



Ladies in Limbo

*The Fate of Women's Bureaux –
Case studies from the Caribbean*

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The Fate of Women's Bureaux

SIX CASE STUDIES FROM THE CARIBBEAN

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NOTE

Although much of the content of this book was discussed in depth at the Commonwealth Secretariat workshop on the Structure, Organisation and Effectiveness of Women's Bureaux, Barbados, 8-11 November 1983, the views expressed remain those of the authors and are not necessarily those of the Commonwealth Secretariat or of Commonwealth Governments.

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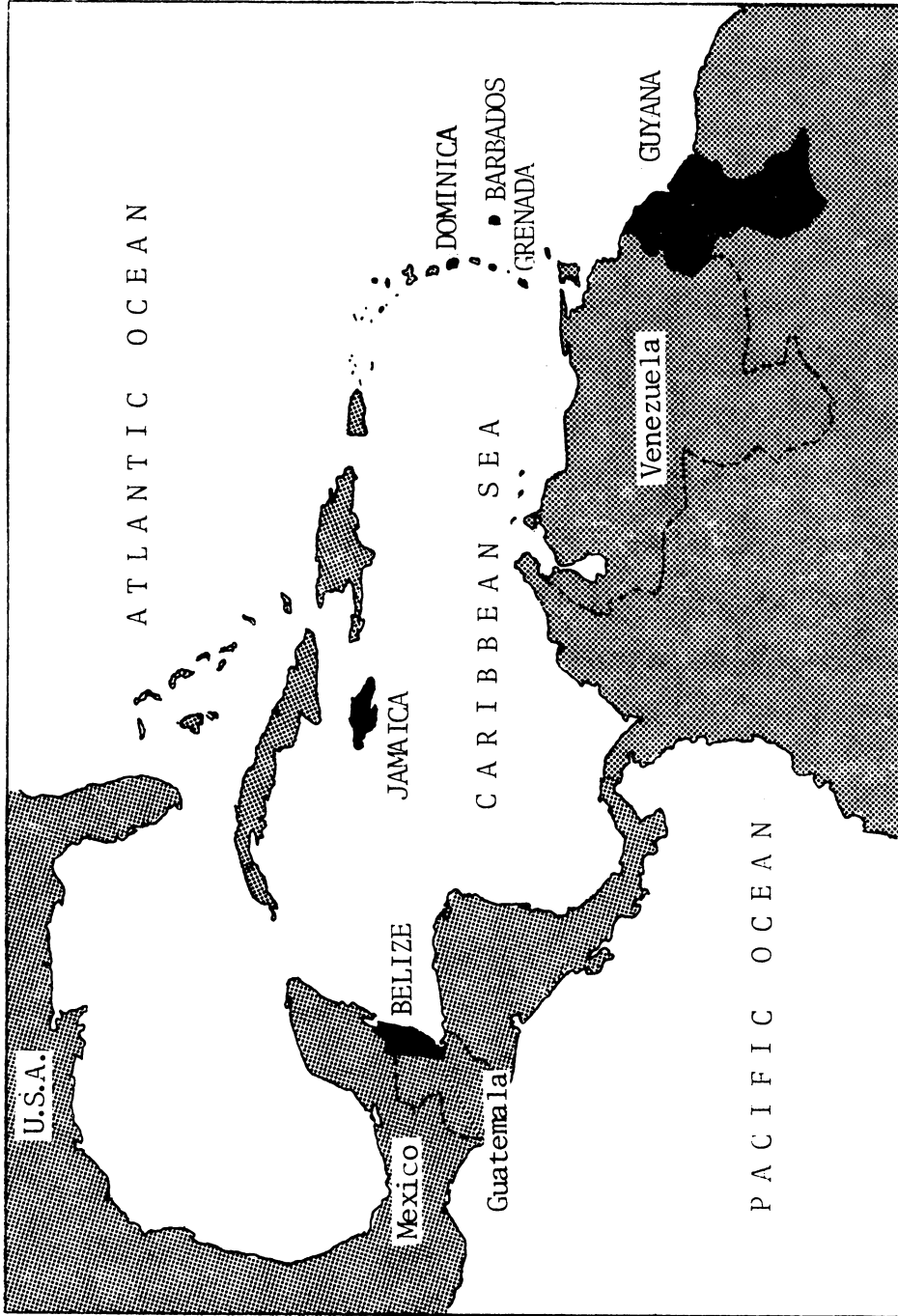
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SIX SELECTED COMMONWEALTH CARIBBEAN COUNTRIES



<u>Country</u>	<u>Capital</u>	<u>Year of Independence</u>
Jamaica	Kingston	1962
Guyana	Georgetown	1966
Barbados	Bridgetown	1966
Grenada	St. George's	1974
Dominica	Roseau	1978
Belize	Belmopan	1981

FOREWORD

'Ladies in Limbo' began as set of consultancies in preparation for a workshop on the management, organisation and structure of Women's Bureaux in the Commonwealth Caribbean. The case studies have been developed into a book by Shirley Gordon, a Jamaican with long experience of development projects in the Caribbean and Latin America. The Commonwealth Secretariat wishes to thank her and all four consultants, Peggy Antrobus, Hazel Blake, Sonja Harris, Joycelyn Massiah and Magda Pollard, for their hard and committed work.

After working with the national machineries of Barbados, Belize, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana and Jamaica, the four consultants, the heads of the Bureaux, (except of Grenada) and two resource people from the Commonwealth met for two and a half days in Barbados.

There, the group used the case studies as the basis of a thorough analysis of their current and common situations. They discussed structure and staffing, the relative means of locating the bureaux in one Ministry vs. another. They shared problems; responsibility without authority, objectives and functions not supported with the resources to implement them, and they assessed their achievements. At the end of these two and a half days, the group prepared a document, incorporating their discussions, which analysed their needs and identified supports required for improved performance. At this point, the group was joined by the Permanent Secretaries responsible for the bureaux and they began this second half of the meeting by discussing the issues presented.

What was most apparent on the first day with the Permanent Secretaries was the mismatch of perceptions as to what exactly the functions of a Women's Bureau should be. It became obvious that, as the impetus for the creation of Women's Bureaux had come from the international community, those charged with executive management, the Permanent Secretaries, had been isolated from essential debate on the role, function and priorities of the bureaux.

Over the next two days, discussions centred on developing mechanisms which could assist both the Permanent Secretaries in the better management and the Bureaux Heads in supports necessary for the implementation of their tasks. Together, the Permanent Secretaries and Bureaux Heads drew up an Action Plan to support National Machineries which undertook:

- the identification in each country of the most appropriate location for the Bureau and the inter-ministerial linkages and supports required
- the assessment of resources, both human and financial, necessary to strengthen and support the work of the Bureau
- assessment of training needs of staff
- development of measures of effectiveness which would enable Permanent Secretaries and staff alike to evaluate the achievements of specific targets and programmes adopted

For the while, the staff of the Bureaux remain Ladies in Limbo. It can but be hoped that the understanding established at that initial workshop will stimulate activity designed to support and enhance the true potential of national machineries for women's affairs.

Dorienne Wilson-Smillie
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Women and Development Programme
Commonwealth Secretariat

September 1984

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HAZEL BLAKE, a Jamaican, served for many years in the Jamaican Civil Service. At the time of writing the Jamaican case study, she had served for six years as the Director of the Bureau of Women's Affairs. Recently retired, she is now involved with pre-school services and acts as a consultant on women's affairs.

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Basic Economic and Social Data for six Selected Commonwealth Caribbean Countries (1981)

Country	Population 000s	Population per sq km	Life expectancy (years)	GNP per capita (US\$)	Annual growth in GNP per capita (real) 1970-1981	Annual rate of inflation 1970-1981	Balance of payments (US\$ million)	External public debt outstanding and disbursed (US\$ million)
Barbados	300	696.0	71	3,500	4.9	13.9	-27	145
Belize	100	4.3	n.a.	1,080	3.0	8.7	n.a.	n.a.
Dominica	74	133.1	n.a.	750	-1.0	16.9	n.a.	n.a.
Grenada	100	290.1	69	850	1.7	14.1	-8	n.a.
Guyana	800	3.7	70	720	1.8	9.9	-126	636
Jamaica	2,200	200.1	71	1,180	0.8	16.8	-337	1,434

1. INTRODUCTION: THE CARIBBEAN CONTEXT

a) The Commonwealth Caribbean countries in the Third World

The six case studies on the development of women's bureaux examined in this publication are from the Commonwealth Caribbean countries, Barbados, Belize, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana and Jamaica. The Commonwealth Caribbean shares the socio-economic characteristics of poor Third World communities, with special features derived from the history, economic development and geographical position of the area.

Historically the population has been imported. The majority are the descendants of African slaves brought to cultivate and service West Indian sugar colonies and the plantocracy. After the British emancipation of slaves in 1838 indentured workers, mainly from India, provided labour for the estates. Many indentured labourers opted to remain after their contracts expired. Guyana, of the six case study countries, has a majority of families of East Indian origin.¹

The racial mix of the Caribbean people includes strong minorities. Their origin is Chinese, Portuguese, mainly from Madeira, immigrants from the Middle East, generically termed "Syrians", and Europeans whose forebears - planters, merchants, clergymen, missionaries, doctors, lawyers and other professionals - did not return to Europe.

Of the six samples in this study, only in Guyana, Belize and Dominica do Amerindian communities remain. They are subject to special legislation and social welfare measures because they mainly live apart in their own communities. In the mainland countries, Belize and Guyana, the majority of Amerindians are still living on a subsistence economy in the forests and villages of the interior. There is, on the other hand, a Carib Reserve in Dominica where in fact Carib Indians pursue similar economic enterprises to the rest of the population.

Other racial groups and intermixtures live without discrimination in law. While it would be naive to say that there is no racial prejudice in the Commonwealth Caribbean, the public image is promoted of multi-racial and multi-cultural communities living together in harmony without discrimination. Differences arise mainly where one group wishes to maintain its original identity and this takes political forms.

The second critical historical inheritance is a dependent economy which reflects all the vicissitudes of First World economic variations. Sugar has long ceased to be "King" in the Caribbean, but remains to four of the six in our sample a source of foreign exchange, namely in Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica and, to a lesser extent, Belize. Tourism, particularly with North American links, is in some years the top foreign exchange earner for Barbados, Jamaica and Grenada. Guyana and Jamaica have bauxite industries which they have nationalised, but which share the current fate of the world

¹ The term "East Indian" is used to distinguish immigrants from India since the 19th century from Amerindian populations who were the indigenous people when Europeans began to arrive in the Caribbean four centuries earlier.

slump in aluminium consumption. For the rest, there are smaller but critical markets in agricultural products such as bananas, citrus fruit, rice, timber, coffee, coconuts and coconut products and spices.

The agricultural sector has declined significantly. There are experiments in manufacturing, particularly of garments, food and drink products and some building materials, but Caribbean investors are cautious, and foreign investors, despite the fact that most of the banks and insurance companies are linked with their North American or British progenitors, are still equally hesitant to commit themselves.

That proximity to North America is a considerable determinant of Caribbean development has become increasingly evident as each Commonwealth Caribbean country has gained political independence. Migration between the mainland and the Caribbean throughout the recorded history of the Caribbean has been steady. It has accelerated into the United States of America over the past century despite legal deterrents, and Canada has received an increasing number of Caribbean immigrants since the Second World War. Most Caribbean students studying abroad now attend North American universities. This first hand acquaintance with North American levels of living and consumption practices has given Caribbean citizens of most socio-economic groups aspirations which cannot be met in the economic circumstances of their own poor countries. This is one of the major differences between the Caribbean area and African or Asian Third World countries. The Afro-American, or Asian-American, experience has created a series of Third World communities which covet the North American opportunities and material advantages, but essentially do not want to be identified with their other social values.

North Americans are also strongly aware of the Caribbean at their doorstep. In one context the islands in particular provide tropical paradises near at hand for relaxation and escape from winter weather. On the other hand, these same islands and Belize and Guyana, the two Commonwealth Caribbean countries on the mainland, are newly independent countries in the American "backyard", which could be a threat if they became unfriendly. Current events in Grenada demonstrate that the Commonwealth Caribbean is divided in its attitude to the United States of America as patron, protector and "godfather". Ex-British colonies are now more immediately influenced by their world power neighbour than by their British colonial historical connections.

The current situation is that all six Commonwealth Caribbean countries forming the sample in this study are now independent countries and enthusiastic new members of the United Nations and its agencies. Four are also members of the Organisation of American States (OAS); the two mainland countries, Guyana and Belize, are not yet members because they have unresolved territorial disputes with their Latin American neighbours. They are all members of the Commonwealth. Finally they link with other Third World countries as signatories of the Lomé Convention and members of the ACP group (African, Caribbean and Pacific) related to European Community countries. In short the Caribbean countries have established relationships with organisations offering prospects to developing countries on a far wider front than in colonial days.

The Commonwealth Caribbean countries have also set up their own Caribbean Community (CARICOM) as the regional planning and development

agency, with headquarters in Guyana and the Caribbean Development Bank in Barbados. Recently the six smallest Commonwealth Caribbean island countries, have initiated the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS), for sharing facilities, services and other mutual benefits; Dominica and Grenada are the members of OECS included in this study.

All the countries in the sample are currently rated by the World Bank as lower-middle income economies, with the exception of Barbados which is assessed as an upper-middle income economy. The preoccupation of each, particularly since the oil price crisis of 1974, is to create an economy which can offer employment, a reasonable level of living and an acceptable infrastructure with services for the population at large. In fact the Caribbean countries have shared the Third World experience of the nineteen-seventies, and of the eighties to date, of increasing unemployment, particularly among school leavers and women of all ages, declining levels of living in face of inflation and drastic cuts in government expenditure for lack of funds.

The politics of independence have reflected their times. Jamaica, Barbados, and Guyana all gained their independence in the 1960s, before the abrupt rise in oil prices in 1974 shattered the illusion of sustained socio-economic progress in the non-oil producing Third World countries. Grenada, Dominica and Belize have been granted independence since the prospect of any substantial development has disappeared. By now all Commonwealth Caribbean countries are facing heavy international debts, lack of capital and a tendency for the citizens to seek their own solutions to problems. The aspiration of the new independent countries for collective development is fast becoming individual enterprise for survival.

b) Women of the Caribbean

Women in Caribbean countries have participated, or are participating, actively in both the developments and the vicissitudes of Caribbean history. They are seldom passive sufferers. Their peculiar role in resisting the slave system has been well documented by Dr Lucille Mathurin Mair in her *Rebel Women*. They are equally resourceful in dealing with today's problems.

The mother is the head of the majority of Caribbean families, "My mother who fathered me" is the key figure for most Caribbean children. She is well supported by "Nanny", the grandmother who cares for the family while the mother works or seeks work. In contrast with many Third World women Caribbean women have become as mobile as men in migration to towns and also in seeking opportunities abroad. Of the Commonwealth countries for example, it is only from the Caribbean countries of the Commonwealth for example, that the number of young women seeking higher education abroad equates with those of the young men.

As in most poor countries employment for women is harder to find, and less protected, than for men. Increasingly women become informal marketers, "higglers" and "hucksters"; they are developing an extensive unofficial import-export business selling in street markets goods they have purchased in French or American islands and in Panama or Miami. Self-employment amongst women is increasing, and there is less dependence on the traditionally ill-paid occupations of domestic service, dressmaking, laundering or retail selling. Women with adequate schooling train as

nurses, teachers and secretaries, and often find ways of pursuing these occupations in better-paid North American posts. The numbers of women in professions, including architects, accountants, lawyers and senior public servants are slowly increasing. The Prime Minister of Dominica, one of the sample countries for this study, is a woman; she has also become the first leader of the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS).

The influence and participation of many women at all levels of Caribbean communities is undoubted, but it still remains remarkable. It is only just beginning to be publicly recognised and supported by legislation and programmes to alleviate the specific social disabilities of women. It remains to be seen whether what is sometimes called the Women's Movement, or the international drive for the participation of women in development, will allow women's enterprise to become a public asset rather than a personal safety valve.

Traditionally, since the emancipation of slaves in the British colonies, men have been mobile at home and abroad, both in search of employment and of better-paid occupations. Fathers have not been resident in the majority of families, leaving women, supported or unsupported, to raise the children. Regular statistics of internal and external migration show that young women no longer accept this differentiation. In some years more women than men now leave the Commonwealth Caribbean countries in search of better work opportunities. They are encouraged by favourable schemes for domestic work in North America, which enable them at the same time to get further training. Nurses trained in the Caribbean migrate steadily to North America, also in search of higher remuneration and better opportunities for further training. These two occupations alone account for ever increasing numbers of women leaving home.

The increasing mobility of Caribbean women is not a matter of public policy, but of private initiative. The policy makers are by default failing to mobilise women at home for national development which would encompass their own economic imperatives. Family legislation, including family courts and the abolition of illegitimacy as a legal status, can assist women in their role as heads of families. What still has to be sought are activities which secure their participation as independent citizens, both as contributors and beneficiaries in the whole spectrum of socio-economic development.

c) Caribbean Initiatives in Dealing with Women's Affairs

The resourcefulness of Caribbean women in facing their own considerable problems has been well established. Through church and other voluntary groups there has also been a good deal of social welfare work generated and organised by women. Both professional women and middle class wives devote considerable time to fund-raising to assist needy women, for training in crafts and domestic skills, for the development of better nutrition, better-child rearing and, hopefully, for production for sale. Family planning programmes have also been the concern of non-government agencies. The YWCA, church groups for women and many special groups pioneered by individual women have played a significant, if not over-publicised, part in women's welfare in most Commonwealth Caribbean countries. Many of the leading women in social welfare work in the different Caribbean colonies have been known to each other and have learnt from each others' programmes and projects. A logical consequence of this

sharing of experience was the formation of the Caribbean Women's Association (CARIWA) in 1970. By this date Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbados and Guyana were all newly independent countries so that CARIWA was one of the earliest regional organisations to be established by Caribbean independent initiative. Guyana in 1973 started the Conference on the Affairs and Status of Women in Guyana (CASWIG) as the national counterpart to the regional body.

The colonial governments did not concentrate on the need either to guard the interests of women or to plan for them specifically in any social reform. The new political parties which arose after the Second World War did encourage the participation of women in politics and in some cases formed a women's auxiliary within the party. The Women's Auxiliary of the Jamaican People's National Party (PNP) and the Women's Revolutionary Socialist Movement (WRSM) of the People's National Congress (PNC) in Guyana took strong initiatives in causing the Government, when their party was, and is, in power, to set up machinery for the official recognition of women as indispensable partners in development in their countries. The development of the Women's bureaux in these two countries, after a series of experimental institutional arrangements, derived from their own experience and from their socialist concern to eliminate deprivation in the community. In Jamaica and Guyana in the 1970s the political motivation, to mobilise the participation of all in the country's development, was the main context of government initiatives in women's affairs. After the coup in Grenada in 1979 the People's Revolutionary Government in a much shorter time made a similar drive for the participation of women as a power group in the promotion of revolutionary development.

The UN International Women's Year, 1974, followed by the Decade of Women beginning in the following year, came at a point where the three larger countries of this Caribbean sample were already independent and themselves UN member states. Grenada became independent in International Women's Year and Dominica and Belize in 1978 and 1981 respectively. The newest three Caribbean countries of the sample therefore entered the international movement to promote Women in Development at a point when its generalised objectives and influences were at their most articulate.

By the International Year of Women the Commonwealth Caribbean countries were ready supporters of the Women in Development concept both as the result of what they had already done in identifying the needs of women, and in their role as new, or soon to be, members of UN. To offer a better deal to women became one of the development objectives in the early independence years of all Commonwealth Caribbean countries.

In 1977 the Caribbean hosted a sub-regional meeting which produced a *Regional Plan of Action*, later incorporated into the UN Economic Commission for Latin America's regional plan. Both regional plans advocated the establishment of government machinery to deal with women's affairs on a systematic basis.

In 1976 two regional organisations took initiatives which were later to support the development of the governmental machinery for women's affairs in the Caribbean countries. Firstly, the Organisation of American States set up and held a conference of the Inter-American Commission of Women (CIM). Secondly, the University of the West Indies started an outreach activity to assist Caribbean countries in launching their official

women in development programmes (WAND). Both WAND and CIM appear as supports in the operational stages of the activities in the countries of the sample studies. Two years later CARICOM also appointed an Adviser on Women's Affairs, who has in particular maintained constructive relationships between Caribbean women working on their development programmes in the different countries.

It is clear that the Caribbean countries had both Caribbean precedents and the international guidelines to help them in setting up their official programmes for women in development. The reconciliation of the two has not always been happy; it has sometimes led to ambiguity and unhelpful generalisation. This can be seen particularly in the first statements of objectives in all the Caribbean countries, in the uncertainties about the location of women's bureaux in the administrative establishment and, perhaps most of all, in the initiatives for decision-making and programme-setting.

The six countries have, however, all established an official machinery for the handling of women's affairs. They have all moved from comprehensive objectives to more realistic statements of functions. There is a dichotomy between the objectives which might be termed structure-oriented in some cases and programme-oriented in others. The location of the Women's Bureau, or its equivalent, continues to be a problem, as are staffing and budgetary arrangements. The outreach aspect of the programme is matter for concern in all cases. None of the writers of the case studies suggests that the initiation is over, nor that a programme can now proceed on agreed objectives. Rather they stress the limitations, and even concern themselves with survival.

Whatever the varying first experience has been and whatever the present resolution of the problems to date in each case certain developments are generally looked for. They are nearly all structural. The desired organisation now is generally expressed as first, a minister of state to represent women's affairs as a political issue; secondly, a well staffed and budgeted women's bureau; thirdly, an inter-ministerial committee to secure women's participation in the development projects and activities of other ministries; fourthly, a national commission for women's affairs as an advisory body, bringing in the long experience of non-government organisations as well as all influential elements concerned with women in the community; and finally a district-based network of programmes and organisations to reach women throughout the country.

2. COMPARATIVE DISCUSSION OF CASE STUDIES OF WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES IN SIX COMMONWEALTH CARIBBEAN COUNTRIES

a) Briefing

The writers of the case studies were invited to present their accounts under the following themes:

- (i) The establishment of the official machinery to promote women's affairs in the country concerned
- (ii) Objectives of the organisation established
- (iii) Structure and staffing of the organisation
- (iv) Links with other bodies and legitimising devices
- (v) Financial constraints
- (vi) Methods of operation, management styles, and decision-making
- (vii) Achievements
- (viii) Problems
- (ix) Forced field analysis
- (x) Proposals

b) The Establishment of Official Machinery

The comparative Table 1 overleaf demonstrates the different approaches, as well as the different terminology, used by each Caribbean country in the sample. It is clear that there was considerable activity concerning the status and affairs of women in Jamaica and Guyana before the International Women's Year in 1974. The long standing programmes of the women's NGOs in these and the two other Caribbean countries independent by 1970 were given a new emphasis in collaboration through the Caribbean Women's Association (CARIWA). From the political perspective the ruling parties in Guyana and in Jamaica after 1972, developed strong women's auxiliaries which have remained a force in women's affairs in both countries. In Jamaica the new government of 1972 appointed an Advisory Committee on the Status of Women which led to the establishment of a Women's Desk, with a Special Advisor on Women's Affairs, in 1974. Similarly Guyana had two women's organisations effectively guiding developments before the International Women's Year - namely the Women's Revolutionary Socialist Movement (WRSM) for the ruling party and the Conference on the Affairs and Status of Women in Guyana (CASWIG) for the voluntary NGOs.

The table demonstrates for the sample countries the order in which each has set up their Women's Bureau, or its equivalent, their political leadership and their consultative machinery in the form of national women's commissions or advisory bodies.

Table 1: Caribbean and International Initiatives in

1970 CARIBBEAN WOMEN'S		
JAMAICA (1962)*	GUYANA (1966)*	BARBADOS (1966)*
PNP Women's Auxiliary	PNC Women's Auxiliary Women's Revolutionary Socialist Movement (WRSM)	
1972 Advisory Committee on Status of Women		
1973	Conference on the Affairs and Status of Women in Guyana (CASWIG)	
1974 WOMEN'S DESK Special Adviser on Women's Affairs		

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR		
1975 DIRECTOR AND BUREAU OF WOMEN'S AFFAIRS		ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR LATIN AMERICA (ECLA)
1976		National Commission on the Status of Women (ad hoc) Department Of Women's Affairs
1977 Minister of State for Women's Affairs		
1978		
1979		
1980 Parliamentary Secretary Women's Affairs	WOMEN'S BUREAU DIRECTOR/MINISTER	
1981		
1982		
1983	First sub-committee of Bureau First regional Women's Desk	
1984		WOMEN'S BUREAU NATIONAL COMMISSION

* Denotes the year in which each country became independent

Capital letters denote existing machinery

Machinery for Women in Development

ASSOCIATION (CARIWA)

GRENADA (1975)*

DOMINICA (1978)*

BELIZE (1981)*

LEADING TO DECADE OF WOMEN 1976-85

UWI WID OUTREACH PROGRAMME (WAND)

Commission on the
Status of Women
(ad hoc) 1976

1977

MINISTER OF STATE FOR
WOMEN'S AFFAIRS 1978

WOMEN'S DESK MINISTRY
OF WOMEN'S AFFAIRS
NATIONAL WOMEN'S
ORGANISATION (NWO) Women's Desk 1979

WID Unit 1980

WOMEN'S BUREAU 1981

MINISTRY OF WOMEN'S
AFFAIRS DEPUTY MINISTER
NATIONAL WOMEN'S
COMMISSION 1982

WOMEN'S BUREAU
STANDING ADVISORY
COMMITTEE 1983

1984

Grenada alone has had a Ministry of Women's Affairs with a deputy minister, within an umbrella Ministry of Education concerned with human resource development. Machinery for mobilisation of women on a district basis can be seen in the National Women's Organisation which has been developed in Grenada and in the first regional sub-committee which has recently been launched in Guyana.

Even this developmental outline shows the extent to which there has been change and alteration in the short history of national organisation for the development of women's affairs. Related with Table 2 which shows the various ministerial resting places of the women's bureaux or their equivalent, in the first three countries to establish Women in Development machinery the impression must be one of instability and uncertainty.

c) Objectives of the First Decade

Each of the selected countries has had more than one statement of objectives. Generally speaking the early objectives echoed the rhetoric of the international bodies, were unrealistically multiplied and in the majority of cases have emphasised the need to improve the status of women above securing their participation in the development programmes of their country. The point is well demonstrated in the first operational chart for the Jamaica's Women's Desk started in 1974. They were expected to achieve three broad objectives:

- 1 *Identification of problems* (status and conditions) peculiar to women;
- 2 *Improvement of the status* (position and attitudes) of women;
- 3 *Integration* (policy and planning involvement) of women in national development.

The objectives in this order were to be achieved through five functions for the Desk, and later the Bureau, namely, research, programme implementation, legislative matters, representation and co-ordination.

The Jamaican objectives demonstrate two characteristics of most of the objective formulation by and for Caribbean women's bureaux. In the first place they are generalised statements of aims rather than objectives. Secondly, lists of functions for the Bureau in more than one case are substituted for objectives stating how precisely the functions are to be applied to the focal points of the ongoing programme. Barbados, Grenada, Dominica and Guyana all list functions at some length. The Guyana case study alone indicates an annual statement of objectives related specifically to each year's work. Without such programmed objectives there can be little chance of achieving a systematic development.

The sub-regional *Plan of Action* of 1977 set the tone for this kind of "objective" formulation. Having recommended the establishment of official mechanisms "for the integration of women in development" the plan then listed the following functions for whatever organisation was adopted:

- (i) Data collection and research. (*about what?*)⁺

⁺ Bracketed questions and comments in italics are editorial.

- (ii) Participation in the formulation of national plans, policies and programmes, to achieve equality between the sexes and the full integration of women in the development process at all levels. (*apart from the dubious assumption that "the development process" at any level has existed in Caribbean countries in or since 1977, questions beginning who? which? what? and above all how? must precede objectives emanating from this kind of international rhetoric*)⁺
- (iii) Co-ordination of programmes affecting women (*which? how?*)⁺
- (iv) Monitoring and evaluation of ongoing and future plans and programmes, with a view to ensuring that the interests and concerns of women are reflected, and that the involvement of women as beneficiaries and participants is assured (*surely some difficulty is evaluating "future plans and programmes"; but still which? and how?*)⁺
- (v) Documentation and dissemination of information, public relations and publicity (*about what and how?*)⁺
- (vi) Promotion of innovative pilot projects (*which and how?*)⁺
- (vii) Guidance and advisory services (*for whom? concerning what?*)⁺
- (viii) Liaison with regional and international bodies (*which? concerning what?*)⁺

Admittedly not even a sub-regional conference can formulate specific working objectives for a variety of organisations; but they can list their generalised functions for the organisations, with examples, in such a way that the organisations then know how to translate them into specific objectives for themselves, effectively to guide their annual, monthly and even daily working schedules.

The experience since the first statement of objectives of each Women's Bureau has shown that objectives must be reduced to realistic proportions if they are to be any serious guide to action. On the whole the most recent objectives are the shortest and the most action-oriented. They also tend to reverse the preoccupations of 1974-75 when the UN call for Equality, Development and Peace for women was dominating the discussion. The twin-headed goal of developing the potential of women and then ensuring their participation in development now takes the lead over concerns about legal status and discrimination.

The case study on the Women's Bureau in Jamaica does not discuss any refinement of objectives since they were first offered in 1974. It simply details the achievements since and the concern for the future, as a list of development projects actually started.

The Grenada goals for women in development in 1979 coincided with those of the revolution. Paraphrased they were:

- 1 To raise the living standards of all the people of the country, particularly the deprived.

- 2 To deepen the quality of development to include the development of human personality.
- 3 To develop and enrich the process of a grass roots democracy by people's participation in the process of socio-economic transformation of the society.

The Grenadian goals link equality and development far more clearly than any of the other statements in the sample. They remain, however, rhetorical rather than organisational and so lose the force and conviction of operational objectives. It is noteworthy that later "objectives" produced by the Ministry of Women's Affairs, Grenada, fall back on the same practice of listing generalised functions and activities for the women's bureaux as appears in the Barbados, Dominica, Belize and Guyana studies.

Belize in 1981, the last of the sample to start a Women's Bureau, set a long term goal, calling it an objective, namely: To upgrade the economic, social, cultural, legal and educational position of women in Belize, thereby assisting them in becoming equal and full partners in the country's development process.

The statement then proceeds to follow precedent by listing generalised activities for the Belize Women's Bureau, but terming them "short-term strategies/objectives" supporting the "long-term objective". The short-term strategies/objectives proposed are research, leadership training, an integrated development plan, dissemination of information, project development, family life education and "income-generating activities for the most needy women". The emphasis in Belize in 1981 was different from that of Jamaica or Guyana in 1974. The economic potential and contribution of women in development is obviously regarded in the later long term objective as more pressing than their legal status.

It is an indication of the limitations on the work of the women's bureaux, which have been set by small resources, that while experience has emphasised the priority need for attention to the economic potential of women, it has still not generated the practice of formulating clear, precise working objectives. A national plan for women is advocated by two writers of case studies; should such plans be developed on a timetabled basis it would be much easier for the staff of women's bureaux, in association with other government and non-governmental development agencies, to produce periodic, specific and realistic working objectives.

The nearest to objective-setting provided by the case studies comes from the regular periodic restatements of proposed activity in Guyana. The problem with the practice as objective formulation, however, is that it states what the Bureau staff will do, but not the response activities anticipated. An example comes from the recent Programme of the Bureau in 1983. The emphasis for the year is on agriculture, including food production and processing. "This", we are told, "is a direct response to government's policy for agriculture as a priority". The Bureau will link with the Ministry of Agriculture and the WRSM outreach programme. Activities will be seminars, workshops, demonstrations. We are not told what these occasions are to deal with, with whom and to what purpose. If food production is the focal point the objectives must be concerned with food production, stating precisely what food is to be produced, by whom, as a result of which activities, by which individuals and bodies. It is

unlikely that the food production or any other economic activity will benefit the women who participate, let alone the consuming public, unless at least simple management decisions and precise objectives are shared, formulated, communicated and used for the realistic evaluation of the activity, by all concerned. The most important activities in food production are the growing and processing of the food; objectives which omit both the activity and the people who conduct it can have little or no impact on a programme of production. Furthermore there is no yardstick for assessing what is essentially a quantitative activity with specific qualitative requirements.

One assumes that "objectives" for women in development to date have been written from the point of view of governments and, to a lesser degree, the public servants involved in women's affairs, because the first decade has seen a struggle to get the machinery implemented. Only in Grenada, and perhaps Belize, has the work of the Ministry of Women's Affairs and the Women's Bureau respectively reached large numbers of the women for whom it is intended. This is reflected in the absence of either grass-roots language or grass-roots aspirations in the objectives. The writer of the Grenada study emphasises that the strength of the Women in Development programme lay in the mobilisation of a large number of women throughout the country through the National Women's Organisation. Membership of an organisation is one aspect of participation; another is the guided formulation of one's own objectives and their implementation. Mass meetings to communicate objectives and projects formulated by others are local participation in only a limited sense. The language of local groups reporting their own objectives and achievements is entirely missing from the case studies.

There is general acceptance of the two aims of promoting and safeguarding the status of women in society and organising their participation in socio-economic development. Furthermore changing objectives reveal a concern through experience of the second as a way of achieving the first goal. What, however, seems to be lacking is technique (i) in formulating precise objectives and (ii) in using the process as a first stage in the participation in development of women at large. It cannot be denied that most of the active working women in the Caribbean seeking to escape traditional domestic and employment roles, pursue their enterprises independently of official Women in Development programmes. This kind of experience is not reflected in the case studies. It is precisely in objective formulation, with its corollary, implementation, that women's ongoing enterprise can be related to the work.

To summarise the state of the art in objective formulation in the Caribbean Women in Development programmes, it can be said that the international rhetoric has been a substitute even for realistic goals let alone objectives; that hard experience has reduced the range of "objectives", but has still not led to specificity which can be shared and understood by all concerned; that for want of clear objectives evaluation has been minimal because one cannot evaluate an activity which has no clearly defined outcome. If ever there was a case for on-the-job training the formulation of working objectives is one. Furthermore communication with all sorts and conditions of women is increased if one substitutes for "promotion of innovative pilot projects" some such objective as "production of 750 litres of canned and labelled passion fruit syrup a week for six months, to meet an assured market in the neighbouring island, with 15% of

**Table 2.: Ministries which have accommodated the Women's Bureaux
in six selected Caribbean countries**

JAMAICA	GUYANA	BARBADOS	GRENADA	DOMINICA	BELIZE
1974 Min. of Youth & Community Development					
1975 Prime Minister's Office					
1978 Min. of Health & Social Security		1976 Min. of Attorney-General			
		1979 Min. of Labour & Community Services	1979 Min. of Education, Culture etc. Min. of Women's Affairs		
1980 Min. of Youth & Community Development	1980 Min. of Labour			1980 Min. of Home Affairs etc.	
		1981 Min. of Transport Workers & Community Services			1981 Min. of Social Services
	1982 Min. of Cooperatives	1982 Min. of Information & Culture			
	1983 Prime Minister's Office				

all proceeds for workers, until the first review in four months". We can all understand that.

d) Structure and Staffing

The discussion on the organisational structure for the Women in Development programmes in the Caribbean revolves around the following relationships with other bodies:

- (i) The ministry in which the women's bureau is to be accommodated
- (ii) Links with ministries whose programmes do, or could, include and affect women
- (iii) Links with non-government organisations which have traditionally conducted programmes with women for social welfare, household and craft training and family life education
- (iv) Links with women in village and district organisations

The staff of the women's bureaux set up to promote the programme is reported in all the case studies as minimal, fluctuating, often not trained and sometimes not assigned even when established. It is therefore not to be expected that any complex four-part structure, as defined above, has yet come into existence. The diagram of concentric circles of linkage with the women's bureaux on the next page shows, however, that each has achieved some structural relationship with one or more of the groups with which the bureau must work. The measures to achieve these relationships vary in each case.

Perhaps the greatest variety lies in the number of ministries which have accommodated women's bureaux, or their equivalent, in their short history. The shifts seem to reflect either uncertainty about the working functions of the women's bureaux or, in some cases, a deliberate attempt to emphasise a particular role by association with the best related ministry to promote that role. The tabulation opposite demonstrates the mobility of the women's bureaux to date.

The Ministry of Women's Affairs in Grenada, within the Ministry of Education which accommodates all the ministries concerned with human resource development, has its own Deputy Minister. The Deputy Minister for Women's Affairs until October 1983 has also been President of the National Women's Organisation. This combination of roles has emphasised the revolutionary mobilisation aspect of the Women in Development Programme in Grenada.

By now, with the exception of Guyana, all the women's bureaux are operating in ministries which already have other community development or social welfare responsibilities. In Jamaica the Women's Bureau, after sojourns in the Prime Minister's Office and the Ministry of Health and Social Security, has returned to its original home in the Ministry of Youth and Community Development. The Ministry of Social Services in Belize, and of Home Affairs in Dominica house the programmes for women's affairs. Barbados appears exceptional in having, after four shifts of location,

TABLE 3 : COMPARATIVE STAFFING OF WOMEN'S BUREAUX IN SIX COMMONWEALTH CARIBBEAN COUNTRIES

JAMAICA	GUYANA	BARBADOS	GRENADA	DOMINICA	BELIZE
DIRECTOR	(MINISTER/DIRECTOR)	DIRECTOR	NATIONAL COORDINATOR	DIRECTOR	DIRECTOR
			HEADS OF DEPT.		
Project Employment Officer	Administrator*		1 Organisation of Women		
Project Coordinator	Coordinator		2 Women in Production		
			3 Political and Social Ed.	Programme Officer	Public Education Officer
			4 Early Childhood		
			5 Admin. & Finance Professional Officers	Field Officer	
Education Officer			1 Social Advisory Centre		
			2 CPE, Culture, Crafts & Sports		
			3 Political Ed. (2)		
3 Regional Coordinators			4 Community Ed. (2) Early Childhood (3)		
			SERVICES		
			1 Office Staff (4)	Secretary	
			2 Drivers (3)		

* Not appointed since mid-1983

placed the Women's Affairs Bureau in the Ministry of Information and Culture; but in fact at this point the community development programme in Barbados remains in the cultural programme of the Ministry. It is therefore in keeping with the rest. Only in Guyana has the trend been reversed. After periods in the Ministry of Labour and the Ministry of Co-operatives, both within two years of inception, the Women's Bureau has in 1983 been transferred to the Prime Minister's Office. There may be a prestige factor in placing the programme among the special projects of a Prime Minister's Office; it also gives an advantage in policy making since all other ministries relate with it. On the other hand it is not project-oriented, nor is it implementing development programmes. In the circumstances allocation to the Prime Minister's Office appears more likely to produce a bureaucratic administration than an ongoing programme of development activities in the Women's Bureau.

The case studies suggest that the women's bureaux are now better supported in ministries already connected with community development programmes. The latest changes in location, with the exception of Guyana, do reflect the support needs of the more action-oriented, development projects which increasingly dominate the objectives of the bureaux. On the other hand, the women in development programmes placed, and budgeted for, in one host ministry can be neglected by other ministries also associated in practice with women's concerns, such as labour, health, agriculture, housing, utilities, not to mention finance and planning.

With one exception, political responsibility for women's affairs has in each case been vested in a Minister of State for Women's Affairs, or in Jamaica, a Parliamentary Secretary within the ministry which houses the Bureau. In Guyana alone is the minister also the director of the programme for Women's Affairs. A similar political control of activities and planning had no doubt been achieved in Grenada with the Deputy Minister also serving as President of the mass women's movement, the NWO. The political representation is clearly visible in both cases. Barbados alone places its Department of Women's Affairs under the Minister responsible for the Ministry in which it finds itself. Since 1977 the Barbados Department has been located in four ministries and so has successively been politically represented by the Attorney General (1977-79), the Minister of Labour and Community Services (1979-81), the Minister of Transport, Works and Community Services, and, since 1982, by the Minister of Information and Culture.

Professional staffing has been declared inadequate in all the case studies, but the same criticism in each case describes different situations. Grenada has had a staff of twenty-four in its Ministry of Women's Affairs and its mobilisation of the mass NWO is regarded as part of the organisational structure to deal with women's affairs on a nation-wide basis. The promotion of local and voluntary projects in all the other cases is rather a strategy to maintain activities at all, in face of inadequate staffing, than the integration of women at large into a systematic movement for their own development. It must also be noted that the Grenadian NWO have recruited only 21% of adult women and some voluntary groups have still remained apart. It has been a new manifestation in Commonwealth Caribbean terms, but by no means comprehensive in practice.

Apart from Grenada all the other five countries of the sample have a director (or an administrator in Guyana where the director is the political

appointment) with from one to four professional support staff. Professional staff can include education officers, research officers, programme administrators, field officers. Even this modest establishment is not always maintained. The bureaux have suffered losses and much staff turnover, particularly in their changes between ministries. Shortage of staff is one limitation; the need for training is another. The women selected often have social welfare experience, but are lacking in skills such as data collection, mobilisation of, or even communication with, large groups of women to be involved in their own decision-making and management processes. The organisation of self employment and cooperative projects, or indeed even of medium-technology modern production skills, and critically formative evaluation are not widespread abilities in the Caribbean at large. They will be much needed for women's development. With or without these skills there is no way that the staff can systematically reach half the population. The business of exploiting opportunities in both the public and private sectors has become a priority in the circumstances. Most of the women's bureaux have budgets to pay the staff; they have to find other resources for any programme they wish to promote. The staff are therefore increasingly concerned with mobilisation of resources, traditional and new. In the public sector they have to secure women's participation in development programmes involving skill training, credit-raising and book-keeping, production, marketing and other income-generating activities. For new projects resources have to be found, often from private sector or international funding. The necessary procedures are time-consuming and require special knowledge. The staff of the bureaux are not sufficient for the size of the demand. The Jamaican case study, which offers the longest history of project development, is the least optimistic about the future if the Bureau is to continue on current staffing.

In their short history the women's bureaux's shortage of professional staff, high rate of turnover, and the lack of mobilisation skills for socio-economic development on a wide scale, have been considerable limiting factors. Furthermore the first leadership has often passed on to new political roles and international or regional posts, leaving the individual countries to find new recruits at all levels of appointment. Staff limitations are critical where the women in development programmes are already highly complex, many-faceted and requiring for valid development, extensive links and relationships throughout the public and private sector. In short personal relationships in the women's bureaux are at least as important as trained activities. It is not surprising that more than one case study discusses the personal style of the Director of the Women's Bureau. This is already a critical element in the working acceptance of the bureaux, particularly in the machinery of government administration and by NGOs long in the field of social welfare for women, many of which have better established leadership in the community than the newly arrived bureaux.

Because the women's bureaux are all located in ministries with other responsibilities, usually concerned with the whole population, the bureau for women's affairs constitutes an extra reporting line. The convention of reporting to the Permanent Secretary is maintained and the women's bureau staff compete for time, funds and other resources with the officers of other programmes in the same ministry. Similarly the multi-faceted women's concerns require relationships with other ministries which appear to be equally stretched to provide their own specialised programmes without a specific women's component. In these circumstances the women's programmes

instead of being planning for half the population, coordinated with that for the other half, tend to become an unwelcome interruption to single purpose undifferentiated planning in each ministry.

As a support to the professionals in the women's bureaux, prodding by the Minister, Minister of State or Parliamentary Secretary for Women's Affairs is a mixed blessing. The Belize case study particularly reports resentment in the Ministry of Social Services against the Bureau for obtaining advantages through political pressure. In the final analysis if the resources are not available, or their accessibility is restricted, a political decision in one's favour is a Pyrrhic victory.

The most common observation of the case studies about the integration of the women's programmes into the work of the ministry in which they are placed is that the longer established civil servants do not concern themselves much with the work of the bureaux, nor do they know much about it. The director and her staff have not risen through the civil service hierarchy and have different priorities from their host ministry. Since the women's bureaux do not receive a budget for their operational programmes their staff do not even participate in the annual budget competition for funds. The strong impression is that the Women in Development programmes are added to the work of ministries, not integrated with it.

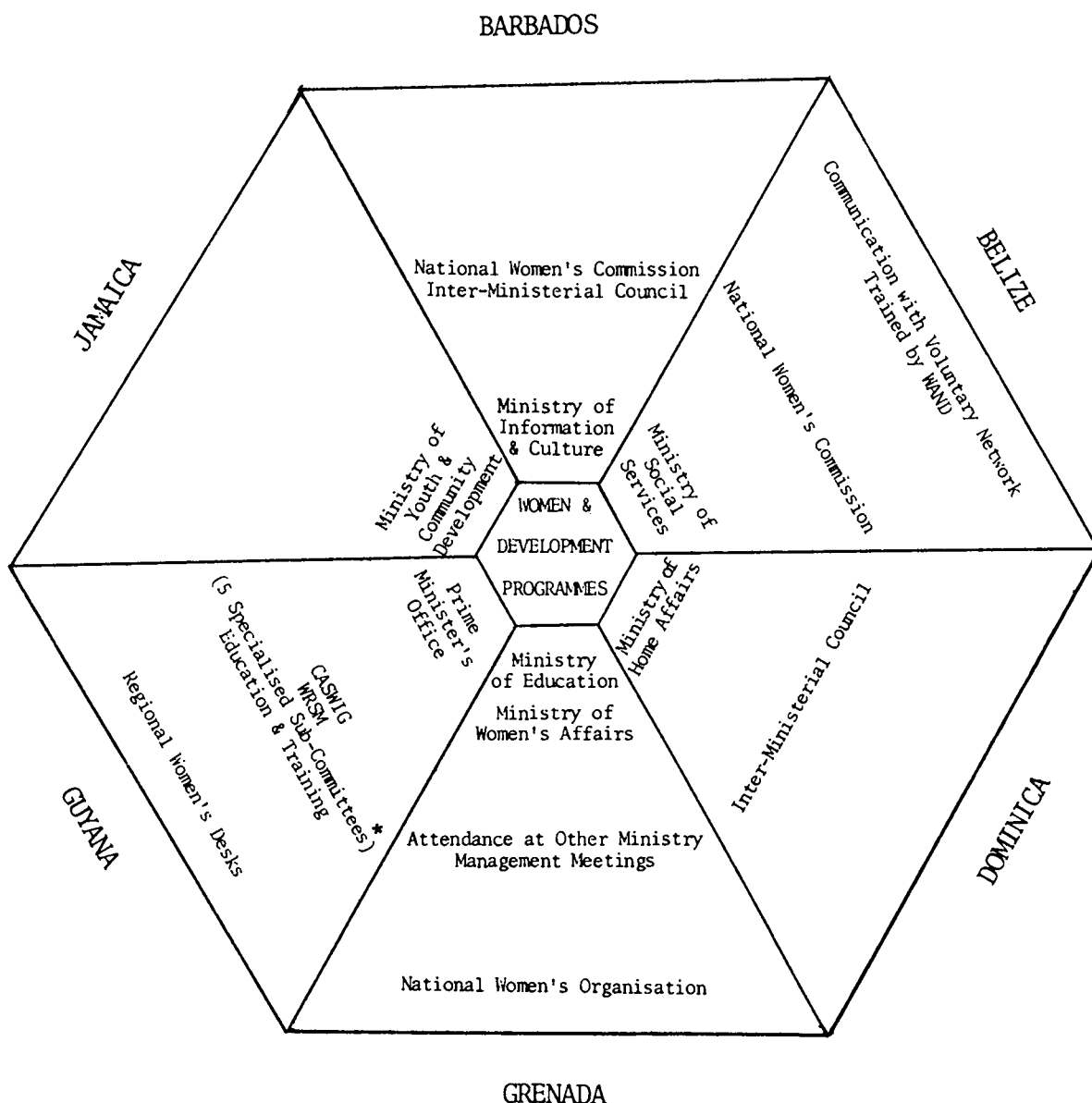
e) Links and Legitimising Devices

All the case studies discuss the working links between the women's bureaux and "cooperating" government ministries as well as the one where they currently reside. Most of the discussants favour some form of interministerial committee to meet on a regular basis. This would provide the ongoing monitoring function of ensuring women's participation in all national projects, benefits and legislation which safeguard their rights and advantages, as well as secure their cooperation in development. The Jamaican case study attributes current frustration in the Bureau specifically to the failure to institute a recommended inter-ministerial council.

Grenada, on the other hand, where the case study cites the largest number of specific links with other ministries, has achieved the liaison, not by any interministerial committee, but by having an official of the Ministry of Women's Affairs on the management committee of every other ministry. This time-consuming procedure had of course been made possible by the size of their staff. It is to be noted also that the Grenadian Ministry of Women's Affairs had only been holding its own ministerial conference once a month, which suggests that monitoring women's interests and activities in the programmes of other ministries has in any case been regarded as more important.

The fact is that women's affairs emerge in the responsibilities of every ministry. The interests of women for instance need to be safeguarded in the Attorney General's Department, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Labour and of Home Affairs. Women's functions in family life require that their particular concerns be identified and monitored in housing, health, education and food production. Finally the whole concept of Women in Development both as beneficiaries and as contributors requires definition of their participation in all development projects, and

Table 4 : The Linkages Between the Women and Development Programmes and Other Bodies - Ministerial, National and Regional



* Planned but not implemented

implementation of what is defined. The multi-faceted concern of the women's bureaux does make links with all the ministries at least as important to achieve as good relationships within the host ministry, probably more so.

This is also a case where objectives must be clear. All the Women in Development programmes envisage production programmes for women. Two operational approaches emerge from the case studies. The Jamaican case study exemplifies the view that the Women's Bureau should initiate and service its own programme of production projects. This involves the staff in identifying suitable projects, raising, invariably international, funds to start the enterprises, organising training, the operation itself and the business resultant on the work.

Another approach is to ensure the women's component in any national production programme that is being developed, be it agriculture, food processing, distribution, construction, light industry, crafts. The Women's Bureau then relates with each ministry which is developing a project and monitors the prospects for women. This is the emphasis favoured by Grenada, Guyana and to some extent by Barbados.

The second approach is still "a heavy load", but it is more likely to integrate women in development projects than are enterprises run separately, even if parallel. The Women's Bureaux share the tasks, particularly in training their participants for project work, but they share also the time consuming problems of fund raising, project launching and ongoing supervision. Above all they are functionally linked with the other ministries which cannot ignore them or leave them out of the estimates, if the officers of the Bureau and the project officers of the relevant ministries are co-operating in common enterprises.

It is in this context that some regular form of inter-ministerial consultative body and policy is proposed by the presenters of the case studies. In Barbados the development is anticipated in the current year. In Dominica a Standing Advisory Committee of technocrats from all ministries is associated with the Women's Bureau. It is reported that consultation is proceeding well, but that subsequent implementation of plans is weak. The support for projects and other operational work is one argument for a constituted inter-ministerial machinery. Another is stability.

Whether the activities of the women's bureaux focus on the monitoring and support of existing and developing government programmes with a women's component or whether they initiate their own projects, they need authority and support beyond the mere legalities of their existence. The political establishment is in each case now in place; but this can be a hazard in the changes of political parties after elections in the Commonwealth Caribbean countries. The situation changed in Jamaica for example with a change of government after the 1980 election. The Jamaican case study is, no doubt in consequence, particularly critical that not only an interministerial committee has been omitted, but also that two other recommended bodies were never instituted as national machinery to support the Women's Bureau in Jamaica. Both an Advisory Council with the standing of a statutory board and a National Commission on the Status of Women had been recommended by a special working committee and accepted in principle by Cabinet in 1977. The implementation was delayed while the roles and

relationships of the different bodies for women's development were defined. The change of government has brought neither the supporting bodies nor an alternative as a backing for the Women's Bureau.

The National Women's Commissions, or their equivalent, secure other forms of support for the women's bureaux. They can be solely advisory or they can assist in the work of the Women in Development programmes. They can consist of government personnel and the personnel of the NGOs or only the latter. However they are constituted, they bring in the NGOs which hitherto have had the greatest experience in dealing with women's affairs and make them part of the newer development-oriented official Women in Development programmes. For the women's bureaux this offers relevant experience and a wider basis of support in the country. The three Caribbean countries which have embarked on organisation of women outside, but related with, the government programme are Belize, Grenada and Guyana. Each works differently and reflects different emphases.

The National Women's Commission in Belize is that country's legitimising device for the Women in Development programme. In fact so far it has also shown considerable ability to mobilise existing strengths in the regions of the country, for operational research, training programmes and project activity. The link is with a strong voluntary network much of which has been trained by WAND. The National Women's Commission, embracing representation from the country's interests in women's development, has become a policy-making and coordinating body rather than simply an advisory one. Its political weight is regarded as a considerable asset to the Bureau in securing resources for women's programmes. One suspects that as a sustained policy this method of securing attention from the Government machinery has limitations. In another section of the case study on Belize one of the problems is defined: the process of stabilisation of the mechanics to structure and support the National Commission needs more urgent and constant attention than the Bureau can do all by itself.

Grenada has incorporated the Women in Development programme with other community action for the promotion of the revolution. The NWO has had a similar purpose and equal legitimacy with the CPE (Centre for Popular Education) and Y for R youth for Reconstruction). The great strength of this has been that all revolutionary development plans have included women, whether they have been rewriting colonial law or setting up cooperatives, because there has been an established channel of mobilisation. The tense one has to use in reporting on Grenada indicates the uncertainties about the future, since the alternative to the People's Revolution has not yet emerged. This does not invalidate the evidence of considerable integration of women in revolutionary development presented in the case study of Grenada, however shortlived it may or may not have been.

Guyana is concerned with regional development. The Government proposes regional women's desks in each of the ten development regions of the country; one has been achieved. The Women's Bureau has now also strengthened its links with professional expertise in the field by establishing the first of five proposed specialised sub-committees on women's affairs, recruiting from Government and NGO personnel. The Education and Training Sub-Committee of the Women's Bureau started work this year. The dual mechanism of sub-committees of the Bureau and regional desks reinforces the Guyana Women's Bureau's central objective of monitoring and supporting, rather than initiating, activity.

All the link mechanisms being used go beyond the setting up of advisory bodies. The national women's commissions, the Guyana sub-committees, the Grenada revolutionary mobilisation network, are all concerned with policy and its implementation, not merely with generalised recommendations and advice. They are action-oriented and supply the vestigial women's bureaux with some of the validity and support they need. The problem of political domination, and therefore the danger of discontinuity, has been stated by the Belize study and apparently exemplified in Grenada. Another problem could well be the dominance of a social welfare emphasis inherited from past programmes instead of a movement for mobilisation and self-determination of all women in the community, which would reflect the kind of goals more often articulated in the modern politics of independence in the Caribbean.

f) Financial Constraints

Financial constraints are crucial in the development of the women's bureaux, which have all come into existence during the period of economic decline heralded by the rise in world oil prices since 1974. Public expenditure on infrastructure and services has steadily declined; the IMF loans raised by Commonwealth Caribbean countries since the late nineteen-seventies stipulate reduction in the civil service. In the face of these two factors alone it is quite remarkable that the governments have managed to set up a basic staff to run women's bureaux, however inadequate they may appear. Only in Belize have the two officers been paid from non-governmental funds; the Women's Bureau has been funded for a two-year period, until the beginning of 1984, by the U.N. Voluntary Fund for the Decade for Women. Although this assistance enabled the Bureau to start, it has led to some differences between the Bureau and the local UNDP office as to whether the Bureau, in such circumstances, is autonomous.

Beyond the payment of salaries and varying provision of secretarial help, none of the bureaux receives an operational budget for any programme, let alone for ongoing projects. It is of course in this context that officers of the bureau are consistently seeking a women's component in all development projects whether run by government ministries or by NGOs. Where a Bureau wishes to initiate a programme of its own the staff must either persuade one of these national bodies to divert funds for the new purpose, a very unlikely eventuality, or they must seek overseas funding, which is itself in competition with other national projects seeking external assistance.

In fact most programmes of socio-economic development in the Caribbean depend substantially for their funding on international and bilateral aid. Increasingly the assistance is in loan form and the project is designed to generate the repayments. Materials for self-help projects, credit for the purchase of land, tools and materials are common bases for loans. These are precisely the loan purposes that have been made difficult for women who find it harder to produce collateral and, despite a growing demonstration to the contrary, are regarded as less credit worthy than men. It is noteworthy that, in the case studies, the international funds raised for women only are for very small definitive projects; they are not open-ended credit, or material resources to support a wide range of enterprises.

Sources of funds mentioned in the case studies show that the Jamaican Bureau has the longest list of international and overseas donors.

Jamaica also presents the longest list of small income-generating projects initiated by the Bureau itself. On the other hand, the Grenadian Ministry of Women's Affairs, which has been the most consistent in its links with other ministries, appears to have been rewarded by the integration of women into the general development projects of these ministries; such as participation in agricultural training (Ministry of Agriculture), training in non-traditional skills (Grencraft), adult education (Ministry of Education), health brigades (Ministry of Health) day care programmes (Grensave), motor mechanics (Ministry of Construction). The Grenada study also reports sessions in "consciousness raising", held by the trade unions and the army. These two resources for women have not been mentioned in any other case study although women have a part in both in most of the other Commonwealth Caribbean countries of the sample. Participation in this variety of ongoing national programmes ensures that women have a share in the budget provided for them. It is probably the only consistent way of maintaining an equitable provision for women in government spending.

The case studies are specific on most aspects of the short but eventful organisational history of the women's bureaux; their comment on funding, however, is as random, one suspects, as its availability and its sources, whether national or international. International funding for most project proposals is currently on the wane. For women in development projects it is certain to decline at the end of the Decade of Women in 1985. It will be disastrous for all the programmes if regular, operational budgets, modest though they will be at this time, have not been established by then. Women's bureaux, however they conceive their objectives, cannot proceed with a programme for women in development on the same terms as voluntary bodies have been doing for so long in programmes of social welfare on behalf of their under- and undeveloped predecessors.

g) Methods of Operation, Management Styles, Decision-making

All the women's affairs bureaux in the case studies now have a minimal, if transient, staff established under a director, reporting to the appropriate minister through the permanent secretary of the ministry where the bureau has been placed. The challenge is to meet objectives, which are increasingly for widespread programmes, without human or financial resources to meet them. The constraints have so far influenced decision-making at all levels.

Some of the women's affairs programmes now have advisory bodies or some national machinery to assist in the identification of priorities for action. Such a body can coordinate the activities of those traditionally concerned with women's rights and welfare with the development projects currently on the drawing board. They are a very important channel of communication and can be used for mobilisation throughout the country.

There is a consensus amongst the writers of the case studies that the women's bureaux need advisory, regional and/or national bodies to assist them in their development. The role of the advisory bodies, particularly in their relationship with the bureaux, secures less agreement. The roles of the national council therefore differ quite a lot. In Guyana the functions are assumed by the long-standing CASWIG and WRSM. The Guyana case study, by omission rather than commission, suggests that these bodies with their record of achievements in the past now leave the Women's Affairs Bureau, essentially their own creation, to deal with the

ongoing work of the programme. The policy of the political director and her staff is to respond to any general directive of government by organising a women's component for the specific development programmes to be promoted. The current priority is, for example, agricultural production, because this is the present emphasis of national development policy. The basic decision is therefore a Government concern; the task of ministries and NGOs is to promote it, monitored and supported by the Women's Bureau.

The articulation of projects for women in development with the national development programme has also essentially been the policy in both Grenada and in Dominica, for different reasons. In the first case it has been in keeping with revolutionary policy to mobilise all citizens for change in their communities. In the second, it has been the only resource in a poor, small country after disastrous hurricanes, to secure any projects for women at all. In both cases the staff of the Women's Affairs Bureau spend much time attending planning meetings in a number of ministries as members of Government boards and committees responsible for production projects and social welfare.

The communication to the NWO in Grenada has often been less than specific; the writer of the case study suggests with hindsight that it probably delivered more revolutionary zeal than plans for sustained activities in the villages. The NWO has been conceived of as a power group of working and poor women, but there are doubts about the input of the membership into the working organisation and direction of women's affairs. The ideas have been coming in fact from the "conscious and articulate women" in the administration at the Ministry of Women's Affairs. The NWO seems to have been a listening post and an agency rather than a catalyst in its own right.

The Belize case study suggests that the National Women's Commission, backed by a country-wide voluntary network, is not only giving strong policy direction in women's affairs, it is also active in implementation, in such matters as district workshops, training programmes, village research and small village projects. It is even suggested that the Director's ideas and dynamism are not always reconciled with the ideas of women at large, which in this case are felt to be available to the decision makers.

The professional women of the bureaux are undoubtedly caught between two influences. On the one hand they are faced with the strong political pressures of the day, which often alienate experienced groups and individuals long established in the promotion of women's affairs, including the "women in the street" themselves. On the other hand neglect and lack of resources must severely limit initiatives by the women's bureaux.

Because almost all operational costs are obtained from international and voluntary sources this is another constraint on decision-making. Projects must be tailored to the aid conditions and conventions of the donor, or at least must be adjusted to them. Much external aid and technical assistance, for instance, have been given for women's projects in home economics, cottage industries and family life programmes. Little has yet been offered for the modern income-generating projects, business management and production development which might bring more women into the formal employment sectors or modern sector self employment.

The most critical factor in decision-making is the response of the women at large in any country. Their boycott of, or non-involvement in, activities remains the final effective determinant of the value of any scheme. Grenada is commended for its mobilisation of women in the NWO. It has, however, only reached 21% of the women in the population. Some groups have deliberately remained aloof, and limitations have already been noted concerning the initiatives actually taken by the NWO membership itself. A popularly based women's movement has yet to emerge in the Commonwealth Caribbean, and yet as heads of families, producers, distributors and traders, domestic and foreign, these are some of the most enterprising women in the world. They are also, at least in the same proportion as men, migrants to North and Central America and now to a lesser extent to Europe. In First World countries they have learnt more sophisticated life styles and relationships, including expectations for better levels of living for themselves and their families at home. The women's bureaux have scarcely tapped the enterprise of poor and aspiring women, or indeed of ladies rich from their own unconventional exercises in the market. If, furthermore, the bureaux could tap this initiative they would have a strong voting public concentrating on their affairs. By the same token resources should be easier to come by if half the population becomes a legitimate pressure group.

Furthermore it is only by a broad-based programme of women's participation in socio-economic development that resources can be self-generated. Independence is as yet a political achievement only. The citizens of independent countries have still to seek personal independence as a consequence of their own political status. Caribbean women in particular still pursue their goals of survival and/or betterment, as a personal concern, often away from home; their countries have not invited them to do much else. The case studies miss this context for the development of women's affairs in the new Caribbean countries.

This stage in Caribbean history is reflected in the limited and somewhat piecemeal methods of operation of the women's bureaux. The writers of the case studies are fully aware that the problems of the women's bureaux to date are far less that the wrong people are making decisions concerning women's affairs than that the marginality of resources does not allow for calculated decision-making at all.

In some of the case studies the proposed device for achieving long-term decisions about women's projects and activities is the creation of a national plan for women in development, to be a blue-print for action. It has already been seen that Guyana has experimented with a workshop to get proposals for the plan from women in the communities themselves. The same goal is set by Belize and implied by the others. The object is obviously to achieve opportunities for women not merely as components in national development plans. Many Caribbean women would prefer the resources for development, such as access to credit, land, training and decision making, which would have far more important multiplier effects in the long run than participation in small definitive projects.

Finally, the question remains as to whose decisions are being sought. Both traditional leaders in social welfare for women and the social science trained staff of the new women's bureaux have their own ideas of what women's bureaux need. The women at large may not agree with these priorities and will then in practice, as they always have, pursue their own

devices without reference to any official programmes for their development. A case in point is the great increase in informal import/export markets conducted by women since the recession of the 1970s presented its challenge. The initiative has been assertive, sometimes highly profitable to individuals and certainly a way of supplementing scarce stock in the retail shops. The weaknesses have been great duplication of goods in the road markets, and in consequence slow and unprofitable sales, lack of concern with consumer preferences, bad pricing, display, and sheer incompetence in weighing, making change and packaging, if any.

There has to be reconciliation of experience and viewpoints. Participation is a high human and social value in the Caribbean. Women in development are no exception; the more that their ideas are incorporated into plans, preferably medium-term and accountable, the more they will cooperate. The machinery to enable them to make their input is important. In fact, however, women are less inspired by institutional arrangements than by programmes, with ongoing decisions to be made. A problem-solving attack with specific objectives will probably be more effective as a succession of participation activities than a national campaign in institution building, with or without a national plan.

h) Achievements

The achievements reported in the case studies are not only interesting and impressive in themselves, but also a good indicator of what each country in the sample has seen as the priority for introducing women into development programmes.

The five categories of achievement claimed in order of frequency for the combined sample, are as follows:

- (i) Structure for the implementation of the programme
- (ii) Legislation for the rights and status of women
- (iii) Production projects
- (iv) Participation of women in planning
- (v) Awareness and motivation

It is perhaps not surprising that achievements in setting up the machinery are the most observed. They have been the initial endeavour and remain the current challenge. The Belize case study makes the most comprehensive claim for achievement in the structure for a women in development programme. They are a recognised presence in the Ministry of Social Security where they have always been accommodated. They have all the elements of a structure, with working relationships with other ministerial departments and NGOs. There is open communication with the Permanent Secretary, Ministry personnel and staff of voluntary bodies; their outreach programme is systematic and sustained.

The Guyana study cites as achievements the establishment of the Education and Training Sub-Committee and of one of the women's desks in the regional affairs commissions. They also claim good collaboration with other agencies, governmental and non-governmental, in activities concerned with nutrition and agriculture.

The formation of the National Women's Organisation in Grenada is reported as a mass mobilisation of women, as a power group to support the revolution. The case study writer also claims achievement in incorporating and thus strengthening some of the established women's social welfare groups, such as the Church Women, and other church groups, and the Home Makers.

The strongest legislative programme to assist the status of women reported in a case study is that of Dominica. The *Maintenance Act* provides equality for all children whether born in or out of wedlock, and the *Income Tax Ordinance* provides for the separate tax assessment of husband and wife. Amendments are under consideration to remove discriminatory aspects in laws relating to inheritance, marriage, divorce, leave passages for civil servants, maternity leave and social insurance. The Grenada study also reports on the granting of maternity leave and the right of women to join trade unions.

It is interesting that the Jamaican case study does not classify as achievements the considerable legislative measures in support of women in that country. The setting up of the Family Court to deal with the confusion of family affairs which are brought to law, the abolition of the legal status of illegitimacy and the establishment of a minimum wage could all have been cited as laws improving the status of women. The Jamaica study in fact only quotes as presumptive achievements economic projects and income-generating activities.

The Guyana study claims credit for project writing and for feasibility studies, and associates the Women's Bureau with implementation of some of the resulting projects. Although production and income-generation are strongly advocated as objectives of the Bureau of Women's Affairs in the other case studies, they are not classified as achievements in the presentation. Nor are there claims for achievement in finding credit, land, or markets for women; even skill training, which has certainly taken place, is not mentioned in this context.

The other two categories of achievement-participation and awareness - are predictably most claimed by Grenada, almost entirely through the activities of the NWO; there have been meetings of parish and social councils where women recognise their rights and the need for change; the Ministry of Women's Affairs is perceived as the defender of these rights.

The Guyana case study claims that the women are participating well in the one regional desk and the one sub-committee where machinery has been established for them to do so. The Dominica study reports that women are asserting themselves and reiterating their commitment to their families and their country.

It is not surprising that in the short lives of the women's bureaux they do not want to claim great achievements yet. This is particularly to be expected when, as the case studies have articulated, there are limiting effects of small staff, lack of finance, poor integration with other ministerial agencies and sometimes with the NGOs as well.

1) Problems

By and large the case studies emphasise the problems created for the women's bureaux by lack of staff and lack of budgets. In each case they deplore the constraints put upon them by these deficiencies, without specifying precisely what has been lost in consequence.

The working relationships with both their own ministry, whichever it is, and with the other ministries whose work also affects women's affairs are the second greatest cause of worry. It is widely felt that the established bureaucracies are not reconciled to the newcomer. The women's bureaux are anxious to initiate development programmes for women and are action-oriented in ministries where maintenance of ongoing activities is the priority. In Belize in particular a woman head of department proved embarrassing in a Ministry of Social Services where men have always headed the departments. The inter-ministerial relationships, while not reported as hostile, are also obviously a challenge for women's bureaux staff seeking a share for women in general projects administered by the public service.

The only problem expressed about the NGOs in the women in development programmes is the extent to which they have been incorporated. In one form or another each case study advocates a board, sometimes of both government and NGO representatives, sometimes of only NGOs. It is clear that the staff of women's bureaux regard such a creation as a legitimising device for their work, and an insurance that they have harnessed the most experienced workers in the field to assist the new programme. The problem, however, is that only in Belize and now in Barbados does such a body exist. Elsewhere staff of the bureau are dealing with individual organisations on an ad hoc basis and have no consistent relationship with the NGOs at all.

Only in the Grenada case study is it reported that some NGOs were not willing to work with the Ministry of Women's Affairs or subsequently join the NWU. This was obviously the objection of groups opposed to the revolution, not to development work with women. Elsewhere, and with other groups in Grenada, the women's bureaux have found it easy to work with NGOs. In some cases the bureau staff have worked for NGOs themselves and are now relating with former colleagues.

The case studies do not express much concern for lack of grassroots contact with women at large in the communities. The Jamaica case study presents strongly frustration felt because the Director of the Bureau does not have the resources to meet the popular demand for production projects. It is not clear from the other studies that any such demand exists or if it does, that it has reached the Women's Bureau.

There is also little negative comment on the state of objective formulation. Each case study shows that the scope of the women in development programmes has had to be restricted, but this is reported rather as a gain in realism than a loss of potential action. The Guyanese study in particular almost expresses relief that the restrictions on staffing and finance have resolved the issues concerning the role of the Bureau.

In many ways the problems not expressed in the case studies are as revealing as those that are. In fact it is hard to see how the women's bureaux can survive as more than tokens of concern when the Decade of Women

ends in 1985. The continuing recession means that little more national budgeting and less international aid can be anticipated. At the family and personal levels survival is a more pressing challenge than development. Women have always played a major role in the survival enterprise, but not hitherto through official programmes. It is arguable that women's bureaux, even if reasonably staffed and supported, will find themselves in the same predicament as the women they both represent and serve.

The emergency aspect of the women in development programme in the nineteen-eighties is hardly presented by the case studies.

3. CASE STUDIES OF WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES IN SIX COMMONWEALTH CARIBBEAN COUNTRIES

Framework for Analysis and Format

The case studies are presented in the order in which the continuous government programme for Women in Development in each country was started. This virtually coincides with the order in which each country in the sample gained political independence.

- 1 Jamaica
- 2 Guyana
- 3 Barbados
- 4 Grenada
- 5 Dominica
- 6 Belize

The briefing for the case studies was as follows:

- 1 Background to the creation of the bureaux, history and environment at its creation
- 2
 - a) Objectives at outset
 - b) Evolving and changing objectives - reflection of these in programmes
- 3 Structure and staffing - size of organisation, position, reporting lines, legitimating devices, structural supports, linkages with other ministries, departments, programmes; sources of funds
- 4 Methods of operation, management styles, decision-making (do these in any way differ from those of regular departments and regular government institutions?)
- 5 Achievements and problems
- 6 Evaluation of any similar structures set up by the government to deal with a problem or issue

It is important that:

- a) the focus of the report be on the critical analysis. It may be useful, therefore, to relegate as much factual and supporting material as possible to appendices. This will probably assist in stimulating discussion
- b) in assessing the above 6 points, the environment - i.e. political, public perceptions etc. - be taken into account and documented
- c) the analytic approach be consistent. A force field analysis for much of the evaluation will help to clarify past performance, obstacles, success factors and point directions for the future

JAMAICA CASE STUDY

Jamaica is the largest island country in the Commonwealth Caribbean and, with 2.14 million people, has about half the Commonwealth Caribbean population.

It is classified as a lower middle income developing country with a GNP per capita of \$1,180 in 1981. The average annual inflation rate for the past ten years has been 16.8%. The oil crisis and the prolonged recession have very adversely affected the economy. Growing unemployment and serious balance of payment problems are chronic conditions. Jamaica's top earnings come from export of bauxite (which has had a poor market for some years now), tourism, sugar, bananas and citrus fruit. There are also the products of light manufacturing and "screw driver" industries. In 1962 Jamaica was the first Commonwealth Caribbean country to become independent and she has had six elections since. The Jamaica Labour Party, now in power, has ruled for fourteen of the twenty-two years of independence. The People's National Party formed a Socialist government for eight years between 1972 and 1980; it was during this period that the machinery to handle women affairs came into existence.

HAZEL BLAKE, the writer of this study, was Director of the Jamaica Women's Bureau.

A Development of Bureau of Women's Affairs

What the Jamaican Parliamentary Secretary for Women's Affairs said in 1981 is still relevant to any analysis of the forces which shape our operation. Many governments and organisations are still only paying lip service to the goals (of the Decade) and where there is national machinery, in many cases, it is inadequate and in some cases, merely tokenism. Insufficient resources, both human and financial, inadequate mechanisms and an unwillingness on the part of those at the decision-making level to treat the issue of integration of women with utmost urgency and seriousness, are hallmarks of the lack of understanding of the issues which relate to women in development and the benefit that can accrue by integrating them into national development.

Although Jamaica was a member state of the United Nations prior to 1972, it had played no part in international activities addressing the question of women. It even failed to respond to an invitation from the UN to undertake a national survey along with other member states on the important issue of the status of women and family planning.

An unpublished document on "The Jamaican Women's Bureau" reported that "when the present Government (PNP) came to power in Jamaica in 1972, there was no Governmental *policy* on women and no specific procedures or mechanisms for addressing issues related to the roles and status of women. There were a number of women's programmes, but these tended to be diffuse,

¹ Jamaica Parliamentary Secretary for Women's Affairs, Ms Princess Lawes to CARICOM Secretariat Seminar, *Strengthening National Machinery for the Integration of Women in Development*, November 1981.

social-welfare oriented and based on the assumption that women could only be defined in relation to their roles as home-makers. The new Government which proclaimed a commitment to structural change and the creation of a society in which the principle of social justice, equality and participation were the hallmarks, began to seriously address the issue of the roles and status of women".

The PNP Government's philosophy of "Equality and Social Justice for All", articulated while in opposition, struck a responsive chord in two main groups of women, namely:

- a) older women who had been traditional activists through formal membership organisations and who enjoyed a formidable record of achievement in social welfare, community development and family welfare matters
- b) women under age-30, who had been deeply influenced by the black civil rights activism in the United States during the 1960s, which fuelled a new wave of radicalism within the international women's movement, by altering women's perspective of how to demand and achieve social change

It should also be noted that the content of political education leading up to the 1972 General Elections suggested "the coming" of a Government which would be responsive to the plight of the poor, the working class and disaffected youth. Further, the theme of self-reliance as a means to self-determination, self-respect and dignity, evoked mass appeal especially among women, long accustomed to "making it on their own".

A paper on *Women and Social Change*, published in July 1972,¹ sums up the militant mood of the times.

- 1 Planning for national reconstruction cannot afford to overlook the special, dynamic potential of women
- 2 Women can be motivated towards civic/national activism
- 3 Some of the problems and grievances of women are particularly acute and carry fundamental implications for any strategy of social change
- 4 The official machinery required has to produce action now; it should also keep the condition of women under continuous survey

Between 1972 and 1974 there was regular discussion and recommendation about the institutional form for the establishment of women's affairs as a permanent concern. The Special Adviser on Women's Affairs worked with an Advisory Committee on the status of women to define an appropriate national machinery to promote women's affairs. Their major proposals were:

1 Paper by Lucille Mathurin-Mair, first Special Adviser on Women's Affairs in Jamaica.

- (i) To establish a Women's Bureau with statutory powers in the Prime Minister's Office to give it access to the policy-formulating and funding departments of Government
- (ii) To appoint a Parliamentary Secretary with political responsibility for women's affairs
- (iii) To appoint an Advisory Council on Women's Affairs to include NGOs

The Women's Auxiliary of the People's National Party also served as a strong pressure group within the party to change the status of women in politics from subservient levels within the rank and file membership to active participation at all levels. The Auxiliary through the party machinery was able to pressure the Government to establish the recommended Advisory Committee to address women's problems at the national level.

Other pressure groups, notably the Soroptimist Women's Club which had a tradition of lobbying for legal reforms, especially in respect of unmarried mothers and their children, supported the move for a national machinery. It is to their credit that their research findings laid the foundation for the establishment of the first Family Court in Jamaica, and prior to that supported the establishment of Day Care Centres at the workplace.

The first establishment of the national machinery for women's affairs preceded the launching of the International Women's Year, but differed from the recommendations of the Advisory Committee. The year 1974 saw the establishment of a Women's Desk within the Ministry of Youth and Community Development. Jamaica also became a member of the Inter-American Commission of Women (CIM), a specialised agency of the Organisation of American States, and attended the first CIM Assembly in 1975.

B Objectives

Buoyed by the prevailing climate in its early years the Bureau was unaffected by such considerations as whether or not it was adequate to pursue the objectives defined, the logistics involved in its role as an implementing authority, the absence of a strong and independent national-based women's movement or administrative and financial constraints which would attend the magnitude of its task.

The Bureau was expected to achieve three broad objectives:

- 1 *Identification of problems (status and conditions) peculiar to women*
- 2 *Improvement of the status (position and attitudes) of women*
- 3 *Integration (policy and planning involvement) of women in national development*

The attainment of these objectives was envisaged through the following functions:

- 1 *Research* - the provision of a source of specialised data serving all planning agencies of Government
- 2 *Programme implementation* - a concentrated emphasis on relational education, family planning and child care service
- 3 *Legislative matters* - identification of legal inequalities and advice on reform measures
- 4 *Representation* - securing the participation of greater numbers of women on public bodies, appropriate to their numbers, ability and interests
- 5 *Coordination* and identification of the special concerns of women in existing and planned Government programmes

C Structure and Staffing

What was established in 1974 was a Women's Desk within the Ministry of Youth and Community Development, directed by a part-time Special Adviser. A note from the Ministry of the Public Service justified the meagre staffing in the following statement:

The main emphasis of such an Agency should be on *research* and *advice* to policymakers rather than execution of programmes. In light of this change, the need for a Programme Administrator is obviated.

The same note goes on to state that "the Desk should coordinate the work of the agencies already involved in the field of family life education, family planning and child care". Concern was expressed that the Government was setting up "yet another agency duplicating functions already being performed in the community".

It was not until June 1975 that the Desk was upgraded and transferred to the Office of the Prime Minister, with a full-time Director. By 1976 Government had sanctioned the objectives and functions of a Women's Bureau and agreed to a policy statement which enunciated, as a major objective, equality between the sexes and the full integration of women in the whole process of national development.

Another gain was achieved in 1977 with the appointment of the first Minister of State for Women's Affairs. The hope that this move meant "that the concerns of women would be strongly represented in central Government and the political machinery", was shortlived. By 1978, the Bureau was removed to the portfolio of the Ministry of Health and Social Security and made accountable to a Permanent Secretary. Again in 1980, with a change of political administration, the Bureau was placed under the portfolio of the Ministry of Youth and Community Development, and made accountable to a Parliamentary Secretary for Women's Affairs. In six years the Women's Bureau had resided in four ministries. The result has been described by the present Director. "These movements", she asserted "tend to set back implementation as new understandings, with new personnel, become necessary. In essence, the Bureau was given a huge task, but it was not structured, in terms of personnel, expertise and budgets, to be an effective machinery for the task".

While the credibility, legitimacy and stature of the Bureau are unquestioned within the international community, the absence of legitimating devices has limited the mobilisational aspects of its work, at the national level.

Although the need "for an official link with a wider cross-section of the women's organisations and the need to involve women in the planning process" was accepted and the "importance of an effective coordinating mechanism" was recognised, three important mechanisms were never implemented, namely:

- 1 The Advisory Council
- 2 An Inter-Ministerial Committee
- 3 A National Commission on the Status of Women

The records show that by May 1977, the Government through Cabinet had approved (in principle) the establishment of the Inter-Ministerial Committee and the National Commission, as well as the restructuring and expansion of the Bureau.

The Advisory Council as proposed by the Advisory Committee would have enjoyed legal power through its statutory status to act and to implement policy. The National Commission, conceived as a voluntary, advisory body to the Bureau, was expected to complement and strengthen the work of the Bureau by providing a body of experience and expertise. The records indicate that "the Commission would not only comprise women of voluntary organisations and women with special expertise in the fields of education, law, industry and agriculture, but also women sympathetic to the needs and aspirations of Jamaican women".

The opinions of the Working Committee set up to formulate the terms of reference of the National Commission were at variance with the stated intent of the Government. On the one hand, the Government saw the Commission as assisting the Bureau to achieve its goals. On the other hand, the Committee envisaged the Bureau in the role of an organ of the National Commission. The proposal was deferred pending clarification by the political directorate, and was not revived.

By 1977 it became clear that the demands being made on the Bureau were out of proportion to its capabilities and resource base. Within three years the focus of the Bureau's operations had shifted from a research and promotional orientation to incorporate the implementation of pilot socio-economic projects, counselling, education and liaison with international agencies.

According to the Bureau's first Director, "In the first year the goal was to raise consciousness and legitimise the Bureau. There were parish workshops involving literally hundreds of Jamaican women and men interacting with extension officers and field personnel of key Government ministries. Informal linkages were being established with women's groups, organisations, communities. Through seminars and workshops we tried to identify the needs of women in order to reflect their conditions to Government and so influence changes in policies and programmes."

The Bureau was also engaged in establishing relationships with various faculties of the University of the West Indies for research purposes as well as technical assistance links with several international funding agencies.

In its early years the Bureau operated on a shoestring budget with a staff of one to four at any given time. The Bureau's failure in its formative years to secure its financial independence and security has resulted in an enduring legacy of dependency on international sources of funding. It is ironic that the national programme designed from its inception specifically to initiate and implement programmes for the upliftment of women, does not itself receive a budgetary allocation for such programmes. The Government budget continues to provide only salaries for staff and maintenance provision. Since January, 1982, the Bureau's main sources of funding have been the UN Voluntary Fund and the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA). Over the years funds have been secured from the Ford Foundation, Carnegie Corporation, the Pathfinder Fund, the International Planned Parenthood Federation, to name a few.

The situation is ironic for the reason that we are busily engaged in promoting and developing our "independence" and acting as catalysts for others on the one hand, and simultaneously we have placed the onus for our progress on the benevolence of external forces.

We have all shared the experience of staff shortages, poor quality staff, unskilled workers already overstretched in implementing programmes and having to "make" time to prepare funding proposals and reams of progress reports. The staff of the Bureau now consists of seven professionals - the Director, the Project Development Officer, the Project Coordinator, the Education Officer and three regional/rural coordinators. Even if all are appointed they cannot meet the ever-growing demand of women for services and above all for projects.

To assist it in the complex demand the Bureau maintains ongoing collaboration with the permanent secretaries of nearly all ministries, the National Planning Agency, the Urban Development Corporation, the National Family Planning Board, the Private Sector and the University of the West Indies, particularly the Social Welfare Training Centre.

Collaboration with other agencies, groups and organisations at all levels of the society and functional linkages with regional and international development agencies have been the main instruments used by the Bureau since its inception to integrate its operations with a support network whose interests are compatible with its objectives. Examples of this strategy are many. The Bureau is represented on Jamaica's National Commission for the Inter-American Year of the Family, which comprises Government, non-governmental and locally-based funding agencies. Since all the issues being examined by this Commission (i.e. education, the law, health, economic affairs) are also issues to be discussed at the 1985 UN End of Decade for Women Conference, the Commission has undertaken to be Jamaica's preparatory body for that Conference. The Commission is chaired by the Parliamentary Secretary for Women's Affairs. Through the Council of Voluntary Social Services (CVSS) which is the umbrella organisation for some twenty voluntary bodies with large female membership, the Bureau is able to influence and receive assistance in developing programmes. Pilot projects to further the training and employment of women are being

contemplated in collaboration with the major trade unions through the Women's Unit of the Joint Trade Union Research and Development Centre. The Bureau is represented on the local affiliate body of Women's World Banking which is seeking to establish the first loan guarantee facility to service the needs of female entrepreneurs.

The mandates given to the national machinery for Women's Affairs are already overwhelming in the complexity of issues they seek to address. What is not explicitly stated as a preferred course of action is implied by the wide range of real and pressing needs being felt by the majority of our women, to which we feel morally obliged to react. Often we react to the detriment of an equally urgent priority. The Bureau's own record of successful development projects and integrative strategies point to outstanding gains in the achievement of our objectives. Yet each successful step is shadowed by the spectre of what is yet to be done.

D Achievements

The achievements of the Bureau of Women's Affairs in Jamaica are best exemplified by listing the ongoing projects which have been sponsored by them. The target for these mainly income-generating projects is low-income, unemployed, unskilled women in the age group 15-29 years.

1 The Women's Centre for Adolescent Mothers

A centre for the continuing education, counselling and vocational training of adolescent mothers. Of the 750 girls who have graduated from the programme since 1978, the rate of second pregnancy has been two per cent. The main centre is located in Kingston. The first rural centre was opened in Manchester last year and a third centre in Kingston is in preparation.

2 Elders and Youth Skills Training Programme

In 1982 a training programme was launched designed to transfer special traditional craft skills from the 50-80 year old to the 15-29 age group in the society. There are 75 trainees and 15 trainers imparting skills in garment manufacturing, needlecraft, embroidery as well as agro-industrial skills. The work of the participants has been exhibited nationally. A Directory of Elderly Resource Specialists (DOERS) is now in circulation to encourage the placement of individual orders.

3 The Sistren Theatre Collective

The award-winning, much publicised and globe-trotting drama collective is no longer under the auspices of the Bureau, but received its initial encouragement and support from the Bureau in the development of its programme of community drama and "grass roots" productions.

4 **The United Woodwork and Metal Company Limited**

The Bureau's pilot "economic" project in a non-traditional skill. This is a much documented project which evolved from an experiment into a fully-fledged self-managed company.

5 **The Black Hill Pig and Vegetable Project**

This project, located in the rural parish of Portland, involved 20 youths from the village of Black Hill in pig rearing and vegetable farming on lands leased from the Government.

6 **The St. Elizabeth Cassava Project**

A total of 88 participants drawn from eight communities in this southern parish are engaged in cassava cultivation and the production of over 4,000 bammies (a bread made from cassava flour) per week for the domestic market.

7 **The Grove Town Goat Rearing Project**

Located in the parish of Manchester, the project employs 17 previously unskilled, unemployed women in goat rearing, vegetable farming, fruit preservation and co-operative management training.

E Conclusion

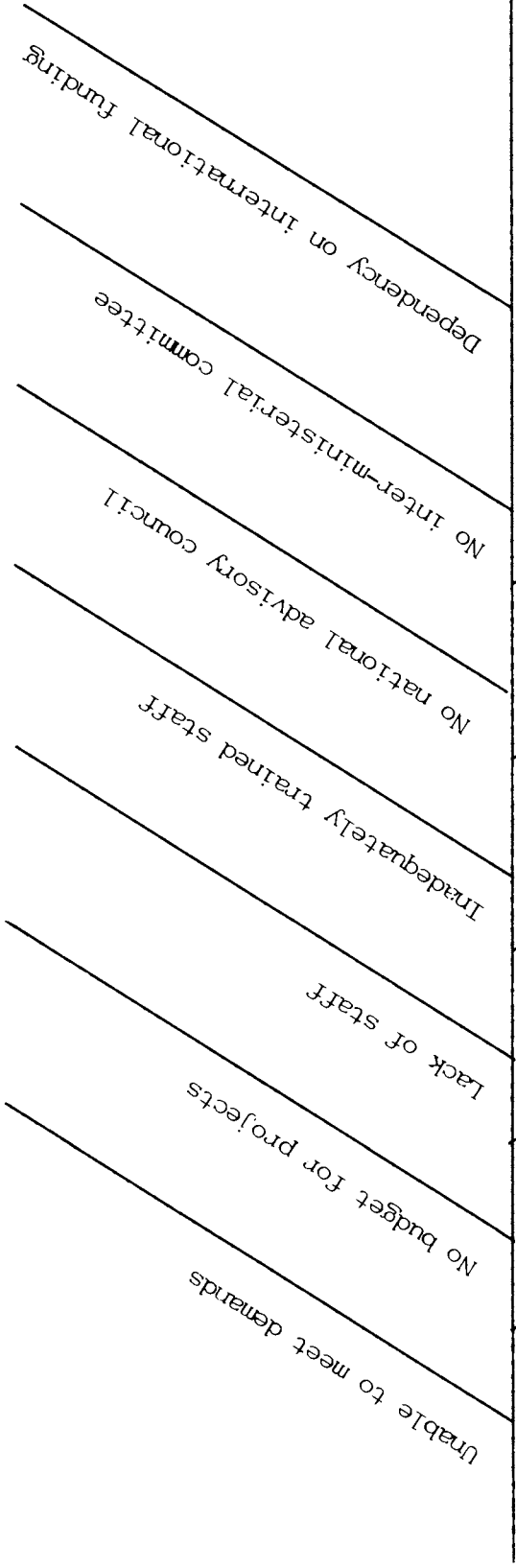
The Jamaican Women's Bureau has put its emphasis on the creation of income-generation projects for the socio-economic development of women, and there is a list of preliminary achievements. The constraints on the Bureau's activities are therefore largely associated with the problems of project development, including a feeling that the demand has been raised and now cannot be met. Lack of an operational budget, lack of staff or of adequately trained staff are the particular limiting factors. Although international funding has been found it is inappropriate that programmes in self-help should be financed from overseas.

The failure as yet to establish either a national advisory council or an inter-ministerial committee has put the onus on the Women's Bureau to initiate functional relationships without an organised structure for doing so. In fact, regular contact has been established with permanent secretaries of other Ministries and there is good collaboration with NGO's who have long conducted social welfare work for women. This is not, however, as strong a link as constituted bodies with defined functions would be. The onus of policy-making remains with the Bureau and is dependent for its implementation on ministries and other agencies who must be introduced to each project rather than to a programme. Alternatively, each project must be designed to attract the assistance of international bodies.

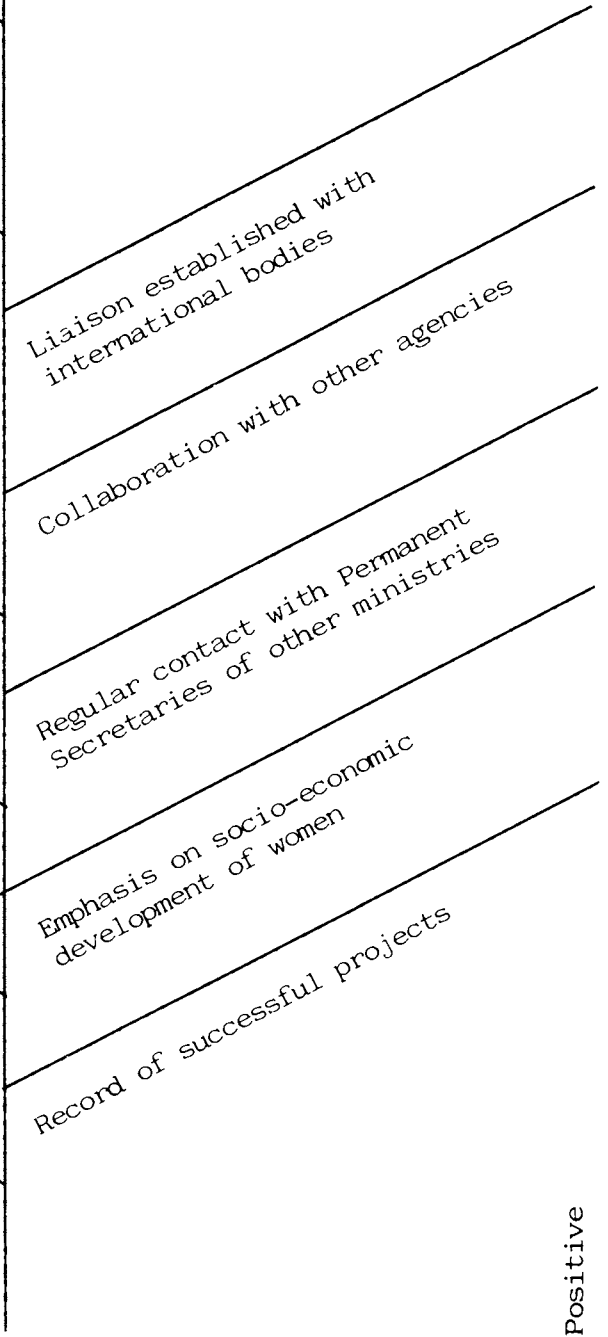
Finally, without a constituted link with other agencies, it is difficult for a small over-burdened bureau either to mobilise women to any

JAMAICA FORCE FIELD ANALYSIS

Negative



Positive



extent or to secure their opinions on policy in any widespread development sense. The mounting demand for help from women delays their potential mobilisation for either their own development or for their participation in the country's development.

CASE STUDY OF GUYANA

Guyana is one of the two mainland countries of the Commonwealth Caribbean. In the north east of South America it shares boundaries with Surinam, Brazil and Venezuela. With the latter there has been an unresolved border dispute, inherited from the colonial period, which has lasted for nearly a century. This disagreement has kept Guyana out of the Organisation of American States in which all members must be in good standing with each other. On the other hand Guyana accommodates the headquarters of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM).

In area Guyana is by far the largest of the Commonwealth Caribbean countries, but its population of about 800,000 is less than those of the much smaller Caribbean island countries, Jamaica and Trinidad. The interior is tropical forest and the population lives mainly on the sea coast or along the three large South American rivers which traverse Guyana. Guyana has a bauxite industry which is now nationalised. The main export crops are sugar, rice and timber.

This is a country where the descendants of East Indian immigrants outnumber those whose forebears came from Africa. There is also an Amerindian population mainly living at subsistence level in the forests. Racial differences are apparent in religious practices, places of residence, family and social organisation; they are also emphasised by a two-party political system which strongly coincides in membership with the two dominant racial groups in Guyana.

In the past the education of Indo-Guyanese women has been much neglected, specially among those living on the sugar estates. The Afro-Guyanese woman is on the whole more urbanised and has participated in public education. There is therefore a considerable range of sophistication and self-determination among Guyanese women.

MAGDA POLLARD, herself a Guyanese, contributed the case study on Guyana. She is the first Adviser on Women's Affairs in the CARICOM Secretariat, based in Georgetown.

A Development of Bureau of Women's Affairs

The Co-operative Republic of Guyana has embraced the socialist ideology. Consequently it has been pursuing a policy of equality for women, who form approximately 50 per cent of the population. The stated commitment of the Socialist People's National Congress (PNC) Government on women's issues is embodied in a State Paper on Equality for Women tabled in Parliament in January 1976 as well as in the Constitution of Guyana promulgated in October 1980.

In the Guyanese society, measures indicative of the wider role of women were introduced decades before 1976. Careers for women in the Guyana Police Force were available in 1953 and from its inception in 1966, women were eligible to seek appointments in the Guyana Defence Force. In 1904, separate property rights were conferred on women. The franchise was granted in 1928, and in 1961 they were deemed eligible to serve on juries. From 1973, female civil servants were no longer required to resign on marriage.

These and other measures, though isolated, nevertheless established a climate most receptive to the organised and comprehensive approach of the programme of the United Nations (UN) Decade for Women with its triple goals of Equality, Development and Peace.

In keeping with the socialist ideology of the PNC of promoting equality of women with men, the Women's Auxiliary, formed in 1957, was re-organised into a unit designated the Women's Revolutionary Socialist Movement. The WRSM shares constitutionally in the policy-making responsibilities of the party and is mandated to advance the full integration of women in the political life of the party in Guyana. As an arm of the ruling PNC, the WRSM contributes to the social and economic life of the country as a whole and has on many occasions been publicly acknowledged by the party hierarchy for its dynamic contribution to the realisation of national goals.

There has been in Guyana a tradition of social welfare service by a large number and variety of women's organisations. Many of these organisations, such as the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), the Girl Guides Association, as well as professional and political organisations, had already implemented programmes to promote an increased contribution by women as citizens. Not least among the many groups operating in Guyana was the Women's Auxiliary of the PNC whose leader, Cde. L F S Burnham, in his capacity as Prime Minister of Guyana identified the need for a regional women's organisation. This initiative led in 1970 to the formal launching of the Caribbean Women's Association (CARIWA), the regional non-governmental organisation whose objectives are to promote the welfare of women in the Caribbean region.

The Guyanese organisation linking directly with CARIWA is the Conference on the Affairs and Status of Women in Guyana (CASWIG), the umbrella non-governmental organisation which has thirty affiliates. In 1972 initiatives were taken by the Ministry of Labour for improving the economic status of women which led to the establishment of CASWIG in the following year, with a Labour Officer performing the duties of Secretary until 1975. At that time a number of affiliates of CASWIG also had individual membership in the regional organisation, CARIWA. The programmes carried out by these affiliates, severally as well as collectively in CASWIG, were in keeping with the goals of the UN Decade of Women.

The delegation of Guyana to the United Nations (UN) Conference of International Women's Year was led by the Chairman of the WRSM, and included a woman Minister of Government who was also the Chairman of CASWIG. Since the declaration of the UN Decade resulting from the deliberations of the International Women's Year (IWY) Conference, the activities of these two organisations have widened in scope and have served to focus the attention of the public on women's issues and concerns. Against this background of positive action the two large and influential organisations, WRSM and CASWIG, impelled by the need for support based within the governmental infrastructure, made representation for the establishment of a Bureau of Women's Affairs.

These organisations recognised the critical need for a focal point in the government structure to act as a clearing house for information and documentation on women's affairs, particularly when seeking help from international agencies, ministries and NGOs. It was found that data,

reports of meetings, notification of official conferences and official documentation for such meetings which were considered essential for project implementation were not expeditiously dealt with administratively.

Representatives of the WRSM and the CASWIG therefore initiated joint discussions to prepare an official request for the establishment of such a focal point in Government. The proposal sought to justify the need for the establishment of a Bureau and identified the objectives which would guide the operations of such a unit. The structure was outlined with supporting details concerning the areas of responsibility and functions of personnel, including methods of operation.

While the PNC forms the Government, the party advises the Government on all aspects of policy. Since the WRSM has representation on the General Council of the PNC, it was the appropriate agency at the political level to assume advocacy for the establishment of national machinery for women's affairs. The joint proposal, prepared by the WRSM and CASWIG, was accepted in principle by the General Council and referred to the Cabinet for further examination and implementation.

During this period the economy of Guyana was deteriorating and performance was disappointing as the physical production targets set in the main sectors of economic activity - rice, sugar and bauxite - were not achieved and marketing difficulties prevailed. Sugar and rice output were affected by adverse weather conditions, and a five-week work stoppage affected the bauxite industry in 1979. Despite a temporary recovery in 1980 the Guyanese economy has been in steady decline since 1979. The Bureau of Women's Affairs was therefore finally opened in a period of retrenchment in public sector employment and of severe economic recession in the country at large. These two factors have caused considerable limitations on the scope and achievements of the Bureau.

On the other hand the national measures, to confront shortages of imported food and clothes in particular, have been heavily dependent on women's efforts since 1980. Regional emergency programmes such as the Feed, Clothe and House the Nation Drive have particularly promoted the participation of women both in production and in decision-making on their own aspect of the drive.

Self help in village communities has for at least two decades been a way of life in Guyana. Schools, roads, community centres and air strips have been constructed by the communities which are to use them. The current emphasis in community self help is food production. The women's agencies in Guyana have taken much of the initiative in organising both the cultivation and processing of home grown foods. The potential participation of women in development is demonstrated by their highly visible role in the current struggle for survival. The tactics of the nineteen-eighties have led to much better support, organisation and integration of women's production in their communities than prevailed when it was a private, near individualised domestic function.

The establishment of the Bureau in January 1980 was in accordance with the Plan of Action of the UN Decade as well as with Guyana's national policies. Its mandate was "to work towards the removal of all kinds of discrimination against women, to promote development of their full potential and to ensure their integration in the national development of the country".

The structure which was recommended and adopted was considered to be appropriate for carrying out its mandate. The Bureau was to be headed by a Director, who would also be a Minister of Government. The Director would have responsibility for the formulation and implementation of policy, and would be supported by an Administrator, a Coordinator and an Assistant Coordinator. These core functionaries would be supported by five sub-committees, namely, Planning, Research and Economic; Education, Training and Public Relations; Social Services and Public Welfare; Foreign Affairs, and Legal Affairs.

Non-governmental organisations, including some not affiliated to CASWIG, would also share in the operations of the Bureau. Because of the Government's policy of regionalism, provision was made within the structure for the establishment of regional women's desks, commissions and contact persons within the ten regions of Guyana.

The Bureau was established in January 1980 in the Ministry of Labour. The Director of the Bureau was identified, and was a political figure in keeping with the recommendation. A Secretary to the Bureau who was a serving officer in the Ministry of Labour was assigned to assist the Director in the setting up of the Bureau. Emoluments were already provided for both of these officers in their previous substantive positions. It was a serious omission that no specific budgetary allocation was made in the Ministry for the additional staff, including secretarial staff, and for operations of the Bureau.

In 1982 the Bureau was re-located to the Ministry of Cooperatives. This move seemed to stimulate a slight change in emphasis in the Bureau's operations. Funding through the Ministry was now made available to the Bureau. This necessitated an emphasis on those objectives, notably income-generating and training, which were in accordance with the programme objectives of the Ministry of Cooperatives. One immediate benefit was that staff was available through the Ministry. As a result, for the first time since the Bureau's inception, an Administrator and a Coordinator were in place, full-time.

In mid-1983, the Bureau had another change of location, this time to the Office of the Prime Minister. Fortunately this change has not affected the continuing leadership of the Director of the Bureau. The services of the officer serving as Administrator have however been lost. In addition, the Office of the Prime Minister is not project-oriented. A shift in emphasis has already been made in favour of consolidating the establishment of the Bureau. This is most desirable at this time, since it is becoming increasingly evident that as the project activities of the non-governmental organisations expand, there is need for collaboration, coordination and monitoring of activities, which are functions most appropriate for the Bureau.

B Objectives

To promote the general aims of the Bureau it was at its inception assigned the following responsibilities:

- 1 To provide general services for coordinating developmental programmes for women in Guyana

- 2 To impact on policies and programmes of relevant ministries to ensure that their programmes are designed to cater for the needs of women
- 3 To support the establishment and development of women's organisations, especially those whose objectives are in conformity with the stated objectives of the UN Decade for Women
- 4 To give technical and other assistance to projects and activities which contribute to the economic, political, social and cultural advancement of women
- 5 To assist the relevant organisations and agencies in designing and organising training courses to impart and upgrade the skills of women and to enable them to fill positions at all levels in established agencies of all types, as well as to organise them for self-employment.
- 6 To liaise with governmental and non-governmental agencies and promote functional coordination for accelerated progress in the areas of employment, health and nutrition, education, legislative measures and social welfare which are identified in the World Plan of Action for Women
- 7 To ensure that general educational objectives and curricula support the development strategies aimed at enhancing women's participation in political, economic and social development
- 8 To initiate research and embark on the collection of statistical data in an effort to obtain information on the participation of women in areas such as educational institutions and in various sectors of the labour force
- 9 To initiate research, and embark on the collection of statistical data and other information for planning and training purposes and to facilitate and determine action for resolving problems
- 10 To collaborate with the mass media personnel in promoting programmes, publications, songs, plays, etc., for the eradication of derogatory allusions and unflattering images connected with women
- 11 To foster and maintain contacts, and exchange information, plans and ideas with national and international organisations and agencies concerned with the affairs of women
- 12 To collaborate with international agencies and institutions which have relevant objectives for Guyana's thrust, in an effort to secure financing for projects for groups of women in income-generating programmes

The main objective of the Bureau in 1980 was to provide the liaison for non-governmental organisations with those government ministries whose expertise and resources could be requested for the implementation of programmes promoting the integration of women in development.

Its varied roles in policy formulation at government level, in coordinating and monitoring programmes and policies, in conducting research and providing technical assistance for the activities implemented by NGOs, were clearly defined and are in accord with the guidelines set out in the UN Decade's Programme of Action.

In practice the operational objectives of the Bureau have been severely restricted by the limited and changing staffing. They have also been modified by the three ministries in which the Bureau has resided in as many years. In the Ministry of Labour for the first two years there was no budgetary provision for the Women's Bureau programme. Funding came when the move was made to the Ministry of Cooperatives. The priorities then were influenced by the programme objectives of that ministry. The emphasis for the short period was on women's training for setting up income generating projects on a cooperative basis.

The recent change to the Prime Minister's Office, which is not project oriented, has shifted the emphasis again. The current responsibilities of the Bureau are concerned with a monitoring and enabling role for the work of the government ministries and NGOs who have programmes for women. It will be seen that the definition of responsibilities in 1983 is really a slightly more specific version of the definition at the Bureau's inception already quoted.

In essence, the functions of the Bureau have remained the same. This is no doubt why nine of the twelve responsibilities defined at the Bureau's inception in 1980 are identical in the 1983 version. The four new responsibilities after three years of experience are as following:

- 1 The Women's Bureau will be the policy-making body at the governmental level for all matters pertaining to women
- 2 To provide guidelines within a national framework for planning, training, technical assistance and research on matters pertaining to women
- 3 To provide general coordinating and monitoring support for programmes which are designed to promote the integration of women
- 4 To foster and maintain contacts and exchange information, plans and ideas with national, regional, international organisations and agencies concerned with the affairs of women

The changes and additions in the new "responsibilities" are instructive. In the first place the later version is more precise particularly in defining necessary limitations. For example the earlier "to provide general services for coordinating developmental programmes for women in Guyana" has become "to provide general coordinating and monitoring support for programmes which are designed to promote the integratio women".

The authority of the Women's Bureau is asserted in the new first responsibility of 1983. It will now be "the policy-making body at the governmental level for all matters pertaining to women". No such fundamental responsibility was contained in the original list.

Finally the new responsibilities include the duty of fostering and maintenance of contacts, with exchange of information, plans and ideas between national, regional and international bodies concerned with the affairs of women.

As specific activities to advance these formidable responsibilities two important areas of work for the Bureau must be to -

- a) formulate a National Plan for Guyana for the Integration of Women - arising out of the UN Regional Action Plans, but identifying our own strategies, priorities and targets
- b) document information on Guyana's achievement in relation to the minimum objectives, which were set out in the World Plan of Action for Achievement by 1980

C Structure and Staffing

Obtaining a full complement of staff has been difficult from the outset. Apart from the political directorate of one, the Administrator was assigned to the Bureau in May 1982, and the Coordinator in November 1982. A Cabinet reshuffle of mid-1983 has resulted in the reassignment of the Administrator, leaving the Coordinator as the sole functionary. Adequate secretarial support is also not available.

As the programme of work of the Bureau and other functioning agencies has developed, it has become very clear that the size of staff originally proposed for the Bureau is not adequate for dealing with the variety of tasks of a Bureau with responsibilities as now defined. A review of the structure is therefore to be made.

As an immediate resource the Bureau proposes to implement more fully the strategy of extending support to inter-ministry linkages which had previously been used with some success. In addition, it will strengthen links with non-governmental organisations, as well as regional and international agencies. It will also proceed with the introduction of linkages with the local regional administration system - a recommendation of the national seminar on "Role and Functions of the Women's Affairs Bureau", January 1983. It is hoped that these measures will ensure that relevant programmes are formulated by the Bureau and that human and financial resources are most effectively utilised.

Within the Bureau, the reporting lines are clearly defined. The Director of the Bureau, who is also a political figure, links directly to the policy-making structures within the ruling political party. The political head of the Bureau, therefore, is in a position to inform the administration of political decisions relevant to the Bureau's functioning as well as to implement those decisions. The Administrator reports directly to the Director in matters relating to policy, but in purely administrative matters reports directly to the Permanent Secretary. The Coordinator and the Assistant Coordinator have the responsibility for implementing the projects of the Bureau and for liaison with the government and non-governmental agencies within the community, e.g. the regional councils and non-governmental organisations. These two officers report to the Administrator.

Communication between the Bureau officials and other officials in the same ministry seem to be very informal and ad hoc. Officials in the wider ministry are not aware of the Bureau activities unless they are directly involved. Information such as reports are not circulated to senior technical/administrative officers. Opportunities are therefore lost for exchange of views and information and for collaborative action between Bureau officials and their colleagues to promote real integration. The same situation prevails in relationships with liaison officers in the other collaborating ministries concerned with the promotion of women's affairs. Since the Women's Bureau, after the experience of the first three years, has crystallised its essential functions into monitoring and support for projects mainly financed and implemented by collaborating ministries or NGOs, the machinery of linkages for planning and consultation is crucial.

The coordinating machinery anticipated since the Women's Bureau was started is the network of sub-committees to the Bureau, only the first of which is started. It is noteworthy that the proposed linkages of the sub-committee are the first item of their specification in each case; anticipated coordinated activities follow in the description. For the pioneer sub-committee, Education and Training, for instance, the first task is "to work closely with the Ministry of Education and other related agencies to develop education and training programmes for women".

The linkages proposed for three of the other five sub-committees, not yet launched are as follows:

1 Planning Research and Economic Activities

Links: The National Planning Institution and collaborating ministries, national and regional organisations to promote women in development

2 Social Services and Public Welfare

Links: Ministries and NGOs concerned with Health, Labour and Housing

3 Foreign Affairs

Links: International agencies, collaborating ministries and NGOs concerned with projects for women in development

Only for legal and general affairs do the job descriptions omit a precise statement of necessary linkages.

The Bureau plans to intensify action in each of the above-mentioned areas. Experience has indicated to the officers of the Bureau as well as to the leadership of collaborating agencies that the important role of coordinating and monitoring of all activities is one which the Bureau is appropriately suited to perform.

The Bureau itself has identified one of its most serious constraints as a paucity of financial and human resources for the implementation of its programmes. In spite of a good record of achievement, problems encountered have limited the scope of operations of the Bureau. Targets set by

management have recently been assessed as being "unrealistic" with underestimation of the time-frame for achieving these targets.

The Bureau at the time of its establishment had support at policy-making levels in both Party and Government. It has also received adequate support from individual government officers on matters in which the Bureau has taken the initiative. Because of the activities of the non-governmental organisations there is a high level of consciousness of the general issues of the Decade at community and local levels. There is however a significant degree of unawareness on the part of Government officers of the goals of the UN Decade of Women and the specific policies and programmes of the Bureau as a government agency. This therefore is a serious constraint since some key ministries have not institutionalised support for the Bureau, and certainly do not initiate discussion which may be valuable to the Bureau in terms of policy-making.

The problems being faced by the Bureau personnel must however be viewed within the context of the economic recession facing the country since the time of its establishment. It is to the credit of the Government of Guyana that it did agree in spite of the serious economic constraints to establish a mechanism which could operate, albeit to a limited degree, to deal with women's concerns.

D Management Components and Participation in Decision-making

The rationale of the study was to assess the effective functioning of the Bureau of Women's Affairs in an environment in which measures had already been successfully implemented by well-functioning non-governmental organisations. Agencies and government personnel interviewed expressed the opinion that there is an important role for the Bureau operating within the government structure. It was clearly stated by the representatives of the two large organisations in particular that their request for the establishment of the Bureau arose from their felt needs.

The WRSM has identified its particular strengths as its position within the policy-making structure of the party and its ability, through its own organisational structure as well as that of the parent party, to mobilise women for action. CASWIG has a wide outreach, but its membership is mainly within the urban centres. As has been acknowledged by both agencies, there is need for an agency, the Bureau, which is sufficiently neutral to act as a clearing house for information and documentation; to monitor the effective allocation and implementation of programmes; to provide advisory services; to give direction for policy and provide a forum for broad-based public opinion; to draw on all governmental resources, national, regional and international; and to conduct programmes mirroring the needs of agencies and individuals operating outside the scope and influence of the other two agencies, in fact for the women of the nation as a whole. Provided collaboration, cooperation and monitoring are embraced as the *sine qua non* of all the agencies and are rated as priority functions of the Bureau, collective potential of all the agencies can be maximally utilised for the improvement of the status of Guyanese women.

An upturn of the economy may give a much needed boost to the Bureau. It is to be hoped that the Bureau's proposed effort to recruit the required staff and to secure an adequate budgetary allocation will meet with some significant degree of success.

In its short life the Women's Bureau has refined its responsibilities in the light of hard experience. It is now for it to exploit the goodwill and cooperation which have undoubtedly resulted from the first three years of work. In order to reinforce these positive attitudes and further to build on the awakening interest stimulated by these developments, the administration of the Bureau is considering the following priority activities:

- 1 to endeavour to secure a period of permanency for officers who will be appointed in the near future. A settling-in period is urgently needed for consolidation of effort
- 2 consciousness-raising within the Office of the Prime Minister, and institutionalising of the programme in that ministry. This should include a specific allocation within the budget for recurrent expenditure and the assignment of support staff such as stenographers/typists
- 3 to gain more wide-based support -
 - a) to up-date the status paper on Equality of Women which is narrow in concept. The inclusion of other important emphases such as measures to promote the economic status of women may enlist the support of officers in ministries dealing with these matters
 - b) consciousness raising programmes - particularly with government officers and with women in CASWIG and WRSM - transmitting its clearly defined objectives to all support agencies and government ministries
 - c) institutionalisation of the programme in the support ministries. The services of the Management Division of Government should be requested to prepare a detailed organisational chart involving all supporting ministries, liaison officers and agencies
 - d) channelling of information to liaison officers and sub-committees
 - e) promote the feed-back mechanism from the support agencies to guide policy and programme formulation
 - f) stress the collaborative participatory approach in effecting links with agencies
- 4 to mount strong advocacy, based on sound programme planning, for an adequate budgetary provision to facilitate implementation and to support staff. In the review of the structure it was suggested that the Bureau should programme for a project formulation capability as well as a negotiating capability
- 5 to carry out as fully as possible its monitoring, collaborating and coordinating role
- 6 to develop its capability to meet the need of agencies for technical assistance; for funding; for information; for data for

GUYANA FORCE FIELD STUDY

Negative

Lack of budget

Lack of staff

Bureaucratic role in Prime Minister's office

Little understanding of role of W in D in other ministries

No support staff

Positive

Realistic role emerging

Good coordination with WRSB and CASWIG

Good potential in link with Government's policy of regionalism

Sub-committee organisation begun and promising

Some economic projects achieved by cooperation with other agencies

direction in terms of policy-making; for advice on appropriate strategies to achieve identified goals.

E Achievements

- 1 Representation on behalf of 50+ women on welfare and legal problems
- 2 Work with committee studying legal disabilities of women
- 3 Comprehensive reports, information and literature on the role of the Women's Bureau for national distribution to government and regional administration and NGOs
- 4 Establishing links with collaborating ministries, regional administration and NGOs
- 5 Establishment of Education and Training Sub-Committee
- 6 Organisation of a workshop and consideration of its proposals in the programme planning of the Bureau
- 7 Establishing of a Fruit Processing Factory
- 8 Technical assistance e.g. management advice, project writing and funding and feasibility studies as support for projects, such as:
 - Guylin - CASWIG Linenmaking
Assistance: Tie Dye & Batik courses
 - WRSM Production Projects
Assistance: Training -
 - Tie Dye & Batik
 - Local food preparation
 - Craft
 - Management advice -
 - Fish processing project
 - Craft production outlet
 - 2 small agricultural projects
- 9 Collaboration with other agencies in a variety of nutrition activities, agricultural activities and needs assessment workshops.

F Conclusion

The constraints in the Guyana programme for women in development are basically twofold. The logistics of wholly inadequate staffing, lack of an operational budget and no support staff in the Prime Minister's Office are obviously considerable limitations which may or may not be eased when the period of economic crisis passes. The second factor arises from the mobility of the Women's Bureau in its short life. No ministry accepts any

part of the women's programme as its own on a regular basis. The last move to the Prime Minister's Office, furthermore, takes the Bureau into a policy-making rather than a project development setting. The need for positive, regular coordination with cooperating ministries is reiterated.

On the positive side the constraints have forced the Women's Bureau to find a realistic role as monitor and supporter rather than implementer of programmes. The good relationship with the women's groups which sponsored the Bureau in the first place have allowed development through their projects already.

If the Women's Bureau can link its programmes more closely with the regional administrative units set up by Government, it will be integrated with the self help and development programmes in the villages throughout the country. If, in addition, the proposed sub-committees combining Government bodies and NGOs, each to advise on a specific issue in women's affairs, can be set up quickly, there is good promise for the future.

CASE STUDY OF BARBADOS

Barbados is a compact small island country accommodating a population of 300,000 in an area of 166 sq miles most of which is planted in sugar cane, the traditional export crop. After Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados is the most prosperous Commonwealth Caribbean country. It is the only one of the sample classified as an Upper Middle Income country, with a GNP per capita in 1981 of \$3,500.

Barbados has substantially improved the national economy by a year-round tourist industry. The recurrent failures of sugar are offset by the position Barbados has established as a tourist centre.

Barbados has a well publicised reputation for political stability and absence of violence. This, no doubt, encourages the visitors; it has also attracted investment in some light manufacturing industry.

Barbados is the headquarters of the Caribbean Development Bank, the regional UNDP Office and of several bilateral agencies including USAID, and the British and Canadian development agencies.

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A History of Department of Women's Affairs

In addition to being childbearers and childrearers, women in Barbados have functioned for generations as employers and employees, professionals and non-professionals, in both the private and public sectors. They have provided every variety of community and welfare service. They have participated in every facet of political activity. And they have done this in the face of numerous legal disadvantages and persistent cultural attitudes which are reluctant to recognise the value of their contribution outside of the home, preferring to place women squarely within the confines of their homes.

From as early as 1968, women's organisations in Barbados had begun a quiet, non-militant agitation to voice their concerns and attract Government attention. Conferences were held, resolutions circulated to all women's organisations and relevant government agencies; letters and articles were written in the newspaper; appearances were made on radio and television.

Between 1973 and 1976 both the Government and the Opposition at different times declared themselves in favour of a National Commission on the status of women. It was not achieved until a change in government in 1976. During the general election campaign of that year, the Barbados Labour Party issued its Manifesto, including a section entitled 'Charter for Women'. The Charter guided the policies of the BLP when it came into power later that year. The new government established in November 1976 a National Commission on the Status of Women in Barbados (NCSW) simultaneously with a Department of Women's Affairs which was located in the Ministry of the Attorney General.

The Commission was an *ad hoc* body set up to examine the situation of women in Barbados and to make recommendations for improving their status. The Department was initially required to serve as the Secretariat to the Commission; thereafter its functions were defined more generally. The Government commitment to the inclusion of women's concerns on its agenda was further evidenced by the inclusion of such statements in the inaugural address of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the General Assembly of the UN and by its sending a four-member delegation, headed by the Minister of Education, to the UN mid-decade Conference in 1980.

The Commission (and the Department) experienced a high level of public visibility through its public hearings and meetings with various organisations. The Commission presented a three-volume report in May 1978 to the Attorney General who was then the Minister responsible for Women's Affairs. A spate of public discussion and media attention followed. The report, which included over two hundred recommendations, was adopted in September 1978. It now represented the framework within which the Department was left to get on with its work. From that time, however, public awareness of the Department and its activities have declined. The Department has been located in four ministries, serving under three different ministers:

- (i) Ministry of Attorney General 1977-1979
- (ii) Ministry of Labour and Community Services 1979-81
- (iii) Ministry of Transport, Works and Community Services 1981-82
- (iv) Ministry of Information and Culture 1982 to present.

B Objectives

For the first two years of its operations the Department functioned primarily as the Secretariat for the National Commission. For the next year it concentrated on disseminating and discussing the findings of the Commission's report.

However, it was still expected to carry out the other functions which were included in its original mandate. They were as follows:

- (i) to act as a co-ordinating point in matters relating to Women's Affairs
- (ii) to monitor generally the situation relating to women
- (iii) to keep track of the recommendations made by the Commission on Women and to ensure that these are implemented
- (iv) to make recommendations concerning matters which affect women
- (v) to undertake consciousness-raising activities in the community on the role of women
- (vi) to identify projects

These functions provided the foundation on which the Department based its work. However, since the relocation to the Ministry of Information and Culture, there has been a shift in emphasis such that the

Department is seen more as an advisory and co-ordinating body concerned with:

- (i) promoting attitudinal change and community awareness
- (ii) creating and maintaining linkages between government, regional and international agencies concerned with women's issues
- (iii) promoting research about the problems and needs of women and disseminating the results of that research

In effect the current thrust appears to be towards an informational rather than a project-oriented agency.

C Structure

The present establishment of the Department consists of a Director and a Research Assistant. While not making any specific recommendations about the structure of the Department, the Report of the National Commission did envisage the Department as a vibrant, well-organised unit and had urged the extension and strengthening of what existed at that time. No evidence is available to indicate whether that recommendation was ever considered; it would appear not.

The post of Director has never been substantively filled; occupants for the seven years of the Department's life have functioned in an acting capacity. The first appointee at that level was a Community Development Officer provided from the Ministry of Labour and Community Services. She held the post for three years, after which she took up a position with a regional organisation. Her place was filled by a newly appointed Research Assistant who still occupies the position of Acting Director. The position of Research Assistant has been filled by four different persons, the last two in an acting capacity. No provision was ever made for programme or field officers on the establishment. Initially the Department was provided with its own secretary. However, on its most recent relocation, that position was lost to the Ministry's general typing pool.

The Director is answerable to the Minister responsible for Women's Affairs, through the Permanent Secretary and the Senior Administrative Officer. In the present location, it is anticipated that the Department's field programme can be assisted by working through the Community Development Officers who already have direct contact with the communities.

No formal arrangement exists for ensuring linkages between ministries. However, the Department works through informal contacts with individuals in various ministries and departments. Closest ties are maintained with the Ministries of Labour, Education and Health. No ongoing links exist with the Planning Division of the Ministry of Finance and Planning. Within the Department there is presently a proposal "to establish an interministerial committee in order to ensure an input concerning women within the policies and programmes of all relevant ministries". There is also a proposal to establish an advisory council, consisting of persons from a cross-section of the community. This would represent the first response to a specific recommendation by the National

Commission for an independent Status of Women Council, with authority to initiate and monitor programmes relating to women.

At the regional level, the Department maintains close links with the CARICOM Women's Desk, and with the UWI, Women and Development Unit (WAND). Barbados has attended all of the CARICOM organised meetings, being represented at the Dominica meeting in 1981 by the then Minister responsible for Women's Affairs. Barbados is currently one of the principal delegates to the Inter-American Commission on Women (CIM).

D Funding

Government provides the salary for the two positions on the staff as well as for ancillary services and annual subventions to various non-government organisations (NGOs). Funds for various aspects of its work programme are sought externally. To date grants have been received from the CIM, the OAS and Appropriate Technology International (ATI) for specific programmes.

E Programmes

The Department's programme activity is heavily weighted in favour of public education, but other areas also assume importance.

a) Public Education

The earliest activity in this regard was the hosting of a workshop in April 1979 entitled Towards the Total Integration of Women in Barbados. This was an opportunity for the Department to present and discuss the findings of the Commission's Report to a group of representatives of the government and non-government agencies.

Two years later the Department co-sponsored with the Extra-mural Department, UWI, a three month seminar on Civic Education for Effective Leadership, which included a special section on Women and Development issues. Participants were drawn mainly from women's voluntary organisations.

Recent efforts have been directed at developing specific workshops for carefully selected target groups which could assist the Department in the execution of its work programme. Thus teachers and guidance counsellors were exposed to a workshop which looked at the effect of sex-role stereotyping in the home and school environment on children's expectations and career choices; youth leaders and representatives of women's organisations were the beneficiaries of a workshop focussing on interpersonal relationships in the workplace; Community Development officers attended a workshop designed to sensitise them to issues affecting women. It is proposed to continue this programme with this latter group of government officers and to extend it to field officers in other ministries.

The Department is currently in the process of developing a series of activities aimed at enhancing its image. Work is currently underway on the development of a television documentary designed to illustrate the economic activity of women in traditional and non-traditional areas. A second

project aims to publish an occasional newsletter highlighting the activities of individual women, women's groups and the Department itself. The first of these is expected to be available shortly.

b) Training

Two options are available under this programme. It is possible for the Department to sponsor local training activities directly. This requires funds to be solicited mainly from external sources. Alternatively it is possible for the Department to channel participants to training courses overseas.

One major programme in the first category was a leadership training course for women from various voluntary organisations. Without direct funds to undertake such programmes in a sustained manner the Department has adopted the second strategy of sending Barbadian participants to overseas training workshops. Here the principal resource has been CIM which has covered the costs of attendance of Barbadians at three of its recent workshops:

- (i) August 1982 - Mass Communications Media and Women's Image - Cordoba, Argentina.
- (ii) May 1983 - Training and Employment of Women - Mona, Jamaica.
- (iii) September 1983 - Inter-American Year of the Family - Santiago, Chile.

In such cases the Department identifies a participant, makes all the necessary arrangements and undertakes all follow-up action to ensure that the recommendations of these workshops are relayed to relevant agencies.

The Government Training Division provides a variety of basic courses, some of which Department staff have attended e.g. the Senior Level Administration and Communication course. For special purpose courses concerned specifically with women reliance is placed on outside agencies.

c) NCSW Recommendations

Monitoring the progress of implementation of the Commission's Report is a major function of the Department. Progress on this however has been slow and fragmented, largely due to the sluggishness of the bureaucratic process and, of course, to the Department's staff limitations. Recommendations on the law have been directed to the Attorney General's office and some action has resulted. The Department is now about to start the process of channelling the other recommendations to the relevant agencies for action.

d) Research

Although the Department has been provided with a Research Assistant, the heavy workload of the Director requires this person to function more as an administrative officer. Thus independent primary research to produce material for dissemination is not possible.

However, the Department was able to finance a small research study on women in agriculture in 1981. This has since been updated and the report will be released shortly. In addition, the Department provided information for the Barbados sector of the Women in the Caribbean Project sponsored by the Institute of Social and Economic Research (ISER), UWI.

(e) **Project Activities**

(i) *Careers Showcase*

In conjunction with WAND, the Bureau sponsors a booth at the annual Careers Showcase put on by Business and Professional Women, which is intended to provide school leavers with information on possible job opportunities, training opportunities, training requirements and so on. Out of this exercise the Business and Professional Women have recently produced a manual on careers for women which is currently being prepared for publication.

(ii) *Dried Fruit Projects*

A second project started by the Department is the preservation and sale of local fruits as substitutes for imported dried fruits. Twenty-five women and one man were trained in the techniques of solar drying, marketing and general record-keeping. Of this group, eight women have been provided with the necessary equipment and are earning an independent income from this activity. The Department has now ceased to be directly involved in the project and has assumed a monitoring role.

(iii) *Legal Education/Legal Aid Projects*

This project has provided the Department with the services of an attorney to examine and analyse those areas of the law specially pertaining to women, to prepare background material for a public education programme on the legislation examined and to organise seminars to advise special interest groups about women's rights and responsibilities under the law. The project also permits the Department to provide a modicum of financial assistance for legal representation of poor women.

(iv) *Channel for Funds to NGOs*

Two sources of funds are available to the Department for distributing to women's organisations. The Government of Barbados provides annual subventions to a number of NGOs including the National Organisation of Women (NOW), the Girl Guides, the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) and the Girls' Industrial Union. Additionally government funds are available through the Department on an *ad hoc* basis for special projects e.g. the NOW received a subsidy for its Food Preservation Factory, and the Business and the Professional Women were provided with air fares to attend their international conference last year.

The second source is CIM/OAS which can offer assistance to small NGO projects at the request of the Department. Thus the YWCA obtained a small grant to purchase equipment for a project; Women in Development (WID) Inc. received a small grant to reprint the findings of a research project on Low Income Women in Barbados.

f) **Achievements and Shortcomings**

Given the difficulties under which the Department has been operating, it is difficult to determine whether its activities have affected the position of women in the country at all. Certainly the Department has been responsible for ensuring the widespread distribution of the Report of the National Commission; but it has not been able to follow through as it would wish with the monitoring of the recommendations in order to promote implementation. Thus two years after the presentation of the Report it was possible for the Chairman of the Commission to state:

Purists cannot be faulted for inferring that only four of the Commission's recommendations have been implemented, for it is only in the stated objects and reasons of four Bills which were brought before Parliament that any real indication is given which would lead any observer to believe that the Report may have influenced decision-makers to some extent.

A more detailed review from the same source suggests that some of the recommendations have undoubtedly received attention, and efforts have been made to implement them:

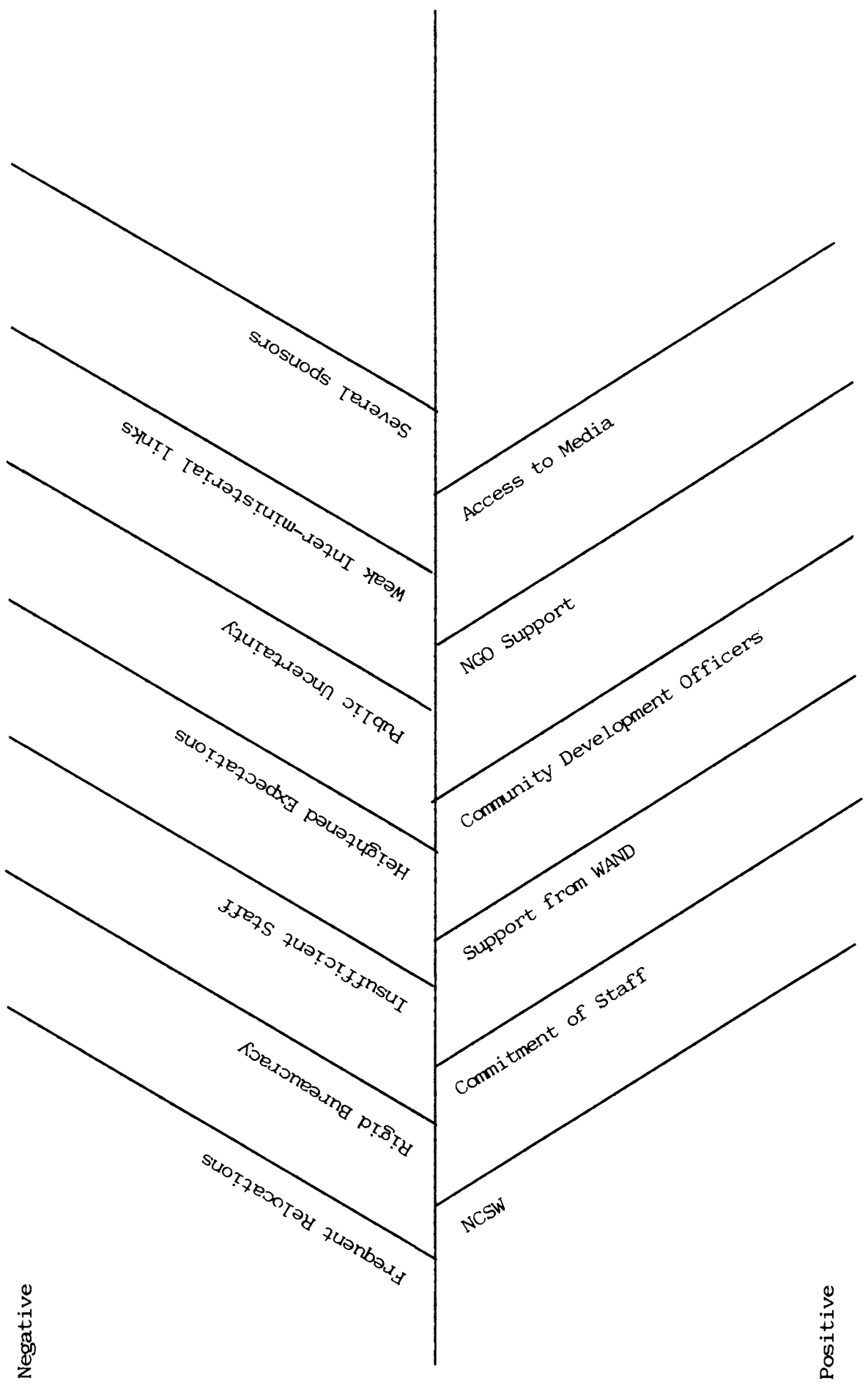
The much requested separate income tax assessment for husbands and wives is now operational. There is much discussion of improvement in community services. The problems associated with employment and unemployment among women have been recognised. The kind of expansion which would bring new jobs and relevant statutory change has been promised. Concern for health, mental and physical, is evident in the Proposed National Health Scheme. Legislation has been enacted.

Since this statement, the abortion law has also been liberalised.

But important areas of the Commission's recommendations have been left untouched. In the dissemination programme for the Commission's Report, the Department was particularly well placed to achieve its goal of consciousness-raising. Women began to use the Department as a source of information and guidance. But this original impetus has waned and the Department has been unable to recapture that advantage.

The unique history of the Department has served to draw attention in regional fora to the particular constellation of problems which pervade all national machinery in the region. This in turn has served to attract the attention and interest of international agencies which may be able to provide the kind of assistance required by these forms of national machinery. Two good examples of this are the workshop on Women in Development Planning organised by ECLA and the seminar on Strengthening National Machinery for the Integration of Women in Development which was sponsored by CARICOM, the Department of Extra-Mural Studies and the Jamaica Bureau of Women's Affairs.

BARBADOS FORCE FIELD ANALYSIS



Negative

Positive

G Factors Influencing the Operation of the Department

Using responses obtained in interviews it has been possible to identify the positive and negative factors affecting the situation of the national machinery for the Women's Affairs programme in Barbados.

A general question about the impact of the work of the Department has raised responses which were largely negative. The consensus seemed to be that the Department was reaching only the few groups which were directly involved in some aspect of its work. However the wider public appeared to be uncertain both about what the Department was supposed to be doing and what it was actually doing. There was consensus that any impact has been minimal, and there was considerable uncertainty as to whether or not efforts should be made to strengthen the Department. Those interviewed were all agreed that the role of the Department should be an advisory and coordinating one.

Relating this set of responses to what has happened in the Department of Women's Affairs to date, two lists can now separate the positive from the negative factors:

a) Positive Factors

- I Impetus given by the work of the NCSW
- II Commitment of staff
- III Programme/Support from WAND
- IV Support in field work from Community Development Officers
- V Moral support from NGOs
- VI Easier access to media

b) Negative Factors

- 1 Frequent relocation between ministries
- 2 Rigid bureaucratic structure and procedures
- 3 Insufficient staff
- 4 Inability to build on heightened public awareness generated by NCSW
- 5 Public uncertainty about role of Department
- 6 Weak inter-ministerial links
- 7 Multiplicity of sponsors

Actions to Reduce Negative/Enhance Positive*

During the interview various strategies were proposed for dealing with the problems identified. These proposals related specifically to action required by government to improve the effectiveness of the Department and included the following:

Increase staff complement [II, 3, 4]

Develop strong public education programme [I, III, IV, 5]

* Numbers following each item refer to items on lists of positive and negative factors which proposed actions are intended to address.

Issue government policy statement [5, v]

Discontinue direct involvement in projects [5]

Determine permanent ministerial location [1,5]

Improve coordination among parent bodies [7]

Develop informal structure to facilitate formal procedures [7]

Evaluate impact of governmental initiatives. (I, II, 1, 2, 5, 6)

Editor's Note: Since the case study was written Barbados has, in 1984, adopted a women's bureau in place of the former department and has started the National Women's Commission.

THE CASE STUDY OF GRENADA

The hallmark of the Grenada case is that the Ministry of Women's Affairs has been part of the mobilisation of the country under the People's Revolutionary Government led by Maurice Bishop since 1979.

Following the overthrow of that government in October 1983 an interim administration was appointed to organise the country until a general election can be held towards the end of 1984. It is impossible as yet to say whether the machinery set up to promote Women's Affairs will survive or not. It includes the only Ministry of Women's Affairs in CARICOM, the third in the Americas. This is, therefore, a different case study from the rest.

Grenada is one of the smaller Caribbean islands, a member of the newly formed Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS), which is an association of the eight smallest Commonwealth Caribbean countries. In 1974 Grenada was the first of these to gain independence. After five years the leaders of the New Jewel Movement took over the reins of government in a nearly bloodless coup and, as the People's Revolutionary Government, introduced far-reaching social and political change.

The population of Grenada is about 100,000 strong, most of it living in mountain villages or fishing villages round the coast. The main exports are bananas and spices. Tourism is being developed, somewhat sporadically in the changing political climate; fishing, crafts, perfume from indigenous plants are being developed, mainly as adjuncts to tourism.

PEGGY ANTROBUS, Coordinator of the WAND Programme of the Department of Extral Mural Studies, University of the West Indies, contributed the paper on Grenada.

A Development of Ministry of Women's Affairs

Two paths led to the establishment of Grenada's national machinery for the integration of women in development. One path, at international and regional levels, focussed on women; the other, at national level, focussed on development.

For Grenadians the years immediately preceding 1979 were marked by their preoccupation with the issues of Equality, Development and Peace, not just for women but for the whole country.

The formation of the New Jewel Movement (NJM) was the response of a small group of concerned Grenadians to the increasingly oppressive regime of the day. The women's organisation of the NJM was formed on December 10, 1978. Six organisers were selected, who at the time of the March 13th revolution had already formed six groups, with a membership of 120 women.

Other women's organisations in Grenada at that time included those common to the other countries of the Commonwealth Caribbean, namely; the Church Women's groups, the YWCA, Business and Professional Women's Club, Soroptimists, and the Homemakers groups.

The leadership of the revolution used the change of government in March 1979 as an opportunity to launch a process aimed at the restructuring of the systems and relationships within the society which would transfer power from a small elite to the mass of the people. According to the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance, Trade and Planning, in the People's Revolutionary Government, the three most important goals or objectives of the Grenada process have been:

- 1 To raise the living standards of all the people of the country and in particular the vast majority who have been materially disadvantaged
- 2 To deepen the quality of development, the all-rounded development of the human personality of all our people
- 3 To constantly develop, deepen, broaden and enrich the process of grass roots democracy, democratization of people's involvement and people's participation in the process of the socio-economic transformation of the society

Philosophically the People's Revolutionary Government has been committed to a process whereby the people could define their own concerns and priorities. The strategies adopted included the formation of zonal councils, women's, youth and workers' parish councils and the formation of mass organisations as the vehicles through which these groups could be mobilised to articulate and exercise their power. The organisation of women in development was therefore part of a national mobilisation rather than a separate process.

The establishment of the Women's Desk in June 1979, within the Ministry of Education and Social Affairs, was perceived by the leadership as an essential and integral part of their revolutionary process. Commitment to the achievement of the international goals for women of Equality, Development and Peace went beyond rhetoric. There developed a correlated programme of policies, mechanisms and strategies to advance these goals for the mass of Grenadian women, who had historically and traditionally experienced the greatest degree of inequality, underdevelopment and violence in the society.

The Women's Desk was staffed initially by two field officers who reported to a Parliamentary Secretary/Director, a woman who had been both a founding member of the NJM and, prior to the revolution, a programme officer with the U.W.I. Department of Extra-Mural Studies Women and Development Unit (WAND). The Women's Desk was up-graded to a Ministry of Women's Affairs in August 1982. It is the first such ministry within CARICOM and the third in the Americas.

The initial focus of the Desk was on protecting women's rights and on encouraging their participation in the process of national reconstruction and development. The first task of the field staff was to build a mass organisation of women, the channel through which their special needs and concerns could be articulated and their efforts mobilised for their own development and that of their communities and country.

The National Women's Organisation (NWO) grew out of the organisational efforts of the Women's Desk and the expansion of the women's

organisation of the NJM. The establishment of the NWO as a mass organisation, open to all women regardless of their affiliation to other organisations, or their lack of affiliation to the NJM, was not achieved overnight. It was a process spread over two years and subject to a great deal of debate within the party. The decision of NJM women's groups to accept membership from other organisations and non-party members was taken in May 1980.

In December 1980, when the first General Meeting of the NWO was held, the organisation comprised 1,500 members, operating in 47 groups in all the parishes except Carriacou. The campaign to increase membership to build a mass organisation was the focus of activities of the Women's Desk in 1981. The present membership is reported as 6,500 (21% of the female population of Grenada), organised into 155 groups.

B Objectives

The NWO held its first Congress in December 1982. On this occasion the new name, its constitution and programme of action, were adopted.

The NWO was established as "an important vehicle for organising women to take advantage of both the material improvements, as well as the educational, cultural, sporting and community activities that build up the person". The aim of the organisation "is more than benefits for all our working people ... (but) also real power for all our working and poor people".

This document defined two main tasks facing the Revolution:

- 1 to play an active part in solving unemployment among women
- 2 to play an equally active part in ensuring that women receive education of all types - academic (adult) education, political and social education, leadership training and skill training

The programme of the Ministry of Women's Affairs has reflected these priorities. The current objectives of the ministry have been described as:

- 1 To strengthen women's organisations and promote cooperation between the various organisations
- 2 To mobilise women to play a more active role in the social, cultural, economic and political life of the country
- 3 To build the consciousness and awareness of women of their role in development
- 4 To improve the social and economic status of women
- 5 To coordinate policies and programmes for the integration of women in development
- 6 To build solidarity and links between women across national boundaries

Structure and Staffing

The organisational structure for the Women in Development Programme as well as its work for 1983 has reflected the close link between the Ministry of Women's Affairs and the NWO. The working association has reflected the close relationship between the people and the state organs which has been the hallmark of the Revolutionary Government.

The Minister for Education, Youth, Social Affairs and Culture in the People's Revolutionary Government was Minister for all the human resource ministries. The Ministries of Women's Affairs and Youth each have their own Deputy Ministers, and in addition, the Deputy Minister for Community Development has since early 1981, been assigned to work within the Ministry of Women's Affairs, an indication of the priority which the PRG has placed on women's development. The Deputy Minister for Women's Affairs is also President of the NWO.

The Ministry works very closely with a number of other ministries and departments, as well as with various agencies, trade unions and mass organisations, in the execution of programmes to benefit women and to speed up their integration into the economic and social development of the country. This collaboration with other agencies leads to a considerable saving on programme costs. The diagram opposite indicates the Ministry's departments and the agencies with which they are working.

Liaison with other ministries and agencies is achieved formally through representation of the NWO and Ministry of Women's Affairs on various boards and committees as well as through informal contact with their staff and directorate.

The chief agencies with which the Ministry of Women's Affairs has contact are:

a) The Ministries of:

Education, Youth, Sports, Social Affairs and Culture

Mobilisation

Agriculture

Health

Construction

Legal Affairs

b) The National Organisations of:

Women (NWO)

Youth (NYO)

Workers (Trade Unions)

Farmers (PFU)

The Armed Forces and Police Service

Centre for Popular Education (CPE)

National Cooperative Development Agency (NACDA)

Agency for Rural Transportation (ART)

GRENCRAFT

Grenada Save the Children Fund (GRENSAVE)

The Homemakers Association

The way in which the regular and formal links with other ministries established systematic relationships can be demonstrated by the following four examples:

1 *The Attorney General* states that he takes his instructions on legislation concerning the status of women from the Ministry of Women's Affairs. The initiatives come through the Ministry from concerns raised at Parish and Zonal Councils and in discussions with the NWO. The procedure allows for draft legislation to be discussed at Parish and Zonal Councils throughout the country, and for comment from the Ministry of Women's Affairs.

2 A senior member of staff of the Macro Planning Unit of the *Ministry of Planning* describes how UN project identification missions are briefed on the Government's mandate that account must be taken of women's role and contribution to development in the preparation of projects.

3 The head of the *Health Education Unit of the Ministry of Health* has a memorandum from the President of the NWO/Deputy Minister for Women's Affairs to the Minister of Health requesting the collaboration of his Ministry in the organisation of Community Health Brigades which would "enable women to play a more active role in ensuring the health of their communities". Clinic hours and the location of dental services are now being determined by women at community level.

4 In the Ministry of Education three examples of cooperation have developed. The head of the Curriculum Development Programme, which is engaged in a major programme of changing the school curricula to reflect more positive attitudes towards development, has endeavoured to eliminate sexism from all the material used in the schools. Secondly, a new drive by the Ministry to open up training opportunities for women in non-traditional skills has led to the involvement of women in training at the *Agricultural Training School* and in woodcarving at *GRENCRAFT*, a Government-sponsored programme for the strengthening and expansion of a national craft industry. Thirdly, the Ministry of Women's Affairs shares responsibility, with the Ministry of Education, for the training of personnel for nursery and pre-primary education and for the establishment of a national day care programme.

MINISTRY OF WOMEN'S AFFAIRS, MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

MINISTER OF EDUCATION

DEPUTY MINISTER FOR WOMEN'S AFFAIRS

SECRETARY FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

NATIONAL COORDINATOR WOMEN'S BUREAU

Personal Secretary/
Assistant to Secretary
Women's Affairs

Head of Department of Organisation of Women	Head of Department of Women in Production	Head of Political and Social Education	Head of the Early Childhood Department and UNICEF coordinator	Senior Executive Officer Administration and Finance
Social Advisory Centre Officer	Officer Responsible for C.P.E., Culture, Crafts and Sports	Political Education and International Relations Officer	Director, Early Childhood NISTEP	Acting Office Manager and Typist
12 Fieldworkers	Political Education Officer	Community Education/ Child Care Officer	Community Education/ Child Care Officer	Typist
		Community Education/ Child Care Officer		Receptionist/Typist
				Office Attendant
				Drivers

At this time the Ministry of Women's Affairs has a staff of 31, including 16 professional staff within the Ministry, 8 field officers and 7 support staff. The Ministry receives from the PRG funding to pay most of its salary bill, to attend international and regional conferences, and to maintain its officers. However, almost all the Ministry's programmes are externally financed, some EC\$651,674 having been raised externally to support programmes for women during the past four years.

In addition, Grenada's Women's programme has received technical assistance (including training and project development) from Cuba and from regional agencies such as WAND and the CARICOM Secretariat. Grenada has also participated in regional and international workshops (training) organised by the CARICOM Secretariat, WAND, the Caribbean Centre for Development Administration (CARICAD), ECLA, CIM and the Commonwealth Secretariat.

C Management Styles and Decision-Making

The structure of the Ministry of Women's Affairs, its relationships with the policy-makers, other ministries, the mass organisations of women, youth, farmers and workers have given it a strength and force which is absent in other national machinery in the region - and perhaps most other countries.

It has been observed that the achievement of the objectives of equality between the sexes and the full participation of women in the process of development are closely related to the political context in which these goals are pursued. There is a spectrum ranging from those societies in which patterns of domination, oppression and authoritarianism reflect strongly entrenched patriarchal structures to those engaged in a revolutionary process which challenges these structures. While the revolution *per se* does not ensure the achievement of the goals of equality and integration for women, it creates a climate and context within which fundamental changes in power relationships are possible. The involvement of women in these processes is crucial for the achievement of the goals of equality and integration for women. In Grenada women have always been a part of the revolutionary process and the presence of conscious and articulate women among the leadership of the vanguard party has helped to ensure the full integration of their concerns and priorities within the process.

At the same time there is a fundamental contradiction between a philosophical commitment to a participatory process and a political system which holds to the concept of the paramountcy of a vanguard party. The nature of this revolutionary process has led inevitably, and perhaps necessarily, to the alienation and exclusion of certain groups of women from the process of change. Some of the people whose privileges and status have been challenged have remained outside the process. Some of these had hitherto been actively involved in women's organisations and programmes for improving the status of women. While their programmes reflected a strong social welfare orientation they had little impact on the entrenched problems facing women and could only touch the lives of a few women in need. Moreover the welfare orientation did nothing to empower the mass of women, but actually tended to maintain the *status quo* of patriarchy.

Nevertheless, these women have skills and experience which are undoubtedly needed in the revolutionary process. It is debatable whether the leadership of the revolution seriously tried to involve these women or whether these women excluded themselves. It is most likely a combination of factors. The rhetoric of anti-capitalism and anti-imperialism to which the revolutionary leaders attach great importance can in the final analysis be divisive and exclusive. It can inhibit the building of the unity which the revolution claims to seek. Nevertheless, some groups have continued and draw a new sense of purpose for their existence within the framework of revolutionary change. The YWCA, Church Women's and Homemakers Groups all fall into this category.

Radical change is threatening at a personal level also. Many women of all classes are fearful, or at least ambivalent, about changes which challenge the security of familiar roles and responsibilities. The emphasis on consciousness-raising in the political sphere was not matched by similar efforts in the personal sphere. There has been no attempt to help women to a deeper level of consciousness of their lack of autonomy, powerlessness and marginality *as women* - even within the revolutionary process. For this reason issues related to violence and role-sharing in the home have not been addressed; the political has not yet been made personal.

Perhaps it is inevitable that certain sectors of women will be excluded from the process of change. The Grenada experience demonstrates the difference between the revolutionary and reformist approaches. The gains, but also the cost, have emerged of the achievement of the goals of equality and development. One of the costs in the short run is the goal of Peace. The revolution has inevitably created tensions and the threat of violence as the leaders prepare for the military defence of the revolution.

Grenada's size, the closeness of relationships within the society, the nature of its revolution - that the overthrow of the Gairy dictatorship was both bloodless and welcomed by almost every class (certainly by the middle class) - all provided opportunities which are perhaps unique for revolutionaries, opportunities for involving all groups in the process. There are, however, groups and agencies which feel that their contribution has been rejected, that critical participation is constrained by fear of repercussions. Perhaps these are inevitable costs of the revolutionary process; perhaps they are not.

Postscript November, 1983

The events of the past year, including the death of the Prime Minister and the Minister of Education and Social Affairs of the PRG, and, following the American intervention, the arrest of the Deputy Prime Minister and his wife, the Deputy Minister of Women's Affairs, raise questions about the fundamental issue of people's participation in decision-making, the central principle of the revolutionary process, and of feminism. Dignity and autonomy for women are the touchstones of their liberation at both personal and political levels; unless women have opportunities for choice and for the exercise of their free will there is no liberation. As the strength of Grenada's national machinery for Women's Affairs has to be seen within the context of the revolution so too the weaknesses of this process have affected the operations of the functioning of the Ministry.

Some of the weaknesses, the costs, have been referred to in the report: the exclusion or alienation of certain groups of women from the process and programmes for change; the blurring of the distinction between party and government; the difficulty of planning and follow-through against a background of revolutionary zeal; the inadequacy of the training and experience of the staff. Others were not as evident at the time of writing but are now clear in retrospect. The centralisation of power in the hands of the few leaders and the consequent unwillingness of lower echelon people to take decisions, the climate of fear which inhibits full participation in discussions on a full range of issues; the rejection of assistance from certain sources, the under-utilisation of resources set up by the Government to serve the programmes.

Most significant the failure to integrate the personal into the political had left unchallenged the paramountcy of the party which denies to the broad mass of people opportunities for participation in deciding such fundamental issues as leadership. Unchallenged too was the militarism which was promoted by the party as an essential part of the revolutionary process. The horror of the Grenada coup confronts us with the fact that a political system based on the paramountcy of a vanguard party backed up by military force cannot produce the kind of societal transformation which removes oppressive relationships between groups of people and which reflect feminine values of cooperation, caring, respect for the dignity of the individual and the abhorrence of violence.

These elements in the model make it inherently unstable and it was the failure to confront and resolve them by non-oppressive, non-violent means that led in the end to the destruction of the revolutionary process.

And yet when all of this is taken into account the fact still remains that the effectiveness of national machinery for the integration of women in development depends on the commitment of a government to the process of social transformation. The tragic and terrible events of the past few weeks in Grenada should not blind us to this fact - nor to the truth that Grenada's experience in this field may well remain the best and most effective model we shall know for some time to come.

D Achievements

The achievements are impressive and are undoubtedly due to the context in which the national machinery was established. The participation of women in the processes for consultation and action in areas of major concern to them is perhaps the single most impressive achievement. The strategies for mobilising the views and energies of women have been based on the Ministry's link with the NWO. The People's Revolutionary Government's recognition of the NWO as one of the mass organisations through which developmental goals are to be achieved has conferred on the organisation a substantial measure of authority and influence. It is the NWO which represents the views of women on a number of key boards and committees. At the same time the Organisation's perception and understanding of the issues has been influenced by those of its leadership and by their analysis of these issues and the priority assigned to them.

The achievements of the four years of revolutionary government which affect the lives of women can be listed in five categories:

- a) Efforts to facilitate access of women to every level of education
- b) Integration of women in economic and social development
- c) Participation of women in political and policy making concerns
- d) New legislation affecting women
- e) An improved women's image in the mass media

a) Efforts to facilitate access of women to every level of education

In Grenada there is no legal basis for discrimination against women at any level of education; under the law primary education is compulsory from 5-16 years for both boys and girls. However, the law has never been formally enforced, and many young girls have been taken from school to care for younger siblings in order to allow mothers to work. Very little technical education was made available. The basis of Grenada's economy is agriculture, yet agricultural science was rarely taught, and particularly not to girls.

The measures taken by the People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada include:

- 1 A mass literacy campaign, begun in September 1980, accompanied by a mass adult education and skills education campaign, begun in 1982. The first phase of the literacy campaign resulted in a reduction of illiteracy by 49%; it is striking that a high proportion of both students and teachers in the initial campaign were women
- 2 The beginning of the enforcement of compulsory primary education as from September 1980, with a national "Back to School" campaign
- 3 The establishment in August 1980 of a special fund of US\$20,000 to assist low income mothers, especially *unsupported* mothers, with the purchase of school books and uniforms. For the school year beginning in September 1981 the fund was increased, and US\$75,000 in assistance has been given to the poorest families
- 4 The commencement of a school meals programme, which at this time provides free milk to all primary and pre-primary school children and subsidised meals to nearly half of all children
- 5 The introduction of free secondary education as from September, 1981
- 6 The adoption of a policy of teaching technical subjects equally to both boys and girls (especially agricultural science, carpentry, metal-work and domestic science)
- 7 At tertiary level, one-third of all students enrolled in 1980-81 at the National Agricultural College were female, as compared with less than one-quarter in 1979. Women students were also enrolled at the fisheries training school for the first time

- 8 The organisation by the People's Revolutionary Government of greatly increased numbers of scholarships to universities and further education institutes abroad, through fraternal assistance offered by several socialist and non-aligned countries
- 9 The commencement, in November 1980, of a National In-Service Teacher Training Programme where, by 1986, all primary school teachers will become fully qualified. Presently only one-quarter of all teachers are qualified
- 10 The reduction of the primary pupil-teacher ratio from 1:42 to 1:30-35, mainly through the employment of more teachers
- 11 The repair of all school buildings through the entirely voluntary efforts of 4,000 citizens during the month of January 1980
- 12 Commencement of work on a new school curriculum which will be relevant to the needs of our society, and which will aim to prepare our youth to play a productive role in the economic life of our society. Women play a leading role in the Curriculum Development Committee, which is taking into account the importance of avoiding role-stereotyping, and promoting a positive image of the women in our society
- 13 The Ministry of Women's Affairs is also working actively to expand the number of day-care centres and pre-primary schools, both through renovation of existing buildings by voluntary labour and by building new ones. In 1981 six new pre-schools and one nursery were set up. This allows mothers to work and older daughters to return to school, as well as ensuring the total healthy development of the young child

b) Integration of Women in Economic and Social Development

Measures taken to improve the integration of women into active economic life include:

- 1 Sanctions against sexual exploitation and sexual blackmail of women by employers, both private and public
- 2 The passage of a Trade Union Recognition Law in May 1979 making recognition of trade unions compulsory for employers once a poll has indicated positively the workers' choice of union. As a result, between May 1979 and May 1980 the percentage of unionised workers jumped from 30% to more than 80%. This favoured women especially
- 3 The passing, in October 1980, of a Maternity Leave Law guaranteeing three months maternity leave to all women workers (two months with pay), including domestic servants who form a relatively large and economically depressed sector of working women

- 4 The creation in August 1980 of a National Co-operative Development Agency (NACDA) which has organised more than 24 co-operatives during its first year. In this area women have shown particular interest, and two co-operatives officers have been assigned by the Ministry of Women's Affairs to work full-time in the creation of co-operatives among women. The majority of these will be in the rural areas
- 5 The establishment of a National Commercial Bank designed to facilitate, through low interest loans, the creation of small local business enterprise, without discrimination concerning the gender of the borrower
- 6 The March 1979 policy declaration for equal pay for women has been implemented in some sectors. Where different types of work are being done by men and women, as is traditional in the agricultural sector for instance, the situation is more complex. The Ministry of Women's Affairs is presently conducting a study taking into account the views of women themselves, to determine which types of work are of equal value
- 7 A policy of greatly increased skills training for women in traditional handicrafts, in agro-industry and in non-traditional skills, such as fishing and furniture-making, has begun. This is being linked to the formation of co-operatives. The first women's furniture-making co-operative was started in July, 1981

c) Participation of Women in the Political and Policy Making Area

Since March 1979 the number of women political appointees has increased from two to five (1 minister, 2 deputy ministers and 2 ambassadors). The number of women appointed as directors of public agencies and commissions, statutory bodies, and as senior civil servants, advisors, and technical officers has increased from two to twenty-five. Women technical officers currently head the Economic Planning Ministry, the Health Ministry, the Housing Ministry and the mass Literacy Campaign; and are playing leading roles in areas as diverse as the development of the tourism sector, the curriculum development programme for the primary schools, National Importing and Marketing Board, and the Information and Foreign Ministries.

d) New Legislation Affecting Women

The laws concerning trade union recognition and maternity leave have provided immediate and clear benefits to women. A study of all legislation affecting women and children has been undertaken by the Ministry of Legal Affairs, to lead to an overall plan of legal reform regarding women; in order also to determine what legislation must be amended and/or created to conform as soon as possible with the international convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women, adopted in Copenhagen, July 1980.

e) Women's Image in the Mass Media

The portrayal of women through the mass media has improved significantly, though there is still room for improvement.

There were no practising women journalists before the revolution; there are now seven. The Programme Director of the National Television and the Assistant Editor of the national newspaper under the PRG were women.

The monthly newsletter of the National Women's Organisation, of which 8,000 copies are sold locally each month, reaches approximately half of all women at this time.

E. Problems

The technique of Force Field Analysis was used to analyse the major problems of the Ministry. Following on the discussion of achievements the major problem to emerge was the excessive work-load of the staff of the Ministry. Some of the factors influencing this were also seen as problems, e.g. shortage of staff, finance and transportation.

A Force Field Analysis shown overleaf revealed the following:

a) Restraining Forces

The Ministry's success in mobilising women which placed increasing demands on the staff

Inadequate transportation

Lack of staff

Inadequate training especially for field staff

Loss of staff to other ministries

Inadequate financial resources

b) Driving Forces

Government's commitment to women

The commitment of women themselves to contribute to the work of the Ministry (in other words, the commitment to women within the framework of the revolutionary process)

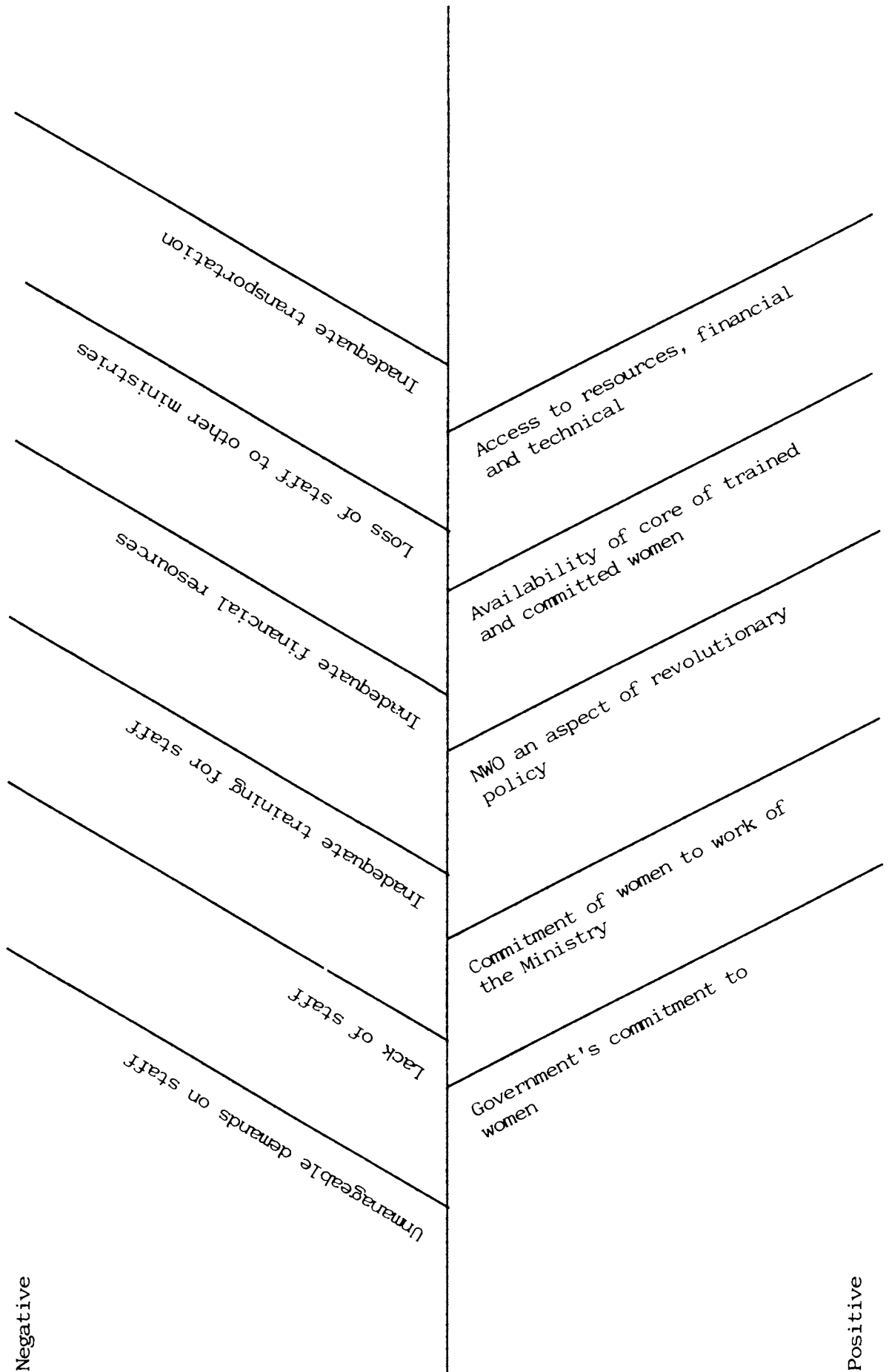
Availability of a core staff of trained and committed women

Access to resources, both financial and technical

Postscript by editor

Grenada's case study alone gives the Government's commitment to women as the main driving force in the integration of women into the development movement of the country. The restraining forces are all logistical in the case of Grenada. The other Caribbean countries would realise immediately the comparative nature of "lack of staff", "inadequate transportation". The solutions offered in the original case study are similarly logistical, namely, more training for staff, the exploration of more sources, governmental and non-governmental, for technical and financial assistance.

GRENADA FORCE FIELD ANALYSIS



The collapse of the government "committed to women in development" including the departure of both the Minister and Deputy Minister concerned with women's affairs creates a void in the situation. Caribbean governments, when changed at elections, are given to rejecting the usually small gains of their predecessors. A revolutionary government which came and went with coups is even less likely to be allowed a legacy. The critical question is whether new administration can sustain an undoubted mobilisation of women in revolutionary Grenada, and use it to articulate further ideas for self-development at both community and, in due course, national levels.

THE CASE OF DOMINICA

Dominica, politically independent since 1978, has the smallest population (74,000) of the sample of Caribbean countries presented. They live mainly around the coastline and cliffs of a rugged, mountainous island and maintain a banana economy, increasingly supported by the export of coconut products and to a lesser extent limes, grapefruit and fresh vegetables to other Caribbean islands. Since Dominica lacks tourist beaches the tourist industry is confined to an eclectic group of mountain and tropical forest lovers.

The infrastructure of Dominica, particularly its roads, was severely damaged by three hurricanes within a year between 1979 and 1980. These natural disasters at a time of international recession has left Dominica in considerable economic distress, particularly in the public sector. Reconstruction has overshadowed development at a time when development was already badly needed. The GNP per capita (1981) is \$750 and Dominica in fact of our sample had the highest rate of inflation in the 1970s. There has been heavy emigration; remittances are undoubtedly the family income of many households.

Dominica is a member of the new OECS and has indeed provided the first governmental chairman, who is also the only woman prime minister in the Caribbean.

The case study has been written by JOYCELIN MASSIAH, Senior Lecturer in the University of the West Indies Institute of Social and Economic Research, Cave Hill, Barbados.

A History of the Women's Bureau

As elsewhere in the region the primary role performed by women in Dominica is the mothering one. However, despite various legal disadvantages they have made considerable contributions in other areas. In the labour market Dominican women are teachers, nurses, lawyers, doctors, small business proprietors, hucksters, agricultural labourers. In the public service, they occupy every rung of the hierarchy. In community service, they have been predominant. In political life they have produced the only female prime minister in the region.

The professional women and women communication leaders were aware of the UN initiatives in women's affairs in the mid-nineteen seventies. Official action was therefore forthcoming in the first year of independence; in November 1978 the newly independent Government of Dominica appointed a Minister of State for Women's Affairs. As a result of representations made by the Minister, the government invited WAND to visit the country in 1979, to advise on the establishment of some institutional machinery to provide the administrative and technical support for the Minister. On the basis of WAND's recommendations, the Dominica Cabinet agreed in January 1980 to establish a Women's Desk within the Ministry of Home Affairs, Industrial Relations and Housing. In 1983 the Women's Desk was upgraded to the Women's Bureau on the recommendation of the Minister of Home Affairs who is also the Minister responsible for Women's Affairs.

To advise the Bureau on its operations, an informal Resource Persons Committee was created in 1980 by the then acting Director. The functions and status of this body have recently been strengthened by its reconstitution as a 17-member Advisory Committee comprising high level technocrats from government ministries and non-government organisations under the Chairmanship of the Minister Responsible for Women's Affairs.

B Objectives

In advising on the functions of the proposed Desk the WAND recommendations referred to the functions of governmental machinery identified by the ECLA *Regional Plan of Action*. As a minimum, they recommended that its primary functions should be:

- (i) data collection, research, evaluation and diagnosis
- (ii) participation in the formulation of national plans, policies and programmes
- (iii) documentation, education and information
- (iv) counselling and advisory services
- (v) liaison with regional and international bodies

While these functions were regarded as being basic for the operation of the Desk it was felt in Dominica that the particular circumstances of the country, particularly after Hurricanes David and Frederick, required an extension of these activities. Accordingly, the first Director redefined the functions of the Desk as follows:

- (i) motivating and mobilising women for greater involvement in the national reconstruction programme
- (ii) establishing a sound working relationship between government and the various women's organisations
- (iii) ensuring the education and training of women for particular skills as required at this time
- (iv) formulation of an action plan for the integration of women in development
- (v) seeking overseas funding for the implementation of the action plan, and for meeting the developmental needs of women
- (vi) guidance and advisory services
- (vii) data collection and research
- (viii) co-ordination of programmes relating to women and promotion of innovative pilot projects among women
- (ix) liaison between government and regional and international bodies.

- (x) participation in the formulation of plans, policies and programmes.

The first Director's definition of functions continues to provide the framework within which the Bureau formulates its work, although there has been some shift of emphasis. In 1980, following the devastation caused by two major hurricanes, the most critical function of the Desk was seen as the motivation and mobilisation of woman for their support and greater involvement in the task of national reconstruction. After two years, the mobilisation began to be interpreted as being related to national development rather than any longer to reconstruction. Accordingly, considerable attention is now concentrated on providing assistance to women's programmes and to ensuring linkages between government and non-government programmes within a development context.

C Structure

The WAND proposals had included a recommendation that the Desk be staffed initially by a Director and one (Senior Grade) Secretary. It was recommended that the Director be appointed at the level of a technical head of department "since she will have to relate to other officers at that level". It was also recommended that the Director should, preferably, have a social science degree and, definitely, some years of administrative experience.

The first incumbent of the post (1980/81) was prior to her appointment a Librarian, then Director of the Social Centre, the umbrella women's organisation of the country. She was appointed at the level of Senior Assistant Secretary i.e. immediately below the Permanent Secretary level. Subsequent appointments followed this precedent. The Acting Director (1981/82) had a social science degree and experience in several departments of the public service. The present holder of the post has a strong background in social work, with diplomas from Swansea University and the Commonwealth Secretariat, and considerable experience in the public service. She has also received in-service middle management training in both her previous and present posts.

At its inception, the Desk was provided with one member of the staff - the Director. This establishment was later upgraded to include a programme officer, a field officer and a secretary.

Duties of these officers are as follows:

(i) Programme Officer

- 1 To research and collect data to establish the status of women in certain specific areas, e.g. employment, education, health, the law
- 2 To compile and disseminate research material
- 3 To prepare and implement projects
- 4 To train women for Government and NGO programmes

- 5 To establish sound public relations
- 6 To assist women's groups in identifying and carrying out income-generating and other projects
- 7 To perform such other duties which may be assigned to her from time to time

(ii) *Field Officer*

- 1 To acquire a working knowledge and understanding of the community and its people
- 2 To work with primary groups to assist women in identifying their needs
- 3 To assist in running training programmes
- 4 To organise a wide range of activities for personal and social development of women, including programmes designed to improve levels of living and participating in the National Development process
- 5 To develop and maintain a good working relationship with other agencies (Government and non-Government) which are involved in promoting the development of women
- 6 To assist in data collection and research
- 7 To keep records and submit monthly reports
- 8 To promote and implement Government/Organisation/Agencies policies and programmes which relate to the development of women
- 9 To perform such other duties which may be assigned to her from time to time

(iii) *Secretary*

- 1 Typing of correspondence
- 2 Compilation and maintenance of a documentation section for the receipt of material and dissemination to groups and individuals
- 3 Receipt, dispatch and filing of correspondence
- 4 Performance of any clerical duties relating to Bureau

All staff are recruited under and subject to the general civil service procedures.

The Director is responsible to the Minister of State for Women's Affairs, through the Permanent Secretary. The entire staff of the Desk works in close collaboration with the staff of various government departments and

maintains a close working relationship with non-government organisations throughout the territory. This is achieved through the Advisory Committee, through representation on various government and non-government committees and through informal personal contacts with individuals.

At the regional level, the Bureau maintains close links with the CARICOM Women's Desk which is responsible for convening the biennial meetings of CARICOM Ministers and officials concerned with Women's Affairs. Dominica has attended all such meetings, and has, in fact, hosted the first of the Ministerial meetings. Dominica also serves as a member of the current advisory committee of WAND. At the international level, Dominica is now the Principal Delegate on the Executive Committee of the Inter-American Commission of Women.

D Funding

For the first year of its operation, the Desk was funded from external sources identified and approached by WAND, on behalf of the Desk. Since then the Government provides for the salary of the Director and for the Secretary who has been seconded from the Ministry of Home Affairs. The Estimates for 1982/83, however, include provision for a Junior Clerk, office rental, utilities, supplies, furniture and internal travel. This marks the first occasion on which the Bureau was involved in the budgetary process of government and, therefore, the occasion of the Bureau's formal incorporation into the government bureaucratic structure. It is proposed that this process should be completed by the end of the Decade.

Funds for programme staff and operations are sought externally on a project-by-project basis. In some instances the process involves the Economic Development Unit and the Ministry of External Affairs; in others the process is direct with the funding body. To date financial support has been obtained mainly from CIM, CUSO and the OAS.

E Programmes

The Desk develops and executes programmes in four major areas - public education, training, project development and research.

a) Public Education

One of the first activities of the Desk was the hosting in April 1980 of a National Seminar on the Role of Women in Development, which brought together 44 men and women from various voluntary organisations and from government departments "to share ideas and problems, work together for the advancement" of Dominican women. Among the resolutions submitted to Cabinet was one calling for a clarification of Government policy with regard to women in the following areas:

- (i) equal opportunity in employment
- (ii) the right to equal pay for equal work
- (iii) the right to equal access to education and full participation in national life

- (iv) the right to personal privacy, through improved housing, provision of adequate sanitary facilities and otherwise

It appears that no policy statement has ever been issued on the matter, however. The Advisory Committee is currently in the process of researching official papers and statements with a view to preparing a policy paper for submission to Cabinet.

The second major activity in this area was Dominica's hosting of the First Meeting of CARICOM Ministers with responsibility for the Integration of Women in Development in April 1981.

These major meetings have been followed by several smaller seminars and workshops aimed at raising the consciousness of Dominican women of their strengths and ability to participate fully in national development. The programme of seminars was at one time supplemented by a weekly radio programme sponsored by the Bureau. This has since gone into abeyance, but efforts are currently being made to revive it with the help of the Government Information Service.

b) Training

The Bureau sees its role as assisting women to prepare themselves for participation in national development. To do this, it has embarked on a series of training workshops, some of which tend to emerge as a by-product of other Bureau programmes, others as a response to specially identified needs with the wider society. Training sessions are conducted by Bureau staff either alone, in collaboration with private organisations or individuals, or with personnel from regional organisations. Thus, a workshop on data collection was identified as a need by the Bureau and training was conducted by the Bureau and the ISER (UWI, Barbados). Similarly, a workshop on Managerial Skills was conducted in association with a private firm, Management Consultants. In other cases, the women themselves express the need and are provided with the necessary assistance by the Bureau to conduct their own workshops. Thus a group involved in a banana-raisins project organised a workshop to train its members in the construction and use of solar dryers.

Where funds permit, the Bureau arranges for the participation of Dominican women in regional training programmes. For example, one woman who specialised in craft work was sent to Haiti on a course concerned with Small Business and Access to Credit. Another was sent to Jamaica on a course providing training for Master Craftsmen; while yet another attended a course in Jamaica on Craft Design and Implementation. Three others were sent to a course on the Participatory Approach to Development. In these cases the intention is that women will return and conduct training workshops with their own groups.

Another aspect of the Bureau's training programmes is the involvement of its staff as trainers in training programmes organised by other government departments. Examples of this include training in personal development for workers involved in pharmaceuticals and primary health care (Ministry of Health); community development to student nurses (Ministry of Health); in personal development to staff and recruits of the Prisons (Ministry of Home Affairs); West Indian cooking to a summer school (Ministry of Education). A related activity is the Bureau's collaboration with various groups to produce a Manual on Family Life Education for use in schools.

For staff training recourse is taken to opportunities overseas for special purpose courses.

c) Project Development

The Bureau's involvement in this regard is restricted to providing assistance to groups wishing to develop a proposal, trying to obtain funds for the execution of the projects and to providing small loans through a revolving fund operated by the Bureau. No attempt is made to become directly involved in projects, but simply to act as a catalyst through which projects receive whatever assistance is perceived as necessary to make them operational.

Projects which have benefitted from this approach cover a range of activities including Banana Vinegar, Banana Raisins, Carpentry, Smocking, Wine Making, Appropriate Technology, Dehydration of Sorrel, Sewing and Handicraft.

d) Research

While not properly equipped to undertake comprehensive research, the Bureau needs to undertake small scale enquiries in order to inform its own agenda of work. To this end it has undertaken a survey on the Status of Women in Dominica, and is currently involved in an employment survey. No resources however exist to disseminate the results of these surveys. The Bureau has also assisted the WAND Population Council Research Project on 'The Impact of Development Projects on the Rural Household and Women', and is now using findings of that project to develop, with Agricultural Extension Officers, strategies for implementing an integrated Rural Development Programme.

e) Other Activities

(i) An important by-product of the Bureau's activity has been a Counselling Service which the Bureau has found itself providing, mostly on the basis of referrals from lawyers but also on the basis of individual requests from women.

(ii) Another activity is the operation of a small Revolving Loan Fund intended to provide small sums to small business women in need of short term financial assistance not usually available from commercial banks.

F Achievements

a) Motivation

Following the trend set by the first Director, the Bureau has concentrated major efforts on building awareness of women's strengths and ability, their problems and needs. The most significant result of this is that "women themselves are recognising their importance to development and are making themselves heard and are re-emphasising their commitment to their families and to the development of their countries".

b) Legislative Reform

Another major result has been the amendment of discriminatory legislation, notably the Maintenance Act which now makes all children equal

in law, whether born in or out of wedlock; the Income Tax Ordinance which now provides for separate assessment of husband and wife; and the Maternity and Social Security Acts which together permit maternity leave with full pay for nine weeks after delivery, instead of the six weeks previously allowed. Sympathetic consideration is also being given to recommendations by the Bureau for amendments to laws relating to Inheritance, Marriage, Divorce, Leave Passage to Civil Servants, with a view to removing discriminatory aspects against women.

G Positive and Negative Factors Influencing the Operation of the Bureau

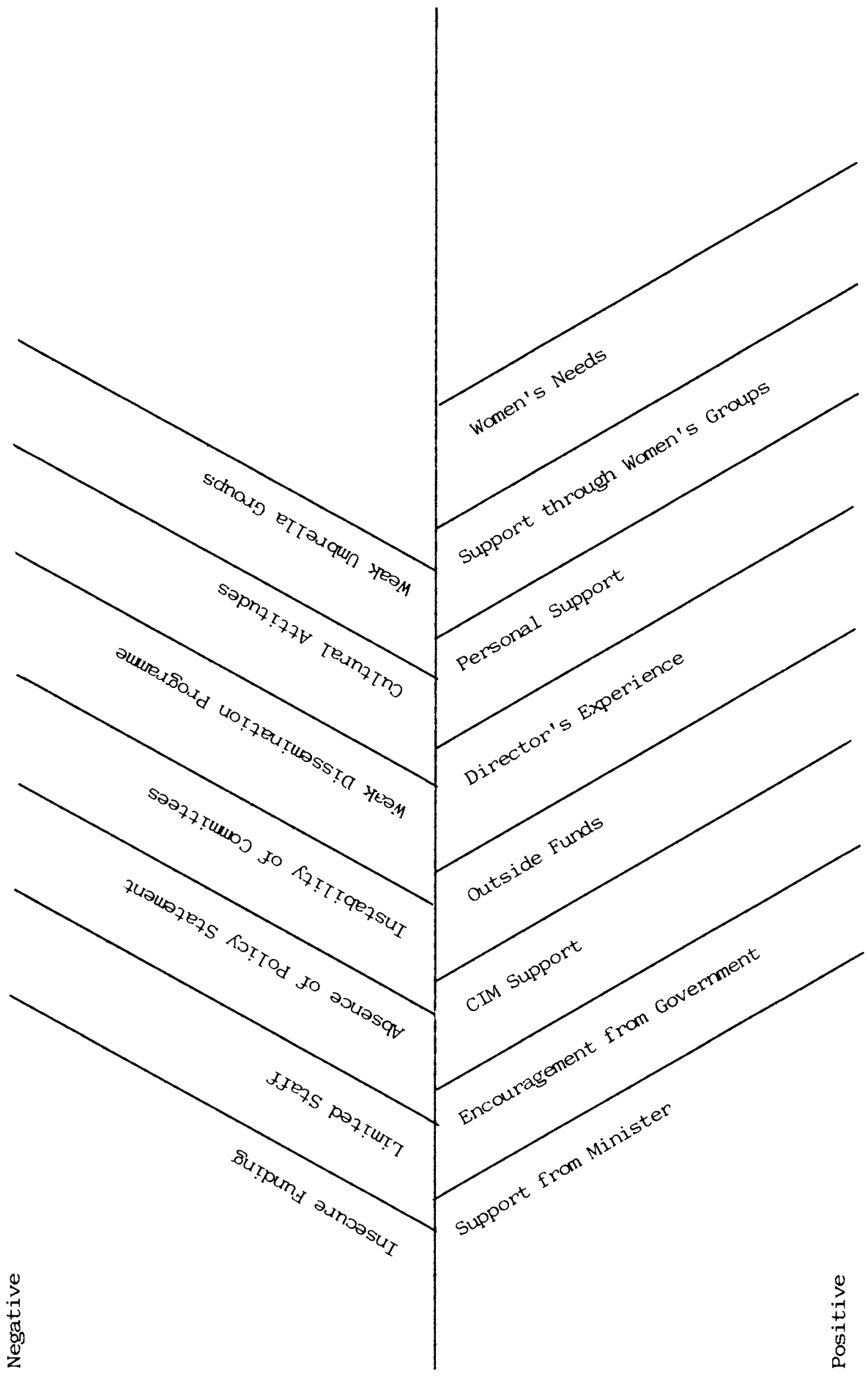
In interviews seeking information about the perceived impact of the work of the Bureau, three types of responses were received. There seemed to be a consensus that through its training workshops, consciousness raising seminars and technical assistance programmes the Bureau was reaching a relatively large number of women who need that type of assistance. This, however, appeared to be limited to those women in rural areas who expressed a need for these services. It was felt that the Bureau was not as effective in reaching other rural women and poor urban women. The second type of response related to the apparent inability of the Bureau to reach urban, middle-income women. This was perceived not so much as a weakness of the Bureau but as an indication of the disinterest of that group of women in the Bureau and its activities. The third type of response had to do with intangibles. The public education activities and the counselling service were seen as vehicles which provided the women with "the courage to go on". The availability of an official institution which could relate to and deal sympathetically with the problems which women face was seen as a welcome innovation in a male-dominated bureaucratic structure perceived to be unsympathetic, and sometimes even antagonistic, to personal problems. In all three types of responses, there were expressions of the need to strengthen and upgrade the Bureau.

Responses obtained in the interviews may be used to identify the positive and negative factors affecting the situation of the national machinery in this territory.

a) Positive Factors

- I Support from the Minister
- II Recognition of the work and encouragement from the Government, e.g. the decision to take over the costs of all staff by 1985
- III Financial and moral support from CIM
- IV Financial support from the international agencies
- V Past experience and training of the Director
- VI Personal encouragement given to the Director and staff by members of the public
- VII Support from women's groups
- VIII Needs of the women themselves

DOMINICA FORCE FIELD ANALYSIS



b) Negative Factors

- 1 Insecure funding
- 2 Limited staff
- 3 Absence of firm policy statement
- 4 Instability of committees
- 5 Weak dissemination programme
- 6 Negative cultural attitudes
- 7 Weak 'umbrella' women's groups

Using the approach of force field analysis, these factors are expressed graphically in the diagram opposite.

H Action to Reduce Negative/Enhance Positive Factors ¹

The strategies needed to enhance the positive factors and minimise the negative factors may also be listed, but the question of the sequencing, and timing of those strategies and determining the feasibility of those strategies is best left for future discussion. The following list is therefore not prioritised.

Maintain close contact with Minister	[I]
Increase contact with local groups	[VII,4]
Develop an independent five-year plan of action linked to National Development Plan	[II,VI,VII,4,7]
Institute regional action committees	[6]
Maintain close contact with members of the Advisory Committee	[II,3,7]
Develop programmes aimed at specific target groups	[VIII,4,6,7]
Develop more aggressive public education programmes	[VIII,4)
Direct more attention to income generating projects	[VIII,4,6,7]
Strengthen Family Consulting Service	[VIII,4,6,7]
Identify and recruit appropriate staff	[II,2]
Development more positive fund seeking efforts	[II,3,7]

¹ Numbers following each action proposed refer to items on list of Positive and Negative factors which proposed actions are intended to address.

THE CASE OF BELIZE

Belize is a Central American country with a population of 100,000 living mainly on the coastline and along the rivers of a heavily forested country. (Grenada, the other Commonwealth Caribbean country of our sample with a population of 100,000, has a population density of 290 people per sq km; Belize, by contrast, has 4.3 per sq km). The population is very mixed and sustains not only heavy emigration to the comparatively accessible USA but also in-migration, particularly from the neighbouring Yucatan peninsula of Mexico. The Amerindian population is therefore large, and Spanish and English are spoken bilingually. Historically timber has been the main export of Belize; sugar and some citrus and fruit products are also export crops.

A long term border dispute with Guatemala delayed the independence of what was British Honduras; it also meant that independent Belize could not be a member of OAS. These factors have somewhat divided Belize from the rest of the Commonwealth Caribbean. As a result Belizian development tends to take different routes from the island countries, including some of the emphases of her Women in Development Programme.

SONJA HARRIS - Social Development Consultant.

A. The Development of the Woman's Bureau

The Belize Women's Bureau officially came into being in mid-1981. Prior to this point, however, there were many preparatory steps to institution building, which focussed on the needs of women in Belize.

The emphasis placed on women as a development force by the UN in declaring 1975-85 as the Decade of Women had a decided influence on Belize's growing awareness of the unique experiences of women in their country. While the impact of the force of women was broadly recognised, its potential as a tool of development was realised by only a few.

The Ministry of Social Services in Belize had long had in its portfolio programmes which touched women's lives. Many of these, however, had a welfare or training focus rather than a development one. From 1978/79, the Ministry recognised, along with the UWI Extra-Mural Department WAND, the need to co-ordinate and upgrade existing services for women, and to train a corps of leaders to carry out development programming to meet their contemporary situation.

Key Ministry personnel interviewed have indicated that the socio-economic climate prevailing during the pre-Bureau period (late 1970's) had the following features which particularly affected the conditions of women:

- 1 Both men and women were active in seeking better employment opportunities
- 2 Heavy migration to the U.S. continued, particularly among the Creole women and families, who had not had strong links traditionally with the agricultural sector

- 3 Family dislocations resulted from some of this migration, causing suffering, especially to small children and teenagers left behind with grandmothers
- 4 A growing dependence on government for social problem-solving (especially as the country prepared for independence), and a decrease in people-initiatives, e.g. among village leaders and village councils
- 5 A general unawareness nation-wide, regarding the impact and import of social issues related to youth, women or national development

It was originally intended in 1980-81 to establish a Women in Development Unit *within* the Social Development Department, which would co-ordinate existing women-related projects, and initiate new ones. The Unit would provide the institutional base within the government to achieve its objectives.

The Unit was to have the following components:

- 1 Public Education
- 2 Research
- 3 Planning, Policy Development and Advocacy
- 4 Projects
- 5 Training
- 6 Home Economics

A request was sent to the UNDP office in Belize in early 1981, proposing that funds from the UN Voluntary Fund, in the amount of US\$104,238.00 be allocated for staffing relevant to the above functions. Funds amounting to US\$ 45,000.00 were also requested from UNICEF, to be allocated to establishing an Income-generating Programme for women. Both have been granted.

The WID Unit thus started as a department within a department, that is, it fell under the Social Department, and the overseeing of the WID functions was the responsibility of the Chief Social Development Officer. Staffing was projected to be broad, drawing heavily on the Home Economics officers within the same department and to include additionally a Public Education Training Co-ordinator, a Project Co-ordinator and a Research Consultant.

Several factors caused the initial arrangement to be very short-lived. Some of the more important ones include:

- a) Lack of adequate preparation of Ministry staff to supervise matters which had national and international implications beyond anything the Ministry was accustomed to
- b) Power struggles concerning authority, management and communication between the traditional Social Service hierarchy and the new more avant-garde WID personnel

- c) An upset in the traditional communication network existing in the Ministry, with the entry of the Women's Unit
- d) Resistances and counteracting forces within the Ministry directed at the Women's Unit, for which there had been no national consensus. The Women's Unit with its UN funds and international support was a new power force to contend with
- e) Political pressures, from rival groups, affecting questions such as staff hiring and policy direction. The bureaucracy was caught in the middle, so to speak

The net result was an unfortunate level of fear and resentment directed at the Unit, which the international WID community desired and supported, but which the local senior staff saw as a decided threat to their well-established authority. The male/female implications in this power management dynamic only reinforced an already sensitive situation, as the person hired as Director of the WID Unit was a woman who seemingly had more power than her supervisor, the male Social Service officer.

Three dramatic changes occurred between 1981 and 1982. These had influence on the changing strategy for future programme implementation:

- 1 The removal of the WID Unit from the Social Development Department to a position in direct line to the Permanent Secretary
- 2 The concurrent creation of the Women's Bureau to replace the WID Unit
- 3 The departure of the first Director of the Bureau, and her eventual replacement by the only other senior staff member, the then Public Education Officer

This transition crisis which launched the new Bureau can be described as being of serious proportions for a country unused to confronting management and political conflicts head-on.

Contributing factors to the breakdown of the original structure, include, in our assessment, the following:

- 1 Belize's adoption of the UN and international rhetoric on women's issues, without introjecting what this rhetoric meant in terms (a) specific to the peculiarities of their own situation; (b) that ensured the country's readiness to move in this direction and (c) that prepared them to participate in this process reliably
- 2 An absence of procedural (process) steps after the workshop in 1979, which would build the WID Unit around the Social Service Department staff's ideas and needs, rather than impose a structure on them, which they instinctively resisted
- 3 An absence of up-to-date, location-specific research on the status of women in Belize

- 4 An under-estimation of the approaches needed to effect co-ordination between the women's related services in the Ministry of Social Services
- 5 An unclear strategy to effect a lasting collaboration between government and the principal NGO, BOWAND (the Belize Organisation for Women and Development) which spearheaded the WID role and concept, as predecessor to the Bureau. Both were geared to delivering comparable services and were getting support from common international sources

A workshop on "Participatory techniques for working with women" was held in June 1979. The workshop had twenty-three government and non-government participants, and lasted for two weeks. It focussed on programme and project development skills, as well as on sensitising participants to non-traditional income-generating skills. The workshop was intended as the preliminary to action in introducing a Women in Development programme.

B. Objectives

The Bureau set the following as its long-term objective at the outset in 1981:

To upgrade the economic, social, cultural, legal and educational position of women in Belize, thereby assisting them in becoming equal and full partners in the country's development process.

Short-term strategies/objectives can be summarised as follows:

Research; leadership training; an integrated development plan; dissemination of information among government and non-government leaders and community residents; project development and implementation; family life education; and income-generating activities for the most needy women.

C. Present Structure and Strategy

The chaotic situation which marked the Bureau's beginning, had clear impact on:

- 1 its changing strategies - to meet its objectives
- 2 its restructuring and current support network
- 3 its relationship with other departments and ministries
- 4 Intra/inter ministerial relations
- 5 Funding
- 6 Strategies

Whereas overall, the original objective remains; and the short-term objectives have changed only to include a new emphasis on advocacy, we

observed that the strategy being used is now more assertive and dynamic than simply bureaucratic.

The Bureau now has its own country-wide voluntary network and National Women's Commission formed in November 1982. This cadre of voluntary resource persons have a more far-reaching effect on the lives of women than a bureaucratic staff does. They are distributed widely throughout all districts and have been instrumental in hosting, with the Bureau, three district workshops to date, with others to come. These workshops serve to introduce the Bureau's functions to the public; to air the issues relevant to women's development in the different sectors; to emphasise use of local resources and establish the framework within which local contributions to the national development plan for women can be made.

It is our assessment that the National Women's Commission serves a vital function in a country characterised by diverse ethnic groups, varied district dynamics and a large geographical spread. This view is based on our observation that women are primary to culture-bearing; they also have a steady influence in closing cross-cultural gaps, where cultures vary and interlap, when the cultural process is indigenous or community-specific.

The Commission acting on behalf of a small Bureau staff (two) has carved out broader functions for itself that go beyond mere advisory or advocacy. It is beginning to define its functional areas to include supervision of village research, promotion of small village projects and training programmes. All of this requires a working budget and a larger on-going co-ordinative and technical role than has traditionally obtained with programmes on behalf of women in the Caribbean.

The Commission in Belize needs to be mobile, moving throughout all districts, and each Commissioner needs to train counterparts to work closely with them at all times.

The Bureau staff should be responsible for overall co-ordination, funding, technical and administrative supports, channelling requests from commissioned groups through the bureaucracy, and training of its voluntary personnel.

The integration of these development agents into a working unit, so that development planning for women can become operational, is the small Women's Bureau task. It is not easy.

The National Women's Commission is headed by a woman influential in the government, and a Deputy Minister in her own right.

This has contributed to two consequences for the Bureau:

- 1 It reinforces the power position of the Bureau within the Ministry. Not only does the Bureau have direct access to the Permanent Secretary, but it can also bring to bear the political influence of the head of the National Women's Commission to promote any measure that the Minister may be advancing.
- 2 The Bureau is perceived by some people within the Ministry, who are affected by the political influence of the

commissioner, as depending too heavily on political decisions, rather than relying on the normal bureaucratic or popular process. This results in the Bureau being viewed with some awe and some resentment, which leads to its being in a potentially isolated position within the Ministry hierarchy.

Whereas the relationships within the Ministry of Social Service are fraught with questions and doubts, because of this new power within a new department, other necessary relationships are being formed between the Bureau and other ministries. For example, a representative from the Planning Unit of the Ministry of Finance has been recruited to the Commission. This unit can provide valuable inputs to the Bureau in the future in the areas of macro-planning and analysis, relevant to a National Development Plan for Women.

The Bureau is funded for a two year period, through early 1984, by the UN Voluntary Fund for the Decade for Women. The UNDP representative in Belize has been instrumental in assisting the Bureau in documenting its funding proposal. However, there are now areas of difference between these two organisations, which have to do with (a) strategies used by the Bureau e.g. to get research done; (b) the autonomy of the Bureau and the timely support by the Government of its Bureau, rather than extending the support from the UN; and (c) differing perspectives between the two agencies on the Bureau's management style and authority, and the role and authority of the funding agency's local office.

D. Methods of Operation

The management style used by the Director is business-like, but not authoritarian. This style allows room for flexible interchange and inputs.

The Director is a strong advocate for women's development, so will sometimes tend to manipulate or lead a group discussion, for example with Bureau's district volunteers. The Director is a decisive person, who is able to resolve issues at the end of a meeting, so that people are clear what decision is being taken. A tendency to advocacy, however, could result in her underestimating the value of process-analysis or in her having an incomplete understanding of all the forces at play in a problem-solving dynamic. This could be a setback in the evolving group process as far as self-determination in the groups is concerned.

The nature of the dynamics in a young Bureau with a vibrant new director does call for strong advocacy. However, this force if not balanced against the groups actively determining the process of their own development, can lead to greater dependency of the groups on the Bureau's management and the group feeling little accountability for an eventual outcome.

One aspect of her decision-making style, furthermore, is that she relies heavily on her own mental capacity to lead the development process, rather than making notes and referring to them. As more decisions are made over time, this could put stress on her ability to hold increasing information together.

The director's approach to training her new Public Education Officer is to lead by example, rather than by process. That is, she does not seek

her colleague's input on the spot in meetings, but the Education Officer's support for the directors's approach and decisions could seem to the onlooker to be assumed. Our own inquiry did reveal that this support is definite and that informal exchanges are consistent between them. However, in terms of leadership effectiveness and administrative clarity, our concern is that as the Bureau's management component becomes more complex, this decision-making style, which now seems unilateral, could be challenged.

Because the Public Education Officer is new we were not able to see her carry out all her duties fully. They include supervising the Peace Corps volunteer in setting up the Resource (Documentation) Centre and co-ordinating and implementing district workshops. It is at the point when the Public Education Officer assumes full responsibility for her portfolio, that the decision-making dynamics between herself and the Director may conflict. However, their present support for each other indicates that they will structure tasks so that their common assertiveness will lead to balanced power-sharing.

It is our observation that all government departments with which we had contact are in a state of crisis management and are pressured by a sense of urgency. The crisis is related in our analysis to the changing needs of the country in the 1980's and the inability of old approaches to resolve present day issues. The bureaucratic machinery is not geared to meet the new socio-economic initiatives of the people at large, nor new development programmes of government. They are inexperienced and hesitant in dealing with such pressing matters in Belize as the complex administration required in multi-ethnic and multi-language communities, the in-migrant refugee problems, the out-migration to USA of skilled "Creoles" and the pressure of income generation projects from all groups.

The Women's Bureau, on the other hand, is new and is dealing with new development emphases in women's affairs. There is no immediate pressure on it to become institutionalised. The Bureau at this point commands international funding and promotes an internationally supported emphasis on development. In the Ministry of Social Services only the Income-generating Department shares a concentration on development with the Bureau. Their alliance, however, if developed at the expense of other departments, could lead to both of them being isolated in the Ministry.

The Income-Generating Unit is similar to the Bureau in its development focus, but with a more specific aim. It came into being as a result of a UNICEF study which revealed that women had low access to credit and that their traditional roles restricted their entry into the business world.

The four-year income generation programme has similar conditions to the work of the Bureau; its target group is low income and single mothers; its focus is on groups rather than on individuals. Both have similar limitations in staffing to service all six districts of Belize. The Unit's service delivery approach is more direct than the Bureau's in that training skills, management skills and interest-free financing are provided directly to groups. Thirty-two projects are now being managed by this unit. Much has been learned about the development process as it relates to group size, group composition, available research data and overall feasibility factors.

Like the Director of the Women's Bureau, the Head of the Income-generation Unit has easy access to the Permanent Secretary, although he is structurally under the Social Services Department. The unit is more accepted than the Bureau, possibly for the following reasons: (1) the Unit is headed by a competent and technically trained man, and (2) the projects in income generation are attractive to politicians who can use them to make promises to constituents.

The nature of the Bureau's present goals and structure, its National Women's Commission, its voluntary network, collaboration with Home Economics personnel, and support from international development agencies are all factors which can relieve the Women's Bureau from bureaucratisation.

In summary, the Bureau is different from other departments in the following ways:

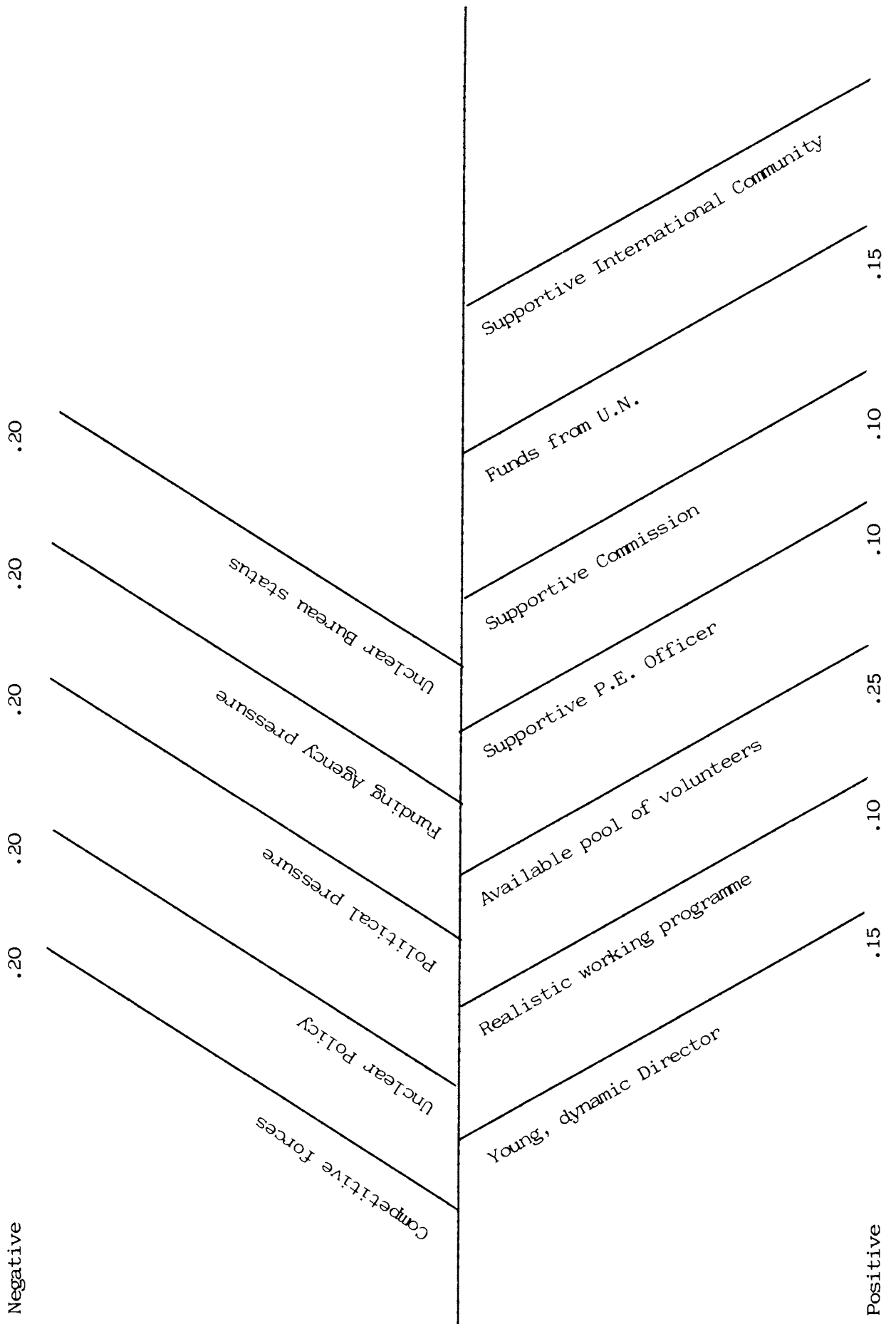
1. It is freer to be more *innovative*
2. It can explore *Research factors relevant to the development process* and evaluate them more spontaneously. Thus the Bureau can achieve a more research-oriented approach to its work, which could give Belize a model for systematic project development with components of formative evaluation. It would be different from the trend analysis, macro-economic research and forecasting which, even with computers, takes years to complete in large departments and in fact rarely leads to project development
3. It is *unencumbered* by an organisational network which is heavily hierarchial and consequently hinders communication flow

E. Achievements

After two years in existence, the Bureau, a small organisation, has achieved the following:

- 1 A sense of presence in the Ministry of Social Services in spite of personality differences in the earlier stages
- 2 A firmly established structure and a development focus
- 3 A working relationship, with the minimum of wasteful conflicts, with other ministerial departments and non-governmental organisations
- 4 An open communication network with the Permanent Secretary, with related Ministry departments and with voluntary personnel in the field
- 5 Moderate level of contact with NGO's including BOWAND, who had spearheaded efforts to bring WID issues to national attention prior to the establishment of the Bureau

BELIZE FORCE FIELD ANALYSIS



- 6 A balanced position between objectives and programme output, that is, the public seeks out the Bureau at a pace appropriate to the objectives the Bureau has defined for itself and to the services they can actually deliver
- 7 A sufficiently regular contact presence in all districts and in some villages. Through their workshops, they have become fairly well known in the main towns and villages

F. Problems

These can be summarised as follows:

- 1 A still unintegrated policy direction for the Bureau in the Ministry of Social Services. This needs to be clarified with the Permanent Secretary so that Ministry personnel is available to service WID projects in home economics, income-generation, and community development
- 2 The structure and support of the National Commission needs more urgent and constant attention than the Women's Bureau alone can offer
- 3 There is less than free interchange of ideas and documented data between BOWAND and the Bureau. The Bureau tends to underrate the strategies needed to work with BOWAND and to underestimate the Bureau's own relative position of strength
- 4 The influence of the funding agency at times acts as a pressure, steering the Bureau into policy directions which could lead to greater dependence of the Bureau on UNDP, and less effectiveness in decision-making in the Bureau
- 5 There is a carry-over of the tendency towards unilateral decision-making in the Director, from the time when she was alone at the Bureau, to the present, where the input of the Public Education Officer in the decision-making process is now critical
- 6 The "magic" of political support may quickly overshadow the systematic administrative steps needed to establish the Bureau's development network

G. Summary Analysis of Development Forces

a) Constraining Forces

- I Competitive forces and feeling within Ministry
- II Unclear policy re field workers' collaboration
- III Too much reliance on political pressure
- IV Too much direction from the funding agency's local office

V Unclear status of Bureau in Ministry i.e. in Ministry's assuming full budgetary responsibility for Bureau

b) **Driving Forces**

- 1 A young and dynamic director
- 2 A supportive Public Education Officer
- 3 A realistic working programme
- 4 An available pool of voluntary workers
- 5 A supportive policy-making and co-ordinative body - the National Women's Commission
- 6 A supportive international community
- 7 Funds from the UN

4. THE ISSUES AND THE NEXT PHASES OF DEVELOPMENT

As the Decade of Women draws to its close there is a distinct difference in the orientation of women's bureaux, or equivalent, to be discerned in the six Commonwealth Caribbean countries discussed. On the one hand, Barbados, Guyana and perhaps in its own way, Grenada, are structure-oriented. They are realistic about the limited resources available and have come to regard the processes and machinery of operation as the greatest achievement to date and the most important development. Jamaica and Dominica, particularly the former, are project oriented and measure their progress by the number of activities in fact promoted by whatever machinery they have. Belize, the newest in the field, expresses both concerns.

The two positions are certainly not mutually exclusive. Those who are structure-oriented concentrate on organisation and coordination because they consider this the best way to get projects for women started by cooperating ministries and NGOs. The project-oriented also work for institutional changes to help them in expanding in particular the small range of projects started by women's bureaux. Whichever the bias the outcome sought in terms of a Woman in Development programme is the same. Working objectives need to show the specific on-going activities designed to meet them.

Two of the writers contributing to this book have independently realised the alternative emphases which have been expressed in the different case studies presented. Furthermore they have themselves both, without premeditation, taken up one of the emphases in discussing their findings. For this reason both are now given as the conclusion to the case studies.

It is not that the writers discuss different concerns, but rather that they show different degrees of concern for what they discuss. They also both point at omissions in the case studies; but they point out different omissions.

Development work can proceed by setting up machinery to coordinate offerings and provide supports. This might be termed the structural approach. On the other hand, development programmes can be initiated in their own right, mobilising the participation of those who are to benefit in each case and lending direct support for the activities as they develop. This is the programme approach. Obviously each country embarking on Women in Development programmes requires its own synthesis. Machinery without functions is merely cosmetic in its effects. Programmes that cannot rely on consistent supports from recognised machinery will have a short life.

Both critical discussions, based on interviews and careful readings of the case studies, now follow. The reader must make her own applications to her own community and to the direction sought for its Women in Development Programme.

A. THE STRUCTURAL EMPHASIS

The gap between explicit policy for Women in Development and actual implementation in terms of adequately resourced and efficient executing agencies continues to be wide, with indications of becoming even wider. It is quite clear that adherence to UN conventions, enunciation of the principle of women's rights and even of the importance of women's social, political and economic roles is simply not enough to ensure successful efforts to integrate women in the national development process. The lists of positive and negative factors in the force field analyses of the six selected Caribbean countries suggest that women's bureaux suffer from three major obstacles related to (i) institutional location, (ii) financing and (iii) the mandate given to the machinery for the programme. In addition, these case studies point to two other major concerns, one related to operational procedures and the other to performance evaluation.

1. Positive Factors

a) The Institutional Environment

There are positive factors in the same negative concerns which none of the people interviewed mentioned, but which nevertheless appear to be important sources of strength from which they can benefit, provided there is the political and administrative will to strengthen their operation.

Regardless of the specific ministerial location, the women's bureaux have been placed within a functioning bureaucratic system which implies that they have the right of access to available resources, of services, personnel, and machinery within the system. There is no valid reason why they should not make use of these resources. To do this the considerable arsenal of techniques traditionally used by men, who dominate the administrative system, must be made available to women who now occupy positions within the policy making hierarchy.

b) The Directors

Secondly, the Caribbean women's bureaux are fortunate to be directed by women who have a deep understanding of the strengths and shortcomings of their agencies and of the measures required for their improvement. The majority have had considerable previous experience in social work and training in management. They have nearly all either served their bureau before promotion or have assisted in its development. They in fact have insights and skills which could be seriously underutilised in a limited operation. All the directors display commitment to their job, acquisition and utilisation of new skills, willingness to be innovative. They have established a professional reputation for sensitivity to the concerns of the women in the countries they serve and a willingness and ability to manipulate the meagre resources at their disposal in order to achieve the stated goals of their programmes. These are assets which administrators should try to retain within the bureaux.

c) External Linkages

The women's bureaux, or their equivalent, have developed strong links with regional and international organisations, through personal and professional contacts, which, in turn, provide them with links to regional

and international resources. Through this connection they have been able to ensure that they participate in and benefit from regionally sponsored training programmes (e.g. Commonwealth Secretariat's management and community mobilisation workshop), research projects (e.g. ISER's WICP), and action programmes (e.g. WAND/CARICOM Communication Programme). They have also developed experience in a variety of activities, such as project preparation, collection of base line data, conduct of training programmes with different types of organisations (community, national, regional, international) and with different types of women. This is an advantage which needs to be maintained and pursued.

d) Rationale for Creation

The agencies have been instituted from above, in that their creation emanated primarily from political leadership reacting to demand from the international community. Such an approach can and has been interpreted as one stressing symbolism rather than problem solving and commitment to field activities. However, it may also be interpreted as being the legitimisation of activities in women's affairs. It is in the bureaux's interest to exploit national endorsement of international instruments to secure support of their programmes. It can be particularly used in public awareness programmes, not only in favour of current activities, but also to chart a course for future programmes through demands coming from the constituency of women which the bureaux serve.

2 Constraints to Performance

Despite the external and internal advantages discerned fundamental weaknesses predominate, most of which can be related directly to inadequate conceptualisation by the original policy/decision makers. Five major areas of constraint can be identified:

a) Policy Framework

While most Caribbean women's bureaux can cite documents which suggest that a specific policy of their operation has been implemented, the available statements have not proved sufficiently powerful to support developing activities. In assessing these responses it appears that what is required is a framework for action embodying (i) general statements about the need to improve the overall status of women in the country; (ii) specific statements about the goals and functions of the national machinery for women; about the relationship of the agency's work to other national imperatives being pursued by government; about the administrative structures necessary to ensure the adequate functioning of the bureau and about the administrative arrangements perceived as necessary to establish linkages between the bureau and other governmental agencies, and between the bureau and relevant non-governmental organisations.

(i) Goals/Functions

Statements outlining the goals and functions of the government's overall policy towards women and of the bureau's role within the policy would serve to give the rest of the public sector and the general public a clearer idea of what the department is expected to achieve and how. It would serve to draw attention to the multifaceted aspects of the bureau's operation, and the need to develop innovative techniques for reconciling

goals with resources within a constantly changing environment. It would force the bureau to develop a mode of operation which translates objectives into strategies and programmes based on adequate programme planning and development, monitoring, research and evaluation processes.

(ii) *Relation to National Objectives*

Statements outlining the relation of the work of the women's bureau to other national objectives within an overall development would permit other government departments to see more clearly how their own work can be enhanced by the inclusion of women's concerns. This would in turn create a more receptive environment for the operation of a new administrative device for the management of women's affairs, in presenting them as a vital component of an integrated development thrust.

An appraisal of the policy statements of women's bureaux under consideration reveals that no such attempt is being made. Rather, the onus for implementation rests squarely with the bureaux themselves. Yet the wide ranging and extensive mandate is clearly beyond their capacity. A policy framework which not only clearly articulates the interdisciplinary nature of the mandate for women's bureaux, but also forcefully stresses the role of all government agencies in implementing government policy in respect of women is urgently needed.

The need to do so arises specifically in poor economies in which competition for scarce resources is fierce, and in which innovative governmental initiatives tend to trigger resentment in a bureaucracy entrenched in traditional, compartmentalised modes of operation.

(iii) *Internal Support Mechanisms*

The administrative arrangements necessary to facilitate the work of the bureaux should include not only the administrative structure within the bureau itself, but also between the bureau and its parent ministry, and between the bureau and other governmental bodies. Lines of responsibility and accountability should be clearly defined so that all participants can understand their role in a specific administrative process designed to facilitate the operation of the women's agency. At the same time, the structure created should not be so rigid as to limit the bureau's capacity to innovate and develop.

Whatever the arrangement, the aim must be to keep ministries better informed of the work of the Women's Bureau and to give ministries a greater opportunity to share problems and exchange experiences as they seek to incorporate women's concerns in their own work programmes. To aid in this communication process and ensure more effective programme coordination, support processes should be instituted, such as steering committees, working parties, with records, minutes, accounts and exchange of planning papers. Over and above these routine administrative arrangements, there is need for an official statement validating the involvement of all ministries in executing the government's policy towards women and specifying the precise objectives of the grouping proposed.

(iv) *External Support Mechanisms*

Over and over again in the interviews reservations were expressed about the limited involvement in the bureau's work of the populations they

claimed to be serving. To meet this justified criticism some mechanism should be established by which representatives of various interests in the community which affect women's lives may have an opportunity to advise the Women's Bureau on their programme of operations. This could be a National Council whose functions could range from advisory to implementation, whose status could range from appointed to elected and from voluntary to government-paid employees. Such a policy framework should include some statements recognising the need for wide participation in ongoing long term planning of the bureau's agenda of work, close monitoring of the programmes and ongoing evaluation. To be effective such a council should include women and men, selected on a country-wide basis according to their expertise on women's issues, the Director of the Women's agency and at least one senior official from the parent ministry. Clear guidelines should be formulated on its terms of reference, duties, minimum meeting requirements, powers of co-opting, and communications procedures. A small secretariat could be provided either directly, or through the national machinery, as the mechanism for carrying through Council decisions.

The rationale for the creation of such bodies tends to turn on their ability to be more innovative, flexible and dynamic, free as they are from the inertia of traditional civil service procedures. On the other hand, because the policies and programmes of these bodies must be aligned with overall national policy objectives, they are required to function within the framework of ministerial and parliamentary control. In effect, they are required to function within the very administrative framework which is deemed to cramp their ability to be innovative, flexible and dynamic. These contradictory requirements frequently lead to problems which highlight the dichotomy between ministerial/political interference and agency autonomy.

Thus, there can be a real danger that advisory councils will be stacked with members who are there simply by virtue of their gender or their political affiliations. To avoid this the policy framework should include statements which go beyond the mere articulation of the structure and function of an advisory council. It should also present the advisory council as a mechanism by which conflicting demands of different groups which affect or are affected by women's concerns can be mediated outside of the arena of the legislature and of political parties, while at the same time providing those groups access, through the women's national machinery and its ministry, to the political centre.

b) Location

The question of the ministerial location of the Women's Bureau is very important as being reflective of (i) the extent of government's commitment to the notion of integrating women into national life, (ii) the government's ideological position vis-à-vis the role of women in national life and (iii) the government's perception of the role of the machinery itself. The machinery's access to the planning, policy formulation and funding sectors of the government determine to a large extent the extent of its ability to ensure an adequate impact on the direction of development in the country.

The three earliest Caribbean countries to set up their machinery for the promotion of women's affairs have each had four changes of location. These have undoubtedly diminished the programme. Not only do they reflect

the marginality of the women's bureau within the public sector, but the changes involve physical movement and often loss of staff. They cause redefinition of the programme to coincide with the interests of the new Minister and re-education of the new crop of bureaucrats. Always they lead to interruptions in the work programme, with the associated waste of time and dissipation of the energies and enthusiasm of the staff. These are very high costs to a programme which is young and inadequately supported.

The Ministry in which the bureau finds itself tends to reflect the Government's view of women in development. Where governments see women as consumers rather than participants in development, they are classified as a dependent welfare group; bureaux are then perceived as welfare-oriented agencies and located accordingly. Where, on the other hand, governments see women as participants in national development and their concerns are perceived as development issues, then the bureaux are perceived as development agencies and associated with development-promoting ministries.

Two aspects of the welfare: development dialogue invite comment. In the first place, the institutionalisation of women's concerns within the welfare sector represents the institutionalisation of women's subordinate status in society, and a denial of the primary objective put forward for the establishment of national machinery. Secondly, the welfare sector traditionally receives a small proportion of development funds and they are usually the first to be cut in times of economic crisis, such as those currently being experienced.

Many of these disadvantages could be overcome by administrative arrangements aimed at emphasising the multi-sectoral aspect of the bureau's function and at ensuring the collaboration of bureaucrats and technocrats of relevant ministries and departments in the interests of integrating women's concerns at the sectoral level in promoting the national development plan. In the longer term political support for Women in Development may not be as important for progress as whether appropriate strategies have been devised to ensure that, regardless of location, the bureaux are supported by an administrative framework which permits collaboration with the top bureaucrats and technocrats in all relevant ministries.

c) Resources

It is clear that within the context of scarce resources, national machinery must compete with all other governmental agencies for government-based funds. It is also clear that the size of the budget indicates the strength of the arguments proposed by the relevant administrative personnel in the budgetary process, as well as by the government's perception of the importance of the work of the national machinery. All the bureaux are starved of funds and their participation in the budgetary planning of their host ministries is marginal. Only in Dominica has the Bureau won additional resources through a regular new commitment item on the annual budget. The participation of the bureau in the annual estimates is very important since most Commonwealth Caribbean countries realistically regard the Budget statement as the annual declaration of Government policy.

The other important aspect of the resource issue is securing of external funds, which has been used by all bureaux to fund project

activities - either their own or those of NGOs. Applications are made both directly and through the Ministry of External Affairs. The first method requires the Director's ability and time to develop appropriate inter-personal links with key individuals in the relevant funding agencies, as well as travel funds and back-up staff to oversee routine operations during the Director's absence. In the case of routing requests through External Affairs, once again the question of competing with other national claims arises and the availability of sympathetic personnel to take the request through the entire process is essential.

More external funds tend to be available for projects - usually income-generating projects - some of which fall outside the main priorities of the bureaux. There can be danger in this; the bureaux are seduced into developing projects as a possible means of obtaining "spill-off" funding for other aspects of their programme. In time, their focus begins to appear more project-oriented than their mandate suggests and than their own resources indicate is advisable. Too much time is then spent on project activity, thereby reducing the capacity of the agency to fulfil its other programme objectives. Further, project grants tend to terminate just as the project begins to gain momentum. With no assurances of further funding, the project becomes a further burden on the agency. In short, the attractiveness of external funding for projects needs to be balanced against the danger of altering in significant and undesirable ways the bureau's programme priorities, and perhaps even its direction.

External funds, on the other hand, can be used for development projects by the Bureau as leverage for attracting greater internal funding. Particularly is this true if the projects can be linked to priority areas of national development plans.

A resource strength which could perhaps be used more effectively is the network of regional institutions whose programmes are themselves funded by external sources. In Women and Development activities a strong personal and professional network system has developed over the years; it has become a broadly based mutual support system expressed in representation on advisory committees, boards and at the CARICOM ministerial meetings. A firm basis of cooperation and collaboration is therefore in place e.g. the CARICOM Women's Desk provides access to regional ministers of government; the WAND Unit provides access to training and documentation; the ISER provides access to research. But it does not appear that the national machineries make as much use as possible of these resources. For example, rather than wait for WAND to organise a special-purpose regional training workshop or for ISER to undertake a regional research project, individual bureaux could conceivably seek short term training attachments to ongoing projects in those institutions. Similarly, in order to hasten bureaucratic action on specific programmes, individual bureaux could make sure that their ideas are included in the reports of the CARICOM Ministerial meeting to which their ministers are committed and on which their bureaucrats will therefore be required to act.

A general impression gained in discussions about financial resources was that not much attention has been given to alternative, or perhaps supplementary, sources of funding to support programme delivery. Externally, requests tend to be made only to those organisations which have assisted in the past, such as CIM/OAS and CUSO. Internally, apart from trying to increase government support, no attention is given to raising

funds from such sources as annual donations from NGOs, covenants from commercial and private sources, service clubs, foreign property owners, sale of promotional, educational and training materials. It appears that the main difficulty in this area relates neither to inability to prepare and negotiate funding proposals, nor to lack of knowledge of alternative external sources. Initially the problem of pressure of routine work and insufficient staff appears to be a major and genuine impediment. But more fundamentally, there seems to be some resistance to fund seeking unless related to specific *ad hoc* projects. The notion of fund seeking as legitimate ongoing activity involving staff, training, time and expenditure appears to be outside the experience both of the agencies and their bureaucratic superiors. It is, however, a notion which needs to be explored and developed.

In effect, while the fact of limited financial resources critically affects the operation of the bureaux, there are a number of areas which they could try to explore in an attempt to fill some of the gaps. However, those measures can only be seen as supportive and do not replace the fundamental need for a secure financial base.

d) Operational Procedures

A striking feature in this review has been the wide range of functions which the ill-staffed and ill-financed bureaux are expected to perform. Taken together, these functions include the following:

Data collection and research

Identification and promotion of programmes and projects

Coordination of women's programmes

Advice to government and to women

Motivating and consciousness raising

Monitoring situation of women

Liaison between government and women's organisations

Liaison between government, regional and international agencies

Education and training

The extensive list of terms of reference points not only to the multi-sectoral character of the task with which these agencies are entrusted, but also raises fundamental questions about the extent to which they are equipped to execute those functions. Here are some of the issues:

(i) Staffing Arrangements

A consistent theme running through the interviews was that staffing was well below minimal requirements. The staff of the bureaux expressed a feeling of being constantly overcommitted. This has engendered considerable feelings of frustration and anxiety as staff find themselves

pressured by their inability to respond to the needs they see and hear expressed in the field; by the constant shifting from one task to another, each more urgent than the last; by an overwhelming burden of administrative tasks which prevent them from doing the outreach work which is necessary to underpin their programmes. There are simply not enough personnel to carry out all the tasks required.

This limited staffing prevents the bureau from operating in any but an *ad hoc* manner with the following consequences:

- 1 Staff are involved in only a limited way in such programme planning and reporting as is done
- 2 Where job descriptions exist they are hardly reflective of the work actually being carried out, nor are they reviewed periodically with a view to their updating
- 3 Staff appraisal procedures are not in place
- 4 Training is limited, available on an *ad hoc* basis as overseas opportunities arise, and unrelated to periodic individual or organisational needs assessment
- 5 While communication exists on a day-to-day basis it relates more to routine matters than to general programme matters
- 6 With no serious attempts at departmental programme planning and monitoring, there is a total absence of programme evaluation
- 7 The heavy demands placed on the Director have weakened programme management and operational capability, and have precluded the necessary staff supervision and systematic programme monitoring and coordination

These deficiencies demonstrate the need for strengthening the administrative and operational capacity of bureaux not only in terms of additional staff but also in terms of a more rational management system.

(ii) *Role of the Director*

Virtually everyone interviewed commented on the heavy workload of the Director who carries the major burden of administration, research, technical assistance and public relations. No job descriptions apparently exist, but a listing of the actual tasks performed demonstrates the massive time requirements from the Director in order to fulfil the Department's mandate:

- | | | |
|----------------|---|---|
| Administration | - Prepare estimates | |
| | - Attend meetings
(national and international) | - departmental; NGOs
community), regional, |
| | - Chair meetings | |

- Prepare and present papers at meetings
 - Prepare reports - departmental, progress and final reports to donors, post-conference reports
 - Negotiation at international meetings
 - Write speeches for senior officials
 - Compile data for inclusion in funding agency documents
- Programme
- Prepare project proposals
 - Seek project funds
 - Monitor sponsored projects
 - Conduct workshops
 - Counsel women referred
- Public Relations
- Develop and maintain links with other departments in Ministry
 - Develop and maintain links with other ministries
 - Develop and maintain links with NGOs
 - Attend NGO functions and meetings
 - Deliver addresses to groups
 - Radio/TV appearances
 - Prepare articles for newspapers
- Other
- Prepare for End-of-Decade Conference

This wide range of tasks requires a director with a broad range of development skills, varying from management and advocacy, through group dynamics, communications, international relations and public speaking. With no staff to whom some tasks may be delegated and without a back-up support system which ensures that delegation of tasks to other departments or ministries will result in action, directors experience considerable pressure and not a little frustration as they rush from one task to another with alarming rapidity. Clearly the quantity and quality of accomplishments must suffer from the relentless time pressure.

This is further exacerbated by the 'distance' which separates the director from the political head of the division and which governs the

extent of flexibility which she may be allowed. Theoretically, the director, as head of a department, is a professional charged with executing policy formulated by the political directorate, in the person of a particular minister. She is expected to participate in a process of initiation, interpretation and implementation of decisions related to the promotion of given policies. She is a part of the decision-making process. In practice, as director of a newly established department, whose areas of interest are outside the experience of the male-dominated bureaucracy, she is required to shape the policy and programme boundaries of her department and to exercise the leadership qualities necessary to generate support within the bureaucracy in order to implement the policies. She is a part of the policy-making process, hence the necessity to create the post of director senior enough to recognise the extent of the assignment and the status of its manager.

Women appointed to decision making positions requiring them to respond to the needs of a constituency of women, tend to develop a leadership style depending on participation, sharing and caring. It is a style consonant with the nature of the demands expressed by the constituency they serve. But such values exert strong pressures on women operating in a male-controlled bureaucracy in which a traditional authoritarian leadership style prevails. Senior male officials respond to this unfamiliar style of operation in various ways. They claim ignorance about the new unit's programme of work, devalue their efforts, provide little back-up support for decisions, delay action, block requests, rigidly adhere to formal procedures and systematically exclude the director from the powerful informal network which underpins the formal, hierarchical structure of authority. Such practices serve to undermine the autonomy and creativity of these women, limit their power and reduce their effectiveness as leaders.

The desirable alternative would be for senior ministry officials to enter into a collaborative process with directors of women's units to develop strategies for creating a more sympathetic work environment for the Director and thus strengthen the role of her agency. Such strategies could include a job description for the director, a revised management and communication system designed to make the director more visible in the public administration system, training for the director, other department heads and senior officials on the operation of the new system, and specialist training for the director in agreed areas. The particular choice of strategy must be based on a collaborative process grounded in a thorough documentation of the strengths and weaknesses of the existing system, and the direction which any changes should take. Until such a process is implemented, directors of women's units will continue to be seriously disadvantaged within the public administration system and the work of their units will continue to be affected by unrealistic terms of reference and impossible work schedules.

(iii) *Role of the Senior Administrator in the Host Ministry*

Directors of women's bureaux are involved almost on a daily basis in an ongoing process of collaboration and consultation with their public which determines their own work programme design and method of response. But decisions on the final formulation of these programmes have to be taken by a male senior official acting in an area in which he has neither technical competence nor previous administrative experience.

The potential for conflict is obvious. Unwilling to admit that he is ill-equipped to adapt to the new demands, but feeling pressured to assert his authority, resort is taken to the kinds of resistance factors discussed earlier. Some of these actions may not necessarily be deliberate, but because of the context in which they occur, give the impression of being so. More importantly they reflect a real dilemma which senior officials face. On the one hand, resistance implies an inability to perform their primary function, which is to guide and advise the Minister on policy formulation. To do this the administrator should acquire competence in the area by gathering information, going into the field, liaising with experts, reading relevant documentary material in a genuine process of self-education aimed at initiating and sustaining innovative change. In effect he must go beyond the boundaries of conventional administrative practice and he must do this in an area which he has been culturally conditioned to consider marginal. Few male administrators have either the desire, the sensitivity or indeed the humility to do this in any of their programme concerns, least of all those concentrating on women.

Yet unless senior administrators are prepared to undertake the background work and make the personal commitment to change, the women's national machinery under their control will continue to be ineffective. Senior administrators must perceive themselves, and be perceived by others, as integral components of government policy concerning women. They must be involved in all aspects of policy implementation; they must be trained; they must participate in programme activity; they must attend regional and international meetings; they must assist with fund-seeking negotiations; they must lobby their Minister. In effect, they must cease to function as if they are unconnected with the national machinery for Women in Development and its operations.

(iv) *Role of NGOs*

The relation of the Women in Development agency to autonomous voluntary organisations is another aspect of the operations of the bureaux which can be improved.

It was felt that some organisations have not yet become attuned to the critical role which they should be playing as 'lobbyists' of women's concerns in a sustained, systematic and well-informed manner. Their activities continue to be superficial, undefined and unconnected with the serious development concerns of their countries. This view was expressed particularly forcefully in Barbados, where it was felt that women's groups have failed to capitalise on the excellent groundwork laid by the National Commission by neither implementing the recommendations nor using them to develop their own programmes or those of the Department which was set up specifically to support them.

In other cases, where organisations were involved in clearly defined activities, those activities were not necessarily directed towards any significant alleviation of the problems of women. Specific mention was made of the women's arms of the various political parties, especially those in control of the government, which were perceived as having the greatest potential for drawing women and their concerns into the mainstream of national and political life. It was felt that these 'women's arms' saw themselves essentially as fund raisers, election campaigners and mobilisers of other women in party membership drives; that, although they claim as one

of their main objectives 'the promotion of the full participation of women in all aspects of national life', they do not in fact function as advocates for women's issues within their own parties, except in so far as certain welfare type activities and, more recently, income-generating projects are concerned.

Other respondents recognise that membership of women's arms is a small fraction of overall membership in the political parties, that female representation on the party Executive remains minimal, and that leadership within the women's arms may not be adequate. They feel that this prevents the women's arms from being an effective force both within and outside of the mainstream parties. They are furthermore hesitant about attempting to elicit the cooperation of these groups for fear of being branded 'too political'.

The interviews also reflected an awareness that such women's organisations are not representative of the interests of the majority of women and are not therefore equipped to speak or act on their behalf. The interviews also reflected the wide ranging contribution of individual women who prefer not to be associated with a particular organisation, but who are prepared to make their talents available. Efforts to include such women in some aspect of the bureaux's work should also be made.

The contentions about the women's organisations are borne out by a recent ISER research project which demonstrated that the majority (over 65%) of women studied in three project territories, were not members of any organisation, even though they themselves state that membership of such organisations is important for self-development. Further, it is shown that sizeable proportions of those women had never heard of organisations offering projects for women. Where they had, even smaller proportions actually participated. Those who belonged to organisations tended to be older women and to belong mostly to church groups. They all felt that programmes concerned with skill training, income generation and job creation were the main ways in which organisations can function to benefit women.

These findings hold clear implications for the restructuring and general overhaul of the organisations. But they also carry implications for the coordinating role which the formal governmental machinery must play if it is to enhance its own ability to transform the status of women. The work of these organisations must be seen as complementary to government initiatives. If that complementary role is not possible without some form of assistance, then that should be provided through the bureau in order to permit these organisations to become an effective part of the institutional apparatus. The mobilisation of support among potentially supportive elements of the population in order to overcome expected resistance is critical.

The women's bureaux should review their approach to dealing with women's organisations and groups. So far that approach has tended to concentrate on the provision of project funds, technical assistance and training. More attention needs to be paid to involving those organisations and groups in the actual programmes of the bureau through (i) participation in the administrative support arrangements; (ii) functioning as resource persons on agency programmes and (iii) mobilisation of their support as lobbyists for strengthening the capacity of the agency.

(v) *Programme Planning, Development and Evaluation*

The agencies for women's affairs do not operate a planned timetable of defined activities for target groups. Rather programmes appear to develop on an *ad hoc* basis as pressing needs arise or special requests are made. There can be little argument that the bureaux have demonstrated their responsiveness to these needs within the limits of their resources. Neither, however, can there be much argument that such an approach is too fragmented to represent any meaningful solution to the problems encountered.

In a sense, it may well be unrealistic to expect the administrative head of a one or two-person unit to undertake a detailed, time-consuming planning exercise when such exercises are at best marginal at even national level. But some ongoing planning of medium-term priorities is necessary. Reference has already been made to the frequent requests made for assistance; responses to these requests are scheduled according to staff and funding availability and the urgency of the request. Such a response reflects a degree of flexibility which should always rest in units of this nature; but it may well be that with internal planning, the unanticipated, heavy and competing demands placed upon the agencies' limited resources could be classified and related to appropriate programmes to maximise the assistance of the bureau.

(vi) *Monitoring and Evaluation*

Formal periodic assessments of agency activities are non-existent. Yet the innovative nature of their structure and function suggests that they need to incorporate into their regular activities periodic performance evaluations. During the interviews, although the term "performance evaluation" was not actually used by respondents, it was evident that bureau staff seem to be constantly involved in an ongoing process of informal programme evaluation. The process is unclear and unstructured, but if staff perceptions of the strengths and inadequacies of their programmes are to be taken as indicative, then some process seems to be at work.

There seem to be three impediments to systematic monitoring and evaluation in the bureaux. Firstly, evaluation is a minimal activity in public administration so that working models are not available to the bureaux. Secondly, because of the absence of clearly articulated goals, or of any coordinated plan of action, there is nothing on which to peg such indicators as may be devised. Thirdly, directors feel hesitant about adding another task to their already onerous burden, particularly in yet another area in which they feel somewhat diffident about their own competence. Unless some attempt is made to link objectives with resources, to identify successes and their reasons, to account for failures, and to do so regularly and systematically, then departments will have no valid measure of their effectiveness. Further they will have no convincing argument to persuade others of their utility and of the need to strengthen their ability to function.

Here again, however, it would be unrealistic to expect the bureaux to adopt a particular mode of operation in the absence of qualified and appropriately trained staff. There must be suitable arrangements for providing a staff member with training in evaluation techniques. Programme

monitoring and evaluation reports could then become an integral tool in the preparation, execution and review of ongoing plans and work programmes.

B. Conclusions

The case studies of Commonwealth Caribbean Women in Development programmes show that agencies and individuals, both within and outside of the public sector, perceive the need for some form of institutional machinery within the government sector to deal with issues affecting women in the society. However the achievements of the national machinery have been limited, indeed have been outweighed, by the constraints which inhibit their operation. Their main achievement has been in the area of sensitising the public in general and government bureaucracies in particular to women's welfare concerns. They have, however, been unable to persuade those bureaucracies of the fundamental need to link those welfare concerns with the major economic, social and political concerns of their countries. Some individuals within some government agencies do perceive and understand those linkages, particularly in the area of unemployment. However, the translation of that perception to positive governmental action has been slow, almost stationary.

Evidence suggests that the major impediment confronting the operation of the Caribbean women's bureaux lies in the administrative arrangements in which they are embedded. Presumably, such arrangements emanate from existing policy directives, but the current level and style of operations suggest that if real policy lies in bureaucratic practice then policy in this area of women's affairs can be said to be non-existent. It is true that policy statements exist, but they contain no clear definitions of goals and priorities and the associated arrangements for the provision of proper levels of resources and imaginative management support structures, which can transform those statements into creative and dynamic action programmes. Rather the bureaux have emerged as weakly structured, ill-defined units whose ability to function as the sole implementing agency for the government's policy on Women in Development is seriously compromised by the absence of appropriate support and resource provisions.

As these agencies approach the end of the decade, and indeed of the century, critical decisions have to be taken in a number of areas. Governments have to decide whether the issue of women and development is sufficiently important to remain on their development agenda. If it is, then they have to decide whether existing policy objectives are realistic, and if so, whether the allocated resources are commensurate with successful achievement. Once these issues are seriously confronted, governments will then be better placed to choose the particular machinery appropriate to its available financial, institutional and human resources. Until these decisions are made, and appropriate action taken, governmental national machinery will remain relatively powerless to transform the condition of women.

Table 6 : The Composite Force Field Analysis of WID Programmes in Six Commonwealth Caribbean Countries

Negative	Positive
No budget or inadequate funds	Support from National Commission
Lack of staff in bureaux	Commitment of women attached to agency
Inadequately trained staff	Supportive international bodies
Bureaux unable to meet demands	Availability of international aid
No cooperation/understanding from Ministries	Cadre of trained/committed women
No national advisory body	Pool of volunteers available
Unclear policy	Realistic role & programme emerging
Bureaucratisation of the bureaux	Achievement of income generating projects
Unclear status of bureaux	Emphasis on socio-economic development of women
Competitive forces	Regular contact with PS and cooperating ministries
Political pressure	Link with official regional policy
Dependence on international finance	Specialised sub-committees valuable
Funding agency pressure	Government commitment to WID
No/few support staff	
Inadequate transportation	

B. THE PROGRAMME EMPHASIS

The case studies show that a programme for Women in Development has been launched in each of the six Commonwealth Caribbean countries presented. Only in the particular case of Grenada is there any danger of its collapse.

An examination of the forced field analyses of the case studies shows considerable limitations in the achievement, but assets also have emerged and been developed. Both offer important guides for the future.

The combined list of negative factors in order of frequency is as follows:

- 1 No budget, or inadequate funds for projects
- 2 Lack of staff in women's bureaux
- 3 Inadequately trained staff
- 4 The bureaux therefore unable to meet demands placed on them
- 5 Poor cooperative relationships with other ministries of government
- 6 No national advisory body
- 7 Unclear policy and status for Bureau
- 8 Bureaucratisation of the bureaux
- 9 Competitive forces
- 10 Political pressure
- 11 Dependence on international finance
- 12 Funding agency pressure
- 13 No support staff
- 14 Inadequate transportation

Virtually all the constraints described in the case studies are structural weaknesses and deficiencies in support. The exceptions, namely unclear policy, unclear status of the bureau, competitive forces, and pressures from political and international sources, are largely the consequence of the structural weaknesses as stated.

The positive outcomes reported by the combined group are to some extent also structural, particularly the supportive features which in practice have emerged outside the governmental machinery. These factors, in order of frequency, are as follows:

- 1 Support/cooperation from National Women's Commission

- 2 Commitment of women at large to the work of the Bureau
- 3 Supportive international agencies
- 4 The availability of international aid
- 5 Existence of a cadre of trained and committed women for the work of the Bureau
- 6 Pool of volunteers available
- 7 A realistic role and working programme emerging for the Bureau
- 8 Achievement of income-generating projects
- 9 Growing emphasis on socio-economic development of women as the main aim of the programme
- 10 Regular contact with Permanent Secretary and other cooperating ministries
- 11 Good potential in link with Government's policy of regionalism
- 12 Value in specialised sub-committees of personnel from government departments and NGOs
- 13 Government's commitment to women in development

To a considerable extent the positive factors are a demonstration of the negative factors overcome or compensated for. The lack of staff in the bureaux and the poor understanding in the government bureaucracy is in the majority of cases contrasted with support and cooperation from NGOs, women at large and the international agencies. The value of a national women's commission to mobilise these favourable forces in the field is well understood in the case studies. Since many women in the communities have appreciated the potential of the Women's Bureau and its links, regional organisation of any sort is a promising strategy. The specialised sub-committees, planned and just started in Guyana, are another way of recruiting experience and ability from all sources to tackle ongoing problems.

Only one case study reported a satisfactory situation of regular contact with the Permanent Secretary in the host ministry of the Women's Bureau and with the cooperating ministries. This has yet to be achieved in most cases. The apparently better links with NGOs cannot be a substitute for neglect of the Women in Development programme in the government machinery to which the bureaux belong. The officers of the bureaux will require persistence firstly in finding a regular place in planning sessions for projects in human resource development, which on definition must incorporate the women. Secondly they must now systematically communicate their priorities so that other hard-pressed public servants consistently form the habit of considering the role of the women concerned in any project which they are promoting.

It is perhaps because working objectives have been so little expressed that the staff of women's bureaux have found it hard to attract

the attention of programme managers in other ministries. An inter-ministerial council is suggested as the remedy in some studies; in Grenada's Ministry of Women's Affairs the largest staff of our sample participated in the management committee meeting of most of the other ministries. Contact with Permanent Secretaries is an essential formality, but regular association is as much needed with officers responsible for programmes or services in which women are involved. Since women in fact participate in the activities of most ministries it would help if the Women's Bureau could be placed in the most multi-functional ministry of the government, so that it shares with other staff of the ministry the need to maintain relationships with such single-purpose cooperating ministries as agriculture, construction, health and education. The Grenadian precedent of placing all human resource development portfolios under the Ministry of Education, with deputy ministers for Community Development, Culture and Women's Affairs might be given another form. For example, Jamaica for a period had a Cabinet Council for Social and Economic Development which embraced all relevant ministries - their ministers, senior administrators and professional officers meeting together, and separately, at regular intervals. This enabled the Minister for Women's Affairs and the Director of the Women's Bureau to participate in socio-economic planning in an integrated fashion, rather than to seek a women's component in projects originally designed without their participation. Some case studies have advocated a national plan for women; others are becoming more specific in their statements of periodic operational objectives. Whichever method is adopted it will reflect the growing priority for women in development to undertake income-generating projects and the necessary skill training to promote them. The kind of self-employment, small business and cooperative organisation which would be required to expand productive employment can well be adapted to the demands of the other working life of women, namely the maintenance of families, the majority as heads of their households.

Although the case studies report successful projects in production, the recruitment among women has so far been small. Any widespread change in their economic position will require an impetus of campaign proportions. Furthermore, the access of women to trade unions - or their formation of their own - may prove to be a key feature in bringing them into modern sector employment. The development of women conceived in realistic terms can be found to affect all ministries and projects of government, the trade unions, the business and commodity associations, the banks and credit unions. The first decade of work for women in development has been more associated with long traditions of social welfare than with socio-economic development. The first small successes and the popular appeal of the latter should now encourage the staff of the bureaux, with their allies in the community, to state their objectives unequivocally and on a much longer scale in socio-economic terms.

The Caribbean governments have so far been largely impressionistic in their support of women in development. To be effective they need clear objectives which include timetabled and specific proposals for action. Unless this is done it is unlikely that the cooperating ministries will re-distribute their resources to give women an equitable share in their development programmes unless this is done. Furthermore, policy concerning women in development needs to be related to that for men and children; otherwise women can appear to be developing themselves independently, or even competitively.

Two categories of women can readily be identified for emphasis in development programmes without raising questions of gender as such. In the first place opportunities for heads of families, in both income generation and services, are a priority in socio-economic development on the obvious grounds that the benefits reach the greatest number of dependents. Since a majority of families in the Caribbean are headed by women such a considerable need could be met on functional rather than on simple gender arguments.

Secondly, unemployment falls most heavily among young adults between 15 and 25 years old, the overwhelming majority of unemployed being young women. If the schemes for training, income generation, cooperative production and small business enterprises could reflect the actual distribution of men and women in this heavily unemployed group, a considerable inequity would be removed in Caribbean countries. This does not mean training school leavers for the traditional depressed occupations of domestic service, dressmaking and laundry; it means opening training, credit, access to equipment, land, distribution resources and developing markets to young women, in the proportion that they exist in the catchment area of any development. If the project really offers no work for women the alternative is a parallel women's development. This should surely become a series of routine considerations in development planning if the movement to integrate women in development is to be anything more than rhetoric. It must be pointed out that these considerations have only been stated in a generalised way in the case studies.

The governments, if they want a modern WID programme, will have to staff the bureaux adequately and give them full support. However, no bureau staff will be able to conduct the work required throughout the country for the socio-economic development of all the women, any more than any Ministry of Education staff can conduct the children's daily schooling. The expansion of activity with women is dependent on the efforts of women with each other, with training staff of NGOs and of ministry projects and with individuals who share their experience and skills when they are needed for a new project. These resources have to be mobilised on a regular basis if socio-economic development is also to be mobilised. It is clear that advisory boards, women's auxiliaries, a specialist sub-committee and the long-experienced NGOs have been the greatest support to the new women's bureaux. They have advised, canvassed opinions, trained and organised. Where they have not yet been institutionalised into the WID programme it is without doubt advantageous that they should be, in the form or forms most appropriate to each country.

Last but not least, is the need to mobilise "Woman Better Woman" herself. The Grenada National Women's Organisation and the long-term objective of the Belize Women's Organisation realise best that the appropriate membership of a women in development programme is simply all the women in the country. It was in Guyana, however, that the first workshop was held to canvass women's ideas on what their programme should encompass. This is a grassroots proposition in proposal-making which begs for repetition and modification.

Dominica's use of radio to reach women's groups is a technique to be further explored. Since there is only one newspaper a week in Dominica the radio is virtually the only public medium of communication. As in most third world countries the radio travels to the fields, in public transport as well as anywhere in the house. Debate and discussion can be conducted

over the air as well as in person; in Dominica all the proceedings of the House of Representatives are broadcast live for instance. For women's development Dominica has mostly used radio for purposes of consciousness training; a good development could be its use for testing ideas, holding opinion polls and exchanging experiences. Much could be learnt, for instance, from a short daily report in story form on the management requirements of a small business project. Jamaica radio has soap operas and performing groups which could present ideas, experiences and questions for discussion. Dominica has already given banana growers food for thought in such a series.

The lessons of the Caribbean experience in this discussion so far advocate the strengthening of the positive factors observed to counter the negative. This is obviously the purpose of learning from experience. The scope of the task, say by the end of twentieth century, is nevertheless enormous in face of the world's growing poverty and inability either to control or distribute equitably the products of science and technology. It is no exaggeration in poor countries to regard as crucial the potential participation of women in development, both as homemakers and as producers. Most women in the Caribbean countries know the difference between survival and development as a way of life, and act emphatically in favour of latter. This important distinction is not at this stage as clearly discernible in the Women in Development Programmes. The negative factors cited in the forced field analyses include reference to "unclear policy" and to "unclear status for the bureau". They do not include inadequate conceptualisation. It is indeed a gain that the case studies report "a realistic role" for the Women's Bureau; but one suspects that this is a realism dictated by the limited resources of the bureaux rather than by a preoccupation with the magnitude of Third World development needs. Both are important, but the latter is the inescapable context and perspective for all the work.

The national aims for women in development now go well beyond the removal of discriminatory laws and practices. The traditional welfare aspect is also giving way to a concept of socio-economic development of women so that they can enter modern sector employment and no longer require welfare measures. Above all the most positive factor is that the contribution of women is critically needed to achieve socio-economic development of the community at large. These aims have not been fully understood and do still need advocacy. The project manager who in his training and employment practices forgets that for the absolute majority of families the woman is the breadwinner is one example; the social welfare worker who encourages women to remain in "home economics" or cottage industries, notoriously non-unionised activities, is another. The forum to discuss the role of women in development, and consequently the functions of the agencies concerned, needs to be a broad one, led by a strong policy commitment from government, replacing rhetorical aims with objective statements of intent. The limitations of staff shortage, poor staff training and lack of support for the women's bureaux appear in all the case studies. The staffing ranged, at the time the case studies were written, from two in place, without secretarial help, in Guyana, to twenty-six, with office staff and drivers, in Grenada. The norm is an establishment of two or three with at least access to a secretary, but with no operational budget.

Apart from the fact that the affairs of half the population can hardly be attended to by two people, there is little hope of two people

having between them the range of experience and skills required for the task. It has been suggested that for the small Caribbean countries there should be a minimal staff of three in the women's bureaux - a director, a deputy and a research/formative evaluation officer, with a secretary. This assumes that the Bureau will be monitoring and supporting the projects of cooperating ministries and NGOs rather than conducting programmes of its own. The priority tasks then become mobilisation, policy formulation, planning and management, monitoring and evaluation, fund raising - namely, broad development skills. There have also to be productive relationships with many different groups in the community; for without cooperation there will be no achievement. These skills and attitudes are hardly taught in social science courses or even for social work diplomas. A further lesson from the case studies is therefore that there must be specific training for the staff of women's bureaux and their colleagues in government departments and NGOs, preferably at the time of appointment. On-the-job seminars and workshops are needed for a variety of skills which could be practised on actual programmes. For example, the writing of objectives, with built-in methods of evaluation, could be practised in a regional workshop attended by officers who in fact have objectives to write.

Other factors which may need short-term, on-the-job training sessions are:

Monitoring and evaluation

Advocacy and negotiation

Group dynamics

Use of media

International relations

Proposal and request writing

Communication skills - popular speaking, role playing (and reversing) simulations, and discussion.

The case studies brought up the problem of lack of training of bureau staff. They did not mention training for local production staff. In the field on-the-job training for project leaders) is needed as a built-in part of every project, from its local planning and acceptance, through implementation and functional evaluation. Training has been given in the technical skills of work projects, but little has been offered in grass roots project management. This is particularly important for women where production is a second activity and must be articulated with their household responsibilities. The introduction of new economic activities in Third World communities has more often than not left the women in a worse position than before. Except in Belize where new sugar production has threatened food crops and so nutrition, this dimension of disaster has not yet been prevalent in the Caribbean. The size of projects, as indicated in the case studies, has been too small as yet to have large-scale effect on the socio-economic position of women either way. This enables the new plans to incorporate the social role of women into the economic projects and train the very special kind of local leader to secure their participation.

Perhaps many of the implications of making reasonably sized income-generating projects into effective modern sector employment for groups of women are missing from the case studies simply because the women's bureaux have had no government resources to start them. Where the bureaux have had to seek international funding or a place for women in general production programmes, they lack the initiative to control either the activities or the scope of the programme. It is quicker and easier to achieve relatively small sums of money from the bilateral agencies which tend to back individual projects. The project is then limited both by money and the requirements of the international agencies who finance them. The latter have not to date been strong on small business management, marketing or even production choices, as elements of training to be learnt in the action. These are nevertheless vital if the object is to get women into modern sector production and employment.

One of the most important objectives of projects in income generation is simply that they must generate income. The finance which is so deplorably lacking for activities in the women's bureaux is therefore not, unlike international seed money, for individual projects, but for supports which are needed to launch any project. Working women's notorious lack of assets, such as land and collateral, for raising credit, need to be addressed on the broad front, not project by project. Self-help projects which match materials with promised labour, revolving loans for equipment, acceptance of group collateral for loans at credit unions or banks, finding guaranteed markets for guaranteed supplies, are all measures which can service women in all production projects. These enabling procedures were mentioned in none of the Caribbean case studies; without them the emphasis on income-generating projects will be implemented very slowly.

The impression left by the omissions in the case studies is that there is still a lot of ambiguity in the women in development programmes in the Caribbean. Many of the deficiencies in the staffing and support of the women's bureaux, or their equivalent, can be explained by the economic stringencies of the time in which they have come into being. However, the fundamental point of the women in development campaign is to mobilise women's participation in the socio-economic development which alone can overcome the economic stringencies. This is hardly stated, let alone reiterated, in the case studies.

Since they are dominated by the generalised international rhetoric of the Year and Decade of Women, the aims, goals and objectives, variously termed, hardly reflect the development aspects of the programme. This original model for objectives has only been modestly adjusted in national objectives, although the writers of the case studies report awareness that the priority in the programme, at least for women at large, is income generation. The limitations imposed in most cases by less than adequate staffing and poor financing of bureaux has led the case studies to be more concerned with structure than with objectives and functions. Perhaps as a consequence the answer to the limitations of the majority is to reduce the defined functions of the bureau, omitting direct participation in the socio-economic development of women which is now the priority of the NGOs, and of the cooperating women themselves. It is not clear where the catalyst is supposed to be.

Without the sustained work of the trained and/or experienced women in each country, both those selected to staff the bureau and those in the

NGOs, and the encouragement of international bodies it is hard to see how some of the bureaux would have survived. After 1985 the governments themselves will have to decide whether they seriously wish to mobilise their women in development or not; the impetus from now on must be the national initiative.

If, as one suspects they will, the Caribbean governments do try to develop their womanpower, there is much ground breaking needed by the professionals, in association with as popular a front as they can mobilise. The priorities seem to lie in:

- (i) Government commitment to the mobilisation of womanpower into the labour force for production-cum-household management, as aspects of economic recovery and development.
- (ii) Fresh objectives reconciling the aspirations of Caribbean women with the working plans for socio-economic development of the country at large.
- (iii) Enabling legislation and programmes, such as participation of women in credit, land use, self-help and business training.
- (iv) Participation of women's bureau staff in the inter-ministerial machinery for policy making and implementation of human resource development.
- (v) Formation of a steering committee or working party drawn from government and NGOs, to advise on, investigate and implement developments in women's affairs.
- (vi) A country wide organisation - using radio as well as face-to-face communication - to canvass women's opinions, communicate news and views and to facilitate distribution of training, materials and experience of other groups.
- (vii) Development of on-the-job training at all levels of the Women in Development programme, from bureau staff at time of appointment to every women joining a production project in her village or district.

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