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IN SEARCH OF SOCIAL EQUITY: WOMEN AS SOCIAL PARTNERS
IN CARIBBEAN DEVELOPMENT *

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J. M.

IN SEARCH OF SOCIAL EQUITY: WOMEN AS SOCIAL PARTNERS IN CARIBBEAN DEVELOPMENT

"True development has to be people centred"

South Commission. p.11

I. INTRODUCTION

As the Commonwealth Caribbean approaches the challenge of entering the 21st century, numerous social, political and economic challenges lie ahead. Concern with the continuing international recession, increasing poverty, escalating violence and environmental degradation are just some of the elements fuelling the current development debate. But despite the gloomy list there are encouraging signs of a willingness to review approaches to development. One of the major lessons of the 1970s was that the countries with the highest levels of economic growth were those with the most favourable social indicators. The economic crises of the '80s has reinforced that lesson and indeed recent publications from major international agencies have illustrated the point. Starting from the World Bank Report of 1980, and moving through UNICEF's Adjustment with a Human Face, the Commonwealth Secretariat's Engendering Adjustment to the World Bank Report of 1990, and the UNDP Human Resources Reports of 1990 and 1991, it is clear that a concern with people is beginning to be recognised as a priority goal over the need to increase the rate of economic growth. The extent to which development thinking is evolving in that direction is probably most fully exemplified in the report of the South Commission which attempted to redefine a development for the peoples of the South [South Commission, 1990].

Within the context of a 'people-centred' development, women and women's issues assume pivotal importance not only because of their numerical majority or their participation in the development process. But also because society ascribes to women roles critical to societal maintenance whilst at the same time undervaluing their contribution and maintaining a gender ideology biased towards men. Nowhere is this more clearly seen than in women's involvement in the productive process. Although in theory they have access to all available productive resources, in practice this is frequently not the case. Despite some evidence of changes, women in the Caribbean are generally located in the lowest paying jobs. Their progression into better paid jobs is limited by their low educational status and low technical skills and is often blocked by subtle elements of discrimination. The adjustment programmes of the '80s, have on balance, resulted in further deterioration of the economic and social status of women in the subregion and a concomitant deterioration in their ability to carry out the very responsibilities which society demands of them.

Within the context of its concern with issues of equity, the UNECLAC Report Changing Production Patterns with Social Equity fails to address either gender issues or women's issues. Thus, the report not only fails to recognise a critical example of inequity, but also fails to grasp the opportunity to demonstrate how the changing production patterns it envisages can be achieved if women's issues are incorporated into the model. The proposed report centres on the belief that current economic obstacles can be overcome if we are willing to learn from the lessons of the last decade and to build on the assets accrued over a much longer time. The main elements of the model include:

- (i) systematic absorption of technical know-how;
- (ii) integrated approach to competitiveness;
- (iii) renewal of sectoral divisions;
- (iv) conservation of the environment;
- (v) maintaining equity, through redistributive measures;
- (vi) combining macroeconomic management with sectoral policies;
- (vii) regional integration and intra-regional cooperation;
- (viii) maintenance of democratic traditions and practices;
- (ix) reform on style of state intervention.

Strategies to ensure that these objectives are achieved cover a wide range of areas, the entire package being designed to enhance the region's ability to compete on the international economy.

Against this background this study attempts to:

- (i) outline the economic and social situation of women in the Caribbean during the eighties; and
- (ii) offer proposals for the integration of women into development in the 1990s and beyond, taking into account the ECLAC study Changing Production Patterns with Social Equity.

The study takes the form of a review of a wide range of published and unpublished material on the region from official and secondary sources. No primary data collection was undertaken. The study is therefore offered as a baseline effort requiring further exploration at a later stage.

The study takes as its point of departure the theme and recommendations of the ECLAC Study (hereinafter called the ECLAC model) which were briefly described earlier in this Section. Section II is devoted to a comparison of the ECLAC model and recent initiatives in the Commonwealth Caribbean, particularly those concerned with devising a new strategy to provide a consensus on policies and measures for taking the region into the 21st century. Particular attention is paid to the concepts of 'social equity' and 'social partners' and the possibilities of locating women and women's issues within the frameworks provided by these two concepts. In Section III the situation of Caribbean women during the eighties is placed in the context of legal reforms affecting the status of women, the deteriorating economic conditions of the decade and the constitutional mechanisms in place to assist women. Section IV provides more detailed information on employment trends during the eighties, linking these with some of the ECLAC proposals for changing production patterns. Section V attempts to provide proposals for improving the extent to which women may be included in a development process concerned with social equity.

II. SOCIAL EQUITY, SOCIAL PARTNERS, WOMEN AND DEVELOPMENT

"It needs to be recognised that development policies designed to ensure equity and full participation in society should give priority to raising the social and economic status of women".

South Commission p.130.

While there can be little argument with the major thrust of the ECLAC model, a major difficulty relates to the absence of a definition of 'social equity'. In a footnote, equity is defined as

"the ratio between the incomes of the bottom 40% and the top 10% of the population in terms of income and a value of 0.4 was used as the dividing line" [UNECLAC, 1990, p.61].

On this basis it is said that no country in the region has achieved the long term development goal of changes in production patterns implied with social equity. Some have achieved favourable economic growth trends, but unsatisfactory levels of equity, others were unsatisfactory on both indicators while a third group achieved an acceptable degree of equity but no or little economic growth. The economic difficulties of the 1980s served to sharply reduce both economic growth and such social equity as existed to the extent that not a single country in the region was able to combine growth with social equity. This suggests that social equity is interpreted on the basis of individual income only.

At another point in the study, there is a discussion of the social agents/groups who will be expected to support the proposed model

"especially in terms of their motivation to willingly accept the sacrifices and responsibilities that such changes in production patterns involve" [UNECLAC, op. cit. p.54].

The groups identified include economic élite, middle strata, urban workers, urban poor, peasants and rural workers. Social equity here appears to be an equitable sharing between groups of the sacrifices and benefits of the process of change over the short and medium term. In other words, social equity is here perceived as a group issue. The difficulty here is that each of these groups consists of men and women operating in a relationship which raises fundamental questions about the concept of social equity. Any proposal involving equitable access and use of material resources for production and distribution must necessarily examine how such activity will affect the prevailing

inequity in male/female relations. Thus the social equity being called for in the ECLAC model must relate to equity between groups as well as within groups.

In the Caribbean subregion, as in the wider Latin American region, governments have consistently claimed to be seeking to improve the quality of life for all. For example, the 1988-93 Development Plan for Barbados chose as its theme "A Share for All"; the St. Vincent Development Plan 1986-88 chose "Growth, Diversification and Redistribution." Indeed, a recent overview of Caribbean development claims

"It is perhaps not too great an exaggeration to state that the dominant objective of Caribbean economic strategies and policies has been equitable economic growth, that is, the simultaneous pursuit of economic growth and development and an egalitarian structure of income and wealth" [Bourne, 1988, p.15].

But it is clear that governments in the subregion have not successfully achieved these development goals and in fact, have generated considerable dissatisfaction as a result of their inability to do so. It is also clear that the experience of the 1980s has certainly forced a cutting back in such gains as had been achieved in the 1960s and 1970s. In recognition of this deficiency CARICOM Heads of Government made two far-reaching decisions at their meeting of July 1989. The Grande Anse Declaration announced the hosting of a Regional Economic Conference

"to develop a consensus in the region on the policies and measures which the countries of the region should adopt to ensure a satisfactory rate of economic development and improvement in the quality of life into the 21st century."

The second decision related to the establishment of a West Indian Commission charged with the responsibility of formulating proposals to advance the regional integration movement. Central to the task was the involvement of the Commission in wide-ranging public consultations. LET ALL IDEAS CONTEND has become the slogan of the Commission.

The unique feature of these two proposals is not only their timing and the fact that they emanate from the Heads of all governments in the region, but the emphasis they place on the participation of all in the discussions. This represents the first occasion in the region's history in which the people of the region were being invited to join their governments in mapping out their future. At the Regional Economic Conference (REC) held in February 1991, the concept of "social partners" was introduced as a vehicle

"to begin a dialogue toward consensus on the policies, strategies and measures which the Region should adopt to move to a higher and sustainable growth path and to improve the quality of life of all the peoples of the Region" [CARICOM, REC, 1991, p.1].

Social partners were conceived to be: the public sector, private sector organisations, the labour movement, the universities, the regional financial organisations and non-governmental organisations. The imperative of a cooperative approach among the social partners was repeatedly stressed. In that context, the REC recommended that:

- (i) the social partners take steps to follow up on the outcome of this meeting;
- (ii) Governments which have not yet established consultative machinery involving the social partners should do so in order to develop national positions on the several issues and to follow up the implementation of decisions taken at the regional level;
- (iii) this Conference should be institutionalised as a Triennial Caribbean Conference of the Social Partners. The Member State hosting the Conference will have the responsibility for chairing the Preparatory Task Force;
- (iv) the Secretary-General of CARICOM should establish Working Groups of the social partners on selected issues to pursue consultations between the triennial Conferences.

Despite some criticism all of the social partners welcomed the event as a 'unique and historic' effort at last to begin the process of consensus building and to move together towards a better life for all peoples of the region.¹

Strategic consensus building is the cornerstone around which the ECLAC model is built and the point around which the two models cohere. For ECLAC, strategic consensus building consists of

"a number of long term agreements both implicit and explicit, between the state and the principal political and social actors in respect of the instrumental objectives and the sets of policies and institutional innovations needed to achieve these objectives" [UNECLAC, 1990, p.97].

It is this institutional tool which provides legitimacy for the ECLAC model and which the REC model views as imperative if the subregion is to plan and work toward survival and sustainable development. According to the working document of the REC

"Consensus building through expanded provision of information and opportunity for consultation and debate, and transparency in public decision-making become critical facets of the social partners approach. Mechanisms and principles for sharing of power and influence are equally critical" [CARICOM, REC, 1990, p.13].

But although both models envisage 'social equity', in the one case, and 'growth with equity' in the other, as the ultimate objective of the consensus building process, neither model introduces a discussion of what is meant by equity. It may be argued that the fundamental concern is with social justice. For this, the working document of the REC envisages strategies concerned with protecting vulnerable social groups, distributing the costs of economic adjustment more evenly across social groups, equitable allocation of gains from economic recovery and growth and increasing the proportion of the population involved in the economic growth process. Special programmes are identified to achieve these objectives but there is still seen a need for consensus to determine the degree of equity and social justice, the identification of the vulnerable and the principles of redistribution [CARICOM, REC, ibid. p.11].

In the Caribbean, few social indicators are published by statistical authorities and those which are tend not be aggregated, or if they are, not in such a way as to inform the question of social equity. Information on income is only marginally more available. Using standard income distribution measures, the Bourne report mentioned earlier, has concluded that

"Some progress has been achieved with respect to egalitarian objectives since the little evidence available points to internationally moderate degrees of labour income inequality on an economy wide basis, as well as on a sectoral basis in those countries not marred by severe economic recession" [Bourne 1990, p.17].

But the data pointing to this conclusion are not disaggregated, refer only to three territories and relate only to the employed. Their ability to reflect adequately the incidence of inequality is therefore limited. Further, social factors are not taken into account, nor is there a specified "ideal level" adopted as the overall goal as is done in the ECLAC model.

Defining equity in terms only of income inequality merely addresses questions of nominal distribution of income of the employed, in some cases the employed workers who submit income tax returns, and the distribution of assets. Without an adequate exposition of the historical antecedents to the current situation, changes in the structure of the economy over time and in the provision of social services by the state, the derived measures tend to be of little

utility. To take such factors into account a 'quality of life' perspective based on the use of social indicators may, perhaps, be more useful, or may be a useful supplement to the income data, providing a better indicator of 'social equity'. But in either event the availability of the type of data in the appropriate format and with adequate levels of coverage is often a major impediment to the production of measures.

At the root of the problem lies an approach to development which has tended to separate economic from social policy, placing the latter in a subordinate position. The type of economic policies pursued has tended to foster the concentration of wealth and income, while social policies have tended to be used to compensate for the resulting inequalities. Recent economic trends suggest that deep and pervasive alterations are occurring in the opportunity structure of societies such that, not only the life chances of individuals within groups are being affected, but the balance of power between groups is also being altered. A recent UNRISD Study has demonstrated that the crisis has produced profound re-adjustments within the élite, the middle class, the peasantry and the rural poor in Africa and Latin America. People within these groups are reacting, individually and collectively, to protect their standard of living [Ghai & Hewitt de Alcántara, 1990].

What the crisis has underlined is that a concern with social equity must reflect a concern with inequalities on several dimensions besides income. The burgeoning literature on the social impact of structural adjustment clearly illustrates that it is women who have borne the brunt of the burden [Arriaganda 1991, Antrobus 1988, Bonilla 1990, Commonwealth Secretariat 1989, Cornia 1985, de Barbieri & de Oliveira 1987, Elson 1987, 1991, Massiah 1990b]. They have developed an arsenal of strategies aimed at garnering resources to maintain themselves and their households. Often this has been done to the detriment of their own well-being. And always it has been done in the context of macro-economic analysis and policy which has a built-in conceptual bias against women; development planning strategies which have a built-in methodological bias against women; and household structures which have a built-in ideological bias against women.

This fundamental issue of gender bias and gender inequality pervades all other dimensions of inequality - whether income, ethnicity, residential location or age - is embedded in the general issue of social equity within which both the ECLAC and REC models are concerned. However neither model has confronted the question of gender. The single reference to women in the ECLAC model cites the increasing labour force participation rates of mothers as a possible factor in weakening 'some of their family functions with respect to socialization and child care and protection' [UNECLAC, 1990, p.34]. The single reference in the REC consensus document merely includes women in vulnerable groups currently experiencing special difficulties [CARICOM, REC 1991, p.2]. Neither model gave recognition to the work of the UN Decade which identified

women's lack of access to resources as one of the principal factors contributing to the lack of attainment of equality between men and women and to the inability of prevailing development strategies to ensure that equality.

Building on the pioneer work of Buvinic 1983, 1986, two recent reviews have attempted to clarify the major strands of thought influencing the design of policies and programmes for women during the '70s and '80s. Tinker sees a growing trend towards convergence of the different perspectives of advocates, practitioners and scholars and a growing awareness of politics, rather than economics, as the path to "greater equity" [Tinker, 1990]. Moser proposes a strategy for gender planning based on a distinction between practical and strategic gender needs and a critique of the different policy approaches to women and development [Moser, 1989]. With some minor variations these reviews agree on the existence of five general issues around which policy initiatives coalesced - welfare, equity, anti-poverty, efficiency and empowerment (Figures 1 & 2). For Moser, these 'ideal' types reflected changes in macro-level economic and social policy approaches. They operated neither independently nor linearly, but were each clearly identifiable in terms of basic assumptions and methodology and objectives.

The 'welfare' approach concerns itself with the reproductive role of women and focusses on programmes of relief (usually food aid), nutrition and family planning. Where programmes expanded to provide training in income-earning skills, the focus has been in areas supposedly familiar to women. Because the approach is relatively inexpensive, easy to administer and non-threatening, since it fails to question the traditional sexual division of labour, it continues to be practised. But harsh criticisms and well documented programme failures encouraged the development of alternative approaches.

The 'equity' approach, which seems the most closely related to the present discussion, is that which Moser views as having provided the impetus to the UN Decade for women. It recognises that women are active participants in the development process; recognises the frequently negative impact of economic development strategies on women; and proposes increased participation in employment in the market place as the key factor needed to provide women with greater economic independence, and, through that, greater equality with men. The provision of increased employment meant a response to women's practical gender need for income. The focus on reducing inequality between men and women was seen as a response to women's strategic gender need to reduce gender inequality. Moser points to the conceptual distinction between 'equity' in the sense of 'justice' or 'fairness'; and 'equality' in the sense of 'the condition of being equal', a distinction which she argues the literature has tended to blur. For her, the equity approach encompasses the fundamental issues of equality which transcend the developmental field.

Moser argues that the equity approach has been effectively dropped by most development agencies. Methodologically, there was no standard measure against which to judge success. Politically, the redistributionist objectives of the approach were unacceptable to governments and development agencies alike. Practically, the top-down strategy of intervention mirrored the modernization development strategy of the '60s and '70s which had proven unsuccessful in terms of its ability either to redistribute income or resolve problems of poverty and unemployment.

According to Moser, the equity approach gave way to the 'anti-poverty' approach in which the focus was on the productive role of poor women. The emphasis was no longer on reducing inequalities between men and women, but on reducing income inequality. By providing improved access to productive resources, this approach aims to increase the employment and income generating options and productivity of low income women. But by concentrating only on women's productive role, this approach has tended to ignore their reproductive role and has often resulted in increasing the work load of these women. Further by not addressing the question of women's autonomy, the wider goal of equity is not met.

The eighties witnessed a shift to the 'efficiency' approach in which concern with the difficulties of the economic crisis and structural adjustment shifted emphasis from women to development. The assumption has been that increases in women's economic participation automatically increases women's status and improves gender equity. But the experience of structural adjustment suggests that any increases in women's economic participation are likely to be in the low income, unprotected and informal sector. Simultaneously, disinvestments in human resource maintenance and other strategies in the name of efficiency have generated considerable physical and psychic costs for women, creating considerable difficulties for them to perform their required social roles, intensifying the demands on their time and labour and deepening gender inequalities in the household and beyond.

Dissatisfaction with previous approaches has led to the 'empowerment approach' which seeks to increase women's self reliance as a means of eradicating social inequalities of all kinds within and between countries. While the long term goals of this approach do not differ vastly from those of the equity approach, there is a distinct difference in strategy. For while the equity approach relies on top-down strategies, the empowerment approach emphasises organisations, mobilisation and a participatory work style around specific issues.

This exposition provides a perspective from which to determine the extent to which the priority concerns of policies for women may be accommodated in the ECLAC proposal. The major ECLAC concern with social equity and the need for redistributive measures is reflected to a limited extent in the 'equity approach' with its focus on gender

inequality and in the 'empowerment' approach with its long term goal of eliminating all social inequalities and its emphasis on achieving self-reliance. The concentration on transforming the productive sector and restructuring state procedures links closely with the 'efficiency approach'.

Beyond the similarity of the general objective of 'equity', between the ECLAC model and some of the policy approaches to dealing with women's issues, there remain certain basic and unanswered questions. For example, who decides what is equitable? Which groups lose or benefit from redistribution? Who controls for the effect of loss of resources in some groups? Who controls the gain of resources by others? Is equity static? Who determines when a change in distribution is necessary and how to effect that change? Whose responsibility is it to monitor the process? These and similar questions have tended to be overlooked in the justifiable concern for the plight of the poor. Often there is a tendency to overlook, or at least to underestimate, the effect of resource redistribution on other groups besides the poor and on relationships within groups and between groups. Often there is a tendency to overlook aspects of equity other than the redistribution of goods and services. Often there is a tendency to underestimate the effect of 'equitable' redistribution on the values and conventional practices of the society as a whole.

If Moser's equation of equity with justice is correct, these issues raise the question of what is justice and how is it dispensed. A recent article by Jane Jaquette identifies three criteria of justice administered by three separate institutional mechanisms [Jaquette, 1990]. The equality criterion holds that social goods be distributed equally and is the province of the legal system. The merit criterion holds that social goods should be distributed in proportion to productive contributions in the market place. The need criterion holds that social goods be distributed to the most needy in a system determined by the state. Neither the criteria nor institutions of justice are mutually exclusive. Rather they function in a closely integrated system, each dependent on the other. It follows that sole reliance on any single criterion to deliver an acceptable level of social equity or gender equity will not produce the desired result.

Based on this analysis, the ECLAC model may be seen as an example of a strategy which focusses almost exclusively on the market place as the instrument to deliver that type of justice based on merit. Even if this were to be successful, the other two aspects of justice - equality and need - would not be addressed, since the model says nothing about the legal system and perceives the state only as a provider of infrastructure for the operation of the market system. In this sense, the ECLAC model appears not to be a viable vehicle for securing social equity. Insertion of women into the strategy provides an opportunity to present a more holistic approach which may be better placed to secure that illusive social equity objective.

III. CARIBBEAN WOMEN IN THE EIGHTIES: an overview

"the concerns of women should be incorporated within the framework of national development policies in a comprehensive manner".

South Commission, p.130.

To contextualise the discussion, it is useful to review the changing situation of women in the subregion over the past decade. It is important to note that such a review depends on a wide range of sources, all of which are dependent on statistical systems of varying degrees of reliability. Macro-economic data, though generally available, are usually not disaggregated. Employment data are usually disaggregated but tend to be ineffective for measuring women's economic participation outside of the formal sector. Social statistics, though collected and often disaggregated, tend not to be published as often as economic statistics. Micro-level research data are slowly beginning to appear and to provide powerful complements to the macro-data. However, much remains to be done.²

Any analysis of the situation of Caribbean women during the decade of the eighties must be placed in the context of

- (i) the legal situation;
- (ii) the deteriorating economic conditions; and
- (iii) the institutional arrangements in place for assisting women.

Within each of these, the central role of 'family' in the lives of women and the link between women's productive and reproductive activity must be constantly borne in mind. It is these two factors which not only define women's specificity but which also determine the kinds of disadvantages to which they are subject.

In the Caribbean, women are solely responsible for significantly high proportions of households (Table 1). Because such women tend to be less educated than their male counterparts, they tend to experience higher levels of unemployment. Where employed, they tend to be concentrated in the lowest paid jobs. Most territories reflect moderately high fertility rates. Considerable variability exists in infant mortality rates which range between 14 and 45, the high end of that range also being an indicator of poverty. Life expectancy rates are generally favourable - at least for those territories for which data are available, being in the region of 70 years for women. In terms of

educational attainment, it is clear that some territories have been more successful in providing secondary education to both females and males, but that regardless of availability, women have generally been taking advantage of what is available. Only in one territory is the female/male ratio less than 100 and that one, marginally.

However access to education has not been translated into high levels of employment activity among women. Male worker rates exceed female rates in every single territory, even though there is some variability in the level of male rates which range from 42 to 84 per hundred (Table 2). Female rates by contrast are consistently low ranging between 20 and 25, per hundred. In no territory does the female/male ratio approach 100. Although overall female participation rates may appear to be relatively high, women are concentrated in a narrow range of occupations in which the level of wages is lower than the occupations in which men predominate. Despite indications of changes in some sectors, this general feature of women's participation in the labour force continues. Indicators of unemployment also suggest similar disparities. In every territory female unemployment rates exceed male rates and in six territories the female sex ratio exceeds 100, in one case being as high as 169. Proposals to change production patterns with social equity therefore need to confront this fundamental aspect of inequity in the structure of the labour force.

The ability of women in the sub-region to participate in the labour force at all is circumscribed by the extent to which the legal system protects their rights within and outside of the labour force; the extent to which opportunities exist in the labour force; and the extent to which the state provides assistance to enable them to perform their various societal roles. These will each be discussed separately.

The Legal Situation³

Under the impetus of the UN Decade for Women, many territories in the region were prompted to undertake measures to improve the legal status of women (Table 3). To date twelve of the thirteen CARICOM member states have signed the UN Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women. Ten of them have ratified the convention and one has neither signed nor ratified. This means that most CARICOM member states have agreed to take steps to ensure that their legal systems adopt the standard set by the Convention to achieve equal justice for all and equal rights for women.

Traditional common civil law systems in the region centred authority and responsibility in the male member of the household. Recent reforms seek to share family authority and responsibility and to provide wider opportunities for family members through legal and social services. The intention is to facilitate "equal involvement of men and women in the family, in the community and in national and international affairs." [Forde, op. cit].

Even before the UN Decade, all territories in the region accorded their citizens equality of freedom under the Constitution, while half of them specifically guaranteed constitutional protection against discrimination on grounds of sex.

Over the decade of the eighties, several territories were involved in major reforms of their Family Law aimed at assisting women and their children. Some territories amended their maintenance laws to allow reciprocal financial support based on financial need. Some revised the conditions of dissolution of marriage from the grounds of adultery, cruelty and desertion to the single ground of irretrievable breakdown with stipulated conditions varying from country to country. Some territories have attempted to reform their inheritance laws to ensure the rights of de facto spouses, former spouses who have not remarried, children both in and out of wedlock and dependants. Several territories have taken steps to remove the legal distinction between in-wedlock and out-of-wedlock children and to preserve their maintenance and inheritance rights. Only two territories, however, have given legal recognition to common law unions and de facto partners - and then, only after continuous cohabitation for five or more years.

In the area of employment, a wide range of legislation protects the rights of all workers. All countries have accepted the concept of equal pay for equal work, though Forde is of the view that the application of this may require monitoring. All territories carry some form of maternity leave legislation designed to ensure that pregnancy should not be used to demote, dismiss or disadvantage financially an employed woman. This legislation when linked to the existing social security provides reasonable maternity protection, though the type and amount of protection varies between territories.

In the area of criminal law, the most persistent problems are those dealing with sexual offences. Although it is claimed that "the law takes the view that women of all ages should be protected from sexual abuse" [Forde, p. 18], in practice the contrary appears to be the case. For example, only one territory, Trinidad and Tobago, has modernised the legal definition of rape to include the elements of recklessness and to consent and the threat of harm to another person. That is also the only territory which has introduced 'in camera' trials for cases of rape, sexual assault and any offence involving children; has prohibited evidence of the victim's past sexual history; and has retained to the discretion of the court permission for media publication of the proceedings. One territory, Barbados, has legalised abortion and another, St. Vincent, has introduced legislation providing protection for the married victims of domestic violence.

With regard to citizenship, four territories, Dominica, Guyana, St. Lucia and St. Vincent have reformed their laws to allow complete equality of rights for the spouses of their citizens, male and female.

In sum, it may be concluded that during the eighties very real progress has been made in the sub-region in the fight to eliminate provisions of law which have discriminated against women. However, much still remains to be done. For example, in the anxiety to ensure formal legal equality in maintenance provisions, women may have ended up at a greater financial disadvantage than before.

In the area of employment, even in those territories which have attempted to update their factory legislation, women workers are still not properly covered by occupational health and safety regulations, especially in industries dealing with new forms of chemicals and technologies [Antoine, 1970]. Existing factory codes are of special relevance to women on two counts. First because women make up the major work force in the manufacturing sector and secondly, because women make up the bulk of lower income workers. Specific problems arising out of the inadequacy of existing legislation include:

- (i) obsolete nature, even in those territories which have updated legislation;
- (ii) irrelevance to modern technologically advanced industries;
- (iii) limited penalties imposed on faulting employers;
- (iv) legislation deals only with safety, not health;
- (v) only factory workers covered; and
- (vi) absence of up-to-date regulations.

Other problems relate to enforcement and include:

- (i) too few factory inspectors;
- (ii) workers organisations uninformed about existing Act;
- (iii) limited powers of factory inspectors;
- (iv) limited training of factory inspectors and safety personnel;
- (v) lack of equipment and information; and
- (vi) too few prosecutions and sanctions.

For these reasons, the existing laws fail to act as a deterrent and women continue to incur greater health risks in their

effort to provide for their households and families.

By the end of the decade, progress towards the improvement of the legal status of women in the subregion had generated three important lessons. Reform needs to be based on careful socio-historical research in order to ensure that the proposed reform takes into account contemporary social realities. Reform needs to be accompanied by systematic upgrading of the legal institutional apparatus. Reform needs to be promoted through sensitive and ongoing programmes of public education about the law.

The Deteriorating Economic Conditions⁴

At the beginning of the 1970s, Caribbean territories had been experiencing modest economic growth, had achieved acceptable standards of living and were in the process of attempting to diversify their economic base from exclusive reliance on agriculture. But all of them were characterised by high unemployment, structural dependence on foreign markets, limited options in exportables, inadequate supplies of administrative and managerial skills, institutional and attitudinal resources to sustain growth. In addition, a weak food-producing sector, a high cost and inefficient manufacturing sector and a fluctuating tourist sector combined to increase the constraints under which Caribbean economies struggled. Despite these general similarities, however, considerable variation existed in terms of resource base, quality of social and economic infrastructure, level of per capita income, political ideology and ability to manage their economies. These differences and similarities suffered considerable shocks with the first international economic recession experienced in the early 1970s during the oil crisis. The second international recession in the early 1980s further intensified that shock. This, coupled with severe natural disasters experienced in some territories, served to weaken Caribbean economies and create the environment for the introduction of structural adjustment programmes.

In general, most territories experienced moderate growth rates during most of the '70s but by the end of the decade instability set in (Table 4). This was reflected in rising inflation, balance of payments difficulties, rising unemployment, rapidly escalating debt and negative growth (Tables 5 & 6). Some territories did not experience the latter until the early '80s. But in two territories - Jamaica and Guyana - the economies virtually collapsed in the late '70s and continued the downward trend into the '80s, with brief surges in the latter half of the decade. Economic growth during the '80s may then be characterised as weak throughout the region. Global economic recession has undoubtedly contributed to this weak performance, but several domestic factors were also operative. Bourne has identified inadequate domestic savings, investment production weaknesses and government financial operations among the adverse influences on national economic performance (Table 7) [Bourne, 1988]. In addition, unemployment and high debt service ratios continued to be intractable problems. Thus at the end of

the '80s the development challenges which faced the region were even more acute than those obtaining two decades earlier.

The decade of the eighties also witnessed the advent of structural adjustment programmes, that is, programmes designed to create conditions needed for self sustaining growth and for adapting to major external or internal shocks to the economic system. Such programmes are built on the twin concepts of export-driven development and private sector-led growth. The conditions necessitating the introduction of such programmes include budgetary deficits, current account payments imbalance, heavy external debt, high inflation, shortage of foreign exchange and emergence of parallel markets. All of these features have been evident in Caribbean economies to varying degrees during the '70s and '80s. The corrective measures prescribed by the twin institutions of the World Bank and the IMF have included removal of subsidies and price controls, exchange rate devaluations, wage freezes or cuts, reductions in government expenditure, trade liberalization, and reduction in the fiscal deficit.

These measures have failed to sufficiently recognise, or accept, the role of the international economy in creating the circumstances in developing countries which have necessitated adjustment. Thus, the lowered rate of economic growth in developed countries, the world recession, the increasing protectionism against imports from developing countries, the higher interest rates in developed countries have all militated against developing economies. Yet, the burden of adjustment has been placed squarely on developing deficit countries. Further it is the poorest people in the developing countries who have borne the brunt of the negative impact of adjustment. Experience in many developing countries has demonstrated that by depressing wages and living standards and reducing social services, structural adjustment undermines the well being and productive capacity which adjusting nations require to further their development. Further, by depriving adjusting nations of the little control they had over their economies, structural adjustment opens their markets to exploitation by enterprises from developed countries. In the process, crucially needed financial resources are transferred annually from developing to developed countries, while poverty, social and political unrest ferment in developing countries.

In the Caribbean structural adjustment was not however solely a result of international factors. Long-term structural weaknesses in Caribbean economies have also contributed. These have included insufficient economic diversification; weak food producing sector producing for the local and regional market; high cost and inefficient agricultural sector producing for preferential overseas market; high cost and inefficient manufacturing sector producing for local and regional market; and high level consumption patterns reducing propensity for saving and investment. These weaknesses have, in turn, affected the cohesion of regional economic integration efforts. Thus, for example,

currency devaluation and import restrictions introduced as adjustment measures in some territories, led to reductions in production and employment in others.

These are problems with which national and regional agencies have been struggling for a long time in the quest to further the development process. But the concept of development itself has not shifted its focus from production to growth. Thus, structural adjustment was seen not as an opportunity to centre the development process on people but as a strategy to stimulate productive investment and economic growth. This was clear from the time of the first standby agreement into which Jamaica entered with the IMF in 1976. The arrangement under the Compensatory Financing Facility which followed introduced the first of a series of devaluations which clearly demonstrated the difficulties encountered by economic strategies which fail to put people first.

The idea of structural adjustment at the regional level was not broached until 1984 when CARICOM Heads of Government reviewed a report on the topic which was prepared at their request by the Caribbean Development Bank (CDB). The statement issued by Heads - The Nassau Understanding - outlined a number of policy actions which might be undertaken at national level and others which could be pursued jointly. Most of the proposed economic measures followed the IMF/World Bank prescriptions but separate proposals were made for strengthening the education system, upgrading the health care and nutrition programme and reform of the public service. No proposals were directed specifically at women, or indeed at any other population group. But at least the concern with strengthening certain aspects of the social infrastructure and the kinds of improvements proposed for those sectors signalled a recognition of the long-term nature of development and the need to meet certain basic requirements of the population. This was in direct contrast to the IMF/World Bank formulae which were concerned only with the macro-economic aspects of development as reflected in the National Accounts of the countries involved in their programmes. However, as measures were put in place, a growing gap between intent and actuality became evident.

It is against this background that during the '70s and '80s virtually every territory in the region adopted some measure of adjustment in order to maintain growth and correct balance of payments deficits. Only four territories, Jamaica, Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago and Dominica, are currently involved in IMF programmes, the remainder attempting to proceed on their own initiative.

The immediate impact of adjustment has been to create severe economic and social hardships, particularly among the most vulnerable, and to create conditions amenable to political unrest. Jamaica and Guyana were particularly hard hit by the former, while Trinidad and Tobago has recently been the victim of the latter. During the seventies

and especially the eighties, Caribbean peoples have experienced growing unemployment, declines in real income, rising cost of living, declining standards of living, deterioration of basic social and physical infrastructure, depletion of the skilled and professional labour force through emigration. In effect, instead of shifting to a new and improved path of development, adjustment has served to further impoverish the already weak Caribbean economies (Table 8).

For women, in all territories in the region, adjustment has had both positive and negative effects. On the positive side, opportunities have been created for women to develop their entrepreneurial skills. This has been particularly evident in the rapid escalation in the numbers of women engaged in trading, in the growing numbers who have opened small business enterprises and the small but growing number moving into managerial positions in the commercial sector. These opportunities have created chances for upward mobility for some women.

On the negative side, adjustment has resulted in sizeable numbers of women being forced into unemployment. To counteract this the women moved into the informal sector, into illegal and other anti-social activities, and into exploitative Free Trade Zones in search of income. Involvement in these areas merely increased their vulnerability. Reduced access to social and other essential services, rising cost of living and the increasing stress associated with trying to make ends meet served to affect not only women's ability to earn income, but to maintain their own health and that of the children and other adults in their care.

On balance, the negative effects appear to have outweighed the positive. The result has been a growing inability of women to perform the roles which society expects of them, while at the same time, increasing the pressure on them to perform those roles. As mothers and home managers, their reduced ability to earn income and to access basic social services erodes their ability to function effectively as care givers. Their productive role has been compromised by loss of employment and income. As community organisers, they are hampered by the increasing time which has to be devoted to maintaining the survival of the households.

The following brief review describes the effect on women in three key areas - employment, health and education.

(a) Employment

Women in the Caribbean have a history of relatively high rates of labour force participation compared with other regions of the developing world. Women also comprise relatively high proportions of the total labour force. Although those rates have been declining since the late 19th Century especially after 1950, there were signs of

recovery after 1970. By 1980 the available evidence showed that the female working population has been increasing, that women have been assuming an increasing proportion of the work force and that women have been moving away from agriculture into the more remunerative services and industrial sectors (Tables 9 & 10). In the three territories in which Continuous Sample Surveys are conducted - Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados - it is clear that the absolute size of the female labour force has been increasing steadily through the '80s (Table 11).

However closer examination reveals that these increases mask several important features of the female labour force in the sub-region. The first is the preponderance of women at the lower end of the occupational scale (Tables 12 & 13). In the manufacturing sector, this places the majority of women workers on the factory floor as machine operatives. In agriculture, women are concentrated in clerical (including data entry) occupations and personal services. More details for one territory, Barbados, illustrate the situation during the eighties (Table 14). Since 1980, despite slight changes in the occupational distribution of the female working force, the situation persists in which women are predominant in sales, service and clerical occupations, while men are more numerous in professional and administrative occupations. Data from other territories reveal a similar pattern, though for one territory - Jamaica - there are reports of growing numbers of women in professional and managerial posts.

The second feature is the increasing involvement of women in the informal sector, i.e. that sector in which activities are unregulated, small scale and unmeasured in national accounts. Traditionally, women in domestic service, petty trading and dressmaking have usually been considered to be operating on the margins of the economy and thus in the informal sector. In the only study in the sub-region which deals with the informal sector, a scheme has been devised which allocates industries to different segments of the labour market on the basis of the number of workers involved and a specified skill index based on the education and training requirements of each industry [Anderson, 1987]. This yields four segments which comprise the informal sector - informal craftsmen, protected informal, unprotected informal and small scale agriculture. Applying this to existing labour force survey data for Jamaica has illustrated that the informal sector increased from 128,000 in 1977 to 203,100 by 1989 with the female share amounting to 68% over the period [Anderson & Witter, 1991]. Within the sector, the majority of women workers (84%) were in domestic service and petty trading, proportions which remained virtually unchanged over the period, although the absolute numbers in these two categories had increased by 53% from 75,400 to 115,200. By contrast, male involvement in the sector is concentrated in the crafts and petty trading, which accounted for 73% of their number in 1989, increasing from 69% in 1977. Thus even in the informal sector, elements of occupational segregation exist.

The third feature of note is that although female worker participation rates are rising, they continue to be lower than male rates. Further, the rising female worker rates are accompanied by rising female unemployment rates which continue to be higher than male rates. Female unemployment is especially high at ages under 30, precisely the time which their responsibility for young children is at its highest.

The major impact of structural adjustment measures on women as economic actors has been in terms of levels of employment, value of real wages and conditions of work. Significant declines in the latter two have combined to increase the cost of living, hence the pressure on women to provide basic energy and nutrition requirements for their households. Overall levels of employment of women fluctuated in those territories for which data are available. It is widely believed that sizeable numbers of women entered the informal sector, but estimates of the numbers involved are difficult to obtain and where they exist provide only partial coverage. In the formal sector, increases in new opportunities notably in manufacturing, appear not to have been large enough to offset declines in other areas e.g. agriculture. Further, as changes occurred in the environment of the particular sector - technological changes, shifts in location of industry, economic problems leading to factory closures - the very women who benefited initially were the ones to suffer retrenchment. This has happened in Jamaica, Barbados, St. Vincent. For this and related reasons the introduction of export processing zones was bitterly opposed in Trinidad and Tobago. In agriculture, the sustained decline in employment of both sexes has been a particularly marked trend in the Caribbean. Efforts to stimulate agriculture under the prevailing adjustment programmes have not yet achieved notable results.

On balance, women have suffered both from adjustment measures which resulted in layoffs and those which created employment. Job losses meant either no source of income or movement into the informal market at a time when, although opportunities for business development existed, many of the activities bordered on the illegal or actually were illegal. Employment opportunities occurred mainly in export processing zones where exploitative working conditions reinforced the vulnerability of women. In either case, the falling value of real wages and the rising prices mean that women have to spend more time and exhibit greater ingenuity to ensure adequate household maintenance on the limited financial resources available. The problem, of course, is that as has been pointed out for Latin America, there are mental and physical limits to effort and creativity [de Barbieri & de Oliveira, 1991]

(b) Health

The territories in the sub-region inherited a colonial legacy of a relatively high standard public health system. This has yielded health indicators which compare favourably with many larger and more

developed countries. Life expectancy, for example, is over 60 years in several territories and over 70 in at least three. Infant mortality is less than 30 per thousand in ten territories and over 30 per thousand in five. Official data in some territories (e.g. Guyana) suggest steady rises in infant mortality during the decade, and steady declines in others (e.g. Trinidad and Tobago). But survey data suggest that in several territories there may be considerable under registration. Early childhood mortality rates also appear low compared with other developing areas, but unpublished survey data suggest possible increases.

The economic difficulties of the eighties have created specific problems for Caribbean women. As elsewhere, in the world, the provision of curative and preventive health care within households is a significant proportion of the home production activities of women in the sub-region [Leslie et al, 1988]. Women are also predominant in the provision of state provided health care and thus figure prominently as utilisers of available services. When women engage in economic activity, they gain access to an income which could contribute to family health and nutrition. However, they also increase their own health risks by lengthening their work day and reducing the time for rest and relaxation when the economic situation deteriorates. Health conditions, especially of the vulnerable groups will worsen as women lose their jobs or as their real wage declines, hence their inability to provide health care for themselves and those in their care. General health indicators based on mortality data begin to reflect deterioration. General mortality levels begin to show signs of increases. Jamaica has been the territory for which these trends have been best documented [Boyd, 1987]. There, it has been argued, that the decline in the nutritional status of children under 4 years from 38% in 1978 to 41% in 1985 symbolises the effect of the crisis [Antrobus, 1988].

Health problems of mothers also appear to be increasing, though these are not necessarily reflected in available data. Several territories have reported increases in anaemia, maternal mortality, and general morbidity among women, resurgence of certain communicable diseases, and a rising incidence in mental ill health resulting from stress. Quantitative data to support these observations are not however available.

The major factor contributing to these trends has been cited as the cutbacks in government expenditure on health services, which have been shown to have been declining steadily since 1980, especially in Guyana and Jamaica [Neil, 1990]. These cuts have meant the loss of jobs by health care workers, most of whom are women, migration of significant proportions of health professionals and the introduction of user fees for service and supplies, shortage of supplies and the deterioration of the physical infrastructure and capacity to maintain same. At the same time, official emphasis on the advantages of primary health care fails to acknowledge the high cost in time, energy and cash incurred by women on whom the success of the strategy depends. Additional time is

required to participate in health and nutrition classes; or to function as unpaid community health agent. Cash is required to pay transportation cost for either of these activities and, where user fees have been introduced, for services and medicines. To be successful, primary health care strategies require free access to medicines and other technology; access to family planning in order to reduce the time spent in child bearing and child care; mobilisation of the community to initiate and maintain health care programmes to assist women in their traditional tasks. All of these the State was unable to provide. Without these and with reduced budgetary allocations to health services, the standard of delivery of public health care in some territories has deteriorated to worrying degrees.

As a result women find themselves increasingly unable to provide health care for themselves and their children or to obtain medical services when fees are required. For those who managed to retain their employment, inability to provide a balanced diet because of higher costs for food may well have affected their productivity, though we are without the data to illustrate the point. Indeed only limited data on the relationship between health and productivity are available, but those which are show a positive effect [World Bank, 1990]. By contrast, several studies exist which clearly point to a positive effect between nutrition and a child's capacity to learn. By extension, this could mean a positive effect on productivity when the child enters the work force, assuming that adequate nutrition levels are maintained. Programmes which seek to encourage economic arrangements requiring higher levels of productivity need to be constantly aware, not only of these relationships, but also of the role of women in contributing to the direction and strength of those relationships.

(c) Education

Up to the beginning of the eighties, input indicators have remained virtually unchanged at the primary level with over 90% of boys and girls aged 5-14 enrolled in school. Girls represent 50% of the primary school population. At secondary level, approximately 40% of boys are enrolled and about 45% of girls, with girls accounting for just over 50% of the secondary school population. Output indicators indicate no general change in the situation. Little difference exists between the attainment rate of men and women. Across the territories, the range of the adult population achieving secondary level education is 11% to 42% for men and 14% to 42% for women. The gender gap has tended to favour females. At tertiary level there is a marked predominance of males over females, although rates for both are below 5%. In terms of certification, less than 20% of the adult population has received secondary level certification, with females comprising 60% of the group.

This relatively favourable situation masks certain features which undermine the effective quality of the education system. For example, in Kingston, Jamaica, school overcrowding in the urban areas

exists side by side with underutilization of the available plant in rural areas. Pupil teacher ratios of over 1:30 and even 1:40 are not uncommon [Neil, 1990]. These deficiencies have been further exacerbated by the economic crisis. Cutbacks in government expenditures on education have resulted in steady deterioration of the physical stock and infrastructure of the school system, layoffs and resignations from the teaching service, reductions in teacher training programmes, unavailability of teaching material, and considerable declines in examination passes in at least three of the territories with IMF/WB structural adjustment programmes. In others attempting to adjust on their own, similar difficulties are being experienced, though perhaps, not to the extent of those three.

For some women, this has meant loss of jobs, for others loss of access to basic education which could enable them to find employment. For all women it has increased the time they now have to spend with children in an attempt to provide them with some element of basic education. Also, the extent of their control over their children may have deteriorated. As mothers try to earn an income, there is no supervision for children who appear to be dropping out of school in increasing numbers in response to a loss of confidence in the educational system. This carries long term implications for overall human development and for programmes concerned with changing production patterns.

The Institutional Setting

Following the preparation of a Regional Plan of Action in 1977 and the call for the establishment of institutional machinery for the 'integration of women in development', every territory established some form of "Women's Affairs" mechanism within the public sector (Table 15). In addition, four appointed short term Commissions and three have on-going standing Advisory Committees or Councils. It may therefore be claimed that the region does have in place the institutional mechanism for advancing women's affairs.

However, the historical experience of those entities clearly illustrates that the creation of institutional mechanisms without appropriate financial, staff and infrastructural resources prevents these mechanisms from fulfilling their mandate. Further, their marginalisation within the public service effectively excludes them from participation in any of the government bodies concerned with economic policy making. This weakness at the national level is carried forward to the regional institutions. Thus, the input from national women's bureaux to these programmes is constrained by the weakness of these entities and the follow-up is hampered by the limitations of the CARICOM Women's Desk itself. For example, the issue of the impact of structural adjustment measures on women was an item on the agenda of the Third and Fourth Meetings of Ministers Responsible for Women's Affairs, in 1985 and 1988 respectively. The 1985 meeting recommended that "The CARICOM

Secretariat should set up a mechanism to analyse and assess the impact of [structural adjustment] measures on women and to make recommendations at the national level which can be taken to cushion the negative impact on women and, in addition, enable them to contribute to the effective implementation of the adjustment policies~. At the 1988 meeting, Ministers reiterated that call and agreed to bring the matter to the attention of national officials in Trade, Industry and Economic Planning. To date there has been no action on either of these recommendations ~due to constraints of time and funds~. Clearly, if the Secretariat and the Ministers themselves had considered the matter important, ways would have been found to deal with those constraints, as they have been found for other matters.

Two other key regional institutions involved in major economic decision making in the region - the OECS Secretariat and the Caribbean Development Bank (CDB) - have never created a Women's Desk or Unit in their establishments. As a result their major economic policy documents make either little or no reference to women. For example, the CDB President's annual statement of 1984 dealt specifically with adjustment and recovery in CARICOM economies. The statement acknowledges that structural adjustment is an extremely painful and traumatic process for people of any country, particularly the poorer groups. But it fails to recognise the differential impact of such policies on women and men. The 1986 statement was the first to mention women which it did in the context of an analysis relating human resources development to economic development. As significant a departure as that approach represented from traditional economic reporting, it nevertheless failed to apply a gender perspective to the analysis. Thus, the input on women is restricted to a limited statement on 'women in development'.

Regional institutions have, and no doubt, will continue to play a leading role in influencing development strategies of the territories. The structural adjustment debate and experience in the region has sharply highlighted the importance of a development which centres on people rather than productivity. Within that, the differential gender impact of development strategies is crucial. If Caribbean regional development institutions are to provide the supportive economic environment which is necessary, they need to institutionalise women's concerns within their own structures and programmes and use that mechanism to assist national governments to do the same.

Lessons learnt from the Experience of the '80s

The combined experience of the UN Decade for Women and structural adjustment programmes in the region have served to offer a number of lessons relevant to concerns with social equity and attempts to alter production patterns.

The first lesson is the need to reiterate constantly the basic lesson of the UN Decade, that is, the link between the production of economic goods and services and the reproduction and maintenance of human resources. Early efforts during the decade concentrated only on this link between the productive and reproductive, but later work emphasised the multifaceted nature of the roles played by women. The Commonwealth Secretariat focussed on four such roles - producers, home managers, mothers and community organisers [Commonwealth Secretariat, 1989]. The ILO has identified seven - occupational, maternal, conjugal, domestic, kin, community and individual [Oppong, 1980]. Regardless of the number chosen, the important point is the multiplicity, their interrelatedness and the fact that society requires women to perform all of them. While this basic lesson may be known, understood and accepted by WID practitioners, that may not be the case with policy makers and implementers. They may often be willing to advert to the existence of inequitable resource allocation processes, but may not often be willing to accept the gender bias contained in that aspect of inequity. The point needs to be continually stressed.

The second lesson, stemming from the structural adjustment experience, is the critical importance of understanding the social, economic and political environment as it obtains at the national, regional and international level. In particular, there is the need to understand the situation of the industrialised countries which are, almost without exception, also experiencing serious adjustment problems. As they try to cope with their own problems, the measures they adopted - e.g. increasing protectionism, high interest rates - militated against the poorer countries and left them little room for manoeuvre. Further, the latter find themselves exerting all of their efforts to garnering foreign exchange which is repatriated to the industrialized countries in the form of debt repayments, with nothing left back for internal development purposes. This means that with little or no investment, little or no growth is possible, thus achieving social equity becomes that much more difficult.

The third lesson has been that not only poor women are affected by major economic changes. Virtually all women bear responsibility for daily household management, whether or not they are heads of household. Virtually all women had to deal directly with the pervasive effects of structural adjustment as it was reflected in their own loss of jobs, declining real wages, the reduction or abolition of subsidies, decontrol of prices, devaluation, and charges for public services. Recent work has demonstrated that the major result of this has been the immiseration of women who were previously poor and the pauperisation of those who were somewhat better off [Massiah, 1990b]. Programmes concerned with social equity which focus only on the poor or immiserated therefore fail to address the needs of a sizeable number of women, who are assumed to be able to take care of their own problems, but whose ability to do so has been undermined by the loss of the very tools they used for this purpose.

The fourth lesson is that just as in the early years of the UN Decade it was recognised that women were not passive beneficiaries of development but active contributors to the development process, so too it now has to be recognised that women are not passive recipients of negative effects of adverse economic conditions. Rather, they are resourceful devisers of strategies which not only cope with economic adversity, but also can lead to creative development projects/programmes grounded in the cultural strengths of the people. Programme and project planners need to build on those strengths.

The fifth lesson is that the Commonwealth Caribbean enjoys certain favourable circumstances which can be used to advantage in confronting the challenges of the nineties.⁵ Among these advantages may be included:

- favourable geographical location;
- relatively good natural resource endowment especially with addition to EEZs;
- relatively good standards of education and training;
- political stability;
- close proximity to each other in terms of geography, historical linkage and administrative procedures;
- vibrant cultural tradition;
- preferential access to three major world markets; USA, (through CBI), Canada (through CARIBCAN) and EEC (through Lomé)
- most importantly, considerable experience in self management and cooperation through formal (e.g. regional institutions) and informal (e.g. individual, family and NGO networks) mechanisms.

All of these factors have enabled the territories of the Commonwealth Caribbean to survive, some even to thrive, in an increasing hostile economic environment.

The sixth lesson is that despite the pervasiveness of a male biased gender ideology as evidenced for example, in the continued weakness of government mechanisms dealing with Women's Affairs, and in the limited involvement of women in political and economic decision making, there are indications of the emergence of a more receptive policy environment than existed fifteen years ago. This may be seen in the growing willingness of key male technocrats to engage in discussion beyond the general issue of the unfairness of gender discrimination and

towards discussions of how a gender aware approach could improve the effectiveness of existing policies and help in the formulation of future policies. It may also be seen in the growing willingness - as evidenced at the REC - to accept NGOs, many of which are women-focussed, as agents of development and participants in the development dialogue. Thus, the basis for collectively introducing elements of social and economic change is slowly being laid. It is an opportunity which needs to be grasped and exploited to the fullest.

The final lesson relevant to the present discussion relates to the need for educating people about social change. If people are to be asked to participate in fundamental processes of social change, they must understand why change is necessary, what kind of change is proposed, what are the implications of change for them and their society, how will change be implemented. This is especially important if the proposed changes are likely to introduce hardships into people's lives. Change occurs in a continuous process of ebb and flow, challenge and response, positive and negative. Even when change is being encouraged in a specific direction, progress is often not unilinear. The population needs to be made aware of these processes. The matter goes beyond the involvement of formal and non-formal organisations in dialogue. It requires massive and ongoing public awareness programmes, using all resources of the media, encouraging community level discussions and accommodating within the proposal suggestions coming forward from these sources. In this way, it becomes possible to garner support for change proposals and, hopefully, avoid the pitfalls of rejection and maybe even social and political unrest.

IV. PRODUCTION PATTERNS AND WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT

~Women's labour is vital to the production of goods and services.~

South Commission, p. 129.

The two key sectors in the ECLAC model for changing production patterns are agriculture and manufacturing, both of which are said to offer significant potential for creating linkages with export production policies. These factors have also been targetted in the Caribbean. In agriculture emphasis has been placed on the objective of securing regional food security to the fullest extent possible. In manufacturing, the emphasis is on the identification of export market niches. Additionally, the REC proposal places emphasis on the production of services. This is taken to include tourism, financial, professional, entertainment and other cultural services, educational, medical, telecommunications and information services. By contrast the ECLAC model interprets services only in an infrastructural context, i.e. transport, producer services, telecommunications and information services as they relate to production.

Changes in the structure of production and employment in each of these sectors will be discussed briefly, along with examples of recent attempts to improve the situation of women in each sector.

Agriculture

Traditionally, agriculture has been the key export sector of the region, with heavy concentration on unprocessed and semi-processed primary crops - bananas, cocoa, coffee, rice and sugar. But this trend has been undergoing significant changes partly as a result of market changes and partly because of internal difficulties of the sector itself. To arrest the decline in the sector, there have been efforts to encourage the production of non-traditional items such as cut flowers, ornamental plants, exotic fruit and winter vegetables for the export market. But these efforts have not yet begun to reverse the fortunes of the sector.

The structure of this sector may be described as three tiered. Large scale plantation type holdings tend to concentrate on a single product for export to extra-regional markets. Cocoa, rice and sugar are examples of exports from such holdings. The number of such holdings tends to be limited but the proportion of arable land which they cover is usually very high. At the other end of the scale are a vast number of small scale peasant holdings (less than 5 acres) which are devoted to the production of food crops for domestic consumption. In some cases, surplus is sold in neighbouring territories. Between the two extremes

are the medium sized holdings which often attempt a type of mixed farming catering to both overseas (citrus and bananas) and local markets (food crops).

Despite this apparent variety, available data suggest a steady and significant decline in the role of agriculture in the region (Table 16). Supporting evidence includes a declining share of agriculture in national GDP, declining levels of production, declining proportions of arable land under cultivation, declining employment in agriculture, declining returns in export agriculture and an ever increasing food import bill.

In short, traditional export agriculture has declined significantly - witness the decline by over 50% of the volume of regional sugar exports since the early 1970s. Domestic food crop production has also declined drastically as is evident from the level of the regional food import bill of US\$1.3 billion or one-tenth of gross national expenditure.

Several factors have contributed to these trends. Within the sector, structural problems include the declining acreage in cultivation, the small average size of farms and inadequate technical progress. In policy terms, inadequate commodity pricing, ineffective credit facilities and weak inter-sectoral linkages especially with industry, limit the sector's effectiveness. So too has the weak performance of the overall economy.

The agro-industry subsector is affected by these and other factors, whether the concern is with home-based family operations, cottage industries, chemical laboratories or large scale commercial processors. Internally, the subsector is limited by inadequate technical skills, minimal modernisation of equipment and excess production capacity brought on by the irregularity in quantity and quality of raw materials. Additionally, external factors such as scarcity of foreign exchange, high financing costs and high tariffs on imported inputs also limit the capacity of the subsector.

The limited micro-level data available to place women within this scenario originate from research studies concerned with the role of women in the small farm subsector. Macro level agricultural employment data emanate mainly from population and/or agricultural censuses, which tend to suggest that women are minimally involved in agriculture. However, micro-level data provide evidence that women are heavily involved in agricultural activities - as labourers on plantations, as farmers on peasant holdings, and as marketers of agricultural produce. Very small numbers are found as field technicians and professionals in Ministries of Agriculture. Available research material on the other groups provides a picture which has been summarised as follows [Massiah, 1990a].

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

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

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

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

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

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

Efforts to improve the situation of women in agriculture have ranged from large scale agricultural development projects, some of which include a component targetting women, to small scale community-based projects focussing on women's groups or cooperative groups in which women are predominant. Success has been varied.

An example of a large-scale project was the Regional Caribbean Agricultural Extension Project (1982-1989), a 7-year project funded by USAID for \$10.4 million.⁶ The project was designed to increase the effectiveness of national extension systems and of selected regional institutions which backstop and support national extension services. Phase I of the project sought to involve women actively and more fully in extension policies and programmes. To achieve this the project undertook a detailed analysis of the role of women in agriculture and designed a gender-awareness training programme for implementation in Phase II. However by Phase II references to women were replaced by a new focus on "farm families". Plans for data collection, monitoring and evaluation procedures to address gender issues were dropped; so too were proposals for women specific activities and the gender awareness training programmes. By the end of the project, it was evident that although project planners and Ministry officials recognised the key role of women in achieving the project targets, the necessary steps to ensure gender sensitive implementation were not taken. Thus the project fell short of achieving the goals which the improved extension systems were pursuing.

A different example comes from Trinidad and Tobago where, for the last three years, a group of six women from the village of Paramin have been producing and selling bottled mixed seasoning.⁷ Paramin is a village in the hills overlooking the capital city, Port-of-Spain, in which all residents own the land and engage in seasoning growing. The six women were seeking a means of utilising their produce to develop a high quality product whilst at the same time avoiding the vagaries of the fresh food market. A small grant from the Canada Fund enabled them to partially enclose the area under the house of one group member for use as a factory. The grant also provided some basic equipment. No further grants or loans have been sought from that or any other source, since the group is 'not interested'.

With help from the Trinidad and Tobago Rural Development Network (TTRDN), the group was exposed to two types of technical assistance. Two group members were sponsored to visit a women's cooperative in Grenada which was also involved in processing and selling

local herbs and spices. This has resulted in a current experiment by the Paramin group to improve the drying technology learnt in Grenada in order to improve the appearance of the finished product. The entire group benefitted from a training workshop in record keeping, preparing financial statements, quality control and marketing. Present production averages 50 cases (24 bottles @ 300 ml.) per fortnight which yields a gross income of TT\$3000. A major supermarket chain is their main outlet and any surplus is sold to small shops in the community. The group is unable to estimate the net income and has no idea whether this represents an improvement in their pre-project income situation. But they are determined to continue the effort without financial assistance, since "nothing is going to mash them up".

These two examples highlight two aspects of changing production which the ECLAC model emphasises. The first relates to a specific aspect of intervention, in this case, extension programmes, the second to linkages between small scale farming and agro-industry. Both cases demonstrate the pitfalls of designing a policy or programme without reference to gender issues. In the one case, project goals can become compromised, in the other group cohesion can become endangered.

Manufacturing

Protected by incentive legislation and a range of institutional support mechanisms, this sector has been traditionally oriented towards import substitution. Emphasis is primarily on light manufacture but three territories are involved in heavy manufacture - Guyana and Jamaica in bauxite/alumina and Trinidad and Tobago in petroleum products and steel.

As in the case of agriculture, this sector reflects three levels of operation - an artisan, home based level oriented towards the domestic market; a semi-commercial level of small to medium size enterprises catering to the domestic and regional markets; and a commercial, medium to large scale level catering to regional markets, and, in the case of foreign owned firms, to the external market. These levels, however, should be seen as 'ideal' types rather than discrete entities since considerable overlap exists. The combined production performance of these various types of operation was not specially encouraging during the 1980s. In general, levels of production fell, as did real value added and contribution to GDP [Table 16].

Two sets of factors contributed to these declines. External factors included the recession in the international economy which depressed demand for locally produced foods and increased the level of protectionism; high interest rates; increasing costs of raw materials and equipment and declining availability of foreign investment. Endogenous factors relate primarily to the continued structural weakness of the sector, the decline in the CARICOM market and the fluctuations in demand in the domestic market as disposable incomes available to

households declined. Structurally, the sector has been hampered by high costs of production, a shortage of high calibre indigenous entrepreneurship, weak market and intelligence sources, sluggishness in response to technological advances and an inability to penetrate extra regional markets.

In addition, at least one commentator has cited the unwillingness of leading members of the business élite to seize the opportunity of the economic crisis to restructure their means of production or to encourage/participate in socio-political reform [Thomas, 1991].

As in the case of the agricultural sector, women are found at each level of operation in the industrial sector and in all subsectors. Available data suggest that the movement of women workers out of agriculture noted in the seventies has continued during the eighties (Table 17). Much of this has been absorbed by the industrial sector, which has increased in terms of both the absolute number of women employed and the proportion they constitute of all industrial workers. The majority of this increase was taken up by factories in export processing zones which provided employment for large numbers of women, even though those numbers were low in relation to the levels of investment involved and the conditions of employment raised many questions [ECLAC, 1990b]. However, increased availability of factory jobs has translated into little change over time in the distribution of women within the sector [Massiah, 1991]. They are concentrated in three subsectors, textiles and wearing apparel, electronics assembly and miscellaneous manufacturing. Occupationally they predominate in the production and clerical categories. In terms of income, their earnings amount to half that of men employed in the sector. In the words of one commentator reporting on Latin America the "ideological rigidity" of occupational segregation has remained unshaken during the decade [Arriagada, 1991].

In the informal sector, women are believed to be concentrated in dressmaking, handicraft, food preservation and preparation though we are without the available data to demonstrate the numbers involved. Limited information from small scale business projects which have received development aid do lend support to this view [Massiah, 1988]. However, much more research needs to be undertaken in this key area since so much emphasis is being placed on the promotion of small and medium-scale undertakings which is primarily where sizeable numbers of women are located.

Neither of the calls for restructuring production patterns (i.e. neither ECLAC or the REC) have identified these patterns of employment among the structural deficiencies of the manufacturing sector. Consequently, neither of them addresses the issue of the possible impact of the proposed strategies on restructuring the balance of employment and income opportunities for men and women in the sector.

Development assistance for women engaged in production has tended to be transmitted through projects. As in the case of agriculture, development projects in the manufacturing sector tend to be either large scale infrastructural or small scale income-generating. Also as in the case of agriculture, there is a tendency in the large scale projects to sidestep the inclusion of women's issues in the project. However, the considerable involvement of women in the industrial sector makes it a little more difficult to avoid the issue.

One example of a project which is achieving some measure of success in its attempts to address the issue is the USAID Small Assistance Enterprise Project (1986-present).⁸ Budgetted at \$11.4 million, this project is attempting to enable micro, small and medium size enterprises in the private productive sectors of Barbados and the Eastern Caribbean to achieve self sustaining growth. The project is implemented by the Caribbean Association of Industry and Commerce. Assistance takes the form of technical assistance, training and institutional development to small and medium enterprises; credit and counselling in small business management to the micro-sector. In country micro-business assistance is channeled through a network of eight National Development Foundations in the subregion. In addition, assistance to women entrepreneurs in Barbados is channelled through Women and Development (WID) Ltd.

After five years of operation, the project had contributed to the creation and expansion of over 2,500 micro-enterprises; had increased productivity and production in 400 small and medium sized enterprises; and had created or saved about 4,000 jobs. The provision of support to women entrepreneurs as a separate sub-sector was not among the original objectives of SEAP. However, the reality of the predominance of women in micro and small business and of the perception of women as a high risk group by established financial institutions, prompted a revision of objectives. An overall target of 35% was established for project activities directed specifically at women. By early 1991, 40% of loan recipients, business owners and job beneficiaries and 60% of trainees were women. Approximately one-third of these have been in the production sector. The strategy of targetting women and the inclusion of a WID component in one territory has contributed to the achievement of overall project goals. In addition, it has provided women with sharper business skills, greater confidence and the economic independence which Caribbean women constantly seek.

Another type of example comes from Guyana where the Women's Revolutionary Socialist Movement started a small training programme in 1977 to teach women to tie dye fabric and make garments.⁹ The success of this initial programme encouraged its expansion to 10 centres across the country and into various community high schools, where the subject was eventually included on the curricula. Following a spate of local and overseas exhibitions, the decision was taken to establish with funds from UNIFEM, a production unit - Vancraft Production Unit - consisting

of 20 housewives working on a part-time basis. Five are involved in producing the tie dyed fabric, five in garment and handicraft production and ten in administration and sales. The fabric used is produced by a local firm, Sanata Textile Mill, which is a project supported by the Chinese Government. Since 1983 two sales outlets have been opened where products are marketed under the trade name Vancraft Originals. Several problems have plagued the operation, including the high cost of raw materials, the inability to pay competitive salaries, inexperience in accounting and general record keeping. However, recent encouraging signs of recovery of the economy have created trade opportunities which Vancraft is attempting to exploit.

Both of these examples illustrate that with appropriately planned assistance, women in the subregion can and do develop into competent business entrepreneurs. Individual cases from SEAP suggest that even though the enterprise might remain at the micro or small level, it is nevertheless possible for women or women's groups to become major manufacturers in their own right. The Vancraft case illustrates the importance of linking the production efforts of a woman's group to a key element in the overall national development strategy - in this case a textile mill. This example further illustrates that the transmission of production skills need not only be channelled from professionals to handicraft groups. These groups can be used as conduits to schools and hence to the formal education system, another key element in national development strategy.

Services

The major service industry in the region is tourism which has been a major earner of foreign exchange in several CARICOM territories. Data on tourist arrivals, tourist expenditures and contribution to GDP suggest some amount of fluctuation during the decade with positive growth towards the end of the decade. Antigua and Belize have been the territories with the fastest growing tourist sectors. But for the subregion as a whole, tourist receipts at the end of the decade were thrice the value of receipts at the beginning of the decade. The structure of the subsector varies between foreign and local ownership and within the latter between government and the private sector. Constraints in the sector include the high import content of expenditures, and insufficient backward linkages with the local manufacturing sector and with other branches of the service sector.

Another key subsector is 'financial services' which has grown rapidly, especially in Barbados and Jamaica where efforts are being made to develop as off-shore financial centres. Although other subsectors within the service sector presumably cover domestic demand, little effort has been expended in developing them for export. Thus, for example, considerable professional, educational and financial expertise exists in the region, but without the necessary supportive arrangements, little opportunity exists to export those services.

Women's participation in the service sector is considerable, but it is concentrated in the lower status levels of the sector e.g. domestic service, and the lower paid occupations e.g. clerical. Micro level data to shed light on the position of women in the service sector in the region are very rare. There is some information on women in domestic service and some information is beginning to emerge on women in data entry operations. But, there is virtually nothing in any of the other subsectors. The sizeable number of women involved and the growing importance being attached to the sector, not only as a support to production, but also as a generator of an export product, suggests the need for concentrated research activity in this area.

Project assistance for women in this sector has been concentrated mainly in the provision of skills training to small groups in order to increase the employability of group members. Small project grants to upgrade or expand secretarial training programmes are very popular. Opportunities also exist for enabling small groups to convert their skills into the creation of a small business. Grants to establish hairdressing saloons and secretarial services, traditional services associated with women, are said to be increasing. However paucity of hard data reinforces the need for research in this area.

Changing Production Patterns

The major thrust of the ECLAC model is on industrialization which is seen as "the kingpin of change in the pattern of production" [p.14]. Proposals to strengthen the industrialization process include the establishment of intersectoral linkages, the strengthening of training activities, the creation of enterprises and the development of a technological, marketing, communication and international financing infrastructure. Few of these strategies will alter significantly the prevailing pattern of women's employment in production in the Caribbean subregion which is marked by high levels of employment by others and low levels of self employment (Table 18). The establishment of intersectoral linkages may increase employment, raise average income and increase training and promotional opportunities for some women. It may even create viable business opportunities for others. But the heavy emphasis on high technology skills and production for export will certainly mean loss of employment or closure of owner-operated businesses for many.

Increased training for employed workers can conceivably improve levels of productivity. But much depends on who defines productivity and how it is defined. Further, unless a strategy exists to combine training with attempts to broaden the base of entrepreneurial activity, then few opportunities will be created for achieving genuine self-reliance. Women are an important group in this regard since they have shown a particular propensity to establish the kinds of micro-enterprises which the ECLAC model envisages within the productive sector. But entrepreneurship consists not only of a willingness to

create an enterprise, but also to accumulate capital, re-invest and expand. Women in micro-business in the sub-region have displayed a tendency to use the income from their businesses for household/family maintenance. Where willing to expand, they have displayed a decided disinclination to do so beyond the point at which they perceive themselves to be losing control of the fruits of their labour. Training therefore needs to be used, not only as a vehicle for transmitting technical knowledge and skills and increasing productivity. It also has to be used as a tool for promoting social change, generating attitudinal change and encouraging innovation.

Strengthening the infrastructure can benefit women to the extent that more 'producer' service jobs are created and that opportunities exist to transform those skills into small business enterprises. Most of the pre and post-production services and the information processing services identified by the ECLAC model rely on skills already possessed by large numbers of women in the service sector. Women need assistance to convert those skills into marketable commodities linked to the production sector. They also need access to higher level skills in order to move their participation in the service sector up the hierarchical ladder and reduce the inequities between themselves and their male counterparts.

Apart from internal restructuring of systems and sectors, as proposed by the ECLAC model, two other factors are relevant in the Caribbean to the formulation of plans for changing production patterns in such a way as to benefit women. These are the recent changes in the international economic and political environment and the role of international development agencies, neither of which is considered in the ECLAC model. With regard to the former, fundamental changes are being experienced in the international division of labour, international economic relations and the geo-strategic importance of the region. Each of these is undermining some of those advantages listed in an earlier section thus potentially limiting the opportunities for pursuing effective changes in the structure of production and including women in the process. For example, advances in agricultural technology represent a threat to traditional and non-traditional exports from the region, since tropical products can now be produced in non-tropical areas. The emergence of major trading blocks e.g. USA/Canada/soon Mexico, European Economic Community, may threaten the region's export trade. Yet some of these very factors contain potential elements of trade and thus employment creation. This is another area requiring much research.

The Caribbean experience suggests that international development agencies play a crucial role in influencing the direction of economic change. For example, it was the compelling influence of the United Nations and its agencies which provided legitimacy for the inclusion of women on the development agenda. It was the international donor community which convinced regional and national development agencies to do likewise. However, considerable variations exist in the

manner in which women's concerns are treated within and between individual agencies. And these variations are transmitted to the projects administered by these agencies. Resistance to integrating gender perspectives into mainstream projects and preferences for channelling funds to women through small scale projects administered by NGOs, have meant that in general, no major changes have been evident in the pattern of articulation of women within the economic system. In order to change economic production patterns, this fundamental issue has to be addressed - at least in the Caribbean subregion.

Of the several lessons which may be distilled from the project examples cited in this section, four merit special attention. First is the need for sensitivity to the cultural realities of women's participation in production. One such reality is the small size of Caribbean societies, community groups and women's business enterprises.¹⁰ There is a tendency for developers to consider project assistance which women seek, and obtain, as too small to generate any lasting development impact either on the project or the overall economy. But in the context of small groups, it may be that success should be determined, not by the size of the project but by its manageability and the extent to which it offers women a reliable source of income and a measure of economic independence. Development initiatives which appear to be steering women entrepreneurs beyond their own perception of what is manageable may well be counterproductive.

Second, local development agencies outside of government are capable of providing small groups with access to technical knowledge, financial assistance and infrastructural support. These agencies - the so-called NGOs - can be effective because they have the flexibility, the enthusiasm and the compassion which both government and international donor agencies often appear to lack. Any proposals for changing production patterns must include NGOs among the social partners.

Third, programme and project plans designed to improve women's situation in production should be widely publicised and discussed, not only by the groups directly involved but also by the wider public. Women's NGOs and government women's affairs offices have a crucial role to play here.

Finally, the advantage of working through a regional network are clearly evident from the experience of SEAP. Consideration of this and similar experiences is indispensable for the future of the region.

V. LOOKING TO THE FUTURE

"a gender sensitive approach to development is not just a political imperative but a basic condition for sustained economic and social progress."

South Commission, p. 131.

Despite their differing perspectives, the ECLAC and REC models propose remarkably similar strategies. The ECLAC model seeks transformation of productive structures and processes in such a way as to ensure greater social equity. The REC model seeks a framework for a sustainable development model in which human, social, economic and environmental considerations are integrated. Each model has produced a package of measures in which high priority is placed on outward looking development strategies fuelled by the private sector, human resource development, preservation and enhancement of democratic processes and deepening of regional cooperation. While the problems which these strategies are intended to confront may be presented in more dramatic form than previously, the strategies themselves are not altogether new. What could be new is the balance struck between them, for that will reflect whether or not the lessons of the past have been learnt.

One lesson which has apparently not been learnt is the need to incorporate a gender dimension in policy prescriptions. By failing to address the most fundamental of all inequities, gender inequity, in their proposed strategies, both the ECLAC and REC models are in danger of perpetuating existing gender inequities and further deflecting achievement of the overall goal of social equity.

The intense involvement of women in every sector and at every level of social and economic activity in the subregion points to the need to ensure that any proposed policy changes build on that dynamic. The four major policy areas can be made to benefit women if special efforts are made to target certain groups of women; if information about women becomes readily available; if institutional arrangements take women's issues into account; and if specific programmes and projects are directed at population groups in which women are known to be predominant. Indications of the kinds of measures which may be feasible within each of the main policy areas follow.

Outward Looking Development Strategies

The literature emerging from analyses of the economic experiences of the subregion during the eighties is universally condemnatory of the ability of this strategy to effect any substantial changes in resource allocation; and of the emasculation of the

government's role in guiding the production and distribution of goods and services in national economies. The idea of developing a wide group of social partners to discuss these issues and assist in the guidance of development policy may have two implications. On the one hand, the social partners may be a source for the stimulation of production. On the other, they may be a device on which to affix the responsibility for the delivery and maintenance of basic social services. In either case, opportunities for enhancing production and employment opportunities for women can be garnered by vigilant women's groups being included in the social partnership. Among the measures which should be adopted may be included lobbying to ensure that:

- changing production patterns emphasise the maintenance of high standard working conditions. For women this should include the provision of on-site childcare and health services in industrial estates, protection of workers' rights, particularly in the absence of trade unions and enforcement of appropriate environmental standards;
- proposals intended to improve export prospects should not undermine past employment gains made by women;
- micro and small business entrepreneurs should have adequate access to land, credit and technology;
- layoffs should not be applied disproportionately to women. Governments should set the example here and insist that the private sector follow suit;
- vertical and horizontal linkages are established between large and micro-level producers, in order to link the latter more firmly into dynamic sectors of the economy;
- all partners seek new and collaborative ways of saving and investment in order to attract foreign exchange;
- women are encouraged and provided with the necessary support to allow them participation in non-traditional technological areas of production;
- flexible working hours for all workers be introduced to accommodate domestic household arrangements; and
- partners are repeatedly exposed to the Nairobi 'Forward Looking Strategies' which present a package of measures focussed on improving women's position in the labour market by removing areas of discrimination and increasing employment opportunities. Many governments in the subregion have adopted these strategies and they should be repeatedly reminded of this.

Human Resource Development

Although formal education and informal training programmes are available and accessible to both men and women, it is evident that women in the subregion are not yet participating in large enough numbers in the kinds of training programmes which can significantly enhance the production process. Both the ECLAC and REC models recognise the need for upgrading the quality of basic education, expanding secondary and tertiary education and providing vocational training for the unemployed, employed workers and persons seeking re-entry into the labour market. In addition, the REC model seeks measures to ensure a sharing of responsibility for social reproduction, enhancing the role of youth, reducing migration, devising population policies and maintaining the social infrastructure.

Women can benefit from all of these initiatives, but may do so to a greater extent if specific efforts are directed towards them. Among the measures which may be considered are:

- increasing the number of girls exposed to training in science, technology and management in order to provide them with access to high skilled jobs;
- existing skills training programmes may need to be assessed and revised in order to increase the female share of those receiving training and to encourage girls into non-traditional areas. These need to be supplemented with scholarships, apprenticeships and employment opportunities offered by the private sector;
- greater linkages should be established between tertiary institutions providing vocational training and those agencies developing changes in production processes, in order to ensure the relevance of the training being provided;
- direct provision of skills training needs to be supplemented by public education programmes which seek to promote public understanding of the implications of prospective changes in production and the economy;
- training of actual and potential micro, small and medium size entrepreneurs, among whom women are predominant, should be linked to the provision of capital for enterprise development;
- research on the links between women's health and economic activity is urgently needed.

Preservation and Enhancing of Democratic Processes

The major element in this set of strategies lies in the idea of social partners collaborating in policy formulation and

implementation. Fundamental to this collaboration is the availability of timely and reliable data and the existence of effective facilitating mechanisms.

For women in the subregion, although some information is available, much greater efforts need to be made to gather and disseminate information. Among these may be included

- the development of a computerised, regional statistical data base on women;
- the analysis and documentation of the results of efforts to include women and women's issues in development plans and processes;
- the conduct and dissemination of research on
 - women's health and the economic crises;
 - women in the service sector;
 - the implication of the changing international economic system on women;
 - the impact of development projects on women in the subregion.

If indeed the delivery of social equity is effected through the three institutional mechanisms, the legal system, the market place and the state, then these need to be equipped to recognise and deal with gender inequity. For this is required:

- training of public sector planners and private sector project officers in gender analysis and gender planning. This should also apply to administrators of all organisations included amongst the social partners;
- establishment of a mechanism to ensure direct linkage between Bureaux of Women's Affairs and Ministries of Finance and Planning;
- upgrading of existing Women's Bureaux;
- assistance to NGOs to enable them to function as effective social partners.

Regional Cooperation

This strategy, perhaps more than the others, has been subject to much rhetoric unaccompanied by significant advances in the extent of cooperation. Both the ECLAC model, from its Latin American perspective and the REC model from its Commonwealth Caribbean perspective, advocate the need for less talk and more action. Both see the need for strengthening integration institutions, consolidating political support for the process and embracing a wider range of territories.

For women, these general guidelines need to be supplemented by:

- consolidation of government and NGO collaboration at national and regional levels;
- development by NGOs of a medium to long term regional strategy for women which could include carefully selected joint venture arrangements;
- deeper involvement of women in the identification, planning and implementation of regional programmes, e.g. the Regional Food Plan;
- seizing the initiative to promote and implement the teaching of a second language initially to development practitioners and then filtering through to the educational system;
- regional exchange of training and skills at different levels;
- establishment of focal points for Women's Affairs in regional institutions which do not already have these; and
- strengthening of the Women's Affairs Desk in the CARICOM Secretariat.

Conclusion

These suggestions apply simultaneously to individual territories and the region as a whole. But underlying their practicability is the international economic environment - in particular the willingness to change conventional policies and practices. A critical consideration here is the question of the continued availability of financial aid.

Much of the progress made in the subregion can be directly attributable to foreign aid which has been used to develop the social services and physical infrastructure and to stimulate production. The current problem is the subregion's inability to attract additional aid in the context of its difficulty in servicing past debts. Because much

of the debt is foreign debt, the subregion has now become a net exporter of foreign exchange at precisely the time when it is most needful of foreign exchange. Among the numerous proposals to counteract this problem, one which may be considered is a debt swap for gender equity arrangement. This could release new financing which could be used for restoring the former dynamism and for creating a favourable climate for changing production and increasing employment opportunities for women. This latter is vital if the advances made by women in the subregion in the past are to be consolidated and advanced, rather than undermined and reversed.

FOOTNOTES

- ¹ The NGOs attending the conference were dissatisfied with the process of consultation as it transpired in the conference preparations, in the minimal representation of the NGO concerns in the background document and in the lack of

"real concern for consultation and consensus building in policy formulation and no mechanisms are identified for implementing social partnerships" [Stuart, T & D. Pantin, 1991, p. 6/7].
- ² For illustrations of possible uses of available statistics see Massiah, 1990a.
- ³ This section relies heavily on Forde, 1989.
- ⁴ This section relies heavily on Massiah, 1990b.
- ⁵ This list has been compiled from a number of sources, notably Persaud 1989, HNicholls 1990, West Indian Commission, 1991a.
- ⁶ From information contained in Massiah 1988.
- ⁷ Compiled from information supplied by the Caribbean Network for Integrated Rural Development (CNIRD).
- ⁸ Compiled from information in Massiah 1988 and from information supplied by SEAP.
- ⁹ Compiled from information supplied by CARICOM Secretariat.
- ¹⁰ For other examples see Massiah, 1989.

Table 1. Selected Indicators of the Situation of Women in the Commonwealth Caribbean, 1980

Territory	Population			Households	Health*		Fertility		Education			
	Total	Proportion Female	Females per 100 males	Proportion Female Headed	Life Expectancy		Infant Mortality Rates	Maternal MortalityΔ	Child/ Woman Ratio#	% adults with sec. education		Females per 100 males with sec. education
					Male	Female				Male	Female	
CARICOM												
Antigua	64,800 ⁰	52.8 ⁰	112 ⁰	..	..	..	31.0	..	..	..	..	..
Bahamas	209,500	51.4	106	..	..	..	20.3	62	2.6	34.6	35.1	111
Barbados	244,200	52.6	111	43.9	70.0	75.4	14.0	70	1.7	41.9	40.7	112
Belize	142,800	49.7	99	22.4	..	..	26.3	..	2.7	13.7	14.8	106
Dominica	73,800	50.2	101	37.7	71	..	21.6	..	2.3	12.5	14.5	119
Grenada	69,100	51.8	99	45.2	65.6	..	13.8	..	2.2	12.2	14.6	136
Guyana	758,600	50.5	102	24.4	65.8	70.8	36.0	153	2.3	23.5	21.8	97
Jamaica	2,190,400	50.9	104	38.1	70.3	75.7	21.0	106	..	17.7	19.9	121
Montserrat	11,500	51.9	108	42.1	..	..	40.2	..	1.9	12.8	14.9	128
St. Kitts/Nevis	43,300	51.9	108	45.6	65	..	41.2	..	2.2	22.1	23.7	124
St. Lucia	113,400	51.9	107	38.8	67.2	75.3	17.2	..	2.4	11.1	14.3	148
St. Vincent	97,800	51.6	106	42.4	..	..	26.5	..	2.5	11.5	14.2	139
Trinidad & Tobago	1,055,800	50.2	101	25.3	66.2	71.3	24.0	79	..	39.0	41.7	109
OTHER												
SVI	11,000	48.9	96	25.4	..	..	45.1	..	..	29.4	36.3	114
Turks & Caicos	7,400	51.7	107	32.4	..	..	15.2	..	2.5	22.4	26.4	132

NOTES:

⁰Antigua = 1970^{*}Latest available year between 1979 and 1985 Δ Maternal deaths per 100,000 live births $\#$ Children per woman aged 14-44 (14 & over for Bahamas)SOURCE: Population Census 1980, various territories
PAHO, 1984; UN, 1990

Table 2. Indicators of Women's Participation in Economic Activity, 1980

Territory	Worker Participation Rates		Female Workers per 100 Male Workers	Unemployment Rates		Unemployed Females per 100 Unemployed Males
	Male	Female		Male	Female	
CARICOM						
Antigua	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bahamas	70.1	48.1	75	10.4	16.3	125
Barbados	74.4	47.6	74	6.7	14.1	169
Belize	56.8	21.4	25	4.5	4.4	24
Dominica	68.3	32.4	49	16.9	23.6	74
Grenada	69.7	36.9	60	16.3	21.2	83
Guyana	72.3	20.3	29	15.1	22.1	47
Jamaica	42.0	22.7	58	35.7	34.9	87
Montserrat	72.7	42.1	64	7.5	14.9	138
St. Kitts/Nevis	76.4	43.2	66	10.4	15.3	102
St. Lucia	71.7	36.5	59	16.1	22.8	90
St. Vincent	69.0	32.0	53	18.0	22.3	69
Trinidad & Tobago	69.3	26.6	39	11.9	14.7	50
OTHER						
Br. Virgin Is.	84.0	55.4	61	3.4	6.2	113
Turks & Caicos	82.0	49.6	67	9.0	17.9	150

NOTE: .. Data not available

SOURCE: Population Census Reports, 1980.

Table . Selected Aspects of Legal Status of Women in the Caribbean

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Territory	UN Conven- tion ⁴		Constitution		Family				Employment				Criminal Law		Citizenship ⁶			
	Signed ^ø	Ratified ^ø	Equality and freedom for all	Protection from discrimination on grounds of sex	Both partners responsible for maintenance	Dissolution of marriage solely on irretrievable breakdown	Inheritance ⁴	Recognition of out-of-wedlock children ¹	Recognition of Common Law Unions ²	Equal Pay for Equal Work	Occupational Health and Safety	Maternity Leave ³	Domestic Employees	Rape ⁵	Legalisation of Abortion	Domestic Violence	By Descent	By Registration
Antigua		✓	✓	✓						✓								
Bahamas			✓	✓						✓	✓							
Barbados		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓ [#]	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓ ⁴		✓			
Belize		✓	✓	✓			✓	✓		✓								
Dominica		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓					✓	✓
Grenada	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓				✓								
Guyana		✓	✓	✓				✓		✓		✓					✓	✓
Jamaica		✓	✓	✓				✓		✓								✓
Montserrat										✓								
St. Kitts/Nevis		✓	✓	✓		✓		✓		✓								
St. Lucia		✓	✓	✓						✓							✓	✓
St. Vincent		✓	✓	✓	✓			✓		✓			✓			✓	✓	✓
Trinidad & Tobago		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				✓				

NOTE: ^{*}Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women[#]Evidenced by 12 months separation. All other territories 2 - 5 years¹To ensure rights of de facto spouse; former spouse not re-married; in and out of wedlock children; and dependents²Provided paternity established under legally stipulated conditions³On condition of continuous cohabitation for five or more years⁴All territories have contributory system of social security with maternity benefits^øAs of December 1990⁴Regulates working hours and minimum wage⁵Cases heard 'in camera'⁶Through both men and women

SOURCE: Forde 1990; UN 1991

Table 4. Average Annual Change (%) in GDP per capita, 1981-89*

Territory	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987 ^A	1988	1989	1981-1989
Antigua	3.5	-0.8	4.1	6.2	6.4	7.1	7.4	6.3	..	..
Bahamas	-10.6	6.2	1.5	5.1	3.5	-0.2	3.3	2.8	..	..
Barbados	-2.3	-5.2	0.0	3.2	0.6	4.7	2.4	2.6	2.2	8.1
Belize	0.8	-2.6	-3.9	0.9	-0.1	0.2	11.3	5.5	..	..
Dominica	5.0	2.5	0.7	5.4	0.3	5.6	5.4	4.3	..	..
Grenada	0.9	5.4	0.2	3.9	4.3	4.5	3.9	3.2	..	..
Guyana	-2.6	-12.6	-11.7	0.3	-0.8	-1.6	-1.1	-4.6	-3.6	-33.1
Jamaica	1.2	-1.5	0.4	-2.2	-6.9	1.0	4.1	-1.0	-0.5	-5.8
St.Kitts/Nevis	5.2	6.1	-1.1	6.6	5.7	4.1	4.4	4.9	..	..
St. Lucia	-0.5	1.3	2.3	3.4	4.3	4.2	1.4	3.4	..	..
St. Vincent	6.9	3.3	4.8	4.2	3.7	6.2	4.8	6.4	..	..
Trinidad & Tobago	-1.8	-1.2	-15.0	-4.9	-4.5	-4.3	-8.3	-4.9	-5.3	-40.8

NOTES: *On basis of figures in dollars at constant 1980 market prices

^A Preliminary figures

.. Data not available

SOURCE: UNECLAC, 1990 a

Table 5. Annual Average Inflation Rates, 1980 - 89.

Territory	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989 ^P
Antigua	19.6	11.5	4.2	2.3	3.9	1.0	..	..	..	..
Bahamas	12.1	11.1	6.0	4.1	3.9	4.6	5.4	6.0	4.2	5.4
Barbados	14.4	14.6	10.3	5.3	4.6	3.9	1.3	3.4	4.8	6.2
Belize	11.2	6.8	5.0	3.7	3.7	1.0	2.3	2.0	3.3	2.1
Dominica	32.7	13.3	4.5	4.0	2.2	2.1	3.0	4.8	..	..
Grenada	18.8	7.8	6.1	5.6	2.5	0.5	0.9	..	..	..
Guyana	14.1	24.7	20.3	13.3	25.2	15.0	7.8	28.7	40.0	80.0
Jamaica	26.9	12.8	6.5	16.7	27.8	25.7	15.1	6.7	8.5	14.2
Montserrat	17.8	7.1	8.4	7.0	6.1	3.2	0.2	..	..	..
St. Kitts/Nevis	10.5	6.0	2.2	2.7	2.2	0.4	0.9	..	..	..
St. Lucia	19.5	15.1	4.6	1.5	1.2	1.3	2.3	7.0	<1.0	4.4
St. Vincent	17.2	12.7	7.2	5.5	2.7	2.1	1.1	2.9	<1.0	2.3
Trinidad & Tobago	17.4	14.4	11.4	16.7	13.3	7.6	7.7	10.8	7.8	11.4

NOTES: p = Provisional
.. = Data N.A.

SOURCE: Central Bank Reports, various years and territories
ECCB Annual Reports, various years
ECLAC, 1990
IADB Report
IMF International Financial Statistics, various years
World Bank Economic Memoranda, various years and territories

Table 6. Debt Service Ratios, 1970, 1980 - 86 #

Territory	1970/75*	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Antigua	1.2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bahamas	1.0	2.6	4.8	3.9	3.3	4.2	3.4	8.8
Barbados	0.9	1.9	2.4	2.8	2.8	2.9	3.8	6.7
Belize	2.6	1.4	2.3	4.4	5.3	5.2	16.0	11.4
Dominica	4.5	4.1	4.8	4.0	7.0	10.1	9.4	9.1
Grenada	2.7	4.1	3.7	6.9	6.2	17.6	20.5	15.8
Guyana	3.3	22.3	26.2	32.9	52.6	62.4	76.0 \emptyset	81.4 \emptyset
Jamaica	2.6	24.0	38.5	39.8	49.0	52.7	61.3	58.9
Montserrat	..	4.1	2.4	3.5	2.6	8.3	9.8	..
St. Kitts/Nevis	6.2	1.1	1.0	1.5	2.0	2.6	8.3	..
St. Lucia	0.4	1.8	1.9	4.7	2.2	3.4	4.2	2.6
St. Vincent	1.9	..	3.2	2.9	2.7	3.2	3.8	3.5
Trinidad & Tobago	2.8	6.1	2.2	2.5	6.8	5.5	6.4	11.3

NOTE: # Debt Service Payments as % of Earnings from Exports of Goods and Services in US\$m.

* Bahamas, Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago = 1970. All others = 1975
(St. Kitts/Nevis = 1976)

\emptyset Includes arrears. On actual payments ratio much lower.

.. Data not available

SOURCE: UNECLAC Statistical data base

Table 7. Gross Domestic Investment as % of GDP, 1980-1989

Territory	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1989
Bahamas	18.3	18.8	21.5	20.3	16.3	19.2	18.4	18.8	..
Barbados	25.3	27.6	22.6	19.9	16.2	15.4	15.8	16.0	14.1
Belize	25.3	27.2	24.6	18.9	23.5	19.8	19.5	24.2	26.4
Grenada	25.3	27.2	24.6	18.9	32.0	33.4	39.0	34.0	32.9
Guyana	29.8	29.5	24.2	21.0	27.4	29.8	33.8	31.9	21.1
Jamaica	15.7	20.4	20.9	22.3	23.0	25.0	18.5	22.6	27.1
St. Vincent	40.3	33.2	28.8	25.5	27.9	29.0	30.4	35.6	28.5
Trinidad & Tobago	30.6	27.6	28.3	26.0	21.6	20.6	22.2	19.1	18.4

NOTES: Data for other territories not available

.. Data not available

SOURCE: World Bank, 1990a

Table 8. Growth Rates (%) of Real Wages in
two CARICOM territories, 1980-89

Year	Territory	
	Barbados	Trinidad & Tobago
1980	4.3	4.2
1981	-4.1	4.2
1982	0.0	18.4
1983	0.0	5.7
1984	5.4	-0.2
1985	3.8	-2.8
1986	3.4	-5.5
1987	1.9	-7.1
1988	-0.7	-12.6
1989	-1.2	-10.0

SOURCE: IADB, 1990

Table 9. Trends in Employment in three CARICOM Territories, 1977 - 1989

Year Category	Jamaica		Trinidad & Tobago		Barbados	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1977						
Labour Force ('000)	480.9	409.7	298.4	127.4	57.7	45.7
Employed ('000)	407.9	267.7	265.4	105.4	51.6	35.6
Unemployed ('000)	73.0	142.1	33.0	21.9	6.1	10.1
Employment Rate	84.8	65.3	88.9	82.7	89.4	77.9
Unemployment Rate	15.2	34.7	11.1	17.2	10.6	22.1
1983/84						
Labour Force ('000)	544.5	463.9	320.4	159.1	61.0	51.6
Employed ('000)	456.3	286.1	280.2	131.8	54.3	41.4
Unemployed ('000)	88.2	177.8	40.2	27.3	6.7	10.2
Employment Rate	83.8	61.7	87.5	82.8	89.0	80.7
Unemployment Rate	16.2	38.3	12.5	17.2	11.0	19.8
1985/88/89						
Labour Force ('000)	569.4	493.5	317.2	158.1	62.6	58.8
Employed ('000)	507.3	364.5	268.3	130.6	54.9	45.3
Unemployed ('000)	62.1	129.0	48.9	27.5	7.7	13.5
Employment Rate	89.1	73.9	84.6	82.6	87.7	77.0
Unemployment Rate	10.9	26.1	15.4	17.4	12.3	23.0

NOTE: Selected years based on availability of comparable data.

Jamaica 1977 1983 1989

Trinidad &

Tobago 1977 1984 1985 - all years refer to December

Barbados 1977 1983 1988 (average of first three quarters).

SOURCE: Labour Force Survey Reports.

Table 10. Proportional Distribution of Working Population by Industrial Group and Gender, 1970 and 1980

Territory		Agriculture		Industry		Services	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
CARICOM							
Bahamas	1970	7.9	5.3	28.6	6.3	56.2	72.8
	1980	7.8	2.9	23.6	7.0	66.2	88.5
Barbados	1970	16.5	15.3	38.3	14.7	40.7	66.2
	1980	10.2	8.5	29.6	20.3	56.2	67.5
Belize	1970	42.1	7.9	27.3	13.3	27.1	77.3
	1980	44.7	8.6	16.7	14.4	34.3	72.9
Dominica	1970	46.6	27.2	22.0	12.3	30.5	59.7
	1980	45.3	22.0	22.6	11.3	26.9	57.8
Grenada	1970	34.2	31.9	31.6	13.9	29.5	49.7
	1980	35.0	20.7	21.5	8.8	41.8	68.2
Guyana	1970	32.6	12.9	28.0	12.6	37.1	73.2
	1980	29.4	11.1	26.9	15.2	36.7	67.4
Jamaica	1970	39.7	8.4	26.7	17.1	23.9	66.4
	1980	..	..	..	..	..	..
Montserrat	1970	20.1	20.7	42.6	7.0	35.3	70.4
	1980	13.0	6.9	35.3	14.4	50.4	77.2
St. Kitts/ Nevis	1970	36.7	30.1	30.5	7.0	30.0	59.4
	1980	34.6	22.6	30.5	21.1	32.4	54.0
St. Lucia	1970	46.1	27.8	25.8	13.4	26.2	56.9
	1980	38.6	21.7	21.6	12.3	35.1	60.9
St. Vincent	1970	32.3	23.1	25.3	12.9	39.5	61.0
	1980	36.9	25.2	24.1	11.2	37.5	62.1
Trinidad & Tobago	1970	17.8	9.0	34.9	17.7	43.4	70.3
	1980	11.7	5.4	44.3	18.8	40.6	72.9
OTHER							
Br. Virgin Is.	1970	10.0	1.2	49.6	6.0	39.1	91.5
	1980	8.7	0.3	27.9	4.7	61.7	92.7

Cayman	1970	6.0	0.6	38.6	6.1	50.7	87.1
	1980	..	..	..	..	..	..
Turks & Caicos	1970	15.9	16.7	39.4	8.7	43.1	73.2
	1980	18.5	11.7	16.6	6.7	49.8	69.6

NOTE: For totals see Table 12

Agriculture = Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing
 Industry = Mining & Quarring, Manufacturing, Electricity/Gas/Water,
 Construction
 Services = Commerce, Transport, Finance/Insurance/Real Estate,
 Government, Community and Other

SOURCE: Population Census Reports, 1970 & 1980

Table 11. Female Share (%) of Each Industrial Group of Working Population, 1970 and 1980

Territory	Agriculture		Industry		Services	
	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980
CARICOM						
Antigua	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bahamas	30.7	21.9	12.8	18.4	46.5	50.4
Barbados	37.1	38.2	19.7	33.8	50.9	47.2
Belize	4.1	4.5	10.0	17.6	39.2	34.6
Dominica	25.4	19.2	24.5	19.7	53.3	51.2
Grenada	36.0	26.2	21.0	19.7	50.5	49.5
Guyana	8.4	9.9	9.4	14.2	31.3	35.0
Jamaica	9.1	..	23.2	..	56.8	..
Montserrat	35.1	25.5	7.9	20.7	51.2	49.5
St. Kitts/Nevis	33.0	30.0	12.1	31.2	54.5	52.2
St. Lucia	24.4	24.8	21.7	25.1	53.8	50.4
St. Vincent	27.8	26.4	21.6	19.6	45.4	46.5
Trinidad & Tobago	14.3	15.5	14.3	14.5	35.0	41.8
OTHER						
Br. Virgin Is.	4.1	2.3	4.1	9.3	45.6	47.8
Cayman Is.	5.0	..	7.8	..	47.9	..
Turks and Caicos	34.7	30.0	10.1	21.5	46.4	48.5

NOTE: For female share of total see Table 13

Table 12. Proportional Distribution of Working Population by Occupational Group and Gender, 1970 & 1980

Territory	Professional, Tech. Admin. & Managerial		Clerical, Sales & Service		Agriculture		Production & Related		TOTAL	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
CARICOM										
Bahamas										
1970	15.3	12.1	24.6	59.1	7.3	4.7	45.6	8.6	41,800	28,000
1980	14.1	15.0	31.5	74.2	10.7	2.5	42.2	7.2	45,800	34,900
Barbados										
1970	11.6	10.0	24.1	60.2	16.4	14.7	41.4	13.0	49,000	31,400
1980	12.2	12.2	26.3	58.2	10.7	8.3	49.4	20.1	41,400	55,700
Belize										
1970	5.5	25.1	14.9	55.7	40.0	7.1	27.9	11.3	24,900	5,600
1980	6.1	23.9	14.8	52.5	41.2	5.4	37.1	15.7	30,800	7,700
Dominica										
1970	5.4	11.6	10.8	44.4	48.8	29.8	27.4	9.6	12,200	7,100
1980	6.9	16.7	11.9	44.6	43.2	19.3	35.8	13.4	14,000	6,800
Grenada										
1970	7.0	10.7	16.7	42.1	33.8	32.4	39.1	13.2	15,700	9,500
1980	8.6	14.8	18.1	49.0	34.6	18.8	37.6	16.1	16,200	9,700
Guyana										
1970	8.4	21.4	13.3	54.7	32.1	13.1	30.2	9.0	123,500	28,800
1980	8.5	23.8	19.6	50.2	24.3	8.7	46.4	15.7	149,000	43,700
Jamaica										
1970	5.4	11.5	14.3	60.6	40.7	8.0	30.8	17.0	316,200	150,300
1980	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Montserrat											
1970	8.5	15.4	18.7	58.1	22.2	20.3	48.9	5.9	2,400	1,200	
1980	11.7	16.9	21.1	62.4	17.4	7.7	49.5	12.4	2,600	1,700	
St.Kitts/Nevis											
1970	7.4	13.9	16.9	49.0	36.5	29.9	33.5	6.1	7,600	4,500	
1980	8.6	13.7	17.3	43.4	33.2	21.8	39.7	19.9	8,800	5,800	
St.Lucia											
1970	6.1	13.1	10.9	42.5	47.5	29.5	32.6	12.8	16,700	8,900	
1980	8.3	14.0	17.8	49.8	35.9	18.8	36.9	16.1	20,200	11,900	
St.Vincent											
1970	7.8	13.1	14.9	42.3	30.5	20.4	35.2	13.3	13,200	7,100	
1980	8.5	17.0	17.0	47.6	31.1	17.1	42.8	17.4	16,600	8,700	
Trinidad & Tobago											
1970	9.4	17.2	23.8	57.3	17.0	8.8	41.7	14.1	164,200	54,600	
1980	10.1	17.7	23.3	60.5	9.7	4.6	55.2	15.7	247,300	98,600	
OTHER											
Br. Virgin Is.											
1970	12.5	19.3	15.6	75.5	10.3	1.0	53.1	4.0	2,800	1,000	
1980	15.6	18.1	24.2	75.9	8.8	0.3	50.5	4.0	3,000	1,800	
Cayman Is.											
1970	17.0	13.1	18.9	80.0	6.6	0.4	46.9	6.1	2,200	1,200	
1980	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Turks & Caicos											
1970	12.3	21.6	23.3	50.7	14.8	11.3	47.6	14.2	1,000	500	
1980	19.4	17.2	22.8	56.9	18.6	9.4	38.2	15.9	1,500	1,000	

NOTE: Refers to Working Population aged 15 years and over during the 12 months preceding the Census for all territories except Trinidad and Tobago, 1980 where reference period is previous week.

Discrepancies in total due to rounding and omission of 'Not Available'

SOURCE: Population Census Reports, 1970 & 1980

Table 13. Female Share (%) of Each Occupational Group of Working Population, 1970 & 1980

Territory	Professional & Technical		Administrative & Managerial		Clerical, Sales & Service		Agriculture		Production, Transport & Related		TOTAL Working Population	
	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980
CARICOM												
Antigua	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bahamas	46.7	48.8	13.7	25.1	61.7	64.2	30.1	15.9	11.2	11.5	40.1	43.2
Barbados	39.3	46.9	10.7	18.9	61.6	62.2	36.5	36.6	16.7	23.2	38.9	42.6
Belize	53.4	51.8	8.9	12.1	45.8	46.8	3.9	3.2	8.4	9.5	18.4	19.9
Dominica	60.0	57.6	15.8	23.8	70.6	64.6	26.2	17.9	17.0	15.4	36.8	32.8
Grenada	50.8	53.4	16.4	19.1	60.4	61.9	36.8	24.7	17.0	20.5	37.7	37.5
Guyana	39.9	47.5	5.6	12.8	40.3	42.9	8.7	9.5	6.5	9.0	18.8	22.7
Jamaica	53.5	..	12.3	..	66.8	..	8.6	..	20.8	..	32.1	..
Montserrat	52.8	54.2	21.6	25.8	61.9	65.4	32.4	22.1	5.9	13.8	34.5	39.0
St.Kitts/ Nevis	57.6	57.8	10.6	14.0	63.5	62.2	33.1	30.1	9.8	24.7	37.5	39.6
St. Lucia	57.3	53.5	18.7	17.2	67.6	62.1	25.0	23.5	17.4	20.3	34.9	37.0
St. Vincent	50.4	54.3	11.5	20.2	60.4	59.6	26.4	22.4	16.9	17.6	35.0	34.5
Trinidad & Tobago	41.7	45.6	8.4	14.2	44.4	50.9	14.7	15.7	10.1	10.2	24.9	28.5
OTHER												
BVI	40.4	44.9	19.8	31.7	63.5	65.6	3.4	2.2	2.6	4.6	26.4	37.8
Cayman Is.	31.4	..	22.3	..	69.6	..	3.3	..	6.6	..	34.8	..
Turks & Caicos	53.1	40.2	7.1	12.8	52.6	62.7	28.0	25.4	13.1	21.9	36.2	40.3

NOTE: .. Not Available

Table 14. Indicators of Female Employment by Occupational Group, Barbados, 1970 - 1989

Occupational Group	1970		1980		1985		1989		1970	1980	1985	1989
	Percent Distribution of Workers								Females as proportion of all workers in each group			
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female				
Professional	9.5	9.6	9.8	11.6	8.7	11.2	7.7	10.7	39.3	46.9	50.0	53.6
Administrative & Managerial	2.1	0.4	2.6	0.8	5.2	2.7	3.4	1.8	10.7	18.9	28.9	30.0
Clerical	6.3	14.0	8.9	21.0	11.3	25.2	7.0	23.2	58.6	63.8	63.1	73.4
Sales	6.4	13.6	7.2	11.7	7.1	11.2	8.0	12.3	57.8	54.9	54.9	56.1
Services	11.4	32.6	10.6	26.2	16.0	27.2	18.4	29.6	64.8	64.8	56.8	57.1
Agriculture	16.3	14.7	10.9	8.4	7.3	6.5	6.1	6.2	36.6	36.6	40.6	45.5
Production & related (45.7	14.7		50.1	20.3	4.0	10.5	4.3	9.2)	17.1	23.2	66.7	64.3
Skilled Crafts/workers)					10.4	3.2	11.9	1.8)			19.4	11.4
Transportation	2.2	0.3	-- ⁰	-- ⁰	30.0 [#]	2.2 [#]	33.0 [#]	5.1 [#]	7.8	-- ⁰	5.4	2.3
TOTAL	(48,900)	(31,400)	(52,000)	(40,100)	(52,000)	(40,100)	(58,700)	(48,700)	39.1	42.7	43.5	45.3

NOTE: ⁰Published Census tables include Transport and Communication in Clerical
[#]Published CHSP tables combine Transport, Construction Workers and Labourers
 Discrepancies in totals due to rounding

SOURCE: Massiah, 1991.

Table 15. Institutional Mechanisms for Women's Affairs in the Commonwealth Caribbean, 1990

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

Source: Massiah, 1990(a)

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

[#]Permanent Secretary in Women's Affairs

*Ministry of Cooperatives

[♂]Ministry of State

^gDirectorate

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

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

⁺⁺Ministry of Youth and Community Development

Table 16. Growth of Agricultural and Manufacturing Sectors, in four
CARICOM Territories, 1980 - 89

Sector Territory	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989 ^p
<u>Agriculture</u>										
Barbados	5.4	-17.2	-2.5	3.9	9.4	-0.5	4.5	-11.2	-5.9	-9.0
Guyana	0.5	2.3	-1.4	-3.7	3.4	0.0	3.7	-5.8	-8.7	-5.5
Jamaica	-4.3	2.3	-7.9	7.3	10.0	-3.5	-2.2	5.3	-5.5	-4.2
Trinidad & Tobago	7.9	-1.3	3.2	-3.4	-32.7	-1.1	-23.6	6.4	-9.0	69.4
<u>Manufacturing</u>										
Barbados	2.2	-3.6	-5.4	2.5	1.9	-9.5	5.1	-6.6	6.7	5.4
Guyana	0.8	6.1	-12.9	-16.4	-5.9	-3.1	0.0	-7.5	-5.2	-13.6
Jamaica	-11.0	0.8	7.5	1.9	-4.2	0.4	2.4	6.3	2.0	7.1
Trinidad & Tobago	2.5	-6.5	2.3	-1.2	-2.4	-10.4	7.1	-8.8	-8.0	-2.9

NOTE: Real Production at Factor Cost
p = provisional

SOURCE: IADB, 1990

Table 17. Changes in the Industrial Distribution of Employed Population in three
CARICOM Territories, 1977 - 1989

Period Gender	Jamaica			Trinidad & Tobago*			Barbados ^Ø		
	Agricul- ture	Industry	Services	Agricul- ture	Industry	Services	Agricul- ture	Industry	Services
1977-1983/84									
Male	-1.0	1.0	1.4	-0.8	-2.0	2.7	-0.2	6.2	-3.9
Female	-2.3	0.1	0.5	-1.2	-3.0	4.6	-1.9	-1.3	3.5
1983-1988/89									
Male	-4.4	2.2	-1.6	..	..	..	-3.2	2.5	0.7
Female	-0.5	2.0	1.9	..	..	..	0.3	-5.2	4.8

NOTE: See notes to Table 10

*1977 - 1985

^Ø1981 - 1985 and 1985 - 1989 (last quarter only)

Table 18. Indicators of Self Employment in Three CARICOM Territories, 1980 - 89

Year	Jamaica			Trinidad & Tobago		Barbados		
	Male	Female	Female share % of Self Employment	Male	Female	Male	Female	Female share % of Self Employment
1980	47.5	32.2	30.4	..	..	..	..	..
1981	..	..	..	..	..	13.2	8.2	31.5
1982	..	..	..	..	..	12.5	7.6	31.7
1983	43.4	35.0	33.1	..	..	12.0	8.2	37.4
1984	..	..	..	..	..	12.2	7.0	30.1
1985	47.4	36.4	33.4	23	16.	12.7	7.5	31.2
1986	47.0	35.4	35.1	..	..	11.9	7.3	32.6
1987	..	..	..	23.2	15.3	..	..	..
1988	44.7	33.7	36.0	..	..	..	..	..
1989	42.2	33.0	36.0	..	..	..	..	..

SOURCE: Jamaica: Anderson & Witter, 1991
Trinidad & Tobago : Various sources
Barbados: Labour Force Survey Reports

Figure 1. Viewpoints of Women in Development Proponents: Issues and Responses

Issues	Proponents		
	Advocates	Practitioners	Scholars
Economic development	Adverse impact Integrate women	Efficiency	Count women's economic activities Class/gender
Equality	Legal rights	Income as liberating	Patriarchy major constraint
Empowerment	Form women's organizations	Women-only projects	Global feminism Distinct values
Education	Access to professional schools	Nonformal education	Scientific and technical Revise content for sex bias
Employment	Affirmative action Basis for status	Microenterprise	Sexual division of labor
Welfare	Seen as dependency creating	Participation in health, population, and housing programs	Dual roles Female sphere
Efficiency	Integration	Sectoral programs	Not feminist

Source: Tinker, Irene (ed). Persistent Inequalities: Women and World Development, Oxford and New York, OUP, 1990.

Figure 2. Different policy approaches to Third World women

Issues	← "Women in Development" (WID) →				
	Welfare	Equity	Anti-poverty	Efficiency	Empowerment
Origins	Earliest approach: — residual model of social welfare under colonial administration — modernization/accelerated growth economic development model	Original WID approach: — failure of modernization development policy — influence of Boserup and First World feminists on Percy Amendment — declaration of UN Decade for Women	Second WID approach: — toned down equity because of criticism — linked to Redistribution with Growth and Basic Needs	3rd and now predominant WID approach: — deterioration in world economy — policies of economic stabilization and adjustment rely on women's economic contribution to development	Most recent approach: — arose out of failure of equity approach — Third World Women's feminist writing and grassroots organizations
Period most popular	1950-70, but still widely used	1975-85, attempts to adopt it during and since Women's Decade	1970s onward, still limited popularity	Post 1980s: now most popular approach	1975 onward: accelerated during 1980s, still limited popularity
Purpose	To bring women into development as better mothers: this is seen as their most important role in development	To gain equity for women in the development process: women seen as active participants in development	To ensure poor women increase their productivity: women's poverty seen as problem of underdevelopment not of subordination	To ensure development is more efficient and more effective: women's economic participation seen as associated with equity	To empower women through greater self-reliance: women's subordination seen not only as problem of men but also of colonial and neocolonial oppression
Needs of women met and roles recognized	To meet PGN* in reproductive role, relating particularly to food aid, malnutrition and family planning	To meet SGN† in terms of triple role — directly through state top-down intervention, giving political and economic autonomy by reducing inequality with men	To meet PGN* in productive role, to earn an income, particularly in small-scale income generating projects	To meet PGN* in context of declining social services by relying on all three roles of women and elasticity of women's time	To reach SGN† in terms of triple role — indirectly through bottom-up mobilization around PGN* as means to confront oppression
Comment	Women seen as passive beneficiaries of development with focus on reproductive role. Nonchallenging therefore still widely popular especially with government and traditional NGOs	In identifying subordinate position of women in terms of relationship to men, challenging, criticized as Western feminism, considered threatening and not popular with government	Poor women isolated as separate category with tendency only to recognize productive role; reluctance of government to give limited aid to women means popularity still at small-scale NGO level	Women seen entirely in terms of delivery capacity and ability to extend working day. Most popular approach both with governments and multilateral agencies	Potentially challenging with emphasis on Third World and women's self-reliance. Largely unsupported by governments and agencies. Avoidance of Western feminism criticism, means slow significant growth of underfinanced voluntary organizations

*PGN — Practical gender needs.

†SGN — Strategic gender needs.

Source: Moser, Caroline. "Gender Planning in the Third World: Meeting Practical and Strategic Gender Needs", *World Development*, Vol.17, No.11, 1989, pp.1799 - 1825.

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