

The Women's Movement and Women's Associations in the South Pacific:
An Indigenous Response to Social and Economic Change

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Introduction

In the writings of Pacific scholars there has been the conspicuous lack of information about women's knowledge, domestic roles, and needs. The assumption, of course, is that data on women is nice to collect but not essential (Tiffany 1984:4). The world of the female has been perceived as limited and specific in contrast to the male world which appears broad and generalized. Moreover, researchers have assumed that knowledge derives from relationships among men and from understandings of men (Ibid.:3). Therefore, males have served as the core of Pacific ethnography, resulting in the portrayal of women, over the past sixty years, as shadowy anomalies (Ibid.:7).

In the recent decade, which has also been designated as the United Nations Decade for Women 1975-1985, women have become increasingly vociferous in claiming rights and raising their profiles in society. The Pacific the women's movement, while undoubtedly rooted in the international feminist movement, has taken on a style or voice of its own. It would seem instructive, therefore, to examine both what women are doing and saying, and the issue of feminism in Oceania, in order to correct the bias in Pacific research. Contemporary scholars are now beginning to understand that, "rethinking Pacific island societies within the contexts of women's experiences is a preliminary step for defining feminist relevance in Oceanic research, and for incorporating women more completely into anthropological and historical discourse of the future" (Ibid.:11). Scholars have only begun to discover the intellectual challenges that these diverse perspectives offer (Ibid.). Clearly, one aspect of women's experiences has been the women's movement, that is, the proliferation of women's club and associations throughout the region, and their expanding power and vision.

The following paper looks at women's clubs in the south Pacific both as

a structure imposed from outsiders and, more recently, as an indigenous response of Pacific island women to their changing lifestyle and needs. Moreover, the study of women's work and groups, within the context of the U.N. Decade for Women, helps define the place of the feminist movement in the region, reveals what women are saying and doing, and recognizes their significant contribution to the national development of their various countries. As the "new" or "revisionist" history sheds light upon islander responses to blackbirding, trading, and early contact with foreigners, so a study of women's groups as a response to social and economic change reveals that Pacific women are hardly shadowy anomalies, lacking in strength and vision. They are a group which must be heard, whose contribution to development has been and will continue to be significant, and whose story can help correct the earlier bias in anthropological and historical writings of the Pacific.

The paper is divided into two sections. Part one traces the growth of women's collective consciousness from women's work as colonial ventures in the 19th century, to the rise of the feminist movement as presented in the 1960s through the present. The women's movement has been given special focus because the various international, regional and national conferences and organizations comprising it have given voice to what Pacific women are thinking and aspiring. An examination of the central arguments of the movement, and issues and needs of Pacific women, provide the context in which to assess the role and trend of women's clubs. Part two of the paper looks at what women are actually achieving through village clubs and national and regional organizations in five countries within Melanesia and Polynesia.

PART ONE: THE PACIFIC WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

History

The women's movement in the Pacific has its roots in the early women's clubs which were started by the wives of missionaries and colonial government officers in the late 19th century. These early clubs, although well intended, were colonial ventures, tending to be paternalistic, elitist, protestant and apolitical (Goodwillie and Lechte 1986:62). Prime examples of these early groups were those in East New Britain Province of Papua New Guinea (PNG), Fiji, and Western Samoa. The activities centered around religious instruction, equipping women with domestic skills (based on the western interpretation), sewing, European cooking methods, hygiene, and infant care (a more detailed account is found in Part Two under the respective country headings).

On a regional scale, women's issues were also discussed, and action taken, by the Pan-Pacific and South East Asia Women's Association. In 1924 Alexander Hume Ford, Director of the Pan-Pacific Union of Honolulu, encouraged a group of women in Hawaii to promote a Pan-Pacific Women's Conference. In 1928 women from Australia, Canada, China, Fiji, Japan, Korea, Mexico, Netherlands, East Indies, New Zealand, Philippines, American Samoa, U.S.A., and Hawaii met in Honolulu and founded the association. Two objectives were outlined in the constitution: "To strengthen the bonds of peace among Pacific peoples by promoting a better understanding and friendship among the women of all Pacific countries, [and] to initiate and promote cooperation among women of the Pacific region for the study and betterment of existing conditions" (PPSEAWA 1978:5). The degree to which Pacific islander women were involved in the association was probably negligible, though towards the 1960s Fiji, A. Samoa, and Tonga were becoming increasingly active.

Following World War II, responsibility for overseeing women's groups

shifted from missionaries and the wives of colonial government officers to regional organizations and later, in the 1960s, to the national governments. Such a move was significant in that it moved women's issues out of the home and small, "private" groups, into the public arena where they could be addressed nationally or even regionally. The stage then, was being set for concerted action and policy. In 1947 a resolution which was made at the South Pacific Conference, and attached to the Canberra Agreement, called for a study of education and social development of women and girls in relation to the status of women (SPC 1981:1). In 1953 the second South Pacific Conference discussed women and women's roles in the community. In 1956 a part-time Women's Interest Officer was appointed, and in 1959 a Women's Interest Programme commenced (Ibid.). Following the fourth South Pacific Conference in Rabaul in 1959, there was a vigorous expansion of women's organized activities throughout the region, largely aided by the Commission's Women's Interest officer, Margaret Stuart (McBean 1962:52). By 1960, short leadership training courses for women's work were initiated in Fiji, Papua and New Guinea, and Aitutaki in the Cook Islands (Stewart 1960:43). In the former two territories the courses were directed under the auspices of the PPSEAWA and the women's work officers of the colonial administrations. The content of the courses reflected the typical view of a woman's place. Flannelgraphs were widely used to convey ideas and stimulate discussion on the place, responsibility and potential of the woman in her home, her community, and her country. Club organization and projects based on homecrafts, health, nutrition and childcare were also taught (Ibid.). While the topics covered were still primarily "domestic" or welfare in orientation, one can see a slight broadening of vision: indigenous club leaders were being sought and trained, lessons on club organization given, and

women's issues, as they related to the wider "public" or national arena, discussed.

In 1962 one of the main topics discussed at the fifth South Pacific Conference in Pago Pago was the changing role of women in the Pacific. The need to associate women with men in all phases of community development was particularly stressed (McBean 1962:52). The basic problem was seen as the general acceptance of women's equal role in society (Ibid.:53).

In 1963 the South Pacific Commission (SPC) Community Education Training Centre (CETC) was established in Suva in response to the fifth South Pacific Conference. As a regional training centre for women, it has been unparalleled (see Part Two under "regional/international outreach").

Independence, first achieved in the 60s, provided more impetus for women's involvement in development and work in clubs. The transition from colonial status to independent countries also tested women's groups; without their colonial leaders some clubs fell apart. More importantly, however, others experienced a re-birth or revival along much more nationalistic or indigenous values. The idea of women's clubs, while originally imposed by colonial residents, had clearly caught on-- was beginning to gather its own, local momentum. This was most vividly expressed in the language shift from English to Pidgin in women's club newsletters in the New Hebrides/Vanuatu and Solomon Islands, and in the shift from European club structure to one which reflected traditional social organization and values concerning membership. While these changes are noteworthy and helpful in providing a background for the post-1960s women's work, the biggest thrust behind the women's movement came with the U.N. declaration of the 1975-1985 Decade for Women.

Women's Movement in the Pacific

The U.N. Decade for Women placed the women's movement in the Pacific in

an international context. Women's leaders learned that worldwide women were becoming more aware socially and politically and were fighting for equal rights with men. Throughout Third World countries women were acknowledging that their position in society resulted from pre-colonial and colonial processes which allowed for or created inequalities and eventual disadvantages for women. In an effort to exploit the potential international visibility afforded by the Decade, Pacific women organized and attended regional conferences and sent delegates to international ones. Summarized below are the major conferences of the Decade, the three central arguments of the women's movement as reflected in the proceedings of the conferences, and the key issues and needs which have been repeatedly voiced throughout the Decade.

The first Pacific Women's Conference was held in Suva in 1975. The idea for it was first voiced at a Port Moresby Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) panel discussion in 1974, and later endorsed by a regional women's student group at the University of the South Pacific (USP), in recognition of the approaching U.N. International Women's Year (Goodwillie & Lechte 1986:59). The planners of the conference received mixed reactions from the public; some criticized that it was a plot related to "women's lib", though the majority's reaction was favorable, demonstrating the women's concern for examining their role and status in society, particularly the conflicts between the tradition and the new impetus for women to develop to their full potential (Slatter 1976:iii). Delegates came from PNG, Solomon Islands, New Hebrides, New Caledonia, Gilbert Islands, Fiji, Tonga, Samoa, Cook Islands, Australia, and New Zealand. At the conference the women distinguished their needs and demands from the western oriented women's liberation movement, agreeing that Pacific women should find their own

way of seeking equality and better opportunities (Griffen 1976:67). Another noteworthy distinction of the conference was the breadth of concerns expressed. Women were concerned not only with "women's issues" but also about their nations and the region. Stressed was the need for equality in Pacific oriented education; equality in religious structures; banning sexist and imperialist literature, television, and cinema; law reform relating to economic security; land rights; independence for colonial territories; and the creation of women's organizations and networks (see also the resolutions of the conference-- Appendix 1).

Claire Slatter, the organizing secretary for the conference, believed that the conference had opened the way to an active and sustained concern for the participation of women in the region, and that all people would benefit (Slatter 1976:iv). Certainly, much activity was stimulated within countries, and plans for national councils of women and national women's conventions were formed (Goodwillie & Lechte 1986:59).

Other major conferences included the Micronesian Women's Convention (Palau, August 1977), YWCA Conference (January 1978), Copenhagen Mid-Decade Conference for Women (July 14-30 1980) and Follow-Up Conference, Papeete Conference (July 20, 1981), Pacific Churches Women's Conference (1981), International Women and Food Conference (June 1982), Australia Pacific Women's Peace Conference (Sydney, June 29-30 1985), and the Nairobi Conference (July 15-26 1985).¹ In accord with the 1975 Suva conference, the focus of discussions was increasingly widened to encompass problems of nuclear testing and dumping, nuclear powered or armed ships, land rights, alcoholism, street crime, access to media, the recognition of women's rights, the function of women's organizations, and the attitudes of governments to women's problems (Coppell 1975:27).

As will be seen below in the summary of issues and needs, proceedings

from the (not exhaustive) list of conferences convey the desire of Pacific women to redefine the feminist movement in view of their own lifestyle and customs. Pacific women have not concerned themselves with bra-burning but rather, advocate the importance of equal participation of women with men in development. As the relevance of bra-burning is questioned, so too is the use of the term "domestic". An anthropologist's reflection of the Melpa of Mount Hagen in the PNG highlands has relevance for the rest of the Pacific: "The Western conception of domesticity-- as a condition of childlike dependency from which women must be liberated in order to become autonomous persons-- is a significant feminist concern in Euro-American societies but inappropriate to Hagen conceptions of women and what is domestic" (Tiffany 1984:6). The modern definition of "women's interest" in industrialized societies identifies cooking, sewing, cleaning, childcare, healthcare, and decorative crafts as appropriate female roles. As a result, homemaking skills taught in domestic science or home economics courses were based upon consumption oriented activities rather than on production (Schoeffel 1983:26). Pacific women correctly argue, however, that these activities are only a part of their role and that some of these tasks were not their responsibility but that of men or children (Meleisea 1986:66). Women have had other important roles-- farming, trading, manufacturing essential goods and valuables used in every day life and in exchange (Meleisea 1982:60). In other words, most Pacific women's domestic roles emphasized the production of food as well as its preparation.

Pacific women leaders have therefore been encouraging their sisters to avoid the patterns of industrialized societies which have separated and assigned unequal value to men's and women's work. Because of the inappropriateness of homemaking as the sole occupation of women, these leaders

argue that real improvement in the position of women will come not through an expansion of traditional female activities but through the equal participation of women with men in what, traditionally, have been defined as male activities (Nakikus 1982:10).

In addition to redefining the notion of feminism and domesticity in Pacific terms, the women's movement has represented a general questioning of the traditional place of women in society. Many women no longer see their whole identity tied to the "fertility picture" in which their worth is measured by the number of pigs they raise, children produced, and gardens managed. This would almost appear contradictory to the above argument about their worth in the productive sphere. The key here, however, is the concept of tradition. Women are questioning both the industrialized perception of "women's work" and the traditional work ethic and limitations existing in Pacific societies. Because women's productive work is so important they should be allowed and encouraged to keep up with the men in learning new productive skills and reaping the benefits of non-traditional production such as cash cropping.

Finally, the women's movement reflects the questioning of traditional customs and a woman's place in society in light of the Christian message. Women are re-examining biblical records, emphasizing the new freedom in Christ which has been given to women as well as men, and studying more deeply biblical heroines (Deverell 1982:68).

In addition to redefining feminist issues, the women's movement in the Pacific appears to contain three central arguments. The first argument is that poor development planning has led to a bias about what is productive and non-productive. The main disadvantage for women has been an assumed sexual division of labor in which females perform largely non-productive tasks in the home while males are encouraged in productive tasks outside the

home (Meleisea 1982:56). Consequently, development planners have directed new skills, knowledge, and technology primarily to men rather than women. Not only has this lessened the image or prestige of women's work but also, in societies where women are the primary agriculturalists, improvements in productivity, earnings, and standards of living have been inhibited (Ibid.).

The second argument states that the conventional, export-driven model of growth and economic development has led to uneven benefits where women are disadvantaged. This largely accepted pattern of growth has increased women's work in that they are forced to carry more of the burden of food production and other daily tasks, while men engage in cash cropping or wage labor (Griffen 1981:5). In other words, in agriculture where traditionally men and women shared the work, the women are now receiving less help because subsistence cropping (food for family consumption) is given less priority than the production of cash crops for export. Furthermore, in most cases men claim the income from cash crops for themselves whereas a woman's production goes back into the family. Even when a woman earns cash from the sale of her produce or handicrafts the money is likely to be spent on family needs.

In addition to increased subsistence responsibilities, the work of rural women has come to include income-generating activities such as collecting coconuts or tending to other cash crops, or engaging in extra fishing trips; the result has been longer hours for women (Bolabola 1982:65-66). The conventional pattern of development then, has meant that women are responsible for raising the children, caring for the household, food production, and assisting their husbands in cash cropping-- i.e., an increased workload without equal benefits or acknowledgement. The final crux of this argument is that the expanded demands upon women's time, resulting from

modernization of the economy, has restricted the time available to women to engage in new social and economic tasks (Schoeffel 1983:20).

The last argument states that the women's movement must demonstrate the connection between feminism and social and economic change or development. It must make women visible, not only as beneficiaries but as active agents of development (APCWD 1979:12). The role of the women's movement is to enable women themselves to develop a sense of power to influence and redirect the processes of change (Ibid.).

Below are the major issues and needs. While they may appear redundant owing to the foregoing discussion, they further elucidate what women are saying and striving for. Moreover, they provide a context or background by which to assess the impact and direction of women's clubs.

Issues:

1. Women's contributions are not recognized.
2. Women have unequal access to opportunities and services (especially education and training facilities) precisely because their contribution to development is not recognized. In PNG this was not acknowledged until the early 1970s (Tololo 1984:112). Even in fishing communities where women's contribution to subsistence fishing is indispensable, women have minimal access to boats, fishing tackle, or fisheries extension service (Schoeffel 1985:160).
3. There exists the long time lack of services in family planning, health and agriculture.
4. Existing programs for helping women are never enough and are mostly welfare oriented (not regarded as productive). Agencies, including women's organizations, have been preoccupied with conferring only the social welfare type of development benefits to women (APCWD 1979:1). Schoeffel observed that throughout the south Pacific women tend to be offered two things in the name of 'development': communal projects which tend not to be commercially viable, and self-development, home economics courses which are often unable to meet their actual material, cultural and economic needs (Meleisea 1983:30). In short, the overemphasis on women's roles as homemakers and mothers (while obviously very important) has been at the expense of their economic roles in the formal and informal sectors of agriculture, industry and service, and of their political roles in the community and nation (Bonnell 1982:1).
5. As a result of the above bias towards welfare and homemaking, information concerning agriculture, cash cropping, and appropriate technology, is not

being imparted to women. Programs aimed at the improvement of food production have been aimed at men. This was especially true during the 1960s in the first U.N. development decade (Davies 1984:39).

6. The role of women, particularly as agricultural producers, has not become sufficiently visible to planners, policy makers, society, and women themselves.
7. National bureaucracies and politicians are, in most Pacific countries, a major impediment in giving expression to women's needs (Schoeffel 1984:102).
8. Concerning projects and programs there are several assumptions:
 - women are not seen as decision makers
 - women are much weaker than men, therefore their work is worth less.
 - women are dependants
 - women are not seen as economic beings.

The underrating of women's economic or productive activities dates back to the missionary and colonial government days, and persists through the present. For example, during a study in Tailevu, Fiji, interviewers were asked several times why they wanted to study women's activities. Men and a few women told them that, "Women only do washing and cooking" (Schoeffel & Kikau 1980:25). In W. Samoa, as well as Fiji, the same interviewers learned that there was a formal insistence that women only cook, wash, look after the home, and perform other services-- and that they do not contribute to production or to the national economy (Ibid.:28). They then concluded that women's exclusion from rural development plans was not based on what women actually did but how their work was classified (Ibid.).² As recently as 1984 fisheries officers in seven countries, referring to women's contribution to fisheries, responded that, "Women don't fish, they just collect shells" (Schoeffel 1985:161). This was said in spite of the fact that, as in A. Samoa, women's gleaning for octopus, shellfish, sea urchins and sea cucumbers accounts for a third of the total annual catch and almost a third of all time spent fishing (Ibid.:160). Obviously fisheries departments regard gleaning as being of little economic significance compared with other subsistence activities. Also, Lal and Slatter (1982) have demonstrated the importance of the women's fresh-water kai fishery in the internal economy of Fiji (Ibid.:161).

That women are not regarded as economic beings is also reflected in the official attitude toward women's business. Because the businesses tend to be small their value is underrated (Thomas & Simi 1982:5).

9. Lifestyles in the Pacific are changing rapidly with the advent of the cash economy and improved communications and facilities. Plantations have been very much a part or agent of the rapid changes. Because plantations hired mostly male laborers, women have been left at home with more chores. Changes in the colonial period, suffice to say, have affected all aspects of women's lives from workload to nutrition (Davies 1984:41). In Micronesia and Polynesia the traditional role of women in manufacturing (mats, thatch, and exchange objects) was severely eroded by the introduction of imported goods like pots and pans, roofing iron and cloth (Schoeffel 1984b:46). As a result of the economic changes women have been pushed in to a subsidiary economic role (Ibid.).

10. Women are losing control of their (traditional) resources, with the result that they are no longer able to provide for their families. This situation is powerfully reflected in a statement from a Papua New Guinean woman,

Ay! Times have changed since the white men came with their money, coffee, schools and roads, and I feel very dissatisfied. Oh I'm glad the white men came with their medicines and schools to help the children, and their new types of houses and tools which make the work so much easier; but my position was much more respected when I could provide for my own family. I often feel that I am only an unpaid laborer in the coffee garden and Piagon [husband] is my supervisor. Not that he is a bad man. He doesn't beat me except when he's been to town to sell the coffee and has been spending the money on beer. Sometimes he comes home with empty pockets because he has met a lot of friends and they all had some beer and then began to gamble. Ay! How hard it is to have to depend on him for the money for the children's school fees and clothes, to say nothing of food! (Inaru et al 1979:19-20).
11. Women are now more dependent upon men.
12. Women are increasingly concerned with the way customs are used as a tool of oppression.
13. Significant has been the political marginalization of women which has resulted in the severe underrepresentation of women in local, provincial, and national politics (Nakikus 1982:7).
14. The absence of women in decision making has minimized the chances of women's issues becoming a priority (Jahan 1984:24). In the PNG government the majority of female employees occupy socially accepted "female" positions-- secretarial or lower clerical, and the majority of female professional government officers have been employed not as economists but in the social planning section--hardly the locus of power (Nakikus 1982:12). Further, only five percent of the managerial positions in PNG's public service are occupied by women (Ibid.).
15. In general, women have been ignored.
16. Due to socio-economic changes women have less time for their chores and are carrying heavier workloads. With all the time spent on meeting basic, food-related needs, women have little time for developmental activities within the family and community. The average rural woman is estimated to spend seventy percent of her day in subsistence/household chores, leaving only thirty percent available for leisure (Bolabola 1982:66). This is probably a conservative figure.
17. Women have been very critical of alcohol and wife abuse. The issue of drunken and violent husbands, and the related squandering of money, is regarded by many as the most heart-felt and desperate problem of women in the region (APCWD 1977:30). The subject is taboo among many people, particularly with governments (because of the money they make from alcohol), and so it is a case where it is up to the women in their

respective countries to make a point (Rogers 1984:15).

Needs:

1. The most general yet pressing need which encompasses most of the needs listed below is for women to gain control over their lives, and this means learning new productive skills. Learning such skills would enable women to contribute to the rural economy as equal partners with men.
2. "Women's interest" needs to be defined.
3. The whole socio-economic situation should be assessed in terms of meeting the needs of women, rather than merely "integrating" them into the conventional development structure (Davies 1984:42). Here, integration is seen as synonymous with a "patchwork" solution to increasing women's participation in development. Structural change, rather, is needed to correct illiteracy, illness, seclusion, exclusion, abusive treatment etc.
4. There is an enormous need for a more creative approach to women and development within the Pacific. In most instances women do not have the time to engage in sewing and baking scones. While these activities may be popular and festive, it is not real life. Schoeffel argues that they will continue to be inappropriate as long as homes have no windows, as long as women cook over an open fire, and water and firewood are collected from miles away (Schoeffel 1984b:51). This view may assume too much, however; not all women have easy access to clothes or are knowledgeable in ways to vary their diet. In the remote highland sub-district of Oksapmin (PNG) sewing is very popular and is regarded as very practical, simply because obtaining clothes is otherwise very difficult. Only periodically do clothes come through the mission or are brought by men returning from plantations to the subdistrict. In Oksapmin women gladly put aside time to sew each week, and even "buy back" the garments they produce from their women's club, just to keep business going.

Part of the creative approach is to view the problems and needs of women within a wider, broader framework rather than within a strictly social one (PAWF 1978:2). Changing lifestyles and the corresponding need for cash and village improvement suggest young women's leadership training, community education, and training in small scale industries to be relevant to the needs of women. A final aspect of the creative approach calls for the realistic appraisal of women's current economic activity and an active policy to ensure information is available to women. This would include using traditional groupings (as well as, or in the form of, women's clubs) through which to channel information (Thomas & Simi 1982:5).

5. An essential need is the provision of basic goods and services.
6. Basic needs such as labor-saving devices, piped water, education on food values and resource management, and improvements in food preservation and storage, fishing and agricultural technologies, cooking facilities, sanitation, and housing and kitchen designs, must be met (Bolabola 1982:67).
7. Technological improvements which help women to do their work need to be made. Women are the main users in the villages and so are the most in

need of primary science training and appropriate technology (Lechte 1982:7).

8. Women value skills training and information. At the risk of flogging the issue, women need to make the most efficient use of their time, energy and money. They need to understand the relationship between the food they produce, the food they eat, and the well being of their families, as well as to understand the importance of sanitation, a safe water supply, healing etc. (SPC 1976:36).
9. Women's voices and resources must be mobilized in order that they may have greater input in development. Development planners need to hear from the women themselves what they value and need.
10. Consultation with women is also important to ensure projects are appropriate.
11. Needed is conscientization-- the creation of an awareness of women's oppression and how this situation can be altered.
12. Needed are extensive awareness programs about what women are entitled to know and have (Tololo 1984:112). The programs would include counseling (Kamikamica 1982:41).
13. Women would benefit greatly from information networks regarding: 1) consumer products; 2) hazardous products; 3) the politicization of international organizations and their increasing inability to act on behalf of ordinary people like women; 4) the drawbacks of aid; and 5) birth control and fertility (Short 1984:132).

From the above conferences, arguments, issues and needs represented in the women's movement, it is possible to summarize three general, more abstract, characteristics or principles of the movement. First, it represents a questioning of the place of women in society. This has included addressing the appropriateness of custom and the more modern western processes of development. Secondly, women are questioning their place in light of the Christian message. Thirdly, the movement espouses a feminist perspective, advocating that women have the moral, social, and political right to participate equally with men in development. The foregoing review of the women's movement has centered mostly on the abstract, that is, on viewpoints, arguments, expectations, issues and needs. With such a background it is possible to now examine concrete examples of what has and is occurring or resulting from the perspectives generated by the women's movement.

PART TWO: FROM RHETORIC TO REALITY

The women's movement as a whole, from its ideology to the grass-roots clubs, can be seen as a response to the economic, social and political changes which have affected women. In Part Two, regional and international organizations will be cited, and case studies from five countries in the south Pacific, examined. The greater emphasis on women's clubs or associations reflects the belief that it is these groupings which most accurately depict Pacific women's response to changes affecting their lives.

Very broadly speaking, on a regional or international scale, outreach to Pacific women has been channelled through regional agencies, non-governmental organizations, government funded or statutory independent groups, and U.N. agencies. Of regional organizations, the South Pacific Commission's programs for women have had the longest history and the greatest visibility. In 1963 the SPC's Community Education Training Centre (CETC) was established in Fiji in response to a recommendation at a regional meeting in Apia in 1961, to provide a program of community education for women (Sue 1982:62).

Regional Organizations

The CETC was a cooperative effort with the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations providing two essential posts, and the Fiji government which seconded staff assignments and made available the site and buildings (SPC 1981:1).³ Significantly, the centre is the only SPC activity exclusively available to women (Ibid.). It is also the only centre of its kind which provides home economics training for women in order that they may return to their villages or national governments as community workers, women's interest officers, and home economics teachers.

Between 1963 and 1985 over five-hundred women have undertaken the ten-month training course (Goodwillie & Iechte 1986:61).⁴ The trainees come

from countries within the SPC region and range in age from their mid twenties to their early fifties (Hancock 1980:42). Trainees are taught by the principal, two permanent teaching staff, three members of the Mobile Community Training Unit (MCTU), and visiting lecturers including doctors, dentists, nutritionists, public health workers, rural development and youth officers, and agricultural officers (Sue 1982:62). The curriculum, with slight variation, has covered the topics of food and nutrition, home gardening, home management and improvement, clothing and textiles, family life and health (including family planning and pre-natal care), club organization and community development approaches (including youth work), teaching techniques (including media and visual aids), consumer education, and income generating activities (including handicrafts) (Ibid.).

In practical terms, the center has produced graduates who are able to make their own soap, construct a smokeless oven from a kerosene drum and cement mixture comprising coconut fibre for strength, build a water-sealed latrine, or put together a cupboard or bed from scrap material lying around most villages (Hancock 1980:42). Being versed in town lifestyle, the graduates are also able to judge the quality and quantity of packaged food; they can, in short, face a supermarket with confidence (ibid).

In 1978 the MCTU was established to provide follow-up training to CETC graduates and community workers in the region. The unit travels to the various countries, spending four to eight weeks in each, offering short courses in community development, food, nutrition, health, and family resource management (Sue 1982:63). Each program is planned in consultation with the requesting government to ensure its appropriateness.

In 1982 the CETC was reviewed and recommendations given. In response to women's changing lifestyle and needs, the 1983 curriculum incorporated many more subjects which lay outside the conventional domestic sphere such as

first-aid, psychology skills in order to understand human behavior, carpentry, small business management (including cost-pricing techniques), purchasing of raw materials, record keeping, basic accounting, and commercial law practices (PWBN 1983a:6). By 1984 a new curriculum was officially drawn up which emphasizes community development, women's development, and participation of women in the socio-economic development and decision-making processes of their communities (PWRB 1984a:3).

While the degree of success of the CETC seems a point of debate, most would agree that it is helping to bridge the gap between the earth oven and the gas cooker, and between traditional medicine and current (western) ideas on health, hygiene, and sanitation (Hancock 1980:42). The spin-offs have included better health and less endemic disease, fewer epidemics, material resourcefulness, and knowledge of budgeting and household management (Ibid.). In short, the CETC's contribution to enabling women to cope with the sudden introduction of western ideas and goods, and to avoid the trap of over-sophistication in instruction and technology, is significant.

Other SPC programmes which concern women include:

1. public health-- diabetes detection and prevention, prevention of respiratory diseases in pre-school children, cancer research, and a regional health survey for women;
2. rural technology project which promotes the utilization of solar energy for solar stills to desalinate salt water, solar dryers for food preservation, solar power to provide electricity to homes, and water pumps;
3. rural employment promotion which aims to identify areas of employment opportunities for people living in rural areas (PWBN 1983b:7).

Finally, there is the SPC's Women's Resource Bureau, a spin-off of the Seminar of South Pacific Women, Papeete, July 1981. The bureau is regarded as the start of better coordination and communication in the area of women and development (Goodwillie & Lechte 1986:58). The bureau: 1) acts as a clearing house for compiling and disseminating information concerning

women's projects, skilled leaders or people active in women's affairs, ongoing activities of women's organizations etc.; 2) prepares guidelines for project formulation, appraisal and evaluation; 3) maintains linkages with other organizations; 4) assists in the identification of local talent and its development through training and involvement in activities and the provision of training material and aids; 5) encourages and assists countries in the establishment or strengthening of national focal points and coordinating mechanisms involving governmental and non-governmental organizations; 6) assists as a catalyst in promoting cooperative action amongst donor agencies; 7) assists countries, on request, to develop cooperative inter-country activities; and 8) assists countries, on request, in the appraisal of proposals for or by donor agencies, and by assisting in the establishment of mechanisms for their effective implementation (PWBN 1983a:2-3).

In addition to the SPC there are many other regional organizations working with women, encouraged by the U.N. Decade for Women and the increasing momentum of the women's movement. These regional organizations include the South Pacific Bureau for Economic Cooperation (SPEC), University of the South Pacific/Centre for Applied Studies in Development (USP/CASD), Pacific Conference of Churches (PCC), World Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA)/Ofis Bilong Ol Meri, Pacific Theological College (PTC)/Women's Studies, Pacific Pre-School Council, Pacific Women's Association, and the Pacific Women's Resource Centre (PWRC).

USP's activities in women's development have amounted to workshops, through its extension centers, on handicrafts production and women writers; work with the the Pacific Pre-School Council's correspondence course for pre-school teachers; assisting women in satellite communication link-up; the creation of a Women's Programme Officer with the USP/CASD in 1979; and in

initiating a women's studies course (Goodwillie & Lechte 1986:60). Claire Slatter has played a vital role as Project Officer in stimulating research and publication of materials on topics such as traditional medicines, appropriate technology, fishing, and health as related to women (Ibid.). In 1978 a USP Women's Reference Group was also established to advise the Vice Chancellor on women in development issues (Crocombe 1982:24). It is also claimed that more women are reached through the program of Continuing Education, through the extension services, than through any other area (Ibid.:25).

The Fiji center has involved rural women in a variety of workshops emphasizing the improvement of the quality of handicrafts. The Kiribati center has had a two year project teaching the children (mostly girls) weaving skills (Ibid.). Tonga has had a village project assisting people (many of whom are women) to learn basic English. In the Solomon Islands the center was asked by a group of fourteen women for help to improve their skills in creative and report writing (Ibid.). This resulted in two workshops. In Vanuatu a group of women were desiring to write a book about Vanuatu women. The extension center has been encouraging this project and planned to have a satellite link with the women from the 1982 Solomon Islands Writers Workshop and those of Vanuatu (Ibid.).

Churches have also been a stimulus to women's development. The Melanesian Council of Churches and the PCC, in addition to overseas bodies such as the World Council of Churches and Australian Council of Churches, have shifted their emphases on dogmatic theological issues to international concerns such as a nuclear free Pacific, racism, sexism etc. (Goodwillie & Lechte 1986:60). In 1977, following decisions and resolutions of the Pacific Churches Assembly of Women, the PCC was urged to establish a program of women's work (Ibid.). The next year Deaconess Unaisi Matawalu of Fiji was

appointed coordinator. In 1981 over one-hundred Christian women met in Fiji to develop strategies for follow-up in their local churches, and sent resolutions to the decision-making body of the PCC at its fourth assembly in Tonga (Ibid.). It was at this time that the post of the PCC Women's Work Officer was accepted. Recent changes in the PCC, however, have resulted in the dismissal of nearly all of its staff, including the women's post, which means that the women have lost a coordinator to help bring their plans to fruition (Ibid.).

The world YWCA established a South Pacific Area Office in 1974. It has mostly assisted women's groups in planning and funding projects especially in the non-government area (Goodwillie & Lechte 1986:61). Ofis Bilong Ol Meri is based in Nandi, and represents the final phase of the South Pacific Area Office. It works with the western Pacific countries of PNG, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, New Caledonia, Fiji, Tuvalu and Kiribati in areas of leadership training and planning and funding events (Ibid). It also contributes to the information network in the region.

The Pacific Women's Association (formed in the mid-seventies?) was known for its spin-off organization, the Pacific Women's Resource Centre (PWRC). In 1975 it was agreed that the role of the PWA was to coordinate existing national organizations and to collect news and information, disseminating it to women throughout the Pacific (PWRC 1977:5). Where national organizations did not exist the PWA worked with provincial or local organizations. Essentially, the PWA provided a forum through which women could play an active part in national and regional development; provided the advantages of unanimity of action and the pooling of resources; enabled the expression of opinion amongst women's organizations; fostered research and was a data base for the needs, interests, and situation of Pacific women;

and educated and advised in matters of self-help (Ibid.:6-7). In 1978, only two years after its founding, the PWRC closed due to financial and organizational problems (Goodwillie & Lechte 1986:59). What is not known at the time of writing is whether the PWA still exists. The lack of data available on it would seem to suggest its demise.

International Organizations

International organizations (also NGOs) working with Pacific women include the Asia and Pacific Centre for Women and Development (APCWD), U.N. programs for women, International Women's Tribune Centre, Commonwealth Secretariat, Girl Guides, Country Women's Association, YWCA, Foundation for the Peoples of the South Pacific (FSP), International Human Assistance Programme (IHAP), Asia Foundation, World Vision and other independent religious groups, Soroptomists, the Pan-Pacific South East Asia Women's Association, Business and Professional Women's Club, and the Women and Development Network of Australia (Lechte 1982:3; Goodwillie & Lechte 1986:61).

The APCWD began as a regional training center for Pacific women under the auspices of the U.N. Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP). It was located in Tehran, Iran and, as of 1978, was working with thirty-six member and associate-member governments of Asia and the Pacific (PWRC 1978a:2). The Pacific countries are Nauru, Tonga, W. Samoa, Tuvalu, Cook Islands, Fiji, Solomon Islands, Kiribati and, as of 1978, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. More recently, the center has been reshuffled and become the Asia Pacific Development Centre in Kuala Lumpur (Goodwillie & Lechte 1986:61). It serves as a resource center, running workshops for women and stimulating research on women in the Pacific and Asia under the title of the Integration of Women in Development Programme (Ibid.). It has also been known for its Women's Resource Book, 1979 (Ibid.:58). ESCAP has further promoted training of rural women in income

raising activities by subsidizing projects and workshops (Ibid.:61).

Other U.N. programs are funded through the U.N. Voluntary Fund for the U.N. Decade for Women, the U.N. Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA), or the International Labor Organization (ILO) (Ibid.). The UNFPA projects have included the establishment of a women's program at the Pacific Theological Training College and support for the Tuvalu Women's Association. Further, the ILO has played a prominent role in promoting women's businesses in PNG, helping female delegates to attend ILO conferences, and supporting a Rural Women's Training Officer to assist in coordinating projects within the U.N. system (Ibid.). Indirectly, through its Decade for Women, the U.N. has given rise to new groups such as the International Women's Tribune Centre, based in New York. Like the many organizations above, it serves as a resource center and network service, supporting a topic oriented newsletter, technical assistance and training programs, and the production of regional resource books (Ibid.; Lechte 1982:2).

A final international organization for which there are data is the Commonwealth Secretariat. Its emergence has been relatively recent. It is noted for its workshops in Western Samoa in 1981 and PNG in 1982; for its assistance in funding Pacific women to attend meetings like the Women and Food Conference in Sydney; and for producing a quality handicraft marketing handbook (Goodwillie & Lechte 1986:60-61).

National and Local Level: Case Studies from Five Pacific Countries

Response of regional, international, and non-governmental organizations to the U.N. Decade for Women and to socio-economic change in the Pacific is only part of the picture. What is most interesting and crucial to the study of women's response is the actions of various governments and local/national women's groups. It is the latter which portray the grass-roots quality of

the Pacific women's movement-- its continuing flexibility and responsiveness.

The notion of women's clubs in the Pacific was originally imposed by the wives of colonial officers and missionaries. These groupings are changing now. They are gathering their own momentum and reflect more a blend of local tradition and modern or western group structure. As will be seen, some are based on traditional customs and values. In any event, the clubs which exist today, or are emerging, can no longer be labelled as colonial enterprises but are taking on a shape of their own. They may more accurately be described as indigenous responses to changes in Pacific lifestyle and society. Going from western Melanesia to central Polynesia, women's organizations in Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Fiji, Tonga, and W. Samoa will be examined.

Papua New Guinea:

Overview:

The following section examines general aspects of women's clubs in Papua New Guinea, national programs for women, and then provincial activities in East New Britain, Eastern Highlands, East Sepik, Madang, Milne Bay and New Ireland provinces. From 1958 onwards the Australian administration endeavored to advance women by expanding formal education for girls, and by introducing new forms of vocational training in such areas as nursing and teaching. Also, new non-formal education programs for adult women were introduced (Hiari 1977:8). Women's work in Port Moresby began in the 1960s, through the YWCA and the Methodist Mission. Clubs in the villages began before that, though the dates vary, depending on where there were missionaries and wives of colonial government servants. By 1977 there were more than 1,000 clubs reaching approximately 80,000 women (Ibid.). Clubs have focused on cooking instruction, hygiene, nutrition, home nursing, childcare, craft-making, sports and social activities. Generally, people have believed that the clubs have effectively raised the standards of living in the villages and towns, besides offering women a channel through which to voice their opinions.

The early club activities usually included a club hymn and prayer, and depended upon visits by expatriates and later, welfare officers. Club structure resembled that of European organizations, with a president, secretary, and treasurer. Membership tended to cut across the non-western social structure. These clubs focussed on "domestic" or handicraft skills, and Bible study. Some argue that an undesirable legacy of this style of club was that it isolated women from men (Willis 1975:28). A second criticism or observation that most would agree with is that the clubs collapsed or stagnated upon the departure of the "external authority."

Although it is not clear when clubs began gathering their own momentum and style, the changes have been significant. Membership, for example, is sometimes restricted to those with specific clan affiliations (without regard to age or sex); the rationale here being that it was easier to work cooperatively with, or control the behavior of, one's kin than with "outsiders." Decision-making may tend to be more "communal" and demand the audience of all members than would be the case in the colonial structured clubs because of the fear of being accused. Ritual may also play an important part as seen below in the wok meri group. Activities of contemporary clubs also show a marked shift from emphasizing primarily domestic skills, to fostering primarily productive or business skills. Clearly, women are taking more part in the cash sector of the economy, in starting and running bakeries, craft shops, clothing shops, cattle farming, and cash cropping (Hiari 1977:8). Contemporary needs of women have been addressed by the training centers throughout the country which, although not along the same lines as a club, offer courses to women or couples in appropriate technology, cash cropping projects, and other aspects of village development.

Government Action:

The peak of the colonial administration's adult or community education courses, which were increasingly aimed at women, was in the mid-sixties and early seventies (Kekedo 1982:1). Women's groups were targeted for community education programs. In 1971 the House of Assembly motioned that women be encouraged to involve themselves in all aspects of development-- that is, in education, in local government councils, education boards and the House of Assembly (if necessary reserving places for them in these institutions), in commercial enterprises, and in the public service (Ibid.:2).

In 1973 the government launched its famous Eight-Point Improvement

Plan, with the seventh point calling for a, "Rapid increase in the equal and active participation by women in economic and social activities" (Ibid.:3). It should be kept in mind that the aim was seen as a social goal and planners thus relegated women to the category of welfare (Nakikus 1982:1). In 1974 an Advisor on Women's Affairs was appointed to the Prime Minister. In addition, there was the "Section" within the Social Department Division in the then Department of Provincial Affairs. The advisor served in the policy development unit while the Section was directly responsible for programs (Ibid.). Government grants were also made to women delegates at this time, to attend the International Women's Year conferences. This included a National Women's Convention in Port Moresby in 1975 and a convention in Rabaul in 1976 (Schoeffel 1983:21). To properly reflect the government decentralization strategy, it was decided at the Port Moresby conference that each province would have a Provincial Council of Women (Ibid.).

In 1975 the National Council of Women (NCW) was established as a non-governmental organization and was formally recognized by national parliament through an act of incorporation four years later (Bonnell 1982:6). The aim of the NCW is to foster understanding among national women, represent their views (publicizing where necessary), work in close cooperation with other groups or organizations (including provincial councils), and participate in, or support, any business or other activity which benefits the community or women in particular (Ibid.:13). The NCW has brought to public attention issues on alcohol, prostitution, adultery, domestic violence, over-importation of handicrafts, and the adverse impact of large national development projects like Ok Tedi and the Kavieng Fish Cannery (Ibid.:6). Being an independent organization, the NCW has the right to question or criticize the government concerning discrimination against young women. Over the years it has developed a strong political voice, encouraging the need to take women

into account in development planning (SRF 1980a:8).

The Council has been government supported (until such time that it can stand on its own). As of 1980 it had a staff of ten, with an annual budget of over K100,000/US\$145,000 (Ibid.:9). The NCW's member organizations are the provincial councils of women comprising over one-thousand women's church fellowships, village women's clubs, sporting associations, youth groups, and other women's organizations. While provincial councils are the primary strength of the government development strategy, the NCW is the coordinating body (Ibid.).

In 1978 the NCW held a three-week women's leaders' workshop with the aim of teaching women about appropriate technology, club management, agriculture, livestock, nutrition, family planning, and business (Ibid.). From this, it was decided that the provincial councils would plan, organize and fund a series of similar workshops. By 1980 six had been held with the national government having given K94,000/US\$135,000 for the workshops (Ibid.).

The workshops encountered difficulties, not least of which concerned the coordination of national and provincial bodies. Accordingly, the NCW began putting more effort into supporting the provincial councils which were already emerging as groups in their own right. As of 1980 the NCW was working to get the provincial governments to fund offices, centers, and one or two full-time staff for each provincial council of women (Ibid.:9). In 1980 the NCW also received funds from an international development group to undertake village development and pay living allowances for village extension workers. Up to sixty women leaders were to be trained to work in their own villages, with the expectation that more income-generating and self-help projects would result (Ibid.:10).

While the provincial councils were expected to be the working arm of the NCW, this was neither reflected in the expenditure pattern of 1981 nor in the degree to which the councils were active. For example, in February of that year, only fourteen out of a total of twenty provincial councils were operating projects (Schoeffel 1983:24). Furthermore, in spite of the NCW's ideal of supporting rural women, twenty-one out of thirty of these projects were in urban areas (Ibid.). Projects included airport kiosks, a poultry farm, childcare centers, women's centers, second-hand clothing shops, small dress factories, hostels, bus services, craft shops, pot plant shops, plantations, vegetable gardens, and take-away food shops.

In 1976 the Women's Affairs section was transferred from the Prime Minister's department to the Office of Home Affairs where a full-time officer coordinated women's programs through liaison with provincial offices of Home Affairs, Community Development, and Family Welfare. It did this in consultation with the Central Planning Office, the NCW, and women's provincial councils (Ibid.:21). In the early 1980s the Office of Home Affairs became the Department of Community and Family Services. Through the welfare/community development offices, women's advancement officers were employed. As of 1981 there was evidence that considerable progress was being made by these departments in identifying the particular needs of women in the provinces, in rural and urban settings, according to their various cultural and economic circumstances (Ibid.:22). Moreover, the approach taken represented a significant advance on the conventional "home economics" approach to women's development (Ibid.).

In addition to the NCW and Office of Home Affairs, the Office of Village Development has played a role in the advancement of women. The office was part of the Prime Minister's department. It sponsored community grants and fellowships, some of which were directed to rural women's organizations,

and ran a series of workshops at the national and provincial levels emphasizing leadership skills (Ibid.:21). These workshops showed promise in being able to stimulate the formation of village women's associations (Ibid.:23). However, the 1980 reorganization of government and subsequent reallocation of funds curtailed most of these programs. Their present status is not clear.

A further impetus for women's advancement has come from the Department of Commerce, formerly known as the Department of Business Development, established in 1971. In 1977 it became the Department of Commerce and Industry. One of its aims has been to increase women's participation in business. A women's project officer is employed in the department's Women's Project Section (Ibid.:23). Coinciding with the International Women's Year and U.N. Decade for Women, the UNDP/ILO and Department of Commerce sponsored a "Promotion of Women in Business" project. Other activities of the department have encouraged business awareness among women, identified business opportunities for women, assessed the needs of agencies and resource people and assisted them, and liaised with provincial business development officers in women's projects (Ibid.).

The "Promotion of Women in Business" project operated four provincial centers where, after initial surveys and visits, a women's investment corporation was established (Ibid.). The women invest money as groups (clubs, clan groupings etc.) and later the money is invested in a small business venture managed by women under the guidance of the ILO officer and national counterpart (Ibid.).⁵ The four centers are in:

1. The Eastern Highlands Province: operational since 1976. The Goroka Women's Investment Corporation (GWIC; see below) operates a small coffee bar, take-away food shop, and a coffee plantation;
2. Madang Province: the Madang Women's Investment Corporation has purchased a candle-making venture from a local church organization;

3. Milne Bay Province: the Milne Bay Women's Investment Corporation has established a take-away food shop run by five local women; and
4. New Ireland Province: an ILO officer, in 1983, was in the process of forming a women's investment corporation (Ibid.:24).

Further, the Department of Commerce was training women in business through the Laloki College for General Business Development (graduates include female Business Development Officers) and the Women's Project Section. Its work included assistance for provincial women's project officers to gain on-the-job experience and in-service training through their work in the field (Manumanua 1982:3).⁶ The number of female graduates from Laloki College has been very low as seen in the following figures (Ibid.):

<u>Year</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
1979	26	2
1980	16	3
1981	18	4
1982	<u>25</u>	<u>5</u>
Total	85	14

The Women's Project Section was created in 1979. It assisted women's business projects (providing managerial, financial, and technical services and advice); implemented the ILO/Commerce "Promotion of Women in Business" project; conducted research; investigated the availability of finance for women's commercial activities); and published brochures on all aspects of women's commercial activities (Ibid.:4).

Training courses within the Section focussed on shareholding, numeracy, retail management, and business awareness (Ibid.:5). Additional courses for women were provided by the Small Industries Research and Development Center and at the Weaving Training Centre, within the Department of Commerce (Ibid.:6). Emphasis was placed on weaving and the production of leather goods. The Section has also carried out study tours for ILO counterparts in PNG and for Business Development Officers (BDOs) overseas; fellowships for overseas training; workshops for female BDOs; and, through an ESCAP/FAO

joint project, the training of rural women in income-raising projects (Ibid.:7-8).

Unfortunately, difficulties have beset the Department of Commerce. Initially the short-sighted decision to abolish the General Business Training Branch directly affected the training of female BDOs. Then, in 1983, the government decided to reduce its services (Manumanua 1986:143). As a result of the cutbacks, the Department of Commerce (within which the Women's Project Section existed) was scrapped, thus discontinuing some activities, reducing others, and transferring the rest to other departments (Ibid.). The Department of Industrial Development, through its Information and Liaison Section, has made allowances to continue some functions formerly belonging to Commerce. However, there has been no clear indication as to which tasks are to be continued (Ibid.).

Before looking at women's development in the provinces, it is interesting to reflect upon the political strength of women at the national level thus far. PNG women, as of 1978, had formed an electoral lobby which allowed them to protest against any government decisions with which they disagreed (PWRC 1978a:6). Their strength was exemplified by the defeat of a bill which proposed to legalize 24-hour drinking (Ibid.). Women's political strength at the national level derived from support of the provincial councils as far back as 1963. The story of women's fight against alcohol shows the importance of women's clubs in empowering them at the national level. In 1963 hundreds of Tolai women marched on Rabaul's council house to protest the effects of men's drinking on home life (Maskelyne 1975:41). By the end of the year women proposed an end to liquor licenses in the Lae area. Church and community women's clubs held joint meetings to formulate a plan of opposition to the issue of storekeepers licenses (Ibid.). In 1965

women's clubs of the Gazelle Peninsula met in Rabaul, bringing together four-hundred women to meet the U.N. visiting mission. Only then, or as a result, did the administration acknowledge PNG's serious drinking problem and in 1971 set up a Commission of Inquiry into Alcoholic Drink (Ibid.:43). The Commission, in turn, recommended that by court order a wife could receive a portion of her husband's salary in order to support herself and the children. Legislation incorporating this recommendation came into force in early 1974 (Ibid.:44).

Following independence, women's opinion turned increasingly against alcoholic drink. About five-hundred Gorokan women addressed the Liquor Licensing Commission (LLC) and supported the prohibition of alcohol in their area (EHPCW 1975:149). The New Ireland Women's Association asked the government to make further restrictions on liquor trading hours. In Bougainville the women protested so strongly at the annual sitting of the LLC (threatening that they would attack the stores) that the Commission revoked the three licences (Ibid.:47). In Rabaul women's groups' unceasing criticism of the large number of licence applications resulted in the LLC refusing all sixteen applications (Ibid.:48).

Provincial and Local Level

In PNG there are three provinces which have been in the forefront of women's development: East New Britain, Eastern Highlands, and the East Sepik. The earliest women's associations in East New Britain were introduced by Methodist missionaries (today the Methodist church is incorporated as the United Church of Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands) in the 1870s (Meleisea 1982:52). Interestingly, the organizational structure of the Methodist church suited the establishment of women's groups in the area; a decentralized system was followed in which parishes corresponded with local political groups, although incorporating several of these in the early

days (Schoeffel 1983:11). Both island and European missionaries worked with the local women, introducing religious instruction and new domestic skills.⁷ In 1921 the colonial administration changed to Australian hands and promoted programs in health and family welfare through women's clubs, i.e. pre-existing church groups (Ibid.:12).

Today village women's groups are affiliated with one of three main church women's groups in the province, the United Church Women's Fellowship, the Catholic Women's Association, and the Seventh Day Adventist Dorcas Society (Meleisea 1982:58). As of 1983 these three women's associations were still predominantly organized as devotional and domestic-religious educational groups rather than as broadly based economic or service groups.

The United Church parish has a Women's Fellowship association which has assigned duties such as cleaning and decorating the church, or meeting for devotions and social occasions (Schoeffel 1983:12). Social occasions are often synonymous with fund raising, one form being the kapti ('tea party'). Each member attending a kapti contributes a small cash donation which is put into a fund and used by the Fellowship (Ibid.). Funds are mostly used for church purposes though in a few cases have been used to start small business ventures. A good example of the latter is the Women's Fellowship Store in Rapiok village, started in the early 1970s to raise funds to buy a church generator (Meleisea 1986:67).

Several expatriate mission staff, a church women's officer, and various government departments have run training programs in home economics through the Women's Fellowship groups. Equal emphasis is given to Bible study and worship, learning, recreation, and service (Schoeffel 1983:13).

Stimulated by the Women's Fellowships of the United Church, the Catholic Women's Association, Kibung Bilong Ol Meri Katolik, held its first

meeting in May 1978. A further impetus to this fellowship was the perception of Catholic laywomen that their needs and interests were not being met by the secular organization, Nilai Ra Warden ('voice of women'), which drew much of its support from the United Church (Ibid.:14). The notion to form an association of their own was an indigenous one-- a response to the fact that government assistance to women (from the Provincial Welfare and Community development Office, the NCW, and direct subsidies) was being channelled through women's organizations. The formation of a separate organization was also an indigenous response insofar as membership was in accord with long-standing political factions within the Tolai community (Ibid.).⁸ Not surprisingly, however, the specific issues they singled out reflected the continuing influence of church and missionary values. The women disagreed, for example, about liberalizing divorce laws and legalizing prostitution (Ibid.).

The Association has member groups among most Catholic parishes in the province. As of 1980 there were twenty-two parish associations with approximately three-thousand members (Ibid.). The Association endeavors to encourage church work and values, improve the position of women in family and community, and promotes business opportunities in the villages. In 1982 funds were being sought through catholic women's agencies in Australia and New Zealand for four women's poultry projects, two piggeries, five village stores, and three tailoring businesses (Ibid.).

In the Seventh day Adventist Church the women's branch is the Dorcas Society. In addition to religious duties, the Society is encouraged to work toward improving family and village health and hygiene, and family services (Ibid.:15). Owing to this church's strong interest in health and nutrition, teaching programs have been organized for women throughout the Dorcas societies. The groups also engage in fund raising, including charging fees for

classes in home-crafts, bazaars and fetes, and even contracting out their labor to local businessmen or planters (Ibid.).

Independent of these three major church groups, there is the Nilai Ra Warden, founded in 1971. Initially, the association gained support from Tolai women who were concerned about the advent (or effect) of self-government and liquor licensing (Ibid.). Funds were raised to buy sewing machines and other equipment for training programs, some of which were re-distributed in a traditional manner at meetings (Ibid.). In 1980 the Nalia Ra Warden became officially recognized and renamed as the Provincial council of Women.⁹

The provincial council arose in response to the incorporation of the National Council of Women in 1978 and, as of 1981, operated from the Provincial Welfare office (Ibid.:16). In spite of its non-governmental status, it advises the government on women's affairs and receives assistance in its projects from welfare and community development offices.

In 1981 the Provincial Council of Women operated two small businesses: an airport kiosk and a passenger mini-bus (Ibid.). By 1982 the kiosk venture had overcome its initial administrative difficulties and was operating successfully.¹⁰ Internally, however, the PCW has faced constraints-- namely that women belonging to the church-linked organizations feel their call is to church oriented service and they question the function or utility of the council. Also, some fear they may be dominated within the council by women belonging to other churches (ibid). These tensions reflect a rootedness to traditional rivalries as well as to divisions or "circles" of the colonial past. Perhaps this tension is typical of women's clubs in other contemporary Pacific societies.

Aside from the above major women's groupings, Tolai women remain

heavily engaged in the production and marketing of local food crops. Their food crops are usually of lower prestige or "value" than that of the men, who have taken on a more prestigious role as producers of cash crops for export (Meleisea 1982:59). Rural women then, sell tubers, vegetables, coconuts, eggs, betel nuts, peppers, poultry, fish, cooked food, fruit, and a small number of handicrafts such as baskets, mats, and seed or shell ornaments (Ibid.).

Settlement patterns of market women reflect economic specialization in that inland women sell mostly tubers and vegetables while coastal women sell a more diverse range of products. Through their marketing activities Tolai women accumulate traditional shell money (accepted for many products) to help pay school fees, to purchase trade store goods, and for other family expenses (Ibid.:59). From the women's viewpoint, the market is valued socially too insofar as it enables them to meet, relax, and exchange information. Obviously this small scale marketing is a response of the Tolai women's primary role in agriculture to contemporary circumstances-- the cash/market economy.

In spite of the above adaptations, Schoeffel argues that as horticulturalists, the traditional role of Tolai women has been expanded without any corresponding gains in economic control or social prestige (Schoeffel 1983:26). Moreover, western notions of the appropriate female roles in homemaking have been extended to women through government programs and the churches. This has ultimately increased women's burdens and is in conflict with their traditional productive role (Ibid.). The case of the Tolai then, is a good example of what has been the nature of women's groups in the Pacific and why the women's movement, with all its arguments and awareness campaigns, is important.

In the Eastern Highlands Province there exists several renown women's

organizations: Wok Meri, Goroka Women's Investment Corporation (GWIC), Kora-ru Women's Association, and the Eastern Highlands Provincial Council of Women (EHPCW). Wok Meri is widespread and unparalleled in anthropological accounts of PNG highland societies (Sexton 1981:55). The movement actually began in the Chuave District of Chimbu (now Simbu) Province in the early 1960s, and then moved steadily east into Goroka District of the Eastern Highlands Province. Wok Meri is pidgin for "women's work". In the Chuave District the movement is referred to as Kafaina which is commonly used as a personal name (ibid).

As a savings and exchange system based on small autonomous groups of women (numbering two to thirty-five), Wok Meri members collect and save their earnings from selling vegetables, small amounts of coffee, or their labor, and maintain exchange relations in the group. The movement is concerned with women's participation in both traditional exchange and modern business activities. Accordingly, in Wok Meri women assume all the roles and have established a modified western-style banking system (Sexton 1984:121).

Each group engages in savings and exchange activities under the leadership of one or two vena namba or 'big women', who's role is similar to that of a 'big man'. Within each group two male representatives are selected from the lineage or sub-lineage: a kuskus (book-keeper) and a siaman or 'chairman' (Sexton 1982a:172). Members are the wives of lineage and sublineage mates who live in the same village and so reflects an already present kinship unit which carries an important social function (Sexton 1984:123). Most active women in Wok Meri are at least in their forties. This is in accordance with the customary perception that by the time a woman has reached middle age she has established a solid relationship with her

husband, has proved her loyalty and won respect, besides having greater autonomy and access to money than younger wives (Ibid.:124). Because the wives of older lineage/sub-lineage mates have worked together for many years in exchange payments and life-cycle rites, the Wok Meri members are able to embark upon their new social and exchange activities with a firm foundation (Ibid.:123).

Each group develops under the tutelage of a more experienced group which is referred to as the "mothers," the relationship between the two groups being equivalent to that between mother and daughter. Instead of giving the child food, Wok Meri mothers loan their "daughters" small sums of money to stimulate savings by the daughters and make their work "grow" (Sexton 1981:56). When the daughter group comes of age, that is, is knowledgeable, they sponsor their own group, described as "bearing a child" (Ibid.).

Birth and marriage are major themes of Wok Meri rituals and both are re-enacted at all-night gatherings of mother and daughter groups. Fictive affinal and fictive consanguineal ties are established between the two by, "...the `daughters'/bride-receivers paying a cash brideprice to the `mothers'/bride-givers for the knowledge of Wok Meri, metaphorically described as the noiri `girl' (Sexton 1984:126)." The `girl' is actually a western-style rubber doll and/or bilum (string-bag) filled with coins given to the `daughters'/bride-receivers at a private meeting of the two groups (Ibid.). The doll or bag is decorated like a bride and after an all-night gathering (reflecting a "betrothal") the symbolic bride is given in marriage-- that is, the `mothers' ritually give birth to their `daughters'. The payment of brideprice and marriage of the Wok Meri bride are later repeated in the `washing hands' ceremony, the climax of the group's participation in Wok Meri (Ibid.).

Before the `washing hands` ceremony, however, the group also meets sporadically in the `big woman's` house to collect money and bring members up to date (Ibid.:125). As the meetings are usually held on a Friday evening, a woman can deposit that day's earnings from market before she is tempted to spend it on tobacco or before her husband or children ask her for money. Each woman retains individual ownership of the money she saves. The money is placed in a separate cloth or string bag which is then placed in a common suitcase or box and locked in a special room in the back of the `big woman's` house (Ibid.). A book-keeper records each woman's contribution and so the women have come to regard their system as a kind of banking operation.

At the `washing hands` ceremony three important events occur. First, sponsors announce the amount of money each group has accumulated and thereby ends a prohibition on spending money totalling up to K2,500 per group (Ibid.:127). Second, brideprice and marriage rituals are re-enacted, also signifying that the `daughters`/bride-receivers are empowered to hold their own `washing hands` ceremony in a year or two. The largest exchanges of cash in Wok Meri are between the mother-daughter groups, approximating the cash component of a real brideprice-- about K200-K250 (Ibid.). Unlike in a real marriage, however, the "brideprice" is a loan to be repaid to the `daughters`/bride-receivers when they hold their own ceremony. Third, women from Wok Meri groups throughout the region attend the ceremony to make small loans (K2-K20) to the ceremony's sponsors. At one `washing hands` ceremony in 1977, attended by more than two-thousand people, one-hundred-and-fourty loans were made (Ibid.). Sponsors act as "banks"; the loans they receive are like bank deposits which are then repaid when the creditor's group `washes hand` (Ibid.).

The money saved by the group, in addition to the 'brideprice' and loans received at the above ceremony, totals a substantial amount of capital, ranging from K1,000-K4,500 (Ibid.). This money is then invested in businesses-- trucking and storekeeping being the most popular (as with men too in the highlands). While trucking may not be a profitable venture from a commercial standpoint, it is appealing to Wok Meri groups because public motor vehicles (PMVs) or pick-up trucks are symbolic of the old and new economic order (Sexton 1981:57). That is, they are expensive, visible markers of prestige like traditional valuables, are also associated with bisnis, a pidgin word connoting development, progress, and financial success. Obviously the value of trucks is also practical in that they represent transportation in places which are distant from the main road. While trucking has remained attractive through the late 1970s, more recently Wok Meri groups have begun considering and adopting alternative investments in large-scale and potentially more lucrative enterprises such as buying coffee for re-sale to processors, wholesale trade, plantation ownership, and truck leasing for fuel transport (Sexton 1984:129).

Two other practices of Wok Meri are the fining of men who ridicule Wok Meri women as they dance along the roads, and the development of "women's courts." While it is customary to compensate for an insult or injury through negotiations between the kin groups, Wok Meri women do not want to wait for traditional measures of justice; they demand immediate payment from men (Sexton 1980:304). The women's moots, through which women as well as men are fined, and the sanction of shaming the offender by amassing women outside the person's home, are even more significant departures from tradition (Ibid.). Such departures suggest women's dissatisfaction with traditional male-dominated methods of conflict resolution, and determination to experiment with an alternative solution (Ibid.).

It is instructive to reflect upon the significance of Wok Meri as a response to a changing lifestyle. The movement developed out of women's disapproval of men's loose expenditure of money on gambling and beer. Wok Meri is a response to men's negligence. It allows women to safeguard their small incomes, demonstrate their competence as money managers, and to prove how much money could be accumulated if men were better stewards of the bulk of household income that they control (Sexton 1984:121). Wok Meri then, is a collective, indigenous response of women to the steady deterioration of their economic rights over the last fifty years since western contact (Ibid.:151). It is not a separatist movement, however. On the contrary, through Wok Meri, women strive to participate alongside men and express a desire for greater, not less, cooperation between the sexes (Ibid.:152). The movement is significant in that it institutionalizes collective female action, enables women to redefine property rights in relation to men, and thus increases their participation in the ceremonial and commercial sectors of society. However, Wok Meri is not just a collective effort to redress economic grievances. The two developments of fining and women's courts could have major implications for men's and women's relations in areas other than property rights (Sexton 1982a:196).

Symbolically too, Wok Meri is meaningful. The ceremonial aspects of the movement symbolically reaffirm that women are the source of wealth-- the importance of daughters and sisters whose marriages bring bridewealth to their patrikin and who, throughout their lives and after their deaths, are the source of payments made by their husbands' patrikin (Sexton 1981:60-61). Further, Wok Meri women not only produce wealth-- they can even create and reproduce, symbolically, society by themselves. In short, Wok Meri appears an ingenious solution to improving women's power and status in traditional

society, while simultaneously increasing their participation in development and the commercial sector of the economy. As one outsider commented,

It is a remarkable coincidence that Wok Meri came into the public eye during International Women's Year, because it represents what I think International Women's Year is all about. The members of Wok Meri groups have probably never heard of International Women's Year. But I sensed that these women, living on the lowest levels of the political hierarchy, were yet in control of their own immediate destiny, irrespective of the plans and policies, controls, and external changes enforced by those at the top of that hierarchy. Their hopes are perhaps unexpressed in words but admirably achieved...(Munster 1975:146).

While Wok Meri was locally developed and involved rural women, the Goroka Women's Investment Corporation (GWIC) was established with the help of the government and affected primarily urban, more western educated women.¹¹ Unlike Wok Meri, the GWIC is a corporation, founded in 1976 as a pilot project sponsored by the ILO/UNDP and the Department of Commerce. The intention of the project was to establish collective businesses and to train women in their management (Sexton 1982b:4). The corporation is based in Goroka town in the Eastern Highlands Province. Staff from the Office of Business Development (Department of Commerce), in addition to an ILO advisor and local counterpart, did the preliminary investigations into the feasibility of businesses, and then in 1979 management was turned over to Gorokan women (Ibid.).

In early 1976 a core group of women went to their villages, explained what the corporation was about, and succeeded in selling shares worth K50 apiece. Four thousand kina were raised which proved sufficient to start the corporation's first business in July 1976, an airport coffee shop (PWRC 1978a:7). The corporation expanded in 1977 to include the mumu ('earth oven') take-away food shop in Goroka's main commercial area (Sexton 1983:140). In addition to the capital raised, the GWIC received a K8,000 loan from the PNG Development Bank (for coffee production), and K5,000 from

the Village Economic development Fund grant (Ibid.). In 1980 a branch of the food shop, the liklik mumu ('little earth oven') opened at Goroka market. Although the coffee plantation scheme did not work out due to depressed world prices, the provincial financial advisor in the Business Development Office helped the corporation to explore alternative investments (Ibid.:141). As of 1983 the GWIC was planning to open two catering businesses in the then New Guinea Corporation headquarters and in the movie theatre planned for the center of town (Ibid.:140).

The salaried staff of the GWIC is comprised of the general manager, manager and clerk. They run the GWIC enterprises which, in turn, employ three women and four men (Ibid.:141). The management is responsible to the board of directors who meet quarterly, and the shareholders who meet annually.

In addition to business enterprises, the GWIC has offered courses to its shareholders, through the ILO advisor and business development training officer (Sexton 1982b:41). The shareholder's course taught basic business principles and explained the corporate structure as well as informed women about the GWIC. As an example of good planning, the courses were held for a few hours in the early evening after the women had finished their gardening chores (Ibid.). Men were also welcome to attend and, in turn, benefitted from the training. Visual materials were used to express basic concepts of share, profit, loss, income, expense, organization and financing of the GWIC, and the rights and duties of the shareholders, directors, managers and employees (Ibid.). Investors learned how their money was being spent, and long-term social goals of the GWIC were discussed (Ibid.). The course was repeated in numerous villages in 1977 and 1978. It is worthwhile noting that because the GWIC does not require persons to be shareholders to observe

the training sessions, it has become an informal resource center for non-shareholder entrepreneurs starting similar small-scale businesses.

There are other spin-off benefits from the GWIC. As of 1982 it was serving as a channel for certain government services to rural women in general. For example, the GWIC managers and a few shareholders were trained by a numeracy expert to teach basic arithmetic to illiterate women (Sexton 1982b:61). The Business Development Office was considering using shareholders as the intermediaries for starting village silkworm projects staffed by young school leavers.

The impact of the GWIC has been greatest upon the managers and directors who contribute the most effort to the corporation and are among the small number of relatively well educated, influential, and affluent (by rural standards) women in and around Goroka town (Ibid.). The GWIC reinforces this elite profile by providing opportunities to this group to participate in meetings, assess the feasibility of new businesses, and extended contacts with other people in business, government agencies and financial institutions (Sexton 1983:147). While some may argue that this kind of organization only contributes to an unwanted elite, it could also be countered that positions of privilege or leadership are inevitable and therefore the GWIC is helping to promote leaders. The GWIC has also been criticized for not addressing the deep-seated inequalities between men's and women's property rights, thereby not threatening men's economic dominance (Ibid.:149). In comparison to Wok Meri this is perhaps true. It is instructive, however, to also understand how the GWIC is esteemed by its shareholders.

The GWIC shareholders do not assess their corporation merely in terms of dividends earned. In a broader social sense, the fact that women have organized themselves to start a corporation which helps them control and

multiply their earnings, and to gain some measure of financial independence, is considered significant. Like Wok Meri, the GWIC has enabled women to expand their social repertoire to include the role of investor (Sexton 1982b:60). Furthermore, for many, the GWIC is their first investment experience and so the education given on business principles and procedures is proving very important. The GWIC also provides a forum for strengthening the kinship, friendship, economic and religious ties between its shareholders.

In addition to Wok Meri and the GWIC, two other voluntary organizations which link rural women from more than one community in the Eastern Highlands Province are the Kogaru Women's Association and the Eastern Highlands Provincial Council of Women (EHPCW). Kogaru is located in the Bena census division and is the, "...brainchild of an assimilated expatriate businessman married to a Bena man (Sexton 1982b:5)". The group began in her husband's village, and once overcoming interclan rivalry, has grown to include women from neighboring communities (Ibid.). In its early stage, the group focussed upon training in literacy, hygiene, and sewing. Later, interest shifted to commercial development with the initiative and guidance of the businesswoman.

The EHPCW in theory is the umbrella organization for all the women's groups in the province, and is their channel to the NCW. In reality, however, the EHPCW's minimal activities have been concentrated in the vicinity of the provincial capital (Ibid.). Interaction among the groups that are nominally affiliated with the council is limited. Adding further question to its reputation was the council's abortive attempt to start a craft store with a training workshop attached to it (Ibid.).

In addition to the East New Britain and Eastern Highlands provinces,

the East Sepik Province (ESP) has also been the home of successful women's projects. Perhaps one of the earliest "success stories" is taken from that of a young community worker, Materina Wai, who, at least as of 1978, was working with women at the Bagi Agricultural Centre (PWRC 1978b:5). Materina began nutrition classes and a food garden that all the women could work in and receive food from. The husbands' complaint that women were not getting paid for their work, was finally overcome, and the women continued to work together, even engaging in craft work such as crochet, weaving, tie and dye, and sewing.

Non-formal education for women has also received support from the East Sepik Council of Women. Within each district courses are taught in nutrition, health, agriculture, handicrafts, midwifery, primary health care, and construction of ferro-cement water tanks and charcoal stoves (Weeks 1984:10). The objective of the courses is to teach women so that they can go out and teach others. Women pay K5 per course and the courses are run in centers built by the women themselves (Ibid.). All ninety women's clubs in the Maprik District are involved in these centres. Through these ninety clubs the program is reaching at least four-thousand women in the district (Ibid.).

In the past, the women's training programs in Wosera, Pagwe and Maprik districts have received assistance from the East Sepik Rural Development Project Education sub-project on Agriculture Nutrition Education (Ibid.:11). This has helped support two rural female extension workers. In the courses women have learned improved agricultural techniques such as mulching, ridging, composting, crop rotation, and how to grow local greens, beans and peanuts from a "kitchen garden" for home consumption. Food preparation is taught in order that the women learn how to make tasty, nutritious meals from the vegetables, and prepare snacks such as dried fruit, peanut butter,

and fruit juices (Ibid.).

The Pagwe Centre has been assisted by the Australian Development Assistance Bureau and the Australian Council of Women. The Wosera Centre at Kumunungum is helped by the Women's Development Fund. The ultimate purpose of such funding is to enable the centers to take advantage of the above mentioned courses and to carry on extension work of their own.

In addition to the non-formal education projects, women have demonstrated their propensity to engage in bisnis, projects which will earn an income. There are dozens of clubs enthusiastically growing cabbages, raising poultry and running trade stores (Meleisea 1986:71). In the Madang, Milne Bay and New Ireland provinces women are increasingly involved with businesses. ILO advisors are helping to establish women's businesses which have the same structure as an investment corporation except that there are a larger number of shareholders and the price of the shares is smaller than say, in the GWIC (Sexton 1982b:63). The Madang and Alotau (Milne Bay) ventures are oriented towards income generation and involve women in production. The Madang corporation bought a candle factory which employs women, while the Alotau was intending (in 1982) to establish a wholesale crafts company to market artifacts produced by rural Milne Bay women (Ibid.).

The PNG case study reveals a trend towards business involvement by women's groups. Articles in the PNG Post Courier indicate the desire of local groups and the NWC to set up income-generating ventures (Ibid.:6). This trend reflects the growing perception of women that true development must provide opportunities for, or allow, women to establish their own economic base independent of men.

SOLOMON ISLANDS:

As in PNG, there has existed throughout the Solomon Islands various women's groups and clubs, most of which were initiated and run under the guidance of churches. Accordingly, the emphasis of these early clubs was on singing hymns, Bible study, sewing and infant care.

In the early 1970s the Women's Interest Section of the Ministry of Youth and Cultural Affairs appears to be a major thrust behind encouraging women's clubs (date of establishment is unclear-- most likely in 1970). The aims of the Section are to: 1) pass on the knowledge of home economics, family education, community work, and club management; 2) promote realistic programs in the above areas for rural women; 3) promote the interests of women in partnership with existing government and voluntary agencies, and village/community authorities; 4) promote the teaching of local handicrafts in order to raise the standard of work and revive cultural arts; and 5) develop and implement an integrated non-formal education scheme for women in rural and urban areas (SRF 1980b:7).

Upon the establishment of the Section, some women were sent to attend courses in home economics and other related subjects at the SPC/CEIC. Upon their return they worked in the provinces with various women's organizations or in the Section. As of 1975 there were five CEIC trainees as teachers and four more women's assistants in the country (SPC 1976:21). In 1980 the Section staff was eight, six of which were posted in the provinces.

In 1971 there were about 120 women's clubs operating in the Solomon Islands, helped by three Women's Interest workers (WCN 1971:6). By 1975 there were 139 registered women's groups; 166 in 1976; 202 in 1977; and 258 in 1978 (SRF 1980b:8). The clubs were engaged in making mats, baskets, fund raising for local schools and churches, and giving classes on health, nutrition, childcare, carpentry, sewing and family budgeting (Ibid.:6-7). One of

the explicit aims of the clubs was to get members to look critically at their village and district and ask themselves what they could do to improve the quality of life. Issues in health and hygiene seem to stand out in this period. The East Savo Women's Club, for example, joined with the island's health committee in an effort to improve local health standards (Ibid:7). Other innovations (deviations from the mission period) could be seen on Malaita where a club raised money to help build a village store, and where another club built a bakery and began baking bread as a business (Ibid.).

In May 1977 the Council of Ministers of the Solomon Islands Government adopted the proposal submitted by the Minister of Health and Medical Services that a "Solomon Islands Women's Week" be officially observed annually throughout the country (Ibid.:8). Women's Week offered time to bring attention to the roles and contribution of Solomon Islands women. In 1980 a women's writers' workshop and Family Planning courses coincided with Women's Week (Ibid.).

Also around the mid to late seventies a need for a national council of women was recognized. In late October 1982 a national workshop and conference on the establishment of a National Council of Women (NCW) were held. It comprised twenty-three participants including eight island representatives, all Women's Interest workers (recently called Social Development Assistants), church organizations, women's clubs, the YWCA, and various government departments (PWBN 1983b:3). The participants developed a policy statement and Plan of Action which reflected their decision to build the organization from the provincial level up, rather than create a central office in Honiara (Ibid.:4). In response to the Plan of Action, women's councils were being formed, and in November 1983 the NCW was formally established (PWRB 1984b:6).

By 1980 the Women's Interest Section was publishing a bi-monthly women's club newsletter containing news from women's clubs around the country and some educational information on nutrition, health, childcare, family planning, recipes and other domestic concerns (SRF 1980b:10). In addition to the newsletter, the Solomon Islands Broadcasting Corporation gave women a half-hour of free air time every Saturday night which was repeated during the week (Ibid.).

Also in 1980 the Foundation for the Peoples of the South Pacific /United States Agency for International Development (FSP/USAID) Village Women's Programme began. A year later, it had two field officers working with the Women's Interest Programme in Malaita, Guadalcanal, Makira/Ulawa, and Western provinces (Baden 1981:1). In the four provinces the program was reported to be progressing well, with some clubs expressing appreciation of the fact that regular contact was being maintained with their clubs for the first time in over eight years (Ibid.).

The Village Women's Programme has also attracted the interest of the Ministry of Trade, Industry, and Labour. In 1981 these ministries recruited two female Peace Corps Volunteers to work with village women's groups as business advisors and promoters, and to help women's sewing groups organize and run their projects (Ibid.:3).

The goal of the Village Women's Programme was to increase the involvement of women in social and economic development through local community projects in health, nutrition, and clothing production (Ibid.:12). This meant increasing the number of women's clubs and groups, and increasing the awareness of women of the value of their skills and potential (Betu 1982a:9). For the period ending March 31, 1981 a total of 27 training sessions for women's groups were held, three of which were held at Church Rural Women's Training Centres and run by church personnel (Baden 1981:12).

Also, twenty-four manual sewing machines were distributed to clubs, groups, and Rural Training Centres; eight to clubs in Malaita; two to clubs in Guadalcanal; eight to clubs in the Western Province; one to a Rural Women's Training Centre in the Central Islands Province; and five to a training center in the Makira/Ulawa Province (Ibid.:16). The latter two groups are run by the Church of Melanesia and Marist Order, respectively. During this period ten women's groups also began sewing garments for sale through local shops, co-ops etc. (Ibid.:17). In addition, two out of the eight groups proposed, set up market vegetable gardens-- both of which were at Rural Training Centres (Ibid.:18).

An example of a training center is the Tasia Training Centre run by the Church of Melanesia. Annually, it runs a series of six training courses for rural women, having twenty participants per course (Ibid.). Activities included running a demonstration market garden, growing root crops and vegetables, and raising chickens for sale on the main island of Buala (Ibid.). With funds from FSP/USAID, hoes, spades, axes and bush knives were bought, and seeds and fertilizers obtained freely from the Ministry of Agriculture and Lands (Ibid.).

For the October 1, 1981- December 31, 1981 period, workshops run by the Foundation for the Peoples of the South Pacific were held in East Are Are (Malaita) and Gizo (Western Province). The East Are Are workshop was the first of its kind to be held in that remote part of Malaita (Betu 1981:3). Fifty-five women's clubs representatives attended the workshop and received training in sewing machine maintenance, primary health care, income-generating activities, vegetable gardening, women's club organization, sewing and cooking demonstrations (Ibid.:3-4).

The Gizo workshop focussed on training club leaders and office-bearers

(18 total) how to prevent social problems in a semi-urban society (Ibid.:4). Budgeting was the highlight of the workshop, thus reflecting a relatively new need of rural and urban women. The workshop included a field trip to the Iriri Community Project which had successfully established a bakery, and a business of selling poultry, eggs, and vegetables at the Gizo market (Ibid.:5).

In 1982 FSP/USAID established four Women's Interest Base Stations-- two on Malaita (at Rokera and Takwa) and in Honiara and Gizo (Betu 1982b:4). From these stations women field workers go out to the islands for follow-up visits, open new women's clubs, or hold training workshops, spending at least one week per month in their base stations to write their reports and prepare materials for the workshops (Ibid.:5). The workshops offered courses in the usual areas of sewing, handicrafts, nutrition, budgeting, bread baking, agriculture, food preparation, and in newer subjects like union work, and the construction of raised cooking places for village kitchens, drum ovens, and simple appropriate technology.

At the beginning of 1982, 300 women's clubs were registered with the Ministry of Employment, Youth and Social Development. Of these, 130 had received assistance from FSP/USAID (Betu 1982a:10). On north Malaita, only ten clubs were established at the end of 1981 but it was hoped that 1000 women, by the year's end, could be reached through the FSP/USAID program (Ibid.:15). While club development is not new in Malaita, European-initiated clubs have been in abeyance since the mid-seventies. Apparently, through the above programs, they are being revived (see Appendix 2 for a listing of clubs and activities).

Statements from Solomon Islands women about the role of their clubs seem to be very few, as does data which are not from an overseas aid agency such as the FSP. The observation that the colonial-era clubs lagged behind

in the mid-seventies only to be rejuvenated by outside agencies or programs such as the FSP/USAID, further questions the extent of indigenous momentum. It could be argued, however, that the increasing variety of course offerings in subjects previously not dealt with by European women's leaders, is sufficient indication of indigenous momentum. Furthermore, a number of clubs have begun to initiate, on their own, programs to keep their villages clean. This has included cutting grass, making drains, paths, and other improvements (Betu 1982b:12). At least then, women are making their needs known to the extent that agencies, even if foreign, are responding. Women are taking the initiative to meet their own aspirations and improve the standards of living. It is noteworthy also that churches continue to play a significant part in establishing clubs and providing their structure, and are even part of the indigenous response to the extent that they are indigenized. In many parts of the Pacific, in fact, churches are no longer seen as colonial institutions, but have taken on a local flavor and are a forum for national opinion and programs.

Fiji:

Methodist missionaries arrived in Fiji in 1835 and sought, as did other missionaries throughout the Pacific, to raise the women from what was perceived to be a degraded status. As a result of their unquestioning belief that 19th century ethics and women's roles were the only things that could save the women, religious instruction, sewing, embroidery, and English cooking methods were taught (Schoeffel & Kikau 1980:23). Fijian women were discouraged from following their traditionally productive economic roles. As was argued earlier, this was a typical pattern found throughout the region. Although there was considerable prestige attached to the new women's skills, they were fairly useless, and so the Fijian women continued to be pre-occupied with horticulture, fishing, and the manufacture of mats and other household requirements (Ibid.:24).

In 1960 the Women's Interest Programme was established as a result of petitions received from multi-racial women's groups following an SPC workshop (SPC 1976:31). The need for coordination of women's organizations, of which there were forty in Suva alone, was tremendous (Lamont 1959:40). Staff, consisting of one Women's Interest Officer and three Home Science teachers, were hired by the Education Department (SPC 1976:31). In 1968 the program was placed under Social Welfare and, in 1972 after independence, moved to the Department of Fijian Affairs and Rural Development (Ibid.). As of 1975 there were twenty-four staff, twenty of whom were former CETC trainees (Ibid.).

Initially the program focussed on identifying and training women's leaders, but this proved ineffective and so courses were given to all women's clubs members (Ibid.). The Women's Interest Office has run annual refresher courses and keeps in touch with field-staff through monthly field reports (based on conferences with women in the villages), weekly reports,

the study of field workers' diaries, forms showing the number, type, and site of courses given etc. (Ibid.).

In July 1968 the Fiji National Council of Women was formed by concerned national women's organizations, spear-headed by the Pan-Pacific and South East Women's Association (Kamikamica 1982:42). Divisional Advisory Committees, which were set up at the four administrative divisional offices of the country, acted as the coordinating arm of the NCW (Ibid.). The council initiated many important projects such as founding a Community Information Centre (Ibid.). It also organized and supported an annual craft fair. The council depended entirely upon volunteer work and, following the World Women's Conference in Mexico, needed full-time staff to manage its increasingly complex organization. Finally, the council ceased to coordinate activities of the Divisional Advisory Women's Committees because of a lack of financial support. Conflicts of opinions between the "gracious traditionalists" and the younger members further compounded the damage (Ibid.). Disillusioned, some organizations pulled out; the largest traditionally based indigenous group, the Sogosoqo Vakamarama, withdrew its membership (ibid). Not surprisingly, the council became urban centered and in 1979 amended its constitution to accept individual members and any individual organization.

In spite of its difficulties, the NCW continued to coordinate all women's activities. Women's activities also continued through their own group efforts in the villages, in interest groups like the Quota Club, church groups (Catholic Women's League), provincial and parental groups, and professional and ethnic groups (Ibid.).

The NCW was given encouragement when the government sent three delegates to the Copenhagen Mid-Decade Conference-- two of whom were nominated

by the council (Ibid.). As of 1982 the council was being reorganized and its proposal of setting up an umbrella coordinating unit with a full-time government-funded coordinator was being considered by the government (Ibid.). The council also initiated a research project to establish the status of Fijian women. In 1982 19 organizations were affiliated with the council (ibid:44).

In 1975 women's clubs totalled 1,279 comprising over 30,000 members-- quite an increase from a total of 60 clubs in 1960 (SPC 1976:19). In 1980 there were 1,385 clubs with a membership of 30,210 (SRF 1980a:Appendix 1; for a listing of Fijian clubs in 1980 see Appendix 3). In addition to women's clubs, there was a Methodist Crafts School, operating in 1975, which took on 135 girls (Fisk 1975:29).

Many women are occupied in home-based activities which include more recently, income-earning projects. Popular activities in the rural areas are weaving and making items for presentation at traditional ceremonies (Kamikamica 1982:40). Of women's activities in general, it can be stated that women comprise the major volunteer resource in Fiji; they organize most of the fund-raising and support charitable organizations (ibid:44). Furthermore, women play a significant role in subsistence production. they produce more fish for subsistence than men and, on the larger islands, perform more hours of horticultural work than men (Schoeffel & Kikau 1980:26). In spite of women's large contribution as volunteer and subsistence workers, as late as 1980, there were very few services available to women. It would be a mistake though to think that the women simply sit around waiting for the services to appear. As in the Solomon Islands, they have been establishing clubs which fulfill their needs. In one particular area, for example, seven villages formed a "mother's club" to help out at their local school (Ibid.). In 1986 two women have spoken up for inclusion

in Fiji's Development Plan 9, as the previous plan only had one paragraph pertaining specifically to women (Douglas 1986:42).

The more recent multi-craft centers in Fiji may also help in providing women with the skills training they seek. The centers have encouraged income-generating activities for girls enrolled in their government-sponsored Homecraft and Industries Course (Goodwillie 1986:23). An ILO advisor has worked since 1984 developing resource materials, training courses and parent education in ten Fiji centres. Girls are encouraged to take up fishing, catering, wood-working, agriculture and tailoring projects. Passbooks are kept, ensuring that at graduation the student has cash to help establish her own small-scale industry in her village (Ibid.). In early 1986 Fiji was the venue for a two-week workshop which brought together 19 women from eight Pacific countries (Ibid.). Discussion of needs, objectives and program planning complemented practical demonstrations in plumbing, building stoves, home repairs, maintenance, and planning (Ibid.).

The above actions of Fiji women portray their continuing struggle and success in gaining greater control over their lives. Even in the more formal projects sponsored by the government or aid agencies, the conventional European image of women is being replaced by that of a more productive, practical and modern skills-oriented image.

Tonga:

As in Fiji, activities of Tongan women outside the home are almost all entirely done through women's groups and churches (SRF 1980c:1). A wide variety of women's organizations, run by women or directly related to women's activities, are endeavoring to meet basic needs such as improvement in nutrition, sanitation, and hygiene. In the 1980s increasing emphasis has been put on savings schemes, income-generating projects and community service projects.

Prior to the late 1970s the government's view of development focussed upon the village or community at large; only around 1977 did the government become aware of the importance of women in development and later recognize the need for purposeful integration of women in development (Ibid.:3). By 1980 various programs and organizations existed under the auspices of the ministries of Health, Education, Labor, Commerce and Industries, and Agriculture. They tended to be oriented toward the improvement of health, hygiene, nutrition, earning capacity, and general living standards in the villages (Ibid.:1).

The Central Planning Department (CPD) has also assisted in the coordination of women's activities, including the channelling and selection of participants for overseas training, locating funds for sponsoring female delegates at overseas conferences, evaluation of the performance of women's projects funded by outside agencies, and in assisting in drafting profiles for women's projects (Ibid.:3). Other steps undertaken by the Department in 1980 were the initiation (with ILO) of a study of the role of women in rural development; proposing the position of a Women's Development Officer within the CPD; proposing the establishment of a fund to assist women's economic activities; and to provide women's groups with technical and financial advice (Ibid.).

There are also non-governmental groups working with women:

1. the Iangafonua-- Women's National Handicrafts Society, primarily involved in marketing handicrafts;
2. the national Voluntary Women's Organization-- village branches for assistance in health and other programs;
3. women's church groups-- all the major denominations have women's groups, combining social activities with health and other programs;
4. the CHADU Society-- education on cancer, heart disease, asthma, diabetes and ulcers, and fund raising for drug supplies for sufferers;
5. the kautaha-- informal cooperative self-help groups, initiated in villages by the villagers;
6. aid and relief groups-- the Society for Intellectually Handicapped Children, the Red Cross of Tonga, Vaiola Hospital Board of Visitors, and the Leper Trust Committee;
7. National Women's Council-- Mateaki Fonua-- a group aimed at coordinating women's activities (Ibid.:2).

Many women belong to more than one of the above since no one organization meets all their needs (Ibid.).

Of the women's groups which are run solely by women, the kautaha are perhaps the most renown. They are informal, self-help, traditionally-based women's cooperatives. The kautaha are also very popular, as reflected in the following numbers and percentages of women participants from the three main island groups: Tongatapu:183 (83%), Ha'apai:65 (97%), and Vava'u:83 (92%) (Faletau 1982:45).¹² There are several kinds of kautaha: national, religious-based, village-based, and special interest (Halatuituia et. al. 1982:13). Activities of the cooperatives include domestic work such as cleaning houses, planting gardens, cooking, sewing, and crafts; health work in encouraging village inspections, and distributing filariasis pills for a national campaign with the Health department (as in 1977-78); construction or renovation of kitchens; selling handicrafts at the women's Handicraft Center; and feasting and celebrations (for a detailed summary of the four

types of kautaha and their characteristics see Appendix 4).

By joining a kautaha women hope to develop or improve their homes, especially their material wealth and lifestyle (Ibid.:15). Kautaha have enabled women to meet the demands or needs of their families and communities. Moreover, through the kautaha, women feel they are building good homes (Ibid.). In a survey conducted in 1979 of 13 kautaha, all informants were members of at least two kautaha, thus reflecting the importance of cooperative organizations as a basis for women's popular participation in Tonga's national development (Ibid.:16).

The above survey also revealed that those members who desired assistance from outside circles (from government, church or aid agencies), were from kautaha located in Tongatapu and Vava'u. Further, such organizations were national ones. It is understandable that national organizations, which tend to have broader aims directed for the good of the country, should seek assistance from outside, even international, bodies. The converse also seems true; the predominance of self-help kautaha on the outer islands, especially Ha'apai, indicate that kinship ties are still intact and activities/benefits are more closely tied to their own families and communities.

From a brief look at cooperatives above, it becomes apparent that traditional customs are breaking down or are more intact in some places than in others. Similarly, and as in other places in the Pacific, the changing socio-economic situation in Tonga has given more responsibilities to rural women whose traditional roles have remained unchanged (Faletau 1982:49). Increasing monetization of the economy has stimulated a need among women for earning cash. In fact, the "women in development" survey of 1980 revealed that generation of cash income was women's major problem or concern, followed by nutrition, improvement in water supply, and "...too many dependants" (SRF 1980c:3).

In 1980 women's main income earning activity was the production of handicrafts, especially in Tongatapu and Vava'u. The contribution of handicraft production to national export earnings is also rising from \$Tl.3 million in 1975/76 to \$Tl.9 million in 1978/79 (Ibid.:2). The figure for 1979 was next only to copra and tourism in foreign exchange earnings. The types of handicrafts include baskets, mats, vases, slippers, decorative artifacts and tapa cloth, and are produced from the women's own raw materials (Faletau 1982:48).

Women are also involved in tradestores, tourism, bus operations, manufacturing, and marketing agricultural products and seafood. Seafood, in addition to handicrafts, is an easy cash-earner. A significant feature of Vava'u women is their involvement in vanilla production. Women and children help with the pollination which is light work and, depending on the size of the plantation, could work there all day (Ibid.:49). Women also work in copra production and, as with vanilla, it is a family activity. Overall, the contribution of rural women to the economy is significant. In an ILO survey of 19 villages, 72% of the women were participating in economic activities, particularly in handicrafts and agricultural production (Ibid.:50).

As in the Solomon Islands, FSP/USAID began a Village Development Programme in Tonga, in 1978. The purpose of the program was to "...upgrade village health, improve kitchens, privies and gardens, provide family planning information assist in craft production, working with the village women's groups" (Wylter 1980:1). When the program began there were six full-time and six part-time village workers, all Catholic Sisters, who worked in seven villages on Tongatapu, two on Ha'apai, two on Vava'u, one on Niuatoputapu, and one on `Eua (Ibid.). A census taken in 1979 showed a total number

of women involved to be 2,000 in 65 clubs on Tongatapu, Ha'apai, Vava'u, and Niuatoputapu. As of August 1980 the following figures were reported

(Ibid.:3):

<u>Location</u>	<u>No. Members</u>	<u>No. Groups</u>	<u>No. Villages</u>
Tongatapu	736	142	20
Ha'apai	240	29	8
Vava'u	447	64	18
Niuatoputapu	31	3	3
Total	<u>1,454</u>	<u>238</u>	<u>49</u>

The above figures are not complete, however, as reports from 50 known groups in six new villages on tongatapu had not been received (Ibid.:4). The program has a goal of reaching 50 villages and 21,000 people. As of 1980 it had directly affected 49 villages (98%) and 9,442 people (45% of the 21,000 total) (Ibid.:5).

In the period ending August 31, 1980, leadership workshops had been held on Tongatapu in 11 villages, involving 430 women and resulting in the establishment of 53 groups (Ibid.:6). On Ha'apai a workshop was held in one village and attended by 10 groups comprising 100 women. Emphasis was placed on childcare, nutrition, gardening, cooking, hygiene, home repairs, budgeting, cultural awareness, and the importance of family life (Ibid.). A second Women's Community Centre was also established. The village, Fua'amo-tu made plans for the construction of 30 privies and a community center. By 1981 28 of the 30 privies had been built (Wylar 1981b:8). In another village, Utulau, 23 members of the kautaha Laupeafi constructed 20 low-cost kitchens using local materials (Wylar 1980:13). From field observations and information contained in monthly reports from the women's groups, it was evident that women were improving the sanitation in their communities, providing electricity and water for their homes, and maintaining and upgrading their traditional skills in tapa and mat making as well as general handicraft production (Ibid.:10).

For the period ending February 1981, the program had reached 2 out of 6 districts and 9 villages out of the 28 (with a total membership of 252) on Ha'apai (Wyler 1981a:2). For a detailed summary of the villages visited and activities for the periods ending February and August 1981, respectively, see Appendix 5-7. On Vava'u 28 villages comprising 97 women's groups received a total of \$T200 (\$US260) in small grants from FSP/USAID between November 1979 and October 1980 (Ibid.:8). On Tongatapu 31 villages comprising 180 women's groups received a total of \$T2,975 (\$US3,500) in small grants (for a detailed account on the use of these monies see Appendices 8 and 9).

Looking over the summary of activities in the above mentioned appendices, one may wonder if the Women's Village Programme is merely perpetuating colonial-type clubs. This would be too general a charge, however. What deserves recognition is the fact that women are receiving fairly small sums of money for their projects-- much smaller than the wealth or improved standards which are being generated. Obviously the projects are being carried by an indigenous momentum which reflects the strength and determination of women's groups throughout Tonga.

Western Samoa:

As with Tongan kautaha, Western Samoa has a cultural tradition of women's associations called aualuma. It was upon this foundation that women's komiti were founded and rose to extreme success. The aualuma consisted of members of local descent groups and played a significant part in ceremonial matters, particularly in receiving and entertaining visiting parties and in manufacturing exchange valuables (Schoeffel 1979:2). Because custom favored exogamy and patrilocal residence, each village contained a large number of female "outsiders" who were excluded from membership in the aualuma and whose roles were exclusively domestic (Ibid.).

Missionary reforms began to weaken the prestige and cohesion of the aualuma by the mid-19th century. Significant of these reforms was the establishment of church women's auxiliaries which were open to all married women. Women took advantage of the new economic opportunities, the commercial production of coconut oil, starch from arrowroot, and introduced vegetables, in order to raise funds for building churches (Ibid.:3; Thomas & Simi 1982:6). This then, laid the foundation for the primary role of Samoan women today in target production and fund raising for a variety of community needs (Schoeffel 1979:3).

In the late 1920s women's activities further increased with the adoption of women's komiti, an institution which united three groups of women: the aualuma, the wives of chiefs, and those of untitled men (Ibid.). The purpose of the komiti was to improve village health and sanitation through the collective work of village women (Ibid.:1).

Ever since their founding in the 1920s, komiti have proven to be the backbone of the Samoan rural health service. In contemporary Samoa they play a major role in the financing and installation of community facilities such as water supplies, water sealed toilets, electricity generators,

schools, hospitals, and dispensaries (Ibid.:4). Further, they sponsor monthly Maternal Child Health clinics, provide a regular meeting place for village women and the District Health Nurse, and construct and oversee village bathing pools and drinking water springs (Meleisea 1982:57; Thomas & Simi 1982:7). In the latter activity, the "watchers" sit in a small shelter belonging to the komiti, and weave while keeping an eye on the pool (Schoeffel 1983:3). The komiti, in fact, saves the Health Department thousands of dollars annually through the health services they provide and facilities they finance and maintain (Schoeffel 1979:5). Not surprisingly, Samoan villages stand out in the Pacific as being very clean, with high standards of hygiene and attractive surroundings and amenities (Ibid.). Their success is also reflected in the eradication of filariasis, yaws and other endemic diseases, and reduced infant and maternal mortality rate (Meleisea 1982:57).

In addition to health work, komiti perform other services and are engaged in economic projects. Services include weeding village plantations, making thatch for new and old houses, providing a stock of sleeping mats on behalf of the village for girls at marriage, and organizing collective weaving sessions to attain the desired number of mats for village use (Schoeffel 1983:3).

Economic activities of the komiti are both traditional and contemporary and include handicraft production, animal husbandry, and commercial agriculture. Vegetable growing and dairy farming have been very popular since the 1960s. In fact, komiti are developing a reputation for their excellent dairy cows which win first place at agricultural shows (PPSEAWA 1978:83). The vegetable and dairy projects were introduced with the intention of improving village nutrition rather than boosting the economy, but the success of women's projects in contrast to men's has created acceptance for the

idea of incorporating women's groups into rural development schemes (Schoeffel 1983:5). The problem here, however, has been that the women treat the development projects as target production schemes (see below); when the loans have been repaid and profit has been made, enthusiasm declines and the project founders. From 1978 to 1981 deep litter egg production commenced by women of Luatuanu'u (No.2) village. Profits were enjoyed collectively on a trip to Hawaii (Ibid.). In 1981 the project began to have trouble due to its expansion on a large scale, attempts to compete with established producers, and a change in komiti leadership (Ibid.:5). In 1982 it was abandoned.

The early success of the Luatuanu'u poultry project, however, caused demands for similar projects throughout Western Samoa. Consequently, over 30 projects were started between 1980 and 1982. In October 1982 the Rural Development Officer estimated that about 23 of the schemes were viable, having repaid their loans (Ibid.).

Target production schemes play a large part of the komiti fund raising activities and have ancient roots in Samoan culture. Target production involves intense community effort and cooperation, and achieves a goal by which all benefit. In order to raise funds for a new church building, everyone would collect, pool, and dry coconuts which are then processed into copra and sold until a target sum is achieved (Meleisea 1982:57). Women's komiti stage concerts and invite guests from near and far who compete for the honor of making the largest public donations to the performers (Schoeffel 1983:4). They also run banana plantations, mat weaving programs, taro projects, and entertainments. The komiti even form a large party and go clowning and singing from village to village for gifts of money (Ibid.). These activities are short-term and have raised sums between \$50,000-\$60,000 in one to two years (Thomas & Simi 1982:7). The contributions have gone towards constructing new dispensaries, schools, headmasters' houses,

privies, village water tanks, and church buildings (Ibid.). Target production has resulted in long-term benefits for families and whole communities, as well as an expanded women's role in the community and sense of prestige and satisfaction.

It should be noted that the above projects were never seen by komiti members, village leaders, or the government, as economic ends in themselves. They were seen, rather, as a form of service to the village and district; as a form of education, or as a hoped for source of funds for communal use. The fact that many of the projects have turned out to be commercially successful is incidental to the perception of their utility (Schoeffel 1983:10). It is worth noting that the contemporary komiti derives legitimacy from the cultural idea of community service, as well as the precedent of the aualuma. According to Samoan culture, a woman's reputation and that of her family is related to the extent to which she is visibly active in the service of her husband's family and village (Ibid.:32). Hence, the komiti provides an excellent avenue by which to demonstrate self-worth. Further, this argument has, until recently, been given support by the willingness with which Samoan women give service to the komiti of villages into which they marry but remain perpetual outsiders (Ibid.).

Since the late 1970s, however, problems associated with economic modernization and professionalization of intermediate health roles have undermined the efficiency and zeal of contemporary komiti (Ibid.:2). In 1979, for instance, a number of komiti decided to abandon all attempts to manage village sanitation because the health inspector was receiving a salary and the pulenu'u (a village mayor) was receiving an increased stipend-- both of whom were officially responsible for village sanitation (Ibid.:31). As the komiti received neither funds nor recognition, they decided to leave the

matter to those who were formally responsible.

Concerning recognition, it is resented in a number of villages that, administratively, the komiti is treated as a sub-committee of the village Council of Chiefs (Ibid.). Many komiti leaders argue that their work is autonomous, belonging to women-- a notion of long standing in Samoan culture (Ibid.). In another case, the komiti was disillusioned by the lack of consultation and interest from the departments of Health, Public Works, and Education, concerning the komiti's work for the district hospital, village school, village sanitation, and water supply (Schoeffel 1979:6-7). The women complained that their work was taken for granted while government officials "ate their sweat" (Ibid.:7). As a result, they devoted more time to two churches in the village and less to community projects, much to the dismay of the local pulenu'u, sanitary inspector, headmaster, and doctor who were officially responsible for work that the women were less inclined to perform (Ibid.).

The above raise a very critical point felt by women throughout the Pacific. Women have experienced frustration at their inability to represent themselves to the central government and in rural development projects. Aware of their indispensable role, they resent the formal invisibility of their contribution to the economy, i.e., the fact that they are not classified as , at least in part, economic beings. The komiti, being regarded as a service group or auxiliary, rather than as a commercially valued group, is a classic example.

A final difficulty encountered by the komiti has been direct opposition from men undertaking projects in commercial agriculture. In two projects, growing taro and bananas for export, both groups suffered from the refusal of assistance, attempts to withdraw access of cultivable land from the women, and criticism of their efforts (Schoeffel 1983:10). In both cases

the women were seen as obtaining official funds for what was an intrusion into masculine spheres of activity (Ibid.). In contrast, women's komiti projects in dairy and egg production have not met with opposition largely because they are non-traditional enterprises and are seen as service rather than commercial activities.

On the national level, main churches in Western Samoa have had Central Women's associations since the 19th century (Ibid.:6). However, a secular Central Women's Committee was formed as recently as 1959, and later reconstituted as the Western Samoa National Council of Women in 1966 (Schoeffel 1979:7). Because the electoral system of Samoa is based upon chiefly and predominantly male franchise, it was hoped that a central komiti would give women voice at the national level, coordinate komiti projects and provide services for rural women visiting Apia (Schoeffel 1983:6).

Since its founding, however, the NCW has failed to act as a national voice. The factional nature of Samoan politics, the lack of integration with the government, and the lack of power invested by the NCW's Constitution upon village leaders, has resulted in a low record of achievement (Ibid.:7). Run by women who are mostly known as the wives daughters or sisters of national leaders, the NCW has taken on a social and ceremonial image (Schoeffel 1979:7). In 1979, as a result of criticism by prominent Samoan women and international pressure from the U.N. international Women's Year in 1975, the government appointed a (cabinet-selected) group of women to a Women's Advisory Committee (WAC) and employed a full-time secretary to administer the Committee's responsibilities (Schoeffel 1983:7).

The WAC was attached to the Prime Minister's Department and consisted of a president and another seven executive members, including representatives of the Health Department's Public Health Nursing Section and the

Ministry of Agriculture's Home Economics Section (Ibid.). A typist, vehicle, and driver were also made available to the WAC. Following a change of government in 1982 the WAC was amalgamated with the Committee of Pulenu'u and the secretary given the responsibility of administering the WAC/Pulenu'u Committee (Ibid.). Supporting facilities were also shared. Such a demotion was possibly due to funding difficulties associated with the national village development programme (Ibid.). As of 1983 proposals were being forwarded to the government to restore the autonomous, independent identity of the WAC (Ibid.).

The function of the WAC is to advise and consult on the contribution of women to rural development. Through the WAC, project requests from the komiti are channelled. The WAC then recommends or advises against them to the rural development committee of which the secretary of the WAC is a member (Ibid.).

The WAC organized a Home Economics Unit. This program taught cooking, sewing, and the use of home-built stoves and drum ovens, and was actually implemented by the Department of agriculture (Ibid.). In response to an ILO survey indicating that the production and quality of handicrafts had declined, the WAC commenced with a program in 1980 to plant paper mulberry and pandanus trees in villages (Ibid.). High quality supplies of raw materials were thereby established. In 1981 plans were underway for training workshops to promote local handicraft skills in rural areas. Plans were also developed for the collection and marketing of handicrafts through the government Handicraft Corporation (Ibid.).

In 1981 the WAC planned a national campaign for the conservation and employment of water resources. In that same year, workshops for women, organized by the WAC, focussed on home economics, poultry management, income-raising activities, and livestock management (Ibid.).

Though beyond the scope of this paper, it deserves comment that the WAC was actively involved in 1980 in assisting town women through small income-generating schemes (Thomas & Simi 1982:10). The scheme arose initially from an ESCAP initiative which set up a series of consultations and workshops on women's needs and businesses in the Pacific. Following the workshops ESCAP provided cash donations to assist women in establishing businesses. The grant given to W. Samoa was to be used at the discretion of the secretary of the WAC (Ibid.).

In addition to the koniti, NCW, and WAC, the Home Economic Service was active (at least in the 1970s) furthering women's development (possibly this is the same institution as the Home Economics Unit mentioned above, but sources use different names). The Service was founded in 1972 with aid from the FSP and the Western Samoa NCW. Its program included discussions and activities with mothers on the subject of balanced meals, good health (improvement of the kitchen, water, living quarters, waste disposal), clothing (care of), home nursing, first-aid, childcare, carpentry, and food preservation (PPSEAWA 1978:133). In 1977 a Home Economics Training Centre was established along similar lines as the CETC; leaders are trained in order that they may return to the village and teach their people. In 1977 the enrollment was 23 and in 1978, 17 (Ibid.:134). The values imparted in the program appear to be very conservative or conventional in the western sense. For example, a woman is taught that she can be a Christian leader in her family and that she can be a good housewife, cook, tailor, gardener, hygienic mother, cabinet maker, and administrator (Ibid.). On the surface, the program does not seem to meet the more pressing economic needs of women but rather, affirms their domestic, non-economic/commercial roles. In light of this deficiency and lack of further data on the organization, it is possible

that it foundered or was merged with another institution.

In the early 1970s women's economic activities which lay outside the komiti increased noticeably. While target production continued, the number of long-term business ventures grew. The projects were village-based and, although initiated by the komiti, did not necessarily include all komiti members (Thomas & Simi 1982:7). The ventures included dairy farms, piggeries, chicken raising, and banana plantations. Some of these projects have been short-lived due to jealousies, family rivalries, the women's lack of knowledge about business procedures, and traditional demands placed upon them such as a matai's request for chickens or other project stock for a village feast or ceremony (Ibid.). Between 1977 and 1981 the number of women's agricultural businesses increased dramatically with the advent of the Rural Development Programme (Ibid.:8). By February 1982 women's business activities included chicken farms, piggeries, dairy farms, handicraft production for export, passion fruit production, rural trade stores, travel and tourist operations, tailoring, school and sports uniforms manufacturing, and urban take-away food shops (Ibid.:9).

In summation of the Samoan data, it appears that the importance of women's work, and highest degree of women's participation in the rural economy, is at the domestic and community level (Schoeffel 1983:8). Women's greatest economic contribution was traditionally associated with the manufacture of household and exchange goods: mats, house-blinds, thatch pieces, tapa cloth, and oil. More importantly, however, it is at this level of the economy that modernization and social change has had the biggest impact (Ibid.). Iron-roofed houses are being built, thus reducing the need for thatch and blind. Traditional valuables are being replaced by cash and imported goods (including food). Western medicine and changing preferences have reduced the demand for traditional medicines and coconut oil. All of

these changes outline a decline in the female productive sphere while the male sphere of agriculture has expanded (Ibid.:10). Such facts of social and economic change only serve to highlight the importance of women's komiti and the remarkable degree to which they are adapting to changes inspite of problems. Clearly, whether as peaceful voluntary women's groups, or critical forums of women's struggle for equal rights, rewards and recognition, the komiti is an indigenous response to be reckoned with. Further, both the komiti and women's business projects are a resource which the government cannot afford to discredit or lose, an observation which could pertain to most women's groups in the Pacific.

Conclusion

The reasons for using women's associations through which to initiate and maintain development projects varies in the south Pacific. Women's groups act as a voice or representative of many women. It is also easier and less risky to channel aid through an organization. In some cases, group projects spread the aspired benefits furthest (Ibid.:27). In all cases women's groups are regarded as part of the community and therein lies the rationale that programs which help women will, in turn, benefit the whole community. Working through women is seen as a way to affect the lives of many people besides women.

Schoeffel has identified four types of projects existing throughout the Pacific. First are the service projects which are collective undertakings, utilizing the labor of adult women for the benefit of the community. Second are the resource pooling projects, followed by target production projects (as in Western Samoa), and finally, commercial ventures (Ibid.:31-32).

The foregoing analysis of women's associations in five Pacific countries reveals that women's clubs are a century-old phenomena, started by missionaries and wives of colonial government officials, but have been rapidly changing since the 1970s (advent of the U.N. Decade for Women). In response to social and economic change in the Pacific, and the rise of new issues, women's associations are taking on a calling and shape of their own. Even clubs which are still more "service" or "domestic" oriented are, more recently, taking on indigenous, culturally appropriate values and structure, and otherwise meeting basic, contemporary needs. It appears that Pacific women criticize courses which teach domestic skills to the exclusion of courses which would enhance women's traditional productive roles. Many women aspire to bake scones, sew and learn other homemaking skills, but, as the issues expressed in the women's movement portray, these activities

represent only part of a woman's working life. Women demand recognition of their productive roles and potential commercial strengths.

Similarly, it has been shown that women's clubs, as a response to the above argument, are becoming more productive and business oriented. Courses now include offerings in carpentry, business management and accounting, animal husbandry, small-scale cash-earning projects, appropriate technology and the like, to complement women's nurturative, domestic skills. In gaining new productive skills, women are better able to participate in development.

The overall effect of the clubs, in concert with the women's movement, has been to strengthen women's position vis a vis men in the development of the nation. They have provided women with more legitimate opportunities to clarify and voice their needs, aspirations and opinions. Clubs have increased women's awareness beyond their immediate environments, given women visibility, enabled them to be part of the decision making process and form national and provincial councils of their own, and have enabled women to apply pressure at the community, provincial and national levels to effect changes which have advanced whole communities and women as a group. Furthermore, as the above case studies demonstrate, village women's associations are the building blocks to power at the national level. It is the clubs, kautaha and komiti which support provincial and national councils which, in turn, press for changes needed to ensure equal participation by women in all forms of economic, social and political activity (Bonnell 1982:10).

The foregoing analysis of the women's movement and women in development in the south Pacific has revealed several concerns about research on women. First is the shortage of data or relevant analysis of data on the

contemporary socio-economic conditions of Pacific islanders, particularly of women (Schoeffel 1985:174). Specifically, there is the shortage of data on women's economic involvement in community and national development, perhaps owing to the previously discussed perception of women as non-"economic" beings.

The second concern stresses the need for Women's Studies. This has been an area which all agencies tend to neglect with the exception of USP's Centre for Applied Studies in Development (Lechte 1982:5). Information is being added by a growing number of Pacific women who are researching their own history, status, lives, potential, and future. To this, agencies must provide resources but not direction (Ibid.). In other words, women must be allowed to set their own goals and seek agency resources to achieve them. The expected spin-off would be a set of guidelines for agencies which would discourage them and governments from imposing their priorities from their own preconceptions and agendas (Ibid.).

The third concern is that when doing research, careful attention should be paid to the actual roles and circumstances of women, rather than assume that they do not differ greatly from one society to another (Meleisea 1982:60). This is especially borne out in information on the Tolai and Western Samoans. The Tolai have been much more involved in agriculture and have no cultural tradition of women's associations, whereas in Western Samoa women were less engaged in agriculture on a routine basis but had women's associations from the pre-contact era. Further, the roles of women in both of these societies, and elsewhere in the region, contrast markedly from conventional western patterns. Overall, it appears that Pacific women have always had productive roles in addition to their domestic ones, although this has been a grave oversight on the part of governments and agencies alike. In short, what is appropriate in one society is not necessarily so

in another.

All observations cited in this paper speak of the tremendous need for recognition of women's associations, and for creativity in designing programs and dealing with these groups. In Western Samoa, for example, greater recognition would propel the komiti; would save the Samoan government some mistakes and wasted money; would give women the encouragement they need to engage in projects from which all may benefit; and would put an end to the futile perception that men's and women's roles belong to separate, distinct, public and private, commercial and domestic worlds, respectively. Such a perception will hurt the government and country as well as women in particular, not to mention how it can foster the underutilization of skills and potentials of half the population.

The need for greater creativity in dealing with women's work is widespread. Women's needs are different from men's in many cases, and Pacific women's roles differ from those of western women and even from each other. Against the backdrop of changing lifestyles too, creativity is sorely needed. It is precisely rural women's associations which could play a very important part in more imaginative and relevant women's training programs and development projects (Meleisea 1986:71). The clubs themselves are, after all, the creative link between individual women and the government and international organizations. Clearly, these clubs are developing a momentum of their own and are proving adaptable to change. They are becoming an indigenous forum through which women are responding, and are a valid expression of Pacific women. Women's associations and the backdrop of the U.N. Decade for Women 1975-1985 have had a significant impact. Women are receiving more types of education than ever before. They are becoming politically, economically and socially aware, and are interested in working in their

villages. Women are, after much struggle, beginning to gain access to opportunities which will improve living standards everywhere.

End Notes

1. In spite of the proliferation of conferences, organizing them and securing government support and interest was far from easy. PNG delegates to the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP) Preparation Meeting for the U.N. Decade for Women, in 1979, insisted that ESCAP sponsor a follow-up meeting to the Copenhagen conference, so that Pacific women could develop a regional plan of action. With support from the delegates attending the Copenhagen conference, their wish was finally granted (Goodwillie & Lechte 1986:59). Also in 1980 was the SPC annual conference in PNG. The theme was, "The Role of Women in Development in the South Pacific." However, PNG women were appalled that of the 200 delegates, only 2 were women, and that the theme was discussed with little reference to the women themselves. Accordingly, PNG women protested silently, waving placards instead of pouring tea during morning break, and eventually they were given permission to speak (Ibid.). It was this protest and final recognition which resulted in the resolution to hold a seminar of women in Papeete, where women could develop their own views to present to the next SPC conference in 1981. In turn, it was the recommendations from that Papeete conference which resulted in 7 projects and several suggestions, not least of which was the establishment of the Pacific Women's Resource Bureau.

2. The degree of official blindness with regard to the role of women in the national economy is reflected in the 1971 population and housing census for Western Samoa (school girls excluded):

<u>Economically Active</u>	
working primarily for money	3,928
grow, gather, catch food to eat	1,261

<u>Not Economically Active</u>	
homemakers	24,807

(Schoeffel 1979:8)

3. A large share of the operating cost of the centre was provided by the Australian Freedom From Hunger Campaign on a three-year basis through 1979. Other funding was given by CORSO (of New Zealand) and by the provincial government of British Columbia (SPC 1981:1). Since 1979 external funding has been restricted to scholarships for students, provided by a small number of women's organizations (Ibid.).

4. Between 1963 and 1970, 160 women finished the training course (Wendt 1970:56). The distribution of trainees by country of origin was as follows (SPC 1976:17):

American Samoa	5	Papua New Guinea	52
Australia	3	Sarawak	1
Cook Islands	6	Seychelles	2
Fiji	71	Solomon Islands	23
Gilbert & Ellice	22	Sri Lanka	1
Nauru	1	Thailand	10
New Caledonia	9	Tonga	31
New Hebrides	19	Trust Territory of	

Niue	3	the Pacific Islands	32
		Western Samoa	31

5. It is noteworthy that these women's investment corporations are diverting resources from rural to urban areas by using rural capital to finance the urban service sector; as of 1983, therefore, the ILO/Commerce project was not making any significant contribution to women's groups or women's employment in the rural areas (Schoeffel 1983:24).
6. As of 1982 there were 19 female BDOs throughout the country, but their work apparently focussed more on general duties and less on assisting women's projects (Manumanua 1982:8). Filling this "gap" has been male officers as well as CUSO and VSO volunteers.
7. The pandanus sleeping mats woven by Tolai women today are a legacy from island missionary wives (Schoeffel 1983:11).
8. Tolai comprise the dominant ethnic group in East New Britain, numbering about 70,000 (Meleisea 1982:58).
9. There seems to be some confusion as to whether the Nilai Ra Warden was the same organization as the Rabaul Women's Association (RWA) mentioned in the November 1978 edition of Women Speak Out. The activities of the association appear to be the same as those of the Provincial Council of Women, though the RWA was founded in 1970, i.e., approximately 8 years before the provincial council.
10. The Rabaul Women's Association, as of 1978, was said to have a kiosk at the airport, and be running PMVs (Public Motor Vehicles) (PWRC 1978b:4-5).
11. Until as late as 1979 the 110 shareholders were drawn solely from areas in the vicinity of Goroka town because this allowed for easier contact between the staff and shareholders (Sexton 1980:321).
12. Popularity, however, is not the whole motivation for joining a cooperative. While women of Vava'u and Tongatapu indicated that they joined voluntarily, the majority of Ha'apai members joined because they felt it was required of them by their community. From this it was inferred that traditional communal lifestyle in Ha'apai was relatively intact (Halatuituia et. al. 1982:16).

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RESOLUTIONS OF THE PACIFIC WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

OCT. 27 - NOV. 2, 1975.

On Women and the Family

Resolution 1: We accept the sentiment expressed that women need to have a surer method of receiving economic support for the family, and that free legal aid, home counselling and government subsidy through child endowments be provided for women.

Resolution 2: That all parents make special effort to train and educate their children regarding their attitudes and responsibilities in the family.

Resolution 3: As domestic violence seems to be largely the result of excessive consumption of liquor, that a national educational programme be conducted in the use of alcohol through school curriculum and all levels of the mass media.

Resolution 4: That all present government policies and legislation be reviewed and future policies and legislation incorporate the strengths and responsibilities of the extended family system.

On Women's Health

Resolution 1: It is understood that very little research has been done in the Pacific region on Women's Health. Thus, this conference should push for more research and this should be by Pacific health teams, because of their understanding of their own people mentally, psychologically and medically.

Resolution 2: This conference should press for a definite guide for Pacific countries on under-nutrition and protein and energy malnutrition. Results will have to be classified as items and reported in the country's medical reports available to the public. Women's groups should ensure these are read and absorbed by their politicians.

Resolution 3: South Pacific women can be encouraged to more breast-feeding. In the education syllabus, and with the adult education, encouragement can be placed on the advantages of breast-feeding.

Resolution 4: Family Planning publicity is needed at all levels of rural and urban life and more audio-visual aids should be used, depicting actual Pacific scenes and people, and that Family Planning welfare and education should be introduced in all educational institutions.

Resolution 5: This Women's Conference requests the World Health Organisation through regional governments to send a health team to research the radioactive fallout and its consequences on the health of Pacific peoples, islands and especially on present and unborn children and that this information be made available to the Pacific people.

On Women and Religion

Resolution 1: That the learning and process of religious education and the opportunities to attain the highest possible rank in the religious structure be opened to both men and women.

Resolution 2: That monetary offerings towards any church or religious activity be made voluntarily rather than imposed and the practise of publicizing the donor be eradicated to stop unnecessary competitive offering.

On Women and Education

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Preamble -

That the educational objective for boys and girls, men and women, be the same. The most important objective of formal education should be to equip all people with the relevant skills necessary for daily living.

The Curriculum

Resolution 1: That the school curriculum be widened to include relevant activities to help train students for their community. A "basic" education course be included in the existing education core and this should cover all social, economic and political skills (which does not exist in the present curriculum) which the child requires for all the different roles he/she will be expected to play in the future.

Resolution 2: That the formal school curriculum include a course mounted especially to help students to understand one another and their own culture and the different roles they will need to play in their own society. That educational programmes for parents and guardians be organised to involve them in this programme.

Resolution 3: That greater emphasis be put on the development and implementation of courses on local craft and local food preservation.

Resolution 4: That the curriculum of Pacific schools be Pacific orientated and youth be trained to respect their land, their identity and their heritage. This will involve a thorough examination of the present formal school system. Foreign elements which demote such a process should be removed and new ones evolved to replace them. Relevant basic texts to support such a revised re-orientation course must be written for the Pacific area. Education must be for self-reliance.

Resolution 5: That the educational authorities be urged to re-examine and ban all text books that use sexist and imperialistic language and concepts.

Resolution 6: This Conference recognises that in many areas "pidgin" or the vernacular language is a valid and beautiful language spoken by the majority, not only nationally but also regionally. Therefore, in order that education serves the masses, national development, unity and regional co-operation, these languages should be the language of instruction.

Parents' & Teachers' Association

Resolution 7: That Parents' and Teachers' Associations be established in those territories where they do not exist and educational programmes be organised through it, encouraging and helping parents widen the educational opportunities and horizons for their children.

Women's Participation

Resolution 8: That the women of the Pacific make every possible effort, use every opportunity available, contact every organisation possible to make funds and resources available so that complete and free education can be offered at all levels for everyone.

Continuing Education

Resolution 9: That all systems of education in the Pacific include a section on continuing education.

Resolution 10: That the University of the South Pacific and other training institutions include courses where all students participate in community development programmes in rural and urban areas as part of their degree and diploma course requirements.

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Griffen, Vanessa (ed.)

1976 And inform... speak out!

A Report of the Pacific Women's Conference, OCT. 27 - NOV. 2, 1975 "THE PACIFIC WOMEN'S CONFERENCE..."

Resolution 11: That the University of the South Pacific and other universities in the Pacific area mount and conduct training courses for communication, technical skills for the "news media" (e.g. skills for newspapers, radio and filming work) and that women be encouraged to participate.

Community Education

Resolution 12: That the Pacific women who have had the advantage of formal education help those who have been less fortunate and organize programmes to encourage, equip and develop their skills for full participation in their own community at all levels and that Pacific women use the traditional personal approach when presenting any educational programme and attempt always to treat with respect and consideration any different culture.

Resolution 13: That education programmes and the needs of countries of the Pacific be defined by the people themselves.

Education Work

Resolution 14: As education must be above all an education for self-reliance, parents must be assisted in participating actively in the review of their children's work and the maintenance of school facilities by the establishment of a National Education Week, during which parents visit schools to see children and teachers at work and help to repair classrooms and furniture.

Resolution 15: That an area where women are traditionally the cultivators of the soil, it is the women who must be the recipients of agricultural training programmes.

Resolution 16: Adult education and literacy programmes, priority items, should be conducted according to the themes and guidelines enumerated above. Special emphasis must be placed on educating men toward non-sexist attitudes.

Education and the Media

Resolution 17: That the media, being the most effective means of education and communication, be scrutinized so that —
(a) programmes which are relevant to and consistent with national and regional interests are responsibly chosen by the Directors of the media;
(b) commercial advertising which may have adverse effects on the nation or the region is restricted or prohibited.

Resolution 18: That every effort be made to control the type of films which are harmful to the social and cultural development of any community.

On Women and the Law

Resolution 1: That delegates from this Conference pressure their governments for the establishment of a Law Review or Law Reform Committee to review laws in their country so that they are more suitable to their way of life; and that such a body include equal numbers of women and men and that women's organisations be consulted during the process of review and when new laws are being written.

Resolution 2: That a Resource Centre be set up where information and skilled persons can be utilised throughout the Pacific and that through this proposed Resource Unit, Pacific women are represented internationally, on social, economic, environmental and legal issues, so that information can be filtered back and women mobilized.

On Women and Politics

Resolution 1: That the Pacific Women's Conference supports that the titles of all lands being returned to Aboriginal people be freehold and not leasehold and that the Department of Aboriginal Affairs be taken out of the Public Service and total control be given to the Aboriginal Community.

Resolution 2: That the Federal Department for Aboriginal Affairs support the move for a Royal Commission into:

1. Aborigines and Police
2. Aborigines and the Administration of Justice
3. Aborigines and Corrective Services.

Resolution 3: That the government give assurance to all Aboriginal legal services that they will remain in existence regardless of which political party is in power.

Resolution 4: That this Conference supports the recognition of the Australian descendents of South Sea Island people for compensation for loss of land, culture and identity.

The Maori Land March

Resolution 5: That a cable supporting the Maori marchers camped on the steps of Parliament House, Wellington, New Zealand, be sent. The cable sent read as follows: —

THE PACIFIC WOMEN'S CONFERENCE WHICH IS BEING HELD HERE IN SUVA, FIJI, FROM OCTOBER 27 TO NOVEMBER 1, AND WHICH IS BEING ATTENDED BY WOMEN FROM THROUGHOUT THE PACIFIC REGION, DECLARES ITS SUPPORT AND SOLIDARITY WITH OUR MAORI BROTHERS AND SISTERS CAMPED OUTSIDE PARLIAMENT HOUSE IN WELLINGTON STOP WE SUPPORT THEIR DEMAND FOR AN ASSURANCE FROM THE NEW ZEALAND GOVERNMENT THAT NOT ONE MORE ACRE OF MAORI LAND WILL BE TAKEN FROM THEM STOP WE BELIEVE THAT IT IS ONLY THROUGH SUCH CONTINUED STRUGGLE AND UNITY THAT THE MAORI PEOPLE WILL REGAIN STATUS, IDENTITY AND SELF-DETERMINATION IN THEIR OWN LAND, AOTEAROA.

THE PACIFIC WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

Resolution 6: That the Pacific Women's Conference supports the Queensland Land Rights Conference to be held from November 28 to December 1, and a cablegram of support will be sent to the Aboriginals who are organising the Conference. Should there be any money left over from this Conference a contribution will be sent.

On Women and the Pacific Community

Resolution 1: That a Regional Pacific Women's Resource Centre be formed where information and skilled persons can be utilised throughout the Pacific.

Resolution 2: That a regional Pacific Women's Association be formed to be the support group of the proposed Pacific Women's Resource Centre.

Resolution 3: That the Conference will help and support the struggles of women in the colonial territories of the Pacific and that women in independent and self-governing countries be made more aware of the double difficulties facing women in colonised countries; that we publicise and circulate among women the situation facing women in the colonial territories, for example Dewe Gorodey, and offer financial support.

Resolution 4: That **Resolution 3** become a function of the Regional Pacific Women's Association.

Resolution 5: That the Conference support a denuclearised Pacific and in particular the proposals of the People's Treaty for a Nuclear Free Pacific formulated by the Conference for a Nuclear Free Pacific, April 1-6, 1975.

Resolution 6: That the independent and self-governing nations in the Pacific support territories under colonialism wanting to achieve self-government status, namely the independence movements of New Caledonia, New Hebrides, Micronesia and the autonomist parties of French Polynesia.

Resolution 7: That the 200 miles territorial limit proposal at the Law of the Sea Conference is in the interests of the Pacific people and that the conference supports this proposal.

General

Resolution 1: That the South Pacific Regional Women's Conference of this kind be held every three years, countries in the Pacific taking turns to host and that an Executive meeting of the South Pacific Regional Women's Conference be held annually, or as it suits. The members of the Executive Committee should be comprised of representatives from each country or territory to review and evaluate the outcome of the last meeting and to plan for the future meeting.

Resolution 2: That all meetings of the South Pacific Regional Women's Conference whether it be of Executive or General be opened and closed in the traditional style of the host country.

APPENDIX 2

LIST OF CLUBS VISITED

Name of Club	Location	Number Members	Machines	Activities	Funds Raised
Pienuna UCWF	Ranogga (Western Province)	31	11	Sewing, Gardening Handicrafts	\$ 50.00
Koriovuku	Ranogga (Western Province)	40	1	Sewing, Gardening Handicrafts	100.00
Obobulu	Ranogga (W.P.)	32	7	Sewing, Gardening Handicrafts	45.00
Suava Sisters	Simbo (W.P.)	10	11	Inactive	Nil
Tusumine	North New Georgia (W.P.)	33	21	Sewing	256.00
Tono	Rendova (W.P.)	15	4	Sewing	120.00
Hiriro	Rendova (W.P.)	15	1	Sewing Handicrafts	64.00
Kokomu	Kokomu Malaita Province	25	10	Sewing Handicrafts Dancing	197.38
Auki Parish	Auki Malaita Province	20	12	Sewing, Gardening, Handicrafts	70.00
Gwanunaoa	West Kwarae M.P.	30	9	Sewing, Gardening Handicrafts	60.00
Fiu Bridge	Fiu, West Kwa'arae M.P.	18	9	Gardening Handicrafts	170.72
St. Augustine	Fasitorongo M.P.	19	1	Sewing Handicrafts	25.00
Takwa	North Malaita M.P.	20	8	Gardening Handicraft	50.00
Buala	Maringe Isabel Prov.	30	22	Sewing, Handicraft Dancing	300.00

Appendix 3: ^{Fiji Clubs} FIJI CLUBS

APPENDIX I

ALLOCATION OF STAFF AND DISTRIBUTION OF CLUBS

Note: At least 90% of these Clubs participate fully in one way or another on the projects described in report.

Division	District	Officer	F.	In.	Clubs M/R	Total Clubs	Total Membership
CENTRAL	Suva	1	64	20	1	85	3,666
	Nausori	1	80	9	1	90	2,018
	Naitasiri	-	62	1	-	63	1,731
	Korovou	1	71	1	-	72	1,210
	Navua	1	37	5	-	42	662
	Headquarter	5					
WESTERN	Lautoka	2	62	58	15	135	4,144
	Ra	1	78	12	1	91	1,563
	Tavua	1	29	7	1	37	400
	Ba	1	31	45	8	84	1,720
	Nadi	1	39	36	5	80	1,810
	Nadroga	1	86	27	4	117	3,599
EASTERN	Kadavu	1	87	-	-	87	1,779
	Lau	1	84	-	-	84	1,325
	Lomaiviti	-	71	1	2	74	1,285
NORTHERN	Labasa	1	83	9	-	92	757
	Bua	1	40	8	-	48	747
	Savusavu	3	96	5	3	104	1,794
TOTAL	4	17	1,100	244	41	1,385	30,210

CASE STUDIES OF FOUR TYPES OF KAUTAHA

A SUMMARY

Criteria for Comparison	National Organization ('Langa fonua')	Catholic Women's Organization	Village based organization ('Fe'ota'ki'-Mataika)	Island based Organization (Fonufiefia-Ha'apai)
1. Size	The largest organization in Tonga. (exact number unavailable)	Big organization (Exact number not available)	18 Members	12 Members (began with 6 in 1971)
2. Location of Headquarters	Nuku'alofa, Tonga-tapu (Committees in all villages)	Nuku'alofa, Tonga-tapu (local offices in other districts)	Mataika, Vava'u (2½ miles from Neiafu)	Pangai, Ha'apai
3. Purpose	Promotion of Public health and well-being. Aim to provide flush toilets to all homes in Tonga	Development of Member's homes, especially housing, meals etc. for poorer members. Emphasis on cooperation	Development of members homes. In 1976 aimed to build a furnished kitchen for each member. Economic religious & social goals.	To develop the role and life of women at home
4. Membership	Open to all women throughout the Kingdom	Open to all Catholic women. Others may join	All women in Mataika, but only 5 of the 18 members are from families owning land in the village.	Originally wives of Agricultural Department staff, but later opened to anyone.
5. Control	Executives includes members of the Royal family, wives of ministers and other distinguished women. Members of village committees are usually the "better off" women	Nuns run and organise. Leaders are richer or better educated women		Better educated members
6. Activities	Domestic work e.g. cleaning homes, planting gardens etc; encouraged by public inspections; distributed filariasis pill for national campaign with Health Dept. in 1977-78	Cooking, Sewing, making handicrafts, plus other domestic work. Yearly inspection. Sell handicrafts of their own Handicraft Centre	Domestic training e.g. cooking, sewing. Construction of kitchens with 2 days cooperative work. Yearly inspections and prizes with feasting & celebration.	Weaving, cooking, growing vegetable gardens, sewing, renovating kitchens. Yearly inspection.

7. Financial Support

Seeking large-scale Overseas aid.

Aid from the Foundation for the Peoples of the South Pacific, USA. Receives discount on building materials

None, but much help from agricultural officers, and some fundraising from themselves and other villages

None from outside. Each member must contribute minimum of 10 cents every 2 weeks to Kautaha fund. This is shared at the end of the year. Money comes from husband's wages and their own sales of goods.

8. Main Problems

Poor communication between members, as well as between members and executives but "not too bad"

Lack of Finance. Lack of co-operating among some members leads to withdrawal of members.

Lack of Finance. Lack of support from community and Government. Hostility of non-members.

Little support and some criticism from Community. Interpersonal conflicts. Little support from Government. Difficulty for educated younger women to lead older women.

" HA'APAI WOMEN'S VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME¹

SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES, APRIL 1979 - APRIL 1980

Participating Villages:

Hihifo Tongaleleka	Koulo
Ha'ato'u	Fangale'ounga
Navea	Lotofoa
Holopeka	Faleloa

Total number of homes served:	240
Total number of groups:	29
Total number of group members:	240
Total funds raised locally:	T\$5,246:02 (US\$5,933:63)

Summary of Activities:

Renovation:

Living houses	10
Kitchens	98
Bathrooms	38
Toilets	59
Pig Pens	18

Newly Built:

Living houses	16
Kitchens	22
Bathrooms	75
Toilets	27
Fences for homes	102

Other Improvements to homes:

Water to homes	28
Washington Equipment to homes	46
Tubs	35
Washing Boards	6

Utensils:

Dinner plates	252
Cups & saucers	436
Drinking glasses	342
Water jugs	32
Table knives	108
Table forks	215
Desert spoons	172
Teaspoons	108
Tablespoons	23
Wooden spoons	8

Utensils continued:

Desert dishes	133
Baking trays	14
Hand basins	49
Basin for washing dishes	67
Pots	47
Bucket for carrying water	53

Gardens & Crops:

Flower gardens	82
Vegetable gardens	54
Pandanus Trees	2,365

Linen sets:

Sheets	104
Pillow cases	179
Quilts	80
Mats of different varieties	514
Tapa (150' long ea)	36

Furnitures:

Sideboards	13
Cupboards/storage	58
Dining Tables	37
Dinning Chairs	59
Tea Towels	113
Saviets	260
Tablecloths	28
Jug covers	12
Food covers	5
Tray covers	12

1. Note: This report is reproduced without editing as submitted by the Ha'apai Community Center members.

Ha'apai VWDAppendix 6 Ha'apai CWS
Activities

The assessment of the progress was based mainly on home visits and recordings of all activities by Sr. M. Tu'ifua, myself and discussions with Sister Petila and many of the other groups. The individual village group activities are combined as follows:

The number of villages visited: 9

Hihifo Tongaleleka	Fangale'ounga
Ha'ato'u	Loto Foa
Navea	Ha'ateiho Si'i
Holopeka	Faleloa
Koulo	

The number of homes visited: 246

The number of groups: 34

Activities:

65	Homes fenced
63	Homes with flower gardens
211	Homes with Tongan kitchen complete
17	Homes with Tongan kitchens to complete
12	Homes with cement water tanks
33	Homes with concrete bathroom completed
7	Homes with concrete bathroom to complete
7	Homes with washing equipments completed
10	Homes with washing tubs only

From Wyler, David C. 1981a

APPENDIX 6 - Cont.

- 12 Homes with linen chest completed
- 11 Homes with bed and complete set of linen completed
- 10 Homes with quilts - patch work
- 10 Homes with dining tablecloths
- 1 Home with cupboard completed
- 8 Homes with different varieties of mats, four each
- 1 School teacher with 1 pr. blanket, 2 prs. pillow cases,
2 tea sets, coffee table and chairs, desert dishes set,
water jug and drinking glasses.

The above activities were completed within six months. Much gratitude goes to the Sr. Incharge and group leaders for their fine effort and hardwork and to hopefully continue this programme so that it reaches all of the Ha'apai islands.

Future Plans:

- To extend the Development Programme into the outer islands.
- To complete the kitchens, bathrooms that are unfinished
- To continue improving their homes and to influence more women to join the Village Development Programme, and extend to community development activities.

Seini I. M. Vakasiuola
Assist. Country Director

SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIESHA'APAI VILLAGE WOMEN'S DEVELOPMENT - MARCH 1979 - AUGUST 31, 1981Participating Villages:

Hihifo/Tongaleleka	'Uiha
Ha'ato'u	Ha'afeva
Navea	Fotuha'a
Holopeka	Kotu
Koulo	Katuku
Fangale'ounga	Tungua
Potua	'O'ua
Lotofua	Nomuka
Ha'afakahenga	Ponoifua
Faleloa	Mango
Lofanga	

Total number of homes served:	469
Total number of groups:	64
Total number of people benefit:	3,237
Total local funds raised:	T\$18,590.04

Summary of Activities:Renovations:

living houses	49
kitchens	145
bathrooms	150
toilets	228
cement water tanks	31
pig pens	18

Newly Built:

living houses	25
kitchens	98
bathrooms	105
toilets	101
shower	19
hand basins	6
cement water tanks	24
fences for homes	301
pig pens	105
chicken pens	51
raised fireplaces	131
cement smokeless stove	35
furniture:	
lounge chairs	46
lounge tables	36
sideboards	32
wardropes	5
beds	88
mattresses	98
kerosene lamps	70

homes with curtains	23
vinyl	13
doormats	152
brooms	52
dining tables	152
cupboards	30
dining chairs	248
kitchen's sinks	21
tap water	41
washing house	8
washing shelves	45
washing machines	2
gas stove	15
kerosene stove	86
dining table mats	156

flower gardens	184
vegetable gardens	58
traditional ornament	
shrubs planted	91
pandanus trees planted	7,250
paper mulberry trees	7,581

Linen Sets:

linen chest	88
sheets	159
pillow cases	388
blankets	176
quilts	416
mosquito's nets	83
tablecloths	226
bathtowels	211
handtowels	251
teatowels	376
jug covers	198
food covers	115
tray cloths	102
face cloths	65

Kitchen Utensils:

dinner plates	2,615	meat & vegetable dishes	274
table knives	1,568	pyrex dishes	69
table forks	1,036	baking tins	112
desert spoons	1,160	mixing bowls	103
vegetable serving spoons	154	egg beaters	55
wooden spoons	72	flour sievers	66
tea spoons	1,118	water jugs	244
bread & butter plates	978	drinking glasses	1,755
tea cups & saucers	2,931	kettles	155
mugs	580	pots, various sizes	236
milk jugs	116	teapots	170
sugar bowls	246	frying pans	130
butter dishes	132	cooking knives	225
bread knives	147	washing up basins	216
desert dishes	779	hand bowls	246
trays	273	buckets	152
		pepper & salt shakers	66

Others:

washing tubs	239
washing boards	100
washing machines	2
irons	168
washing shelves	45
washing houses	8
"Tapa" 100 ft long each	95
different varieties of mats 1	
"Ta'ovala"	346

Total cash grants to groups from FSP/USAID through Sister for the period was T\$1,800 awarded, generating a return of 1032.78% with a profit of 932.78%

SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES

VAVA'U VILLAGE WOMEN'S DEVELOPMENT

NOVEMBER 1979 - OCTOBER 1980

Participating Villages:

Palesi	Ta'anea
Fungamisis	Holonga
Kolofo'ou	Feletoa
'Utulangivaka	Leimatu'a
Neiafutahi	Toula
Falaleu	Pangaimotu
Neiafu - Kameli, Talau, Fangatongo & Futuna	'Utulei
Makave	'Utungake
Houma	Hunga
Ha'akio	'Ovaka
Koloa	Matamaka
Holeva	Noapapu
Tu'ane kivale	

Total number of homes served.....	577
Total number of groups.....	97
Total number of group members.....	577
Total number of people benefits...	3,898
Total local funds raised.....	T\$18,719:12

Summary of Activities:

Renovations:

living houses.....	135
kitchens.....	185
bathrooms.....	199
toilets.....	273
pig pens.....	55

Newly Built:

living houses.....	58
kitchens.....	124
raised fireplaces.....	119
bathrooms.....	128
toilets.....	95
pig pens.....	85
chicken pens.....	17

furnitures:

completed homes.....	34
lounge chairs.....	57
sideboards.....	80

Other Improvements to Homes:

homes fenced.....	275
water to homes.....	180
electricity to homes.....	104
dining tables.....	152

cupboards.....169

club houses..... 2

cement water tanks..... 81

washing rooms..... 15

washing shelves..... 2

Other Improvements to Homes:

kerosene lamps.....14

washing equipments:

homes completed.....158

washing tubs.....351

washing boards..... 140

washing machines..... 2

irons..... 210

clothes lines & pegs:

homes completed..... 191

Crops and Gardens:

flower gardens.....401

vegetable gardens..... 210

panadanans trees planted..... 1,079

homes completed.....172

paper mulberry trees planted..8,543

homes completed..... 172

Kitchen Utensils:

homes completed.....	67	soup spoons.....	74
dinner plates.....	3,107	wooden spoons....	31
table knives.....	1,764	egg beaters	13
table forks.....	1,739	sugar bowls.....	1
desert spoons.....	1,639	butter dishes....	2
tablespoons.....	128	buckets.....	4
teaspoons.....	1,390	hand bowls.....	14
tea cups & saucers.....	1,970	utensils for receiving	
desert dishes.....	336	guests:	
servng dishes.....	50	completed homes ...	4
drinking glasses.....	1,737	completed homes with pots,	
water jugs.....	463	frying pans, cooking knives	
preserving jars.....	6	teapots, kettles &	
gas stove.....	1	pots.....	172
meat mincers.....	3	frying pans.....	187
flour sievers.....	9	teapots.....	282
hot water flasks.....	3	kettles.....	260
breadknives.....	14	pots.....	260
bread & butter plates.....	6	cooking knives... ..	260
toasters.....	3		

Traditional Needs:

"Tapa"..... 212

Mats in different varieties... 939
 "ta'ovala"..... 1,067
 Fine mats special functions .. 57

Linen sets:

sheets..... 653
 pillow cases..... 904
 homes completed..... 16
 quilts..... 156
 blankets..... 194
 table cloths:
 homes completed..... 36
 bathtowels..... 787
 homes completed 86
 hand towels..... 172
 homes completed..... 60
 tea towels..... 232
 homes completed..... 211
 dining table cloths..... 152
 curtains:
 homes completed..... 3

Others :

dressing tables..... 3 chests..... 6
 suit cases..... 7
 sewing machines 6

Total cash grants to groups from FSP/USAID through Sisters for the period was T\$200.00 awarded generated a return of 9359% with a profit of 9259%.

SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIESTONGATAPU VILLAGE WOMEN'S DEVELOPMENT

PERIOD ENDING: OCTOBER 1980

Participating Villages:

<u>Central Area</u>	<u>Eastern Area</u>	<u>Western Area</u>
Ma'ufanga	Tatakamotonga 1	Fatai
Houmakelikao	Tatakamotonga 2	Nukunuku
Halaleva	Lapaha/Talasiu	Matahau
Kolofo'ou	Kolonga	Masilamea
Fasi-moe-Afi	Niutoua	Kolovai
Kolomotu'a	Fatumu	Vaotu'u
Longolongo	Ha'asini/Hamula	Ha'alalo/Ha'
Haveluloto		'Utulau
Tofoa		Houma
Pea		
Ha'ateiho		
Veitongo		

Total number of homes served: 1,137.

Total number of groups: 180.

Total number of group members: 1,137.

Total number of people benefits: 7,368.

Total local funds raised T\$38,466.93

Summary of Activities:

Renovations:

living houses	241
kitchens	207
bathrooms	175
toilets	216
cement water tanks	2
pig pens	106

Newly Built:

living houses	95	dining tables	355
kitchens	183	carpets	3
bathrooms	111	curtains	3
toilets	407	door mats	22
fences (for homes)	497	brooms	38
pig pens	155	telephone (to home)	1
furnitures:		sewing machines	5
lounge chairs	116	cement water tanks	155
beds	488		
sideboards	194		

Other Improvements to Homes:

electricity to homes	171
water to homes	388
kerosene lamps	240

washing equipment:

washing tubs 571

washing boards 331

washing machines 3

completed homes 68

irons 331

clothes' lines 524

Crops and Gardens:

flower gardens 488

vegetable gardens 1,819

pandanus trees planted 6,244

mulberry trees planted 28,063

peanut crop 1

Linen sets:

pillow cases 1,322

pillow 1

sheets 933

face cloths 4

bath towels 932

tablecloths 272

blankets 749

quilts 576

hand towels 875

tea towels 1,268

mattress 1

TBU V.W.D. SUMMARY

Kitchen Utensils:

dinner plates	6,293	kettles	386
table knives	4,866	teapots	484
table forks	4,439	bread knives	13
desert spoons	4,728	toaster	4
tablespoons	555	hot water thermos	1
soup spoons	1,754	electric water jug	1
soup serving spoons	14	water jugs' covers	16
wooden spoons	1,578	trays	22
teaspoons	3,826	food covers	3
tea cups and saucers	6,197	egg beater	4
desert dished	2,078	milk jugs	9
drinking glasses	4,863	sugar bowls	15
water jugs	822	flour seiver	4
buckets	560	tin openers	7
purex dishes	660	butter dishes	6
china dishes	468	pepper and salt containers	6 pairs
cooking knives	597	bread & butter plates	12
bowls(washing vegetables)	725	kerosene stove	9
hand bowls	623	electric stove	1
baking tins	229	refrigerators	7
pots (in various sizes)	922	ice box	1
frying pans	432	coconut scrapers	7

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Abbreviations:

APCWD: Asian and Pacific Centre for Women and Development
EHPCW: Eastern Highlands Provincial Council of Women
PAWF: Pacific and Asia Women's Forum
PPSEAWA: Pan-Pacific and South East Asia Women's Association
PWBN: Pacific Women's Bureau Newsletter
PWRB: Pacific Women's Resource Bureau
PWRC: Pacific Women's Resource Centre
SPC: South Pacific Commission
SRF: Sub-Regional Follow-up Meeting on the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women
WCN: Women's Club News

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