Women in Caribbean Agriculture

report

Commonwealth of Dominica

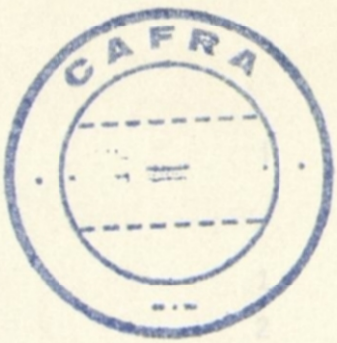
Research/Action Project

DECEMBER

1988

WOMEN IN CARIBBEAN AGRICULTURE

REPORT



COMMONWEALTH OF DOMINICA

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS i

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction 1
Objectives of the Research 2
Theoretical Framework 3
Criteria for Selection of the Communities 4
Criteria for Selection of Households 6
Definitions of Categories of Households 7
Definitions of Categories of Life Cycle 7

TECHNIQUES

At the Community Level 8
At the Level of Selected Households 9

DEFINITIONS 11

DOMINICA PROFILE 13

GRAND BAY 18 - 63

Profile of Community
Household Case Studies
Tables

MARIGOT 64 - 125

Profile of Community
Household Case Studies
Tables

GIRAUDEL 126 - 171

Profile of Community
Household Case Studies
Tables

TABLE OF CONTENTS (CONT'D)

SOCIALISATION AND GENDER DIFFERENTIATION 172

Gender relationships with respect to agricultural resources and production 175

Leisure 201

Gender roles as seen by men and women 203

Community awareness and participation 221

SITUATION OF PAST ESTATE WORKERS 227

Background 228

Estate Workers' Survey : Findings 235

Case Studies 238

CONCLUSION 244

RECOMMENDATIONS 249

BIBLIOGRAPHY 252

APPENDICES 254 - 320

Appendix i : A list of key informants by community

Appendix ii : The list of back-up team members

Appendix iii : Community survey guide

Appendix iv : Community case study questionnaire

Appendix v : Questionnaire for past and present estate workers

Appendix vi : Household case study questionnaire

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Special menion must be made to the heads of households who provided lodging.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The Research Project with which we are at present concerned was initiated by the Caribbean Association for Feminist Research and Action (CAFRA) in consultation with representatives of agencies involved in the various aspects of development programming among women in Dominica.

The initial contact to introduce and discuss the idea of the project was by way of visits to the country by a CAFRA representative so as to ascertain and assess the needs in the country.

Representatives of two agencies, the Small Projects' Assistance Team Ltd. (SPAT) and the Farm-To-Market Project, with input from colleagues, met initially to discuss and expand on the idea, to identify issues related to the question of Women in Agriculture in the country.

Following discussions, a short background paper was prepared, which identified issues/concerns that the Dominican Team felt needed to be addressed in the proposed research project.

The project proposal which was finally submitted to CAFRA for funding was a result of a consultative process. It began with an idea that later was developed by incorporating ideas and concerns of a cross-section of parties concerned with addressing the issues of women in agriculture.

Objectives of the Research

In the long term:-

The research project seeks to strengthen the position of women involved in agriculture and so preserve a viable economic base for Caribbean countries.

In the short term:-

- to generate a concrete data base on the situation of women in Agriculture;
- to link concerns/issues of women in the agricultural sector to national policy goals;
- to begin a process of sensitization at local and national levels re. the participation of women in development processes;
- to compile comparative data on women in agricultural production for the Caribbean region; and
- to identify and develop action-oriented programmes aimed at improving and strengthening the position of women in agricultural production.

Theoretical Framework

The Constitution of Dominica advocates equal opportunity for all members of soceity although this may be negated in some respects by built-in or traditional factors. There may be some gender biases in regard to the allocation of agricultural resources, services and job opportunities.

Women constitute 50.2% of the population of Dominica with 37.7% of households being headed by women making them the sole managers/decision-makers and bread winners for their families. An undetermined, but however, large number of these rely on

agriculture either as subistence producers or wage labourers to surmount this tremendous task.

Due to the double role of women, productive and reproductive, their having equal access to all resources, opportunities and income will ensure a more positive trickle up effect on the economy of Dominica.

The access to the means of production varies from household to household henceforth bringing about what is referred to as social differentiation among the farming community. It may not be possible to clearly classify the various farming households because of several factors but the social position of each household can be discussed in relation to the average situation of the community.

Improvements in the status of women will spill off positively in the household, the social structure of communities, and ultimately the nation.

It can be deduced that the participation in the labour market is highly correlated with lack of access to land. Therefore, the search for various kinds of income-generating activities, both in and outside of the house goes on regardless of the comparatively low wages received by women in the agricultural sector. Women generally perform task(s) needed to be done with greater care and which represent(s) an extension of the work that women carry out in the home. However, economic need is one of the factors which compels rural women to sell their labour. A greater or lesser access to the means of production will also influence what we call the reproductive strategies. This term is perferred to survival strategies which refer only to economic activities. Reproductive strategies is a broad based concept which defines the different activities that household members carry out to ensure their material reproduction. These are planned by allocating household members' labour by sex, age and position in the family structure. In relating to the reproductive strategies women play a major

role. This is mainly because they are the persons responsible for the physical, social and biological reproduction of both active and potential labour force.

Although women are actively involved in the growth and stability of the national economy their contribution is often unrecognised, undervalued or just accepted as the normal way of life. Women do not have the full autonomy in making major decisions which affect their existence due to lack of ownership of agricultural resources, low leadership positions and involvement in politics, and the burden of reproductive work.

Given the above, this research attempted to address inequities and/or assumptions concerning women in agriculture and other social/political events. These issues were explored using various techniques both at the community level and the level of the household. At the community level five techniques were applied and four at the household level. These techniques are dealt with later in this section.

The 10% survey, being one of the techniques used at the community level, utilized a female and small male sample of the population in an attempt to bring about comparison between males and females.

Criteria for Selection of the Communities

The communities selected for the research were identified from a broad categorization of village types prepared by the Ministry of Agriculture.

As much as possible, the selection process attempted to look at villages that were representative of the national situation.

Four categories were selected at first:

1. What could be considered typical villages, i.e. villages with a tradition of mixed farming, a variety of land-tenure systems and where production for export co-exists with production for local and domestic use. Fishing, too, plays a role in the village life. The majority of villages in Dominica fit this characterisation.

2. There are also the 'untypical' village types - villages where land ownership systems evolved out of unique historical experiences of situations, as obtains in the Carib territory, where Caribs were placed on a reserve by colonial administrators; and in the Warner and Clifton villages, where most lands are held in common, having been bequeathed to former slave settlements by slave owners.

3. Other examples of villages that do not fit in either of the above categories are areas where, because of particular climatic, geographical or historical reasons, farmers are forced to concentrate on a limited range of farming activities. These are typical of the mountain villages of Dominica, most of which were scattered settlements of "Maroon societies', to which slaves escaped from the harsh realities of estate life. Estates (large plantations) tended to be established along the coastal plains and in low lying areas. Thus, those villages are characterised by small holdings, unsuited to large scale crop production. Invariably, these areas are intensely cultivated with a limited number of crops, and are well suited to vegetable production because of the higher elevation. Giraudel, one of the communities studied, fits this category.

4. Another type of agricultural village which needed attention was that which shared some of the aspects of typical villages, but developed along a special path

because of particular experiences or initiatives at the local level. This situation is applicable to Grand Bay, where the particular relationship of plantation experiences to the local situation brought about needed, albeit radical, changes in the lives of agricultural workers, farmers and marginal people. In this group are villages that have been targeted for government-sponsored rural development initiatives. They were felt to be interesting cases for comparative analysis.

Criteria for Selection of Households

Initially, it was intended that households be chosen to represent a wide range based on varying household types, life cycles, access to the means of production, union types and the main woman's occupation. The above was not achieved because of the reality in the field and the type of research.

Firstly, it was difficult to identify households to fit into these specific categories smoothly.

Secondly, the interview being an in-depth and detailed one, the household had to be willing to share with the researcher and this was not always the case. Because of these two limitations, it was not possible to get the required range. The problem was resolved by researchers having to modify the range combining certain characteristics. (See Table No. 1 Giraudel, Marigot and Grand Bay).

Definitions of Categories of Households

1. Nuclear Household - Both partners with or without children.
2. Single-Parent Household - One person with children
3. Single Person Household - One person without children
4. Extended Household - In addition to single person or partners, there are members of the third generation (grandchildren).
5. Complex Household - In addition to first, second or third generations, there are relatives and non-relatives.
6. Composite Household - Comprises more than one family.

Definitions of Categories of Life Cycle

1. Formation with children - When the majority of children are younger than eight (8) years old, regardless of the mother's age.
2. Expansion - The majority of the children are eight (8) to nineteen (19) years old, regardless of the mother's age.
3. Fission - The majority of children are adults of twenty (20) or more years, and therefore are susceptible to freeing themselves from the family of origin through marriage, migration, etc.
4. Extinction - The main woman is over sixty (60) years old and, as a consequence, the possibility of reproduction (female) is limited.

TECHNIQUES

The different techniques applied were:

(a) At the Level of Community:-

(i) *Interviews with key informants*

These were deemed necessary in order to obtain basic data on communities, as well as to obtain the perceptions of people familiar with and rooted within these particular communities. A questionnaire (attached) was used.

(ii) *Participant Observation*

To collect information to supplement/confirm information obtained from key informants.

(iii) *Community Survey - 10%*

This involved interviews in a 10% sample of households in the community. Farming households were targetted. The survey was the tool utilized for getting substantial information relating to division of labour, male/female factors, participation in community, etc.; this was important for placing the rural household in a community context.

(iv) *Community Group Meetings*

A number of meetings were held with a cross-section of community groups in order to get a wide perception of views re. community development, gender participation, membership, decision-making and influence within the group, activities

of the group re. interests/issues of relevance to the community, and to observe the processes involved in the conduct of meetings.

(v) *Workshops*

To assess the situation of women in agriculture, as well as beginning the process of sensitization re. participation of women in the national development process.

(b) At the Level of Selected Households (Household Case Studies):-

To look at all aspects related to the life history of the main woman within the household. A total of ten (10) Household Case Studies were done in the three farming communities: three (3) in Grand Bay, four (4) in Marigot and three (3) in Giraudel. The information was obtained during the researchers' three weeks residency within each community. The purpose of the Household Case Studies was to collect in-depth information on typical farming households on qualitative aspects of life which could not be dealt with through a survey questionnaire.

(i) *In-depth Questionnaire*

(ii) *Participant Observation*

Participation in the daily activities of the main woman permitted the researcher to gain an in-depth appreciation of her life, and the intensity of the tasks in which she is involved. Spouses/ children assisted in giving additional information which enriched the data. One was therefore able to get a good sense of the real operations of the

household, e.g. the sexual division of labour existing in the household when persons other than the main woman were present. The main woman was also observed in various settings, e.g. at church, meetings, on the farm with other women, so as to get a sense of her roles, levels of participation in community activities, relationships with other women/men, etc.

(iii) *Time Budget*

The time spent by members of the household on different productive and reproductive activities was measured. The information was obtained during the researchers' three weeks residency within each community. The objectives of the residency were to assist researchers in becoming familiar with the community, to facilitate easy collection of data on a daily basis, and to allow the researchers to share the daily lives of the households being studied in-depth (Household Case Studies) in order to arrive at objective information re. the sexual division of labour, time budgets, etc.

NOTE: All monetary quotations in the Tables related to the Household Case Studies, and in the report as a whole, are in Eastern Caribbean Dollars (EC$). EC$2.76 = US$1.00.

DEFINITIONS

For definitions of household types and life cycle categories,

see page 7 .

1. Agricultural wage worker - Person employed to do agricultural work for wages.
2. Domestic work - Work done to maintain household, e.g. washing, cooking, caring for children.
3. Employed - Receiving regular income.
4. Farmer - Person who farms on his/her own account and whose main income is derived from agriculture.
5. Farm family - A family where the major income is derived from agriculture.
6. Gross income - Total income excluding productive costs.
7. Head of household - Person primarily responsible for organisation and maintenance of household.
8. Home consumption - Food and other things consumed by household out of what they produce.
9. Household - A number of persons living together and sharing at least one meal.
10. Land Tenure - Different forms in which land is held.
11. Main Woman - Woman with highest level of responsibility for household organisation and decision-making within household.
12. Means of Production - Assets, e.g. land, tools, used in production process.
13. Migration - Movement from home country to another country/island.
14. Net income - Gross income minus reproductive costs.

15. Per Capita - Per person.

16. Productive capacity - Comparison of net income with reproductive costs, as measure of ability of household to reproduce itself on its own income.

17. Productive costs - Costs related to maintenance of productive activities.

18. Reproductive consumption - What the household consumes (food, clothes, etc.) for its maintenance and reproduction.

19. Productive work - Income generating activity.

20. Reproductive strategies - Ways and means of providing income to households, in cash or kind.

21. Reproductive work - Includes domestic work described above; and making, training and the upbringing of children. For the purpose of this study only domestic work was measured, so the two terms are used interchangeably. The specific activities considered are cooking and washing dishes, cleaning the house, washing and ironing, taking care of children and shopping.

22. Remittances - Cash/Kind received from overseas.

23. Socialisation process - Process by which society inculcates values, e.g. specific work for girls and boys.

24. Time budget - Time allocated to different activities in a 24-hour period.

DOMINICA PROFILE

AREA	: 751 Km²	
POPULATION	: 84,000 (1987)	
	50.2% females (1981)	
	49.8% males (1981)	
	Family Types (1981)	
	Nuclear	57%
	Extended	33%
	Composite	10%
DENSITY	: 112 Km² / inh	
NATURAL GROWTH	: 2% / Year (1970 - 1981)	
NET MIGRATION**	: 1.6% (1970-1981)	
GROWTH RATE	: 19-0.6% Year (1970 - 1981)	
GDP/inh.	: EC $3,294 (1987)	
GDP	: EC $26,669,600	
MAIN EXPORTS	: (1987)	
	Bananas	EC $86,432,954.00
	Coconut Soap	EC $21,248,862.00
	Coconut Crude Oil	EC $ 1,327,479.00

MAIN IMPORTS : (1986)

Machinery Electric	EC $14,606,000.00
Metal and their Manufactures	EC $10,616,000.00
Cardboard Boxes	EC $ 8,613,000.00
Meat and Meat Preparations	EC $ 7,583,000.00

CONTRIBUTIONS TO GDP : (1986)

1. Services	1.05
2. Agriculture	30.26
3. Construction	4.67
4. Housing	4.02
5. Manufacturers	6.66

ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION: (1981)

43% Females 81% Males

AGRICULTURE : (1981)

20% Female participation

44% Male participation

[SOURCES: Dominica Statistical Office,
1980-81 Population Census of the Commonwealth Caribbean]

/inh = per inhabitant

** negative net migration implies an excess of emigrants over immigrants

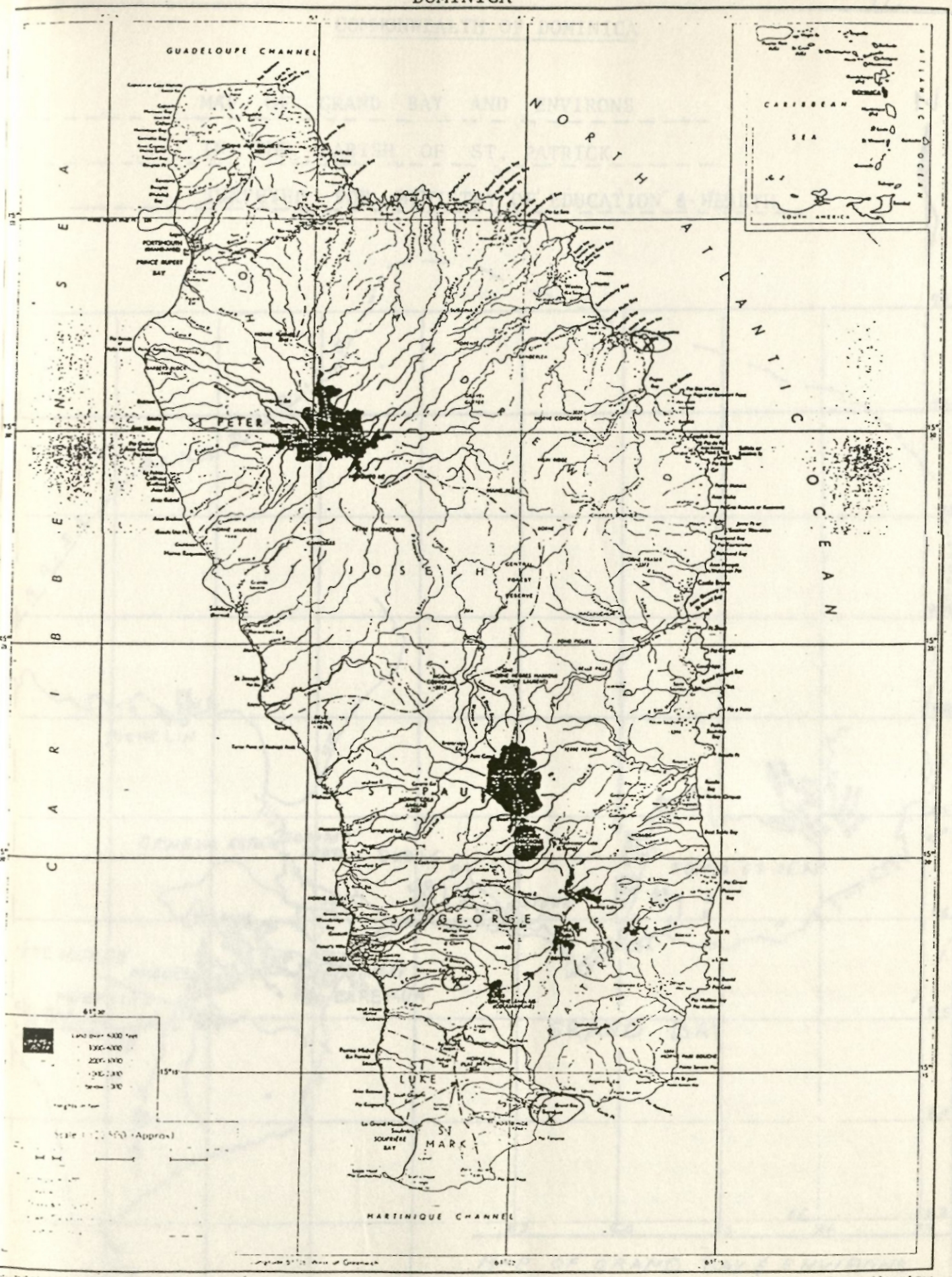
DOMINICA

FIGURE 1

LOCATION MAP







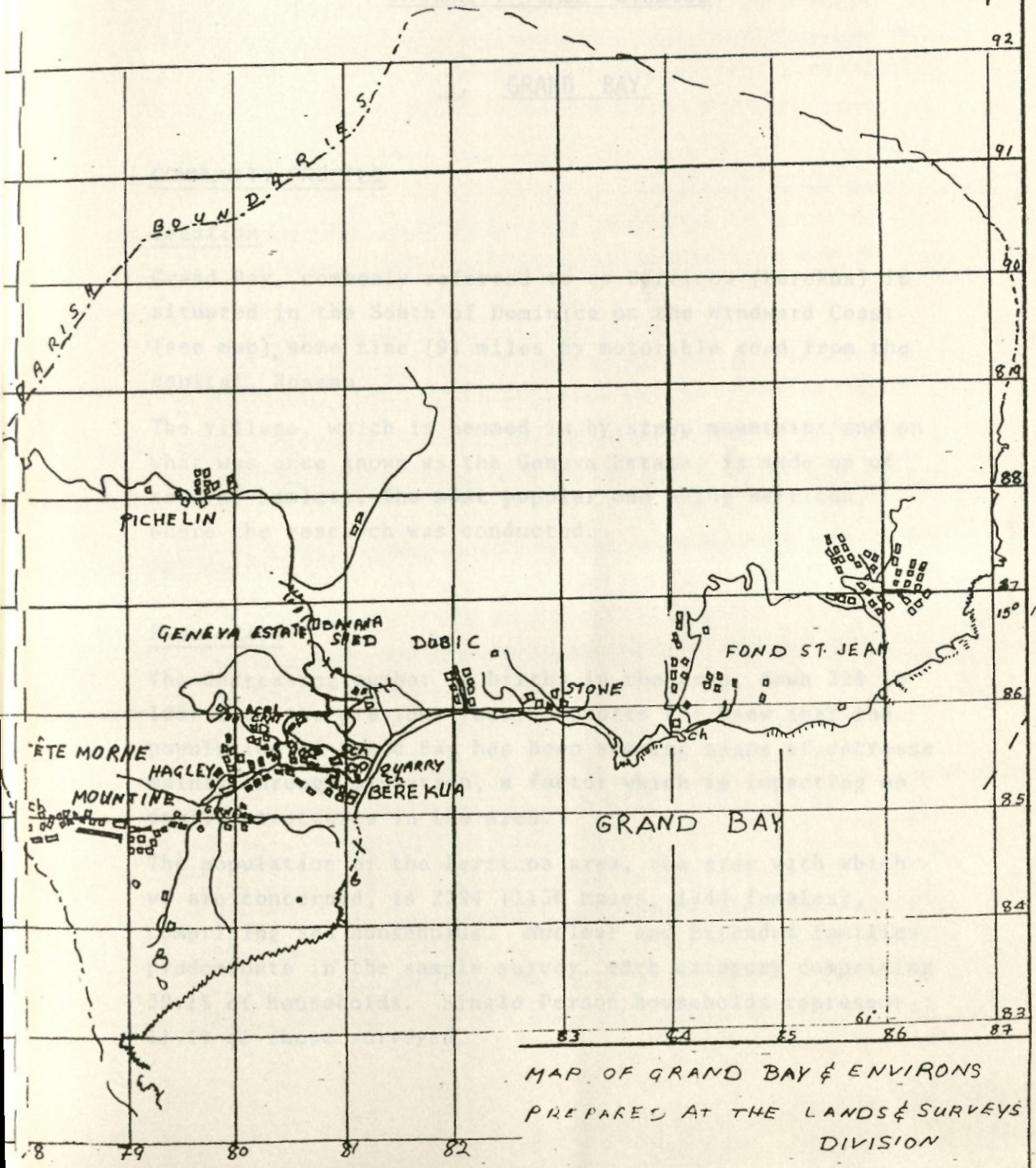
(X) - Denotes communities studied in the "Women in Caribbean Agriculture" Project, 1987.

COMMONWEALTH OF DOMINICA

MAP OF GRAND BAY AND ENVIRONS

IN THE PARISH OF ST. PATRICK

SURVEYED FOR MINISTRY OF EDUCATION & HEALTH



MAP OF GRAND BAY & ENVIRONS
PREPARED AT THE LANDS & SURVEYS DIVISION

BY [illegible] DRAUGHTSMAN DATE 6/5/83

SCALE 1/50,000

COMMUNITY CASE STUDIES

1. GRAND BAY

COMMUNITY PROFILE

Location

Grand Bay, commonly referred to as Berricoa (Berekua) is situated in the South of Dominica on the Windward Coast (see map), some nine (9) miles by motorable road from the capital, Roseau.

The village, which is hemmed in by steep mountains and on what was once known as the Geneva Estate, is made up of several hamlets, the most popular one being Berricoa, where the research was conducted.

Population

The decreasing number of births in the area, down 22% in 1987 from the previous year, supports the view that the population of Grand Bay has been showing signs of decrease mainly through migration, a factor which is impacting on family structures in the area.

The population of the Berricoa area, the area with which we are concerned, is 2394 (1150 males, 1244 females), comprising 543 households. Nuclear and Extended families predominate in the sample survey, each category comprising 39.1% of households. Single Person households represent 11.1% of those surveyed.

In terms of union status, 48.8% of the sample were married, compared with 17.2% who were single. 3.1% had visiting relationships, while 6.3% were separated.

Fifty percent (50%) of households comprise between one (1) and five (5) persons, with 32.3% comprising between six (6) and eleven (11) persons.

Historical Background

The history of Berricoa, generally viewed within the context of turmoil and unrest, is a history of a rural population struggling against the legacy of a colonial plantation system, slavery, economic under-development and dependency. The historical experiences of that rural community have been linked to the changing fortunes of the Geneva Estate, an area of 1380 acres that has changed hands several times since the French settled in that part of the island in the mid-1700's.

The name *'Berricoa'* is derived from the French *'Belle Croix'* meaning *'Nice Cross'*. This cross, which still stands in the Grand Bay cemetery, is linked to the history of conflict between two warring factions, the French and Caribs. The French finally succeeded in gaining supremacy in the area.

From slavery, the struggle for *'Geneva'* has been expresssed in violent exchanges at one time between French and Caribs, later in succeeding outbursts of violence and arson, and in changes in ownership of the estate over time.

Up until 1974, the Geneva Estate, owned privately by a Lebanese-born businessman, contained the greater part of arable land in the area and provided the main form of employment - employing up to 300 persons in its heyday - as well as making lands available for grazing and the production of milk (Gomes, 1985).

But the land needs of the villagers grew as the generally poor socio-economic levels of the community found little hope of improvement in the declining prospects of the estate, which by 1974 employed less than 120 persons.

In 1974, the estate experienced a spontaneous outburst of arson and theft - the expression of the unfulfilled expectations of the youth, and the mounting pressure from the adjoining villages as the population of the Grand Bay area grew.

The estate has since come under the control of the Government, and is at present the focus of an Integrated Rural Development Programme aimed at making lands available to some 400 farmers, 24% of whom are women, who cultivate mainly bananas and root crops.

The Economy/Modes of Subsistence

The economy of Grand Bay in recent years has moved from the sale of labour to the Geneva Estate and peasant agriculture to a more cash crop orientation based on the export of bananas grown on small, privately owned holdings. In 1979, the entire crop was destroyed by Hurricane David, leaving the economy in a virtual state of collapse.

The economic history of the Berricoa area has been linked to the vicissitudes of the Genevea Estate, an area of 1350 acres, 600 acres of which are at present being made available to farmers as mentioned above.

Generally, economic subsistence for a sizeable part of the population is provided by small-scale cultivation of bananas, ground provisions and food crops. Ninety-two point one percent (92.1%) of the sample population was characterised as self-employed, mainly as farmers, and income from agriculture accounted for the largest share of total income

(89.1%). Cocoa and limes which were at one time grown extensively on Geneva and smaller estates in the area have declined in importance through diseases, human destruction and/or the transition of Geneva from a privately-owned estate to one being sub-divided into smaller plots.

Since 1974, the Geneva Estate which once provided the bulk of employment for this rural population ceased to exist as an employer of estate labour. Many of the original workers are either involved in farming on small, private plots or have migrated. A few medium-sized farmers (less than 10) can be identified as socio-economically better off. The national farm register indicates a total of 635 farmers in the area, 126 of whom are women.

All respondents to the sample survey have access to agricultural lands, but only 14.5% have titles to those lands. In 36.8% of the cases, the owner of the land was the main woman, compared to 47.4% owned by male spouses. Other relatives of the common law unions owned land in 7.9% of the sample survey.

The majority of farms worked by households were three-acre plots (49.1%), and a slightly higher percentage (52.7%) had access, which means that some people have access but do not work the land. Three point six percent (3.6%) of respondents worked on land of seven acres, and a similar percentage had access to that much land. It appears, therefore, that in the 7-acre bracket, all who had access to land actually worked it.

In the absences of farming, employment opportunities are extremely limited, and unemployment has remained a chronic feature of the area, particularly among the youth.

In addition to farming, a number of people (about 20) operate small shops and businesses and are on a higher socio-economic scale than the majority. Another 40 or so persons are employed as civil servants in the area, while another 50 are employed in the capital of Roseau as clerks and skilled workers.

Seasonal employment through road maintenance provides employment for some unskilled workers, mainly men, and a few other people including women are involved in income-generating activities in areas of craft, construction and the sale of bread.

The majority of homes in the Berricoa area, indicated by 58.7% of the sample population, have relatives reasiding overseas and depend on remittances for economic survival. Few employment opportunities exist for women in the area. Although a number of women between the ages of 21-40 have migrated to neighbouring islands in search of employment, mainly as domestics, the majority who remain depend on remittances and engage in very marginal economic activities, e.g. sale of cakes and sweets.

A few are involved in straw work and some backyard gardening, but this is done to a very limited extent. A few more find temporary employment in the packaging of bananas for export.

Community Participation and Social Organisations and Networks

Administratively, the Village Council has been referred to as being the most important institution in the village at present. The eight-member Council, comprising three women and five men, is responsible for Community Development in the area as the local government body.

At various times, networks including the Village Improvement Committee, and the recently-inactive Grand Bay Development Foundation, have provided leadership and guidance to a number of community activities. A number of groups have stood out at different times, among them the L'Echell Youth Group that had its roots in the months following the *'Geneva Uprising'*, as youths sought collectively to discuss and

provide direction to the expectations and hopes of the young population. Another small group, Southern Liberated Dancers, emerged from the cultural revival that transformed and catalysed the village in the late 1970's. Although a lot of these groups have lost their vibrancy and spark, either through migration of leaders or as the energies shifted to dealing with the economic realities, they have nonetheless left their mark on the Berricoa community. Their initiative to mobilize the creativity and spirit of cooperation has provided some glimmer of hope for the community as a whole.

Other groups are more partisan in orientation, i.e. they are aligned to political parties, for example, the Young Freedom Movement and the Labour Youth Movement.

Two other organisations, the Grand Bay Development Foundation and the Grand Bay Development Association, the latter a relatively new organisation, aim to promote economic and social development in the community.

Development agencies like Save the Children, the Small Projects' Assistance Team and the Ministry of Agriculture all have on-going programmes generally geared to supporting rural development initiatives.

Women have played important roles in the community development processes in the village, as political candidates in general elections and as members of the Village Council.

The long-standing Social League, comprised mainly of women, has been in existence since the late 1950's. Since the U.N. Decade for Women, a number of women's groups have been organised to deal with unemployment and other issues affecting women. Of note are the Southern Women's Organisation for Rural Development, and the Network of Southern Women's Groups, which is geared to promoting the interests of women by engaging in advocacy and awareness-building in the community.

A number of attempts to form networks of existing groups in the area have met with little success as political and ideological differences and differing levels of commitment interfered with this process. Several religious institutions exist in the village, the Roman Catholic church being the most firmly entrenched with the largest membership. Other denominations include Gospel Mission, Seventh Day Adventist, Church of God, Pentecostal, Jehovah's Witness and Church of Christ.

The Grand Bay village, commonly known as the *'Cultural Hub'* of the island because of the rich cultural heritage popularised through the various traditional dance forms and oral history, shows at present signs of 'cultural dormancy', as cultural activities are limited to certain times of the year. In addition, uncensored 24-hour satellite television threatens to undermine this cultural strength - generally considered to be the source of the community's power.

Grand Bay has traditionally been regarded as 'politically active' in the sense of actively participating in electoral politics. Sixty-five percent (65%) of the electorate voted in the last election, and women play active roles as organisers, political leaders and candidates. In 1980-1985, a woman served as Parliamentary Representative under the Freedom Party. The constituency voted for the Opposition Labour Party in the last election. Leaders in the community have also played active roles in the campaign for Independence and in the post-hurricane social/political upheavals.

Influence and power in the Grand Bay area are based on political office as members of Parliament or the Village Council, or economic status. Shopkeepers and business people as a group command a certain amount of respect in the sense that they are relatively 'better off' than the majority of subsistence farmers and unemployed youth and young adults who are at the base of the social structure.

School teachers and professionals like doctors, lawyers, and retired civil servants like school principals, also occupy a high socio-economic status in the sense of being able to acquire resources and make substantial contributions to family incomes.

In the eyes of the youth, influence in the community is based to a large extent on the levels of leadership provided, and group leaders, village councillors, and leaders of cultural groups that purport to share the aspirations and views of the majority about social conditions, carry a lot of respect in the village.

With the redistribution of lands on Geneva Estate to small farmers, many of the class divisions are less marked as people have been able to combine earnings from agriculture with remittances from abroad to raise economic levels; and as such the fairly intense feelings of resentment towards the few, better off (Gomes, 1987: 67) that fuelled the 1974 Geneva uprising have somewhat abated.

Social Amenities/Infra-Structure/Communications

The village is linked to the main town of Roseau, nine (9) miles away, by a recently surfaced and reconstructed road. A number of secondary village roads which are maintained by the Council serve the main village, which is also served by a potable water system, electricity, telephones, a postal agency and sub-treasury as well as a police station.

The village has a polyclinic, which means that it provides most of the basic health care services, and has facilities for short-term resident care. A health team comprised of resident doctors and a staff of four serves the area. Ambulance and fire services are also present.

The government primary school, one of the largest in the island, has an enrollment of about 800 pupils, a number down 30% from the pre-hurricane years. The declining school population reflects the general trend of steady decline in population as whole families take to migration as a survival strategy.

Four pre-schools, all local initiatives, serve the infant population; yet in all instances, existing pre-school facilities are inadequate for the community's needs.

There are no secondary schools in the area, despite the fact that close to 300 secondary school children commute from the area to schools in Roseau daily.

The majority of homes (92%) in the Berricoa area have access to pipe-borne water through private and public means. About 15 stand pipes serve the area. Eight-four percent (84%) of homes have toilet facilities, the majority being the traditional outdoor latrines.

Newly-constructed homes are utilizing septic tanks, and more and more homes are linked to the water system.

There is no Community Centre in the village, and sporting and recreational facilities are almost non-existent - a serious problem for the growing population.

Most people listen to the radio for national and international news coverage. Television has become very popular over the last year; most programmes are from the United States.

Public address systems are regularly used for announcing public meetings and entertainment events; posters and church announcements are also used for publicizing community events.

The housing conditions are relatively poor, with a substantial percentage of the population living in houses needing repairs or without basic facilities. Despite the implementation of a housing scheme on the Geneva Estate, the housing problem in the area continues.

INTRODUCTION TO THE HOUSEHOLD CASE STUDIES:

GRAND BAY

In the Grand Bay community, three (3) Household Case Studies were conducted. The characteristics were household type: 1 nuclear extended; 1 nuclear; and 1 single parent extended. Life cycles were 2 expansion, and 1 nuclear. The number of members varied for each household and also the number of acres of land per household. Two of the cases studied obtained land under the Land Reform Programme and one shared land with her spouse. In all three households farming is the main woman's occupation and so the main source of income is agriculture.

Household No. 1 - which is a nuclear extended has seven members in the family including a niece of the main woman. This household has access to 1.34 acres of land. Most of the income of this household comes from agriculture; remittances are also received from overseas.

Household No. 2 is a nuclear household with six members. The life cycle of this household is formation with children. This household acquired 1.75 acres of land under the Land Reform Programme. Farming brings in the main income but trade work helps supplement income.

Household No. 3 is a single parent household with life cycle being in expansion. There are four members in the household. This household has access to 3.4 acres of land. The main source of income for this household comes from agriculture

but to help, remittances are received from children overseas, and some income is also derived from craft work which is done occasionally.

The low contribution of work by males in household No. 1 is mainly due to the fact that the boys are of school age and therefore, priority is given to education over productive work, since there is a main man in the household who does a considerable amount of productive work along with the main woman who has stressed the need for a basic education.

The son in household No. 2, while still of school age, does as much work as the main man in the household, a total of 1458 hours per year.

In household No. 3 there is little alternative to the high level of involvement of the son in productive work, as there is no main man present.

HOUSEHOLD NO. 1 - GRAND BAY

GENERAL INFORMATION ON MAIN WOMAN

This Section focuses on a 34 year old woman who has an extended family. The family is headed by her 37 year old husband, three sons, 17, 16 and 14 years belonging to a man from a union prior to her marriage, a daughter of 6 years, belonging to both parents, and a 13 year old niece of the main woman.

The main woman, Mrs. B., was born in the village of Grand Bay. Her highest level of education is primary. Her main language is English, but she also speaks creole, the local dialect.

The main woman likes every aspect of agricultural activity and is very hard working. She first worked on the Geneva Estate but is presently employed at the Government Agricultural Station.

She owns the 1.34 acres of land she cultivates. The land was acquired under the recent Government land resettlement programme for the Grand Bay area. She also has access to her husband's .95 acre of land.

On her plot she grows mainly bananas for export and ground provisions, vegetables and a few tree crops which are sold on the local market. From this income, and from occasional remittances from her sister abroad, she is able to survive. In addition, Mrs. B. is employed as an agricultural wage worker at the agricultural station. She has access to health, postal, police and electricity services.

REPRODUCTIVE STRATEGIES

The main source of income is derived from agricultural sales but remittances are also received in the form of cash and clothes for which we have given a monetary value for the purpose of this research. This woman does not have adequate means of production but is able to make ends meet with the meagre wage she receives from the agricultural station. Work on the agricultural station is done on shift basis, which allows the woman to be able to combine wage work with the cultivation of her own plot.

In 1986, agriculture contributed $6,894.44 to the household with $6,196.36 being sales from agriculture and $698.10 being home consumption. The production cost to generate this income was $2,700, which was the cost of tools and labour, leaving the household with a balance of $4,184.44 to meet reproductive costs.

The percentage distribution of the different productive activities to the gross income of the household is shown in Table IV. Agriculture contributes a combined 61.26%, livestock .09%, while remittances contribute 15.99% and wage work (main woman) 22.64%.

PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY

The production of this household is determined by comparing the net income with the household's reproductive costs. Table III shows the net income of the household to $7,868.69. Food consumption which are part of reproductive costs are $1,655.84. This cost, when compared with the net income, reveals that this family is able to reproduce itself and still have a positive balance.

The annual food consumption which is $1,655 is further broken down to $137.95 monthly, $4.53 daily and $1.64 daily per capita is shown in Table V.

ORGANISATION AND DIVISION OF LABOUR BY SEX

This household is engaged mainly in agricultural productive work which involves all household members except the six year old, but insofar as there is reproductive work it is done almost exlcusively by the females (See Table VII).

There is very little participation of males in domestic work. Insofar as they do participate, it is the teenage sons who do it. They assist with washing, ironing, shopping and cooking. Tables VII and VIII show the division of labour by sex and age in the household. The main woman does as much productive work as the man. The main woman spends a total of 2400 hours a year doing productive work including the care of animals. The main man spends 3688 hours yearly, the sons spend 485 hours and the girls spend 25 hours a year doing productive work. The figures shown for the boys and girls appear to be quite low, but this is because most of their time is spent in school.

In regard to reproductive activities the main woman spends 1832 hours per year, the boys 405 hours, the girl (13 years old) spends 1691 hours a year. In this case the main man does no reproductive work.

SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

This household can be considered a small farmer household since the woman owns 1.34 acres of land on which she cultivates her own crop. But she is also a wage worker at the agricultural station and this helps to supplement the income earned from working on her own plot. We could therefore describe her as a semi-proletarian. The main man is a full-time small farmer on a .95 acre plot, since most of his time is spent either on his plot or his wife's 1.34 acre plot. On days when he does not work on these plots he can be found helping his father or a friend who attends the same church.

With the presence of a main man, most decisions pertaining to work on the land are jointly made except for the growing of vegetables which is done solely by the main woman.

The children are engaged in agricultural activities only on days when there are no classes because most of their time is spent at school.

DOMESTIC WORK

Domestic work is done by the main woman. She spends a total of 728 hours yearly doing the cooking while 130 and 468 hours respectively are spent on cleaning and caring for children. Washing and ironing, which are done by the main woman an average of 8 hours weekly, represent 28.04% of the total number of hours spent on domestic work while cooking and washing up represent 20.66%. Most time is spent on caring for the children which is done for an average of 3½ hours daily and represents 31% of the total time spent.

The main woman organises her domestic tasks in a systematic way. She prepares breakfast before she leaves for work and give instructions as to what is to be prepared for lunch. Supper is prepared early enough after she returns from work at the agricultural station in order to save on buying snacks for the children after school.

Before leaving for work, Mrs. B. grooms the girls' hair in preparation for school, and also takes time to clean the house while the food is being cooked. Washing and ironing are done weekly. Washing of the clothes is done at home and the children are allowed to carry water to do the washing, but on days when there is very heavy linen to be washed, she goes to the river. This is done on Saturdays when she is not selling at the market. Ironing is done by the main woman on Sunday nights.

HOUSEHOLD NO. 2 - GRAND BAY

GENERAL INFORMATION

Thirty-four (34) year old Miss S. resides in the village of Grand Bay and shares a common-law relationship with the father of her youngest child. This woman has borne four children, all of whom live with her. The life cycle of this household is *"Formation with Children"*, which means that the majority of children in the household are younger than eight years old - (girl 15; boy 14; boy 5; boy 2).

Miss S. has had no secondary school education but attended primary school for ten years. She had no special training in agriculture but has been involved in agriculture since she was a child of about 12 years. Six years ago, she migrated to the French island of Guadeloupe where she worked as a domestic servant. The first two children whom she had at the time remained with a close relative. Two years ago, she returned to Dominica and resumed her agricultural activities.

REPRODUCTIVE ACTIVITIES

This household engages in three activities to reproduce itself. The household comprises six members, only four can actively involve themselves in work. These activities are egg production which is done on a very small scale as the household owns only 25 chickens; wage labour which is done by both the main man and the main woman. However, there is some difference in that the man does carpentry and the woman engages in field packing. Agriculture is another activity

and the way in which it is carried out is given below under the section *"Organisation and Division of Labour by Sex"*.

PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY

The net income of this household is $6,761.20. The net income was calculated by deducting the productive costs from the total income. In doing this, the reproductive expenses are not included. These amount to $7,451.60, When reproductive costs are subtracted from the net income the productive capacity is obtained. Productive capacity here is meant to be the ability of the household to reproduce itself effectively, or to maintain the standard of living of the particular household. In this household, the reproductive costs outweigh the net income, although the cost of reproductive labour is not taken into account. Food costs are part of the total reproductive costs. It does not seem likely that this household can manage to survive effectively. The household is often in debt and often times certain important needs for the reproduction of the household are not met.

ORGANISATION AND DIVISION OF LABOUR BY SEX

Only four members can actively take part in productive and reproductive work in this household.

The main man does agricultural work, spends six hours on the average on the plot. During the year in reference, the main man did not fully involve himself in agricultural work. He works also as a carpenter for about seven and a half months per year. On Saturdays, while the main woman is in the market he assists in taking care of the children until the girl is able to take over.

The main woman organizes her day to spend on the average four hours on the plot. She usually leaves after she has prepared the breakfast, and the children are off to school. On other days when she has to do field-packing, she organises for the children stay with a friend because she stays away for the whole day. She cooks two times per day and cleans twice per week.

The girl does agricultural work on her arrival from school which is mainly watering the plants in the evening. She also looks after the children and prepares a light meal.

The boy's main tasks are looking after the chickens and rabbits. The tasks entail feeding them, cleaning the coop, ensuring that none of the animals escape; and he also looks after the rabbits. After school, he participates in agricultural work with his parents. On Saturday, he some times assists the girl in caring for the children. The main woman has the main responsibility of ensuring that tasks are performed by the boy and girl. She has little control over the execution of tasks by the main man.

SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

The main woman has access to 1.75 acres of land through her common-law partner under the Government Rural Integrated Land Re-allocation Programme. They do not own a title for the land but have a receipt of payment. In addition to the land, other assets include three cutlasses, one fork, a chicken coop with 25 chickens, a rabbit hutch, a wooden outdoor latrine, and an outdoor kitchen, and a two-bedroom house.

Postal, health, school, retail grocery outlets and bakery are services available to her. Water is also available and

it takes about 20 minutes to get to the nearest standpipe. There is no electricity in that area of the community.

DOMESTIC WORK

The domestic work is very important in terms of the reproduction of the household. In this household, water is the main problem. It has to be carried for tasks such as cooking, cleaning and drinking. Tasks like washing are done at the river which is about 30 minutes away from the home. Because of the main woman's involvement in both productive activities and reproductive work, the girl has to assist largely in the domestic work. The largest amount of time in domestic work is spent on cooking and washing wares and accounts for 34%. As shown in Table VIII, 23% is also spent on washing and ironing; taking care of children accounts for 23%; fetching water 9%; cleaning the house 6%; and shopping 4%.

HOUSEHOLD NO. 3 - GRAND BAY

GENERAL INFORMATION

This household is an extended family whose life cycle is in expansion; that is, the son of 28 and the two grand children aged 15 and 17 years are at an age where they could leave home at any time. The household consists of four members, the main woman, Mrs. F., her son, and two grand daughters.

GENERAL INFORMATION ON MAIN WOMAN

Mrs. F. was born in Colihaut and was cared for by foster parents from Grand Bay when her mother left for Barbados. Her highest education level attained was primary school which she attended for six years. She nevertheless speaks English very fluently and correctly and is very industrious.

At the age of 21 she married and subsequently gave birth to ten children, two of which died due to miscarriages; two were still births. Presently, she has four daughters and one son. He is the only one who lives with her while two have migrated overseas and two others are married in Dominica and live on their own.

Mrs. F.'s husband died when her last child was ten years old, and she managed the caring of the children on her own. She was employed as a labourer on the Geneva Estate which served as the only source of employment at that time. She was promoted from a position of labourer to supervisor during the ten years she spent there. She left the Estate in 1978 due to illness and when she became well was able to take greater

care of her children. When she left the estate her eldest daughter replaced her. In 1950, she bought a tiny 2-roomed wooden house with financial support from the Credit Union through a loan for $15.00, and repaid four shillings per week on the loan.

Recently, she also took another loan from the Credit Union to purchase 3.4 acres of agricultural land under the Government Integrated Rural Development Programme on the Geneva Estate. She used the land as security to assist her daughters to purchase agricultural land. Three of her daughters were assisted in this way. She has recently built a field packing shed in which she stores her fertilizers and field-packed bananas to be transported. She uses simple tools such as the cutlass, hoe, spray can and fork (See Table III).

PRODUCTIVE STRATEGIES

Agricultural Involvement

The ownership of land and farm implements form the basis of income generation for the household.

The experience of the main woman as a supervisor on the Geneva Estate allowed her to become a full time farmer, for she also cultivated a small plot on the estate while working there.

With the full support of her son she is able to grow bananas, ground provisions, root crops and tree crops, both for export and local consumption. The assured market for bananas brings in cash to the household at least twice monthly. She also sells flowers, tree crops (mainly mangoes and avocado pears), to her daughter who is a huckster.

Perishable agricultural products, mainly fruits such as ripe bananas, guavas and vegetables are sold in the village.

Her gross sale is $3,469.00 (See Table III) which represents 68.5% of the total household income.

The main woman also sells milk weekly to supplement the household's income to the tune of $400.00 a year. The sale of milk represents 7.9% of the household's total income (See Tables III and IV).

The main woman who is skilled in making straw mats, uses her spare time to do straw articles for sale on special occasions like the annual village feast. She uses a variety of long grass called *"vertiver"* which is dried in the sun and then plaited in different designs and shapes.

The straw, when plaited, can also be sold in bulk to a small handicraft centre in the capital. Mats and hats are sold in the village and at the main market in the capital. The main woman does not do this mainly as an income earning activity, but rather as a social activity. She got a total of $250.00 from straw work which represents 10.9% of the household's income.

OTHER SOURCES OF INCOME

The main woman receives cash and goods about four times a year from all her daughters who reside in the neighbouring island of Guadeloupe. She receives more goods during the Christmas season which represent a substantial contribution to her well-being. This represents 12.7% of the total household income. Sometimes she gives to her friends some of the goods received.

PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY

The productive capacity of this household hinges mainly on their agricultural activities and remittances received from overseas. It is a measure of the extent to which this household is able to maintain itself, utilizing its income from the various productive activities and reproductive strategies. The reproductive and productive costs are subtracted from the gross income of all those activities to give a positive or negative balance.

Table VI shows this household's ability to generate income over and above productive costs; the balance is negative. It shows the low standard of living of this household despite all the productive activities mentioned above. In this household the total monthly reproductive and productive costs equal $457.21, and gross monthly income is $421.66, giving a negative balance of $35.55. The majority of reproductive expenditure was on food (See Table V). Food consumption represented 80.3% of total reproductive expenditure. Other than food, reproductive costs amount to $4,211.70 per year, that is, $2.80 per person, with food expenditure being $3,388.00 per year or $2.31 per person.

ORGANISATION AND DIVISION OF LABOUR BY SEX

The traditional sexual division of labour is evident in that work in this household is based on what is seen as appropriate to males and females. Specific tasks are done by the son as distinct from the grand daughters. The son does more productive work than the main woman, but were it not for her reproductive work, with her experience she would be able to do the same amount of productive work.

The productive work done by the son is almost twice that of the main woman, that is, 4368 hours per year and 2,600 hours per year respectively (see Table VII) the ratio being roughly 2:1. On the other hand, the main woman continues to do a substantial amount of domestic work, and does so even though grand daughters live in the household.

The main woman has rejected the option of having a partner to help her. She claims that having a partner would probably only increase the domestic work and that she will not allow herself to be controlled by another man now that her children have all grown up.

At the same time she performs productive work and also does reproductive work. Her son's participation in domestic work is insignificant. The ratio of her reproductive work to that of the son is roughly 2:1. She contributes a total of $1,545.75 and her son 730.52 hours per year. This, and her primary responsibility for reproductive (domestic) work conforms to the strict gender stereotyped view of the sexual division of labour in the reproductive sphere. The grand daughters also help in reproductive work and do very little productive work. Their contribution is 5,303.32 per year (See Table VII).

The absence of a main man gives the main woman total authority to organise her tasks and activities to satisfy her own needs and interests. She goes to the farm two days during the week. On Saturdays, she goes to the market and on Sundays she worships at the village Catholic Church, after which she spends the rest of the day visiting friends and the sick and/or attending other church-related functions.

The rearing of the animals is done mainly by the son, raising the question of whether the out-of-the-house nature of this activity makes it more compatible with the male concept of the sexual division of labour.

In a departure from the norm the son washes and irons his own clothes because he is not satisfied with the way his niece does them.

AGE AND KINSHIP

The age distribution in the house (the main woman 58, son 28, grand daughters 15 and 17 respectively), suggests that all members of this household can actively engage in productive activities. However the main woman's activities may be reduced due to increasing age. The life cycle and age of family members in any household influences the extent to which household members participate in household duties.

SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

This household owns and has access to an important means of production, land. The main woman can therefore farm independently. The main woman can be considered a small farmer who cultivates 3.4 acres of farm land, the average land acreage cultivated by most farmers. She also has livestock which help to enrich the soil and produce milk. Livestock can also be considered a source of reserved funds. The output of banana production from the farm proves its fertility thus giving greatly needed cash from this crop.

This household does not depend on wage work for its survival but cultivates its land for its own subsistence. Thus the main woman is very vocal at meetings especially those that concern her agricultural activities.

DOMESTIC WORK: TIME SPENT BY TASK AND ORGANISATION OF TASK

Domestic work is important for the continued maintenance of the household and ultimately, the labour force. The females in the household are usually responsible and take an active part in these activities. Unfortunately, domestic work is not considered to be work by most people, but a woman's responsibility.

Table VII shows the time spent by household members in both productive and domestic work to be the extent that women contribute far more hours to reproductive (domestic) work than men.

For example, the main woman spent 468 hours per year washing and ironing, the son 208 hours per year. The son spent 107.52 hours per year carrying water, the main woman 156 hours and the grand daughters 728 hours per year. Table IX shows that the women spent more time on reproductive (domestic) work; the son 21.58% and grand daughters 51.91%. In all instances the main woman and grand daughters bore the overwhelming responsibility for domestic work. Table VIII shows the percentage distribution of hours of domestic work done by the woman in this household.

Cooking and Washing

The main woman usually prepares meals herself but when she goes to the farm, the grand daughters do the cooking. The main meal is often a simple one-pot combining several varieties of foods. This is less time consuming than elaborate dishes which she only does on Sundays and on special occasions. Roasted ground provision is often used instead of bread.

A locally produced coal pot and the occasional use of a gas stove supply the fuel for cooking. Meat and fish are preserved with salt and dried especially for occasions like Christmas, a period when the village has a lot of beef and pork on sale.

The main woman uses a wooden mortar for obtaining the desired texture of food especially breadfruit, commonly known as "tonton". On the farm, there are constraints in the use of water for cooking and irrigation. Rainwater is collected from the roof of a boxing shed; the water then empties itself into a large can. Rainwater is the main source of water on the farm. Cooking and washing dishes represent 12.51% of the total time spent doing domestic work.

Cleaning

The main woman prefers to use local brooms to clean both indoors and outdoors; she does not sweep at night at all with a broom because she says, "this helps reduce her financial position", a myth held dear by the elderly. She ensures that the rubbish is taken from the door and collected in a corner inside from where she removes it and throws it away.

The local broom is made by the villagers from the ribs of coconut leaves. On Saturdays, the main woman does a general cleaning when she returns from the market. The grand daughter assists in moving the heavy furniture, scrubs and washes. Cleaning represents 16.24% of domestic work done by the women of the household.

Laundry

The son washes and irons his own clothes, thereby reducing the burden on the main woman and grand daughters. The main woman washes twice weekly with help from her grand daughters. Ironing is done once weekly by the main woman, and infrequently by the grand daughters who iron every time they need a dress. The main woman does not enjoy ironing due to the long hours spent standing, so she usually places a large cloth on the floor and does her ironing. She said that she is too old for this task on which she spent the greater part of her life when the children were younger. In this regard, she claims that the best way is to fold the clothes and place them under the mattress. Washing and ironing represent 14.78% of domestic work.

Shopping

The grand daughters do most of the daily shopping. The son also does his own shopping and of course, the main woman, when she goes to the market. The village shops are within close proximity. When cash is not readily available, credit from the local shop is one way of deferring payment until cash becomes available. The main woman also drinks what she calls "a little" (a drink of rum) on occasions. She says that after a hard day's work,that is the only form of relaxation. She usually drinks before lunch and on village fête days. She never allows her grand children to purchase rum for her. Shopping represents 19.26% of domestic work done. The main woman spends 362.25 hours per year shopping, the son 415 hours per year, the grand daughters 518.3 hours per year.

Carrying Water

There are no pipes in the household, and therefore water is carried from the main stand pipe which is 30 feet away. The children and son are usually seen doing this task. A big drum is used to collect and store water. White plastic buckets were purchased to collect water for cooking and drinking. Carrying water represents 19.33% of domestic work done. The main woman spends 156 hours per year, son 107.52 per year, and grand daughters 728 hours per year carrying water.

The main woman and grand daughters take care of the main woman's three smaller grand children during school holidays; the children's ages range from 5-8 years. The main woman usually carries them to the farm, where they too assist in both domestic and productive work. Caring for children takes 247.50 hours per year by the main woman and 570 hours per year by the grand children. When they do not go to the farm, the grand daughter takes care of them.

Caring for children represents 17.88% of total domestic work done by the woman in this household. The main woman is presently suffering from arthritis but she still continues to walk to her farm and do both domestic and productive work. Unfortunately the hours spent are not as many as before. She feels happy and proud that she was able to assist her children to purchase land to build their houses and for agricultural purposes. She says *"I am happy that all my children can at least plant a banana tuber"*.

CONCLUSION ON HOUSEHOLD CASE STUDIES

(GRAND BAY)

HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS

All households studied in this community started out as nuclear units. Presently, 1 is a legally married union; 1 a common-law union while the third has become a single parent household because of the death of the main woman's partner to whom she was legally married.

This reflects the predominance of marriage as a form of union in this community, with common-law relationships as the next most prevalent. Nuclear rather than single-parent households predominate in this community.

The household size is larger for the nuclear household than for the single-parent household. In both nuclear households the couple share only the last child in common, while the main women's children from previous unions constitute the majority of children in the households. In the case of one of these households a niece of the main woman also lives in the household.

In two of the households the main woman owns land, while one woman has access through her partner.

REPRODUCTIVE STRATEGIES

All three households have recourse to activities other than independent farming in their effort to make a living. Some

activities include straw work and wage work, while one family has access to some livestock. Two households employ three distinct strategies each, while one employs two.

Households No. 1 and No. 3 receive remittances from relatives of the main woman overseas, while household No. 2 does not receive any remittances as there are no relatives overseas. No remittances are received from relatives at home (i.e. resident in Dominica), irrespective of the household's life cycle or access to the means of production.

In cases where relatives are living abroad, they migrated to neighbouring islands in search of employment, since the productive activities available locally were unable to sustain the families from the low incomes produced. Where the migrating relatives have children, they are usually left behind in the care of grandmother or relative as in the case of households No. 3 and No. 3 respectively.

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF THE MAIN WOMAN

The three main women interviewed in the case studies had only a primary education, but all are literate. The main woman in household No. 1 received additional training in agriculture from the government at the agricultural station, and in household No. 3 the main woman had some on-the-job training as she graduated to being a gang supervisor on the Geneva Estate.

PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY

In spite of multiple reproductive activities, 2 of the 3 households are unable to generate sufficient income to meet their basic needs.

One household manages to show a positive balance, but only by reducing everyday consumption costs to almost half of that in the other two households. This happens also to be the largest family of all, with 7 members. Per capita expenditure on food in this household is $0.64 cents compared with $1.82 and $2.31 in the other two households. The household with the fewest members seems to eat best, but it also has the most work per person. (See below - Organisation and Division of Labour by Sex).

There seems to be little relation between size of land accessed and net income. Net income varies considerably, but not according to land size. Household No. 3 has the most land (3.4 acres) but the net income is only $3686 per year. Household No. 1, with only 1.34 acres has a net income of $7868.69 per year, while household No. 2 which has more land (1.75 acres), has less income than household No. 1. This is because household No. 1 concentrates more on agricultural activities compared to the other households.

Reproductive and food consumption are both highest for the households with the greatest number of small children. However, food consumption per capita is lowest for the household with the greatest number of people (7), and highest per capita for the household with only 4 persons.

ORGANISATION AND DIVISION OF LABOUR BY SEX

In the single-parent household, the 17 year old son does the majority of productive work (66.22% compared to the main woman's 33.78%). In terms of hours worked, this household gets more labour from the 17 year old son than either of the other two do from the main man (4368 hours compared with 3688 and 823 for the men in the other two households).

In household No. 2, which has the lowest number of hours worked by the main woman and partner, children do 4583 hours of productive work; and they do 766 hours of reproductive work in household No. 1 where the number of hours done by the main woman and the main man (7696) is slightly less than in household No. 3 (7864).

It would appear, therefore, that the level of productive work done by the main woman and main man varies according to the amount of work that children can do, and this in turn depends on the age and sex of the children.

Boys do more productive work than girls. Where there is no partner, it appears that an only son who is of labouring age substitutes for the main man in productive work, and if the case in point is typical he contributes more in terms of productive labour than the average partner.

When we look at reproductive labour the situation is different. Female children do most, with the main women coming next. Where there are no female children, the main woman does most. The main men in the three households (counting the 17 year old son in household No. 3 for purposes of this argument) do little or none. Younger boys may help in reproductive tasks, but their contribution is voluntary and minimal.

While men make almost no contribution to reproductive work women do roughly one third of the productive work in all 3 households (34.2%, 29%, 33.79% respectively). The main men do 52.55% and 34% of productive work in the two households which contain partners of the main woman. The rest of the productive labour is passed on to the male children. The older the children, the more productive work is passed on to them. The male child in the household where there is no male partner and no other male children has the highest proportion of productive work (66.22%) although his (17) is comparable

to the ages of the male children in household No. 1 (14, 15, 17 years), where the boys together only do 6.91% of the productive work. In household No. 2 the 14 year old son, the only boy 'of age', does 34% of the productive work.

DOMESTIC WORK

Most time is spent on taking care of children. In household No. 1 the percentage is higher than the other two since the older members of the household are males and therefore, caring for the child who is a six year old girl has been the sole responsibility of the main woman and niece who spend 468 and 624 hours respectively doing child care.

The next highest percentage is washing and ironing. The percentage which seems to be highest is that of household No.2; this is due to the fact that the life cycle is formation with children and therefore, more washing needs to be done.

The time spent on cooking appears to be the highest where there are very young children as in the case of household No. 2.

In household No.3 a total of 991.52 hours was spent carrying water, of which 728 was done by the grand daughter. This is because of the distance from the house to the stand pipe; unlike the case of household No. 1 where the stand pipe is two minutes from the house and, therefore, only 80 hours per year are spent carrying water.

TABLE I HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS (GRAND BAY)

HOUSEHOLD	HOUSEHOLD TYPE	LIFE CYCLE	NO. OF MEMBERS	NO. OF ACRES	LAND TENURE	MAIN SOURCE OF INCOME	MAIN WOMAN'S OCCUPATION
I	Nuclear	Expansion	7	1:34	Own	Agriculture	Farming
II	Nuclear	Formation with Children	6	1:75	Gov't. Int. rural develop-ment scheme	Agriculture	Farming
III	Extended	Expansion	4	3:4	Own	Agriculture	Farming

TABLE II

ACCESS TO MEANS OF PRODUCTION (GRAND BAY)

			LIVESTOCK					
HOUSEHOLD	NO. OF ACRES	FORM OF TENURE	CATTLE	PIGS	POULTRY	OTHER*	TOOLS	CONSTRUCTION
I	1:34	Own	2	-	14	-	cutlass	house, kitchen, garden shed
II	1:75	Government Integrated Rural Development Scheme	-	-	25	4	cutlass, forks	chicken coop, rabbit hutch, latrine, kitchen, house
III	3:4	Own	2	-	-	-	cutlass, hoe, spray can, fork	house, kitchen, garden shed

*Rabbits

TABLE III NET INCOME OF HOUSEHOLDS STUDIED (GRAND BAY)

GROSS INCOME

HOUSEHOLD	ACTIVITIES	SALE	HOME CONSUMPTION	GIFT	TOTAL GROSS INCOME	PRODUCTION COST	NET INCOME
I	Agriculture	6,196.34	698.10	-	6,894.44	2,700.00	4,194.44
	Livestock	-	11.25	-	11.25	-	11.25
	Wage Work	2,548.00	-	-	2,548.00	500.00	2,048.00
	Remittances	-	1,800.00	-	1,800.00	185.00	1,615.00
	TOTAL	**8,744.34**	**2,509.35**	**-**	**11,253.69**	**3,385.00**	**7,868.69**
II	Agriculture	3,550.00	619.20	-	4,169.20	598.00	3,571.20
	Livestock	-	150.00	-	150.00	-	150.00
	*Wage Work	1,040.00	-	-	1,040.00	-	1,040.00
	Wage Work	2,000.00	-	-	2,000.00	-	2,000.00
	Remittances	-	-	-	-	-	-
	TOTAL	**6,590.00**	**769.20**	**-**	**7,359.20**	**598.00**	**6,761.20**
III	Agriculture	2,799.00	370.00	300.00	3,469.00	844.00	2,625.00
	Livestock	400.00	-	-	400.00	30.00	370.00
	Wage Work	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Remittances	-	300.00	341.00	641.00	200.00	441.00
	Other(Straw Work)	400.00	100.00	50.00	550.00	200.00	250.00
	TOTAL	**3,199.10**	**770.00**	**691.00**	**5,060.00**	**1,274.00**	**3,686.00**

*This is not agricultural wage work. It is in the field of construction.

TABLE IV: PERCENTAGE CONTRIBUTION OF PRODUCTIVE ACTIVITIES TO TOTAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME (GRAND BAY)

HOUSEHOLD	AGRICULTURE	LIVESTOCK	WAGE WORK	REMITTANCES	OTHER (Baking)	TOTAL
I	61.26%	0.09%	22.64%	15.99%	-	100%
II	57%	2%	41%	-	-	100%
III	68.5%	7.9%	-	12.7%	10.9%	100%

TABLE V: **REPRODUCTIVE AND FOOD CONSUMPTION FOR THE YEAR OF REFERENCE (GRAND BAY)**

REPRODUCTIVE CONSUMPTION MONTHLY, DAILY PER HOUSEHOLD AND DAILY PER CAPITA

		Reproductive Consumption				Food Consumption				
HOUSEHOLD	NO. OF MEMBERS	YEAR	MONTH	PER HOUSEHOLD DAILY	PER CAPITA DAILY	YEARLY	MONTHLY	PER HOUSEHOLD DAILY	PER CAPITA DAILY	FOOD CONSUMPTION AS % OF REP.CONSUMPTION
I	7	3529.64	294.14	9.67	1.38	1655.84	137.98	4.53	.64	46.9%
II	6	7451.60	620.97	20.42	3.40	3995.20	332.93	10.94	1.82	53.6%
III	4	4211.70	350.97	11.53	2.88	3386.00	282.16	9.27	2.31	80.39%

TABLE VI: PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY OF HOUSEHOLDS (GRAND BAY)

HOUSEHOLD	NO.OF MEMBERS	(MONTHLY) GROSS INCOME	TOTAL COSTS PRODUCTIVE AND REPRODUCTIVE	MONTHLY BALANCE	LIFE CYCLE
I	7	937.80	570.21	+367.59	Expansion
II	6	613.27	670.80	-57.53	Formation with children
III	4	421.66	457.21	-35.55	Expansion

TABLE VII(A): TIME SPENT BY HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS IN PRODUCTIVE WORK (GRAND BAY)

(HOURS PER YEAR)

CASE	MEMBERS	NO.INVOLVED	AGRICULTURE	LIVESTOCK	WAGE WORK	OTHER	TOTAL
I	Main Woman	1	2,184	216	-	-	2,400
	Main Man	1	2,596	1,092	-	-	2,688
	Boys	3	468	17	-	-	485
	Niece	1	25	-	-	-	25
	Sub-Total	7	5,200	1,325	-	-	
	Temporary	2	420	-	-	-	420
	TOTAL	**9**	**5,620**	**1,325**	**-**	**-**	**7,018**
II	Main Woman	1	625	-	624	-	1,249
	Main Man	1	618	-	-	840 (carpentry)	1,458
	Girl	1	52	73	-	-	125
	Boy	1	626	832	-	-	1,458
	TOTAL	**4**	**1,921**	**905**	**624**	**840**	**4,290**
III	Main Woman	1	2,600	-	-	-	2,600
	Main Man	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Son	1	4,368	728	-	-	5,096
	Granddaughters	2	-	-	-	-	-
	TOTAL	**4**	**6,968**	**728**	**-**	**-**	**7,696**

TABLE VII(B): TIME SPENT BY HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS IN DOMESTIC WORK (GRAND BAY)

(HOURS PER YEAR)

CASE	HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS	NO. INVOLVED	COOKING & WASHING WARES	CLEANING	CARING FOR CHILDREN	WASHING & IRONING	SHOPPING	CARRYING WATER	TOTAL
I	Main Woman	1	728	130	468	468	60	30	1832
	Main Man	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Boys (Sons)	3	156	-	-	156	41	52	405
	Niece	1	-	312	624	572	101	82	1691
	Sub-Total	5	884	442	1092	1456	202	164	3928
	Temporary Worker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	TOTAL	**5**	**884**	**442**	**1092**	**1456**	**202**	**164**	**3928**
II	Main Woman	1	1252	416	626	1456	156	-	3906
	Main Man	1	-	-	52	-	-	-	52
	Girls	1	317	-	730	156	182.5	485.45	1870.95
	Boy (Son)	1	-	-	365	-	-	485.45	850.45
	TOTAL	**4**	**1252**	**416**	**1773**	**1612**	**338.5**	**970.90**	**6679.40**
III	Main Woman	1	208	104	247.50	468	362.25	156	1545.75
	Main Man	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Boy (Son)	1	-	-	-	208	415	107.52	730.
	Granddaughters	2	364	638.75	570	208	518.3	728	3027.05
	TOTAL	**4**	**572**	**742.75**	**817.50**	**884**	**1295.55**	**991.52**	**5303.32**

TABLE VIII: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF HOURS OF DOMESTIC (REPRODUCTIVE) WORK DONE BY THE WOMEN IN THE HOUSEHOLDS (GRAND BAY)

HOUSEHOLD I		HOUSEHOLD II		HOUSEHOLD III	
Life Cycle:	Expansion	Life Cycle:	Fission	Life Cycle:	Expansion
No. of Members:	7	No. of Members:	6	No. of Members:	4
No. of Women:	2	No. of Women:	2	No. of Women:	3

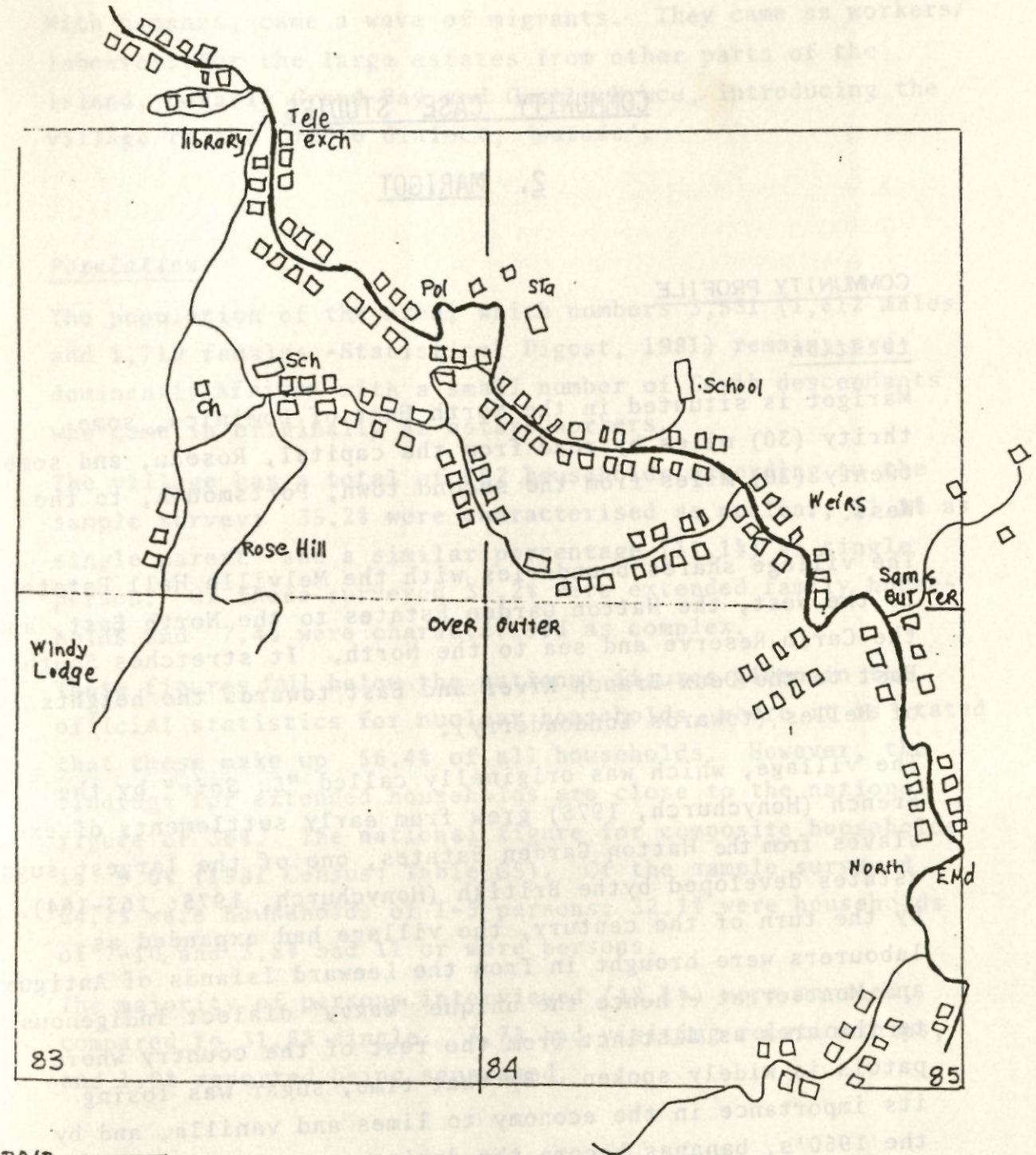
ACTIVITIES	% OF TOTAL DOMESTIC WORK	% OF TOTAL DOMESTIC WORK	% OF TOTAL DOMESTIC WORK
Cooking and Washing Up	20.66	22.93	12.51
Cleaning the House	12.55	7.62	16.24
Washing and Ironing	28.04	29.52	14.78
Taking Care of Children	31.00	24.84	17.88
Fetching Water	3.18	8.89	19.33
Shopping	4.57	6.20	19.26
TOTAL	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**

TABLE IX: PERCENTAGE OF HOURS SPENT BY HOUSEHOLDS IN PRODUCTIVE AND DOMESTIC (REPRODUCTIVE) WORK (GRAND BAY)

HOUSEHOLD I		HOUSEHOLD II		HOUSEHOLD III	
Life Cycle:	Expansion	Life Cycle:	Fission	Life Cycle:	Expansion
No. of Members:	7	No. of Members:	6	No. of Members:	4
No. of Women:	3	No. of Women:	2	No. of Women:	3

MEMBERS	PRODUCTIVE WORK	REPRODUCTIVE WORK	PRODUCTIVE WORK	REPRODUCTIVE WORK	PRODUCTIVE WORK	REPRODUCTIVE WORK
Main Woman	34.20%	46.64%	29%	58%	33.78%	26.51%
Main Man	52.55%	1.32%	34%	1%	-	-
Girls (Niece)	.36%	43.05%	3%	28%	-	-
Boys	6.91%	8.99%	34%	13%	66.22%	21.58%
Grandchildren	-	-	-	-	-	51.91%
Others	5.98%	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**

COMMONWEALTH OF DOMINICA



URFACED ROAD ——
NSURFACED ROAD ——

MAP OF MARIGOT & ENVIRONS

PREPARED AT THE LANDS & SURVEYS DIVISION

MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE

SCALE: 1:1250 625 ACRES OR 125 sq miles □ - HOUSEHOLDS E. Joseph

COMMUNITY CASE STUDIES

2. MARIGOT

COMMUNITY PROFILE

Location

Marigot is situated in the North East of Dominica, some thrity (30) miles by road from the capital, Roseau, and some twenty (20) miles from the second town, Portsmouth, to the West.

The village shares boundaries with the Melville Hall Estate to the West, the Hatton Garden Estates to the North East, and the Carib Reserve and sea to the North. It stretches South East to the Deux Branch River and East towards the heights of Belles (towards Londonderry).

The village, which was originally called *"La Soir"* by the French (Honychurch, 1975) grew from early settlements of ex-slaves from the Hatton Garden Estates, one of the largest sugar estates developed bythe British (Honychurch, 1975: 163-164). By the turn of the century, the village had expanded as labourers were brought in from the Leeward Islands of Antigua and Montserrat - hence the unique *'kokoy'* dialect indigenous to the area as distinct from the rest of the country where patois is widely spoken. By that time, sugar was losing its importance in the economy to limes and vanilla, and by the 1950's, bananas became the dominant crop in the area.

With bananas, came a wave of migrants. They came as workers/ labourers for the large estates from other parts of the island, notably Grand Bay and Castle Bruce, introducing the village to the creole dialect, *'patois'*.

Population

The population of the area, which numbers 3,531 (1,812 males and 1,719 females -Statistical Digest, 1981) remains predominantly African with a small number of Carib descendants who came in originally as estate workers.

The village has a total of 782 households according to the sample survey: 35.2% were characterised as nuclear, 11.1% as single parent and a similar percentage (11.1%) as single person. Of those surveyed 35.2% were extended family households and 7.4% were characterised as complex.

These figures fall below the national figures given in the official statistics for nuclear households, where it is stated that these make up 56.4% of all households. However, the findings for extended households are close to the national figure of 36%. The national figure for composite households is 9.6% (1981 Census: Table G5). Of the sample surveyed 64.2% were households of 1-5 persons; 32.1% were households of 7-10, and 3.8% had 11 or more persons.

The majority of persons interviewed (48.1%) were married, compared to 31.5% single. 3.7% had visiting relationships, and 1.9% reported being separated.

Economy

Farming is the main occupation of the villagers of Marigot, with banana production forming the main economic base. Other

crops grown in the area are coconuts, ground provisions, citrus and avocadoes. A significant number of coconut trees are grown, but in recent years the production of copra has decreased becauseof the fall in price.

There is some livestock production in the village, mainly cattle, but recently grazing areas are increasingly being turned over to banana cultivation.

Income from fishing is marginal. According to the 10% sample survey, fishing was the main source of income in only 1.9% of cases. Generally, people in Marigot consider themselves to be self-employed, mainly as farmers. Agriculture was the main source of income for 92.3% of the households in the sample.

Although most of the key informants in the community cited unemployment as one of the major problems of the area, the sample survey indicated that only 3.8% of the respondents were unemployed. The problem appears to be rather one of under-employment, especially among the youth.

The other forms of employment in the area include huckstering, petty trading, road maintenance (mainly seasonal) and other artisan activities. Road vending is popular among women who are the main bread and cake vendors, and can be seen along the Main Road on any day.

The villagers of Marigot generally have access to lands in the surrounding areas, and the area has traditionally supported a large number of small, independent farmers (Proceedings of the 11th WIAEC*, 1976: 71). There has not been the pressure for lands in Marigot as existed in the case of Grand Bay, one of the other communities studied. The sample survey confirmed that 98.1% have access to lands, with men and women having equal access. The percentage of main women owning land was 21.4%, the same as for males. Only 26.4% had titles to lands being cultivated.

*WIAEC - West Indies Agricultural Economics' Conference.

Lands in the area are cultivated under a variety of tenure systems: most people - 45% of the sample - own lands; a sizeable number of farmers cultivate family lands; while another 9.1% squat on former estate lands, with the intention of purchasing; 13.6% of respondents lease land; and 9.1% rent lands.

The majority of farms in the area are less than five (5) acres. According to the sample survey, total acres accessed by over 50% were between 3 and 4 acres. 36.7% cultivated farms of between 1 and 3 acres, compared to 2.0% for those on 7 acres.

Community Participation and Social Organisations and Networks

The Marigot community has been traditionally regarded as a *'fairly literate community'* since the speaking of patois was limited to the *'outsiders'* that came mainly from Grand Bay and Eastern villages to seek work on the large estates in the area. Despite the establishment of two high schools less than four miles away from anywhere in the village, illiteracy has been cited as one of the growing problems in the area.

One of the main secondary schools, which began as an individual's initiative, has an enrollment of about 300. Another 650 pupils are enrolled at the primary level. Schools in the area suffer from insufficient staff, overcrowding, lack of and abuse of facilities.

Government-sponsored Adult Education programmes are organised in the summer months, and provide short-term skills development and training in the domestic sciences.

Formal co-operatives exist in the community, and deal mainly with production and marketing. The two major co-operatives are the fisheries' co-operative and the farmers' co-operative. The fisheries' co-operative, consisting of 22 men and 12 women, provides marketing and technical support to fishermen of the village, and the Caye en Bouc Farmers' Co-operative, consisting of 14 farmers, is involved in marketing bananas and producing copra. The area is served by a Credit Union with a membership of 2,200 persons, more than 50% women.

The exchange of labour for work on farms, locally known as *'koudmen'* is still practised, mainly among small farmers.

Generally, people come together during festive occasions like Christmas, National Day celebrations and Carnival, but death and various forms of religious worship serve to bring people into more intimate communication.

Other forms of networking take place as the level of cultural activities,e.g. most notably the Annual Fishermen's Feast. Public meetings and, more recently, the observance of African Liberation Day, also bring together various community groups.

Influence in these cases is generally based on expertise and assistance in civic matters.

Religious leaders and senior retired policemen carry some degree of influence in the community.

Persons involved in sports and community-related activities are also considered influential.

In the last elections, 69.8% of the electorate of the Marigot constituency voted overwhelmingly for the Freedom Party, a choice generally seen as being based on the personality of the candidate involved, as opposed to the objective political realities.

Women participate actively in community and political life, constituting more than 50% of the active electorate in the last elections.

Four women are members of the eight-person village council, and play active roles in the Fishing Co-operative. No woman has contested the national elections.

Power, authority and influence in Marigot are wielded by large farmers, businessmen and politicians, e.g. the Parliamentary Representative. The individuals most frequently mentioned as persons of authority were chairpersons and councillors of the village council and the Justice of the Peace.

Other persons of influence cited were school teachers, particularly principals, professionals such as doctors and nurses, and the President of the Credit Union, who is a woman.

A number of youth and community groups function within the Marigot community. An example of this is the Candle Lights Group of some 12 young men who have been together since their youth, working over the years to promote social, cultural and economic activities in the area. The more traditional groups, like the Red Cross (which is mixed) and the Social League (predominantly women), target the sick and aged for support.

The Men's Fellowship, which is basically church-oriented, and the Scouts' Group are open mainly to men. The Dread Experience, a group committed to the cultural development of the area, falls within the tradition of the *'Candle Lights'*, and is also restricted to men.

In the last few years, there has been a heightened form of networking among the five or six women's groups in the

area through what is now called Marigot Women's Action Committee. This network is geared to fostering closer working relationships among women in the areas of social and economic activities.

Sports are fairly well advanced in the area, in terms of participation by both sexes and in terms of existing facilities. Four football teams (male) and four netball teams (female) exist.

A number of religious institutions are found in the village, the largest being the Methodist Church. Other denominations include the Roman Catholic, Seventh Day Adventist, Christian Union Mission, Trinity Baptist and Jehovah's Witness.

Social Amenities, Infrastructure and Communications

The area is fairly well-supplied with electricity, which services some 95% of the households.

The existing street lights, which are often non-functional, have been described as inadequate for the needs of the community.

Telephone services are linked to International Direct Dialling.

Scattered stand pipes serve the greater part of the community with potable water.

A number of village roads remain unpaved, a situation which is often cited as being extremely uncomfortable for the public, particularly during the rainy season. The farm lands are fairly well supplied by feeder roads.

Community facilities include two secondary schools, two primary schools, two pre-schools, a public library, gas station

and post office. The area is well supplied with shops and groceries. The neighbouring Melville Hall Airport, at one time a source of employment and income-generation in the area, has declined since the building of the more conveniently located Canefield Airport. However, Melville Hall remains an important exit point for a lot of the produce from the area, which is regularly flown out to neighbouring islands via cargo planes.

Generally, people rely on the radio for national and international news. The *"New Chronicle"*, the only national weekly paper, is available locally but in limited circulation. Public notice boards, public meetings and the occasional school magazine serve as important sources of information. The *'mouth to mouth'* means of communication, otherwise known as gossip, is very much a popular aspect of the social life of the community.

The Marigot area, served by a main hospital generally described as 'poorly equipped', is linked to the national programme goals of "Health for all by 2000". Major health problems identified were diabetes and hypertension, mainly among women, and fatigue and hypertension among men.

Health services in the area are rendered by a Health Team directed by a resident doctor. These include follow-up on out-patients, ante-natal, dental and hypertension follow-up support.

Worm infestation is rampant among children, and teenage pregnancy has been identified as a problem.

Other health problems are environmental in nature, and linked to the serious lack of water in the area and the general lack of convenient waste disposal sites. About 75%

of the population has access to pipe borne water; a sizeable number of people still have recourse to streams for domestic use.

The traditional 'pit latrine' is the most prevalent form of human waste disposal.

INTRODUCTION TO HOUSEHOLD CASE STUDIES:

MARIGOT

In this community, four household studies were conducted. These households represented varying characteristics. These characteristics include household types, life cycles, number of members, amount of land accessed, land tenure pattern, the main source of income and the main woman's occupation.

Household No. 1 is Single Parent Extended with its life cycle in fission. The household has access to 2.5 acres of land held as family land. In this household of eight, the main source of income is agriculture with the main woman's occupation being farming.

Household No. 2 comprises four members and is in the expansion stage of the life cycle. This nuclear extended household has access to three acres of family land. Most of the households income is derived from baking. Baking and agriculture are the main woman's occupations.

Household No. 3 is the same with regards to household types which is Single Parent Extended, and the life cycle is in Extinction. Among the four households, this household with a family membership of three has the least access to land. This is the only household where the land is owned by the household. Agriculture is the main source of income and the main woman's occupation is farming.

Household No. 4 is a single person household with the life cycle in Extinction. This household has access to four acres of family land. The main woman's occupations are farming and roadside vending; the main source of income for this household is agriculture.

For easy comparison of the characteristics of the households see Table I.

HOUSEHOLD NO. 1 - MARIGOT

GENERAL INFORMATION ON MAIN WOMAN

Miss Patrice is a 47 year old farmer who lives in the village of Marigot. Born in the town of Roseau 32 miles away, she left Roseau at the age of three with her mother to live in the village of Marigot. Miss Patrice has given birth to seven children, all of whom are alive.

At the age of 20 she gave birth to her first child and the last one was born when she was 33 years of age. The ages of the seven children (ages 14 through 27) are boys 25, 19, 17; girls 27, 23, 20 and 14.

Of the seven children, five now live with her. The eldest child migrated to the United States at the age of 15 to live with an aunt. The second child who is the eldest son left home at the age of 11 to live with his father without the mother's consent. *"This was my greatest grief when my son left me because he was the eldest child to help me in the home and the father was not maintaining him"*, Miss Patrice lamented. The two eldest children have the same father. All of the children within the household had a chance to acquire a primary school education. Two of the daughters had a chance to have a secondary school education. The Main Woman herself had no secondary school training but spent ten years at primary school.

Miss Patrice experienced seven consensual unions' six of which she claims were for the sake of the children. That is, after breaking off with the first partner she needed security for the first two children. Now they are all grown and she is not interested in having any type of union.

Five years ago Miss Patrice went through what she described as the toughest time of her life, when she was forced to cope with two teen-age pregnancies at the same time with the 23 year old daughter who was then 17 and had just completed secondary school, and the 20 year old daughter who was still studying. The main woman had to increase her productive labour to help prepare for her grandchildren. In this household there are three grandchildren: two males; five and two years old and one five-year old girl.

As the main woman is single and there are both children and grandchildren, this household qualifies as a *'Single Parent Extended'*. The life cycle is in *'fission'*, which means that the majority of the children in this household are 20 years old or more and may any day leave the family of origin either through migration or other means. The main woman works family land, a type of land tenure which is common in that part of the island. This household farms 2½ acres of land. The main woman is a member of the Revival Witness, a religious group within the Methodist Church. This group's main functions are strengthening and reviving the principles of the church, visiting the sick and other members of the congregation and attending prayer meetings. Miss Patrice is also a member of two other women's groups, which are a handicraft group and the Marigot women's backyard gardening group. The backyard gardening group attends agricultural demonstrations, participates in agricultural exhibitions and meets about once a month. The main aim of this group is to meet the nutritional

needs of their families by providing vegetables. The surplus is sold to other members of the community and a percentage from the sale of the produce goes into the group's fund. Miss Patrice's evenings after a hard day's work are spent attending meetings of one or another of the groups, and she usually goes to bed at 10:30 p.m.

The main woman's day is spent either in productive work for herself or in domestic work in her own home or the homes of older members of the community as a voluntary contribution. This household does not have a sophisticated lifestyle. Simple clothes are worn, which are mainly used clothing received from relatives abroad.

The house is wooden, protected by shingles placed at the front. It was built by the main woman's grandfather and was inherited by her mother because she cared for him in his old age until he died. The main woman's mother died three years ago, and the house and property were left as family land for the three children and their descendants. Although land as a major means of production is accessible to the main woman, Miss Patrice does not feel secure about the situation since 2.5 acres of land and a four-bedroom wooden house are not adequate for all the relatives. This prompted Miss Patrice at the age of 47, to begin saving to buy land and a house.

This insecurity is due to the fact that the main woman has to allow any relative to have free access to the land and to live in the house if they so desire.

Miss Patrice has had a few health problems. In her younger years, she has had a history of migraine headaches and serious dental problems which have left her with cavities and missing teeth. She has also had one operation, namely a Tubal Ligation as a decision to avoid more pregnancies. Over the

past years, Miss Patrice had reduced her agricultural activities because of the ill effects on her body. She felt heart palpitations and suffered from shortness of breath. She claimed that the carrying of load up the steep hill, coupled with adverse weather conditions and the poor state of roads particularly during or after rainfall, made the conditions of work difficult. Nevertheless, this woman seldom visits the doctor except for a serious illness. This is either because the cost of the doctor's visit is too high or it is too time-consuming to make visits. Miss Patrice therefore depends heavily on traditional herb medicines for herself and her family. She often gathers leaves for taking baths.

REPRODUCTIVE STATEGIES

This household engages in two activities in order to reproduce itself, namely agricultural work and the receipt of remittances.

Agriculture contributes 91% to the general income of the household. 53% of this income is derived from agriculture, received in the form of cash from the sale of bananas and 45% comprise home consumption, that is, food produced by the household which is consumed by the household, while 2% is given as gifts or as remuneration for kind deeds done by a neighbour or friend.

Remittances contribute 9% of the total income to the household. Such remittances are received during the holiday seasons like Christmas, August and Easter. These remittances are in the form of cash and items such as clothes, shoes and a few household items which, for the purpose of this research, are given a cash value. These remittances are very important to the household because they take care of the clothing needs of the household and help increase the household's purchasing power (See Tables III & IV).

PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY

Because of the economic position of this household, the reproduction-related expenses are streamlined to match the income of the household.

This household considers food to be very important and the main woman makes sure that such costs are taken care of before any other needs; food costs represent 74% of the total reproductive costs. This reproductive cost, which includes home consumption, food consumption and other costs for the

maintenance of the household, has to be met by the net income which is $7,985.89 while the reproductive costs are $6,451.40. The balance of $1,334.49 means a possible saving of $127.00 per month or a daily saving of $4.20. . .

ORGANISATION AND DIVISION OF LABOUR BY SEX

In this household, all the agricultural work is done by two members, the main woman and her son. The woman does 53% of the total productive work and 28% of reproductive work. The two girls in the household who are responsible for the domestic tasks, do 55% of the total reproductive work. There are three boys in this household and together they do 47% of the productive work and 17% of the reproductive. (See Table IX) From the above account, it can be concluded that the women spend more time doing productive work than the men spend doing reproductive work.

The time which this woman spends away from what is typically described as *'work'* is spent on activities like weeding around the yard and trimming the hedges, or even making a coconut broom. These activities were described as *'leisure'* by the woman, though they take a substantial amount of effort and time. Other leisure activities included visiting friends and taking care of personal hygiene.

AGE AND KINSHIP

In this household, apart from the sociali ation process influencing the sexual division of labour, age and kinship also manifest themselves as a contributing factor.

The main woman being the head of the household, finds herself playing a leading role in terms of reproductive and productive work. However, her age also limits her to a certain extent. Being 47, she can no longer carry out the activities at the pace and at the levels she used to before and, as stated before, she has reduced her productive labour. The 19 year old boy is the oldest son within the home and he is the one, along with the main woman (mother) carrying the greater share of the productive work. The main woman also does a fair amount of reproductive work - 28%. The two girls aged, 20 and 23, being the mothers of the grandchildren in the home carry out 52% of the reproductive work. In the absence of the girls, the boys assist in attending to the children in the household. The grand children contribute to domestic work, participating in the shopping exercise by purchasing one or two items at the nearby retail shop as needed. (See Table VII).

SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

This household's social position is chiefly determined by its access to the means of production. Having access to 2½ acres of family land puts this household among the better-off farmers in the community. Miss Patrice has access to pipe borne water; apart from having the additional water expenses to pay, she enjoys that service above some members of the community who do not have that service, because of the location of their homes on relatively high altitudes, making it difficult to connect water lines.

Housing conditions are far from average, being small and wooden. Housing is one of those aspects which differentiates households. Influential people in the community are largely linked to big and comfortably furnished wall houses.

In this household no member has ever held a government job or even a permanent job with a private organisation, since the type of job one holds sheds light on social status.

This household's access to the means of production is limited to 2½ acres of family land already discussed, basic agricultural implements, being a cutlass and fork; and, apart from the dwelling house a field pack shed common to the farmers in the area, as well as an outdoor unfinished kitchen and a wooden pit latrine.

DOMESTIC WORK

The women of this household are the ones primarily responsible for the carrying out of the domestic tasks. (See Table VIII).

The sons do domestic tasks, too but at crucial times and when the women are out of the house; the grandson of the main woman spends about one hour shopping daily. The domestic tasks carried out by the women are washing and ironing, cooking and washing wares, cleaning the house, caring for children and shopping. There are some limitations restricting the effective carrying out of these tasks.

The main constraint is financial as there is hardly ever enough money to meet food costs. It must be emphasized that the yearly balance of $1,534.49 was not spread over the whole year. This means that there were times when the household had a negative balance at the end of the month, or was not able to purchase what was needed at a particular point in time.

Another limitation is due to the problem of water shortages. Whenever the rain falls, the pipes are blocked and some times take more than a few days to be cleared. This water problem affects tasks like cleaning.

The rain also affects cooking as the outdoor kitchen leaks badly and often the fireside gets wet. The main woman has to ensure that there is a cylinder of gas or a bag of coals when the rainy season begins so that cooking can be done indoors.

Many of the domestic tasks are done simultaneously, for example, while the meal is being cooked the same female who attends to the meal engages in other tasks like washing, so that several tasks can be completed within the same time period.

HOUSEHOLD NO. 2 - MARIGOT

GENERAL INFORMATION ON MAIN WOMAN

Miss P.'s household can be described as a Nuclear Extended Household in Expansion due to the presence of the two grandchildren whose ages are less than 11 years. This household consists of four persons, namely Miss P. aged 50 years, her niece aged 19 years and two grandchildren aged 9 and 6 respectively. On occasion her visiting partner can be counted as part of the family because sometimes he sleeps in, tends to his livestock (a head of cattle), and shares a meal or two with Miss P., whom she said is of no significant help as a father and common-law partner, but rather he helps himself to a drink of alcohol even when he tends the cattle.

The main woman and her common-law partner are both past teachers, and were also born in the village of Marigot where she attended primary school. The main woman became a primary school teacher at the age of 19 after she completed what was called "seventh standard", or final grade in primary school, having obtained a school-leaving certificate in English, Mathematics and Science. Her wish to teach goes back to her childhood days, and she is third in a family of five girls and two boys. The main woman gave birth to five sons, the first of whom does not belong to the main man. The main man has fathered three other daughters by another woman from the capital, Roseau.

The main woman lost her teaching job at the age of 24 through pregnancy. Pregnancy before marriage was not tolerated in the public service. Within a few months of her dismissal, Miss P.

obtained employment as a shop assistant/bartender at Dominica's only airport at that time which is situated in the north, a few miles from her village of residence. It was there she learnt to prepare a variety of dishes. Baking, for her, has become a favorite pastime, occupying her Sunday afternoons. Her income is still largely derived from baking.

This household has access to three acres of land which belong to the main man but is intensively cultivated by the main woman alongside her baking activities (See Table I). The family's livestock consists of a cow which belongs to the main man, and three pigs which belong to the main woman. Bananas and ground provisions are mainly grown, with a little vegetables. The tools used are the cutlass, fork and hoe. She has also built a shed on the farm to store banana boxes and do other domestic chores (See Table III).

Her house was built from her own savings and assistance from her sons who have migrated to Tortola to seek employment. While they were still at home she was able to save enough to purchase land for building which she used as security. She said she also, bought wood which was stored in the cellar of her mother's house and moreover financial support was received from another boyfriend whom she had met while working at the airport as a bartender. She reported that she had received quite a lot of tips for the tasty dishes which had helped boost her financial capability.

She now lives in a house built of blocks and concrete. The house consists of five rooms and a small outdoor kitchen. The house is supported by concrete pillars which enclose a cellar used to store more building materials the main woman still intends to extend her house to accommodate her sons if and when they return. The actual value of the house is about $17,500.00.

The main woman's week is carefully scheduled. On Mondays and Thursdays she goes to the farm; Wednesdays she washes and cleans; Tuesdays and Fridays are spent baking. On Saturdays, she goes to the capital, some 32 miles away, to shop. She collects wood for baking on Saturdays and on Sundays goes to church; then she visits friends.

Miss P. said that her partner embarrasses her in public by his irresponsible behaviour as an alcoholic. She has expressed a lack of interest in marrying him since she is unhappy about the relationship, and moreover moans over his ongoing relationship with another woman. She also expressed her desire to end the relationship, and has developed a fairly independent attitude with respect to the views on life and herself.

She travels to Tortola once a year. She places a lot of attention on her appearance and often chooses to appear in public without her partner dressed up to "keep up the spirit" as she likes to say.

Miss P. is loved by most people of all ages, especially the children and is fondly known by the name *"Nenen"* meaning godmother.

REPRODUCTIVE STRATEGIES

The main woman derives her main income from baking cakes and bread twice a week, which she sells in the village. The only payment for use of the bakery is proper cleaning and maintenance. The bakery is owned by a good friend of the main woman, an expression of the solidarity common among women of the village. The introduction to baking came from an elderly woman of the village and, starting first with one bag she continued with this activity, which became an important one in the struggle as the one solely responsible for

bringing up her children in the absence of land. Table III shows that the total gross earnings from baking are $3,809.40, compared to agriculture which brings $684.50, about four times less than the income earned from baking. On some occasions the main woman receives remittances of clothing, food items and cash from her sons. The largest amounts of remittances are received at Christmas time.

Baking contributes 54.5%, remittances 35.7% and agriculture 9.8%. The low percentage of agriculture to income reflects the lack of ownership of land and her desire for an independent base since the land belongs to the man. In any case, until recently she had limited access to the land which belongs to the main man (See Table IV).

The main woman is usually assisted in her baking by friends, her niece and her grand children. The main woman participates in a traditional and informal form of saving locally called the *'sub'*, for long-term needs.

PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY

Of the survival strategies employed in this household, livestock brought in no income for the year though there was a related production cost of $200. The net income from remittances is $2,122 which is the balance of the productive cost minus the Total Gross Income. Only baking and a little agricultural activity plus remittances keep this household alive (See Table III).

The productive capacity of this household hinges on those three major activities: baking, agriculture and receipt of remittances. The main woman endeavours to be self-reliant, self-sufficient and with her industrious and diligent attitude, she is able to cultivate and harvest the land, abandoned by her common-law partner. Table III shows agriculture as having a positive net income of $112.50 and baking $2,809.04 per year.

Nevertheless, the income of $264.54 generated per month from all activities mentioned before is below the productive and reproductive costs, thus giving a negative balance of $238.71 (See Table IV). Table V shows the yearly, monthly, daily, household consumption and consumption per person for the year 1986 for both reproductive and food consumption.

The reproductive consumption per person per day is $3.51 compared with $2.26 for food consumption.

It should be noted that the reproductive cost which includes the value of food for that household is slightly reduced because of infrequent food packages from the main woman's son who is in Tortola. Nevertheless, the food cost exceeds the net income and is almost the same per year as the reproductive cost. It would seem, therefore, that the main woman needs to increase either her sale of bread, agricultural production or revert to selling her labour power. She has intentions of clearing more land to cultivate bananas for additional income.

ORGANISATION AND DIVISION OF LABOUR BY SEX

Although this is an all-female household, the examination of the division of labour by sex can still be considered due to the small contribution to productive work from the main

woman's visiting partner and the contribution from the wage worker. This division is seen only in agriculture where the main man tends his cattle. Table VII shows that the main woman spends more hours per year in agriculture but less with livestock. She spends 115.33 hours per year looking after her pigs. The main man looks after his cattle throughout the year, that is, 365 hours per year, equal to the number of days in the year.

The grand children also assist the main woman on the farm by caring for the plants, watering the vegetables, weeding and doing field packing. Because they can only help during school vacation their contribution is 156 hours per year which is four hours per year more than that contributed by the wage worker but also, more than that contributed by the main man. The main woman's contribution to agriculture is a total of the two combined, that of the main man and the grand children. Only the main woman and man attend to livestock. The niece's contribution to productive work is only in baking, that is, 624 hours per year; the main woman and grand children contribute 832 and 208 hours per year respectively; the niece's contribution is minimal because of her diseased right kidney. She died a year after the field work for this research was completed.

Only the females in the household do domestic (reproductive) work. In addition, due to the absence of a main man in a supportive role, the main woman has to single-handedly carry out all productive work.

SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

The main woman has access to land but does not own the land that she works on a fairly intensive basis.

Despite this she can be considered a medium farmer based on the acreage of land she cultivates and its properties of being fertile and productive. The farm, about three acres in size, is situated close to the boxing plant and near motorable roads. Ownership of livestock as a source of reserved funds can also be used as means of exchange, or used to supplement the family's diet.

In the community of Marigot, class structures are not rigid, and bakers and shopkeepers are at the economic level earning a little more than a little profit, enough to continue their business. The main woman was able to use the little profit to employ a wage worker to assist her in clearing the land for cultivation. She also gets help on the farm from her friend. She says baking gives her a sense of economic independence because of the insecurity on the land she presently works, more so since it cannot be used as security or collateral for any loan.

DOMESTIC WORK

Time spent by task/organisation of tasks

It is interesting to note how the main woman organises her domestic work; the proportion of time spent on various tasks, and moreover how she manages to accomplish such a multiplicity of time-consuming tasks with little or no help from her visiting partner. She is also assisted by the other members of the household. (For Hours Per Year spent in domestic work by the household members, see Table VIII).

A typical day in the main woman's life is Wednesday when she does most domestic work. She begins her day by devotion at about 5:30 a.m., the first thing upon awakening. She then goes to the kitchen to prepare coffee. The other children are up at about 6.30 a.m., after which the main woman ensures that devotion is completed and begins washing the dishes while she prepares breakfast as part of the preparation for school. After breakfast, the woman washes the dishes, puts out clothes to wash and then prepares lunch with the assistance of the niece. Cleaning of the house is done immediately after the children leave for school. By 9:30 a.m. lunch is on the stove being cooked, so that by 12:00 noon it is ready for when the grand children return home. While the food is cooking the main woman washes her clothes which she finishes at about 12:30 p.m. At about 4:30 p.m. she goes to collect water from the river close by for drinking and other domestic chores. She eats about ½ an hour before collecting the water which shows that no time is spent resting or at leisure for proper digestion of the food. She then begins preparing light supper at 5:00 p.m. while the niece and other grand children continue carrying water. Her day ends at about 10 : 00 p.m. when she goes to sleep.

In the absence of the main woman the niece and grand children would be doing these domestic tasks.

The main woman spends 156 hours cooking and washing up, 260 hours per year cleaning, 205 hours per year caring for grand children, 312 hours per year washing and ironing, 1460 hours per year shopping, that is, a total of 6,823 hours per year compared to 1,667 for the niece and 1,850.5 for the grand children. (See Table VII). The main woman spent 19.69% hours per year doing domestic work which is less than that done by the niece, that is, 58.46%; the grand children spent 21.85% hours per year doing domestic work (See Table IX).

The main woman does all tasks except carrying water. The niece and grand daughter carry water. It is interesting to note that both have the same number of hours per year for carrying water; that is, 1,642.5 hours per year. The grand children also contribute by washing and ironing. (See Table VII).

The distribution of time spent on domestic work by the main woman in this house is recorded as follows: cooking and washing up, 9.21%; cleaning the house, 10.46%; washing and ironing, 9.82%; fetching water, 22.18%; caring for children, 38.79%; and shopping, 9.54% (See Table VIII). The following is a description of the domestic tasks done.

Cooking

The main woman prepares her meals on the farm while her niece cooks at home. The niece also cooks when the main woman is baking.

The main woman enjoys cooking delicious meals and uses a lot of margarine to add to the taste. During the breadfruit season from July to September, a favourite dish is roasted breadfruit with salted fish and smoked herring. Another common form of preparing the breadfruit is crushed breadfruit to a texture to what is locally called *"Tonton Pile"*, similar to the *"Fou Fou"* of West Africa. Breadfruit is largely used as an alternative to bread.

The meals prepared by the main woman or niece usually consist of hot cocoa, eggs (fried or boiled), fried fish or other canned meat or fish. On Sundays, she prepares an elaborate meal with dessert, usually a fruit. A combination of charcoal, wood or gas is used as fuel depending on availability.

Washing

The niece and grand children wash three times weekly; still, the main woman washes once weekly. She uses pipe borne water to do her washing when she finds difficulty walking two miles to the river. Unfortunately, the supply of pipe borne water is often interrupted and this increases the time spent on washing and rinsing clothes. The working day is therefore extended when there is no pipe borne water for washing and other domestic chores. The presence of her niece and grand children relieves her of the major part of the reproductive work.

Cleaning

The main woman chooses Saturday to remove all traces of cob-webs and dirt with a locally made broom which she buys at the market in Roseau. This broom is made from a number of suitable grasses which grow in the environs.

The main woman takes pride and pleasure in cleaning all bulky household items in her way, packing them in a corner and vigorously sweeping her roof, corners, partitions and floor. After she is done, she begins scrubbing the partitions and floor while the niece looks after the meal which is usually a mixture of meat and other food together, often a mixture of rice and chicken called *"pelau"*, or fish, dumplings and bananas in a *"broth"*. A day's cleaning takes about five hours. The yard is paved with red dirt and is made clean by using a broom made locally from the ribs of coconut palm leaves. The main woman also uses the local broom made from branches of a common tree to sweep the oven before she begins baking. She says it does not scratch the oven walls and moreover it gives the bread a good taste.

Shopping

Shopping is done daily depending on the needs of the household. A shopping day in the capital 32 miles away, is a busy one for the main woman who has to be at the bus stop by 12.45 p.m. to catch the bust to return home. She must be ready by 4.30 a.m. in order to catch the village bus into town. She carries a large enough bag to safeguard her purchases and prepares a budget for the items she hopes to buy. Sugar and flour are bought wholesale while other items are bought retail. Usually the main woman has to forget the clothes she intends buying for herself to purchase things for her grand children and niece. She ensures the purchase of vegetables which are scarce in her village. At 12.30 p.m. she sets out to find a bus driver who will facilitate the collection of items bought wholesale and awaits him at the bus stop.

Production Day Baking

The main woman packs her basket with all the ingredients necessary for baking: butter, salt, yeast, essence, and makes her way towards the bakery at about 6.30 a.m. The bakery is two miles from her home and ¼ mile from the roadside where the bread is sold.

She begins by cleaning the baking board, spreads about ½ a bag of flour and goes right into mixing all ingredients together. She is joined be her niece and grand children later; when they leave, the main woman's friend joins her in kneading and transforming the dough into various shapes.

She then refuels the furnace, cleans the oven while her helpers place the shaped pieces on a flat length of wood for baking in the oven. At about 2:00 p.m., bread is ready for sale. Some is placed by the roadside for sale and some at

a nearby shop. By 4:00 p.m., she has completed her baking and made a donation of bread and cakes to her friend who helps her; she usually leaves the roadside at about 10:00 p.m. She returns to the roadside the following day to complete sales when necessary. Dinner is eaten by the roadside while she continues her selling. On a good day she sells $200.00 worth of bread.

She intends expanding production by baking at least three bags of flour per day instead of one because of what she considers a ready market.

HOUSEHOLD NO. 3 - MARIGOT

GENERAL INFORMATION ON MAIN WOMAN

This information focuses on an extended family headed by a 77 year old woman who lives with her 34 year old son and a 13 year old grand daughter.

The main woman, now a widow, was born in Marigot and has a primary school education as her highest educational level. She speaks both the English Language and *'Kokoy'* (a local dialect with an English rather than French base). She got married at the age of 22 and gave birth to 11 children, five boys and six girls. Ten of these children are alive. One son died at the age of 34.

She has always been actively interested in agricultural work as she worked on the Melville Hall and Hatton Garden estates. Although advanced in age, she is still very much involved in agricultural activities which she carries out on a one acre plot that was passed on to her after the death of her husband. She, along with her son, cultivates the land.

Mrs. Tina owns a small two-roomed house which is in a dilapidated state, built some 45 years ago. At today's prices it would fetch $900.00. The present value is $300.00. Local wood which was prepared in the village, and galvanize brought in from the town were used to build the house. The husband and other friends were responsible for the construction of the building. She also owns a small outdoor kitchen and a pit latrine. The house has no supply of electricity and therefore, a kerosene lamp is used.

In the area where she lives, there is no pipe borne water, so she collects her water from a stream about 15 yards from her home. Recently, her house had to be relocated further back so as to allow more space for one of her daughters to construct her house.

On her plot, she grows bananas, ground provisions, and a few coconut trees. The proceeds from this, together with remittances from the children abroad, are her main source of survival. She has access to health, postal and police services.

The general characteristics of this household show that among the four cases studied in this village, this particular case has the least acreage of land but it is owned by the main woman in comparison to the three other main women who worked family land.

PRODUCTIVE STRATEGIES

This household carries out 48 tasks in order to reproduce itself. These are divided among the three members of the household. The main source of income is derived from agricultural sales, but the main woman also receives remittances in the form of food, clothes and cash for which we have given monetary value for the purpose of this research. This woman does not have adequate means of production and is still unable to work as she used to because of her age. The agricultural produce is sold to Geest Industries for export, to local buyers and to other villagers as well.

Agriculture contributed $2,047.21 to the household, with $1,586.41 being sales from agriculture and $460.80 being home consumption. The productive cost factor to generate this income was $1,754.95, leaving the household with a balance of $292.26 to meet reproductive costs.

The percentage contribution of the different productive activities to the gross income of the household is shown in Table IV. Agriculture contributes 69% to the household's income while remittances contribute 31%.

PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY

The productive capacity of this household is positive, with a balance of $399.05 remaining after reproductive costs are subtracted from net income.

Table III shows the net income of the household to be $292.26. The reproductive cost is $1,770.00. Food consumption, which is part of reproductive cost, accounts for $1,355.90. Of this, a comparison of food costs and net income reveals that the household is unable to reproduce itself on the basis of its agricultural activity and the remittances received. The annual food consumption, which is $1,355.90, works out at $112.98 monthly, $3.71 daily, and $1.23 for each household member daily, as shown in Table V.

Table V shows the annual food consumption which is further broken down monthly, daily and per household member. 67.7% of reproductive expenditure is on food.

ORGANISATION AND DIVISION OF LABOUR BY SEX

The main woman is responsible for the organisation of work and does the bulk of domestic work. She spends 891 hours doing this. Her female grand child who assists her does 181 hours of work. In terms of reproductive work (including domestic) the main woman spends 2,763 hours per year doing this, while her son who is the only adult male in the house-

hold spends 1560 hours per year; in other words, he does a little over half the reproductive work of the main woman. Most of this time is spent doing productive work.

AGE AND KINSHIP

There are three members in this household. The main woman 77 years old, her son 34 and her grand daughter 13. The three are all involved in productive, domestic and reproductive work.

The grand daughter does so very little in some areas that she cannot be reflected on the charts. Despite the main woman's age, she still spends quite a bit of time on agriculture.

SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

The size of land accessed and the dependency on agriculture as a source of income definitely qualifies this household as that of a small farmer. The main woman owns a one acre plot. There is no main man, and as the son owns no land, the main woman controls and determines what is cultivated on the land.

DOMESTIC WORK

In this household, two main meals are prepared; one in the morning and one at night. The main woman does the cooking early in the morning and sometimes at night; but when she is not able to, the son takes over. With the son assisting with the cooking, the main woman is able to get enough rest because of her physical limitations due to age.

The house is swept every morning, but a general cleaning is done on Saturdays when everything is put outside and the house is dusted and scrubbed. The yard is swept late Saturday afternoon when the sun has gone down. The kitchen is cleaned also with a broom made from coconut branches.

The main woman washes her clothes twice weekly in a small stream which runs at the back of the house. The grand daughter does some washing on Saturdays and later does the ironing.

Mrs. Tina does her shopping daily in the village, but on certain occasions like Easter, Christmas and New Years, she does a grand shopping in the capital, Roseau.

HOUSEHOLD NO. 4 - MARIGOT

GENERAL INFORMATION ON MAIN WOMAN

Seventy-year old D.B. is the subject of this study. She is the only member of her household. Her home is located on a compound that houses the family home of her sister and the home of an adult grandson.

D.B. has never been married and is not presently in a consensual union. She has three grown sons alive. Her only daughter died of cancer a few years ago. All D.B.'s children left her home more than 25 years ago to seek employment and to form new families. D.B. has lived alone for several years now. Over the years, she has assisted one or the other of her children in the care of their offspring by having the child/children reside with her for a period of time until the parent resumed that responsibility.

At the time of this study, one grandson and three great-grandchildren, two girls and one baby boy of 14 months, were staying with the main woman to facilitate their parents who were making a short trip overseas.

One of D.B.'s great grandchildren regularly sleeps at her house so that she will not be alone at nights. Other grand and great grandchildren visit her regularly.

The main woman has had a complete primary school education. She speaks English and *'Kokoy'* (Marigot's dialect) as well as patois (creole dialect) which she learnt while working in the island's capital as a domestic servant. She has also had

exposure to other education programmes such as summer school classes in Soya Beans' Cookery and West Indian Cookery, and has also attended many agricultural demonstrations through her membership in the Marigot Women's Backyard Gardening Group.

REPRODUCTIVE STRATEGIES

After D.B. became a mother she gave up domestic work as an occupation and began full-time farming.

Today at the age of 77, it is still her main occupation and source of income. Agriculture contributes 44.8% to the total income of her household. During her earlier years of agricultural involvement, she planted many permanent trees in the expectation that when those trees matured they would yield crops seasonally, providing her with harvests, the sale of which she would obtain cash.

Roadside vending is another activity that the main woman engages in as a means of generating income. She sells small kitchen items, toiletries and stationery at month end and during festive seasons when more money is in circulation. This contributed 27.6% to the household's income.

The main woman also receives remittances from abroad in the form of cash and goods more than once per year. This represents a substantial contribution to her well being. Remittances received are equivalent to income from roadside vending and constitutes 27.6% of the household's total income.

PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY

D.B.'s present productive capacity is limited by her age. Diminishing physical strength and lack of back-up services are the two prominent features influencing her work output. The volume and intensity of D.B.'s agricultural activities have decreased in recent years, but, according to her, the essential nature of these activities has not changed.

As in the past, she cultivates vegetables and ground provisions and maintains her permanent trees. Her harvests satisfy her food needs and provide her with a small surplus which she shares with her progeny and with other relatives. She is also able to make an occasional gift to the sick and shut-ins in her community.

The main woman is likely to sell her produce if she receives a direct request. In this way, she earns small infrequent sums of cash from her agricultural activity. Her earning from agriculture can be more realistically counted in kind rather than in cash. Given the means of production available to her, utilization of hired labour and a vigorous marketing strategy could yield greater cash income than is presently being realized.

Additionally, at this stage of her life cycle, the main woman is unable to physically manage the productivity of her four acres of land, and does not have access to labour and/or capital which could facilitate transport and marketing of her crops.

In the absence of these two very important inputs, much of her limes, coconuts, avocadoes, soursop, guavas, pomeracs, gooseberries and other crops remain in the fields season after season, their only value being the return of their nutrients to the soil.

Her inability to cash in on the labour invested at an earlier stage of her life cycle has been a very unsatisfactory state of affairs, and she shifted to growing food only for her daily consumption.

The implication of this situation is demonstrated in Table VI which shows that the main woman is unable through her productive activities, to reproduce household requirements. She must constantly choose whether to do without a necessity or be in debt. For the year of reference her monthly balance was a negative one of $11.16.

DIVISION OF LABOUR BY SEX

In this single person household the sexual division of labour does not exist, but it is possible to describe how the woman organises her tasks and activities to satisfy her needs and interests.

D.B. organises her time as the demands of the days dictate.. On Sunday, she worships at the village Methodist Church in the morning and is likely to spend the remaining part of the day in recreation such as resting at home, visiting a relative, or attending a church-related function.

Three days per week are reserved as agriculturally productive days. At certain times, agricultural days become vending days. Three other days per week are for reproductive tasks. It can happen also that two days are spent on agriculture. Two days are spent on vending, and two days are spent on reproductive tasks.

D.B. usually alternates productive days with reproductive ones. She may also fix her reproductive days to coincide with any days on which she must attend a meeting or be involved in a group activity. It is also on a reproductive work day that she will visit a non-relative who is aged, or ill. On such a visit she is likely to carry some small token of agricultural produce or baked goods to cheer up the one she is visiting.

SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

D.B.'s material property consists of a comfortably furnished dwelling house and approximately four acreas of fertile land located about 1½ miles away from her home. The fact that the main woman works on family land puts her among the 23% of the farming households in Marigot which access family land, compared to 45% who own land. (Data from community survey).

This household does not have pipe borne water. Pipe borne water is accessible to about 75% of the households in the community.

D.B.'s 10 year old house is in good condition and is made of concrete walls and a galvanized roof; the cost of building the house was about $12,000.00. The main woman is unable to estimate its present value. Her personal savings and contributions from her children financed the purchase of material and other costs for constructing the house. The house is divided by plywood partitions into four small rooms, including one living room/dining room and one kitchen. One bedroom is used by the main woman; another bedroom is used as an extra room for any of the children sleeping over. A third bedroom is reserved for fitting a bath, sewerage toilet and face basin whenever pipe borne water is available in that area of

Marigot where D.B. lives. Presently, miscellaneous items are stored in this room. The kitchen is part of the house and is fitted with cupboards, tap and sink. There is also a refridgerator and several utensils.

A concrete cistern, having a capacity of one thousand gallons is located in the yard adjacent to the kitchen. The tank intake mechanism has been damaged and therefore the tank has been out of use, and water is being collected from a spring. The journey can only be made on foot and it takes at least 20 minutes to reach there.

The house is supplied with electricity. However, she keeps a filled kerosene lamp handy in the event of a power shortage. The main woman uses charcoal and firewood since her gas stove became faulty.

D.B. belongs to three community organisations, In 1950 she became a member of the Women's League at her church. In 1986, she was honoured by the group for her long membership and active participation in group activities. In 1981 she became a member of the Marigot Fisheries' Cooperative by purchasing the minimum five shares at $20.00 per share required to gain membership. She is also a member of the Backyard Garden Group formed in 1986. This is a women's group in the village which is led by a male agriculturalist who functions as the group's advisor.

This main woman, according to the community survey, is not considered a figure of great influence in her community since the community survey reveals that power, authority and influence wielded by large farmers, businessmen, politicians, sports personnel and public servants.

DOMESTIC WORK

This household, being a single person household, is totally dependent on the main woman for the execution of all the domestic work except if hired labour is available and affordable which, according to the main woman is not.

Domestic work accounts for an annual amount of 2683 hours yearly, or 72% of the total number of hours spent on domestic and productive work. The greatest number of hours spent on domestic work are spent on cooking and washing up which account for 47.61%; fetching water comes next (20.41%), then cleaning the house (14.54%), washing and ironing (11.63%), and shopping (5.81%).

There are, however, a few limitations to the proper and effective carrying out of these domestic activities. One of these limitations is the unavailability of water which at times can be tedious. The unavailability of finance can also be a limitation in the sense that cut-backs have to be made in the process of budgeting. As a result of this, items used to carry out domestic work are left out from time to time.

It is interesting to note that in this community where there is a relatively high proportion of women-headed households, three of the four women have the right to land through the family land tradition.

The main women have varying responses to this tradition which gives all children the right to use land as they need to. In household No. 1, the woman occupying the land feels insecure and uncomfortable. This is because she has children and fears that at some point intrustion from other family members wanting to take up residence may make it uncomfortable for herself and her immediate family, as the family house has to be shared and the land is not big enough to accommodate her own separate quarters. She is somewhat put out by the constant intrusions of relatives now resident abroad, for whom she has to make space and provide services when they visit.

On the other hand, 77 year old D.B., occupying land along with her sister and her sister's grandson, feels quite secure, perhaps because the land is able to accommodate the existing family needs and there is no pressure for her to share her house, which is her personal property. Whoever wishes to use the land puts up their own shelter. D.B.'s security also seems to be associated with the fact that the non-alienation and non-privatisation of the land was very clearly specified by D.B.'s grandmother, a factor which would tend to protect it from the encroachment of the individual title approach on which the authorities have operated since colonial times. The characteristices and conflicts of the two systems have been well documented for the case of Jamaica by Edith Clarke in her well-known book My mother who fathered me , published in 1954.

CONCLUSIONS ON HOUSEHOLD CASE STUDIES - MARIGOT

HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS

Of the four household case studies done in the Marigot community, two qualified as Single Parent Extended, one as Nuclear Extended and the other as a Single Person household. The nuclear extended household does not fully qualify as nuclear since the man only sleeps in the house. This can be referred to as a visiting relationship. In the cases studies, therefore, the women for the most part attend to their household singly. This coincides with the findings of the community survey which show a lower percentage of nuclear households in this area than in the other two communities, a percentage which is also lower than the national average.

The fact that three of these households are extended shows that there exists a high level of inter-generational dependence in the community. The single person household is also extended on occasions since the main woman takes care of a great grandchild in the absence of the mother. The main reason for this inter-generational dependence is economic. Many women and men migrate to the urban areas or overseas in search of work, and leave children behind. The main option is to leave them with a grandmother. Also, women who become pregnant while living with their parents may not have the means to live on their own and have no choice but to seek the support of their parents to remain within the household with their children.

In household No. 2, the family land worked by the woman is really the man's land inherited from his family. The woman is allowed to work it, but she has no customary or legal right to it, and this leads her to seek alternative sources of income besides agriculture, and to see agriculture as a secondary rather than a primary occupation. The inheritance of family land by the partner of the main woman in this household may be an example of family land inheritance according to the male line, where male children and their children only have a right to occupy the land; or it could be an example of the land being parcelled out to conform more with the individual title system recognised by the authorities.

According to Clarke's findings in the case of Jamaica, where land is passed according to the female line, all children and their off-spring benefit in perpetuity; and alienation by individual entitlement is usually clearly proscribed.

More research on this aspect is needed since it appears that the way family land operates has important implications for the security of women in agriculture.

REPRODUCTIVE STRATEGIES

Agriculture is the main source of income for three of these households, though all four main women are farmers. In the three cases, agriculture contributes 90.9%, 69.5% and 44.8% respectively to the household's income. In household No. 2, the low contribution of agriculture (9.8%) is related to the fact that until recently the main woman had little access to land, and so depended heavily on her baking, backed up by remittances from overseas. The pattern is likely to continue, despite the fact that she now has access to

more land through her partner, since she feels that this is an insecure base and therefore, intends to expand her baking as her main strategy for survival.

All households have multiple sources of income. Two have three sources and the other two have two. All households receive remittances from abroad. Remittances as a percentage of household income are lowest in the household where the main woman is the youngest, and higher for the households where the main women are over 70 years of age. This reflects both the declining productive capacity of the women with age, as well as the increase in the actual amount of remittances for the older women. In two households, other income-generating activities besides agriculture are used to generate income for the household.

In none of the households studied did livestock contribute to household income in the year of reference, and only one household had livestock at all, 1 head of cattle and 3 pigs. In this household, the cattle and pigs graze on other people's land, and this limited activity resulted from the fact that the main woman had very little access to land.

The pattern of agricultural production in the community had affected the holding of animals. Mainly cash crops are produced, with a small amount of production for domestic use. The main cash crop is bananas. This requires extensive areas of land, and has moreover attracted many farmers because of the rise in prices and the field packed bonuses being received. The result has been less and less land for grazing and rearing animals, to the point where many farmers have slaughtered their animals to make land space available for banana cultivation.

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF THE MAIN WOMAN

All four women were educated to the primary school level only. The only type of training and exposure beyond this was in the case of the main women in households No. 1 and No. 4. This training was in the area of agriculture through the main women's involvement in the Marigot Women's Backyard Project and included demonstration of agricultural methods, visits and other agricultural instructions. This exposure and training were made possible by two non-governmental organisations, namely a Taiwanese farm organisation and an overseas development organisation. This seems to indicate that the hypothesis that women benefit more from non-governmental agricultural support systems may be correct. This indication is strengthened by the fact that the women who are also members of the backyard garden group receive seeds, seedlings and implements for their agricultural activities free of charge, whereas all inputs which are given by the state-owned marketing corporation have to be paid for.

PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY

Only two of the four households are able to reproduce themselves and generate a surplus. Even where reproduction occurs, this is at the expense of severe cutbacks in the reproductive needs of the household, as in the case of household No. 1.

Food consumption in three of the households constitutes more than 72% of the total reproductive consumption. This shows that income is almost totally consumed by the most basic needs (See Table V).

ORGANISATION AND DIVISION OF LABOUR BY SEX

Table IX shows that in the four households only one has a main man contributing to work and this is productive work. In household No. 2, a main man is present. Apart from sleeping in the house all he does is 16.6% of the household's total productive work.

In all the households, women do both productive and reproductive work. In two of these households the main women do more productive than reproductive work, but the reproductive work is passed on to female children and grandchildren.

Boys follow the pattern of becoming almost exclusively involved in productive activities, except that in household No. 1 there are two males, and together their contribution to reproductive work comes to 964 hours, about ¼ of what is done by the four girls and ½ of what is done by the main woman.

The majority of time spent on domestic work in all households except household No. 2 is spent on cooking and washing up; caring for children is next, and in three of the four households fetching water comes after cooking and washing up.

The total hours spent on reproductive work by the females in the four households was 6823, 8468.5, 1652.05 and 2683 hours respectively per year. The high level of reproductive work in household No. 1 is explained by the presence of both young children (2), male teenagers (2), and the presence of three female children to share the work with the main woman.

In household No. 2 there are also young children and a niece to help with the household. However, although there are no young children on an ongoing basis in household No. 4, grandchildren sometimes come to stay while their parents are abroad on trips. The family network appears to be such, that even the caring function is shared with other related households.

TABLE I: HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS (MARIGOT)

HOUSEHOLD	HOUSEHOLD TYPE	LIFE CYCLE	NO. OF MEMBERS	NO. OF ACRES	LAND TENURE	MAIN SOURCE OF INCOME	MAIN WOMAN'S OCCUPATION
I	single-parent extended	Fission	8	2.5	family land	Agriculture	Farming
II	nuclear extended	Expansion	4	3	family land	Baking	Baking
III	single-parent extended	Extinction	3	1	ownership	Agriculture	Farming
IV	single person	Extinction	1	4	family land	Remittances	Farming and Roadside Vending

TABLE II: ACCESS TO MEANS OF PRODUCTION (MARIGOT)

			LIVESTOCK				
HOUSEHOLD	NO. OF ACRES	FORM OF TENURE	CATTLE	PIGS	POULTRY	TOOLS	CONSTRUCTION
I	2.5	family land	-	-	-	cutlass fork	Dwelling house field-packing shed kitchen latrine
II	3	family land	-	3	-	cutlass fork hoe	house kitchen latrine
III	1	owned	-	-	-	cutlass fork	house kitchen latrine
IV	4	family land	-	-	-	fork hoe cutlass	dwelling house latrine outdoor kitchen cement water tank

TABLE III: NET INCOME OF HOUSEHOLDS STUDIED (MARIGOT)

HOUSEHOLD	ACTIVITIES	SALE	CONSUMPTION	GIFTS	TOTAL GROSS	PRODUCTIVE COSTS	NET INCOME
I	Agriculture	4,159.90	3,500.00	168.99	7,828.89	623.00	7,205.89
	Livestock	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Wage Work	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Remittances	-	780.00	-	780.00	-	780.00
	TOTAL	**4,159.90**	**4,280.00**	**168.99**	**8,608.89**	**623.00**	**7,985.89**
II	Agriculture	234.50	300.00	150.00	684.50	572.00	112.50
	Livestock	-	-	-	-	200.00	200.00
	Wage Work	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Remittances	-	3,162.00	450.00	2,612.00	490.00	2,122.00
	Other(Baking)	1,809.40	1,500.00	500.00	3,809.40	1,000.00	2,809.40
	TOTAL	**2,043.90**	**3,962.00**	**1,100.00**	**7,105.90**	**2,262.00**	**4,843.90**
III	Agriculture	1,586.41	460.80	-	2,047.21	1,754.95	292.26
	Livestock	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Wage Work	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Remittances	-	900.00	-	900.00	-	900.00
	TOTAL	**1,586.41**	**1,360.80**	**-**	**2,947.21**	**1,754.95**	**1,192.26**
IV	Agriculture	300.00	700.00	300.00	1,300.00	164.00	1,136.00
	Livestock	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Wage Work	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Remittances	800.00	-	-	800.00	-	800.00
	Other(Vending)		800.00	-	800.00	470.00	330.00
	TOTAL	**1,900.00**	**700.00**	**300.00**	**2,900.00**	**634.00**	**2,266.00**

TABLE IV: PERCENTAGE CONTRIBUTION OF PRODUCTIVE ACTIVITIES TO TOTAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME (MARIGOT)

HOUSEHOLD	AGRICULTURE	LIVESTOCK	WAGE WORK	REMITTANCES	OTHER	TOTAL
I	90.9%	-	-	9.1%	-	100%
II	9.6%	-	-	36.8%	53.6%(1)	100%
III	69.5%	-	-	30.5%	-	100%
IV	44.8%	-	-	27.6%	27.6%(2)	100%

53.6%(1) represents the percentage contribution of baking.

27.6%(2) represents the percentage contribution of roadside vending.

TABLE V: REPRODUCTIVE AND FOOD CONSUMPTION FOR THE YEAR OF REFERENCE (YEARLY, MONTHLY, DAILY AND DAILY PER CAPITA)

HOUSEHOLD	No. of Members	REPRODUCTIVE CONSUMPTION				FOOD CONSUMPTION				FOOD CONSUMPTION AS A % REPRODUCTIVE CONSUMPTION
		Year	Month	Per Household Daily	Daily Per Capita	Year	Month	Per H/hold Daily	Daily Per Capita	
I	8	6451.40	537.62	17.68	2.21	4750.20	395.85	13.02	1.63	73.6%
II	4	5126.70	427.23	14.04	3.51	4037.80	336.48	11.06	2.76	78.8%
III	3	1777.00	148.08	4.87	1.62	1355.90	112.99	3.71	1.24	76.3%
IV	1	2400.00	200.00	6.57	6.57	1399.92	116.66	3.44	3.44	58.3%

TABLE VI: PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY OF HOUSEHOLDS MONTHLY (MARIGOT)

HOUSEHOLD	NO. OF MEMBERS	LIFE CYCLE	GROSS INCOME (MONTHLY)	TOTAL COSTS PRODUCTIVE/REPRODUCTIVE	MONTHLY BALANCE
I	8	Fission	$717.40	$589.53	$127.87
II	4	Expansion	592.16	403.83	-188.33
III	3	Extinction	245.60	148.08	97.52
IV	1	Extinction	241.67	252.83	- 11.16

TABLE VII(A): TIME SPENT BY HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS IN PRODUCTIVE WORK (MARIGOT)

(HOURS PER DAY)

CASE	HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS	NO.INVOLVED	AGRICULTURE	LIVESTOCK	WAGE WORK	OTHER (Baking)	TOTAL
I	Main Woman	1	953	-	-	-	953
	Main Man	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Girls	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Boy	1	859	-	-	-	859
	Grandchildren	-	-	-	-	-	-
	TOTAL	**2**	**1812**	-	-	-	**1812**
II	Main Woman	1	260	115.33	-	832	1207.33
	Main Man	1	104	365	-	-	469
	Niece	1	-	-	-	624	624
	Grandchildren	2	156	-	-	208	364
	Temporary Worker	1	160	-	-	-	160
	TOTAL	**6**	**680**	**480.33**	-	**1664**	**2824.33**
III	Main Woman	1	1872	-	-	-	1872
	Main Man	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Girls	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Boy	1	1560	-	-	-	1560
	Grandchild	1	-	-	-	-	-
	Sub-Total	3	3432	-	-	-	3432
	Temporary Workers	2	320	-	-	-	320
	TOTAL	**5**	**3752**	-	-	-	**3752**
IV	Main Woman	1	1030	-	-	-	1030
	TOTAL	**1**	**1030**	-	-	-	**1030**

TABLE VII(B): TIME SPENT BY HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS IN DOMESTIC (REPRODUCTIVE) WORK (MARIGOT)

(HOURS PER YEAR)

CASE	HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS	NO.INVOLVED	COOKING & WASHING WARES	CLEANING	CARING FOR CHILDREN	WASHING & IRONING	SHOPPING	CARRYING WATER	TOTAL
I	Main Woman	1	1460	156	-	312	-	-	1928
	Main Man	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Girls	3	1376	-	1095	-	1095	-	3566
	Boys	2	-	-	964	-	-	-	964
	Grandchildren	2	-	-	-	-	365	-	365
	TOTAL	**8**	**2836**	**156**	**2059**	**312**	**1460**	**-**	**6823**
II	Main Woman	1	156	260	783	208	260	-	1667
	Main Man	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Niece	1	624	626	1095	416	547.5	1642.5	4951
	Grandchildren	2	-	-	-	208	-	1642.5	1850.5
	TOTAL	**5**	**780**	**886**	**1878**	**832**	**807.5**	**3285**	**8468.5**
III	Main Woman	1	728	163	-	182	-	61	1134
	Main Man	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Girls	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Boy	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Grandchild	1	104	78	-	-	62.05	274	518.05
	Sub-Total	3	832	241	-	182	62.05	335	1652.05
	Temporary Worker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	TOTAL	**3**	**832**	**241**	**-**	**182**	**62.05**	**335**	**1652.05**
IV	Main Woman	1	1277.5	390	-	312	156	547.5	2683
	TOTAL	**1**	**1277.5**	**390**	**-**	**312**	**156**	**547.5**	**2683**

TABLE VIII: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF HOURS OF DOMESTIC (REPRODUCTIVE) WORK DONE BY WOMEN IN HOUSEHOLDS (MARIGOT)

HOUSEHOLD I	HOUSEHOLD II	HOUSEHOLD III	HOUSEHOLD IV
Life Cycle: Fission	Life Cycle: Expansion	Life Cycle: Extinction	Life Cycle: Extinction
No. of Members : 8	No. of Members: 5	No. of Members: 3	No. of Members: 1
No. of Women : 4	No. of Women: 4	No. of Women : 2	No. of Women : 1

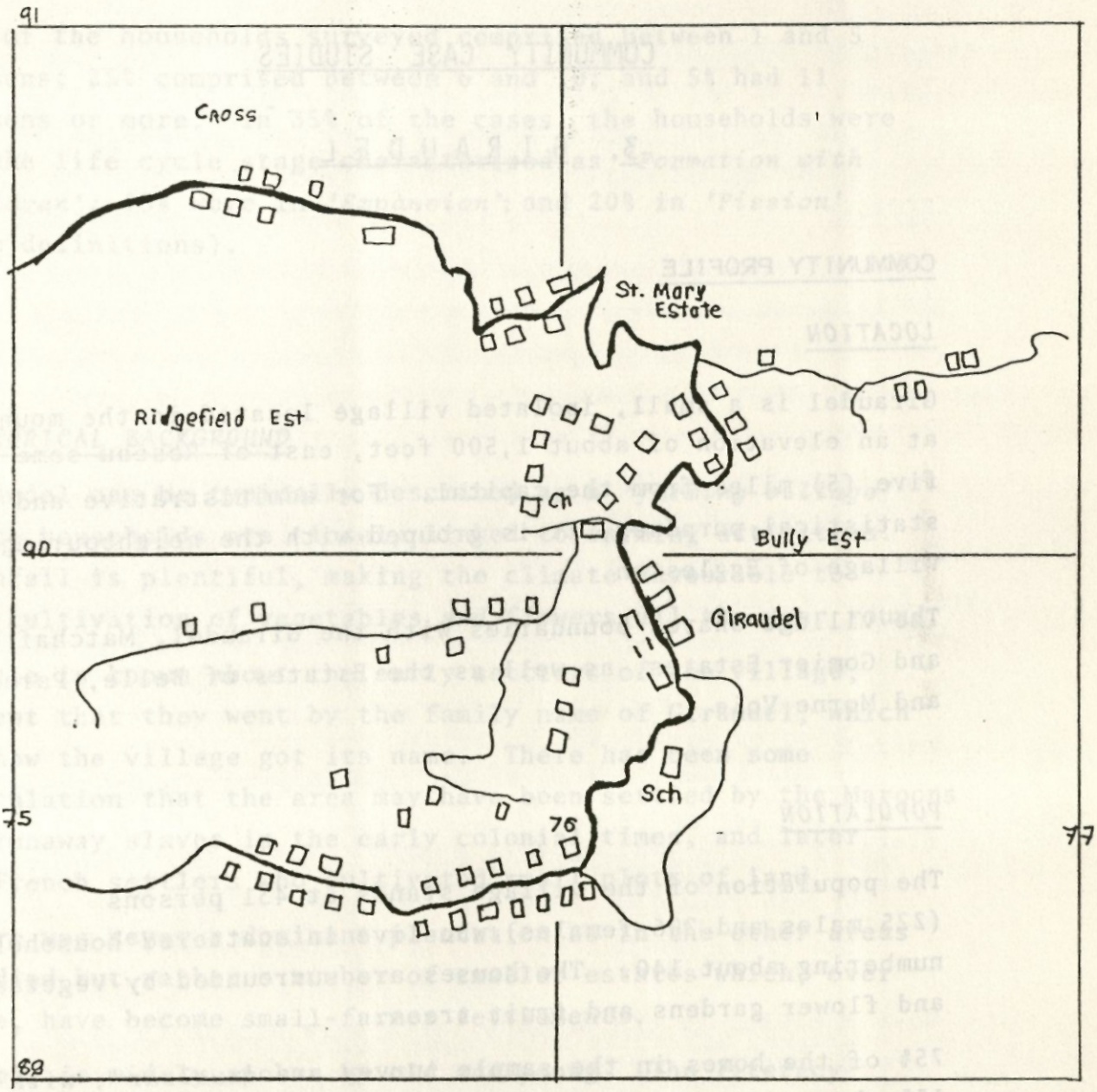
ACTIVITIES	% OF TOTAL DOMESTIC WORK	% OF TOTAL DOMESTIC WORK	% OF TOTAL DOMESTIC WORK	% OF TOTAL DOMESTIC WORK
Cooking and Washing-up	51.62	9.21	50.36	47.61
Cleaning the House	2.84	10.46	14.59	14.54
Washing and Ironing	5.68	9.82	11.02	11.63
Fetching Water	-	22.18	20.27	20.41
Caring for children	19.93	38.79	-	-
Shopping	19.93	9.54	3.76	5.81
TOTAL	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**

TABLE IX: PERCENTAGE OF HOURS SPENT BY HOUSEHOLDS IN PRODUCTIVE AND DOMESTIC (REPRODUCTIVE) WORK (MARIGOT)

HOUSEHOLD I		HOUSEHOLD II		HOUSEHOLD III		HOUSEHOLD IV	
Life Cycle	Fission	Life Cycle:	Expansion	Life Cycle:	Extinction	Life Cycle:	Extinction
No. of Members:	8	No. of Members:	5	No. of Members:	3	No.of Members:	1
No. of Women:	4	No. of Women:	4	No. of Women:	2	No. of Women:	1

MEMBERS	PRODUCTIVE WORK	REPRODUCTIVE WORK	PRODUCTIVE WORK	REPRODUCTIVE WORK	PRODUCTIVE WORK	REPRODUCTIVE WORK	PRODUCTIVE WORK	REPRODUCTIVE WORK
Main Woman	52.59%	28.26%	42.7%	19.69%	49.89%	68.64%	100%	100%
Main Man	-	-	16.6%	-	-	-	-	-
Girls	-	52.26%	-	-	-	-	-	-
Boys	47.41%	14.13%	-	-	41.58%	-	-	-
Grandchildren	-	5.35%	12.9%	21.85%	-	31.36%	-	-
Niece	-	-	22.1%	58.46%	-	-	-	-
Wage Labourer	-	-	5.7%	-	8.53%	-	-	-
TOTAL	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**

COMMONWEALTH OF DOMINICA



SURFACED ROAD ——————

UNSURFACED ROAD ——————

MAP OF GIRAUDEL & ENVIRONS

PREPARED AT THE LANDS & SURVEYS DIVI

SCALE 1: 1250 375 ACRES OR ·75 sq miles D - Households E· Joseph

COMMUNITY CASE STUDIES

3. G I R A U D E L

COMMUNITY PROFILE

LOCATION

Giraudel is a small, isolated village located in the mountains at an elevation of about 1,500 feet, east of Roseau some five (5) miles from the capital. For administrative and statistical purposes, it is grouped with the neighbouring village of Eggleston.

The village shares boundaries with the Giraudel, Matchaf and Gomier Estates, as well as the Estates of Belle, Paradise and Morne Voie.

POPULATION

The population of the village stands at 431 persons (225 males and 206 females),who live in scattered households numbering about 140. The houses are surrounded by vegetable and flower gardens and fruit trees.

75% of the homes in the sample survey are *'nuclear'*, with 15% characterized as *'extended'*, in marked contrast to the other communities studied. 5% of households are single-person households.

In relation to union status, 75% of the households are legally-married unions, 15% are common-law, 5% are female-headed (single women in charge) and 5% widowed.

70% of the households surveyed comprised between 1 and 5 persons; 25% comprised between 6 and 10; and 5% had 11 persons or more. In 35% of the cases, the households were in the life cycle stage characterized as *'Formation with Children'*; 45% were in *'Expansion'*; and 20% in *'Fission'* (see definitions).

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Giraudel can be typically described as a *'farming village'* since households are closely linked to farming activities. Rainfall is plentiful, making the climate favourable to the cultivation of vegetables and flowers all the year round.

Little is known about the early settlers of the village, except that they went by the family name of Giraudel, which is how the village got its name. There has been some speculation that the area may have been settled by the Maroons or runaway slaves in the early colonial times, and later by French settlers who cultivated small plots of land.

There was never a dominant plantation as in the other areas studied, but rather a number of smaller estates which, over time, have become small-farmer settlements.

Patois is widely spoken by old and young. The literacy level of 80% is relatively high compared to the national average of 60% (official).

There is no high school in the village. However, some 30 students attend secondary schools in Roseau. The primary school maintains a fair standing in common entrance examination passes - ten (10) out of twenty-five (25) were successful

in 1985. This, for a number of the students, means access to *'white collar'* jobs.

ECONOMY

The main form of livelihood for the villagers of Giraudel is farming. Villagers tend to cultivate vegetables and flowers around their houses, but larger plots are cultivated further away from home. Most plots are less than four (4) acres.

People generally work all lands they have access to because of the size of the farms, and the need for cultivation to be intensive.

Bananas and citrus are grown as export cash crops, and the area has become well-known for its consistent production of vegetables and flowers which are mainly sold on the domestic market.

In addition to cultivating fields, most farmers in the area (largely women) are actively engaged in the rearing and upkeep of livestock. Women are active in small stock rearing, which is generally seen as complementary to other farming activities. This situation does not obtain in Grand Bay.

Most families in the Giraudel area have access to land through small individual plots, which in recent times became available through the sale or rental (at low rates) of former estate lands.

Farming activities are fairly well-distributed among the age ranges. 10% of the respondents were aged 15-24; 40% were 25-35; 20% were between 36-45; and 30% were 45 years and over.

One area, Gomier Stuart, is under consideration for sale to occupants. In addition, villagers have had customary rights to cultivation of land formerly belonging to the Bell family, a right enjoyed by succeeding generations. However, there have been instances where land has not been enough to be divided into viable farms for all heirs.

100% of respondents in the sample had access to land. Ownership of land ranged from 20% owned by the main woman, to 40% owned by the spouse, and 40% belonging to other relatives of the main woman. 31.6% of the respondents had titles to their land, which was about twice that obtained in the cases of both Grand Bay and Marigot. However, where names appeared on titles to land, 11.1% were that of the main woman compared to 44.4% of spouses. In 44.4% of cases also,'other relatives of main woman' were named on titles. Thus, access to land for women is more often indirect - through male spouses or relatives - than is the case for men.

95% of the people surveyed described themselves as self-employed, mainly as farmers. The 5% of the sample who responded as 'employed' were civil servants in the areas' institutions such as schools and the postal agency. A few men were employed as tradesmen in building homes, and in upholstery. Other economic activities include craft and clothes-making to a limited extent.

One programme, though, that reportedly attracted maximum community participation was the housing programme. The project was initiated at the local level and managed and implemented with voluntary labour. It is reported to have contributed to the dynamism that characterised the community in the post-hurricane period. The Annual Giraudel Flower Show and the 'Jing Ping' orchestra were two tangible outgrowths from this spirit.

SOCIAL AMENITIES, INFRASTRUCTURE AND COMMUNICATIONS

The village is connected to Roseau by motorable roads. Secondary and feeder roads provide access to cultivated plots and hinter-lands.

There is no pipe borne water in the village, a factor that has necessitated the use of cisterns for water storage, and the periodic acquisition of water from outside sources during the periods of low rainfall. Marigot's problem is the lack of water when it does not rain, water for drinking purposes and agricultural production. Also, water stored in cisterns is not suitable for drinking.

Giraudel is supplied with electricity, telephone and postal services, and a Health Clinic staffed by a resident Health Visitor. A non-resident doctor makes frequent visits. A pre-school and a primary school offer the rudiments of primary education and literacy skills. A locally-run Credit Union provides residents with a certain control over their personal savings.

The village is serviced by two shops providing basic necessities. One is owned by a woman, and a co-operative consumer shop was established to deal with the limitations created by having a single shop in the area.

The co-operative shop began as a Peasant Club which sought to bring farmers together for recreational activities. Before long, members began to examine their needs, one of which was identified as time spent going into town for basic consumer goods. The Co-operative Division assisted in establishing the shop.

There is no industrial development in the area, and employment opportunities are extremely limited. Some women have found employment in Roseau, mainly in the service sector and in government institutions. A number of men sometimes find work outside of Giraudel in the construction industry.

Main incomes were derived from farming in 83.3% of cases. Huckstering accounted for 5.6% of incomes; fishing, 5.6% and 'other' economic activities brought in 5.6% to main incomes of the sample population. The numbers engaged in activities other than farming were extremely small.

COMMUNICATION CHANNELS

The most important channel of information is the radio. Villagers depend on the radio for national and international news, as well as for national activity announcements.

The telephone and postal services are also popularly used for communication. The 'word of mouth' message by friends and neighbours is also a useful information channel for small communities such as this. No community newsletter or bulletin exists. Some residents enjoy additional exposure through the T.V. Cable Network.

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION AND SOCIAL ORGANISATIONS AND NETWORKS

Political meetings, which are popular during election campaigns, provide useful information on government policies and on national development issues.

The information provided on the political history of Giraudel seems to suggest that the village has tended to follow the majority trend in electoral politics since adult suffrage, in the sense of always supporting the party in power.

The main form of political organisation for men, women and the youth is through branches of the ruling Freedom Party, whose main objective is to maintain allegiance to the Party. These branches are, however, largely inactive at present.

The percentage of the electorate voting in the last period was not available. One senses that people are more concerned about direct needs like getting produce to market and water than national issues, from which they remain somewhat distant.

Villagers participate in local politics in their community through the Village Council and, to some extent, the Council remains a mobilizing force for community self-help projects and activities.

Apart from the Council, which is the local government body in the area, there are several active associations in the village. The Catholic Church Committee and the Catholic Youth Movement have been responsible for the Annual Flower Show, an event of much importance in Giraudel, as well as the creation of the one-time Housing Committee that was set up to provide low cost housing in the area. A 'Jing-Ping' orchestra, which has popularised the traditional music known as *'Quadrille'*, has contributed to a large degree to the cultural revival of the area and to the development of Dominica's traditional music.

Other groups include the 4H Club, comprised mainly of youth involved in social and community activities.

The Church, Credit Union and the Village Council have been identified as sources of influence in the Giraudel community.

Teachers associated with these institutions invariably command a marked degree of respect and influence in community affairs. The Church, and leaders associated with it, carry a lot of clout in the community. Many community activities, like the flower show, village feast and housing programme, are associated with the Church.

The flower group, mainly women, operates a flower nursery and provides assistance to farmers. Farmers in the area are affiliated to the Farmers' Group, an informal structure of six women and one man involved in promoting the use of pen-manure in farming activities; and to the Dominica Banana Marketing Corporation through the local branch.

Smaller groups that are less active are the Health and Village Disaster Preparedness Committee. The most obvious form of co-operative relationship in Giraudel exists in the co-operative consumer shop and the growing Credit Union movement.

Various forms of self-help activities are common around community projects, and to a lesser extent in '*Koudmen*', a form of exchange of labour used in farming and community activities.

Government agricultural services provide extension and veterinary services to farmers on an ongoing basis.

Women play active roles in all village organisations and, in almost all instances, outnumber men. There are equal numbers of women and men in the Village Council.

The Annual Flower Show is an event of national importance for which Giraudel is well-known. This annual event, held in May, has been identified as a major activity for bringing people together. Another event of importance is the Annual Village Feast which is linked to the Church.

Due to the size of the village, in terms of both geography and population, the villagers remain closely associated with each other. Events such as sickness, accidents and death invariably bring people together to share and provide support.

Despite the characterisation of Giraudel as a 'vibrant' community of several organisations, there is reportedly a growing sense that generally, social and cultural activities are on the decline, only to surface at specific times e.g., flower shows, when spectators or an 'outside' audience is expected.

INTRODUCTION TO HOUSEHOLD CASE STUDIES:

GIRAUDEL

In the community of Giraudel, three households were intensively studied; they represented varying household types, life cycles, main woman's sources of income, access to means of production, and land tenure pattern.

Household No. 1 comprises four members and is a nuclear household with its life cycle in expansion. This household has access to three acres of family land on which is grown mainly vegetables, flowers, and a few ground provisions; the main source of income is agriculture. The main woman's occupation is farming.

Household No. 2 has only two members, the main woman and her son. It is a single parent household; due to the death of the main man its life cycle is in the state of Fission, that is, the son is old enough to leave home at any time. This household has four acres of land which has belonged to the main woman since her husband's death. Though the main woman's occupation is farming the household's main source of income comes from wage work - the son is a civil servant.

Household No. 3 is a single person complex household. The main woman is a widow but her niece, grand niece and stepson all live in this household. This household's life cycle is in Fission. The main woman owns four acreas of land including that worked by the niece and stepson. The main woman's occupation is farming and her main income comes from agriculture.

A more comprehensive and comparative description of the households can be read in the case studies and conclusion which follow.

HOUSEHOLD NO. 1 - GIRAUDEL

GENERAL INFORMATION

In this household there are four persons, namely the main woman, Mrs. T.aged 30 years, the main man, Mr. T. and his two sons aged 10 and 11 respectively. One son is disabled as a result of an accident which the main woman suffered during pregnancy. She still suffers the effects and presently walks awkwardly. This is a nuclear household in the stage of expansion. The main woman reached the vocation level of the education system unlike her husband who left at primary school. Unfortunately, the main woman left school prematurely when her mother died.

The household's main income comes from agriculture in which the main woman is deeply engaged, and carpentry done by the main man. When the main man is out of work he assists the main woman on the farm.

The main woman and man were born in Roseau, the capital, and were married in a Protestant church at the ages of 21 and 22 respectively.

The main woman gave birth to six children, but only two boys survived. The four other children died due to miscarriages.

The house is made of cement blocks with partly concrete roofing and galvanize, and a floor of cement and tiles. As a result of Hurricane David in 1979, the house was totally demolished and re-built partly in cement.

The house consists of five rooms including three bedrooms, one bathroom, one drawing room and a kitchen adjacent to the house.

A loan from the Credit Union was acquired for this purpose, and material support came from the church; friends assisted with the construction. The main man also built a chicken coop and has since extended it and purchased 300 more chickens (See Table II).

There is no pipe borne water in the village and as a result, water is collected in cisterns for drinking and other domestic activities. In this household there are three cisterns and three water cans, two of which are used to feed the chicken and cows.

The main forms of fuel used are propane gas and coals. The household has access to basic services in the community such as postal, credit union, consumer co-operative shop and bakery.

The woman has access to, and works three acres of family land which belong to the father of the main man. She is unable to use the land as security for a loan since she does not possess the land title because it does not belong to her.

Crops grown are mainly for the domestic market at a relatively low production cost and with simple technology. The use of pen manure from the chicken coop and dried leaves make a good compost which acts as the fertilizer of the main crops, vegetables and flowers; a little ground provision is also grown.

The main woman markets her vegetables twice weekly in the village and the main market in the capital, Roseau. To supplement her income, she makes cocoa sticks and sells eggs.

Private transport is used to carry the produce to the market and prior to that she skillfully and tiringly spends about 10 hours preparing the crops for the market, assisted by her son and husband. She noted that on Fridays she regularly stays up until the wee hours of the morning, preparing

produce for the market. At about 4:30 a.m. on Saturdays, she leaves for the market which is about 4½ miles away.

REPRODUCTIVE STRATEGIES

The access to and intensive use of three acres of family land allow this household to reproduce itself through its own agricultural activities. The main man also does carpentry seasonally while the main woman sells eggs, vegetables and cocoa sticks.

Sale of agricultural produce generated a gross income of $8,662., of which $624 was consumed in the home $450 given out to relatives and friends and $7,588 sold. The total net income from agriculture was $7,467. Agriculture accounted for 55.8% of the total net income (See Table III).

Livestock, namely chickens and cows brought in considerable income and also added to the nutritional intake of that family. A total of $5,109.50 was received from livestock which accounted for 19.5% of the total net income; wage work brought in a total of $4,800 of which a total of $1,500 was used to cover productive costs, which left a net income of $3,300 (see Table III). Although this household has access to the means of production, the main man still works part-time to bring in more cash. Wage work accounts for 24.7% of total net income of the household.

No remittances are received from overseas or locally. The main woman did more agricultural work than any of the other household members.

PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY

Despite her poor physical strength and intense family responsibility, the main woman continues to provide enough to maintain a positive balance between net income and reproductive and productive costs.

Activities carried out are based on agriculture, livestock and wage work.

The total gross annual income of this household is $18,571.50 with a net income of $13,376.50 (see Table III). Table V shows a total of $7,191.55 spent to maintain the household so that $4.93 is spent per person per day and a total of $4,874.00 is spent for food for the household, with a breakdown of $3.34 per person per day. Food consumption represents 67.7% of the total reproductive costs (See Table V). This household's monthly balance is positive, that is, $640.47 after all productive and reproductive expenditure (see Table VI). The income from the sale of eggs and agricultural products has been the main contributor due to the low cost of production which is reduced by use of pen manure.

This household was therefore able to have some cash, and repay the loan which had been taken to increase the production of eggs.

The main man who is a skilled carpenter brings in extra cash when he gets a job either through government projects or privately. When he works out of the village, the main woman has to wake up earlier than usual to prepare his meals.

The larger share of the reproductive expenditure was on food. The foods consumed are sometimes more foreign than local, again because of the attraction to foreign tastes, e.g. macaroni and rice ith the increased exposure to television advertising, families are being seduced into believing that foreign and processed foods are better than what is locally grown; under-developed

countries hence import these manufactured goods, thus competing with local foods and attracting a market for foreign tastes, one possible reason for our high food import bill. Apart from food, reproductive costs consisted of household utensils, soap, polish cleaning agents etc.

No remittances in cash or kind are received by this household.

ORGANISATION AND DIVISION OF LABOUR BY SEX

The organization and division of labour by sex are influenced by the gender socialization process, age and kinship of household members, and social differentiation of the household. In this household, the different assignments of tasks by sex is clear. The main woman is fully responsible for organization of tasks in the household and devotes more total hours per year in reproductive activities than the main man, that is, 4,262.5 hours per year compared to 156 hours per year respectively. The main woman gets up at about 4:30 a.m. to do agricultural work and spends 10 hours per day on the farm. She prepares coffee, prays and then takes her garden tools while the main man and son are still asleep.

She then goes to the farm which is about 30 feet away from her home. The main man gets up about 6:00 a.m. to look after the livestock. The main woman returns to look after the children who are up at 7:30 a.m. The son feeds the chickens, then prepares for school at 9:00 a.m. He also collects eggs and assists his mother in marketing the produce on some occasions.

It is interesting to note that although the land was inherited from her husband's father, the main woman is more heavily

engaged in agricultural activities than the main man. The main man assists her by digging holes for planting, clearing and looking after the larger livestock which take 365 hours per year.

Her sister-in-law assists her three days a week on the farm. She is paid in kind.

When she is harvesting, she begins between 3:00 and 5:00 p.m. and can be seen bundling vegetables up to 10:00 p.m. She complains that this is a very tedious task. On some occasions, she is assisted by her husband and son. On a market day she gets up at about 3:00 a.m. to prepare for the transport which takes her to the market. Her son usually accompanies her.

On Sundays, the family attends the church after which the main woman has full responsibility for household chores.

The main woman recorded the highest participation in both reproductive and productive work. The contribution of the two wage workers to productive work is included in Table VII. Table IX also shows that the main woman does 41% of the productive work and 84% of the reproductive work; the main man 37% productive and 3% reproductive; and the son 14% of the productive work and 13% reproductive. Wage workers did 8% of the productive work.

AGE AND KINSHIP

In this nuclear household, the son who is 11 years old has no choice but to assist in productive work on the farm and to a small extent help with the domestic tasks. The main man aged 31 is physically fit for productive work and participates in productive work, but hardly at all in domestic work.

SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

The household cultivates approximately three acres of fertile land and also has livestock which can be referred to as reserved funds. (See Table II). The land usually gives a good yield, thus contributing to the main woman's income and social status.

The main woman can be referred to as a middle farmer because of the acreage of land she cultivates and the intensive nature of its cultivation. On weekends, her home can be seen flooded with customers who usually purchase eggs, vegetables and flowers, a reflection of the richness of the soil and its output. By this means, she is not only able to feed herself or produce enough to feed her family and sell, but also able to accumulate enough funds to be able to make repayments on her loan and save at the credit union. She also intends to extend her chicken coop and purchase other small livestock, e.g. rabbits. Table II shows access and ownership to the means of production. Their concrete house is well furnished and neat, also reflecting their social status.

DOMESTIC WORK-TIME SPENT BY TASK AND ORGANISATION OF TASK

The importance of domestic work as real work is generally disregarded and not remunerated.

Domestic work is important for the reproduction of the whole household and the main women in the households are mainly responsible for this type of work. In this study, there is no distinction between domestic and reproductive work as only the domestic tasks related to reproductive work have been taken into account.

The community of Giraudel depends almost entirely on rain water collected in cisterns for use in their domestic tasks e.g. washing, drinking and also for flowers and vegetables. The lack of pipe borne water retards the speed with which the main woman dispenses of her chores, especially washing. Of the time spent by the main woman in reproductive work 40.67% is spent on cooking and washing dishes, 17.13% on cleaning the house, 20.19% on washing and ironing, and 10% on shopping (See Table VIII). The disabled child increases her tasks as she has to wash more clothes and use more water. The other boy child is able to take care of himself. Of the time she spends in reproductive work, 17.13% is spent on direct child care. (See Table VII).

While doing domestic work, productive work is also done. From 9:00 a.m. she begins domestic work and attending to the needs of the disabled child. The only help given by the main man is in helping to look after the disabled child. The boy child also helps, and spends more time doing this than the main man. The former also does most of the shopping in the village. Total hours of help given by the males are 156 hours by the main man and 637.75 hours by the son compared to 4262.50 hours done by the main woman.

The main woman organises her day in such a way that she is able to do most of the domestic work throughout the day and has lunch ready for her son and husband when they arrive home. She irons mainly on Sundays. Major shopping is done on Saturdays, cooking and washing dishes are done three times per day, and shopping for bread twice a day (See Table VIII).

The only form of leisure she has during this intense period of domestic work is during her lunch period which she spends watching a soap opera, "The Young and the Restless" from 1:00 to 1:30 p.m. On Sundays, she meets most of her friends at church.

HOUSEHOLD NO. 2 - GIRAUDEL

GENERAL INFORMATION ON THE MAIN WOMAN

This is a single parent household, headed by 58 year old Mon, who got married at the age of 32 and lost her husband when she was 35 years old. She attended primary school for ten years in the village of her birth, Giraudel, and then migrated to Barbados, another Caribbean island, where she worked as a domestic servant for four years. On her return to Dominica, she began her agricultural activities alongside her mother.

Mon had a consensual union prior to her marriage. At the death of her husband, her eldest child was ten years old and the youngest was due to be born within a few months of his death. Mon has given birth to five children, four of whom are presently alive, one daughter having died of pneumonia when she was 22 months old.

After the death of her husband, she struggled to keep her household alive and to raise the children. For two years she received social welfare as a form of public assistance. After two years the allowance was stopped on the grounds that she had other means of support. However, she continued to struggle to maintain her household without getting involved with another man, as a promise she made to her husband when he was alive. She owns four acres of land, part of which she inherited from her deceased husband and the greater portion she purchased in 1979. Over the years she worked and expanded her house gradually.

The main source of income for this household is livestock production which contributes 40.95% of the total household income. The 23 year old son who lives within the household is a civil servant, and his contribution to total household income is 36.95%. Non-livestock agricultural production contributes 22.1%.

The main woman attends the Catholic Church in her village. After service on Sundays, she visits the aged, sick and friends, including her mother who is blind.

Mon has received awards on two occasions for agriculture. She is involved in various organisations in her community. She is a board member of the Giraudel Co-operative Credit Union.

She is also a member of the Giraudel Flower Group, a group which plans and hosts the Annual Flower Show, an event which attracts people from all over the island.

Mon's daily activities are well-planned. She awakes at 5:00 a.m. has devotion, then prepares coffee. She goes to her plot at 6:30 a.m. and begins work. She does this so as to avoid the intense heat from the midday sun. She goes indoors to prepare her breakfast and at 10:00 a.m., she feeds the fowls. Then cooking follows; at 1:00 p.m. she settles down to watch the popular soap operas on cable television while having lunch. At 2:00 p.m. she cleans up, does whatever other domestic work she has to do, of which washing is usually a great part. She goes back to the plot at 3:00 p.m. when the sun's heat is less intense. At 5:00 p.m. she leaves to feed the chickens and give them water for a second time; then she collects the eggs produced for the day. She finishes working at about 6:30 p.m.

Friday is an exceptional day, for this is the day when Mon prepares her produce for the Saturday market. She begins

harvesting at about 5:30 a.m. and cooks a light meal during the day. Her Friday tasks include picking oranges, collecting eggs, reaping carrots, cutting vegetables and so on. The flowers are cut, cleaned, and parcelled in the evening for sale on the next day. On Saturday she wakes up at about 5:00 a.m. and gets ready to be at the market place in the town of Roseau by 6:00 a.m. At about 12 noon, she gets ready to leave the market whether or not she has completed her selling. If produce is not sold, she gives some to friends as gifts and uses the rest for her household. She does some of her shopping on and off while at the market. After she leaves the market at about 12 noon, she completes her shopping and leaves for home at about 1:00 p.m. As soon as she unpacks her baskets, a broth or soup consisting of vegetables is prepared. The rest of the day is spent cleaning. She goes to bed at about 8:00 p.m. on Saturdays.

Mon has had dental problems which have left her without any teeth and in much need of dentures. She also complains of heart problems and arthritis.

REPRODUCTIVE STRATEGIES

This household engages in three activities to reproduce itself. These include poultry rearing, wage work and the cultivation of flowers, citrus, ground provisions and vegetables. Table IV shows the percentage contribution of the different productive activities to the gross income of the household, with livestock (poultry) contributing 40.95%; agriculture which includes flower production, 22.1%;and wage work, 36.95%.

PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY

This household appears to be able to generate income over and above its productive and reproductive costs. However, this is not primarily on the basis of its agricultural activities. The total reproductive cost is $9,492.20 and the income left after the removal of productive costs is $37,314.50. When this reproductive cost is removed a balance of $27,822.30 is left.

It is therefore important to note that wage work which is the main source of income of this household is not agriculture, but as an appointed civil servant (a Veterinary Assistant) who is paid a monthly salary that is guaranteed.
Food costs amount to $5,352.20 for the year, 56% of the total reproductive cost of $9,492.20 (See Table V).

ORGANISATION AND DIVISION OF LABOUR BY SEX

Within this household, the division of labour by sex is influenced to an extent by the socialisation process but also by the age and kinship of the members of the household.

AGE AND KINSHIP

The 23 year old male is the son of Mon, and the fact that he has a full-time job working in another district does not allow him time to do much when he gets home on afternoons except for cutting and transporting grass for the cows and attending to any sick chickens or animals in the village. He spends about two hours on Fridays picking fruits for the Saturday market.

SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

This household has various characteristics which make it stand out in a specific category in the community. The main woman as was already stated is a recognized individual in her community. One of the major factors contributing to her recognition is the fact that her son is a Veterinary Assistant. Being the only one in the area, people come to her home often enough to seek assistance for their animals. The main woman is also involved in various community organi ations, as a board member of the Giraudel Co-operative Credit Union and a member of the Giraudel Flower Group which is renowned for organising the Annual Flower Show.

Mon owns four acres of land and a relatively big dwelling house. The house is wooden with a galvanized roof, and is equipped with appliances such as a television and stereo set. The homestead also includes a dilapidated outdoor wooden latrine and a relatively big chicken coop . The main woman owns the tools she uses for doing her work. These tools include cutlasses, one fork, one hoe and a shovel. At the time of this research, the household had just purchased a motor vehicle which has not been considered in the study since it was not purchased during the year of reference, but it is useful to mention it at this stage to recognise this household's social position. (See Table II).

DOMESTIC WORK

Most of the domestic work is done by the main woman in this household except for shopping where the son does 50% contributes 4.3% to the total domestic work.

Cooking and washing dishes together with laundry constitute the majority of time spent doing domestic work and account for 44.86% and 41.73% respectively of total time spent on domestic work by the main woman. Shopping represents 8.94%, while house cleaning represents 4.47%.

Because of the lack of pipe borne water in the area, activities such as laundry and washing dishes are determined largely by the weather conditions; a cistern is used for the collection of rain water.

HOUSEHOLD NO. 3 - GIRAUDEL

GENERAL INFORMATION ON MAIN WOMAN

This complex family's life cycle is in fission. It consists of four members headed by the main woman, Mrs. C., aged 54, her niece, Miss M. aged 42, her grand niece, Miss B., aged 16 and step-son, Mr. R. aged 34.

Mrs. C. was born in the village of La Plaine 54 years ago. She studied at the La Plaine primary school until she was 17 years old. At the age of 28 she went to live in Giraudel with her sister who was ill. Soon after, the sister died and Mrs. C. stayed in Giraudel to take care of her niece, the sister's only child. She later got married to her sister's husband, and gave birth to two children, one boy and one girl.

The children have both married and therefore, have left the house. Mrs. C.'s husband died 15 years ago and because of many health problems she is not able to work as she would like.

She operated a small grocery shop while her husband was alive; since his death, she has given up the idea of the shop and concentrated on agriculture. Her main source of income comes from agriculture; she cultivates 1½ acres of land which she inherited from her husband. She grows mainly vegetables and flowers for sale; and bananas, ground provisions, peas, etc. are for home consumption. Also tree crops like citrus are sold when in season on a large scale. Tools used on the farm are the cutlass, hoe and rake. Pen manure instead of fertilizer is used for all crops.

Mrs. C. also inherited the seven room house that they now occupy which is valued at $8,200. Other constructions in the yard are a chicken coop and a bakery. The bakery is operated by a cousin of Mrs. C.'s niece, and in return Mrs. C. receives $5.00 worth of bread on production days as payment for use of the bakery. She uses rain water since she has no access to other means. However, she has access to services within the community except for pipe borne water.

REPRODUCTIVE STRATEGIES

The case study reveals that this household carries out a variety of tasks to reproduce itself agriculture, wage work and livestock rearing. These tasks are divided among members of the household; quite a bit of income comes from agricultural sales but the main woman also receives contributions from the niece and step-son who are both employed. The niece is employed as the manager of the village Co-operative Credit Union and the step-son as a civil servant at the state prison. These people use their incomes for their personal benefit, but because they live in the house they make a monthly contribution. This woman has adequate means of production but is unable to do a great deal, therefore, on certain days she has to employ one or two persons.

In 1986 agriculture contributed $3,734.00 to the household's total income with $2,710.00 as sales, $160.00 as gifts, $864.00 as home consumption. The production cost to generate this income was $306.50 leaving the household with a balance of $3,427.50. Together with the $22.50 from livestock and $1800.00 from contributions, this left the household with a total of $5250.00 to meet reproductive costs.

PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY

After deducting the total productive and reproductive costs from the gross income, this household is able to show a positive balance of $89.98. Just over half the reproductive expenditure is on food.

ORGANISATION AND DIVISION OF LABOUR BY SEX

The woman makes decisions about what crops are to be grown. She also does most of the agricultural work like weeding and sowing seeds. She puts in 1,284 hours per year and is assisted by her niece who does a little weeding and selling in the market, contributing 936 hours, and by a temporary worker who works 240 hours doing the digging and laying the vegetable beds. Both the main woman and her niece look after the livestock. The stepson's participation in agriculture is so negligible that it has not been reflected in the table (See Table VII).

SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

This household can be considered a small farmer's household. The household has access to four acres of land. The main woman lives on the land and cultivates around the house. The niece also owns a house on the four acres of land which is being rented and does her own cultivation around the house. The stepson cultivates a small portion (which is included in the four acres) for his use, but this is not done very often.

DOMESTIC WORK

Coffee and breakfast are prepared by the niece early in the morning before the grand niece leaves for school in town.

The main woman prepares her lunch with a lot of legumes, vegetables and seasonings from her land. While the food is being cooked she washes her clothes. Supper, which is taken in a form of tea is prepared by the niece. The niece cleans the house, then prepares the laundry before going to work. The clothes are washed after work. The stepson does his own washing. This household uses water from a cistern, from which a pipe line conducts water for drinking and other chores.

Although the house is swept everyday, general cleaning, dusting and mopping is done by the main woman and grand niece once weekly The niece sells at the market on Saturdays. A broom which is made from a local palm tree is used to sweep the house. Sweeping of the yard is done by all the female members of the house. The grand niece washes her school uniforms on Saturdays and irons them on Sundays.

CONCLUSION ON HOUSEHOLD CASE STUDIES:

GIRAUDEL

HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS

Of the three households studied, one is nuclear and two single parent. One single parent household has relatives in residence. However, both single parent households were formerly nuclear and changed status because of the death of the husband. This is a typical feature in Giraudel where women seldom re-marry or engage in common-law relationships on the death of their husbands. The 10% sample survey shows that the majority of agricultural households in the community are nuclear (75%); 15% consist of extended households.

One of the households is in expansion, as the children are between the ages of 8 and 19; the other two are in fission because the sons are of the age to leave the mothers' homes.

Two of the women own land and house in their own right, as a result of their husband's deaths whose land they inherited. One of the two, Miss B., also bought land from her husband's family after her husband's death. The third woman owns no land, but works land belonging to the husband's family while he goes out to work. This reflects the general situation portrayed by the survey of 10% of households which shows that in only 20% of the cases do women own land.

The household sizes 2-4 are fairly typical of the community where 70% of the households in the survey comprised 1-5 persons. The ages of the women farmers range from 30-50 which is fairly typical of women in the community of Giraudel with 40% ranging between 25-35; and 30%, 45 years and over. Only one of the women received higher education other than primary education. All of them became involved in agriculture at an early age and gained experience as a result without going through any formal education in methods and techniques of agriculture.

REPRODUCTIVE STRATEGIES

In addition to cultivating crops, namely ground provisions and vegetables, all the households studied pursue livestock rearing. Chickens are the main type of livestock reared, and in two households the numbers are substantial (300 and 200). Each household also has one or two cows from which it is able to get milk. In this community the animals are mainly used for pen manure.

In all the households, there are members who engage in income-earning activity or salaried work outside of agriculture. One is in the private sector whereas the others are civil servants in middle-strata occupations. In these cases the contributions of those activities to the households' total income are relatively high (15%, 36.95%, 34.35%). It is highest where the 23 year old son is a government salaried worker in the civil service. Although two of the households have similar acreages of land, one of them has a higher percentage contribution of productive work to total household income in agriculture and livestock rearing (See Tables IV and VI).

None of the main women engages in wage labour. In all cases their activities centre exclusively on agriculture and livestock rearing and the provision of services to children or relatives with middle-strata earnings, in exchange for their monetary contributions to the household.

None of the households receives remittances from abroad but they give away agricultural produce as gifts.

EDUCATION LEVEL

Two of the main women had a primary school education, while one was educated to vocational level. All are literate.

PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY

All of the households are able to reproduce themselves and show a surplus. Household No. 2 has the highest positive balance followed by Household No. 1.

Household No. 2, with the highest contribution from the son who is a civil servant, has the highest per capita expenditure on food as well as other reproductive costs (See Table V), but it is not the highest when food consumption is represented as a percentage of reproductive consumption. In other words, the household earns more than household No. 1 and has less people, so they can spend more per person on food. Household No. 3 has the lowest expenditure, both on food and other reproductive needs, despite the fact that the stepson earns a salary as a civil servant. Household No. 2 has a large income contribution from non-agricultural work, and is also the only one with its own transportation. This household also has no small children and has the fewest persons.

Household No. 3 which has the least monthly balance has the same amount of land as Household No. 1. Household No. 2 has the highest monthly balance though it it has the least amount of land. What this shows clearly is that size of land access is not the only or even the most important factor determining productive capacity.

Household No. 1 has the highest percentage of food consumption among the households because it has young children.

While the niece helps with productive and reproductive work in Household No. 3, the son in Household No. 2 helps only in productive work and shopping. In Household No. 1 there is also minimal participation of males in reproductive work.

The son in Household No. 2 helps transport produce from the farm to the market, not only for his household but for other farmers in the community. Sometimes the main woman is given produce to sell by one of her friends; therefore there exists that networking and support among women farmers for marketing their produce.

The total gross monthly income is highest for the household where the 23 year old son is a civil servant. The hext highest income is for Household No. 1 where the husband is still alive and engages in a trade, carpentry. (See Table VI).

ORGANISATION AND DIVISION OF LABOUR BY SEX

In all three households, the agricultural production is done almost exclusively by the main woman, with some contribution by the men in livestock rearing, where they are responsible mainly for large livestock, namely cattle. The women are responsible for small livestock, rearing mainly chickens and pigs. In the household where the husband is still alive

he makes a small contribution of 576 hours per year to agriculture (See Table VII). In household No. 2 the son's contribution to agriculture is 104 hours compared to 2416 hours contributed by the main woman. In household No. 3 the stepson does not assist in any productive work for the benefit of the whole household, therefore both productive and reproductive work are done exclusively by the main woman and niece. Two out of the three households (1 and 3) employ wage labourers to assist them on the farm mainly for digging, clearing and weeding. In one of the households (No. 1), the wage worker spent more hours in agricultural work than the main man (780 compared to 576 hours per year) whereas in household No. 3 the wage worker spent 240 hours per year compared to 1248 hours per year by the main woman and 136 hours by the niece (See Table VII). None of the wage workers spent time in livestock rearing. The wage workers employed for tasks mentioned above are mainly men. A few women are hired for weeding. This reflects the findings of the 10% survey, which showed that males are employed for tasks such as digging and clearing, and women for weeding.

In household No. 1 and No. 2 where the main man helps in agricultural labour, he assists with the ground provisions, root crops, coconuts and bananas, but would not be seen tending the vegetables or flowers; again a reflection of the gender bias in this community. Vegetable and flower production are seen as women's work; yet in the absence of a main man the women do all the agricultural tasks.

Reproductive labour is greatest in household No. 1, the only one with a young child. The number of hours spent is 5,056.25 hours per year compared to 3645 hours per year in household No. 2 and 4313.75 hours per year in household No. 3. The contribution of males is minimal and is only noticeable in household No. 2 (See Table IV).

The niece does much more reproductive work than the main woman in household No. 3. She also assists considerably in productive work, especially agriculture, that is, 936 hours per year compared with 1248 hours per year done by the main woman. In household No. 3 the presence of the niece relieves the main woman of both productive and domestic (reproductive) work.

In the households studied in Giraudel, on average, most time is spent cooking and washing dishes, followed by washing and ironing clothing and then cleaning.

PARTICIPATION IN ORGANISATIONS

In the family with small children (one of whom is disabled) the main woman has little time for recreation or participation in organisations. Her only group activity outside the home is to attend church services.

In household No. 2 the main woman participates actively in a number of community organisations. She is a member of the Village Council, a board member of the Co-operative Credit Union, and participates actively in the Giraudel Flower Group. This is besides the fact that she spends a considerable amount of time on both productive and domestic work. She got an award from the agricultural division for her outstanding contribution to agriculture, and on one occasion was named Farmer of the Year.

In the third household, the main woman has health problems which limit her activities.

TABLE I: HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS (CHART #1) (GIRAUDEL)

HOUSEHOLD	HOUSEHOLD TYPE	LIFE CYCLE	NO. OF ACRES	NO. OF MEMBERS	LAND TENURE	MAIN SOURCE OF INCOME	MAIN WOMAN'S OCCUPATION
I	Nuclear	Expansion	3	4	family	Agriculture	Farming
II	Single parent	Fission	4	2	own	Wage Work	Farming
III	Single parent Complex	Fission	4	4	own	Agriculture	Farming

TABLE II: ACCESS TO MEANS OF PRODUCTION (GIRAUDEL)

HOUSEHOLD	NO. OF ACRES	FORM OF TENURE	CATTLE	PIGS	POULTRY	TOOLS	CONSTRUCTION
I	3	family land	2	-	300	Hoe Fork Cutlass	House kitchen Chicken Coop
II	4	own	1	-	200	Fork Hoe Cutlass Shovel	Chicken Coop House Latrine
III	4	own	1	-	10	Cutlass	2 houses Hutch Kitchen

TABLE III: NET INCOME OF HOUSEHOLDS STUDIED (GIRAUDEL)

HOUSEHOLD	ACTIVITIES	SALES	HOME CONSUMPTION	GIFTS	TOTAL GROSS INCOME	PRODUCTION COST	NET INCOME
I	Agriculture	7,588.00	624.00	450.00	8,662.00	1,195.00	7,467.00
	Livestock	4,059.00	800.50	250.00	5,109.50	2,500.00	2,609.50
	Wage Work	4,800.00	-	-	4,800.00	1,500.00	3,300.00
	Remittances	-	-	-	-	-	-
	TOTAL	**16,447.00**	**1,424.50**	**700.00**	**18,571.50**	**5,195.00**	**13,376.50**
II	Agriculture	8,845.00	1,686.00	236.50	10,767.50	890.00	9,877.50
	Livestock	19,895.00	52.00	-	19,947.00	1,510.00	18,437.50
	Wage Work	18,000.00	-	-	18,000.00	2,793.60	15,206.40
	Remittances	-	-	-	-	-	-
	TOTAL	**46,740.00**	**1,738.00**	**236.50**	**48,714.50**	**5,193.60**	**43,521.40**
III	Agriculture	2,710.00	864.00	160.00	3,734.00	306.50	3,427.50
	Livestock	-	22.50	-	22.50	-	22.50
	Wage Work	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Remittances	-	-	1,800.00	1,800.00	-	1,800.00
	TOTAL	**2,710.00**	**886.50**	**1,960.00**	**5,556.50**	**306.50**	**5,250.00**

TABLE IV: PERCENTAGE CONTRIBUTION OF PRODUCTIVE ACTIVITIES TO TOTAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME (GIRAUDEL)

HOUSEHOLD	AGRICULTURE	WAGE WORK	RELATIVES' CONTRIBUTION (LIVING-IN)	LIVESTOCK	TOTAL
I	46.64%	25.84%	-	27.52%	100%
II	22.1%	36.95%	-	40.95%	100%
III	65.3%	-	34.3%	.40%	100%

TABLE V: REPRODUCTIVE AND FOOD CONSUMPTION FOR THE YEAR OF REFERENCE (1986) - (GIRAUDEL)

(MONTHLY, PER HOUSEHOLD DAILY) (REPRODUCTIVE CONSUMPTION)			PER CAPITA			REPRODUCTIVE COST - 365 DAYS (FOOD COSUMPTION) (Giraudel)				
Household	No. of Members	Year ($)	Month	Per Household Daily	Per Capita Daily	Year	Month	Per Household Daily	Per Capita Daily	Food Consumption as % of Reprod. Consumption
I	4	7191.55	599.79	19.72	4.93	4874.40	406.20	13.35	3.34	67.7%
II	2	9492.20	791.01	26.00	13.00	5352.20	446.01	14.66	7.33	56.4%
III	4	4176.22	348.01	11.44	2.86	2254.57	187.88	6.17	1.54	53.98%

TABLE VI: PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY OF HOUSEHOLDS* (MONTHLY) (GIRAUDEL)

HOUSEHOLD	MEMBERS	LIFE CYCLE	GROSS INCOME (MONTHLY)	TOTAL PRODUCTIVE AND REPRODUCTIVE	MONTHLY BALANCE
I	4	Expansion	1,547.63	907.16	640.47
II	4	Fission	4,059.54	822.33	3,237.21
III	4	Fission	463.04	373.06	89.98

*Gross monthly income minus total productive and reproductive costs

TABLE VII (A): TIME SPENT BY HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS ON PRODUCTIVE WORK (GIRAUDEL)

HOURS PER YEAR

CASE	HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS	NO. INVOLVED	AGRICULTURE	LIVESTOCK	WAGE WORK	OTHER	TOTAL
I	Main Woman		3640	156	-	-	3796
	Main Man		576	730	2100*	-	3406
	Son		524	730	-	-	1254
	Sub-Total		4740	1616	2100	-	8456
	Wage Workers		780	-	-	-	780
	TOTAL		5520	1616	2100	-	9236
II	Main Woman	1	2416	418	-	-	2834
	Son	1	104	782	1722	-	2608
	TOTAL	2	2520	1200	1722	-	5442
III	Main Woman	1	1248	91.25	-	-	1339.25
	Nieces	2	936	8.6	-	-	966.20
	Sub-Total	3	2184	99.85	-	-	2305.45
	Wage Worker	1	240	-	-	-	240.00
	TOTAL	4	2424	99.85	-	-	2545.45

*carpentry

TABLE VII (B): TIME SPENT BY HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS ON DOMESTIC (REPRODUCTIVE) WORK (GIRAUDEL)

HOURS PER YEAR

CASE	HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS	NUMBER INVOLVED	COOKING & WASHING	CLEANING	CARING FOR CHILDREN	WASHING & IRONING	SHOPPING	CARRYING WATER	TOTAL
I	Main Woman		1733.75	730	730	860.75	208	-	4262.50
	Main Man		-	-	156	-	-	-	156.00
	Son		156	-	208	-	273.75	-	637.75
	Sub-Total		1889.75	730	1094	860.75	481.75	-	5056.25
	Wage Workers		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	TOTAL		1889.75	730	1094	860.75	481.75	-	5056.25
II	Main Woman	1	1565	156	-	1456	312	-	3489
	Son	1	-	-	-	-	156	-	156
	TOTAL	2	1565	156	-	1456	468	-	3645
III	Main Woman	1	728	638.75	-	312	312	-	1990.75
	Nieces	2	675	816	208	208	416	-	2323
	Sub-Total	3	1403	1454.75	208	520	728	-	4313.75
	Wage Workers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	TOTAL	-	1403	1454.75	208	520	728	-	4313.75

TABLE VIII: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF HOURS OF DOMESTIC (REPRODUCTIVE) WORK DONE BY THE WOMEN IN THE HOUSEHOLDS (GIRAUDEL)

	HOUSEHOLD I	HOUSEHOLD II	HOUSEHOLD III
	Life Cycle: Expansion No. of Members: 4 No. of Women: 1	Life Cycle: Fission No. of Members: 2 No. of Women: 1	Life cycle: Fission No. of Members: 4 No. of Women: 3
ACTIVITIES	% OF TOTAL DOMESTIC WORK TIME	% OF TOTAL DOMESTIC WORK TIME	% OF TOTAL DOMESTIC WORK TIME
Cooking and Washing Wares	40.67	44.86	32.52
Cleaning the House	17.13%	4.47%	33.72%
Washing and Ironing	20.19%	41.73%	12.06%
Fetching Water	-	-	-
Caring for Children	17.13%	-	4.82%
Shopping	4.88%	8.94%	16.88%
TOTAL	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**

TABLE IX: PERCENTAGE OF HOURS SPENT BY HOUSEHOLDS ON PRODUCTIVE AND DOMESTIC (REPRODUCTIVE) WORK (GIRAUDEL)

HOUSEHOLD I		HOUSEHOLD II		HOUSEHOLD III	
Life Cycle:	Expansion	Life Cycle:	Fission	Life Cycle:	Fission
No. of Members:	4	No. of Members:	2	No. of Members:	4
No. of Women:	1	No. of Women:	1	No. of Women:	3

MEMBERS	PRODUCTIVE	REPRODUCTIVE	PRODUCTIVE	REPRODUCTIVE	PRODUCTIVE	REPRODUCTIVE
Main Woman	41%	84%	52%	96%	53%	46%
Main Man	37%	3%	-	-	-	-
Girls	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sons	14%	13%	48%	4%	-	-
Wage Workers	8%	-	-	-	9%	-
Other Relatives	-	-	-	-	38%	54%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

SOCIALISATION AND GENDER DIFFERENTIATION

INTRODUCTION

This section of the report will attempt to consolidate the information on specific gender issues obtained through the 10% survey, supported by the ten (10) Household Case Studies and the community observations recorded by the team of researchers.

It was intended that the female interviewees would comprise 70% while the males would form 30% of the total. However, the results presented in the analysis reflect a 68% female and 32% male response (138 females and 66 males).

Since the goal of the research was to determine the nature and extent of women's involvement in agriculture, with a view to strengthening their involvement, the criteria for selecting the households to be interviewed were biased towards this sector. 94.6% of the interviewees (female and male) had experience or were currently involved in agriculture either as hired help on estates (25.8%), agricultural stations (3.1%), and with private persons (2.5%), or were self-employed on their farm holdings (45%). Another significant percentage (23.6%),gained experience or were involved in "other" non-specified agricultural pursuits.

Of the 138 females interviewed, 64 were from Grand Bay, 54 from Marigot and 20 from Giraudel. These represent three typical farming communities of different types as described in the specific community profiles presented in the previous section of the report. The difference in the number of interviewees from each community was due to the relative size of the total population of each in order to maintain the 10% sample. (See section on criteria for selection of communities Page 4).

92.2% of the females interviewed in Grand Bay were involved in agriculture mainly through estate work (41.7%) and personal plots (40%). 96.3% of the interviewees in Marigot had agricultural exposure through personal farming (61.1%), estate work (14.8%), and other sources (20.4%).

In the case of Giraudel, 90% of interviewees (representing 18 respondents) had previous or current exposure. Of this 18, four (4) respondents were involved with personal plots and one each with estate and agricultural stations. The other 13 were exposed otherwise, probably as helpmates to their partners or relatives.

The majority of both females (89.4%) and males (85.7%) had been involved in agriculture for over five (5) years, with a significant number exceeding thirty (30) years. The data from all three communities revealed that more than 20% of the male respondents had over thirty (30) years' involvement in agriculture.

TABLE 1. Duration of Involvement in Agriculture by Gender and Community

Duration in Years	Female Resp.		Male Resp.		Grand Bay		Marigot		Giraudel	
	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
1- 5	14	10.6	9	14.3	7	11.5	5	9.6	2	10.5
6-10	24	18.2	15	23.8	10	16.4	9	17.3	5	26.3
11-20	36	27.3	18	28.6	19	31.1	14	20.9	3	15.8
21-25	16	12.1	2	3.2	7	11.5	5	9.6	4	21.1
26-30	9	6.8	1	1.6	4	6.6	4	7.7	1	5.3
Over 30	33	25.0	18	28.6	14	23.0	15	28.8	4	21.1

KEY: Resp. - Respondents
No. - Number
(%) - Percentage

In addition to the female and male respondents' personal exposure to agriculture, it was revealed that the majority of them had partners whose occupation was agriculturally related. Of the 96 females with partners, 74.7% of these partners were employed in agriculture, while 52.4% of the men's partners (24) were similarly employed, although the extent to, and the capacity in which these partners were employed were not determined.

This prolonged and intense family involvement in agriculture could account for the fact that the survey results showed that 89.6% female and 85.9% male respondents earned their main income from agriculture.

The analysis of the data collected in the 10% survey (and where applicable, supported by the Household Case Studies), will be presented under the following specific headings.

1. Gender relationship with respect to agricultural resources and production:
   (a) land access/tenure;
   (b) access to/availability of other agricultural inputs and services;
   (c) agricultural production and labour usage;
   (d) decision-making.

2. Leisure

3. Gender Roles as seen by men and women regarding:
   (a) children;
   (b) women's involvement;
   (c) meeting family needs;
   (d) savings.

4. Community awareness and participation:
   (a) community services needed;
   (b) participation in community groups;
   (c) political participation (voting)

Individually, the women preferred to have girl children and although they wanted the girls to be farmers, in reality they were not being utilized in this area. On the other hand, the men preferred boys and wanted them to be farmers but did not acknowledge their sons' practical contribution as the women did. Both sexes perceived women as being involved with community activities to varying extents but said there was need for increased involvement by women in non-traditional "female" areas such as politics.

The main needs identified by both men and women for the respective communities were main roads, feeder roads and pipe borne water.

The men credited themselves for procuring specific family needs as did the women in Marigot and Grand Bay. Uniquely, the women in Giraudel acknowledged to a large extent, the responsibility of the men in supplying family needs.

1. GENDER RELATIONSHIP WITH RESPECT TO AGRICULTURAL RESOURCES AND PRODUCTION

It would be fruitless to enter into agriculture without having access to the necessary resources. Even though the land is available the other inputs and services must be accessible to increase its productivity.

This section of the report will examine the extent to which these are available to farmers and women in particular.

(a) Land Access

Access to arable land is one of the key resources to successful agricultural production; therefore, it is imperative that women have suitable and sufficient land to effect agricultural production.

An analysis of the 10% survey showed that there was no siginificant difference between females and males where land access was concerned. 99.3% female and 100% male interviewees had access to land although there were minor differences in the size of the land (acreage) accessed by both sexes.

Generally, the majority of females (60.5%) and males (61%) accessed the same range (1.1 - 5 acres) of land size. A greater percentage of male respondents (10.9%) accessed land over ten acres compared to 2.4% female respondents. However, more females were accessing land at the bottom end of the scale (.25 - 1.00 acre) as shown by 38.7% of the female respondents in comparison with 28.2% male respondents.

A small percentage of females (2.4) and males (3.2) did not know the size of the land to which they had access (See Table 2:1 for further details).

When the female responses were analyzed on a community basis it was found that there was no significant difference between women accessing land in all three communities. All 64 and 20 females interviewed in Grand Bay and Giraudel respectively and 53 of the 54 in Marigot had access to land. Again it was observed that the general range of land accessed by most women in all three communities was 1.1 - 5 acres. Grand Bay and Giraudel registered 60% each in this range, while Marigot registered 61% respondents.

Significantly, the size of land accessed by females in Giraudel did not exceed five acres. In comparison, Grand Bay had 9.1% respondents accessing land up to ten acres, while 6.1% respondents exceeded ten acres in Marigot (See Table 2:1).

TABLE 2:1. Size of Land Accessed by Gender and Community Analysis

Size of land accessed (acres)	Female Resp.		Male Resp.		Grand Bay		Marigot		Giraudel	
	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
<0.25- 0.5	15	12.1	4	6.3	4	7.3	5	10.2	6	30.0
0.51- 1.00	18	14.5	10	15.6	11	20.0	5	10.2	2	10.0
1.10- 3.00	57	46.0	25	39.1	29	52.7	18	36.7	10	50.0
3.10- 5.00	18	14.5	14	24.9	4	7.3	12	24.5	2	10.0
5.10-10.00	10	8.1	2	3.1	5	9.1	5	10.2	-	-
> 10	3	2.4	7	10.9	-	-	3	6.1	-	-
Didn't know	3	2.4	2	3.2	2	3.6	1	2.0	-	-
Total No. of Respondents	124		64		55		49		20	

Land Tenure

The majority of the 114 females and 59 males cited ownership of the land they access in response to the question on the form of land tenure. Generally, this was followed by settlement under the Government's Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP), then rental.

However, the IRDP was non-existent in Giraudel while it was being implemented in Marigot.

Generally, of the 114 female respondents, 21 of the 51 who cited ownership of the land to which they had access, gained it through the IRDP. 15 were renting the land. A similar situation existed with the male respondents as 30 of the 59 males cited ownership, 7 said IRDP while 6 cited rental of the land accessed. Thirteen women (11.4%) were leasing the land, and this was significantly higher than the one (1) male respondent (1.7%).

Almost the same number of females (6) and males (7) were occupying land without any legal status and permission although this represented a higher percentage of males than females (See Table 2:2)

The community data revealed that ownership (not necessarily by the woman herself) of the land which was accessed by females was dominant in all three communities of Grand Bay, Marigot and Giraudel. 25.9% and 15.9% of the respondents in Grand Bay and Marigot respectively gained access to land under the IRDP, but as previously stated this system was non-existent in Giraudel. The highest percentage of respondents renting land in each community came from Giraudel (25%) followed by Grand Bay (13%), and Marigot (9.1%). Marigot showed the highest percentage of squatters on crown and other lands (See Table 2:2 for details).

TABLE 2:2 Land Tenure by Gender and Community

Tenure Pattern	Female Resp.		Male Resp.		Grand Bay		Marigot		Giraudel	
	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
Ownership	51	44.7	30	50.8	24	44.4	20	45.5	7	43.8
Integrated Rural Development Programme	21	18.4	7	11.9	14	25.9	7	15.9	-	-
Rental	15	13.2	6	10.2	7	13.0	4	9.1	4	25.0
Lease	13	11.4	1	1.7	5	9.3	6	13.6	2	12.5
Rent/owned	3	2.6	-	-	1	1.9	-	-	1	1.6
Squat/Crown	4	3.5	5	8.7	-	-	4	9.1	-	-
Squat/Other	2	1.8	2	3.4	1	1.9	2	4.5	-	-
Permission to work	5	4.4	3	5.1	2	3.7	1	2.3	2	12.5

Ownership

Although ownership was the most popular form of land tenure the analysis of the 10% survey showed that a higher percentage of males to females owned the land to which they had access.

Both the females (36.8%) and the males (71.4%) cited the spouse or common-law partner of the main woman in the household as the chief owner of the land which was accessed. Only 28.9% female and 5.7% male respondents cited the main woman as having ownership of the land.

Both the relatives of the main woman who was interviewed and those of her spouse or common-law partner played significant roles in providing the land which was accessed by the respondents as shown in Table 2:3 of the three communities; Grand Bay showed the highest percentage of females owning land although the males still dominated ownership. Giraudel had the highest percentage (40.0%) of females working land which was owned by a relative, when compared with Marigot (32.1%) and Grand Bay (5.3%). Marigot showed 25% females working land belonging to the relatives of the spouses, Grand Bay 7.9%, and Giraudel none (see Table 2:3).
It should be noted that children did not play a significant role in the ownership of land accessed by the respondents.

TABLE 2:3 Ownership of Land Accessed by Females based on Gender Responses and Community Analysis

Owner	Female Resp.		Male Resp.		Grand Bay		Marigot		Giraudel	
	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
Main woman interviewed	22	28.9	2	5.6	14	36.8	6	21.4	2	20.0
Spouse/ Common-law Partner	28	36.8	25	69.4	18	47.4	6	21.4	4	40.0
Male child	1	1.3	-	-	1	2.6	-	-	-	-
Relative of Woman Interviewed	15	19.7	6	16.7	2	5.3	9	32.2	4	40.0
Relative of spouse / Common-law Partner	10	13.2	2	5.6	3	7.9	7	25.0	-	-
Friend	-	-	1	2.8	-	-	-	-	-	-
Private Landlord	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	76		36		38		28		10	

The above information was supported by the ten (10) Household Case Studies which revealed the spouse/common-law partners as owning the land in four cases compared to three cases of ownership by the women.

The issue of legal ownership of the land worked may be a matter for concern, as it was observed that a significant percentage of the respondents (77.6% females and 81.3% males) had no Titles for the land owned.

In the instances where a Title existed it was more often in the male's name rather than the female's as indicated in Table 2:4.

TABLE 2:4 Name on Title of the Land Accessed by Gender and Community

Name or Title	Female	Resp.	Male	Resp.	Grand Bay		Marigot		Giraudel	
	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
Main Woman Interviewed	15	23.1	2	6.1	8	34.8	6	18.2	1	11.1
Spouse / Partner	18	27.7	16	48.5	9	39.1	5	15.2	4	44.4
Relative of Main Woman	15	23.1	6	18.2	1	4.3	10	30.3	4	44.4
Relative of Spouse/Partner	9	13.8	2	6.1	3	13.0	6	18.2	-	-
Other	8	12.3	7	21.2	2	8.7	6	18.2	-	-
Total No. of Respondents	65		33		23		33		9	

Of the 15 female respondents with Titles, eight were from Grand Bay, six from Marigot and one from Giraudel. However, Giraudel had the highest percentage (44.4%) of female respondents with their relatives' name on the land titles. It was also noticeable that Giraudel had no incidence of relatives of spouses with land titles. (Refer to Table 2:4).

Generally, the sample survey revealed that females and males have equal access to land in the farming communities of Grand Bay, Marigot and Giraudel although more males access larger acreages than the females. The women often gained access to this land through their spouse/partner or relatives of either themselves or their spouses. Few women had legal ownership of the land to which they had access as was evidenced by the higher percentage of males and/or relatives with titles.

Consequently, this will impact on the women's eligibility to make decisions regarding the development or distribution of the land or its use as collateral for any business transactions. The land size and tenure were influenced by the historical distribution of land in the respective communities (See community profiles). Due to the Government's recent acquisition of large estates in Grand Bay and Marigot and its subsequent re-allocation programme (IRDP), a significant percentage of women from the sample survey in these communities gained access to lands (Grand Bay 25.9% and Marigot 15.9%). This could also have influenced the small percentage of females with titles. Giraudel, on the other hand, reflected qualities of the traditional small, privately owned system. The small size of the land accessed by females in this community was influenced by the historical practice of land fragmentation (sub-division) within families in an effort to provide off-springs of successive generations with individual parcels of land.

(b) Access to/Availability of Other Agricultural Inputs and Services

The issues addressed in this section include the availability of inputs such as fertilizers, seeds, and credit (loans), and services namely. extension and agricultural information, which are all vital to the production process.

Fertilizers

An analysis of the data collected in the sample survey showed that 107 female respondents (77.5%) had access to fertilizers. Of this number, 102 (95.3%) obtained the fertilizers from non-governmental sources although the specific sources were not identified.

This input was used mainly for banana production as shown by 94.4% respondents. Other crops cited, to a lesser extent, were vegetables and ground provisions (1% each).

In comparison, 78.8% of the males interviewed said fertilizers were available. As in the case of the females, the main source was non-governmental (96.3%) and bananas was the chief crop for which they were used.

Seeds

It was also established that 32.6% of the female interviewees had available seeds when compared to the 34.8% males who utilized seeds. The sources and kinds of seeds were not stated although the questionnaire was designed to capture this information.

It was not surprising that so few persons responded to this issue since, traditionally, a large number of subsistence farmers in these localities do not purchase new seeds during (especially vegetable seeds) each planting period. The same seeds from each crop where applicable are re-used although this practice ultimately affects yields.

Again the planting material for some of the major crops cited in the survey is not referred to as "seeds" (e.g. bananas, coconuts, citrus, fruits and ground provisions).

Pest Control

The profitability of the crops produced is influenced by the nature and extent of pest control available and/or used. It was observed that 95 females (68.8%) attested to using pest control for crop production. Of this number ninety (90) obtained services through non-governmental sources while three cited government as the source. Eighty-nine (89) of those using pest control cited bananas as the chief crop on which it was used. A small percentage (3.1%) cited vegetables. Of the 49 (74.2%) male respondents who used pesticides, 48 received it from non-governmental sources. Bananas were again cited as the chief crop (97.7%), with the remaining 2.3% for vegetables.

Availability of Extension Services

Only 32.6% females (45), and 28.8% (19) males responded positively to the issue of the availability of extension services for agricultural production. The chief source was non-governmental as shown by 32 females and 18 males compared to four females and one male citing government as the source.

This service was mainly utilized for banana production by both females and males with vegetable production in the minority.

In analysing the female data on a community level, it was observed that greater response to the above issue of inputs and services was obtained from Grand Bay and Marigot than Giraudel. However, the general trend prevailed in that the main source for the inputs and services mentioned previously was non-governmental. Only Grand Bay recorded minor responses for government as a source for fertilizers, pest control and extension services. Again this community was unique in citing the use of fertilizers, pest control and extension for vegetable production.

Generally, the above information shows that women in Giraudel and Marigot did not receive fertilizers and pesticides from these sources or they did not utilize them for vegetable production, an important activity in both communities.

However, most farmers in Giraudel used organic manure for vegetables instead of fertilizers. Minimum pest control, using chemicals, was also practised. Significantly, none of the respondents in all three communities cited the availability of these inputs and services for coconuts, ground provisions citrus and fruits although they were major crops identified. It should be noted, however, that many farmers practice inter-cropping (bananas/coconuts/citrus) so it is possible that the other crops were interplanted with bananas and thus benefitted from applications of the fertilizers applied to these fields. Further information may be needed in this respect in light of the fact that fertilizers were being distributed to registered and censused coconut growers in the respective communities.

Extension Visits

An average of 60.5% female and 69.7% male respondents had visits from extension personnel concerning agricultural production. However, only 17.8% females and 21.5% males received regular visits. A significant percentage of females (38.8%) and male (30.8%) respondents had never been visited by an extension officer.

Giraudel registered the highest percentage of females (63.2%) who had never received extension visits when compared with Grand Bay (36.8%) and Marigot (32.1%).

Grand Bay had 24.6%, Marigot 13.2% and Giraudel 10.5% female respondents who had had regular visits (See Table 3:1).

The extension visits may be minimal in the Giraudel community since it is traditionally a vegetable growing area. Farmers may have obtained valuable experience and their systems of production may not require continued technical advice.

TABLE 3:1 Frequency of Visits by Extension Officers by Gender and Community

Frequency of Visits	Female	Resp.	Male	Resp.	Grand Bay		Marigot		Giraudel	
	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
Occa-sionally	38	29.5	20	30.8	16	28.1	18	34.0	4	21.0
Regularly	23	17.8	14	21.5	14	24.6	7	13.2	2	10.5
Often	5	3.9	3	4.6	3	5.3	2	3.8	-	-
As Requested	12	9.3	8	12.3	3	5.3	8	15.1	1	5.3
Never	50	38.8	20	30.8	21	36.3	17	32.1	12	63.3
Total having Visits	78	60.5	45	69.7	36	63.3	35	66.1	-	-

Of the females and males who had visits, 80.9% of these females and 95.7% of the males thought the visits were useful. Thirty (30) of the sixty-three (63) respondents were from Grand Bay, twenty-eight (28) from Marigot, and five (5) from Giraudel.

The purpose of the visits was mainly to give technical advice; 55.9% female and 75.5% male respondents cited this as the main service received. A significant percentage of females (5.9) and males (14.3) cited non-specific reasons (other) as the purpose of these visits. Only 7.8% females and 4.1% males said the officers brought inputs during the visits.

A significant number of females (29.4%) and males (14.3%) thought that the extension officers' visit would not apply to them. This may have to do with the perception that Extension Officers deal mainly with banana production. This is also reflected in the fact that while for males the Extension Officer was the main source of agricultural information, this was not so for females (See section on agricultural information below).

All three communities cited advice as the main reason for the visits. Giraudel was the only community which did not receive inputs during these visits (Refer to Table 3:2).

TABLE 3:2 Purpose of Extension Officers' Visits by Gender and Community

Purpose of visit	Female Resp.		Male Resp.		Grand Bay		Marigot		Giraudel	
	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
Advice	57	55.9	37	75.5	26	63.4	26	54.2	5	38.5
Inputs	8	7.8	2	4.1	4	9.8	4	8.3	-	-
Other	6	5.9	3	6.1	1	2.4	4	8.3	1	7.7
Not Applicable	30	29.4	7	14.3	10	24.4	13	27.1	7	53.8

Credit (Loans)

Traditionally, most farmers do not take loans for agricultural production. Those who do, however, usually utilize this for financing farm structures and vehicles.

The sample survey revealed that most of the females and males interviewed did not utilize loans to finance their agricultural activities. Only 15 of the 133 females (11.3%) and 9 of the 66 males (13.6%) actually took loans. Of this number one (1) female had her loan from a government source while the other fourteeen (14) were from non-governmental sources. The source for eight (8) males was non-governmental while one (1) utilized a non-specified source (other).

Although a low response was obtained on this issue, it would appear that of the total population surveyed a slightly higher percentage of females (2.9%) than males had taken loans.

The collaterals used for obtaining loans in the case of females were land titles (3) partners' signature (co-signee) (5) while four (4) utilised "other" non-specified means. Three (3) females obtained loans through applications to CARDATS*.

Three males utilized land titles while two used "other" non-specified means. Four of them received loans from CARDATS.

Of the fifteen females receiving loans, seven were from Grand Bay, four from Marigot, and four from Giraudel. The only three females receiving CARDATS' loans were from Grand Bay while three others from this community had their partners co-sign the loan. The need for partners to co-sign is a reflection of the disadvantageous position of females in relation to collateral, and the 'guardianship' role which society gives men in relation to women. No males needed to get their female partners to co-sign loans.

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*CARDATS - The Caribbean Agricultural and Rural Development Advising Training Service.

Agricultural Information

The most popular source of agricultural information identified in the sample survey for female respondents was other farmers (52.7%), with the Extension Officer taking second place (18.8%). The reverse situation prevailed for the males as their primary source was the Extension Officer (47.5%), followed by other farmers (31.8%).

A significant number of females relied on friends (14.3%) and their own experience (8.0%) for the necessary information. The radio was not cited as a source of information by either females or males although there are the popular ". This is Agricultural " and "Banana Quarter " agricultural programmes which are aired on Sundays.

On the community level, the general trend for females obtained in Grand Bay and Marigot. However, in Giraudel four of the fifteen respondents depended on their individual knowledge and experience, while there were three respondents each who utilized the Extension Officer, friends and other farmers (Consult Table 3:2 for details).

TABLE 3:3 Source of Agricultural Information by Gender and Community

Source of Agricultural Information	Female Resp.		Male Resp.		Grand Bay		Marigot		Giraudel	
	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
Extension Officer	21	18.8	28	47.5	10	20.8	8	16.3	3	20.0
Friends	16	14.3	1	1.5	8	16.7	5	10.2	3	20.0
Local Office	7	6.3	5	8.5	1	2.1	4	8.2	2	13.3
Other Farmers	59	52.7	21	31.8	26	54.2	30	16.2	3	20.0
Own exper./ Knowledge	9	8.0	1	1 5	3	6.3	2	4.1	4	26.7
Radio	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	112		56		48		49		15	

(c) Agricultural Production and Labour Usage

Agricultural Production

This section gives an insight to the major crops and livestock which were produced and who was responsible for their production. The use of hired labour and the amount of time spent by females and males in agricultural activities has also been analysed.

(A) *Major crops produced and responsibility for their production/management*

The major crops identified by the sample survey were bananas, citrus, coconuts, fruits, ground provisions and vegetables, although the extent to which each was being produced in each locality was not obtained.

Based on the responses of the both females and males, the production of the more labour intensive export oriented and/or plantation crops rested more on the adult males than on women. These crops are usually produced on larger acreages than vegetables.

The production of vegetables, which is time consuming but mainly geared for the domestic market, was controlled by females.

However, it appeared that women significantly supported the production activities in the case of bananas, ground provisions, citrus and coconuts.

Fifty-six (56) of the 121 females (46.3%) cited men as having chief responsibility for banana production. The women's significant support was evidenced by the 37 responses in favour of themselves and the 26 who thought that banana production was a joint effort between them and their spouses.

In comparison, 86.6% of males said that men were responsible for this activity.

This trend of male dominance continued for the three other major plantation crops, citrus, fruits and coconuts as detailed in Table 4:1.

A significant difference was observed in the case of vegetable production where 78% of the female respondents cited women as being responsible for this activity compared to 4.9% for male participation. Although 19 of the 32 males said males were responsible, there were 10 who cited females. This represented the highest degree of female involvement in crop production cited by male respondents.

TABLE 4:1 Major Crops Produced and Responsibility for their Production by Gender

Major Crops Produced	FEMALE RESPONDENTS				MALE RESPONDENTS			
	Adult Female	Adult Male	Joint	Male Child	Adult Female	Adult Male	Joint	Male Child
Banana	56	37	26	2	52	3	5	-
Citrus	35	17	14	-	29	1	4	-
Coconuts	37	17	17	2	34	2	3	-
Fruits	9	6	5	1	16	2	-	-
Ground Provisions	45	39	28	2	49	4	5	-
Vegetables	44	64	14	1	19	10	3	-

It appeared that in male dominant households as reflected in the males responses, the male children had no significant responsibility for crop production since no acknowledgement was made of their involvement. However, except in the case

of citrus production their assistance /responsibility was recorded by female respondents. It should be noted that girls were not included by either females or males although the sample survey showed that 56.2% of male interviewees wanted their girl children to be farmers.

The observation that individually, men were predominantly responsible for the production of bananas, citrus, coconuts, fruits and ground provisions, while females controlled vegetable production, held true for all three communities as shown in Table 4:2.

TABLE 4:2 Gender Responsibility for Production of Specific Crops by Community

Crop	Community	Persons Responsible: Adult Female No.	%	Adult Male No.	%	Joint Male/Female No.	%	Male Child No.	%	Total # of Respondents
Bananas	G/B	20	32.7	30	48.4	12	19.4	-	-	62
	MAR	17	32.7	22	42.3	11	21.1	2	3.8	52
	GIR	-	-	4	57.1	3	42.9	-	-	7
Coconuts	G/B	8	33.3	10	41.6	6	25.0	-	-	24
	MAR	9	21.4	21	50.0	10	23.8	2	4.8	42
	GIR	-	-	-	-	1	100.0	-	-	1
Citrus	G/B	9	31.0	16	55.2	3	10.3	1	3.4	29
	MAR	7	21.2	17	51.5	7	21.2	2	6.1	33
	GIR	1	14.28	2	28.5	4	57.1	-	-	7
Fruits	G/B	3	32.5	3	37.5	1	12.5	1	12.5	8
	MAR	3	25.0	6	50.0	3	25.0	-	-	12
	GIR	-	-	-	-	1	100.0	-	-	1
Ground Provisions	G/B	23	37.7	25	41.0	13	21.3	-	-	61
	MAR	13	31.0	17	40.5	10	23.8	2	4.7	42
	GIR	3	27.3	3	27.3	5	45.5	-	-	11
Vege-tables	G/B	37	88.1	-	-	5	11.9	-	-	42
	MAR	16	80.0	3	15.0	1	5.0	-	-	20
	GIR	11	55.0	1	5.0	8	40.0	-	-	20

KEY: G/B - Grand Bay
MAR - Marigot
GIR - Giraudel

The figures in Table 4:2 support the fact that Giraudel is not a major growing area for coconuts and fruits, but is one of the largest vegetable growing areas.

Although the number of respondents in Giraudel were fewer than in Grand Bay and Marigot it could be noted that joint responsibility between women and men for production of the major crops was significantly higher. This could be due to the fact that 75% of the respondents in Giraudel were married compared to 48.4% and 48.1% in Grand Bay and Marigot respectively.

Livestock Production

The most common types of livestock owned by both sexes were cattle, sheep, goats and chickens. It appeared that men more frequently owned cattle, while females owned chickens. Sheep and goats could be owned by either sex.

Except in the case of the male respondents with cattle (53%), less than 40% of both males and females interviewed responded to having any one category of livestock. The distribution of the respective types of livestock raised by women and men in the respective communities is set out in Table 4:3.

TABLE 4:3 Ownership of the Different Types of Livestock by Gender and Community

Type of Livestock	Female Ownership No.	%	Male Ownership No.	%	Grand Bay No.	%	Marigot No.	%	Giraudel No.	%
Cattle	53	38.4	35	53.0	27	50.9	16	30.1	10	18.8
Sheep	20	14.5	12	18.1	8	40.0	7	35.0	5	25.0
Goats	25	18.1	8	12.1	6	24.0	13	52.0	6	24.0
Chickens	36	26.1	12	18.0	16	44.4	12	33.3	8	22.2

Grand Bay showed the highest percentage of cattle (50.9%), sheep (40.0%) and chickens (44.4%), whereas Marigot registered the highest percentage (52.0%) of goats.

Based on the relatively low response which was received, it could be presumed that livestock was not a major occupation of most persons interviewed. This could be due to the hilly terrain of the land worked by several farmers. Also, more land was being put into banana production which attracted bigger and quicker cash returns than livestock.

Chicken projects are usually based close to the homestead so it was not surprising that women had the responsibility of taking care of them. This they could do between their other responsibilities of domestic and/or child care.

Hours Spent Working on Farm

Although it was identified that men were responsible for the management of the majority of crops and livestock produced, it was observed that the average most women spent almost

the same number of hours on the farm as the men. In most cases this was done in addition to the women's domestic chores, which were usually done prior to and after the day's work on the farm.

The analysis showed that 49.6% female respondents worked 6-10 hours per day on agricultural work, while another 38.0% averaged 3-5 hours daily. Only 2.9% females worked longer hours ranging from 11-14 hours daily on agricultural tasks. By this time most of them would have returned home to complete the day's reproductive tasks.

In the case of men, it was found that 53% were engaged in agricultural tasks for 6-10 hours daily. Another 29.3% did 3-5 hours, while 12.1% worked for 11-14 hours daily on their plots (See Table 4:4).

Women in Grand Bay and Marigot, on the average, spent more time working on agriculrural plots than those in Giraudel. 70.3% of the respondents in Grand Bay worked 6-10 hours daily, whereas 41.5% in Marigot and only 5% in Giraudel worked similar hours. Conversely, 65% of the women in Giraudel worked 3-5 hours, whereas 39.6% in Marigot and 28.1% in Grand Bay worked the same hours.

TABLE 4:4 Hours Spent on Agricultural Work by Gender and Community

Hours spent on Agriculture	Female Resp.		Male Resp.		Grand Bay		Marigot		Giraudel	
	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
0	2	1.5	2	3.0	-	-	1	1.0	1	5.0
1 - 2	8	5.8	2	3.0	1	1.6	3	5.7	4	20.0
3 - 5	52	38.0	18	27.3	18	28.1	21	39.6	13	65.0
6 -10	68	49.6	35	53.0	45	70.3	22	41.5	1	5.0
11 -14	4	2.9	8	12.1	-	-	4	7.5	-	-
Over 14	1	0.7	1	1.5	-	-	1	1.9	-	-

If women are to spend as much time on the farm their reproductive capacity may be affected, especially in the area of child care. Children may be left unsupervised which could lead to other complications, for example child abuse.

Use of Hired Labour

Although both males and females spent such long hours on the farm they had to use hired (wage) labour in order to complete agricultural tasks. Seventy-six (76) of the 135 female respondents (56.3%) used hired labour compared to 45 of 65 males (69.2%) responding. Both sexes used hired labour for similar tasks of clearing, digging, weeding and field packing. Digging attracted the highest number of hired help in both cases (32 females and 25 males) (Refer to Table 4:5).

TABLE 4:5 Gender Use of Hired Labour for Specific Tasks

Tasks	Female Resp.		Male Resp.		Grand Bay		Marigot		Giraudel	
	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
Clearing	24	32.0	11	24.4	15	39.5	9	32.1	-	-
Digging	37	49.3	25	55.6	20	52.6	12	42.9	5	62.5
Weeding	4	5.3	2	4.4	3	7.9	-	-	1	12.5
Harvesting	1	1.3	-	-	-	-	1	3.6	-	-
Field Packing	2	2.7	5	11.1	-	-	2	7.1	-	-
Other	3	4.0	1	2.2	-	-	1	3.6	2	25.0
Total Respondents	71		44		38		25		8	

In all three communities women used hired help mostly for digging; Marigot recorded an insignificant number for harvesting.

It was shown that more men than women were hired and used for the tasks which are seen as requiring more physical power, such as land clearing, digging and/or ploughing. The steep terrain of most of the agricultural lands utilized by most of the substance farmers necessitates the use of manual labour for such tasks. It appeared that more females were hired to do the tasks of weeding and sowing of seeds, regarded as less physically demanding but requiring greater skill (See Table 4:).

TABLE 4:6 Gender Used for Different Crop Production Tasks

TASKS	FEMALE RESPONDENTS				MALE RESPONDENTS			
	AM	AF	Joint	MC	AM	AF	Joint	MC
Clearing	60	5	2	2	38	4	1	-
Digging	47	11	2	2	19	13	1	-
Weeding	21	9	1	1	11	7	1	-
Sowing Seeds	5	2	-	1	4	4	-	-
Ploughing	4	-	-	-	3	-	-	-

KEY: AM - *Adult Male*
AF - *Adult Female*
Joint - *Male and Female together*
MC - *Male Child*

It is to be noted that the services of male children were not acknowledged by male respondents. Neither sex utilized female children.

Decision-Making

The critical areas for decision-making which were looked at included the type of crops to be grown and specific changes in agricultural production - namely credit, farm improvement, use of services and other non-specified changes. From the data analysis, women appeared to play a significant role in the decision-making process, especially for farm improvement, use of labour and equipment. However, men were cited as the chief decision-makers regarding the type of crops to be grown, credit and agricultural services.

Based on the figures presented in Table 5:1, the decisions regarding the choice of crops to be grown were made mostly by men, then jointly between both sexes, and least of all by women singly; but the significant contributions of women can be noticed.

The female responses cited men as the chief decision-makers regarding credit and agricultural services, whereas they themselves were responsible for decisions regarding farm improvement, labour and equipment. However, the male respondents cited males as being the chief decision makers in all these areas, whereas the women were insignificantly regarded as decision makers for the respective activities (See Table 5:1).

TABLE 5:1 Persons Responsible for Making Decisions in Agricultural Practices

Decisions taken regarding:	Respondents	PERSONS RESPONSIBLE							
		Adult Male		Adult Female		Joint		Other	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Types of crops to be prod.	Female	35	25.5	53	38.7	48	34.8	1	0.7
	Male	50	76.9	3	4.6	10	15.2	2	3.0
Credit	Female	44	41.5	36	26.1	6	4.3	20	14.5
	Male	56	96.2	2	3.8				
Farm Improvement	Female	47	37.0	49	38.6	7	5.5	24	17.4
	Male	62	96.9	2	3.1	-	-	-	-
Labour	Female	37	33.9	47	43.1	6	5.5	19	17.4
	Male	52	96.3	2	3.7	-	-	-	-
Equipment	Female	45	37.2	48	39.2	6	5.0	22	18.2
	Male	62	95.4	3	4.6	-	-	-	-
Agri. Services	Female	28	41.6	26	38.2	4	5.9	10	14.7
	Male	46	97.9	1	2.1				
Other	Female	2	16.7	7	58.3	1	8.3	2	16.7
	Male	6	100.0						

This trend of male dominance in the decision-making process should not be surprising since the sample survey revealed that there were more households with a male figure (spouse/common law partner) who also had greater control of the production

factors (land and access to credit through ownership of land title). It was also shown that men made greater use of the agricultural services available.

When the female data were analysed on a community basis, it was found that women in Grand Bay dominated the decision-making process concerning any changes to be made in agriculture opposed to Marigot where the adult male showed dominance except in the case of the type of crop to be grown.

Giraudel was peculiar in that decisions regarding credit and services were made by men, whereas those of labour and equipment were made by women.

Farm improvement decisions appeared to be a joint decision between males and females.

2. LEISURE

Periodic relaxation is vital to the physiological as well as psychological well-being of anyone; therefore, it is important that leisure activities become a part of everyone's schedule. An attempt was made to determine the extent to which women enjoy leisure time and the type of activities they are engaged in compared with males.

The sample survey showed that 93.9% female and 98.4% male respondents attested to having leisure activities. Responses were obtained from 130 females and 62 males.

The main areas of leisure cited by women were visits to friends (43.8%), church related (7.7 %), sports/culture (3.8%), and rest (1.5%). A significant percentage (38.5%) of the respondents had non-specified leisure activities which were categorically grouped under "other". This could include

activities such as viewing of television "Soaps" which is usually done in between work, especially during meal times.

Similarly, the majority of men (43.5%) cited visits to friends as their chief form of leisure. Sports and culture attracted 11.3%, while only 4.8% cited church related activities as leisure. Again, a significant percentage (38.7%) of male respondents did not cite any of the specific areas listed above but said they had "other" forms of leisure.

The main reasons cited by the 36 female respondents for having none or limited leisure time were that they were not interested (9), or that there was too much to be done (8). Surprisingly, 15 of these females thought that this did not apply to them, while another 4 declined to give any specific reasons.

Of the 9 males who had no leisure, 6 thought that the leisure issue did not apply to them, while 2 had no interest in having leisure activities. Only 1 respondent found that pressure of work prevented him from taking time off to relax.

There was not much difference in the forms of leisure activities used by women in the respective communities. Giraudel was unique in that none of the respondents saw sports and culture as forms of leisure. Only two women from the community saw rest as a form of leisure. Of the 6 respondents from this community who had no leisure, 5 thought it did not apply to them while the other was not interested.

Marigot had the largest percentage of women (63.9%) without leisure, followed by Grand Bay (19.4%), and Giraudel (16.7%) (See Table 6:1 on the following page).

TABLE 6:1 Reasons for having no Leisure Activity by Gender and Community

Reasons for no Leisure Activity	Female Resp.		Male Resp.		Grand Bay		Marigot		Giraudel	
	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
Too much work	8	22.2	1	11.1	1	14.3	7	30.4	-	-
Not Interested	9	25.0	-	-	3	42.9	5	21.7	1	16.7
Other	4	11.1	2	22.2	3	42.9	1	4.3	-	-
Not Applicable	15	41.7	6	66.7	-	-	10	43.5	5	83.3

3. GENDER ROLES AS SEEN BY WOMEN AND MEN

Traditionally both women and men perceived certain roles as specific to males or females, but globally this is being changed. This survey tried to address the issue by examining:

(a) Perceptions of the roles of children by gender

(i) Preference for children by number and sex.

(ii) Preference for withdrawing children from school by sex.

(iii) Preference for children to be or not to be farmers by sex.

(b) Women's involvement

(i) Areas of women's involvement.

(ii) Perceptions of the extent of women's involvement.

(iii) Perceptions of the need for the further involvement of women.

(c) Responsibility for meeting family needs by gender

(d) Savings by gender

(a)(i) Preference for Children by Number and Sex

In recent years greater attention has been focussed on Family Planning with the stated intention of increasing the standards of family life socially, economically and educationally.

In analysing the data of the 10% survey, it was observed that the range of 4-7 children was preferred by the majority of females (36.2%) and males (35.5%). The second choice was 1-3 children by women as opposed to 8 by the men. However, there was a significant percentage of both females (20.5%) and males (29.0%) who had no preference.

Whereas most women in Grand Bay showed preference for 4-7 children, those in Giraudel chose 1-3 while Marigot's women had no definite choice. (See Table 7:1 for more details).

All three communities registered significant percentages of respondents who did not want children.

TABLE 7:1 Preference for Number of Children by Sex and Community

Number of Children	Female Resp.		Male Resp.		Grand Bay		Marigot		Giraudel	
	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
0	17	13.4	3	4.8	7	12.7	7	13.5	3	15.0
1 - 3	22	17.3	7	11.3	5	9.1	9	17.3	8	40.0
4 - 7	46	36.2	22	35.7	25	44.5	15	28.8	6	30.0
Over 8	16	12.6	4	19.4	10	18.2	4	7.7	2	10.0
Do not know	20	20.5	18	29.0	8	14.5	17	32.3	1	5.0
Total Respondents	121	87.7	54	81.8	55	85.9	52	96.3	20	100.00

Preference by Sex

It was observed that, individually, females preferred girl children whereas men wanted boys. although 47.4% female and 50.8% male respondents preferred children of both sexes. Significantly, 26.3% females and 27.0% males had no real preference for the sex of their children.

The majority of female respondents in all three communities favoured children of both sexes. Again, the "no preference" choice was noted second in all respects. Marigot was unique in that none of the interviewees favoured boys whereas Grand Bay had 9 and Giraudel 3 who did (See Table 7:2 for response).

TABLE 7:2 Preference Ratings for Sex of Children by Gender and Community

Sex of Child	Female Pref.		Male Pref.		Grand Bay		Marigot		Giraudel	
	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
Both Sexes	63	47.4	32	50.8	26	42.6	27	51.9	10	50.0
Girls	23	17.3	5	7.9	13	21.3	9	17.3	1	5.0
Boys	12	9.0	9	14.3	9	14.8			3	15.0
No Preference	35	26.3	17	27.0	13	21.3	16	30.8	6	30.0

Specific reasons for the above chores were not brought out clearly by the survey. However, indications are that women prefer girls who are expected to assist with the reproductive work (child care, cleaning, washing, ironing etc.). It was observed in the Household Case Studies that girls assisted mainly with reproductive work especially where the main woman spent several hours doing agricultural activities as the main source of income.

The traditional choice of boys by males prevailed, probably just to "boast of masculine heirs" in white collar jobs, since their significance to the agricultural production process was not highlighted by the men.

(ii) Reasons for withdrawing Children from School by Sex

The majority of female (52.6%) and male (59%) respondents found it difficult to decide whether they would withdraw a son or daughter from school if it became necessary.

Interestingly, only two of the 133 female respondents (Grand Bay 1 and Marigot 1) chose girls while 55 chose boys.

The female preference was expressed in 22 responses for boys from Grand Bay, 21 from Marigot and 12 from Giraudel.

A similar situation existed with the men.

As outlined in Table 7:3, it was observed that the reasons cited by most women in all three communities for withdrawing boys from school were agriculturally related as opposed to the children not being able to cope with school work, whereas the majority of men cited "other" non-specified reasons.

54.4% women and 41.5% men would remove their children from school because they thought the children were better suited for agriculture, but only 5.1% women and 2.4% men actually needed their help for agricultural labour.

TABLE 7:3 Reasons for Withdrawing Children from School by Gender and Community

Reasons	Female		Male		Grand Bay		Marigot		Giraudel	
	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
Better suited to Agriculture	43	54.4	17	41.5	17	53.1	17	53.1	9	60.0
Need to help in agric. activities	4	5.1	1	2.4	3	9.4	-	-	1	6.7
Can manage better without an education	3	3.8	2	4.8	1	3.1	1	3.1	1	6.7
Other non-specified	29	36.7	21	51.2	11	34.4	14	43.8	4	26.6
Total Respondents	79	57.2	41	62.1	32	50.0	32	59.3	15	75.0

The fact that more women said that they would withdraw children from school for agricultural reasons could be attributed to the need for physical help and the lack of funds to use hired labour. Thus the children are often utilized as unpaid labour to do tasks such as transporting banana boxes from the field to areas accessible to motor vehicles. However, people have become more aware of the importance of education and so this practice is not widespread.

(iii) Preference for Children to be or not to be Farmers

There appeared to be a similar desire by women and men to have their girl children become farmers as shown by 77 (56.2%) female and 34 (55.7%) male respondents. This desire was not shown in practice, since according to the sample survey, female children were not included in either crop or livestock production.

All three communities reflected the desire by females to have girls as farmers. However, the margin in Marigot was quite small as 28 of the 54 respondents supported the issue with 26 opposing.

Grand Bay had 37 or 63 replying in the affirmative while Giraudel had 12 of 20.

On the other hand, 99 females (72.8%) and 48 men (77.4%) expressed the desire to have their sons become farmers. All three communities reflected the predominant desire of women to have their sons become farmers. The feeling that agricultural work was too hard was the main reason cited by the majority of those who did not want either their daughters or sons to become farmers. Other significant reasons cited were that the work was too menial and the income too low. Table 7:4

presents statistical details. Women in Marigot and Giraudel thought agriculture was not suitable for girls.

TABLE 7:4 Reasons why Boys and Girls should not be Farmers by Sex and Community

Reasons	Female		Male		Grand Bay		Marigot		Giraudel	
	Girl	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	Boy
Not suitable for boys/ girls	1	3	4	1	-	2	1	1	-	-
Work too menial	8	5	2	3	2	1	5	3	1	1
Not enough income	7	8	2	2	4	1	3	2	-	-
Work too hard	24	18	1	4	15	12	10	2	4	4
Other	6	6	3	2	2	2	4	4	-	-
Total No. of Respon- dents	48	38	12	12	23	18	23	12	5	5

There is some truth in the reason that agricultural work is too hard in that the hilly terrain accessed by most respondents could not be mechanized as most agricultural holdings are inaccessible to farm vehicles or machinery, but with current feeder road programmes this should be alleviated in some areas in the near future.

Unfortunately, the survey did not capture alternative desired choices of occupations for boys and girls.

(b) Women's involvement

(i) Gender Perception with regard to the areas of female involvement

An analysis of the 10% survey showed that both sexes saw women as being involved in various community activities which could foster individual and family as well as community development.

95.2% female and 96.6% male respondents cited specific areas of female involvement. Topping the women's list was sewing/handicraft (31.2%) followed by cooking (24.8%), sports (14.4%), and adult education (9.6%).

The males cited the same areas of involvement but the order of priority was different as shown by sports (24.1%), cooking (20.7%), Adult Education Classes (19.1%) and sewing/handicraft (15.5%) (Refer to Table 8:1).

The general trend of the female responses was reflected in all three communities except for culture, where only Grand Bay showed two responses (Refer to Table 8:1).

A higher percentage (52.6%) of respondents in Giraudel was shown to be involved in sewing/handicraft than in Grand Bay (32.1%) and Marigot (22%). Marigot registered the greatest participation in Adult Education Classes with seven of twelve respondents.

TABLE 8:1 Responses on Areas of Women's Involvement by Sex and Community

Areas of Involvement	Female Resp.		Male Resp.		Grand Bay		Marigot		Giraudel	
	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
Sewing/ Handicraft	39	31.2	9	15.5	18	32.1	11	22.0	10	52.6
Cooking	31	24.8	12	20.7	11	19.6	18	36.0	2	10.5
Sports	18	14.4	14	24.1	11	19.6	6	12.0	1	5.3
Culture	2	1.6	3	5.2	2	3.6	-	-	-	-
Adult Educ.'n	12	9.6	11	19.1	4	4.1	7	14.0	1	5.3
Other	17	13.6	7	12.1	7	12.5	6	12.0	4	21.1
None	2	1.6	2	3.4	1	1.8	-	-	1	5.3
Do not know	4	3.2	-	-	2	3.6	2	4.0	-	-

Grand Bay's rich cultural heritage was highlighted by being the only community to register participation in cultural activities.

Women's involvement in other activities was recognised by 17 females and 7 men. These include voluntary work in church, Parent Teachers' Associations and other community groups.

(ii) Extent of Involvement

The majority of women saw themselves as either involved (50) or very involved in these afore-mentioned activities, although 23 thought they were not involved enough.

The men showed mixed reactions also, as 19 saw women as very involved; 15 as involved, while another 19 thought they were not involved enough.

The fact that only two women and five men cited women as not being involved to any extent in community activities lends support to the traditional idea that women form the "backbone" of most community related activities, especially church related ones.

Five women and one man said that they were not aware of the extent to which women were involved in community work.

The general perception of women was reflected in a similar order in the communities of Grand Bay and Marigot as shown in Table 8:2.

Giraudel had the highest level of perception that women were not involved enough.

A comparative analysis could not be done with the men since the survey did not focus on the activities of men and the extent of their involvement.

TABLE 8:2 Extent of Female Involvement by Gender and Community

Extent of Involvement	Female Resp.		Male Resp.		Grand Bay		Marigot		Giraudel	
	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
Very Involved	39	29.3	19	31.1	16	25.8	15	29.4	8	40.0
Involved	50	37.6	15	24.6	25	40.3	19	37.3	6	30.0
Indifferent	4	3.0	2	3.3	2	3.2	2	3.9	-	-
Not involved Enough	33	24.8	19	31.1	14	22.6	13	25.6	6	30.0
Not involved at all	2	1.5	5	8.3	1	1.6	1	2.0	-	-
Do not know	5	3.8	1	1.6	4	6.5	1	2.0	-	-

(iii) The Need for further Involvement by Women

Only a 48.5% female response was obtained on this issue compared to a 62.1% response by men. The majority of women (50) and men (28) who responded saw the need for women to become more involved in "other" activities which were not included in the specific list as set out in Table 8:3. And the greatest need identified among 'other' activities was the need for more organisations.

Although a number of women are involved in politics at the Village Council level, there is a definite need for more active female participation at a higher level.

It was implied that women did not see the need for them to become further involved in agriculture although four men thought they could. Either because cooking was "a way of life" for most women or that their needs were being met, neither sex saw this as an area for increased participation by women. However, from experience, there seems to be a need for more nutrition education particularly in the area of food preparation and preservation, utilizing local foods in more creative and attractive ways.

An insignificant number of both sexes perceived women as having the need to be more deeply involved in sports, sewing/ hadnicraft, culture and adult education. Women were already at the forefront in these areas in all three communities (See Table 8:3).

TABLE 8:3 Areas for further Involvement by Women recorded by Gender and Community

Areas for further Involvement	Female Resp.		Male Resp.		Grand Bay		Marigot		Giraudel	
	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
Agricultural Production	-	-	4	9.8	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sewing/ Handicraft	4	6.9	2	4.9	1	3.4	2	6.9	1	11.1
Cooking	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sports	1	1.5	2	4.9	1	3.4	-	-	-	-
Adult Education	3	4.5	1	7.5	1	3.4	-	-	2	22.0
Other	52	77.6	28	68.3	23	79.3	23	79.3	6	66.7
None	6	8.9	3	7.3	3	10.3	3	10.3	-	-
Do not know	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

(c) Gender responsible for meeting specific family needs

The female responses in the sample survey implied that females were responsible to a greater extent than men for purchasing clothes, food, household items, children's supplies, appliances

and meeting the cost of medical expenses. Normally these are costs met by the women as part of their reproductive function but in many instances some of the cash for meeting such expenses would originate from the males. However, the women gave the men credit for paying the rent and procuring farm supplies.

Contrary to the above the men cited themselves as overwhelmingly responsible for meeting all the family needs previously mentioned (See Table 9:1 for comparative analytical data).

It is to be noted that significant support was obtained from "others",particularly with regard to obtaining clothes and children's supplies. This would reflect the regular remittances or supplies sent by relatives abroad especially in instances where children were left in the care of grandparents or other relatives.

TABLE 9:1 Responsibilities for meeting specific Family Needs by Gender

Specific Family Needs	Gender Resp.	Person Responsible		
		Men	Women	Other
Clothing	Female	39	84	12
	Male	45	15	3
Food	Female	49	84	3
	Male	47	15	4
Household items	Female	44	87	4
	Male	44	17	1
Children's Supplies	Female	39	71	11
	Male	29	19	14
Appliances	Female	43	69	3
	Male	42	14	2
Medical Expenses	Female	44	74	2
	Male	42	17	-
Rent	Female	16	13	-
	Male	15	1	-
Farm Supplies	Female	66	65	3
	Male	56	8	-

An interesting picture was observed when the female data was analysed by community. The responsibility for providing clothes, food, household items, children's supplies, appliances

and medical expenses was attributed to women in Grand Bay and Marigot.

The payment of rent appeared to be a joint activity as 50% respondents in each of these communities cited female and 50% males.

Giraudel was unique in having the men, to a large extent, paying for all the household needs mentioned above, although there were negligible differences between male and female salaries in this community.

Grand Bay was outstanding in having a greater degree of assistance from "other" persons in meeting these commitments.

An overall low response was obtained on the issue of rent from all three communities. This points to the fact that most respondents were living in their own homes or with relatives to whom no rent was paid.

TABLE 9:2 Gender Responsibilities for Meeting Specific Family needs by Community

Specific Needs	Community	Gender Responsible Men	Women	Other
Clothes	*1	12	40	9
	*2	13	38	3
	*3	14	6	-
Food	1	20	39	3
	2	13	14	4
	3	16	4	-
Household items	1	14	41	4
	2	14	39	-
	3	16	4	-
Children's Supplies	1	15	3	9
	2	10	33	1
	3	14	5	1
Appliances	1	16	31	3
	2	13	34	-
	3	14	4	-

Note: This Table continues on the next page.

TABLE 9:2 Continued

Specific Needs	Community	Gender Responsible Men	Women	Other
Medical Expenses	1	16	36	2
	2	13	34	-
	3	15	4	-
Rent	1	7	7	-
	2	4	4	-
	3	5	2	-
Farm Supplies	1	26	34	2
	2	24	27	1
	3	16	4	-

KEY: *1 - Grand Bay
*2 - Marigot
*3 - Giraudel

Savings

It is always wise to have some accessible cash stored for emergencies or for long term use. Are most women aware of this and are they actually involved in saving to meet short term as well as long term needs?

The views of 134 females and 66 males were obtained on the issue of savings. Of this number 109 females and 59 males had some savings in one or more of the commercial banking institutions and/or subs, although the type of savings was not identified.

All the twenty female interviewees in Giraudel had savings compared to 45 (72.6%) in Grand Bay and 44 (83%) in Marigot.

There was some co-relation between savings and the provision of family needs. In Giraudel and Marigot, where there was greater assistance from men in meeting family needs, it was found that a higher percentage of women had savings as compared with Grand Bay.

The Credit Union was the most popular banking institution for both female (52) and (32) respondents, followed by the commercial banks with 27 and 22 respondents respectively. The Sub Treasury (the community based commercial banking system), received significant support from women (22), especially in Grand Bay (17) as opposed to men (1).

The indigenous and informal system of savings called '*Sub*' was more common among women (7) than men (2). (See glossary for a description of the term Sub).

The reasons for saving appeared to be more domestic or family-centred than general. The most important single reason for for saving among women (34.5%) and men (25.4%), was to meet medical expenses, due to the fact that most of the respondents are self-employed and, therefore, do not contribute to the Social Security Scheme. They need to meet medical expenses for private visits to the doctor and for hospitalization if necessary.

Meeting the needs of children was another important reason for saving among both women (13.6%) and men (10.2%). However, the largest percentage of women (37.3%) and men (44.1%), saved without any specific purpose in view.

The need to save to meet costs of agricultural inputs, burial and old age, did not seem to be important to either women or men, based on the low level of response.

Many people cling to the belief that children are their "old age pension", so they do not prepare themselves financially for this period of possible incapacitation.

Table 9:3 gives a picture of the reasons for saving by women and men.

TABLE 9:3 Purposes for Saving by Gender and Community

Types of Savings	Female		Male		Grand Bay		Marigot		Giraudel	
	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
Burial	2	1.5	2	3.4	1	2.2	1	2.3	-	-
Agri-cultural Inputs	-	-	1	1.7	-	-	-	-	-	-
Con-struction	6	5.5	5	8.5	1	2.2	5	11.4	-	-
Children's Needs	15	13.6	6	10.2	5	10.4	5	11.4	5	25.0
Medical Emer-gencies	38	34.5	15	25.4	20	43.5	14	31.8	4	20.0
Other	41	37.3	26	44.1	16	34.0	19	43.2	6	30.0
Hard Times	7	6.4	4	5.8	2	4.3	-	-	5	25.0
Old Age	1	0.9	-	-	1	2.1	-	-	-	-

37.3% women and 44.1% men saved for reasons other than those listed but the specific purposes were not identified. The indifference towards saving for agricultural inputs could be that respondents had reached their aspired level of production or that they were not interested in farm improvements. Most of them earned their overall income from agriculture. It was determined that women did not wish to become further involved in agriculture.

4. COMMUNITY AWARENESS AND PARTICIPATION

The total development process of the individual will be influenced by the level of development within his/her community. It is also important that the individual assists in identifying and effecting any infrastructure or services required by the community in order to facilitate positive changes by the members. The 10% survey sought the views of both men and women on the services needed in the respective communities as well as their participation in community groups and politics (through voting at the general elections). The findings are presented in the following discussions.

(a) Community Services Needed

The most important social amenities identified by females for the three sample communities were facilities incorporating markets and recreation centres (26.4%), main roads (24%), feeder roads (16.3%) and piped water (16.3%).

These were similarly identified by the men although not in the same order of importance. Feeder roads were the second choice (26.2%) of the men. This may have resulted from the need for motorable access roads to agricultural plots. The need for feeder roads has increased with the advent of banana field packing operations and the clearing of virgin lands for expansion of banana production.

With the ongoing Rural Electrification Programme, electricity was not seen as a critical need by either women or men. Although Grand Bay had a small hospital, four females (3.1%) and one male cited the need for additional health facilities. The respondents from Marigot (hospital present) and Giraudel

(with Health Centre) did not see the need for additional health facilities in the respective communities.

The critical need for Giraudel was pipe borne water (50%), a reflection of the fact that this facility was non-existent in the community. This was also significant to Marigot (11.5%), and Grand Bay (10.2%). An improved water system would alleviate some of the strain which many women face in accomplishing domestic chores.

A Market and Recreational Centre topped the list for Grand Bay (36.4%), and Marigot (37.3%), where such amenities were not present.

Grand Bay was the only community seeing the need for schools. The specific type (kindergarten, primary, secondary or tertiary) was not identified. It can only be assumed that it was for secondary education since the community boasts of the largest primary school and six pre-schools. The numerical data is presented in Table 10:1.

TABLE 10:1 Services needed for the Communities by Gender and Community

Services Needed	Female		Male		Grand Bay		Marigot		Giraudel	
	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
Main Roads	31	24.0	9	13.8	10	16.9	18	34.6	3	16.7
Feeder Roads	21	16.3	17	26.2	4	6.8	12	23.1	5	27.8
Piped Water	21	16.3	8	12.3	6	10.2	6	11.5	9	50.0
Electricity	8	6.2	3	4.6	4	6.8	4	7.7	-	-
Day Care	4	3.1	1	1.5	3	5.1	1	1.9	-	-
Health Clinic	4	3.1	1	1.5	4	6.8	-	-	-	-
Schools	6	4.7	2	3.1	6	10.2	-	-	-	-
Transportation for School Children	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other (Markets & Recreational Centre)	34	26.4	24	36.4	32	37.3	11	21.2	1	5.6
Total Respondents	129	93.5	65	98.5	59	92.2	52	96.3	18	90.0

Transportation for school children was not identified as a problem for any of the communities since they are adequately serviced by the privately owned passenger transport mini buses.

The need for day care facilities was minimal in Grand Bay and Marigot, but absent in Giraudel probably because the pregnancy rate is low and farm holdings are closer to the homes than in the other two communities of Marigot and Grand Bay.

(b) Participation in Community Groups

The opinion that women participated more and held larger membership in community activities/groups than men was partially borne out by the results of the 10% sample survey.

Of the 138 female interviewees, 55 or 39.9% had membership in community groups compared to 19 or 29.2% of the 66 males. Giraudel showed the highest percentage of its female respondents having membership (52.6%), followed by Marigot (50%), and Grand Bay (31.1%).

Church related groups attracted the largest percentage of female membership (47.3%), followed by farmers' groups (21.5%), and then sports/cultural groups (18.7%).

On the other hand, farmer organisations captured the largest percentage of male membership (30%), followed by community development groups (25%). Sports/culture and church groups came next with 20% each.

As shown in Table 10:2, women in Marigot had the highest membership in church related groups, such as The Social League, Methodist Women's League and Adventist Women's Group. Grand Bay registered six of the seven women with sports/cultural group membership, underscoring the community's strong cultural heritage. The women in Giraudel and Marigot showed more interest in farmers' groups than those in Grand Bay. Grand Bay also had the highest level of direct involvement in political organisations. It has a long history of struggles around land distribution issues. While women think farmers' groups are important, men predominate in farmers' groups and women in church groups. The top leadership of farmers' groups is overwhelmingly male, and of the church excessively so. Within the church, however, women hold leadership positions at the group level. Women participate least in school-related groups.

TABLE 10:2 Participation in Community Groups by Gender and Community

Kinds of Groups	Female		Male		Grand Bay		Marigot		Giraudel	
	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
Farmers	12	21.8	6	30.0	21	10.5	5	19.2	5	50.0
Church	26	47.3	4	20.0	4	21.1	19	73.1	3	30.0
School-Parent Teachers' Assoc. (PTAs)	1	1.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	10.0
Young Women's Health Group	1	1.8	-	-	1	5.3	-	-	-	-
Sports/ Cultural	7	18.7	4	20.0	6	31.6	1	3.8	-	-
Sewing/ Handicraft	3	5.5	1	5.0	3	15.8	-	-	-	-
Political	1	1.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	10.0
Community Development	4	7.3	5	25.0	3	15.8	3	15.8	-	-
Total Respon-dents	55	39.9	20	30.3	19	29.7	28	51.9	10	50.0

Participation in political and PTA groups was insignificant for women as one each belonged to such groups in Giraudel only, but this was non-existent for men.

The organised political groups in the communities catered mainly for the youth arms of the two major political parties (Dominica Freedom Party and Dominica Labour Party), hence the poor response. The overall poor membership could be due to

the fact that the respondents worked long hours in the field (6-10 hours), and thus had little time for social and/or leisure activities.

Based on the participation shown above, it was not surprising that women ranked the community groups in the following order of importance - church related, farmers, community development, and sports and culture.

A rather poor response was obtained from the men, but farmers', church and community groups were equally important to them (25% support each).

The most important group to the women in Grand Bay was sports/culture. Marigot's women chose church related groups, while in Giraudel they saw farmers' groups as the most important.

(c) Political Participation (Voting)

Women's participation at election time appeared to be good, as 126 of the 138 (91.3%) women interviewed voted at the elections, compared to 50 of 66 or 75.8% of the males.

64 of the 138 females were from Grand Bay, 54 from Marigot and 20 from Giraudel. Positive responses from these women were obtained from 93.8% in Grand Bay, 90.7% in Marigot and 85% in Giraudel.

Most of those women who did not vote were either absent at election time, were not registered, abstained fo religious reasons, or were not interested. The reasons were similar for men.

SITUATION OF PAST ESTATE WORKERS

INTRODUCTION

The Women in Caribbean Agriculture sought, in addition to assessing the traditional and present roles of women in agriculture, to examine the extent to which the experience of estate agriculture influenced their participation in, and orientation towards production patterns, and their attitudes towards perceptions of, and roles in agriculture.

A total of thirty-four (34) past estate workers in Marigot and Grand Bay were interviewed; this figure comprised twenty-one (21) females and thirteen (13) males, whose main income essentially came from agriculture.

In most instances, information relating to *division of labour* on estates, conditions of work, participation and involvement of past estate workers in labour and community organisations were obtained with a view to drawing upon historical antecedents and to linking the past experience of workers/labourers to their particular experiences within farm households. An attempt has been made to review the particular land ownership patterns and structures in Dominica so as to understand the particular production patterns and relationships that evolved.

BACKGROUND

The economy of Dominica has traditionally been closely linked to agriculture. Before 1950, land tenure in Dominica was generally characterized by large estates which occupied most of the available lands near the coast, and a large number of small farms which filled the spaces between the estate lands and the crown lands occupying the interior. During the last two centuries monocrop cultivation has been the dominant form of production supporting the export-oriented economy. However, Dominica did not develop into a classic plantation economy, since estate agriculture never prospered. Estate lands which had been largely devoted to export crops were abandoned by expatriates in the post-slavery period, and were taken over mainly by urban-based families. By the beginning of this century, land became more valued as a base for economic and political power than productive purposes; most of it was allowed to lie fallow.

Up until 1950, no policy for land distribution had been developed for the rural people, the majority of whom obtained land through various forms of tenancy as share-croppers, tenant farmers and even as "free-hold" tenants, that is, persons with unencumbered access to land; this applied especially to crown lands. In the case of Grand Bay, where the scarcity of land was particularly acute, labourers who could not be absorbed on the Geneva Estate which was the main source of employment for the area, either sought employment on larger estates in the Marigot area, or simply had to leave the island in search of "better lives".

The large majority of farmers cultivate lands of less than 2.5 acres, and it has been on these peasants that Dominica has relied for its domestic food supply for most of this century and even to the present, underlining the *"dualistic nature"* of the economy.

With the coming of the Banana Boom in the 1950's, and the increasing demand for land, the rural population was put under new pressures, and we learnt of instances where tenants were thrown off the land as happened in Grand Bay, because the owners wanted to extend the amount of land they had available for banana production. For those who remained on the land, they were forced into a market economy over which they had little control. Some were later brought in to work on marginal lands as tenants, but for many emigration was the only option, hence the migration wave of the 1950's and 1960's.

Although some crown lands were made available to small farmers in the 1950's, the pattern of land tenure has not changed significantly. By 1961, estate lands covering 46.6% of total acreages of farm lands, still controlled the best lands on properties of 100 acres and more, making up less than 1% of total farms. On the other hand, small farms of less than 10 acres make up 25% of farm land (Yankey, 1969: 216).

The further dismantling of large estates in the early to mid-1970's had made lands available to families in areas where land scarcity was particularly serious, as in the case of Grand Bay and Castle Bruce. This, no doubt, has increased land available to families under the free-hold system. Nevertheless, a significant amount of lands that have traditionally been available to small farmers, have been family lands acquired through customary rights. The renting of marginal lands to small farmers has also been popular on large estates.

Land Ownership Pattern: Early Period

In 1763, Dominica was officially ceded to the British under the terms of the Treaty of Paris. Prior to 1763, Dominica, although technically belonging to the Caribs, was better known as 'No Man's Land', providing a safe haven for the African migrants who were escaping the exploitation and slavery of the plantation islands. These 'runaways' or early maroons, settling mainly in the safety of the mountains, learnt to adapt to the way of life of the Caribs. Thus, when the French arrived, there were already blacks living in Carib villages or in isolated mountain settlements. (Honychurch, 1975: 55).

Under the French, the numbers of 'tree blacks' increased and it was relatively easy for blacks to set up their own villages. Up until 1735, there were few organised villages per se on the island; people lived in isolated wooded settlements, or plots. By 1735, the French adopted a more aggressive policy of administration, and encouraged the development of plantations; a number of French settlers responded by taking up residence on the island. The most notable of French settlers were the Jesuits who organised a rather large and complex estate in Grand Bay (Barome, 1972: 84-85), later to be known as Geneva. Coffee was introduced into the island, and the French brought in additional slaves to the island.

Before long, rivalry between the British and French for economic hegemonic supremacy in the Caribbean took a heightened form. After the island was ceded to the British, all lands of the territory became the property of the British Crown. Thus, historical development on the island resulted in a re-orientation of political, economic and social activity in the country, with the crown becoming

'the sole owner of the island's assets which were basically land and its location' (UN/ECLAC, 1984 : 20). The defeated Caribs were dispossessed, and so were the French who then became tenants or leasees. Black settlements became 'Maroon Societies', suggesting a significant change in the relationship between the incoming English settlers and the 'runaways', resulting in the further development of 'marronage'.

The nature of the Dominican economy also changed. Under the French, a number of small estates producing mixed crops had distinguished the island from the plantation islands where the emphasis was on sugar cane, and the nature of production was responsible for the nature of the relationship that existed between slave and master, whites and coloureds (Honychurch, 1975 : 27 - 28).

With the British occupation, plantation development was stimulated and the diversified nature of the production was disrupted as sales of lands to British subjects increased. Within a decade, the production of sugar grown widely on the Windward coasts topped the list of exports, with coffee and cocoa dropping behind in export sales.

Sugar was mainly grown on estates of less than one hundred (100) acres, resulting in the limited viability of the sugar estates (UN/ECLAC, 1984: 23).

The unsuitability of the topography to sugar cultivation coupled with the vicissitudes of the international market and the difficulties of planters in obtaining credit, accelerated the decline of the estates, and the bankruptcy of the planter class. By 1778, the economy of the island was in a depressed state, with thirty (30) of the fifty (50) sugar estates abandoned (UN/ECLAC, 1984: 23).

Thus, in comparison to the other islands plantation agriculture in Dominica was underdeveloped, taking the form of small estates occupying the coastal plains and slopes. Sugar production declined further with the abolition of slavery, and by the early 19th century, coffee, which was suited to the hilly slopes and sheltered valleys, was wiped out as a result of root crop disease.

Land Administration in Dominica: 1765-1949

According to the Burra Report, British Land Registration in Dominica commenced in 1765 under the overall Territorial Supervision of the Commissioner for sale and disposal of Her Majesty's land. Under the terms, lands held by the French were seized and lands granted by title lease begun. This process was facilitated by a team of surveyors who worked in the island for a number of years, surveying each parish and dividing these areas into lots. The maps and lots became the basis for land administration. A number of problems developed at boundaries as a result of the rudimentary forms of markings used.

Before 1833 (the year of the Abolition of Slavery), land was rented in crown and occupied collectively by a few individuals or companies. Inheritance appears to have followed the 'law of primogeniture', due not to demand, so much as to the application of principles considered "common sense" by the settlers. On the abolition of slavery, however, 'indentureship was made wholesale, giving out portions of land to freed persons on the vaguest possible terms' (Burra Report), and free villages developed unhindered.

By the first half of the 20th century, land in Dominica was held in the following forms:

Freehold: Basically land owned by one owner became family property except where the owner had one child. On the probate of a will, the estate could have been registered in the name of the progeny.

Company: This situation generally obtained where peasants purchased land collectively. Disputes often followed.

Family Lands: This was subject to ownership by descendants of the original owner. At the turn of the century, the situation with family lands was that they were often abandoned, and came to be characterised as the 'cause of the greatest land waste in the island'. Those lands were seldom parcelled amicably.

Tenants: 'Tenants at Will' formed the large majority of land users. The introduction of the Small Tenancies Ordinance was passed in 1950 to give security of tenure to the tenant and to protect the tenant against the landlord.

Squatters: Squatting came to be widely practised as a result of lands being abandoned by absentee landlords. Some squatting took, and continues to take place on crown lands, a tradition that began in 1915 when permission was given to people to cultivate crown lands as an insurance against food shortages that were common during the war.

Shifting agriculture was practised on crown lands for almost forty (40) years, without interference by the crown.

Tenants in Common: This form of tenure applied to situations where tract land was passed on to families many years ago, and became the common property of the community, as is found in villages like Laudat and Vielle Case.

The majority of landholders, then, were enmeshed in a varied and complex system of access. Estates, on the other hand, fitted neatly into the freehold system, and changed hands by registration and issue of titles.

In 1949, an assessment of the land situation in Dominica pointed to the fact that (a) land hunger existed only in certain villages (Grand Bay being one such village), and this was due to the fact that too many people did nothing with the land they possessed, making land unavailable to those who wished to work the land; (b) family lands were generally left unworked, and not utilized in any rational manner. This was largely attributed to the availability of crown lands which were made open for squatting for quite some time:

> *The family lands are left unworked, probably because there was no rational approach by the family towards utilization of the lands by communal methods or by fair division into lots, but largely because crown lands have been thrown open nearly forty (40) years. This being the case, it is only common sense to take what is free and unencumbered and abandon areas where disputes will arise. In any case, it is also natural to try to leave private lands fallow when public lands are there for the asking* . (Burra,1949: 22).

Family lands too have been claimed by Burra to be one of the largest causes of land waste.

ESTATE WORKERS' SURVEY

Of the 34 respondents surveyed, 33 responded in the affirmative to having worked on estate. Eighteen (18) of the 34 had worked on the Geneva Estate, and 2 had worked on the neaby Stowe estate which is a much smaller estate. Geneva, up to the mid-seventies, played a very significant role in the economy of the Grand Bay area. Thirteen (13) of the respondents worked on the Melville Hall Estate, near Marigot, and a much lesser number, 1 and 2 respondents, worked on the Londonderry and Hatton Garden estates respectively.

The majority of respondents, 26 out of the 34, have remained actively involved in agriculture in one form or other. Eleven (11) of those had farms of their own, and and equal number worked on other people's farms or on estate lands. The others remained partly involved in agriculture; this also included 2 active fishermen.

Most respondents (21 out of 34) had worked on those estates for more 2 years. Three (3) respondents had worked less than 1 year, and 1 other had worked between 1 and 2 years. Fifty percent (50%) of those responding to that question had left the estates between 1976 - 1980, which is about the time that most of the estates were being dismantled by virtue of social pressure or through government-sponsored programmes.

The majority of respondents (21) were females compared to 13 males.

The sex differentiation in tasks done on the estates was one in which females did tasks such as weeding and males did cutlassing, digging, husking, etc. Fourteen (14), 12 and 11 respondents respectively reported being involved in weeding, carrying produce and collecting produce. Four (4) and 2 respondents respectively did field cutlassing and husking

which were typical male tasks. Field supervisory positions which were more prestigious, were generally filled by men. We chose for one of our case studies a woman who has taken over as supervisor on the Geneva Estate. Five (5) respondents have been employed as supervisors.

On the estates different tasks were renumerated at different rates. As a rule, women earned less than men, 4 shillings or at least 50 cents less.

The crops grown on the estates were defined for the export market. Bananas, citrus, cocoa and coconuts were extensively grown, while vegetables, fruits and ground provisions were less grown, and mainly by the small settlers, reinforcing the notion of a dual economy.

The types of households, life cycles and sizes of households among the past estate workers generally reflect the situation of households in the larger community survey, except for the high proportion of single-person households. Eight (8) of the respondents came from nuclear-extended households; the next significant number 7, belonged to single person households. Five (5) respondents came from extended households which were not nuclear, and 4 respondents each came from simple nuclear or single-parent households.

In terms of size of households, 11 out of the 34 respondents had families of 6-10 members, reflecting the preference of 11 respondents for between 4-7 children. There was no particular preference for boys or girls, except in two cases where girls were preferred, and another two cases where boys were preferred.

Twenty four (24) of the 34 respondents were not married, and ten were married. Of the non-married households, visiting relationships were common to three households, another was separated, four widowed, and 2 respondents had common-law relationships.

The experiences related point to a number of conditions that were unfavourable to workers on the estate. Of the 34 respondents, 13 pointed to low wages as a major reason for dissatisfaction, 8 respondents felt that the work was too arduous, and 6 pointed to unfavourable relationships with the supervisor. Five (5) respondents viewed a consumer credit scheme through which goods could be obtained on credit on the Geneva estate as a good thing; however, as one respondent put it, this contributed to impoverishing the worker, and tied him to the low estate wages.

Unionization of workers came rather late to the estate. In the case of Geneva, unionization of workers was preceded by a strike. Fifteen (15) of the 34 respondents, mainly past Geneva workers, belonged to the Dominica Amalgamated Workers' Union. The strike intervention was made to improve working conditions and pay. Ten (10) of the respondents did not think that the union had brought any significant changes to life on the estates.

By the time most workers left the estates, they pointed out that changes had occurred in increased wages, and increased acquisition of land by former workers. However, they still saw the need for increased wages, reduction of working hours, reduction of tasks and better marketing strategies.

In general, stories painted by past estate workers point to poor working conditions, and a life of deprivation on the estate. Several, however, continue to live in dire insecurity and distress, without even a secure house-spot after years of labour on the estate. Two brief life histories follow as supporting material.

CASE OF TWO PAST ESTATE WORKERS

During the exchange the researchers noted that the couple spoke almost no English and that their understanding of the language was limited. It would have been difficult to do a questionnaire with them, as the researchers' knowledge of patois was limited. The detailed questioning and writing of responses did not seem the best way of dealing with these farmers either.

Upon consultation two researchers decided that an informal interview in the respondents' language would be best. The two researchers agreed to work together in the expectation that one would strengthen the other's limited knowledge of patois. We decided to probe to find out about colonial land policy and how it compares with the present allocation of the Geneva Estate lands.

According to the couple, in colonial times few people owned land but many rented crown lands at a small fee.

"When Owen and Norman Lockhart, and Bosi Lockhart first purchased the lands known as Geneva, villagers had been notified that they should come to identify their existing boundaries on the day when the land was being surveyed. They failed to do so. The result is that many people lost their holdings".

The interviewees have acquired an acre of land from the present allocations being made of the Geneva Estate under the Government Integrated Rural Development Programme. This they are paying for by installment.

They are not entirely happy about their purchase for the following reasons:

1. They are to pay surveyors fees;
2. They cannot do as they like with the land (e.g. plant tree crops) because they cannot own the land before ten years; neither can they will it to their children;
3. It had been said originally that land farther away from the feeder roads would be sold at a cheaper price than those close to the road. This is not being adhered to;
4. They are apprehensive about what taxes will be imposed;
5. They find it unfair that some people who worked on Geneva lost their gardens and did not get any land at all; and
6. They find the future gloomy because too many people are planting the same cash crop and the market is depressed.

The respondent's husband had worked on Geneva, but not his wife. He preferred working for himself, but had never owned land before this present installment purchase. Still, life was better in the days when he rented land and the cost of living was not so high.

The present conditions of sale of land under the Government Integrated Rural Development Programme are that the land is being allocated for agricultural purposes, if no crops are cultivated within five years the payment will be refunded and the land repossessed by Government. Additionally, the land is not to be sub-divided or re-sold before ten (10) years have elapsed. Farmers have to sign a formal agreement to this effect before they are allocated a piece of land.

Some past estate women workers were reallocated marginal lands which were rocky, exhausted and depleted. Due to the distance from their homes and non-usefulness of the land, they eventually abandoned the land and pursued alternative means of earning a living, that is, making of straw and bamboo products.

CASE OF NAN - A PAST ESTATE WORKER

A agricultural wage earner all her life, Nan worked on the Geneva Estate until it went out of production. She then shifted to working alongside her children who have access to a holding in Perdi Temps (land belonging to the Shillingfords). Nan, who is near fifty, is smitten with rheumatism in the knees and can no longer cross the river to get to her children's holding to assist. She now has to rely on their good will towards her, whereas she formerly earned her living. She takes whatever day's work she can get, but this is very irregular and uncertain.

Nan has never owned land but has saved what she could in the hope of acquiring a piece one day. So far, she has made many requests and repeated visits to the Government Housing Office, and has enlisted the help of her children and others to strengthen her requests, but to date she has not received a piece of land. Nan is now in an acute state of depression as she has had notice to vacate the spot on which her house has rested for three years and is under pressure of the repeated demands from the landlord that she relocate her house to allow him to build his own.

Her house is in need to repair. She has purchased materials for repair but may not repair on that same spot. "If only I could

get a piece of land on my own", said Nan, "I cannot at my age think of renting another spot to be given notice to leave in a short time," she continued.

Nan was very hostile when first approached by the researcher. Speaking a mixture of patois and English she demanded to know how I got her name, and asked whether my political affiliation was 'Freedom' or 'Labour'. She refused to be interviewed or have anything she said written down.

After much patient persuasion, she gave her story, but she did not want to have it recorded because she did not believe it would help her.

Note: Immediately before interviewing Nan, I was accosted by Mr. Ardinette Jno Jules, an ailing farmer who can no longer work his land. He is very bitter about the farming situation and like many others articulated that no help would emerge as a result of the research. They have had too many people coming around asking questions, and then disappearing. Only CARDATS has some credibility in the area as they have assisted farmers in the past.

This informer used to work as a local surveyor distributing land to tenants. Below is some first hand information.

He began by saying that it was the OAS which carried out the reallocation of land under the Integrated Rural Development Programme on the Geneva Estate with the backing and support of the Government of the Commonwealth of Dominica. He said, "People are being called to sign a formal agreement; since you have paid for your land and surveyor's fees, you may sign the Agreement. Farmers do not get a copy of the formal agreement that they sign. Even if you pay the land and surveyor's fee, unless the formal agreement is signed you cannot possess the land. Signing the Agreement means you cannot sell, or sub-divide the land before ten years have

passed; no mention of Certificate of Title. People are not united so they are not fighting the case as a collective; they are competing with each other. Some people who were not tenants got land. Others got much more than they applied for, e.g. eight acres for one man. Others did not get at all. They said they would not give less than one, acre but some got .78 acres.

Some people were allocated a different spot, sometimes very far from the one they had previously held.

Roads in Geneva

Farmers were told that the surveyors would make an allowance for the roads, but land was sold to farmers, and the road was then cut from land they bought, therefore farmers lost some of what they paid for. Farmers feel powerless to complain to the authorities because the road is necessary.

Views from a Former Supervisor of the Geneva Estate

The informer (male) shared his thoughts about the fact that mostly older women were engaged in agriculture and many young women were not interested.

He suggested that a project in which young women are being instructed on a large farm and receive some renumeration at the same time would encourage them. After the course, the land can be divided among them. He admits that there is not really any land left around Grand Bay except possibly in Grand Coulibri, which could be leased. That area is flat and can more easily be supplied with infrastructure than an

area such as Perdi Temps which will be more expensive to develop some it is a dangerous and difficult area to work. The first bridge built in the 1960's could not withstand the weather conditions and was destroyed as a result of heavy rain. Road conditions are so great that a wage earner will reject $12.00 per day if he/she has to walk a long distance to go to work, but will accept $10.00 per day if the employer will transport him/her to the holding.

The informer said that the Integrated Rural Development Programme was a good programme but said that some people lost all or much of their existing gardens and had to start over. He said that some of the land allocated on Geneva is not really workable and that people who have been shifted to the interior are at a disadvantage.

CONCLUSION

The findings of the Household Case Studies and the 10% survey (Community Survey) presented in the preceding pages help to explain some issues affecting the women who are involved in Agriculture in Dominica within the framework of the objectives and hypotheses used as the baseline for this research project.

It was observed that women contribute significantly, but in most cases invisibly, to the national economy of Dominica through their involvement in agriculture. Although the men are responsible for the production of the export oriented crops and larger livestock, they are assisted tremendously by their female partners. Also, in the female headed households the women face these tasks alone or in conjunction with their children. The women's efforts at keeping the domestic market supplied with vegetables, flowers and eggs is note-worthy. Women tend to be more associated with these aspects of agricultural production as they have always needed to be located closer to the homestead. Therefore, the women could tend to them between domestic chores which are left almost entirely to the females (adult and children) in the households.

However, their involvement in and contribution to agricultural production did not ensure their direct participation in agricultural policy-making since many of the interviewees did not have the educational background nor were actively involved in farmers' or other agriculturally-inclined community groups.

The women had similar access to land like the men, but in most cases access was gained through their spouses/partners or relatives rather than through direct ownership. This would have some influence on their decision-making power and their ability to access/control other factors of production. This was brought out clearly in the community survey.

The majority of the persons (39%) interviewed have had long involvement in agriculture (over 20 years), and earned their main income in this sector. Therefore, they expressed the desire for their children (both boys and girls) to become farmers also.

Despite this desire many of the respondents did not actually utilize their children for agricultural task work except for tending small livestock or removal of banana boxes from the fields to accessible areas.

The others preferred alternative occupations since they maintained that agricultural work is menial or too hard and is a poor source of income.

This social stigma, together with the divestment of estate lands (through the Integrated Rural Development Programme) into private lands have resulted in a decline and/or a reluctance to work as hired agricultural labourers. This is nothing new to Dominica since, according to the Caribbean Quarterly, September - December, 1984, Vol. 30, Nos. 3 and 4, p. 82, "*In the four months following the emancipation from slavery, 1st August, 1838, Dominican estates lost a substantial proportion (39.10%) of their labour force*". The 10% survey did not show the extent to which women were involved in agricultural wage work, but it was understood from the Household Case Studies that this was done on a small scale mainly to supplement household incomes and to improve the productive capacity of the family. Other

supplementary means of supporting the family undertaken were occupations such as huckstering, craft work (straw and weaving) and roadside vending of processed foods and other household commodities.

However, it was found that the majority of both men and women worked similarly long hours (6-10) daily in unpaid agricultural work (mostly on personal plots). Generally, the men would do the tasks considered to be more strenous (e.g. land clearing and ploughing), while the women would do the weeding and sowing of seeds. Coupled with these long hours spent on productive work, the women would have to do domestic (reproductive) work which is also labour intensive. Most of the householders did not own labour saving devices, thus relatively long hours were spent in house chores and child care. This results in a reduction of meaningful leisure time for women. However, the survey showed that 93.9% of the women had some form of leisure, mainly in the form of visits to friends (43.5%). This could also have some influence on the women's participation in community activities, as was brought out by the survey. Only 39.9% of the women and 29.2% of the men had membership in community groups. These women were mainly involved in church and sports/cultural related groups.

Some of them also participated in farmers' organisations', especially in Giraudel where they were involved in the Horticultural Society (National Flower Shows).

The survey revealed the fact that more persons in the three farming communities were involved in crop production than in livestock. This was more striking in Marigot and Grand Bay than in Giraudel. The ten household case studies showed that livestock did not contribute to the family income in Marigot, only 9% in Grand Bay, while there was an average of 36.8% in Giraudel. The national importation of meat yearly is quite high ($7.6M). There seems to be scope for

development in this area. This should be more important now that the Ministry of Agriculture is suggesting a diversification programme to farmers with the aim of getting them away from the monocrop system, namely bananas, which will lose its British protected market in 1992. Most farmers are not responding to this warning but have continued to expand their banana production because the price is good currently. During the interviews with some of them, they felt that it was best for them to enjoy any market which was good. They claimed that previously they had been instructed to plant other crops for guaranteed markets which never materialized, thus resulting in low prices or spoilage of products.

The information obtained on marketing in the 10% survey was not significant enough to be included in the body of this report. However, a few of the female respondents were previously engaged in huckstering but have stopped due to travelling problems, insecurity of overseas markets and concern for children left behind. The other markets which were tapped included the Banana Marketing Corporation for bananas, Dominica Coconut Products for copra; Hucksters' Association for ground provisions; the overseas markets for flowers and dried coconuts; the local (municipal) markets for crops and livestock; and to a lesser extent Farm-to-Market Ltd for the export of bananas, plantains and ground provisions. It was not possible to ascertain the extent to which each was utilized by respondents in the respective communities.

The interviewees were aware of the needs of their respective communities. The need for pipe borne water to households as well as improved main roads and more feeder roads were identified by all three communities. This was being addressed to some extent by the government with the recent approval of the Giraudel water system and the current feeder road

programme. Grand Bay's need for secondary schools was also being met since a secondary education programme began at the government school in September 1988.

Although 60.5% of the female respondents attested to having varying degrees of visits from Extension Officers, their main source of agricultural information was from other farmers (colleagues). The source of this service was mainly non-governmental since bananas was the major crop for which it was utilized.

RECOMMENDATIONS

This research has brought to light some of the most pressing concerns in relation to women's involvement in agricultural and other socio-economic activities. Based on the findings of this research project, we recommend the following which we believe if considered and implemented will raise the status of women and moreover strengthen their position in agriculture.

1. A national register of all female farmers could be published and concurrently data recording their contribution to the Gross Domestic Product.

2. There could be more governmental support services for female farmers. This could be brought about by enacting legislations which would provide women with access to credit facilities under conditions and rates affordable to them, to enable women to purchase land thus increasing their direct involvement in agriculture.

3. It must be recognised that women, like men, make positive and concrete decisions re. agricultural policies and should, therefore, be encouraged and given the opportunity to participate at this level by ensuring a stipulated number of positions on all levels of decision-making bodies for women.

4. There is need for deeper research on the non-formal method of saving called "*sub*" or "*sou sou*", which women engage in as an effective means of saving for their personal and household needs.

5. There could be a national survey since the information obtained is only representative of the three communities studied.

6. The restriction to specific subject areas according to sex should be eradicated in schools. One example of this situation is the case where in primary schools agricultural classes are restricted to boys only while girls do home economics. We have seen that women within the households have responsibility for almost all of the domestic work while most men exclude themselves from domestic work.

7. Women could be exposed to more training, especially training related to agriculture.

8. More agricultural information could be made available through the local media.

9. The male head of the family has traditionally been the land owner and land has been passed down to his sons, thereby removing all rights of land ownership to women in the household. In this regard, there needs to be a revision of the Hereditary Land Act so that women get greater access and ownership to land.

10. Women's role in agriculture should be given greater status and recognition considering their double role as producers and reproducers.

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Appendix i.

A List of Key Informants By Community

GRAND BAY

Parliamentary Representative, Hon. Pierre Charles;
Community Group Leaders of Champion Bobblers, L'Echelle and Southern Women, Organisation for Rural Development (SWORD);
Village Councillors; the Health Environmental Officer, Mr. Boniface Xavier; Community Health Nurse, Justina Jno Lewis;
School Teacher, Mrs. Magdalene Registe; Mrs. Ursular Bastien;
Mrs. Margaret Fontaine; Mr. Garnet Isaac; and Ms. Cynthis Laurent.

MARIGOT

Parliamentary Representative, Hon. Pat Stevens;
The Justice of the Peace, Mr. Alton Bristol;
Agricultural Extension Officer, Mr. Lifford Castor;
Banana Extension Officer, Mr. Baldwin James;
The Management Committee of the Fisheries' Study Group;
The Back Yard Vegetable Group;
School Principal, Ms. Audrey Christmas;
Health Nurses, Mrs. Bruney and Ms Wallace;
President, Marigot Cooperative Credit Union, Ms. Phoebe James;
Caye En Bouc Farmers' Cooperative, Mrs. Francis Dorsette;
Small Business Manager, Ms Myld Riviere;
Save the Children Federation (US) Field Officer, Mr. Rudolph Marie;
Ms. Phyllis Pascal; Ms. Patricia Charles; Mr. Witcliff James;
Mr. Patrick Henderson; Mr. Richard Charles; Mr. Terry James;
Ms. Delicia Baptiste; Ms. Wilmina James; and Ms Pervise Wiltshire.

GIRAUDEL

Credit Union Officer, Mr. Irvin Alfred;
Chief Youth Officer, Ms. Elizabeth Alfred;
Giraudel Farming School, Mr. A. Royer;
Justice of Peace, Mrs. Stephanie Royer;
Lay Preacher, Mr. Phillip Harve;
District Nurse, Ms. Winnifred Timothy;
Village Council Clerk, Ms. Terese Giraudel; and
Adult Education Officer, Mr. Mervin Alexander.

Appendix ii.

THE LIST OF BACK-UP TEAM MEMBERS

Mrs. Margaret George	-	Social Centre
Mr. Osborne Riviere	-	Farm-to-Market Ltd.
Ms Albertha George	-	Farm-to-Market Ltd.
Mrs. Doreen Francis	-	Dominica Save the Children Fund
Mr. Patrick Henderson	-	Save the Children Federation (US)
Mr. Cecil Joseph	-	Dominica Hucksters' Association
Mr. Julien Prevost	-	Dominica Farmers' Union (DFU)
Ms Rosie Rosie Browne	-	Women's Bureau

Appendix iii.

WOMEN IN CARIBBEAN AGRICULTURE PROJECT

COMMUNITY SURVEY GUIDE - DOMINICA

A. 1. Name of Community _____

2. Geographical location and boundaries _____

_____

_____

3. Area _____

4. Population

Males _____ Females _____

Age frequency _____

_____

5. Population of working age Males _____ Females ____

6. (a) Communication systems Access

-radio

-television

-telephone

-other popular forms

(b) Sources of information (traditional)

7. Type of road systems (main roads) _____

(village roads) _____

(farm roads) _____

8. No. of households _____

9. What public facilities exist in the community?

Post office	Community centre
Primary school	Shop(s)
Secondary school	Bakery(s)
Pre-school	Public telephone
Library	Recreation centre
Health clinic	Other
Police station	

Socio - Cultural Data

10. How did the community begin?
(Historical Background)

11. Ethnic groups _____

_____

12. Religion (churches and functions)

13. Main cultural events/significance

14. (a) Community groups (b) Aims and Objectives

(c) Composition M/F

---

15. Who are the community leaders? Why?

---

16. Other persons of influence?

---

17. On what is this influence based?

---

18. What are the major problems in the community?

---

19. Is there anything which brings people together? (Comment on the various forms and functions of cultural expressions and networking).

20. On what occasion do the majority of the people come together? Why?

---

21. What forms of conflict resolution exist for the community?

ECONOMIC DATA

22. Major occupation

_____

23. Other forms of employment in area

No M/F	Nature
_____	Present _____
_____	Seasonal _____
_____	Self employed _____
_____	Other _____

24. (a) Daily average wage of agricultural workers

Male _____ Female _____

(b) Other types of work

_____

_____

_____

25. Comment on land tenure patterns

_____

_____

_____

26. How has agriculture changed over the last 10 years?

_____

_____

_____

27. What is government's land policy in the area?

---

28. Roles of men (in agriculture) _____

women _____

children _____

29. a. Major projects taking place in the community?

What agency/agencies have initiated these projects?

b. Other agencies working in the area?

30. a. What are the agricultural-related initiatives taking place in the community? How are women involved?

---

b. What agricultural services are available in the area?

---

c. What farmers' organisations exist?

Functions? _____

Services? _____

31. What are government's plans for the area?

---

32. How do women fit into the overall plan (if any)?

---

33. No. of people involved in agriculture

Men	Women
_____	_____
_____	_____

34. Amount of land under cultivation _____

crops grown? _____ estimation of crops _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

35. Observe levels of economic activities

other forms of survival (by men/women)

use of time

rhythm, work and rest.

36. Do people come into the community to look for work?

37. What cooperative forms of relationship exist in the community (comment on social/economic/cultural forms of exchange).

EDUCATION

38. Literacy levels _____

_____

39. What are the issues/problems associated with education facilities in the area?

_____

_____

40. Is there a secondary school? Yes _____ No _____

41. a. Distance of nearest secondary school? _____

_____

b. No. of children attending secondary school

	(females)	(males)
technical	_____	_____
primary	_____	_____
post primary etc.	_____	_____

c. What are the cost factors related to schooling?

_____

_____

_____

42. What adult education facilities/programmes exist in the area? _____

_____

Politics/Organizations

43. Political history of the area since adult suffrage.

44. What are the forms of political organizing among:
women
men
young women
young men

45. How are people informed about government's policies in the area?

_____

_____

46. What percentage of the electorate voted in the last elections? _____

What percentage were women? _____

What percentage were men? _____

HEALTH

47. What are the major health problems in the area?

_____

_____

48. What health problems affect women? _____

_____

_____

49. Children?_____

Men?_____

Younger age group?_____

50. What health services are rendered in the community?

_____

_____

51. How does the community participate in health delivery/care?

_____

_____

52. How do women/men participate in health care/delivery? _____

_____

53. What are the major aims/objectives of the health programme? _____

_____

54. Comment on the availability of services to the public.

% of homes with pipe borne water _____

% of homes with toilet/latrine facilities _____

% of homes with access to waste disposal _____

55. Which of the following exist in the community?

SERVICES

56. Is there electricity in the area? _____

57. Percentage of houses with electricity _____

58. Comment on community waste disposal system: (problems/issues) _____

_____

_____

59. What percentage of homes have access to these facilities? _____

60. Comment on street lighting (note problems/issues)

_____

_____

_____

_____

Appendix iv.

WOMEN IN CARIBBEAN AGRICULTURE PROJECT

COMMUNITY CASE STUDY QUESTIONNAIRE - DOMINICA

1. Area / Community:
   Code: (1) Grand Bay
   (2) Marigot
   (3) Giraudel

2. Type of household:
   Code: (1) nuclear
   (2) single parent
   (3) single person
   (4) extended
   (5) complex
   (6) composite

3. Life cycle:
   Code: (1) formation with children
   (2) expansion
   (3) fission
   (4) extinction

4. Size of household:
   Code: (1) 1-5
   (2) 6-10
   (3) 11 and over

5. Who brings in the most money in this household?
   Code: (1) main woman
   (2) spouse / common-law partner
   (3) male child
   (4) female child
   (5) grandchild
   (6) other relatives to main woman
   (7) other relatives to spouse / common-law partner
   (8) non-relative

6. From which of the following do you get your main income?
   Code: (1) agriculture / huckstering
   (2) fishing
   (3) other (specify)

SECTION A: DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

1. Employment status:
   Code: (1) employed
   (2) unemployed
   (3) self-employed

2. Age:
   Code: (1) 15-24
   (2) 25-35
   (3) 36-45
   (4) 45 and over

3. Sex:
   Code: (1) female
   (2) male

4. Partner's occupation:
   Code: (1) agriculture
   (2) trades
   (3) other

5. Union status:
   Code: (1) single
   (2) married
   (3) divorced
   (4) separated
   (5) visiting
   (6) widowed
   (7) common-law
   (8) other

6. Has any member of your household gone abroad?
   Code: (1) yes
   (2) no

7a. How many children would you like to have?
   Code: (1) 0
   (2) 1-3
   (3) 4-7
   (4) 8 and over
   (5) don't know

b. Why?
Code: (1) can't afford more
(2) need children to help work
(3) like a lot of children
(4) don't like children
(5) other (specify)

8. Would you have preferred?
Code: (1) girls (3) both
(2) boys (4) no preference

9. Language most often spoken:
Code: (1) English
(2) Patois
(3) Kokoy

10. Highest educational levels attained

Levels		No. of years
Primary	_____	_____
Secondary	_____	_____
University	_____	_____
Vocational skills	_____	_____
Adult education programmes	_____	_____
Other programmes	_____	_____

SECTION B: FARM PRODUCTION

1.A. Land Tenure Pattern:

Do you have access to land?
Code: (1) yes
(2) no

1.B. SIZE BY FORM OF ACCESS

LAND TENURE:	A	B	C
FORM OF TENURE	Land worked by respondent	Land accessed by respondent	Land accessed by household
Rent	_____	_____	_____
Own	_____	_____	_____
Rent/own	_____	_____	_____
Lease	_____	_____	_____
Squat/crown	_____	_____	_____
Squat/other	_____	_____	_____
Government Land			
Reform	_____	_____	_____
Sharecropping	_____	_____	_____
Family land	_____	_____	_____
Other	_____	_____	_____
Don't know no. of acres	_____	_____	_____
	_____	_____	_____
TOTAL	_____	_____	_____

Size of access: respondent
(1) 1/2 acre or less
(2) 1 acre or less, but more than 1/2
(3) 3 acres or less, but more than 1
(4) 5 acres or less, but more than 3
(5) 10 acres or less, but less than 5
(6) more than 10 acres

2. Household land access from non-household relatives
   Code: (1) 1/2 acres or less
   (2) 1 acre or less, but more than 1/2
   (3) 3 acres or less, but more than 1
   (4) 5 acres or less, but more than 3
   (5) 10 acres or less, but more than 5
   (6) more than 10 acres

3. Do you have a title for the land?
   Code: (1) yes
   (2) no

4. Whose name is on the title?
   Code: (1) Main woman
   (2) Spouse / common-law partner
   (3) Male child
   (4) Female child
   (5) Grandchild
   (6) Other relatives of main woman
   (7) Other relatives of spouse / common-law partner
   (8) Other
   (9) Not applicable
   (10) Don't know
   (11) Private landlord
   (12) Government

5. Who decides on what crops should be grown?

CROPS	ADULT MALE	ADULT FEMALE	ADULT MALE AND FEMALE	OTHER
A. Bananas	_____	_____	_____	_____
B. Citrus	_____	_____	_____	_____
C. Coconuts	_____	_____	_____	_____
D. Ground provisions	_____	_____	_____	_____
E. Vegetables	_____	_____	_____	_____
F. Legumes	_____	_____	_____	_____
G. Fruits	_____	_____	_____	_____
H. Flowers	_____	_____	_____	_____
I. Other	_____	_____	_____	_____

6. Who is primarily responsible for growing the following?

(a) Bananas

Code: (1) adult male
(2) adult female
(3) adult male and female together
(4) male child
(5) female child

(b) Citrus

Code: (1) male adult
(2) female adult
(3) male and female adults together
(4) male child
(5) female child

(c) Coconuts

Code: (1) male adult
(2) female adult
(3) male and female adults together
(4) male child
(5) female child

(d) Ground provisions

Code: (1) male adult
(2) female adult
(3) male and female adults together
(4) male child
(5) female child

(e) Vegetables

Code: (1) male adult
(2) female adult
(3) male and female adults together
(4) male child
(5) female child

(f) Legumes

Code: (1) male adult
(2) female adult
(3) male and female adults together
(4) male child
(5) female child

(g) Fruits

Code: (1) male adult
(2) female adult
(3) male and female adults together
(4) male child
(5) female child

(h) Flowers

Code: (1) male adult
(2) female adult
(3) male and female adults together
(4) male child
(5) female child

7. To whom do you sell your produce?
Code: (1) Farm to Market Ltd.
(2) Hucksters
(3) Dominica Agro Processing
(4) Local market
(5) D.B.M.C.
(6) Local agro processors
(7) Other

8. What work do you do on your plot?
Code: (1) clearing
(2) digging
(3) weeding
(4) sowing seeds
(5) ploughing
(6) sleeving
(7) harvesting / reaping
(8) fertilising
(9) field packing
(10) spraying
(11) other

9. What problems do you face on your plot?
Code: (1) praedial larceny
(2) destruction by animals
(3) shortage of labour
(4) insufficient funds for inputs
(5) drought
(6) disease
(7) other (specify)
(8) none
(9) pests

10.A. Do you own livestock?
Code: (1) yes
(2) no

10.B.

	B HOW MANY?	C HOW OFTEN DO YOU SELL?	D HOW OFTEN DO YOU CONSUME?
Sheep	_____	_____	_____
Goats	_____	_____	_____
Cattle	_____	_____	_____
Pigs	_____	_____	_____
Chicken	_____	_____	_____
Rabbits	_____	_____	_____
Other	_____	_____	_____

10.C. How often do you sell?
Code: (1) rarely
(2) regularly
(3) other (specify)

10.D. How often do you consume?
Code: (1) rarely
(2) special occasion
(3) when there is nothing to eat
(4) regularly
(5) other (specify)

11. Who takes care of the livestock?

(1) Sheep
1a. adult male
1b. adult female
1c. adult male / female
1d. child / children

(2) Goats
2a. adult male
2b. adult female
2c. adult male / female
2d. child / children

(3) Cattle
3a. adult male
3b. adult female
3c. adult male / female
3d. child / children

(4) Pigs
4a. adult male
4b. adult female
4c. adult male / female
4d. child / children

(5) Chicken

5a. adult male
5b. adult female
5c. adult male / female
5d. child / children

(6) Rabbits

6a. adult male
6b. adult female
6c. adult male / female
6d. child / children

(7) Other

7a. adult male
7b. adult female
7c. adult male / female
7d. child / children

12. Whose income is it?

	Adult male	Adult female	Adults male & female	Children male	Children female
Sheep	_____	_____	_____	____	_____
Goats	_____	_____	_____	____	_____
Cattle	_____	_____	_____	____	_____
Pigs	_____	_____	_____	____	_____
Chicken	_____	_____	_____	____	_____
Rabbits	_____	_____	_____	____	_____
Other	_____	_____	_____	____	_____

13. Do you encounter any problems with your livestock?

(a) Accidents

(1) sheep
(2) goats
(3) cattle
(4) pigs
(5) chicken
(6) other
(7) none
(8) rabbits

(b) Disease

(1) sheep
(2) goats
(3) cattle
(4) pigs
(5) chicken
(6) other
(7) none
(8) rabbits

(c) Theft

(1) sheep
(2) goats
(3) cattle
(4) pigs
(5) chicken
(6) other
(7) none
(8) rabbits

(d) Lack of pasture

(1) sheep
(2) goats
(3) cattle
(4) pigs
(5) chicken
(6) other
(7) none
(8) rabbits

14. Who is responsible for buying/paying for?

ITEMS	Adult male	Adult female	Other
Clothes			
Food			
Household items			
Children's supplies			
Appliances			
Medical expenses			
Rent			
Farm supplies			

15. Which of the following items/services can you get?

ITEMS	A SOURCE	B HOW OFTEN?	C FOR WHAT CROPS?
Fertilisers			
Seeds			
Pest control			
Extension services			
Other			

Code: A/. Source

1. Government
2. Non-government

B/. How Often?

1. monthly
2. yearly

C/. For What Crops?

1. Bananas
2. Vegetables
3. Ground provisions
4. Legumes
5. Coconuts

16(a). Have you ever had a Farmer's Loan for Development of your farm?

(1) Yes (2) No

(b). From what source?
(1) Government
(2) Non-government
(3) Other
(4) Not applicable

(c). What did you have to do to get a loan?
(1) Use title deed
(2) Get partner to sign
(3) Other
(4) Just apply to CARDATS
(5) Not applicable

17. From which institution do you receive assistance?

	What kind?	How often?
Government	_____	_____
Non-government (local)	_____	_____
Other	_____	_____
None	_____	_____

18a. Do you use hired labour on your farm?
(1) Yes
(2) No

18b. For which tasks?

	Adult male	Adult female	Adults male & female	Children female	Children male	Other
clearing	____	____	_____	____	____	____
digging	____	____	_____	____	____	____
weeding	____	____	_____	____	____	____
sowing	____	____	_____	____	____	____
ploughing	____	____	_____	____	____	____
sleeving	____	____	_____	____	____	____
harvesting	____	____	_____	____	____	____
field packing	____	____	_____	____	____	____
spraying	____	____	_____	____	____	____
other	____	____	_____	____	____	____

19. If there are any changes to be made on the land, e.g. livestock, equipment to be purchased, etc; who decides?

	Adult male	Adult female	Adults male & female	Children female	Children male	Other
credit	____	____	_____	____	____	____
farm improvement	____	____	_____	____	____	____
labour	____	____	_____	____	____	____
equipment	____	____	_____	____	____	____
services	____	____	____	____	____	____
other	____	____	____	____	____	____

20. Apart from work on your plot, what else do you do to earn an income?

	A Weekly	B Fortnightly	C Monthly	D Yearly
Agricultural labouring	_____	_____	_____	_____
Shopkeepering	_____	_____	_____	_____
Domestic trade	_____	_____	_____	_____
Food handling	_____	_____	_____	_____
Craft	_____	_____	_____	_____
Sewing	_____	_____	_____	_____
Other	_____	_____	_____	_____
Tradesman	_____	_____	_____	_____

21. On an average, how many hours do you spend daily on the plot?

Code: (1) 0-1 hr
(2) 1+ - 2+ hrs
(3) 3-5 hrs
(4) 6-10 hrs
(5) 11-14 hrs
(6) 14 hrs and over

22. A. How long does it take you to get there?
B. How long does it take you to get back?

Code: (1) 0-5 minutes
(2) 6-15 minutes
(3) 16-30 minutes
(4) 31-45 minutes
(5) 46-60 minutes
(6) 1+ - 2 hrs
(7) 2+ - 3 hrs

23. From whom / what do you get your information pertaining to agriculture?

Code: (1) Radio
(2) Extension officer
(3) Local office
(4) Other farmers
(5) Friends
(6) Own experience/ knowledge
(7) Other

24.(a) How often does the extension officer visit you?

Code: (1) occasionally
(2) often
(3) never
(4) regularly
(5) as requested

(b) How does he assist you?

Code: (1) advice
(2) inputs
(3) other
(4) not applicable

(c) Do you find the assistance useful on the farm?

Code: (1) yes
(2) no

SECTION C - HOUSEHOLD SURVEY

1. What time do you normally wake up?

2. What time do you go to bed?

3. Tell me about your activities yesterday from the time you got up to the time you went to bed.
   Code: 3a- agricultural
   3b- domestic
   3c- income-generating other than agriculture
   3d- other

4. Are there any other activities which you usually do on other days that you did not do yesterday?
   Code: 4a- agricultural
   4b- domestic
   4c- income-generating other than agricultural
   4d- other

5.A. Which of your activities do you describe as leisure?
   Code: (1) sexual relations
   (2) church related activities
   (3) visits to friends
   (4) involvement in weddings, funerals
   (5) sports / cultural
   (6) other (specify)
   (7) none
   (8) rest
   (9) reading

5.B. (If none) What prevents you from having leisure activities?
   Code: (1) too much work (2) not interested
   (3) other (specify) (4) not applicable

6. A. Do you belong to community groups?
   Code: (1) yes (2) no
   B. Which ones?
   NAMES (1) farmers' (6) sewing/handicraft
   (2) church (7) other (specify)
   (3) school (eg.PTA) (8) community development
   (4) health group (mixed)
   (5)sports'/cultural (9) political
   (10) women's

7. Which of these groups is the most important to you?
(Use same codes as 6 B)

In what ways?

8. A. Do you have any savings?
Code: (1) yes (2) no

B. What type?
Code: (1) bank
(2) sub
(3) credit union
(4) meeting turns
(5) subtreasury
(6) friendly society
(7) other (specify)

9. For what purpose(s) ?
Code: (1) burial
(2) agricultural inputs
(3) construction
(4) children's needs
(5) medical emergencies
(6) other (specify)
(7) hard times
(8) old age

10. Are there any services that you would like to see in your community?
Code: (1) main roads
(2) feeder roads
(3) electricity
(4) piped water
(5) day care
(6) health clinics
(7) schools
(8) transportation for school children
(9) other (specify)
(10) market
(11) recreation centre

11. In what community activities do you see women involved?
Code: (1) farmers'
(2) church
(3) health group
(4) sports'/cultural
(5) sewing/handicraft
(6) other (specify)
(7) community development group
(8) political
(9) women's group

12. In general, how involved are women in the affairs of the community?
Code: (1) very involved
(2) involved
(3) indifferent
(4) not involved enough
(5) not involved at all
(6) don't know

13. In what ways can women be more involved?
Code: (1) agricultural production
(2) sewing/handicraft
(3) cooking
(4) sports
(5) culture
(6) adult education classes
(7) other (specify)
(8) none
(9) don't know
(10) by cooperating more
(11) by forming groups

14. Did you vote in the last elections?
Code: (1) yes (2) no

15. If no, why not?
Code: (1) absent at time of the elections
(2) not interested
(3) other (specify)
(4) not applicable
(5) not registered

SECTION D - ATTITUDES

1. Do you, or have you in the past, worked in agriculture?
Code: (1) yes (2) no

2. In what area / activity?
Code: (1) personal plot
(2) estate
(3) government agricultural station
(4) labourer
(5) other

3. How long have you been involved in the above activity?
Code: (1) 1-5 years
(2) 6-10 years
(3) 11-20 years
(4) 21-25 years
(5) 26-30 years
(6) 30 years and over

4. At what age did you begin?

5. A. Is there anything about farming that you like?
   B. Is there anything that you dislike?

6.A. Would you like your girl children to be farmers?
Code: (1) yes (2) no

B. If no, why not?
Code: (1) not suitable for girls
(2) too menial
(3) not enough income
(4) work too hard
(5) other (specify)

7.A. Would you like your boy children to be farmers?
Code: (1) yes (2) no

B. If no, why not?
Code: (1) not suitable for boys
(2) too menial
(3) not enough income
(4) work too hard
(5) other (specify)

8.A. If you had to take one of your children out of school, which would it be?
Code: (1) boy (3) refuse to choose
(2) girl (4) other

B. Why?
Code: (1) better suited for agriculture
(2) needed to help in agricultural labour
(3) can manage better without education
(4) other (specify)

9.A. Please rank in order of importance to you.
Code: 1. Good 2. Fair 3. Poor

Availability of freehold land
Marketing
Availability of credit
Extension services
Access to roads
Higher prices

9.B. Please rate the services as shown:
1. Good 2. Fair 3. Poor

Availability of freehold land
Marketing
Availability of credit
Extension services
Access to roads
Higher prices

Appendix v.

WOMEN IN CARIBBEAN AGRICULTURE PROJECT
QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PAST AND PRESENT ESTATE WORKERS - DOMINICA

Type of Household — Area/Community

Life cycle — Household number

Size of household

Who brings the most money into this household?

Do you get your main income from - Agriculture?

- Fishing?

(If no, end interview)

A. DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

1. Employment status

   a. Employed — b. Unemployed

   c. Self-employed

2. Age

3. Sex

4. Partner's occupation

5. Union status

   a. Single — e. Visiting

   b. Married — f. Widowed

   c. Divorced — g. Common-law

   d. Separated — h. Other

6. Members in household

	Total	Sex	Age
Head of household			
Spouse or common-law partner			
Children of household			
Other relatives of household			
Other relatives of spouse			
Boarders/relatives of boarders			
Domestic employees and their relatives			

7. Has any member of your household gone abroad?

Yes No

8. How many children would you have liked to have?

9. Would you have preferred:

1. Girls 3. Both
2. Boys 4. No preference

10. Language most often spoken

1. English 2. Patois 3. Other

11. Educational levels attained:

	No. of years
Primary	
Secondary	
University	
Vocational/skills	
Adult education	
Other programmes	

B. ATTITUDES

1. Do you, or have you in the past, worked in agriculture?

   Yes No

2. In what area/activity?

   a. Personal plot b. Estate

   c. Government Agricultural Station d. Labourer

   e. Other

3. How long have you been involved in the above activity?

4. At what age did you begin?

5.a. Would you like your girl children to be farmers?

   Yes No

   b. If no, why not?

   c. If yes, would you like them to have another occupation as well?

6.a. Would you like your boy children to be farmers?

   Yes No

   b. If no, why not?

   c. If yes, would you like them to have another occupation as well?

C. PAST WORK ON ESTATE

1. Did you work on an estate in the past?

2.a. If yes, on which estate?

2.b. What type of crops were grown?

3.a. Were the conditions on the estate:

i) Unfavourable? ii) Favourable?

b. What jobs/tasks did you carry out?

c. What were your rates of pay?

d. What were the rates of pay of the other jobs?

4. Did you combine estate work with work on your plot?

Yes No

5.a. Were the workers on the estate organised into a trade union?

b. Which?

c. Were you a member?

d. If yes, were you an active member?

6. Do you think the Union has been able to improve working conditions on the estate?

7.a. Have you seen changes on the estate in the past 15 years or longer?

b. What changes have you seen?

8. What changes would you have liked to see?

9. If no longer employed on the estate, when did you stop?

D. PRESENT WORK ON ESTATE/FARM

1. a) Do you presently work on a farm?

   b) For how long have you been doing this work?

2. a) On which estate/farm? (if yes)

   b) What types of crops are grown?

3. What jobs/tasks are you carrying out?

4. What is your rate of pay?

5. a) Are the workers on the estate organised into a Trade Union?

   b) Which Trade Union?

   c) Are you a member?

   d) If yes, are you an active member?

6. Do you think the Union has been able to improve the working conditions on the Estate?

7.a. Do you combine hired work with work on your plot?

	Yes	No
b.	Do you?	
	Own	Rent/own
	Rent	Own/squat
	Squat	Don't know
	Rent/squat	Other

8. How has life changed since you got your personal plot?

9. What are some of the things you need as a farmer?

10.a. Do you belong to any Farmers' Groups or organisations?

b. Name

c. Do you attend meetings regularly?

d. What kind of services do you get from farmers' groups?

HOUSEHOLD CASE STUDY QUESTIONNAIRE

1.1 - COMPOSITION OF THE HOUSEHOLD

NO.	NAME	KINSHIP	SEX	AGE	EDUCATIONAL LEVEL				CIVIL STATUS				MAIN OCCUPATION
					PRIMARY	SECONDARY	UNIVERSITY	OTHER	MARRIED	COMMON -LAW	SINGLE	WIDOW	

Note: Household = all those who lived in the home for 8 months in 1986.

Kinship to be stated in relation to the main woman.

1.2 - INFORMATION ON THE COUPLE

	WOMAN	MAN
1.2.1. - PLACE OF BIRTH		
1.2.2. - PLACE OF RESIDENCE BEFORE MARRIAGE OR DURING FIRST UNION.		
1.2.3. - IF MARRIED OR IN A UNION BEFORE: YES		
NO		
HOW OFTEN		
1.2.4. - AGE AT MARRIAGE OR FIRST UNION.		
1.2.5. - IF SEPARATED OR WIDOWED AND FOR HOW LONG.		
1.2.6. - NO. OF CHILDREN		
LIVE		
DEAD		
MISCARRIAGES		

1.3 - HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

NAME	KINSHIP	SEX	AGE ON LEAVING	YEAR	REASON FOR LEAVING	PLACE	FIRST OCCUPATION	FOR WHOM	PRESENT OCCUPATION	FOR WHOM	PLACE	WHO TOOK THE DECISION	REMITTANCES	
													FREQUENCY	AMOUNT

Code 'FOR WHOM'

a. self-employed
b. paid family worker
c. unpaid family worker
d. private enterprise
e. state enterprise
f. public administration
g. not applicable
h. other (specify)

2. - HOUSING

COMPONENTS / CONDITION		GOOD CONDITION	BAD CONDITION	WHERE DID YOU GET THE MATERIALS?	WHO DID THE CONSTRUCTION?	FROM WHOM DID YOU RECEIVE HELP?
ROOF	PLASTER					
	CANE					
	MADERA					
	ZINC					
	CEMENT					
	OTHER					
WALL	CARDBOARD					
	PLASTER					
	UPRIGHT POLES					
	WOOD					
	WOOD AND BLOCK					
	BLOCK					
	OTHER					
	SHINGLE					
FLOOR	EARTH					
	WOOD					
	CEMENT					
	MOSAIC					
	OTHER					

2.1. NO. OF ROOMS IN THE HOUSE: _____

2.2. USE OF ROOMS: _____

2.3. SPECIFY OTHER CONSTRUCTIONS: _____

2.4. TOTAL HOUSING AREA: _____

2.5. INITIAL COST OF THE HOUSE: _____

2.6. PRESENT VALUE: _____

3. ACCESS TO SERVICES

SERVICES			OBSERVATIONS
WATER	AQUEDUCT RIVER WELL TANK OTHERS (SPECIFY)		
TRANSPORTING WATER	PIPE AND TAP		
	BY FOOT		
	BY DONKEY		
	NOTE: Put distance from house.		
LIGHTING	ELECTRICITY		
	CANDLE		
	GAS OR KEROSENE LAMP		
	OPEN LAMP		
	OTHER (SPECIFY)		
FUEL FOR COOKING	FIREWOOD		
	CHARCOAL		
	COOKING GAS		
	ELECTRICITY		
	OTHER (SPECIFY)		

4. LAND TENURE

FORM OF TENURE		NO. OF ACRES
OWN		
RENT/LEASE		
SHARECROP		
SQUAT		
FAMILY LAND	COLLECTIVE	
	INDIVIDUAL	
PERMISSION TO WORK		
OTHERS (SPECIFY)		
TOTAL		

FORM	TICK	BY WHOM?	TO WHOM?
BOUGHT			
GRANTED			
CAPTURED			
INHERITED			
OTHERS (SPECIFY)			
OBSERVATIONS:			

IF THE LAND IS USED UNDER:

FORM	ALWAYS	OCCASIONALLY	REASONS	TO WHOM?	FORM OF PAYMENT	OBSERVATIONS
RENT						
LEASE						
SHARECROP						
OTHER						

5. AREA AND USE OF LAND

TYPE OF CROPS	MONO-CROP	MIXED CROPS	DISTANCE FROM THE HOUSE	QUALITY OF LAND (SEE CODE)	FORM OF TENURE (SEE CODE)	OBSERVATIONS
TEMPORARY:						
PERMANENT:						
NATURAL FOREST						
CULTIVATED FOREST						
NATURAL PASTURE						
CULTIVATED PASTURE						
HOME GARDEN						
OTHER (SPECIFY)						
TOTAL						

CODES: 1. QUALITY OF THE EARTH: B= GOOD R= AVERAGE M= BAD

2. FORM OF TENURE: 1- OWN 2- LEASE 3- SHARECROP 4- SQUAT
5- FAMILY LAND 6- PERMISSION TO WORK 7- OTHER (SPECIFY)

5.1 FAMILY PLOT (FILL OUT IF APPLICABLE)

TYPE	INDIVIDUAL	COLLECTIVE
HOW LONG HELD?		
ON WHOSE INITIATIVE STARTED?		
TECHNICAL HELP, AND FROM WHOM		
CROPS GROWN		
DESTINATION OF PRODUCTION		
PERSON IN CHARGE		
WHO HELPS?		
OBSERVATIONS		

5.1- TRAINING AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

ACTIVITY *	TYPE OF ASSISTANCE AND/OR TRAINING	WHO RECEIVED IT?	FROM WHOM?		YEAR	DURATION
			NAME	CODE		

* FOR WHAT ACTIVITY AND WHAT CROP?

CODES:

1. WHO RECEIVED IT?
   MARK NUMBER 1

2. FROM WHOM?
   1. STATE INSTITUTION
   2. PRIVATE INSTITUTION
   3. INDIVIDUAL
   4. OTHER

6. SEXUAL DIVISION OF LABOUR

6.1 DOMESTIC WORK

ACTIVITIES	MAIN PERSON	FREQUENCY			PERSON ASSISTING	FREQUENCY			OBSERVATIONS
		DAILY	TIME IN HRS/MINS	TOTAL AMOUNT		DAILY	TIME IN HRS/	TOTAL AMOUNT	
COOKING									
WASHING DISHES									
CLEANING HOUSE									
WASHING CLOTHES									
IRONING									
ARRANGING CLOTHES									
LOOKING AFTER CHILDREN LOOKING FOR WATER									
LOOKING FOR FIREWOOD									
DAILY SHOPPING									
WEEKLY SHOPPING									

CODES:

1. Main person and helper - Code 1.
2. Code Helper
   a. Always
   b. Occasionally

6. SEXUAL DIVISION OF LABOUR

ACTIVITIES	MAIN PERSON	FREQUENCY			PERSON ASSISTING	FREQUENCY			OBSERVATIONS
		DAYS PER YEAR	TIME IN HRS/MINS	TOTAL AMOUNT		DAYS PER YEAR	TIME IN HRS/MINS	TOTAL AMOUNT	
6.2 SMALL LIVESTOCK FEEDING									
GATHERING									
SLAUGHTERING									
SALE									
OTHER									
6.3 LARGE LIVESTOCK									
GATHERING GRASS									
CUTTING CANE									
FEEDING									
GRAZING									
MILKING									
SLAUGHTERING									
SALE									

6. SEXUAL DIVISION OF LABOUR

ACTIVITIES	MAIN PERSON	FREQUENCY			PERSON ASSISTING	FREQUENCY			OBSERVATIONS
		DAYS PER YEAR	TIME IN HRS/MINS	TOTAL AMOUNT		DAYS PER YEAR	TIME IN HRS/MINS	TOTAL AMOUNT	
6.4 AGRICULTURAL TASKS									
LAND PREPARATION									
DIGGING									
SOWING SEEDS									
MAINTENANCE									
GATHERING/HARVESTING									
SELLING									
6.5 CONSTRUCTION AND MAINTENANCE OF INFRASTRUCTURE	<----------				NOTE:- 6.5. DATA COLLECTED BUT NOT USED.				---------->
HOUSE (floor, walls, roof etc.)									
FURNITURE AND FIXTURES									
KITCHEN									
LATRINE									
FENCES AND WATER SYSTEM									
PENS									
OTHER (SPECIFY)									

7. USE OF HIRED LABOUR IN CROP PRODUCTION

MONTH	TASKS	NO. OF DAYS	MAN	WOMAN	BOYS	GIRLS	HELP FROM NEIGHBOURS		DAILY WAGE		SALARY		TOTAL DAYS
							MAN	WOMAN	MAN	WOMAN	MAN	WOMAN	
	BURNING AND PREPARING GROUND												
	PLOUGHING												
	PREPARING NURSERY												
	FERTILISING												
	PLANTING												
	WEEDING												
	MOULDING												
	HARVESTING												
	TRANSPORTING												
	SELECTION												
	SHELLING												
	PEELING OR THRESHING												
	STORING												
	MARKETING												
	T O T A L												

NOTE: 1 DAY = more than 4 hours

1/2 DAY = up to 4 hours

CAUTION : Check what is understood by day's work

8. FAMILY CONSUMPTION COST (ANNUAL)

REPRODUCTIVE COSTS (MONETARY)

	TYPE OF GOODS	FREQUENCY	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL ANNUAL COST	FORM OF PAYMENT	OBSERVATIONS
FOOD							
	SUB-TOTAL						
FUEL							
	SUB-TOTAL						

CODE:

A. Frequency:
1. Daily
2. Weekly
3. Fortnightly
4. Monthly
5. Other

B. Form of payment
1. Cash
2. Credit

REPRODUCTIVE COST (CONT'D.)

	TYPE OF GOODS	FREQUENCY	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL ANNUAL COST	FORM OF PAYMENT	OBSERVATIONS
HYGIENE							
	SUB-TOTAL						
APPAREL CLOTHES							
	SUB-TOTAL						
MEDICINES HOSPITAL COSTS							
	SUB-TOTAL						
SCHOOL							
	SUB-TOTAL						
TRANSPORTATION							
	SUBTOTAL						

REPRODUCTIVE COST (CONT'D.)

	TYPE OF GOODS	FREQUENCY	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL ANNUAL COST	FORM OF PAYMENT	OBSERVATIONS
CONSTRUCTION AND/OR REPAIRS OF HOUSE							
	SUB-TOTAL						
VARIOUS COSTS CHURCH ORGANISATIONS OTHERS							
	SUB-TOTAL						
	TOTAL						

9 - INCOME AND USE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION - 1986

TYPE OF CROP	FORM OF TENURE	# ACRES	QUALITY OF SOIL	TOTAL QUANTITY PRODUCED			DESTINATION OF PRODUCTION									
							SALE				HOME CONSUMPTION			INPUTS		
				LOCAL MEASURE	EQUIVALENT IN LBS.	TOTAL VALUE OF PRODUCTION	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL VALUE OF PRODUCTION	SOLD TO WHOM	QUANTITY	VALUE	TOTAL VALUE OF PRODUCTION	TIME DAYS/ MONTHS	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE

CODE FOR LAND TENURE:

OWN
RENT
SHARECROP
SQUAT
PERMISSION TO WORK
OTHERS (SPECIFY)

CODE FOR QUALITY OF SOIL:

GOOD
REGULAR
BAD

9.1 - COST OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION - 1986

TYPE OF CULTIVATION	INPUTS					INSTRUMENTS/EQUIPMENT				USE OF HIRED LABOUR					LOANS	
	TYPE	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL COST	SOURCE	TYPE	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL COST	NO. OF WORKERS	DAYS PER YEAR	FORM OF PAYMENT	TOTAL WAGE PER PERSON	TOTAL	SUM	INTEREST

CODE TYPE OF INPUT:

0. Organic fertiliser
1. Inorganic fertiliser
2. Insecticides
3. Herbicides
4. Other (specify)

CODE FORM OF PAYMENT:

1. Piece work
2. Daily work
3. Weekly
4. Fortnightly
5. Monthly
6. Other (specify)

CODE LOAN SOURCES:

1. Agricultural Bank
2. Private persons
3. Relative
4. Merchant
5. Middle-person
6. Other (specify)

CODE AGRICULTURAL EQUIPMENT:

1. Tractor
2. Hoe
3. Fork
4. Cutlass
5. Spray can
6. Other (specify)

9.2 - INCOME AND USE OF LARGE LIVESTOCK - 1986

TYPE	QUANTITY TOTAL PRODUCTION	DESTINATION OF PRODUCTION											
		SALES					HOME CONSUMPTION				EXCHANGE		
		QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL VALUE	SOLD TO WHOM	WHO RECEIVES THE INCOME	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL VALUE	DURATION DAYS/MONTHS	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL VALUE

9.3 - INCOME AND USE OF SMALL LIVESTOCK - 1986

TYPE	QUANTITY TOTAL PRODUCTION	DESTINATION OF PRODUCTION											
		SALES					HOME CONSUMPTION				EXCHANGE		
		QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL VALUE	SOLD TO WHOM	WHO RECEIVES THE INCOME	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL VALUE	DURATION DAYS/MONTHS	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL VALUE

9.4 - COST OF PRODUCTION: LARGE LIVESTOCK - 1986

TYPE	INPUTS					INSTRUMENTS/EQUIPMENT				USE OF HIRED LABOUR					LOANS	
	TYPE	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL COST	SOURCE	TYPE	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL COST	NO. OF WORKERS	DAYS PER YEAR	FORM OF PAYMENT	TOTAL WAGE PER PERSON	TOTAL	SUM	INTEREST

CODE TYPE OF INPUT:

1. Natural pasture
2. Cultivated pasture
3. Cane
4. Molasses
5. Other (specify)

CODE FORM OF PAYMENT:

1. Task
2. Daily
3. Weekly
4. Fortnightly
5. Monthly
6. Other (specify)

CODE LOAN SOURCES:

1. Agricultural Bank
2. Private persons
3. Relative
4. Merchant
5. Middle-person
6. Other (specify)

9.5 - COST OF PRODUCTION; SMALL LIVESTOCK - 1986

TYPE	INPUTS					INSTRUMENTS/EQUIPMENT				USE OF HIRED LABOUR					LOANS	
	TYPE	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL COST	SOURCE	TYPE	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL COST	NO. OF WORKERS	DAYS PER YEAR	FORM OF PAYMENT	TOTAL WAGE PER PERSON	TOTAL	SUM	INTEREST

CODE TYPE OF INPUT:

1. Maize
2. Rice
3. Natural pasture
4. Cultivated pasture
5. Cane
6. Other (specify)

CODE FORM OF PAYMENT:

1. Task work
2. Daily
3. Weekly
4. Fortnightly
5. Monthly
6. Other (specify)

CODE LOAN SOURCES:

1. Agricultural Bank
2. Private persons
3. Relative
4. Merchant
5. Middle-person
6. Other (specify)

9.6 - INCOME AND DESTINATION: TRANSFORMATION OF PRODUCTS - 1986

TYPE	QUANTITY TOTAL PRODUCTION	DESTINATION OF PRODUCTION													
		SALES					CONSUMPTION				EXCHANGE				
		QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL VALUE	SOLD TO WHOM	WHO RECEIVES THE INCOME	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL VALUE	DURATION DAYS/MONTHS	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL VALUE	WITH WHOM	EXCHANGE FOR WHAT

9.7 - COSTS OF PRODUCTION: TRANSFORMATION OF PRODUCTS - 1986

TYPE	RAW MATERIALS					INSTRUMENTS/EQUIPMENT				OTHER EXPENSES		OBSERVATIONS
	TYPE	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL COST	SOURCE	TYPE	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL COST	TRANSPORTATION	OTHERS (SPECIFY)	

9.8 - INCOME FOR WAGE WORK - 1986

MONTH	TYPE OF WORK	USE OF TECHNOLOGY MACHINERY ETC.	LOCATION	DAYS WORKED	FORM OF PAYMENT	SALARY	FOR WHOM	WHO RECEIVES THE INCOME	WHO DECIDED ON ACTIVITY	WHY HE/SHE DECIDED TO DO THAT WORK

CODES:

A. MONTH - No. of months in the year

B. PLACE OF WORK

1. Community
2. Mountain land
3. Capital
4. Abroad

C. FORM OF PAYMENT

1. Task work
2. Daily
3. Weekly
4. Fortnightly
5. Monthly
6. Other (specify)

D. FOR WHOM?

1. Relative
2. Neighbour
3. Private enterprise
4. State enterprise
5. Public administration
6. Other (specify)

E. Who receives the income and who decides?

USE CODE ON Pg.1

9.9 - OTHER INCOME-GENERATING ACTIVITIES - 1986

ACTIVITY	COSTS	INCOME		FREQUENCY	WHO SELLS?	WHO RECEIVES THE INCOME?	OBSERVATIONS
		GROSS	NET	DAILY/YEARLY			
BINGO/SCRATCHY, LOTTERY							
SALE OF FIREWOOD							
SALE OF CHARCOAL							
SALE OF ASSETS							
RENT OF ASSETS							
CROCHET							
KNITTING							
SMOCKING							
OTHER (SPECIFY)							

9.10 - FORM OF RECIPROCITY OR MUTUAL AID

ACTIVITIES	TYPE OF RECIPROCITY	MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY WHO PARTICIPATE	OBSERVATIONS

CODE ACTIVITIES

1. DOMESTIC WORK
2. AGRICULTURAL WORK
3. CRAFT
4. LIVESTOCK
5. SELLING / TRADING
6. CONSTRUCTION OR MAINTENANCE (HOME/YARD)
7. CONSTRUCTION OF ROADS AND REPAIRS OF INFRASTRUCTURE IN THE COMMUNITY.
8. OTHER (SPECIFY)

CODE TYPE OF RECIPROCITY

a. WORK / WORK
b. WORK / PRODUCTS (SPECIFY WHICH AND QUANTITY)
c. OTHERS (SPECIFY)

10 - CREDIT 1986

SUM	INTEREST	DURATION OF LOAN	PURPOSE	FROM WHOM	WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR LOAN	OBSERVATIONS

11 - PARTICIPATION IN ORGANISATIONS

FAMILY MEMBER	TYPE OF ORGANISATION	TIME IN ORGANISATION	YEAR FOUNDED	POST OCCUPIED	OBSERVATIONS

12 - DECISION - MAKING

TYPE OF DECISION	MAN	WOMAN	BOTH	BOYS	GIRLS	OTHERS (SPECIFY)
AGRICULTURAL TASKS:						
Who will plant?						
When to plant?						
To get credit						
Purchase and selection of seeds						
Use of fertiliser						
Purchase of fertilisers and other inputs						
Contract and/or use of tractor or plough						
Purchase of instruments for work						
Contract labourers						
Coordinate work of field labourers						
Cook for the labourers						
What is going to be kept for home consumption?						
Gifts and exchange						
What is to be sold?						
LARGE LIVESTOCK:						
Decision to purchase animals						
When to consume?						
To give gifts or exchange						
When and how to sell?						
SMALL LIVESTOCK:						
Decision to buy animals						
When to consume?						
To give gifts or exchange						
When and how to sell?						
CRAFT:						
Recollection or purchase of raw materials						
Work process						
When to sell?						
To give gifts or exchange						
TRANSFORMATION OF PRODUCTS:						
To carry out the activity						
To consume						
What is to be sold and how?						
If to exchange						

DECISION MAKING (CONT'D.)

TYPE OF DECISION	MAN	WOMAN	BOTH	BOYS	GIRLS	OTHERS (SPECIFY)
COMMERCIAL:						
Decision to do the business						
Purchase of products						
Sale of products						
OTHER DECISIONS:						
Daily shopping - local shop						
Weekly shopping - market						
Purchase shoes and clothes						
Utensils for the house						
Repairs of house						
Repairs of fences, pens etc.						
Sale of house						
To sell and/or rent the land						
If the children go to school						
To punish or admonish them						
Number of children to have						
Whether to move house						
For whom to vote in elections						
Whether to join organisations						
Whether to go to church						
Religion of the children (to baptize them)						