

GENDER ROLES IN CARIBBEAN SMALL SCALE AGRICULTURE

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Boserup (1970) was the first to see the British Commonwealth Caribbean as an anomalous region in terms of gender roles in agriculture. She suggested that since Jamaica, as distinct from Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico, had a relatively high proportion of women farmers it was more like Africa than Latin America according to her continental-scale regional classification. Boserup explains this anomaly in ethnic terms relating it to the preservation of African farming traditions among a population mainly descended from African slaves (Boserup, 1970, 63). This hypothesis appears to contradict her basic model in which patterns of gender roles in agriculture are seen as being primarily the result of changes in population density and farming techniques with cultural perceptions of such roles considered to be irrelevant. This essay considers the Boserup hypothesis using evidence from both historical sources and contemporary fieldwork.

The development of sugar plantations in the Caribbean in the seventeenth century created a demand for labour which was met by the importation of slaves from West Africa. By 1663 it was said that 'the very being of the plantations depended on the supply of Negroes' (Williams, 1970, 136). At first male slaves were more numerous but by the end of the eighteenth century the slave sex ratio was in balance. The gender division of labour amongst these slaves was decided not by slave memories of African traditions but by the European slave owners and their traditions. Planters were aware that women worked in agriculture in Africa and used this knowledge as justification for their utilization of female slaves as field labourers in the West Indies. This role was accepted, above all, because it was also the pattern of farm labour in England. There is strong evidence that between 1690 and 1750 in England, there was little difference in male and female participation in agricultural work: during that period it was said that 'gender differences appeared to be almost a matter of indifference to employers'. (Snell, 1980).

Women in the 'formal' plantation economy

Within the complex occupational hierarchy of slavery, the position of the woman slave was far less favourable than that of the male slave. William Beckford (1788) wrote

'A Negro man is purchased either for a trade or the cultivation and different processes of the cane - the occupations of women are only two, the house with its several departments and supposed indulgences, or the field with its exaggerated labours.'

Apart from the midwife, doctress or chief housekeeper and, to a lesser extent, washerwomen, cooks and domestics, the slave élite consisted almost entirely of men. For instance, on Roaring River Estate, Jamaica in 1756, of the ninety-two female slaves, seventy were field workers, while of the eighty-four men only twenty-eight were labouring in the cane fields. The gender division of labour on Mesopotamia plantation in 1809 (Table 1) shows a similar pattern, with about three-quarters of the women slaves but only one-third of the men working in the fields. Although fieldhands performed the hardest labour, their living conditions were far inferior to those of élite workers and, in consequence, they experienced a higher death rate and suffered from greater ill-health than the more privileged slaves. Pregnancy did not guarantee a lighter workload nor a reduction in physical punishment. Throughout most of the period of slavery women were expected to work in the fields until about six weeks before delivery and return to work no later than three weeks after. The conflicting demands of her reproductive and productive roles took a severe toll on the slave woman's health. Gynaecological disorders were common and there is little doubt that the harsh conditions of work contributed to the extremely low rate of natural increase among slaves on West Indian sugar plantations.

Work in the fields was hard, monotonous and degrading and slaves gave their labour unwillingly and inefficiently. The productivity rate was low and labour was extracted through coercion. Women were subject to the same physical punishments as men; under the overseer's whip 'neither age nor sex found any favour'. Women were often regarded as more troublesome than men and during the later period

of slavery when there was abolitionist pressure to ameliorate conditions planters opposed legislation forbidding the whipping of black women on the grounds that the latter were 'notoriously insolent' and only kept in some 'tolerable order' through fear of punishment. The privileges accorded male élite slaves were available to most female slaves only through concubinage or 'the selling of sexual favours'. The majority of women remained in the fields, working in harsh conditions and maintained by their owners at bare subsistence level. In addition, unlike the men, they had the dual burden of childcare and housework on top of their agricultural work. As Levy points out (1980) in Barbados slave women in the fields were expected to carry baskets of manure weighing as much as seventy pounds and when they returned to their huts at night faced additional household duties.

Women in the 'informal' plantation economy

The cost of feeding a large slave labour force persuaded many planters to allow peasant-like activities to develop. Mintz has shown that as early as 1672 in Jamaica, male and female slaves were cultivating subsistence plots at weekends and slave women were involved in buying and selling the surplus production from their provision grounds on Sunday mornings in public markets (Mintz, 1964, 25-51). This growth of marginal production and internal trade within the plantation slave economy with its concomitant gender division of labour occurred to varying degrees on other West Indian islands, including Montserrat, Tobago, St. Vincent, Dominica, Grenada, Barbados and St. Kitts, as well as in Jamaica (Edwards, 1980). Such was the importance of the Sunday market to the entire population that the stringent laws restricting the mobility of slaves were relaxed where marketing activities were concerned. In a wider social context, the unusual mobility of market women, in particular, enabled them to facilitate communication between the plantations, a significant feature in organised slave resistance as well as the development of creole society.

Post-emancipation division of labour

By the end of the eighteenth century in England regional variations in types of agriculture had produced different practices in the division of labour by

gender (Pahl, 1984). In the new capitalist agriculture of South-East England technological changes had led to the squeezing out of women from agriculture with the effect of limiting them to lighter work such as weeding and haymaking. Gradually women moved away from agriculture and into domestic service. The increasing scale of production and commerce led to the separation of public and private spheres of work with the men in the public sphere and the women at home. These developments have been identified with Victorian morality and new middle class assumptions about the role of women. By the mid-nineteenth century such metropolitan attitudes had been transferred to the colonies and the planters found themselves torn between moral certitude and economic preference.

With the ending of slave apprenticeship in the British West Indian colonies in 1838 many women ex-slaves sought the private sphere hitherto denied them and it was said that 'mothers of families have retired from the field, to the duties of the home'. (Morsen, 1841). Regional differences in wage rates encouraged the ex-slaves to celebrate their freedom by migrating from island to island. Gender specific migration led to high female sex ratios in many territories. Food prices rose rapidly and women were forced to return to agricultural work in order to feed their families. The problems of this inflationary period produced the curious situation described by Levy in that 'while the planters criticized mothers for neglecting their offspring, they preferred to hire females, whom they considered more regular than males in their work habits' (Levy, 1980). In Trinidad, at this time, labour demand was being met by indentured labourers from India. The planters declared that for economic reasons they wanted to bring in only able-bodied men but the British government insisted on a small proportion of female workers on the grounds that this would prevent immoral behaviour and prostitution (Tikasingsh, 1973). These indentured labourers of both sexes were treated as severely as slaves had been since many estate managers wished to extract the maximum returns from their investment during the period of the contract (Lowenthal, 1972). Harry (1980) quotes a newspaper report based on interviews with three women who had

been indentured in the late nineteenth century. According to their story:

'In the cultivation you will find that the women dominated the group. They were out early in the fields performing hazardous duties like dropping lime and phosphate of ammonia, planting foods on the estates, that is vegetable crops and ground provisions, manuring, cutlassing, weeding, cutting canes, loading them on carts, and most of the time carrying the canes on their heads'. (Battlefront, 1978)

In addition to this field work, women were responsible for childcare, housework and general family maintenance. Thus, under forced labour there was very little differentiation of agricultural activities based on either gender or ethnicity.

Gender roles under a free labour system

Since the ending of apprenticeship and indenture gender roles in West Indian peasant agriculture have been largely determined by two factors: migration, and to a lesser extent type of agriculture. Migration has become an institutionalized aspect of West Indian society. This migration is largely gender specific with more men than women emigrating in search of employment. Consequently most of the West Indies has had a high female sex ratio for the last century and in 1970 the Commonwealth Caribbean had 238,781 female headed households constituting 35% of all households in the region (Buvinic and Youssef, 1978). The proportion of female householdheads varies from one-half amongst the highly migratory Afro-Caribbean population of St. Kitts-Nevis to one-quarter in Trinidad and Tobago. Female members of Caribbean farm households may play three economic roles related to agriculture. They may be the decision maker on their own farm, they may market the production of their own and other farm enterprises and they may work as agricultural labourers on their own or other agricultural holdings. These roles are not mutually exclusive and any one individual may fill all three at different times of year or at various stages in her life cycle. In particular, communities one of these occupations may predominate but from time to time the emphasis may change as a result of exogenous factors.

Women as peasant farmers

Census data on gender divisions of labour on small farms is not widely

available and is subject to the usual caveats concerning the effect of enumerators' and interviewees attitudes on under-reporting of women's economic activity rates in agriculture (Dixon, 1985). Although the data presented in Table 2 for the Eastern Caribbean comes from a wide range of sources and is somewhat spotty in its coverage it is adequate to identify certain trends related to type of agriculture, inter-island variation and changes over time. On the whole the proportion of small farms operated by women has declined over the last two decades as the economic base of most islands has widened. Only in the small impoverished island of Nevis has this de-feminization of agriculture not occurred. Indeed in Nevis it is not merely the case that women are maintaining their operation of the family farm but that women are also actively taking up vacant lots on government land settlements in order to grow food with which to feed their families (Momsen, 1986).

Female farming is most common on subsistence holdings and less so on those farm enterprises oriented towards commercial cropping as the figures for St. Lucia, Montserrat and Nevis in Table 2 show. In the larger island of Trinidad there are several distinctive types of farming, and Harry (1980) in her survey found that one-quarter of the rice and dairy farmers, 22% of the cocoa farmers, 18% of the vegetable farmers, 14% of the tobacco farmers and 13% of the cane farmers were women. These differences are related to income, land ownership and gender divisions of labour. Cane farmers had the highest levels of living and women provided the smallest amount of labour on these farms. Most cocoa farms were on freehold land and the women farmers in this group had generally inherited their land from their spouse. Tobacco and vegetable farms were predominantly on rented land. Female labour inputs were relatively high in rice and dairy farming.

Examination of the structural characteristics of farms operated by women shows that these farms are generally smaller, have poorer quality land, are less accessible to markets and are less likely to include rented land than those operated by men. The structure and economic level of the female-headed household,

which is commonly associated with these farms, gives rise to labour problems and to a dependence on the land for subsistence rather than for commercial production. Women appear to view the farm as an extension of their domestic responsibilities, concentrating on subsistence production of food crops and small stock rather than on the export crops and cattle preferred by men. Sometimes, where the land is jointly operated, women may see the land as a source of economic independence from the male partner and thus may specialize in the production of fruit and vegetables which can be sold on the local market. The overall picture of female-operated farms is that of marginality in terms of capital, land and labour resources, and largely reflects the economic insecurity of the matrifocal household. However, the dominant characteristics of these farms vary from island to island reflecting intra-regional differences in the availability of human and physical resources.

Women in the Agricultural Labour Force

In addition to their role as peasant farmers, women have continued to play an important role in the agricultural labour force, as they did in the days of slavery. The decade following slave emancipation was marked by a rapid decline in the agricultural labour force, as the women and children amongst the ex-slaves moved into domestic occupations and education respectively and, where land was available, the men became peasant farmers. The economic difficulties of the mid-nineteenth century resulted in a slight increase in the rural proletariat but this was followed by a century of relative stability in the absolute numbers of agricultural workers in most of the islands of the Eastern Caribbean. The food shortages of the Second World War brought the agricultural workforce to its highest level since slavery but this peak was followed by a rapid decline as alternative occupations became available to the proletariat (Momsen, 1969). Within this overall trend the participation rate of women fluctuated as women came to see themselves as a reserve labour force responding both to seasonal and to longer term labour shortages in agriculture..

In the late nineteenth century, as men left the smaller islands in search of economic opportunities overseas, the agricultural workforce became

predominantly female. Brizan indicates a ratio of 132 female to 100 male agricultural workers in Grenada at this time (Brizan, 1985). In Jamaica from 1890 onwards the rural proletariat began to migrate to the towns (Eisner, 1961). Women led this urbanward trend, unlike their minor role in overseas migration, and their participation rate in the Jamaican agricultural labour force fell from 49.2 per cent in 1891 to 19.9 per cent in 1943 (Roberts, 1957). In the smaller, less urbanised islands the decline in the agricultural workforce did not come until after 1946 and was accompanied by a relative increase in female agricultural workers, especially in the unpaid family worker category (see Table 3). These post-war changes support Boserup's theory that agriculture comes to depend increasingly on unpaid female family labour as the number of paid agricultural workers declines. However, as the tourism and manufacturing sectors of the Caribbean economy expanded, agriculture declined as an employer, and women, especially the younger, better educated ones, moved into these growing sectors. By 1970 only about one-third of the workers in agriculture were women and the decline during the sixties was most marked in Antigua where agriculture was very depressed (Table 3).

The most striking development in the West Indian labour force since 1970 has been the increased economic activity rate of women, and the service sector, in which women predominate, has superseded agriculture as the major employer. Yet, agricultural labouring remains the main source of income for poor, rural women and there is anecdotal evidence that high inflation during the 1970s has forced many women back into subsistence agriculture. Agricultural surveys in the Windward islands during this period indicate the continuing and ever increasing role of women. Le Franc (1980) found that women formed 50% of the unpaid family workers and 38% of the paid workers in Grenada's agriculture; 47% of the unpaid workers and 41% of the paid in St. Vincent and 34% of the unpaid and 35% of the paid workers in St. Lucia. In Barbados, although agriculture's share of employment almost halved between 1970 and 1980, the proportion of women workers fell only from 38 to 36% (Barbados, 1985). In Montserrat, on the other hand,

although the number of male agricultural workers increased between 1970 and 1980, the number of women workers decreased and the female percentage of the agricultural labour force declined from 33.4 to 22.6, in response to male return migration and increased female employment opportunities in tourism and the textile industry (Montserrat, 1984). It is clear that West Indian women today, in general, consider agriculture as an occupation of last resort to be followed only when there is no alternative way of feeding their families.

Gender Divisions of Labour

Women members of farm families work long hours. Knudson and Yates (1981) in their survey on St. Lucia, found that women worked five to six hours a day on the farm, three to four hours on housework, two to five hours on childcare depending on the age of the children, and occasionally spent time on marketing. It is scarcely surprising that 22 per cent of the women in this survey felt they had no leisure time at all. The relative work input of men and women varies with the economic status of the farmer, the type of farming, seasons, the importance of off-farm employment and the sex of the farm operator. Both Edwards (1961) working in Jamaica and Macmillan (1967) in Trinidad found that women's role on the farm differed according to the male partner's economic status: in poor families women performed all field tasks but as prosperity increased dependence on female and child family labour declined. Harry (1980) in her Trinidad survey found very little difference in the mean labour input of men and women, with men averaging 4.9 days per week and women 4.8. Both sexes worked seven hours a day in the busy season and three hours in the quiet season. However, women worked longer hours than men in rice and vegetable farming while men put in longer hours in cane and tobacco farms. Men who had off-farm jobs worked fewer hours on the farm than average and women who operated their own farms worked five to seven days per week on the farm. In Nevis, on the other hand, there were distinct gender-based differences in the average hours worked and in the seasonal pattern of employment. On average, women worked the same number of days per week as in Trinidad, 4.8, but men put in 5.5 days. At the busiest time of the

agricultural year women averaged 25 hours and men 35 hours per week, while in the quiet season women worked 18 hours compared to 27 hours for men. Thus the weekly hours worked by women fell from 72 per cent of male hours in the busy season to 66 per cent in the quiet season suggesting that women form, to some degree, a reserve supply of labour for the farm to be drawn on at periods of peak demand.

The allocation of tasks by gender has become more marked over time. Under slavery both men and women carried out the full range of farming tasks in the field and divisions of labour were based more on age than on gender. This situation was still evident in Grenada in the 1930s when, as Brizan (1979) comments, 'rural womenfolk were engaged in all agricultural activities pursued by men, in addition to their domestic chores.' Today gender differences largely conform with the pattern found by Murdock and Provost (1973) in their cross-cultural sample of 185 societies. In general, as shown by field surveys in Nevis (Momsen, 1979) Trinidad (Harry, 1980) St. Lucia (Table 5) and St. Vincent (Table 4), women perform the less strenuous tasks such as planting, weeding, fertilising, moulding up of soil around young plants and harvesting. Men undertake the preparation of the soil, the hoeing or ploughing, and the transporting of the crop from the field. Some of these tasks are gender-neutral or interchangeable especially harvesting and fertilising. Pest control is least likely to be undertaken by women because they feel that the use of chemical sprays is dangerous to women, especially when they are pregnant or lactating. Women farmers without available assistance from male relatives will hire male agricultural labourers for this task alone. Weeding is the task most often seen as suitable for women only, especially on tobacco and vegetable farms, but weeding and pruning is considered a masculine task for crops such as cocoa and bananas.

The gender division of labour associated with livestock is often considered to relate to the size of the animal, with men caring for large animals and women for small stock (Murdock and Provost, 1973). In the West Indies these gender divisions appear to be more closely linked to specific tasks and to the level of

commercialization of the particular animal. Yates' work in St. Vincent and St. Lucia revealed that the construction of sheds and fencing for stock, and the slaughter of animals are jobs done only by men. Women help with daily care of farm animals and with the milking and collection of eggs and are responsible for the marketing of these products. In Trinidad men care for the beef cattle and the equines while women do much of the work with the dairy cattle and look after all other animals (Harry, 1980). In Nevis, where sheep and goats are of major economic importance, men are normally in charge of all the animals, except poultry, and do all the marketing of animal products. It would appear that in both Trinidad and Nevis it is the level of commercialization of stock raising which determines the gender roles, rather than the type of animal.

Conclusion

Rural women in the West Indies fulfil their roles within the constraints of household structure, occupational multiplicity, time and space. The interaction of these constraints is seen most succinctly in terms of a time geographical diagram (Fig. 1). It is clear that the presence of older children reduces the demand for the mother's labour in the fields and possibly may determine how far the family is able to market its agricultural produce. Younger children keep the mother tied closely to her private sphere of the home but many women develop home-based income-earning opportunities such as baking, sewing or store-keeping. Women are responsible for the dooryard garden of vegetables and herbs and the poultry and pigs kept close to the house and fed on household scraps. Women are least likely to work in the most distant fields which are usually kept in tree crops or other crops unlikely to suffer from praedial larceny.

Under slavery gender roles in agriculture were undifferentiated but today most rural people feel that women's roles are changing, according to Yates' surveys in St. Vincent and St. Lucia. In Trinidad, Harry felt that the 'female coolie syndrome', with women working up to sixteen hours a day in the fields and the home from the age of 10 was disappearing with the improved educational

attainment of young women and the new opportunities for non-farm female employment. Yet the traditional pattern of male dominated gender relations is not changing (Henry and Wilson, 1975) and as women expand their horizons and become more confident they find themselves unable to alter their domestic work patterns (John, Elwin et al., 1983). It is essential if West Indian peasant agriculture, which depends so heavily on women's work, is to become more efficient that the conflicts between women's productive and reproductive roles at the household level are reduced.

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TABLE 1

Labour Patterns at Mesopotamia Plantation, Jamaica, in 1809

| Workers | Males | Females | % plantation population |
|--------------|-------|---------|-------------------------------|
| Drivers | 4 | 1 | 1.55 |
| Craftworkers | 25 | 0 | 7.76 |
| Domestics | 8 | 15 | 7.14 |
| Field Cooks | 0 | 6 | 1.86 |
| Fieldworkers | 45 | 92 | 42.55 |
| Jobbers | 7 | 0 | 2.17 |
| Transport | 6 | 0 | 1.86 |
| Stockkeepers | 14 | 2 | 4.97 |
| Watchmen | 19 | 0 | 5.90 |
| Nurses | 0 | 11 | 3.42 |
| Total | 128 | 127 | 79.19* |

* 20.81% of the population were classed as non-workers i.e. too young, too old, or too sick.

(Adapted from Richard Dunn's table in 'A Tale of Two Plantations; Slave Life at Mesopotamia in Jamaica and Mount Airy in Virginia, 1799 to 1823', William and Mary Quarterly, Third Series, Vol.XXXIV, No.1, 52.)

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TABLE 2

Sex of decision makers on farms of less than 10 acres in selected
Eastern Caribbean territories

| <u>Island</u> | <u>Year of Survey</u> | <u>Sample Size</u> | <u>Percentage farms with female decision makers</u> |
|---------------|-----------------------|--------------------|---|
| Barbados | 1963 | 207 | 53.1 |
| Barbuda | 1971-73 | 234 | 28.2 |
| Grenada | 1969 | 256 | 20.7 |
| Grenada* | 1969 | 214 | 18.7 |
| Martinique | 1964 | 203 | 35.5 |
| Martinique | 1981 | 17919 | 20.0 |
| Montserrat | 1972 | 527 | 44.2 |
| Montserrat | 1983 | 125 | 32.1 |
| Montserrat* | 1973 | 60 | 36.6 |
| Montserrat* | 1985 | 136 | 27.9 |
| Montserrat | 1950 | 205 | 29.2 |
| Nevis | 1979 | 91 | 30.8 |
| Nevis | 1985 | 407 | 38.3 |
| St. Lucia | 1964 | 187 | 42.8 |
| St. Lucia | 1980/81 | 7520 | 23.0 |
| St. Lucia* | 1971 | 47 | 17.0 |
| St. Lucia* | 1984 | 152 | 15.8 |
| St. Vincent | 1972 | 6862 | 46.2 |
| Trinidad | 1979 | 80 | 28.8 |

*Sample drawn from commercial farmers only.

Sources: Field Surveys for Barbados, Martinique, Nevis, Montserrat (1973) and St. Lucia (1964 and 1971). Data for St. Vincent and Montserrat (1972) comes from the 1972 Agricultural Census. Data for Grenada from John S. Brierley Small Farming in Grenada W I Winnipeg 1974; for Barbuda from Riva Berleant-Schiller, Production and division of labor in a West Indian peasant community, American Ethnologist 4 1977 pp 253-272; and for Trinidad from I S Harry, Women in Agriculture in Trinidad, unpublished M Sc thesis, University of Calgary 1980.

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TABLE 3

Percentage of Women in the Agricultural Labour Force of
Selected Caribbean Territories 1946, 1961 and 1970

| Territory | Percentage of Women in Agricultural Labour Force | | | Agriculture's Share of Total Employment, 1970 | | |
|----------------|---|------|------|--|--------|-------|
| | 1946 | 1961 | 1970 | Male | Female | Total |
| Antigua | 47.6 | 59.2 | 25.3 | 12.0 | 8.4 | 10.6 |
| Barbados | 48.8 | 52.5 | 38.3 | 16.5 | 15.3 | 16.0 |
| Dominica | 40.4 | 55.0 | 32.8 | 46.6 | 27.2 | 39.5 |
| Grenada | 48.9 | 48.9 | 40.4 | 34.2 | 31.9 | 33.3 |
| St Kitts-Nevis | 44.0 | 44.4 | 33.8 | 36.7 | 30.1 | 34.2 |
| St Lucia | 39.3 | 47.0 | 29.9 | 46.1 | 27.8 | 39.7 |
| St Vincent | 46.9 | 49.9 | 31.8 | 32.2 | 23.1 | 29.0 |

Sources: West Indian Census, 1946 Vol. 1. (Kingston, Jamaica, 1950);

Agricultural Census of the West Indies, 1961, Eastern
Caribbean Territories (Bridgetown, Barbados, 1968);

1970 Population Census of the Commonwealth Caribbean
Vol. 4, Part 16 (Kingston, Jamaica, 1976.)

TABLE 4

Gender Divisions of Labour on Small Farms in St. Vincent

| Type of Job | Percentage Distribution of Labour | | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------------------|--------|-------|----------------|
| | Male | Female | Joint | Not Applicable |
| Preparation of Soil | 90 | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| Planting | 28 | 40 | 32 | 0 |
| Hoeing | 85 | 8 | 7 | 0 |
| Weeding | 8 | 50 | 35 | 7 |
| Pest Control | 23 | 5 | 2 | 70 |
| Fertilising | 43 | 35 | 22 | 0 |
| Harvesting | 22 | 13 | 65 | 0 |
| Storage | 2 | 3 | 2 | 93 |
| Marketing | 25 | 45 | 27 | 3 |
| Keeping records | 5 | 3 | 0 | 92 |
| Care of Livestock | 23 | 10 | 59 | 8 |

Source: Adapted from a sample survey of small farms in St Vincent undertaken by Barbara Yates in 1981.

TABLE 5

Gender Divisions of Labour on Small Farms in St Lucia

| Type of Job | Percentage Distribution of Labour | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------------------|--------|-------|
| | Male | Female | Joint |
| Preparation of Soil | 83 | 3 | 14 |
| Planting | 76 | 4 | 20 |
| Weeding | 48 | 17 | 35 |
| Pest Control | 75 | 15 | 10 |
| Fertilising | 56 | 22 | 22 |
| Harvesting | 54 | 8 | 38 |
| Storage | 52 | 25 | 21 |
| Marketing | 48 | 37 | 25 |
| Care of Livestock | 55 | 23 | 22 |

Source: Adapted from Tables III-13 and III-15 in The Economic Role of Women in Small Scale Agriculture in the Eastern Caribbean-St Lucia by Barbara Knudson and Barbara Yates Women and Development Unit, Barbados. 1981.

FARMER, AGED 44, WITH 3 1/4 acre FARM, ALSO WORKS
 FULLTIME AS BAKER WITH WIFE, AND PARTTIME AS CARPENTER.

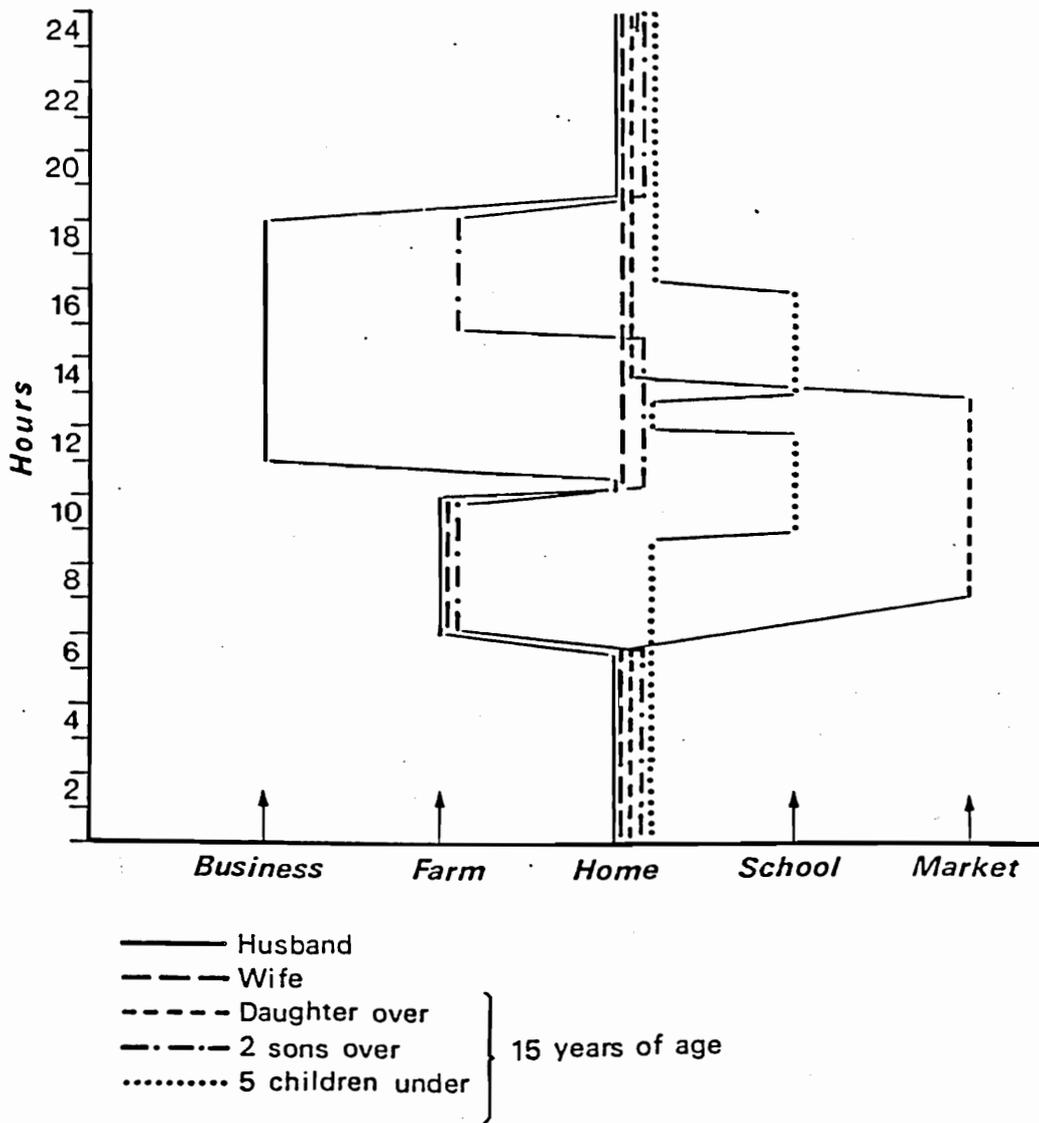


FIGURE 1: HOUSEHOLD DIVISIONS OF LABOUR