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MACRO-MICRO LINKAGES IN CARIBBEAN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT:
THE IMPACT OF GLOBAL TRENDS, STATE POLICIES AND A NON-
FORMAL EDUCATION PROJECT ON RURAL WOMEN IN ST. VINCENT
(1974-1994).

A Dissertation Presented

by

PEGGY ANTROBUS

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

May 1998

School of Education

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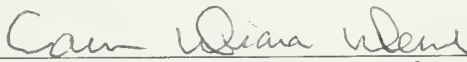
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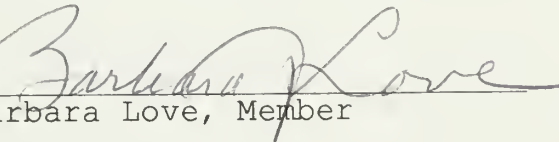
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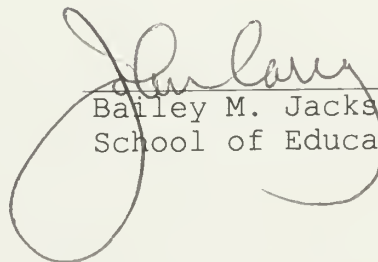
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ABSTRACT

MACRO-MICRO LINKAGES IN CARIBBEAN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT:
THE IMPACT OF GLOBAL TRENDS, STATE POLICY AND A NON-FORMAL
EDUCATION PROJECT ON RURAL WOMEN IN ST.VINCENT. (1974-1994)

MAY 1998

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A macroeconomic policy framework of structural adjustment designed to address problems of international indebtedness, adopted by CARICOM countries in the 1980s, has been associated with a major setback in the process of broad-based socioeconomic development that had been launched in the context of representative government and independence.

The study examines the influence of these global/regional trends on state policy, with special reference to how the altered political vision of the state, inherent in structural adjustment policies, appeared to impact the welfare and livelihood of rural women and families in St. Vincent. The study also assesses the extent to which an innovative non-formal education project aimed at community development through the empowerment of women in a rural community, served to mitigate detrimental aspects of these policies and related state practices.

The study utilized a feminist research methodology with a combination of interviews, focus groups and

observation that provided multiple vantage points on macro and micro dimensions of the study. The author's personal involvement in various aspects of development and the non-formal education project during this period serves as an additional lens.

The study argues that a policy framework of structural adjustment severely weakens rural and social development, and is inappropriate to goals of broad-based socioeconomic development in a small island state.

The non-formal education project which linked university continuing education to community organizing, served to increase human, physical and social capital, as well as enhance community norms and people's capacity to cope in a deteriorating socioeconomic environment. While this intervention was circumscribed by application to a community's immediate context, it does provide clues as to the kinds of intervention required for a fundamental reassessment of policies.

The study further argues that non-formal education interventions can be applied to both micro and macro level situations and that their effectiveness in addressing social change depends on their inclusion of political education about macro/micro links and gender conscientization. Such interventions can strengthen advocacy for policies prioritizing human development within a women's human rights framework.

PREFACE

1. Personal Background

For me, commitment to development has been fundamental to a process of increasing understanding and growth. I grew up on the small island states of the Windward Islands: Grenada, where I was born; St. Lucia, where I had my earliest educational experiences; and St. Vincent, where I got most of my education and my first experiences working in development at grassroots and national levels.

As a member of a family of modest means, but considered middle class because of their education and status in the public service, I had no real consciousness of poverty or injustice. Our lives were not after all so different from those of our less privileged neighbors: we lived in houses without running water or modern plumbing; we used public transport; our birthdays and Christmases were marked by celebrations but there were no lavish gifts, and few special treats (involving cash expenditures) at other times. Nor did I have any consciousness of gender differences, at least in terms of education or aspirations:

I was the eldest of the family, a good student, and expected to do well at school and at work.

Grenada was more 'underdeveloped' than it is now, and the material differences between social groups was not as great as they are today. Few people had to lock their doors against burglary. No one went hungry; no one was

homeless: the extended family, including overseas migrants in the USA or Europe took care of its members. Although 'colored' (we used that word in those days!) I was never conscious of racism until I went to Britain at the age of nineteen. Altogether, I lived a fairly protected life, and reflecting on it now raises questions about what "development" has meant for countries like Grenada.

My process of political self-awareness and critical thought did not begin until the middle of my adult life. This year (1998) will mark 40 years since I graduated with a degree in economics from the University of Bristol (England), and 30 since I equipped myself (again with credentials from a British university) with professional training as a social worker. Neither of these educational experiences provided the understanding of, or interest in, grassroots development or poverty issues, although the choice of economics as my course of study at university was indicative of the climate of Caribbean nationalism and therefore an interest in "Development" at the time; and related to a sense of service since I owed my university education to a government scholarship. It was certainly informed by the belief that a knowledge of economics would enable me to contribute to the development of an independent Caribbean.

This choice was, also based on exposure to my father's work as a senior public ('civil') servant in the post-World War II period which followed on the social upheavals of the

1930s. Through this broad-based movement for "independence" which took place throughout the Caribbean region, the idea of "development" emerged to inspire the expectations of the generation of the 1950s, my generation. At that time "Development" was commonly perceived as a linear process, which would be ensured by the "right mix of land, labor and capital". The role of technology and markets were not fully understood in those days of innocence when we also thought that political independence would set us on a sure path to material progress - in other words, "Development".

2. Work Experience

As I reflect on my work experience two things strike me: one, that despite the discontinuity of my work up to 1978 - never being in any job for more than three consecutive years¹ - each was a building-block for the next.

With each my understanding of the process of development and my commitment to this type of work deepened. Secondly, that I have always been fortunate in having the challenge of "starting from scratch", the opportunity to define the program and the scope of work. Conceptualizing, turning ideas into action, became the area of my expertise.

In retrospect there also seems to be something almost magical about the progression of my work through these four decades. Starting in the late-1950s, with a degree in economics I joined the Ministry of Finance, Jamaica, in what I had hoped would be a career in public finance and

planning. This was abandoned after one year when I came to realize that this career path would require the kind of continuity that my marriage and motherhood were unlikely to afford me. In the mid-1960s working in rural communities (local level) in St. Vincent on what might be termed 'integrated rural development programs', I moved on in the mid-1970s to set up a national program in 'Women in Development' for the government of Jamaica (the Jamaica Women's Bureau), then in the second half of the 1980s to establish the Women and Development Unit (WAND), a program within the regional University of the West Indies (UWI). Finally, in 1990 I became coordinator of an international network of Third World feminist focusing on "Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era" (DAWN).

3. Reflection and Transformation

This progression - from national to local to national, then to regional and finally to global - deepened my understanding of the links between the various levels of development. But, in retrospect, it also enabled me to have first hand experience of the various development strategies of the time: in the late 1950s I learned about development planning; in the 1960s I learned the basic processes of working at community level; in the decade 1975-1984 I learned about the importance of working from a gender perspective; in the decade 1984-1994 I came to understand the link between international financial institutions (IFIs)

and global structures and processes, and policy choices at local/national and regional levels.

But it was from feminism that I learned the most. Indeed, it was more than another learning experience; it was transformative. The process was almost imperceptible but the changes were profound - personally, professionally and politically. I began to see the world differently: theories had to be changed, epistemologies challenged and relationships (including my relationship with myself!) re-evaluated. The process continues: there is still much to learn, and work to do. But the sense of being part of a social movement for justice makes the journey exhilarating. This dissertation is an aspect of the journey to greater understanding we need to change the world.

The Late 1950s

Although my time at the Ministry of Finance was brief it exposed me to Jamaica's first attempts at development planning, and to the link between the social scientists working at the university and those working in state institutions. At that time there was a network of West Indian social scientist, the first group of West Indians to have received their training at UWI and to be working there, in the faculty of Social Science or the Institute of Social and Economic Research (ISER). They included Walter Rodney, George Beckford, Lloyd Best, Alastair McIntyre, Harold Brewster, Norman Girvan and Rex Nettleford. Arthur Lewis was

then Principal of UWI and G. Arthur Brown² the Head of the Jamaica Planning Unit.

In the late 1950s, while I worked at the Ministry of Finance, the staff of the Planning Unit and Ministry of Finance often attended weekly seminars at the ISER. Many of these intellectuals were also members of the New World Group³, a network comprising social scientists - economists, sociologists and political scientists - as well as writers, artists and activists. Their work informed thinking on West Indian development at a the critical time in the processes leading up to the spread of industrialization in the region, as well as the political processes leading to the West Indian Federation and independence. It was clear to me that economic and political processes always went hand in hand.

The Decade of the 1960s

In the 1960s I was engaged in two programs - first, with the Commonwealth Save the Children Fund (SCF) (1964-67) in a program of applied nutrition aimed at addressing the high infant mortality rate in the region at that time; the second, with the government of St. Vincent (1967-70) in the establishment of their community development program.

My work with SCF involved working with the mothers of severely malnourished infants between the ages of a few months to 3 years. It was a comprehensive program including the distribution of supplementary foods (soyameal and milk), weight monitoring, home visits by village workers, regular

visits to the local public health clinic for monitoring by a pediatrician, the promotion of home gardens, nutrition education and counseling of the mothers. The focus of the community development program was on the establishment of community centers, community-based training projects, mostly in handicrafts, self-help around environmental projects, and the formation and servicing of groups such as the 4-H Clubs, Cooperatives and of community development committees, and leadership development.

All of this was fascinating, useful, and sometimes successful, in that you could see how the programs helped improve the situation of families and communities. However, although most of the participants were women I had neither the awareness of nor concern about the relations between men and women (gender⁴ relations), or of the link between the structure of gender power relations and how these affected the participation of the women in these programs, or the distribution of benefits derived from them. In addition, my interaction with the women was always in relation to their role in the program: thus within the applied nutrition program the focus was on women as mothers; while in the community development programs no thought was given to the domestic or economic concerns of the women who participated in the various programs.

The limitations of these approaches were that:

- (a) they were sectoral and did not link each program with the larger framework of government policy and programs at the time; and
- (b) by focusing on a single aspect of women's reality - e.g. as mothers or as members of the community - I missed the importance of recognizing the complexity of women's lives, and the implication of this for their (social) roles as mothers and their (civic) roles as community organizers etc.

The Decade of 1974-84

Issues of women, gender and development were to be the focus of my work from 1974, and in the context of the United Nations Decade for Women (1975-85). Toward the end of 1974 I was appointed Advisor on Women's Affairs to the Government of Jamaica. With my background in community development, and my lack of specific knowledge of the situation of women in Jamaica, it was natural that I would adopt a 'community development approach' to this work. I capitalized on the interest generated by International Women's Year (1975) by organizing a series of workshops throughout the country with a view to raising issues related to the role and status of women. Because I had no staff, I was dependent on the cooperation of the staff of those agencies working at community level - the public health department, the agricultural extension services, the community development

department and adult education/literacy programs. This collaborative approach served not only to get the work done but set in motion a new set of relationships between the staff of the various ministries, relationships which led to a more integrated approach to programs in community development and in Women in Development.

In 1977 I moved to Barbados (to accompany my husband to his new post with the Pan-American Health Organization, PAHO) and was instrumental in setting up the Women in Development Unit (WAND) within the Extra Mural Department (re-named the School of Continuing Studies) of the University of the West Indies (UWI). Again, in order to ensure that the WAND program reflected the needs and concerns of the women of the region, the objectives were broadly defined allowing the program to be shaped by the constituency.

In 1981, in the context of the worsening situation of women worldwide, recognizing the need to work in greater depth to test an approach to community development which would focus on women's needs and concerns, WAND initiated a Pilot Project for the Integration of Women in Rural Development in St. Vincent and the Grenadines.

The Decade 1984-94

An assessment of the impact of this project in 1986/7 revealed that none of this experience of community mobilization was sufficient to protect the people of the

community from the impact of their governments' adjustment policies. What was even more interesting was that these policies did not appear to have been 'imposed' by the IMF or the World Bank but represented the 'initiative' of the government.

Realization of the need to link the experience of the community to an understanding of the macroeconomic policy framework was prompted by my involvement in a small inter-regional meeting which took place in Bangalore, India, in August 1984. Participants were women who had been involved in research and action-oriented programs and projects throughout the Decade for Women. The agenda was open, and we were invited to reflect on what we had learned from our experience of development over the period of the Decade. The result of that meeting was the publication of the book⁵, Development, Crises and Alternative Visions: Third World Women's Perspectives (Sen and Grown 1987), and the launching of the DAWN network. The book captured what was to become the framework of analysis for many women throughout the world, a framework which was holistic and linked women's experiences at the level of their daily lives to their governments' macro-economic policies. It opened up a whole new approach to work on women's issues - whether this was work on the Environment, Population, Human Rights or Social Development. The characteristics of this analysis are as follows:

1. It focuses on the experience of poor women living in the 'economic' South;
2. It attempts to reflect regional diversity;
3. It is holistic, exploring the links between social, cultural, economic and political factors;
4. It attempts to relate macro-analysis to micro level experience;
5. It is political: it rejects the notion that development is a technical issue;
6. It is feminist in that it rejects the separation of social and economic spheres, household and economy, private and public domains, personal and political areas; and validates women's experience and work, including the unwaged work of the household and subsistence agriculture.

DAWN's critique of mainstream economic theory is that:

- * In economic terms it fails to count women's unwaged work, and often pays women less than men for work of similar value;
- * In social terms it fails to recognize the link between productive and reproductive work;
- * In political terms it fails to acknowledge the existence of gender-based hierarchies at the level of the household, community and the body politic, and the implications of this for policy choices (among other things).

As the 1980s drew to an end, involvement in two other processes reinforced my commitment to turning all of this experience into action directed toward influencing policy choices in the Caribbean. The first was the launching of the Caribbean Association for Feminist Research (CAFRA). The seeds of the idea of such an association were sowed in 1980 at a six-week regional seminar in Puerto Rico. The seminar was convened by Marcia Riviera of CEREP (Center for Education, Research and Publication) in collaboration with Kate Young of the Institute for Development Studies (IDS) at the University of Sussex, England, and coincided with the U.N.'s Second (Mid-Decade) World Conference on Women held in Copenhagen. Participants had chosen the seminar over the U.N. conference, and left with a political agenda: to form an association which would serve as a catalyst for feminist organizing in the region. CAFRA was finally launched at the regional meeting organized by WAND in preparation for the 1985 Conference in Nairobi. In providing initial support for the launching, the complementarity between WAND and CAFRA were clear to me: as a unit within UWI WAND was somewhat constrained, it was not autonomous and it was not an organization, CAFRA could play the role that was needed to give birth to an autonomous women's movement in the region.

The second experience was my involvement in a research project on policy alternatives for the Caribbean organized by Professor Carmen Diana Deere of the University of

Massachusetts at Amherst on behalf of PACCA (Policy Alternatives for the Caribbean and Central America). The project brought together a group of academics, policy makers and activists to work on a book which would address development alternatives and US policy for the Caribbean. It was my first opportunity to work with scholars whose interests focused on the Caribbean and it exposed me to the potential for an alternative path to development for the wider Caribbean by providing a set of well-reasoned arguments for pursuing such a path. The publication of the book, In the Shadow of the Sun: Caribbean Development Alternatives and U.S. Policy (Deere et al., 1990) was timely and fed into the processes of the West Indian Commission whose report, Time for Action, attempted to catalyze a new vision for CARICOM countries on the eve of the next century.

4. Continuation

My motivation and choice of topic for this study is informed by a wish to continue this process of reflection and analysis in order to deepen my understanding of the processes, policies and practices that affect the lives of people in the small island developing states of the Caribbean by particularizing and concretizing general assessments and critiques of development policies and practices in the experience of women and men in St. Vincent.

Notes

1. The discontinuity was related to the fact that I was married with children: although I always worked outside the home (except when my children were very young), my work would always have to fit in with the needs of my husband. Thus, I travelled with him to England on two occasions when he went to post-graduate medical school, and to St. Vincent, Jamaica and Barbados when his work took him there.

2. Arthur Brown was to become Deputy Director of UNDP in the 1980s. It was he who said, quite simply, on a Panel on the "Role of the UN" at a Society for International Development (SID) Annual Conference in 1986: "There can be only one Macro Economic policy. That policy is set in Washington and the role of the UN is to ensure that every government follows it ... and the role of every specialized agency (of the UN) is to assist each sector (e.g. agriculture, education, health) to adopt policies consistent with the policy framework.

3. The New World Group published a journal, New World Quarterly, through which its ideas were disseminated throughout the region. The Group gradually dissipated with the turn to the Black Power Movement of many of its members and its merger with the political activism of the 1960s.

4. Up to that time I had never heard the words 'gender' or 'feminist'; and since I was not conscious of how gender affected my own choices and experiences I had no concerns about the complexities of the women's lives.

5. The publication was intended to serve as a platform document for the NGO Forum of the Third World Conference on Women, held in Nairobi in August 1985.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Nature of Problem and Needs for Study

It is now widely recognized that over the past thirty years of 'development experience', the gap between rich and poor, within and between countries has been widening and, in an era of globalization, there is no sign that the trend will stop.¹ Nevertheless, international events in the decade of the 1990s - including the collapse of the Soviet Union and the triumph of a market-oriented economic system; concerns about environmental degradation; and the recognition that poverty, unemployment and the unequal distribution of incomes within and between countries is increasing - have raised new questions about 'development', and given new impetus to the search for 'alternative' approaches which will ensure equity, participation, holism and sustainability.

The gap between stated intention and reality in the field of international development has been highlighted from the end of the First United Nations Development Decade of the 1960s onward. In the 1970s, recognition of a 'crisis in development' led to calls for 'Another Development',² or 'Human-/People-centred Development', which paralleled the calls for a New International Economic Order (NIEO).³ The debates have continued as the search for 'Alternative Development' models in the 1980s and

'Sustainable Development' and 'Sustainable Human Development' in the 1990s.

An important strand of this search for alternatives to the growth-oriented model of development has been the work of feminists. Stimulated by the activities of the United Nations Decade for Women (1975-85), which mobilized women throughout the world and particularly in countries of the economic South to explore the links between women, gender and development the women's movement has thrown up a critique of development which has gone beyond issues of equality to question the underlying assumptions of the economic model itself - the definition of work, the link between reproductive and productive work and the ways in which issues of power (including gender power) mediate economic and social outcomes. Through research, analysis, actions at grassroots level and advocacy at national, regional and international levels, women's leadership - especially feminist leadership - has opened new areas for research and action leading to new insights about development. These women (and their male allies) have been proposing alternative development approaches which focus on women's perspectives and leadership, and the use of gender analysis as an analytical tool for revealing the variables between women and men which need to be taken into account in development theory and practice, policy and planning for the achievement of a model of development which is equitable, humane, participatory and sustainable.

For much of Latin America and the Caribbean, the decade of the 1980s was characterized as the 'Lost Decade': a decade in which growth rates plummeted and many of the gains in social welfare - especially in health and education, in housing, social security and collective bargaining - were reversed (Deere et al., 1990; McAfee, 1991). According to a study undertaken under the auspices of the group Policy Alternatives for the Caribbean and Central America (PACCA), in 1990:

[a] combination of internal and external, cyclical and structural factors ... produced three types of interrelated macroeconomic imbalances, or financial crises for the economies of the region: (1) a balance of payments crisis, (2) a fiscal crisis, and (3) a debt crisis. (1990, p. 18).

In response to this, many governments of the English-speaking Caribbean (CARICOM) introduced International Monetary Fund (IMF)-influenced policies of structural adjustment. Led by Jamaica (1979) and encouraged by the regional Caribbean Development Bank (CDB), the governments of the region as a group, at their Heads of Government meeting in Nassau in June 1984, adopted structural adjustment as the policy framework for the region.

While the countries of the Windward and Leeward islands - countries of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) - did not have IMF-negotiated structural adjustment policies some of them, like St. Vincent, adopted similar policies in terms of budget cuts, typically in the social sector and in infrastructure (e.g. roads and maintenance of public buildings). The chief

difference in the experience of these countries and other CARICOM countries that signed structural adjustment agreements with the IMF was that OECS countries did not devalue their currencies because of the need for agreement between all eight states, as members of a single currency board, the Eastern Caribbean Currency Board (ECCB). Barbados was another exception. Although it did sign an agreement with the IMF in 1990 it managed to avoid the extreme measures introduced by Jamaica and Guyana, perhaps learning from their experience, and also managed to protect its currency from devaluation.

It is significant that those countries which managed to avoid devaluation of their currencies had better growth rates in the 1980s than those which succumbed to international pressures to devalue. In the case of the OECS countries, the significant increase in banana production in the Windward Islands, in response to better prices in the European market, and the more varied economic base (agriculture as well as tourism) helped these small islands survive the 1980s. However, even these economies are now threatened by the regimes of the World Trade Organization (WTO), which ensures the liberalization of trade without any regard to the specific circumstances of different countries. The countries of the Windward Islands are in particular jeopardy because the protected European market for their bananas, which represents a major part of their economies,⁴ has been challenged by the WTO. In any

event, in this global market-place, small island developing states (SIDS) are at a particular disadvantage since they are not able to benefit from economies of scale.

One of the consequences of these policies is that the accepted wisdom in this region that governments would take responsibility for laying down the framework for broad-based socio-economic development seem to have been abandoned.

Much of the social damage wreaked by policies of structural adjustment (and now globalization) is evident in women's worsening conditions. Women have suffered most from these policies for the following reasons:

1. women predominate in the sectors for which budgets were cut and therefore experienced a disproportionate loss of jobs;
2. where new jobs were created in export processing plants they tended to be lower paying than those lost in the public sector;
3. cuts in the social sector jeopardized services which are vital for women in the performance of their reproductive roles, e.g., in health care, education, care of the elderly and so on.

In short, the shift of responsibility for social service provisioning from the state to the private sector (the market) and (for those who are unable to pay) to the household, created particular hardships for women who must

fill the gaps created by cuts in services even as they lose employment because of cuts in these sectors (PACCA, 1990).

An important strand of this search for alternatives to the growth-oriented model of development has been the work of feminists. Stimulated by the activities of the United Nations Decade for Women (1975-85), which mobilized women throughout the world and particularly in countries of the economic South to explore the links between women, gender and development the women's movement has thrown up a critique of development which has gone beyond issues of equality to question the underlying assumptions of the economic model itself - the definition of work, the link between reproductive and productive work and the ways in which issues of power (including gender power) mediate economic and social outcomes. Through research, analysis, actions at grassroots level and advocacy at national, regional and international levels, women's leadership - especially feminist leadership - has opened new areas for research and action leading to new insights about development. These women (and their male allies) have been proposing alternative development approaches which focus on women's perspectives and leadership, and the use of gender analysis as an analytical tool for revealing the variables between women and men which need to be taken into account in development theory and practice, policy and planning for the achievement of a model of development which is equitable, humane, participatory and sustainable.

1.2 Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

The primary purpose of the study is (1) examine the impacts of global-regional trends and state policy, with particular reference to structural adjustment, on rural women and families in St. Vincent between 1974-94, and (2) to assess the extent to which a nonformal education intervention implemented by the Women and Development Unit (WAND) in the village of Rose Hall, St. Vincent (1981-1984), seemed to mitigate detrimental aspects of these trends and policies.

On the basis of this analysis I will attempt to draw out implications for development and community development conceptions policies and practices, and for the use of nonformal education strategies for women's empowerment. The study will also suggest areas for further study in regard to global-local trends and macro-micro linkages.

1.2.1 Research Questions

Specifically, this study seeks to answer the following research questions:

1. What was the global context in which national development policies and strategies were formulated from the 1950s to the Decade of the 1990s; and what were the underlying assumptions and theories in which these policies were embedded? (Chapter 2).
2. What was the overarching thinking about development policies and strategies in the countries of the

English-speaking Caribbean in this period, and how were they similar or different from global trends?

(Chapter 3)

3. (a) What were the development policies and strategies in St. Vincent and the Grenadines from 1974-94, and (b) how were these global/regional trends reflected or not reflected in state policies in this country during this period? How were these policies reflected in national budgets and in specific sectoral policies, programs and strategies? (Chapter 4).
4. What are the roles and realities of rural women in Rose Hall, St. Vincent, and what changes or problems emerged in the years 1974-94? (Chapter 5).
5. What were the apparent impacts of macro policies on women, families and community development in the short-term and their implications for the longer term? (Chapter 6).
6. (a) What was the nature of the WAND nonformal education pilot project in Rose Hall (1981-84), its origins, purpose, implementation and spin-offs, and (b) what were the strengths and weaknesses of its strategies? (Chapter 7).
7. What were the apparent effects of the project on women, families and community in the short term and in the longer term, and how did the effects of the nonformal education project serve to mitigate the impact of macroeconomic policies? (Chapter 8).

8. (a) What does the study suggest about the relationships between macro-micro linkages (i) from global to national and (ii) from national to local, and what are the implications of the findings of this study for
- (a) development theories,
 - (b) policies, programs and strategies,
 - (c) nonformal education interventions, and
 - (d) for longer term trends? (Chapter 9).

The study is motivated by a concern to particularize and concretize general critiques of development policies and practices from the experience and perspectives of rural women, and will shed light on the alternative approaches needed to achieve goals of 'sustainable human development'. It examines the experience of women and men living in a rural, small-scale farming community, on a small island states in the Caribbean.

The results of this study may not be generalized to women in urban settings, or living in the larger countries of the region. There are also other variables which impact on the lives of rural women. These include class, ethnicity,⁵ the patterns of production (plantation or small farm), access to land, the types of crops grown, land distribution, migration patterns, family structure. If the best land is controlled by large plantations, and if women have limited acreage and poor land on which to farm, without a gender-sensitive program of land redistribution,⁶ the best government policies will guarantee sustainable

livelihoods for those women and their families. In the Caribbean, migration to other countries within and outside the region also has a significant impact on people's ability to cope with economic crisis: families which receive remittances from relatives who have migrated are obviously in a better position to sustain themselves in times of economic crisis.

1.3 Key Terms and Concepts

Conscientization and Awareness: Critical consciousness leading to a deeper level of awareness through a process of reflection, analysis, generalization and internalization.

Development: The ongoing reorganization of economic and social systems in the interests of social groupings, empowered through the effectiveness of their institutions, to modify, reshape and create material re/production and the distribution of wealth. Development implies a system of values which to a greater or lesser degree facilitates conditions for social justice and the elimination of poverty, disease, illiteracy, violence and culturally entrenched forms of subordination.

Empowerment: The capacity to make definitions and to act on them.

Feminist Perspective: A political outlook, consciousness of all sources of women's oppression, including class, race, ethnicity along with gender, and a

commitment to change the situation through solidarity with women.

Gender: A social construct differentiating men from women through culturally specific features including: attitudes, behaviors and beliefs, and assigning to them different degrees of social power. This construct occurs in almost every aspect of human activity and has provided a basis for the formation of social hierarchies.

Holistic: Refers to links between economic, social, cultural and political dimension of human activity.

Livelihood: The term can be defined as "a means of living or supporting life; of obtaining the necessities of life". It embraces not only economic but also social and cultural means. Thus, it includes goods and services which do not enter the market, but which are exchanged, often on a reciprocal basis by members of households and communities.

Non-formal Education (compared to Community Development Education): Non-formal education is education that takes place outside the formal education system and is yet specifically designed to educate, enlighten and train people (unlike 'informal' education, which is spontaneous and takes place through day-to-day interactions with our environment). Nonformal education employs a number of techniques not normally employed in the classroom: role play and drama, dancing and singing, drawing and creative writing and all used in nonformal education programs.

Nonformal education is also associated with the education of adults, but it is not restricted to adult participants. Education at community level may be formal (through formal schooling), informal or nonformal. The term 'community development education' may be used to describe education which is related to the knowledge, skills and attitudes which help to stimulate and support the development of a community.

Participatory Democracy: Refers to democratic space created when the state is open to the participation of civil society in on-going processes of decision-making.

Practical and Strategic Gender Needs and Interests: Practical gender needs and interests are those formulated by women out of their immediate experience of their circumstances and their position within the sexual division of labor. Through their formulation, women seek their survival and that of their children within the prevailing forms of gender subordination.

Strategic gender needs and interests emerge from analytical processes by which women's gender subordination is challenged. Strategic interests address long term, fundamental social reorganization around issues of political equality, freedom of choice over childbearing and domestic violence directed against women.

Quality of Life: A holistic concept referring to the conditions of human relationships such as personal safety, adequate nutrition and shelter, a healthy environment,

peace of mind, joyous and loving relationships. It implies personal and national sovereignty and options for participation in decision-making. It is related to, but not synonymous with, a high level of income.

Standard of Living: The material conditions of human activity at work or leisure. It is directly related to personal income, community and national infrastructure, including access to health care, education and the legal apparatus.

Social Capital: Is a resource for action. It is embodied in the relationships and norms of caring, obligations, cooperation and commitment to community and the knowledge of access to resources and information. While social capital is formed through all social relations and structures, certain kinds of social structure are especially important in facilitating the formation of certain kinds of social capital.

Sustainable Development: A concept of balance which seeks to integrate the human potential for material development within the finite limits of the natural world; and to reflect a culture of alternative values from that balance. It implies continuity and respect for future generations.

Sustainable Human Development: Sustainable human development is development which sustains the livelihood of the poor and protects the natural resource base: it is development which is equitable, participatory, holistic and

sustainable economically, socially, politically and ecologically.

Women's Human Rights Framework: A framework which recharacterizes each category of human rights vis: civic and political rights; social, economic and cultural rights; and group rights, to accommodate the particular nature of women's vulnerabilities to fundamental injustice.

1.4 Methodology

1.4.1 General Approach

Choice of methodology was perhaps the greatest challenge I faced in attempting the study. As a feminist, I am aware of the path-breaking methodologies developed by feminist researchers within the context of the transformations of knowledge generated by two decades of feminist research and action. One of the most critical areas has been in relation to the valuation of women's unwaged work (Deere et al., 1976; Beneria & Buvinic, 1983; Waring, 1988; Folbre, 1991; Lewenhak, 1992). The failure to recognize women's unwaged work in the household, in subsistence agriculture and in community organizing⁷ has been a major shortcoming in definitions of development which are grounded in quantitative measurements such as gross national product (GNP) and per capita income: the failure to include the value of unwaged work (mostly done by women) in national income accounts leads to some of the strategies which have placed whole communities in jeopardy,

while denying the true value of human and social capital in the process of development.

This study falls into the category of what has been described as openly ideological research, i.e., research which is explicitly value-based, and which has as a primary goal the questioning of assumptions and theories which have underpinned our practice of development in this region. At the same time in order "to guard against researcher biases distorting the logic of evidence within (this) openly ideological research" (Lather, 1986; p. 67) and to establish validity of the data within a framework of a methodology which is self-reflective; the research included the following suggested by Lather:

- triangulation of methods, data sources, and theories;
- reflexive subjectivity (...documentation on how the researcher's assumptions have been affected by the logic of the data);
- face validity (recycling...the emerging analysis and conclusions back though...a subsample of respondents);
- catalytic validity (...documentation that the research process has led to insight ... on the part of the respondents).
(p. 78)

This study explores the links between women's daily experiences of development at community level, state policies and global trends. For this purpose, a feminist methodology which seeks to link the personal with the professional and the political seems most appropriate for a study which provides a critique of development experience

through a process of deconstruction of my own experience within the context of the regional and global trends of the past 40 years.

It is grounded in the experience of women in a small-farming community on one of the smaller Caribbean island states, in which a pilot project for the 'integration of women in rural development' was implemented between 1981-1984. This project used nonformal education techniques as a way of empowering women with the knowledge, skills, and access to resources to take on stronger leadership roles in their community.

This study used a combination of research strategies including interviews, documentary research on official and project materials, personal reflection on relevant experience, observation, focus groups and workshops.

In order to explore how differences in perception may be influenced by gender and age the focus groups were established according to age and gender. For example, men and women in the 40-60 age group who had been involved in the pilot project were put into separate groups; however, the young people were not separated by sex as age was considered a more critical factor and the groups were small enough to assess whatever differences emerged between the males and females. The fact that members of these groups knew each other was not considered a disadvantage for the purpose of the data to be collected. On the contrary, given the culture of this community, members were able to

challenge each other, and so generate more reliable data. Similarly, their familiarity with the researcher was not an inhibitory factor.

1.4.2 Documentary Research

The following sources were consulted:

- (a) Primary sources studied for the purpose of identifying state policies over the period included the annual Budget Addresses (presented to the legislature by the different Prime Ministers, who also hold the portfolio of Minister of Finance) as well as the Estimates of Expenditure (which allowed for checking the rhetoric of politically motivated statements against the actualization of policies). The Annual Estimates also contain the Actual Expenditures for the previous year.
- (b) Publications and reports of institutions such as the University of the West Indies (UWI), the Caribbean Development Bank (CDB), the U.N. Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (UN/ECLAC) and other U.N. agencies; as well as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) provided information on socioeconomic development in the country and region.

- (c) Information on global trends was gleaned from documents from the U.N., the World Bank and other publications.
- (d) Information on the Pilot Project was obtained from reports, including evaluation reports, and case studies.
- (e) Conclusions on the implications of the findings for nonformal education are based on the literature on this kind of education and on the researcher's own experience.

1.4.3 Field Research

The research took place in St. Vincent with special attention to the village in which WAND's non-formal education intervention Project was implemented. The study population was the village people, with special attention to the views and perceptions of women who were involved in the Pilot Project. However, given the focus on state policy, officials - those who had served in the key Ministries of Agriculture, Health, Education and Planning at the time of the Project as well as those currently in office - were also considered part of the study population.

1.4.3.1 Interviews

Interviews are particularly suited to this study because they allow for individual feed-back as well as for dialogue. In-depth interviews, over a period of two

months, were conducted with 4 women and 2 men from Rose Hall, out of a total of 20, who had been involved in the project. They ranged in age from 35-75 in order to include those who were in their early 20s when the project was launched as well as older people. These interviews allowed me to document both their perceptions of the project and how it affected them over time, as well as their sense of the changes in the community over the period of 20 years (Appendix A gives the questions raised in these case studies).

Interviews were also conducted with officials and colleagues to elicit information on the policies announced and implemented during this period. Interviews with officials were particularly important since many policies are implicit and some programs not adequately documented. Interviews with officials also helped in identifying the discrepancy between resource allocation and actual expenditure at the level of the community. Officials were selected from the Ministries of Agriculture, Health, Education, Social Welfare and Community Development, and from the Planning Unit. A series of interviews and discussion with a former Auditor General proved particularly useful in assessing the differences between the approved and actual expenditures of Central Government (A list of the persons interviewed as well as the Guidelines for Discussion are at Appendices B and C respectively).

1.4.3.2 Focus Groups

Focus groups "possess the capacity to become more than the sum total of their participants, to exhibit a synergy that individuals alone can not achieve." (Krueger, 1994, p. 45). They were used in order to elicit perceptions and opinions of community members about the development policies and programs implemented over the period covered by the research, as well as about the Pilot Project.⁸ Participants were also invited to reflect specifically on their own experience of these programs i.e., on what was happening in the community at that time in relation to certain key sectoral programs e.g. agriculture, health, education and community development (See Appendix D for Outline for Focus Group Sessions).

Care was taken to select participants from among the villagers women and men representing different age groups so as to capture different perspectives on the policies and programs. The input of those women and men who had been involved in the Pilot Project 15 years earlier were particularly valuable given their sustained experience as well as their familiarity with the methodology of participatory research.

Groups were composed according to the characteristics of focus groups listed by Krueger (1994, pp. 16-22). Each group was homogeneous and comprised of 5-12 people in the following categories:

- (a) women who had been involved in the pilot project

- (b) a mixture of older men some of whom had been involved in the pilot project
- (c) young people (20-30 years in age) who are related to 'project' people
- (d) young people (20-30 years in age) who are not related to 'project' people.

The homogeneity of the groups helped to prompt the memory of members and to get at common perceptions of events.

The researcher attempted to analyze the perceptions of community members as to impacts and consequences of policies and programs, but was open to alternative interpretations by members of the groups.

At the end of the series of focus group sessions, a 2-3 hour workshop was arranged for participants of the focus groups for the purpose of feeding back the perceptions of the groups thereby involving them in the validation of the data as well as in the emerging analysis (Appendix 5 gives the Outline for the Final Workshop). In the analysis, the researcher showed how the perceptions of officials and documentary data were used, along with her own experience to validate, contradict or explain the experience and perceptions of participants. This use of triangulation allowed the researcher to help participants to locate their experience within the framework of national policies and global trends. In this way, the researcher hoped to contribute participants' understanding of the links between local experience, national policy, regional initiatives and

global trends. It was anticipated that this would help participants to use this information not only in their on-going work in the community, but also to enhance the quality of their feed-back to the researcher. This process leads to both face and catalytic validity. Appendix F provides more details on the Data Gathering and Analysis Procedures.

1.4.4 Personal Experience and Observation

I am a feminist, activist from the economic South who, over the past 40 years, have had the unique opportunity to be integrally involved in development programs at local, national, regional and international levels. My work experience has been with state programs in St. Vincent and Jamaica, the University of the West Indies (on campuses in Jamaica and Barbados), as well as with non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and the women's movement. Largely as a result of a deepening feminist consciousness, this experience has been a transformative one, revealing the limitations of many of the theories, policies and strategies which inform common approaches to socioeconomic development, and generating in me a commitment to exploring alternative approaches within an expanded framework of human rights⁹ which focus on distributive justice, with special attention to gender justice, a "women's human rights framework".

My own experience provided me with information and insights which are as relevant to the purpose of this study as those of other officials (see Preface). This included growing up in St. Vincent in the 1940s/50s;¹⁰ working with the government in setting up their first community development program in the late 1960s and before that with the Commonwealth Save the Children Fund (SCF) in an applied nutrition program involving work in rural communities; as well as my work in the 1980s (through WAND) with government departments and rural communities throughout the region; and finally my involvement through the DAWN network in the global trends, issues and negotiations of the 1990s.

In this context, however, the issue of validity is of major importance and particular attention has been paid to avoiding some of the potential difficulties and pitfalls of doing research which is not only openly ideological but also integrally related to my own experience. In the case of this project I am trying to raise awareness not only of gender issues but also of the global and structural issues around local/domestic policy choices.

1.4.5 Protection of Human Subjects

Because this study is based on experience which is already documented, it is not considered necessary at this stage to use fictitious names. This was discussed with most of the people interviewed. However, in the event that I wish to publish the study, I will again consult with

respondents with a view to deciding whether to use fictitious names.

Notes

1. This statement appears in publications too numerous to mention. It is now taken for granted, by those who find it a cause for alarm as well as by those who accept it as the price of globalization, in which there are inevitable losers along with the winners.

2. So far as I know, the term was introduced at an international meeting at the Dag Hammarshold Institute in Norway in 1972. Later on it was replaced by the term 'Alternative' Development.

3. This debate, advanced by the Group of 77 (G-77), the group of non-aligned countries from the economic South (a more commonly acceptable term for 'underdeveloped' countries at that time of North-South dialogues) dominated the international agendas throughout the 1970s. There was also calls for a New Social Order and a New Information Order.

4. In the case of St. Vincent it has been calculated that this was as much as 80% in the years when the market and price were good.

5. Because of its history of colonization and slavery the situation of Caribbean people who are not of African descent is different from that of others e.g. Indo-Caribbean in Trinidad and Guyana, and the Carib and Amerindian communities in Guyana and Dominica (the Carib community in St. Vincent and the Grenadines is more integrated, and the experience of its people is similar to the Afro-Caribbean population). As a result of slavery there are also significant correlation's between class and race which lead to subtle distinctions related to 'shades' of pigmentation, type of hair etc.

6. I use the word 'redistribution' rather than 'reform' because in St. Vincent and the Grenadines government's land reform programs have not usually led to the redistribution of land acquired from private estate owners but to its conversion into government operated land settlement estates. See Chapters 3 and 4.

7. This category of women (community organizing) has not received the attention as work in the other categories, especially work in subsistence agriculture.

8. Because of Jane Benbow's study, I was able to reduce the amount of time spent on the Project itself and focus more on the changes in the community over time.

9. Since the International Conference on Human Rights in 1993 the concept of Human Rights has been expanded to include Women's Rights and Reproductive Rights within the broader framework of Civil, Social and Economic Rights. This framework, which has the instruments and mechanisms for ratification and enforcement at national and international levels offers an attractive one for the promotion of development alternatives which address issues of gender justice.

10. I had been to school with many of the officials, as well as with the Prime Minister.

CHAPTER 2

THE GLOBAL CONTEXT: DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES, FEMINIST CRITIQUES, AND CONDITIONS OF RURAL WOMEN

2.1 History and Definitions of Development

Most writers trace modern development theory to the period following World War II. In his book, Economic Development: The History of an Idea, Arndt draws attention to the coincidence of

the adoption of economic development as a policy objective in and for the 'underdeveloped' countries of the world with the elevation of economic growth to the status of a prime economic policy objective in the developed countries. (Arndt, 1987, p. 2).

However, from a Third World perspective the most important link was that between the interest in growth in the developed countries and the growing strength of the independence movements in the European colonies in Asia, Africa and the Caribbean. For these men¹ economic development was seen as a necessary complement to political independence: the two were inseparable.²

Initially, the term 'economic development' was - and still is, to a large extent - equated with economic growth or material progress and it was therefore natural that economics came to play a major role in discussions on development. The use of measurements like Gross National Product (GNP) and per capita income as indicators of

'development' reinforces the focus on production and overlooks the more significant questions of how that product is distributed. The use of GNP to categorize countries in terms of 'level of development', is also misleading, and is increasingly meaningless given the gross inequalities in the distribution of incomes, which is a characteristic of many 'underdeveloped' countries. In turn, these indicators have led to the creation of further sub-categories for 'underdeveloped' countries - the More Developed Countries (MDC) and Less Developed Countries - (LDC), which further confuse and obscure the fundamental issue - the existence of inequalities both within countries and between countries. The existence of pockets of poverty, and extremes of social alienation, in the so-called 'developed' countries, and the presence of groups of wealthy elites, in the 'underdeveloped' countries, makes it clear that the mean level of economic production as measured by GDP/per capita is not a good guide for the determination of the level of 'development' of a country.

This phenomenon has called into question the usefulness of the concepts of development and underdevelopment. In fact, it has become clear that unless the proceeds of growth are distributed more equitably than at present, throughout the society, the characteristics of 'underdevelopment' malnutrition, illiteracy, poor housing,

chronic unemployment - can persist despite increasing levels of gross domestic product per capita. Since the 1980s the phenomenon of 'jobless growth' in the advanced industrialized countries has underscored this point.

The preoccupation with economic production and growth has also served to minimize the fact that the purpose of all of this activity was to meet the basic needs of people for food, shelter, security and self - actualization.

The objectives of development stated in the 1976 Report at the United Nations Expert Group on Human and Social Development come as close as any (in my view) to capturing the goals of development. According to this Group:

The objective of development is to raise the level of living of the masses of the people to provide all human beings with the opportunity to develop their potentials. This implies meeting such needs as continuing employment, secure and adequate livelihood, more and better schooling, better medical service, cheap transport, and a higher level of income. It also includes meeting non-material needs like freedom and security, participation in making the decisions that affect workers and citizens, national and cultural identity, and a sense of purpose in life and work. (Wignaraja, 1976, pp. 4-5)

By the 1970s the subject of development had become highly problematized. According to Gustavo Gutierrez, one

of the 'founding fathers' of Liberation Theology, although the term has

synthesized the aspirations of poor peoples during the last few decades ... it has become the object of severe criticism due both to the deficiencies of the development policies proposed to the poor countries to lead them out of underdevelopment and also to the lack of concrete achievements of the interested governments. (Gutierrez, 1973, p. 25).

This critique characterized the search for 'alternatives' to the growth-oriented strategies, a search reflected in the call for 'Another Development', a model which is need-oriented, endogenous; self-reliant and economically sound: based on the transformation of social structures (Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, 1975). Since that time, feminists and environmentalists have added their critiques, seeking new definitions which would encompass concerns about gender equity and environmental sustainability.³

Responding to these concern, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in 1990 launched it annual series of Human Development Reports (HDR) based on an index (the Human Development Index) which attempted to incorporate such social and political indicators as health and education, political participation and human rights, and more recently gender inequality, to counter the preoccupation with growth. However, although there seems to be general agreement that the concept of development must include social, cultural,

and political goals, the tendency to equate development with 'growth' remains, and has been reinforced by the current focus on market liberalization and globalization. Indeed, many would agree that growth, trade and industrialization have again become synonymous with development, as they were in the 1950s when "development" became an international concern.

2.2 Development Strategies: From Import-Substitution to Export-orientation and Structural Adjustment

Reviewing the literature on development, one might agree with Lewis that over the past forty five years

development doctrine has evolved in a series of revisionist surges ... roughly dialectical: in a particular period, an effective majority of theorists and policy makers has pursued one theme to the partial neglect of one or more others; then has overcorrected; and then perhaps has achieved synthesis that itself becomes an input to further zigzagging. (Lewis, 1986, p. 4).

At the same time, one is struck by how little the fundamental assumptions have changed; the equation of 'development' with economic growth; the continued acceptance of the three major strategic variables in economic growth - capital accumulation, expanding markets and technological change; the expectation that development should 'progress' along a linear process, or 'stages of growth', characterized by modernization and industrialization. In this model

'underdeveloped' countries would 'catch-up' with the advanced/developed countries through this process.

In the decade following World War II, development strategies based on the adoption of what Singer termed the Keynesian-Harrod-Domar growth model (Singer 1975)⁴ were applied to the countries of the South with the active participation of such Third World economists as G. Arthur Lewis, Raul Prebisch, and P.C.Mahalanobis. These economists and policy makers were preoccupied with industrialization and with lifting the capital constraints on development. According to John P. Lewis (1986), there was pessimism about the ability of developing countries to increase their earnings from exports fast enough to keep pace with import requirements, and two measures were emphasized for helping countries gear themselves up onto paths of self-sustaining growth: net inward transfers of preferably concessional capital (i.e. aid), and import-substitution-industrialization (ISI). This development strategy was based on the experience of post-war Europe's economic mobilization and required that the state play a major role in its implementation through economic planning. This was associated with "proliferating direct controls and ... bureaucracies to administer them" (Lewis, 1986, p.4).

Critiques of these policies subsequently came from all sides, from the 'dependency' theorists as well as from the

monetarists/neo-liberals. However, while there seems to be some disagreement on the matter of the success of these policies for different underdeveloped countries,⁵ it is generally agreed that by the late 1970s and 1980s, the virtues of the market as an instrument of economic control were reasserted along with an emphasis on liberalization. Policy-prescriptions from the North favored export-promotion policies over import-substitution-industrialization, and emphasis was again placed on agriculture, especially export-oriented agriculture.

At the same time, the commitment to aid slowly gathered strength, in part because of the priority assigned by some donors to agricultural development and to the recognition of developed countries of their "responsibility to assist the underdeveloped countries" (Singer, 1975, p. 16), a tendency no doubt reinforced by Cold War politics. What Singer termed

A great new international movement under the banner of 'technical assistance' to transfer and adapt mankind's enormous stock of technical knowledge and expertise to the underdeveloped countries. (Singer, 1975, p. 16)

became the foundation of the first United Nations Development Decade (1960-1970). He uses the following quote from a statement made by W.A.B. Iliff, Vice President of the World Bank, in his opening speech to the 1960 annual meeting of the Bank in Washington, to illustrate the change in the

climate compared with the pessimism of the postwar decade - a change that could be characterized as neither optimistic nor pessimistic but as a search for possibilities (emphasis added).

The historic transformation which is going on in the underdeveloped world today defies any general 'solution'; but it does offer infinite possibilities to the practitioners of economic development. (ibid. p. 17)

Singer summarizes the new trend in thinking in the 1960s as follows:

More emphasis tends to be placed on the availability of an unutilized potential of labor, human talent (including entrepreneurial abilities), resources of all kinds, savings capacity, fiscal capacity, directions of technological research, etc. and upon the possibilities of activating such unutilized potentials. Whereas the pessimistic postwar decade had emphasized the need for growth by sacrifice and the small (and diminishing) capacity of underdeveloped countries for the big sacrifices required, the new thinking emphasizes the possibilities of growth by a sort of pump-priming process - the creation of a new dynamic setting in which, by good strategy, resources availability's can be improved, difficulties temporarily bypassed or softened, and a broadening forward movement initiated. (Singer, 1975, p. 18)

The Harrod-Domar growth model provided the theoretical framework for the First Development Decade (1960-1970) promulgated by the United Nations to improve the standard of living of the peoples of the Third World. However, in keeping with the return of faith in the market, while it focused on the stimulation of economic growth it assumed that the benefits of growth would "trickle down"⁶ to those

sectors of the population which were poorer, or less well equipped to be involved in the rising tide of "progress". Although the strategies generated high growth rates, sometimes exceeding the targets set, they not only masked the widening disparities between different segments of the population but failed to reach the poorer and weaker segments. This realization, along with the rise of a new generation of Third World economists⁷, led to the attention paid to issues of equity and social justice during the Second Development Decade (1970-1980).

The Development Decade of the 1970s was characterized by a number of strategies promoted by both bilateral and multilateral donors, including approaches concerned with employment creation and underemployment, income distribution, appropriate technology, integrated rural development and basic human needs. These approaches were captured in publications such as the World Bank's Redistribution and Growth (1974) and the International Labor Organization's Employment, Growth and Basic Needs prepared for the World Employment Conference in 1976⁸

The Basic Needs approach reflected the recognition that the market could not deal with the problems of persistent, structural poverty and that the state would have to take a more prominent role in 'targeting' the poor and marginalized groups. However, the incomes of the poor were

still to be met mainly by raising their productivity and not through 'hand-outs', although the approach was closely associated with a number of social-sector or human-resource provisions such as health, nutrition, family planning and education. There was also an emphasis on Integrated Rural Development (IRD) projects in which economic projects were integrated with those focused on social development.

In short, the Basic Needs approach included an extremely comprehensive set of strategies aimed at addressing the issues of 'growth with equity'. It received a great deal of support from the donor community, including the World Bank and "nearly every bilateral aid donor represented in the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)" (Lewis, 1986). Robert McNamara, the President of the World Bank, who became 'the school's most prominent spokesman' (Lewis, 1986). Most importantly, the strategies were adopted by many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and encouraged a convergence in the work of policy makers and activists.

Throughout the 1970s, the focus on equity and justice within countries was paralleled by similar debates at the international level, which both drew from and fed into the national debates. A group of 'non-aligned' countries of the South formed the Group of 77 Non-Aligned Countries (the

G-77) and led the international debates on the need for justice and equity in the relationships between countries, by issuing a call for a New International Economic Order (NIEO). Other debates at the United Nations took up the call for new Information and Social Orders, and many of the leaders in Europe and North America responded through North-South Dialogues between leading policy-makers from the two groups of countries.

In a sense, the Basic Needs approach became the policy framework for the Second Development Decade at national and regional as well as at international level, and its embodiment in the Declaration of Principles and Program of Action adopted, with very few reservations, by all the delegates to the ILO's World Employment Conference can be taken as a symbol of the mood of the Decade.

Perhaps encouraged by this consciousness, perhaps in response to the United State's abandonment of the Gold Standard, the oil-producing countries of the South made their historic move to increase oil prices in 1973-74. It was a move that was to have profound implications for the countries involved as well as for the rest of the world, North as well as South, and for development strategies. The hike in oil prices created enormous hardships for non-oil producers in the South and sparked a recession in the industrialized countries. This led to a resurgence of

protectionist policies which, in turn, created further hardships for countries in the South as they faced the retraction of markets for their products and their inability to meet balance of payment commitments - to pay their debts.

At the same time, with a reduction of concessionary finance and aid, Third World countries increasingly found it necessary to rely on commercial banks for loans to face deteriorating terms of trade and current account deficits in balance of payments.

The second hike in oil prices in 1979-80 marked the beginning of the era of Adjustment, triggering a set of macro policy decisions, especially in the US, which in turn triggered financial crises in Africa, Asia and Latin America. According to Lewis

Arguments over the appropriate goals of development strategy - growth or equity or what balance between them - were pre-empted? Both goals had to yield priority to adjustment ... The inescapable, non-postponable need of any country not prepared to retreat into complete economic isolation is to 'adjust' - that is to bring the excess of its imports over its exports into line with the maximum inflow of capital it is willing and able to obtain (Lewis, 1986, pp. 8-9).

As the 1970s came to an end, critiques of import-substitution-industrialization (ISI) linked to a new wave of political conservatism in the major industrialized countries to return to power leaders who were no longer interested in issues of equity and justice at home or abroad. As the international community became preoccupied with the

consequences of the rise in oil prices - recession in the industrialized countries and debt in many of the countries of the South - all North-South Dialogues and call for new international orders ceased and market forces came once more to the fore in the formulation of development strategies. Whatever the intentions of the New International Development Strategy (IDS) for the 1980s, the Third United Nations Development Decade turned out to be a Decade of Adjustment as the debt crisis forced many countries of the region to seek financial support from the International Financial Institutions (IFIs): the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the regional banks. Macro-economic policies of structural adjustment were the conditions on which the IFIs agreed to assist the debt-ridden countries of the region.

The stated objectives of these policies were the laudable ones of assisting debtor countries⁹ to solve their balance of payment problems through the promotion of exports. In practice, however, these packages of assistance were conditional on governments' agreement to cut-back public expenditures, remove subsidies, devalue their currencies and market-liberalization. Most of the budget cuts were made in the social sector, perhaps not surprisingly given the emphasis on economic growth and export promotion, and on the lack of understanding (or

acceptance) of the links between social and economic development. It is worth noting, perhaps, that neo-liberal policies/strategies favoring the rich and privileging economic growth over social development had been the hallmark of the policies of the conservative governments of the industrialized countries before these policies were exported to the South via the IFIs.

The consequences of these policies are by now well-known (UNICEF, 1987; Antrobus, 1989; Elson, 1989; Deere et al, 1990; McAfee, 1991; Le Franc (ed.), 1994; Sparr (ed.), 1994). As both the state and the private sector 'downsized' their operations in order to reduce budget deficits (in the case of the state) and (in the case of the private sector) to maintain profits, unemployment increased. This in turn led to an increasingly impoverished social base with its attendant characteristics: a widening of the gap between rich and poor within countries and between countries (World Bank, 1994); deteriorating social services; and a pervasive sense of hopelessness and alienation resulting in increasing illegal and criminal activities and violence.

At another level, this change in the policy framework for development reflected profound changes in the role of the state, and in the relationships between the State, the Market and Civil Society. These changes are reflected in the relationships between governments and the multilateral

agencies of the United Nations and the IFIs and well as bilateral aid agencies. Increasingly, there was a shift away from project-related to policy-based aid (Lewis et al., 1988), a shift which facilitated the adoption of the macro-economic policy of structural adjustment as the policy framework everywhere and at all levels¹⁰. According to Lewis, the 'new orthodoxy'

goes beyond austere demand management. The mood is to press for greater efficiency - to give optimal uses of scarce resources - throughout the economic system ... It carries forward with redoubled vigor the liberalizing, pro-market strains of the thinking of the 1960s and 1970s. It is very mindful of the limits of governments. It is emphatic in advocating export-oriented growth to virtually all comers. And it places heavier-than-ever reliance on policy dialoguing, especially between aid donors and recipients.

The new orthodoxy characterizes the macro-economic thinking of those factions of the Reagan administration that stand for a positive approach to development promotion. It is also currently identified with a number of other bilateral donors as well. But the new orthodoxy is headquartered at the World Bank, which has not so much changed its view on this matter as it has sharpened and hardened them. (Lewis, 1986)

Lewis goes on to reflect on the 'fair amount of disarray in the ranks of mainstream development strategists' as follows:

The orthodox ones are sure of their heading. But many of the rest of us - the majority - sense a good deal of unsettled and/or unfinished business.

We question which revised brand of long-term development strategy will best suit different portions of the Third World if and as they surmount the current adjustment crisis.

We are mindful that there needs to be more differentiation of strategies to match the differentiation of developing countries and groups of countries. We wonder whether a standardized prescription of export-led growth will meet the needs of big low-income countries in the latter 1980s as it did those small and medium size middle-income countries in the 1960s and 1970s.

We are concerned about the special needs of low-income Africa and, in particular, about how aid programs can help the other-than-capital needs that seem to dominate development problems in that beleaguered continent.

We have a sense that in the sequences of development though and practice in the 1950s and 1960s, the relationship between agriculture and industry never got adequately sorted out - nor more recently, has the balance to be sought between export expansion and some version of internal agro-industrial expansion as engines of growth.

We see a great deal of unfinished business under the heading of poverty and equity we have learned some lessons from the 1970s which need assimilation. Finally, most of us who look at development primarily through democratic lenses also are curious about the political dimensions of the process. We prefer democratic modes of governance. But there are claims to be answered that more authoritarian political models are better suited to growth and equity promotion. (Lewis, 1986)

These reflections now seem dated: although in recent years the World Bank has moved away from the most conservative orthodoxy of the 1980s in which the role of the state in economic development was called into question to the notion of the "market-friendly" state, the debates on "development" in mainstream circles are now conducted within the framework of market liberalization. The orthodox

economists have won and their orthodoxy has become the defining feature of the global village of the 1990s, and perhaps for several decades into the next century. For in a sense, the widespread adoption of IFI-inspired policies of adjustment by countries across the world set the stage for the framework of globalization within which government policy must be framed.

This policy framework has been established regardless of the diversity of countries in terms of size, culture, political system, ecological status or stage of development; and regardless of the attempts of agencies such as UNICEF and more recently the Bank itself and the Fund, to cushion the impact of the policies on the poorest, most disadvantaged Third World constituencies through the 'Human Face' of social safety nets and social sector investments and exhortations to governments to cut military rather than social sector budgets.

Facilitated by the advances in communications and production technologies, globalization of markets not only for goods and services but for finance, labor, and communications has created at last a global village, in which the inequalities between social groups are expected to be greater than ever and in which the relations between states and markets will be altered to the point at which sovereignty and political accountability may become

meaningless - for rich countries no less than for poor countries. For the inordinate power which globalization gives to international capital and multinational corporations is reinforced by a World Trade Organization (WTO) in which the power of the corporations are advanced by states held hostage to their interests. In this setting development strategies have become unequivocally strategies for promoting economic growth and generating profits for corporations at the expense of all else. This most extreme form of capitalism is built on the theories of the classical economists, but without any of the hesitations of those who recognized the dangers of a market unbridled by considerations for human and natural environments, and who sought to ameliorate it through the evocation of a social contract which reflected the common values of a common heritage. In today's world there appears to be no such common heritage, no set of common values by which civil society could hold corporate and financial managers accountable, and no recognition of the diversity which could create space for those countries and peoples that sense the dangers of globalization for the poor and the powerless, the small island developing states and the vast countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America where the majority of the populations are still among the poorest in the world.

2.3 Women in Development (WID) Strategies

Starting in 1972 with the new requirement that U.S. development assistance should pay particular attention to the impact on women (the Perry Amendment), international community designated 1975 International Women's year (IWY). At the U.N. World Conference held in Mexico City the year was turned into a Decade for Women (1975 - 1985). Within this framework of the UN Decade governments throughout the world (but especially within the countries of the South), encouraged by the UN and bilateral donors as well as by the women of the country, introduced special strategies for enhancing the status of women and their participation in development as contributors as well as beneficiaries. While some of these strategies were been linked to broader objectives such as 'improving nutritional status', 'increasing food production', 'reducing population growth rates, or rates of literacy', others were nothing but tokenism, or quite marginal to development efforts. I would place the special 'national machinery'¹¹ for women into this latter category; although even here it was possible for women of imagination, commitment and political skill to create effective programs¹².

With the exception of the socialist countries, most of these mechanisms were set up within the framework of liberal feminism, although some of them were transformed over time

as the feminist consciousness, politics and commitment of the staff deepened - as in my own case.

According to Caroline Moser (1989), over the 13 years of her review, liberal feminist approaches to the issue of WID have shifted from a concern with welfare/equity to the goal of equality, to the elimination of poverty (the goal of development). Currently, in the context of the global economic crisis, there is an emphasis on efficiency: "to ensure that development is more efficient and more effective: women's economic participation is seen as associated with equity". There is also, among Liberal Feminists, reference to the empowerment of women, however this is problematic within the constraints of approaches to national and sectoral planning since it implies a challenge to the existing, dominant, structures and relationships which have contributed significantly to the oppression of poor Third World women. At the same time the concept of 'empowerment' has also been appropriated by some development agencies to mean "giving women more responsibilities" for a variety of tasks from saving infants to saving the planet.

Moser describes these approaches, historically as follows:

Welfare (1950s - 1970s) - This is a residual model of social welfare under colonial administration. It is not feminist, and reinforces sex role stereotyping (women's

reproductive role) but is still (in 1980s) widely used e.g. the 'safe motherhood' initiative of the World Health Organization. It assumes that women are disadvantaged, weak and passive beneficiaries of welfare. It was/is used along with growth theories - to compensate women for the failure of benefits to 'trickle-down'. UNICEF's 'Adjustment with a Human Face' (1987) is a variation of this approach.

Equity - (from 1975, International Women's Year, IWY)

- This is the original WID approach arising from awareness of the failure of 'modernization' development policy. It shows the influence of Ester Boserup's work, and that of liberal feminists at USAID (e.g. the introduction of the Percy Amendment). Its goal was to gain equity for women in the development process: women were seen as strong, active participants, contributors to development, but also as having the right to claim benefits. Strategies included affirmative action/equal opportunity, distributive justice and reproductive rights.

Anti-poverty (1970-80) - A second WID approach, linked to the strategies of Growth with Equity and Basic Needs, its goal was to help poor women increase their productivity: women's problems were seen as problems of underdevelopment and lack of resources, not of subordination. The emphasis was on women's productive role, and on small-scale income-generating projects.

Other strategies within this approach included support for activities in food, nutrition and agriculture, community/rural development, reproductive health, family planning, credit, capital formation, education and skills training. It was the focus of most Third World programs throughout the UN Decade for Women and beyond. This was the approach that informed the setting up of the Women's Desk in Jamaica in 1974, the first example of 'national machinery for the integration of women in development' in CARICOM, which I was privileged to establish.

Efficiency (from the early 1980s) - The third, and now predominant, WID approach was influenced by the deterioration in the world economy. It coincides with policies of economic stabilization and structural adjustment and relies on women's contribution (social and economic) to development to cushion the shocks of adjustment policies.

As in the case of 'development', the lack of explicitness about the theories and paradigms in this field has led to a blurring of the distinctions between different approaches, as well as to the frustrations with the largely unsatisfactory outcomes of the numerous policies, programs and projects initiated within the framework of the decade. (Maguire, 1984)

A good example of the contradictions arising from this lack of explicitness, or, more accurately, from the failure

- or unwillingness - of Liberal feminists to confront the contradictions of their positions within the power structures, is the use of the term 'empowerment' to describe women's responses to the continuing socio-economic deterioration: women's willingness to accept more responsibility for the survival of their families within the context of austerity programs is taken as evidence of their empowerment. Latin American feminists have defined this (more accurately) as 'superexploitation' (UNICEF/WID 1987; DAWN 1988).

The shift in approach of many Third World women who, like myself, started off in 1975 operating within the framework of liberal feminism, to search for 'Alternative' or 'Another Development with Women', provides an interesting parallel experience to that in the wider field of development strategies - especially as it illustrates how this shift to the alternative paradigm emerged from a basis of praxis - reflection-action - rather than from a theoretical (Marxist) analysis ¹³.

The adjustment policies, with the crushing and inequitable burden which they place on poor women, helped many women to recognize the danger of leaving gender and class-based ideologies unchallenged. The existence of strong feminist groups among poor women in Third world countries, and the clear articulation of feminist

perspectives by the network of Third World women, DAWN (see reference in the Preface), all helped to shift the approach from one of accommodation to the neo-liberal approach of WID to one that challenges class, race and political domination along with gender ideology.

DAWN's analysis, formulated in preparation for the 1985 World Conference on Women (Sen and Grown, 1987), shows clearly the links between race, class and gender in its analysis of the links between the subordination of women and the interlocking global crises of economic disarray, deteriorating social services, food insecurity, environmental degradation, cultural Fundamentalism, violence against women and militarism, and relate all of this to the type of economic model currently being promoted through policies of structural adjustment.

Molyneux (1985) distinguishes between women's interests, strategic gender interests, and practical gender interests. Translated into planning terms 'interests' become 'needs'. The distinction between 'women's interests' and 'gender interests' allows the distinction between interests based on women's biological similarities, which are often mediated by class, race, and ethnicity, as well as gender, and those interests "that women (or men for that matter) may develop by virtue of their social positioning through gender

attributes." (Molyneux, 1985, p. 232). Following this line of thinking, Mosser offers these definitions:

Strategic gender needs are those which are formulated from the analysis of women's subordination to men, and deriving out of this the strategic gender interest identified for an alternative, more satisfactory organization of society than that which exists at present, in terms of both the structure and nature of relationships between men and women. The formulation of strategic objectives to overcome women's subordination will vary not only according to the ethical and theoretical criteria employed but will also depend on the particular cultural and socio-political context within which they are employed." (Moser, 1988, p. 10).

Examples of strategic gender interests include: the abolition of the sexual division of labor; the alleviation of the burden of domestic labor and childcare; the removal of institutionalized forms of discrimination such as rights to own land or property, or access to credit; the establishment of political equality; freedom of choice over childbearing; and the adoption of adequate measures against male violence and control over women. These are often considered 'feminist', and historically have only been fulfilled by the bottom-up struggle of women's organizations.

Practical gender needs are those which are formulated from the concrete conditions women experience, in their engendered position within the sexual division of labor, and deriving out of this their practical gender interests for human survival. Unlike strategic gender needs they are formulated directly by women in these positions, rather than through external interventions... They do not ... generally entail a strategic goal such as women's emancipation or gender

equality, nor do they challenge the prevailing forms of subordination even though they arise directly out of them. (Moser, 1989, p. 11)

The possibility of building on practical needs to achieve strategic gender interests is the key issue for those who recognize the need for the transformation of existing oppressive structures and relationships. In short, we need to recognize that while the concentration on practical gender needs might help to alleviate the gross deprivation of the poor we need policies that will move them beyond mere survival toward determining the long-term requirements for the creation of a more equitable society. These policies must create the space for women to pursue their strategic gender needs. The distinction between practical and strategic gender needs and interests is a useful one in helping us to think beyond survival to the kind of changes needed to create a world in which "basic needs become basic rights" (Sen & Grown, 1987). This is the true Empowerment approach.

2.4 Feminist Theories and Critiques

Since 1975, and in the context of the UN Decade for Women, feminist scholars have worked to define a different world view, one based on women's reality. Feminism is defined here as a consciousness of all the sources of women's oppression and a commitment to challenge and remove

them, and feminist theories are those which analyze and explain the causes, dynamics and structures of women's oppression (Maguire, 1984).

Feminist critiques tend to defy the usual disciplinary boundaries, and the dichotomies created in the interest of 'scientific' truths. Feminists advance a more holistic approach to the analysis of social phenomena, and tend to be as concerned with process, as with product or output (Jain, 1983). Feminism is political: it "highlights the centrality of the concept of power and its opposite, oppression ... asks root questions about all forms of domination. (Maguire, 1984, p 25). However, as DAWN asserts

Feminism cannot be monolithic in its issues, goals, and strategies, since it constitutes the political expression of the concerns and interests of women from different regions, classes, nationalities, and ethnic backgrounds, (and it would therefore have to be) responsive to the different needs and concerns of different women, and defined by them for themselves. (Sen & Grown, 1987, pp. 18-19).

The DAWN network saw this diversity, built on a common opposition to gender oppression and hierarchy, as a first step in articulating and acting upon a political agenda which would include challenging all those structures, systems and relationships which perpetuated and reinforced the subordination of women, everywhere.

Feminists theories differ in their definition of the primary source of women's oppression - an important issue

since actions to change the situation are based on how the primary causes are defined. The following tendencies have been identified:

Liberal feminists - for whom the problem lies in inequality of opportunity, resulting from lack of civil and political rights, (Wollstonecraft, 1972);

Radical feminism - which defines the primary oppression as sexism, men's striving for domination and power over women (Hartman, 1981). The source of this domination is located in the biological differences between men and women - "biology as destiny" (Jagger & Struhl, 1978);

Marxist feminists - who, naturally, see the primary source of oppression as the class structure (Dalla Costa and Janes, 1972; Barrett, 1980). However, Marxist feminists have challenged Marxists with their failure to address the question of gender differences in the relationships of men and women to the means of production;

Socialist feminists - "emerged in part as an attempt to deal with the "unhappy marriage" of Marxism and feminism (Sargent, 1981, quoted in Maguire, 1984). They attempt to locate women's oppression in the combined force of class and gender (Folbre, 1991). Black feminists (Joseph, 1981) and Third World feminists (Steady, 1981; Sen and Grown, 1987) have also focused attention on the significance of factors

like race, class and imperialism in the oppression of the majority of the world's women.

All but the Liberal feminists fall within the Alternative paradigm. Liberal feminism, operating within the parameters of the status quo existing social order, emphasizes consensus, social integration, cohesion and solidarity among women, the satisfaction of individual needs, and actualization.

On the other side, within the alternative paradigm, socialist (and other forms of radical) feminism recognizes the existence of structural conflict in the relationships between men and women, and between women of different classes, races and nationalities and focuses on modes of domination and on the contradictions inherent in the conflictual nature of society. These feminists emphasize women's subordination, emancipation, and potentiality. In other words, feminists who use Marxist analysis as a tool, as well as those who subscribe to the political philosophy of Marxism, hold with the analysis of the 'conflict' model of social change, and recognize the need for fundamental changes in the existing system with its inherently inequitable structures and relationships.

However, although they subscribe to different political philosophies, there tends to be more common ground between feminists than between other theorists: perhaps the

common commitment to women creates a tolerance of difference, and offers greater possibilities for respect and dialogue.

None of the theories of economics, social change, or development deal adequately with issues of women, or with the gender relation - i.e. with relationships between men and women - and feminists have challenged all of them on the basis of women's experiences¹⁴. This experience leads one to reject dualistic approaches which dichotomize relationships between private and public spheres, production and reproduction, the household and the economy, the personal and the political, the realms of feeling and intuition and those of reason (Antrobus, 1983).

Nevertheless, given the fact that today almost all countries operate within the parameters of the dominant paradigm, it is within this framework that WID issues are located: the chief rationale for gender analysis is in fact, the importance of integrating women's concerns into the mainstream of development planning (Tinker, 1976; Overholt et al., 1984).

Starting with Esther Boserup's seminal work Women's Role in Economic Development (1970), increasing attention has been paid to how women have been 'left out' of the process of development - both as participants and as beneficiaries. Women's 'invisibility' in the processes of

production has led to their marginalization, and 'development' (equated with modernization) has tended to undermine their roles in all areas - social, cultural and economic (Tinker, 1976; Rogers, 1980). In seeking for a theory of Women in Development feminists have focused on three areas in particular:

1. The household
2. The measurement of women's work, and
3. Women's multiple roles

2.4.1. The Household

A focus on poor households - and on women within those households - is a good starting point for an understanding of the situation of women in the process of development since it

enables us not only to evaluate the extent to which development strategies benefit or harm the poorest and most oppressed sections of the people, but also to judge their impact on a range of sectors and activities crucial to socio-economic development and human welfare (Sen & Grown, 1987, p. 24).

Economists, Neoclassical as well as Marxists, have traditionally ignored the household, or alternatively, have tended to treat it as an undifferentiated unit, as if the efforts and interest of all members were the same (Folbre, 1985a p. 5). Both have maintained the 'traditional' myths of the separation of public/workplace (men's domain) and

private/household (women's domain) and have tended to "treat the household as though it were an almost wholly cooperative, altruistic unit", allowing economic self-interest to operate upon, but not within it (Folbre, 1986a, p. 245).

Feminist economists have begun to challenge these assumptions, based on empirical studies which show considerable evidence of a high degree of inequality between men and women within the household, particularly at the lowest income levels. For example, at the lowest levels of subsistence, women work longer hours, expend more effort, but receive fewer benefits for their labor, than men (UN, 1975). While in part this is a reflection of class imbalances in relation to the distribution of resources from the larger structures of the society, there is evidence of the existence of gender and age based hierarchies within households at every socio-economic level.

Neoclassical economists (e.g. Becker, 1981) have adopted a microeconomic approach, applying utility maximization and cost-benefit analyses to the domestic economy. Their work has focused on the factors affecting women's participation in paid labor, and they have used time-budgets and household surveys to reveal women's work. Marxist feminists, on the other hand, have focused on

the significance of unpaid household production for an understanding of the economic role of women within both the household and the larger economy, and of its implications for an understanding of the reasons behind women's subordination... (they have) emphasized the role of women in reproduction and have shown that by reducing the labor costs in commodity production it can be regarded as having an indirect effect on the accumulation process". (Beneria, 1983, p. 130; see also Deere et al. 1977)

While neoclassical economists have tended to blur the distinction between use-values and exchange values (Beneria, 1983, p. 130) Marxist analysis has tended to stress this distinction, in order to highlight the functionality of use-value production for the process of capital accumulation (Deere et al., 1977; Barrett, 1980). They argue that women's work in the subsistence and informal sectors of the economy is functional for capitalism since it allows the capitalist sector to pay a wage that covers only the subsistence needs of the wage laborer (Beneria, 1983; Deere, 1982). It also allows governments to impose cuts in services and food subsidies, without provoking social unrest (in most instances) - as has been happening throughout the world, within the framework of adjustment policies. Deere has demonstrated how the interaction of class and gender inequalities exacerbates the situation of poor women and points out that the level of income of peasant households is conditioned not only by the household's access to resources, and its labor composition, but also by external factors such

as the social, economic and political situation in the larger society (Deere, 1983).

The neoclassical feminist economists, adopting a quantitative, individualistic approach, accept the economic system as given, while the Marxists call for collective action, and for a change in the structure of relationships within the family, and in the larger society. Many feminists have focused on the link between Capitalism and Patriarchy (Mies, 1986), while others have highlighted the way in which gender identity is constructed within what Barrett terms "the ideology of the family" i.e. not simply within particular families but within "an ideological nexus" which extends beyond family relations into the large society. For her, the contemporary nuclear family is the result of the "struggle between the emergent bourgeoisie and the practices of other classes, rather than a necessary logic of capitalism" (Barrett, 1980, p. 61).

Both Neoclassical and Marxist feminists however share a common concern with the need to validate and re-evaluate women's work in the domestic domain, and in subsistence production. Folbre, recognizing the "complementarities between patriarchy and capitalism" has argued that a "microeconomics analysis of the household must be situated within a larger structural analysis of gender and age-based inequalities and their interaction with class structure and

national policies within the world capitalist system" (Folbre, 1986), in other words for a "synthesis of microeconomics and structural approaches." More specifically, noting the "juxtaposition of women's lack of economic power with the unequal allocation of household resources" she argues for an approach which combines "the bargaining power models being developed by some neoclassical theorists" and the structural approaches of the Marxists."

2.4.2 The Measurement of Women's Work

Most, labor force and national income statistics reflect a gross underestimation of women's participation in economic activity' (Boserup, 1970; Standing, 1981; UN, 1976). Ironically, as Beneria (1983) points out, it is the very proliferation of studies on women's labor force participation that have revealed the inadequacies of available statistics to capture both the extent (quantity) and nature (quality) of women's participation in the economic life of their countries. Her article explores and analyses the biases of the available statistics in the conventional definitions of 'active labor', and how these biases affect both the collection and interpretation of data. She focuses on ideological and practical issues, pointing out the connections between the two: since a large proportion of women's work is unpaid, and associated with women's subordination in the household, there is a tendency

to evaluate women's work as non-productive, and therefore non-economic. This ideological bias is deeply embedded in most of the concepts widely used in official statistics. The inadequate representation of women's work in national income statistics in every country is therefore both a cause and effect of the tendency to regard women's work as secondary and subordinate to men's.

Feminist scholars (Beneria, 1983; Buvinic, 1983; Folbre, 1986) have identified a number of interconnected issues. In addition to the underlying ideological/conceptual issues, there are theoretical, technical and practical problems in measuring women's work. Lack of a clear conceptualization of the value of women's work to the economy leads to problems of definition of concepts such as "work", "active labor force", and "unpaid family labor". The emphasis on these concepts as a measure of the level of "economic" activity derives from the centrality of the market as symbolic of the economy, the focus on commodity production, production for exchange rather than production for use. Calculations of the national product are based on these concepts.

The underestimation of labor force participation, and production, are all the more acute in areas where market forces are not yet well established, as is the case for large areas of the Third World. In order to take account of

the significant proportion of non-market production which enters into the economies of most Third World countries efforts have been made by national and international agencies to include non-market subsistence production in the calculations of GNP, and subsistence workers as "active labor". However, this has not helped women to any significant degree. Indeed, the effort is a good illustration of the extent of the bias against the validation of "women's" work.¹⁵

The result of all this is that official data on female labor force participation is notoriously inaccurate, and is particularly so for Third World countries, where non-market production, mostly carried out by women, is often more prevalent than production for the market. It was this underestimation of female participation in "economic" development (i.e. market) activities that led to the notion that women needed to be "integrated" into the process of development.

Beneria identifies the following factors in the continued underestimation of women's participation in the labor force:

1. The problem of defining who is an unpaid family worker;
2. The classification of workers according to their "main occupation";

3. The integration of some market-related activities in women's housework.

All of these relate to a lack of understanding of the nature of housework for poor women engaged in a struggle for survival. The 1938 exclusion from the census of "housework done by members of a family in their own homes" from the definition of the "gainfully occupied" is an example of this lack of understanding, especially since the definition allows for "work done by members of a family in helping the head of a family in his (sic) occupation... even though only indirectly remunerated" (ILO, 1976, pp. 8-9).

But even women's work in subsistence income-generating production is under-estimated. A 1954 ILO resolution defines "family labor" as family members who "work in non-domestic activities for at least 1/3 at the normal hours". Apart from the difficulties of defining "normal" hours, and how long a family member has worked, it is clear that the definition still excludes a large part of women's world since this is often highly integrated with domestic activities. Many rural women will indeed describe themselves as "housewives", even when they spend more than the required 1/3 of their day in subsistence production (Yates & Knudson, 1983).

This approach can lead to gross discrepancies in the estimation of female labor force participation. Indeed, the

official figures showing female labor force participation in Latin America as one of the lowest internationally demonstrates the virtual uselessness - of these figures for the purpose of international comparison, or even for providing some sense of the reality of women's lives.

An adequate representation of the value of women's work for the economy must therefore take into account domestic work - social production/reproduction, or production for use - since it is this work which often enables the poor to survive. Indeed, it must be clear to all that if the "formal" private sector and the state were really the only economic institutions whereby essential goods and services (basic needs) were produced and delivered the human species would never have survived. The validation, and more accurate valuation of women's domestic work is therefore of critical importance, if it is not to be subjected to 'superexploitation' - as it is under the current austerity measures. Beneria recognizes this by concluding that "any conceptualization of economic activity should include the production of use values as well as of exchange values", and that active labor should be defined in relation to the production of goods and services for the satisfaction of human needs.

2.4.3. Women's Roles, Gender Roles

In recent years there has been a shift away from a focus on 'women', with its concentration on women's sex, i.e. the biological differences between men and women, toward to a concern with 'gender' - a concern with the relationship between men and women. Unlike sex, which is a biological fact over which we have little control, gender is socially constructed (Oakley, 1970). Thus the "world of two sexes" is a result of the socially shared, taken-for-granted methods which members use to construct reality" (Kessler & McKenna, 1978, p. vii). The term "gender" has "traditionally been used to designate psychological, social, and cultural aspects of maleness and femaleness (Kessler & Mckenna, ibid, p. 7), while "sex" generally designates the biological components of maleness and femaleness. This has important implications for work on 'women's issues' since we have more control over phenomena which are socially constructed than over those biologically determined. Increasingly the term 'gender' has replaced the word 'woman' in the field of WID (Overholt, et al. 1984; Moser 1988).

Most feminists view the sexual division of labor as a major source of women's oppression (Tinker & Bramsen, 1976; Barrett, 1980). Indeed it is the chief rationale for the attention given to women in policy approaches to the issue

of WID. The argument is in two parts: (a) It is because men and women play different roles that they have different needs and concerns and (b) because women's needs have tended to be subsumed to men's it is necessary to pay special attention to gender in development policy and planning.

It has been suggested that the identification of "these different needs requires an examination of two planning stereotypes relating firstly to the structure of low-income households and secondly to the division of labor within the household." (Moser, 1988, p. 4). In relation to planning for low-income communities, despite evidence to the contrary, there is "an almost universal tendency" to assume "that the household consists of a nuclear family of husband, wife and two or three children," and that "within the household there is a clear sexual division of labor in which the man of the family as the 'breadwinner' is primarily involved in the productive world outside the home, while the woman as the housewife and 'homemaker' takes overall responsibility for the reproductive and domestic work involved in the organization of the household. Implicit in this, as we have mentioned above, is the assumption that within the household there is an equal control over resources and power of decision-making between the man and the woman in matters affecting the household's livelihood. However, the reality of most households in the Third World

is at variance with these assumptions - particularly in relation to the role of women.

In reality most low income women in Third World countries perform three roles - their traditional 'reproductive' role in childbearing and rearing, and in the nurturance and maintenance of the household; a significant role in food production, processing and marketing, and in the provision of foods and services particularly in the informal sector of the economy; as well as an important role in what Moser terms "community management" i.e. 'voluntary' work undertaken to enhance or improve life in the community (Moser, 1988). However, because of the intertwining of these multiple roles women's time is much more constrained than men's. In addition, because only work which is for exchange is valued, much of women's work is 'invisible' to planners. This means that women's specific needs tend to be overlooked by those who operate on 'gender neutral' assumptions.

2.5 Rural Women Worldwide

It must be clear, in the references above to the undervaluation of women and the implications of women's multiple roles for economic production, that the reality of rural women has been the most compromised by gender ideology. The publication of Esther Boserup's (1970)

seminal work highlighted the role of rural women in economic activities. Since then the recognition of women's realities within the framework of the UN Decade for Women has stimulated an on-going body of research which has enriched our understanding of the lives of rural women (Beneria, 1982; Deere & Leon, 1982, 1987; Agarwal, 1985, 1995, Whitehead & Bloom, 1992)

Building on Boserup's central thesis, that women play an important role in agriculture, research since 1975 has examined the factors which constrain women's role in this field (Deere & Leon, 1982, 1987; Agarwal, 1985; French, 1987; Waring, 1988; Whitehead & Bloom) and raised critical issues about women's access to appropriate technology and the measurement of women's work (Beneria, 1982).

The constraints on rural women's production are similar to those on other women, especially poor women, although in the case of poor rural women they impact more heavily on the well-being of women and their families because of the often harsh conditions of the natural environment and the inadequacies of the services available to them. The common constraints are largely related to a gender ideology which leads to:

- a. a gender division of labor between men and women in which women bear the major responsibility for household maintenance tasks and for the care of people, especially

- children, the elderly, the sick, the infirm and the disabled (women's reproductive role);
- b. the definition of concepts such as 'work' in ways which exclude a large part of women's daily activities, especially those tasks related to women's reproductive role;
 - c. customary and legal limitations on women's access to land;
 - d. discrimination in relation to women's access to credit, technologies and other resources essential to her role in production;
 - e. the commoditization of resources such as water and communal property;
 - f. assumptions, in development planning, about women's role which have rendered them 'invisible' to planners and policy-makers, and leads to a failure to make the link between women's productive and reproductive roles;
 - g. conflicts between male and female household members over the use of each other "labor and over their respective rights to consumption goods and income produced within the household." (Whitehead & Bloom, p. 42);
 - h. gender-based hierarchies within households and in society.

As Overholdt (1985) and others point out, it is also important to distinguish between access to and control of

resources: rural women may have access to land, but they often lack control of it, and this has implications for their productive role¹⁶.

The work of rural women is critical for the survival of their families and communities. In addition to their role in the household as mothers, wives, daughters and housekeepers, they are also engaged in a variety of tasks related to agricultural production including farming, the rearing of livestock and poultry, marketing, and food preservation. Because of the lack, or inadequacy of basic services such as water, electricity and transport the multiple roles of rural women are often more onerous than that of poor women in urban areas. However, the work of rural women tends to be invisible, inadequately recorded¹⁷, undervalued, and inadequately recognized. Ideological and cultural biases obscure the character of women's work (Della Costa and Janes, 1972)¹⁸. Women's family labor is also viewed as an essential part of the role or obligations of the wife, mother and daughter - a continuation of the women's social roles rather than real 'work'. Finally, women's subsistence production is viewed as 'non-market' production, revolving around the family farm where production is for use rather than for sale (exchange) e.g. the reference to women's farms as 'gardens' (Whitehead &

Bloom, 1992, p. 43). In fact, as Whitehead and Bloom point out, emphasizing the domestic character of self-provisioning allows a number of ideas to be conflated and mistakenly fused:

1. There is an assumption that self-provisioning does not need to be planned for, but as part of domestic life can be left to take care of itself.
2. Using the term 'domestic' accentuates the idea that family mores are at work: "the term domestic can signal that because women are bound into the family and have a strong interest in their children, the women will be less innovative, less commercial and more risk-averse in their dealings outside the home." (Whitehead & Bloom, 1992, pp. 43-44).

Not surprisingly, the invisibility of women's work and the under-estimation of the value of women's non-market production to the household often leads to the failure of plans based on the assumption of the availability of female farm labor; but it has also helped to generate profits for landowners who pay one worker (usually the man) for work that is done by the entire family (Deere & Leon, 1982, 1987; Lewenhak, 1992).

Another outcome of this bias is that agricultural extension services are traditionally based on stereotypes of "women as housewives" and "men as farmers"¹⁹, thus extension services directed at women are focused on home economics and nutrition; women are often not included in agricultural services; and the staff of agricultural extension services are overwhelmingly men. The failure to see the link between

women's reproductive and productive work in agriculture and rural development underlies the failure of many projects and programs aimed at increasing agricultural production and productivity (Arizpe & Botey²⁰, 1987).

It has been pointed out however, that care must be taken not to minimize the importance of women's production of food for the household, not only because it guarantees the nutrition of poor families, something to which the women themselves attach great value, but because it also provides a potential source of cash to poor women and their households. In fact, Chaney (1987, p. 204) argues that "experience (of the two projects studied in the Caribbean) suggests that intensive gardening is a far more economic use of time and inputs than artisan activities of sewing" (typical of the income-generating activities that were so common in the early years of WID (women in development) projects).

2.6 Rural Women in the Caribbean

Because of the history of colonization and slavery, the situation of rural women in the Caribbean carries both differences and similarities to that of rural women in

other parts of the world. Christine Barrow has summarized the differences as follows:

1. For contemporary populations of the Caribbean, other than the indigenous people the Caribs of Dominica and Guyana, there was no such thing as pre-capitalist small-scale agriculture. Their history begins with what was arguably the most severe capitalist system ever to have existed. It is difficult, therefore, to talk about the impact of colonialism on subsistence agriculture and on the pre-capitalist, complementary male-female relationships, subjects which are heavily researched in Africa and Latin America.
2. Slavery in the Caribbean in many ways was gender-blind for the black population and encouraged a marked degree of autonomy for women and equality in relations between male and female.
3. Female-headed households and matrifocal families are not new to the Caribbean, as they are for example to Latin America. For the Caribbean they date back to slavery and were reinforced by predominantly male emigration in the early 1900s.
4. It also appears possible that Eurocentric ideologies penetrated far deeper into the black population in the Caribbean than in many other third world populations that have survived colonialism and imperialism ... housewifisation or domestication was promoted in the Caribbean by the church, the school and the law. It became a sign of upward mobility for women to get married and stay at home. Agricultural women became farmer's wives. Thus Caribbean women who spend hours working on farms continue to describe themselves as 'housewives'. And censuses in the Caribbean have recorded them as such, thus reinforcing their invisibility. (Barrow, 1997, p. 354)

The argument that women were marginalized by the development process may not be true of the majority of Caribbean women who emerged from the most dehumanizing experience of slavery, except insofar as the institutions of slavery and indenture are themselves viewed as part of the development process! Certainly, slavery represented an extreme form of commoditization - the commoditization of human beings themselves as the resources to be exploited. But the experience of slavery has also determined a number of factors characterizing the position and condition of rural women in the Caribbean.

Under slavery women were critical to the survival of the slave population, not only because of their role in the biological reproduction of the population, but because of their role in food production - a role which was both productive and reproductive. As Janet Henshall Momsen reminds us

Contemporary small-scale agriculture in the Caribbean ... has its origins in the cultivation by slaves of 'provision grounds' on the marginal lands of the plantations. Often slaves were allowed to own livestock, sell their produce and keep the profits from their trading. These practices provided the foundation for a post-emancipation 'proto-peasantry' for whom semi subsistence agriculture was a part-time occupation to be combined with plantation labor.

Women predominated in the cultivation of these provision grounds as well as in the marketing of the

produce through the Saturday markets²¹, and their savings were critical for purchasing the freedom of their children and in establishing the family after emancipation (Nathurin, 1975). Today the role of rural women has become even more significant in relation to domestic food supplies.

Conditions of slavery have also contributed to the preponderance of female-headed households in the region. While the percentage varies according to country, a major multidisciplinary study on Women in the Caribbean conducted by the Institute of Social and Economic Research (Eastern Caribbean) (ISER(EC) in 1979-82 found that about 40% of households are headed by women (Massiah, 1986a and b). Here again the link between reproduction and production is critical. As researchers have noted rural women

appear to view the farm as an extension of their household responsibilities, concentrating on subsistence production of food crops and small stock rearing, rather than on the export crops and cattle preferred by men (Henshall Momsen, 1993, p. 347).

As African slaves (and to a lesser extent as East Indian indentured servants) men and women experienced "equality under the whip" (Natharin, 1975). However, even under these conditions women and men were subjected to forms of oppression which were gender-specific (Reddock & Huggins, 1997). While both male and female slaves were valued for their reproductive capacities, females were

subjected to specific forms of sexual exploitation which were an integral part of slavery. At the same time, women's sexuality might also mitigate, or exacerbate, some forms of exploitation²².

However, the conditions of slavery did, to some extent, provide a degree of autonomy for women and paved the way toward a measure of equality which was reinforced by the unity of men and women in the common struggle against slavery and colonial domination. The granting of the franchise to women at the same time as men is indicative of the kind of equality which women of an oppressed race and class enjoy along with men in the same categories. The process of de-colonization - representing as it did the struggle for representative government and for a better life - was therefore one which did, in fact, bring dignity and benefits to women along with the men of their race and class. In this process race and class, rather than gender, had clearly been the primary obstacles to citizenship.

On balance, therefore, it would be true to say that the experience of engagement in a joint struggle against slavery, indenture and colonial domination provided the basis for more egalitarian relationships between men and women in the Caribbean. This is most clearly exhibited in small farming communities, where men and women are both

engaged in eking out a livelihood from an environment that is often hostile to their well-being.

However, again as under slavery, even in circumstances of joint struggle for survival the gender ideology of the colonizers imposed normative roles and attitudes which affected male-female relationships as well as women's access to resources in the post-colonial period. While women's multiple roles in household maintenance tasks, caring for people, and in economic production impose on women a disproportionate share of the burden of poverty and deprivation, gender ideology makes it difficult for them to access the resources, or the assistance²³ which would make it easier for them to perform these essential tasks.

In short, Caribbean women share with women in other countries the ideological baggage which constrain them in ways which are different from the experience of male farmers. Thus, rural women in the Caribbean suffer many of the same impediment as their sisters in other countries in terms of access to and control of land, credit and technology.

In the post-colonial period, the role of rural women in agriculture continues to be critical, although because much of it is unremunerated, and therefore under-represented in statistics, it tends to be underestimated. Women are involved in a wide range of agricultural

activities from working as unwaged labor on the family farm or on their own/or husband's land to working as waged labor on other land (including large estates), as well as in marketing and food preservation.

From the 1940s, following the publication of the Moyne Commission Report and the special Report on Agriculture, more attention was paid to the conditions under which rural women lived and worked. The interest in community development in the 1950s and 1960s led to the establishment of these programs in many countries in the region²⁴ and they all provided for some type of social welfare program for women. Typically, women's programs were of the "better homes for better living"²⁵ variety, emphasizing women's reproductive roles (women's practical gender interests). These programs include sewing, crafts, food preservation and nutrition, but they also encourage the formation of women's groups. However, their failure to recognize, explicitly, the critical role of women in agriculture was one of the ways in which women's domesticity was emphasized and what Reddock terms the ideology of "housewifisation" maintained in the face of the opportunities provided for women to organize and express solidarity (Reddock & Huggins, 1997, p. 340).

During the war years (from 1942-45) women were actively recruited into the "Grow More Food" campaigns

(Reddock & Huggins, 1997, p. 338) and continued to the present time to dominate the production of food for domestic use and for the local and regional markets. In the Caribbean, the majority of rural women are engaged in small-scale agriculture on family land (Knudson & Yates, 1981; Henshall-Momsen, 1981; CAFRA, 1989; French, 1997). However, because of the small size of plots (generally 1-3 acres), the poor quality of the soil and, often, its distance from the home, agriculture can seldom provide an adequate income for the family and most rural people (men as well as women) seek other sources of income to supplement the income derived from their farms (French, 1997). Some of the other occupations in which rural women can engage in the Caribbean include food preservation, handicrafts, sewing, shop-keeping and petty trading. They also try to grow enough food for themselves (Chaney, 1987), and do their own sewing, baking, food preservation and health care (with the use of herbs and other home remedies) so that they at least are able to save money. They save money as well by bartering and by the reciprocal sharing of goods and services, including services related to farming and to the construction of homes.

As in Latin America, outside the plantation, Caribbean agriculture can best be described as a "family farming system" even in relation to major export crops such as

bananas. While the significance of their role varies according to their class, age, life cycle, type of crop and access to services, it is true that Caribbean women are overwhelmingly involved in a wide range of activities that are essential for the survival of rural families and communities. There is also a high degree of joint decision-making by male and female partners in regard to crops, household and farm expenditures, marketing etc. In an IFAD Integrated Rural Development Project (IRDP) project in Jamaica, on the question of family income, the following figures were given by the women sampled: 48% of the respondents said that they alone managed the income, 31% stated that both partners did, and 21% indicated that the man was solely responsible (IFAD Vol.2 Annexes, p. 25 quoted in Antrobus, 1992, p. 7).

However, although Caribbean women work alongside men in the field and often share in decision-making, there are a number of significant differences between the experience of men and women in agriculture. While rural women have always been involved in the production of the main export crops such as sugar and bananas, they predominate in the production of food crops for their own use as well as for the domestic and export markets. In the Caribbean the distinctions between 'use value' and 'exchange value' for food crops would be extremely difficult to maintain: it

has been estimated that as much of 60% of the value of the food consumed by some farm families is produced by the household (Knudson & Yates, 1981).

Rural women in the Caribbean not only carry out the same tasks as men in agricultural production, along with their primary role in reproduction, but the tasks they perform in relation to agriculture are usually the most time consuming. Thus, they do most of the sowing of seedlings, weeding, reaping of crops and marketing.

While men can command the free services of their women and children on their farms (one study, CAFRA, 1989) estimated that 50% of the unwaged labor in agriculture is performed by women), women often have difficulty in getting the men in their family to work on land that is owned by them (personal communication from a female farmer in St Lucia).

In small farm agriculture, the technologies used by women are also less advanced than those used by the men. For example, women still use the hoe (and, given their weight and the length of the stick, these are hoes designed for use by men) and do the most of the harvesting by hand. In the cane fields in Barbados it is the women who do the back-breaking work of planting and weeding while the men use the tractors in the process of reaping. However, this does not signify a gender division of labor because some

men are also involved in planting and weeding, and women in reaping (using the cutlass, not the tractor).

On the other hand, men do not generally assist with household maintenance tasks, although they are increasingly involved in these tasks, if the women encourage or insist.

However, as in other countries agricultural extension services do not recognize these differences or the implication of women's multiple roles for agricultural production and productivity. For example, agricultural extension services tend to be gendered, with the female extension staff targeting women with nutrition education, while the male staff target 'farmers' who are assumed to be men (Knudson & Yates, 1981; Antrobus, 1992).

Even where there are women's components within agricultural and rural development projects/programs, or where specific mention is made of 'targeting women', it is likely that "no specific plan (is) made in the implementation strategy as to how to facilitate women's participation" (IFAD, 1991, p. 28; Chaney, 1987). This is particularly important when these projects are intended to increase women's access to land and credit. In an IFAD Project based in Dominica reported as "very positive" with respect to women's participation it was shown that only 9% of the women received loans in the credit program.

When gender issues are raised with people involved in agricultural planning and services they tend to think that it is sufficient to recognize the level of participation of women in the agricultural labor force without proceeding to consider the implication of women's multiple roles, their sex and gender-based hierarchies within the household, for their capacity to perform agricultural tasks or make use of training just like their male counterparts (Antrobus, 1992). The critical link between productive and reproductive roles on which the well-being of the farm family rests is obscured by a concern to treat women the same as men.

Yet women's domestic work is the foundation on which all other production is based, and women's domestic responsibilities are key determinants of their capacity to use other productive resources. As CAFRA's Women in Caribbean Agriculture project points out

The forms, location and extent of women's productive work are influenced by women's domestic work, while the latter varies according to the age, sex and number of household members (i.e. the life cycle of the household). (CAFRA, 1988, Overall Report, p. 9)

This Study shows that for women with children reproductive work often overrides the question of access to the means of production and cites the case of a woman who has access to 10 acres of arable land (a sizable amount!) but who also has a large family of young children which

leaves her no time for productive work outside the home. Indeed, as Henshall-Momsen notes, the role of women in Caribbean agriculture is closely linked to the importance of the matrifocal and matrilocal family. She also observes that male marginality is most common among the poorest families many of which are dependent on small scale agriculture." (Henshall-Momsen, 1992, p. 345).

Another gender issue for rural women in the Caribbean is that of low self-esteem and their perception of their role and entitlements (internalized oppression) (Harold, 1990). This is most clearly illustrated in the common practice of allotting scarce supplies of food to other members of their family, before attending to their own needs. The order of priority also reflects asymmetrical gender relations: men get priority treatment, followed by children - boys before girls.

Finally, like their sisters everywhere, rural women are subjected to domestic violence. Violence or even the threat of violence is sufficient to keep women in line (UNIFEM, 1997).

Gender-based hierarchies in the household are also reflected within extension services, in the community and in relation to the state. Women's access to and control of a range of goods and services, including training and technical assistance, credit and land, and decision-making,

are all determined not only by domestic responsibilities but by domestic relationships: many women are still unable to attend training programs, family planning clinics, farmers' meetings, get credit, etc., because they are forbidden to do so by male members of their family, or by tradition or custom. In the Caribbean (as well as elsewhere) it is also worth speculating on whether the low priority given to food production in the agricultural policies of many governments, and at different times, is related to the fact that women predominate in this area.

Because of patriarchal practices and gender ideology women's experience in agriculture and rural development is sufficiently different from that of men to make it necessary for their views and concerns to be taken into account in decision-making processes, especially those outside the household, if their communities are to reflect priorities related to the health and well-being of the majority in the of the population. However, this same ideology also constrains their participation in these processes, and special programs have to be implemented to facilitate their participate in the processes of decision-making which determine priorities and the way in which services to rural populations are designed and delivered.

Although Caribbean economies have been diversified by the growth of manufacturing, mining and tourism,

agriculture continues to be the major source of income for the majority of Caribbean people. Between 20-60% of economically active women are involved in agriculture (French, 1997). However, despite this and the growth of Caribbean economies over the years, the rural areas continue to be neglected in terms of services, even as it is exploited for the benefit of the urban areas (and the country). Life in rural communities, therefore, continues to be full of hardship, and more so for rural women than for anyone else.

An examination of the experience of women in the village of Rose Hall in St. Vincent and the Grenadines (1974-1994), the focus of this study, will serve to ground the critique of these theories and strategies in the experience of women and men in that small island state. However, this experience is itself mediated by the country's situation within a regional policy framework of the countries of the English-speaking Caribbean, CARICOM (the Caribbean Community). The next chapter will provide a broad overview of the development policies and strategies promoted by the regional institutions which mediate the experience of the small island states like St. Vincent and the Grenadines.

Notes

1. Evidently there were a number of women among them, but none of them aspired to leadership positions.
2. As mentioned in the Preface, the linking of the agendas of political independence and economic development were sufficiently clear to capture the imagination of a 16-year old school-girl in one of the smallest islands of the Caribbean.
3. Feminist critiques resulted from the work stimulated by the United Nations Decade for Women (1975-85), while those of the environmentalists were catalyzed by the work of the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) known as the Bruntland Commission, which reported in 1987.
4. It is generally agreed that the basis of growth-oriented development strategies is the model devised by Roy Harrod with modifications by Evert Domar. It is sometimes termed the Harrod-Domar model, but this was itself based on Keynes' model of economic development. In any event, it is arguable that it is appropriate to keep the reference to Keynes since the introduction of the model depended on the intervention of the state using the instruments of planning and policy in the pursuit of socio-economic ends.
5. Economists like Singer, from his standpoint as a UN official, point to the good growth rates experienced in some Third World countries in the 1950s while others like John P. Lewis, with a closer affinity to Washington, speak of a "major reaction" against planning, and the rediscovery of the virtues of the market as an instrument of social control.
6. According to Lewis (1986) the 'pejorative' term "trickle-down" did not enter the mainstream vocabulary until the 1970s, no doubt at the time when the shortcomings of this assumption were being acknowledged.
7. The intellectuals working on development issues in the 1960s included political scientists, sociologists, historians and psychologists along with economists. Many of those from the Third World and were linked to the independence movements in their countries and their writings informed the search for alternative development strategies.

8. In a sense the document that emerged from the World Employment Conference of 1976 was the summation of a policy framework that was already gaining acceptance. What the conference did was to attempt to formalize the strategies and to gain their official adoption through the mechanisms of the United Nations.

9. This applied to all debtor countries with the exception of the USA, which is in fact a major debtor country.

10. Structural adjustment conditionalities were increasingly used in all multilateral and bilateral agreements, for example within Lome 111, the Agreement between the European Community and the ex-colonial countries of Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific (ACP).

11. They have been given various names: Women's Desks or Bureau, Departments of Women's Affairs, Commissions on the Status of Women etc.; but they share the common purpose of providing a focal point for state initiatives related to the goals of the Decade.

12. Case studies on national machinery in the CARICOM countries commissioned by the Commonwealth Secretariat provide examples of the most and least effective of these experiences in the region.

13. This study can also be read as a case study of the process of a deepening feminist consciousness through feminist praxis.

14. There are now networks of feminists working on economic issues, including theoretical issues. DAWN (based in the South) is one such network, and the International Association for Feminist Economics (IAFFE) another.

15. For example, the Statistical Commission) of the UN in 1966 defined the economically active population as comprising "all persons of either sex who furnish the supply of labor for the production of economic goods and services. " But the term "economic" has come to stand for "marketable", and goods and services are counted as "economic" only if they are commoditized. This is clearly an arbitrary, and ideologically biased, distinction since such tasks as cooking, cleaning, sewing, child care, education, health care, and even the growing of food for the family's use, are considered non-economic if they are

consumed by the family, but economic if they are sold, or exchanged through the mechanisms of the marketplace

^{16.} For example, women are not always in a position to determine the choice of crop, nor the allocation of time between production for use and production for sale/exchange.

^{17.} This has remained an on-going problem, and the failure to record women's work which is unwaged in national income statistics has profound implications for national planning. For example, Lewenhak reports that in Peru the 1972 census showed only 2.6 % of women in agriculture, when a study of smallholder farming revealed that in 86% of the households surveyed, women worked on these family farms almost to the exclusion of men (Lewenhak, 1992, p. 90).

^{18.} A major issue for the international women's movement in recent years has been that focused on 'counting women's work'. It has involved not only researchers like Beneria and Lewenhak, but activists like Selma James and her international Wages For Housework campaign. There is an active branch of this movement in the Caribbean, which links women engaged in domestic work with middle-class, professional women.

^{19.} Most researchers on agricultural services comment on this. See Leon 1987: 90 where she quotes Coombs and Manzur's (1974, p. 27) description of the "classic rural extensionism model".

^{20.} Arizpe and Botey make an interesting distinction between "agrarian" and "agricultural" policy, the former being broader than the latter. Nevertheless, even in agrarian policies aimed at "strengthening the peasant economy", as distinct from policies focused exclusively on agricultural production, the link between women's reproductive and productive roles are still ignored. An example of an initiative in which attention to women's reproductive role led directly to increased production/productivity is provided by a vegetable-growing project in Grenada.

Although the project called for the irrigation of plots of land for growing vegetable, but not for household use, the project manager found that it was possible to supply some households with water without a marked increase in the cost of the project. It was found subsequently that female farmers living in houses with piped water recorded

higher levels of production than those without a domestic water supply.

21. For a discussion on whether the predominance of women in marketing of food crops has its origin in the practices of the market women of West Africa see Edith Clarke's My Mother Who Fathered Me (1966) and Lucille Mathurin's Rebel Women (1975).

22. For example, in the distinction between 'field' slaves and 'house' slaves the status and working conditions of house slaves were better than those of field slaves. In addition, pregnant and lactating women were given better treatment, because of the economic value of slaves.

23. I am referring here to the role of men in sharing household maintenance tasks, as well as to the role of the state in the provision of services such as water and electricity, low income housing, day care, schools and rural clinics.

24. Community Development Departments were established in Trinidad & Tobago, Guyana and Jamaica in the 1950s. The program in St. Vincent was launched in 1967.

25. For example, 4-H Clubs ('Heads, Hearts, Hands and Health') patterned on those of the USA were introduced as well as the Women's Institutes of Britain.

26. The issue of family land is a very interesting one in the context of the limited land available for agriculture, the pressure of a growing population on the land the imperatives of development. For a good discussion of the issues see Christine Barrow's "Family Land and Development in St. Lucia" (1992).

27. Esther Boserup distinguished between male and female farming systems in order to highlight the fact that the farmer was not always male. However, as Deere and others point out, the situation in Latin America can best be described as a family farming system, since all members of the family are involved in some aspect of farming. Outside the plantation, the situation in the Caribbean is closer to this pattern.

^{28.} This came out very clearly in a workshop I conducted with male and female farmers where I was using a modified version of the 'Harvard' module of gender analysis. The exercise involved getting the participants to comment on data on male/female tasks which had been generated by themselves and recorded on newsprint. The comments included the following: "Women do everything that men do, and more" and "The things the women do take more time".

^{29.} One of the major issues to arise within the Pilot Project described in the next chapter was that of role sharing: in and outside workshops women expressed strong views about the lack of support from men for household maintenance tasks such as washing and cooking. One of the indicators of 'success' was therefore the transformation of male roles within the household, and some of the 'success stories' (told by men as well as women) were of men who had begun to share responsibility for some of these tasks.

^{30.} As recently as 1985 in a project for strengthening the work of agricultural extension services in the Caribbean, after more than one year of raising gender issues with project participants a project evaluation report made the following statement: "Extension Officers do not think that gender is important. They make no distinction between male and female farmers, they do not discriminate against women."

^{31.} The distinction between matrifocal/matrilocal and matriarchal has been debated by researchers (Smith 1956, Clarke 1957, Mair 1975 and Powell 1987). At issue is the question of power and autonomy associated with the word 'matriarchal'. In the Caribbean the words matrifocal and matrilocal captures the distinction between mothers who occupy the same household as their children and those who may not, yet remain central to their family's well-being. This distinction is related to the distinctions between 'family' and 'household', in the common situation where 'families' do not necessarily occupy the same household, and where 'households' may house several families.

^{32.} For example, when choices have to be made between giving priority to food production for home consumption or for the domestic market, and to export-oriented production.

³⁴. Women's concerns are not just for themselves - indeed, as is generally known/accepted - women seldom place their own needs above those of their children, or other family members: their primary role in reproduction guarantees that they will give priority to the needs of children and the elderly. If we add to these their own needs and that of other family members we cover the majority of the population!

CHAPTER 3

THE REGIONAL CONTEXT: DEVELOPMENT TRENDS, POLICIES AND GLOBAL-LOCAL LINKAGES

3.1 Overview of Commonwealth Caribbean (CARICOM) Economies

The countries of the English-speaking Caribbean constitute the countries of the Commonwealth Caribbean or the Caribbean Community, CARICOM, a designation which reflects their common historical and cultural heritage as well as their attempts to establish close institutional links and arrangements. In this study I will use the designation Caribbean when referring to phenomena which are common to all countries in this region, and CARICOM when referring to that part of the Caribbean which is the focus of my study.

Geographically, the Caribbean is an archipelago of islands stretching from the southern coast of Florida in the North to the northern coast of South America, bounded to the north by the Bahamas and to the east by Barbados. However, historically, politically, culturally, and commercially the mainland territories of Belize (in Central America) and Guyana (in South America) are usually considered as part of this region.

Although the countries of the region reflect a rich variety of political, socio-economic and cultural forms, they all share a history of colonization by the imperial

countries of Europe in the 17th and 18th, and a cultural heritage which combines European, African and Asian influences. But it is their continuing relationship with their former (or current) colonial masters which define their political, economic and cultural realities today. Thus, within this region the former British colonies (the English-speaking Caribbean) have an identity which is distinct from those linked to France, Spain, and Holland.

All Caribbean economies are characterized by a high degree of openness and dependence on foreign trade in both goods and services. Those which are no longer colonies have continued to enjoy special economic or trading relationships with their former colonizers and thus the pattern of trade up to the present time is still largely determined by historic associations. They are also characterized by the gross inequalities of incomes and standards of living which have come to symbolize 'underdevelopment' everywhere. They carry the legacy of colonialism, and neo-colonialism, rooted as they are in what one of our leading economists, George Beckford, describes as 'plantation capitalism' (Beckford, 1972). According to Beckford, even the manufacturing and modern commercial sectors carry the stigma and characteristics of 'plantation' societies in their institutional arrangements and relationships - social, political, economic and even cultural.

3.2 Movements Toward Caribbean Integration

Toward the latter half of the 1930s a wave of social unrest born of the combination of the hardships experienced as a result of the Great Depression and the attitude of the colonial government erupted across the region. This led the British government to establish a commission of inquiry, the West Indian Royal Commission, more popularly known as the Moyne Commission (in recognition of the chairman, Legd Nayne) to inquire into the conditions of life in these islands. The picture painted was one which showed that the majority of people lived under conditions which were not much better than those experienced under slavery. As a consequence, a number of programs were established for improving the standards of living of the poor. Although these were welfare-oriented they also lay the foundations for a broad-based regional program of socioeconomic development financed in part by the British government through a series of Colonial Development and Welfare (CD&W) grants administered by a Comptroller of Welfare working out of a regional secretariat.

In a sense, these grants were the forerunner (and model) for the flow of aid funds that were to be part of the development efforts from the 1960s onward, and part of what perpetuated the dependency of the islands on external

financial flows. At the same time, the establishment of a regional secretariat for the administration of these grants represented the first move toward the integration of the development strategies and policies of the countries of the Commonwealth Caribbean.

The changes toward equity and social justice generated by the social unrest of the 1930s were deepened and accelerated by the increasing political consciousness of the working-class people expressed in the strengthening of the labor movement and in the formation of political parties. Throughout the 1940s and 1950s constitutional changes marked the advances of the countries of the region toward self-government, a process which was temporarily diverted in the efforts to form a West Indian Federation in the second half of the 1950s. By the end of the 1970s most CARICOM countries had become independent nations. With the strengthening of representative government came accountability to the majority of the populations (the poor) and a commitment to broad-based socioeconomic development (Gonsalves, 1994).

Following the collapse of the Federation in 1962 the governments of the region established the CARICOM Secretariat (in 1969) in an effort to continue the process of integration of various programs and policies. Areas of functional cooperation within the CARICOM system included education (the establishment of the University of the West

Indies in the late 1940s facilitated the establishment of regional standards and examinations) health (during the 1970s the Health Desk at the CARICOM Secretariat was one of the most effective forces for improving the health services in the regional), agriculture (the establishment of an Agricultural Marketing Protocol aimed at coordinating the production and distribution of food crops throughout the region) and, industry, trade and foreign policy.

This process of policy making at a regional level was facilitated by the institution of regular Ministerial meetings for the various sectors and an annual meeting of Heads of States. Regional cooperation was also reinforced by institutions like the Caribbean Development Bank (CDB) and the Caribbean Agricultural Research and Development Institute (CARDI). In addition, there were various professional and trade associations which contribute to the continuing process of Caribbean integration. These included the Caribbean Conference of Churches (CCC), the Caribbean Congress of Labor (CCL), the Caribbean Association for Industry and Commerce (CAIC), the Caribbean Union of Teachers (CUT) and the Caribbean Farmers Union (CFU); along with non-governmental organizations (NGOs) like CAFRA (the Caribbean Association for Feminist Research and Action), CARIPEDA (the Caribbean People's Development Agency) and CPDC (the Caribbean Policy Development Center, established

in 1990 by the NGOs to facilitate and strengthen their role in policy dialogue).

3.3 Linkages Between Global Trends and Regional Policies

The Charts 1(a) - 1(e) on the following pages show the extent to which international development strategies from the 1950s onward were reflected in those adopted, or adapted, by governments in the CARICOM region. They show that these development strategies have fallen into two clear categories:

- (a) the 1950s -1970s when the emphasis was on economic growth and broad-based development, and
- (b) the 1980s to the present when the emphasis is increasingly on accommodation to the global market.

In retrospect, the adjustment policies of the 1980s can, perhaps, best be understood as part of a strategy for preparing countries for economic globalization. In a sense, 'trade' has replaced 'development' in dialogues on international economics, and the WTO has replaced the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the UN as the international agency with the most critical role to play in relation to a country's development policies.

INTERNATIONAL	REGIONAL	NATIONAL (St.Vincent)
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<u>Figure 1(a)</u>		
<p style="text-align: center;"><u>1950</u> <u>POLITICAL CONTEXT</u> <u>Encouraging</u></p> <p>INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><u>DEVELOPMENT</u> <u>MODEL/STRATEGY</u></p> <p>DEVELOPMENT PLANS (Emphasis on State)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GROWTH • MODERNIZATION • INDUSTRIALIZAT'N 	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>POLITICAL CONTEXT</u> Adult Suffrage</p> <p>Rise of Unions/Parties</p> <p>Ministerial Systems</p> <p>W.I. FEDERATION- 1958</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><u>DEVELOPMENT</u> <u>STRATEGY</u></p> <p>NATIONAL PLANNING</p> <p>"INDUSTRIALIZATION BY INVITATION" -</p> <p>"OPERATION BOOTSTRAP" (Puerto Rico Model)</p> <p>Combination of</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • IMPORT- SUBSTITUTION- INDUSTRIALIZAT'N (ISI) and • EXPORT-ORIENTED GROWTH (EPZS) & • EXPORT-ORIENTED AGRICULTURE 	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>POLITICAL CONTEXT</u></p> <p>ADULT SUFFRAGE - 1951</p> <p>Rise of Unions/Parties</p> <p>MINISTERIAL SYSTEM - 1957</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><u>DEVELOPMENT</u> <u>POLICY</u></p> <p>AGRICULTURE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • FOOD PRODUCTION • SUGAR • COCONUTS/COPRA • BANANAS <p>LAND REFORM</p> <p>INDUSTRIALIZATION (Pioneer Industries Act 1954)</p> <p>DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION Established</p>

Figure 1. Development Trends: Global to Local

Continued next page

Figure 1, continued

<p><u>1960s</u></p>	<p><u>Figure 1b</u></p>	
<p><u>POLITICAL CONTEXT</u> <u>Supportive</u></p>	<p><u>POLITICAL CONTEXT</u></p>	<p><u>POLITICAL CONTEXT</u></p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • AID INCREASES • WORLD BANK LEADS 	<p>INTERNAL SELF-GOVERNMENT</p> <p>COLLAPSE OF W.I. FEDERATION - 1962</p> <p>CARICOM SECRETARIAT Established - 1969</p>	<p>STATEHOOD - 1969 (Full internal self-government)</p>
<p><u>1st DEVELOPMENT DECADE</u></p>	<p><u>DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY</u></p>	<p><u>DEVELOPMENT POLICY</u></p>
<p>Poverty Alleviation through "TRICKLE DOWN" GROWTH (Emphasis on Market)</p>	<p>INDUSTRIALIZATION</p> <p>CARIFTA - 1968 (Caribbean Free Trade Agreement)</p>	<p>AGRO-INDUSTRIES</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • DAIRY (milk) • STARCH (Arrowroot) • SUGAR (Molasses) • OIL (Coconut) <p>"ENCLAVE" INDUSTRIES</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GARMENTS • ELECTRONICS

Continued next page

Figure 1, continued

<u>1970s</u>	<u>Figure 1c</u>	
<p><u>POLITICAL CONTEXT</u> <u>Enabling</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE • N.I.E.O. • G-77 <p>U.S. Off Gold Standard</p> <p>First Oil Price Hike - 1973</p>	<p><u>POLITICAL CONTEXT</u></p> <p>Focus on JUSTICE & PARTICIPATION</p> <p>JAMAICA: Democratic Socialism - 1972</p> <p>GRENADA: Revolution - 1979</p>	<p><u>POLITICAL CONTEXT</u></p> <p>REP. GOVERNMENT STRENGTHENED</p> <p>ERUPTION OF VOLCANO</p> <p>Rise of CIVIL SOCIETY/ NGOs</p> <p>INDEPENDENCE 1979</p>
<p><u>2nd DEVELOPMENT DECADE - STRATEGY</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • BASIC NEEDS • INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT (IRD) (Emphasis on the State) <p><u>U.N. DECADE FOR WOMEN (1975-85)</u></p>	<p><u>DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • BASIC NEEDS • IRD • NATIONALIZATION <p><u>WOMEN & DEVELOPMENT UNIT (WAND) - 1978</u></p>	<p><u>DEVELOPMENT POLICY</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • AGRO-INDUSTRY (ISI) • EPZs <p>STATUTORY BOARDS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PORT • WATER • ELECTRICITY • HOUSING • AGRICULTURE

Continued next page

Figure 1, continued

<u>1980s</u>	<u>Figure 1d</u>	
<p><u>POLITICAL CONTEXT</u> <u>Disabling</u></p> <p>CANCUN SUMMIT 1980 End of N-S Dialogue</p> <p>MID-DECADE WOMEN'S CONFERENCE 1980</p> <p>COLLAPSE OF SOVIET UNION 1989</p>	<p><u>POLITICAL CONTEXT</u></p> <p>RETURN TO STATUS QUO in Jamaica & Grenada (Grenada Invasion, 1983)</p> <p>STRENGTHENING OF WOMEN'S MOVEMENT & NGOS</p>	<p><u>POLITICAL CONTEXT</u></p> <p>NEW GOVERNMENT 1984</p> <p>STRENGTHENING OF NGOS by Women's Movement</p>
<p><u>DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • DEBT CRISIS • "WASHINGTON CONSENSUS": (IFIs replace UN - Emphasis on Market) • STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT POLICIES (SAPS) • TARIFF NEGOTIATIONS (Uruguay Round) 	<p><u>DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CARIBBEAN BASIN INITIATIVE (CBI) (Emphasis on US - Carib. Invest./Trade) • STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT (SAPs) (Nassau Agreement, 1984) 	<p><u>DEVELOPMENT POLICY</u></p> <p>Focus on MACRO- ECONOMIC (SAPS)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • BUDGET CUTS • COST RECOVERY • TAX INCREASES • TRADE LIBERALIZATION <p>SECTORAL POLICIES Promotion of -</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • TOURISM • FOREIGN INVESTMENT <p>Neglect of -</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • HEALTH • EDUCATION • SMALL FARM AG.

Continued next page

Figure 1, continued

	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Figure 1e</u></p>	
<p style="text-align: center;"><u>1990s</u></p> <p><u>POLITICAL CONTEXT</u> <u>Devastating</u></p> <p>Shift from IFIs to WORLD TRADE ORGANISATION - 1995</p> <p>WOMEN'S MOVEMENT NGO ALLIANCES</p> <p><u>DEVELOPMENT</u> <u>STRATEGY</u></p> <p>GLOBALIZATION (Emphasis on Global Markets)</p> <p><u>GLOBAL CONFERENCES</u> 1990 CHILDREN'S SUMMIT 1992 EARTH SUMMIT 1993 HUMAN RIGHTS 1994 POPULATION 1995 SOCIAL SUMMIT 1995 4th WOMEN'S CONFERENCE 1996 HABITAT</p>	<p><u>POLITICAL CONTEXT</u> <u>Loss of direction</u></p> <p>DRUGS & SOVEREIGNTY</p> <p>WOMEN'S MOV'NT NGO ALLIANCES</p> <p><u>DEVELOPMENT</u> <u>STRATEGY</u></p> <p>LOSS OF PROTECTED MARKETS</p> <p>Focus on DAMAGE CONTROL (Global negotiations to save/secure markets)</p>	<p><u>POLITICAL CONTEXT</u> <u>Loss of credibility</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • DRUGS • CRIME <p>Role of NGOS/ CIVIL SOCIETY Tested</p> <p><u>DEVELOPMENT</u> <u>POLICY</u></p> <p>TOURISM</p> <p>BANKRUPTCY</p> <p>Consequences:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • INCREASING DEBT • THREATENED LOSS OF BANANA MARKET • DECLINE OF AGRICULTURE <p>**TRANSFORMATION: From Production to Consumption - <u>UNSUSTAINABLE</u></p>

3.4 Regional Development Strategies, 1950s-1970s

From the late 1940s countries of the region began to look to industrialization as a means of solving problems of 'surplus labor' (Lewis, 1950 & 1958), and adopted the strategy of 'industrialization by invitation'. These development strategies were strongly influenced by the work of the Nobel prize-winning Caribbean economist W. Arthur Lewis, whose seminal work, *The Theory of Economic Growth*, published in 1955 has been described as "the first comprehensive book on economic development in all its aspects" (Arndt, 1987, p. 51). Arguing that agriculture could not support the populations of these islands, he proposed a model of economic development, based on Puerto Rico's 'Operation Bootstrap'. However, unlike Puerto Rico which, as a state of the U.S. enjoyed free access to the U.S market, CARICOM industries at that time (the 1950s-1970s) were oriented toward import-substitution rather than toward exports. The role of foreign capital was however crucial for the process of industrialization.

These strategies led to structural changes in the larger countries - especially in Jamaica, Trinidad & Tobago, Guyana and Barbados - and to the impressive growth-rates of 5%-7% which were common in this period.

Complementing the push for urban industrialization in the late 1950s were programs for the promotion of rural

development. Early experience of these programs in India had generated a great deal of interest internationally, and the United Nations, along with other international development agencies, were actively promoting their adoption within the framework of development programs in many Third World countries. Community development programs in Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and Guyana, had been sufficiently successful to become 'models' for other countries in the 1960s¹.

However, despite these policies to promote industrialization the majority of Caribbean people still live in 'rural' conditions, and draw their main support from agriculture, and export-oriented agriculture continued to be the mainstay of the economies of the region (Thomas, 1988, 1993), although here too, there has been a steady decline in the contribution of agriculture to GDP². In fact, most people in this region of high unemployment depend on the informal sector for their source of livelihood. One of the effects of industrialization was the widening of the gap between the modern industrial and commercial sector of the economies, and the more traditional sectors in agriculture, handicrafts and small-scale manufacturing. In fact it has been argued that the structural change in the economy brought about by industrialization and modernization laid the foundations for the social alienation and polarization

in a country like Jamaica. These were the issues which the governments of Guyana, Jamaica and Grenada attempted to address in the 1970s.

In Guyana and Jamaica the governments experimented with new development strategies aimed at the promotion of equity and justice, not by the traditional approach to the redistribution of income through taxation, but by becoming more involved in the ownership of what Michael Manley liked to term 'the commanding heights of the economy'. This meant the nationalization of sugar estates, turning them into cooperatives, and arrangements for extracting greater returns to the country from their bauxite industries. In the case of Guyana this meant nationalization, while in Jamaica Manley opted for extracting a higher levy from the (bauxite) companies, a move which many claim may have led to the destabilization and ultimate destruction of his experiment with 'democratic socialism' (1972-79). In Grenada a revolutionary government took office in 1979, only to be destroyed in 1983 through a combination of internal conflict and external intervention.

During the 1970s almost all CARICOM countries experienced per capita income growth. The major exceptions were Jamaica, where per capita income fell substantially, and Dominica and St. Vincent where income remained stationary. In the 1980s different patterns developed as

only the countries of the OECS (Organization of Eastern Caribbean States), comprised of the Windward and Leeward islands (a block within CARICOM, with a common currency and even closer areas of functional cooperation), managed to maintain positive per capita income growth, averaging 4.8% per annum between 1980 and 1990³. (CBD, 1989, 1994)

However, substantial external resources played an important role in sustaining public investment in most of the countries of the region. For example, in the OECS countries, grants and external public sector borrowing averaged 79% of total public sector investment between 1977 and 1987 (World Bank, 1993, p. 15).

3.5 Structural Adjustment Programs, 1980s-1994

In the 1980s, the countries of the region entered a new phase in the wake of the impacts of the hike in oil prices and in the context of the rise of conservative governments in the major industrialized countries. These changes were reflected in the Caribbean with marked shifts in the political climate and the reversal of revolutionary/reformist trends of the previous decade. The US Invasion/Intervention Grenada marked a turning point in the region: thereafter CARICOM governments seem to have lost their vision and turned increasingly to Washington for direction.

Regional institutions such as the CARICOM Secretariat and the CDB responded to the political and economic shifts in the North with a number of strategies aimed at the integration of the economies of CARICOM countries through the coordination of policies and programs. However, while some of these strengthened the region others, such as the promotion of structural adjustment programs as a common policy framework for the region, tended to undermine the economies of states like St. Vincent, as we shall see in the next chapter.

The strategies which strengthened the region were those aimed at the coordination industrial production under the framework of the Caribbean Common Market (CCM). The Harmonization of Fiscal Incentives Act (1982) was an example of this. At the same time the Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI) launched by the Reagan administration sought to promote trade between the US and the Caribbean. The boom in the Trinidad economy as a result of the rise in oil prices provided a favorable climate for intra-regional cooperation, and particularly for markets for the agricultural products of countries like St. Vincent and the Grenadines.

By the end of the 1980s, however, the economies of a number of Caribbean countries were characterized by declining per capita income and GDP and increasing external debt obligations⁴ (Deere et al., 1990).

In 1979 Jamaica signed an agreement with the IMF which led to CARICOM's first experience of these policies; and in 1984 structural adjustment policies were adopted by CARICOM countries as the policy framework for the region. The President of the Caribbean Development Bank described these measures as a "forced march toward a process of continuing growth, diversification and strengthening of the economy and hence long-run, self-sustaining economic development or - if you will - structural transformation". (Demas, 1983).

And, although the stated objectives and strategies of this approach include references to "measures to soften, as far as possible, some of the burden of adjustment on the poorer groups who, however, cannot be totally shielded from the costs of adjustment", and to "agricultural transformation and rural development so as to increase the degree of self-sufficiency in local and regional food production", these are clearly in conflict with the chief prescriptions which focus on - "...efficient economic growth", "the development of new sources of foreign exchange earnings", and "keeping the economies competitive - in the sense that their costs of production can facilitate the rapid growth of extra- regional exports as well as efficient import-substitution".

In theory, two stages are usually distinguished - an austerity 'phase' (described as 'temporary' by the Prime

Minister of Jamaica although it lasted 6 years!), followed by policies intended to stimulate growth. In practice they tended to overlap.

- (a) The promotion of export-oriented production;
- (b) Cut-backs in social services;
- (c) The removal of food subsidies and price controls on consumer goods; and
- (d) The imposition of charges for services (e.g. drugs and school-feeding programs) which had formerly been free to vulnerable groups;
- (e) Continuing devaluation's of the Jamaican dollar; and
- (f) The liberalization of imports.

The impacts of these policies on the people and economy of Jamaica are well documented (Bolles, 1983; UNICEF, 1987; Antrobus, 1989; Deere et. al. 1990; Anderson & Witter, 1994). The UNICEF Study (1987) showed that these measures tend to hit the living standards of the poorest and most vulnerable groups more severely than those who are better able, financially, to cope with them. In Jamaica they affected the poor in three ways, by

- * reduced income through increased unemployment;
- * price increases on basic necessities, resulting from the removal of food subsidies as well as from devaluation's;
- * shifting the level and composition of government expenditure away from social services (which are

particularly important to the poor, since they are unable to purchase these services themselves) to debt servicing and military expenditures.

According to the UNICEF study (and others), among the poor the most vulnerable groups have been women, children and the elderly. However, given the fact that it is women who care for children and the elderly, it is poor women who are bearing the burden of the debt. My own analysis (Antrobus, 1987) is that the cuts in social services impacted on women in three ways:

1. By increasing unemployment and cutting incomes, since the cuts in services were mostly in those sectors in which women predominated;
2. By reducing women's access to services needed to assist them in the performance of their multiple roles; and
3. By increasing the burden on women's time as they are expected to fill the gaps created by the cuts in services.

The new jobs created in the Export Processing Zones (EPZs) were largely for unskilled labor and in no way compensated for the loss of jobs in professions like nursing and teaching.

The 'super-exploitation' of women which resulted from these policies has been documented in greater detail by

UNICEF's Office for Women's Programs in Latin America
(UNICEF/LA, 1988).

A brief summary of the social, economic and political consequences of these policies in Jamaica will serve to illustrate their impact on the wider society, and to highlight their specific impact on women, and the class and gender biases which underlie this particular choice of policies based on cuts in services which effectively transferred responsibility for reproductive services from the state (where they must be paid for) to the household (where they become part of the unpaid work of women); the promotion of growth models based on the exploitation of cheap female labor; and the extent to which they represent a virtual abandonment of concepts of development formulated in the context of the search for representative government.

3.5.1 Social Consequences

- * The long-term effect of infant malnutrition on future learning capacity
- * The impact of deteriorating educational provisions on future productive capacity;
- * The sense of hopelessness, and lack of purpose engendered by the increasing unemployment among youth; and
- * The escalation of violence, and the further entrenchment of the sub-culture of drugs.

3.5.2 Economic Consequences

- * The depression of the overall level of wages in the country:
- * The undermining of local productive capacity in manufacturing as well as in agriculture, as priority is given to large-scale, export-oriented enterprises, based on foreign investment;
- * The increasing 'informalization' of the economy as more people turn to this sector for sustenance;
- * The strengthening of the 'underground' economy, i.e. the involvement of people in illegal activities in order to make a reasonable living:

3.5.3 Political Consequences

- * The undermining of the trade union movement as their activities are restricted and discouraged as part of the 'incentives' offered to foreign investors;
- * Governments' increasing resort to the use of military measures to control and curb the inevitable social unrest:
and
- * The consequent inhibition of the level of popular participation of traditional democratic processes due to the climate of fear of reprisals created by the vicious cycle of violence and repression;

- * The extent to which the focus on 'national security', and the build up of expenditure on defense, and security, diverts attention and resources away from development programs;
- * The increasing credibility gap between government and electorate, as the majority perceive their government's alignment with the interests to foreign investors and the local private sector.

Finally, the circle is completed since all of this impacts on the economy itself as the increasing social unrest and political instability inhibits investment.

Initiatives of the U.S. government such as Ronald Reagan's Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI) and George Bush's Enterprise of the America's Initiative (EAI) failed to compensate for the devastation caused by policies of structural adjustment.

In the 1990s the move toward trading blocks such as the North American Free Trade Association (NAFTA) and the Free Trade Agreement between some Latin American countries led by Brazil and Chile (MERCOSUR), at the same time as the liberalization of world trade (with the adoption of the new GATT and the establishment of the World Trade Organization) created some confusion in the thinking of CARICOM policy-makers. In any event, the creation of the Single Market by the European Community (EC), signaling the ending of the

special relationship between Britain and CARICOM, posed a much more immediate threat to the economies of the countries of the region.

3.6 Conclusion

Over the period of some 50 years the countries of CARICOM have undergone a number of major shifts in their paths to development: from the 'revolutionary' phase of the 1930s-50s when the focus was on social justice and political representation, to the 1960s-70s when the institutional arrangements for the implementation of policies of broad-based socio-economic development were laid down, to the 1980s-90s when the countries seemed to be focused on gaining the support of the powers in Washington - the IFIs as well as the U.S. government.

Policies of structural adjustment introduced by many countries of the region from the 1980s, with or without the enforcement of the IFIs, and reinforced by the adoption of this policy framework within other agreements such as the Lome Agreement intended to cushion the shocks of Europe's Single Market for the former colonial territories of Africa, the Pacific and the Caribbean (ACP), have highlighted the contradictions of trying to pursue policies of equity and social justice within a framework of capitalist development. While UNICEF's concept of 'Adjustment with a Human Face'

(UNICEF 1987), the restructuring of the 'policy-package' of SAPs to "protect the vulnerable while promoting growth" (a rephrasing of the 1970s call for "growth with equity"), was taken up by many individuals and institutions in the international community, it proved far more difficult to reconcile these contradictory objectives within the post-Cold War context of the 1990s.

In retrospect, the policies of structural adjustment can perhaps best be understood as the preparation of countries for globalization, i.e. for facilitating the process of incorporation of all countries into a global market.

While the open, dependent economies of the CARICOM countries had always been incorporated into a global market, their relationship with Britain had provided a measure of protection in terms of their trade, while the values of British liberalism had provided a framework in which social development had been recognized as a legitimate and necessary part of the role of representative government.

The loosening of the ties with Britain and the strengthening of those with the U.S.A., a gradual process beginning, perhaps, with industrialization and independence, has reached its final stage with the ruling of the WTO in the 'banana wars' between Windward Island and Central American bananas in favor of the U.S. corporations Dole and

Chiquita. Perhaps this will also mark the beginning of a new sense of reality: the reality that the countries of this region cannot continue to look to others to protect their interests and the need, therefore, to chart their own course based on a return to the processes leading to a closer integration of their economies.

Notes

¹. In 1969 I was invited by the government of St. Vincent to establish their first community development program. Technical assistance was provided by the United Nations (an Indian consultant) and by the governments of Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago).

². The decline in the contribution of agriculture to GDP was obviously due to the diversification of the economies. In the next chapter, on St. Vincent, there are a number of tables and figures which show these shifts.

³. It would be interesting to speculate on the reason for the differences between these countries - designated as the countries of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (the OECS) - and the MDCs (Jamaica, Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago and Barbados) One difference is that their currency is managed by the Eastern Caribbean Currency Board (ECCB). Because changes in the exchange rate requires the unanimous approval of all 8 Heads of State it is very difficult to effect a devaluation. In fact, originally linked to the British pound, it's rate was switched to parity with the US dollar in 1976. This allowed OECS countries, in the early 1980s, to benefit from windfall profits generated when the pound (in which currency they are paid for their bananas and sugar) rose in value against the dollar. The Windward Islands also benefited from the expansion of the market for bananas.

⁴. St. Vincent is typical of this situation. See next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

St. Vincent AND THE GRENADINES: POLITICAL ECONOMY AND DEVELOPMENT POLICIES/PROGRAMS, 1974-94

4.1 Geography and Historical Overview

St. Vincent and its Grenadine chain of islands, of which Bequia, Union Island, Canouan, Myreau and Mustique are the largest, are of volcanic origin and stretch south to Grenada. St. Vincent itself is 29 km. long and 17 km. wide. Its south-west to north-east axis divides the island's topographical features into the Windward and Leeward aspects arising from the disposition of the seas which wash the shorelines - the Windward side of the island being washed by the stronger currents of the Atlantic while the Leeward enjoys the quieter tempo of the Caribbean Sea.

St. Vincent is mountainous with a central range of hills where the principle peaks represent part of a chain of volcanic craters. Mount Soufriere (1,214 meters) in the north of the island last erupted in April 1979 causing the evacuation of people living in that part of the island and considerable damage to crops and vegetation. The last previous eruption was in 1902. Because of the mountainous interior of the island, most people live along the coastline.

The island has a tropical climate, a good rainfall, alluvial soils and green plains crossed by fast flowing rivers.

The island of St. Vincent, originally Hairoun ('the island of the blessed'), was among those annexed by the Europeans explorers in the late 15th century. When Christopher Columbus landed on the islands of what is now the Caribbean Sea, he named the indigenous population Caribs, 'the warlike people' (Augier, et al, 1960). For their part, these inhabitants named themselves Callinagoes, 'the peaceful people'. The Callinagoes lived in communities based on blood ties, language and custom, and lived by fishing, hunting and basic agriculture. Although, in St. Vincent, they fought bravely for about a quarter of a century to defend their territory (Gonsalves, 1994, p. 14) they were no match for the gunpowder and cunning of the Europeans bent on conquest. Their resistance was finally crushed by the British armed forces after two Carib wars (the first concluded in 1773, the second in 1796) after which just over 5,000 of the surviving Caribs were banished to Ruatan, off the coast of Honduras and the remaining survivors confined to a small settlement at the northern tip of the island.

St. Vincent was colonized first by the French, who later ceded the island to the British after the Treaty of

Paris in 1763. The Europeans brought their own cultural, ideological, economic and political systems and established them as the norms, obliterating the early communal society of the Caribs. The establishment of plantations and the importation of African slaves completed the transformation of the island's political economy into that of a plantation society, the symbol of colonialism.

Within this society the slaves found ways of developing their own cultural norms through their access to small plots of land on which they grew their own food, producing a surplus which they sold in 'Saturday Markets'. The money generated from this economic activity enabled some to save toward purchasing their freedom and later land from the estates. As in other countries in which slavery was practiced, the slaves "found in religion a tool to counter ... the idea of the permanence, rightness and inevitability of slavery" (Gonsalves, 1994, p. 22).

Toward the end of slavery (in 1832) there were some 22,997 slaves registered in St. Vincent, the majority working on the 112 operational estates. Of these 69% were field slaves; 13% non-field slaves; 13% children under 6 years; and 5% categorized as 'aged and infirm' (Gonsalves, 1994, p. 22). With the ending of slavery there was an exodus from the estates to 'free villages' or to small tracts of land on the outskirts of the estates. According

to Gonsalves, the first reference to 'free villages' in St. Vincent was in 1854 and this showed that 7,466 persons lived in them; and by 1861 this figure had risen to nearly 13,000 (Gonsalves, 1994, p. 22). However, the ending of slavery did not bring about the ending of the plantation society. The plantation dominated every aspect of social, economic and political life: its race-class pattern of relationships and its focus on export-oriented agriculture, concentrated on a few crops - sugar, cotton, arrowroot and copra, were reflected in the wider social structure, its links to the commercial and financial sectors and finally in the legislature itself.

As was the case in all other colonial territories, the 'state' of St. Vincent was established to serve the political interests of the British ruling class and the economic interests of British capitalism. The role of the colonial government was to 'keep the peace' so as to guarantee those interests. The state functioned through what has been called a "proprietary" form of government¹.

With the consolidation of the colonial settlement the system of government was known as the Old Representative System (ORS). This was patterned on the British system of government with a Governor, appointed by the Colonial Office (representing the Crown), a Council, nominated by the Governor from among the elite of the plantocracy and

commercial leadership (the equivalent of the British House of Lords), and the House of Assembly, made up of members elected on the basis of property and education (the equivalent of the British House of Commons).

This system lasted until 1877 when, as a result of a major slave rebellion in Jamaica in 1865 (the Morant Bay Rebellion²), it was replaced throughout the region by direct Crown Colony rule, a system which abolished elections but allowed the planters to continue to shape policies in their interests, through advisors to the Governor. In 1925 the electoral principle was reintroduced, but with stringent qualifications, which ensured that up to 1936 the legislature was made up exclusively of the planter and merchant class (Golsalves, 1994).

The abolition of slavery along with the education of the slaves laid the foundations for the constitutional changes that were to lead to the advancement of the mass of people of St. Vincent and the Grenadines. Initially, education was synonymous with religious instruction. It was introduced into St. Vincent by the missionary societies established by the churches for the conversion of the slaves. According to Ashton (Ashton, 1990), a year before the passing of the Act for the Abolition of Slavery there were two societies known as the Conversion Society and the

Society for the Education of the Poor operating in St. Vincent. These 'free' schools included two located outside the capital, both on the Leeward side of the island - in the villages of Layou and Barrouallie. However, the imperatives of religious conversion were informed by a liberal philosophy and education also sought to cater to the 'performance of a laboring class in a civilized society' (Gordon, 1963 p. 21).

In 1834 (one year after the British government made its first financial contribution to education in Britain) the government of St. Vincent made its first grant (80 pounds) to the Society for the Education of the Poor to assist in its work. In 1849 the head "Grant in Aid of Schools" appeared for the first time in the colony's budget, symbolizing the importance attached by the colonial state to education, most likely as an instrument of social control (Miller, 1992).

In 1857 a Board of Education was established under a new Education Act, and served to introduce a broader purpose and higher standards to education. Although the churches continued to play the major role in this area, the Act provided for an Inspector of Schools, signaling the state's intention to exercise some control in this area. The first government school was established in 1885, reflecting the reduced resources of the religious

denominations (due to the cessation of ecclesiastical grants from the British government) and increasing demand for education on the part of the local population.

The government became increasingly involved in setting standards, providing for teacher-training, awarding scholarships from primary to secondary school and ultimately for assuming major responsibility for education in the country.

In 1900 an Agricultural School was established, on the initiative of the colonial government, which saw it as a means of increasing productivity in agriculture. One of the largest primary school on the island was built by the government in 1903, in the village of Troumaca on the Leeward side of the island. Its status among primary schools might be judged from the fact that it was the first primary school to write written examinations (Ashton, 1990), but this fact also signals the rise in standards in the primary schools and the possibilities that this presented for opening secondary education to the rural poor.

Grammar school (secondary level) education was first introduced by the Anglican church in 1849, however the history of the early years of the school was one of closures and reopenings representing perhaps some ambivalence toward the promotion of this level of

education. In 1908, at its third re-opening it excluded girls. Secondary education for girls was then provided at a private school until 1914 when the government took it over as the Girls' High School, the academic equivalent of the Boys' Grammar School, except that domestic science was substituted for regular science subjects.

In 1922 the British government provided funds for the establishment of a St. Vincent Scholarship (known as the 'Island Scholarship') awarded on the results of the Cambridge Advanced Level Examinations and tenable for a minimum of five years at any university in Europe, Canada or the U.S.A. An Agricultural Scholarship, tenable at the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture in Trinidad, was added in 1938.

A Code issued in 1926 abolished school fees in primary schools and extended to girls from these schools the same opportunities as were open to boys for winning a scholarship to obtain free secondary education.

As can be imagined, health services were of the most rudimentary in the early part of the century, and the health status of the majority reflected the lack of proper sanitation and a safe water supply. Health conditions in the state have always been characterized by continued high incidence of diseases in children under five years of age.

Most of these diseases are associated with poverty and ignorance.

The ownership of land has special meaning in St. Vincent. Although, as with all the other countries of the Caribbean, St. Vincent was established as a plantation society for the benefit of European interests, the Europeans first had to defeat the indigenous population of Caribs, who offered strong resistance to the expropriation of their lands.

By 1829 St. Vincent contained 98 sugar estates totaling 37,842 acres. Labor was provided by African slaves (numbering just over 20,000 in 1825) with a small stratum of free coloreds (2,845) performing less menial tasks and controlled by some 1,300 whites (Shephard, 1945). According to Nanton (citing Davy, 1854) in 1848 only 12 of a total of 100 proprietors were resident on the island; and by the end of the 19th century the major part of the arable land was in the hands of five owners.

Throughout its early history agriculture in St. Vincent was characterized by the virtual monopolization of all arable land by plantations geared to providing raw sugar for the European power. Karl John (1974) sums up

what is the generally accepted view of the plantation economy and culture as follows:

The dominant feature of this culture was and remains the identification of power, wealth and status with the degree of land ownership. (John, 1974, p. 231)

Export-oriented agriculture was the *raison d'être* of the colonization of the island and continued to be the basis of the economy of the country. Even after the emancipation of the slaves the economy was dominated by plantation crops such as sugar, coconuts, sea-island cotton and arrowroot. During the first half of the century the plantations attempted to remain competitive by switching from one crop to another as the market fluctuated (Spinelli, 1973, cited in Nanton, 1983, p. 230), but for the labor force agriculture has always been a most precarious source of livelihood. Apart from the small size of most holdings, the agricultural laborer has, over the years, endured low wages, seasonal and insecure employment and poor working conditions.

From 1899, following the hurricane of the previous year which devastated estates on the Leeward side of the island, the British government provided grants to allow the colonial government to acquire estates on this side of the island. The land thus acquired was then put up for auction or maintained intact by government to be managed by the Ministry of Agriculture as Land Settlement Estates. St.

Vincent's 'land reform' program has thus been, and remains, largely an exercise in the government's re-settlement of marginal and abandoned estate land; it has never been associated with a class struggle as is the case with land reform in (say) Latin America.

To summarize, the constraints to agricultural development in St. Vincent from the beginning can be summarized as: limited acreage of fertile cultivable land, largely concentrated in a few large estates; small size of farms for the majority of farmers; older age and low skill of the majority of farmers; a high degree of dependence on one or two crops; and inadequate marketing facilities for most export crops. The deplorable conditions under which the majority of people subsisted was largely related to their lack of access to arable and viable holdings of land, and this was the basis of the rapid growth of the island's first trade union and political party, the Workingmen's Co-operative Association (WCA) which was established in 1936 under the leadership of a chemist, George McIntosh. The chief plank of the WCA's election platform in the 1937 election was land distribution. However, although the WCA won four out of the five available seats, the power of the planters remained, with the help of the colonial administration and the economic power which their monopoly of land guaranteed (Gonsalves, 1994).

4.2 Overview of the Political Economy of St. Vincent and the Grenadines, 1930 - 1974

In St. Vincent, as in other parts of the region, the consequences of the Depression of the 1930s were experienced in the plummeting prices of agricultural exports and the sharp rise in the prices of imports. In addition, the colonial administration virtually stopped all forms of assistance which would have helped cushion the shock of the economic crisis. In the absence of social safety nets, the increase in unemployment and poverty accompanied by rising prices created great hardship for the mass of people, which added to the underlying resentment over the racism and authoritarianism of colonial rule.

In October 1935, in order to cope with the pressure on its recurrent budget, the legislature met to consider increasing taxes on a number of basic necessities. The despair and resentment could no longer be contained and the population rioted. Although there was no clear leadership the unrest was widespread, each community throwing up its own leadership. Nevertheless, the government chose to pin the blame on George McIntosh, whose radicalism attracted attention. The collapse of the state's case against McIntosh made him a hero and undoubtedly led to his success in forming the Workingmen's Co-operative Association (WCA) mentioned above. Despite a swift and repressive initial

reaction these uprisings, they were to lead to a number of changes embodied in laws relating to workmen's compensation, minimum wages, trade unions and factory inspection. But perhaps the most important outcome of these event was the rise in the level of political consciousness which lay the basis for the organization of a broad-based political party and trade union (Gonsalves, 1994, p. 27).

In a sense, the 1940s laid the groundwork for the constitutional changes that were to lead to adult suffrage (granted in 1951), the reintroduction of representative government (1956), the introduction of the Ministerial system of government (1957), internal self-government ('Statehood', 1969) and finally, independence (1979). But it was in the period 1951-1957 that the working-class movement, led Ebenezer Joshua, who had been involved in the labor movement in Trinidad under the leadership of the militant Uriah 'Buzz' Butler, accomplished its most important reforms through a series of strikes on the estates. These included union recognition, better wages and working conditions. Joshua's rhetoric was unambiguously anti-planter and anti-colonial although he failed to carry this toward a more clearly articulated socialist program (Gonsalves, 1994, p. 29). According to Gonsalves, after 1957 and particularly after 1961, Joshua's

accommodation to the capitalist structure of the economy, locally and internationally, facilitated the rise of "a more authentic pro-capitalist" party led by the middle class lawyer, Milton Cato, who had served in the Canadian air force during World War II. Cato's St. Vincent Labor Party (SVLP), launched in 1955, was the only political party without a trade union base (Nanton, 1983, p. 228). According to Gonsalves, the SVLP has also consistently played an anti-working class role, particularly in the strikes leading to the closure of the sugar factory in 1962. The political orientation of governments thereafter can be described as that of state capitalism.

St. Vincent's socio-economic development mirrored its political development. In the aftermath of the unrest of 1935 the British government introduced two new elements in the political economy of countries like St. Vincent. The first was the introduction of externally-financed social welfare programs and the second, the acceptance of the view that the state ought to play a greater role in the management and direction of the economy. The elements were complementary: the provisions for social welfare were accompanied by a conscious effort in economic planning, no doubt reflecting Britain's own experience in dealing with the consequences of the Depression and in the post-war reconstruction. A Comptroller of Development and Welfare

was appointed by the British government to oversee the disbursement and management of CD&W funds, laying also the foundations for a regional approach to development in the countries of the English-speaking Caribbean.

In 1947 the publication of St. Vincent's first Plan for Development can be taken to symbolize the beginning of the development planning in the island. The Plan, commissioned by the colonial administrator and written by the first West Indian Colonial Secretary³, was largely a compilation of a number of projects and programs which had been prepared by various experts and departmental committees. What it lacked in technical coherence, however, was compensated for by the fact that it enjoyed a commitment from the British government which was matched by the resources for its implementation, through funds provided by the CD&W grants. The Moyne Commission and the Plan for Development provided a blueprint for broad-based programs for addressing the well-being of the mass of people in the areas of agriculture, education, health, social welfare and community development for many years thereafter. Moreover, the establishment of a Social Welfare Department provided a community-based framework within which these improvements could take place, and which would help to reduce the tensions inherent in a situation

in which control was still firmly in the hands of the Colonial administration.

What is especially noteworthy about these initiatives is the careful thought and planning that went into the introduction of these programs. It was recognized that this new approach to improving the well-being of the mass of the population would require the reorientation of people who had grown up under the old colonial system with its emphasis on the preservation of law and order and the protection of the interests of the plantocracy.

Accordingly, special regional training programs were set up in Jamaica and senior civil servants from St. Vincent were selected to participate in these programs. The importance attached to social welfare can be judged from the fact that the first social welfare officer, Vivian Hadley, had been the country's Education Officer and one of the few people with a university education within the public service.⁴

4.2.1 Key Sectors

4.2.1.1 Agriculture

As the government became more representative of the mass of people, the old plantation system in which the greater portion of arable land was in estates controlled by a small group of planters, while small farmers struggled to make a living on marginal land, was gradually replaced by

attempts at a more equitable distribution of land. However, the pattern of land concentration continued up to the 1970s with the closure of some estates and the amalgamation of others so that by the time of the 1961 Census of Agriculture a total of 15,871 acres (approximately 40% of the total of 39,450 acres classified as agricultural land) were divided among 32 estates of over 100 acres each. A similar percentage (15,928 acres) was divided among nearly 11,000 farmers in parcels of 10 acres or less, with 7,650 acres (20%) divided among 390 holdings of 10-100 acres (Nanton 1983).

According to the 1972 Census of Agriculture, of a total acreage of 85,000 acres only 28,446 (or just over one-third) was classified as agricultural land, and this acreage was actually less than it was in 1961 when 34,000 acres was classified as agricultural land, the difference being due to the use of arable land for housing. Even more important than the relatively small and declining acreage of land suitable for agriculture is the size and distribution of holdings. In 1972 less than one quarter of the total area in agricultural holdings was in small holdings of less than 5 acres, representing some 90% of all holdings and agricultural employment. The average size of those holdings was 1.3 acres, hardly sufficient to provide a livelihood, even for a small family. On the other hand

more than half the agricultural area (12,407 acres) was in large estates of more than 100 acres (UNDP, Physical Planning Project, August, 1976, pp. 14-15).

At the same time the estates were becoming more capital-intensive. According to the Census of Agriculture 1972/73, in 1972 out of 24,405 people employed in agriculture, 15,729 were farm operators and their dependents, 2,004 were unpaid workers while only 6,672 were paid workers. Of these paid workers only 30% were employed by plantations while 59% were employed by smallholders. In the same year, the ownership of tillage and cultivating equipment was exclusively registered among those farmers owning 50 or more acres (Census of Agriculture, 1972/73).

Land Reform became one of the policy objectives of the government and, as described above, it was implemented through the acquisition of estates (offered for sale to the government by their owners), which were then operated by government as 'Land Settlement' estates (a form of State Farm, worked with waged labor). However, the belief that estates were "the most economic method of producing our main exports" (Gibbs, 1947, p. 226) was strongly held by the administration, probably up to the present (see Mitchell's statement on the next page). It was certainly consistent with classical theories of economies of scale and made sense from the point of view of this theory if not

from the point of view of those seeking distributive justice.

From the early 1970s the more commonly understood view of land reform as a means to distributive justice began to be discussed, although, even then, it was with qualification, as illustrated in the following quotation taken from a 1972 speech by the Minister of Agriculture at the time, James Mitchell. Mr. Mitchell was a university-trained agronomist, and destined to be Prime Minister from 1984 to the present. It should also be borne in mind that the speech was made under the auspices of CADEC (Caribbean Agency for Development Education and Communication), the development program of the progressive, NGO-oriented Caribbean Conference of Churches (CCC). In the speech entitled, "Land Reform in the Caribbean", he expressed the view that:

Land reform ... must be related to both the sectional interests of development in our region, both agriculture and tourism. Such reform means redistribution of land, mainly in the distribution of large areas into small farms, and also the consolidation of mini-plots into small farms."

He then added:

Let me emphasize at the outset that the goal of any policy in land reform should be related to productivity. Merely dismantling large estates and granting title of small parcels to the greatest number of voters can deliver results in the next election, destroy the economy, create unemployment, and guarantee reverses in subsequent elections. Between the two extremes lie the scope for organized planning, based on the need to stabilize the human resources of the country and integrate this with the market requirements of the region as a whole. (Mitchell, 1989, p. 167).

In the 1950s bananas were introduced as an export crop, and grew rapidly in production and exports from 2.9 million pounds in 1950 to 36 million in 1957 (O'Loughlin, 1967, cited in Nanton, 1983, p. 230). By 1974 bananas represented 71% of trade export earnings, while other major exports such as arrowroot and coconut oil had declined significantly, sugar cane and cotton had already collapsed between 1959-1961 (Table 1).

Table 1.

Percentage of Trade Export Earnings of 5 Major Exports
1970-1974

	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974
Bananas	51	57	54	54	71
Arrowroot	20	8	12	8	7
Coconut Oil	16	19	16	11	7
Potatoes	1	2	2	4	5
Carrots	-	1	2	2	4
Sub Total	88	87	86	79	94

SOURCE: St. Vincent Trade Statistics, Government of St. Vincent, 1975

Banana cultivation was more suitable for peasant cultivation than sugar cane, arrowroot or coconuts and for the first time it made agriculture an economically viable activity for small farmers. When the privately-owned sugar industry collapsed in 1961, laborers who had access to, or could purchase land switched to banana production. In a sense, banana cultivation laid the basis for a viable alternative to plantation-oriented agriculture, not only in St. Vincent but throughout the region, by demonstrating how agriculture could be organized to spread the benefits to a wider cross-section of the society. Experience with bananas demonstrated the importance of the targeted provision of technical and infrastructural support by the government; the guaranteed market, which made credit easily available and the organization of banana producers into an

association which had links to similar associations in other islands. There were, of course, other problems with the product and the mono-crop system which it encouraged, which were to place many producers and the whole economy in jeopardy in the future, but the crop certainly brought great benefits to the whole society for three decades, long enough to demonstrate the conditions required (including the different roles of the state and the market) to make small-farm agriculture a viable alternative to estate-based production in small island states with a high ratio of population to land, and with few other resources.

However, according to official sources, although agriculture continued to be the major single sector and the most important earner of foreign exchange, the growth of earnings from the 1970s was exclusively due to improved prices, especially for bananas. Exports of all three major crops bananas, arrowroot and coconut products actually declined by volume between 1970-1974, a decline only partly compensated by diversification into other crops, especially the increasing production of vegetables and root crops (World Bank, 1979).

In St. Vincent, as in other Caribbean countries, there are basically three types of markets for agricultural products: the extra-regional market for traditional export crops such as sugar-cane, coconuts, cotton, arrowroot,

bananas etc., the regional market for traditional produce such as fruits, vegetables and root crops, and the domestic market for these types of traditional produce. Up until the 1990s St. Vincent and other CARICOM countries enjoyed preferential entry into the European markets for their major export crops. Although the regional market tends to be over-looked it actually made a major contribution to the earnings of small farmers in St. Vincent in the 1960s-1970s, especially those producing items for this market. The example of carrots illustrates the point: in the 1960s St. Vincent imported all its requirements, in 1972 the country exported over 40,000 pounds a month, and the returns per acre from carrots far exceeded the return from bananas (Mitchell, 1989, p. 169). The Agricultural Marketing Protocol (AMP) set up by the CARICOM governments in the 1960s and the arrangements made by the government of St. Vincent through its Agricultural Marketing Board (AMB) were undoubtedly central to these benefits to those farmers producing for the intra-regional market. More importantly, it demonstrated what could be achieved by the integration of markets within the region and through well-considered mechanisms set up by the states to facilitate trade between the countries of the region, by careful planning at regional and national levels conditions which facilitated this trade.

From the 1960s, as manufacturing and tourism (the second largest foreign exchange earner⁵) became part of the economy, the contribution of agriculture to gross domestic product declined, however its absolute value continued to rise, especially in the early 1980s when the value of the British pound rose in relation to the US dollar⁶.

4.2.1.2 Manufacturing

The idea that development meant modernization and industrialization had spread to St. Vincent by the 1950s and the government of St. Vincent followed the example of other countries in the region by the passage of the Aid to Pioneer Industries Act (1954) and the establishment of the St. Vincent Development Corporation (DEVCO) (1970) to promote industrial development and tourism. The main thrust of its operations, the administration of the Small Industry Credit Scheme, was financed by the Special Development Fund of the Caribbean Development Bank.

The main focus of the manufacturing sector in the 1960s and 1970s was the manufacturing of items based on local agricultural production - products such as sugar, rum, arrowroot starch, lime juice, edible oil and soap (made from copra, a by-product of the coconut), as well as such popular products as soft drink bottling and items which reduced imports and improved the standard of living

such as concrete blocks, simple furniture and garments. In addition, the government tried to encourage foreign investment in export-oriented industries by the establishment of the first export processing zone and the passing of legislation providing exemption from import duties and corporate taxes for a period of six years.

However, this strategy only produced a few "enclave" industries chiefly in garments and sports goods. Between 1970-1974 manufacturing contributed approximately 4% of GDP and accounted for 8% of employment at the time of the 1980 Census, a figure which had fallen by 4% (from 12% in 1970) because of the closure of the sugar industry in 1962 as well as some cottage industries. The truth is, as is well recognized, that

development of the manufacturing sector in a small island like St. Vincent is constrained by (a number of factors such as) smallness of local markets; inadequate supplies of local raw materials; inhibiting high transportation costs; and insufficient technical and managerial skills. (National Development Plan, 1977-82 p. 16).

Despite this, the government continued to pursue strategies for strengthening this sector. In 1970s the government re-opened the sugar factory and efforts were made to work with the other governments of the Eastern Caribbean Common Market (ECCM)⁷ to set up a regional industrial development policy which would allocate selected industries to member countries, based on feasibility

studies e.g. a biscuit factory, a muffler factory and greetings card manufacturing for St. Vincent.

4.2.1.3 Education

In 1931 an inquiry into the education system conducted on instructions from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, found that "education in St. Vincent as in other islands, had suffered from excessive conservatism and had not kept pace, in content, aim or methods with the practices of progressive countries." (Ashton, 1990, p. 4) One of the results of this inquiry was the establishment of a closer link between education and occupation, by the introduction of vocational subjects in schools.

Developments in education in St. Vincent between the 1930s and 1974 included the implementation of many of the recommendations of the Report of the West India Royal Commission of 1938. These improvements were made possible through funds provided by the governments of Britain and Canada. One of the most significant developments was the reorganization of the whole system of education by the appointment of the first Education Officer, whose responsibilities included directing policy, supervising and implementing the recommendations made by the Educational Adviser⁸ to the Comptroller for the administration of the CD&W grants. Some of the steps taken within the framework

of the reorganization and upgrading of the education system included the local training of teachers, the establishment of a Preparatory School (1948), a Craft Center with facilities for Woodworking and Domestic Science (1950) and experimental centers for the training of Pupil Teachers⁹.

Since the 1940s an increasing number of children have had opportunities for exposure to early childhood education through facilities set up by individuals and voluntary organizations. In the 1960s the Commonwealth Save the Children Fund (SCF)¹⁰ established a program to address the high incidence of infant mortality. The program was multifaceted and included the promotion of day care centers and pre-school education along with nutrition education and supplementary feeding programs. Formal education was provided through Primary Schools (catering to children 5-15 years), Junior Secondary Schools (which emphasize vocational subjects), Secondary Schools, Pupil Teacher Training Centers, a Technical College and a Teachers' Training College. Although the churches continued to operate schools (with heavy subventions from the government) the majority were state owned. Primary education was free and non-compulsory. Entry to the traditional Secondary schools was based on the results of an annual Common Entrance Examination conducted by the Ministry of Education for students between the ages of 10+-

13+. The Junior secondary schools were non-selective and cater to pupils from 12 years of age. The two government-owned traditional secondary schools along with the junior secondary schools were fee-paying.

In 1948 the University College of the West Indies (UCWI) was established with financial support from the British government and professional support from the University of London¹¹, and a University Center was established in St. Vincent, and in all the other non-campus countries served by the University.

4.2.1.4 Health

Up to the time of the Moyne Commission the conditions of public health in St. Vincent were extremely poor, and the high infant mortality rate and death rate among children under five years attested to this. When the Commonwealth Save the Children Fund (SCF) established its applied nutrition project in St. Vincent in 1965, St. Vincent was chosen over the other Windward Islands because it had the highest infant mortality rate of the 4 islands in this group - 1.5% of children were considered severely malnourished, and 25.7% as moderately-severe. (1982-86 Health Plan, page 57). The SCF's pediatrician was the first doctor with that qualification on the island.¹²

There was one public hospital, with a wing for fee-paying patients, and several public health clinics throughout the island. The emphasis was on social and preventive medicine. In 1967¹³ a family planning program was launched through a Family Planning Association, with funding from the International Planned Parenthood Association (IPPF).

4.2.1.5 Community Development

By the end of the 1950s the old Social Welfare Department had become marginalized and its services concentrated on the provision of relief to the indigent and the operation of a few rural craft projects. However, the original idea of community-based social development was revived in 1967 when the government established a Community Development Department. The 4-H clubs and Cooperatives Division of the Ministry of Agriculture were placed under the new department, and technical assistance in setting up the program was obtained from the UN and the governments of Trinidad and Guyana. While the intentions of the government were not always clear, the program served as a complement to agricultural development and as a means of promoting community participation in rural development through the establishment of community councils, community centers and training facilities for craft workers. In a

sense it introduced a non-partisan element into local government and helped to energize communities as the country prepared for Statehood (full internal self-government) in 1969¹⁴.

A system of Local Government had been established in the 1960s with the setting up of a network of Town Boards, District and Village Councils. However, in 1973 they were all dissolved and all powers of the various Boards and Local Authorities vested in Commissioners to be appointed by the Governor on a temporary basis, pending a reconstitution of the Boards. However, no action was taken by the Administration to reconstitute the Boards and Local Government has been effectively discontinued.

4.2.1.6 Summary

The unrest of the 1930s set the stage for the introduction of constitutional changes which were to lead to representative government and internal self-government by 1969. While the decades of the 1940s and 1950s were marked by political and constitutional advances accompanied by major challenges to the power of the plantocracy, the decades of the 1960s and 1970s can be viewed as a period in which the newly independent government lay the foundations for a "rationalist" public service bureaucracy. At the same time, with representative government the economy of

St. Vincent was gradually transformed from one dominated by large estates producing sugar cane, cotton, arrowroot and coconuts to the present-day economy based on bananas as the main export, accompanied by food crops, a small manufacturing sector and tourism. However, for the small farmer - the overwhelming majority of the population - the distribution of land had not changed greatly and the majority still farmed on land that was marginal both in size and quality. Government's land reform program, based on the acquisition of large estates offered for sale by the plantocracy, did not involve the distribution of land to small farmers but rather the continued operation of these estates by the government. On the other hand, by the mid-1970s the basic infrastructure for broad-based development - an island-wide network of roads, schools, health centers, rural electrification, water, telephones - were established along with agricultural extension services to farmers and a community development department.

4.3 Development Policies and Programs: 1974-84

From 1974 - 1984 the population of St. Vincent and the Grenadines increased from 95,000 to 107,400. In fact, since the country launched its first family planning program in 1966¹⁵ the crude birth rate has fallen from 40 per 1000 to a low of 22.4 in 1988 (and 1989) to an average

of 24.2 in the years 1990-1994. The success of family life education¹⁶ and family planning programs added to a sizable net migration¹⁷ from St. Vincent and the Grenadines (mostly to North America and Europe) has resulted in an average rate of population growth of 1.2 since 1980. Heavy rates of male migration have resulted in a population where females account for about 53% of the total. Population size along with the crude birth rate and infant mortality rate for the period covered by this research is shown in Table 2.

Table 2
St. Vincent and the Grenadines
Demographic Data
1979 - 1994

Year	Population	Crude Birth Rate	Infant Mortality Rate
1979	102		
1980	102.8		
1981	104		
1982	105.5	31	46.8
1983	106.9	31.8	40.5
1984	108.2	30.8	37
1985	109.5	26.2	26.5
1986	111	26.6	20.3
1987	112.4	24.5	24.7
1988	113.1	23.7	23.4
1989	115	22.4	21.7
1990	118	22.4	21.5
1991	107.6	22.3	20.8
1992	108.3	24.1	19.2
1993	109.3	24.8	17.1
1994	107.4	24.6	14.5

Source St. Vincent Statistical Department

Since 1991, the rate appears to be on the rise once more, but this may be due to the age distribution of the population: the 1980 Population Census found that 57% of the population were under the age of 20 years and 44% under the age of 15 years. Clearly, population increases can reflect the 'coming of age' of this cohort, rather than changes in the birth rate.

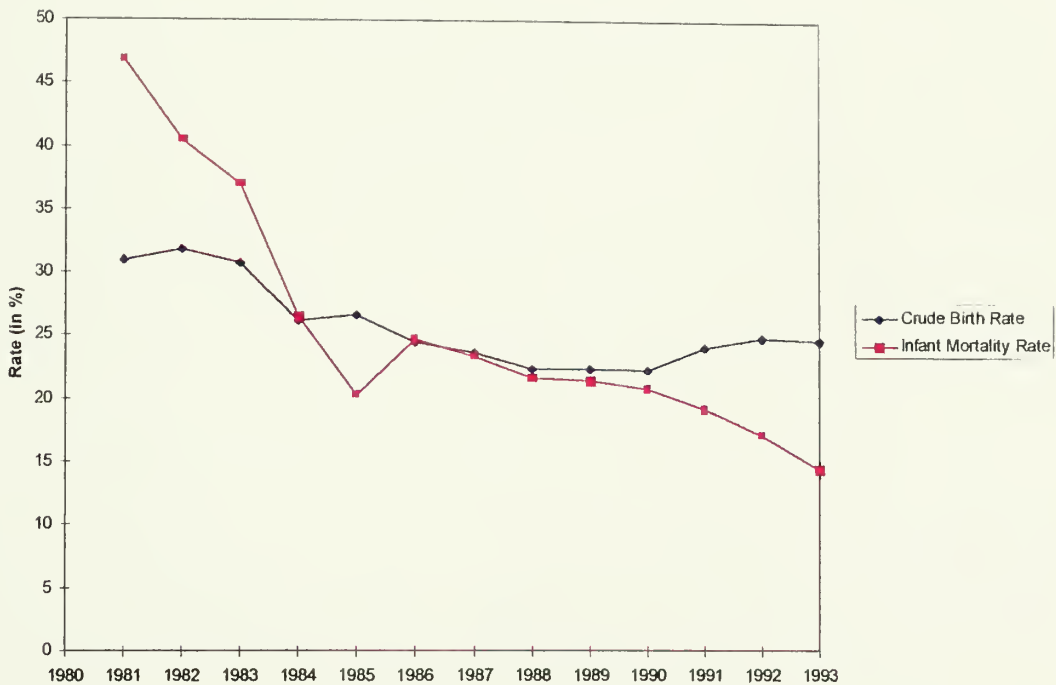


Figure 2. St. Vincent & the Grenadines Demographic Data

Source: Caribbean Development Bank, May 1993, April 1996.

4.3.1 Political and Constitutional Developments

One of the core values which the overwhelming majority of Vincentians share is their strong support for constitutionalism ... (defined as) a political condition in which the constitution effectively functions as the limiting or constraining force, legal or otherwise on the behavior of government and which secures in practice the citizen's enjoyment of basic, fundamental rights and freedoms (Gonsalves, 1994, p. 38).

Vincentians of all walks of life were certainly involved in the changes which made it possible for them to take increasing responsibility for the affairs of government. In 1972 the Cato government lost power in the resolution of a tied vote in the House of Representatives. In one of the opportunistic twists to which party political process is occasionally vulnerable, the People's Political Party (PPP) offered the Premiership (the title of the political head of state prior to Independence) to the sole Third Party member, James Mitchell, in exchange for his casting vote. A member of the middle-class, Mitchell was relatively new on the political scene and had not yet built a constituency. Degrees in Agriculture and experience as an agronomist, however, qualified him for the joint portfolio of Premier and Minister of Agriculture. As Minister of Agriculture he took up the cause of land reform and also won widespread support from small farmers for his active pursuit of regional markets for their food crops. The coalition government, however, did not last long, and

in 1974 the St. Vincent Labor Party was returned to office, and Milton Cato was again called to form the government.

The Cato administration remained in office for the five years leading up to and following Independence. Development policies of the period continued to be oriented toward a strong role for the state in economic and social development, with the significant difference that in this new phase the state was one which represented the interests of the majority. Under the new constitution of Statehood the Prime Minister had considerably more power to act in domestic issues than before, and during this period Cato concentrated on the negotiations for the country's independence, which was granted in November 1979, the year of the Grenada revolution.

The eruption of the Soufriere in April 1979 was also something that impacted on the lives of Vincentians that year, perhaps even more than the independence celebrations later that year¹⁸. It created a major disruption to the lives of the nearly 20,000 people on the north-east end of the island, who had to be evacuated. Farmers lost income from the destruction of crops and livestock; children lost months of schooling; and the government services lost time in their preparations for the country's independence celebrations.

On the other hand, the presence of large numbers of people living in close proximity to each other, along with the provision of significant flows of aid to assist those who had suffered losses from the eruption led to the formation of new groups, which later became Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) giving voice to a greater civic self-awareness of farmers and rural communities. The Roman Catholic Church, the Caribbean Agency for Development and Education (CADEC) of the Caribbean Conference of Churches and the Canadian Universities Service Overseas (CUSO) played major roles in supporting these efforts.

The movements for change and social transformation that were taking place throughout the region in the 1970s were echoed in St. Vincent. Some of the leadership of groups in St. Vincent had also studied in the US and Canada during the 1960s and early 1970s and were aware of and connected with experiments attempted (Guyana 1950s and 1960s, Jamaica 1970s) as the governments of these counties looked for alternatives to the growth/modernization strategies of the previous decade, which had led to a widening of the gap between those with the education and resources to benefit and the majority who were left behind.

Among the new civic organizations was the Educational Forum of the People and others influenced by the Black

Power movement as well as by the socialist ideologies of the day. The Forum was made up mostly of university-trained people, attempting what Walter Rodney called "grounding with the people", sharing their knowledge and encouraging ordinary people to think critically about their situation.

In the preparations for independence, a local committee made up of representatives of the Unions and other civic organizations prepared proposals for the new constitution, based on inputs from a wide cross-section of the society. The government of St. Vincent at that time, however, did not take up these issues. According to Adrian Fraser, in the wake of the Grenada Revolution which had taken place early in 1979, the government felt threatened by this kind of popular political mobilization, and an opportunity was lost for incorporating into the new constitution the views of people whose interests had always been marginalized in these exercises.

Earlier in the year, following the Grenada revolution, there was also an uprising in one of the smaller islands of the Grenadines, Union Island. The government was sufficiently alarmed to invite in troops from Barbados to restore order. This symbolized Cato's fear of the radical elements that were emerging in Caribbean political scene at this time, and reinforced his conservatism.

The United Nations' designation of 1975 as International Women's Year raised the consciousness of women in the country and many of the women in the NGO movement became involved in activities surrounding the Year. Apart from church-women's groups, there were branches of international women's organizations such as the Business and Professional Women's Club (BPWC) and the Soroptimists Club. Organizations such as the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) and the Girl Guides has been started in the 1930-1940 within the context of the efforts at nation-building. However, these organizations were largely urban-based, although they tried to involve rural people by holding meetings outside the capital.

A National Council of Women (NCW) was formed in 1975 as an umbrella organization. The NCW was affiliated to the Caribbean Women's Association (CARIWA) launched by the wife of the Prime Minister of Guyana in the early 1970s.

In 1978, the Women and Development Unit (WAND) was established within the framework of the Extra Mural Department (later named the School of Continuing Studies) of the University of the West Indies and provided support to CARIWA, and through that organization, encouraged the establishment of special mechanisms for the "integration of women in development" within government bureaucracies at national and regional levels¹⁹.

In 1981 WAND also gave critical support for the establishment of the more activist Caribbean Association for Feminist Research (CAFRA) and through CAFRA an incipient women's movement expressed itself in the more active leadership of women in NGOs. In 1984 a Committee for the Development of Women (CDW) was formed in St. Vincent and provided the local link with CAFRA. CDW had a greater focus on rural women, and cooperated with CAFRA in its 1987 research project, Women in Caribbean Agriculture. In 1989 CDW cooperated with WAND in the expansion of their Pilot Project for the Integration of Women in Rural Development (see Chapter VI) to other communities on the island, including the community at Orange Hill. Orange Hill was the estate on which the government was attempting to establish a new approach to land settlement by the dividing and distribution of land to farmers, including farmers from outside the area (instead of managing the estate itself).

4.3.2 Development Policies and Planning

Some of the challenges facing the government in the period immediately following Statehood and in the first few years of independence were listed as the need

* to diversify the economic base,

- * for innovative approaches to maximize the utilization of available land resources,
- * to retain more of the skilled and qualified personnel,
- * to stimulate private sector activity, and
- * to strengthen the effectiveness and efficiency of public sector institutions. (Lestrade, 1981, World Bank, 1979).

At this time it was understood that for small island states like St. Vincent

A major prerequisite for economic transformation (would be) a shift in the pattern of resource use away from the traditional concentration on consumption and towards a greater emphasis on investment ... (through) a far greater increase in public and private sector savings than has been the experience to date. A related need is for sound development strategies and an improvement in absorptive capacity ... (since) effective utilization of even those development funds available from external sources has been constrained by a too low absorptive capacity..” (Lestrade, 1981, pp. 9-10)

These were the parameters for the independent government's first attempts at formulating an appropriate macro-economic framework for the country's development. There were many limitations: a small tax base, the need to stimulate savings as well as investment in a society where the majority were poor and lacking in entrepreneurial experience, lack of control over monetary policy (including interest rates).

In the first half of the 1970s, the first years of Statehood, the country had to deal with an international environment which was contradictory: on the one hand there was the encouragement of a development dialogue which emphasized equity and justice and support for the efforts of countries like those of the Caribbean, on the other hand there was the reality of falling world prices for the main agricultural products, adverse weather conditions, and the effects of international inflation, following the hike in oil prices, which led to prolonged economic stagnation and a slowing down in demand for exports from the islands.

In the second half of the decade the economy recovered steadily as increased world demand and prices for its main products, agricultural diversification, and good weather conditions led to an increase in agricultural output. In addition, improvements in tourism and the development of an embryonic industrial sector supported economic recovery (World Bank, 1979). At the same time, some of the favorable trend in the international community was undermined by the decline in the value of the British pound, to which St. Vincent's currency was linked up until 1976 (after which it was linked to the US dollar at a rate of \$2.70 Eastern Caribbean (EC) currency to the dollar).

At the regional level, the climate was less contradictory. The newly independent governments, infused

with the confidence born of a shared regional vision of the possibilities of socio-economic development within an integrated Caribbean engaged in a series of negotiations around regional strategies and protocols for advancing economic development in the areas of agriculture and manufacturing.

In his presentation of the 1976/77 Estimates (Budget) to the House of Assembly on July 8, 1976, the Premier²⁰ and Minister of Finance, referring to the impact of the oil price hike on the banana industry, explained the situation to Vincentians as follows:

Partly to offset the increase in oil prices and also to maintain the living standard of their people, the industrial nations increased the price of their manufactured goods. Needless to say, the cost of all our imports increased immediately, and we now face the reality that our exports, mainly bananas, are not essential to any country. As the Price Commission in the United Kingdom put it last year: "Bananas do not appear to be regarded by the housewife as essential, and, in the present economic conditions, they have to compete with basic food items for a share of the housewife's purse." There was therefore no significant increase in the amount we received for our exports. What all this in effect meant was that the same amount of money, if not less, was being received in St. Vincent, but we had to be sending out more and more for imports. This resulted in less money becoming available for circulation in the State. We all know what happens when there is not enough money circulating in the State; people cannot buy, and so business houses cannot sell, and therefore cannot make any profits from which Government can collect taxes, nor can they provide employment which would enable individuals to pay more taxes. In these circumstances, government revenue from income tax cannot rise rapidly, if at all.

This statement illustrates a number of points: (a) the level of awareness of the government of St. Vincent of the impact of the external environment on the fortunes of a small island state with an open, and dependent, economy; (b) the use of the annual Budget address to explain the situation to the public (an educational function); the understanding of linkages in the economy; (c) the central role of the income tax as a determinant of government's resources²¹; and the (d) critical role of bananas in the St. Vincent economy. In this year (1976) the government prepared its 2nd National Development Plan with assistance from UNDP's Physical Planning Project. The Plan focused on food security in the key areas of sugar, rice and milk (import-substitution industries, with the state being the major shareholder in each of these undertakings), as well as chicken, eggs, beef and fish.

Under the colonial administration there had been no macro-economic planning as such, only sectoral plans financed largely by grants-in-aid from the British government and from financial transfers from bilateral programs, mostly British and Canadian. The colonial administration was, in fact, expected to balance its budget, and with Statehood this practice continued. From 1970, however, the government of St. Vincent had increasing difficulty in balancing its budget and relied on highly concessional

external capital flows to finance its fiscal deficit and investment program. According to the World Bank Report (Current Economic Position and Prospects of St. Vincent, April 19, 1979, p. 3) the country's fiscal problems in the early 1970s were the result of a combination of factors including

the adverse impact of the economic stagnation on tax revenues heavily dependent on imports, a small and inelastic tax base, poor tax administration and the lack of sufficient expenditure controls.

The Report recognized, however, that since 1975 (the first year after taking office) the government had been successful in its efforts to contain the growth of recurrent expenditure and to increase the efficiency of tax collection and that combined with an improved economic performance, there had been some improvement in the fiscal deficit. In 1977/78 a surplus of about 3% was actually achieved and this was continued between 1980 and 1983 when government revenue grew at the rate of 20% annually outpacing growth in recurrent expenditure which increased at the rate of 16% annually, despite two successive deficits representing 3.9% and 3.6% of GDP in 1980 and 1981 respectively, following the spate of natural disasters²² of 1978-1980 (CDB, E& PD, October 1986).

The government's first formal Public Sector Investment Program (PSIP) was formulated for 1979/80-1983/84 by a World Bank Mission, based on the sectoral priorities

identified by the government and "an extensive list of projects in varying stages of preparation." (World Bank April 19, 1979 p. 1)

The focus of the country's development strategy at that time was on "export-oriented and employment generating agriculture, industry and tourism, and on the satisfaction of the basic needs of the population." (Ibid, p. 3) The breakdown of the PSIP, reflecting these priorities, was as follows:

- * 30% Agriculture (focusing on increasing and diversifying production and upgrading the institutional base, and included \$4.5m toward the construction of a sugar factory)
- * 28% Social Services (education, health and housing to meet basic needs)
- * 27% Transportation and Roads (largely in support of agriculture and rural development)
- * 7% Industry (emphasizing credit and infrastructure aimed at encouraging the private sector)
- * 6% Utilities (power and water supply)
- * 2% Tourism (providing points of interest for cruise ships and yachts).

The whole package, considered a sizable one, totaled US\$44 over a five-year period, with Central Government implementing 60% and various public and quasi-public sector

enterprises responsible for the remaining 40%.

Approximately 96% of the investment was to be in fixed capital formation, with the remaining consisting largely of training and the provision of credit. The chief constraint to implementation was felt to be government's institutional capacity, especially given a high level of migration (brain drain) of skilled personnel in the public service. At this time the public sector comprised a number of statutory boards and financial institutions including the following -

The Kingstown (Town) Board

The National Provident Fund

The Marketing Corporation

The Agricultural Development Bank

The Agricultural and Cooperative Corporation

The St. Vincent Financing Company

The National and Commercial Bank

The St. Vincent (National) Trust

The St. Vincent Philatelic Services

The government also had a majority interest in the St. Vincent Electricity Corporation, and provided water to residents through the Water Authority.

4.3.3 Key Sectors

4.3.3.1 Agriculture

Agriculture remained the most important productive sector contributing 20% of GDP, 95% of merchandise exports and engaging 30% of the labor force in 1978. Throughout the late 1970s and early 1980s agriculture continued to be considered the mainstay of the economy and emphasis continued to be placed on producing crops for which markets were assured and had the potential for expansion; specifically bananas, arrowroot and coconuts. Traditional food such as root (sweet potatoes, yams etc.) and tree crops (breadfruit, plantains, mangoes, paw paw etc.) were also encouraged, especially for export to the regional market. However, production fell short of the requirements for the local market and increasingly large quantities of food were imported. Between 1973-77 the value of food imports almost doubled, although this was largely a reflection of the escalating prices of imports resulting from the rise in oil prices, as well as the rising standard of living, which often led to a change in diet from locally produced foods to imported food. Fragmentation of landholdings was often at the root of the low levels of productivity of the small farmer and there was scope for the government to assist these farmers to increase their acreage through the distribution of some of the land

operated by the government as land settlement estates. In 1976 the government owned 5 estates totaling approximately 5,000 acres²³. In 1978 sugar was re-introduced to meet domestic requirements.

Perhaps the greatest benefit to small farmers, however, was the services of the Marketing Board, which in the 1970s visited small farm communities two-three times a week to purchase produce for export. In addition, a number of hucksters (in 1979 there were said to be between 30-40), primarily women²⁴, facilitated trade between the small farmers and markets in Barbados and Trinidad.²⁵

4.3.3.2 Education

In the context of independence, efforts to extend and improve education throughout the state were accelerated. New Secondary and Junior secondary schools were opened, free secondary education was introduced in the government schools, more scholarships were provided and technical education expanded. In the 1980s there was also a major expansion in pre-school education.

Although the churches continued to operate schools, many of them were dependent on government subventions for their survival. A great deal of emphasis was placed on teacher training, since of the 1,300 teachers employed in 1977 less than 5% held university degrees.

4.3.3.3 Health

In St. Vincent, given the fact that the highest mortality rate is among children under five, and this reflects levels of poverty and education, the health of children under five years of age is a good indicator of the health of the economy, as well as of the effectiveness of the health services. According to the World Bank Report on the Current Economic Position and Prospects for St. Vincent of April 1979, the general health of the population had improved in the decade 1967-77. However, infant mortality in St. Vincent continued to be the highest in the English-speaking Caribbean - 55.5 deaths per 100 live births in 1977²⁶. In 1974 diarrheal diseases, nutritional deficiencies and perinatal mortality continued to be the most common causes of death among children under five years, who continued to account for 38.3% of all deaths, although this group constituted only 17% of the total population (Government of St. Vincent Vital Statistics 1974). The second highest cause of death was hypertensive diseases.

However, as a result of the country's links with international agencies and regional institutions such as the University of the West Indies and the Health Desk of the CARICOM Secretariat, the government became increasingly aware of the role of health in national development and

began to give it the priority it deserved. In its Five Year Health Plan, 1982-86 the government of St. Vincent recognized health as a basic element of development and a human right ... a priority need" and articulated a policy of

providing a comprehensive service that (would) permit the full development of man within his environment (and one which would) harmonize with the policies of other sectors of government ... (The Five Year Health Plan (1982-1986) goes so far as to state that) health care is not only an essential component of the total socio-economic fabric of life in St. Vincent and the Grenadines, but that democracy revolves round the concept of its equality and universal participation. (5 Year Plan, 1982-1986, p. 1).

The document also stresses community participation and a social-and-preventive approach rather than a disease-centered model, and recognized that since health care covered a "greater ambit than those covered by the Ministry of Health", the work of the Ministry would

need to be complemented by other Ministries such as Agriculture, Housing, Education and Community Development, and the private sector.

The document described this as

a multi-disciplinary, intersectoral and community participation approach in the programming and delivery of primary health care to its people

It is a philosophy clearly coming out of the World Health Organization's 1978 Alma Ata Conference on Primary Health Care, which called for "Health for All by the Year 2000".

Reflecting this broad view of health, the Health Plan provided information on a number of other indicators of the level of development of St. Vincent and the Grenadines. For example, it estimated that -

- 88% of the population had "reasonable" access to water,
- 75% had house connections (93.5% urban and 60% rural)
- 75% of the water to residential areas in St. Vincent was chlorinated,
- There was electricity in most areas in St. Vincent and in some of the Grenadines; and that power is provided by Hydro and Diesel.
- 12% of homes were still without any sanitary facilities or have unsatisfactory sanitary facilities.

This Primary Health Care approach called for the expansion of Community Health Clinics to serve as focal points for Primary Health Care Teams, and a cadre of Nurse Practitioners. All of these services made maximum use of and had close links with resources provided through the regional programs of the Health Desk of the CARICOM Secretariat or the Caribbean Regional Office of the Pan-American Health Organization (PAHO-WHO).

By 1982, when this Plan was written there were 4 rural hospitals, including one in Bequia (in the Grenadines), along with the Kingstown General Hospital (with a capacity of 211 beds); a Leprosarium (with 20 beds), a Geriatrics

Home (120 beds) and a Psychiatric Mental Health Center (120 beds). There was also one private hospital (25 beds) offering general medical and surgical care. In addition, the government had established a National Maternal and Child Health and Family Planning Unit in the Ministry of Health (working in collaboration with the Family Planning Association), and a Dental Service (providing free care especially to school children). The government also provided support for a number of Day Care Centers throughout the island and was fully represented on the Pre-School Services Committee. Compared to 10 years earlier when there had been no medical specialists, the Health Service now boasted 3 Pediatricians, a Radiographer, an Occupational Therapist, 2 Obstetrician/Gynecologists and a Psychiatrist.

In 1975 the government introduced a National Family Planning service, as an integral part of their strategy of Maternal and Child Health, complementing the services offered by the Family Planning Association which had been established nearly 10 years earlier. The crude birth rate has shown a steady decrease since that time: from 3.5% in 1974 to 2.6% in 1985, a 2.1% rate of population growth since 1970 (World Bank, 1979).

4.3.3.4 Summary of Socio-economic & Political Development, 1974-84

In this period the government consolidated its operations as an independent, representative government. It continued to build on the foundations for broad-based socio-economic development laid down in the previous decade and assumed a major role in the economy, taking over from the plantocracy as it acquired the estates that were no longer profitable to their owners. The economy could perhaps best be described as a form of state capitalism. At the same time, according to Nanton, while these 'incorporative' policies led to the transfer of power from colonial domination to "a local populist and middle-class elite", political independence did not lead to economic independence but to continued dependence on outside support (Nanton, 1984 p. 223), the support this time coming from a wider range of sources, including the United Nations and the World Bank.

From the 1980s real growth in GDP averaged 4% per annum, with rates of at least 5% between 1980 -1983. Policies directed toward the economy continued to focus on diversification through the promotion of agriculture, industry and tourism. The bid for foreign investors brought in a number of off-shore banks, some of questionable reputation and which in any case did not provide a large number of jobs, nor funds for development.

Although the policies of these 10 years focused on Basic Needs and Integrated Rural Development, the prevailing development strategies of the Second Development Decade, it would be true to say that at the end of this time the majority of people were still unable to meet their basic needs, and unemployment remained high. While banana production provided significant benefits for most of those involved²⁷ and small investments in tourism provided a number of new jobs, and while a few foreign investors set up small factories, none of these provided the basis for improving the well-being of the majority of the population.

There was also a down-side to this type of development. The shift to bananas led to what was to become a dangerous dependence on a single crop, and one particularly vulnerable to the adverse weather conditions characteristic of countries in hurricane zones, bananas were also grown on marginal land and was often at the expense of food production. Enclave industries paid very low wages and undermined the objectives of the trade unions to achieve better conditions for workers. Tourism, mostly focused on the islands of the Grenadines drew resources away from other areas of need and exacted a high price in terms of the values it introduced and the pressures placed on the fragile eco-systems. Migration and work in the service and informal sectors of the economy continued to be

the chief means of survival for those left outside the formal economy.

At the end of this period, the sense of frustration generated by disappointment at the state's inability to convert political independence into economic betterment for the majority translated into a resounding victory in 1984 for the new party offering a new vision of hope to the dispossessed.

4.4 Development Policies and Programs: 1984-94

4.4.1 The Political Context

In July of 1984 the people of St. Vincent and the Grenadines voted overwhelmingly for the New Democratic Party (NDP), a new party breaking into the two-party system²⁸ which had dominated elections since the 1950s. The party was the creature of James Mitchell who, as Minister of Agriculture (1972-74) under the "contingent" government, had been identified with progressive programs in the interest of small farmers. His victory was greeted with acclaim by small farmers, many of them women, who traveled from across the island to welcome him back to the mainland from his home and constituency on the Grenadine island of Bequia. A new day had begun, although perhaps not quite in the way that was expected.

As mentioned above, the destruction of the Grenada revolution in 1983 was a turning point for Caribbean NGOs. In St. Vincent the more active elements in civil society, which had been leftist in orientation seemed to lose a sense of direction: the analysis, education and advocacy work in which they had engaged in the 1970s seemed to evaporate and no clear alternative emerged²⁹.

In June 1984 when the CARICOM Heads of Government announced that structural adjustment would be the new policy framework, the movement had not yet understood the ways in which progressive thinking was about to change. When the Prime Minister announced in his first budget (October 1984) that he would be formulating a strategy of structural adjustment (see below) there was little reaction from the NGOs³⁰. When, in time, they came to understand the implications they became articulate about the disabling impact of these policies on the poor. However, initially this concern was not focused on the internal policies, perhaps because St. Vincent did not have a formal agreement with the IMF, and because the policies were implemented in such a way as to cause minimal disturbance, e.g. there were no sharp cuts in government services, no major lay-offs of staff in the education and health sectors. Throughout this period of 10 years, however, the NGO sector seemed to move from activism to accommodation. While some of its leading

figures were co-opted into the political mainstream, others lost steam as they became beneficiaries of the system. In the general elections of 1989 the NDP was returned to power without a parliamentary opposition. Although there was provision in the constitution to appoint Senators from the opposition party(ies) none were appointed. There was therefore no one to challenge the government within the House of Assembly. This concentration of power meant, in effect, that St. Vincent now operated as a one-party state, with no mechanisms of accountability. Although the freedom of the press allowed for criticism of the government this became extremely guarded and was increasingly limited to those persons who were either identified with opposition parties, or who did not need the government's support for their projects. However, since the power of the state pervaded most areas of economic life, criticism was effectively stifled between the years 1989-1994³¹. This increased the power of the state even further. By 1993, with the advent of the Single Market in Europe and the World Trade Organization, the threatened loss of the market for bananas in Europe was an issue which could unite the government and civil society. In addition, the new rhetoric on the role of the NGOs within the circles of development assistance and the resources made available to them increased the interaction between NGOs and the state.

The involvement of the most progressive NGO, Projects Promotion, in organizing a series of consultations with banana farmers on behalf of the Ministry of Agriculture can be taken as a sign of the times. On the other hand, the women's movement within the process of mobilization toward the Fourth World Conference, seemed to gain new energy and purpose. However, there was continued resistance to women's empowerment from the men within their organizations, despite encouragement (matched with funding) from donors to get NGOs to pay attention to gender issues within their programs³². The links between the Committee for the Development of Women (CDW) with CAFRA and WAND were strengthened as women from CDW participated in CAFRA's Women in Caribbean Agriculture (WICA) Project and worked with WAND in the follow up which linked WAND's work on the Pilot Project with the follow-up to WICA.

4.4.2 The Macro-economic Framework

In his first budget address to the House of Assembly, on 23 October, 1984, the new Prime Minister/ Minister of Finance and Foreign Affairs, spoke with the expected rhetoric of a leader coming into power for the first time through election, after 20 years on the periphery of the political system, and after an election which had given him a sweeping victory. He interpreted his "mandate for

change" as one to put an end to "wastage of economic resources, corruption in high places and the utter failure of public policy to come to grips with the problems facing the society."

Among the "major areas of national concern" to which the government promised to give immediate attention were:

The state of the Central Government finances and particularly the level of the public debt;

The operational condition of all public sector enterprises in terms of their level of efficiency and the nature of the financial relations between themselves and the Government;

The capability of the Government machinery in terms of its organizational structure and quality of personnel to cope with the task of formulating a strategy of structural adjustment to bring the economy back on course and implementing that strategy; The urgent need to re-establish an atmosphere of co-operation between Government, the working class, farmers and the business community, so as to create a climate favorable to private investment and the maximization of individual productive efforts; and The realistic diagnosis of the prospects for the economy of St. Vincent and the Grenadines in the short to medium term, especially as seen by our major donors and international

financial institutions, such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

True to its promise, the Mitchell administration followed policies which met strong approval from the International Financial Institutions. These included increases in indirect taxation and in efforts at collecting arrears in income taxes; the closure of the sugar industry (although it had just begun to show an operational gain, and employed close to 2,000 persons); the metering of water and increases in electricity rates. But it was his focus on "financial prudence", chiefly through the consistent generation of surpluses in most Ministries (Table 3), that attracted the most favorable attention within the region (specifically, in the CDB) and in Washington). These measures, along with a neglect of the small farming sector, created further hardships for the majority of the population. Although the adjustment policies did not cut deeply into the social sector budgets as they had done in Jamaica and in many other countries, they resulted in a similar deterioration of services (including, in the case of St. Vincent, roads). Because of this, they had the same impact on women who both predominate in the social sector occupations and need to access these services, most often on behalf of their family. The deterioration in the roads and the restricted

services in the public hospital were particularly hard on rural women who had to travel on these roads to sell their produce, do their shopping and seek medical assistance.

Table 3

Approved vs. Actual Expenditure - 1983-1994
Current Prices (EC\$ mn)

Year		Approved Estimate	Actual Expenditure	Difference	Percent Used
1983/84	Agriculture	3.3	3.3	0	100%
	Education	16.4	15.6	-0.8	95%
	Medical & Health	10.7	10.5	-0.2	98%
1984/85	Agriculture	3	2.4	-0.6	80%
	Education	17.6	15.4	-2.2	88%
	Medical & Health	11.4	11	-0.4	96%
1985/86	Agriculture	3.3	2.6	-0.7	79%
	Education	17.2	16.5	-0.7	96%
	Medical & Health	12	11.2	-0.8	93%
1986/87	Agriculture	3.2	2.6	-0.6	81%
	Education	19.4	18.7	-0.7	96%
	Medical & Health	14.3	12.8	-1.5	89%
1988/89	Agriculture	3.6	3.2	-0.4	89%
	Education	22	22.3	0.3	101%
	Medical & Health	16.8	16.1	-0.7	96%
1990 (July-Dec)	Agriculture	2.3	1.9	-0.4	83%
	Education	12.7	12.3	-0.4	97%
	Medical & Health	10.1	9.6	-0.5	95%
1991	Agriculture	4.7	3.8	-0.9	80%
	Education	27.3	26.1	-1.2	120%
	Medical & Health	21.8	20.6	-1.2	94%
1992	Agriculture	4.9	4.1	-0.8	84%
	Education	29.1	28.4	-0.7	98%
	Medical & Health	24.5	22.1	-2.4	90%
1993	Agriculture	5.4	4.4	-1	81%
	Education	30.4	29.8	-0.6	98%
	Medical & Health	25.8	23	-0.8	89%
1994	Agriculture	4.4	4.7	0.3	107%
	Education	29.8	30.3	0.5	102%
	Medical & Health	23	23	1	100%

Source: St. Vincent Government Estimates, 1984/85-1994

On the other hand, with marginal differences, the government also maintained its normal proportionate level of contribution to the social services and Table 4, Figures

2 and 3 give an indication of this, relative to the resource allocation of the previous government.

Table 4

St. Vincent and the Grenadines
Government Consumption Expenditure by Composition & Purpose
at Current Prices 1976/1977-1994
(EC\$ '000)

Year	1976/77	1979/80	1984/85	1988/89	1989/90	1991	1994
Total	22323	36208	60723	94733	98384	121613	143034
PMO	443	1925	1649	2917	1982	3113	3189
as % of Total	1.98%	5.32%	2.72%	3.08%	2.01%	2.56%	2.23%
Police	1953	3086	5763	8196	8449	10501	11935
as % of Total	8.75%	8.52%	9.49%	8.65%	8.59%	8.63%	8.34%
Prisons	466	537	862	1092	1000	1454	1661
as % of Total	2.09%	1.48%	1.42%	1.15%	1.02%	1.20%	1.16%
Education	5935	8460	15172	21799	23028	26167	30321
as % of Total	26.59%	23.37%	24.99%	23.01%	23.41%	21.52%	21.20%
Health	3476	5156	10510	15853	17777	20578	23034
as % of Total	15.57%	14.24%	17.31%	16.73%	18.07%	16.92%	16.10%
Pensions	1171	2036	3399	4889	6070	5795	7592
as % of Total	5.25%	5.62%	5.60%	5.16%	6.17%	4.77%	5.31%
Agriculture	657	1197	2106	3247	3832	3846	4786
as % of Total	2.94%	3.31%	3.47%	3.43%	3.89%	3.16%	3.35%
Public Works	3084	5898	6438	8396	8694	10939	14296
as % of Total	13.82%	16.29%	10.60%	8.86%	8.84%	8.99%	9.99%

Source: Statistics Department, St. Vincent

Figure 3 is a graphic representation of the data in table 4. It shows the value of Central Government

expenditures on the key sectors of Agriculture, Education, Health and the Police. The relationships in the resource allocations between sectors should be noted. Public Sector Expenditure on all sectors has continued to rise, although these figures would need to be adjusted for inflation (the figures are at current prices, which means that real expenditure on agriculture has been almost static while increases for education and health have been the most significant).

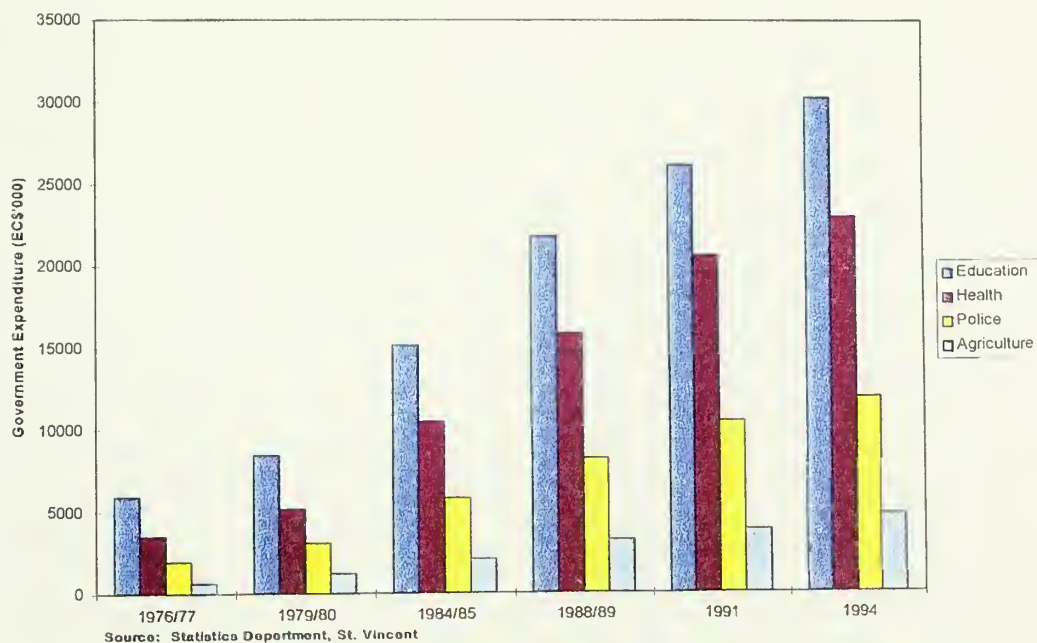


Figure 3. St. Vincent and the Grenadines Government Consumption Expenditure by Composition & Purpose at Current Prices (EC\$ '000) 1976/1977 - 1994

Figure 4 is also based on data from Table 4. It shows that the percentage of the national budget allocated to agriculture, education and health has not varied greatly over the period 1976/77 to 1994.

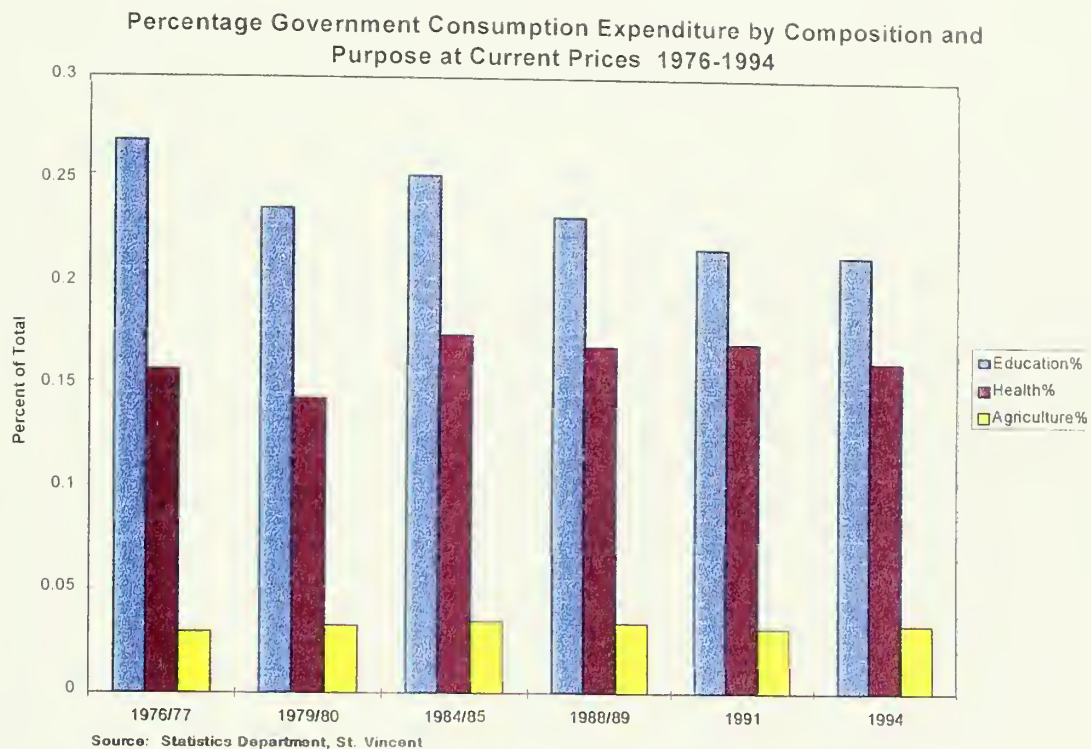


Figure 4. Percentage Government Consumption Expenditure by Composition and Purpose at Current Prices. 1976 - 1994

Nevertheless there are some interesting, if slight, shifts between the first (1984-89) and second terms (1989-94) of the Mitchell Administration. Table 4 shows the following changes between the first and second terms of office:

<u>Education:</u>	Beginning 1st term	- 25.0%
	Beginning 2nd term	- 23.4%
	End 2nd term	- 21.1%
<u>Health:</u>	Beginning 1st term	- 17.0%
	End 2nd term	- 16.1%
<u>Agriculture:</u>	The percentage of government's budget allocated to this sector remained at 3.4% on average.	

In all sectors the amount of expenditure showed increases each year, however these figures are at current prices and do not take account of inflation. The steep drop (by 50%) in the amount spent on Public Works (includes road maintenance) between the Cato administration (1979/80) and the Mitchell administration (1989/90) should be noted.

The new government gave special emphasis to tourism, especially to its expansion in the Grenadines, a part of the country which had not only been historically neglected, but which was certainly richly endowed to attract an up-market clientele³³. In 1988 the government passed the Hotel Aid Act, which passed on to investors in the tourist industry the same incentives in terms of duty free entry for all equipment and raw materials used in the industry³⁴.

By 1991 tourist arrivals had increased to 157,000, with stay-over visitors accounting for 34% of total arrivals. More importantly, the revenue from the island of

Mustique³⁵ provided a massive infusion of foreign exchange into government revenues and foreign exchange reserves.

Regarding the manufacturing sector, in the Government's Plan for 1986-88 the focus remained on the enclave industries. All but one of the 5 industries targeted were of this type - garments, sporting goods, electronic assembly and toys - and were intended to provide most of the 1,400 planned jobs in manufacturing. The fifth, in agro-processing, aimed at the domestic and regional market. However, between 1989-1991 four enclave industries closed³⁶, leading to the loss of jobs. (In 1989 the minimum wage was doubled for women - from EC\$10.00 - EC\$20.00³⁷, an event which was said to have caused the closure of at least one manufacturing firm.

In its second term the government introduced a 3-year (1989/90-1991/92) Public Service Investment Program (PSIP) estimated to cost US\$114 million, with about 60% earmarked for the economic and social sectors, with agriculture accounting for 75% of the productive sector. This reflected the objectives of government's plan at this point to promote economic diversification, with emphasis on the provision of infrastructure to support growth in agriculture, tourism and manufacturing. The projects included an Agricultural Rehabilitation Project, development of the Fishing Industry, a Sixth-form College

(Post Secondary Education Facility), an Industrial Estate Project, Feeder Roads, and the new airport in the Grenadines (Bequia) (World Bank, SVG Economic Update, February 1990 pages 1-3). However, one of the features of this administration was its failure to meet its PSIP targets due to human resource and management constraints, according to the memorandum (World Bank, 1992) and the targets set have seldom been achieved³⁸.

The PSIP for the second 3-year period 1992-95 amounted to US\$86 million, again focusing on "economic sector support and the basic infrastructure to facilitate the expansion of private investment. In continuing to emphasize the role of private investment the Bank appeared to ignore the inability or unwillingness of the local private sector to rise to the occasion and, inadvertently perhaps, to pressure the government to increase its pursuit of foreign investors. In the event, this strategy encouraged the government's support (including through the guaranteeing of loans) of foreign investments which have been increasingly risky and detrimental to the long-term interests of the people³⁹.

In the first year of the new government (1985) GDP growth rates at constant prices rose by 4.5% compared to a rise of 9.7% in the previous year (the last year of the previous government). In its second term percentage

changes in GDP growth rates fluctuated widely from 7.2% in 1989 to 3.1% in 1991 back to 6.5% in 1992 to 1.4% and 2.% in 1993 and 1994 respectively (CDB E&PD, 1996). Some of these changes along with changes in Consumer Prices is shown in Table 5.

Table 5

Annual Changes of GDP and Consumer Prices in Selected Years 1980 - 1994

	1980	1983	1984	1985	1989	1990	1992	1994
GDP Const Prices %	3.4	5.1	9.7	4.5	7.2	7.1	6.5	2.0
Consumer Prices %	17.2	5.4	2.7	2.0	2.7	7.3	3.8	0.7

Source: CDB, Social and Economic Indicators 1991 & 1994, May 1993 & April 1996

But it was the generation of savings and increases in revenue and grants in Central Government Operations on current account from 1985 that seemed to prompt the frequent references to "financial prudence" in reports of the IFI's (Table 6).

Table 6
Central Government Operations (EC\$ mn)
1983-1994

	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1992	1994
Current Revenues & Grants	76.2	84.8	101.1	107.7	110.3	123.7	133.9	152.4	166.3	185.3
Expenditure	70.6	87.5	90	97.4	99.8	110.8	128.5	150.3	155.9	159.5
CA Surplus/Deficit	5.6	-2.7	11.1	10.3	10.5	12.9	5.4	2.1	10.4	25.8
Capital R&G				12.5	19.5	19.5	37.5	26.4	14.8	12.1
Cap Exp	10.8	9.8	12.1	26.4	18	19.4	22.3	37.1	56.6	83
Overall Surplus/Deficit	-5.2	-12.5	-1	-3.6	12	13	20.7	-8.6	-31.4	-45.1
Current SD as % of GDP	22	-1	36	3	27	3	1.2	0.4	1.7	3.7
Overall SD as % of GDP	-2	-4.5	-0.3	-1	3.1	3	4.4	-1.6	-5	-6.5

Source: CDB, Social and Economic Indicators 1991 & 1994, May 1993 & April 1996

The overall deficit on Government Operations was not perceived as a problem since it was related to capital expenditure under the PSIP⁴⁰. By contrast, little is made of the deterioration in the balance of payments. In fact, the same problem with Balance of Payment fluctuations experienced by the former government continued to bedevil the new government: in 1986 the deficit on current account balance as a percentage of GDP swelled from 1.9%-9.9% in 1987 and to 17.2% by 1994.

Table 7

Balance of Payments (US\$ mn)
1983-1994

	1983	1984	1986	1987	1988	1989	1992	1994
1. Balance of Trade	-29.4	-22.6	-12.9	-34.3	-22.3	-37.5	-39.5	-73.7
Exports (FOB)	42	53.5	63.9	51.7	85.3	74.7	79.8	45.7
Imports (CIF)	-71.4	-76.1	-76.8	-86	-107.6	-112	-119.3	-119.4
2. Services A/C	8	5.8	-7.4	4.7	-2.6	-2.4	-15.3	-0.9
Exports			31.3	43.4	43.7	45.4	66.5	51.7
Imports			-38.7	-38.7	-46.3	-47.8	-81.8	-52.6
3. International Transfers(Net)	20.3	9.5	17.9	15.5	17.4	21.4	18.6	13.3
Private			11.1	10.6	11.1	12.6	9.7	12
Official			6.7	4.9	6.3	8.9	8.9	1.3
4. Current A/C Bal	-1.1	-7.3	-2.5	-14.1	-7.6	-18.4	-36.2	-61.3
5. Net. Capital Movements			7.7	17.9	4.2	18.2	21.8	34.4
6. Change in Reserves		5.2	10.3	-5.8	1.6	1.6	-3.8	-2
7. Current A/C Bal as % GDP	-1.2	-7.1	-1.9	-9.9	-4.7	-4.7	-11.4	-17.2
8. External Debt Outstanding	20.9	24.8	26.1	34.9	45.4	50.9	70.8	81.1
9. Debt Service as % of Current Revenue	5	6	4.3	5.4	6.1	6.2	7.3	8.6

Source: CDB, Social and Economic Indicators 1991 & 1994, May 1993 & April 1996

Between 1984 and 1994 the deficit on the Balance of Trade more than trebled; reflecting not only the disastrous fall in the volume and price of bananas but also a steady increase in the value of food imports from \$76.1 million in 1984 to \$119.4 million in 1994 (an increase of 36%).

Similarly, in 1994 the deficit on the Current Account of the Balance of Payments was US \$61.3 million compared to a deficit of US\$7.3 in 1984. Foreign exchange reserves fell by US\$2 million, having increased by US\$9.9 million the previous year. While it is not possible to know of the issues raised in the "policy dialogue"⁴¹ which takes place during the annual visits of the Bank or the Fund, one can

question the apparent selectivity of the criteria used in determining fiscal prudence.

At the same time, it was clear that the IFIs were becoming concerned at the extent to which the government was implementing the agenda of the Washington Consensus. In its Country Economic Memorandum of March 1992 it advised that, in the short-term the government should focus on tax reform (specifically, among other things, increasing the collection of taxes, as well as switching more of its revenue from direct (income) tax to indirect taxes⁴²; reducing the scope and size of the public sector (which then accounted for 50% of GDP); removing remaining price controls; reducing effective labor costs through apprentice wages and freezing minimum wages for the current legislative period; and trade liberalization (Memorandum pages iv-v). In 1993 the government began to implement some of these recommendations, particularly the tax reforms, for which it received technical assistance from the IMF.

4.4.3 Summary of Socio-economic and Political Developments, 1984-1994

It has been argued that, in its efforts to please the International Financial Institutions, the Government mistakenly equated fiscal policy with economic policy, emphasizing the generation of budget surpluses regardless

of the consequences for the economy, and for the people. Certainly, the Government's policies created major hardships for the people, and set-back the rate of growth in certain sectors, especially in the area of food production. On the other hand, there is a certain craftiness in the way in which the government proceeded to demonstrate its much touted "fiscal prudence": the generation of savings rather than the resort to budget cutting and the choice of items on which the savings were to be effected speak to a level of sophistication as well as to a concern to minimize the dislocation. On the other hand there is no question about the steady deterioration in the quality of services which are critical to the country's socio-economic development, or of the impact of these measures on the structure of the economy and the country's balance of payments. The differences between the sectors of agriculture, education and health, and between the two terms of office is also significant as the following Table 8 shows.

Table 8

Average Percentage Savings
In the Ministries of Agriculture, Education and Health
1984/85-1989 and 1989-94

	1984/85 - 1989	1989 - 1994
Agriculture	17.7%	13%
Education	5%	3%
Health	6.5%	6.4%

Source: Table 3

The priority given to food security and production and the welfare of small farmers, along with the emphasis on agro-industries in the manufacturing sector by the Cato administration in the years 1974-84 was replaced by emphasis on the development of tourism, the attraction of foreign investors for non-traditional enterprises and the generating of budget surpluses through savings in budget allocations for social services, agricultural infrastructure and road repairs.

At the same time the Ministry of Agriculture became more focused on banana cultivation, which became the major export crop, and the Marketing Board reduced its visits to rural buying stations and became increasingly an importer of food. The increase in the importation of food in the 10 years, 1984-94 is symbolic the decline in the agricultural

sector, as well as of the increasing dependency of the country on imported food.

Some of the consequences of these policy changes are reflected in changes in the value of the contribution of key sectors to GDP between the two 5-year terms of office (Table 9), but again with marked differences between the two terms. In the first term all the sectors experienced growth, however, in the second term there was a major drop in the agricultural sector (7%) and a minor drop in manufacturing (1.3%). Between the two terms the drop in the contribution of the Agriculture and Manufacturing sectors accompanied by the increases in Wholesale and Retail Trade, and in Government Services stands in contradiction to the expected outcomes of adjustment policies, i.e. increased economic production and decreased public expenditure.

Table 9

Changes in Gross Domestic Product
by Economic Activity, at Factor Cost in Constant
Prices (EC\$ million)
1984-1989 and 1989-1994

	1984-1989	1989-1994
Agriculture	7.7	-7.8
Manufacturing	5.3	-1.3
Hotels & Rest.	1.8	1.8
Transportation	7.0	5.2
Communications	9.0	6.0
W & R Trade	7.0	10.2
Elect & Water	2.0	2.5
Gov. Services	2.9	5.2

Source: Statistical Unit, Government of St. Vincent and the Grenadines

The value of the decrease in Communications (from EC\$9-6 million), the largest percentage contribution to GDP in 1994, is almost the equivalent of the rise in the value of Wholesale and Retail Trades (from EC\$7-10.3 million).

This switch from production to consumption must be a cause for considerable concern, especially given the likelihood of a further fall in agricultural production with the restructuring of banana production. In the agricultural sector the overall deterioration in the quality of the service and the withdrawal of crucial support to small farmers along with the deterioration of roads precisely at the time when the crucial Trinidad market collapsed led to an overall fall in food production

and to major increases in the importation of food. The loss of markets for the agricultural products of small farmers, along with increasing poverty led many young men from the rural areas to turn to the growing of marijuana, which in turn put them into increasing contact with drug traffickers. The increasing use and trade in drugs is one of the new developments in the country during the ten years 1984-1994, and along with unemployment has become the major challenge facing the country.

Turning to social development, while the amount allocated to Central Government's operations continued to increase there were also consistent savings effected in the key sectors of agriculture, health and education. Table 8 showed that there were differences in the level of savings in the different sectors with the largest average percentage in the agricultural sector; while education showed an overall increased expenditure in the second term and health the most consistent pattern. These savings were usually at the expense of basic supplies and maintenance and the quality of services in all sectors reflected these cuts: schools and clinics lacked basic supplies and maintenance and there were shortages of teachers. Charges were introduced for clinic services and for basic drugs, which had been administered free of charge, and there was also a shortage of drugs. For a considerable period of

time the General Hospital in Kingstown, the only fully equipped hospital in the country, was operating on an Emergency Services basis. This was accompanied by an increasing use of private facilities, and the stage has been set for increasing privatization of the health service. This situation created special hardships for poor people, especially for poor women, who have the major responsibility for taking care of people.

At the same time these measures did not save the country from balance of payment and debt problems.

Indeed it is ironic that while it can be argued that the country did not have a serious debt problem in 1984, there can be no question of the severity of the problem in 1994: in 1988, the total debt outstanding and disbursed equaled an estimated 29% of GDP, 2% higher than it had been when the government took office in 1984. At that time the national debt had been used as one of the justifications for the introduction of adjustment policies. In 1990-93 external public debt increased by 33%, as a proportion of GDP it was 31.6% in 1991 and was projected to increase to an average of 34% during 1992-95 (World Bank, Country Economic Memorandum, March 1992 page vii para xxi⁴³). However, as most of this debt was related to the financing of the Public Sector Investment Program (PSIP), and for

on lending to public enterprises it was not considered to be alarming in 1992 (compared to 1984 when a debt of 27%, in similar circumstances, was used as the justification for the introduction of adjustment policies).

The figures for balance of payments and external debt reflect variations in net official borrowing prompted by adverse weather conditions and changes in external markets. They underline the dependence and vulnerability of small island developing states (SIDS) like St. Vincent and the Grenadines, and the need therefore to use macroeconomic policy to achieve greater self-reliance rather than to perpetuate dependence. On reflection, one can certainly wonder whether the quality of life for the people of St. Vincent might not have been better if the state had continued to give more attention to ensuring broad-based socio-economic development, including priority support for small-farm agriculture, than to the emphasis on the macroeconomic policy framework of the Washington Consensus.

4.5 Reflection of Global/Regional Trends in State Policies, 1974-1994

Development policies in a small island developing state (SIDS) like St. Vincent are so strongly affected by factors beyond the control of governments - weather, natural disasters, prices and exchange rates, and global trends in development strategies - that it is difficult to

make comparisons between the priorities and record of one administration and another. Even with the attainment of representative government, the state was still powerfully influenced by external trends and factors. Statehood and Independence were themselves events reflecting current trends at international and regional levels. It is also worth noting that democracy did not make the state stronger, it merely transferred to the democratically-elected government the powers of the colonial government. Indeed, some would argue that the leadership of the post-independence state has increasingly adopted many of the worse characteristics of the colonial state, especially when they become entrenched through winning a second (and third!) term in office. These characteristics include arrogance, a tendency to resort to coercion, and indifference to social justice and accountability. The international agencies tend to reinforce this by restricting their negotiations to government representatives (and encouraging the exclusion of representatives of civil society)⁴⁴, thereby undermining the state's accountability to their electorates (Nanton, 1986, Gonsalves 1994). Nevertheless, initially the new political regimes did take up the challenge of extending economic opportunities to a wider cross-section of the population, even as political power had been extended to

all adults, and it would probably be true to say that from the 1960s to the mid-1980s these imperatives were supported by an enabling international economic environment, while beyond that they were not.

Development strategies in the 1974-94 period fall into two decades which clearly reflect changing global trends:

- (a) 1974-84, when the emphasis was on broad-based development including social development and integrated rural development;
- (b) 1984-94, the Decade of Adjustment, when the emphasis shifted to macro-economic policy and trade.

Interestingly enough these periods also correspond to the two different administrations in St. Vincent and the Grenadines - that of the St. Vincent Labor Party (SVLP) under the leadership of Milton Cato and the New Democratic Party (NDP) under the leadership of James Mitchell. While it was not the intention of this dissertation to make comparisons between the two, the correspondence between the political economy internationally and internally provides a special opportunity to reflect on the differences between the two administrations as well as on that between the different approaches to development.

Within the context of the Development Decades of the United Nations, international trends in the 1960s and 1970s favored broad-based approaches to economic development and the men elected to political power in St. Vincent and the Grenadines used these opportunities to build the foundations for broad-based socio-economic development. In the 1970s this trend was enhanced as the international community engaged in the North-South dialogues on the need for a New International Economic Order (NIEO). In terms of development policies at national levels, the calls were for 'growth with equity' and for the introduction of policies which would focus on meeting 'basic needs'. In St. Vincent these trends were reflected in the emphasis on agriculture and rural development, and in the policies to encourage industrial development based on import-substitution strategies focused on agro-industries.

In addition, Milton Cato himself shared the intense nationalism of the first generation of post-colonial leaders whose political philosophy was shaped by exposure to the Fabian socialism of post-war Britain. It is inconceivable that Cato could have coped with the emerging Washington Consensus on economic and political liberalism which characterized the 1980s, the context in which the new government of James Mitchell operated from 1984 onward.

While the strategy of the Second Development Decade, focusing on Basic Needs and Integrated Rural Development (IRD) was consistent with the needs of a country recently emerging from colonial status with an overwhelmingly poor, agricultural and rural-based population, and a low level of private sector activity outside the plantations, the strategy from 1984-1994 was largely inappropriate to these circumstances. In the first place (and perhaps this is clearer in retrospect), in 1984 St. Vincent did not have serious debt problem. While the country had been engaged in deficit financing for some years in the 1970 it had begun to reduce the fiscal deficit. The situational analysis on which Mitchell's 1984 'adjustment budget' was based was one that was supposedly alarming, showing "a high level of public indebtedness, especially to the commercial banks, and a sugar industry indebted to the tune of \$42 million dollars." However, the economy had been experiencing real GDP growth at an average rate of 5% since 1980, in the years leading up to the elections. In addition, the previous government had begun to reduce the deficit on current account, which it had incurred in 1980 and 1981. In fact, in 1982 and 1983 current revenue had exceeded current expenditure by EC\$7.5 million and EC\$5.6 million respectively. Although in 1983/84 there was renewed deterioration and a deficit representing 1% of GDP

(Table 6), this was hardly a reflection of a high level of public indebtedness, especially when the CDB could report in 1986 that "there was consistent improvement in the overall balance (of the deficit) which moved from -7.4% of GDP to -2.7% during the period (1980-1983)." (CDB, E & PD, October 1986 page xii)⁴⁵. At the same time, by 1990 the overall deficit had begun to rise again, and in 1994 had reached 6.5% of GDP (Table 10).

Table 10

Central Government Operations
Current Prices EC \$million
Comparison between 1984 & 1994

	1984	1994
Current Revenue & Grants	84.8	185.3
- Expenditure	87.5	158.5
- Surplus/(Deficit)	(2.7)	25.8
Capital Revenue & Grants		12.1
- Expenditure	10.8	83.0
Overall Surplus/(Deficit)	(12.5)	(45.1)
Current S/D as % GDP	(1.0)	3.7
Overall S/D as % GDP	(4.5)	(6.5)

Source: CDB Social & Economic Indicators 1994.

The same inconsistency occurs with an analysis of the balance of payments under the two administrations (Table 15). The external debt of US\$9.7 million in 1980 was 2.7% of GDP (as compared to 1.5% in 1979). Moreover, 81% had

maturity dates in excess of 10 years. Again, this compares favorably with the situation 10 years later when the external debt of US\$56.4 million represented 6% of GDP (CDB, E&PD 1996). By 1994 total outstanding debt had reached US\$81.1 million, representing 8.6% of GDP (Table 11).

Table 11

Balance of Payments, Current Prices US\$ million
Comparison between 1984 & 1994

	1984	1994	% Change
1. Balance of Trade	(22.6)	(73.7)	+213
- Exports	53.5	45.7	-14
- Imports	76.1	119.4	+56
2. Services	5.8	(.09)	
- Exports	-	51.7	
- Imports	-	(52.6)	
3. Internat Transfers	9.5	13.3	+40
- Private	-	12.0	
- Official	-	1.3	
4. Current A/c Bal. (1+2+3)	(7.3)	(61.3)	+770
5. Net Capital Movements	-	(34.4)	
6. Changes in Reserves	5.2	(2.0)	-61.5
7. Bal. as % GDP	(7.1)	(17.2)	+142
8. External Debt	24.8	81.1	+227
9. Debt Service as % GDP	6.0	8.6	+43

Source: CDB Social & Economic Indicators 1994

Given that one of the consequences of structural adjustment policies in most countries has been a reduction of the state's allocations to the social sector, and in the

light of the clear deterioration in the quality of services in the sectors of agriculture, education and health in St. Vincent and the Grenadines it has been surprising to find that there has been little change in the percentage of Central Government's budget allocated to these sectors. Table 12 and Figure 5 show that while the size of the budget had been increasing, the percentage allocation to these sectors had remained virtually unchanged.

Table 12

Percentage of Central Government Budget Allocations to Selected Sectors
1976/1977 - 1983/1984 and 1984/1985 - 1994

	1976/77- 1983/84	% average	1984/85 - 1994	% average
Education	26.6-24.5	25.5	25.0-21.0	23.0
Health	15.5-16.2	15.8	17.3-16.1	16.7
Agriculture	3.0-3.0	3.0	3.4-3.3	3.3
Gov. Services as % of GDP	18.8-18.6	18.7	17.8-17.2	17.5

Source: St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Statistical Unit

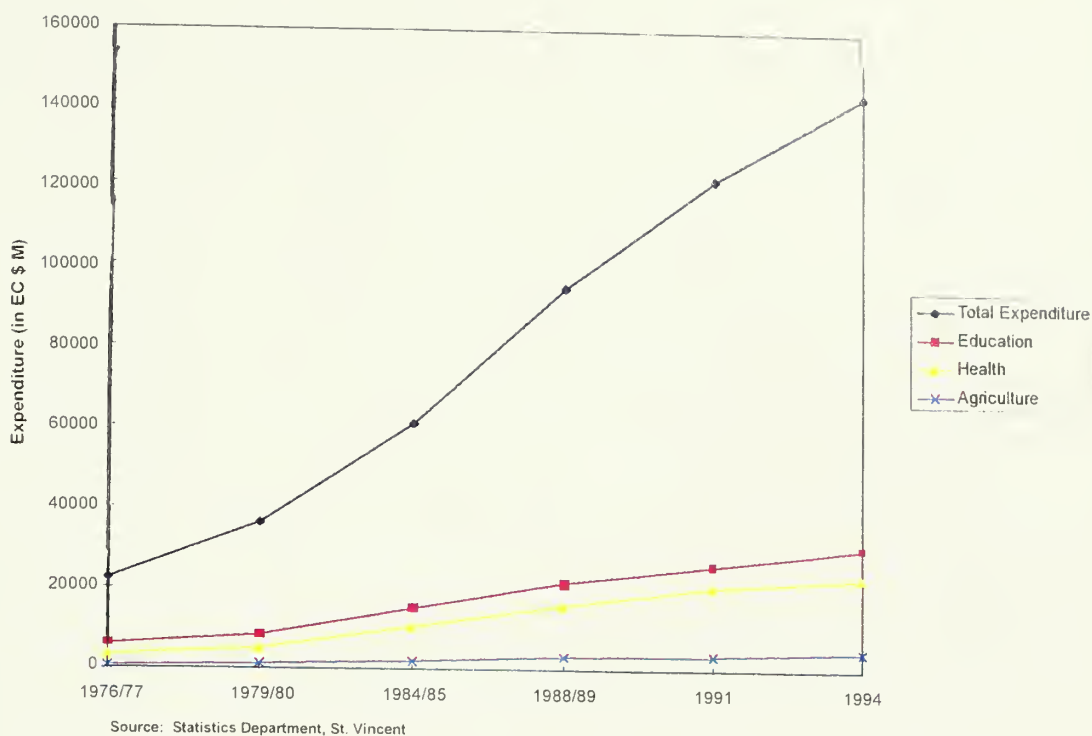


Figure 5. Central Government Consumption Expenditure by Composition and Purpose Current Prices (EC\$'000) 1976/77-1994

In the 1990s, in a world free from the fears and manipulations of Cold War politics, the region is faced with the realities of globalization, a reality in which the concept of development is increasingly meaningless. In today's world the rhetoric of free markets and democracy masks the harsh truth that the chief beneficiaries are the corporations, entities whose operations are completely undemocratic and whose management cannot be held accountable - not even to their shareholders.

One of the most interesting findings - completely unexpected but heartening - to come out of my analysis is

that despite the power of the international institutions and the imperatives of global trends, our states still have a certain degree of power.

While national policies in St. Vincent have clearly been influenced by global trends they are also mediated by the philosophies and personalities of our leaders. Thus, successive governments of St. Vincent have adopted and implemented those policies and strategies which have fitted into their own ambitions and inclinations. For example, the government of 1974-79 completely resisted the progressive trends of the 1970s, even when it would have been most appropriate to use the opportunity of constitutional change to correct the historic imbalances between sectors: urban-rural; rich-poor; men-women etc. Equally, although the present government has adopted the rhetoric of market liberalization and has introduced budget-cutting strategies which have pleased (and disarmed) the IFIs, it has not ceded its power to Washington.

What is required now is a re-assertion of the commitment to a broad-based approach to development. A non-partisan assessment of the experience of 1974 -1994 could perhaps help the government of St. Vincent and the Grenadines to return to strategies that could come closer to meeting the needs of the majority of people. These would require giving priority once again to the

agricultural sector, linking it more closely to the growth in tourism, and to the new interest in the environment. However, this cannot be simply a matter of distributing land from the government land settlement estates. There are many lessons to be learned from past mistakes. The experience of the Rabbaca Farms project is a case in point. The failure to include provision for social development and for the re-orientation of former agricultural laborers as land-owning farmers undermined the effectiveness of a project which could have been a model of distributive justice. An alternative to be considered can be found in the approach used by the Women and Development (WAND) Unit of the School of Continuing Studies of the University of the West Indies. Between 1981-1983 WAND implemented a Pilot Project on the Integration of Women in Rural Development in the small village of Rose Hall, on the Leeward side of St. Vincent. The Project suggests strategies that have helped the people of this small community to sustain themselves throughout the changes brought about by factors outside their control.

The experience of the women and men of this community can also provide a richer understanding of how state policies affect the community, and especially the lives of women. The chapter that follows takes us to this level.

Notes

1. Gonsalves describes this form of government thus: a "proprietary" form of government "functioned through the overlordship of a "proprietor" who was commanded by the Sovereign to establish control and governmental authority." (1994, p. 32).

2. The Rebellion so alarmed the ruling classes throughout the region, especially as it stirred up solidarity among the ex-slaves in their territories, that they preferred to allow the Colonial Office to run the government from London, with the help of some of their members as advisors.

3. As mentioned in the introduction, the Plan was written by my father, C.B. Gibbs, a man with no formal training in economics and without a degree. It was essentially a compilation of sectoral projects and programs, however, it provided a basis for the funding of these by the Colonial Office, and in that sense served as an important blueprint for the development of the country for a number of years.

4. It is perhaps also interesting to note that he was a member of the plantocracy. Here too, the only one with a degree (in science) , which he obtained at the University of Cambridge.

5. Although the leakage of tourist expenditures into imports was estimated at 40-50%.

6. The Easter Caribbean dollar had been linked to the pound sterling up to 1976 when it was switched to parity to the US dollar. Since the major export crop, bananas, was sold to the British market banana farmers received windfall profits with the declining value of the US dollar.

7. These are the countries of the Windward and Leeward Islands, later (19??) to form the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States.

8. The Comptroller was a Mr. S.A. Hammud, who had first visited the island under the auspices of a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York. The Corporation was also instrumental in the establishment of Public Libraries throughout the region.

9. Pupil teachers were young people who had graduated from primary school, but who could not afford to attend secondary school and had failed to win a scholarship which would have allowed them to do so. A common way in which they could receive a secondary education was for them to become Pupil Teachers at a primary school since this would allow them to continue their education, through the process of teacher training programs. Many young men and women gained a secondary education in this way.

10. The Commonwealth Save the Children Fund's program was taken over by the Canadian Save the Children Fund in the 1980s, and while the core program continues to focus on the pre-school child, the work has shifted from one which is institution-based to community outreach.

11. UCWI was founded as a college of the University of London, and its first degree were awarded by the University of London. It goes without saying that the majority of staff initially came from Britain. The College attained full university status in 19??.

12. Another significant feature of the SCF appointment was that the pediatrician, Kenneth Antrobus, was a St. Vincent national, and it was rare for local people to be appointed by international agencies to serve in their own territories.

13. The program was the brain-child of the Pediatrician, who saw it as a part of an integrated approach to the problems of child health. Funding was obtained from the IPPF.

14. As the person invited by the government to launch this program, I was not always clear as to the intention of the government in taking this initiative: was it because it was the latest fashion in the region? The governments of Trinidad, Guyana and Jamaica had well-established programs by the early 1960s. Was it something encouraged by the United Nations? There was a UN Advisor available to assist the government in the establishment of the program. Whatever the intention, I saw the program as a means of promoting community organizing, promoting skills development through crafts and cooperatives, and the coordination of government services to the community. The work built on my earlier experience as Field Work Supervisor with the Save the Children Fund.

^{15.} The St. Vincent Family Planning Association was launched in 1966 with funding from the International Planned Parenthood Federation. The impetus came from my husband, Kenneth Antrobus, St. Vincent's first pediatrician who saw it as an integral part of a comprehensive program of maternal and child health. I worked with him on the proposal and we were not aware at the time that it was part of a broader international imperative with sponsorship from other international agencies. In 197? the government established its own National Family Planning program in the Ministry of Health.

^{16.} Family Life Education (FLE), which includes information on human sexuality and reproduction, is part of family planning programs, but it has also been integrated into the school curriculum at primary and secondary school levels. For a few years in the early 1970s there was also a FLE officer in the Ministry of Labor with a brief to work with trade unions in promoting the use of family planning services.

^{17.} As in other parts of the region, migration is a way of life. Migration to Europe started in earnest in the post-war decade and reached its peak in the 1960s. Migration to the United States and Canada has a history as old as slavery. Beyond the numbers, it is probably true to say that most families in St. Vincent and the Grenadines have relatives who have migrated. One of the important characteristics of migration, especially migration to the US, is that the migrants maintain very close ties with their families in the islands. This facilitates the flow of remittances, as well as other migrants, especially young people seeking tertiary level education and training.

^{18.} In speaking to people about their experience in the lead-up to Independence, many people living in the Leeward side of the island, which had to be evacuated, had much more vivid memories of the eruption than of Independence.

^{19.} Through the Women's Desk at the CARICOM Secretariat.

^{20.} The title of "Premier" was used by the Heads of government of the CARICOM states before they became independent. After independence they were given the title of Prime Minister.

21. In the same address the Premier explains the relationship between the income tax and another important source of government revenues, the import duties: although the cost of imports was rising the government's revenue did not rise proportionately since most of the duties were raised on luxury items, the quantity of which had declined with the rise in the cost of living.

22. Hurricanes in 1978 and 1980, and the volcano in 1979.

23. These were administered by the Agricultural Development Corporation, established in 1976 for this purpose.

24. Hucksters, sometimes known as 'higglers' or more recently 'informal commercial importers' (in Jamaica), or 'traffickers' (in St. Vincent and Grenada), or 'traders' (in St. Lucia) play a vital role in the inter-island trade in the region. Traditionally they marketed fruits and vegetables, but there are now hucksters who import a variety of products including clothing and household wares.

25. These women have their roots in the traditions of the Market Women of West Africa and in the Saturday/Sunday Markets of slavery. Although they are beneficial to farmers as well as to consumers they are subject to a great deal of official harassment, especially from Customs and Immigration officials.

26. In 1967, at the start of the Save the Children Fund program it had been more than double that, at 132 per 1,000 live births.

27. Those on marginal or small plots of land remained poor.

28. The People's Progressive Party (PPP) and the St. Vincent Labor Party (SVLP) had dominated the political scene since the country attained adult suffrage and representative government in the 1950s.

29. This is Adrian Fraser's observation, but it is fairly well accepted by most people reflecting on the changes in the movement in St. Vincent since the early 1980s.

³⁰. As mentioned above, it was the women's movement that first alerted people to the problems inherent in Washington-inspired adjustment policies. But this was not to happen until the early part of 1985.

³¹. One man, a former Auditor General, made it his personal project to contribute to the maintenance of democracy and accountability by using the press to do detailed analyses of the annual budget. I have been extremely fortunate in having access to these documents.

³². The location of the strongest and most progressive regional NGO, the Caribbean People's Development Agency (CARIPEDA) in St. Vincent had always given the country's NGOs a special boost. In the early 1980s the feminists within CARIPEDA pushed the organization to adopt a more proactive role in promoting gender-sensitivity within its member organizations. A regional workshop, held in Guyana in 1989?, promised a new awareness among member organizations. However, it is not clear that this has been followed up.

³³. The fact that this was the Prime Minister's constituency and that his family was involved in the industry does not detract from the legitimacy of the decision to focus on this kind of development in an effort to diversify the economy.

³⁴. Tax holidays to industries had been raised from 10 to 15 years. However, according to the Bank's 1992 Updating Note, although 'generous' in its incentives, the scheme "suffers from a number of weaknesses since it: (i) does not correct the anti-export bias of SVGs' trade regime; (ii) leads to discretionary extensions of tax holidays; and (iii) is undermined by the cumbersome application process." Another report () included as a disincentive the fact that the country's income tax was over 40%.

³⁵. The island of Mustique is one of the Grenadine islands which forms part of the state of St. Vincent and the Grenadines. However, it is privately owned (by an international jet set including people like H.R.H. Princess Margaret and Mick Jagger) and pays handsome rents to the government of St. Vincent and the Grenadines .

³⁶. As usual, as their 'tax holiday' of 10-15 years came to an end. On the other hand, the doubling of the minimum wage probably played a part in these decisions as well.

According to the World Bank Memorandum St. Vincent and the Grenadines has the second highest average labor costs in the OECS and its labor productivity does not exceed the OECS average. At the same time other cost of production are also high in SVG, e.g. the cost of the hydro-based electricity is considerably higher than it is in St. Lucia, which uses imported diesel fuel for its supply of electricity.

^{37.} Prior to this the wage for women was less than it was for men.

^{38.} For example, the construction of the Sixth Form College continued to be projected for implementation each year between 199?- 199?). This not only inflates the budget but also gives a false impression of progress.

^{39.} In 1995 the government was ordered to pay a \$ million guarantee to a German bank on a loan of \$ million to an Italian shipping company which invested (1992) in a major tourist project at Ottley Hall involving a yacht marina, and a small hotel. In the same year, bankruptcies were declared in government-sponsored investments in a shipyard and in a regional airline. The people of St. Vincent and the Grenadines are now faced with external and internal debts amounting to US\$ million, making the county among the most indebted in the region.

^{40.} However, the distinction between current account expenditures ('consumption') and capital expenditures ('investment') becomes meaningless when one considers the distinction between the building of new schools and repairs and maintenance of old schools, especially when old schools ultimately have to be replaced due to the failure to effect proper maintenance over a period of years. In the long run it may be more efficient to provide money for maintenance (under current account) than to save and have to spend even more (on capital account) later to replace the asset.

^{41.} The emphasis is now on policy dialogue, regardless of whether the government has a loan or agreement with these institutions. The World Bank takes the lead, but teams from the IMF visit from time to time.

^{42.} St. Vincent, like many of the CARICOM countries has very high rates of income tax, due to the small tax base. In 1992 when this recommendation was made individuals paid 55% of their income above a certain level in taxes, while companies paid 45%.

^{43.} It was projected to decline again to 30% during 1992-2000, a percentage that was considered "manageable" since it represented 4% of exports of good and services, and 11 % of Central Government revenues.

^{44.} Although recently there has been a trend toward including the private sector in policy dialogues, and increasingly, to emphasize the role of the NGOs/Civil Society. However, this can also have the effect of undermining the role of the state if these sectors are perceived as alternatives to the state. The issue is a complex one and some NGOs have become alert to the dangers of this approach.

^{45.} CDB's figures in their May 1993 publication on *Social & Economic Indicators, 1991*, are somewhat different - the percentage of the overall deficit/GDP for 1980 was 6.6% and for 1983 it was 2% - but these figures support the same point: that the Cato Administration had begun to reduce the deficit.

CHAPTER 5

RURAL WOMEN IN ROSE HALL ST. VINCENT

5.1 Origin and Settlement of the Community

An assessment of the impact of state policies on women and men in the small rural community of Rose Hall must start with a brief overview of the history and development of this community before 1974. According to a study¹ (Carasco & Rodney, 1987) the earliest recollection of a settlement in the vicinity of the present day village of Rose Hall, describes the area as being "inhabited by approximately forty to fifty people, living in about twelve houses" ("Life in Rose Hall", by Chaddis Stapleton, Rose Hall, undated). In 1770, Rose Hall, like most of the land on the north leeward coast of St. Vincent, was a sugar estate owned by British planters and worked by slaves. A reference to an incident occurring at Rose Hall in the early part of the 19th century illustrates the mood of the time.

On the 31st of July, a most diabolical outrage was committed by a few of the French inhabitants, some Free Colored persons and Negros. They set fire to Mr. Hamilton's dwelling house, Works and Negro Houses at Rose Hall and killed about ten of his slaves and wounded several.²

According to the study,

Remnants of early plantation life are still to be found in the presence of the ruins of a sugar factory and the place-names and legends reminiscent of the plantation era. For instance, the area of Rose Hall now known as 'Nigger House' once housed the estate slaves. While the old factory was located at 'Works'; 'Yard' was the residence of the plantation owner, and 'Cattlepen', where the animals were kept.

Over the years the fortunes of the Rose Hall estate were adversely affected by a combination of debt (with the fall in sugar prices in the period 1886-1896), and the destruction wrought by hurricanes (1831 and 1898) and the eruption of La Soufriere volcano (1902). In this sense nothing has changed: the fortunes of the people of Rose Hall are still adversely affected by a combination of international and national policies and natural events over which they have no control. On the other hand, the community has also seen major changes as a result of state policies and their own actions, changes which have, in the past, helped them to survive the events over which they have no control.

The shift in ownership from a single estate to several smaller holdings came in 1899, after the destruction of the estate by the hurricane of 1898. Many of the estates on the leeward side of the island were abandoned after the hurricane and the local government began to acquire³ them with grants from the Imperial Government. The abandonment

of the estates also led to an influx of people from the neighboring villages of Jack Hill and Louie; villages that no longer exist today (Ashton 1990). Estate lands were sub-divided and re-sold, by auction. However, although the price was low, acquisition of land was still limited to those who could afford to purchase and the major part of the estate was sold to the Robertsons, the Browns and the Ferdinands - who had come to St. Vincent from Scotland. This still left remaining crown lands, which were later to be sold or occupied by new arrivals from other islands in the region who landed on the leeward coast: the Samuels, Stapletons and Richards of St. Kitts/Nevis were among those who came in this way. These families are still prominent in the village.

5.2 Socio-economic Life and Organization, 1920 - 1974

The Rose Hall community grew rapidly from the 1920s onwards, and by 1936 there were about 120 houses in the village ("Pioneers in Nation Building" quoted in Carasco & Rodney, 1987, p. 58). Families were very large, with an average of about 10 children per family.

Up to the 1930s and 1940s most of the arable land was still in the hands of wealthier, white landowners, a large part of it considered family land and therefore not subdivided until the white owners sold out to their brown-

skinned descendants. But there was also large tracts of crown land used by residents. In 1898 the House and Land Tax Register allowed women to register as land owners, but apart from women who had inherited land from their wealthy families, few women owned land in their own right.

In this period, houses were generally built of thatch or 'wattle and daubed'⁴ with the wealthier people having houses built of shingles with galvanized roofs. The class/race structure was clearly defined by the type of house occupied by the family: very few people were able to afford two-story structures. Home amenities and public facilities were rudimentary: most people cooked over wood or charcoal fires, built out-of-doors. There was no running water in the village and people had to collect water either from the springs or river and carry this home for purposes of drinking, washing and cooking. The river was also used for washing clothes and bathing. Pit latrines were dug in the yards of the houses. Since the village was not electrified during the first half of the 20th Century, lighting was by candle-light or by "Virgin lamps" and wicks placed in bottles.

Roads were unpaved, mostly dirt tracks only passable on foot or by animal-drawn carts. The pitch road was built several years later, and mainly through the voluntary efforts of the people of Rose Hall. Up to the 1950s there

was no health clinic in the village and those who were sick were tended to by self-taught 'nurses' from the village or, after the 1950s, taken to the nearest hospital in the neighboring village of Chateaubelair, about four miles away over difficult terrain. In the absence of public transport, the sick were usually placed on home-made stretchers, and carried by a number of men traveling on foot. The journey was both long and uncomfortable, and many people died on the way. Women giving birth were attended to by local 'midwives'.

From the 1930s regular efforts were made, through the legislative process, to have a school established in the village (Carasco & Rodney, pp. 64-65). However, up to 1960, when a primary school was finally constructed children had to walk about three miles to the nearest primary school in the neighboring village of Troumaca.

Because of the distance and the fact that children had to perform household chores (for example cut grass, fetch water and feed animals) before going to school, children were inevitably late or absent from school; and senior residents recall the strict headteacher often waiting for them outside of the school with a stick in his hand. The already tired students would generally be punished by having to stay back late at school and write forty lines to the effect that "I must be in time for school". By the time they departed the school compound at 4:00 p.m. and journeyed the three miles home, they were still faced with the prospect of having to go to the mountains to meet their parent(s) and help carry the produce home. (Carasco & Rodney, 1987 p. 64).

Up to 1975 there were no secondary schools outside Kingstown and only those whose parents could afford it received a secondary education. Those who were sent to school in Kingstown had to be boarded, sometimes with relatives since, in the absence of adequate roads and transportation, the distance was too great for them to commute daily.

Transportation from place to place was on foot, or by mule or donkey-cart. Only the affluent could afford donkey carts. Before the coming of the motor launch as transport, the people of Rose Hall

walked twenty-five miles to Kingstown (the capital) regularly to shop and to sell their produce. They would leave the evening before, and walk through the night ... those who wanted to sleep did so on the way, under the trees or at the home of relatives at Barrouallie or Layou (villages on the way to Kingstown) ("Our Heritage", Radio Program No. 36).

With the coming of the motor launch to the neighboring village of Chateaubelair, Rose Hall residents only had to walk three miles to catch the boats. The round trip cost twenty-four pence, which many could not afford. The first bus transport from Rose Hall was the result of a co-operative venture around 1940, in which people took shares of EC \$20.00 and upward.

Local postal service in Rose Hall started in 1957 and telephone services started in the 1960s with the installation of telephones at the police station and

clinic. Phones were installed in private homes in the 1970s, and the number of subscribers grew rapidly with the increases in the incomes of the residents as the service expanded.

Economic activity in Rose Hall has always centered on agriculture. The original estate had produced sugar cane, and syrup made from the cane was manufactured in a processing factory two miles into the hills from Rose Hall (Ashton 1990). Later on arrowroot replaced sugar as the chief crop and in the early 1950s an arrowroot factory was built near the village. By the 1960s both factories, which had been co-operative efforts of the people of the village, had closed with the decline in the market for the crops that supplied them.

With the closure of the estates food crops became the base of economic activity in the village. Crops included root crops such as water yams, potatoes and tannias, along with peas. Animal husbandry was also common, with the rearing of pigs, goats, sheep and chickens. These were mostly raised for domestic consumption. Farming was carried out on small holdings, mostly on mountain slopes (there is very little flat land in or near the village). Older folk recall that "the entire mountain-side was cultivated" (quoted in Carasco & Rodney p. 62). These were a mixture of crown lands, family lands and individual

holdings. Much of the land was still owned by the descendants of the old families, however even those who did not own land were hired to work on the larger holdings of the more well-to-do residents. According to the Carasco & Rodney study 1987, 85% of its population was engaged in farming or agriculture related tasks. However, it would be more accurate to say that there was no one in Rose Hall who was not dependent on agriculture in one way or another⁵.

Women worked alongside men in the fields, sometimes as paid labor but mostly as unwaged family or own-account farmers. While some of the produce is for family use, most of it is intended for sale in the Kingstown market and for export to other parts of the region. Other sources of income for women are trading (in Kingstown market), baking/cooking , food preservation, sewing, shopkeeping, or road work (as laborers, carrying or crushing stones). Some women also worked in Kingstown as domestic workers. Many of the men were skilled artisans (masons, plumbers, electricians) as well as laborers and construction workers, inside and outside the village. Up to 1982 no one from Rose Hall (with the exception of a young man whose family was able to afford to send him abroad to study) had gone to university.

Up to 1981 when the WAND Project was launched there was only one shop in the village, but some villagers,

mostly women, were engaged in trading both within the village and in Kingstown: Rose Hall hucksters⁶ sold produce from their own or neighbor's lands in Kingstown and bought essential items to take back home. Sometimes vendors from the neighboring villages supplied Rose Hall hucksters with fish, sometimes in return for food provisions. Hucksters also traded with their counterparts from Trinidad and Barbados - an activity which was more profitable than trading in Kingstown.

Despite the early divisions by race and class, the people of Rose Hall over the years formed a close-knit community: many people shared a common kinship and history, and this was reflected in the social, cultural and economic life of the community. The spirit of community, cooperation and collaboration underlay many of their daily activities. The whole village, under the leadership of women, was involved in events such as weddings and funerals, and there was also a tradition of shared labor in the planting and reaping of crops, and the building of houses. Up to the 1970s, however, the men of the community, had a reputation for hostility and violence (Ashton, 1990, p. 7).

From its early days Rose Hall was known as a center for social and cultural activities by people living in neighboring villages. Some of the most outstanding

quadrille⁷ dancers in this part of the island came from Rose Hall. At nights, especially when the moon was full (and before the advent of electricity and the television), people would also gather in the open-air, as a community, to play moonlight games and tell stories. 'Tea Meetings' were also held, in which people got together over cups of locally made 'cocoa-tea' to tell jokes, stories, and make speeches. This rich oral tradition continues and has made it possible to recapture much of the history of the community.

Religion played an important part in the lives of the people of Rose Hall. Up to the 1960s religious affiliation was still related to class, with the descendants of the rich white settlers and associates having membership in the European churches - the Methodist and Anglican churches - those least educated and of the lowest economic level belonging to the African-influenced Shaker (Spiritual Baptist) religion, with the 'emerging literates' (Ashton 1990, p. 7) affiliated to the American-inspired Pentecostal church. Church-going was an important activity: before the Methodist church was built (the first to be built in the village, in 1956) people of that denomination walked three miles to Troumaca to worship, while Anglicans walked even further, to Rose Bank, another neighboring village. With the establishment of the Spiritual Baptist religion at

Rose Hall, meetings were held in the open air, or sometimes in tents, until members built the church.

Cricket was a popular sport, and both male and female teams were organized. The Women's Cricket team was originally set up to serve as cheer-leaders and camp-followers, but they later played the game themselves. In the early years there were no proper facilities for playing games and the leveling of a playing field was another community activity, spearheaded by the men. Children also enjoyed swimming and playing together in the river.

The modernization of Rose Hall began to take place from the 1960s. It was a time when people throughout the region were more closely linked through advances in transportation and communications. The paving of the road into and through the village meant that people in Rose Hall could have their own vehicles. Many people purchased small vans and operated regular services to Kingstown, and to the neighboring villages.

Road transportation was matched by modernization of transportation by sea and air: the old sailing schooners were all but replaced by the acquisition of two Federal boats by the governments of the region as part of the preparations for and promotion of the Federation of the West Indies. For air transportation, Vincentians progressed from the use of a small amphibian plane to the

use of small twin-engine planes of the Leeward Island Air Transport (LIAT), all of which opened up new opportunities for people from the village to engage in commercial activities with neighboring islands.

In the 1960s and 1970s, as part of the focus on community development and integrated rural development (IRD), the community of Rose Hall along with others were the beneficiaries of low income housing schemes. One of the older men in the community remembers that of the 18 housing units constructed by the government, 16 were allotted to women and that, in the handing-over ceremony, the Premier⁸ had stated that he had chosen to give these houses to women rather than men because "if they were given to men they might put the women out of the houses, and this would affect the children ...". Evidently, he had no objection to the women putting the men out of the house!" No additional government houses were built in Rose Hall since that time. However, the standard of housing improved dramatically in this period, due to the improved financial circumstances of the resident as a result of higher incomes for their produce as well as from remittances sent by family members who lived and worked in North America or Europe. Since 1985 (with the collapse of the Trinidad market) improvements in the standard of housing probably owe more to remittances and returned migrants than to

income generated in the community.⁹ This is mostly linked to migrants' plans to return, but it also includes houses built by family members overseas for parents residing in Rose Hall, especially for mothers. As is to be expected, given the matrifocality of the structure of many families in Rose Hall, women tend to receive the largest proportion of these remittances from family members overseas (see also Henshell- Momsen, 1992).

The majority of households in Rose Hall have relatives who live overseas and send regular remittances. Sometimes this is related to the care of young children who have been sent to be cared by family members in the village, but just as often the remittances are sent to support parents, who then use part of the money for home improvements. There are also houses built by people who have migrated, with the intention of returning to the village on their retirement.

One of the features of housing in Rose Hall is the extent to which people assist each other in the construction of houses, so that the value of the houses is often greater than the actual cost of construction. With the expansion in housing men also acquired skill in the construction industry as masons, carpenters, plumbers, painters and electricians. However, even people with these skills continued to work as farmers: working in construction when the opportunity presented itself, but

always having farming as the base for sustaining a livelihood.

More dramatic than the improvements in the standard of housing were the improvements in the quality of life brought about by the provision of water and electricity to the village. For women, given their primary responsibility for household maintenance and given the time-consuming nature of this work, nothing symbolizes more clearly the improvement in their lives than the shift from cooking with charcoal to cooking with gas, from kerosene lamps to electricity, from the use of a public bath and toilet or pit latrine in their yard to the acquisition of a fully-fitted bathroom in their own house, or from the use of a public stand-pipe to having water in their own homes. These household amenities saved the women and children many hours of tedious and back-breaking labor, and contributed greatly to enhancing the quality of life for the entire family.

The following figures taken from the 1992 Household Survey give the measure of these shifts in the decade 1980-90:

from charcoal to gas for cooking - in 1980 - 84% of

households used charcoal, and by 1990 only 20%. To put it another way: in 1980 while only 11% used gas for

cooking, this figure had increased to 66% (or 600%) by 1990.

from kerosene to electricity for lighting - in 1980 the use of kerosene and gas was about evenly distributed among households, but by 1990 only one third (32%) used kerosene.

from drawing water from the public stand-pipe to having water piped into their house - in 1980 nearly 76% (about three-quarters of the number of households) depended on a public stand pipe for water for domestic use while in 1990 less than 27% (just over a quarter of households) depended on a standpipe while roughly the same number had water piped into their house, (the remainder had water piped into their yard);

from pit latrines to indoor toilets - in 1980 only 6% of households had indoor toilets, by 1990 nearly 16 % had indoor toilets.

With the building of a clinic, a primary school and a police station, Rose Hall was recognized as an important rural center. The benefits of the school and the clinic to the people, especially the women, were considerable: no longer would women and children have to walk three miles to the clinic and primary school in Troumaca. But it also brought a new group of professionals to the community. The teacher has always had a special place of honor in these

small communities, now with the school and the clinic there would be more people of a certain level of education living in the community and interacting with the residents in an on-going way.

Much of the modern infrastructure of the village - the paving of the road into and through the village, the construction of the primary school, the health clinic and the police station, electrification and the provision of piped water and telephones, were established before 1974, the period at which this study starts. Much of this was financed by funds received from the colonial government in the form of Grants in Aid¹⁰.

5.3 Changes in Rose Hall, 1974-1994

Although it is difficult to relate all the changes during this period to the different administrations, especially since a number of major changes had taken place before the change of government in 1974, it is nevertheless possible to note the impact of the shift from the broad-based approach to agriculture and rural development and to food-security (Basic Needs and IRD) which characterized the previous decade (1964-74) and the new approach focusing on macro-economic planning (adjustment) and more large/up-scale activities such as tourism, bananas, and the

acquisition of another large estate on the windward side of the island¹¹ (globalization).

In Rose Hall, the period witnessed significant changes in the social, economic and political life of the community, as well as the experience of the major disruption caused by the eruption of La Soufriere volcano, in April 1979. The eruption led to the evacuation of the whole village and to the interruption of farming for nearly 6 months. In this process farmers lost produce and livestock and the rhythm of life in the community was disturbed. Those with relatives in Kingstown or other parts of the island which had not been affected were able to live with them, but most were assigned to the camps which were set up in the schools. By the end of that year, however, they were able to return to their community and to celebrate the country's Independence by re-establishing their community.

State policies in the 1970 and up to the first half of 1980 favored communities of small farmers, and Rose Hall was well placed to benefit from these. The emphasis on food security, the efforts of successive governments to secure markets for farmers, the priority given to the work of the Ministry of Agriculture, the commitment of the Agricultural Marketing Board to the community of small-scale farmers, all of these helped farmers like those in

Rose Hall. In addition, expansion of education through increases in the number of scholarships and health services along with the strengthening of the work of the community development department by the training and expansion of staff all served to complement the work of the Ministry of Agriculture in terms of the development of rural communities like Rose Hall.

Largely as a result of these policies, agriculture flourished in Rose Hall from the early years of the 1970s. In 1981, when the Women and Development Unit (WAND) launched its Pilot Project for the Integration of Women in Rural Development (see Chapter 6) the people of Rose Hall were still actively engaged in the production of food crops - carrots, ginger, yams, eddoes and dasheen - which they sold to the Marketing Board for export to Trinidad, or to hucksters for sale in Kingstown. Although the people of Rose Hall did not switch to growing bananas as long as they had secure markets they enjoyed the improvements in their standard of living similar to that experienced by the banana farmers.

However, in 1988 the community suffered a major setback with the collapse of the Trinidad market¹², and with the shift in priority in the Ministry of Agriculture away from rural development and food production the plight of these farmers was not addressed by the government. In

addition, the cuts in government expenditures on social services (however small) as well as public works all contributed to a noticeable deterioration in the quality of life and livelihoods of the people of Rose Hall by the early 1990s.

Improvements in the community between 1982-86 came mostly from the efforts of the Rose Hall Community Working Group (RHCWG) which had been set up to follow-up the implementation of programs identified by the project launched by WAND in 1981 (see following chapter). These included the establishment of a farmer's group and a farm supplies shop; the launching of an adult education program; the establishment of a pre-school, a library and a bakery, and the purchase of a van to serve the bakery; and the building of a multipurpose community center (which housed the pre-school, bakery and library on the ground floor, while the top floor was used for meetings and social events for the community.

However, none of this protected the community from the impact of the government's macro-economic policies. The shift in the policy framework in 1984 impacted on the social as well as the economic well-being of the people of Rose Hall. While it is difficult to separate social from economic impact, the following policies impact primarily on social well-being: the shortages in supplies in the school

and health center/clinic; the introduction of user fees in the clinic; the re-introduction of school fees in some schools; the metering and increase in water rates; increases in electricity rates; and the deterioration of the roads leading to a curtailment of transportation schedules. In terms of economic impact, apart from the loss of the Trinidad market the reduction in the frequency of visits from the Marketing Board and the Agricultural Extension Officer were the most important. In addition, there were price increases and a reduction of employment opportunities in certain areas that were important to the people of Rose Hall, such as in the maintenance of roads and public buildings.

By 1986 the main road on the Leeward coast was so badly in need of repair that it was impossible to persuade taxis to drive on it, and for a number of months the general hospital was only able to offer emergency services, which mean that Vincentians in need of medical or surgical attention had to travel to Barbados at great expense. The services of the Marketing Board to Rose Hall were reduced from a total of 2-3 visits a week to monthly visits.

By 1989 the first signs of the spread of drugs to the community began to appear. At first, it was the use of land in or near the village for the cultivation of marijuana. Later, as the production of this herb put young

people into contact with those engaged in the trans-shipment of cocaine from South America and as the production of food crops became more uneconomical the situation worsened. This in turn has generated a level of violence and disrespect for women and senior citizens, which had begun to decline with the increase in women's leadership stimulated by the WAND Project.

In 1994 Rose Hall was still, by international standards, a poor¹³ community: a rural community characterized by low per capita income, widespread unemployment, and only the most basic amenities - a clinic and a primary school. However, these highly-valued basic services, along with the fact that the majority of households can grow some of their own food, have access to income (however little, sporadic, and sometimes provided in the form of intermittent remittances from relatives and friends overseas), and to piped water, electricity, telephones and affordable transportation to the country's capital, helped to rescue the people of Rose Hall from the category of the destitute.

Notes

¹³ The information on the history of Rose Hall, contained in this chapter, draws heavily on a study Rose Hall Through the Ages: A Study of Change, by Beryl Carasco and Wendy Rodney, which was part of a project on "Women's

Movements, Organizations and Strategies in a Historical Perspective With Special Reference to Colonial and Contemporary Society", published by WAND, December 1987.

2. "An Historical Account of the Island of St. Vincent", p.13.

3. Estates were acquired under the Land Settlement Ordinance, which gave the Governor in Council power to select, purchase and take possession of lands.

4. Houses described as "Wattle and daubed" are one-room constructions built of bamboo stakes plastered with clay. The 'floors' were usually of dirt and the roof thatched. Windows and doors are rudimentary and afford little protection. These houses are associated with extreme poverty and still exist in some villages today.

5. Even those whose main occupation is teaching or clerical work in Kingstown, or shop-keeping, or those people returning to the village after residing for many years overseas - all are engaged in some agriculture-related activity.

6. The word 'huckster' is used to describe someone who trades in food-stuff. Similar words commonly used to describe this occupation, which is such an important part of life in villages throughout the region, are 'higglers', 'traffickers' and 'traders'.

7. The quadrille is a European dance, associated with the aristocracy, popular in the 17/18th centuries. Its continuation to the present time, despite the popularity of more contemporary Caribbean music like calypso and reggae, is related to the status still accorded to the older residents of the village.

8. The title of 'Premier' was given to the Head of State before the country became independent, when the title changed to 'Prime Minister'.

9. Hermione McKenzie, a lecturer in sociology at the Mona Campus of UWI, includes 'Remittance' communities in her typography of Caribbean communities. Migration has always been a central feature of Caribbean societies, and remittances have always been key to any understanding of

how people survive in these countries, given that unemployment rates frequently average over 20%.

^{10.} Grants in Aid were provided by the British government to cover budget deficits incurred by the colonial administration. They were discontinued at the country's independence.

^{11.} It is important to note that with relatively small staffs Ministries have to select priorities, thus the focus of the Ministry of Agriculture on banana farmers and on the establishment of another land settlement on the windward side of the island was inevitably at the expense of small-scale farming focused on food production.

^{12.} This was the year in which Trinidad had to turn to the IMF for assistance, and although they had learned from Jamaica's experience not to make the drastic cuts in their own services, the devaluation of their dollar led to a major restructuring of their economy, involving giving more attention to food production. The farmers of St. Vincent were among those who suffered a severe set-back.

^{13.} St. Vincent, like many other countries in the 1990s, has been the subject of recent Poverty Studies. These studies have attempted to come up with definitions of poverty based on statistical measurements of per capita GDP, and the concept of the 'basic basket of food' against the culture and values of the region. Two approaches have been used: a 'poverty line' approach which compares the proportion of the households whose expenditures fell below a predetermined minimum figure, and an Integrated Poverty Measure (IPM), which recognizes a list of needs deemed to be essential for good living; thus taking into account, in addition to the poverty line approach, the extent of overcrowding, the quality and condition of the dwelling units, and the availability and nature of amenities such as water supply and toilet facilities. Using the straight poverty line approach, the World Bank calculated poverty levels in the region to range from 43% in Guyana to 21% in Trinidad & Tobago. In St. Vincent it is calculated at 35%. The studies have grappled with the notions of 'relative' and 'absolute' poverty, and have reached the conclusion that "Taken as a whole the West Indies is a sub-region of poverty in the backyard of the most conspicuously wealthy region in the world." Policy makers also acknowledge that

the region's proximity to the USA makes the task of the elimination of poverty more urgent ("Poverty in the Caribbean: approaches to its Alleviation", Frank B. Rampersad, February 1997, pp. 2-3).

CHAPTER 6

APPARENT IMPACTS OF STATE POLICIES ON WOMEN, FAMILIES AND COMMUNITIES

6.1 Introduction

It is one of the important arguments of this study that the well-being of women, families and communities cannot be understood without reference to the overall macroeconomic policy framework. Therefore this chapter will consider first the impact of this policy framework on the economy, and on the sectors of agriculture, education and health, followed by the impacts on the people of St. Vincent and the Grenadines. Finally, the implications for the long-term effects on the country will be considered.

6.2 Effects of State Policies on the Economy of St. Vincent and the Grenadines, 1974-1994

State policies during the period 1974-1994 shifted from a focus on broad-based socio-economic development (1974-1984) to policies aimed at implementing an IMF-influenced structural adjustment program (1984-1994).

The first 10-year period incorporated the country's attainment of independence from Britain and the government consolidated its operations as an independent state by building on the foundations for broad-based socioeconomic development laid down in the previous decade. It assumed a

major role in economic planning and development by adopting strategies which focused on Basic Needs and Integrated Rural Development. The chief elements in this policy framework were: food security and rural/community development (including the provision of low income housing and improvements in roads); the promotion of import-substitution industrialization based on local agricultural products like sugar, cotton, coconuts, arrowroot and milk along with the introduction of the first export/assembly-processing zone; the promotion of tourism; the expansion of education and health services and the expansion of rural electrification through the introduction of hydroelectricity.

These policies resulted in growth rates of 3-5% GDP, with agriculture contributing an average of slightly over 17% to GNP (ranking 2nd to transportation as the chief contributor to GNP) and manufacturing an average of 9% (ranking 4th). A Planning Unit was established, and in 1976 the country's Second Development Plan was prepared with assistance from UNDP's Physical Planning Project. In 1977 the government's first Public Sector Investment Program (PSIP) was formulated for the period 1979/80-1983/84 by a World Bank Mission, based on sectoral priorities identified by the government.

Macroeconomic planning was secondary to sectoral planning, and the government ran a fiscal deficit, largely due to over-expenditure on capital account. However, by 1977/78 the fiscal deficit had been converted into a surplus of about 3% and this continued between 1980-1983 when government revenue grew at the rate of 20% annually, outpacing growth in current expenditure (CDB, 1986).

In terms of the balance of payments, the favorable trend in the international community which led to increased world demand and prices for the country's main products was undermined by the decline in the value of the British pound to which St. Vincent's currency was linked up to 1976. In addition, the country suffered a major set-back as a result of the hikes in oil prices in 1973 and 1976, and the spate of natural disasters between 1978-1980. By 1984 imports exceeded exports by US\$22.6 million and the external debt outstanding at US\$24.8 million, with debt service at 6% of current revenue.

As a result of these events, and despite the favorable growth rate, and the improvements in rural development, agriculture, manufacturing, and social services at the end of the period the majority of people were still unable to meet their basic needs and many of the jobs created, especially those in enclave industries, paid very low wages.

The escalation in prices resulting from the hike in oil prices was especially hard on all sectors of the society, and especially on poor people. It was not only the staggering increases in the prices of everything but, since the value of exports had also fallen, there was less money in circulation leading to a general decrease in economic activity, including a fall in public revenue and expenditure.

Special mention must also be made of the impacts of the natural disasters - hurricanes and the eruption of the Soufriere volcano between 1978-1980 - which had a devastating effect on agricultural production, especially on bananas, which had become the major export crop.

In the second 10 year period (1984-1994) the macroeconomic policy framework of structural adjustment took precedence over sectoral policies, and was actually in contradiction to balanced socioeconomic development. In the event these policies actually had the opposite outcomes than those intended: productive activities and exports declined; consumption expenditures (including government consumption expenditures) increased; the *overall* (i.e. on the total of capital plus recurrent expenditure) fiscal deficit increased from EC\$12.5 million in 1984 to EC\$45.1 million in 1994; and the balance of payments deficit on current account increased from US\$7.3 million in 1984 to

US\$61.3 million in 1994. The net capital inflow of US\$34.4 million (which helped reduce the overall balance of payments deficit in 1994) included foreign investments which have subsequently soured to leave the country with an even greater debt problem.

The centerpiece of the macroeconomic policies (a 'structural adjustment' package) between 1984-94 was the government's deficit-reduction exercise in which a fiscal deficit of EC\$2.7 million on government's current account operations in 1984 was converted to a surplus of EC\$25.8 million in 1994. It was on this impressive performance that the annual IFI policy dialogue missions focused to the exclusion of all else - certainly to the apparent exclusion of any concern for the impact of this on production let alone for the impacts on overall socioeconomic development. This exercise was in fact achieved by closing down (not privatizing) most of the state-owned agro-industrial projects such as the sugar and arrowroot factories, along with the generation of savings on recurrent expenditures in most government departments. The factory closures led to a relatively heavy loss of employment since there was no interest on the part of the local private sector to take on these industries. And although the savings on recurrent expenditures in the education and health sectors were relatively small in terms of percentages they were

consistent and had considerable impact on these sectors. In Agriculture the savings were larger, (an average of 17.7% in the first term and an average of 13% in the second). On the other hand, it is interesting to note that the percentage of the budget going to all three sectors in the period 1984-94 did not vary much from what had obtained from 1974-84.

The major change in the 20 year period covered by this study was in the pattern of production. Tables 13(a)-(d) and Figures 6(a)-(c) show that over the 20 year period 1974 - 1994 there have been significant shifts in the contribution of the various sectors to GDP. Table 13(a) provides the data on which the tables and charts which follow have been constructed.

Table 13

Summary of Trends
 Contribution of Gross Domestic Product by Economic Activity
 at Factor Cost (Constant Prices - \$EC mn)
 1974-1994

Year	1974	1979	1984	1989	1994
Population	95,000	102,000	108,700	104,800	109,600
GNP Growth		4.1	5.5	7.2	-1.1
Agriculture	14.7	14.64	21.53	29.22	21.48
as % of GDP	17.80%	15.20%	17.20%	16.80%	10.50%
Manufacturing	6.03	10.79	13.63	18.86	17.64
as % of GDP	7.30%	11.20%	10.90%	10.90%	8.60%
Construction	10.08	10.56	12.07	17.92	25.9
as % of GDP	12.20%	11.00%	9.65%	10.30%	12.70%
Hotels & Rest.	1.93	2.91	3.59	5.42	7.29
as % of GDP	2.30%	3.00%	2.90%	3.00%	3.60%
Transportation	10.98	13.41	22.61	29.66	34.86
as % of GDP	13.30%	14.00%	18.00%	17.00%	17.00%
Communications	3.1	5.39	5.09	14.1	19.92
as % of GDP	3.70%	5.60%	4.00%	8.00%	10.00%
R.Estate & Housing	4.17	4.34	4.78	5.1	5.45
as % of GDP	5.00%	4.50%	4.00%	3.00%	2.60%
W & R Trade	11.11	11.08	13.57	20.51	30.78
as % of GDP	13.00%	11.50%	10.80%	11.80%	15.00%
Elect. & Water	2.44	3.05	4.06	6.02	8.53
as % of GDP	2.90%	3.10%	3.20%	3.40%	4.10%
Govt. Services.	14.9	16.45	18.38	21.24	26.4
as % of GDP	18.00%	17.00%	14.70%	12.00%	13.00%

Source: St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Statistical Office,
April 19, 1996

Figures 6 and 7 present this data by *factor cost* [Figure 6] and as *percentage contributions to GDP* [Figure 7].

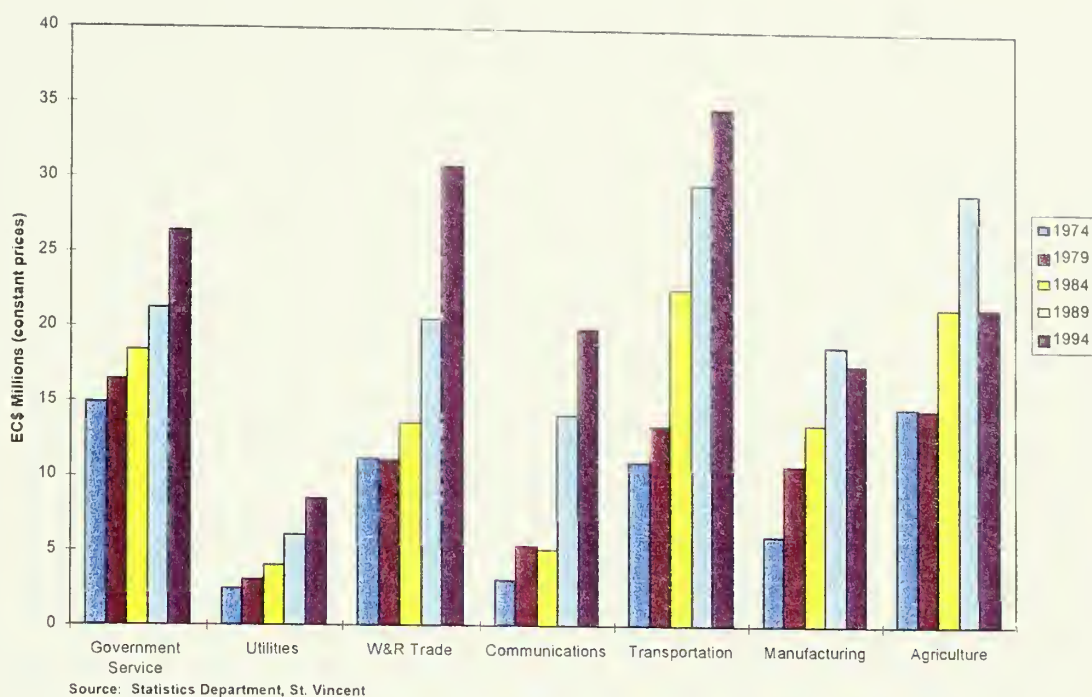


Figure 6. Changes in Sector Contributions to GDP by Economic Activity at Factor Cost Constant Prices (EC\$ mn) 1974-1994

Tables 14 and 15 and Figure 7 provide a breakdown of the changes in sector contributions to GDP in 10 year periods - 1974-84 and 1984-94 - periods covered by the two different political parties (the St. Vincent Labor Party (SVLP) of Milton Cato and the National Democratic Party (NDP) of James Mitchell), each operating within different global economic and political contexts and parameters. These periods can be characterized as before-adjustment (1974-84) and post-adjustment (1984-94).

Table 14 presents the data at factor cost (constant prices), while Table 15 presents the data in percentages and also indicates changes in the ranking importance of the sector contributions.

Table 14
Changes in Sector Contributions to GDP by Economic Activity
at Factor Cost Constant Prices (EC\$ mn)
1974-1994

	1974-1984	Change	1984-1994	Change
Agriculture	14.7 - 21.53	6.83	21.53 - 21.48	-0.07
Manufacturing	6.03 - 13.63	7.4	13.63 - 17.64	4.01
Construction	10.08 - 12.07	1.99	12.07 - 25.90	13.13
Hotels & Restaurants	1.93 - 3.59	1.66	3.59 - 7.29	3.7
Transportation	10.98 - 22.61	11.63	22.61 - 34.86	12.25
Communications	3.10 - 5.09	1.99	5.09 - 19.92	14.83
R.Estate & Housing	4.17 - 4.78	0.61	4.78 - 5.45	0.67
W&R Trade	11.11 - 13.57	2.46	13.57 - 30.78	17.21
Elect & Water	2.44 - 4.06	1.62	4.06 - 8.53	4.47
Government Services	14.90 - 18.38	3.48	18.38 - 26.40	8.02

Table 15 shows that apart from Transportation and Government Services, which maintained their percentage contributions of 1st and 3rd respectively, Agriculture fell from 2nd place in 1984 (approximately 17%) to 5th place in 1994 (10.5%), and Manufacturing fell from 4th place in 1984 (approximately 11%) to 7th in 1994 (8.6%). Their place was taken by Wholesale and Retail Trades which rose from 5th place (10.8%) in 1984 to 2nd place (17%) in 1994. Other important areas of shift were Construction, from 6th place in 1984 to 4th place in 1994, and Communications, from 7th place in 1984 to 6th place in 1994. The very small

contribution of Hotels and Restaurants and it's slight fall in the period 1984-94 should be noted (especially given the emphasis being placed on the Tourism sector in this period).

Table 15
 Percentage Change in Sector Contributions to GDP by
 Economic Activity
 1974-1994

	1974-1984	Change	Rank	1984-1994	Change	Rank
Agriculture	17.80 - 17.20	-0.6	2	17.20 - 10.50	-6.7	5
Manufacturing	7.3 - 10.9	3.6	4	10.9 - 8.6	-2.3	7
Construction	12.2 - 9.65	-2.55	6	9.65 - 12.70	3.05	4
Hotels & Restaurants	2.3 - 2.9	0.6	10	2.9 - 3.6	0.7	9
Transportation	13.3 - 18.0	4.7	1	18 - 17	-1	1
Communications	3.70 - 4.0	0.3	7	4.0 - 10.0	6	6
R Estate & Housing	5.0 - 4.0	-1	7	4.0 - 2.6	-1.4	10
W&R Trade	13.0 - 10.8	-2.2	5	10.8 - 15	4.2	2
Elect & Water	2.9 - 3.2	0.3	9	3.2 - 4.1	0.9	8
Government Services	18.0 - 14.7	-3.3	3	14.7 - 13.0	-1.7	3

Figure 7 highlights the transformation of the economy between one 10-year period to the next: the transformation from a production-based economy to a consumption-based economy.

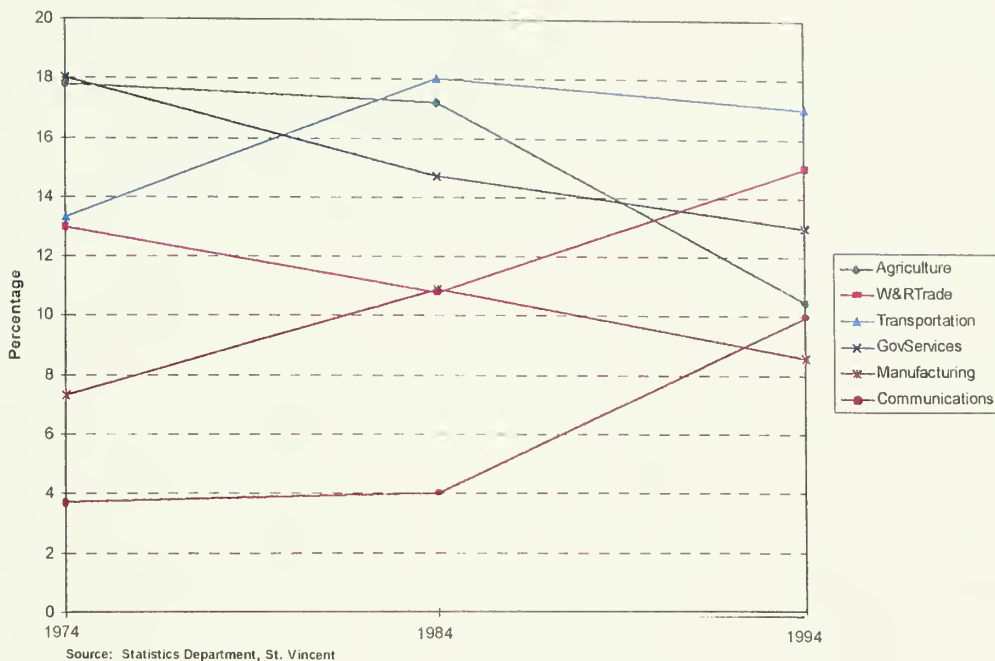


Figure 7. Percentage Change in Sector Contributions to GDP by Economic Activity. 1974 - 1994

The differences between the administrations from 1979 to 1994 should also be noted. Table 16 shows significant differences between the first and second term of the Mitchell Administration:

Table 16

Changes in Sector Contributions of GDP by Administration
At Factor Cost (Constant Prices) EC\$ mn
1979-1994

	1979-1984	1984-1989	1989-1994
Agriculture	6.9	7.7	-7.8
Manufacturing	2.8	5.3	-1.3
Hotels & Rest.	0.5	1.8	1.8
Transportation	9.2	7	5.2
Communications	-0.3	9	6
W&R Trade	2.5	7	10.2
Elect & Water	1	2	2.5
Gov. Services	1.9	2.9	5.2

The changes can be summarized as follows:

- * In the second term of the SVLP (1979-84) the contribution of manufacturing had fallen by 40% from a growth of nearly \$5 million in the first term (1974-79) to just under \$3 million as factories (mostly those based on agro-industries) closed. The sector bounced back to grow by \$5.3 million in the NDPs first term (1984-89) (as new export-oriented industries were started and the production from the flour mill grew to make a significant contribution to GDP). However, in the NDP's 2nd term (1989-95), with the closure of the sugar factory and most of the export industries - the contribution of the sector to GDP fell by \$1.3 million, underlining its volatility.
- * In the 2nd term of the SVLP both agriculture and transportation grew significantly, contributing a total of just over \$28 million to GDP (a increase of 16 million over the previous term).
- * In the 1st term of the NDP (1984-89) all sectors increased their contribution to GDP.
- * However, in the 2nd term agriculture and manufacturing had collapsed, and the only sectors showing significant growth was wholesale and retail trade (adding about \$10 million to GDP), and government services (nearly doubling), while transport

and communications which had together grown by \$16 million from 1984-89 increased by \$11 million in 1989-1994.

- * In the 5 years, 1979-1984, agriculture and manufacturing added EC\$9.7 million to GDP; in the next 5 years they added another \$13 million, but in the NDPs second term their value decreased by \$9.1 million, almost the equivalent of the gains made in the 2nd term of the SVLP administration.
- * Figure 8 shows the overall differences in the various sectors at the end of the 20 year period. It shows clearly that the major growth sectors were in transportation (roads and airport construction in the Grenadines), communications, wholesale and retail trades (reflecting the higher standard of living of those with jobs as well as the growth of the informal sector for those who were no longer engaged in agriculture and manufacturing). The shift from an economy based on agriculture and manufacturing to one based on services is clear. However, given the fact that the majority of the population still depends on agriculture for their income, the decline in agriculture must be a matter of considerable concern.

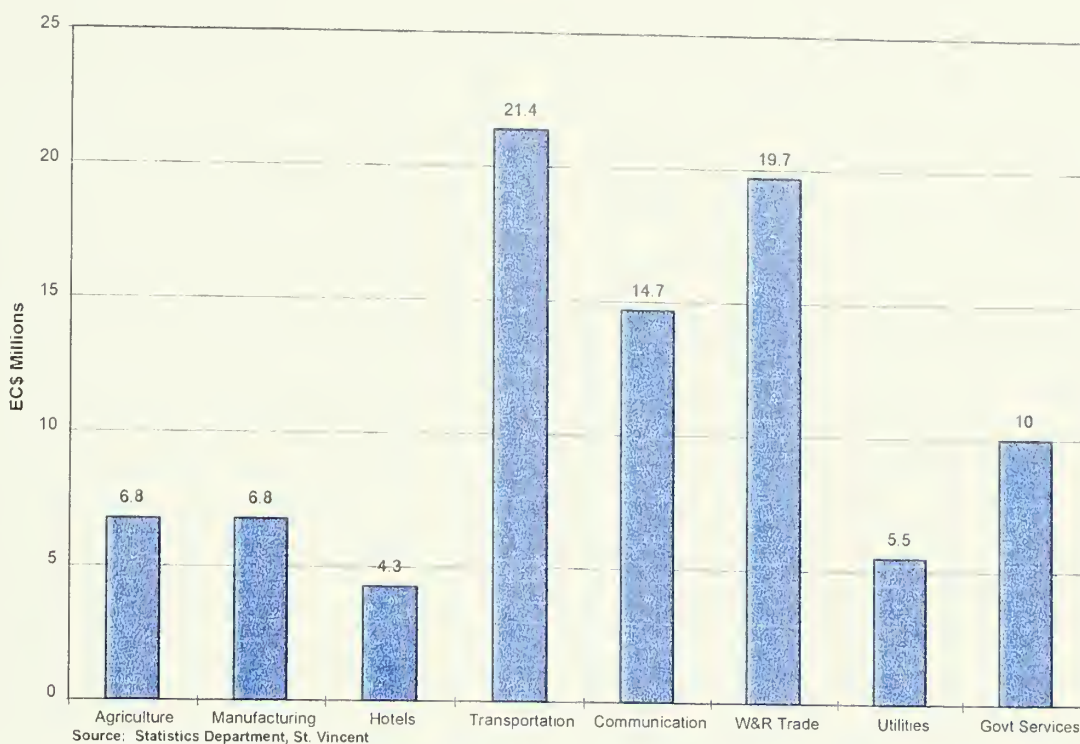


Figure 8. Growth in Sector Contribution to GDP, 1974-1984 (EC\$ mn)

Although the government has continued to stress private sector involvement in the expansion of economic activities, the local private sector has largely failed to take up the challenge. The fact is that neither the size nor orientation of the local private sector offers any confidence that it can replace the government in some of its operations. The exceptions are in the areas of bananas and the operations of the Eastern Caribbean Group of Companies (ECGC) in the production of flour and rice. On the other hand, there are indications that there is significant interest in agriculture on the part of rural

youth, provided they can have access to sufficient land to make this an economically viable operation.

In the absence of local entrepreneurs the government has turned increasingly to foreign investors with results that have not always been beneficial to the economy of the country. At the same time there is also some indication that the government itself was ambivalent, if not reluctant, to hand over its interest in economic enterprises to certain elements in the private sector.

In summary, the decade 1984-1994 was associated with a declining share of GNP from the major 'productive areas of the economy - agriculture and manufacturing - with compensatory increases in Wholesale and Retail Trades, Communications and Transportation. While one would have to know something more about the growth in services, given the still low contribution of tourism to the economy and the traditional large number of women going into domestic work, it would probably be safe to assume that there had not been much growth in more modern areas of service, e.g. banking, insurance, etc. The number of people employed in the off-shore banking and finance sector have always been very low. At the same time it is probable that the Wholesale and Retail Trade sector represents mostly small-scale, survival strategies generated by people desperate to earn an income.

A walk around Kingstown between the trays and stalls of hundreds of vendors certainly bears this out.

6.3 Effects on Agriculture, Education and Health Sectors

In considering the impacts of specific sectoral policies and resource allocations on the population one needs to take account of the fact that it is not possible to separate the impacts of a single sector from that of related sectors. Thus, the health status of the population cannot be judged on the basis of the resources allocated to that sector alone, nor on the efficiency of the sector, since the health status of the population is also affected by the overall level of nutrition, income and employment, housing and education. In the same way, the efficacy of the education system is also related to factors such as the levels of income and location of the population, as well as to nutritional status, and access to services such as electricity and water. Similarly, agricultural production is related to such inputs as roads, transportation, the health and education of farm families and so on. Nevertheless, bearing in mind these caveats the following is an assessment of the impacts of the policy choices as reflected in policy statements and resource allocations within and between sectors.

6.3.1 Agriculture

The figures in Table 17 show that in the first term the average amount saved was nearly 18%, while in the second term it was 13%, including the over-expenditure for 1994. However, if this is excluded the average is the same as in the previous term, i.e. 18% (actually a few points higher).

Table 17

Percentage Savings between first (1984-1989) and
second (1989-1994) terms
Ministry of Agriculture

	% Spent	% Saved
1984/85	80	20
1985/86	79	21
1986/87	81	19
1988/89	89	11
1990	83	17
1991	80	20
1992	84	16
1993	81	19
1994	107	+7

Source: St. Vincent Statistics Department

Savings in this Ministry cut more deeply into the operations of this sector than in any other. The over expenditure in 1994 reflects the institution of a new IFAD funded project in support of small-scale farming. However,

in 1997 (at the time of this research) the project had still not reached farmers.¹

The closure of the sugar factory in 1986 signaled the direction in which the new government was headed. The closure led to a loss of approximately 2,000 jobs among low skilled people, many of whom moved into banana production, regardless of whether their land was suitable for the production of this crop. In the agricultural sector the emphasis was on the banana industry and on the production of non-traditional crops - winter vegetables and exotic flowers.

Between 1988-93 agricultures contribution to the economy dropped to an average of 15% of GDP and 60% of merchandise exports (World Bank SVG Recent Economic Developments, October 1994) from 20% of GDP and 95% of merchandise exports in 1978 (World bank Current Economic Prospects & Position, April 19 1979). Table 18 shows the relationships between volume (tons), value (EC\$) and unit value (\$) between 1990-94, highlighting

- (a) the dramatic fall in the volume of bananas exported in 1994, despite an increase in the unit price;
- (b) The collapse of exports in other major exports such as Eddoes/Dasheen and Sweet Potatoes between 1992 and 1994 (unit values remained steady); and

(c) The major fall in the unit value of flour resulting in a fall in total value although there was increased production/volume.

This fall in value reflects a nearly 50% reduction in the price paid to banana growers between 1988-1993 (from EC\$0.42-EC\$0.22 per pound, at 1990 dollars, according to Banana Growers Association & IMF International Financial Statistics) as well as a decrease in volume (from 1990 to 1994 banana production fell by approximately 22% according to the Ministry of Agriculture statistics).

But the volume of traditional root crops such as sweet potatoes, yams/tannias and ginger, as well as mangoes also fell dramatically: from 40% in the case of ginger and mangoes to 65% in the case of yams/tannias, reflecting the neglect of small farm agriculture. Apart from the uneconomical size of plots used in the production of root crops, these items were also facing increasing competition from the lower cost of produce from Trinidad and Tobago. In 1984 root crops had accounted for 31% of total value added in agriculture, but declined by 7% between 1984-88: the increased market for food crops to Trinidad & Tobago had been generated by that country's oil boom, and when the economy declined and the dollar devalued, the situation was reversed.

Table 18

Merchandise Exports for Selected Commodities, 1990-1994

Commodity	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
<u>Bananas</u>					
Volume	79,562	64,235	79,862	58,000	31,000
Value	114,437	95,802	98,455	63,000	39,830
Unit Value	1,438	1,491	1,315	1,086	1,285
<u>Edoes/Dash</u>					
Volume	3,570	4,018	4,854	565	N/A.
Value	5,529	6,100	7,363	804	N/A.
Unit Value	1,549	1,518	1,518	1,423	N/A.
<u>S. Potatoes</u>					
Volume	2,589	2,513	3,456	2,275	284
Value	3,719	3,500	4,866	3,262	408
Unit Value	1,436	1,393	1,407	1,434	1,437
<u>Flour</u>					
Volume	17,777	16,573	36,248	52,136	N/A.
Value	19,466	18,707	32,383	27,371	N/A.
Unit Value	1,095	1,129	893	525	N/A.

Source: St. Vincent Trades Statistics Ministry of Agriculture

Banana production increased by about 81% in 1988 compared with the previous years (1986/87) when production had suffered from adverse weather conditions. The level of production at this time was 128% above the 1983 level. The impressive increase in production and productivity were attributed to (a) increased acreage (as a result of the closure of the sugar factory) and (b) increased use of fertilizers and insecticides, imports of

which increased about 300%-200% respectively between 1983-1988.² (World Bank, 1990, SVG Updating Economic Note, p. 2).

During this period the administration also acquired another estate, the Orange Hill Estate a total of some 2,000 acres of what had been one of the most profitable estates producing a variety of products including coconuts and bananas as well as a variety of agro-industry products based on crops produced on the estate. The estate had been sold to Danish investors in 1982 by its owners following major losses resulting from the eruption of the volcano in 1979.³ This Project (known as the Rabbaca Farms Project) was a break from the old pattern of land reform. This time, perhaps in the context of the emphasis on the private sector, it was decided to distribute the land to farmers. Mindful of the dangers of fragmentation, it was intended that land be divided into 10-acres plots - the size considered necessary to sustain full time farming. However, although it had been assumed that farmers who had worked the estate would purchase land along with others from outside the area, the cost of land was beyond the reach of most and the size of plot was eventually reduced to 4.7 acres.⁴

This project, however, has still failed to increase production - in fact productivity is considerably

less than it had been under the original management, and according to local expertise, less than it would have been under the Danes who had purchased it. One of its problems is, despite the expertise with which it was prepared, its failure to make provision for social development. This continues to be the shortcoming of all the land settlement projects, and while the planners (in the Planning Division) understand, intellectually, the need for these components, they lack the expertise to introduce such components, or apparently the will (or understanding), to draw on the considerable local and regional expertise which exists in this area.⁵

Another development in this area which illustrates the way in which public policy has contributed to the fall in food production as well as to the rise in imports of food relates to the Government's policy regarding the St. Vincent Marketing Corporation (SVMC). The Corporation was set up in the 1960s to serve as the principal link between growers of traditional food crops and both domestic and external markets. In the 1970s its representatives visited villages as often as 3 times a week to select and purchase produce. In a 1979 World Bank report on Current Economic Positions and Prospects (CEPP) of St. Vincent, the author(s) stated:

This corporation is unique in both its operation and management as well as being one of the most

successful enterprises of its kind in the Caribbean. Export sales reached over EC\$2 million in 1977, nearly 9% of all food exports. This compares favorably to a total of food exports by the Marketing Corporation of nearly EC\$1.4 million in 1973. This corporation periodically issues a list showing prices it is prepared to pay for the different products. Following the experience of 1976 when very favorable growing conditions resulted in gluts ... the corporation initiated a system of contracting with farmers for specified amounts of output. The corporation has operated without a loss for many years. (World Bank, 1979, p. 12).

However, the Corporation had increasingly lost its credibility with small farmers and in a World Bank report of 1992 (SVG Country Economic Memorandum) the Corporation had become the public outlet for marketing of non-traditional crops (winter vegetables, flowers etc.) and was described as suffering from a lack of focus and accountability. According to its management, it was also used as an outlet for political patronage, and this had led to severe over-staffing and operating on margins twice that of its private competitors (World Bank, March 1992, p. 19). Based on this analysis the Bank advised that it should be privatized. Evidently, the alternative of returning the Corporation to its former service to small farmers was not considered.

The immediate impacts of policy shifts in this sector were experienced through the relative importance given to agriculture by the different administrations. In the 1970s the government's emphasis on food security was reflected in

the state's involvement in identifying and securing overseas markets for the crops produced by small farmers, and in the operations of the marketing board which facilitated the purchasing and sale of food crops. During these years these efforts were helped by the Agricultural Marketing Protocol (AMP) set up by CARICOM governments to manage the demand and supply of food within the region. Food security was a priority in all the countries of the region and officials and ministers from the Ministries of Agriculture met on a regular basis to discuss the production and needs of each country.

Technical support was also provided by the extension services of the Ministry of Agriculture. In addition, the state was involved in the establishment and operation or support of factories for the processing of many of the major crops such as sugar, coconuts, arrowroot and cotton. In the case of bananas, which was to become the most important export crop with a guaranteed market in Britain, while a Banana Growers' Association (BGA) helped ensure benefits for farmers, the government also provided support through the technical and extension services of the Ministry of Trade and Agriculture.

With the shift in emphasis from small farm agriculture to bananas, and more so with the priority given to tourism after 1984, the agricultural sector experienced a major

decline. The farmers of Rose Hall are clearly aware of this shift in emphasis, and they hold the government responsible for the failure of the sector: they point to the withdrawal of the services of the marketing board, the failure of the government to assist in finding markets (as they had done in the 1970s) and the lack of resources - land and credit - to assist farmers to make the transition into more marketable areas of production, including livestock.

6.3.2 Education

The differences between approved and actual expenditure in the Ministry of Education was less than in any other sector. The difference between the two terms of the Mitchell administration (when structural adjustment measures were introduced) was also not very great (an average of 5% savings in the first term as compared to an average of 3% in the second). The low level of cuts in this sector, as well as in the health sector, reflect the fact that the budgets are overwhelmingly for salaries, and that major budget cuts would translate into cuts in employment. The fact that the government of St. Vincent and the Grenadines did not follow the example of Jamaica when that country embarked on its structural adjustment program in 1980 is, perhaps, an indication of the different

values of the political leadership in the two countries. But it may also be a reflection of the political power of the teachers and nurses in St. Vincent and the Grenadines. Politically, it is certainly less risky to save money on supplies and maintenance than on retrenchment. However, although marginal, the cuts nevertheless led to a real deterioration in the quality of education: shortages of supplies and teachers and neglect of maintenance led to a demoralization of teachers⁶ and impaired the efficiency of the service. This is reflected in poor examination results as shown in the following Tables (19 & 20) for examination passes at primary school level.

Table 19
Common Entrance Examination Results
1986-1991

	1986	1989	1991
Candidates	1,508	2,641	2,597
Passes	754	843	901
%Passes	50	32	35

Source: St. Vincent Statistical Department

Table 20

School Leaving Exams
1984-1991

	1984	1989	1991
Candidates	454	883	1,247
Passes	81	60	47
% Passes	17.8	6.7	3.7

Source: St. Vincent Statistical Department

Regarding the relationship between state (public) and private education, far from there being a shift in favor of private schools.⁷ These schools have made increasing appeals to government for more assistance. The fact is that public education (certainly at secondary level) in St. Vincent and the Grenadines is of a higher standard than private education. The state has always subsidized private education in St. Vincent and the Grenadines.

It should be noted that the savings in this sector served in part to finance capital expenditures in the sector, specifically the building of new schools. However, given the fall in the standard of education, one must question the comparative value of allocating funds to building more schools while the existing stock deteriorates to the point where they fail to serve the purpose for which they were intended.

6.3.3 Health

Savings in the health sector averaged 6.4% throughout the two terms. However, as in the education sector, the saving on recurrent expenditures were applied toward capital expenditures within the sector toward the end of the Mitchell administration's second term. This has led to the expansion of the Public Hospital, if not to any improvement to the facilities outside Kingstown.

The impact of these savings was, however, less evident than in education, perhaps because outcomes in health are more long term, and less measurable than they are in education. In addition, people have the option of using the services of private practitioners. Access to private medical attention is widely available, in fact, a dual system of health care operates at all levels, as doctors employed by the state have always been allowed private practice. People will often arrange to see the same physician privately, expecting a better quality of service (certainly they would get more of the physician's time). There are also two additional private hospitals, bringing the total number of private hospitals to three, while there continues to be only one public hospital (with private wings, of course), in addition to a very poorly equipped and staffed mental hospital and a few rural hospitals, which are little more than nursing homes. While the number

of beds in private hospitals is a fraction of those in the Kingstown General Hospital they allow the public a choice, and mitigate the deterioration in the public sector facilities.

Finally, one must mention the high level of commitment to professionalism in the health profession, especially among the nurses. In fact, it often stands in contrast to the lack of commitment, and professionalism among teachers. This may be partly due to the fact that for many young people in these islands, teaching has often been a means to an end rather than a vocational choice. In addition, there are marked differences between the level of training among health care personnel and those in education: while all nurses are trained, the percentage of trained teachers is very low.⁸

On balance, however, while the health statistics do not reflect it,⁹ there has been a noticeable deterioration in the public health facilities at the same time that there is increasing use of private sector services. In fact, there are clear signs that the health sector is being increasingly privatized. Not only are there more private hospitals now than there were in the 1970s, but because they are able to pay better rates to staff, it has been reported that some of the nurses who work in the public hospital also do shift work in the private

hospitals. This is causing concern to the Ministry of Health since it affects their work in the public sector. On the other hand, the nurses are simply doing what the doctors have always done, supplement their government salaries with private practice. There are also plans for privatizing the sanitation service, as well as the catering service at the public hospitals and clinics.

Finally, the issue of the financing of health services has been raised regionally, and the proposals being advanced are all related to the increasing use of market based options in this sector ranging from the introduction of user-fees and the expansion of private health insurance and the use of vouchers for uninsured groups to the privatization of various aspects of the health services (Lalta, 1993b).

An important factor in this sector is the role of the United Nations. Perhaps more than in any other sector, with the possible exception of planning, (in which UNDP plays a significant role) the UN, through the Pan-American Health Organization (the branch of the World Health Organization which covers this region) is closely associated with all aspects of the health services in St. Vincent and the Grenadines. Over the years PAHO/WHO has been involved in health service planning, project development, funding, technical assistance and training.

PAHO/WHO has continued its program of professional up-grading of staff and programs throughout the period, often providing funding for the programs from its own sources, thus contributing not only to maintaining standards, but perhaps even more importantly, to maintaining the morale of the staff in this sector. However, it also provides a mechanism through which global trends, such as privatization, can be promoted.

6.4 Effects of Policies on People

Although the birth rate has declined significantly in the past 20 years, employment has not kept pace with population growth. The Household Survey on Manpower in 1984 indicated an unemployment¹⁰ rate of 45% of the labor force, with the highest incidence of unemployment being among young people, especially young women, between 16 and 30 years of age. According to Gonsalves, there is a significant number of 30-year olds who have never had a regular job, and

in fact, mass unemployment has been so prolonged that there are grown men and women ... who simply do not know or have never experienced the discipline of regular, continuous employment. (Gonsalves, 1994, p. 141).

He goes on to point out that

Mass unemployment is not a recent phenomenon in St. Vincent and the Grenadines ... Since the end of the Second World War the economy has shown itself to have a low absorption capacity for labor.¹¹ For example between 1946-1960, while the labor force increased by 2,500 persons, only 500 or 20% became wage earners; 1,000 or 40% went into the own-account or self-employed category; and the remaining 1,000 persons or 40% joined the ranks of the unemployed. ... The figures for the period 1960-1990 indicate that in excess of 45% of the new entrants into the labor force annually have not been able to find work. (Gonsalves, 1994, p. 141)

In addition, an even larger number are underemployed.¹² This is particularly true of the mass of people who are economically marginalised or work in the informal sector of the economy. Most should be considered as underemployed rather than as either 'employed or 'unemployed'.

In 1994 the majority of the labor force of St. Vincent was still dependent on agriculture as a source of income. In 1978, 30% of the labor force was involved in agriculture, while the comparable figure for 1995 was 23.4%, still a significant percentage, and the highest percentage in any sector. Of this males represent 16.4% and females 7.1%. According to the Poverty Survey carried out in 1995, of the 23.4% of the labor force engaged in agriculture, about half were defined as poor. Twice as many females were classified as poor (11.9% classified as 'poor' compared to 5% as 'non-poor'; while 12.5% of males

working in agriculture were classified as 'poor' compared to 17.9% as 'non-poor'). The collapse of this sector, therefore, has a major impact on the men and women of the country, not only those directly engaged in the sector but to others whose livelihoods are dependent on the goods and services supplied to the farm communities. With the income generated from production, and with significant support from state services, farmers built or improved housing, fed and educated themselves and their children, and generally improved their standard of living.

Female farmers tend to spend a greater percentage of their income on household improvements than male. From 1988/89 onwards, however, with the collapse of the regional market for food crops, small farmers who were not involved in banana production experienced a steep drop in income, many becoming dependent on remittances from relatives overseas while others turned to petty trading and other occupations in the informal sector. Increasingly young men from rural areas turned to the growing of marijuana, and/or to involvement in the trade in illegal drugs. The collapse of the banana market in 1993 led to more widespread deterioration in the economy of the country, which is reflected in the increase in the incomes generated through the Wholesale/Retail Trades sector. However, since the major increase would be in the informal sector it cannot be

taken as a substitute for the incomes generated through agricultural production, especially those generated by the banana industry.

Indeed, in terms of employment none of the other sectors, apart from Wholesale and Retail Trades which account for 15.8% of employment, come close to agriculture. The chief areas of GDP growth in the period 1984-94, Transportation and Communication, together account for 6% of employment of which less than 1% goes to women. The creation of jobs in the tourist sector (2.9% in 1995) has not compensated for those lost with the closure of the factories producing agro-industrial products in the 1970s.

While the cuts in expenditures on education and health from 1984 onward were relatively small the impact of these on standards and morale, and consequently on the performance in these sectors raise questions about the trade-offs between surplus-generation, equity and efficiency.

The overall performance in the education sector has been particularly alarming, with examination results at all levels showing a serious deterioration in standards. The current questioning of the continuing role of the state in education is meaningless in St. Vincent where government is under constant pressure to increase its subsidies to private schools, including those operated by the churches

(the majority of private schools). Moreover, as Miller (1992:208) has pointed out:

there is no basis for concluding that the private sector makes better use of resources than the state in providing primary education in this region" and that "the distinction between public and private schools has been more social than educational.

The people of St. Vincent and the Grenadines accord the highest value to education and the failure of this sector to measure up to expectations is

visible, easily recognizable, and readily understood indices of political failure." (Miller, 1992, p. 207)

Governments understand this and it is not surprising to find that underexpenditure in this sector was less marked than in any other.

The quality of the health service has also deteriorated with the budget cuts which impacted on the maintenance of clinics and supplies of essential drugs and equipment. Women have also complained about the introduction of fees for service in public health clinics. Health services are particularly important to women who carry the major responsibility for the care of family members, especially for the young and the elderly whose need for health services are most marked.

The nature of the overall crisis is highlighted in the increase in imports of food, even as local farmers found themselves unable to sell their food crops. The increase

in imports clearly reflected the increasing consumer-orientation of the society as well as an increased preference for imported food; but it is also highlights the dilemma in which small, agriculture-based economies are placed when they are obliged to open their markets to competition from suppliers operating under much more favorable conditions.

6.5 Implications for Longer Term Trends

There are two areas in which the short-term effects of state policies have implications for longer term trends:

(a) socio-economic and (b) political.

(a) The short-term effects of the collapse of the agricultural and manufacturing sectors are clearly seen in the increase in the informal sector, especially in the plight of small farmers and the number of vendors in Kingstown. But this transformation of the country from a producer- to a consumer-based economy is likely to have long-term consequences. The problems in the banana industry heightens the sense of crisis.

The growth of the drug culture in the 1980s and 1990s and the link of this with increasing poverty and materialistic values is another example of short-term effects which have longer-term implications.

While there is no doubt that the creation of employment will be a priority for any meaningful development strategy for the country in the future, given the failure of the manufacturing sector over the years, and the fact that tourism is unlikely to generate a sufficient number of jobs to make a meaningful impact on the socio-economic well-being of the mass of the population, there seems to be no alternative but to turn once again to agriculture as the chief engine of growth for the economy.

However, this would require a serious effort at addressing the historic problems experienced by small farmers - small size and fragmentation of land, inadequate agricultural services including the securing of markets for small scale producers. In relation to markets, more attention needs to be paid to the potential value of the Diaspora as a niche market for traditional products as well as a source of investment. The difference between these markets for commodities and finance and the global markets is that the markets of the Diaspora are linked to the identity and common values of the Caribbean people of St. Vincent and the Grenadines.

In addition, attention will have to be paid to building the infrastructure for development in rural communities. This includes the provision of schools, clinics, housing, the supply of water and electricity and

access roads. Vibrant communities build the social as well as the human capital that is essential for guaranteeing sustainable human development for a Small Island Developing State¹³ in the age of globalization.

(b) Despite the fact that the state continues to play a strong role in sauce-economic development and has been able, to some degree, to resist the pressures of the last 10-15 years to reduce its operations, there is a growing credibility gap between the electorate and the government. This gap is related to disillusionment resulting from what people see as the abandonment of their government's commitment to their welfare. In the long run, however, and especially in the context of globalization, a strong state is essential for the protection of the interests of Small Island Developing States.

Notes

¹. Morale among staff in this Ministry is very low: those who disagree with the leadership are afraid to speak out for fear of their jobs. And yet, there is general concern about the poor performance of the Ministry, which is reflected in the sector.

². A major environmental issue for women in St. Vincent, and in many parts of the region, is the overuse of pesticides and fertilizers. It has been said that the Caribbean uses more of these inputs than producers elsewhere - and more than is necessary! (Statement made at the NGO Forum for SIDS Conference, 1994.)

³. However, the new government stopped the sale and acquired the estate as part of its land reform program.

4. On other government land settlement estates which were also being privatized the average acreage was as low as 2.8 acres, reflecting the government's decision to accommodate the squatters who in the process had occupied the estates. The Bank's statement on this whole process is worth recording, revealing as it does both its own values as well as the pressures under which the government was operating. In the 1992 Memorandum (page 20), following the above statement about the governments decision to accommodate squatters, the Memorandum states:

"The Government hopes that, over time, the less successful farmers who will not be able to pay their lease will be bought out by the more successful ones. To this end the Government should indicate its determination to enforce the lease contract in case of default by farmers. A more difficult issue arises for the diversification objectives: the smaller plot size might discourage risk averse farmers, who regard bananas as their insurance, to devote sufficient acreage to non-banana crops, which in turn impairs marketing for all farmers because of lack of total volume. Further cost for infrastructure and extension services rise, and net acreage falls with the number of farms to be accommodated. In the light of these problems, the Government should reconsider what it regards as the feasible plot size, and may want to take some up-front actions against squatters to preserve larger plots." (page 20, para 3.20).

5. For example, some of the women who worked on the WAND Pilot Project a description of which follows in Chapter VI are Vincentians and would welcome the opportunity to demonstrate how this could be done.

6. While there was no retrenchment, teachers who retired or resigned were not replaced. This increased the pressure on the staff, who were already working under very poor conditions, and with low salaries.

7. It should be noted that private education is chiefly church schools - the Roman Catholics, the Anglicans and the Seventh Day Adventists are the churches with schools in the country.

8. In fact, the number of nurses trained each year exceeds the needs of the country and each year a number of nurses migrate to work in North America and Europe. This brain drain is in a sense a subsidy from the donor country

to the receiving countries. On the other hand, it provides opportunities for women to earn higher salaries and to contribute to the welfare of their families in their home country, through remittances.

9. One needs to note that the infant mortality has continued to fall -reflecting the buoyancy of the banana industry.

10. The definition of unemployment used in this survey included not only those persons who were able to work and looking for work but also those who were not looking for work but would accept work if it were offered. This is a much more appropriate definition in countries in which (a) women need to and wish to find paid employment, and where (b) lack of employment opportunities coupled with high levels of responsibility for household maintenance tasks would make it unlikely that women would be actively seeking paid employment over a prolonged period of time.

11. This is true of all CARICOM countries, and was the factor which, in the 1950s, impelled Arthur Lewis to propose industrialization as the strategy for Development with Unlimited Supply of Labor (Lewis, 1958).

12. If the definition of unemployed presents difficulties, the concept of underemployment is even more problematic, but it is clear that the distinction needs to be made if we are to use the concept of labor productivity.

13. Since 1993 the special needs of Small Island Developing States (SIDS) has been recognized by the international community. In 1992, in the context of the preparations for the UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), the government of Trinidad & Tobago initiated the launching of the Association of Small Island States (AOSIS). In 1994 a Conference was held in Barbados to highlight the special concerns of these states. The recognition of these special needs becomes all the more important in the context of globalization.

CHAPTER 7

NONFORMAL EDUCATION FOR THE INTEGRATION OF WOMEN IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT: PILOT PROJECT IN ROSE HALL AND ITS STRATEGIES

7.1 Background and Context of the Project

Before proceeding with the description of the Pilot Project something must be said about the institutional setting through which it was implemented, as well as what led to its formulation. The Women and Development Unit (WAND) was established in August 1978 in the context of the U.N. Decade for Women with its goals of Equality, Development & Peace. The Decade's focus was intended to promote programs which would help to ensure equality between the sexes and the "full integration of women into the process of development". These international goals were reflected in those of a number of institutions, agencies, and programs, governmental as well as nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and at all levels, from local to international.

WAND's establishment within the Extra Mural Department (now re-named the School of Continuing Studies) of the University of the West Indies (UWI) was the result of a recommendation from a regional Seminar on the Integration of Women in Caribbean Development. The Seminar, sponsored by the Jamaica Women's Bureau and the Extra Mural

Department, was attended by representatives of women's umbrella¹ organizations from CARICOM countries.

WAND's purpose was to promote and support programs to "enhance the contribution of women to Caribbean development", and its objectives were to build "consciousness, capacity and cohesion" in women and development programs throughout the countries of the English-speaking Caribbean. In order to promote these objectives WAND's activities included the provision of technical assistance, communications support and training in a variety of settings - for men and women, and for those involved in government programs as well as those in nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). Its training programs (aimed at achieving all three objectives) have all used participatory, nonformal education methodologies - some within the framework of a human capital approach² in women and development programs throughout the countries of the English-speaking Caribbean. In order to promote these objectives WAND's activities included the provision of technical assistance, communications support and training in a variety of settings - for men and women, and for those involved in government programs as well as those in nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). Its training programs have all used participatory, nonformal education methodologies, some within the framework of a human

capital³ approach (aimed at helping women to fit into the systems), some within the framework of popular education (aimed at raising consciousness of the need for structural change).

The program was designed to:

1. Breakdown the geographical and political factors which had isolated Caribbean women from each other, in order to build solidarity among them in tackling the problems of women and to increase their contribution to the social and economic development of the region;
2. Stimulate and support programs and projects which would improve the socio-economic situation of the mass of Caribbean women, including strategies for opening up new options in skills training, appropriate technologies and income-generating activities;
3. Raise the level of consciousness of women themselves and practitioners of the realities of women's lives;
4. Identify the diversity of skills and programs existing in the region and to facilitate regional technical co-operation.

In all of its activities WAND set out to explore new approaches and strategies which would:

- * Reflect priorities defined by women;
- * Build on women's strengths, individually and through their programs and associations;

- * Collaborate with other agencies working in the region on Women in Development (WID) issues;
- * Recognize the need to work with and promote a partnership between both government agencies and women's organizations in order to promote the goals of the Decade for Women;
- * Clarify and interpret the concept of WID in terms of the realities and priorities of Caribbean women;
- * Work within existing programs for development and technical assistance to raise the level of awareness of the needs and concerns of women, in the hope of creating a better understanding of the issues and hopefully to have more resources released to meet their needs within the framework of larger programs;
- * Build on the traditional patterns of assistance among women in the region both within their own communities, as well as between the different countries of the region;
- * Capitalize on the difference in levels of development and the diversity of resources in the region to ensure the sharing of these resources;
- * Work through the networks and institutions which exist within the framework of the movement for integration and development in the English-speaking Caribbean;

* Serve as a catalyst to build a regional movement for enhancing the contribution of Caribbean women to the social, political, economic and cultural development of the region. (Antrobus, 1981 Yudelman, 1987).

In brief, the program was one in which nonformal education and technical co-operation were used as strategies to contribute to:

- a. the building of technical skills (capacity);
- b. the raising of awareness (consciousness) of participants, men and women at community, country and regional levels of the situation of women in the region; and
- c. the linking of resources and programs (cohesion) at local, national, regional and international levels, in order to meet the needs of women.

Pilot Projects were used as a way of pulling together many of WAND's objectives and activities.

WAND's communications program, aimed at meeting these objectives, included a documentation center, the production of a newsletter, Woman Speak, and a variety of other publications as well as a variety of audio visual material⁴ and the use of media, especially the regional media.

Over the years 1978 - 1993 the WAND program underwent a number of shifts in response to the changing regional and international environments as revealed in WAND's annual

(internal and formative⁵) evaluations supplemented by periodic external evaluations⁶. These exercises attempted to assess the Unit's work against the background of the socio-economic, political, and institutional changes taking place in the region (e.g. the establishment of a Women's Desk at the CARICOM Secretariat or the launching of CAFRA), and internationally (e.g. the debt crisis or the rise in fundamentalism). These increasingly critical, and feminist, assessments helped the Unit to become more focused, and increasingly 'political' both in its analysis of what was required for the promotion of social change in the region, as well as in its choice of strategy and methodology.

Established within the framework of the UN Decade for Women, and located within the University of the West Indies, the Women and Development Unit (WAND) could be described as having been situated initially within the liberal paradigm of integrating women in development (WID), which informed mainstream programs of the period. Its initial approach could be described as functional, or professional/technical, an approach appropriate both to its setting (within the University), as well as to the type of staff recruited. These approaches were based on the assumptions that

- a) the key to women's marginality was their lack of access to adequate education and training, health care and nutrition, employment and income,
- b) the solution lay in their access to these goods and services, and that
- c) access would be assured through their 'integration' into the existing models of development. Questions about the model of development, and the extent to which it depended on the performance of certain (stereotyped, restricted and subordinate) roles by women and issues of women's control over resources were not raised at this stage.

The initial goal of 'stimulating and supporting programs for the integration of Women in Development in the region' and its objectives and activities such as the provision of technical assistance, the development of pilot projects to test new approaches to the integration of women in development, and the building of awareness of WID issues throughout the Caribbean, were deliberately general, and intended to allow program activities to evolve in response to the needs that emerged as the Unit's work progressed. In short, throughout much of the Decade WAND's strategies focused on a variety of projects and programs aimed at improving the situation of women within existing structures.

During its first two years the Unit's activities were concentrated on the provision of short-term technical assistance⁷ to the emerging women's programs and projects in the region - those within the structure of government bureaucracies (the newly established Women's Desks, Bureaux, Departments and Ministries - designated, in the jargon of the UN and the Decade 'National Machinery's for the Integration of Women in Development') as well as those instituted by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) such as the YWCA, the National Organizations/Councils of Women, and agencies like the Save the Children Fund, which - like many other 'development' agencies at that time - were experimenting with a special focus on the role of women in development.

Alternative analyses emerging after the 1980 Mid-Decade Conference (the UN's 2nd World Conference on Women, held in Copenhagen in 1980) were pointing to the fact that women were already integrated into systems and institutions, which exploited their labor and assigned them subordinate roles in the economic and political domains. These analyses, reflecting critical feminist thought (Beneria & Sen, 1981), also drew attention to the links between the role and status of women and inequitable structures which served to perpetuate and reinforce both

their marginality, and that of the majority of our populations.

Between 1981 and 1985 structural approaches - those seeking to challenge and change the structures of women's oppression - were to be increasingly incorporated into the earlier integrationist approaches as activists and program/project organizers gained a better understanding of the issues, and of their theoretical underpinnings.

In addition, it had become clear that it was not only necessary to have a better understanding of the issues but that approaches, methodologies and strategies had to be shifted from those based on purely technical solutions to more political approaches which would enable women, especially those at the economic base of the society, to analyze and articulate their own reality. It was felt that women must be enabled to define for themselves, and implement, the programs and projects which represented their own priorities. This was the context in which the first shift took place.

At the internal staff evaluation at December 1980, reinforced by the increasing feminist orientation of the Unit's leadership, and by the global assessments at the mid-point of the Decade, which pointed to the need for more fundamental, structural changes in the systems which kept women marginalized, WAND staff reviewed its initial focus

on short-term technical and recognized its limitations in terms of the need for systemic change. It was decided that the Unit should shift its focus to a more in-depth approach of assistance to groups and organization, and to the formulation of pilot projects to test new approaches to the integration of women in development.

The Pilot Project for the Integration of Women in Rural Development (initiated in October 1981) was an example of the new strategy. The shift was essentially one from a focus on sensitizing key agents (those working within the structures of government as well as those working in NGO programs) to women's issues to a focus on working directly with women to empower them to define and implement their own programs and projects.

In the same way that the 1980 mid-Decade conference led to WAND's shift to an empowerment approach³, so too the process leading up to the 1985 Conference (the 3rd UN Conference on Women, held in Nairobi) provided some new insights which led to a further shift in the program. On this occasion it was my participation in the 1984 meeting convened by the Indian economist, Devaki Jain, in Bangalore, India. The purpose of this meeting was to assess the results of research and action carried out during the Decade, and to prepare a platform document for the 1985 Conference. The meeting led to the publication of

the book Development, Crises and Alternative Visions: Third World Women's Perspectives (Sen & Grown, 1987) and to the launching of the DAWN network.

In the Preface I speak about the DAWN⁹ analysis and conceptual framework (see also Chapter I). As a participant, my experience of the Pilot Project and the sense of the crisis facing women in Jamaica¹⁰ at that time contributed to the analysis which led to DAWN's conclusion of the need to transform both poverty and gender subordination by the empowerment of poor women through organization. At the same time, what I learned from DAWN participants was the limitations of approaches which focused exclusively on work at the micro level, without relating that to an understanding of the larger framework of macroeconomic policy and to the global structures which led to the perpetuation of poverty and marginality of classes and countries.

These issues were made clear by the experience of the women from Latin America who spoke of the emerging crises of debt and structural adjustment in their region. A few months earlier, in June, 1984, CARICOM Heads of Government had adopted structural adjustment as the policy framework for the region¹¹, and it was the Latin American women who helped me to understand the meaning of these policies for women, and what we in the Caribbean could expect as our

governments moved to implement this policy framework. The immediate outcome of this understanding was a further shift in the focus of WAND's work to include the analysis of the impact of these policies on women in our region, and to place the issue of structural adjustment on the agenda of the women's movement in the region.

In March of the following year (1985) WAND organized a regional meeting, in preparation for the Nairobi conference, to assess the Caribbean's experience of women's programs during the Decade. At this meeting, informed by DAWN's analysis, attention was drawn to the negative impact of structural adjustment programs on women. Jamaican participants were able to speak about their own experience of these policies and the meeting adopted The Bridgetown Statement, the first challenge to these policies in the region. The Statement stands as a testimony to WAND's own empowerment, and to an approach which would link an analysis of the macroeconomic policy framework to its work at the micro level of the community.

The Pilot Project on the Integration of Women in Rural Development, launched four years earlier in September 1981 reflected the earlier shift to an empowerment approach and to one that attempted to use a community-based project to influence national policy. However, at that stage there was still no awareness of the need to relate the

macroeconomic policy framework to work at the community level.

7.2 Purpose and Organization of the Project

The Pilot Project on the Integration of Women in Rural Development initiated in 1981, was intended to test a new approach to enhancing the role of women in rural development. The approach would be holistic, participatory, and empower women to exercise more control over their lives. It was also intended to demonstrate what would result if women were empowered with the confidence, skills, resources and awareness, to take on leadership roles in their communities

Its specific goals were to:

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

In full awareness of the potential significance of this project, and lacking the necessary skills in participatory methodologies, WAND selected World Education¹², a U.S.-based Private Voluntary Organization (PVO) to serve as consultant to the project. It was also understood that the first activity of the Project would have to be a skills-training workshop on the participatory methodologies, which were to be the vehicle through which women's empowerment would be facilitated. The consultant was involved in the design and conduct of the Workshop, as well as in the orientation of members of WAND's staff who were to be involved in the Workshop, and in the follow-up activities.

The orientation of staff was an important aspect of the preparatory process. Apart from the need to build the capacity of WAND staff to work with participatory methods it was felt that as members of staff of a program operating within the institutional framework of a university, it was necessary to help the staff to give up any feelings of intellectual superiority and to understand a methodology which would essentially hand over control of the Project to the women of the community from the outset¹³. This included challenging the staff to give up any preconceived ideas about project activities - beyond the initial training workshop. Specifically, we had to give up the

idea that the main focus of the project was to start income-generating activities, one of the most popular types of projects for women at that time (although we recognized that these could be an outcome if women wanted them).

7.3 Activities and Implementation of the Project

Given the goal of influencing government policy, the Project started with the formation of a (national level) Advisory Committee comprised of representatives of the Ministries of Agriculture, Health, Education and Community Development, along with the local representative of the University. The purpose of this committee was to build support for and interest in the project in those government agencies which had community outreach programs.

The project focused on two rural communities in St. Vincent, Rose Hall and Dickson¹⁴. The communities were selected on the basis of advice from the Ministry of Agriculture, given a set of criteria, which included WAND's desire to work in communities of small farmers rather than in estate-based communities. Based on this advice WAND staff then visited the communities and spoke to a number of women about the proposed project with a view to eliciting their response. The women of both communities expressed interest and in Rose Hall a committee, the Rose Hall Committee for Women and Development, was formed by the

women initially contacted by WAND. This committee took responsibility for informing the community about the proposed project, selecting a facilitator (a 33-year old female farmer) and making arrangements for the three-week, community-based workshop on "Participatory Approaches to Community Needs Assessment, Program Planning & Evaluation" held in March 1981.

The workshop was attended by members of the Committee and other women from the community, along with women from the Dickson community, and members of staff of government and non-governmental extension programs which worked in these communities.

Along with the focus on skills in needs assessment, planning and evaluation, attention was also paid to personal development and interpersonal relationships. Participants looked critically at themselves, their strengths and weaknesses, their roles as women and men, and how they relate to others in the family and in the community (Ellis, 1983a).

A variety of popular education methods were used - role plays, problem-solving exercises, drawing, songs and movement, taped interviews, story-telling, and small and large group discussions. The whole community became involved in the training process as participants

interviewed residents, and involved them in the story-telling. The workshop created a space in which the collective knowledge, experience and skills of participants served as the basis for analyzing, reflecting upon and evaluating their own personal situation and that of their community (Ellis, 1983a). It laid the foundation for the on-going process of community participation which was to be the vehicle through which individual projects were identified, prioritized, planned and implemented.

Following the workshop, the Rose Hall Working Group (RHWG) was formed. It comprised representatives of the original WID committee, the project facilitator and representatives of a number of existing organizations, church-based, political party-based and sports organizations. Although it was clear that the focus of the Pilot Project was to be on women's needs and concerns some of the organizations nominated male representatives to the Working Group, and so from the outset the partnership between men and women was emphasized. The Working Group met weekly for the duration of the project (28 months), and continued thereafter for another 8 years at which point (at the 10th anniversary of launching of the Pilot Project) it was agreed that they would meet less frequently because there were now separate sub-committees meeting to deal with each project area.

WAND's on-going role, through the Project Coordinator (one of WAND's Program Officers assigned to the project) was to work with the facilitator (who was paid a small stipend for the duration of the project) to reinforce her skills in managing the project, to assist the Working Group on the on-going formative evaluation of the project and to serve as a Resource Person as needed. The Project Coordinator visited the community on a monthly basis for the duration of the Project, staying for a few days or a fortnight, depending on what was going on in the community and the needs of the facilitator and Working Group.

A Revolving Loan Fund was established for use by the Working Group with funds included in the grant from the Ford Foundation.

The Working Group decided on two initial projects, the formation of a Farmers Group for the purpose of negotiating better prices for the food crops produced by members of the community and a Sewing Project.

Approximately 40% of the Farmers Group were women, a percentage which roughly reflected the participation of women in farming in this community. However, the Group had difficulty getting started because people were reluctant to take on leadership roles. It was soon recognized that this was related to a lack of confidence due to weakness in basic skills in literacy and numeracy among members, and

this led to the identification of the need for an Adult Education program.

The needs assessment for this program provided members of the Working Group with their first opportunity to practice the skills learned at the workshop. The Working Group surveyed almost 900 community members to determine whether there was interest in an Adult Education program in the community. Only three questions were asked:

- (1) Do you think there is need for an adult education program?
- (2) If yes, what subject should it cover? and
- (3) If these subjects are covered, would you attend?

The Project Coordinator then assisted the Working Group with analyzing the results by organizing a community workshop focused on Research and Community Decision-Making Skills. This served to reinforce some of the skills learned at the initial workshop, and to strengthen the confidence of the Working Group. The Group continued to use these skills in participatory research in all its subsequent projects.

Apart from basic literacy and numeracy, the subjects selected for the first Adult Education program included record keeping, home improvements and the growing of vegetables. Many of the teachers were drawn from the staffs of the Ministries of Education, Agriculture and

Health. Members of the community who had skills and information to share were also involved as teachers.

The focus of the Sewing Project was the provision of school uniforms for the children in the village. In order to finance this project the Group engaged in it's first income-generating project: using a traditional fund-raising method (rather than tapping into the Revolving Loan Fund) women in the community made candy and sold it in the school. With the money raised the group purchased material for the uniforms. Two machines were also acquired and two women from the community trained as seamstresses. Many other women in the community had the opportunity to learn basic sewing skills, and every school child in the village received a new uniform that year at less than what it would normally cost if these had been purchased in Kingstown. The Group went on to make other uniforms, for example for the Girl Guides and Boy Scouts, and for the football team.

Other projects initiated or implemented within the period of the Pilot Project included the establishment of a pre-school, a youth group, a library and the building of a community center.

The establishment of the pre-school was of particular significance: it was not only indicative of the kind of priority that emerges when women have the opportunity to shape the agenda, but the process itself provided the

Working Group its first opportunity to negotiate with representatives of state power. Having identified the need for a preschool, the Working Group set about developing a plan for meeting it. This involved locating a suitable place - a spare room in the government primary school; approaching the Ministry of Education for permission to use it; developing a project proposal and identifying a source of funds for equipping the room and paying the pre-school teacher; identifying a suitable person to run the school and arranging for her training. However, having obtained the permission of the Ministry of Education, the Group encountered resistance from the headteacher, who did not welcome the idea of a group of villagers (women at that!) taking over space in 'his' school. The Working Group then called a public meeting and challenged the headteacher to justify his attitude, given the fact that these children needed the educational advantages of a pre-school and the Ministry had agreed. The headmaster changed his position and the school was opened in 1983. The victory gave the Working Group a great deal of confidence in its ability to work out solutions to problems which emerged in the process of meeting felt needs.

The building of the community center was a challenge of another kind. Having negotiated with the government permission to take stones and sand from a nearby quarry and

beach and to have the services of skilled labor, the whole community organized itself to collect this material and to start work on the center on a voluntary basis, using the skilled labor available in the community itself. In the process there was a change of government (in 1984) and the new representative wanted to employ one of his own supporters as the paid contractor for the project. The people of Rose Hall objected to this and told the representative that they would rather do without government assistance rather than have someone from outside the community do work which the people in the community could do themselves. This led to the withdrawal of government financial support for several months, during which time work continued on the building on a voluntary basis. The government finally gave in to the demands of the community and provided financial support which enabled some of the skilled labor in the community to receive wages for their labor.

In addition to these amenities, a number of workshops were conducted within the framework of the Pilot Project. The covered topics such as small business management, appropriate technology, child rearing, problem solving, leadership and interpersonal relations.

In its second year, the Working Group implemented a workshop on the Role of Men in Development. This was

organized in response to resistance of some men to women's leadership in the Working Group. From the outset of the Pilot Project some men had complained that it would "set women against men" or that "women wanted to be on top of men", and these concerns had been addressed as they were raised. However, as the Group grew in confidence it was felt that a special workshop for men would help to

- (a) raise the awareness of the men to the significance of the development process taking place in Rose Hall,
- (b) help men to examine and understand the process, and
- (c) see themselves in relation to that process (Ellis & Lionel, 1983).

The workshop was conducted by the Project Coordinator with assistance from a male colleague, over a three-day period, Friday-Sunday. On the second day women were invited to the sessions, and on the third day the children of participating families joined in. Many described this activity as "a spiritual experience".

7.4 Follow-up Activities and Spin-offs of the Project

The facilitator and Working Group continued to function long after the Project (3-year) funding came to an end. Among the projects implemented under the leadership of the Working Group after 1984 were the construction of the community center, the establishment of a community

bakery, the opening of a library and the launching of a Parent Education Program focused on the nutritional needs of children.

The Adult Education program continued as an on-going activity and the inclusion of classes in food-preservation led some women in the community to start small income-generating projects of their own.

Although the regular visits of the Project Coordinator stopped with the ending of the Pilot Project, the association between WAND and the community continued (up to 1995), and the Working Group called on the Unit from time to time to provide assistance of various types. This assistance included technical assistance in project development and sourcing funds, and with the management of the bakery; assistance in the conduct of workshops for skills training (e.g. a workshop on Leadership Development for New Leaders and one on Managing Community Economic Enterprises) as well as awareness-building (e.g. workshops on Environmental Concerns and on Empowerment). WAND was also often invited to facilitate the annual, formative evaluation sessions with the Working Group.

The Workshop on Empowerment, conducted by a graduate student from the University of Guelph (Canada) was organized in the context of WAND's increasing emphasis on the empowerment approach and its wish to have the concept

defined by women like those of Rose Hall. Since the term was not commonly used, the workshop opened with the following description of its purpose:

Life is a journey, a striving on, gaining power, action. What are the inner things that enable one to achieve? We are not talking about the outward things you can see, like a bakery or a building, I want you to write one word on each piece of paper that describes what you think empowerment means ... write down your own ideas, there is no right or wrong, so don't worry about what your neighbor thinks or is writing. (WAND Program Officer, Jeanette Bell, April 1991).

Participants' words were then sorted and clustered into themes which included the following:

KNOWLEDGE - defined not simply as information but as including "critical use of information" (Harold, 1991, p.94). Knowledge also included 'understanding', different types of awareness and skill development.

COOPERATION - included a "sense of community", "access (through relationships)", "involvement", "caring", "collectivism (coming together around common goals and interests ... leading to a sense of togetherness)", "unity".

LOYALTY - included "love", having "faith", "trust", and "courage".

MANAGEMENT - included "power to do something", "taking control", "authority", "ability to take initiative", "strength to perform/act", "having all rights".

DETERMINATION - included "use of talents", "having motivation", "assertiveness".

CHARACTER-BUILDING - included "higher self-esteem", "pride", "self-assurance", "self-confidence", "ability to better one's position", "independence with your work and money", "money to spend".

Another part of the exercise was to assess the Working Group itself in terms of these themes. References to the Group's demonstration of empowerment related to the experience of building the community center, setting up the pre-school and the bakery. It was also felt that the adult education program had done a great deal to build people's self-confidence through improved literacy and numeracy skills.

Although 'critical consciousness' was not identified by workshop participants, they were asked to what degree they felt that awareness of the larger political issues and systems was important in the empowerment of the Working Group? The following answer given by a participant reflects one of the limitations of the work done by WAND with this Group at this stage, the failure to link the experience of the community to the larger policy framework

linking the micro experience at community level to an analysis of the macro level context.

I don't think that we have dealt directly with those things and that might be one of the shortcomings in all of what we do. However, there were some areas in which some of those things perhaps just thrust themselves on us. Because with the building for example, we were going along merrily with the gathering of stones and sand and so on and then (clap) the government changed and there were some problems. And for the first time it dawned on some of us that we were not looking at what or how the political system could affect our nice little project ... So in that way some of us were shocked into awareness of how larger political activities could affect our lives. But beyond that we have not really addressed those larger political and economic issues. I think that once we talk about politics we have to get people to understand that politics does not necessarily mean party politics - supporting this party or that party ... It (refers) to your whole approach to dealing and organizing activities ... Even within a group you have politics with how you deal with one another, and so on ... Political consciousness would get us a long way. (quoted in Harold, 1991, p. 104).

At the request of the Working Group, WAND assisted in planning the year-long celebration of the 10th Anniversary of the Pilot Project. Activities that year included a major consultation on the Pilot Project and Plans for the Future, a Regional Workshop for representatives of other communities within CARICOM and various cultural events.

Over the years there have also been a number of exchange visits between the women of Rose Hall and women from other communities within St. Vincent, the region and as far afield as Nigeria, Tanzania, India and Argentina.

The facilitator of the Pilot Project has been recruited on the staff of the Community Development Department and works to share this experience with other communities in the country. The Working Group has been institutionalized and although the facilitator is no longer remunerated, the work continues. Membership of the Working Group has changed several times and there is now a new generation of leaders. However, the founding members continue to be involved in activities and to give support to the Group.

7.5 Assessment of Strategies and Methodologies used in the Project

In assessing strategies and methodologies applied in this Pilot Project it would be useful to distinguish between those used by WAND in the implementation of the Project and those used by the Rose Hall Working Group in the implementation of their projects.

7.5.1 Strategies used by WAND

7.5.1.1 Strategy to use a Pilot Project as a way of Testing New Approaches and Hypotheses.

7.5.1.1.1 Nature and Purposes

This strategy was determined by WAND's circumstances which included the need to balance a commitment to work regionally with the reality of the limited resources at its

disposal as well as the wish to work on a number of objectives simultaneously. The purposes of this strategy were a way of:

1. Testing new approaches and hypotheses;
2. Influencing decision-makers;
3. Raising funds for specific items within the broader scope of a multifaceted program;
4. Providing space within which WAND itself could learn about processes and the people it hoped to serve;
5. Nurturing institutional development.

7.5.1.1.2 Assessment

The new approaches brought together people from the community and the extension staff of government agencies such as the Ministries of Agriculture, Health and Community Development in a learning situation (to learn participatory methods for needs assessment, program planning and evaluation); it did not presuppose activities as these were to be determined through the process of community participation; it focused on women's agency; it allowed the community to select its own facilitator. Our hypothesis that women's leadership would result in the setting of priorities which would focus on people's needs,

particularly those for whose care women had responsibility was clearly demonstrated by the priorities which emerged.

The linking of the work of agriculture, health, education and community development led to more coherent programs in all areas. Many of the extension staff who had been involved in the initial workshop continue to adopt a more participatory approach in their work in other villages, and the employment of the facilitator of the Project by the Community Development Department attests to the Department's recognition of the importance of the skills developed through her work in the Project.

WAND has also been able to share this experience with others in the region as well as outside through direct exposure of others to the work in Rose Hall as well as through the documentation of the experience through the publication of casestudies and other material including a training manual, Getting the Community into the Act, (WAND 1984), and through the production of media material such as a video, and material for radio. Women from Rose Hall have also been involved in a number of activities such as training programs, exchange visits and conferences throughout the region and internationally.

The design of the project proposal, which included provision for a revolving loan fund and did not specify activities, was sufficiently flexible to allow the

community to determine its activities after the funding was approved. It also allowed the RHWG to seek funds from other agencies for activities which could not be covered within the Ford grant. This represented a break-through in project funding since project proposals are normally expected to be quite detailed and specific in relation to activities and scheduling.

The proposal also provided funds for a stipend for the facilitator, representing a break from the normal practice of expecting women to work for their community without pay.

The project allowed WAND to test an approach which combined its objectives of building consciousness, capacity and cohesion at many levels, and to see how these reinforced each other: consciousness/awareness of women's roles was increased in the women and men of Rose Hall as well as for the staff of state agencies and other NGOs, and in the process contributed to capacity-building and linkages between the various sectors.

The sharing of the experience with other countries in the region, through exchange visits between women from Rose Hall and those from communities in other parts of the region, through study tours, publications and audiovisual material stimulated the formation of similar approaches and projects.

7.5.1.2 Strategy to use NFE to Build Critical Awareness and Consciousness as well as Skills.

7.5.1.2.1 Nature and Purposes

In examining the NFE strategy it is necessary to acknowledge the pedagogical roots and the sociopolitical context of the project. Nonformal education as a strategy for building critical consciousness, awareness and skills is widely used throughout the world. It is based on a belief in the importance of involving the learner in his/her own learning. It is particularly appropriate for use with adult learners. Freire and others have applied this approach to the development of critical consciousness, and it has been used effectively in the processes of mobilization for action. It is an essential part of any strategy for the promotion of participation and empowerment. While Friere's method of critical consciousness is entirely appropriate to feminist consciousness-raising, WAND's methodology at that time focused on skills building, addressing awareness of gender roles less directly (in order to accommodate the

sensitivity of male participants). The following example of a problem-solving activity illustrates this point.

One of the workshop exercises involved two male and two female participants. In the processing of the exercise it was noted that the women had increasingly withdrawn from engagement in the problem-solving activity. When this was discussed the women stated that although they could see that the men were going in the wrong direction, they withdrew from the discussion because the men were being competitive with each other and that that seemed to be the focus of the men's attention. The facilitator was then able to draw attention to the way in which women tend to allow men to dominate decision-making processes, even when they personally convinced of the validity of their opinion.

The skills built through the workshop included those in participatory research, needs assessment and project planning. The interaction between women from the community and the extension staff (mostly men) built other skills: in the case of the women, their skills in negotiation; in the case of the extension staff, their skills in listening to women.

7.5.1.2.2 Assessment

This strategy was fundamental to the project: it certainly contributed to the building of skills, self-confidence and self-esteem of the women of Rose Hall. Evidence of its effectiveness in these areas been documented extensively in the various casestudies (Ellis, 1983a; Carasco & Rodney, 1987; Ashton, 1990; Benbow, 1997)

and will be commented on more fully below. With these skill the RHWG was able to mobilize the community to meeting a number of needs. It promoted change in the thinking of participants as well as in the community, and contributed also to institutional change in some state agencies.

The RHWG have continued to use NFE in the adult education program as well as in the on-going process of community development.

7.5.1.3 Strategy to Focus on Women's Leadership to Promote a More Holistic, Participatory and Equitable Development

7.5.1.3.1 Nature and Purposes

WAND's focus on women was clearly due to its specific mandate. However, it's use in this particular Pilot Project was also determined by the wish to test the hypothesis that when women were in leadership positions the whole community would benefit: that due to their gendered role in reproduction they would use their leadership to promote programs and activities which would benefit their families and the larger community. This, in addition to the belief that people know best what is in their own interest, informed the decision to focus on women's empowerment, rather than on specific projects.

7.5.1.3.2 Assessment

This strategy was undoubtedly the key to the success of the Project. The choice of projects was clearly influenced by the fact of women's leadership, and the whole community benefited from these choices, as evidenced by the fact that many of projects which were initiated or were strengthened as a result of the work of the RHWG focused on the needs of children and young people (e.g. the pre-school and uniform projects), without neglecting those which benefited farmers (the farm supplies shop), or the wider community (e.g. the community center, the bakery and the library).

People are sometimes fearful of women's power: they fear that it would lead to the break-up of families, to the subordination of men, to the loss of 'traditional', 'family values'. Women who assert their rights are judged as selfish, egotistical and aggressive. And yet, unless women have autonomy, confidence and skills their priorities (which most often relate to the well-being of those for whom they care) may not receive attention.

7.5.1.4 Strategy to Link Non-Governmental Initiatives at the Community Level to State Policies and Programs at National Level.

7.5.1.4.1 Nature and Purpose

The project's attempt to bridge the gap between the community and state agencies was based on my own experience of working with both government and NGOs and the recognition of the need for complementarity between the two sectors. We acted on the assumption that the role of the state is to assist people to improve their welfare and to promote the country's development; an assumption of partnership between the state and civil society for the common good. At the same time, we wanted to sensitize certain key state agencies to women's capacity for defining their own needs and concerns and to opening space for this to happen in relation to development programs affecting the community. Finally, there was recognition of the fact that it was the state that would have to provide certain basic goods and services needed by the community - education, health, roads etc. The project could not be a substitute for state programs.

7.5.1.4.2 Assessment

The Project succeeded in creating the link between women in the community and the state agencies. Immediately following the launching of the Project representatives of

the community followed up their contacts in the agencies which had participated in the workshop. This relationship has continued over the years so that, according to a member of the Working Group, "If the department has a problem it consults with the Working Group". The Project has certainly changed the relationship between the state and the community, as witnessed in the ability of the community to assert its own wishes over those of state agencies - a capacity not always welcomed by the state!

The involvement of the key Ministries of Agriculture, Health, Education and Community Development in the initial planning of the Project, and the participation of the field staff of these Ministries in the training program on participatory methodologies, facilitated the contact between community and state agencies which has continued. In short, instead of the usual technical approaches¹⁶ which sought to sensitize government agencies to the needs and realities of women by providing information on the contribution of women to development and possibly the skills for carrying out needs assessments, or doing gender analysis and gender planning, the approach focused on the empowerment¹⁷ of women with the skills, self-awareness, self-confidence and access to resources which enabled the women themselves to sensitize the men and women in these agencies. Its combination of skills training with

awareness-building, and its inclusion of participants from government agencies along with those from the communities were attempts to combine traditional, technical approaches with a more political approach.

7.5.2 Strategies used by the Working Group

7.5.2.1 Strategy to use Participatory Research in the Identification of Needs, and the Planning and Evaluation of Programs and Projects as a Process for Increasing Community Participation;

7.5.2.1.1 Nature and Purpose

Participatory research promotes community participation and serves to reinforce the community's control, it also removes the gap between project identification (by third parties) and implementation: in a sense, the implementation is part of the process of identification.

This methodology was also thought to be essential for an empowerment approach to women's leadership at community level.

7.5.2.1.2 Assessment

The following statement by Jane Benbow (1997) on the effectiveness of participatory research as a strategy provides an accurate assessment of this strategy:

For over 10 years the people of Rose Hall, with the leadership of the Working Group, have identified their own needs and problems, assessed their strengths and weaknesses, and decided what course of action they wish to take in order to improve their community. They have engaged in systematic reflection and analysis of those actions, and made judgments about future actions on the basis of what they have learned. They have not done this in isolation, but rather have engaged their friends and neighbors repeatedly and deliberately in the process. (Benbow, 1997, p. 49)

This strategy and approach led to a level of participation which had never been experienced in the community previously, and which is rare in other communities throughout the region, without the intervention of some agency.

7.5.2.2 Strategy to Link Women's Interests (Practical and Strategic Gender Interests) to those of the Community.

7.5.2.2.1 Nature and Purpose

This strategy, which can be described as expedient, was intended to demonstrate an awareness on the part of the community that women's interests have a direct bearing on the welfare of other groupings. There is little doubt that practical gender interests are also those of the community:

these gender interests relate to women's role in taking care of others (reproductive role). Thus, projects such as the pre-school and the bakery are clearly in the interest of the community. However, we also wished to demonstrate the value to the community of women's empowerment (strategic gender interests).

7.5.2.2.2 Assessment

Although the Working Group did not exclude men, and always engaged in a process of consultation with the larger community, women's leadership was expressed in the choice of many of the projects (as discussed above). However, these gender interests, both practical (as in the case of the pre-school) and strategic (as in the case of women's leadership) were perceived by the community as in its own interest. The emergence of women's 'voice' (see Benbow, 1997) as a force for community improvement was noted by many, including the women themselves: "I never thought of myself as a leader before this project", stated one of the members of the RHWG in one of the Focus Group sessions (March, 1997). This new self-esteem also helped women to successfully challenge the gender division of labor in some households, and to change the attitudes of the community toward domestic violence: "In this community violence against women is no longer acceptable" stated an older man

in the community. Despite the initial resistance of some of the men to women's leadership, the ability of the women to make the link between their interests and those of the community was probably related to the fact that they did not adopt an overtly aggressive stance: they were assertive without being aggressive. Their success can be judged by the fact that most people in the community would probably agree with the following statement made by one of the men in the focus group:

The women brought benefits to the whole community: in my own family, I can see that my wife has benefited from her involvement in the project, but my children and myself have benefited too ... we have a better relationship now.

7.5.2.3 Strategy to Share Leadership.

7.5.2.3.1 Nature and Purposes

The model of leadership in this Project was one which emphasized the capacity of each person for self-actualization and leadership. It rejected hierarchy and the usual concepts of status. Starting with the WAND staff, who held a deep respect for the community and who always emphasized their supportive role, members of the Working Group were encouraged by the Project's Facilitator to share leadership. Emphasis was placed on the recognition of the unique skills of each person in the Working Group, and in the community at large respected.

7.5.2.3.2 Assessment

In the Working Group leadership was decentralized by having different people take responsibility for the various projects. Moreover, the relationship between the facilitator and members of the Working Group was never hierarchical: the facilitator facilitated the process by being in constant contact with people in the community, by organizing meetings and keeping records and following up decisions reached through the process of consultation. The personality of the facilitator, and her credibility with a wide cross-section of the community was critical to the success of the process. Not everything can be guaranteed, and the choice of facilitator was one of the strokes of good fortune in this project. However, it is now possible to draw up a list of criteria for the kind of person most suitable for this work: in the first instance, it is important for the person to be chosen by the community so that she can count on their support; the fact that this facilitator was female seemed important for the success of a project aimed at building women's leadership; another quality is the ability to command respect and to respect others. Basic literacy and numeracy skills are important for record-keeping, but beyond that common-sense seemed to be more important than higher educational qualifications.

The facilitator's maturity is also important in a position which requires patience, tact and life-experience.

WAND took every opportunity to emphasize the Facilitator's and RHWG's autonomy and capacity for taking on leadership roles in the community. For example, the Project Coordinator was never resident in the community and dates for her visits (during the project period) were always arranged at the convenience of the RHWG. At the end of the project period, visits of WAND staff were generally at the invitation of the Facilitator.

7.5.2.4 Strategy of Engagement with the State.

7.5.2.4.1 Nature and Purposes

WAND's inclusion of the extension staff of government ministries in the initial training program served to underline the importance of the state's contribution to the development of the community, and provided the kind of orientation which seemed to help the representatives of these agencies to develop respect for the women of this community. The Working Group was also clear as to their entitlements as citizens.

7.5.2.4.2 Assessment

Representatives of the Working Group were constantly in communication with various state agencies in relation to their needs. The fact that they were not always successful in their lobbying and negotiations with these agencies does not negate the fact that this was a strategy which they continue to pursue. This experience has enabled them to have a clear idea of the line between those things for which the community can take responsibility and those which must be the responsibility of the state.

Notes

¹. The term refers to organizations which sought to coordinate women's groups. They were variously called National Councils of Women, Coordinating Committees of Women etc. At the time of the Seminar they were mostly affiliated to the Caribbean Women's Association (CARIWA). Since the Jamaican government was the only one to have established national machinery on the role and status of women, all governments invited to send representatives to the seminar selected representatives of these umbrella organizations.

². Consciousness among women and men, and awareness within institutions, of the situation and position of women in the region; Capacity of women, organizations and institutions to address issues of concern to women; and Cohesion among programs for greater impact.

³. The designation 'human capital' approach is intended to distinguish more formal approaches to education (e.g. in building skills) from those intended to raise consciousness.

4. WAND publications include annual and program reports; the periodicals: New Woman Struggle (an international newsclipping service), WAND Occasional Papers; and the monthly compilation WAND Health Network Mailout. Audiovisual material includes video tapes, audio cassettes of radio programs, and posters.

5. Formative evaluations are on-going and used for determining programmatic shifts. They are essential to a methodology designed for learning and institution-building).

6. External evaluations are commissioned by funders. Over the years they have been carried out by UNICEF (1980), UNIFEM (1982), Ford Foundation (1986) and HIVOS (1995).

7. 'Short-term technical assistance' involved short-term training (nonformal education), technical support for programs including assistance in the preparation of project proposals for submission to funding agencies, as well as various types of technical co-operation between the countries of the region.

8. See the discussion on the different approaches to WID programs in Chapter 2, as well as Caroline Moser's article (1989).

9. DAWN is a network of Third World feminist researchers and activists formed following the success of the Platform document, Development Crises and Alternative Visions, prepared for the NGO Forum of the Third World Conference on Women, held in Nairobi in August 1985.

10. Jamaica was the first CARICOM country to adopt structural adjustment programs as part of an agreement with the IMF. By 1985 it was clear that these policies were having a devastating effect on women and children, although the UNICEF case study on Jamaica, included in their groundbreaking publication, Adjustment with a Human Face, had not yet been released.

11. See Chapters 5 for a discussion of the process by which the Government of St. Vincent and the Grenadines came to adopt this policy framework, and the way in which it played out in that country.

^{12.} The choice of World Education, a U.S. PVO, to serve as consultants was influenced by a similar project which the organization had carried out in Kenya.

^{13.} A training manual, Getting The Community Into The Act, was prepared and published with assistance from World Education, and other teaching material, including case studies and audio visual material, was prepared for use in both formal and non-formal training programs.

^{14.} The work in Dickson was hampered by the fact that WAND decided to work through an existing farmer's organization, which was dominated by men. The values of this organization was different from those of WAND, especially in relation to women's autonomy and leadership and it soon came into conflict with the emerging leadership. WAND's ability to support the women of Dickson in this area was stymied by the fact that the facilitator was intimidated by her husband's opposition to her participation in the project. In the end, the matter was settled when she got pregnant (it was suspected that this was the husband's way of regaining control) and resigned as facilitator. No other women came forward to take her place.

^{15.} This Canadian researcher had contacted WAND about doing her research on the concept of Empowerment and WAND considered it a good opportunity to test a rather novel approach to the definition of the term. In the first instance the methodology was tested on the WAND staff and then a member of staff accompanied the researcher to the community, and facilitated the workshop.

^{16.} These approaches include seminars and workshops for various levels of policy makers, functionaries and leaders of various agencies and organizations covering the field of women's role in development or gender and development. They include the teaching of skills in needs assessment (e.g. the work of Robert Chambers) and gender analysis and planning (e.g. the work of Catherine Overholt and her colleagues at Harvard and the framework developed by Caroline Moser).

^{17.} In 1981 the word 'empowerment' was not yet in common usage. The project documents spoke of building self-awareness and skills (in needs assessment, planning and evaluation). However, it is clear that these are important elements in the experience of empowerment.

CHAPTER 8

APPARENT IMPACTS OF NONFORMAL EDUCATION PILOT PROJECT

8.1 Introduction

The Pilot Project has been evaluated in a number of documents. These include (i) on-going, formative evaluations by the Rose Hall Working Group (RHWG) and by WAND staff (incorporated into reports to funders); (ii) evaluations which were part of external (funders') evaluations of WAND; (iii) the 1987 Study by Beryl Carasco and Wendy Rodney (published in Weiringa, 1997); (iv) evaluations by the Project Coordinator (Patricia Ellis) at various times [e.g. at the end of the Project (1983) and on the occasion of the 10th Anniversary of the RHWG (1991)]; and, finally, (v) the major evaluation by Jane Benbow (1997).

This chapter draws on most of these, as well as the most recent (1997) contributions from the in-depth interviews with key project participants, and from the focus groups (Questionnaires are at Appendix 1).

The Project's impacts will be examined in relation to its intended outcomes and objectives¹

8.2 Focus Group Analysis of Problems and Recommendations

In the focus group discussions held during the field work for this study (1997) the people of Rose Hall had a clear analysis of their situation, and an equally clear idea of what needed to be done. Four Focal Groups were set up as follows:

- a) Women who had been involved in the Pilot Project
- b) Men who had been involved in the Project
- c) Young people whose parents had been involved in the Project
- d) Young People from other families in the village.

In addition 5 individuals, 4 women and 1 man, who had played critical roles in the Project were interviewed. The following is a summary of their assessment of the changes in their community over the years, as well of the problems facing the community today. They also offer solutions to some of the problems identified

8.2.1 Education

Education was identified, by all groups, as the most significant change which had taken place in the village in the past 30 years: the building of the primary school in the village and the opening of a secondary school in the neighboring village of Troumaca were singled out as having contributed most to all the other changes in the community. Education is highly valued by all age groups and both genders and is viewed as helping people to "advance in life", as contributing to the people of Rose Hall's

"enlightenment" (knowledge and understanding), ability to communicate with each other (young people specified parent-child communications) and to negotiate, equipping people with social skills - the ability to hold conversations.

However, the benefits of a secondary over primary education was not perceived as being significant in assisting young people with getting employment (two young men said that "education did not pay off"). Many of the participants were also critical of the rural (Troumaca) secondary schools: they were not considered as being on par with the main secondary schools in Kingstown, and young people did not think that the new emphasis on informatics in the secondary schools any more likely to help rural youth to get jobs than the establishment of the Industrial Estate in Camden Park (about 15 miles from Rose hall on the way to Kingstown). However, they felt that the upgrading of sports facilities and the introduction of new subjects may help to improve the quality of education in these schools. They also expressed doubts as to the benefits to the young people of the new A-level² College, unless boarding facilities were attached.

Interestingly enough while the womens' group was the most uncritical of education, pointing out that secondary education provided young people with better jobs and opportunities for further education; the men's group had

the most criticisms to make about the education system: they pointed out that there were "too many 8-year-olds not attending school", that teachers needed to be better qualified; that TV was a bad influence on children as it had stopped them playing games; that school buses would help (especially "to save on shoes"); and that the secondary school at Petit Bordel (another village to the north of Troumaca) should offer technical and vocational subjects.

8.2.2 Agriculture

Everyone agreed that agriculture had declined, that it was a difficult occupation, that fewer young people were going in to agriculture (except to grow marijuana) and that agriculture had suffered from lack of government support since the mid-1980s. In fact, there was a general mood of discouragement among all groups in relation to agriculture, which had been the life-blood of the community, because of the absence of markets. People went so far as to question the value of agriculture, not only because there were no markets but also because prices for their produce was so low. People felt that farming was an 'inferior' occupation because of the low returns, but expressed interest if they could have more land and get better prices. Although none of the participants in the groups

seemed likely to be involved in growing marijuana, everyone understood the attraction to the youth who engaged in this, because of its guaranteed market and the higher prices that it commanded. On the other hand, young people mentioned the risks involved in this activity, and the older people blamed the spread of drugs to the deterioration in the respect given to women and older people in the community. The men mentioned the discontinuation of the services of the Marketing Board, but someone expressed the view that the hucksters were more helpful to farmers than the Board.

8.2.3 Health

While the older women noted the great improvements in the health service in the 1960s, there was a general feeling that the service in Rose Hall had deteriorated in recent years. This was underscored by the fact that: the health center had fallen into such serious disrepair that it had to be moved into rented rooms in a private house. People also commented on the introduction of fees, the shortage of medicines and the quality of care. On the other hand, people were full of praise for the nurse (a Guyanese, who lived in the village): they felt that she was doing a good job under very difficult circumstances.

The young people expressed appreciation for the new services, recently introduced, related to STDs and AIDs.

The nurse had formed youth groups and was training young people as peer counselors. She was also conducting health education classes in the schools. The programs on radio and TV on the subject of AIDs and STDs were also mentioned with appreciation.

8.2.4 Drugs

The young people attending the Focus Group meetings, young men as well as women, were all concerned about the spread of the drug culture in their community. They said that from 1987 drugs had become widespread in the community and guessed that "more than half" the young men were involved in drugs; and said that some parents even used their small children to package marijuana. They said that the young men didn't try to hide their activities because their clothes and behavior made a clear statement about their access to more money than was available to others in the community: they tended to wear designer shoes, and "a whole heap of gold chains and rings", they carried around "ghetto blasters" and some rode motor bikes. They said that you could also see the areas in "the mountains" (on the slopes of La Soufriere volcano) where the marijuana was cultivated, they were clearly distinguishable by the difference in shade of green from the surrounding areas. When I inquired how the producers were able to escape the

police they smiled and said that the eradication efforts were "superficial" and "selective". They pointed out that the "real money" came from cocaine, which was transshipped through St. Vincent and the Grenadines; one of the chief "drop off points" was the bay of Petit Bordel, about 4 miles from Rose Hall. However, they felt that the risks were not worth the money paid to the youth: they said that it didn't help the young men to build houses or to support their families. At the same time, there was always the risk of being killed.

They thought that the main reason for the spread of drugs was unemployment, for young men. They said that for young women, unemployment and poverty led to pregnancy. They said that many of the young women were attracted to the young men who were involved in drugs, because of their money.

While the older people expressed concern about drugs also they did not discuss it in such detail as the youth. However, all groups remarked on the increase in violence and disrespect as a result of the spread of drugs in the community.

8.2.5 Re: Government Policies

The young people and the older men commented on the lack of consultation: the young people referred to

government's plans to merge the two secondary schools at Troumaca and Petit Bordel while the men spoke about changes in the marketing Board. They said that there had been more consultation between the government and the people in the past. They mentioned the fact that the district representative (the member of parliament for the district) hardly ever visited the village, except at election time.

The women talked about how regional and international factors affected trade. They mentioned the loss of the Trinidad market - obviously a major event in their lives.

8.2.6 Government Support for Farmers

All groups expressed the view that the government was no longer interested in small farmers. The following examples were given:

- * The reduction in services of the Marketing Board as well as the fact that the Board was importing items which were competing with their produce, e.g. carrots and sweet peppers;
- * The lack of help in securing markets (they mentioned that in the 1970s, under the Agriculture Marketing Protocol, St. Vincent had guaranteed market in other CARICOM countries for food crops; St. Vincent was a leading producer of food in the region;
- * The discontinuation of the annual Agricultural Exhibitions, which had done a great deal to encourage farmers;

- * The lack of support services to help farmers diversify their crops.

8.2.7 Re: Independence

The young people felt that Independence was nothing but "a flag waving ceremony". The older people said that today "the government no longer tries to represent people's interest ... politicians are only looking out for their personal interest." Everyone understood the role of the IFIs and the US government in influencing government policies today.

8.2.8 Recommendations from the Focus Groups

The following is a list of recommendations made by the different Focus Groups:

8.2.8.1 Agriculture

1. Need for diversification of the economic base in the village³: the men and women said that government should help by
 - (a) identifying markets;
 - (b) suggesting the types of products suitable for the conditions - soil, rainfall, gradient of land etc.- in the area;

- (c) providing technical assistance through the agricultural extension service;
 - (d) assisting with guaranteeing credit⁴ through the National Commercial Bank.
2. Agricultural Exhibitions should be re-introduced;
 3. The services of the Marketing Board should be restored to its previous level, and the Agricultural Marketing Protocol should be revived with other CARICOM countries.
 4. The emphasis on food security and the manufacturing of agro-industrial products based on St. Vincent's agricultural production should be restored.
 5. There is need for a strong farmers' organization.

8.2.8.2 Education

1. Government should build a wood-work Center in the village give young people skills for self-employment;
2. The rural secondary schools should provide for more vocational training;
3. There is need for a hostel for students from the rural areas attending the A-Level College;
4. There is need for more information regarding educational/training credit schemes and training programs.

8.2.8.3 Health

1. There is need for more flexibility in the assessment of user fees;
2. There is need for a proper health center/clinic;
3. Health education in the schools should be conducted in small groups (like it is done at the health center).
4. Garbage disposal needs improvement.

8.2.8.4 Drugs

1. More attention needs to be paid to prevention. The police programs in the schools and on radio/TV were commended, but the credibility of the police was in question;
2. The government needs make a more serious effort to stop the transshipment of cocaine through St. Vincent and the Grenadines;
3. The penalties for dealing in cocaine should be greater than those for marijuana⁵.

8.2.9 Re: Community Working Group and Other Community Organizations

1. The young people felt that there was need for a community organization which examines the basic needs

of the village and lobbies government on behalf of Rose Hall⁶

2. The women felt that the relationship between the RHCWG and the various Ministries was closer when the Group was more active.
3. The men observed that the level of "togetherness" in the community was greater in the past (i.e. after the Project, and until recently).

In general, there was not a great deal of difference in the views of men and women. The differences were more marked between the generations.

8.3 Analysis

In their solutions the Focus Groups clearly distinguish between actions that they can take themselves, (through the Rose Hall Working Group) and those that must be taken by the state. While they felt that they can deal with the lack of discipline and improvements in the environment, and even with the spread of drugs, they do not think they are in a position to find markets for their products. They consider their level of production too small for them to negotiate overseas markets themselves, and think that government should return to the strategies of the early 1970. They believe that their economy is the basis of their well-being and that if they could have the

government's assistance in finding markets it would be easier to deal with the problems of youth. Finally, they have a very clear grasp of the impact of globalization on the economy of St. Vincent and the Grenadines, especially in relation to the potential loss of the European market for bananas. Although they do not grow bananas they fear the competition for the market for food crops when former banana growers turn to producing these same crops.

The people of Rose Hall gave strong support to Mitchell's New Democratic Party (NDP) in the 1984 election after voting solidly for Milton Cato's St. Vincent Labor Party (SVLP) from the time of its establishment in 1957. However, the community is now more evenly divided between the two parties. Surprisingly, this has not so far destroyed the spirit of cooperation and solidarity within the village. Unlike the situation in some communities where criticism of the government is not tolerated, or where partisan politics has taken on the aura of tribalism (as in Jamaica), the people of Rose Hall do not hold strong views on the government in power. They do however favor a strong role for the state: their history has shown them the value of representative government and the impact of state policies on their lives.

8.4 Impact on Women and Families

The Project was intended to "engage rural women in a process of development through which they examine their economic and social contribution to the development of their community" as well as "women's ability and desire to take on leadership and decision-making roles in their community, and generally improve the quality of their own lives and that of their community". The project certainly gave women the self-confidence, skills and access to resources which enabled them to take on leadership roles in their community in ways which were new and unusual. Through participation in the Working Group they initiated, planned and implemented a variety of projects and programs which have improved the material conditions of life for themselves, their families and their community. Benbow (1997) developed indicators on the Project's impacts on women. These can be categorized as: knowledge, attitudes, Skills, and aspirations.

8.4.1 Knowledge

The project provided the environment in which women were able to create and use their own knowledge which included the history of their community, their country, the region and the world. Through interactions with visitors to the project, and through travel on behalf of the RHWG,

community women broadened their frame of reference. The women also acquired knowledge of resources and how to access them (ibid, p. 7).

8.4.2 Attitude

The most apparent attitudinal change in the women was in relation to themselves. Benbow (1997) described this as Empowerment and identified a number of indicators as evidence of this increased self-consciousness including 'Voice', Self-esteem, awareness of competencies, and ability to meet daily challenges (Benbow, 1997, p. 7 and pp. 33-57). A consequence of this was a change in women's attitude to authority.

When the Project started, many women had to contend with men who questioned their participation, especially in terms of their attendance of meetings. There is now no question of women's capacity to engage in a variety of roles inside and outside the community. In Rose Hall women have always worked outside the home, they have been farmers, traders, teachers and nurses, but it is in the area of leadership that the change has been most notable.

Another consequence of women's new-found self-esteem has been the transformation of gender relationships especially when one takes account of the reservations and resistance of some of the men in the community at the

beginning of the process. Although initially a number of men were fearful that the self-confidence and independence acquired by the women as a result of their involvement in the Project would lead to a deterioration in the relationship between the sexes, the opposite proved to be the case. All reports (Ellis, 1983a: Carasco & Rodney, 1987; Benbow, 1997) highlight this. The workshop on the Role of Men in Development helped to defuse the concerns of the men and to open up new levels of communication and cooperation between the men and women.

Improved relationships between men and women can be assessed from the fact that there is more sharing of domestic (reproductive), household maintenance tasks; a greater appreciation on the part of the men of the value of women's work in the household; more attention paid to the needs of children and the elderly; greater respect for women's ideas and leadership (Benbow, 1997).

Men's participation in domestic labor is the more remarkable given the strongly held views on gender-sex stereotyping regarding men's roles. It is easier for Caribbean men to accept women's role in the public domain than for them to accept men's role in household maintenance tasks, especially if there are more than two women in the household⁷ quotation from a man captures the transformation

When my wife started comin' to classes I didn't want her to come 'cause I was the one had to keep the children. But soon I saw so much improvement in the home, in things she was learning to do better in the home and in the community that I decided I was happy to keep the children and do my part. (Benbow 1997, p.61)

It is also said that as a result of the Project "Plenty of the menfolks do their own washing and ironing".

Although the Project did not address the issue of domestic violence directly, one of the outcomes was that, as one man said about two years ago, "In this village we don't tolerate men beating women no more".

8.4.3 Skills

The project enabled women to acquire a number of skills. In addition to those gained at the various workshops (skills in participatory research applied to needs assessment, planning and evaluation) there was improved literacy and numeracy; the ability to conduct meetings and keep records; skills in problem-solving, negotiation and ability to deal with authority; the ability to meet challenges; ability to think and plan for the future. A consequence of this was the greater diversity in the roles played by women in village life.

8.4.4 Aspirations

Equally impressive has been the way in which involvement in the Project seems to have motivated participants and the children of women who had been involved to pursue tertiary education. Before the Pilot Project no one from Rose Hall had attended university; there are now 5 persons (4 women and 1 men) who have Bachelor of Arts degrees, and 2 of these have Masters, one from a Canadian university and the other from the University of the West Indies. While this was facilitated by the increased access to secondary education for the young people of Rose Hall, as a result of the opening of the secondary school in the neighboring village of Troumaca, the young people involved attribute their motivation to pursue higher education to their involvement in the Pilot Project: they say that it gave them the confidence as well as the commitment to "give something back to their community". Three of the 4 children of the facilitator have pursued post-secondary education, a remarkable achievement for a family whose parents (and grandparents) are farmers with only a primary level of education.

All the young people who went on to university have returned to live and work in Rose Hall, a practice which is rare in young people from rural communities.

8.5 Impact on the Community

As Benbow points out

Much of the success (of the Project) is specifically related to (the women's) focus on inclusiveness, both in contextual decision-making and maintenance of community. (Benbow, 1997, p. 77).

The song, written by the Rose Hall Working Group and sung at the beginning of every meeting (to the tune of "O Tannenbaum"), shows that the vision of the women who took initiative in this Project emphasized the values of sharing, cooperation and unity, and always envisaged the extension of benefits from the self to others in the community.

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

Benbow quotes from a letter to the local newspaper, written in 1992 by a man from the community now resident in Canada:

I want to congratulate the women of Rose Hall Working Group for the great success they had on building the community center. In order to do so they had to overcome the government who tried to stop them. The women of Rose Hall are strong women and I am proud to have known and worked with them. If the government of St. Vincent is serious about development, I would recommend that they choose 15 good women and let them run the government. (1997, p. 59)

A visit to Rose Hall fifteen years after the launching of the Pilot Project clearly reveals the physical improvements to the community. While some of these improvements - in the roads, housing, water supply and electricity, access to telephones and televisions are due to general improvements in the standard of living generated by government policies, others are clearly related to the Project. But some of the physical improvements are also due to the less tangible development of the human resources and social capital in the community. In particular, the capacity of members of the community to discuss issues, to cope with the increasing hardships and to solve problems are clearly related to the skill generated by the Project. The following quotations give a sense of the change that has taken place in the quality of life in the community:

Rose Hall used to have a bad reputation. We were known as aggressive, illiterate mountain folk who did nothing but agricultural work. Others saw us as coarse and rough. The first school came to Rose Hall only in 1960; before that anyone had to go to another village to get an education. Now other villages come to Rose Hall and ask for help in getting their development activities started. Even though they are often jealous of us and ask how we could have done such things and made so much more progress, they still see us as a model. (Benbow, 1997, p. 41)

And from an earlier study:

The face of Rose Hall has indeed been altered substantially. Many of the older residents of the village say that a "wind of change has blown over the area". But the enduring qualities of community cooperation and togetherness - as well as the perennial connections with the land - remain. And these have been transformed into the spirit of perseverance, resourcefulness and cohesion which is increasingly manifest in the lives and contributions of the villagers. (Carasco & Rodney, 1987 p. 70)

In fact, the quality of life in Rose Hall is perceived as being better because of the increased leadership of women. An assessment of the type of projects undertaken by the Working Group under the leadership of women reveal a wide range of concerns from those related to their income as farmers to those related to the well-being of their children. Although the women exhibited strong leadership it was never used to 'dominate' men, as some had feared. Indeed, one might wonder whether under male leadership the same concerns for children and the quality of family life would have been identified as priorities. Certainly, these needs were never given much attention until women came into leadership in the community.

Although the process of community participation in problem-solving can mitigate against partisan politics, people in Rose Hall also think that women's leadership has contributed to a less acrimonious and more focused approach to party politics.

At the time of the launching of the Pilot Project in 1981 there were a number of voluntary organizations in the village, but these were largely church-based groups and sports clubs for young people. There were also branches of the Girl Guides, Boy Scouts, the Red Cross, and the St. Vincent Labor Party. The coming together of representatives of these groups to form the Women in Development Committee (later to become the Rose Hall Community Working Group) was the first step toward a broad-based group focused on meeting the needs of the community. But the Rose Hall Working Group is more than yet another voluntary organization, it has been the vehicle through which the community became empowered to make use of opportunities for improving the quality of life in Rose Hall. Clearly, the Project helped build the social capital that is an essential part of the process of development. By providing a space in which the community could come together to identify common concerns and to work on finding solutions, the Project contributed to the building of trust and mutual support which are essential to the process of nation-building and development.

8.6 Impact on Government Programs and Policies

The Project was intended as a model of bottom-up development designed to influence official policy in planning and designing national programs to ensure the full

participation of women at all levels. It has certainly become 'a model', and is referred to as such by many state agencies. Its impact on the participation on women is examined above, here we can examine the extent to which it influenced official policy. Although it had little effect on macroeconomic policies, and the fall-out of policies of structural adjustment on the overall allocations of resources to and directions of the sectors of agriculture, education and health it can be said, to some extent, to have influenced the design and implementation of sectoral projects in community development, agriculture, health and education. Apart from its employment of the facilitator on its staff, the Community Development Department often uses the experience of the Project as a case study in its training programs for field workers. Many of these in-service training programs are funded by the British Development Division (BDD), which has expressed a special interest in the process in Rose Hall. The training manual has also been widely distributed and is used in some of the programs of the University as well.

The strategies of community participation and women's empowerment are also part of the Primary Health Care Strategy adopted by the Ministry of Health within the framework of the World Health Organization's call for "Health For All by the Year 2000", so the Rose Hall project

reinforces, and is reinforced by, the practices of the Ministry of Health.

In the Ministry of Agriculture, the Projects focus on women is still largely resisted at the more senior levels, although the extension officers who participated in the initial workshop report that the experience has continued to influence their approach.

In the case of Education, the Ministry has appointed women from Rose Hall in many of their adult education programs, as well as in the schools. Two members of the original Working Group, having acquired university degrees, now occupy senior positions in state schools.

Moreover, the transformation in the relationship between women and men has been paralleled by the transformation in relationships between the community and the state. No longer do the chief initiatives come from the Ministries (seeking to impose their own agendas on the community). Rather, it is the community which makes demands on the Ministries, and directs these services after a process of needs assessment and consultations involving the community and planning by the Working Group.⁸

The application of the skills in needs assessment (participatory research), planning and evaluation (management skills), and the identification of and access to resources arising out of the workshop has been critical to

the community's ability to define its own agenda, and to ensure that its needs are met. It has also helped ensure greater responsiveness by and respect from state agencies and NGO agencies. Reflecting on the relationship between the male staff of state agencies and the women of Rose Hall there is little doubt that it was the empowerment of the women in the community, rather than any (dubious!) sensitivity of the technicians that made the difference in women's capacity to exercise leadership and to access the resources from government agencies with which they were able to improve the quality of their lives.

At the same time, as can be seen from Chapter 6, it is clear that the Project did not protect the people of Rose Hall from the impact of the adjustment policies introduced in 1984, and especially after 1989.

Although the two are closely linked, I want to make a distinction between improvements to the quality of life and improvements to the standard of living. They are not necessarily the same thing. For example, in Rose Hall the Project - along with better social services, access to utilities and housing - certainly helped improve the quality of life for the majority of people in the village who could exercise more control over their community and more personal choices. When people's economic activities were supported by government policies, specifically assistance in

marketing, they were able to improve their standard of living as well. However, with the sustained loss of markets their standard of living could not be maintained, although this may not necessarily affect the quality of their lives. The qualitative aspects are, however, affected in the long run if people are not able to find alternative sources of livelihood which are consistent with the values promoted through social development. This is what is now at stake in the community as the drug trade and its culture takes hold and threatens the integrity of the community.

In the thirteen years (1981-1994) since the launching of the Pilot Project the process of participatory development has led to the creation of human, physical and social capital in Rose Hall.

Of the three, the concept of social capital is not very well understood, or recognized as an important aspect of economic development. Physical capital is easily recognized and valued. Human capital formation is gaining increasing acceptance as an essential component of economic production, although human capital formation, or human resource development, tends to be associated with formal education, and especially with technical and vocational education. However, the concept of social capital and its importance to socioeconomic development has only begun to gain recognition in the past 10 years. Coleman (1988, S95-

S119) examines three forms of social capital: obligations and expectations, information channels, and social norms⁹. All of these can contribute to helping marginalized communities, or sectors, not only to survive socio-economic crises but, as Rose Hall shows, to build a base from which to improve their quality of life.

The relationships of caring, cooperation, and commitment to community, along with knowledge, skills, and access to resources (including those of the state) generated and reinforced through the Project enabled the community, after 1985 to maintain the quality of life as well as standard of living for several years. Theoretically, these values can inform community organization as the basis for alleviating the crises generated by the prolonged loss of markets, increasing unemployment, alienation among youth and the spread of the drug culture.

However, there will always be limits to what communities like Rose Hall can achieve on their own; or to what non-governmental organizations or programs such as WAND can do to help in the solution of these problems: NGOs do not have the resources to maintain roads, schools or health centers; nor can they negotiate trading protocols or overseas markets for major exports. Only the state can provide the

necessary enabling environment through the adoption of supportive macro and sectoral/meso policies¹⁰.

8.7 Mitigating Effects of the Non-formal Education Project on Policy Impacts

The pilot project did not, and could not be expected to protect the people of Rose Hall from the worse consequences of the government's policy choices. Nevertheless, it did serve to mitigate some of these, as the following section will suggest. The effects of the Project which have helped people to cope better can be categorized in relation to (a) livelihood, (b) amenities, (c) education, (d) health and (e) capacities to cope and survive.

8.7.1 Livelihood

While the people of Rose Hall have lost the main market for their produce, they have continued to produce traditional crops - especially root crops - which they sell in the domestic market. The acquisition of skills in literacy and numeracy through the adult education program has helped farmers to find alternative markets themselves, and more importantly, to understand the need to analyze the causes of the loss of markets and to anticipate future trends. As one farmer put it:

The collapse of the banana market will make things worse for us because all those banana farmers that go out of business are going to start growing the same food crops as Rose Hall, and then we will lose sales" (Farmer at Focus Group session, January 1987).

The capacity to analyze and plan for the future should help them identify crops in which they have a comparative advantage, and to seek markets outside St. Vincent.

Lately, the government has been trying to promote agricultural diversification and, for example, has encouraged livestock production. However, farmers have pointed out the limitations of the government's approach in it's failure to make provision for the higher level of finance that will be required to acquire stock, build pens and purchase feed.

The analytical skills acquired in conducting need assessments on the bakery and other economic projects are still in evidence and these are being used to assess the feasibility of alternative projects in the future. Several workshops on the management of economic enterprises have also provided skills for people wishing to go into income-generating projects on their own. Two women had started small agro-industry projects as cottage industries with the skills in food preservation acquired at the adult education class. These projects have continued to enhance family income; and other women may be encouraged to start

projects. For example, consideration is being given to bee-keeping.

8.7.2 Amenities and Infrastructure

The Project accelerated and expanded improvements in the standard of living arising from the provision of water, electricity and telephones to the village. The benefits to the women in terms of time saved in household maintenance has not been affected by the policies, although the cuts in health services in the community along with the increasing cost of these services at a time when income has been decreased, has placed additional demands on their time. From 1984-1988 the main road from Kingstown was in such bad repair that neither public nor taxis could be persuaded to go to Rose Hall. The only transport for the people of the village was provided by a van, which the Project had acquired, and a 'mini bus' owned by one of the villagers.

The fact that the rates charged on these vehicles were not commensurate with the maintenance cost illustrates the point that the owners (the private operator no less than the Working Group) were more concerned with service to the community than with making much of a profit. When the government resumed working on repairs, the road into the village was given priority, due to the ability of the Working Group to lobby successfully (according to one

resident of Rose Hall). There is also talk now of the paving of some of the paths within the village, through the combined efforts of the government and the community. With the fall in incomes and the rise in rates the number of households who could afford to have their homes connected to the water mains fell, however, because of the spirit of community generated by the project they were not as inconvenienced as in the past. Although after 1984 no more low-income housing was built by the state, some of the low-income people in the community who wished to improve their standard of housing were able to do so with assistance from skilled workmen in the community. This long-standing tradition, had been in abeyance, but was revived in the context of the Project. In addition, to supplement this mutual self-help, people used remittances from relatives overseas to help in improving their accommodation: women, especially low-income women, attach great importance to housing and the Project stimulated pride in the standard of housing in the village, so the upgrading of housing continued throughout the 20-year period covered by the study. The community center, constructed as a result of the community spirit generated by the Project, continued to serve as a focal point. Housing as it does the pre-school, the library, and the bakery, the community center draws to it all age-groups in Rose Hall. The large hall on the

upper level continued to serve as the place for meetings or celebrations.

8.7.3 Education

The presence of the young people in the community who had attended university following their participation in the project serves as an inspiration to others. They continue to be actively involved in the adult education classes, and in some ways this compensates for the deterioration in the schools. As teachers in state schools they are also aware of developments within the Ministry of Education and of negotiations between the teachers' union and the Ministry on issues such as school maintenance, shortage of supplies, the re- introduction of school fees, conditions of service and changes in the curriculum. Their awareness helps the larger community to understand something of the policy framework within which this is taking place. Since 1984 other young people from the community have been attending university, an indication of the role the Project played in human resource development.

8.7.4 Health

The good relationship between the public health nurse and the community, cemented by the Project, has enabled the nurse to receive excellent cooperation from the community,

despite various set-backs (the clinic's inadequate quarters, the increased cost and shortage of drugs, and the new attitude on the part of the public health physician who visits weekly but now gives better service when people attend his private clinics than when they attend the public clinic). The nurse, a Guyanese, has served in this community for nearly 15 years and is considered part of the community. Participants in the Focal Groups had high praise for her determination to provide a good service, and made particular reference to some session, recently started, with young men and women on sexuality and AIDS. She is also concerned about the spread of drug abuse, and the rise in the number of teen-age pregnancies, and consults with the Working Group on these and other issues.

8.7.5 Capacity to Cope

The level of confidence and self-reliance in this community ebbs and flows. Always the people maintain their resilience in the face of change, and the Project has helped institutionalize Rose Hall people's ways of coping. For example, they meet to analyze emerging problems and to seek ways of solving them. Recently, they have held discussions on problems ranging from those created by loss of markets, the spread of illegal drugs, the increasing lack of discipline among young people and garbage disposal.

At the same time the people of this community are clear about the obligations of the state, and they have the confidence to continue to make their views heard, and to hold governments accountable. The exposure to the data generated by this study has already given them a clearer picture of what is at stake, and the role that communities like theirs can play in the search for alternatives. The women in particular have grown in stature, and while their level of participation in the Working Group had diminished at the time of Jane Benbow's evaluation, as a result of this evaluation they have become more aware of the relationship between the level of their participation and a certain loss of energy in the Group in recent years. Since then they have been taking steps to renew the activities of the Working Group.

8.8 Conclusion

There is no doubt that national policies have an impact on every aspect of life at the level of communities. Rural communities, because of their relative poverty and dependence on the state for infrastructure (roads, water and electricity) as well as for better-equipped educational and health services, are particularly vulnerable when the state cuts back on its budgets. In their solutions the Focus Groups clearly distinguish between actions that they

can take themselves (through the Rose Hall Working Group) and those that must be taken by the state. While they felt that they can deal with increasing indiscipline among the youth and even with the spread of drugs, and even the inadequacy of amenities, they do not think they are in a position to find markets for their products. They consider their level of production too small for overseas markets, even the regional market, and think that government should return to the strategies of the early 1970s. They believe that agriculture is the basis of their well-being and that if they could have the government's assistance in finding markets it would be easier to deal with the problems of youth.

The Rose Hall experience holds clues as to the role of nonformal education in creating the social infrastructure for a more holistic, participatory, equitable and sustainable development for rural communities, and suggests strategies that may help people of rural communities to sustain themselves through changes brought about by factors outside their control.

The experience helps us distinguish between those actions which lie within the control of the community and those that do not, and suggests the strategies and methodologies, as well as the institutional arrangements which facilitate sustainable community development.

Notes

1. For a full evaluation of the Project see Jane Benbow's Participatory Evaluation Among Rural Women: Charting the Birth of Articulation and Power (1997)

2. The most recent major advance in secondary education in St. Vincent and the Grenadines was the establishment of this College, which would expand opportunities for entrance to University for young people who attended secondary schools which did not have 6th Forms (the highest level of secondary education).

3. This is interesting in view of the fact that this is something that government itself is promoting. However, according to the farmers (men and women), government does nothing to help farmers to diversify.

4. Obviously lack of cash is a major constraint to poor people who may be willing to diversify, or purchase land for the expansion of their farming activities.

5. Currently, the opposite is the case - a clear example of class-bias, according to the young people.

6. This is a reflection on the shift in emphasis of the Rose Hall Community Working Group (RHCWG) from these activities to its current focus on project management.

7. This probably a middle class position related to the presence of domestic helpers in the household along with the wife.

8. In fact, there are many examples of instances where the community, through the Working Group, challenged the design and approach of government programs e.g. They rejected the Government's selection of contractors from outside Rose Hall to work on the community center.

9. For an interesting discussion on "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital" see the article by James S. Coleman in the American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 94 1988. It focuses on "The conception of social capital as a resource for action" in analyzing the problems of school-drop-outs in the US.

¹⁰. Diane Elson used the concept of 'meso' policies to define policies which fall between the macro and the micro. They are often sectoral, but not always. (Elson 1989).

CHAPTER 9

MACRO-MICRO LINKAGES AND IMPLICATIONS OF STUDY

9.1 Introduction

This study of the impacts of state policies on the economy and people of in St. Vincent and the Grenadines, and the role of nonformal education interventions in mitigating or supporting these impacts, has focused on linkages: those between global trends in thinking about socio-economic development and state policies at national level, as well as those between national policies and the experience of women and families at the local level. It has also considered the link between the role and status of women and the design and outcomes of development programs. It has examined the link between nonformal education and development and, finally, the link between the work of non-governmental organizations and that of state agencies.

By directing attention to the points at which disciplines, initiatives and lived experience interconnect, the study makes apparent the inadequacy of conventional epistemologies and methodologies for addressing the problems confronting us today.

Although the scope of the study has been broad and complex, I have felt it necessary to make the attempt because these linkages are seldom explored. Moreover, it

draws on my own experience of working in all these areas over the past 40 years.

However, in drawing conclusions, the limitations of this ambitious project become clear. The specificity of the experience is such as to make generalizations suspect: the differences even between St. Vincent and the Grenadines and other countries in the region caution against extrapolation. In this age of globalization, characterized by conformity, it is more important than ever to affirm the uniqueness of each country, and the need for each to define its own path and processes based on its own history, culture and capacities.

Nevertheless, there are certain principles that apply when the goal is to secure the well-being of people. I have tried to highlight these in the study. The implications of the study for development theories, policies, programs and strategies as well as for nonformal education interventions might therefore still hold some value for others working in these fields.

9.2 Indications of Macro-Micro Linkages

In reviewing and analyzing the trends in national policies in St. Vincent over the 20-year period, 1974-1994, it is clear that these policies are closely related to trends in international thinking on development, indeed, a

cursory reflection on the links between global events and those in the countries of the Caribbean indicates a close relationship between global and regional which goes back into the history of these countries. Colonization, slavery, as well as the emancipation of slaves - all were part of global trends. The social unrest of the 1930s in the region was related to upheavals following the Great Depression, and the independence movements in the region were all part of the global process of decolonization.

In the 1950s the emphasis on the role of the state in economic planning was reflected in the establishment of Planning Units in many of the larger territories such as Jamaica and Trinidad and in the promotion of a manufacturing sector through a strategy of 'industrialization by invitation' focused on import-substitution-industrialization (ISI). Community Development programs were also established or expanded.

Within the context of the Development Decades of the United Nations, international trends in the 1960s and 1970s favored broad-based approaches to economic development and the men elected to political power in St. Vincent and the Grenadines used these opportunities to build the foundations for broad-based socio-economic development.

In the 1970s, with the realization that the benefits of growth had failed to trickle down to the poorest sectors,

the emphasis shifted from the role of market forces back to the role of the state in guaranteeing benefits to certain disadvantaged groups through targeted policies, focusing on strategies which emphasized Basic Needs and Integrated Rural Development Programs (IRDP). The United Nations replaced the World Bank as the chief arena in which these strategies of equity and justice were promoted by the Group of 77 (G-77) developing/non-aligned countries and debated through the calls for a New International Economic Order and the North-South dialogues.

In terms of development policies at national levels, the calls were for growth with equity and for the introduction of policies which would focus on meeting basic needs. In St. Vincent these trends were reflected in the emphasis on agriculture and rural development, and in the policies to encourage industrial development based on import-substitution strategies focused on agro-industries.

In the Caribbean the initiatives and debates at the international level were reflected in the new movements for social transformation in Guyana, Jamaica and Grenada, as well as in emphases on development strategies which focused on meeting basic needs, community development and integrated rural development.

In the 1980s the pendulum was to swing once more to the primacy of the market in determining the pattern of

economic growth, and the policy framework of structural adjustment with its emphasis on budget-cutting in the public sector and market liberalization became the conventional wisdom of the day. More than this, in the context of the debt crisis, the International Financial Institutions (IFIs) under the leadership of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) were able to impose these policies as conditionalities of assistance across a wide range of countries, primarily in Latin America, the Caribbean and Africa, although some countries in Asia such as the Philippines and the Pacific Islands were also induced to accept the policy framework of structural adjustment. Just as the World Bank had been the focal point for development strategies in the 1960s and the UN in the 1970s, the IMF became the household-name in the 1980s.

In the Caribbean, Jamaica was the first country to embrace the IMF-inspired policies of structural adjustment (SAPs), and to turn away from the socialist-oriented trends of the 1970s, but by 1984 SAPs had been adopted as the policy framework by the Heads of Government of the CARICOM region, with the new government of James Mitchell St. Vincent using it as the signature of his first term of office.

One of the consequences of these policies was the weakening of the capacity of the state to protect the

interests of the poorest sectors of the society, and a questioning of the role of the state itself.

In 1990s, with the establishment of the World Trade Organization, the emphasis is now on global markets. CARICOM governments which had been eager to sign the new GATT and the protocols for the establishment of the WTO, believing that free trade would guarantee their access to the markets of the industrialized countries, soon discovered that market liberalization continued to be mediated by political power and that small island developing states would be at a distinct disadvantage in a global economic system in which competitiveness was a function of economies of scale and cheap labor. St. Vincent (and the other countries of the Windward Islands) where bananas had become the center-piece of their economies, were forced to face up to the threat to their preferential access to the European market posed by globalisation and enforced by the WTO.

However, while this study shows the ways in which the development policy in St. Vincent reflected the global trend it is clear that these trends were also mediated by political realities - i.e. by the personalities, political philosophy and personal ambitions of the political leadership.

Although a small-island state like St. Vincent cannot change international power structures or initiatives,

successive governments have in fact been able to exercise their own choices as to the extent to which they comply with these trends - at least in the short-run: thus, the government of 1974 -1984 (two administrations) was able to resist international and regional trends toward equity and popular participation as well as those toward fiscal conservatism; while from 1984 -1994 the government (two administrations) while officially adopting the policy framework of structural adjustment, nevertheless implemented the provisions very selectively and in a way which was to lead to outcomes which were the opposite of what was expected.

While the administration from 1984-1989 generated the budget surpluses which won the applause of the IFIs it failed to create the conditions for the strengthening of the local market and entrepreneurship. At the same time, while the government in terms of its internal operations, succeeded in turning a budget deficit into a surplus on current account, the balance of payments deficit increased from US\$24.8 million in 1984 (7.1% of GDP) to US\$81.1 million in 1994 (17.2% of GDP) due to a combination of major increases in imports, declining exports and increased debt servicing brought about by imprudent support for foreign investors.

Another example of the way in which the governments of 1984-94 resisted the trends of the times relates to the role of the state. There is no evidence of a decline of the role of the state during this period as can be judged from the following:

(a) Government expenditures continued to increase from EC\$18.3 million in 1984 to EC\$26.4 million in 1994 (at constant prices), representing a 13% contribution to GDP, a slight drop of 1.7% as compared to the drop of 3.3% between 1974-1984 (in other words, the contribution of Government Services to GDP had begun to decline before 1984, and declined by a greater percentage under the previous administration). Another way of viewing this is to note that the contribution of Central Government Expenditures to GNP continued to rank third in sector contribution throughout the 20 year period.

(b) The state continued to play a major role in the economy, not only providing the traditional guarantees to foreign investors, but serving as a major investor itself. Apart from the closure of the sugar factory in 1995, there were no major divestment's in public sector investments during this period.

(c) Private schools continued to depend heavily on state subsidies for their operations, and although a second

private hospital was established, the vast majority of the population continued to depend on state services.

(d) The absence of a parliamentary opposition between 1989-1994 allowed the government to consolidate its power while lessening its accountability, the result is that the power of the state was far greater in 1994 than it had been in 1984.

It might be useful to examine some of the ways in which these linkages have been forged and strengthened through inter-personal and institutional experiences and arrangements.

1. The relationship between educational systems and the spread of the ideas and values of the colonial powers has been explored by writers led by Friere (1970). Similarly the hegemonic powers of the colonizers have been elaborated by Fanon (1968) and others. The political leaders and policy makers of countries like those of the Caribbean have been mostly socialized and educated to accept uncritically the theories, prescriptions and practices of Western civilization, and it should not be surprising that they follow the conventional wisdom of the North.

2. The relationship of dependency - economic and political - imposes a predisposition to acceptance of the ideas of countries like the U.S. and Britain.

3. The international financial institutions (IFIs), the World Bank and the IMF, are able to impose their expectations and conditionalities, both formally and informally, through the mechanisms by which they provide assistance, loans and aid, this includes their 'policy dialogues', which take place on a regular basis, whether or not they are providing financial assistance¹.

While advances in communication technologies - transportation as well as electronic - which have taken place in the second half of the 20th century have facilitated these linkages, the most powerful external policy interventions in the post-colonial period of development in these countries has come as part of the package of assistance offered by or sought from the international institutions such as the United Nations, and especially the international and regional financial institutions such as the World Bank/IMF, the Inter-American Bank (IDB) and the European Economic Community (EEC) (Anderson & Witter, 1994, p. 2).

All of this makes it clear that the context in which the action takes place is often more important than the political philosophy or ideology of the leadership of any political party. The choices may of course be modified or reinforced, but the hegemonic power of the context cannot be denied.

Thus in the case of St. Vincent, in the 20 years under review it has been demonstrated that both Milton Cato and James Mitchell were strongly influenced by the events and prevailing ideas and ideologies of their time. Both were products of colonial middle class society and education as well as of the times in which they exercised leadership (Gonsalves, 1994 and Fraser, 1982). According to Fraser, "it was inconceivable that Cato would have subscribed so easily to the Washington Consensus" (personal communication). A man steeped in the nationalistic milieu of the post-war London of such leaders as Kenyatta of Kenya, Nkruma of Ghana and Adams and Burnham of the Caribbean was more comfortable fighting the British Colonial Office for his country's independence than conforming to the ideology of Ronald Reagan's Washington. Similarly, the individualistic and opportunistic Son Mitchell seems to have had no difficulty in going along with the prescriptions of the Washington Consensus.

The question for historians and social scientists is not whether a mini state like St. Vincent could exercise autonomy but to what extent there was any attempt to be selective in relation to the prescription of the global context in which it operated. It is clear that both Cato and Mitchell sought to capitalize on what they perceived as the opportunities presented by the global environment of

their day in the sun. On the other hand, both were also capable of resisting what they perceived as being inimical to their interests - personal or political. Thus Cato pressed for Independence when the conventional wisdom would have argued for more time to allow the people of St. Vincent to recover from the disruption of the volcanic eruption; while Mitchell demonstrated his capacity for maintaining a central role for the state in the face of the prevailing pressures for privatization².

The collapse of the food crop sector must be recognized as a consequence of a neglect of this sector and cannot be attributed to the intervention of the IFIs. Although undoubtedly there were factors affecting the sector which were beyond the control of the government the fact is that the state from the late 1980s onward did nothing to respond to the emerging crisis in this sector; nor can these global trends determine the allocation of resources between and within sectors. Again, while the switch from the focus on import-substitution/agro-industry production to export-oriented/assembly plant manufacturing could be attributed to global trends, these trends cannot be held responsible for the failure of governments to recognize the limitations of an economic strategy based on the short-term interests of profit-oriented foreign investors. A better alternative

would have been to support the long-term investments of local capital.

The experience of St. Vincent over the past 30 years highlights both the ways in which global trends influence national policy as well as how these might be modified by a Head of State or government which fully understands how these trends might be beneficial or inimical to the majority of their citizens. This creates a context within which civil society, fully informed on global trends and acting with others taking similar initiatives in other countries, might mobilize to define alternative policy choices which can protect their country from the negative consequences of globalization, and hold their government accountable.

9.3 Implications for Development Theorists

Despite the ground-breaking work done by Ester Boserup (1970), and feminist economists like Dalla Costa (1972), Beneria (1982), Deere (1976, 1982), Hartman (1981), Bergman (1987), Sen & Grown (1987), Waring (1988), Folbre (1991), Lewenhak (1992) and Nelson (1996) neo-classical economic theory continues to dominate economics, and development economics, and to ignore women's realities, including the unpaid work of social reproduction. However, given the significance of the role of social reproduction in relation to economic production the exclusion of its consideration in

economic theory calls into question the validity of the theory itself.

The main critiques of these theories by feminist economists have focused on the invisibility of women's unpaid work from calculations of GNP; the discriminatory practices and exploitation of female waged labor arising out of the use of females as a cheap and 'reserve' labor force; dualistic thinking which separates productive from reproductive work and treats reproductive work as an externality; the failure to recognize the significance of gender-power relations as a determinant in resource allocation; and the devaluation of 'women's ways of knowing'.

While other theories contain elements which share some of the concerns of feminist economics none of them are without the male biases which render them inadequate as alternatives for feminists. The common elements include: humanistic economics' critique of the neoclassical focus on rational, autonomous and self-interested agents; liberation theory's emphasis on values and personal transformation; environmental economics' attempt to account for the 'free work of nature'; dependency theories' concepts of the 'dependency' and neo-colonial relations; World Systems' concepts of center-periphery relations. Many offer some elements which could be useful in the construct

feminist theory of development. However, feminist theories of economic development have to overcome the hegemony of a deeply ingrained male bias. As Julie Nelson puts it "The search for better economics may be intimately tied with the feminist effort to rid society at large of its deep-rooted sexism." (1996, p. 139). We clearly need new ways of looking at "our categories of thought and the value we place on different models and methods" (ibid), and we need new concepts for words like 'work', 'labor force' and 'production'.

In the meantime, feminist economists must continue the work of critique and forge links with feminists in other academic disciplines to promote more interdisciplinary approaches to teaching and research, and to widen the variety and scope of interpretive methodologies to engage contemporary philosophical developments. In addition, feminist economists can make alliances with feminists in other development fields - policy makers and planners, activists and development practitioners - to challenge sexism.

9.4 Implications for Development Policies

The experience of the period 1984-1994, within the policy framework of structural adjustment indicates the need for a complete reassessment of the relationship between

economic growth and social development. A change in perspective from one which asks the question "What kind of human resource development is required to stimulate economic growth?" to "What are the macroeconomic policies required to support human development?"

While account must be taken of the global environment, policy-makers could start with the premise that development policies must be based on their own judgment of what is in the best interest of the majority of their populations, based on the history, values and resources of the country. This premise has been challenged by the inability of many states to place the interests of their people above those of international capital. In fact, one of the consequences of the debt crisis of the 1980s and the need of many countries to seek assistance from the IFIs has been an erosion of the accountability of the state to its own citizens. Acquiescence to the conditionalities of IFI assistance by the adoption of policies of structural adjustment has signaled changes in the relationship between states, markets and civil society. In CARICOM countries the post-colonial state had played a proactive role in guaranteeing basic needs such as food, water, primary health care and education for all: this was seen as a defining element of representative government. The apparent abandonment of this mandate in countries in the region has created a credibility

gap between the state and electorates and raised questions of accountability.

In the context of globalization the erosion of accountability has become even greater, along with the need for governments to return to a commitment to placing the interests of its people above those of international capital. In countries like St. Vincent state policy must again be directed toward guaranteeing basic needs, sustainable livelihoods (including agriculture) and rural and social development. This means paying particular attention to the needs of the poor, youth, small farmers and other marginalised sectors - and to women's concerns and interest within each of these categories.

Macroeconomic policies must be consistent with these objectives. Thus, if poverty alleviation, reduction of infant mortality and illiteracy, increased food production, or environmental protection are objectives, then macroeconomic policies must be examined for their impacts on the achievement of these objectives.

The study showed that in St. Vincent between the years 1984-94, and particularly after 1989, macroeconomic policies which focused on the reduction of fiscal deficits were often at the expense of objectives such as the reduction of poverty and unemployment; and sectoral objectives such as food security, improving the health status of infants and

children and improvements in secondary and tertiary education.

For a macroeconomic policy aimed at reducing budget deficits and promoting private sector-led growth to be consistent with other objectives, expenditure on services for small farmers, rural development and the social sector would have to be protected, and cuts made instead in resources allocated to items such as travel expenses for officials, overseas representations and so on. In St Vincent, for example, the construction of a new financial center at a cost of several million dollars could have been eschewed in favor of capital and recurrent expenditures on roads, schools and clinics.

Trade policies must be geared to finding markets for the export of the agricultural products of small farmers and not only for those produced on a large scale. The crisis in the banana industry in St. Vincent points to the dangers of monocrop production. The banana crisis also points to the need for countries like those of CARICOM to work with other countries which are beginning to recognize that the World Trade Organization serves the interests of large corporations rather than those of countries, and to work with other countries which are struggling to protect their people from the excesses of world capitalism to find ways to circumvent or resist the pressures exerted by this agency.

Many countries are doing this by strengthening regional trading arrangements. CARICOM countries need to follow suit, but by starting with their own region, the greater Caribbean, and then by putting their energies into joining MERCOSUR rather than NAFTA or the Free Trade Association of the Americas (FTAA). The recent formation of the Association of Caribbean States (ACS), an association which includes all Caribbean countries, including Cuba, as well as countries like Venezuela which have a Caribbean coast, is a step in that direction.

Sound sectoral policies are also important, but these must take account of intersectoral linkages as well as the links between these policies and the realities at local levels. Inter-agency or inter-ministerial coordination must be made a policy directive, and given priority in any project aimed at public service reform. In poor countries, and countries in which large sectors of the population live in poverty, food security must be a priority and agricultural policy must be linked with that of health and community or rural development.

Policy also needs to be directed toward addressing the "deep roots of cultural, ideological, and material factors that perpetuate women's subordination" (Deere & Leon, 1987, p. 262). While not all of these root causes can be addressed by state policies the state can set the standards for the

eradication of sexism through legislation and other bureaucratic processes, procedures and practices. States, by their adoption of various resolution and programs of action through the United Nations, have committed themselves to the achievement of the goals of gender justice (Fraser, 1987; Pietila & Vickers, 1994) and now need to focus on their implementation. In St. Vincent priority must be given to legislation related to women's access to land and financial resources, to issues of domestic violence and to the removal of discriminatory practices in family law, as well as in respect to sexual and reproductive rights (CAFRA, 1989). Attention must also be paid to the disaggregation of data by sex, to the use of gender analysis in project preparation and development planning and to strengthening the Women's Desk. Indeed, a women's human rights framework, which reinterprets and extends the meaning of all aspects of human rights - civil and political, socio-economic and cultural, and group/communal rights - would provide the most comprehensive and inclusive framework for development policies which sought to guarantee the well-being of all citizens.

9.5 Implications for Development Programs and Strategies

It follows from this that development programs and strategies must prioritise basic needs and sustainable

livelihood for all. Three sectors are key to this approach to development planning in a country like St. Vincent: agriculture, education and health. It might be noted that the high ranking of Barbados in UNDP's Human Development Index draws attention to the priority given by that country to the education and health sectors, which is an important feature of Barbados' economic growth and political stability. The following suggestions are focused on the design of development programs in these sectors.

In all three sectors emphasis must be given to the building of human and social capital no less than to physical capital, and to the central role of women in the building of human and social capital. As the experience of Rose Hall demonstrates, the three are linked: the nonformal education program catalyzed the generation of the attitudes and energies required to mobilize the community to work together for improving life in the village, thereby building the social capital for future improvements in all areas. But the process also contributed to building human capital by enhancing skills and motivating those most involved to pursue higher levels of education, and to return to continue to work for their community. Finally, all of this contributed to the enhancement of the physical capital, whether in terms of housing and other amenities, or higher levels of production and/or productivity.

Unfortunately, while policy makers are now aware of human capital formation for the achievement of development goals they do not yet have a clear understanding of the importance of social capital in achieving the goals of development nor to the processes which contribute to the building of social capital. The present focus on the role of NGOs has not yet translated into an understanding of what NGOs can contribute to this process.

In order to recognize the centrality of women's contribution to the processes of capital accumulation development programs must recognize the household as an important site in productive processes and the link between production and reproduction as a crucial element in productivity: production is, after all, a function of the physical, intellectual and psychological capacities of the labor force no less than it is related to access to land, labor, capital, technologies and markets. These are all grounded in the domain of reproduction.

The Rose Hall experience demonstrates the link between state policies and programs and initiatives taken by NGOs and community-based organizations (CBOs) under women's leadership. The state needs to implement the kinds of programs and strategies, which would support and enhance efforts of this nature. Development programs must give support to women's initiatives in all areas including in the

areas of research, training and organization. The state should also create space in all programs for the participation of women in decision-making processes at all levels.

Physical and psychological health of all sectors of the population is a precondition to economic development. The concept of health as 'wellness' places emphasis on personal responsibility and public health, including attention to water and sanitation and environmental health. This approach to health requires that special attention be given to women's sexual and reproductive health as the basis for family health. Women are, after all primarily responsible for the nutrition of the family and are the first level of health care provider. UNICEF estimates that over 50% of health care is provided within the household (UNICEF, 1987). If women's health is jeopardized by lack of access to services, including family planning services, the health and well-being of the whole family may be in jeopardy.

Community-based health care is essential, and women in the community need to be involved in the design of delivery systems so that these services are delivered most efficiently and effectively.

The provision of a public health clinic in Rose Hall was an important development in the life of the community,

and the close relationship between the public health nurse and the Rose Hall Working Group has helped to mitigate the hardships created by changes in the delivery of these services as a result of the structural adjustment programs.

Similarly, the opening of a primary school in Rose Hall in the 1960s and a secondary school in the neighboring village of Troumaca in the 1970s were landmarks in the development of the community.

The state's recognition of the central importance of education, formal and nonformal, as prerequisites for the kind of human resource development which increases productivity must be demonstrated by support for a wide range of educational endeavors including:

a) the building and maintenance of schools and the recruitment and training of teachers;

b) curriculum reform aimed at generating the knowledge and understanding required to help young people to cope with the changing environment, and to generate the attitudes and aptitudes of adaptability, innovation and risk-taking;

c) the removal of sex role stereotyping in the curriculum, to reflect the reality of women's lives and to validate women's contribution to socioeconomic development;

d) support for nonformal education interventions of all kinds from the encouragement of NGOs and CBOs undertaking these initiatives to the training and

orientation of a range of state employees in the fields of agriculture, health and education to see themselves as educators (Ellis, 1997) using the methodologies of nonformal education.

In countries like St. Vincent in which the majority of people are still dependent on agriculture for their livelihood, priority must be given to this sector. St. Vincent's experience has shown that no other sector is comparable to agriculture in terms of the generation of employment and income. With all the priority given to tourism by the Mitchell administration, the contribution of hotels and restaurants to GDP increased by less than 1% between 1984-1994 and the sector has only moved from 10th to 9th place in rank in terms of its contribution to GDP.

However, programs for agricultural development must be designed to include support for farm households along with the traditional technical inputs for farmers. This should not be done by stereotyping and dichotomizing agricultural extension programs into a home economics program for 'housewives' and technical support programs in agricultural for 'farmers', meaning men. For example, because of their multiple responsibilities the provision of water for domestic use is as important to female farmers as water for irrigation. Similarly, in relation to the technologies used (e.g. the use of chemicals and the size and weight of

equipment), agriculture extension officers must be sensitive to the needs and concerns of female farmers.

Agricultural development must also be linked to rural/community development. This means that programs in agriculture, community development (including cottage industries), health (including water and sanitation), education (including adult education, literacy and pre-school education), housing and public works (including roads and public buildings) must all be designed to take account of the need for inter-agency/intersectoral cooperation and coordination. For example, the state's efforts in land reform/distribution in St. Vincent have tended to be narrowly conceived, focusing on agricultural production without the provision of adequate resources for training or finance. In addition, no provision was made for community development, for facilitating the creation of the necessary social infrastructure for farmers and their families. Moreover, there was very little consultation with the 'beneficiaries' as projects were formulated by consultants from overseas and adopted by the government with a minimum of input from local experience.

Development strategies must therefore place emphasis on community participation, especially the participation of women. Here it is important to distinguish between different types of participation. Oakley and Madison's

(1984) categorization of four basic approaches to the concept of participation according to their underlying values orientation and the specific goals and objectives that each expects to accomplish through participation (Benbow, 1997, pp. 83-85) are helpful. They enabling us to distinguish between the kinds of participation in which, (a) people are "mobilized" to participate in pre-defined activities and to accomplish objectives defined by others and (b) people's participation in "second level" decision-making, and the kinds of participation which focuses on (c) giving disadvantaged people access to and influence over decision making within power structures and institutions, and (d) the kind that acknowledges that people and communities should have control over their own destinies and in setting their own priorities. Because state programs usually focus on the kind of participation that fall within categories (a) and (b), while the Rose Hall Project focused on participation categorized under (c) and (d), it would be important to draw the distinctions in the design and orientation of state programs if the objective is to promote empowerment and sustainable community development.

Indeed, much more attention needs to be paid to the orientation of the staff assigned to work with development programs and projects in the fields of agriculture, community/rural development, education and health,

especially in relation to gender issues and to issues related to participation. Attention must also be paid to the morale of staff in these programs: the difference in the outcomes in the health sector as compared to the education and agriculture sectors in the period 1984-94 highlight the importance of morale and leadership in the achievement of efficient and effective programs.

However, it is easier to make recommendations than to be confident of their implementation. A comparison of the impacts of the policies adopted by the governments of St. Vincent over the two ten-year periods, 1974- 1984, and 1984-1994, against the background of the current global environment suggests that a change of direction from the policies of the second 10-year period to those of the earlier 10-year period is necessary. This is not to say that the policies implemented during the 10 years 1974-1984 were ideal, but they were at least headed in the right direction, that is a direction which prioritized agriculture and rural development, food security, education and primary health care. Without some change in direction, the worsening situation anticipated if the banana industry collapses can lead the country down the path toward the abyss of stagnant growth, deteriorating social services, spiraling inflation and escalating crime and violence as the gap between rich and poor continues to increase.

However, this would require a willingness to reassess the experience of the past 30 years of development policies and programs in the light of the current global realities and trends. This is no simple task, given the present hegemony of the 'Washington Consensus' and the reluctance of governments to admit to error. The only possibilities for this kind of profound change lie with initiatives taken by civil society, and the potential there for the kind of analysis which can stimulate a process of change. Nonformal education has a role to play in this area.

Before considering how this might be done in terms of development policies, programs and strategies a brief look at some of the theories of social change might be appropriate. In their review of "Contemporary Perspectives on Planned Social Change" Crowfoot & Chesler (1974) offer a

"typology of social change efforts based on an analysis of their divergent root assumptions about value and the nature of reality rather than a categorization of their various activities." (1974: p.278)

The authors identify three perspectives of social change: the professional-technical, the political, and the countercultural. These offer a framework for an analysis of the work of institutions which aim at promoting social change. It is a particularly useful framework for analyzing some possible strategic options for small island developing

states like St. Vincent in the context of a globalized world economic system.

The professional-technical approach is the conventional approach to development and social change. It is based on the assumption that only a certain class of people have the intellectual expertise to make decisions for the rest of society. In general, these are people, whether local or foreign, who have been educated according to the dominant ideology and who subscribe to its values and dictates. This kind of hegemony is the more difficult to break because it is backed up by an economic system which is strongly entrenched and reinforced by the benefits it brings to those in power and by the interdependence of social, cultural, political and economic relations and moral obligations (Crowfoot & Chesler, 1974, p. 281). This perspective considers society, and most of its organizations and institutions to be basically sound, although they need to cope better with ongoing change.

The political approach acknowledges the existence of "different groups, each defined by the uniquely shared interest of its members each with different and often competing interests or goals" (ibid). These groups may be based on race or ethnicity, class, gender or location, and there are usually imbalances of power between them and the dominant group. This approach recognizes the inevitability

of conflict between the groups since, when commodities such as material goods, information, technical skill, respect, status and so on are perceived as scarce, groups will compete for their control. This is where the state needs to intervene in order to guarantee an equitable distribution of goods and resources. However, if those who operate the apparatus of the state are themselves beneficiaries of the system they will tend to

opt for stability rather than equality in regulating the relations among groups and between groups and resources. The result is a high concentration of power in the hands of a few people or a few interest groups ..." (Crowfoot & Chesler, 1974 pp. 283-284).

The change process is initiated when this is understood and people are willing to deal with these differences in the interest of the common good.

The countercultural approach is one which is based on affirming the culture and values of the society. It is suspicious of overtechnocratic and overbureaucratic approaches and concepts of "progress" since these are considered to lead to a marginalization of local or indigenous knowledge, a decrease of initiative, creativity and individuality, and to inhibiting the individual from realizing his/her full human potential.

This perspective places emphasis on individual change - in personal values, life styles, and relationships with others, and emphasizes communal organizations as the

building and rebuilding blocks of a new unalienating society (Crowfoot & Chesler, 1974, p. 286).

While it is clear (as is the case with all attempts at categorizing) that reality is more complex than the theoretical formulations suggest, the distinctions between different perspectives, and their association with different paradigms, helps in the analysis of different approaches to development and in our understanding of what is needed if countries like St. Vincent are to survive the pressures and constraints of globalisation.

Given the fact that the ideological and policy framework for St. Vincent's development is at present dominated by the professional-technical perspectives and that, in this era of globalization, there seems little chance that this approach can achieve the goals of broad-based socio-economic improvement for the majority, it can be argued that some integration with the political and countercultural approaches might be valuable.

The political approach was the one used by those who led the struggle against colonialism in the early part of the century, although it was one which always incorporated elements of the technical and countercultural approaches in its emphasis on the value of education and technical advance, and in its appeals to Caribbean identity (Nettleford, 1987).

Since the 1980s political and cultural imperatives have been increasingly replaced by technical requirements, as CARICOM leaders (political and well as technical) have increasingly looked to Washington (symbolically as well as institutionally) for the expertise on which to base policies. Indeed, the annual visits of teams of experts from the IFIs for 'policy dialogues', along with the even more frequent visits from representatives from multilateral and bilateral aid agencies have replaced parliamentary debates and cabinet meetings as the most significant spaces for policy formulation. While this is in part linked to the financial dependence of CARICOM countries it does not explain the failure of our leaders to consult their own constituencies in the processes of policy formulation and program design.

The rhetoric on the 'decline of the state' has taken place within the context of the perceived powerlessness of our leaders to act in our own interests. And yet, a closer examination of the actual behavior of these leaders suggests that even in this context of close surveillance and tutelage from abroad, they have often acted selectively in their choices in relation to resource allocation to protect and promote their own interests and those of their families and friends. This suggests that there is still space for

protecting the interests of the majority. What is required is a way of holding our governments accountable.

We also need to emphasize approaches which build on the social ties of family (including the 'transnational' family) and community, and on the history of resistance expressed in the struggles against slavery and colonialism. An approach which acknowledges that the prevailing values of competitiveness and profit maximization cannot be the only considerations for countries like St. Vincent. Above all, in the context of the globalization of capitalism with its ethos of competitiveness and profit maximization and its values of materialism and consumerism, we need an approach which affirms that there is not necessary trade-off between material progress and the loss of values of caring, sharing and a sense of community, and that improvements in the quality of life are no necessarily synonymous with increases in income.

The Rose Hall experience is one which demonstrates this. It shows that individual initiative can be combined with community spirit to build a society in which the common good is not necessarily at the expense of the individual; and that money is not all that counts.

This is a perspective which is supported by many feminists. Their emphasis on women's culture as a basis for

empowerment and political organization makes an important statement about women's potential for transforming society.

Culture can be defined as "the way of life of a people and particularly the shared understandings that underlie it." (Maybury-Lewis, 1994, p. x) This is constantly changing. The questions are not about whether people's way of life will change or even, as Maybury-Lewis puts it "what sort of change is contemplated, how rapid it will be, and whether the advantages it brings will make it worth putting up with the dislocations it effects" (ibid). For the poor and marginalized, these questions are the wrong ones. The issue is rather: given that the changes brought about by modernization are often a mixed blessing, what can people (and states) do to preserve the values and relationships which have promoted personal well-being and sustained communities in the past against the onslaught of cultural values which would destroy them? How can people get the benefits of modernization while retaining those elements in their culture which nurture the bonds of kinship, friendship, and community; the sense of belonging, the values attached to caring, sharing and cooperation?

There is another important question: in this age of globalization when our states seem so powerless to place the interests of the majority of people before those of international capital or multinational corporations, how can

we use the values and relationships which helped Caribbean people to survive the dehumanization and indignities of slavery and colonialism to protect and continue to build and rebuild our communities and countries.

In Rose Hall, the outcomes of state policies and development processes have been mixed. On the one hand, the standard of living of most people has undoubtedly improved since the 1960s, and with the introduction of representative government. On the other hand, in the context of structural adjustment policies and globalization, and as the country faces economic decline in the face of competition from lower-waged banana producers, the interruption of the process of improvement has generated deep uncertainty and fear in people who had become confident about the capacities of themselves, their government and their country to realize the promises of sovereignty.

At the same time there is a younger generation, largely ignorant of the struggles and achievements of older generations, coming of age when the values of materialism and consumerism are strongly entrenched and reinforced by the media and links to kith and kin in North America and Europe, a generation unwilling to wait for the benefits of Western-style development. The mix of rising aspirations and declining opportunities for legitimate avenues for earning a living has generated in many young people -

especially young men - a sense of frustration and anger which is easily channeled into involvement in the narcotic trade, and/or ignited into violence. These are the challenges facing the small island states of the Caribbean today.

However, as we have seen, one of the effects of globalization has been the silencing of debates on what might be the most appropriate development strategies for particular countries or regions. While many would agree that

there is no monolithic science of development that can serve as an unerring guide for action (and that) development strategies are fundamentally political and technical programs, which depend for their success on a mixture of cultural, social, and economic factors (Maybury-Lewis, 1994, p. xiv)

the hegemonic powers of the "Washington Consensus" continue to impose a single, Washington-defined, "model" of development for all countries, regardless of their varying size, geographic location, culture and capacities. The present globalization of economies and the technological advances that make this possible reinforces this hegemony. Small island developing states like those of the Caribbean, lacking the possibilities of economies of scale, cannot compete in this environment. Nor do they have the power to change it. Nevertheless, the choice must not be left as one between uncritical acceptance of the status quo on the one

hand, or socio-economic annihilation on the other. A third option must be affirmed: the possibilities for operating in full awareness and on the understanding that the odds are presently stacked against countries like ours and to call our governments back to an alliance with their own embattled populations in order to resist and struggle against the worse effects of the present disabling environment.

In building this awareness we need to recall the process by which our political leaders, linked with the trade union movement, took up the struggle against colonialism. We can draw strength from reflection on the fact that this was essentially a political struggle, which combined an emphasis on education and technical progress with a sense of cultural identity. Today, there needs to be a return to an approach in which the government forges close links with those forces of civil society which are concerned to maintain the values of small island states. These include the local private sector (which needs to be reminded that they are not in the same league as the multinational corporations!), the trade unions, the producers' associations, the churches and the NGOs (including the women's movement).

Nonformal education can contribute to the promotion of these approaches, and women's leadership can be the catalyst for meeting the challenge.

9.6 Implications for Nonformal Education Interventions

In the Rose Hall Pilot Project nonformal education was used as a strategy for the empowerment of women through the building of their skills, awareness, confidence and access to resources. It was an approach to social change which combined technical, political and cultural elements. A reflection on the strengths and limitations of the Pilot Project suggest that the experience could have better prepared the people of the community to cope with the impacts of state policies if its design had given more attention to

- (i) consciousness-raising/'conscientization' (Benbow, 1997, p. 85), in order to create a greater understanding of gender and how it affects not just the relationships between men and women but also how these relations form part of the structures which lead to the undervaluing of important elements which go toward the creation of a more just, equitable, participatory and sustainable society.
- (ii) the macroeconomic or policy framework within which the project was being implemented. In part this was because in 1981 when the project was launched the policy framework was one which was more conducive to the kind of broad-based approach to socio-economic development adopted by the project. However, in

retrospect it is clear that the intervention should have included some analysis of the larger context in which the community's development was proceeding. This was attempted, in Rose Hall, as part of the process of this study, and one of the implications for future nonformal education interventions with similar intentions is that it should include provision for engaging the community, or group, in an analysis of the macroeconomic framework in which development is taking place.

The lessons of this intervention can be applied to other settings and situations.

In the first place, nonformal education has a special role to play in strategies aimed at the empowerment of disadvantaged groups and communities, and training in the techniques and methodologies of nonformal education could be included in the training and orientation of the staff of agencies in the fields of agricultural extension and rural development, education and health, no less than in community development.

Secondly, in addition to its application at the micro level of community development, nonformal education might also be used to promote social change at the level of the larger society. In other words, the elements used in the Rose Hall Project can also be used to address the crises and

challenges with which countries like St. Vincent are now confronted in the face of the continuation of a policy framework geared toward market liberalization within a global economic system designed for the benefit of large or multinational corporations.

To summarize, the key elements in nonformal education interventions to be applied to projects for social change include:

- (a) a focus on women's leadership, including the provision of opportunities for consciousness-raising, or conscientization;
- (b) the use of participatory methodologies, including participatory research, to analyze the needs of the community or country and to mobilize people for action on their own behalf;
- (c) the linking of the resources of the state to those of civil society;
- (d) the provision of follow-up support for initiatives arising out of the intervention;
- (e) the linking of experience at the micro level everyday life, the project, or the community to an understanding of the macro level of the policy framework and the global trends within which this experience is taking place;

(f) taking action on the basis of the democratic imperatives which people have created through historic struggle.

The hypothesis that a nonformal education intervention, initiated by development-oriented NGOs in which women shared leadership, seeking alternatives to the present approaches to socioeconomic development, and incorporating technical, political and cultural elements, could be a catalyst for change in a small island developing state can be tested in St. Vincent in the coming year, as the country approaches its next elections.

St. Vincent is small enough to make such a project feasible, and there are a number of development-oriented NGOs currently engaged in policy analysis, who would be interested in continuing the work started in this study. The data generated by this study could be a starting point for such a project. The first task would be to update the data, and a wide cross-section of civil society could be involved in this process, including women and men working as part of the state apparatus. One of the greatest challenges for such a project would be to avoid co-optation by either of the political parties, and careful thought would have to be given as to how this might be done. However, the time is right for the people of the country to engage in a thorough assessment of the trends of the past 30 years, against the

background of the current situation. Such an assessment could lead toward an alternative to the present economic model, an alternative grounded within a framework of women's human rights: a framework which reinterprets the expanded framework of human rights - from civil and political rights; to social, economic and cultural rights; to group rights - to ensure that women's reality is addressed within each category.

9.7 Conclusion

The views expressed by the people of Rose Hall make it clear that in the course of the 20 years covered by this study the quality of life along with the level of income has deteriorated for the majority of the population. The people of this community are also clear on the distinctions between what they themselves can do to solve these problems and what is to be expected from the state: their experience of administrations which have prioritized their needs and aspirations and those which have not gives them a basis for judgment. An awareness of their history also enables them to understand the role of the market, and the distinctions between market forces which can be harnessed to improve their situation and those which serve other interests. The increasing alignment of the state with these other interests, whether those of other states or

those of foreign/international capital, recalls for many people the days before representative government when the colonial state operated on behalf of the colonial power rather than in the interest of the majority of the population of these islands.

Representative government had shown them how political will could be expressed on their behalf or otherwise; and the fact that they continue to vote for the political party which has increasingly represented interests which are alien to the majority is a reflection of a certain pragmatism rather than a choice for a different type of state.

Indeed, it can be argued that there is very little difference between the various political parties in terms of philosophy or direction: all depend on the votes of the working class majority; all are constrained by forces beyond their control; all nevertheless have the possibility of making choices which can serve to mitigate the hardships faced by the majority in the face of a hostile external environment; all have, in the history of the past 50-60 years, a model for resisting the most oppressive forces of imperialism and colonialism, in whatever modern guise they may appear today.

Notes

¹. The experience of St. Vincent shows that it is not even necessary for there to be a formal agreement between the government and the IFIs for these institutions to influence the policy 'choices' of the government.

2. It has been argued that the slow pace of privatization in St. Vincent is due to the weakness of the private sector rather than to any resistance to the idea on the part of the Prime Minister. On the other hand, be that as it may, it is clear that Mitchell enjoys wielding the power that his role as Head of State confers on him.

APPENDIX A
QUESTIONNAIRE

Individual Case studies:
Women involved in the Pilot Project, 1998-83

1. NAME
- 2 AGE:
3. MARITAL STATUS (1981):
" " (1997):
4. AGE OF FIRST BIRTH
5. NO. CHILDREN (1981)/AGE RANGE
NO. CHILDREN (1997)
CHILDREN LIVING AT HOME:
6. RELATIVES IN KINGSTOWN
7. RELATIVES OVERSEAS (CARICOM):
" OUTSIDE REGION
8. OCCUPATION (1981):
(1997):

Questions about the Project

9. How did you get involved in the Project?
10. What was your role in the Project?
11. What did you personally get out of the Project'?
12. What did, your family get out of the Project?
13. What did the community get out of the Project?
14. How does the project relate to government programs?
15. What are some of the ways in which involvement in the Project changed/affected your thinking about
 - women's/men's roles in
 - the family/community
 - community development
 - the role of government in development

Questions about Policies/Programs

16. Do you remember when the country became independent in 1979 (18 years ago): what were people talking about?
- SOCIAL: schools/ clinics
ECONOMIC prices of vegetables/ ag. extension services/
roads
POLITICAL community organizations political parties
17. Did anything change when the NDP came into power in 1984 (13 years ago): what were people talking about
18. How did the changes affect you/ your family/ this community
19. Was there any difference when the NDP won the elections a second time (in 1989 - 5 years ago). What were people talking about:
20. Is there any particular policy/program that is of special benefit to you/ your family/ the community
21. Can you suggest any policy/program that would be of special benefit to you/ your family/ the community

About the Project Today

22. If you were starting the Project today what would you do differently?
23. What is/should the Working Group (be) doing now

Problems in the Community Today

24. That are the chief problems facing young people and families in this community today
- Unemployment
 - Training
 - Sports
 - Drugs
 - Teenage pregnancies
 - AIDS

Concerning Unemployment (etc.) among Youth

25. What can be done to help young people with these problems - by family - by community - by government

Concerning Drugs

26. A lot of people have expressed concern about drugs in the community:
- (a) How did drugs get into this community
 - (b) When did they start coming into the community
 - (c) How do they affect people in the community
 - young people
 - adults
 - families
 - (d) How can the problems be solved
 - by families
 - by the community
 - by the government

APPENDIX B

LIST OF OFFICIALS (St. Vincent)
INTERVIEWED

February - April, 1997

Lenny Adams, senior Agricultural Extension Officer, Ministry of Agriculture. Had been on the staff of the Ministry as a junior Extension Officer when the Pilot Project was implemented, and had participated in the Workshop in Participatory Methodologies, March, 1981.

Christobel Ashton, Researcher and Consultant, Adult Education. One of the young people from Rose Hall who participated in the Pilot Project and went on to UWI to do a Bachelor's degree followed by a Bachelor of Philosophy (Education) at Warwick University, UK.

Clem Ballah, Chief Community Development Officer when the Pilot Project was launched. Currently working in the private sector in import-export business.

Frederick Ballantyne, Medical Practitioner. Had been a young doctor at the time of the Pilot Project.

Martin and Mary Barnard. Martin is a member of the family that owned the Orange Hill Estate, and had been manager of the estate from the 1960s to the time of its sale to Danish investors in 1982. Orange Hill Estate is generally regarded as St. Vincent's most diversified and efficiently operated estate. When the estate was sold Martin and Mary turned to tourism, operating a small aircraft and yachting companies.

Vincent Beach, head of the St. Vincent Labor Party and Leader of the (parliamentary) Opposition.

Kenneth Bonadie, Chief Agricultural Officer when the Pilot Project was launched. He was the person who recommended Rose Hall to WAND as a possible site for the Pilot Project.
Kenneth Boyea, Manager, Eastern Caribbean Group of Companies (ECGC), St. Vincent Flour/Rice Mill; before which (up to 1983) he had been Manager of the St. Vincent Electricity Company.

Randolph Cato, Director, Planning Division, Ministry of Finance (formerly worked at the Caribbean Development Bank and joined the Planning Division in 1986)

Walter Childs, Chief Community Development Officer.

Gideon Cordice, Chief Medical Officer during the 1970s-early 1980s.

Adrian Fraser. Resident Tutor (U.W.I. Representative). Former Director of the Caribbean People's Development Agency (CARIPEDA).

Henry Gaynes, St. Vincent's Representative on the Eastern Caribbean Currency Board. Former Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Finance.

Earlene Horne, President, National Council of Women. On the executive committee of Projects Promotion. Former President of the St. Vincent Farmers' Union.

John Horne, Minister of Education.

Clem Iton. Auditor General under Milton Cato's Administration and wrote a series of articles in the press analyzing and critiquing James Mitchell's budgets between 1989-94 when there was no official Opposition in the Parliament.

Millicent Iton. Head of the Save the Children Fund in the 1980s, and has most recently been involved in Parent Education projects.

Carl John, head of the Physical Planning Unit, Planning Division, Ministry of Finance. Former Director of Planning (1979-89) and Director of the Agricultural Reform and Diversification Project, Planning Division (1989-96).

Kenneth John, lawyer/journalist. Former Resident Tutor and founding member of the Educational Forum of the People in the 1960s-1970s.

Jeannie McDonald, Head of the Department of Women's Affairs, Ministry of Education.

Festus Toney, Chief Education Officer from the 1960s-1980s.

Carlton Williams, Chief Technical Officer, Windward Islands Banana Association (WINBAN). Chief Agriculture Officer in the 1960s-1977 (when he joined WINBAN). He joined the staff of the Ministry of Agriculture in 1945 when he left school.

APPENDIX C

GUIDELINES FOR INTERVIEWS WITH OFFICIALS

1. Name:
2. Current position.
3. Position held in 1970s-1980s.
4. Views on Independence: difference it made to the country (if any).
5. History of sector, and views on changes over the years, focussing on the periods 1974-84 and 1984-94.
6. Analysis of differences between the administrations of Milton Cato and James Mitchell, including the changing global and regional context.
7. Views on the future of small island developing states, like St. Vincent and the Grenadines.

APPENDIX D

OUTLINE FOR FOCUS GROUP SESSIONS

NOTES:

1. Focus groups will be for between 4-8 persons selected according to the following categories:
 - a) Women who had been involved in the Pilot Project
 - b) Men who had been involved in the Pilot Project
 - c) Young people whose parents had been involved in the Project
 - d) Older people who had not been involved in the Project
 - e) Young people who had not been involved in the Project
2. "Young" people would be those between 18-30 years
"Older" people would be those over 50 years
3. The following criteria would be used in selecting people within the above categories:
 - i) Participants must be articulate and must have an opinion on the socio-economic and political situation in St. Vincent.
 - ii) There should be a balance of people of different (party) political affiliation, although none of the official party representatives should be included (since they are likely to feel obliged to defend their party's positions).
 - iii) Since the topics will focus on the key sectors of agriculture, education and health participants should have a background in one of these, this can include 'beneficiaries' of services e.g. farmers, women attending the clinic on a regular basis, parents of children attending the school in Rose Hall or Troumaca.

ARRANGEMENTS

1. Chairs should be arranged in a circle.
2. Participants will be offered a snack on arrival.
3. The sessions will be taped, and an assistant will manage the equipment and take notes.

DESIGN

1. The Researcher will
 - (a) start by welcoming Participants and thanking them for giving their time to attend.
 - (b) She will explain the purpose of the research.
 - (c) She will introduce her Assistant (explaining that the Assistant would be taping the sessions and taking notes.
 - (d) She will get agreement for taping the sessions, explain that they are for her use only and that the tape recorder can be turned-off at the request of anyone).
2. Participants may ask questions to seek clarification on the purpose and design of the session.
3. Participants will introduce themselves with the 'warm-up' questions e.g. "What is your name, and one thing you enjoy doing".
4. The researcher will pose the questions and participants will answer as they wish. When a participant makes a point, the researcher may invite others to respond. Different perceptions will be welcomed.
5. The assistant may ask questions for clarification.
6. At the end of each key question, or series of questions, the researcher will summarize the conclusion and invite participants to react. The assistant may seek clarification, or offer her own summary.
N.B. 'Key Questions' are those related to the main purpose of the Focus Group i.e. those related to the ways in which national policies have impacted on the community, as well as to participants' knowledge or understanding of regional and international trends.
7. Particular attention will be paid to the differences in the responses of males and females.
8. In relation to the sensitive questions related to drugs the tape recorder will be turned off.
9. At the end of the session the researcher will thank participants and mention the Workshop to be held on April 7 to feed-back preliminary findings and to make the connections between national policies and regional and international trends.

February 26, 1997

GUIDELINES FOR FOCUS GROUP SESSIONS

1. Opening statement

I am Peggy Antrobus, and I have just retired from working with the Women & Development Unit (WAND) at the University of the West Indies.

I went to school in St. Vincent and owe my university education to a government scholarship. When I left university, in the 1960s, I worked with the Save the Children Fund and then with the government to set up the community development program.

In 1981 WAND worked in this community on a Pilot Project which led to the implementation of a number of projects to meet needs identified by the community including the pre-school, the bakery and the community center.

There are lessons to be learned from your experience which can help other communities, and I am here to do a study to find out about changes in this community over the past few years, and what kind of programs are needed to continue improving the quality of life in this community and others like it.

I will be using dates like Independence and changes of government to mark different periods over the past 20 years - but I am not trying to make comparisons between governments, only between periods of time.

FOCUS GROUP TOPICS

(For young people 20 - 30 years.
Topics for older age groups were modified accordingly)

2. Guidelines for Discussion:

1. What is your name and one thing you enjoy doing?
2. Where did you go to school (primary/secondary-Troumaca or Kingstown?)
3. Did anyone else in your family (parents/ siblings) go to secondary school?
4. Do you know when the primary school was built in this village? Do you know when the secondary school was opened in Troumaca?

Transition (leading to key questions)

5. Do you think it makes a difference to go to secondary school?
6. Do you farm? (help your parents on their land)
7. What do they grow?
8. Where do they sell the produce?
(Kingstown/overseas/marketing board):
9. What are you doing now? (apart from farming)

Key Questions (concerning changes in policies/programs)

10. Do you remember when the country became independent in 1979 (18 years ago): what were people talking about?
11. Is anything different: opening of school/ clinic/ agriculture extension programs?
12. Do you know about the project implemented by WAND in 1981?
13. How did the projects affect you/your family/the community?
 - the pre-school
 - the library
 - the adult
 - education program
 - the bakery

14. Do you remember when the NDP came into power in 1984 (13 years ago): did anything change ... what were people talking about?
 SOCIAL: schools/ clinics
 ECONOMIC: prices of vegetables/ ag.extension services/ roads
 POLITICAL: community organizations political parties
15. How did the changes affect you/ your family/ this community?
16. Was there any difference when the NDP won the elections a second time (in 1989 - 8 years ago)
17. What were people talking about ...?
18. Is there any particular policy/program that is of special benefit to you/ your family/ the community?
19. Can you suggest any policy/program that would be of special benefit to you/your family/the community?

Concerning the Pilot Project

20. What do you know/think about the Pilot Project (or list the sub-projects)?
21. How would you improve the project?
22. If you had been involved what other things would you have done?
23. What should the Working Group be doing now?
24. Have you thought of joining the Group/ why haven't you joined?
25. What are the chief concerns of young people in this community?
 - Unemployment
 - Training
 - Sports
 - Drugs
 - Teenage pregnancies
 - AIDS

Concerning unemployment (etc.) among youth

26. What can be done to help young people with these problems?
 - by family
 - by community
 - by government

Concerning Drugs

27. A lot of people have expressed concern about drugs in the community
- (a) How did drugs get into this community
 - (b) When did they start coming into the community
 - (c) How do they affect people in the community
 - (d) How can the problems be solved

APPENDIX E

OUTLINE FOR FINAL WORKSHOP

WORKSHOP PARTICIPANTS:

Women and men who had participated in the focus group sessions and interviews.

GOALS:

1. To feed-back the findings of the focus group sessions and interviews to participants.
2. To relate the experience of people at community level to state policies, regional and global trends;
3. To validate the analysis of the relationship between the impact of state policy at community level and women's empowerment.

METHODOLOGY:

Participatory methods will be used to -
facilitate an interactive process;

- (i) involve participants in the process of policy analysis;
- (ii) generate new understanding of how
 - * global trends affect regional and national policy,
 - * national policy affects programs and experience at community level, and how in turn

- * community empowerment (and women's leadership in particular) allows the community to exercise some control over the impact of macro policies on their daily lives.

[N.B. the Pilot Project was itself an example of how global trends affect programs at regional, national and local levels!]

DESIGN:

1. Introductory Activity:
 - a) Researcher lays out the goals of the activity and invites participants to introduce themselves by identifying with one of the concerns mentioned in the focus groups - e.g. unemployment, housing, markets for produce, drugs, access to land etc.
 - (b) Participants divide into groups according to the concerns
 - (c) Researcher presents an analysis of the findings under the headings of policies and programs e.g. agriculture, health and education, and shows (on charts) their relationship to national policies and regional trends and invites participants to comment on the relationship according to
 - (i) their convergence/divergence (e.g. the convergence of educational provisions with aspirations of the community or the

divergence of the community's preference for selling their produce direct to hucksters rather than to the government's Marketing Board), and

- (ii) relate the community's own initiatives to these (e.g. the interest of young people in making use of opportunities for secondary education, or the capacity of the community - through the formation of a farmers' group to resist governments' directives re: the use of the Marketing Board);
- (d) The Researcher will try to highlight examples where it seems the Pilot Project influenced these initiatives/responses (e.g. the choice of young project participants to go on to university; the rejection of the community of governments' offer of Sewing machines available through a UNICEF project).
- (e) Participants in interest groups' discuss these conclusions and validate or challenge them (offering alternative conclusions).
- (f) Groups report back and discuss.
- (g) Researcher summarizes conclusions.
- (h) Researcher, using charts, analyses national policies and programs within the framework of global and regional trends (e.g. WID programs of

the 1970s, structural adjustment policies of the 1980s, trade policies of the 1990s).

- (i) Participants questions and discussion.
- (j) Closure: questions to researcher and researchers' closing summary and statement of appreciation.

APPENDIX F

DATA GATHERING AND ANALYSIS PROCEDURES

1. Data gathering and analysis procedures varied slightly for each research strategy however the following sequence for analysis of the data from the focal groups was used as a framework for all analytical tasks (Krueger 1994:126-156):

(a) Data gathering procedures -

- i) Questions were sequenced for maximum insight
- ii) A tape recorder was used for all interviews (if possible) and, for focus groups. An assistant was responsible for note-taking so that the researcher was free to interact with participants.
- iii) Based on the researcher's experience key ideas or categories were pre-coded, and additional codes/categories assigned by the assistant as appropriate during the focus group session.
- iv) The researcher summarised key points for participant verification during and at the end of the interview or focal group sessions.
- v) The researcher and assistant had a debriefing session immediately following the focus group to highlight and contrast findings from earlier groups, identify the

most important themes or ideas expressed and the most noteworthy quotes, unexpected or unanticipated findings, usefulness of questions and need for revisions or adjustments, and to review codes and categories. These sessions were taped. The assistant was a young woman who had been involved in the Project, and knowledgeable not only about the subject but about non-formal education methodologies, having recently gained a Master's degree. She had also worked in the Adult Education Unit of the Ministry of Education. Her feed-back to the researcher was invaluable.

- vi) Preliminary reports were shared with selected interviewees - e.g. key individuals among the women and men in the community who had participated in the Project, key officials and knowledgeable colleagues.

(b) Procedures for Analysis of Data (Kreuger, 1994, p. 157)

The researcher observed most of the following procedures suggested by Kreuger:

- i) Reviewed field notes by category
- ii) Screened for emerging themes (by question and then overall)
- iii) Sorted data into categories

iv) Identified -

"What was known and then confirmed or challenged by the study"

"What was suspected and then confirmed or challenged by the study"

"What was new that wasn't previously suspected"
(Krueger, 1994, p. 136).

Where appropriate the results were compared and contrasted with established theory in the field.

(c) For Analysis of Interviews with Officials

- i) Developed categories for key sectors
- ii) Developed by 5-year periods (i.e. 'terms of office') a matrix for positive/ negative statements on policy, and suggestions regarding alternatives.

(d) Analysis of Documents

- i) For official statements and reports: selected key categories of policies or programs which affect rural communities - e.g. agricultural extension services and agricultural marketing board, supplies for public health clinics, teachers' salaries - and coded.
- ii) Developed a matrix for relating
 - budget statement to budget allocation
 - budget allocation to actual expenditure

- actual expenditure (in the sector) to expenditure in the village
- comments by officials and community respondents on benefit to the village.

(e) For Documents on Regional/Global Trends

- i) Developed a matrix for relating global-regional-national-local events/trends
- ii) Developed categories for trends related to key sectors -
 - health
 - education
 - agriculture
 - trade policy
 - macro-economic (including fiscal) policy

(f) For Documents on the Role of Women in Caribbean/Rural Development

- i) Noted differences between rural and urban women, and between classes
- ii) Noted especially references to multiple roles, women's reproductive/productive roles, time use and perceived value of women's unwaged work in the household, on the farm and in the community.

Protection of Human Subjects

Because this study is based on experience which is already documented, it is not considered necessary at this stage to use fictitious names. This was discussed with most of the people interviewed. However, in the event that I wish to publish the study, I will again consult with respondents with a view to deciding whether to use fictitious names.

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