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Report on
The Survey of Island Women
Republic of Maldives
1979



Pounding the coconut husk to make coir rope on Iguraidhuo

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INTRODUCTION TO SURVEY REPORT

The "Survey of Island Women" project was conceived in June, 1978, when a representative of the Overseas Education Fund (OEF) of Washington, D.C., USA, visited Malé and held discussions with Government of Maldives (GOM) officials to determine what type of joint activity, if any, could be developed for the benefit of the Republic of Maldives. Given the interest in improving the living standard of those Maldivians living outside of the capital of Malé, and the lack of socio-economic data on which to base any plans for development, it was felt that a survey to determine felt needs and to gather data in areas such as family, health, income, and available resources would be the most appropriate project at that time. The survey was to involve primarily rural women, who are the focus of OEF projects. For the use of the Government, the design of a pilot project based on the results of the survey was anticipated as the second and final component of this GOM-OEF joint activity.

The emphasis on women grows out of the conviction that women can contribute to the process of national development and out of the realization that they represent slightly less than one-half of the Maldivian population whose skills, talents, and energies must be tapped for this effort. The contribution that women presently make to the national well-being can hardly be disputed as they bear and care for the children, prepare the food, carry out the agricultural activities, gather fuel for cooking, and produce necessities such as rope, mats and cadjan. That contribution, however, can be enhanced if women serve as a focus of island development with the understanding that the benefits of increased skills and income will accrue not only to the women but also to their families and communities as well.

Women's issues pertaining to development need not be treated separately from men's issues, but it is crucial that they not be overlooked. These issues for women include access to training in production-oriented skills, organization and money management, as well as access to information in areas such as nutrition, family planning, and health. The importance of projects oriented toward women must be recognized in order to ensure a balanced development of the country and an even distribution of the improvements in the standard of living of Maldivian women, men, and children, who are, after all, the objects of the development efforts.

The implementation of this project was made possible only through the cooperation and good will of many Maldivians, both inside and outside of the government. Appreciation must first be expressed to the women and men who were interviewed and were willing to answer many questions about themselves, and to the survey team who, over a period of three months, interviewed 600 people on 40 different islands.

The island chiefs and atoll chiefs gave invaluable assistance in providing for the survey team and making the necessary arrangements for the interviews to take place, while the people on the islands received the team with warm hospitality and generosity, seeing that the interviewers were well fed and often entertained. The survey was attached to the National Planning Agency which met the needs of the project as they arose. Various other government ministries have played an important part in the project, and special mention must be made of the Ministry of Health which provided the majority of interviewers for the survey team. The Census Project contributed essential technical expertise and manpower throughout the duration of the project. Assistance also came from the Ministry of Provincial Affairs, the Ministry of Home Affairs, and the Department of Information and Broadcasting, and the project has enjoyed the strong support of the President's Office and the Ministry of External Affairs.

The major tasks of organizing the survey, developing the questionnaires, and analyzing the results were handled by Helen Seidler, Field Consultant for the Overseas Education Fund, and Mohamed Zuhair in the Census Project of the Elections Division of the Ministry of Home Affairs. Very special appreciation must be expressed to Mr. Zuhair whose unflinching interest and constant effort made the survey possible. Finally, thanks must be expressed to the members of the project staff who worked hard on the analysis of the data gathered, to the many interested persons who offered support and encouragement during the planning of the project, to members of the United Nations staff who readily shared their information and experience, and to the crew members of the boats who ensured the safe and comfortable trips throughout the atolls.

It is our hope that the Government of Maldives will now make use of the information generated by the survey to plan and implement projects to help island women address their problems and needs as they see them. These are the activities which this survey report is intended to serve, and it is with optimism that we look forward to these future efforts to further encourage Maldivian women to participate in the development of the country.



Helen Seidler
Field Consultant
Overseas Education Fund

ABOUT THE OVERSEAS EDUCATION FUND

The Overseas Education Fund (OEF) is a private, non-profit, United States-based organization founded over 30 years ago to support women in Asia, Africa, and Latin American seeking assistance to improve the lives of their families and their communities. Its programs are funded through contributions from individuals, corporations and foundations and through contracts with the U.S. Department of State and the Agency for International Development. Although OEF works primarily with women and their organizations, it does not limit itself to collaboration with women alone. Always working with a local group or organization which has identified a need or a project, OEF aims to:

- encourage women in the developing world to participate more fully and productively in their societies.
- focus on projects which provide vocational/skills training, income-generation, non-formal education, techniques for improved communication, community development, and health and nutrition.
- build skills and experience of volunteer organizations carrying out action projects benefitting low income people.
- demonstrate that small scale training and technical assistance programs geared to people's needs can significantly improve their lives.
- support programs that have impact far beyond OEF's direct participation.

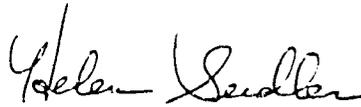
OEF believes that the development of the human being — the increasing of his or her capacity to define problems and seek alternatives for resolving them — is a critical part of national development, often overlooked while buildings are being built and new technologies introduced. OEF also believes that people working together on their common problems is the only effective means of taking action when the problems are so much larger than the individual's ability to influence them. These two beliefs are basic to OEF-supported projects, examples of which include:

- 1.) Collaboration with a national women's organization to improve rural community services in income generation, appropriate technology, youth development,

agricultural production and credit management in Sri Lanka.

- 2.) Technical assistance and training in community development, leadership skills and organizational techniques in Honduras.
- 3.) Training members of allied organizations to increase their effectiveness in responding to the social and economic needs of low-income people in Zambia.
- 4.) Workshop to develop skills in project design, preparation of proposals and methods of evaluation for rural government agents and non-governmental organizations involved in child welfare programs in Sri Lanka.

OEF is pleased and proud to have had the opportunity to work with the Government of Maldives on this survey, the first non-governmental organization-assisted project in the Republic. The project has been a challenging one as the collection of much of the attitudinal and descriptive data had never been attempted before. The newness of the type of project created many difficulties, but their eventual resolution added to the interest and excitement experienced by all of us working on the survey. It is our hope and intention that this survey will provide a basis for further study and action to the benefit of the atoll dwellers, particularly the women, and we are grateful to the Government of Maldives for inviting us to participate in its development efforts.



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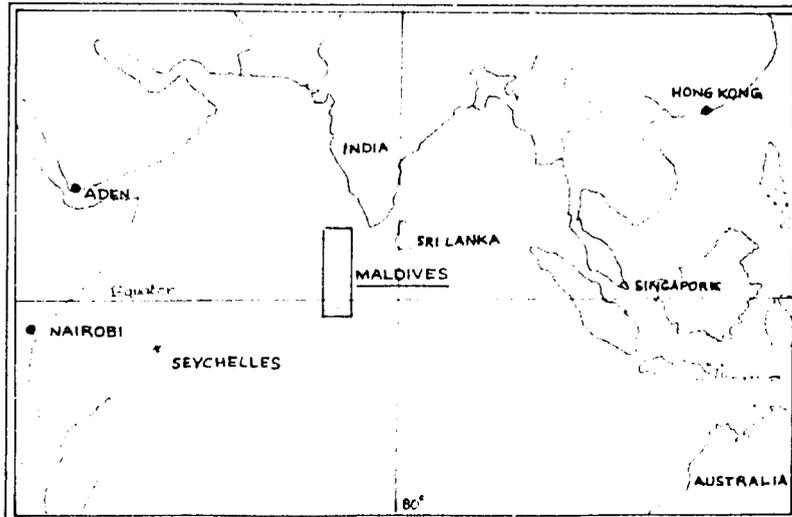
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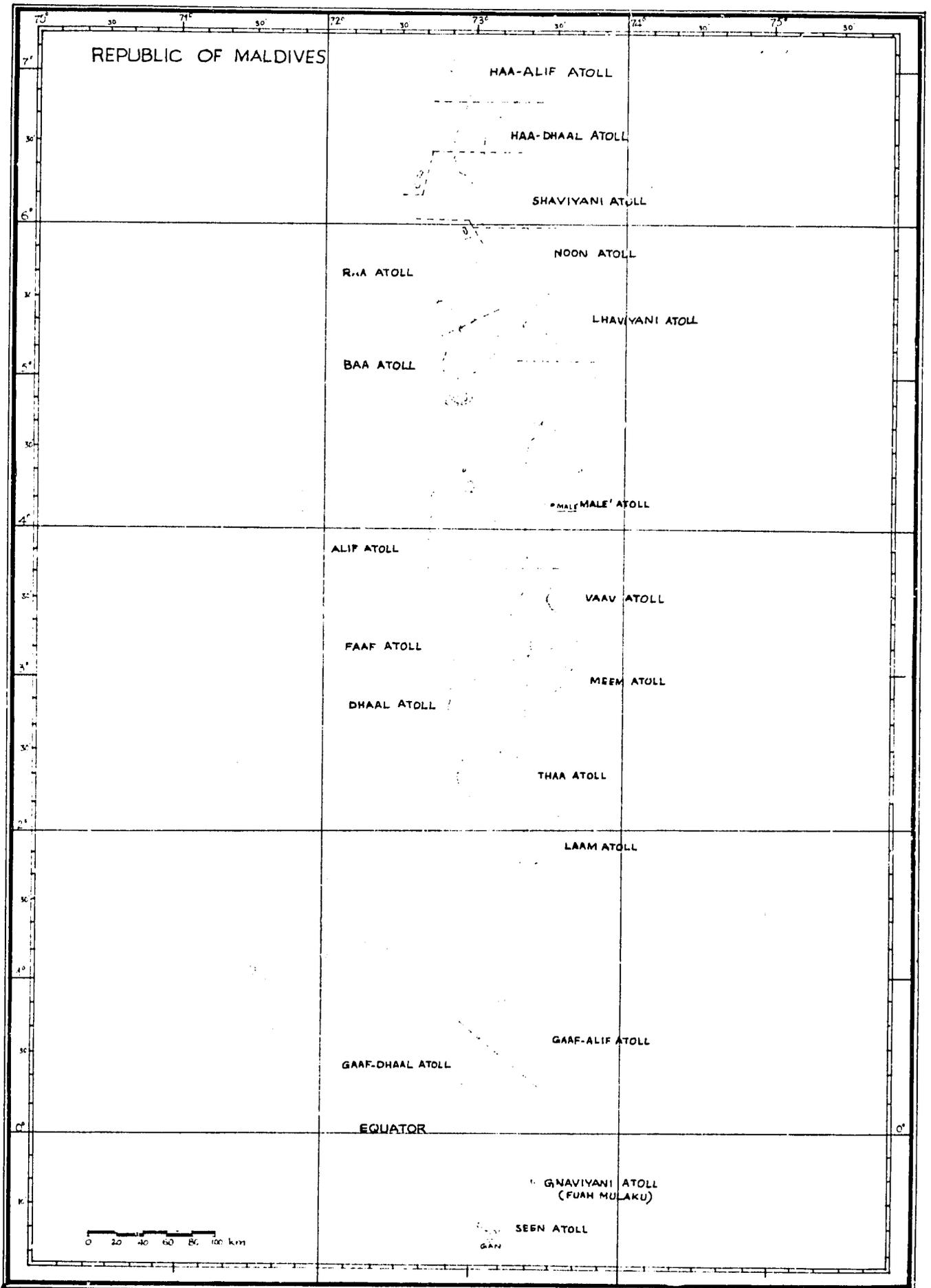
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Part I General Information



Inside the lagoon

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- **Country Profile**
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- **... and its Women**



COUNTRY PROFILE – REPUBLIC OF MALDIVES (pronounced MALL-deeves)

Population: 147,500 (1980 estimated population) 48% female, 52% male

Capital: Malé, 32,000 (1980 estimated population) island size – approximately 1 square mile

Islands: 200 inhabited islands (202 administrative units), approximately 1200 uninhabited islands (includes sandbanks and islands in the process of formation or erosion). Average size – approximately ½ square mile, average population – 500.

Location: In the Indian Ocean, 275 southwest of India to the nearest point, 420 miles southwest of Sri Lanka to Malé

Area covered: 41,500 square miles. 512 miles north-south, 81 miles east-west

Inhabitants: Original population presumably Dravidian, large Aryan migration in 3rd-4th Century BC, strong Arab and slight African influence from the 10th Century AD on.

Language: Dhivehi, an Indo-Aryan language most closely related to an early form of Sinhala, the major language of Sri Lanka



Old mosque on Gemanfushi

Religion: 100% Sunni Musim

Climate: Tropical with temperature variation of 25°-32°C. (77°-90° F.) northeast monsoon prevails December-March (dry season), southwest monsoon prevails May-August (rainy season)

Vegetation: coconut palm, screwpine, mangrove, banyan, banana, papaya, mango, dense shrub

Economy: Major foreign exchange earnings: fish export, tourism, stamps (US\$13.4 million). Major imports: fuel, rice, other foodstuffs, textiles and other consumer items, manufactured goods, building materials (US\$32.2 million). Figures based on a 5 year average, 1974-78.

Currency: Maldivian rupee. Official exchange rate: US\$1 = MR3.93. Commercial rate: US\$1=MR7.50 (fluctuating)

Transport: provided by fishing and cargo boats to and from Malé, inter- and intra-atoll. No regularly scheduled service.

Communications: Radio between Malé and capital island in each atoll. Walkie-talkie among islands. Earth station relay to satellite links Malé easily to other countries. Telephone system on Malé and on some near-by tourist resorts.

Government: republic divided into 19 administrative units known as atolls and a 20th unit, the capital of Malé. **President** – elected every 5 years in national referendum after nomination by Majlis. **Cabinet** – composed of ministerial appointments by the President. **Legislative body** – Majlis, unicameral with 48 members, elected every 5 years with the exception of 8 who are Presidential appointees. **Atoll administration** – atoll chief in every atoll, island chief on each inhabited island, and all government servants in the atolls are appointed and paid by the President's Office. **Judicial system** – based on Islamic Law. **Suffrage** – universal over age 21. **Political parties** – none.

International memberships – Colombo Plan for Technical Cooperation, the United Nations and the Organization of United Nations Agencies (UNDP, WHO, ITU, IMCO, UPU, UNICEF, FAO, ICAO, ESCAP), Islamic Conference, Non-Aligned Movement, International Monetary Fund, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank) and International Development Association, Asian Development Bank.

TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR THE MALDIVES

BOATS

Dhoni — term in Dhivehi to cover medium and small-sized boats.

Mas dhoni — boat used for ocean fishing with pole and line method and live bait. Average size is 50 feet. 'Mas' means fish in Dhivehi.

Mechanized dhoni -- a mas dhoni with an engine.

Vadu dhoni — dhoni used for fishing with hooks, lines and artificial bait. Generally smaller than the mas dhoni.

Baththeli — boat used mainly for carrying cargo and passengers inter-atoll, powered either by sail or engine.



Mas dhoni

FOOD

Rihakuru — a salty highly-nutritious paste made by boiling down the liquid stock which remains after the fish is boiled in preparation for drying.

Diahakuru — a thick, sweet, honey-like substance made from boiling the toddy collected from the flower of the coconut palm.

Curry and rice — the favored meal of Maldivians, and the curry is almost always made from fish.

Breadfruit — a carbohydrate in the diet from the breadfruit tree found throughout the Maldives.

Screwpine — the sweet fruit of this tree is used for making teas, puddings, or simply eating directly.

Taro — a tuber with broad leaves grown widely in the southern part of the Maldives. In Dhivehi the word is 'alah.'

Kandu — a small, starchy, oblong fruit that may be boiled and eaten as a substitute for rice.

GEOGRAPHY

Atoll — an approximately circular formation of coral reefs and islands. Islands form as sand and coral bits are trapped

within the reef and a build-up of earth occurs. In the Maldives the word is also used to describe an administrative unit of the government which may or may not be a natural atoll.

Huadhoo Channel — a stretch of ocean cutting across the atoll chain four-fifths of the way down. The biggest ocean channel in the Maldives, it is 58 miles wide at its narrowest point and for centuries has acted as a barrier to communication between the atolls south of it and those to the north. Crossing the channel presents some unique challenges for Maldivians, and it is always approached with caution. The ocean currents are strong with weather conditions often producing rough seas for the small Maldivian boats. The length of the total crossing may be 9 to 18 hours, and it is the longest journey in the Maldives without having access to the protection of an island in case of bad weather. Also, Maldivian sailors navigate by sighting islands, yet while crossing the channel, the time period with no land in view may range from 6 to 12 hours. The Huadhoo Channel is also known as the 1½^o Channel.

HANDICRAFTS

Coir rope — rope made from the coconut husk. The husk is buried in the sea or a pond for about three weeks, then the wet fiber is pounded to separate the strands. After drying the strands are twisted by hand and combined to form ropes of various thicknesses.

Cadjan weaving — a mat made from the coconut palm leaf. Leaves are sewn together with coir rope to be used for the roofs and walls of houses, as well as fencing to surround the space for bathing and defecation and the house compound. Cadjan weaving is also known as 'thatching'.

Mat weaving — mats woven on hand-made looms. Mats made from specially-grown grass or strips of the screwpine leaf are used as floor coverings, ceilings, room dividers, and furniture covers. Dyes are used and intricate designs are woven with the grass resulting in very decorative items.



Mat weaver and her production on Kolamafushi

ISLAND ADMINISTRATION

Island chief — the administrator found on each inhabited island, appointed and paid by the government. He is generally a native of the island he serves as chief. In Dhivehi he is known as the 'kateeb'.

Atoll chief — the official who transacts the business of the government with the island chiefs and island population. He is often transferred from one atoll to another and is often from Malé.

Mudhim — the men on each island who give the call to prayer, lead the prayers, handle funerals and are in charge of maintaining the mosques.

SCHOOLS

Kiavaage — a gathering of children in private homes for introductory work in Arabic, Dhivehi, the Koran, and arithmetic. There is no set school year and the payment of the teacher is often in goods and services rather than money.

Makthab — further study of Arabic, Dhivehi, arithmetic, and reading of the Koran. The school is usually housed in

a separate building, and payment of teachers may be in money or goods.

Madhrasaa — continuation of mukthab curriculum with additional subjects such as geography and foreign language for children of approximately 8 years and above. Financed through tuition payments, the madhrasaa has its own building and is the highest level of education available outside of Malé.

TRADITIONAL PRACTICES

Charming — an ancient practice in South Asia, in this case almost always for benevolent purposes such as healing, protection, or good fishing. Often sayings from the Koran are worn as amulets or stored on coconut leaves, or preparations will be made to be drunk or spread on the body. The practices vary according to the purpose. Charming is known in Dhivehi as 'fandhitha.'

Use of local medicine — the local medicine man or woman treats illnesses and accidents using locally-prepared medicines made from both native and imported plant substances.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE REPUBLIC OF MALDIVES... AND ITS WOMEN

by Helen Seidler, Overseas Education Fund Consultant

The Republic of Maldives in the past fifty years has experienced major changes in its centuries-old traditional patterns of life. The vehicles of this change have been:

- 1.) the doubling of the population in approximately sixty years and access to modern medicine which has reduced malaria (an ancient scourge of the Maldives) and other endemic diseases.
- 2.) widened access to education abroad and the availability of secondary education in Malé.
- 3.) the growth of the economy and its diversification from a long-standing reliance on fish and coconut.
- 4.) the activities of the government itself which abolished its 800 year-old sultanate in favor of a constitution and republican form of government, initiated a variety of development projects and has actively sought contact with the rest of the world.

What follows is a brief look at the history and recent developments in the areas of education, the economy, the social structure and the political system. This look is intended to provide a context in which to assess the information in this report. In addition it should lend a greater understanding to the present and to the pressures for change which continue to build as the general population seeks better education, better health care, better food, and more money and consumer items. Such a discussion must be prefaced, however, by a comment on the high degree of centralization of all aspects of development which is, perhaps, the most striking feature when one considers the Maldives.

In the past as in the present, Malé has served as the source of all power and authority in matters of government, economy, education, religion, and social law and custom. The administration of the attendant responsibilities, however, was not a complicated process until recently, (the past 25 years), for the population was stable and homogeneous and the economy operated on a simple barter system outside of the cash economy. Needs were few, the social order was accepted, and life in 1930 on a Maldivian island was much the same as it had been for centuries. (This continuity is well documented in the writings of Francis Pyrard de Laval, a Frenchman shipwrecked in the Maldives in 1602, who spent five years in Malé and took it upon himself to learn the language and study the people.) The process of modernization which is now underway has added new strains and stresses to a once-stable society, and the strong tendencies toward centralization are starting to weaken. The major deterrents to decentralization are the transportation and communication networks within the country which are clearly inadequate to serve

the needs of the nation, yet whose modernization present unique challenges due to the vast seas surrounding the pockets of inhabitants. An additional deterrent is simply the inertia of the past which led to the concentration of jobs, services, schools and wealth on Malé and continues to hold sway over many.

Education

Education was traditionally the responsibility of religious leaders, and instruction in Islam, the Koran, Arabic and the Maldivian language (Dhivehi) was provided through the institution of the "edhuruge." The edhuruge, like its modern form known as the "kiavaage," was a somewhat informal affair with the teaching taking place in private homes when a teacher was available. Edhuruge were found both on the islands and in Malé, although in Malé those of a given social standing and economic means, rather than send their children to an edhuruge, would hire private tutors to cover a somewhat expanded curriculum.

The educational system started to change with the introduction of studies at the secondary school level in Malé in 1927 by the then-Prime Minister Amir Abdul Majeed. The school was first limited to boys, but later a section for girls operating at night was opened, and all social groups sent their children to the school. During the time that Mohamed Amin Didi was Prime Minister and then briefly President from 1941 to 1953, many islands built and ran primary schools using solely their own resources but under the strong encouragement and personal attention of Amin Didi. These schools were either "makthabs," where religious instruction was offered along with Dhivehi and arithmetic, or "madhrasaa," primary schools found mainly on the more populated islands whose curriculum included history, math, and in later years perhaps English, along with religious studies and Dhivehi. The island schools went into a decline following the termination of the Amin Didi government as the new regime under Ibrahim Nasir did not continue to demand that the islands provide education for its children. Today the government of Maumoon Abdul Gayoom is again stressing education and offering government assistance to makthabs with a standing of ten years or more, and to primary schools where they exist. In addition, a UN-supported primary school project initiated under the past government is proceeding to place a "Community Education Center" in each atoll which will include instruction through the primary level as well as adult education. Discussions are also under way with the Japanese government which has offered to build additional primary schools in each atoll.

On Malé secondary schooling continued to evolve into its present form of two fully-operating schools, one for boys and one for girls, offering the British-structured General Certificate of Education "O" (ordinary) and "A" (advanced)

level studies in the English medium. Providing students for these schools are two government-run primary schools and a pre-school, and a host of private schools. The private schools consist of firmly established institutions and those of an occasional nature, providing instruction in a range of subjects, including preparation for the GCE "O" level examination and training for the qualifying exams for the various certificates necessary to hold lower-level government jobs. The access to secondary education remains, however, severely limited for Malé residents as well as islanders. At the present, plans are being formulated to increase the number of government primary schools on Malé.

Education abroad was earlier the privilege of a very few coming from the families of the sultans and the upper class, and most students went to Sri Lanka for secondary school and additional studies. Opportunities have gradually increased since the 1920's, and during the 1950's the Maldivian government established a hostel in Colombo where students, both from Malé and other islands, lived while carrying out their studies. Today the hostel no longer operates as complete secondary education is available in Malé, but Maldivians are now faced with options for study abroad in a variety of countries, either for short-term technical training or full university and professional studies. Scholarships are provided primarily by the Colombo Plan for Technical Assistance, the United Nations, and various friendly governments.

The Economy

The Maldives offered an important product for world trade during the time the Arab and Portuguese traders dominated the seas (10th–16th Centuries), and that was the cowrie shell, used as small currency in the conduct of business. In addition, fish, coconuts and coconut products, and tortoise shell were traded with the outside in return for rice, other food stuffs, and textiles. When coins replaced the cowrie in the 19th Century, the Maldives no longer played a key role in the changing world economy, and its local economy continued to function in the 20th Century the way it had for centuries before. The long-standing government control of imports and exports was shared with the trading community of Borah Indians that established itself in Malé in the mid-19th Century. Internally economic activity flowed primarily between Malé and the islands, although a limited trade took place among islands or directly between islands and traders from other countries. Some islanders, particularly those in the south below the Huadhoo Channel, traded directly with India or Sri Lanka when the weather was favorable for long-distance sailing. But as trade became a more complex procedure in this century, subject to much government scrutiny and regulation, the movement of goods by-passing Malé became less practical. The end of direct trading was keenly felt by the southerners who found it easier (to say nothing of more profitable) to get to Sri Lanka than Malé. During the 1960's the Indian traders were mostly replaced by Maldivians as the government moved to keep the profits from trade in Maldivian rather than foreign hands. Today a limited number of islands have shops, and islanders for the most part depend on trips to Malé to provide them with the growing number of necessities not available locally.

In the past ten years Maldivians have witnessed an explosion of economic activity around Malé. The airport on an island near by was renovated to allow jet traffic, and further expansion is currently underway so that the largest commercial carriers can service the Maldives. Through foreign, private means a worldwide communications link was established, stimulating the growth of trade. Many new shops opened handling goods such as housewares, tools, electronic equipment, wristwatches, medicines and cosmetics, as well as food and textiles. The lack of import duties made Malé a cheap place for Asian neighbors to shop, and many goods passed in and out of Malé bound for resale in other markets. The rapid growth of the tourist industry and the increasing amount of foreign interest in the Maldives have been responsible for the development of many new ventures from poultry farms to engine repair shops. Mechanized boats of all descriptions buzz in and out of the Malé harbor and building construction is booming.

While owning and operating a tourist resort is by far the most lucrative occupation, followed by importing and selling a growing number of items, fishing remains today as in earlier times the chief occupation of Maldivian men. The price of fish sold for export is government-regulated and having a very simple fishing technology, the Maldivian fisherman is quite poor. A project to mechanize the fishing boats has been underway for five years with the object of increasing the catch of fish and the income of the fisherman. A host of problems that accompany mechanization, however, are yet to be solved before those objectives can be met. The major sources of revenue for the government are fishing, tourism, the sale of stamps, and various license and rental fees. The government-owned shipping line has been profitable in the past, but it is currently holding its earnings as a consolidation of the fleet is underway. New tourism taxes and a new import tax which went into effect in early 1980 are intended to add to government coffers. Just under half of government expenditures are related to administration and infrastructure support while the allocations for social activities and economic expansion are growing. Government spending is heavily deficit financed at present, and foreign aid is received from a variety of Asian, Muslim and European countries, as well as the United Nations and the major international lending institutions. The country is heavily reliant on imports for many of its essential items such as food staples, fuel and building supplies, and foreign exchange is in constant demand.

Social Structure

The family has been in the past and is today the basic unit of Maldivian society, providing security in old age and a refuge during hard times. Maldivians have taken full advantage of the ease of marriage and divorce permitted by Islamic law (although polygamy is rare), and the resultant maze of relationships among parents, children, in-laws and cousins is a complex one. Social stratification, minimal on the islands where wealth was the sole determinant of status, was found in Malé where the sultans and their families lived along with the several classes of Maldivian nobility. At different times in this century various customs were maintained and regulations written to enforce the social structure, such as needing a permit to wear shoes or a shirt, or to purchase a flashlight,

or to be allowed to study a foreign language. At one time islanders were not allowed to build walls of coral around their houses, but only of thatching made from coconut leaves, as coral walls were the exclusive right of the Malé nobility. Presumably these strictures did not really limit the Maldivian island population as they did not need or want, for the most part, shoes, flashlights, or a foreign language. They did, however, serve the purpose of allowing the Malé upper classes to feel that their higher status was clearly demonstrated and protected.

Today these regulations are gone, and the only overt form of social distance is found in the language of the nobility which uses special nouns, suffixes, and forms of address. Status in Malé now derives primarily from wealth rather than family, although family ties and connections are very important in determining the availability of opportunities. In Malé one's position with the government also confers status while education is important to a lesser extent. On the islands education, although it is much more basic than on Malé, now plays a larger role in determining an individual's social standing and influence. A shift in the attitude toward money has been noted among Maldivians at all levels, and as the economy moves from barter to cash, money, quite obviously, becomes both necessary and desirable. New wants and needs are created by the new economic activities, and for the first time sizable wealth is being amassed, effecting the aspirations of all Maldivians. Attitudes toward class differences have also changed very quickly in recent years with remarkably little resistance on the part of the elite. This may be because the islands were virtually classless (the elite all being in Malé), and with the rapid growth of population in the country and the increase of internal migration to Malé, the numbers of the elite were too small to maintain their clearcut distinction. The migration to Malé has meant more educational opportunities for islanders who come to live with relatives and study. Social mobility is high, except at the very top. Although the Maldivian has traditionally identified himself with his island (rather than his atoll), today many islanders are claiming Malé to avail themselves of the health and educational facilities and the benefits of the commerce resulting from a concentrated population.

Political System and Recent Events

From the time of the conversion of the Maldives to Islam in the 12th Century, government had been carried out by the sultan or sultana and his or her various advisors and ministers. Political control was exercised through a system of atoll chiefs, island chiefs and religious leaders all under the Malé sultanate, and there was no need, as is true today, for any stationary police force outside of Malé. A significant and far-reaching change in the old system of governing took place in 1932 when the first constitution was written by a handful of men who had been educated abroad. The Majlis (Parliament) was established and elections were held on Malé to choose representatives for Malé and the atolls. An attempt to establish a republic in 1953 collapsed after only seven months, but in 1968 the sultanate was abolished once and for all, and the chief leader of the country, the President, became subject to elections. The atoll population now elects its representatives to the Majlis and votes for the President following his nomination by the Majlis. Various attempts

have been made to extend the electoral process to the regional level with the election of atoll chiefs and atoll advisory committees, but so far these experiments have not run smoothly most likely due to the lack of education among the island population.

The Maldives has always been an independent political entity except for a brief 17 years when the Portuguese gained control in the 16th Century (1558--1573). In 1887, the Maldives agreed to become a protectorate of the British government allowing the British to take responsibility for its defense and foreign relations while maintaining itself all internal control and decision-making. The British established a staging post during the Second World War in the southernmost atoll, Seen Atoll, and then during the late 1950's converted one of the Seen islands, Gan, into a Royal Air Force post. The terms of agreement for the use of Gan island were disputed by the Maldivian government and the British, and it was only in 1965 that an agreement acceptable to both sides was reached. As part of that agreement the British recognized the full sovereignty of the Maldives, and the Maldives was no longer a British protectorate. Today, Independence Day for the Republic of Maldives is celebrated on July 26, the day in 1965 when the final agreement between the two governments was signed. Three years later, on November 11, 1968 to be exact, the sultanate was set aside and the Republic of Maldives proclaimed.

The events of a recent chapter of Maldivian history are still close to those who were involved. During the late 1950's in the south (those four atolls below the Huadhoo Channel), a set of circumstances prevailed that created great political unrest and eventually led to a three year attempt at succession and the establishment of a new republic, known as the Suvadiva Republic. The south, because of its distance from Malé and the natural barrier of the Channel, has always been relatively isolated from the rest of the country, so much so that the language spoken there differs enough from the language of the center and north that the southerners and the other Maldivians cannot understand each others' dialect. At this particular time various southerners were feeling embittered toward the Malé government due to the restrictions on independent trading with Sri Lanka, the payment of import duties for the first time, and a newly-levied tax on fishing boats. An additional irritation was felt by those in Seen Atoll following the nation-wide standardization of the size of the house compound. Traditionally, the fruit trees owned outside of the compound were taxed, but the compound was not a standard size, and in Seen Atoll, because there was space enough, the average compound was quite large compared to others throughout the country. When the regulation size was announced, the Seen compound shrank and suddenly a tax was due on property that for them had formerly been untaxed. (These taxes have since been abolished, although, as mentioned earlier, the import tax has just been re-instated.)

The dissatisfaction was transformed into a separatist movement under the leadership of one man, Abdullah Afeef, in 1959. The British were also in the south, attempting to construct the RAF post in spite of a lack of accord with the Maldivian government, and their role in the "Suvadiva Rebellion" is the subject of much speculation. With a great

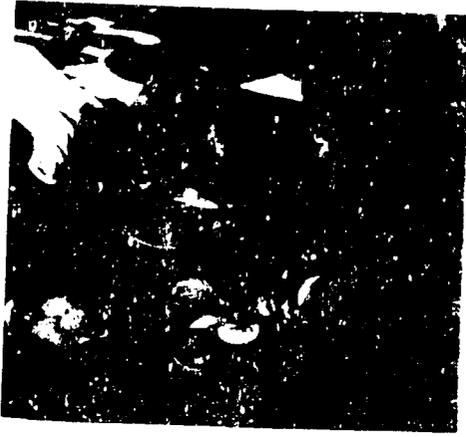
deal of personal hardship the rebellion was put to an end in 1962 by the Malé government, and the Maldives sustained the first and only internal threat to its integrity.

The British presence in the south did have some clearly unmistakable effects. Among these were a major population shift to Seen as Maldivians sought jobs, an influx of a sizeable amount of money into the local economy which was unprepared to absorb it, the provision of modern health care through the RAF hospital on Gan (later extended to a British-financed hospital in Malé), and the training of many Maldivians in technical and service fields to service the RAF opera-

tion. The departure of the British from Gan in March, 1976, created a hardship from those who had become dependent on the RAF as an employer and provider of goods and services.

Today, the Government of Maldives, feeling secure in its political control, has committed itself to bettering the lives of all Maldivians, including the 20% island population, and it has accepted responsibility for the welfare of its people. A wide range of activities has been initiated to improve fishing, health, and education, and the population must prepare to deal with the challenges that will accompany this development.

... AND ITS WOMEN



Preparing breadfruit & cleaning rice for lunch

Picture her sitting on the freshly-swept ground in a corner of the open compound shaded by a large breadfruit tree. With her are a handful of other women — perhaps a friend, a sister, a sister-in-law, and her mother — and they are picking through the rice, grating the coconut, and grinding the spices for the curry to be eaten later on in the day. A watchful eye is kept on the children who play near-by, although the young one is sitting on his mother's lap. She will hold him and carry him around constantly until he grows too big to be held. She spent the day before searching in the increasingly-thin forest for firewood for the week's cooking, and now she stokes the fire in the dark little hut which is the kitchen to prepare a rare treat — a mid-morning cup of heavily sweetened tea.

She crosses the compound to the well from which drinking and cooking water is taken. It is a circular, cement well about 8 feet deep, and she uses a container attached to a long stick as a dipper to draw the water. Her compound, surrounded by a wall of thatched coconut leaves known as cadjan, is pleasant and tidy. Scattered about close to the wall are some chilli plants, manioc, pumpkin and papaya trees which she tends. In addition to the kitchen the compound includes a small three room house and a spacious area with another well sectioned off for bathing and personal needs. All the structures are made from the cadjan mats tied to wooden frames, although next to the house a room whose walls are pieces of mortared coral is under construction. When time and resources permit, the men in her family work on this room which is the beginning of a coral house, a more permanent and stable structure than the coconut leaf construction, although more expensive to build. They are hoping to be able to buy tin sheets for roofing material for the new house to avoid the tiresome task of replacing the cadjan roof every two years. The present house has a wide overhang covering a large wooden swing in continual motion during the day and used as a bed at night. The rooms inside are sparsely furnished with a table, a few chairs, several cots, and a large wooden platform on which meals are taken and the children sleep. The floor is sand, there are no windows, and it is cooler inside than out.

With the preparations for lunch complete, she now goes to a pleasant spot on the beach where some men and women

have gathered to carry out their work. A V-shaped cadjan roof coming down to four feet above the ground protects the boat-builder and his wood from the sun. Finding shade under the coconut palms that cover the area, women are pounding the soaked coconut husk for the making of coir rope and sewing the coconut leaf together to make cadjan. Much discussion is taking place about the goings-on on the island, what the neighbors are doing, and how the fishing is, and she sits down to join the talk. As little as five years ago, her morning would have been spent in the process of smoking and drying fish, a task that traditionally falls to the woman, but this task is no longer being carried out. She and the other women lost an important role in the economy of their island when the mechanization of fishing boats made possible the sale of fresh fish direct from the boats to collecting vessels travelling throughout the atolls. The cash that her husband now brings back from a day's fishing is only a partial substitute for the value of the dried fish which could be sold for export, traded for goods or services, or eaten if necessary. Her family has not experienced an increase in living standard under this new system, in fact fish is now scarce on the island and the tasty and nutritious by-products from the fish are no longer being made. She would like to do something to earn more income to meet her family's needs, but she doesn't know what she can do.

She hopes that her children will have more opportunities than she has had, opportunities she feels will come about only if they are well educated. The limited educational facilities on the island are discouraging, but she sees that her children study religion, arithmetic, and reading and writing in their language, Dhivehi. Her children are wanted, well loved, and meticulously cared for by all members of the family, and she hopes her children will love her as much when she gets old. She married at an early age and shares the major responsibilities of family life with her husband. If she is like most of the women on her island, she will have more than one marriage partner in her life and may marry some of her husbands more than once. Divorces are rarely bitter affairs and relatives remain close in spite of such separations.

She practices her religion, usually in the privacy of her home, and the major social events on the island will be religious celebrations involving recitations of the life of the Prophet Mohamed and feasting. In other forms of entertainment she is generally an observer, watching the men and boys play drums, sing and dance or watching the younger girls dance and sing beating out a rhythm with colourful items made from paper and wood or their metal water-fetching pots. Should visitors come to her island, she takes pleasure in offering what she can and taking care of their needs as far as possible. Her world is her island and she has traveled little, if at all, from her home. There is no reason for her to travel, and it is the men who have learned to negotiate the dangerous reefs, weather the sudden fierce storms, and spend long days travelling in order to get to Malé to purchase those items not available on the island. Among those items are rice, sugar, flour, kerosene for small night lights, cloth for making clothes, rubber sandals, and perhaps some medicine. If a family member falls sick, she will seek whatever help she can get, whether it be drugs through the

health center located on another island in her atoll, the preparations of the local herbal doctor, or the influences of the traditional island charmer.

She is a strong individual, and while she may conform to the fashions and ways of doing things on the island, she tends to face her problems and struggles separate from others

whose concerns are the same. Those concerns center on her children and other family members and how she can best provide for them. In all that she does, her sense of humour about herself and her island society is frequently displayed – helping her through the hard times and supporting the good times. While she feels the need for some changes and would herself like to learn more and do more, she derives satisfaction and enjoyment from the life she is presently leading.

Part II Survey Methodology



Interview on Fares

- **Survey Preparation**
- **Survey Implementation**
- **Maps of Survey Trips**
- **Factors to be Considered in Reviewing the Data**

SURVEY PREPARATION

Following discussions with government officials to determine what kind of information they would like to obtain from the survey, the following research design was developed to guide the project.

Research Design — Survey of Island Women

Purpose of Survey — To obtain data on the lives of island women, their needs, their skills, and their attitudes toward change upon which to plan programs that will allow women to contribute to the economic and social development of their communities, with particular emphasis on the fields of health and income generation.

Research Problems to be Analyzed — These are the specific questions the survey was designed to answer.

- 1.) How can women and their families be characterized in terms of children; marriage; decision-making patterns; economic status (i.e., income, expenditure, property); and health?
- 2.) How do women spend their time and what skills do they have?
- 3.) What channels of communication do women use (i.e. who are their teachers and who advises them)?
- 4.) What do women perceive as problems, and in which areas would they like to see change?
- 5.) Do men's answers differ in any significant way from women's answers when they are asked the same questions about themselves?
- 6.) What resources are available on the islands surveyed that might be used in a development project?

Types of Data to be Sought

- 1.) Responses of women (80% of those interviewed) and men (20% of those interviewed) to the first four research problems mentioned above.
- 2.) List of human and physical resources on the islands surveyed.
- 3.) Opinions of members of the GOM, international agency personnel, and other informed parties.
- 4.) Background information on the Maldives published by the GOM and international agencies, as well as any other descriptive data available concerning the population and the islands.

Methods of Obtaining Data

- 1.) Survey of adult women
- 2.) Group discussion with women respondents
- 3.) Survey of adult men
- 4.) Island resource survey with island chief
- 5.) Observation
- 6.) Discussions with GOM officials, international agency personnel, and others
- 7.) Review of all available publications concerning the Maldives.

The major data-gathering instrument, the women's questionnaire, was then developed, posing both attitude and descriptive questions to address the first four research problems. Two major assumptions were made to facilitate the questionnaire design. The first is that the women would be married,

which turned out to be true for 26.25% of the respondents (100% of the women had been married at one time), and the second is that the women would have children, true for 96.67% of the respondents. After several drafts and English-Dhivehi and Dhivehi-English translations, the women's questionnaire was completed and pre-tested in six interviews on two islands in the South Malé atoll. Following revisions it was then published in Dhivehi and served as the basis for developing the men's questionnaire. The island resource survey was designed, and all this activity was accompanied by discussions with those that had an interest in the project and a literature search.

Sampling Procedure

The choice of islands on which the interviews were to take place was made through a procedure of stratified sample selection which assured that the variety of conditions present among Maldivian islands would be represented in the survey. This procedure involved the five following steps.

- 1.) All inhabited islands outside of the Malé atoll with the exception of Fua Muiaku and Seenu Atoll (for reasons explained below) were categorized according to the major occupation practiced on the island. In the Maldives the major occupational category is fishing. Agriculture is the second most important occupation, although the number of farmers is small. Using data available from the 1974 Census, two percentages were determined, one comparing the number of male fishermen to the total male population, and the other comparing the number of male and female farmers to the total population. After calculating the difference of the two percentages, each island was placed in a category as follows:
 - a. solely fishing -- the difference was greater than 25% with the higher value for fishermen.
 - b. mostly fishing -- the difference fell between 13% and 25% with the higher value for fishermen.
 - c. equal fishing and agriculture -- the difference was 12% or less.
 - d. mostly agriculture -- the difference fell between 13% and 25% with the higher value for male and female farmers.
 - e. solely agriculture -- the difference was greater than 25% with the higher value for male and female farmers.

The island of Fua Mulaku (Gnaviyani Atoll) was put in a category of its own as it was determined to be a geographically unique island due to its large size, isolation from other islands, lack of a protective reef, and high agricultural productivity. The inhabited islands of Seen Atoll were also placed in a separate category due to the special economic and social effects of the presence of the British Royal Air Force on Gan island from 1959 to 1976. The islands in the five fishing/agriculture categories were then subcategorized according to their location in the north (everything above Malé Atoll), the center (south of Malé Atoll to the Huadhoo Channel), or the south (everything below the Huadhoo Channel).

- 2.) Next a decision was made concerning the number of interviews that could be conducted (600), and the number of islands that could be visited (40), given the available resources for carrying out the survey and the time constraints. 80% of the interviews (480) were planned for women, and 20% (120) for men. The age of 20 and above was chosen for the respondents to ensure that the questions would be asked of adults.
- 3.) The population living in each of the total of seven categories was then determined using the 1977 Census Report.
- 4.) Then for each category a proportionate number of interviews and islands was figured based on the percentage of population in that category.
- 5.) Finally, using a table of random numbers and the method of cumulated totals of island population in each category, the islands were randomly selected.

The choice of households from which the respondents came was made using the 1977 Census Houselist, which is a record of every house on each inhabited island, and the table of random numbers. The choice of respondent within a house-

hold was done on the spot, with the sole criteria being that the woman or man to be interviewed be 20 years old or above. Each interviewer was instructed to get an equal number of interviews in each of seven pre-determined age categories.

Project Staff and Training

The project staff consisted of young women and men most of whom were either students or in the government service. There was a total of fifteen different interviewers, and each team had some people with training in the health field, either as Community Health Workers, Nurses' Aids, or Field Workers in the area of communicable diseases. Their training consisted of an orientation to the background and purpose of the survey, a thorough study of the questionnaire itself which included practice interviews, a discussion of how to conduct a good interview and the various factors influencing the quality of the interview, and a discussion of the possible problems that one might encounter while interviewing. The women who served as clerks handling the data tabulation once the questionnaires were completed also received training in how to fill out the questionnaires and how the information codes were constructed, as well as the background and purpose of the project.

SURVEY IMPLEMENTATION

A typical day in the field began with the interviews in the morning. Each survey team member conducted three or four interviews, each ranging from 45 minutes to an hour and a half in length. At the end of the morning, the women respondents came together for a group discussion on some of the questions and to hear how they had answered those questions during the interviews. The interview of the island chief generally took place during this time. The afternoons were taken with travel to the next island and working out the interview schedule and food and accommodations on the new island. In the evenings, the questionnaires were reviewed and checked by the interviewers. Modifications of this schedule were made from time to time due to the weather or an unusually large distance between islands or some other contingency.

In between the survey activities, there was time for meals often morning and afternoon tea, walks around the islands, relaxation, and music and entertainment at nighttime. Accommodations for the team were provided on the islands either in the homes of some of the local population or in the island office or atoll office (if the team was on the capital island of the atoll). Meals were prepared for the team with food brought from Male, supplemented by fish, eggs, and fruit purchased on the islands. Transport was handled by chartered boats having eating and sleeping facilities.

Four separate trips were required to cover 40 islands and interview 600 people. The details of each trip are listed below, followed by maps showing the atolls and islands visited.



Street scene in Hinavaru

Trip #1

Dates: 2 May – 26 May, 1979

Boat: Sea Mark

Interviewers: Aishath Abdullah
Khadeeja Ahmed
Zubaida Ali
Aminath Gafoor
Zahida Ibrahim
Ahmed Saleem

Islands surveyed:

Gnaviyani Atoll – Fua Mulaku
Seen Atoll – Feydhoo
Hithadhoo
Hulhudhoo
Maradhoo
Maradhoo-Feydhoo
Gaaf-Alif Atoll – Gemanifushi
Gaaf-Dhaal Atoll – Fares
Fioree
Gadhdhoo
Thinadhoo
Laam Atoll – Maabaidhoo

Trip #2

Dates: 22 June – 1 July, 1979

Boat: Golden Ray

Interviewers: Zubaida Ali
Zahida Ibrahim
Fareeda Moosa
Aminath Rasheed
Zahidu Ibrahim

Islands surveyed:

Baa Atoll – Dhonfanu
Eydaifushi
Goidhoo
Kendhoo
Raa Atoll – Iguraidhoo
Maakurathu
Meedhoo
Laviyani Atoll – Hinawaru

Trip #3

Dates: 9 July – 21 July, 1979

Boat: Alibaba

Interviewers: Zubaida Ali
Zahida Ibrahim
Fareeda Moosa
Faaquiru Ibrahim

Islands surveyed:

Meem Atoll – Naalaafushi
Kolhufushi
Thaa Atoll – Guraidhoo
Dhaal Atoll – Badhidhoo
Alif Atoll – Hangnaameedhoo
Himandhoo
Mandhoo
Thodhoo

Trip #4

Dates: 10 July – 23 July, 1979

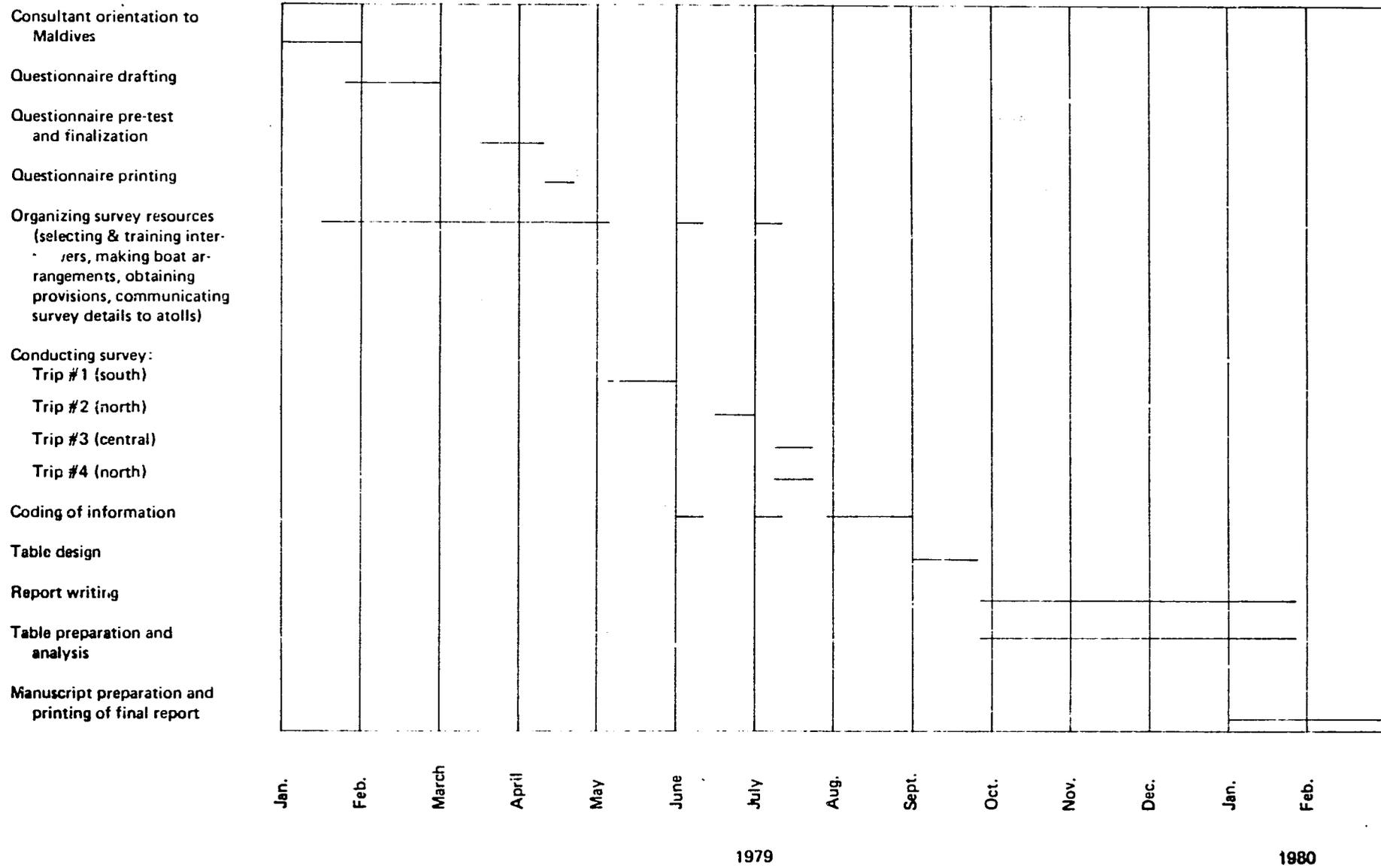
Boat: Sinbad

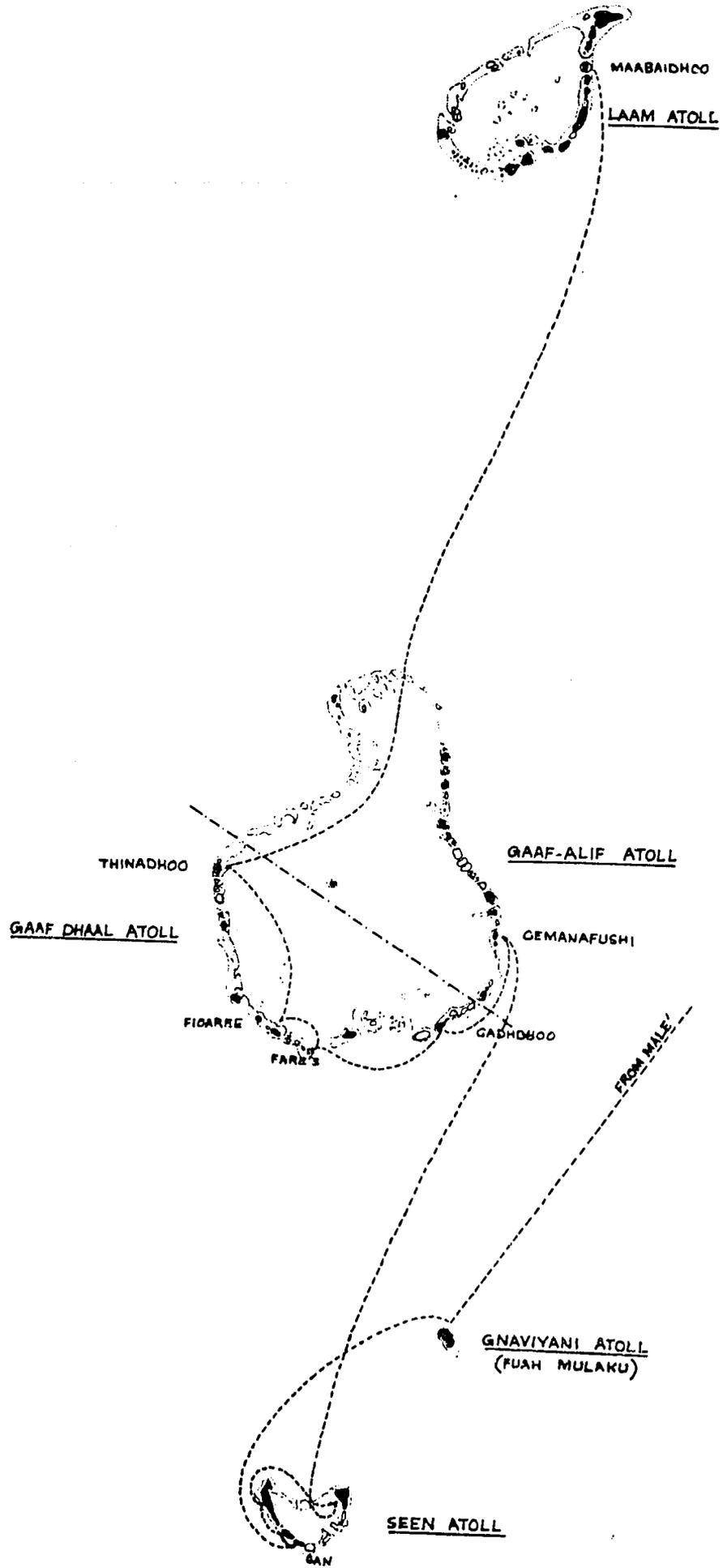
Interviewers: Aishath Abdullah
Hawwa Faiz
Khadeeja Ibrahim
Hafsa Saeed
Hassan Habeeb

Islands surveyed:

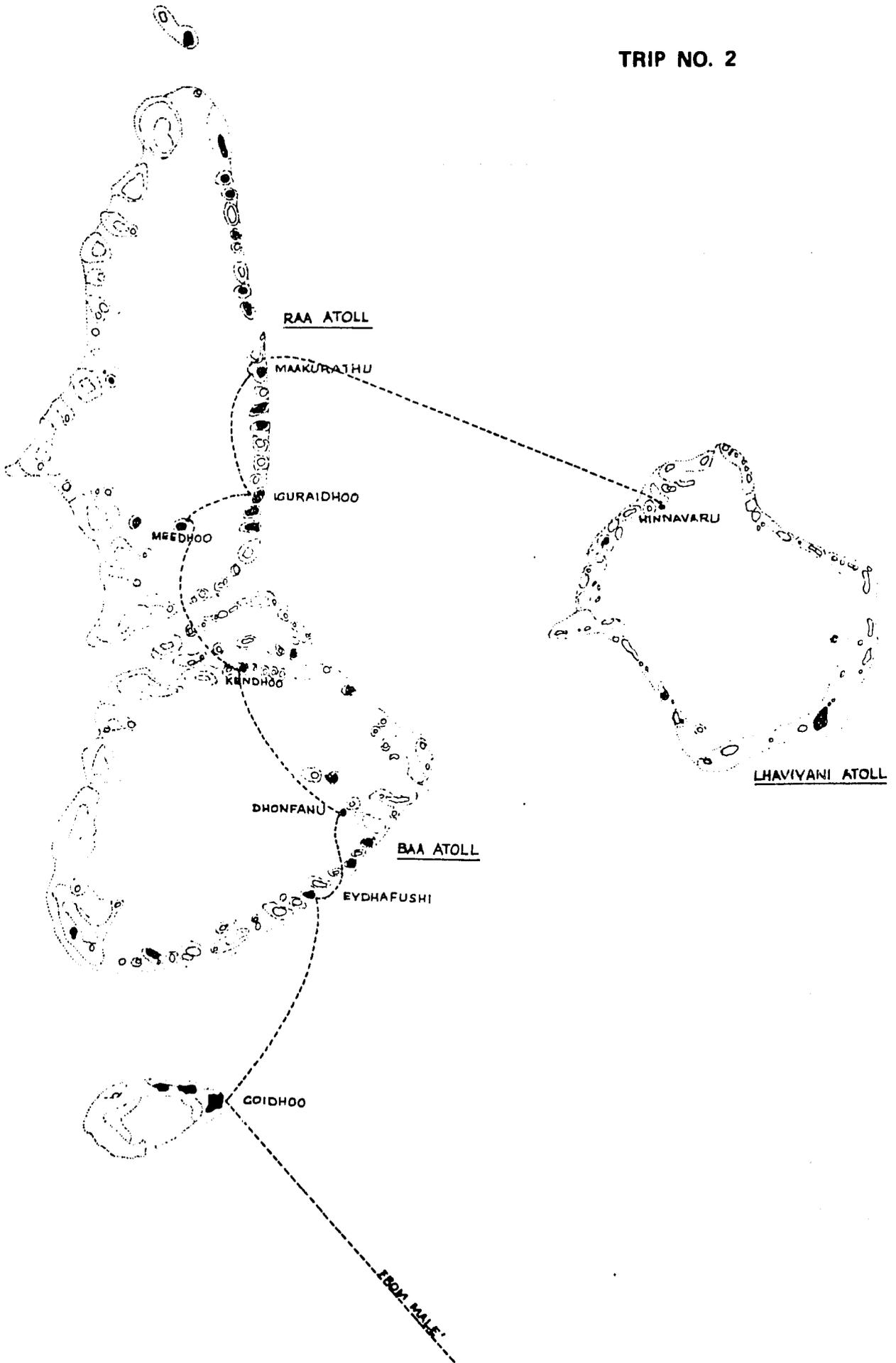
Haa-Alif Atoll – Baarah
Huvarafushi
Haa-Dhaal Atoll – Kulhudufushi
Kumundhoo
Maavaidhoo
Nellaidhoo
Nolhivaramu
Shaviyani Atoll – Maakadhodhoo
Noon Atoll – Holhudhoo
Miladhoo
Velidhoo

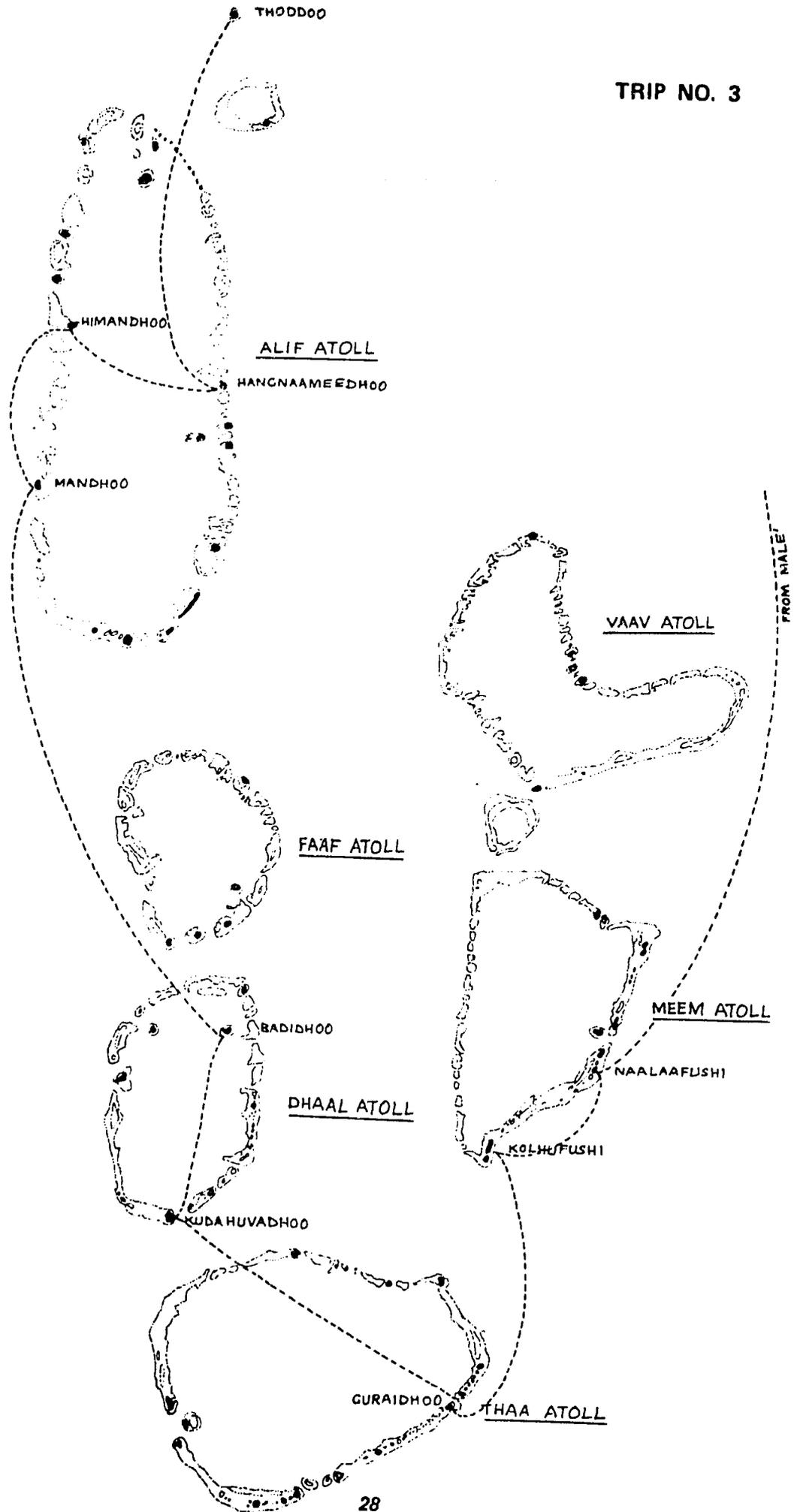
Timetable of Survey Activities



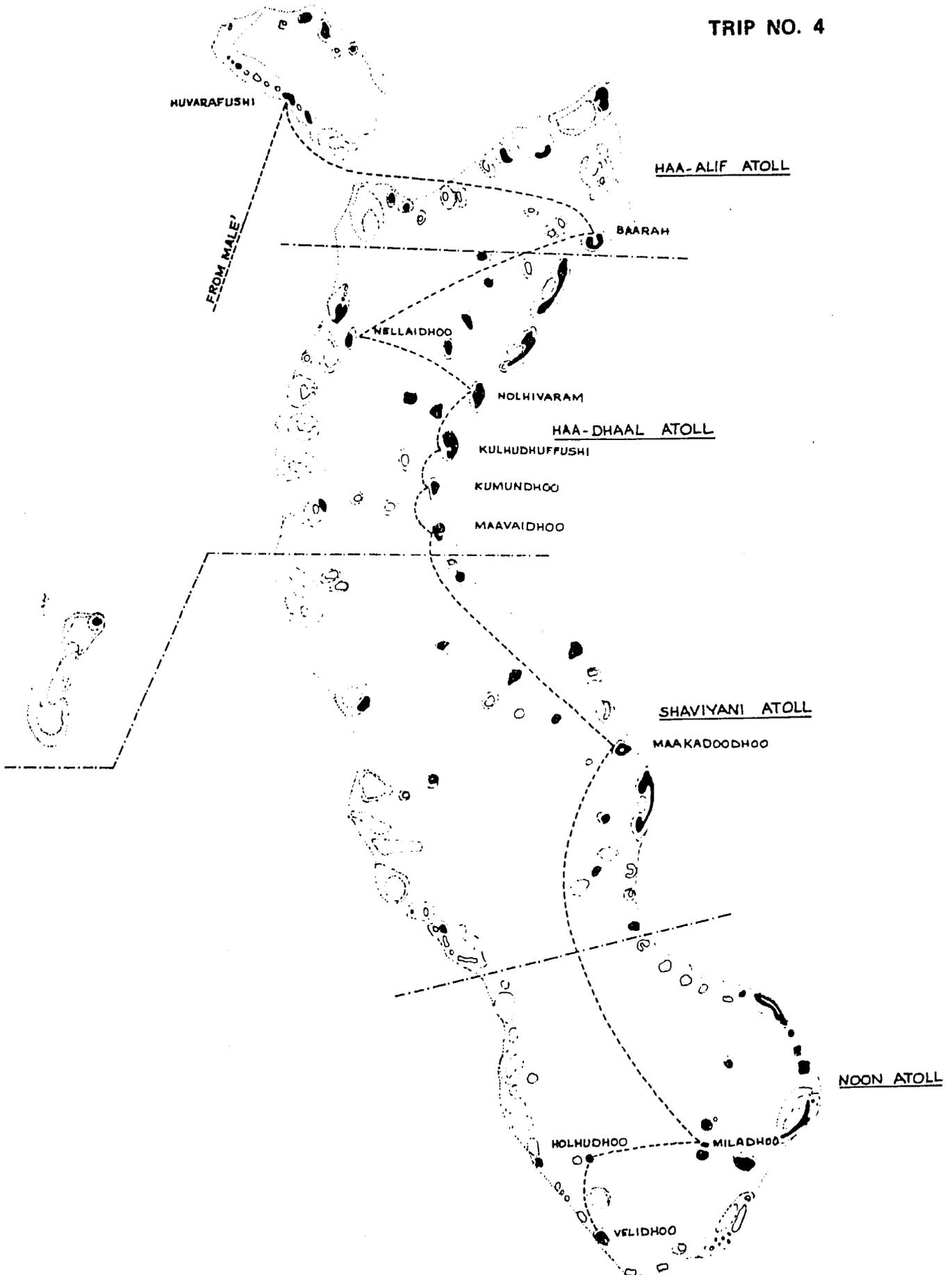


TRIP NO. 2





TRIP NO. 4



FACTORS TO BE CONSIDERED IN REVIEWING THE DATA

- 1.) **Nature of the survey** – The information gathered touched a broad range of topics and did not go into depth in any particular area. The decision to concentrate on breadth rather than depth was made due to the lack of data on any of the topics. The information presented can thus provide a starting point for studies in further detail and can be seen as providing a general picture of the life and environment of women on the islands.
- 2.) **Context in which the study took place** – The survey project was operating in an environment in which statistical undertakings are not usual and the usefulness of statistical data is only beginning to be appreciated. The result is a lack of sufficient data available even for planning a survey. An additional constraint was the limited personnel with a knowledge of the conditions on the islands or the expertise necessary to plan and implement such a project.
- 3.) **Questionnaire design** – Again due to the lack of pre-existing data, the results of the questionnaire could not be well anticipated and no hypotheses were made. The target population is not accustomed to attitude and opinion questions, yet such questions were attempted as such information is very important to achieve the purpose of the survey. Questions dealing with broad concepts such as diet, occupation and income had to be very simply put so that the respondents might be able to answer them. Some of the data sought, such as those on family planning, food eaten, or hours spent on various activities, are better gathered through indirect means or observation than direct questioning. As extended observation was not possible within the time frame of the survey, data on topics such as these must be evaluated accordingly.
- 4.) **Sample selection** – One sample was used to cover the whole range of questions, and it is recognized that the sample may be inadequate to obtain highly reliable results in any given area. The sole source of data suitable for use in designing the sample was the 1974 Census which itself has severe limitations. The 1977 Census figures were not available to assist in the sample design, although the random selection of households to be interviewed was made from the 1977 Census Houselist.
- 5.) **Interviewers** – As there existed a very limited group of people both available and capable of doing the interviewing, no selection was possible. Their training was abbreviated due to last minute changes in personnel and the very limited time between their assignment to the survey team and the beginning of the survey. An additional factor operating on the interviewers was a lack of familiarity with this type of work which sometimes resulted in a casual attitude toward the assignment.
- 6.) **Field Experience** – Travelling conditions were rigorous with numerous transfers from one boat to another, rain, heat, bedbugs, mosquitoes, and occasional sickness. The survey was extremely fortunate not to have had problems with weather that would have impeded the constant travelling. The interviewing went smoothly and the respondents were always very cooperative, although it was difficult to isolate them from other interested parties while the interview was taking place. Not surprisingly, on-the-spot translation was found by the survey coordinator to be unsatisfactory for picking up on the tone and subtleties of comments made during the group discussions and in chats with people on the island.
- 7.) **Analysis** – The data tabulation was done manually, and the clerical staff suffered from a degree of turn-over. The inability to anticipate the results led to many revisions of work done during the course of the tabulation and analysis, while the limited time available to do the analysis prevented a determination of the level of accuracy of the data analysis. The data presented in the tables have not been exhausted in the discussion of the tables, and further study could be made of them.

Part III Survey Analysis and Tables



A midwife on Gemanifushi

- Summary of Findings
- Discussion of Women's Tables
- Notes from the Group Discussions of Women
- Discussion of Island Resource Tables
- Women's Questionnaire
- Island Resource Questionnaire
- Women's Tables
- Island Resource Tables

Summary of Findings

This section presents a summary of the research findings in the form of answers to the questions that were posed in the survey design.

I. How can women and their families be characterized in terms of children; marriage; decision-making patterns; economic status (i.e., income, expenditure, and property); and health?

a.) What is the history and current status of childbearing, marriage, and family?

— The average size of the household is six, and 80% of the household occupants are members of the nuclear family. The majority of all occupants are children, while only 2% are parents of the women interviewed. Older women tend to live with fewer relatives other than spouse and children than younger women.

— All women marry, half of them at the age of 15 or below. The age at first marriage is not later for younger women than older, but women of all ages would generally like their daughters to marry later than they did. The average woman has four marriages, three of them by the age of 30. She will have had three different husbands and will have married one of those husbands twice. Children are always well cared for in spite of these transitions.

— The average number of children born alive to a woman is six, four of whom are presently living. The figures comprising the number of live births for all ages include an average of seven for women in the 35-44 age group. The claim on women's time and energy can be easily accounted for as a result. It is interesting that the average number of children preferred by women and men of all ages is between three and four, suggesting that family planning, were it made available, would be accepted. Younger women are showing more live births and more living children than older women, a trend that can be explained by generally improving health conditions. When asked what kind of life they would like for their children, 45% said they would like the children to be educated.



Some children of Fua Mulaku

b.) What is the level of education and literacy?

— Education is very basic on the islands, consisting mostly of religious studies, Dhivehi, and arithmetic. Almost nine out of ten have attended some form of educational institution offering studies at the primary level or below, and hardly any have studied further.

— More than 60% can be considered literate, although only 7.5% were judged to read at a "very good" level.

— 20% of the women are solely responsible for teaching their children to read and write, and another one-third teach them in combination with another relative or instructor.

c.) What are the decision-making patterns within the family?

— Two thirds of the women claim to be involved either singly or with their husbands in making major family decisions about their children's education and the disposition of income and property.

— Responsibility for procuring food and other items for household use and for providing for the sick and elderly falls primarily with the husband, while the care of children is the major responsibility of the woman and one that is enjoyed.

— Children have few expectations placed upon them while they are young. Personal care from the daughters and money or what it can buy from the sons would be the hope of the aging parent.

d.) What is the economic situation in terms of income, expenditure, and property?

— Only one-third of the women earned any monthly income, although almost two-thirds are engaged in some kind of activity that might bring in money. The single most-frequently practiced activity is rope making which engages one-quarter of the women. Women make a very small contribution to the family income.

— On the average, women reported a combined wife and husband income earned in one month of 102 rupees. Half of the combined incomes were 58 rupees or less for one month, and 24% had no earnings at all. Men reported higher incomes than the women, and a reasonable average for the combined wife and husband income earned in a month might be 120 rupees.

— The largest single occupation of the husbands is fishing, done by 46.38%.

— The average expenditure on food per occupant per week is 5 rupees. The average family of 6 which earned 120 rupees in a month therefore spends its entire income on food. There is a slight tendency to spend more on food as income rises.

— Houses are owned by 27% of the women, trees by 32% and boats and sewing machines by 5%.

— 11% of the women have borrowed money, mostly for buying food.

e.) What are the diets consumed and illnesses experienced?

— Almost all women have two main meals a day, with only 7% skipping either lunch or dinner.

— There is little variety in the diet with a strong preference for rice, all of which must be imported. Half of the women eat rice at lunch and almost two-thirds eat it at dinner, with small amounts of fish accompanying the rice in one form or another. Other foods eaten include boiled, starchy vegetables. Fruit is not a major component of the diet.

— Half of the women feel they have enough food for their families, but only 40% are fully satisfied with the types of food they consume.

— In well over one-third of the families, fever is experienced in any given month, and 20% of the families report diarrhea in a month. For all ailments drugs are the most commonly-used treatment.

— Women claimed that of those children who died under 5 years old, 37% died from fever and 18% from diarrhea or diarrhea combined with vomiting.

II. How do women spend their time and what skills do they have?

— Half of the women spend three hours or less on household duties such as cooking and washing clothes. Of the approximately two-thirds who engage in other activities, half spent 3-4 days a week or less on those activities.

— Few women have skills outside of those required to run a household and rope making, cadjan weaving or simple farming. The skill most widely known is sewing, claimed by 20% of the women.

— The traditional island-based practices such as charming and the use of local medicine are rarely carried out by women, and even midwives are in short supply.

— A majority of women would like to learn new skills and would be willing to have some training.

III. What channels of communication do women use, i.e. who are their teachers and who advises them?

— The teachers of the skills women know are found among friends, family, and professionals.

— Relatives and parents are mainly sought for advice on problems.

— Less than one-quarter listen to the radio on a regular basis.

— A majority of women feels they know some women whom they consider leaders on their island, and the quality that is most likely to put those women in leadership positions is their education.

IV. What do women perceive as problems and in which areas would they like to see change?

— The most frequently-mentioned problem on the island is poor fishing which can be understood as an indirect statement about wishing to have more money. When fishing problems are combined with expressions of other problems, limited earnings is clearly the largest difficulty facing the women.

— Education for the children and sufficient food are also mentioned as major problems, and women would first spend any additional money earned in these areas. Women would like to have more schools, and better functioning ones, on their island, and they would like to be able to purchase more of the staples of the Maldivian diet — rice, sugar, and flour.

— Nearly all women would like to have the opportunity to earn more money, and they do not feel they are paid reasonable prices for the items they now produce. In addition they do not feel they have adequate access to the raw materials necessary to carry out their work.

— Two-thirds of the women feel the community is responsible for development of the island, but most feel the need for assistance from the government. They would like to see disputes on the island more easily settled so their communities could function more smoothly.

V. Do men's answers differ in any significant way from women's answers when they are asked the same questions about themselves?

— A higher percentage of men would prefer to have more sons than daughters or equal numbers of both. Men are not

as involved as women in teaching children to read and write at home, although most schoolteachers and kiavaage instructors are men.

— Men do not report that major family responsibilities and decisions are shared to the same extent as women. They are more likely to feel that responsibilities for other family members and important decisions are theirs alone to handle.

— The age at first marriage for men is strikingly higher than for women, with 62% marrying at the age of 20 or above. A larger percentage of men favors later marriages for their daughters.

— Men report higher earnings, more ownership of property, and more borrowing for themselves than the women report for their husbands. Likewise the men claim lower figures for their wives in all these areas than the women claim for themselves.

— More problems related to fishing are cited by men than by women as the most important problem facing the island. Men also have a higher expectation of government assistance in overcoming some of the difficulties than the women have.

— Men intend to maintain control over their families, but at the same time they would like to see their wives do more work and increase their earnings.

VI. What resources are available on the islands surveyed that might be used in a development project?

— Some islands are good fishing islands, others not. Any project dealing with the processing of fish or fish by-products would have to be very carefully located.

— While the scarcity of uncontaminated water is a problem, all islands have water available from shallow wells. This is an asset from an agricultural point of view. Available land on many islands is not being fully utilized, and only a small amount of intensive cultivation is taking place. It seems that the potential variety of tropical fruits and vegetables is not being fully exploited.

— The availability of transport varies from island to island. Some islands enjoy frequent contact with Malé and other islands, while others do not.

— Mat weaving, a craft practiced primarily by women, is known on more than half of the islands but is not widely practiced at present.

— Every island visited had at least one radio, although less than one-quarter of the women listen to the radio on a regular basis. The island offices, however, are in daily contact with the atoll offices, which in turn are in contact with Malé.

— There is a health center in each atoll, and some islands have trained health workers. The government is assisting schools of the traditional types while working with UNESCO and UNICEF to make available more broadly-based primary education. There are few local clubs or organizations.

— The main resources are the human ones, and the people expressed a great willingness to work to overcome their problems if they could find help to get started.



DISCUSSION OF WOMEN'S TABLES

In this section, comments are made on the data presented in the women's tables. The interpretation of the tables includes comparative figures derived from the analysis of the 120 interviews with men. Where there are no significant differences, the man's responses are not reported.

I. Household Composition

Table 2 — The average (mean) household size is 6.47. 50% of the women belong to a household of 6 occupants (median point is 5.57) or less, while 16.69% live in households of 10 or more. More women (17.29%) live in households with 5 occupants than in households of any other size. Household sizes are rather evenly distributed (see Figure A below), and the size of the household is in general smaller than might be expected. It is significantly larger on Male where the population density is much higher. Clearly the availability of space is a factor in determining whether the household is a nuclear or extended family. Where there is space (and money) enough, the nuclear family unit is preferred.

Tables 3 & 4 — 80.28% of all respondents are members of the nuclear family, that is wife, husband and children. Children comprise 53.42% of all occupants, and a high percentage of women, 93.96%, are living with one or more of their children. 13.70% of the children are married, and over one-half of the married children are 29 years old or under, while one-third are between 30 and 39. The younger married children are most likely living with their mothers while awaiting the opportunity to move into homes of their own, while the older married children may be offering a home to their mothers during their older years or in between marriages.

Parents, however, form a surprisingly small portion of the household occupants, 1.98%, and they are distributed among 10% of the women. On the other hand, almost double the number of women (18.13%) are living with in-laws. More of the in-laws are married than not, while over two-thirds of the

siblings living with the women are not married. The picture that emerges from a study of the ages of the occupants shows that younger women are more likely to be living with relatives other than spouse and children than older ones.

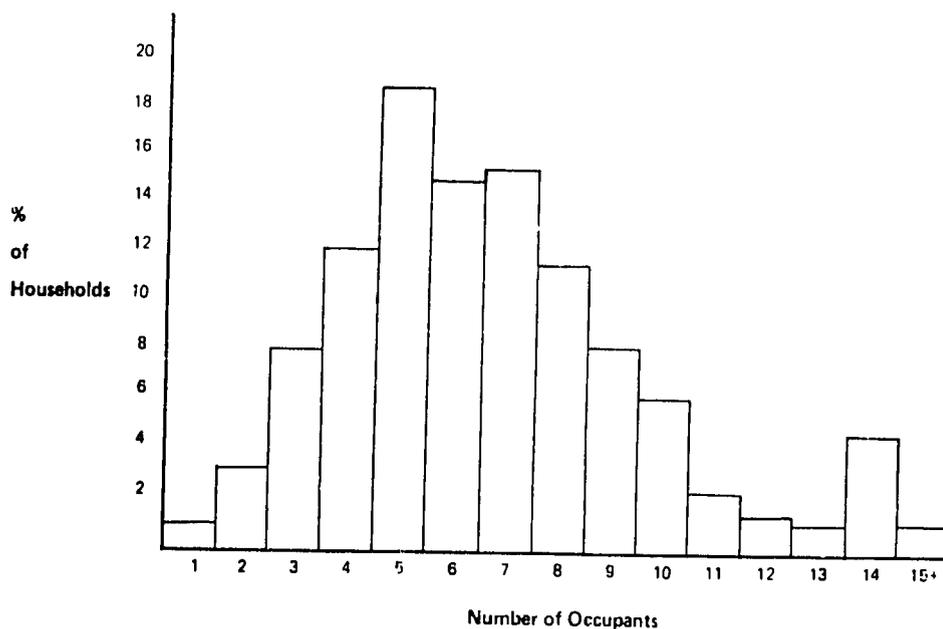
II. Children

Table 5 — Half of the women have given birth to 6 or less live children, compared to half who currently have 4 or less living children. The section on Diet and Health summarizes the reasons given by the women for the deaths of their children under 5 years. The high fertility of Maldivian women (almost the fecundity level) is indicated by the 27.29% who have had 8 or more live births. 6.88% have 8 or more children living. Deaths of women in childbirth and physical complications resulting from frequent deliveries explain in part the low percentage of females (48%) in the total population.

Table 6 — The figures from Table 5 looked at from a different viewpoint show that the average (mean) number of living children per women is 3.99, and the average number of children born alive is 5.73. Those who are reaching the end of their fertile years, the age groups 35–39 and 40–44, reached an average number of 7 live births, while the averages of living children for those groups are 5.40 and 4.43 respectively. Women 45 and over did not have as many live births, and one might infer that generally improving health conditions in recent years explain the increase for younger women. The preference for a given number of children was explored by asking about the "best number of children for a woman to bring up." In posing the question, care was taken to get the response for the number of children one can easily bring up within the existing physical and social constraints. The question does not include solely the woman's own children, but it also covers the step-children for which she may be responsible. The average number of children preferred, 3.38, is smaller than anticipated, and it is remarkably consistent for all ages of both women and men.

Tables 7 & 8 — For a Maldivian it may not be surprising to note that the preferences expressed by the women for

Figure A — Number of Occupants per Household



more sons (28.33%) or more daughters (21.67%) are rather close. A plurality (36.46%) prefer equal distribution of sexes among their children. The male respondents did, however, favor boys (41.67%) over girls (20.00%). As there is neither bride price nor dowry, the sex of a child does not affect family finances. Where girls are preferred it is generally for social benefits such as helping around the house and caring for the parents, and boys are preferred for the potential economic benefits of providing for the family.

Table 9 – Family planning practices are still new to the atoll life, and only 6.46% of the women said they had even considered not having any additional children. The difference between the preferred number of children and the number they actually bear and bring up, however, suggests that attitudes toward the control of family size need to be more thoroughly explored. Only 3.33% indicated that they have attempted to control their number of children.

Table 10 – A study of the number of living children per 100 live births reveals some interesting variations by region and by age. There are 69.80 living children per 100 live births from the women interviewed of all ages throughout the country. In this table the increase in number of children living per 100 live births for younger women is quite clearly shown. It is conceivable that Region C's higher performance (except the 40–44 age group) is due to the constant availability of local food in the form of taro which is widely grown throughout the south but not commonly found in the rest of the country. The reasons for the sharp drop for ages 40–44 for that region (and to a lesser extent in Region B) for the number of children living per 100 live births are unknown. Nutrition may also be a factor as larger quantities of fruit, especially bananas, are grown and consumed in the south than in the north and central sections. To determine whether there was any improvement in health related to the number of living children resulting from the RAF hospital in Gan, the numbers for Seen and Fua Mulaku were studied separately. Those figures show that the rate of increase of living children per 100 live births for women 34 and below is greater for those two atolls than for the whole of Region C and the rest of the country. While Region C shows more favorable figures all along, the differences increased after the

hospital was put into operation in the early 1960's. Islands from Gaaf-Dhaal Atoll servicing Seen also benefitted from the medical facilities and further explain the higher Region C figures. One can conclude that the presence of the RAF hospital on Gan contributed greatly to this increase as women took advantage of the medical care made available to them and their children. The difference between Region C and the rest of the country increased until the health services available to the entire country became more significant.

Table 11 – Women on the whole do not give much thought to the futures of their children as it is generally assumed that the children will have much the same life as the parents have had when they grown up. A hope for something better was expressed when asked about the aspirations they have for their children. 44.58% cited education for their daughters, 45.62% for their sons. More women (16.46%) mentioned a specified occupation for boys while only 4.58% mentioned an occupation for their daughters.

III. Family Responsibilities

Tables 12 & 13 – The average number of hours a day spent on household duties is 4, broken down into two hours on cooking and one hour each on sweeping and washing clothes. There is no significant variation by age. We can conclude that women have sufficient time for other activities provided that alternative arrangements can be made for the care of their children. It is the care of infants and young children rather than the household duties of cooking, washing and sweeping that make the major demands on women. Children are looked after all day, and women could not quantify the time they spend in this activity. Any new activities introduced for women must take into account the current childcare patterns of women.

Table 14 – The difference in opinion between men and women on the distribution of responsibility for children is striking. Men favor men to a greater extent than women favor women, probably because of their legal responsibility for children and social expectations that the husband have a greater say in matters concerning children. Figure B below compares the responses of men and women to the specific questions.

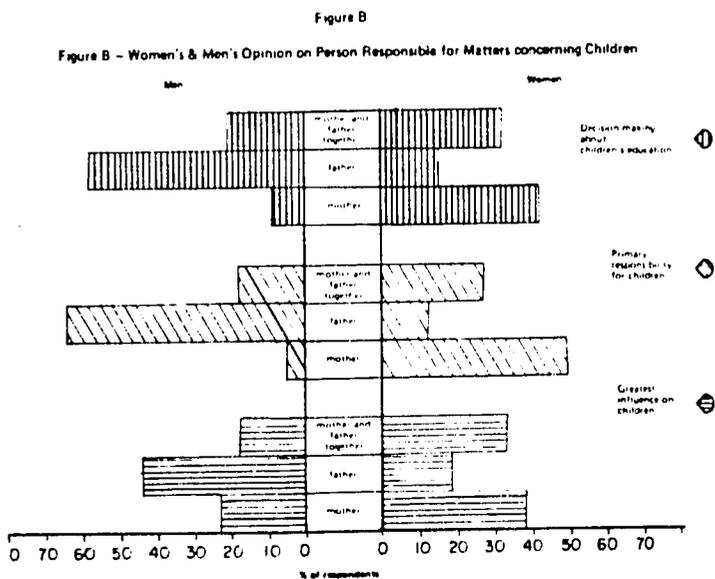


Table 15 — More than half of the women (55.82%) report that their children make some form of contribution to the running of the family, generally in the areas of sweeping, cooking, washing clothes and looking after other children. It can be said that children do not bear major family responsibilities. Children do contribute money to some extent as reported by 26.08% of the women. As those are only women old enough to have income-earning children, presumably a larger percentage will get money from their children during their lifetimes.

Table 16 — In terms of family responsibilities, husbands clearly have the major duty of procuring food and other items needed to run the household. Men have traditionally been the procurers of household goods and only 9.58% of the women claim that responsibility for themselves. Primary responsibility for caring for the sick and elderly falls slightly more heavily on the husbands (45.21%) than on the women (33.33%), in the opinion of the women. Husbands are generally expected to provide the means for caring for the sick or elderly family members while it is likely that the women actually carry out the physical care. Major family decisions concerning the disposition of husbands' earnings and property bought and sold (such as sewing machines and boats) are felt to be roughly evenly distributed among wives, husbands, and wives and husbands together by the women. The men interviewed do not perceive the same distribution of family responsibilities and decisions, and far larger percentages claimed the sole responsibilities of procuring food and caring for the sick. Men consider only 33.43% of their wives involved in decisions about spending their earnings, while 65.46% of the women claimed they have a say. It is again possible that the social image of a husband is such that he does not recognize his wife's contributions to the fulfillment of these kinds of responsibilities. Alternatively, women could be claiming more involvement than they actually have.

IV. Education and Literacy

Table 17 — Although 88.54% of the women have attended some form of educational institution, this does not reflect an educated population. The high literacy rate (61.67%) among women is the sole outcome of school attendance because the level of studies is very basic. The traditional curriculum of the madhrasaa includes reading of the Koran and Arabic script, religious practices, arithmetic, and Dhivehi. The makthab curriculum is similar although likely to be at a more elementary level. Likewise the kiavaage curriculum is the same although the range and level of subjects varies according to the abilities of the instructor. Some islands have developed high-standard institutions compared to other islands, but they are the exception rather than the rule. Since the characteristics of the madhrasaa and the makthab are close, many institutions will choose to call themselves madhrasaa, thereby explaining the higher percentage of madhrasaa attendance (52.92%) over makthab attendance (5.41%).

School attendance generally increased for younger women with a sharp jump in the 35-39 age group over the 40-44

group. This can be explained by the special interest in promoting education in the atolls shown by the government around 1950. School attendance is slightly greater for male respondents (95.83%), but more women have attended the madhrasaa than men. As the madhrasaa is a younger and preferred institution, it can be concluded that there is a tendency for males to decrease their school attendance at present. That younger men are attending school less and attaining lower levels of literacy than older men is perhaps due to economic pressures and opportunities which have encouraged young men to enter the job market sooner than before.

Table 18 — Of the 61.67% judged to be literate, only 7.50% are considered to read the Dhivehi script at a "very good" level. Younger women are more literate than older ones, perhaps reflecting the relative closeness of their school experience and their involvement in teaching their children to read and write. The total of those reading at a "satisfactory" level and a "very good" level is 41.04%. The men showed an overall higher literacy level (89.16%), but only 5.33% were judged to read very well and 44.16% satisfactorily.

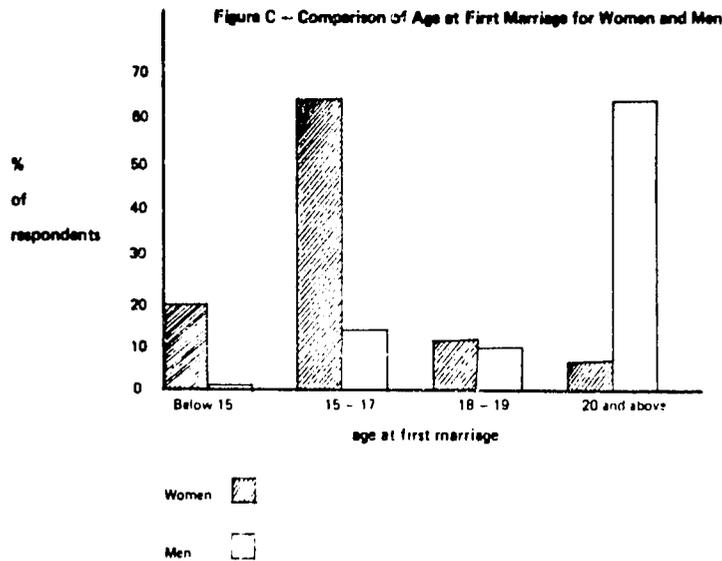
Table 19 — The task for developing literacy among children is shared by the woman with a teacher or relative in 33.34% of the cases. 20.62% of the women teach their children to read and write by themselves. The children of 58.11% of the women are taught reading and writing at one or more of the traditional islands schools, although in half of these situations the woman either assists or guides the learning of her children as well. A very small percentage, only 2.91%, said no one was teaching the children to read and write. The involvement of the woman in teaching her child will vary with the availability and quality of schools on her island.

Table 20 — Efforts have been made by the government to provide non-formal education through the use of radio. Although all islands represented in the survey have at least one radio, listening is not widespread. 21.25% of the women listen to the radio on a daily basis, only slightly exceeded by the men (28.33%).

V. Marriage Patterns

Table 21 — All women by the age of 20 have married at least once, although at present 13.75% are not married. For younger women who are not married, the time between marriages is generally short. Women 40 and above comprise over two-thirds of those not married, and they may not remarry at all or stay unmarried for longer periods of time.

Table 22 — A plurality of women (33.54%) first married at age 15, and the average age at first marriage is just under 16 (mean is 15.93). A significant percentage of women (17.92%) were married at 14 or under and by age 19 all but 7.5% had been married. Unlike patterns found elsewhere, the age at first marriage is not at present increasing for younger women. Early marriage is expected and accepted on the islands and has been practiced for centuries. Men marry later than women, as shown in the age-at-first-marriage comparison shown in Figure C on the following page.



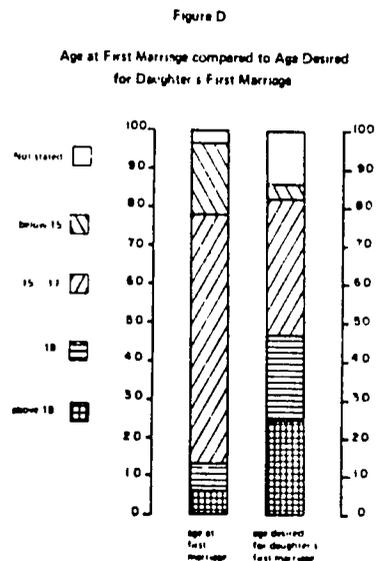
Although the data is not included in a table, women were asked in whose house they lived when they first married. 83.75% lived in the same household with their husbands, and in-laws and parents provided much of the housing at the time of first marriage. Over one-third lived at first in the house of the wife's parents, and in 13.75% of the cases the woman and her first husband lived with the husband's parents. Another one-third lived in a house belonging to either the wife or the husband. The remainder either lived apart from each other, (the woman staying with her parents), or, as did a small 3.33%, shared a household with someone other than a parent or in-law.

Tables 23, 24, & 25 – On the average women are married 4 times (the mean is 3.96) to 3 different husbands (3.30 is the mean) indicating one remarriage to the same man. By the time a woman is 30, she will have been married three times on the average suggesting that marriages tend to become more stable and long lasting for older women. 15.83% of the women have been married only once and 30.21% have married only one man. The difference between these two figures, 14.38%, indicates the number who have married their only husband more than once. As the number of spouses increases, the number of remarriages tends to increase up to a point.

Half of the women who have married only one husband do not remarry that husband, but of those with two husbands, only one-third are married just once to the second husband. Of those with three husbands, only one-quarter marry the third husband one time.

Table 26 – 49.79% of the women remarry one man at least once, as indicated above. The high incidence of remarriage indicates that divorce often takes place due to temporary conflicts rather than basic incompatibility. Both marriage and divorce are inexpensive and involve only simple formalities, thus explaining the frequency of both. In addition, divorce and remarriage are socially acceptable and the legal responsibilities of the divorced partners are few. Divorce often takes the place of the temporary separation found in marriages elsewhere.

Tables 27 & 28 – The age desired for the daughter's first marriage does not vary according to the current age of the women. Younger women, for example, do not want their daughters to marry any earlier or later than older women. A comparison, however, of the age at first marriage of the woman and the desired age for the daughter shows clearly that women wish their daughters to marry later than they married. Figure D below illustrates this point.



The reasons women gave for the age they desire their daughters to first marry are as follows:

Reason	Percentage of women mentioning reason	Marriage age desired		
		Below 18	18 & 19	20 & above
To avoid illegitimacy	23.61	34.27	10.20	1.14
Maturity reached	20.95	11.24	29.59	34.09
Daughter's choice	16.98	21.35	20.41	4.55
Education completed	16.45	3.93	20.41	38.64
Customs of the island	11.14	21.35	4.08	0.00
Better for her physical condition	3.45	0.00	3.06	10.23
Poor living conditions at home	1.59	2.81	1.02	0.00
(All N's include reason not stated)	(N=377)	(N=178)	(N=98)	(N=88)

Marriage patterns for men are similar to those for women except for the age at first marriage. 62.50% had been first married at the age of 20 or above. And while women prefer the ages of 15 and 18 for their daughter's first marriage in roughly equal numbers, men choose the age of 18 twice as often as 15.

VI. Diet and Health

Table 29 -- Of the foods eaten for lunch, fish soup and rice are consumed by more of the women (34.79%) than any other food. It is followed by breadfruit (17.29%), then curry and rice (15.62%), and finally taro (10.42%) which is taken only in the south. The remainder eat a variety of locally produced foods such as screwpine, kandu, plaintain, millet, maize, and sweet potato. Dinner is the main meal of the day with 25.63% eating curry and rice, followed by fish soup and rice (38.54%), breadfruit (12.29%) and taro (8.33%). A slightly higher percentage of men report eating rice with either curry or fish soup at both meals. This may be due to social custom by which the wife feeds her husband the best food she can, sometimes at the expense of her own diet. Only a quarter of the women eat fruit on a daily basis, the largest percent (8.13%) having bananas. Fruit is not generally considered a food for regular consumption and for that reason and due to pest problems it is not grown in large quantities. The exceptions are found on Fua Mulaku where many fruits, particularly mangos, flourish and in Seen Atoll which produces many bananas for local consumption and export to Malé. Mangos are grown on very few islands other than Fua Mulaku. The south is also where almost all of the taro fields are found, although attempts are being made to introduce the tuber in the rest of the country. The overall

diet is extremely poor in green leafy vegetables and very rich in carbohydrates. Protein comes solely from fish which tends to be eaten in small quantities at each meal.

Surprisingly the data show that income does not seem to influence the type of food eaten. It can be said that those with no income eat less curry and rice than the others, but other trends are not apparent from the data collected. It is probable that the reporting of food eaten may be biased toward "better" foods (i.e., rice and fish) which may be mentioned more frequently than consumed.

Table 30 -- 51.25% of the women feel they have enough food to feed their families, and the higher income brackets feel that in greater percentages than the lower. Only 39.79% feel satisfied with the varieties of food consumed, and again there is more satisfaction expressed in the higher income brackets than the lower. When asked what varieties of food would be preferred, 38.41% answered flour, rice and sugar, implying that they would actually like more of foods they already have a small amount of. 17.30% would like more fruits and vegetables. The responses of the men were similar to those of the women in all the questions concerning the quality and quantity of food.

Table 31 -- The major sicknesses experienced in the women's family in the month before the interview were diarrhea (20.04%) and fever (38.75%). It is reasonable to expect that a similar percentage of families would have the same illnesses during any given month. Drugs were overwhelmingly chosen as the means of treatment and these were obtained either from the Community Health Worker or through private purchase. The heavy use of "western" medicine over the traditional cures of locally-made plant medicines and charming may be due to changing preferences, lack of availability of traditional practitioners or materials, or the relative cheapness of drugs compared to other means.

Women were also asked for the causes of death of their children under the age of 5. The results, presented below, give a picture of the woman's perception of child death and are not intended to provide a medical explanation. N is equal to 717.

Cause of Death	Percentage of children dying
Fever	37.38
Rash	13.67
Diarrhea	11.58
Diarrhea & fever	6.83
Asthma	4.19
Accident	1.95
Nothing happened	1.67
Hunger	1.53
Other	10.18
Don't know	11.02

When asked what were the common diseases found on their island, women responded in the following percentages:

Fever	93.33	Asthma	8.75
Diarrhea	66.67	Filaria	4.17
Diarrhea & vomiting	61.25	Leprosy	3.75
Skin disease	14.79	Other	12.92

VII. Economic Status and Related Activities

Table 32 – 63.75% of the women have one or more activities aside from household duties in which they engage. Rope making is done twice as often as farming and all other activities, and cadjan weaving is done about a third as often as rope making. Women carry out these activities anywhere from one to seven days a week, although it was not asked how many hours a day they spent on each activity. Farming is most often done daily but rope making and cadjan weaving are more often done one or two days a week.

Table 33 – Women were asked how much money they had earned in the week preceding the interview and from which activities. 33.95% had earned some income, with over half of those (17.93%) earning between 1 and 9 rupees. More women earned money from rope-making than any other single activity or combination of activities. Income is usually earned when the rope, cadjan and agricultural products are taken to Male and sold, and it will vary according to the frequency of transport available and the amount of work done. In the case of the women who are farming, of course, there are seasonal variations as well. It is likely that the women who earn income in one week will not earn in the next week. This table shows clearly the small contribution women are presently making to family incomes.

Table 34 – Figure E below presents the combined income earned in one month by the women and their husbands. The average (mean) income for the women and their husbands was 102 rupees in the month studied. 50% of the combined incomes were 58 rupees or less. The 44 rupee difference between these values can be explained by a small number of higher incomes for that month. These calculations were made excluding the women who reported neither their earnings nor those of their husbands. The average (mean) income for women in a month is 19 rupees, and for their husbands it is 89 rupees.

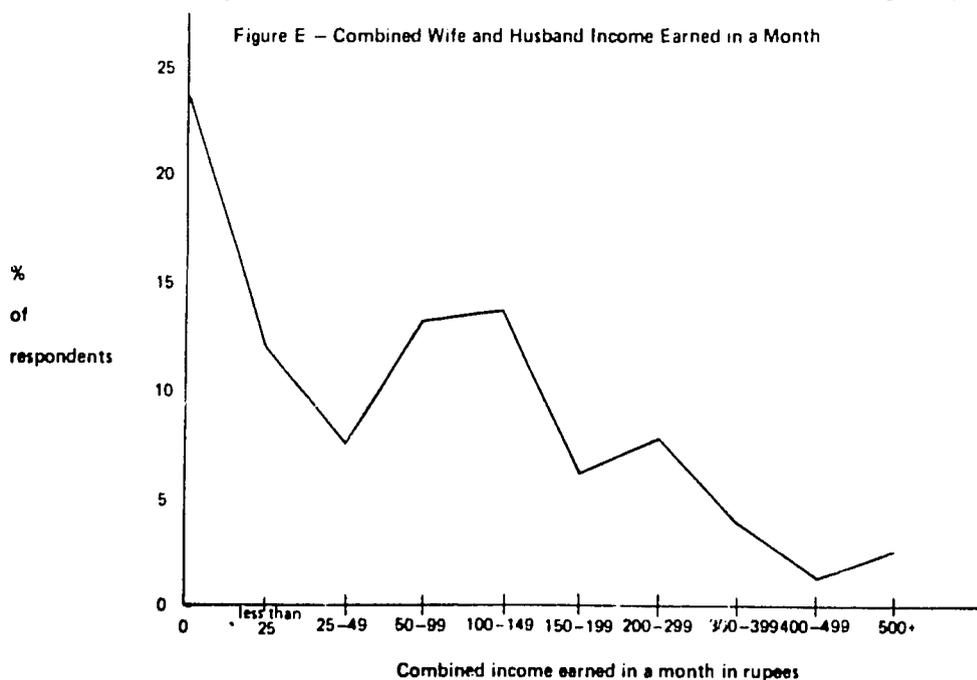
The men respondents report an average earning in a month of 140 rupees that is significantly higher than the 89 rupees

the women report for their husbands. Due to the relatively small number of men interviewed, their responses can not be considered as meaningful as the women's. On the other hand, it is possible that women are not fully aware of the amount of money earned by their husbands and that they tended to misreport those earnings. In spite of the limitations of the data, a general picture of income levels emerges. It is fair to assume that in a given month the average of the combined wife and husband income will fall into the 100–140 rupee range. Taking 120 rupees as the midpoint, the typical family of 6 members then has an income of 20 rupees per family member in any given month.

Table 35 – A study of husbands' occupations and income earned in a month reveals that the single largest group of men are fishermen (46.38%). Fishing can be either a high or low income occupation, although the percentage of fishermen is smaller in high income brackets than in lower. Occupations leading to work in Malé and working as a seaman outside of the country play a more significant role in the higher income brackets than in the lower. Many Maldivian men will earn their money through a combination of occupations and occupations are frequently changed according to personal desire or seasonal and economic fluctuations. The small number of high income earners on the islands are made up of good blacksmiths, head boat builders, boat owners, successful traders, and those carrying out fandhita (charming) for prosperous fishing.

Table 36 – The average expenditure on food in a week per occupant was 5 rupees. For the typical family of 6 spending 30 rupees a week, the entire monthly income of 120 rupees is spent on food. Those who earned 150 rupees and above in one month spent 6.50 rupees per occupant on food in a week, revealing a tendency to spend only slightly more on food. As a result of the high expenditure on food, almost nothing was spent on items other than food. For the higher income groups savings are likely to occur which are then spent all at once for a major purchase such as a sewing machine, tin roofing sheets, or textiles for clothing.

Table 37 – Most property is individually owned, but those items accumulated during marriage may be considered jointly



owned by the husband and wife. Should a divorce occur and the property be split, however, the husband would have a larger claim on the property since he has most likely provided the resources necessary to accumulate the property. Ownership of houses is common among women with 27.29% owning a house individually and 39.13% jointly with their husbands. Houses are never bought or sold but are passed down among family members and often brothers and sisters will jointly own a house for a time. Every couple wishes to have its own house and if one is not already owned by either the husband or wife, they will gather their resources and build one when they can. Fruit trees, including the coconut palm, are also important property as they provide food and goods for trade or sale. 31.67% of the women own trees singly and 34.06% with their husbands. Other important property such as boats, sewing machines, and radios are owned to a lesser extent, with boats being singly owned by 5.42% of the women. The right to cultivate a plot of land is held by 9.79% of the women. The men respondents consistently reported higher ownership percentages for themselves and lower ones for their wives than the women reported.

Table 38 – A smaller-than-expected number reported trading goods (14.38%) or services (12.92%). One possible explanation is that different goods are circulated primarily among family relations and near-by neighbors, and that that type of circulation is not considered trading. Another possibility is that goods and services are given “freely” rather than traded, with the strong expectation that a gift will be returned when asked for or needed. It is felt that the local economy depends much more heavily on a barter system than these figures suggest. Women were asked if they did business on a regular basis with other women who might be, for example, shopkeepers or tailors. Only 11.67% responded positively, indicating that the women’s role in the local economy tends to be in the background rather than the foreground.

11.25% of the women reported having borrowed money at some time, and 12.32% reported that their husbands had borrowed money. Women were asked about the single largest amount borrowed, and the data is presented below.

	Women	Their husbands
Average amount borrowed	67 rupees	210 rupees
From whom		
friend	52.54	60.79
employer of husband or wife	20.34	11.76
relation	8.47	5.88
island chief	3.39	9.81
shopkeeper	10.18	1.96
other	1.69	1.96
not stated	3.39	7.84
	100.00% (N=59)	100.00% (N=51)
Why		
buy food	83.06	72.56
boat repair	1.69	11.76
buy medicine	5.09	1.96
house repair	1.69	3.92
start a business	0.00	3.92
other	2.38	1.96
not stated	5.09	3.92
	100.00% (N=59)	100.00% (N=51)

The largest amount borrowed by a woman was 800 rupees and by a husband 5000 rupees, both for the purpose of buying food. Of the men, 17.50% reported having borrowed money at one time or another.

Table 39 – Almost all women (97.92%) felt they should have increased opportunities to earn money. 99.17% of the men agreed that women should earn more. When asked how they thought they could earn more money, the women replied with those activities they are familiar with. Rope making and cadjan weaving were mentioned most frequently, followed by mat weaving, sewing and shell collecting. Men suggested the same activities, although cadjan weaving was not included by them.

VIII. Selected Skills

Table 40 – Women were asked about their knowledge of four skills that are practiced on the islands, namely sewing, the use of local medicine, midwifery, and the use of charms. Only 27.08% reported knowing one or more of these skills. Clearly the more traditional skills are known by older women and sewing (implying the use of a sewing machine) is more widely practiced by younger women. Of the 19.17% who sew, 60% are 34 years old or younger, whereas three quarters of those knowing local medicine (a total of 6.04%) are over 40. Just under three quarters of those knowing midwifery (2.92%) are over 40, and three-quarters knowing charming (1.67%) are over 40. Men claim higher percentages in all these skills (excepting midwifery) with 32.50% who sew, 9.17% who know local medicine, and 16.67% who know charming. Well over half of those knowing each of these skills is above 40. It is possible that the more traditional skills are acquired only as people get older.

Table 41 – There is no single category of persons who stands out as the teachers of these skills. Just under a third of the teachers are relatives, and professionals who are neither relatives nor friends make up about one-quarter of the teachers. That skills can be learned from a wide selection of teachers is a strong indication of the freedom of movement within Maldivian society and the total absence of caste. **Table 42** – Half of the women (compared to one-third of the men) said there was a new skill they would like to learn. Education, although not strictly a skill, was the answer given by 11.46% of the women when asked to name the new skill. This was the most frequent response given (for the 10.83% of the men as well), followed by 10.42% wishing to learn to sew.

Table 43 – Although only half could name a skill they wanted to learn, 63.54% of the women said they would be interested in some training to learn a new skill. 31.67% said they would be willing to travel to another island to receive training. This can be considered high interest in learning how to perform new kinds of work, although the women do not have many suggestions of types of activities other than the work already being carried out on the island. The men were asked if they would be willing to send their wives for a short time to a training center to learn a new skill. 64.17% answered yes, indicating strong support for increased activity on the part of the women.

IX. Problem Identification

Table 44 – Women were asked what they considered the major problems affecting life on their island, and their responses were ranked in the order in which the problems were mentioned. The problem mentioned first is considered to

be the most important problem in the opinion of the woman. Figure F below shows the categories into which the first-ranked problems fell and the percentage of women naming the problems in each category. Under each heading surrounding the diagram are the ways in which the problems were expressed by the women. It is evident that many of the problems are closely related and could be placed in more than one category.

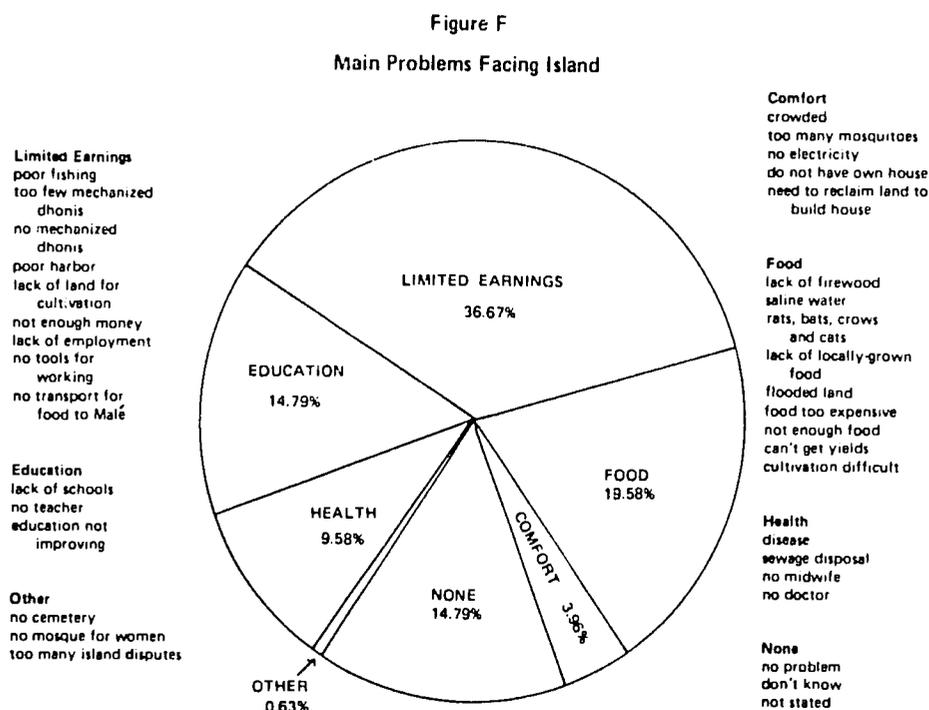
All problems concerning fishing are grouped into the 'limited earnings' category as the level of fishing activity is the single most important determinant of the over-all prosperity of the island. Lack of land for cultivation is included as women would most likely want to grow food for sale in Malé. Except on the most densely populated islands, land enough to cultivate food for family usage is available. Lack of firewood is probably related to food preparation for the women, although in the north a major occupation for men on some islands is collecting firewood and selling it in Malé. The problems in the comfort category are for the most part related to health, but it is likely that the women view crowding and mosquitoes as annoyances rather than health hazards.

The men agreed with the women on the order of first-ranked problems with the 'limited earnings' category claiming the highest percentage followed by food, education, and health. The weight given to each category varied, however, and the men placed a lot more importance on problems related to fishing. While for the women problems relating to poor fishing, poor harbor and mechanized dhonis were first mentioned by 29.17%, these same problems were first mentioned by 51.66% of the men. The category of money-related problems therefore was claimed by a higher percentage of men (approximately 20% over the women) while the other categories were correspondingly lower. The conclusion is that men feel the need for money more strongly than the women which is to be expected as the men are responsible for providing for their families.

Table 45 – In surprisingly high numbers (65.21%), the Maldivian women feel that the community of people living on the island is responsible for development of the island. At the same time, information obtained from the group discussions of women that took place following the individual interviews indicates that they feel they need some sort of outside help. So far few women expect much of the government or the atoll chief, although the island chief who is also a government official but a local person and long-term appointee is felt by over one-third to have responsibility for developing the island. The men have higher expectations of the government (45.83% feel it is responsible for developing the island, compared to 13.54% of the women) and lower expectations of the island chief (20.83%, compared to 38.96% for the women) and the atoll chief (6.67%, 12.92% for the women).

Table 46 – A question which involved ranking the order of responses was asked about the use of additional income if it were earned. Here half of the women chose the education of their children as the first way in which they would spend additional money. While this underscores the desire for education that was mentioned throughout the survey, the educational constraints operating on the islands cannot be overcome by money in the hands of the women alone. Just under a third of the women would first spend additional money on food, mostly likely buying the main imported staples of rice, sugar and flour. The remaining 13% would first put additional income into housing, medical treatment and savings in that order. Men answered the question the same way as the women in roughly the same percentages.

Table 47 – During the interview two separate questions were posed distinguishing problems facing the island and problems facing the family. The responses for both, however, were similar with the lack of money being most frequently mentioned. The women said the main problems in the family were either not enough money (49.38%) or unsatisfactory housing (35.42%). The housing complaint generally refers to a desire for improved quality of housing having coral walls and a tin roof. More than a quarter of the women did not



mention any problem in the family at all. As this was a very personal question, it is likely that women were guarded in their responses. A comparison of family problems with the combined income in a month for wife and husband did not show any striking trends. Those who had earned 300 rupees or more in a month mentioned lack of money less often than the others, as expected. The highest value was 63.48% of those with no income claiming not enough money, followed by the 62.16% earning 200-299 rupees during a month claiming the same problem. This may mean that while 200-299 rupees a month is a high salary for the islands, it does not necessarily cover all needs. Alternatively, those with higher incomes may have increasingly more desires beyond their means that they wish to satisfy.

X. Social Relationships of Women

Table 48 — The tables in this section attempt to give a very general idea of behavior and attitudes in the area of human relationships. In order to find who their confidants were, women were asked if they discussed their married life with any other women. This question was left vague so that it might cover areas such as disputes with one's husband, issues relating to sex, or simple gossip. Only ten percent said they discussed their marriages with other women, but this is a lower-than-expected figure. A combination of more specific questions and other means of gathering information is needed in order to study this question more thoroughly.

Table 49 — When asked whom was sought for advice with a problem, parents and other relatives were chosen by 50.21% of the women. The corresponding figure for the men is 35.00%. The women said they go to friends (14.17%) about half as often as men, and a quarter of the men favored the island chief compared to 15% of the women. More than twice as many women as men said they did not go to anyone with a problem. This question was also vague and a series of more specific queries would surely bring somewhat different results. One should also recognize that the nature of the problem determines to a great extent whom is sought for advice.

Table 50 — A determination of the qualities of leadership as perceived by the women was the object of this table. 63.13% of the women (55.83% of the men) said they knew a woman on their island they would consider a leader. The main attribute of that woman is that she has some education, mentioned by 41.46% (and 37.50% of the men). The next

most important factor is having a good personality, listed by 27.08% of the women and an equal percentage of men. While 24.17% of the men felt a religious woman would make a leader, only 9.38% of the women mentioned religion as a factor in determining leadership.

Men were asked four separate questions not addressed to the women. The results are reported below, and N is equal to 120 in all cases.

- 1.) What is the most important responsibility in a woman's marriage?

Obey husband	59.17%
Look after husband's clothes and food	10.00%
Cook and feed family	5.83%
Other	13.33%
Don't know	7.50%
Not stated	4.17%
	100.00%

- 2.) Do you think the husband should control the interactions of his wife with other men?

Yes	— 63.33%
No	— 35.84%
Don't know	— 0.83%

- 3.) Do you think women should participate in activities to develop the island?

Yes	— 99.17%
Don't know	— 0.83%

- 4.) Would you cooperate with a project to benefit the community?

Yes	— 77.50%
No	— 0.83%
Probably	— 21.67%

While men clearly feel that their wives should obey and serve them, they also have high opinions of their wives' potential to be active participants in the betterment of island life.



Making flour from hithala (Tacca)

NOTES FROM THE GROUP DISCUSSIONS OF WOMEN INTERVIEWED

A group discussion of the women who had been interviewed took place on all but one island and provided another type of forum for the expression of major concerns. A summary of the answers they had given to the questions on major problems in the family and on the island, how women might earn more money, and who was responsible for the development of the island was read to the women to encourage discussion. Some discussions were very lively, others not, depending on the personalities involved, who else was observing, and the intensity of the feelings of the women themselves.

The same types of problems were mentioned in the groups as in the individual interviews with three notable exceptions. The first two exceptions were statements of problems relating to money. On twenty-two islands women said that they did not have enough of the raw materials from the coconut palm to carry out their traditional work of rope making and cadjan weaving. There are many factors contributing to this shortage including the restricted access to uninhabited islands resulting from their lease to private individuals, the lack of systematic planting and cultivation of the coconut palm, and government control of much of the land suitable for coconut plantations. Another statement of the money shortage problem was made on six islands where the women said that they could not earn enough money from rope making and cadjan weaving to justify their efforts. Clearly policies effecting land holdings, replanting of coconut palms and prices must be examined if the lack of incentive to do the work and the unavailability of natural resources are to be overcome.

The third problem coming out in the group discussions concerns disputes on the island. On seven islands women said that the island inhabitants were not very friendly toward each other. They felt that if they could cooperate more, life would be better, but that there seemed to be no way of resolving on-going differences among various factions or individuals. It seems that some form of education about community and encouragement of cooperation is called for on the islands. This would be especially valuable as the majority of women feel the community is responsible for the island's development.

The problems discussed by the groups of women are categorized below followed by the number of islands on which they were mentioned. It is difficult to know at what point problems relating to agriculture affect family food consumption rather than income (or potential income) earned. Since money was talked about directly in connection with rope making and cadjan weaving, it is possible that the difficulties in cultivation are reflected in the food consumed. Fishing problems can here again be taken as indirect statements on limited earnings as they were in the study of first-ranked problems on the island from the individual interview.

1.) Limited Earnings

Limited resources for rope making and cadjan weaving (22)
Can't earn enough from rope making and cadjan weaving (6)

1a.) Fishing

Poor harbor (7)
No mechanized dhonis (3)
Poor fishing (2)
No fuel for dhonis (2)
No sailing boats (1)

1b.) Agriculture

No place to grow crops (7)
Crows and rats (2)
No access to uninhabited island for growing crops (1)
Disease in crops (1)

2.) Education

No school (17)
No teacher (3)
Poor school (1)

3.) Food

Not enough firewood (8)
Flooding (2)
Bad water (1)
Seasonal difficulties (1)

4.) Health

Disease (2)
Poor health facilities (2)
No midwife (1)

5.) Comfort

Mosquitoes (5)
Bedbugs (2)
Poor housing (2)
Crowding (1)
No shop (1)

6.) Other

Islanders not friendly with each other (7)
No mosque for women (1)
Spouse away from home (1)

In the discussions the women strongly expressed their desire to work to overcome their problems, but they feel they need guidance and assistance to help them get started.



Mat being woven from screw pine leaf on Iguraidhoo

DISCUSSION OF ISLAND RESOURCE TABLES

To gain an overall picture of the islands of the Maldives, an attempt was made to study the physical characteristics, available resources and some social and economic features of the 40 islands visited through an interview with the island chief. These islands are not necessarily representative of all inhabited islands as the sampling method focused on the population rather than island characteristics. Nevertheless a general idea of the island environment emerges as seen by the island chief.

The islands were studied according to their physical location. Region A includes those islands north of the Malé Atoll, Region B extends from the Malé Atoll south to the Huadhoo Channel, and Region C encompasses those islands south of the Huadhoo Channel. The comments that follow are only on those tables which need some explanation.

Selected Island Characteristics (Table 3) – The sample consists of almost all the islands having electricity.

Coconut Trees (Table 4) – The average number of coconut trees per capita on the inhabited islands visited is:

All Regions	–	4.6
Region A	–	4.68
Region B	–	6.5
Region C	–	2.86

Best Fishing Season (Tables 6 & 7) – The northeast monsoon was found to be the best fishing season for 50% of the islands visited with the others choosing the southwest monsoon and year around in equal numbers. Islands in Regions A and C primarily claim better fishing during the northeast monsoon. The 1978 fishing season, however, was reported to be relatively better for those islands having the southwest monsoon as the best season.

Drinking Water Wells (Table 8) – The islands provide a drinking water well for every 152 persons.

Unique Features (Table 11) – In physical features the islands are similar to each other with a few exceptions, those mostly having a fresh water lake. Most of the islands have a historical distinction taking the form of either the grave of a popular or religious man or a mound indicating remnants of an old structure, probably a temple from the days when Buddhism was found in the Maldives.

Plots for Cultivation (Table 12) – Almost half of the islands visited had land available for cultivation. Various factors are involved in determining the size of these plots. Size of the island, population size, and land suitable for cultivation are some of the factors. The numbers of cultivators as well as the size of the plot are inconsistent for Regions A and B.

Region C assigns equal amounts of 5000 square feet on all islands except one. As the cultivable land on uninhabited islands is of a large amount, usually there is no limit to the size of the plot one could utilize. Region C, however, seems to regulate the sizes of the plots on uninhabited islands which could be due to smaller islands used for that purpose.

Contacts with Other Islands (Tables 13 & 14) – More than half of the islands have daily contact with other islands by visits either to or from other islands. This pattern is found in Regions A and C, while islands in Region B have only weekly contacts with a few exceptions. Boats from over half of the islands make trips to Malé on a monthly basis, found mainly in Regions B and C. Islands in Region A send boats more frequently to Malé on a weekly or fortnightly basis. Although Region A has more frequent trips to Malé, Region B exceeds Region A in the percentage of people visiting Malé monthly. This reflects the significantly smaller population in Region B where 3.44% of the total population visit Malé monthly, compared to 1.78% from Region A. (Islanders who make more than one trip to Malé in a month would have been counted twice in these calculations, so the percentages may be slightly higher than they should be.)

Traditional Occupations (Table 17) – The number of persons reported to be engaged in traditional occupations is much lower than what was expected, and it is likely that the number was undercounted by the island chief.

Problems on the Island (Table 18) – An attempt was made to get an overall picture of the problems inhibiting the development of the islands. Here they are listed in detail under major categories. Although the problems mentioned by any given island chief are probably not exhaustive for his island and may differ from what the islanders themselves would have said, the list and suggested solutions could be helpful in planning a detailed study to further identify and understand these difficulties.



View of uninhabited island

- 8.) In whose house did you live when you were first married?
 a house belonging to either husband or wife husband's parents' house
 wife's parents' house in someone else's house, whose?
- 9.) How old were you when you first married?

II. Children

- 10.) Tell me the age and sex of each of your living children.

age	sex	age	sex
-----	-----	-----	-----

- 11.) In your opinion, what is the best number of children for a woman to bring up?
- 12.) In your opinion, is it better for a family to have more sons or more daughters or doesn't it matter?
 more sons, why?
 more daughters, why?
 doesn't matter equal number don't know

13.) Have you had any still births? YES* NO
 *13a.) How many?

14.) Have any of your children died under the age of 5? YES* NO
 *14a.) How many?

- 14b.) What was the cause of each death?
 diarrhea accident
 fever other, specify
 rash (duvaneel)

15.) Have any of your children died at the age of 5 or over? YES* NO
 *15a.) How many?

(OMIT Q. 16-19 IF RESPONDENT HAS NO CHILDREN. PROCEED TO Q. 20.)

16.) Have you ever thought of not having any additional children? YES* NO
 *16a.) Why?

17.) Do you (Did you) try to control the number of children you have? (you had?) YES* NO
 *17a.) How?

- | | |
|---|----------------------------|
| pills | safe period |
| no intercourse over long period of time | other, specify |

- 18.) Who in your family would you say has the most influence on your children?
 self (mother) grandmother or grandfather
 father of children other, specify
 mother & father together don't know

- 19.) How old do you wish your daughter to be when she first marries?
- 19a.) (ASK IF AGE IS BELOW 18) Why do you wish her to marry young?
 19b.) (ASK IF AGE IS BETWEEN 18 & 20) Why do you wish her to marry at that age?
 19c.) (ASK IF AGE IS ABOVE 20) Why do you wish her to marry late?

III. Family Responsibilities

- 20.) In your family, who is responsible for procuring the food and other household items?
 self (wife) other, specify
 husband

- 21.) In your family, who is responsible for caring for the sick or elderly?
 self (wife) wife & husband together
 husband other, specify

- 22.) In your family, who assumes primary responsibility for the children?
- self (wife) wife & husband together
 husband other, specify
- 23.) Who in your family makes decisions about the education of your children?
- self (wife) wife & husband together
 husband other, specify
- 24.) Do you or your husband's children contribute to the well-being of your family? YES* NO
 *24a.) How do they contribute?
- looking after younger children cooking
 sweeping washing clothes
 fishing contributing money
 farming other, specify

IV. Economic Status

- 25.) Did you earn any money last month? YES* NO
 *25a.) How much?
 25b.) How did you earn it?
- rope making selling agricultural products
 cadjan weaving other, specify
 mat weaving
- 26.) How much money did your husband earn last month?
- 27.) Who decides how to spend the money your husband earns?
- self (wife) wife & husband together
 husband other, specify

(SAY TO RESPONDENT, NOW I AM GOING TO FIRST ASK YOU ABOUT WHAT YOU OWN, SECOND ABOUT WHAT YOUR HUSBAND OWNS, & FINALLY ABOUT WHAT YOU OWN JOINTLY.)

- 28.) Do you individually own any of the following? (READ BELOW)
- house (#.....) sewing machine (#.....)
 fruit trees (#.....) radio (#.....)
 boat (#.....) vegetable or grain plantation (#.....)
- 29.) Does your husband own any of the following? (READ BELOW)
- house (#.....) sewing machine (#.....)
 fruit trees (#.....) radio (#.....)
 boat (#.....) vegetable or grain plantation (#.....)
- 30.) Do you and your husband jointly own any of the following? (READ BELOW)
- house (#.....) sewing machine (#.....)
 fruit trees (#.....) radio (#.....)
 boat (#.....) vegetable or grain plantation (#.....)

(ASK. Q. 31 ONLY IF THERE HAS BEEN A POSITIVE REPLY TO ONE OF THE 3 Q.'S ABOVE.)

- 31.) If you and your husband wish to buy or sell some of the property mentioned in the preceding questions, who makes the decisions?
- self (wife) wife & husband together
 husband
- 32.) How much was spent on food last week?
- 33.) Do you trade goods with other families or shops? YES* NO
 *33a.) What do you take to be traded?
- fish rope
 coconut mats
 cadjan rice
 rihakuru sugar
 diahakuru flour

33b.) What do you take home from the trade?

- | | |
|-----------------|-------------|
| fish | rope |
| coconut | mats |
| cadjan | rice |
| rihakuru | sugar |
| diahakuru | flour |

34.) Do you perform any services in return for food or other items?

YES* NO

*34a.) What services do you perform?

34b.) What do you receive in return?

35.) How much money was spent last month on items other than food?

36.) Are there any women that you do business with on a regular basis, such as tailors or shopkeepers?

YES* NO

*36a.) What do these women do?

- | | |
|------------------|----------------------------|
| tailor | other, specify |
| shopkeeper | |

(SAY TO RESPONDENT: NOW I AM GOING TO ASK YOU ABOUT BORROWING MONEY, FIRST MONEY YOU MAY HAVE BORROWED AND SECOND MONEY YOUR HUSBAND MAY HAVE BORROWED.)

37.) Have you individually ever borrowed any money?

YES* NO

*37a.) What is the largest single amount you have borrowed?

37b.) Whom did you borrow it from?

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| island chief | friend |
| employer of husband or self | other, specify |

37c.) Why did you need the money?

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| build or repair house | other, specify |
| buy food | |

38.) Has your husband ever borrowed any money?

YES* NO

*38a.) What is the largest single amount he has borrowed?

38b.) Whom did he borrow it from?

- | | |
|--------------------|----------------------------|
| island chief | friend |
| his employer | other, specify |

38c.) Why did he need the money?

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| build or repair house | other, specify |
| buy food | |

V. Occupation of Women

39.) Which of the following activities did you carry out yesterday? (READ BELOW)

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| cooking | washing clothes |
| caring for the children | talking with other women |
| sweeping the house | |

40.) Tell me how many hours you spent yesterday on those activities.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| cooking | washing clothes |
| caring for the children | talking with other women |
| sweeping the house | |

(ASK. Q. 41 ONLY IF YOU KNOW THERE IS A RADIO ON THE ISLAND.)

41.) Do you listen to the radio regularly?

YES* NO

*41a.) How many times did you listen to the radio yesterday?

42.) Which of the following activities did you carry out in the past month? (READ BELOW)

- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| growing crops | mat weaving |
| gathering firewood | coir rope making |
| drying fish | collecting shells |
| cadjan making | |

43.) Of those activities, which did you carry out in the past week?

- growing crops
- gathering firewood
- drying fish
- cadjan making
- mat weaving
- coir rope making
- collecting shells

43a.) Tell me how many days you spent in the past week carrying out those activities.

- growing crops
- gathering firewood
- drying fish
- cadjun making
- mat weaving
- coir ropə making
- collecting shells

44.) Do you teach your children to read and write?

YES NO*

*44a.) Who does?

- schoolteacher
- husband
- grandfather
- grandmother
- tutor or instructor
- other, specify

45.) Do you know how to sew (on a sewing machine)?

YES* NO

*45a.) Who taught you?

- mother
- father
- other relatives
- friend
- tailor
- other, specify

46.) Do you know how to prepare herbal medicines?

YES* NO

*46a.) Who taught you?

- mother
- father
- other relatives
- friend
- local doctor
- other, specify

47.) Do you know how to deliver babies?

YES* NO

*47a.) Who taught you?

- mother
- relative
- nurse
- midwife
- friend

48.) Do you know how to use charms? (fandhita)

YES* NO

*48a.) Who taught you?

- mother
- father
- other relatives
- friend
- fandhita verin

49.) Is there anything that you would like to know how to do, that you can't do now?

VI. Income/Work Possibilities

50.) Do you think women should have more opportunities to earn money?

YES* NO**

**50a.) Why not?

- woman should care for family rather than earn money
- woman doesn't have time after family duties
- other, specify

*50b.) If so, what are the activities you can think of that would allow women to earn more money?

50c.) (ASK ONLY IF MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE GIVEN TO 50b.) If you had the opportunity to carry out those activities, which one would you select?

51.) If you were able to earn more money, how would you use it? (RANK ORDER OF CHOICES ON DOTTED LINE.)

- buy better food
- repair or improve house
- medical treatment
- put into savings
- buy watch or radio
- use for children's education
- other, specify

52.) Would you be willing to spend a short time at a training center to learn a new skill?
 *52a.) Would you be able to travel to another island for the training?

YES* NO
 YES NO

VII. Health and Nutrition

53.) What did you eat for lunch yesterday?

- | | |
|------------------------|----------------------------|
| curry & rice | plantain |
| fish soup & rice | kandu |
| breadfruit | sweet potato |
| screwpine | other, specify |
| taro | |

54.) What did you eat for dinner yesterday?

- | | |
|------------------------|----------------------------|
| curry & rice | plantain |
| fish soup & rice | kandu |
| breadfruit | sweet potato |
| screwpine | other, specify |
| taro | |

55.) Did you eat any fruit yesterday?

*55a.) Tell me what you ate.

YES* NO

- | | |
|--------------|----------------------------|
| banana | young coconut |
| papaya | other, specify |
| mango | |

56.) Does your family get enough food to eat?

57.) Are you satisfied with the food you eat or do you wish you could have other varieties of food?

YES NO
 YES NO

- | | |
|---|------------------|
| satisfied | don't know |
| wish other varieties, which ones? | |

58.) In your opinion, what are the common diseases found on this island?

- | | |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| diarrhea | filaria |
| diarrhea & vomiting | leprosy |
| skin disease | other, specify |
| fever | |

59.) Was anyone in your family sick last month?

*59a.) What was the sickness?

YES* NO

- | | |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| diarrhea | filaria |
| diarrhea & vomiting | leprosy |
| skin disease | other, specify |
| fever | |

59b.) What treatment did the person receive?

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| fandhita (explain) | health center treatment (explain) |
| native medicine (explain) | other (explain) |

VIII. Problem Identification

60.) In your opinion, what are the main problems affecting your life on this island?
 (RANK ORDER OF CHOICE ON DOTTED LINES.)

- | | |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| disease | lack of firewood |
| saline water | poor harbor |
| poor sewage disposal | lack of schools |
| crowded conditions | poor fishing |
| lack of locally-grown food | other, specify |
| lack of land for cultivation | |

61.) What are the main problems in your family? (DISCUSS PROBLEMS IN ORDER TO SELECT APPROPRIATE CATEGORIES.)

- living with in-laws or parents
- misbehaving children
- too many children
- employment shortage
- not enough money
- unsatisfactory housing conditions
- other, specify

62.) Do you ever talk to other women about your married life?

YES* NO

*62a.) Are these women friends, relatives, midwives, or what?

- friends
- relatives
- midwives
- other, specify

63.) If you have a problem, whom do you go to for advice?

- island chief
- relatives
- parents
- mudim
- teacher
- judge
- local doctor
- friend
- fandhita veria
- midwife
- other, specify

64.) What kind of life do you hope that your daughter will have when she grows up?

65.) What kind of life do you hope that your son will have when he grows up?

66.) Is there any woman that you know who could be considered a leader on your island?

YES* NO

*66a.) Why do you consider her a leader?

- educated
- religious
- wife of important or rich man
- good personality
- other, specify

67.) In your opinion, who is responsible for the development of this island – the community, the kateeb, the atoll chief, or the government?

- community
- kateeb
- atoll chief
- government
- other, specify

67a.) What do you think should be done?

IX. Simple Literacy Test

68.) Please read a part of this newspaper.

- not able
- poor
- satisfactory
- very good
- too shy to read

ISLAND RESOURCE QUESTIONNAIRE

Atoll:

Island:

Island chief:

I. Resources

- 1.) What is the population of your island?
 - 1a.) How many females?
 - 1b.) How many males?
- 2.) How many mosques are on your island?
 - 2a.) How many for men?
 - 2b.) How many for women?
- 3.) How many schools are on your island?
 - 3a.) makthab
 - 3b.) kiavaage
 - 3c.) madhrasaa
- 4.) Are there any shops? YES* NO
 - *4a.) How many?
- 5.) Is there a health center? YES NO
- 6.) Is there a family health worker? YES NO
- 7.) Is there a midwife? YES* NO
 - *7a.) How many?
- 8.) How many of the following boats are from your island?

..... mechanised dhonis baththeli
..... mas dhonis other, specify
..... vadu dhonis	
- 9.) Is the harbor here considered good, satisfactory or poor?

..... good poor	
..... satisfactory		

 - 9a.) Why?
- 10.) Which of the following fruit trees are on your island?

..... coconut, how many? mango, how many?	
..... banana, how many? papaya, how many?	
..... breadfruit, how many?		
- 11.) What crops are grown on your island?
- 12.) What vegetables can be found on your island?
- 13.) When are the best times of year for fishing?
- 14.) In the last season, was the fishing better than usual, worse than usual, or about the same as usual?

..... better than usual about the same	
..... worse than usual		
- 15.) Does your island have electricity? YES* NO
 - *15a.) What is the capacity of the generator(s)?
- 16.) Are there any facilities for storing rainwater? YES* NO
 - *16a.) How many?
- 17.) From where do people get their well water for drinking?

..... mosque (#.....) household wells (#.....)	
..... community well of any type (#.....)		
- 18.) Are shells collected from this island? YES NO
- 19.) Is mat-weaving done on your island? YES NO**
 - **19a.) Why not?
- 20.) Does your island have any radios? YES* NO
 - *20a.) Is the reception from Malé considered

..... good satisfactory poor
------------	--------------------	------------
 - 20b.) When can you receive Radio Maldives?

..... morning afternoon evening
 21.) What are the special features of your island? (for example: vegetation, historic site, unusual geographic feature, personality of inhabitants, etc.)

II. Administration

22.) What are your main duties as island chief?
 23.) Are there any organizations on your island?

YES* NO

*23a.) What ones are solely for men?
 23b.) What ones are solely for women?
 23c.) What ones are for both men and women?

24.) How much land can a person get for a house on your island?

25.) (ASK ONLY IF THERE IS CROP CULTIVATION ON THE ISLAND.) How much land per person is allotted for cultivation on your island?

25a.) What is the total number of people who have land allotted to them?

26.) Does anybody from this island cultivate on any other islands? YES* NO

*26a.) How much land per person is allotted?

26b.) What is the total number of people from your island who have land on another island allotted to them for cultivation?

27.) How often do people from your island usually visit other islands?
 daily monthly
 weekly

28.) How often is your island visited by other people?
 daily monthly
 weekly

29.) How often do boats travel from your island to Malé?

30.) On the average, how many people travel on a boat from your island to Malé?

31.) How many registered residents of your island live in Malé?

32.) Are there any people on your island who can be categorized as
 a.) destitute, b.) mentally unfit, or c.) physically handicapped? YES* NO
 *32a.) Please list them by category, name, age and address.

category	name	age	address
----------	------	-----	---------

33.) What was the most recent step taken in the development of sports on your island?

33a.) When was it?

34.) What is the most popular sport on your island?

35.) What sports equipment is available on your island?

III. Occupations on island

36.) What are the major occupations of men on your island?

37.) Are there any men with special or unique skills? YES* NO
 *37a.) What are their skills?

38.) What are the major occupations of women on your island?

39.) Are there any women with special or unique skills? YES* NO
 *39a.) What are their skills?

40.) Which of the following do you have on your island?

..... fandhita veria (#.....)
 local doctors (#.....)
 performers of circumcisions (#.....)

IV. Problems

41.) What are the main problems facing people on your island?
 42.) How do you think those problems might be solved?

Interviewer:
 Date:
 Time:

4.) Relationship of Occupants to Respondents by Age and Marital Status, in Percentages

Marital status & age of occupants	All occupants	Respondent	Spouse	Relationship					Other
				Children	Parents	Siblings	In-laws		
Married									
All ages	38.27	86.25	100.00	13.70	61.29	29.31	57.14	14.05	
0-9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
10-19	6.26	-	-	17.47	-	32.35	25.00	9.52	
20-29	26.40	31.67	8.89	37.99	-	44.12	38.75	47.62	
30-39	27.99	31.40	26.94	37.55	2.63	5.88	13.75	19.05	
40-49	21.22	26.33	30.28	5.24	28.95	14.71	3.75	11.91	
50+	17.21	10.63	32.22	1.31	65.79	2.94	16.25	9.52	
Not stated	0.92	-	1.67	0.44	2.63	0.00	2.50	2.38	
	100.00 (N=1197)	100.00 (N=414)	100.00 (N=360)	100.00 (N=229)	100.00 (N=38)	100.00 (N=34)	100.00 (N=80)	100.00 (N=42)	
Not Married									
All ages	61.73	13.75	-	86.30	38.71	70.69	42.86	85.95	
0-9	53.03	-	-	57.23	-	25.62	13.33	65.76	
10-19	33.61	-	-	37.24	-	46.34	46.67	17.90	
20-29	5.33	9.09	-	4.30	-	15.85	13.33	5.45	
30-39	1.76	21.21	-	0.49	0.00	1.22	5.00	3.50	
40-49	1.92	31.82	-	-	25.00	3.66	3.33	1.95	
50+	3.52	37.88	-	-	75.00	4.88	18.33	3.89	
Not stated	0.83	-	-	0.69	0.00	2.44	0.00	1.56	
	100.00 (N=1931)	100.00 (N=66)	-	100.00 (N=1442)	100.00 (N=24)	100.00 (N=82)	100.00 (N=60)	100.00 (N=257)	
	100.00 (N=3128)	100.00 (N=480)	100.00 (N=360)	100.00 (N=1671)	100.00 (N=62)	100.00 (N=116)	100.00 (N=140)	100.00 (N=299)	

II. CHILDREN

5. Respondents classified by Children, in Percentages

5.) Respondents classified by Children, in Percentages

A. Children born alive		B. Children Living	
Number of children	Percentage	Number of children	Percentage
0	2.92	0	3.33
1	2.29	1	8.12
2	8.13	2	15.63
3	10.42	3	15.83
4	10.21	4	18.96
5	13.75	5	14.58
6	13.95	6	11.04
7	11.04	7	5.63
8	11.25	8	4.58
9	8.75	9	1.67
10+	7.29	10+	0.63
	100.00 (N=480)		100.00 (N=480)

6. Average Number of Children Born, Living, and Preferred by Age of Respondents

6.) Average Number of Children Born, Living, and Preferred by Age of Respondents

Age	Average number of children born	Average number of children living	Average number of children preferred ¹
All ages	5.73	3.99	3.38
20-24	2.57	2.20	3.35
25-29	5.06	3.87	3.17
30-34	6.87	4.52	3.53
35-39	7.37	5.40	3.56
40-44	7.00	4.43	3.24
45-49	6.62	4.32	3.56
50+	5.90	3.36	3.24

¹ Question read: "In your opinion, what is the best number of children for a woman to bring up?"

¹Question read: "In your opinion, what is the best number of children for a woman to bring up?"

10. Average Number of Living Children per 100 Live Births by Age of Respondents

10.) Average Number of Living Children per 100 Live Births by Age of Respondents

10. Average number of living children per 100 live births

Age	All regions ¹	All regions excluding Seen and Fua Mulaku	Seen and Fua Mulaku ²	Region A	Region B	Region C
All ages	69.80	67.98	79.15	68.17	66.05	76.96
20-24	85.56	83.77	96.15	87.65	80.85	86.53
25-29	76.40	72.93	89.04	73.45	75.00	81.58
30-34	77.08	73.60	88.14	72.48	72.32	86.50
35-39	73.30	72.43	81.40	71.55	70.49	81.05
40-44	63.27	65.17	54.55	71.19	59.85	51.64
45-49	65.24	63.86	82.76	59.89	67.05	78.72
50+	57.00	53.25	75.36	54.69	40.30	77.38

¹Region A: Haa-Alif, Haa-Dhaal, Shaviyani, Noon, Raa, Baa, and Laviyani Atolls (North)

Region B: Alif, Meem, Dhaal, Thaa, and Laam Atolls (Central)

Region C: Gaaf-Alif, Gaaf-Dhaal, Gnaviyani (Fua Mulaku), and Seen Atolls (South)

²The island of Fua Mulaku together with the islands of Seen were studied separately from all other islands to determine the effect on live births of the British Royal Air Force hospital on Gan island in Seen Atoll, operated from 1959 to 1976. Fua Mulaku was the only island outside of Seen Atoll that was close enough to have reasonable access.

11. Aspirations of Respondents for their Daughters and Sons¹, in Percentages

11.) Aspirations of Respondents for their Daughters and Sons¹, in Percentages

Aspirations	Daughters	Sons	
Have an education	44.58	45.62	
Have a satisfactory or happy life	26.88	16.46	
Have a rich life	9.79	8.96	
Specified occupation	4.58	16.66	
Earn their own living	2.71	2.92	
Whatever the child chooses	1.46	0.21	
Other	2.92	1.25	
Not stated	7.08	7.92	
	100.00 (N=480)	100.00 (N=480)	

¹Question read: "What kind of life do you hope that your daughter/son will have when she/he grows up?"

III. FAMILY RESPONSIBILITIES

12. Household Activities of Respondents by Hours Spent Daily, in Percentages

ساعات التي تقضيها	الطبخ	التفويض	غسل الملابس
Hours spent daily	Cooking	Sweeping	Washing clothes
Not engaged	13.13	17.50	22.08
1 or less	33.54	60.41	52.92
2	22.29	13.75	15.83
3	14.58	2.08	2.50
4	6.67	0.21	0.21
5	0.63	0.21	0.21
Above 5	3.75	0.42	0.00
Not stated	5.41	5.21	6.25
	100.00 (N=480)	100.00 (N=480)	100.00 (N=480)

The respondents were also asked how many hours they spent daily caring for children, and the large majority of answers were "all the time."

13. Hours of Housework Daily per Respondent, in Percentages

العمر	لا شيء	عدد الساعات										غير مذكور	إجمالي
		1 or less	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10+		
All ages	5.42	5.79	13.75	16.04	13.54	11.46	10.41	2.71	4.38	3.33	6.46	7.71	100.00 (N=460)
20-24	5.71	2.86	18.57	12.86	15.71	8.57	12.86	5.71	0.00	4.29	2.86	10.00	100.00 (N=70)
25-29	1.49	4.48	19.40	17.91	11.94	13.43	11.94	2.99	1.49	4.48	5.97	4.48	100.00 (N=67)
30-34	4.76	7.14	11.91	16.67	16.48	11.91	4.76	0.00	8.33	1.19	9.52	8.33	100.00 (N=84)
35-39	5.00	6.67	5.00	13.33	10.00	16.67	15.00	1.67	6.67	3.33	8.33	8.33	100.00 (N=60)
40-44	4.29	0.00	18.57	15.71	17.14	11.43	11.43	1.43	5.71	2.86	4.29	7.14	100.00 (N=70)
45-49	1.67	8.32	11.67	16.67	11.67	8.32	6.67	6.67	6.67	6.67	11.67	3.33	100.00 (N=60)
50+	14.49	4.35	10.15	18.84	11.59	10.15	11.59	1.49	1.49	1.49	2.90	11.59	100.00 (N=69)

14.) Respondent's Opinion concerning Family Members Involved in the Upbringing of Children

Areas of involvement of family member	ئۆسۈپ بارغان ۋاقىتىدا تەسىر كۆرسەتتى					Total	پۈتۈنلەي تەسىر كۆرسەتتى (N=480)
	Respondent (mother)	Father	Mother and father together	Other	Not stated		
Greatest influence on children	38.33	16.88	32.71	9.16	2.92	100.00	تەسىر كۆرسەتتى (N=480)
Primary responsibility for children	49.17	12.29	26.67	7.29	4.58	100.00	تەسىر كۆرسەتتى (N=480)
Decision-making about children's education	41.81	15.08	31.68	8.84	2.59	100.00	تەسىر كۆرسەتتى (N=480)

15. شەخسە ئۆز ئۆزىنىڭ ئۆسۈپ بارغان ۋاقىتىدا ئۆزىنىڭ تەربىيەسىگە قانداق دەرىجىدە تەسىر كۆرسەتتى؟

15.) Contribution of Children to Family in percentage of Respondents with Children

Nature of contribution	Percentage	تەسىر كۆرسەتتى
Nil ¹	44.18	يوق
At least one contribution	55.82	تەسىر كۆرسەتتى
	100.00	
	(N=464) ²	
sweeping	33.41	تەسىر كۆرسەتتى
cooking	32.11	تەسىر كۆرسەتتى
washing clothes	27.16	تەسىر كۆرسەتتى
looking after other children	26.94	تەسىر كۆرسەتتى
contributing money	26.08	تەسىر كۆرسەتتى
fishing	17.89	تەسىر كۆرسەتتى
farming	9.05	تەسىر كۆرسەتتى
other	5.39	تەسىر كۆرسەتتى

¹ 15.39% of the respondents mentioned that their children were too young to contribute.

² N=464 for each percentage figured below.

16. شەخسە ئۆز ئۆزىنىڭ ئۆسۈپ بارغان ۋاقىتىدا ئۆزىنىڭ تەربىيەسىگە قانداق دەرىجىدە تەسىر كۆرسەتتى؟

16.) Family Responsibilities and Decisions by Family Members, in Percentages

Family member	مسئۇلىيەت		قارار تەييارلاش	
	Responsibilities	Responsibilities	Decisions	Decisions
Respondent (wife)	9.58	33.33	28.99	23.23
Husband	68.96	45.21	24.88	31.86
Wife and husband together	2.29	2.50	36.47	34.17
Other	18.96	16.25	2.41	1.67
Not stated	0.21	2.71	7.25	9.17
	100.00 (N=480)	100.00 (N=480)	100.00 (N=414)	100.00 (N=480)

18.) Literacy by Age, in Percentages

Age	Literacy ¹		Total ²	Literate's ability to read ³		
	Literate	Not-literate		Very good	Satisfactory	Poor
All ages	61.67	38.33	100.00	7.50	33.54	20.63
20-24	81.43	18.57	100.00	10.00	47.14	24.29
25-29	85.08	14.92	100.00	20.90	47.76	16.42
30-34	63.09	36.91	100.00	11.90	28.57	22.62
35-39	73.33	26.67	100.00	5.00	41.67	26.66
40-44	57.14	42.86	100.00	0.00	32.85	24.29
45-49	35.00	65.00	100.00	1.67	20.00	13.33
50+	34.78	65.22	100.00	1.45	17.39	15.94

¹ Literacy was tested by asking respondents to read a section of a newspaper. The interviewers then decided in which category to place each respondent.

² N=Number of respondents in each age category: 480, 70, 67, 84, 60, 70, 60, 69 respectively.

³ Each percentage is based on the number of respondents in the respective age category, and the various figures for each age category add up to the percentage of literates in that category.

19. 19. ersons Involved in Teaching Children to Read and Write, in Percentage of Respondents

19.) Persons Involved in Teaching Children to Read and Write, in Percentage of Respondents

Person	Percentage	Percentage
Respondent alone	20.62	20.62
Respondent in combination with:		
schoolteacher	17.91	17.91
tutor or kiavaage instructor	8.54	8.54
child's grandparent	1.25	1.25
husband	1.67	1.67
other	.42	.42
any two of the above	3.55	3.55
	33.34	33.34
Schoolteacher alone	16.04	16.04
Tutor or kiavaage instructor alone	10.62	10.62
Teacher and tutor combined	1.67	1.67
Child's grandparent alone	2.08	2.08
Husband alone	.63	.63
Other alone	.63	.63
No one	2.91	2.91
Not applicable ¹	10.42	10.42
Not stated	1.04	1.04
	100.00	100.00
	(N=480)	

¹Made up of those whose children are too young or too old to be taught reading and writing as well as those without children.

20. Radio Listening¹ of Respondents, in Percentages

Category of listeners	Percentage	Percentage
Non-listeners	78.75	78.75
Listeners	21.25	21.25
	100.00	100.00
	(N=480)	
daily frequency ²		
once	4.79	4.79
twice	6.67	6.67
thrice	9.79	9.79
	21.25	21.25

¹Every island on which interviews took place had at least one radio.

²Radio Maldives broadcasts from Malé three times a day.

. V .
V. MARRIAGE PATTERNS

.21. مەھەلەدە تۆھپە قىلىنغان ئەرلەرنىڭ نىسبەتلىرىنى كۆرسىتىدىغان جەدۋەل

21.) Marital Status of Respondents, in Percentages

Marital Status	Percentage	تۆھپە قىلىنغان ئەرلەرنىڭ سانى
Married	86.25	416
Not married ¹	13.75	65
	100.00	
	(N=480)	

.1. ھازىر تۆھپە قىلىنغان بولمىغان ئەرلەرنىڭ ئالدىنقىدا تۆھپە قىلىنغانىدى

¹All those not presently married have been married in the past.

.22. ئەرلەرنىڭ بىرىنچى تۆھپە قىلىنغان يېشىنى كۆرسىتىدىغان جەدۋەل

22.) Age at First Marriage, in Percentage of Respondents

Age at First Marriage	Percentage	تۆھپە قىلىنغان يېشى
14 and under	17.92	86
15	33.54	161
16	16.67	80
17	12.50	60
18	9.58	46
19	1.46	7
20	3.54	17
Above 20	2.50	12
Not stated	2.29	11
	100.00	
	(N=480)	

25.) Number of Times Married by Number of Different Spouses, in Percentage of Respondents

Number of different spouses	تعداد ازدواج مجدد All marriages	تعداد ازدواج مجدد Number of times married													مجموع Total	درصد (N=480)	رتبه ازدواج مجدد
		1	2	3	4 ¹	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13+			
All spouses	-	15.83	19.79	19.38	13.33	8.13	7.71	7.29	1.88	1.67	1.46	0.83	0.84	1.86	100.00 (N=480)		
1	30.21	15.83	9.38	5.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30.21 (N=480)	1	
2	30.42	-	10.41	8.96	6.67	2.92	0.83	0.63	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	30.42 (N=480)	2	
3	22.93	-	-	5.42	4.58	3.75	4.79	2.92	0.63	0.63	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.21	22.93 (N=480)	3	
4	8.75	-	-	-	2.08	1.04	1.04	2.29	1.04	0.63	0.21	0.42	0.00	0.00	8.75 (N=480)	4	
5	2.93	-	-	-	-	0.42	0.42	1.25	0.21	0.00	0.21	0.00	0.21	0.21	2.93 (N=480)	5	
6	2.29	-	-	-	-	-	0.63	0.20	0.00	0.00	1.04	0.00	0.42	0.00	2.29 (N=480)	6	
7	1.04	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.00	0.00	0.20	0.00	0.00	0.21	0.63	1.04 (N=480)	7	
8	0.62	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.00	0.21	0.00	0.20	0.00	0.21	0.62 (N=480)	8	
9	0.41	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.00	0.00	0.21	0.00	0.20	0.41 (N=480)	9	
10+	0.40	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.00	0.00	0.40	0.40 (N=480)	10+		
	100.00 (N=480)																

1 مرتبه ازدواج مجدد، درصد ازدواج مجدد، درصد ازدواج مجدد، درصد ازدواج مجدد، درصد ازدواج مجدد

¹ Islamic law states that after three marriages to the same partner, a new partner must be married before the original partner may be married again.

26.) Number of Remarriages by First Three Spouses Remarried, in Percentage¹ of Respondents

Spouses remarried	تعداد ازدواج مجدد Number of remarriages					مجموع Total	رتبه ازدواج مجدد
	1	2	3	4	5+		
First	24.79	14.58	8.13	1.04	1.25	49.79 ²	ازدواج مجدد
Second	15.63	7.50	3.54	1.46	0.42	28.55 ³	ازدواج مجدد
Third	6.67	5.00	1.88	0.83	0.21	14.59 ⁴	ازدواج مجدد

¹N = 480 in each case

1 مرتبه ازدواج مجدد، درصد ازدواج مجدد، درصد ازدواج مجدد، درصد ازدواج مجدد، درصد ازدواج مجدد

²Figure represents those who have married any one husband more than once.

2 به ازدواج مجدد، درصد ازدواج مجدد، درصد ازدواج مجدد، درصد ازدواج مجدد، درصد ازدواج مجدد

³Figure represents those who have married any two husbands more than once.

3 به ازدواج مجدد، درصد ازدواج مجدد، درصد ازدواج مجدد، درصد ازدواج مجدد، درصد ازدواج مجدد

⁴Figure represents those who have married any three husbands more than once.

4 به ازدواج مجدد، درصد ازدواج مجدد، درصد ازدواج مجدد، درصد ازدواج مجدد، درصد ازدواج مجدد

Table 29 continued

Combined Income

Food	Total	Income											Not stated	Total
		Nil	Less than 25	25-49	50-74	75-99	100-124	125-149	150-199	200-299	300-399	400+		
Dinner														
Nothing	2.50	6.09	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.63	
Curry & rice	25.63	18.26	31.03	19.44	26.41	36.36	27.27	38.10	23.33	35.14	31.57	38.89	15.79	
Soup & rice	38.54	33.04	22.42	44.44	47.17	36.36	54.55	47.62	53.33	32.43	36.84	55.56	26.32	
Breadfruit	12.29	14.78	15.52	11.11	7.55	9.09	6.82	9.52	10.00	10.81	10.53	5.55	23.68	
Screwpine	1.46	1.74	1.72	5.56	0.00	0.00	2.27	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.63	
Taro	8.33	15.65	12.07	2.78	11.32	0.00	2.27	0.00	3.34	8.11	10.53	0.00	2.63	
Kandu	2.92	4.35	3.45	5.56	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	13.16	
Other	8.33	6.09	8.62	8.33	7.55	18.19	6.82	4.76	10.00	13.51	10.53	0.00	13.16	
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	
	(N=480)	(N=115)	(N=58)	(N=36)	(N=53)	(N=11)	(N=44)	(N=21)	(N=30)	(N=37)	(N=19)	(N=18)	(N=38)	

¹The type of food eaten may vary according to the season, although seasonal foods such as fish, breadfruit and kandu can be dried for out-of-season consumption. See page 12 for description of foods.

²US\$1=MR7.50

³Soup is always made from fish and only occasionally is curry made from a food other than fish.

Only two women reported eating neither lunch nor dinner.

36.) Expenditures per Occupant in a Week by Combined Wife and Husband Income, Expressed in Percentage of Respondents

Weekly expenditure per occupant on food	Combined income in one month										عدد المستجيبين في كل فئة
	Total	Nil	Less than 25	25-49	50-99	100-149	150-199	200-299	300-399	400+	
Nil	10.42	25.22	13.79	11.11	0.00	1.54	0.00	2.70	5.26	5.56	1
Less than 0.5	0.42	0.87	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.70	0.00	0.00	2
1	9.37	8.70	22.41	8.33	14.06	3.08	3.33	2.70	0.00	11.11	3
2	11.25	8.70	15.52	13.88	9.38	7.69	13.33	16.22	0.00	5.56	4
3	15.83	15.65	17.24	19.44	17.19	16.92	16.67	18.92	21.05	0.00	5
4	9.79	8.70	1.72	2.78	10.94	13.85	23.33	8.10	15.79	11.11	6
5	9.37	10.43	6.90	5.56	18.75	10.76	0.00	5.41	5.26	11.11	7
6	7.50	4.35	1.72	8.33	7.81	13.85	10.00	18.92	5.26	5.56	8
7	4.38	1.73	1.72	5.56	6.25	7.69	0.00	5.41	5.26	5.56	9
8	4.17	2.61	3.45	2.78	3.13	6.15	6.67	2.70	10.53	11.11	10-19
9	1.04	0.00	1.72	0.00	0.00	3.08	3.33	0.00	0.00	5.56	20-29
10-19	8.33	7.83	5.17	5.56	6.25	9.23	16.67	5.41	21.06	16.66	30+
20-29	1.46	1.73	0.00	2.78	0.00	3.08	0.00	2.70	0.00	5.55	Not stated
30+	1.37	0.00	3.45	2.78	1.56	1.54	0.00	2.70	5.26	0.00	
Not stated	5.00	3.48	5.17	11.11	4.68	1.54	6.67	5.41	5.26	5.55	
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	
on items other than food											
Nil	33.33	52.17	32.76	38.88	29.69	18.46	20.00	13.51	31.58	11.11	1
Less than 0.5	16.04	13.04	24.14	16.67	18.75	18.46	16.67	8.11	0.00	16.67	2
1	25.21	15.65	24.14	19.44	35.94	27.69	20.00	37.83	31.58	38.89	3
2	9.17	5.22	5.17	5.56	9.37	13.85	16.67	13.51	15.80	11.11	4
3	5.63	2.61	8.62	5.56	4.69	6.15	10.00	10.81	5.26	0.00	5+
4	2.50	1.74	0.00	0.00	1.56	1.54	6.66	5.41	5.26	11.11	Not stated
5+	6.25	7.83	0.00	11.11	0.00	13.85	10.00	5.41	5.26	11.11	
Not stated	1.87	1.74	5.17	2.78	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.41	5.26	0.00	
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	
	(N=480)	(N=115)	(N=58)	(N=36)	(N=64)	(N=65)	(N=30)	(N=37)	(N=19)	(N=18)	

VIII. SELECTED SKILLS

40.) Distribution of Skills by Age, in Percentages

Age	Type of skill					N
	None	Sewing	Use of local medicine ¹	Midwifery	Use of charms ¹	
All ages	72.92	19.17	6.04	2.92	1.67	(N=480) ²
20-24	78.57	20.00	0.00	1.43	0.00	(N=70)
25-29	64.18	34.33	4.48	0.00	0.00	(N=67)
30-34	57.14	21.43	0.00	2.38	1.19	(N=84)
35-39	80.00	15.00	6.67	1.67	1.67	(N=60)
40-44	78.57	14.29	14.29	4.29	4.29	(N=70)
45-49	83.33	11.67	8.33	5.00	0.00	(N=60)
50+	73.91	15.94	10.14	5.80	4.35	(N=69)

¹See page 13 for description.

²Some respondents have more than one skill, so therefore the percentages do not total 100.

41.) Skills of Respondent by Instructor, in Percentages

Instructor	Type of skill					N
	All skills	Sewing	Use of local medicine	Midwifery	Use of charms	
Mother	14.18	6.52	34.48	8.33	37.50	
Father	3.55	2.17	6.90	0.00	12.50	
Other relatives	11.35	13.04	0.00	33.33	0.00	
Friend	15.60	16.31	13.79	8.33	25.00	
Professionals not covered by the above 4 categories	24.82	22.83	27.59	33.33	25.00	
Other	23.41	30.43 ¹	10.34	16.68	0.00	
Not stated	7.09	8.70	6.90	0.00	0.00	
	100.00 (N=141)	100.00 (N=92)	100.00 (N=29)	100.00 (N=12)	100.00 (N=8)	

¹A large number of those respondents knowing how to sew claim that they taught themselves.

42.) Skills Respondents Desire to Learn, in Percentages

Skill	زیرست نتیج Percentage	نمبر Count
None	39.58	192
Education	11.46	56
Sewing	10.42	52
Tailoring ¹	7.08	35
Mat weaving	4.17	21
Midwifery	3.96	20
Local medicine	3.54	18
Handicraft work	1.25	6
Teaching	0.63	3
Other activities	0.63	3
Unspecified	6.45	32
	49.59	
Not applicable ²	3.75	19
Not stated	7.08	35
	100.00	
	(N=480)	

¹ Tailoring is a more complex skill than sewing involving the design and making of men's shirts and trousers.

² These respondents claimed that they were too old or their eyesight too bad to learn any new skills.

43.) Interest in Training to Learn a New Skill, in Percentage of Respondents

Interest	زیرست نتیج Percentage	نمبر Count
Yes ¹	63.54	308
No	36.46	176
	100.00	
	(N=480)	

¹ 31.67% of all respondents would be willing to travel to another island for training.

31.67% of all respondents would be willing to travel to another island for training.

IX. PROBLEM IDENTIFICATION

44. Major problems affecting Life on the Island by Rank, in Percentage of Respondents¹

Problem	Total respondents mentioning problem	Rank given				Total %
		1	2	3	4	
1.) Poor fishing	42.92	18.33	11.86	5.63	4.17	39.99%
2.) Lack of schools	38.54	15.42	13.33	6.04	1.04	35.83%
3.) Lack of firewood	29.17	11.88	6.46	5.63	3.33	27.30%
4.) Lack of land for cultivation	27.50	5.83	8.13	8.13	3.96	26.05%
5.) Poor harbor	21.88	8.33	6.88	3.75	2.08	21.04%
6.) Disease	16.88	5.63	1.46	2.50	2.29	11.88%
7.) Sewage disposal	12.50	4.17	3.54	2.50	1.67	11.88%
8.) Lack of local food	6.67	1.25	1.88	1.25	1.46	5.83%
9.) Saline water	6.46	2.50	1.46	1.46	0.63	6.04%
10.) Crowded conditions	5.21	1.04	1.25	0.63	0.83	5.21%
11.) Any other problem ²	19.58	9.16	5.21	3.13	1.67	16.46%

¹N = 480 in each case

1 ن = 480 ہر صورت میں

²Other problems were mostly related to the lack of mechanized dhonis, along with a variety of problems concerning money, cultivation, food and education. Those not replying as well as those answering "don't know" or "no problem" totalled 16.46%.

45. Opinion on Who is Responsible for Development of Island, in Percentage of Respondents

Who is responsible	Percentage	
Community	65.21	65.21%
Island chief	38.96	38.96%
Government	13.54	13.54%
Atoll chief	12.92	12.92%

47. **Proposed Use of Additional Income, if Earned, by Rank, in Percentage of Respondents**

Proposed use	Rank given						Total respondents choosing use	درصد انتخاب کنندگان
	1	2	3	4	5	6		
Children's education	51.88	17.29	9.17	3.33	1.04	0.42	83.13	تربیت و آموزش کودکان
Buy better food	31.67	28.75	13.13	2.50	0.42	0.00	76.46	خریدن غذای بهتر
Repair or improve house	9.38	21.25	21.88	13.13	1.04	0.42	66.88	تعمیر و بهبود خانه
Medical treatment	2.50	9.38	22.71	20.42	1.67	0.00	56.67	درمان پزشکی
Savings	1.04	1.04	1.67	2.50	9.58	14.79	31.04	پس اندازش
Buy watch or radio	0.00	0.83	0.83	4.17	15.42	6.88	28.13	خریدن ساعت یا رادیو

X. **SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS OF WOMEN**

48. **Respondents' Discussion of Married Life with other Women, in Percentages**

Discussion	درصد انتخاب کنندگان Percentage	درصد انتخاب کنندگان
Do not engage in discussion	90.00	ندارد و بحث نمی کند
Engage in discussion	10.00	بحث می کند
	100.00 (N=480)	
discussion partners		درصد انتخاب کنندگان در میان شریکین بحث
friends	6.25	دوستان
relatives	3.12	بزرگان
some other person	0.42	دیگران
midwives	0.21	زوجهای دیگر
	10.00	

TABLES DERIVED FROM ISLAND RESOURCE QUESTIONNAIRE

TABLES DERIVED FROM ISLAND RESOURCE QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Islands by Size of Population¹

Island size	Total	Number of islands		
		Region A	Region B	Region C
100-399	9	3	6	0
400-599	5	3	0	2
600-799	7	4	2	1
800-999	6	3	2	1
1000+ ²	13	6	0	7
	40	19	10	11

Men's	5	4	8	6
Women's	2	4	5	0
Schools per 1000 ¹				
All types	3.02	2.22	4.12	3.41
Makthab	1.13	.81	.62	1.47
Kiavaage	1.53	.91	3.30	1.67
Madhrasaa	.36	.50	.20	.27
Shops per 1000	3.58	4.12	5.57	2.79
Midwives per 1000 females	3	2	5	3

¹ The total population of the islands on which interviews were conducted is 50306.

² Due to the sample design, 13 of the 20 islands with populations of 1000 or more were selected.

¹ Following completion of the survey, new initiatives have been taken by the government to establish more institutions on the islands.

The information on the number of boats owned by island inhabitants is incomplete but following is the number of boats per 1000 in Regions A and B. See page 12 for description of boats.

2. Selected Island Characteristics by Region, Expressed in Ratios

Characteristics	Region			
	All Regions	Region A	Region B	Region C
Population in %				
Total	100	39	10	51
Male	52	21	5	26
Female	48	18	5	25
Boats per 1000	4	4	6	3

	Region A	Region B
All boats	45.3	48.9
Mechanized dhonis	2.5	4.1
Mas dhonis	7.5	12.0
Vadu dhonis	20.8	23.9
Baththeli	3.1	.4
Other	11.4	8.5

3. Selected Island Characteristics by Region, Expressed in Number of Islands

Characteristics	Region				Total
	All regions	Region A	Region B	Region C	
Family health worker present	9	2	3	4	9
Condition of harbor					
good	17	8	5	4	34
satisfactory	13	4	2	7	26
poor	10	7	3	0	20
Electricity present ¹	10	4	1	5	20
Shell collecting practiced	24	12	5	7	48
Organizations ²					
sports	2	0	0	2	4
service	4	3	1	0	8

¹ Almost all islands having electricity are represented in the sample. Those islands having electricity are the heavily populated ones and were more likely to be selected as an island on which interviews would take place.

² At the time of the writing of this report, the formation of new organizations on the islands is being encouraged.

4. Number of Coconut Trees per capita, Expressed in Number of Islands

Number of Coconut Trees	Region				Total
	All Regions	Region A	Region B	Region C	
less than 1	7	4	0	3	14
1	5	3	1	1	10
2	3	1	0	2	6
3	3	1	0	2	6
4	4	2	1	1	8
5	1	0	1	0	2
6	5	2	3	0	10
7	2	0	1	1	4
8	3	2	0	1	6
9	1	0	1	0	2
10	2	1	1	0	4
11+	4	3	1	0	8

7.) Condition of Fishing in Best Season in 1978 Expressed in Number of Islands

Best fishing season	Fishing									دست‌آورد ماهیگیری			
	Good			Satisfactory			Poor						
	All regions	A	B	C	All regions	A	B	C	All regions		A	B	C
Year around	3	2	1	0	3	1	2	0	4	1	0	3	دوره‌های مختلف
Southwest monsoon	4	1	3	0	4	0	2	1	2	2	0	0	موسم جنوب غربی
Northeast monsoon	3	2	0	1	6	4	0	2	11	5	2	4	موسم شمال شرقی

8.) Rainwater Storage Facilities and Drinking Water Wells Available, Expressed in Number of Islands of Islands

Regions	Number of islands with rainwater storage	Number of drinking water wells	Number of persons per drinking water well	
All Regions	19	161 (A&B only)	152 (A&B only)	دوره‌های مختلف
Region A	10	134	147	دوره‌های مختلف 1
Region B	2	27	180	دوره‌های مختلف 2
Region C	7	figures not collected		دوره‌های مختلف 3

9.) Prevalence of Mat Weaving, Expressed in Number of Islands

Mat weaving	All Regions	Region A	Region B	Region C	
Mat weaving found	26	11	8	7	دوره‌های مختلف
Mat weaving not found by reason					دوره‌های مختلف
no equipment or materials	7	4	1	2	دوره‌های مختلف
no knowledge of the work	3	1	0	2	دوره‌های مختلف
not stated	4	3	1	0	دوره‌های مختلف
	40	19	10	11	

12. Land Allotted for Cultivation and Number of People Cultivating on Home and Other Islands, by Island

Island	Home island		Notes
	Number of people with land	Amount of land allotted per grower (in units of 1000 square feet)	
Region A			
Huvarafushi	35	5	1
Kumundhoo	600	40	2
Maavaidhoo	47	6	3
Nallaidhoo	not known	amount desired	4
Nolhivaramu	57	amount desired	5
Maakurathu	everyone	6	6
Velidhoo	no one	.15	7
Iguraidhoo	405	3	8
Goidhoo	no one	.5	9
Region B			
Thodhoo	no one	amount desired	10
Kolhufushi	1	2.5	11
Kudahuadhoo	4	.8	12
Region C			
Gemanifushi	100	5	13
Fioree	66	amount varies	14
Fua Mulaku	not known	5	15
Hithadhoo	2480	5	16
Hulhudhoo	250	5	17
Maradhoo	125	5	18
Other island			
Region A			
Huvarafushi	60	amount desired	19
Nallaidhoo	30	not known	20
Miladhoo	150	amount desired	21
Region C			
Gadhdhoo	319	5	22
Thinadhoo	350	5	23

18.) Main Problems on Islands and Suggested Solutions

I. Geographic Problems

A. Island washing away (Himandhoo, Hulhudhoo, Iguraidhoo)

B. Flooding (Fua Mulaku, Maakadhodhoo, Thinadhoo)

C. Salty Water (Holhudhoo, Maakadhodhoo, Naalaafushi)

D. Poor Harbor

1.) No harbor at all (Feydhoo, Fua Mulaku, Maakadhodhoo, Maavaidhoo, Nellaidhoo)

2.) Not enough depth (Eydafushi, Goidhoo, Huvarufushi, Iguraidhoo, Kolufushi, Kuludufushi, Naalaafushi, Thodhoo, Velidhoo)

3.) Not enough space (Holhdhoo)

4.) No reef (Iguraidhoo)

5.) Seasonal waves (Maakadhodhoo, Nohivaramu)

6.) Seasonal difficulties (Miladhoo)

7.) Entrance difficulties (Himandhoo, Kudahuadhoo, Nohivaramu)

8.) Problem not specified (Badidhoo, Hangnameedhoo, Kumundhoo, Maabaidhoo, Maakurathu, Maradhoo-Feydhoo)

E. Poor soil (Maakadhodhoo)

II. Economic Problems

A. Lack of adequate income producing activities (Feydhoo, Hithadhoo, Hulhudhoo, Maradhoo-Feydhoo, Velidhoo)

B. Scarcity of land for cultivation (Holhudhoo, Maradhoo-Feydhoo)

C. Leasing arrangements of government trees on island not agreeable (Himandhoo, Kudahuadhoo)

D. Fishing

1.) Poor fishing (Dhonfanu, Kuludufushi)

2.) Mechanized dhonis

a. None (Goidhoo, Hangnameedhoo, Iguraidhoo, Thodhoo)

b. Too few (Baarah, Badidhoo, Fares, Fioree, Gemanifushi, Guraidhoo, Holhudhoo, Kendhoo, Kolhifushi, Mandhoo, Velidhoo)

c. Lack of diesel fuel (Guraidhoo, Hinawaru, Huvarufushi, Kendhoo, Kudahuadhoo, Meedhoo, Velidhoo)

3.) Difficulties selling catch (Fares)

III. Problems Relating to Social Services

A. Health

1.) Limited access to health facilities and supplies (Baarah, Feydhoo, Holhudhoo, Kuludufushi, Maabaidhoo)

2.) No public lavatory (Kudahuadhoo)

B. Education

1.) No school at all (Badidhoo, Dhonfanu, Hangnameedhoo, Himandhoo, Maabaidhoo, Naalaafushi)

2.) Poorly functioning school (Holhudhoo, Kolhufushi, Kudahuadhoo, Kumundhoo, Maradhoo-Feydhoo, Miladhoo, Thodhoo)

3.) Poor teacher (Kudahuadhoo)

4.) No government school (Iguraidhoo)

5.) No school building (Meedhoo)

6.) Available education not satisfactory (Gadhadoo, Hithadhoo, Hulhudhoo)

C. Religion

1.) No Friday mosque (Baarah)

2.) Mosque in need of repair (Kolhufushi, Kudahuadhoo, Maakurathu)

3.) No mudim (Thodhoo)

4.) Friday mosque too small (Himandhoo, Naalaafushi)

5.) No women's mosque (Himandhoo)

D. Administration

1.) No island office (Baarah)

2.) Too distant from Atoll office (Baarah)

3.) No island guest house (Himandhoo)

E. Transport

1.) Too few boats travelling to Malé (Guraidhoo)

2.) Need to mechanize island-owned baththeli (Kudahuadhoo)

IV. Problems Resulting from High Density of Population

1.) Scarcity of forest for firewood and items of house construction (Feydhoo, Holhudhoo, Velidhoo)

2.) Scarcity of land for housing (Thinadhoo)

3.) Scarcity of local food (Holhudhoo)

V. Pest Problems

1.) Rats (Iguraidhoo, Kumundhoo, Naalaafushi, Nohivaramu)

2.) Crows (Iguraidhoo)

3.) Mosquitoes (Maakadhodhoo)

4.) Beetles (Nohivaramu)

5.) Flies (Naalaafushi)

Suggested solutions for island problems

Construct breakwater to stop erosion.

Dynamite and remove coral to improve harbor.

Move to another island to escape flooding.

Find a midwife.

Establish health center on island.

Move Atoll office to centrally-located island.

Make it possible for public to earn income.

Lower price of diesel fuel.

Train family health worker and midwife.

Assign near-by island for firewood.

Introduce tourism to create jobs.

Drain lake and use for housing.

Get more mechanized dhonis.

Build school.

Dig harbor.

Suggested means for carrying out those solutions

Aid from the Government of Maldives.

Work and cooperation from island population.

Assistance for those activities the island population cannot carry out itself.

Foreign aid.