors determining the work sources and occupation structure within the community. – Who are the owners of the means of production and where do they live – Types of activities and time spent in households whose level of consumption is below standards. Level of efforts and health hazards related to those activities – Resources and technologies utilized in principal, secondary activities, natural production and domestic work. – Relationships of those activities with other social groups or enterprises in the community and outside. – Resources and skills under-utilized in those households – Attitudes and beliefs regarding income, occupations and consumption. – Obstacles and potentialities for change in levels of income, occupations and levels of expenditure.</p>
<p><i>Housing</i></p> <p>Differences of households according to quality of houses in terms of floors, walls, roofs and connections to public utility services. – Differences of households according to legal status regarding ownership, renting, etc. – Number of families per house, people per room and per bed according to types of houses.</p>	<p>Housing construction, time spent, source of materials, land status and costs – Persons and entities involved in housing construction, renting, credit, maintenance, etc. – Technologies utilized in house construction and maintenance – Traditional beliefs and practices regarding the function of the house and various parts of it – Other factors inside and outside the community which facilitate or hinder housing improvement. – Attitudes and other potentialities for improvement of housing condition.</p>
<p><i>Communications and Transport</i></p> <p>Radio, television, newspapers and other mass media utilization by various groups of households. – Ownership and utilization of means of transportation by various groups of households – Difficulties of access to places within and outside the community for the whole community and groups of households</p>	<p>Existing physical infrastructure and public services (post office, roads, radio and TV stations, newspapers within the community and region) - Types of services offered and their relevance for the community – Traditional beliefs and practices related to communications and transport – Attitudes towards change and improvement. – Other factors inside and outside the community which facilitate or hinder improvements in communication and transport.</p>

*Lower Relationships and Participation*

Social groups and individuals who have power over others in the community through property or means of production, conditioning of type or work, salaries, prices, rewards, outcome of elections, presentation of community demands to administrative and political authorities, etc. - lies between organizations, as well as rivalry and competition -- differences in the objectives of various organizations - Type of leadership in formal organizations - kinship among those with major responsibilities in community affairs, duration of their functions - Differentiation between households in terms of their memberships (also according to sex) in formal organizations -- Initiative, efforts and merits of members of organizations -- Other living conditions - influenced by lower relationships and participation.

History of power relationships and participation in the community. - Origin of organizations, endogenous or exogenous (imposed or requested) -- Major accomplishments of organizations in terms of improvement (or deterioration) of living conditions - Economic, political, cultural and other factors influencing power relationships and participation of various groups.

*Cultural Expressions*

Language, religions, ethnic groups in the community -- Level and forms of self-expression and negotiating power of the community (or groups within it) with other relevant social and cultural groups.

History of the community in terms of its cultural evolution and relationships with other groups - Traditional beliefs and practices related to nutrition, health, education, income, etc. - National and regional socio-economic and political structure and its impact on the cultural expressions of the community - Dominant cultural values, ethnic groups, religions and language in a region and nation.

## CHART II

### EXAMPLE OF MORE SPECIFIC QUESTIONS: FOOD & NUTRITION<sup>1</sup>

	ON LIVING CONDITION	ON CONDITIONING FACTORS
<b>DIAGNOSIS</b>	<p>How do households (and within them age &amp; sex groups) differ in terms of food intake, diet pattern and nutritional status?</p> <p>Which are the group(s) of households classified as below standards according to above information?</p> <p>To what extent do low food &amp; nutrition standards affect other conditions of life (health, income, education, etc.)</p>	<p>Which food items consumed in households below standard are obtained through: production, purchase or other interchange form? - Where and how is the food produced, bought or exchanged? - How is the food prepared, preserved, stored? - Who does all those activities? - With what resources and technologies? - Which are the current food production inputs (fertilizers, seeds, etc.)? - How is the intra-family food distribution? - Which are the breast feeding and weaning habits? - Is there available food not being used by below-standards groups? Which attitudes and beliefs tend to encourage change actions? - Which are opposed to change? - Which common practices and technologies can be upgrade? Which other factors influence food and nutrition. Health status, income, education? Etc.</p>
	<b>WHY?</b>	
		<b>HOW?</b>
	OBJECTIVES FOR ACTION	STRATEGIES
<b>PROJECT</b>	<p>Which changes are desirable in food intake and/or diet pattern or NS and for which households and/or age and sex groups?</p> <p>Which of above changes should be produced by the project, for whom, and in what time span?</p> <p>To what extent should this change affect other conditions? - Ex: health, income, education, etc.</p>	<p>Which activities should be undertaken as to food intake, diet patterns and NS? - What is their time span? - Which are the necessary preparatory activities? - Who should undertake them and when? - What are the resources (human, material) needed for each activity? - Which technologies should be tested and/or introduced for each activity? - What are the organizational forms needed for implementation of selected activities? How will the project upgrade existing activities and resources in the community? - What outside inputs are required and how will they be obtained? - What are the obstacles and predictable future events (within and outside the community) and how will they be overcome? - If not possible to overcome them, what is the alternative strategy?</p>

1. Comments: Normally, these are two questionnaires/or one with two types or sets of questions. The usual practice in measurement (Behavioural Sciences) is to start with a two-dimensional matrix (process vs. product, content vs. concept or, as this case info. on living condition vs. info. on conditioning factors) and then decide on questions or other info-gathering technique. After this, the instrument(s) are designed, constructed and tested.

PROJECT IMPACT AND SIDE EFFECTS	ACCOMPLISHMENT OF PHYSICAL TARGETS AND OTHER CONTRIBUTING FACTORS
<p>Monitoring and Evaluation</p> <p>What percentage of groups below standards benefited from the project? -</p> <p>Which changes in food intake, diet pattern and SN took place, in defined points of time and at the end of the project? - Did other changes take place in the living conditions of project beneficiaries? -</p>	<p>BECAUSE OF:</p> <p>Which of the planned activities were carried out and how efficient were they? - Were the time schedules respected? - Which resources were utilized? - Which technologies were tested and/or introduced? - What were the costs of the project? - Which changes in strategy were introduced in the the course of project implementation? - With what results? - Did other important events contributing to food and nutrition standard take place during the the project?</p>
<p>Which additional changes and for which groups are desirable in the future? -</p> <p>Which additional data required on living conditions-</p>	<p>Relevant experiences for future strategies? - Which errors should be avoided in the future? -</p> <p>Which additional data needed on conditioning factors? -</p>

## (ii) THE ROSE HALL EXPERIENCE: BOTTOM-UP DEVELOPMENT IN ACTION

Patricia Ellis

### *PROFILE OF THE ROSE HALL COMMUNITY*

Rose Hall is a small rural village situated on the Leeward, Northwestern side of the Caribbean Island of St. Vincent. It is approximately twenty-three miles north of the main town, Kingstown, and is linked to the capital by a winding and precipitous road. The village is 1,232 feet above sea level, and nestles among the mountains at the foot of an active volcano – La Soufriere.

Rose Hall has a total population of approximately 1,500 persons and about half of these are under thirty years of age. There are 158 children between the ages of birth and five years, seventy-three of these are male and 85 female, while four members of the community are over 80 years old – one man and three women. Family size varies from one to fourteen persons and the average family size is six persons. Families are of the nuclear, single person and extended types. About one-third of all families are single parent types with the majority being female-headed households. There are some cases of three generation families that consist of grandmother, mother and children living in the same household. Mothers and grandmothers are usually responsible for the care of children.

The majority of people live in houses made of concrete blocks or of wood on concrete bases. Houses usually have an average of four rooms and families have access to clean water either pipe-borne to their houses or from the public stand-pipe. Not many people have bathrooms or toilets inside of the house, but many of the houses have electricity and most families own a radio. The main fuel used for cooking is charcoal and/or wood and although a few families use domestic bottled gas, they often combine this with wood or charcoal to cut costs. In the poorer section of the village there are a few large families crowded into small two-room wooden houses which lack the basic facilities.

In the village there is a Government Primary School, a Police Station, Health Clinic, Post Office and a small day nursery run by the local Red Cross. This nursery, which was built to accommodate twelve children now caters for eighteen young children, and cannot adequately meet the needs of the 86 children under two years old in the community.

Community members are actively involved in community groups of one kind or another, and there are ten organized community groups including church, political, sports and cultural groups, scouts and guides.

The majority of the population has had some type of formal education, mainly at the primary level, but within the last ten years two secondary schools were built in two nearby communities, one to the north and one to the south of Rose Hall, and a number of the younger people in the village have received secondary education at these schools. Twenty-two teachers reside in Rose Hall, fifteen of them teach at primary and seven at secondary schools. Sixteen of these are women, and four young women from the community are at present training to become nurses.

Although agriculture provides the main source of income for the majority of persons in this community, there are a few people involved in skilled labour and petty trading. There are fifteen carpenters, masons and plumbers – all male; six shopkeepers, 3 male and 3 female; and nine vendors/speculators (6 female and 3 male). In addition, some families receive remittances from relatives in England and the USA. Unemployment is high among the youth in the village (1 in 12) as opportunities for non-agricultural employment are virtually non-existent, and as in many other parts of the region, young people in Rose Hall only go into agriculture while they are 'waiting for something else' or 'as a last resort'.

### *AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITY IN ROSE HALL*

The majority of the population in Rose Hall is engaged in small-scale agriculture and of the 210 registered farmers, approximately 71, (33%) are women. Unlike most of the other farming communities in St. Vincent these farmers do not produce bananas, but vegetables, and they are the main producers of carrots both for export and for domestic use. In addition they produce yams, eddoes, tannia and ginger in fairly large quantities. Like their counterparts in other poor rural communities in the region, these farmers experience problems with marketing their produce and suffer significant loss of income because of surplus, spoilage and wastage of fruit and vegetables. Although a fair number of the farmers (36%) own their own land, rented land and share-cropping is fairly common.<sup>1</sup> Farms vary in size with the average size being about five acres. The total amount of land which the farmer works is usually divided up into plots of about two acres in size. These farms (gardens) are situated along the steep hillside slopes surrounding the village, between two and five miles distance from the farmers' houses. A number of women have small kitchen gardens adjoining their houses, and they use the produce from these mainly for household purposes. Some women in the village farm their own land and control the income from the produce, others farm on their husbands/spouse's land and may, or may not, have control of the income derived. In the case of the latter, these women are not usually paid for their labour. Other women hire out their labour to any farmer who will employ them, in these cases they usually receive lower wages than their male counterparts.<sup>2</sup>

Crops are transported from the farms to the village by donkey (one-third of all households which own animals have at least one donkey)<sup>3</sup> and farmers take or send their produce to the capital by truck or van. Many people keep domestic animals: either cattle, sheep, pigs or chickens, and these are mainly used for domestic purposes, although to a lesser extent some may be used to provide additional family income.

There is an agricultural station about two miles away from Rose Hall and the farmers have access to the services of an agricultural extension officer. However, because the latter does not live in the village, does not always have transportation and has a large geographic area to cover, his services and advice are not always available to farmers when or as often as they might need them.

#### *PILOT PROJECT FOR THE INTEGRATION OF WOMEN IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT*

The Pilot Project for the Integration of Women in Rural Development was implemented in Rose Hall by the Women & Development Unit, Extra-Mural Department (WAND), UWI, in collaboration with four government ministries<sup>4</sup> and three non-government organisations<sup>5</sup> in St. Vincent.

Through this project WAND hoped to achieve two main objectives:—

1. To develop a model of 'bottom-up development' which would influence official government policy in planning and designing national programs to ensure the full participation of women at all levels in the process of national development;
2. To engage rural women in a process of development through which they would:
  - examine their economic and social contribution to the development of their community;
  - develop their ability and desire to take leadership and decision making roles in the community;
  - generally improve the quality of their own lives and that of their community.

This model is based on the belief that rural people/women can and should decide on, and direct their own development. The project proposal was therefore very general and allowed a great deal of flexibility. It identified 'possible' areas of activity and tentatively defined 'phases' within the twenty-eight months for which the project was to be funded. The funders (Ford Foundation) agreed that WAND would examine, document, analyse and disseminate whatever resulted from this experiment. Throughout the project the people of Rose Hall have identified their needs and problems, have determined the sequence in which these should be addressed, and have taken the action which they decided was necessary to arrive at solutions. They have continuously evaluated the effects that such actions and solutions have had on their own lives and on the community.

*Organization of the Project:* The project idea was initially put to twelve individual women in Rose Hall. They discussed it among themselves and decided to put the idea to representatives of the seven groups which existed in the community. This was done at a meeting and out of this meeting was born the Rose Hall Committee for Women and Development. This Committee was given responsibility for coordinating project activities in the community. They chose as community facilitator, a 33-year old female farmer who is responsible for the overall coordination, planning, implementation and evaluation of all project activities. As the project progressed, the Committee has expanded from its original 16 members (23 women and 3 men) to approximately 30 members. These 30 or so members are mainly women (approximately 26) and represent a cross-section of types and community interests. Their ages range between 16 and 50 years. They are teachers, farmers, housewives, unemployed youth and students. Within the group are women who head households, grandmothers, fathers and children who provide a pool of a wide and rich variety of skills and resources.

This group is now called The Rose Hall Community Working Group. It still has overall responsibility for project activities and is at present seeking to be officially registered as a non-profit, non-governmental organization in St. Vincent. The Community Facilitator is the Chairperson of the Working Group.

As each community project activity develops, the working group elects a coordinating committee, headed by a coordinator. These committees are usually made up of about five to seven persons with two or three from the working group and the remainder from the wider community.<sup>6</sup> Recently the quadrille group asked the working group to accept responsibility for coordinating its activities. The quadrille group is made up mainly of older people who meet to dance the 'quadrille', a traditional folk dance. Recently the younger people have shown interest in learning the art and the older people are teaching them. In this dance, couples dance to traditional music supplied by older men on flutes and drums.<sup>7</sup>

*Community Based Training:* WAND believes that in order to facilitate full participation of rural women in the development process, it is necessary to provide field workers, community facilitators and rural women (community members) themselves with skills to identify their needs, and in planning and evaluating community programmes. Because of this it was decided to begin with a training workshop and the project was officially opened in March 1981 with a community-based training workshop in Participatory Approaches to Community Needs Assessment, Programme Planning and Evaluation.

Participatory training is based on the belief that people learn more effectively when they are involved in activities that build on their experience. Within the initial workshop the trainers helped participants to draw on their own personal experiences, and to analyse and to use their collective experiences to assess the community needs. In one of the needs assessment activities, participants took 'a look at life in Rose Hall' by going out into the community to observe and talk with community members. They interviewed some and recorded their conversations with a number of senior citizens. They then used this information to write the story of Rose Hall.

This story was taped, and along with poetry and role play, participants presented a comprehensive overview of past and present situations in the community. In this way many of the problems which faced community members were easily identified and participants gained deeper insights into the roles that men and women play in the community, the quality of family life and some of the specific needs of individuals within the community. They also gained a better understanding and appreciation of the importance of knowing the past in order to understand the present, and plan for the future.

Within every community there is a wealth of knowledge and skills which, when used in a creative way, can result in high levels of participation by the members of that community. During the workshop participants identified a number of things which they could do well and those which a rural woman might be able to do. They compared and discussed these and realized that many of the things which they do every day, and which they take for granted are in fact skills. Moreover many of them realized for the first time that rural people have skills which are important and which they can use to develop themselves and their communities. They began to see that cooking, washing, caring for children, managing a family – the skills that many rural women have – are as important to the community as farming, being able to plan, having a positive view of oneself, and respecting others. They began to identify ways in which they could draw on and use the many resources within the community to improve the quality of life for all of its members.

Throughout the workshop, activities such as role-play, drawing, storytelling and small and large group discussions were used. The collective knowledge, experience and skills of participants served as the basis for analysing, reflecting upon and evaluating their own personal situation and that of their community.

The participatory methodology which was used in this first training workshop started a process which has continued throughout the project. Training has continued in a variety of forms; sometimes the working group or project committee(s) have requested formal one-, two- or three-day workshops or seminars, more often training has taken place in informal meetings and discussion groups, and in the community at large. A wide range of topics have been covered in the training sessions. These have included:—

*Personal development and interpersonal relationships* in which individuals look critically at themselves, their strengths and weaknesses, their roles as women and men, who they relate to others in the family and in the wider community. A large number of women have gained a greater degree of self-confidence and greater self-esteem from participating in these sessions. Many of these women who had never spoken in public before are now expressing their views quite openly and confidently in community and group meetings, and a larger number of women than before are more actively involved in community activities.

*Programme Planning and Evaluation* — Members of the working group and of the various project committees have been exposed to on-going training as they plan and develop community projects and activities. The effectiveness of this training is clearly seen in the planning process which each activity goes through from the time it is conceived to its completion.

*Practical skills* — a number of women have been trained in such practical skills as sewing, food preservation and preparation; literacy, managing small economic enterprises, proposal writing, budgeting and record keeping.

After conducting adult classes for one term, the resource persons, most of whom are teachers in primary and secondary schools, recognised that although they had experience in teaching children, they lacked the skills to teach adults effectively. They requested training in this area and three workshops on 'Teaching Literacy to Adults' were organised. In the first two of these workshops they discussed the differences between how children and adults learn. They spent a lot of time examining and discussing their own attitudes to illiterate women, how these older and more experienced women who attended the classes perceived them, and the techniques which they were being used to teach them. They were able to understand how these and other factors affected the learning process. In the third workshop they focussed on planning and developing a non-formal education programme through which the adults would acquire basic reading, writing and numerical skills. They learnt a number of techniques and methods which they could use and which the learners would enjoy. Some of these, word and number games, short skits and open-ended stories, are still being used in the adult education classes.

A number of community members have been involved in seminars in which they have discussed the meaning of 'education' and 'development' at great length. In August 1981 a one-day community seminar on 'The Meaning of Education' was held. Fifty-five persons (44 women, 11 men) participated and by the end of the day they had defined education and agreed on the

following objectives for the adult education programme:—

1. To improve skills in craft, food preparation, preservation and storage;
2. To raise the level of literacy of community members;
3. To foster personal and community development;
4. To increase agricultural knowledge.

At another community workshop held in July 1982 to discuss 'The Role of Men in the Development of Rose Hall', about sixty-five persons (37 women, 28 men) depicted development in Rose Hall as a chain with interlocking links, and identified its key elements as education, progress, community cooperation, togetherness and love.

In all of the training workshops the sequence of activities begins by focussing on the individual and then moves outward to focus on the wider community. Participants first 'look at' themselves as a person, then at themselves in relation to the particular topic/situation/problem which is being dealt with; they then examine their interaction with other community members and the effects of this both on themselves and on the wider community. As they go about this analysis they become more aware of, understand and respect the value of each person's contribution to matter how small this may at first appear.

This community-based training has been a total non-formal education process and its effect is everywhere in evidence in the community. Many women have admitted that they have gained self-confidence. "It is the first time I realized that I have skills" said the facilitator during the initial three week workshop. Many more have echoed her since then. More women than before are accepting leadership roles and participating in decision-making, both at home and in the wider community. Many men (spouses) have appreciated the difference in the women and are encouraging and supporting their efforts. Women are using the practical skills which they have gained to plan, organize and manage their household budgets, their time, their household chores and their personal lives, more effectively.

More important than all of these, perhaps, is the degree to which the consciousness and critical awareness of *all* of the people of Rose Hall has increased. Their sense of purpose, of pride in their achievements, their self-confidence, their commitment to decide on and to direct their own development are evident both in their speech and actions. In the words of one community member, "This project has touched and affected the lives of *everyone* in this community!"

#### COMMUNITY APPROACHES TO COLLECTING DATA

As in most project proposals the proposal for the Pilot Project made provision for a Baseline Survey at the beginning of the project, and in February 1981 a questionnaire was administered to 43 farm households in the community. The reaction of these farmers to this was one of resentment and frustration as they were fed up of answering questionnaires of which they heard nothing afterwards'.

The data from this survey was not collated immediately and was not available for use until about eighteen months afterwards. This raises questions as to the appropriateness of using 'formal' surveys at the beginning of action projects.

However, as the project developed the working group realised that they needed specific kinds of information from large sections of the community in order to develop specific projects. Without any particular training, they collected their information by using an approach which was in essence participatory research.

First they identified the problem, then they came up with an idea for addressing the problem. They decided on what information they would need to know so as to make the idea work, and for it to be of benefit to the people of the community. They then developed the *minimum* number of questions that they needed to ask in order to get that information. In the case of the adult education programme, they asked three questions:—

1. Is there a need for the programme?
2. If a programme is planned, would people participate?
3. What should be taught in an adult education programme in Rose Hall?

Having agreed on the questions, they divided the community into zones. One or two members of the group went to each house in each zone and asked the three questions of all or any of the adults present in the household at the time of her visit. They recorded the answers and in one week, the Working Group had collected information from 912 adults (approximately 60% of total population — 478 women and 434 men) in the community.

The information was summarized and used to develop a role-play on the importance of education to be able to get a job. The group then called a community meeting to present the results of the survey. They used the role play for this purpose and there was a great deal of discussion among the sixty or so people present at the meeting.

Similar procedures have been used to collect and disseminate information for all community projects. The points of view and opinions expressed in the interviews and the consensus at community meetings determine whether the group should proceed with the project or revise its plan.

In addition to community surveys and community meetings, the working group has used other methods of collecting more detailed information from special interest groups, e.g. farmers, pre-school parents. These have included in-depth individual

interviews — sometimes taped, role-play, group interviews/small group discussions with a particular group; and recently they have used a more 'formal' typed interview questionnaire.

In January 1983, the working group decided that it was 'time to do an indepth evaluation to assess the impact of project activities over the last two years'. They said that they wanted 'to use the data from this evaluation to plan programmes and activities for the next year'. The project coordinator worked with three members of the group to develop a short questionnaire for this purpose. Members of the group administered it to persons who were involved in the sewing project, the farmers' group, and the adult education programme. As they collected information on each project they discussed it at their weekly meetings, and at an evaluation workshop in early March. The coordinator worked with them to collate, analyse and interpret the data which they had collected.

Members of the working group have a much broader concept of research and of 'data' than that which is usually recognised or accepted in the narrow 'scientific' sense in social science circles. Their locally initiated community diagnoses make it clear that rural people have the ability and are capable of understanding and using research to find answers to some of their problems.

### *PROGRAMMES AND PROJECTS TO MEET COMMUNITY NEEDS*

The majority of people in Rose Hall depend on agriculture for a living, but in most cases the income from farming is insufficient to meet their families' living expenses. The first problem which they identified therefore was related to this economic aspect of their lives. They saw surplus produce and inadequate marketing outlets as major problems and they agreed that one possible way of dealing with this was to form an organized farmers' group. They organized the farmers' group but then realized that they needed to up-grade literacy and leadership skills in order to obtain and use additional agricultural information. They developed an adult education programme which began in October 1982. It offers classes in agricultural information and home improvement. In these classes women have learnt new ways to prepare and use local produce as well as techniques of food preservation.

In May 1981, a ginger sweet (a traditional sweet) project became the first tangible outcome. The sweets were sold in schools in nearby villages and provided the working group with its first source of income. Between June and December the group organized two other economic ventures — a sponsored walk and a community fair — and used the money from these to purchase items for the twenty disabled persons in the community.

When the group met in January 1982 to plan its activities for the first three months of the year, members agreed that there was a need for school uniforms to be made in the village because it was difficult and expensive for parents to travel to town to purchase them. The feasibility of developing a sewing project was discussed at weekly meetings for two months; in March the objectives of the project were outlined and two women were sent to train for four months in order to improve their skills in sewing. Another member of the group was given the task of going to Kingstown to collect information on the types and cost of uniform material; while someone else was to visit the Ministry of Community Development to ask for a sewing machine for the group.

After six months of planning, the project was started in July and sewing continued until the first week in September when schools reopened after the long holidays. Although the two women who had received training were mainly responsible for the sewing, many of the women in the group (13) assisted. The sewing was done at the home of one of the group members and by the time school reopened, 90% of the school children in the village had new uniforms — it was the first time that all of the children in the Primary School were in uniform. Since then they have made guide and scout uniforms and football shorts for the village football team.

To start this project the group had applied to WAND for a loan from the Pilot project interim project fund (seed money). They used this to purchase materials in bulk and have since repaid it. They kept careful records of income and expenditure and priced the uniforms accordingly. Some of the group have since attended a workshop on small business management and have realized that they had under-priced their garments. They have also done an evaluation of the project. All of the women who assisted with the sewing received some money for their time and effort; however some of them feel that sewing such a large number of garments in such a short time (two months) put a lot of pressure on their time. The group has decided that although the project cannot provide an income for any of the women on a continuous basis, it will continue to function as the need arises. The Sewing Committee has been advised to pay more attention to the issues of use of time, costing and pricing.

Another project idea which was discussed in January 1982 was the Bakery. Initial planning for this was along similar lines as for the sewing project with different members taking responsibility for making enquiries and collecting necessary information. However, the Working Group experienced a number of difficulties. They identified a large enough oven in the community and discussed with its owner conditions for using it. The latter agreed to let them rent it at first, but later withdrew this offer. They then decided to erect a building and set out to identify a site, but when they discussed the costs of renting land, of building and of purchasing equipment, they realized that they did not have enough capital to begin. They unanimously agreed to shelve the idea until a later date. This decision was taken at a meeting in June 1982. In April 1983 the owner of the oven again approached the Working Group and offered them the use of the oven. A Bakery Committee has been selected and is carefully laying plans to get the project idea back on stream.

The third project idea which the Working Group discussed at the beginning of 1982 was a pre-school project. From the beginning they realized that it would be quite a long time before they could start a pre-school, since they would need to get

someone trained as a nursery school teacher and they would have to find a building. They explored avenues for training and were fortunate to get a Cansave scholarship for a young woman from the community to attend a six-month course (July to December 1981) of training at the Child Welfare Training Centre (Cansave) in Kingstown. At a meeting in May they agreed that the school should start in January 1983. As with the other projects a committee was selected to plan and coordinate this project. Between July 1982 and January 1983 this committee held discussions with the Ministry of Education, the National Pre-School Committee, the parents of pre-school children and members of the community at large. After some initial problems they were able to secure a room in the primary school in the village and the pre-school was opened in February 1983 with thirty (30) pupils. In March 1983 the Working Group submitted a project proposal for pre-school equipment to USAID (Barbados) Special Development Assistant Fund, and they have received a grant of approximately US\$5,000 to purchase pre-school equipment.

For each of the above projects the working group and the project committee have gone through a process of *participatory planning* which has moved the project from the idea to the implementation stage.<sup>8</sup> The length of time involved in this process has varied, the shortest time being six months for the sewing project. The pre-school project took fourteen months and the bakery is taking even longer.<sup>9</sup> In one meeting when the bakery was being discussed, in answer to the question 'how soon can we start?', one member replied 'Yes, we need a bakery right now, but we will have to wait until everything is planned out'.

The working group and project committees have involved as many community members as possible in the planning and decision-making processes for each project/activity. They have done this by conducting community surveys and organising frequent community meetings. Between September 1982 and February 1983 five community meetings were called to discuss the pre-school project. The average attendance at these meetings has been about 75 persons. Informal discussions between members of the working group, project committees and community members take place continuously, and within the village there is an atmosphere of total communication.

It is clear that the people of Rose Hall understand how important it is for them to take time to plan if they want their projects to succeed. Those who fund and support development projects need to understand this and to show their commitment, not just by paying lip service, but by building into their proposals money to fund the time it takes for project participants to plan and implement community projects.

Within the Pilot Project key issues relating to women's role in rural development have been addressed. People in Rose Hall have examined and have understood that undesirable consequences can and do result if these issues/problems are not dealt with. As individuals and as a community they have decided to deal with some of these problems. They have done this by participating in a number of organized community projects and activities; and they have witnessed positive results – both tangible and intangible<sup>10</sup> – both at a personal and at the community level. In doing this they have demonstrated the 'bottom-up' model of development in action.

#### *REACHING PLANNERS THROUGH THE COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION APPROACH*

The people in Rose Hall realize that government officials and policy-makers could provide and/or make available resources which they need in order to design and implement community development programmes and projects. At the same time they have begun to view themselves as planners, and to see how collective action is benefitting their own community. Based on these realizations, they have devised strategies for getting government ministries and persons linked to other government agencies, to channel much needed resources to them.

Their strategy is a relatively simple one. The Working Group or project committee develops a plan of action which identifies the resources that they need and which agency has or controls these. Next the secretary or project coordinator writes a letter to the appropriate official stating the problem, laying out their plan and requesting either specific resources or a meeting to discuss the plan. This may be followed by a visit from the official to the community or by a visit to the official's office by a delegation from the Community. The purpose, agenda and/or outcomes of these meetings are discussed at a community meeting during which the community's position is planned.

This strategy has had positive results, and the community has received equipment and material from the Ministry of Agriculture as well as assistance and advice from a number of other governmental and non-governmental agencies. On one occasion when the Pre-School Committee requested the use of a room in the government primary school to start the nursery school, the head teacher refused on the grounds that 'there was no room!!' In spite of a series of meetings between the committee and the head teacher and staff, the latter still refused permission. In response, a number of meetings were held, and community members agreed to sign a petition. Before the petitions were completed however, members of the community simply told the head teacher that 'there was space available in the school for a nursery class', that it was their school in their community, that the space was needed for their children, and that they intended to have it. In the face of community pressure, permission was given and the nursery school is now housed in a room in the primary school.

This systematic organization and mobilization of the community around important issues of common concern has become a normal part of life in Rose Hall. Policy-makers have not only been responding to community initiatives, but have recognized and complimented them on their achievements in developing the community. The Ministries of Agriculture, Education and Community Development have all publicly commented on the nature of the experiment taking place in Rose Hall; and on a number of occasions individual community members have been used as resource persons in government programmes or to sit on a national planning committee.

To what extent planners will use the experience of Rose Hall as an integral part of the strategy of national development planning cannot be ascertained at this point, but the possibility of their doing so in the long term is a real one. The Chief Technical Officers in the Ministries of Agriculture and Community Development have already indicated that they would like to expose their field officers to training in the participatory methodology which is being used in Rose Hall. It is hoped that they will begin to promote and support initiatives in other rural communities, and use the people of Rose Hall as key resource persons to share their experience with their counterparts.

### COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION – THE KEY TO TRUE DEVELOPMENT

The single most important feature of Rose Hall is the degree and the extent to which large numbers of community members have participated in collecting and analysing information, and in all stages of planning, organizing and implementing community projects and activities. Their participation has been in a wide variety of activities at many different levels, in discussing, in making decisions and in evaluating their efforts. Through their participation they have become aware of their abilities and have gained self-confidence and improved self-esteem. They have seen and felt the benefits and have experienced a sense of achievement. But they have worked hard, they have given of their time and talents willingly, they have given of themselves and they are reaping the benefits – as they sing in their theme song at every meeting:

The time has come when we must share  
And to assist in any way  
So let us join in unity  
To build up our community.  
Oh! what a village this will be  
With benefits for you and me  
If time and talents we will give  
To build up our community!

### NON-DIRECTIVE INTERVENTION

In almost every instance development projects are initiated by outsiders, i.e. persons/agencies external to the community in which the projects are being implemented. However, a large number of these projects do not 'succeed' as well as their initiators would like or expect. To understand the reason for this 'failure' several issues need to be considered.

1. The nature and purpose of the intervention;
2. The timing and duration of the initial and each subsequent intervention;
3. The personal characteristics and institutional base of the intervenor.<sup>11</sup>

### THE ROLE OF THE INTERVENOR

The nature of the relationship between the intervenor and the community is crucial. Since to a large extent it determines the outcome of any project. A development worker needs to approach community members with respect and not with condescension, to be sensitive to the unique features and characteristics of the community and its members, to be open and honest about her own capabilities and limitations and to display a willingness to learn from the community as well as to pass on skills. Most importantly, she must know when *NOT* to intervene as well as *when* and *for how long* to do so.

When the Pilot Project was conceived it was anticipated that the Project Coordinator – a WAND field officer – would need to spend approximately ten days per month in Rose Hall, at least during the first year of the project. However, the longest period spent in the community has been the three weeks of the initial training workshop (March–April 1981).

During the first visit after this workshop (May 1981) the Project Coordinator realized that the working group had within it people with ideas and experience, people with practical skills in planning and organising, and that they were enthusiastic and willing to take some action. She realized too that they needed *time and space* to try out and experiment with some of the new ideas and skills to which they had been recently exposed, that they needed to make mistakes and to learn from them; and that her presence too often and/or for too long might lead to building dependency rather than self-sufficiency and self-reliance.

Once the group realized that support and assistance would be available *when* they needed it, they accepted the challenge and gained confidence in their ability to carry out the project. The own self-respect grew and was a reflection of the respect shown them in the first place. An adequate feedback, recording and monitoring system was developed during the initial three-week workshop and the group was able to use this to analyse and assess their own performance. Finally the appointment of a local (Vincentian) liaison officer who visited once every two or three weeks, ensured quick and easy communication between the group and the Coordinator at WAND in Barbados.

As the project progressed both the number of visits and the duration of each visit decreased and for the most part the

community has been organizing and managing its own affairs successfully. The coordinator was able to facilitate and support these community initiatives because she always kept in mind the purpose of her intervention, she consciously monitored its nature and assessed what the benefits of each visit were – from the Community's point of view.

### Coordinator's Visits to Rose Hall – January 1981 to June 1983

Year	Number of Visits	Frequency of Visits	Maximum length of each visit
January – December 1981	10	Every five weeks	5 days
January – December 1982	6	Once every 2 months	5 days
January – June 1983	3	Once every 3 months	3 days

#### *THE ROLE OF FUNDERS IN DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS*

Although it is now being generally accepted that an increase in money does not necessarily result in 'development', one of the realities faced by both development agencies and by rural communities is the need for money to implement development projects.

Many funders now accept the view that 'community participation' is necessary if the projects which they fund are to be successful. However, it is debatable how many of them are really committed to the idea of community participation, or if they are, then what they mean by it. Perhaps their view of community participation is different from the view of a development agency and from that of the community itself. Furthermore, these three views may all vary and be different from each other. In most cases the funders are so far removed from the situation and experience of a rural or poor urban community that their dilemma is understandable.

Funders are usually concerned about accountability for their money – and this is as it should be – but often the number of forms and the format for reporting and accounting is so time-consuming that there is little time left for development work. Funders are also very anxious to see 'tangible' outputs, 'success' and the 'results of development' in too short a space of time.

Development is a long and often slow process which takes considerable time and money. Grants that fund projects for two or three years may not be able to show 'tangible' results within this time, although some such results *might* be visible in five or six years time.

In the Rose Hall project tangible benefits, e.g. a pre-school project – are only now beginning to emerge after two years. However, within about six months after the start of the project, community members could see intangible benefits by the way in which the women were 'walking with more pride' and 'speaking with more self-confidence'. It would appear (it should be obvious, but often isn't) that self-esteem and self-confidence are necessary before one can handle an income-generating project. Furthermore it is significant to note that the first tangible outcome of this project was a non-formal adult education programme (intangible outcomes) and that this has been the base from which all the other tangible projects have grown.

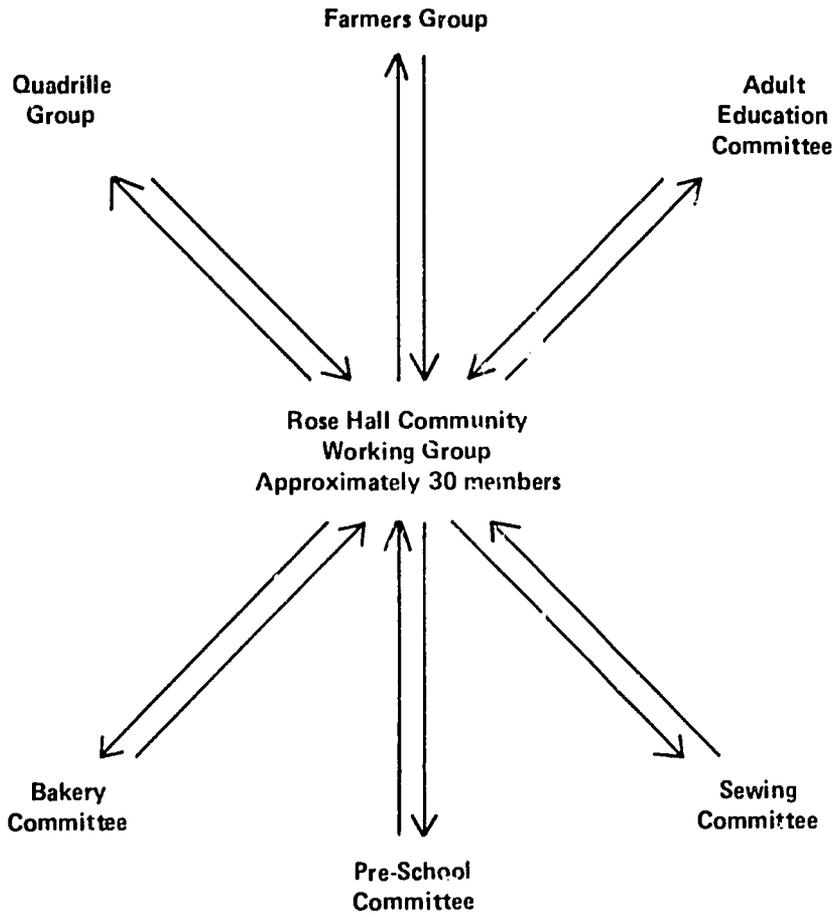
If funders are serious about and committed to community participation in development projects, they not only need to channel their funds to local, indigenous agencies and/or development workers who are closer to and have a better understanding of communities, but they also need to consider and adopt: –

1. more flexible and open approaches and conditions for funding;
2. more realistic time-frames in which they expect development to 'happen', e.g. a grant for five years in say two phases – Phase I two years, Phase II three years;
3. simpler and less cumbersome and complicated accounting and reporting procedures;
4. more creative ways of user-based measures of assessing and measuring the 'success' of projects and programmes;
5. a genuine and sympathetic, though not patronizing, attitude towards 'those who need to be developed'.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Profiles of Small Farming in St. Lucia, Dominica and St. Vincent – A Baseline Survey, CARDI/Faculty of Agriculture, UWI, 1979.
2. Official wages for agricultural workers in St. Vincent are Women EC\$10 per day, men EC\$12 per day.
3. A Baseline Survey of Farmer Households conducted during the early stages of the Project.
4. The Government ministries were the Ministries of Agriculture, Community Development, Health and Education.
5. The non-government organizations were The National Council of Women (NCW), the Organisation for Rural Development (ORD), St. Vincent and Cansave.
6. See Diagram in Appendix I.
7. Rose Hall once had a reputation of being the best quadrille dancing village in St. Vincent.
8. See Chart in Appendix II.
9. See Time Frame in Appendix III.
10. See Appendix IV
11. See Appendix IV for Dos and Don'ts for Intervenors.

APPENDIX I

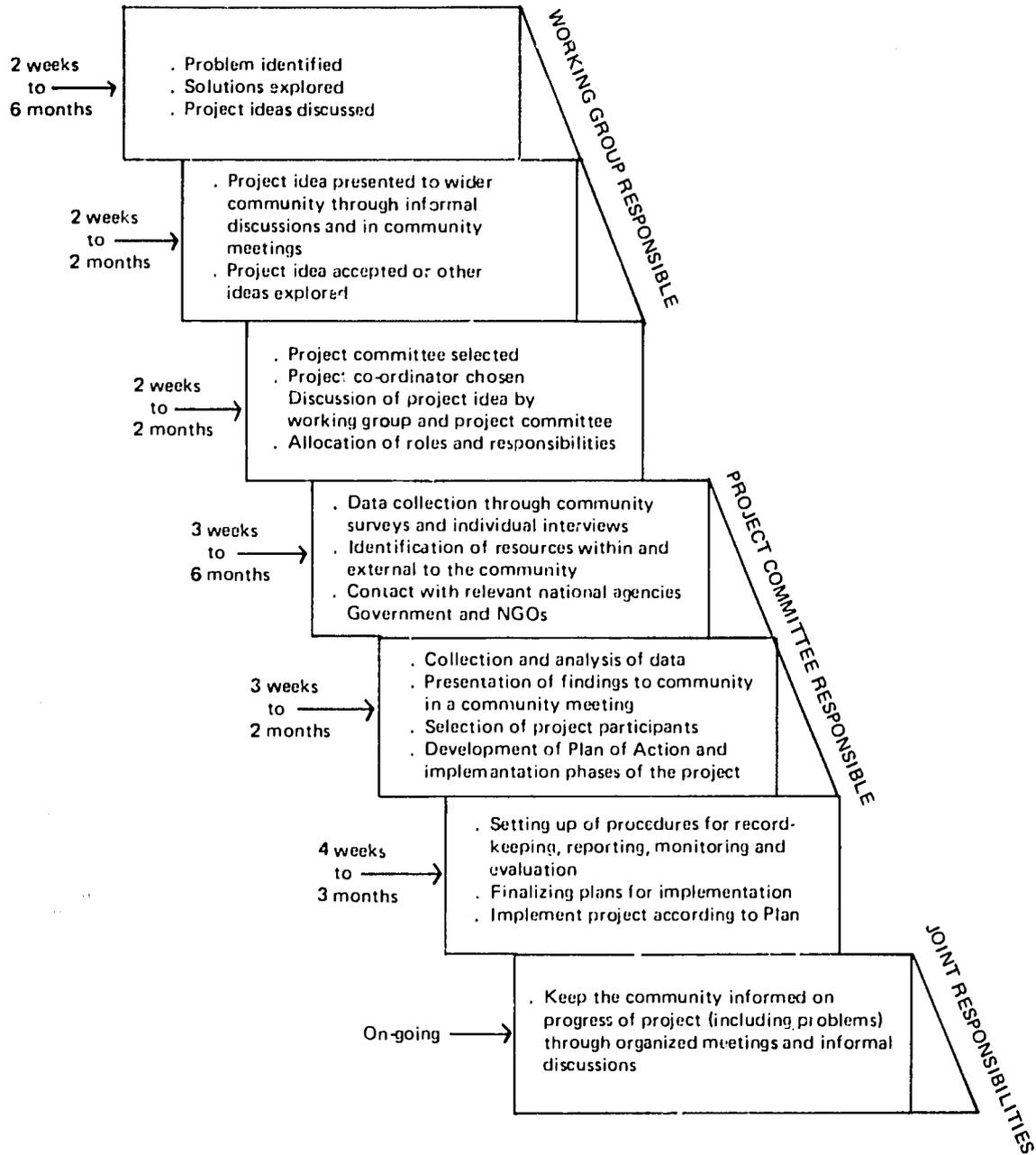


Organisation and Management of Rose Hall  
Community Projects and Activities

## APPENDIX II

### A PARTICIPATORY PLANNING PROCESS (Used by the People in Rose Hall to Develop and Implement Community Development Projects)

Minimum to maximum amount of time needed



**APPENDIX III  
PILOT PROJECT FOR THE INTEGRATION OF WOMEN IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT  
ROSE HALL, ST. VINCENT W.I., SEPTEMBER 1980 – JUNE 1983**

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PROJECT ACTIVITY	1980				1981								1982								1983										
	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.
Implementing agency (WAND) Pre-project Planning (Pilot Project). Initial discussions, selection of project community, contact with community, etc.	█																														
Initiative Implementation of Pilot Project.																															
Training																															
Small economic projects, ginger sweet project, community fair, sponsored walk, etc.																															
Implementation of project activities, through community initiatives Farmers' Group Activity																															
Adult Education Programme																															
Sewing Project																															
Bakery Project																															
Pre-school Project																															

PLANNING →

IMPLEMENTATION →

PLANNING →

IMPLEMENTATION →

PROJECT IDEA SHELVED →

PLANNING →

IMPLEMENTATION →

## APPENDIX IV

### ISSUES/PROBLEMS, METHODS/APPROACHES, AND OUTCOMES

1. Key issues which were considered so as to ensure that women would be fully involved at all levels and in all aspects of an Integrated Rural Development Project.
2. Some of the undesirable consequences which could result if these issues are not addressed.
3. Participatory methods, approaches and activities used to address these issues.
4. Some of the Positive Outcomes which resulted.

Issues/Problems	Undesirable Consequences	Methods, approaches and activities used to address the issue	Some Positive outcomes
<b>A. Insufficient Data.</b> Information on life of women in rural communities	Lack of recognition of their contribution to the social and economic development of the community	<b>Research</b> (a) Baseline survey of farm households – random sample (b) Participatory research techniques -- community	(a) Specific data on farm households and the role of women. (b) Women collect, analyse and use data about their situation in the home and in the community. Information used to plan programme/projects/activities.
<b>B.</b> Lack of access to and knowledge of resources re agricultural activities  ● Marketing problems – lack of agricultural information  ● Low levels of income  ● Lack of awareness of women's economic contribution	● Overproduction – wasted fruits and vegetables  ● Low price for produce  ● Poor farming practices  ● Exploitation of women's time and labour	● Formation of a Farmer's Group  ● Written requests to and meetings with Ministry of Agriculture personnel including Marketing Board  ● Adult education classes in agricultural information  ● Visit to other farmers' groups  ● Revolving loan scheme seed and fertilizer bank bought in bulk and re-tailed to farmers  ● Workshop in small business management for women	More effective bargaining power  ● Received seeds equipment and fertilizer from Ministry.  ● Classes in agricultural information conducted by extension officer  ● Comparison of farming practices and diversification of crops.  ● Farmers are able to purchase these cheaper from the group  ● More realistic assessment of women's time and efforts re economic activity.
<b>C.</b> Low Level of Literacy and Skills	● Low self-esteem  ● Lack of confidence  ● Unaware of possibilities and options  ● Under-utilization of human and material resources  ● Low earning power and income	<b>Adult Education Programmes</b> – Personal development – Home management – Agricultural information – Basic literacy  ● Training workshops and seminars in Programme Planning, project management, evaluation  ● Training in skills – home, improvement, sewing agricultural practices	● Improved self-esteem  ● Greater self-confidence  ● Higher level of participation in discussion and decision-making  ● Greater motivation and higher level of interest in project activities  ● Increase awareness of problems and of problem-solving techniques.  ● Better use of time and resources  ● Involvement in all economic activities to supplement income, e.g. sewing, chicken rearing  ● Improvement in the level and use of literacy skills  ● Improved nutrition – better use and preparation of local foods, chicken raising.

Issues/Problems	Undesirable Consequences	Methods, approaches and activities used to address the issue	Some Positive outcomes
<p><b>D.</b> The Changing Role and Relationship of Women and Men in Society</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Lack of understanding of the implications of these changes</li> <li>● General acceptance of women as 'wife and mother' and ignorance of the multiple roles of rural women</li> <li>● Very little recognition of the important contribution of rural women to socio-economic development of the society</li> <li>● Oppression and discrimination of women as a result of socializing and conditioning</li> <li>● Conflict in the male/female relationships</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Sensitizing sessions to build the awareness of women and men of the changing roles</li> <li>● Sessions on personal development and interpersonal relationships and the implications of the 'multiple roles' of women</li> <li>● Workshop on the Role of Men in the Development of the community – 'Confrontation' of the sexes.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Better understanding by women of their situation, oppression, discrimination</li> <li>○ Women gain greater sense of their self-worth, their value and of their contribution to society.</li> <li>● They recognize that they have a wide variety of skills and begin to explore and use these</li> <li>● Identification of factors causing 'poor relationships' and/or misunderstanding between men and women</li> <li>● Greater insights into each other's needs, problems, aspirations, expectations</li> <li>● Improvement in family relationships – males more willing to help with household chores, women taking a more assertive role in decision making.</li> </ul>
<p><b>E.</b> Lack of Community Organization and Participation</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Low level of participation of community members</li> <li>● Resources available but not being fully used</li> <li>● Fragmentation, conflict and lack of cooperation</li> <li>● Failure of development projects and programmes</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Activities to promote high level of community participation in activities</li> <li>● Community meetings to discuss issues of common concern. Large numbers of these meetings – mass dialogue</li> <li>● High degree of community spirit, cooperation and cohesion</li> <li>● Written requests to Government Ministries</li> <li>● Delegations, visits and meetings with Government personnel to discuss problems</li> <li>● Meetings, visits, discussion with NGOs and other resource persons in the wider society</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● More people, women participation in discussions and decision-making</li> <li>● More resources being made available to community members because of common community stand or important issues and requests to various agencies</li> <li>● Positive responses from officials</li> <li>● Visits of officials to the community to meet and discuss problems with community members</li> <li>● Successful community projects, e.g. pre-school sewing</li> <li>● Development of the community and its members</li> <li>● Role models for other communities</li> </ul>

## APPENDIX V

### SOME DO'S AND DON'TS FOR INTERVENORS

1. **Do remember that the primary purpose of your intervention should be to assist the community to develop itself not for you to develop it.**
2. **Don't ever lose sight of No. 1**
3. **Do be sensitive to and respect community members – they have knowledge about their community which you don't; they also have skills.**
4. **Don't be condescending – if you are genuine the community will soon find out, if you are not, they'll eventually see through you.**
5. **Do time your visits, and only stay as long as is necessary for you to give some specific assistance or transfer some skill – know why you are going each time.**
6. **Don't be afraid to make mistakes or to let the community members make mistakes – use mistakes as opportunities for learning.**
7. **Do admit when you have made a mistake or have misjudged a situation – you are human.**
8. **Don't be afraid to admit that you are also learning and developing because of your involvement with the community – if you are not, then you are in no position to help them to develop.**
9. **Do be honest with yourself, enjoy your work with a community – if you are not enjoying it, then get out and stay out!**

# VI LEARNING ABOUT RURAL PEOPLE: INFORMATION AND TECHNIQUES FOR USE BY PLANNERS AND THOSE CONCERNED WITH REACHING PLANNERS

## GUIDELINES REPORTED AT THE REGIONAL WORKSHOP

Judith Bruce  
Affette McCaw

### (i) *INFORMATION COLLECTION*

Review existing social science literature on the area or community.

Locate any baseline data collection done prior to the project, or encourage baseline data collection so that comparisons can be made over time on project impact.

Collect both qualitative and quantitative data to assess project impact.

If data are collected at one point in time, such as the evaluation, use recall to compare pre-project circumstances and/or contrast with similarly situated people not in the project.

Tap project files to see what data management has and has not collected about participants.

Use multiple methods, such as group interviews, individuals, and participant observation, to comprehend the whole of reality. (See Methodological Chapter by Staudt.)

#### *Background Information about Rural Household Operation*

Family composition and structure, number and gender of household leadership (women-headed households, jointly-headed households, etc.) (See Staudt Chapter.)

Age and number of dependents (older/retired adults, children, unemployed male and female youth). (See Jamaica case.)

Decision-making structure, both perceived and observed, as regards deployment of household labour, control of assets, use of income, etc. (See Jamaica and St. Lucia cases.)

#### *Household Survival Strategies*

Division of Labour: Work inputs by different household members (age and sex) on: (1) critical productive tasks; (2) domestic management; and (3) child-bearing and raising.

Degree to which labour of individual members is over- or under-utilized on various tasks (time budgets, existing unemployment statistics may provide guidance). (See Jamaica and St. Lucia cases.)

Contributions of different household members (female, male, young, old) to full household income, both cash (wages [season or on-going] and in kind). How much and how reliable are these contributions? (See Dominica Case)

Returns on labour and incentives to produce for individual members. Comparative rates of remuneration for work, especially that created by the development scheme. Are female and male workers directly and equally remunerated? Does the 'head of household' gain all the income directly? (See St. Lucia case.)

Different household members' skills, work history, aspirations for skills and wage-earning (See Jamaica case.)

Life histories of family composition, sources of support, reliability of different members' household survival strategies.

Expenditure priorities of different household members. What percentage do they contribute to meeting household basic needs? (See Dominica case.)

Associative networks of different household members; extra-household sources of support. Are networks woman-only (or male-only) or mixed sex? What influence do women or women's issues have in the latter?

Saving patterns and priorities of different household members.

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Note: References in parentheses after points refer to specific case studies where this kind of information was gathered.

Role of migration: sex and age, degree of continuing relationships, through remittances, influence, sense of loss to family.

#### *Relations in Community and with Government*

Community perceptions or roles and values placed on men, women, young, and old. (See Jamaica case.)

Past and present relationships to central administrative units and other development sources. Effect of the project on these relationships. (See Dominica case.)

Nature and degree of coverage of resources and infrastructure directed to the community. (See Dominica case.)

Traditional leadership: roles of women, men, young and old in formal and informal associations. (See Jamaica case.)

### (ii) *EVALUATION OF PROGRAMME OPERATIONS*

#### *Community View of Development Projects*

How was the community 'informed' about the project? Who was informed? Whose ideas were solicited, were they used? Are project decision-makers and external staff respected and accepted in the community? If external staff left, would or could the work continue? (See all cases.)

#### *Women's Roles in Development*

Besides wage earning, other work such as subsistence food production and household management should be valued. Placing value on unpaid work could include cost deferred (or savings to the family), time involved, and opportunities lost.

How is women's work valued? Do labour force statistics provide an accurate reflection of women's work? Do official statistics disaggregate data by sex in their analysis and reports?

Has women's direct access to and control of income and productive resources such as land increased? (See all cases.)

Which women have benefitted (old or young, wealthy or poor)

Women's multiple roles include child-rearing and other domestic tasks, emotional support, family subsistence, productivity, and social participation. How do women balance (or fail to balance) their multiple roles, with what stresses? Have women contributed more or less time to these various roles? Have physical efforts and health risks increased or decreased? (See St. Lucia and Jamaica cases and Staudt methodological chapter.) Have women's particular interests been served?

Has women's ability to save and their access to training and credit increased or decreased? Have women been stimulated to obtain income from work that is usually unpaid, for their families, such as cooking, leading to catering, or sewing leading to dress-making? (See St. Lucia and Dominica cases.)

Social contact with others can lead to increased self-esteem, enhanced leadership skills, and cooperative exchange relationships for personal and community development. Women's participation in the decision-making process can take place in households, organizations, the community, and wider society. Have women been integrated in traditional and new cooperative structures? (See all cases.)

Women's participation in projects is hindered by their time constraints, which can for example, make it difficult to accept training or to travel to distant places for training. Also, women may receive no return on their labour, reducing incentives to participate. To support the home in their absence, short-term cash may be necessary, although as the Jamaica case shows, reliance cannot be placed on immediate or short-term interests alone. Women heads of households, especially, must be able to cover household problems while participating. Have projects considered these constraints?

Have women's views of themselves, as viewed by others, been enhanced or diminished?

Have women become more dependent on men due to discriminatory legal provisions, administrative procedures, or resource allocations to men alone? (See St. Lucia case.)

Have men become more aware of women's value to the family, community and country? Do men accept and support women's participation in development?

#### *Extent and Intensiveness of Benefits and Work Burden.*

Project interventions benefit some more than others. Some may have reduced leisure time; others, excluded from decision-making; and still others contributed more hours of labour without direct returns. Look for differences between adult and men and women, female and male youth, male and female children, older women and men, households of different compositions, intended and unintended participants or persons affected.

#### *Viability of Development Projects*

Was the design of the project informed by past studies, previous project lessons, or baseline data collection? (See St. Lucia case.)

Was the project rigidly planned, or was room left for flexible adaptation? If integrated, how do project components relate to one another? How does project management link with community decision-making, ministry officials, and planners? (See Ellis and Bosnak papers.)

If an economic project, is it economically sound? Does it rely on under-compensated work or over-compensated/subsidized labour? (See Jamaica case.)

Are behavioural changes viewed as desirable? By whom? Have the changes taken place and will they continue incentives? (See Jamaica and St. Lucia cases.)

Have critical management and participation skills been built up? (See all cases.)

How dependent is the scheme on external resources whose supply is uncertain? How dependent is the scheme to a market? (See Dominica and St. Lucia case.)

#### *Pluses, Minuses and Alternative Approaches*

What are the views of different clients (male, female), local staff, subregional managers, and planners of this scheme? What do they view as effective and why? What have been effects of the project, both intended and unintended? (See Staudt methodological chapter, and Jamaica case.)

### (iii) PROGRAMME DEVELOPMENT AND PARTICIPATION

The only valid basis for project design involves close and abiding contact with the rural population whose lives are affected and who are the majority of possible change agents. Ideally, the 'community' gives ideas on the content and procedures, and staffs and manages development projects. The nature and degree of participation actually permitted depends upon the scope, depth of commitment to participation, and the degree to which noncommunity specialist resources are required.

The community should be defined to include all its various sub-groups (women, men, young, old, vocal and non-vocal). Those unaccustomed or prevented from voicing their views and needs should be facilitated to do so.

The community should identify its own needs, order its own priorities, and influence decisions about infrastructure. (See Ellis and Bosnak papers.)

The community should provide indicators of 'good', 'average', or 'poor' conditions, facilities, diet, etc. so that meaningful standards and measures are used. (See Bosnak paper.)

Development interventions must focus their initial efforts on at least one or more immediate needs as defined by the community. Planners must recognize that their needs may differ from community needs.

Communities must be met at their own level regarding skills, perceptions of need, and readiness to test new behaviour. (See St. Lucia case.)

The negotiation phase should have built into it: (1) an evaluation of the readiness of the community for project implementation; and (2) a sufficient start-up phase as providing the time necessary to install infrastructure and acquire support systems like technology, equipment and trained staff.

On-going mechanisms for community participation should be established that: (1) incorporate diverse aspects of the community; (2) manage the development components as soon as possible; (3) collect and evaluate information on the project components and decide what 'content' is needed; and (4) channel information and requests up the line, serving as 'demand' structures. (See Ellis and Bosnak papers.)

On-going monitoring should be established with at least one mid-term evaluation to provide flexibility to amend (or in the most extreme case, terminate the project). Consideration must be given to: (1) whether the project is being developed with the aim of self-sufficiency of its participants at termination; (2) whether the project can be assimilated into the national recurrent budget; and (3) final outcomes or beneficiaries of equipment, technical assistance acquired and staff employed.

Evaluation should contain indications of change that may not always be possible to measure in the two-to-four year life of some projects. Such indications should consider: (1) the empowerment of community residents; (2) the education, participation and involvement of people; and (3) the psychology of humans, particularly the poor and what happens, negatively and positively, as they use power, move, and grow.

### (iv) CHANNELING INFORMATION FROM THE RURAL COMMUNITY TO PLANNERS

Direct contact between affected or requesting communities and the planners. The community can initiate the contact. (See Ellis paper.)

Functioning as a team, design and evaluation exercises should include planners, analysts, representatives of administra-

tive units. Teams should visit the field. (This project's method, see Annexes to case and Staudt methodological chapter.)

Meetings and workshops should be held where planners meet and clients and hear relevant research results.

As planners are busy, elusive, lack reading time, and are the products of 'political will', other techniques include: (1) provocative publicity about development schemes; (2) constituent pressure; (3) advocacy by influentials, governmental and non-governmental; (4) critiques of existing political platforms which demonstrate relationship of political goals to rural people's needs; and (5) analyses of national or sectoral development plans which highlight rural women's special potentials. (See Odi-Ali and Akerele Papers.)

(v) *INSTITUTIONALIZING PLANNERS' CONCERN WITH RURAL COMMUNITIES AND WOMEN'S ROLES.*

Institute training programmes directed at changing attitudes and information levels of top staff. (See Akerele paper.)

Establish Women's Units to coordinate, critique, and stimulate sectoral and national attention to women's roles and contribution to national goals. Women's bureac can: (1) channel information from the community, government and research organizations to planning bodies; (2) educate both officials and the broader public about women's development, break down stereotyped male/female roles; and (3) encourage schools and universities to recognize women's roles in the curriculum.

Revise logical frameworks of project designs to specify impact by class of 'client' (e.g. before and after status of women, men, young, old; households of different asset bases).

Encourage applied research that is indigenously controlled and funded.

Increase the timeframe and flexibility of large-scale development schemes so that the viability and acceptability of the approach can be reviewed and acted upon by the 'target' group.

Set aside certain amounts of projects for specified human capital development components to be designed by local communities. (See Ellis papers.)

(vi) *FUNDING/NEGOTIATION WITH EXTERNAL DONORS TO SUPPORT RURAL COMMUNITIES AND WOMEN'S CONCERNS*

Deliberations should be entered into cautiously. Negotiators must be prepared and must appreciate their power and rights, especially to reject or alter certain components.

In preparing for negotiation, pains should be taken to understand the funding sources by learning their: (1) ideology and therefore motives; (2) rules and regulations; and (3) if specialist-oriented, areas of particular interest for funding.

In the pre-negotiation process, governments and organizations should: (1) have set guidelines; (2) be aware of their power during negotiation; (3) require that all externally funded projects come through planning agencies so coordination can take place; (4) require that local counterparts must participate from the 'pre-planning' stage; and (5) know counterpart funding requirements before realistic commitments can be made.

Long-term considerations in developing any project should include: (1) how well the project benefits the community in the long run; (2) how it affects the lives of women; (3) whether it will be inflationary, i.e. cause the cost of living to increase beyond participants' abilities; and (4) whether group disparities will be created in the community.

## VII ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON WOMEN IN THE CARIBBEAN

Kathleen A. Staudt

James M. Blaunt, et.al. "A Study of Cultural Determinants of Soil Erosion and Conservation in the Blue Mountains of Jamaica," *WORK AND FAMILY LIFE: WEST INDIAN PERSPECTIVES*, Lambros Comitas and David Lowenthal, eds. (New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1973) — Based on a small sample of men and women, concludes that soil erosion projects fail because they do not distinguish between men's and women's labor, incomes, and responsibilities. Women market the food produced and help men in the fields, but women also grow and sell their own crops, such as peas and tomatoes. Income is clearly differentiated in the household, and men and women emphasize different crops to maximize their own income and security. Women exert influence to plant crops they can market, rather than men's tree crops (which would prevent soil erosion). Given high rates of marital instability, women want to ensure themselves an income to care for themselves should the union break up.

Harvey Blustain and Arthur Goldsmith, *LOCAL ORGANIZATION AND PARTICIPATION IN INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN JAMAICA* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Center for International Studies, 1980) — Examines local organizations in the rural sector in and around the Second Integrated Rural Development Project, based on data collected from 415 households. Notes a high rate of female farm headship (22%) and great disparities in the distribution of land (79% of farms have 5 or fewer acres, but account for only 15% of acreage, according to the 1968 Jamaica Census of Agriculture). Compares Two Meetings (TM) with the poorer and more remote Pindars Rivers (PR) watersheds and finds the former to have larger percentages of households with electricity and piped water. More TM households hire labour (80% v. 57%), while fewer rely on household members as major sources of labour (34% v. 57%) than PR. TM farmers concentrate more on food crops and are more densely settled.

— Describes 12 rural organizations, including Jamaica Agriculture Society, commodity organizations, the People's Cooperative (PC) Bank, community councils, youth groups (in which "youth" reach their 30s), and church groups (with women's auxiliaries in them). Does not differentiate reported, active and nominal members by sex, but rather by percent of households with members. In all cases except banana marketing, PR residents have higher rates of membership in agricultural organizations, due to their isolation and need for organizational assistance to dispose of crops. In nonagricultural organizations, only 1% of households report membership in a women's club. When examining JAS membership by farm size, finds membership representative of the population, with the exception of very large farmers who get ag advice and services on their own. "One of our most surprising findings about JAS," said the authors, was women's participation; women were present at meetings, 20 of 29 branch secretaries were women, and 35% of women interviewed reported that they were members (compared to 40% of men). "We suspect. . . that women's participation may be inflated, for many women may state that they belong to JAS only because they occasionally accompany their husbands to meetings."

— Almost a fifth of households report having at least one higher (higher in PR). On very small holdings, higglers supplement household income; on holdings of 2+ acres, higglers dispose of household surplus. A vast majority of farmers sell to higglers (91% in TM, v. 57% in PR), despite the rich variety of agricultural marketing organizations. Higglers come into the fields to help pick and transport, and farmers find that convenient. (No mention is made of women being higglers.)

— A majority of farmers had never been contacted by an extension agent (PR—63% v. 54% in TM) (No breakdown by sex). About two-thirds of households expressed some awareness of the IRDP; the closer households were to project headquarters, the higher their level of awareness. Many farmers "had only a rudimentary understanding of how the Project operates, what its goals are, what the conditions of participation are, and what the farmer himself has to contribute. "What is the Project all about anyway?" became one of the standard questions we had to answer. . . ."

Rosemary Brana-Shute, "Women's Clubs and Politics: The Case of a Lower Class Neighborhood in Paramaribo, Surinam," *URBAN ANTHROPOLOGY* 5, 2 (Summer, 1976), pp. 157-186 — Describes extensive organization among neighborhood women in social, political and survival strategy groups.

Rosemary Brana-Shute and Gary Brana-Shute, *THE UNEMPLOYED OF THE EASTERN CARIBBEAN: ATTITUDES AND ASPIRATIONS* (St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Lucia, and Barbados), Monograph prepared for the U.S. Agency for International Development, 1980 — Focused on unemployment, this monograph primarily reviews other studies; contains a 17-page bibliography.

— In the *Dominica* chapter, uses (1) Dominica 1970 census to show that women's unemployment rates in all age categories are always higher than men's, (2) Dominica 1961 and 1971 agricultural censuses to show severe inequities in land distribution (holdings less than 2 hectares comprise 69% of holdings, but 11% of farm land; holdings of 40+ hectares comprise 1% of holdings

but 56% of the farm land. Female participation in the agricultural work force was 36% in 1960 (latest year for which figures available), but (male-controlled) mechanization is argued to undermine demand for women's labor. While women worked in smocking and garment making in cottage industry 3-5 years ago, low profit and high overhead have all but ended these activities. Describes the Social League as the largest women's organization (now ecumenical in orientation), enthusiastic youth clubs, and a cooperative tradition supported by the Division of Community Development. Elected village councils pass information from communities to the national government.

– In the *St. Lucia* chapter, uses (1) Caribbean Congress of Labor data to show that women's unemployment rates are always higher than men's at all age groups, (2) technical school records to reveal a fairly high rate of female participation (30-40%) in "non-traditional" skill training such as motor vehicle mechanics, carpentry, and building, and (3) Weir's Agricultural Consulting Services data for the Caribbean Development Bank to show severe imbalances in land distribution (82% of holders own less than 2 hectares of land, occupying 14% of total farm land, while less than a per cent of holders (.6%) owning 80+ hectares hold 53% of total acreage). Reports that St. Lucian youth seem more willing to consider work in own-account farming than other areas studied.

Lynn Bolles, "Household Economic Strategies in Kingston, Jamaica," *WOMEN AND WORLD CHANGE: EQUITY ISSUES IN DEVELOPMENT*, Naomi Black and Ann Cottrell, eds. (Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1981) – Illustrates survival strategies of low-income urban women with profiles of typical women.

Susan E. Brown, "Love Unites Them and Hunger Separates Them: Poor Women in the Dominican Republic," *TOWARD AN ANTHROPOLOGY OF WOMEN*, Rayna Reiter, ed. (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975) – Analyzes how women in the (Spanish) Caribbean cope with poverty and maximize limited resources through the strategies of multiple mates, strong mother-daughter ties, and "child-shifting" whereby children are temporarily loaned to other households. Illustrates with profiles of typical women.

Mayra Buvinic, Nadia Youssef, with Barbara Von Elm, *WOMEN HEADED HOUSEHOLDS: THE IGNORED FACTOR IN DEVELOPMENT PLANNING*. Monograph prepared for the Women in Development Office, U.S. Agency for International Development, 1978 – Contains a separate case study of female households in the Caribbean (pp. 50-72) because of regional census data collection by union and marriage statuses, occupation, income, size of households, and other variables, permitting comparative analysis with men. Notes problems, however, with data, including respondents' misreporting or not stating their union status. Analysis reveals that female headed households are disadvantaged in terms of education and income; they are older and work outside the home at higher rates. Develops a four-fold typology of women in households.

Ellen Bussey, Norene Halvonik, Toni Christiansen-Wagner, and Allan Broehl, *LABOR MARKET ANALYSIS FOR ST. LUCIA AS RELATED TO THE PROPOSED CARIBBEAN REGIONAL YOUTH EMPLOYMENT AND SKILLS TRAINING PROJECT* (unpublished, Agency for International Development, Sept. - Oct. 1981) – Overview of St. Lucian economy and description of highly educated and skilled population. Heavy male out-migration leaves over 7,000 surplus women than men. Notes trends away from farming, with declining number of farms and amount of acreage under production; average farmers' age is 47. Lists of on-going and planned training, including a description of the Save the Children Fund Anse La Raye project.

Elsa Chaney, "Seminar on Women as Agricultural Producers, Consumers and Distributors," (University of Minnesota, May 16, 1980 – Differentiates between the female farm managers (a "good proportion" of participating farm operators in the IRDP Farm Plans are women) and the wives of (male) farm operators. Women's component links these wives to project goals and activities. Cites nutritional problems of women and children, a result of dietary deficiencies. IRDP concerned with income initially, not with what people eat. Describes Women's Component Family Food Production Plan of nine vegetables, promoted along with nutrition education program. Also discusses recruiting and training 34 young women (15 of whom were hired) for month-long course. No separate home extension service was created; rather the women officers report to subwatershed offices and are advised by the WID/Home Extension Coordinator.

– Analyzes five requirements for building women's components (build the first year/choose projects to make a significant impact/work to institutionalize gains/build replicable component/do only with support from project personnel).

– In a question and answer period, criticizes traditional home economists who were concerned with food consumption only (not food production) and who defined households along U.S. nuclear family lines. Yet describes positive aspects of home economists (organizing ability, learning and educational devices, use of local materials though sometimes she "wished that there were fewer flannel boards and posters around"). Calls for integration (currently in Jamaican School of Ag, home economists are not allowed to take ag courses), but in the meantime, women can teach women.

Elsa Chaney, "Scenarios of Hunger in the Caribbean: Migration, Decline of Smallholder Agriculture and the Feminization of Farming." Caribbean Studies Association, May 25-29, 1982, Kingston – Outlines the food crisis in the English-speaking Caribbean as caused by out-migration, declining productivity in the small farm sector of the foods that poor people eat, the "feminization of farming" (whereby women take on more responsibilities without receiving support, overdependency on imported food, and scarcity of foreign exchange. Reviews literature on nutrition, indicating that low-income Jamaicans spend approximately 80% of their income on food.

Elsa Chaney and Martha Lewis, "Creating a 'Woman's Component,' A Case Study in Rural Jamaica," March, 1981, Women in Development Office, U.S. Agency for International Development – Reviews data collected on male/female participation and decision-making by IRDP (22% of farms managed by women; two-thirds of husbands consult wives and 65% of wives consult husbands). Reports that 11 of 68 professionals on staff were women working as ag extension officers; some were "useful allies."

Planning process included talking with women about project and food needs. Describes limitations of traditional home economics and the need to focus on production. Outlines training program implementation and the difficulties some women officers initially had when hired (women's component considered a low priority, transportation needs neglected, etc.), as well as accomplishments (by September, 1980, 540 gardens, 4207 home visits, popular exhibit of Lorena stove, and initiation of group work).

Elsa Chaney and Martha Lewis, "IRDP Women's Program: Suggestions and Recommendations for Expanding the WID/Home Extension Components in the II IRDP, Christiana, Jamaica," (September 18, 1980 – Recommends (1) a second training course for prospective officers (which phases in child care/child development and family planning), (2) a restructuring of the craft workshop, (3) a Farm Women's Centre, containing a lecture hall for workshops, seed and tool cooperative, and displays such as of appropriate technology, (4) a Home Economics Training Centre which would train young women as household helpers and for employment in hotels and restaurants, and (5) a Child Development Centre—an experimental child care centre to teach child development through practical experience and to offer daycare for people in the Christiana area. \*

Elsa Chaney and Helen Strickland, "Building a Women's Component," (February, 1980 – Details on project background, program staff training, course content and procedures (contains actual curriculum as well), evaluation, and follow-up. Annex II is a reprint of "Planning a Women's Component: IRDP, Two Meetings and Pindars Watersheds, Jamaica," March 26, 1979, which describes background, planning process, and justifications for women's component.

Filomina Chioma Steady, ed. THE BLACK WOMAN CROSS-CULTURALLY (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Schenkman, 1981) – Book contains a section on the Caribbean, including anthropological materials such as the Moses article (see below) and an analysis of girl-boy socialization by Joyce Justice. Also includes historical studies, such as on Maroon communities.

Edith Clarke, "Land Tenure and the Family in Four Selected Communities in Jamaica," (SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STUDIES 1, 4 (1953) – Distinguishes between "bought land" and "family land." Family land, for which family members oppose sale, is shared among a relatively large group of extended family members and underutilizes land for agriculture, but it provides security and maintains family solidarity (however much tension may exist over land use). In eligibility to inherit, "there is no sex discrimination," says Clarke; nor is discrimination based on the order of birth.

Edith Clarke, MY MOTHER WHO FATHERED ME: A STUDY OF THE FAMILY IN THREE SELECTED COMMUNITIES IN JAMAICA (New York: George Allen & Unwin, 1957) – An introduction by M.G. Smith reviews competing explanations for matrifocal family structure (African derivation v. economic context, v. imbalanced sex ratio). He also highlights British attention to family life in its Royal Commission survey of 1938 and Lady Huggins' (wife of the Governor) largely unsuccessful Mass Marriage Movement in the mid-1940s.

– Book compares three communities which differ in terms of poverty and employment stability. Orange Grove (pseudonym), the most economically developed of the three, has the stablest family life and highest marriage rates. Also describes women's different expectations about work in marital versus other unions with men, and men's expectations of wives as economic liabilities. (Although dated, the 1980 IICA bibliography reports that this remains accurate.)

Yehudi Cohen, "Four Categories of Interpersonal Relationships in the Family and Community in a Jamaican Village," PEOPLES AND CULTURES OF THE CARIBBEAN: AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL READER, Michael Horowitz, ed. (Garden City; New York: Natural History Press, 1971) – Based on field study in the central mountains in (pseudonym) Rocky Road, stresses income separation within households (and worth quoting at length): "Husbands and wives maintain absolute secrecy about their cash earnings from each other. The maintenance of such secrecy and of separate purses in the family must be viewed within a broader context of economic rivalry between spouses which is manifest in a number of ways: (1) Husbands and wives sell land (but not food) to each other. Buying and selling between spouses is as competitive as between unrelated Rocky Roaders. . . . Women are generally assigned the task of carrying their husbands' produce to market for sale. The latter have no way of predicting the precise amount of money these items will net, and their wives capitalize on this fact and invariably pocket part of the proceeds. Men do the same when carrying their wives' produce to market."

Lambros Comitas, "Occupational Multiplicity in Rural Jamaica," PEOPLES AND CULTURES OF THE CARIBBEAN: AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL READER, Michael Horowitz, ed. (Garden City; New York: Natural History Press, 1971) – No attention to women, but describes the survival strategies of working in several occupations and probably applicable to women. Heavily cited in other works.

David Edwards, REPORT ON AN ECONOMIC STUDY OF SMALL FARMING IN JAMAICA (Institute of Social and Economic Research, University College of the West Indies, 1961) – Reports results from weekly interviews for a whole year with 87 farmers (9 of whom were women) on farm labor, production, disposal of produce, a farm and off-farm income, and livestock. Half the farmers claim to have learned from extension officers (although only 1:1000 farmers), but few read the farmers journal or circulars.

– Describes how young men seek a stable union with a capable woman who can manage property while he is away, help with farm work, and make decisions. Wonders if farmers consecutively sought women who were economic assets, but notes a case where a woman was replaced because she "was not able to obtain the prices for the farmer's produce which he judged a good higgler could have obtained." Women's farm labor differed according to her husband's economic status; poor wives performed almost all field tasks. Still, women contributed only a tenth of field labor, compared to men's half (children and hired labor contributed the rest).

– Discusses the wife's influence in farm decision making as dependent on husband's expectation of permanence regarding the relationship. In temporary unions, the farmer has little incentive to "allow" his wife to help in farm decisions, unless she

is well supplied with money. In stable relationships, husbands are dependent on their wives in cultivation and marketing. Of 60 farmers with wives (18 others were or single heads of households), all but five say they discuss farm decisions with wives.

— Farms obtain funds from farming, higglering, and remittances. About half had registered titles; all but six farmed on land fragments. Discusses income separation extensively. Women control their own money earned from higglering, handicraft sales, sewing, ag labor, coffee sorting, and domestic work. Household members do NOT always act as a single financial unit.

Judith Gussler, "Adaptive Strategies and Social Networks of Women in St. Kitts," *A WORLD OF WOMEN*, Erika Bourguignon, ed. (New York: Praeger, 1980) — Describes village life, based on field research, as competitive, not cooperative, a result of plantation legacies. Still, women's survival strategies rest on developing a female network.

Norene Halvonik, Allen Lebell, Toni Christianses-Wagner, and Allan Broehl, *LABOR MARKET ANALYSIS FOR DOMINICA AS RELATED TO THE PROPOSED CARIBBEAN REGIONAL SKILLS TRAINING PROJECT* (unpublished, Agency for International Development, July-August, 1981) Idea-filled overview of Dominican economy and labor force. Cites extensive male out-migration, leaving an estimated 40% of households headed by women. Suffering most from under- and unemployment are women heads and small farm operators. Discusses reduced male authority in the family, making agriculture less attractive in occupation for boys to aspire toward. Cites agriculture's declining share of the GDP after the hurricane; domestic food crop production increased, while banana, coconut, and grapefruit production declined. Discusses government's hope to promote agricultural diversification and agro-processing. Lists descriptions of private voluntary organizations, training projects, and donor activities; Social League projects also described.

Jane Hanger and Jon Morris, "Women and the Household Economy," *MWEA: A RICE IRRIGATION SCHEME*, Robert Chambers and Jon Morris, eds. (Munich: Weltforum Verlag, Afrikan Studien, 1973) (One of the cases for the 'anywhere-in-the-world NEMON study) — Compares women's decision-making in a development project to women outside the scheme and finds that a higher percentage of women always make decisions on general, household and farm decisions *outside* the scheme. Implies that project planners and designers undermined women's authority in the household. Also discusses husbands' and wives' separate incomes and how the husband's new income from the project cooperative was not shared with wives, forcing women to "blackmarket" rice on which they'd labored and affecting project goals.

Francis Henry and Pamela Wilson, "The Status of Women in Caribbean Societies: An Overview of their Social, Economic and Sexual Roles," *SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STUDIES* 24, 2 (1975) pp. 165-198 — Reviews other studies to describe women's economic, social, sexual and religious status. Concludes that women "play a subservient role" under double standard (of sexuality) situations which compel men and women into "games-playing;" dualisms are illustrated with calypso songs.

Margaret Katzin, "The Business of Higglering in Jamaica," *SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STUDIES* 9, 3 (1960), pp. 297-331 — Describes a virtual hour-by-hour account of a week in the life of a typical higgler.

Joycelin Massiah, "Participation of Women in Socio-Economic Development: Indicators as Tools for Development Planning," *WOMEN AND DEVELOPMENT: INDICATORS OF THEIR CHANGING ROLE* (UNESCO Socio-economic Studies No.3, 1981) — Develops a model with nearly a hundred indicators of "female well-being," some of which are available population censuses. Appended tables report high rates of female heads of household (40.9% in St. Lucia; 42.4% in Dominica) in 1970.

Joycelin Massiah, "Family Structure and the Status of Women in the Caribbean, with Particular Reference to Women Who Head Households," *UNESCO Meeting of Experts on Research on the Status of Women, Development and Population Trends: Evaluation and Prospects*, November 25-28, 1980, Paris (No quote without permission qualifier) — After a conceptual discussion of definitional problems in the census and the underestimation of women heads in matrifocal societies overlaid with a male authoritarianism ideal, reports on data from the 1970 population censuses to provide a demographic profile of women heads and on findings from a pilot study on women's problems and survival strategies in Barbados, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago.

Sidney Mintz, "Men, Women, and Trade." *COMPARATIVE STUDIES IN SOCIETY AND HISTORY*, 1971, pp. 247-269 — Focuses on female traders and their importance in the economy. Argues that they are being progressively marginalized, even though market places are growing. Draws on examples from West Africa and the Caribbean, especially Haiti (his area of expertise).

Yolanda Moses, "Female Status, the Family, and Male Dominance in a West Indian Community," *WOMEN AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977) — Using a small sample of Montserrat women, compares middle-class and working-class women to find that middle-class women are more likely to internalize "ideologies of male dominance." Middle-class women adhere to a stronger sex division of labor and defer to men for decision making. Still, mothers socialize and prepare girls with survival strategies. Boys are socialized to the cultural ideal of male providership, yet are not prepared to do so.

Joan Patrick, "End of Tour Report," March 9-May 29, 1981, II IRDP, Home Economics/WID Coordinator — Relates accomplishments of the women's component, along with its continuing constraints. The women's component is the only component without vehicles and transportation; it also lacks funds for supplies, such as hand tools, buckets, hoes, shovels, etc. Discusses the inequalities in job status and promotional opportunities that the women extension agents for the component face. Also mentions how the organizational structure leaves unclear who is responsible for evaluating their performance.

Orlando Patterson, "Persistence, Continuity, and Change in the Jamaican Working-Class Family," *JOURNAL OF FAMILY HISTORY*, Summer, 1982, pp. 135-160 — Somewhat theoretical article concerned with whether familiar patterns of lower-class Jamaicans have historical legacies or are related to current economic conditions. Reviews carefully collected historical informa-

tion of earlier centuries, one of which describes, after emancipation, a "remarkable restoration of masculine dignity and a full flowering of the role of father and husband-provider; so much so that the typical peasant family was an extended unit with a paternalistic male head who was almost Victorian in his authority."

Concludes that a clear break with the matricentric household during slavery occurred, and that contemporary "familial instability" is brought about by socio-economic conditions. The only exception to this non-continuity is the "independence of women in their social relations both in and out of the household. . . . The West Indian working-class woman has always been liberated, however pathetically sexist her male counterpart may have become. This tradition of female independence is a fully institutionalized continuity and its origins go back to the unusual status of women in traditional West Africa, a status which has no parallel in the premodern world."

Nancy Pollock, "Women and the Division of Labor: A Jamaican Example," *AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST* 74 (1972), pp. 689-692 – Somewhat theoretical, but uses field data from rural Jamaica to show that women's breadwinner responsibilities are compatible with child rearing.

Robert Ramjohn, "A Comparative Study of Reference Groups Differences on the Adoption of Farm Practices Between Two Ethnic Groups in Trinidad," Masters Thesis, University of the West Indies, St. Augustine, Trinidad, 1975 – Compares East Indian and African farmers and finds Indians to rely more on families as sources of information about adopting new agricultural practices, whereas Africans rely more on neighbors and friends.

Ann Rubbo, "The Spread of Capitalism in Rural Colombia: Effects on Poor Women," *TOWARD AN ANTHROPOLOGY OF WOMEN*, Rayna Reiter, ed. (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975) – Focusing on Black peasant and lower-class urban women in the Cauca Valley, western Colombia, argues that the process of rural proletarianization alters sex roles in ways that facilitate the docility of the work force. Describes traditional peasant farm work as constant, but not full-time, enabling women to own and manage farms and raise children, with an economic base for their independence. Discusses peasant women's resistance to changes promoted by all-male government agencies which would undermine perennial coffee and cocoa crops and replace them with seasonal "green revolution crops" which require tractor use and capital inputs outside women's control or beyond their means. Townswomen who work as casual agricultural laborers for sugar plantations are sought because they are thought to be more docile than men, willing to work for lower wages. Other town women are dependent on men and with few bargaining chips to capture their affections, resort to brujeria (sorcery) as a source of power. Illustrates with profiles of typical women.

Miriam Seltzer, "Trip Report to Jamaica," March 17-22, 1980 – Met with numerous Jamaican officials to find out about women's farm roles and extension officers' training. Feels men and women should be trained together. "to strengthen the family." (Seltzer is a home economist.) Committed to an integrated approach to general training of extension officers. Worries as much about what men officers 'don't know about home economics' as what women officers 'don't know about agriculture.'

Cynthia Jean Smith, "Extension Education for Women Small Farmers in the Eastern Caribbean," Masters of Extension Education, University of Illinois, 1980 – Not based on field work, but extensive review of literature and lengthy bibliography. Cites studies on ethnic differences in farmer adoption of new practices, occupational multiplicity, migration combined with farming, and the importance of verbal communication in changing ag practices. CARDI commissioned UWI to survey receptivity to extension in the Eastern Caribbean and found "only 4% of the farmers interviewed reported that they were influenced by the extension officer in adoption of new practices," although a fifth used extension as a primary source of authority. An ECAEP design team learned that 10% of male extension assistants' farm visits were to women farmers, while 25% of the female extension assistants' farm visits were to women small farmers.

Basil Springer, Systems Groups of Companies, Barbados, "A Survey of Small-Scale Agricultural Marketing Enterprises in the Eastern Caribbean," FAO, 1981 – Assesses domestic and export huckster trade in Dominica, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Grenada, and Barbados, based on interviews with 200 men and women. Distinguishes Dominican "single-function" hucksters from St. Lucia "farming hucksters;" the former are buyers and sellers and do not undertake farming. Survey results indicate hucksters on the average purchase produce from 4-5 farmers (although the full range is 1-15). The majority are helped by numerous adults and children, some of whom are paid a wage. No reliable income data are available, as hucksters were wary about giving full information. Hucksters cite spoilage, transport, and low profit margin problems.

Constance Sutton and Susan Makiesky-Barrow, "Social Inequality and Sexual Status in Barbados," *SEXUAL STRATIFICATION: A CROSS-CULTURAL VIEW*, Alice Schlegel, ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977) – After reviewing the historical legacies of a plantation economy, analyzes the status of women and men in Endeavor (pseudonym), where a third of the population works on sugar estates or in a cane processing factory. While economic parity does to exist between the sexes, women are actively involved in the economy and are not economically dependent on men. A tradition exists for women to contribute to "their own and their children's support but also to acquire for women to contribute to "their own and their children's support but also to acquire and build separate economic resources, control their own earnings, and use them as they see fit." Both sexes are involved in rotating credit associations ("meeting turns") and both act as "bankers," with responsibility for collecting and distributing money; husbands and wives are often in different "meetings," with each having full claim to their separate savings. Both men and women also organize money-making social events. The cultural ideology attributes positively valued characteristics and abilities to men and women, and women's wide network of social relations provides an important base for an independence and autonomy which is linked to a sense of interpersonal connectedness rather than individualism.

U.S. Agency for International Development, IRDP Programme for 82/83 – Project allocations show the "home economics"

component as second lowest in resources (460,696), next to communications. Soil conservation received over \$13 million. (not clear what women receive in other allocations such as afforestation, soil conservation, ag inputs, marketing, ag credit, etc.)

U.S. Agency for International Development, II IRDP Monthly Report, March, 1982 (covers the year, despite its label as a monthly report) April, 1981-March, 1982 — Describes the "Home Economics Component" as concentrating on farming, women's groups, nutrition, child care, family life, education, craft and vegetable gardening. Notes "impressive achievements," despite inadequate funding, nonexistent or unsuitable meeting places, and lack of equipment. In another section, describes district farmer committees which assist in project implementation by "agitating for minor water supplies, farm roads, collecting stations, and general farmers' needs." (no mention as to whether women agitate for 'women's issues' through these groups).

U.S. Agency for International Development, "Selected statistical Data by Sex: Jamaica," Monograph prepared for the Office of Development Information and Utilization, 1981 — Contains print-out of raw data, primarily from the Jamaica Division of Statistics and the University of the West Indies Census Research Programme

U.S. Agency for International Development, AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE EASTERN CARIBBEAN: A SURVEY PREPARED BY AN AID SURVEY TEAM VISITING ANTIGUA, BARBADOS, DOMINICA, GRENADA, MONSERRAT, ST. KITTS-NEVIS (ANGUILLA), ST. LUCIA, ST. VINCENT, October 16-November 23, 1977 — Based on government documents and interviews with officials, describes countries with a hefty share of the Gross Domestic Product in Agriculture (Dominica: 37%; St. Lucia: 21%), yet agricultural productivity stagnation or decline in the 1970s, resulting in a reliance on food imports. Also describes monoculture export economies; Dominica and St. Lucia rely on bananas for 50-60% of exchange earnings from exports. Lists agricultural problems in the region, including poor use of available technology, little research on soil and crops, negative attitudes toward agriculture (i.e. perceived low profitability, low status and low priority assigned to ag by officials who make policies which burden small farmers), natural resource constraints (such as thin soil, unreliable rainfall, etc.), limited institutional services, lack of intra- and inter-island transport, and high production/distribution costs. (continued annotation on individual chapters. . . .)

*Dominica* chapter: Cites unpublished data from a 1975 agricultural census showing severe imbalances in land distribution (less than a per cent own about a third of the land). Outlines national development priorities along with priorities in the ag sector. Ministry of Ag. Lands, and Fisheries received only 5.5% of the total current budget in 1975-76. Cites government-proposed action to purchase former estates and lease to selected operators for a three-year initial period (no discussion on planned provisions for women). Details number of staff in extension (20 field agents for 8,000 holdings or 1:400 households). The Ministry provides in-service training for all agents once each year (no detail on whether anything on women in curriculum). Describes the domestic food marketing system as "dominated by women who are farmers themselves or relatives of farmers." The Ag. & Industrial Development Bank disbursed 259 loans through the end of 1976, about half of which were in arrears. It keeps no breakdown by farm size (or sex).

*St. Lucia* chapter: Cites 43% female "farm operators, dependents, and other unpaid workers," and 35% female "paid workers." Notes unequal distribution of land, with 82% of holdings less than 5 acres and accounting for 14% of the land versus less than a per cent of holdings accounting for 37% of the farm area. Fragmented holdings are common and problematic, as is multiple ownership created by joint inheritance without legal titles. About a fifth of all holdings have multiple owners and have difficulty getting access to credit. Lists government priorities within the ag sector, which include "mobilization of human resources," and "sustained improvement in the overall nutritional status of the rural and urban population." (Dominica has neither of these.) The Ministry of Agriculture's share of the national budget in 1975 was 6.4%. St. Lucia depends on CARDI and the UWI for research information, not all of which is applicable for ecological and economic reasons. Describes the extension service as "one of the best in the region," although it faces difficulty in communicating with small farmers. The Extension Service has 35 staff positions of which 14 and "farmer-contract" positions (1:745 holdings), and are thus "thinly spread."

Barbara Yates and Barbara Knudson, WAND, "The Economic Role of Women in Small Scale Agriculture: Workshop Report and Recommendations," Castries, St. Lucia, June 11-12, 1981 — Reports on workshop process, strategies to include women, and recommendations from a workshop on women farmers. Appendix contains results of data collected from 245 households. A low percentage of female headed households was found (1/4ths of the 17% which were single headed families). Respondents report the following: 30% had men and women whose occupation was principally farming, yet only 16% of women report that they do *no* farm work; decisions were made by the man and woman together in 36%. A slight majority (55%) of women thought their money earned was "theirs" versus family money; whatever the perception, 96% of women used their earnings for household purposes. (no data on how these patterns vary by economic status) Only 17% had received extension information from staff. (No comparative data on men or with female headed households.) Almost a third belong to a group, such as religious or mutual aid societies.

Women in Development, Inc., A STUDY OF LOW-INCOME WOMEN IN BARBADOS (Christ Church, Barbados: 1980) — Analyzes responses from 395 women on literacy and numeracy skills, educational and training background, employment history, household composition, household finance, and health and fertility in order to develop appropriate training materials. Contains elaborate discussion of multiple methods to collect data. For many women, status and prestige in future occupations import, yet they have low skills. Almost half of all respondents claimed participation in some type of training program.

STATEMENT FROM THE CARIBBEAN DEVELOPMENT BANK  
REVIEWING WOMEN'S ROLE IN DEVELOPMENT  
IN THE CARIBBEAN

Dr. Bernard Yankee

In addressing the problems of development, no matter what our theories might be, we are dealing basically with three distinct resources; the natural resource, the human resource and the social/cultural (environmental) resource. The latter is, to a large extent, determined by a combination of the forces of the other two, with decades of past experiences. The natural resource on the other hand, does not come into the picture by itself. It is the combination of knowledge, wisdom, ingenuity, commitment and application of skills, and the acceptance and bearing of risks from the consequences of action which all come from the human resource. This puts the numerous types of natural resources (land, forests, sea, rivers, minerals, etc.) to work and to produce the goods and services which urban and rural life seek in improving their standards of living.

People therefore must feature at the centre of the development process. By that, I mean, all those within the productive segment of the population, but even more importantly, the recipients/beneficiaries of any development scheme. Planners, unfortunately, often forget to take account of this crucial and sensitive aspect of that process.

In our population, particular reference is being made to the CARICOM region, women constitute a substantial proportion of the human resource. Sometimes people tell me as I travel through the East Caribbean that there are so many girls to one boy, and then ask me how do we plan to deal with this situation when such numbers are ready to enter the labour market and adult life. Recently, as I listened to the Dominica news, I heard that girls constitute the majority of persons taking the 1983 Common Entrance Examinations. If we made a check, I am sure that girls outnumber boys at primary and secondary schools in the region. What then does this tell us for development? It tells us that *women are a dominant resource in the country populations to which planners, donor agencies and institutions such as the Caribbean Development Bank (CDB) have been making contributions to the development process.*

From experience, therefore, and this includes the results of the work in this field being continuously undertaken by international and regional organisations such as Women and Development (WAND), women possess a considerable potential for development which needs to be tapped, but in a relevant and appropriate manner.

The facts show this relatively disadvantaged position of women in a number of ways, as we examine the few employment areas in which they hold leadership, supervisory, professional and technical responsibilities, but it also demonstrates that there has been certain progressive improvement during the last decade. The momentum continues. However, rural women have not made any significant progress in the development structure of our CARICOM nations. This is an area which needs special attention and it is here, I understand, that you intend to focus your discussions.

Women feature always in two components of life – the family and the work place. So far, the development process has confined them to performance in the family structure, with major responsibilities attached to them. In the work place, they have been left traditionally to certain types of employment at non-managerial/non-supervisory levels. This has been changing but within one segment – the urban/urban-educated group. The first issue therefore, becomes one of what is the balance for women between family life and upward responsibilities in the work place. The second issue is now can women in the rural household assert themselves in the development process, particularly as the populations of our island nations are concentrated in the rural environment. This is where productive developments are generally concentrated, for example, agriculture and its related activities. Active community life is vital for the success of rural development schemes.

In family life, women have special characteristics which are essential for nation building – These are –

- (i) Propensity to care with greater affection and dedication;
- (ii) Strong holders to discipline and faith;
- (iii) Ability to withstand adversity and difficulties with courage and determination;
- (iv) Ability to understand more fully the behavioural patterns and attitudes of youth; and
- (v) A high absorptive capacity to undertake domestic responsibilities which are essential in building family life.

Women therefore have a special role to play in development when we have to deal with the problems of youth, the development of the family fabric in society, the pursuit of discipline and moral practices at home, school, etc. and in the care and attention of the sick and elderly. Let me make the point quite clear – this does not imply that men have not got a significant part to play in these areas. All I intend to advance is that the woman has an inherent and real advantage over the man in these specific aspects of life and this should not be frustrated by development.

Women have been major breadwinners in many of our CARICOM societies. This is a category of women that development must pay attention to. It must seek to give them adequate employment facilities; employment and training must be structured to allow them to move upwards so that incomes can increase to meet growing family needs; and the educational process, with opportunities, must be designed appropriately for proper development of their children to allow them to break the well-known 'vicious' poverty circle.

Women, particularly in the rural and urban-fringe environment, have been involved in a limited way in trade and industry. These activities include huckstering (small trade operation<sup>1</sup> and cottage industries such as craft, dressmaking, catering for community activities, etc. At the social level, they have been very involved in church and community organisations such as Credit Unions, etc. The development of women in these areas, however, has not kept pace with the opportunities that are open to them through the increasing commercialisation of the rural sector, as various development schemes are being implemented. However, these opportunities will not be captured if such schemes do not make provision to give effective access to women to play definite roles in such activities.

Women play a very dominant and important role in the production and marketing of agricultural commodities, particularly food crops. Most of the Less Developed Countries<sup>1</sup> of the CARICOM region depend on agriculture as a major contributor to income and employment (directly and indirectly). As a result, all agricultural projects are directed at the rural sector and many of them, if not all, have their impact on women in the rural household.

Unfortunately, such rural development projects have not taken into account the vital role that women play in decision-making within the farm family. The participation of women is very dominant in certain farm activities and their knowledge in such areas would be greater than that of the farmer (the man in most cases). Unfortunately, he is the one to whom the agricultural extension officer/agricultural credit officer speaks on various farm improvements matters and the benefit of much experience is lost.

What then do we see as the role of women in development? Given the fact that there must be a well-determined balance between the responsibilities of family life and the work place, based on social/cultural experiences, there are major areas where the potential of the women must be properly tapped in the process of rural development if it is to be self sustaining and meaningful. However, three ingredients are necessary to accomplish this –

- (i) The development projects/programmes must be so designed as to give women access to play their proper roles and must provide appropriate training to allow them to assume additional responsibilities over time;
- (ii) Women must be more involved in the rural development planning process, particularly in the areas of agriculture, cottage industries, small-scale trading, rural organisations where they have traditionally been active and with the knowledge they possess; and
- (iii) Adaptive research activities must be continuous to determine the attributes and the skills of rural women so that they can be active participants in the development process.

WAND has been very active in the conduct of assessment-oriented projects targeted at women in rural households. This type of activity which is designed to specify the rural life of women – that is, the various roles they play, the limitations placed on them by the economic system, their educational/economic status and involvement in schemes designed to improve rural life, their opportunities and problems – is very important as it provides planners and community development officials with the necessary information to work with and serves as an effective leverage to enable women's organisations and groups to ensure that women in the rural environment are given their rightful opportunities in the development process.

The CDB is very committed to the development of the productive sector of its borrowing members<sup>2</sup> and is particularly mindful of the rural sector. CDB has not paid particular attention to the role of women as a dominant human resource in the preparation and implementation of its agricultural projects (productive and support service types), though they have participated in the various agricultural credit schemes in a minor way. This deficiency can be removed, but CDB will need to find areas of involvement with experienced women's organisations (local and regional) which are operating development activities, and have access to their field research and assessment information. CDB can also assist in many ways in the work that has already been undertaken by advancing the results of research studies to the stages of actively involving women in small and medium scale productive enterprise as owners, managers or key personnel, particularly as there is serious concern for positive growth and development of the agricultural sectors of the CARICOM region in the Less Developed Countries with a strong focus on the rural sectors.

The road ahead for the greater involvement of women in process of the development of the rural sector so that the impact may reach low-income households because of their dominance and influence in the rural family structure presents some opportunities. How these can be tapped will depend on the quality of our understanding of the status and capability of women in their respective societies; the commitment of planners, donor agencies and regional institutions to pay particular attention to their involvement (through assessment information) and needs in the process of preparing and implementing rural development schemes; and the collaboration and support that can be actively given to women's organisations (local and regional) in providing the information base which will be our understanding of how this resource can be effectively brought into the development stream and not remain at the margin.

Development institutions like the CDB must therefore await the outcome of your research/assessments and the discussions which follow, as you now embark, before we can be brought into the picture to cause national development projects/programmes

to be directed specifically at the economic well-being of rural households through the advancement of the status and role of women in the rural sector. CDB looks forward to any opportunity to provide finance and technical assistance to small and medium scale feasible projects, which will not only provide a better standard of living for the rural household but will also develop community organisations which increase the financial ability of family units to save to invest for improvements in social conditions. We trust that such a forum will commence the dialogue.

#### FOOTNOTES

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1. Antigua & Barbuda, Belize, Dominica, Grenada, Montserrat, St. Kitts/Nevis, St. Lucia and St. Vincent and the Grenadines.
2. Anguilla, Antigua, Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Dominica, Guyana, Grenada, Jamaica, Montserrat, St. Kitts/Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Trinidad and Tobago, Turks and Caicos Islands.