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OF CHALLENGES & CHOICES: WOMEN'S ORGANISATIONS IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Eci Kikau

Dissertation prepared in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the MA Rural Social Development

August 1986
Dedicated to my late parents, Ratu and Nau, the source of my being and strength; and to the two little ones Pei and Akanisi whose joys and pains emanate from my very own.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The academic year in England would not have been possible without the support of the following institutions and individuals, to whom I am deeply indebted. The University of the South Pacific for granting me 12 months training leave; the Ministry of Fijian Affairs and in particular, the Fijian Education Unit in providing me with a scholarship; the Fiji High Commission in London whose office provided invaluable administrative services; the hospitality of the Fijian community in the United Kingdom, whose endless generosity made life away from home more bearable; family members and friends in Fiji who gave me their support and blessings in this academic challenge; the Director and staff of the Agricultural Extension and Rural Development Centre at Reading University who made the year an enjoyable experience; my Supervisor, Patricia Goldey under whose guidance this dissertation was made possible; Mrs Semisi for her untiring efforts at the typewriter in addition to the overwhelming hospitality which her family displayed in the home, and which I will always treasure, and last but not least to the companionship of a good friend, who encouraged me all the way through thick and thin.

In many ways, the limitations imposed upon academic writing of this kind and at this level, depict the rigours of academic discipline, and although I do not claim to put forth all the ideas and arguments required to substantiate the respective assumptions which form the basis of this study, I alone claim responsibility for any omissions and errors arising.

VINAKA VAKALEVU
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INTRODUCTION

"...The crisis of development lies in the poverty of the Third World, as well as that of others whose needs, even the most basic—food, habitat, health, education—are not met. It lies in a large part of the world, in the alienation, whether in misery or in affluence, of the masses, deprived of the means to understand and master their social and political environment...."

(Development Dialogue, 1977:2,p.12)

The various schools of development thought have through the past decades attempted to provide models of growth with different emphasis on modernisation and as a result, there is a marked degree of relative standards of development within and among nations throughout the world. The dissatisfaction at both national and international levels with the rates and results of progress has resulted in the emergence of different strategies that give greater priority to increased equitable distribution of benefits and growth in the respective economic systems. This universal concern is a commendable gesture, but as we are all aware, the extent to which it is practised is another whole issue in itself.

For most developing countries the shortage of resources has meant disparities in sectoral and regional development, inadequate and often poor infrastructural facilities; high population growth rates; polarisation of distinct classes and continued marginalisation of certain sections of the population. As such the task of providing alternative development strategies to alleviate the stifling nature of most Third World economies means that although there are a few problems common to these developing societies, the adoption and action on the final developmental package depends to a large extent on the range of factors peculiar to each social situation.
The many attempts to participate in the various activities is a universal phenomenon and is reflected in the existence of a wide range of organisations guided by multi-objectives; serving multi-clients and operating within a multitude of contexts within and across national boundaries.

In developing countries, the impact of non-governmental organisations in the various fields have generated a growing momentum in a response to the recognition that by maximising potentially viable resources within societies, these have been seen to complement and supplement stretched resources of government agencies in the overall pursuit of national development.

With respect to women's organisations in development, it must be said that despite the far-reaching implications of development that have surrounded women in society, their continuous struggle to be active participants in development through collective action, portray the extent to which the forces of modernisation, takes its toll on the most vulnerable sector of the population.

For the world as a whole, in so far as the development process goes, the issues pervading the direction of respective countries will point to a path strewn with mixed success, characterised by alternative 'peaks' of growth, to 'dips' of economic slump; and 'plateaus' of saturation and non-growth. Whatever the record, it is worth noting that the drive to improve the human quality of development is one that demands heavy sacrifices in the struggle to achieve that goal.
Scope and Limitation of Study

This dissertation is an attempt to analyse the role and impact of women's organisations in rural development, and to examine the extent to which this contributes to overall national development. It is argued that as non-governmental organisations, women's groups do not receive adequate support in their developmental activities, and that the key factors involved emerge from the overall socio-economic and political context in which such organisations operate. In addition, it is further argued that unless the support given to non-governmental organisations is one which recognises, accepts and facilitates such resources through institutions at both micro and macro levels, then as less formal, less bureaucratic structures, these associations will continuously face problems of maladjustment, malfunction, and role crisis in the overall process of national development. Hence it can be seen that in most developing countries and in particular, the small island states of the Pacific, the dilemma of being in transitional economies, in which the forces of the Western capitalist infrastructure 'lure' the greater portion of the male population, the role of women's organisations in their attempts to forge and maintain links within the constraints of the wider society, is an issue worth reviewing in the light of scarce developmental resources.

The area of study will initially focus on a more general level of specific development issues to be followed by a discussion of the whole question of women and work in development. In addition, an examination of the perceptions of non-governmental agencies in development will be reviewed, and the implications for women's organisations on the above issues will be illustrated in a 'case-study' analysis of the Fijian situation, followed by various suggestions for 'remedial' alternatives.
Objectives

The following objectives will essentially provide a broad framework within which the study will proceed:

(i) to assess the role and impact of women's organisations in rural development in Fiji;
(ii) to develop through illustration, an appreciation and awareness that women's struggles are a universal phenomenon;
(iii) to develop further insight into the resource potential of local communities and the extent to which it can be effectively adapted into the mainstream of national development;
(iv) to contribute to knowledge in general and in particular to existing literature on women in development;
(v) to contribute to the documentation of country data;
(vi) to contribute to an understanding of the theories of social change and its relevance to rural development; and
(vii) to help bridge cross-cultural communication through a case-study approach.

Methodology

The method of enquiry will consist of a formal literature review of various major selected works in the different fields of development in addition to journals and government publications. The problem of bias which arises from over-reliance on secondary information
will be alleviated to some extent by the author's own experience in
the field as a researcher, and as a member of one of the largest
women's organisations in her own country.

Summary of Chapters

In all there will be five chapters and the following summaries
highlight the respective contents.

Chapter I will look at three issues in rural development and
will attempt to analyse in some depth the various implications reflected
in the different ideological orientations, and this will be followed by
a discussion on the relevance of understanding social change in the
context of rural development.

Chapter 2 will initially look at the whole area pertaining to
women and work in development and secondly, through a series of
inter-related issues will try to find out why women's conditions have
become a significant area of global concern.

Chapter 3 will focus on the nature of non-governmental agencies
in development as perceived from the positions of international
agencies, national governments and indigenous organisations themselves,
and highlighting where relevant, the implications these have on women's
organisations in general.

Chapter 4 will attempt to illustrate through a case review, the
role of women's organisations in rural development in Fiji with a break-
down of the various factors that influence organisational activities,
and Chapter 5 will conclude with a series of ideas that attempt to
provide some alternatives to fully utilising women's organisations in
national development.
CHAPTER I

ISSUES IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT

1.1 Introduction

The term 'development' immediately conjures up a mental image composed of a myriad of concepts representing different ideological perspectives. Despite the range of interpretations these serve as a useful guide to the endless deliberations on the subject being conducted in different forums at all levels. With respect to rural development, it can be said that the experience is no simpler. Although the focus now centres on an area of development defined within the limits of the rural sector, it is quite common to find that debates and discussions on the topic, cover inter-related fields, and are not restricted by boundaries of any kind, sectoral or otherwise.

It must be noted at the outset that the issues of rural development that are going to be discussed in this first chapter, are neither a representative sample nor are they perceived to be the main ones. Nevertheless, due to the diversity of interpretation and impact, that emanates from the various contexts in which they are being utilised, it is hoped that an in-depth analysis on the issues chosen will highlight the interrelationship to other broader issues, not specifically addressed here, but nevertheless exist within the context of the wider society.

The differences in the use of the terms 'rural development' and 'national development' are arbitrary and stand to reiterate the fact that in reality, these aspects of development are interrelated and therefore inseparable. As a process, it is difficult to point out
where one ends and the other begins, and to think otherwise would be tantamount to a superficial treatment of the whole question of development.

As pointed out earlier, the issues discussed here are neither exhaustive nor exclusive and should not deter the reader from adding, deleting and even modifying the original list. Of greater significance is the fact that identifying common issues of rural development serves a dual purpose in that not only does it provide some 'feelers' to the newcomer in the field, but it also tones down the possibilities of an 'over-kill' of the respective works on development studies that already abound in the literature.

The choice of these issues is based on the various definitions of rural development put forward by respective authors and the criteria of selection is centred around what is felt to be common issues that, from the author's point of view, are more or less reflected in most of these definitions. It is for this very reason that conceptual, institutional and popular issues have been selected and these will be soon be discussed in more depth.

From this initial analysis our attention will then be directed at a brief discussion on the importance of understanding social change in rural development. It is hoped that this review will enable one to 'see' the impact various issues can have in the context of rural development and that for most of us, social change becomes more meaningful in the knowledge that the attempts to relate them, should help to develop an appreciation of the intricate networks of factors that shape social systems.

Let us now proceed and initially examine the various issues in
Conceptual Issues

What does one mean by conceptual issues? Generally speaking, this refers to the ideals reflective of a system of beliefs that in the case of development would form the basis of concern. However, it should first be noted that the biggest problem with concepts is that of a definitional nature and, without delving into the semantics of this issue Mehbrahtu (1984) in warning us about the limitations of concept classification says that:

"...this dichotomous way of looking at our global village can prevent us from acquiring an all-embracing perspective."

(Mehbrahtu ed., 1984, p.4)

From the increasing literature, it can be seen that as a discipline, rural development and its related fields have attracted a whole variety of individuals and institutions. The rhetorics and repercussions of development theories, in their inability to provide a sustainable rationale to the issues of under-development, has meant that the initial concepts on which the 'technocratic' approach to development were being based, have now been modified and even completely transformed, to cater for the shift towards the more 'reformist' and ultimately 'radical' schools of development thought.

In his work, Robert Chambers (1974) puts forth a fairly strong case in stating the importance of prioritising rural development drawing specifically from the experience of the countries in East Africa. The poverty-stricken rural sectors of these countries which
contain more than seventy-percent (70%) of the population, in addition to the increasing rural-urban migration with its resultant problems, is evidence of the inadequacy of conventional models of economic growth that were being adopted and pursued in the post World War II era.

The cause for concern is not only at the individual level but is universally acknowledged and accepted at both national and international levels. To this end, it has been stated that:

"..... the inception of the 'new strategy' for development planning by the World Bank and UN agencies.....is defined by its concern with equity of objectives of various kinds....."

(Harriss ed., 1982,p.15)

The ethical and moral responsibilities inherent in the various definitions cannot pass unnoticed, as these present to some degree the value judgements of those who espouse to 'preach it' and those who see it as their 'duty' to practice if not promote it. Whatever the case may be, it would be quite erroneous and presumptuous to perceive these well-meaning attempts at dissecting developmental issues as being 'exercises of sympathy' because it can be effectively argued that ethnocentrism can often result in a:

".....tunnel vision among persons responsible for the diagnosis of problems"

(Zaltman & Duncan, 1977,p.21)

At this point, it can be seen that the interdisciplinary approach to rural development indicates that as a process, the multi-variants influencing its dynamism emerge from the different institutional
spheres and as such, this concept can only be meaningfully understood when perceived within the totality of its operational context.

In her work on rural development designs, Uma Lele (1975) defines rural development as:

"....improving living standards of the mass of low-income population residing in rural areas and making the process of their development self-sustaining."

(Lele, 1975, p. 20)

The implications of such a definition are enormous in that, as she herself acknowledged, it is open to a variety of interpretations, which if proved feasible, would have a significant impact on the design and performance of the respective programmes.

In looking further afield Vries (1975) points out the importance of treating rural society as a system and highlights those characteristics that isolate the nature and structure of agriculture from society at large. The various implications of the interrelationships that exist at different levels in society serve as a constant reminder that even the most basic of social systems like a rural farm family, will be influenced to some degree by internal and external variables.

The absence of uniform conditions in most countries is no excuse for complacency, as the interdependency of countries in terms of spatial and geographical variables, may in fact lend some validity to the emergence of regional similarities, which could provide a common base for the improved planning and allocation of scarce developmental resources.

The all pervading human question which at one time was the scorn of development theorists, as being an area laden with value
judgements and overall subjectivity, is now being treated with caution and respect, in the attempt to objectively validate its shortcomings in the area of scientific enquiry. The 'object' of development, in this case the rural poor, is now perceived as the 'subject' of such strategies and in itself, emphasises the essential although arduous task of placing man at the core of development. As a strategy of rural development participation is perceived as:

".....the creation of opportunities to explore new, often open-ended directions with those who were traditionally the objects of development. .....More knowledge may not be required, it is rather the knowledge of the rural poor that has not been incorporated. It is not the failure to take into account the "human factor" which is at fault, but rather the unreflective way in which the developers were left out of the equation and the rather unilateral way in which they dealt with what was regarded as passive recipients-consumers rather than producers."

(Oakley & Marsden, 1984, p.13)

This reflects the 'rethink' in development approaches that have emerged in response to the growing 'dissillusionment' with established development strategies and in the words of the same authors they aptly sum up this notion of a participatory approach as a concern:

".....with the production of knowledge, new directions, new modes of organisation rather than with the dissemination of more of the same."

(Oakley & Marsden, 1984, p.14)

Undoubtedly, the above topic is a fairly intensive issue in itself that is bound to cause ripples in various quarters if one were to engage in a thorough analysis on the subject, and so on a more general note
it can be said that the varied interpretations so characteristic of conceptual issues stand to serve some purpose, in that not only do they regenerate interest and awareness in the dynamics of their usage, but that they also provide a common platform on which thought-provoking discussions and research are widely pursued.

1.3 Institutional Issues

With respect to development and institutional issues, reference is made to the variety of social, economic and political structures existing in society and their effect on the rural sector. The subject is unavoidable in that, as socio-economic units, rural farming families exist in a myriad of structural relationships, which can have a fairly diffused character, totally undiscernible to the outsider, and yet crucial to an understanding of why people accept and resist change when the need to change does arise.

Castillo (1977) points out that if agrarian reform and institutional innovation were perceived in the context of being 'purely economic processes' then this would only lead to an oversimplification of an integral part of a total process of political and economic reconstruction. In highlighting the link between rural development and the political process, it is also stated that the status of economic development is influenced by the degree of political stability in the country. As such, the successes and failures of the agricultural sector can often be linked to the prioritising of levels of material growth often sought, but seldomly gained.

In their writings on rural development in the Third World, Long and Winder (1981) reiterate the advantages and disadvantages of "directive" as compared to "non-directive" change. However, despite
all this, country experiences show that governments still pursue the "directive" approach for a whole variety of reasons, the main one being maintenance of the status quo.

It is often argued that for those developing countries which feature high rates of population growth, shortage of physical resources and inadequate infrastructural services, a top-down strategy with centralised control is usually considered to be economical and financially feasible. However, despite the limitations placed on the administration in its attempt to curb increasing poverty levels, we must not in our own hasty judgements forget that the whole question of poverty is a relative one, and that even in industrialised societies where one is exposed to varying degrees of poverty, the factors influencing these societal conditions constitute more than just the types of administrative strategies or management styles of bureaucracies.

With respect to the private or non-public sector, their place in national development is carefully scrutinised by the "Establishment" that exists to regulate the tempo of such activities. It would be misleading to see them as entirely separate sectors because in reality, they usually form part of a wider network, which operate to perpetuate the dependency syndrome in terms of mass consumerism. Although it is claimed that foreign investment has a 'trickle' effect on the whole economy, the question of foreign aid and foreign exchange earnings becomes a sensitive issue of political debates when it is realised that the 'flow' accruing from 'benefits' of modernisation only serve to accentuate existing 'cleavages in society'.

For countries whose social systems are fairly hierarchical and class-oriented, common issues of nepotism, bribery and corruption are sometimes unconsciously perceived as 'natural' to a system where even
traditional and tribal loyalties are the order of the day, often assuming the status of conventional law. In such situations, the attempts to even query the motives behind certain developmental strategies is immediately pronounced as being synonymous with an 'anti-development' attitude and disloyalty. The stifling nature of such systems is usually reflective in bureaucracies manned by petty minded officials who take their neutral status quite seriously, and are rather indifferent to the job. It is not uncommon therefore to see conscientious individuals being transferred to an outpost or 'general services' department, seconded to some overseas mission or even refused promotion, and leads to the increasing frustration and lethargy of these administrative systems.

In general, the nature and intensity of change will inevitably result in some alteration of power, status and role relationships in the system, and therefore the right to exercise choice in attracting, adopting, resisting and even being indifferent to change is a decision which may be outside the control of the individual. In more simple terms, this is illustrated along the following lines. To assume that the agricultural innovativeness of farmers can be isolated from the context of the local socio-economic structure is almost equivalent to undermining the very core of group dynamics on which these societies are based.

The significance of institutional issues have often become the focus of international debate as the ultimate power question continues to divide the globe into a multitude of dichotomous entities. The mental image which depicts separate systems and individual nation states, in reality, portrays the relative positions of supply and demand in a world market economy. The renewed call for cooperation
amongst the power blocs is indicative of the concern of developed and industrialised countries to review their own situation, with respect to their long standing relationship with their developing counterparts. This is highlighted in the words of Helmut Schmidt, a former Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, who, in his response to the Brandt Report had this to say:

".....we must.....make it clear that.....it would be a mistake to assume that the Western industrial countries alone, whether by their development aid measures or even by fundamental changes in the world economic order, might be able to decisively change the developing countries' economic destiny."

(Friedrich Ebert Foundation, 1981, p.110)

With reference to rural development the importance of a situational analysis cannot be over-emphasised. Until it is done, then the attempts to change will be a futile exercise plagued with an endless variety of problems. It has been seen that the areas highlighted so far lay stress on the interdependency of institutions and, unless rural development is perceived along broader horizons through an interdisciplinary stance, then in echoing the words of Zaltman and Duncan (1977) the "pitfalls of social change" will be marked by "poorly defined goals", based on "poorly defined problems", with an "overemphasis on individualism" and a heavy "technocratic bias."

1:4 Popular Issues

"they may tend to disappear in the developed countries but they are and will continue to be the bulk of the world's population for some time to come."

(Shanin, 1972 p.25)

The reference to peasantry in the above statement gives one an
inking of the wide area that the notion of 'popular issues' can explore and relate to in the field of rural development. With regards to peasant societies the attempt by Shanin (1972) to reach some consensus on their very existence, is in itself, a pointer to those involved in peasant studies and the broader fields of the social sciences. As such, the conceptualisation of this particular group is worth noting in view of increased modernisation activities, whereby the status of the 'silent majority' and the 'invisible poor' soon overshadow the reality and reach unmanageable proportions that can no longer be ignored.

The whole question of popular participation in rural development is one which has generated a great deal of debate in the attempt to review existing strategies. The degree of participation ranges from a prescribed / usually compliant in nature, through to passive participation denoting an element of candidness and apathy, and finally to active participation stressing total commitment and militancy. It must be pointed out at this stage that it is not the intention to delve any further into the methodology of participation as a tool to effective development strategies, despite an earlier brief on the subject, but nevertheless it is hoped that the various issues highlighted will provide food for thought on an essential feature of development concern.

Many rural development programmes include among their objectives, in developing countries, an emphasis on the importance of popular participation. The main reasons being, that through participation, community members are exposed to basic principles of formal administration which, in the long term, indirectly provides training required in the control of local government affairs. In addition, it is also argued that such involvement gives the non-civil servant an 'inside' view of some of the problems that government agencies face thus enabling a
wider appreciation of the constraints of programme implementation.

These reasons may well form a justifiable base for devolving authority but, counter claims have shown that the extent to which participation is practised varies according to the different contexts in which it is pursued. It is hardly surprising therefore that issues which are advocated, debated and supported at macro levels rarely receive the same degree of interest and enthusiasm at micro levels. The multi-roles of politicians and bureaucrats in their capacities as members of the local elite, the ruling class and powerful tribal groupings, have far-reaching implications on decision-making processes. When it comes to the basics, it is not just involving people, but also involving numbers that in reality often perpetuate existing disparities in society.

In a complete change of orientations, Chambers (1983) suggests in a very challenging approach the need to consider a reversal of the status quo by "putting the last first." Amongst his arguments, he points out that the biasedness towards rural poverty is reflected in a whole range of technical, administrative and socio-political attitudes and practices which over time have developed into common routine. As such, he states that until these are removed, the much needed resources required to maintain basic needs will continue to remain inaccessible to the rural poor.

In looking at the ideal of "self-help" which is said to be a feature of participation, one cannot help thinking about the various implications this has for the status of rural inhabitants themselves. There are those who argue that "self-help" fosters solidarity, community spirit, autonomy and a sense of pride and identity while
others claim that the notion only serves to perpetuate polarisation of society into 'resourceful' and 'resourceless' sectors, 'inward-looking and domesticated communities' and a continuous claim to an increasingly dependent status.

In essence it is argued that if the principle of self-reliance is to be seen in terms of instilling an element of sustainability within the community, then participation must be an active process which brings out the dynamism of these social systems. The degree of activism will depend a great deal on the extent to which governments will commit themselves to addressing issues of the rural poor. It is evident that the popular approach to development is widely endorsed but the extent of its practice, is in most cases confined more to micro levels with token recognition at national level.

1:5 Relevance of Social Change to Rural Development

This section will attempt to give an overview of the importance of the issues discussed and their relevance to understanding the essence of social change with respect to rural development.

In talking about sociological themes and orientations, Norman Long (1977) points out that the theoretical approach to the study of rural development has often been influenced by implicit questions and these have in themselves influenced ways in which respective problems have been posed. For example, questions aimed at depicting the general consequences of processes like urbanisation and commercialisation on rural populations, have resulted in works which frame the problem more in line with the effect on particular social institutions such as the family, kinship systems or political and religious structures. On the other hand, questions relating to socio-cultural prerequisites
will often result in an analysis which tries to identify local institutions or macro-level factors that inhibit the process of socio-economic development. For social anthropologists, the question of differential rates of change has been a major preoccupation at local community level, and finally, the focus towards more pragmatic questions in terms of examining the impact of particular development policies in rural areas, tend to centre discussion on relating local level processes and change to developments in the national economy, to the role of the State.

There is no doubt that if one were to scan the field, the countless works on the various related subjects of social change and rural development, all point to the fact that in trying to comprehend the issues involved, it has been seen that an appraisal of sociological perspectives tend to assist an understanding in this direction and should possibly lead to a more effective exchange of ideas and experiences between experts of different backgrounds.

For planners and policy makers the importance of understanding the whole area of social change is one which cannot be overemphasised for the following reasons.

(i) Theories of social change cover a wide area of society and the different works reflect the inter-relationships that exist in reality.

(ii) Although models of social change may be 'western' in origin, there are certain broad conceptual issues which are identifiable in all societies, and these provide considerable insight into an understanding of functional structures like the family and kinship groups, in their capacity as vital socio-economic
units of social systems.

(iii) An understanding of the different aspects of social change assists immensely in the process of development planning.

(iv) Case material used in the literature on social change may provide 'lessons of development' for appraisal purposes and consideration of future developmental strategies.

(v) Being aware of social change helps to broaden horizons thereby minimising the tendency to lapse into an ethnocentric analysis of developmental issues.

(vi) The ability to appreciate knowledge as an important resource potential and as a 'prerequisite' to uplifting development standards is a vital cost that must be upheld. As such, in the area of planning and policy-making, the continuous argument of 'inadequate data' and 'insufficient knowledge' is an issue seriously worth reviewing in an age characterised by highly specialised global communication and transportation networks.

(vii) Generally speaking, the implications of social change are wide and far-reaching and the shifting balances of political control currently witnessed in the world, should be treated with caution in pursuing developmental strategies that perpetuate heavy dependency and increased marginalisation of the majority, who often constitute the resourceless, ethnic minorities and powerless groups in society.
In undertaking studies of social change one is often able to see universal concepts of society existing in their varied forms and highlight the dynamics of systems that should be borne in mind. This is due to the fact that even in developing countries which are commonly perceived to be fairly traditional, this does not in any way guarantee positions of stability, in view of the vulnerable positions they occupy in the context of the global market economy.

The following examples intend to illustrate some of the issues already raised. In his work, Pitt (1976) points out that the importance of status in development studies has not been given adequate recognition and as a result, the degree of success of many development efforts depends on the status of groups involved being compatible. As such he concludes by stressing the need of assessing the impact that status-role as sub-cultures, have on the development process, in terms of the whole range of interdependent social, economic and political variables. With reference to Mencher's work in India, she found that the thoroughly entrenched network of the caste system greatly influences the role of the change agent, which in turn would influence the degree of contact amongst the various groups and as such placed fairly heavy demands on the individual worker. In his critique on the use of sociological concepts in rural development, Galjart (1971) argues that the present categories of "modern" and "traditional" for classifying stages of agricultural development "are inadequate" and highlights a certain neglect by rural sociologists in considering structural factors that affect development and on this note he states, that a more 'accurate way' of classifying farmers' innovativeness would be to place them
under headings of "ignorance, inability and unwillingness." In addition, he states that the work done by Banfield in southern Italy and Lewis and Foster in Mexico raises the question as to whether there is just one traditional culture of peasants. These studies and many more hold a wealth of information that would be useful, in the context of trying to understand social change in rural areas.

1:6 Summary

The issues highlighted have focused on different areas which although may be specifically identified within the context of various categories, their arbitrary nature indicate how in reality there is a degree of mutual consensus in their interaction in society. It is interesting to note that although the various interpretations serve to reflect a widespread agreement that development models cannot be 'technically transplanted' on a universal scale, it is nevertheless encouraging to note that this concern at both national and international levels, serves to strengthen the belief that the interdependent relationships so predominantly featured in the global system, needs to be periodically reassessed, if the quality of life remains to be of utmost priority in the quest for modernisation.

With regards to the brief analysis of relating social change to rural development, this means that for the layman in development theory, the attempts to comprehend the rhetorics of development becomes a more meaningful exercise. As such, the relevance of both fields attain greater significance especially when trying to cope with an area of study often shrouded in fairly complicated jargon.

On this note, it is hoped that this initial microscopic attempt to discern some of the crucial issues of development will
provide a basis for wider discussion on some of the specific areas of rural development which the rest of this study will now focus on.
CHAPTER 2
WOMEN AND WORK

2:1 Introduction

The previous chapter has presented a discussion of the issues in rural development which place emphasis on a strategy of development that purports to increase mutual benefits obtained through an interdependent global network open to careful scrutiny and continuous negotiation. As such, the dynamics of this relationship mean that perceptions of development cannot be adequately framed within the context of a North-South dialogue or East-West alliances, as experience show that an analysis of this kind only serve to perpetuate existing anomalies within social systems and do not lend justice to a fuller comprehension of the wider issues that constitute the development process.

For the purposes of the second chapter, focus will be directed at one area of concern in development, that is women, and this will be discussed in two main parts. The first section will look at the reasons behind the choice to deal with rural women, leading on to a discussion of some of the general concerns highlighted in works on women in development. The second section which constitutes the major part will address a series of related issues and try to bring out the reasons why women's conditions have generated so much attention in attaining priority status in development.

PART 1

2:2 Why rural women?

The choice to focus specifically on rural women stems from a
whole range of factors.

(i) Women in the world make up more than half the total population of their respective countries and in the Third World, a majority of these women reside and earn their livelihoods in rural areas.

(ii) It is in the Third World countries that the majority of poor rural women constitute the most marginalised, oppressed and powerless sector of the population.

(iii) The plight of rural women is usually underrated, oversimplified and at times clouded in feminist discourse in some studies, thereby leading to a misunderstanding of local situations.

(iv) There is a need to differentiate between rural and urban women, although in the latter's case many still retain their rural ties, because the efforts of urban women can be easily misinterpreted as being representative of all women in that country.

(v) It is the rural women who increasingly have become the target of many intervention measures in development programmes, and yet it is hardly surprising that at the point of delivery, the services are often accessible only to their 'well-to-do' female and male counterparts.

(vi) Through the emphasis on rural women one attempts to find out those factors of significance in their socio-economic roles in rural communities.

(vii) Finally, for the purpose of this study since the focus will later shift to looking at women's organisations in rural development, it is hoped that this initial
attempt to clarify some of the issues pertaining to rural women will lay the groundwork for a more meaningful assessment of the role and impact of such associations in rural development.

2.3 Women in Development

It is not the intention here to duplicate the many works on women that have emerged in the last few decades, but rather to take the various selected materials and use them as a base on which more in-depth analysis could be undertaken. In doing so, it is hoped that the attempts to consciously raise awareness in an area of development constantly thwarted by negativism and apathy will help in an appreciation of the various constraints that have to be faced in tackling the plight of rural women. What is being implied here is that not only do constraints have to be acknowledged but that in reality, it is argued that these dysfunctional elements also play a role in society in that their presence serves as a control measure to an identification of existing or potential area of malfunctioning within social systems. Thus it should be borne in mind that although constraints may be resolved temporarily or totally, their emergence will continue to be a feature of dynamic societies where different interests vie to pursue development activities in a way which will not totally disrupt the ecological balance, so vital to the continuance and stability of systems. To this end it has been seen that the ability to identify and differentiate the various constraints, in addition to being a willing observer with 'ears close to the ground' does make a great deal of difference, in the decision to contribute in this case, to working with women in development.

As a field of study, the 'Women in Development' school has
gained prominent attention in the last decade in its attempt to foster academic enquiry and policy planning relating to poor women in the Third World. Through the varied works of Friedan, Greer, Mead, Boserup, Nelson and Rogers, to name but a few, this has led to a substantial growth in the body of literature on women's economic contributions and conditions in the Third World. Despite the different strands of ideological orientation that have influenced the direction of this school, it must be said that this in itself reflects the varied belief systems that span the globe and irrespective of what society women are in, it is inevitable that their daily lives will be influenced to some degree by the wider socio-economic and political forces that flow from the international level, and ultimately link up with their corresponding socio-economic variables at national and domestic levels.

In her acknowledgement of the work done by the 'Women in Development' school (WID), Bandarage (1984) argues that it is not sufficient to derive analytical categories and social change strategies from an experience rooted in a reaction to capitalist development in the West. Her references to the works of the 'liberal feminism' group on which the school is firmly based and who advocate 'fuller measures of integrating women', in addition to the claims of the Marxists who perceive women's subordination as a structural feature of capitalist systems, soluble through technical and political changes, have been respectively criticised by the writer herself.

The first limitation that is pointed out is that the drive to 'integrate women in development' is an approach well worth reviewing in view of evidence furnished by various studies on women. It is seen that in most Third World economies, where women are marginalised in varying degrees in the different sectors, the nature of their pivotal
roles so crucial to the survival of most poor families, means that they are already well integrated into existing economic structures, even at the lowest levels in society. In addition, it has also been said that the optimism reflected in the belief that benefits of development can be spread to women elsewhere, is one that has been voiced before by their predecessors in the modernisation school of thought. Thus it is argued that for poor women in the Third World, their poverty status can be tackled through a whole range of measures designed to provide basic needs and income-generating work for women. However Bandarage (1984) states that what is often forgotten is that for most Third World women, the so called feminist struggles have little or no influence on their lives in any way and that the attainment of positions has been due mainly to the strengths of their social class and kinship ties. She goes on further to boldly state that with regards to development aid, the record for the majority of poor women has been a dismal success.

The categorical reference to the 'feminization of poverty' is seen by Bandarage (1984) as a worsening feature of capitalism in the Third World and claims that the 'Women in Development' school is being slowly absorbed into the Western bureaucracy for the development of the Third World. To this end, she poses the following message to reassert the initial confidence placed in this school of thought.

"WID is about poor women in the Third World; it is not a force of those women themselves. What liberal feminism and Betty Friedan have been for Western middle-class women, the WID school and Ester Boserup cannot be for poor women in the Third World."

(Bandarage, 1984, p.500)

With reference to her own position, Bandarage (1984) opts for a compromise between the two camps, resulting in the call for a
'Marxist-feminist' synthesis. However, for this to become a vital force it is argued that this would entail a reformulation of old categories and a drawing up of new ones from the realities of 'female-headed households', 'feminization of poverty', 'changing sexual mores', 'emotional strain between and within sexes' and the presence of the 'patriarchal state and mass media'. Thus in order to move forward, it is essential that changing social realities throughout the world are accounted for in both capitalist and socialist societies, and that experiences from across the board despite colour or creed of women, be drawn up extensively so as to help formulate more meaningful theoretical assumptions. On this note, it is finally claimed that if feminism is to rise above its middle class notions, Eurocentric bias, and be understood by most women, then the vast literature on economic modernisation and Third World women should be used to reformulate old categories, and for drawing up new and more relevant ones. It is hoped that by doing this the study of poor Third World women will shift from being an 'esoteric and peripheral sub-field within feminist discourse to attaining a central role in feminist theory. (Bandarage, 1984).

Now that we have examined some of the broader issues pertaining to women in development, this seems to be an opportune time to direct our attention to some of the more specific issues that have generated a growing concern on the need to review women's contributions and conditions in the Third World.

PART II

The aim of this second section is to discuss a series of interrelated issues and highlight their wider implications on the role of women. The choice of issues like earlier choices in this study is neither exclusive nor exhaustive; the author herself has selected in
the hope that the constraints preventing a wider comprehensive analysis will be compensated in part by reference to specific works, thereby contributing to our own understanding of women's issues.

2:4 Demystifying women's lot

In trying to understand the position of women, it is commonly understood that such information can be obtained through a whole variety of means. This may range from coverage in the mass media, institutionalising women's issues through existing bureaucracies like the State and the Church, use of informal social networks to an influx in written material on the subject itself. However, despite all this, the degree of consensus on prioritising women's needs still varies in different countries to the extent that in some cases, women's issues are used as a means for obtaining assistance for other wider motives in the development process.

The idea of demystification relates to the attempts through research to produce the statistical information that reflect the actual conditions of rural women and not the stereotyped assumptions which portray a mythical image of women based more on western middle-class values. Mici Nelson (1979) provides us with interesting examples, which will be seen later, of how development has continued to neglect rural women. From her arguments it can be said that until this is remedied, women's issues will be perpetually mystified in a system which by and large promotes this, in its bid to maintain the status quo.

In her review of South Asian literature on women, Nelson (1979) acknowledges the studies on women undertaken by a multitude of organisations and adds that these vary in scope, quality and depth. Thus, she states that although these studies generally provide useful
pointers in the bid to understand how other societies exist, the plight of rural women which is the core issue, is still not being adequately addressed. The different views on conceptual issues like defining 'development' and 'women's work' still serve as stumbling blocks. Nevertheless, her attempts to explain why rural women continue to be neglected in development is reflected in the review of works on rural women of South Asia.

In her categorical references Nelson (1979) states that the works range from 'anthropological studies' whose narrow perceptions of women confine them to socio-economic institutions like the family and marriage, to 'agro-economic surveys' whose massive statistical data provide little relevance to understanding women's work; to 'development studies' often rigged by male biases; to women's studies which have a tendency to lack; "...hard comparable data or systematic theoretical analysis useful to those interested in altering the conditions of rural women." (Nelson 1979,p.9). Although the focus is on South Asia, it can be seen that the above pitfalls produce similar echoes in most of the literature on Third World women.

This review serves as a useful guide because it shows that although research on women is vital to establishing effective data bases from which one can proceed, it is nevertheless important to bear in mind that research on women's issues must be conducted along the lines of serious scientific enquiry and not as a convenient afterthought, or, even as a means to qualifying other objectives of research. Like all research, there are weaknesses in the field, but this can be compromised to a large extent through the use of a wide range of complementary research methods, which often help to validate the objectivity required in the attempts to 'demystify' our own assumptions.
Women's issues, like other socio-economic issues, are important aspects of social systems and until they are treated with the same ethical concern as the rest of the development variables, the need to understand women's conditions and contributions will always be perceived with a sense of indifference, token interest and wavering suspicion.

2:5 Role reappraisal: the status of the female gender

In this analysis, an attempt is made to discern some of the wider implications attached to the conventional roles of women. It is appreciated that while women's roles cover a wide area that spread from the privacy of the household into the wider domains of public life, the increasing developments in society brought about through the continued expansion of capitalism will require a serious reassessment of the ability of women to adequately cope with changing roles.

Olivia Harris (1981) in looking at households enlightens us with a series of perceptions on their status as natural units. She points out that while domestic labour is seen by some to be an invisible form of exploitation, others argue that women themselves who shoulder the motherly and moral responsibilities of household occupants, adapt their lives in such a way as to minimise participation in social and political life. In addition to this dilemma Harris (1981) also states that while others claim that marriage accentuates women's subordination, another group emphasise that until there is little differentiation between domestic and public spheres, women's status in the latter will continue to be viewed with scorn and ridicule.

If one were to look at peasant societies, the notions of 'private' and 'public' would be quite a difficult one to distinguish in that the familial structure of the extended family may range from the...
distinct single unit that houses all members to a whole settlement of the clan. In socio-spatial terms this means that women's roles would cover quite a large area taking into account, the various socio-economic and politically-related functions that have to be performed, in order to ensure the maintenance and survival of the household. Bearing this in mind, how then does one delineate the boundary between 'private' and 'public' spheres of activity? This as we are all aware is one of the more sensitive issues and would have to be answered with regards to the ideological orientations of a particular context.

The male-female dichotomy is a universal one but there is no universal consensus on the way in which male-female activities are categorised. Evidence from studies have shown that gender-typing activities often lead to a gross misinterpretation and an oversimplification of issues and do not reflect an accurate picture of what actually takes place. In addition, language and semantic problems between enumerators and respondents will mean that these contradictory perceptions will obviously influence the final data analysis.

Examples abound in many societies where the expansion of women's 'traditional' roles is interpreted as being a move into 'non-female', less 'domesticated' and more 'manly' areas of activity. But does this move make their roles less traditional? This would depend a great deal on the context in which these roles are undertaken and the type and rate of change which influenced this. For most peasant societies, it would not appear to be less traditional because for the peasant, tradition is a 'living process' which 'immortalises' the entire social system. As such, the rationale behind any kind of change would more likely be rooted in the notions of 'fatalism' and 'the limited good' despite the well-meaning efforts of a planned intervention.
Boserup (1970, 1973) points out that with regards to women in Africa, their position can only be understood after considering the general alternatives for rural development in that continent. By implication this means that for the most part rural African women play an active and significant role in food production and related activities, and unless governments provide viable alternatives to present rural development strategies, it would be difficult to envisage the likelihood of a shift from either female to male food production, or a modernisation and expansion of female food production systems.

The criticisms commonly levelled and directed at colonial and post-independence authorities, in their emphasis on export production in the agricultural sector at the expense of subsistence production, is duly acknowledged by Boserup (1970, 1973), but she argues that the corresponding claims to reverse this policy, and focus on subsistence production and social development in the villages, is only illusory to a realistic alternative to further expansion of and improvement in commercial agriculture. At this juncture, one should probably enquire about the implications these issues have on the status of women. In short one could sum this up by saying that the impact on women would be reflected in the projected manpower needs, planning of projects and programmes and determining priorities of development in the different sectors of the economy. However, on a more specific level, let us turn to Boserup's (1970, 1973) work in Africa and draw upon some of the evidence she has to offer.

The main underlying argument states that there is a strong correlation between infrastructural investment and population density, and in Africa which generally speaking is sparsely populated as compared to Asia, the small scattered and poor population is unable to secure sufficient usage to make infrastructural investment feasible.
Because of this lack of infrastructural service, even the choice of 'modern' and 'intermediate' technology is a misnomer as the state of affairs with regards to essential support services, makes the use of such technology impossible. Thus agricultural modernisation in Africa, according to Boserup (1970, 1973) is severely handicapped, and for the women, their position becomes even more entrenched in the rut. These examples show that in order for a policy for agricultural improvement in general and, in particular female farming is to be achieved, then it is essential that the varied conditions that make up the context in which such activities are undertaken, are adequately accounted for.

In summing up it can be said that although women's roles may initially present a 'natural' set of characteristics based on biological factors, the marked social distinctions, will continue to be specifically determined by the respective cultures.

2:6 Rights to Participation

Although this discussion is inextricably linked to the previous one, it is felt that by creating this temporary division, one should be able to see in some depth, the various factors that influence women's rights in as far as the decision to actively participate in the community is concerned.

It is widely recognised that the rights of women vary, and this is often reflected in many societies where women are defined as legal minors under the guardianship of males. Although legal provisions may exist for their protection, it is quite common for women not to air their grievances or if these are brought forward, they often lack adequate support in justifying and presenting their case.

In her report on some development efforts by and for women in
Africa, Jiggins (1985) highlights the impact that the issue of rights has had on women and states;

"....too often 'women's projects' ignored women's time and labour constraints, and sought to commercialise only their homecraft skills."

(Jiggins, 1985, p.9)

The argument by specialists who say that such issues ought to be handled at national level is adamantly opposed by women of the sub-region because;

"They see their uncertain or subordinate legal and civic status as inextricably linked to their difficulties in obtaining credit and advisory services, in registering groups, in retaining control over their children's labour, and so on."

(Jiggins, 1985, p.9)

This inevitably brings us to the question of control of resources. Generally speaking, although women do play a central role in production the degree to which they control the product of their labour or act independently varies. In highlighting the problems of female entrepreneurs, Jiggins (1985) refers to the 'hijacking of women's earnings' and the 'capturing' of key work opportunities in women's projects by men.

In talking about the implications of 'women and property', Hirschon (1984) states that in most societies, inequalities exist and the differential capacity marked by age, seniority and gender, mean that in each social situation, this would eventually influence women's access to resources and their relationships to other members.

The historical and cultural traditions of western society,
associated with the development of capitalism perceive 'property' as based on the idea of private ownership which confers on the individual the right to use and dispose. However, women's studies conducted on the Indian dowry systems, and the lavish bride-price systems of Melanesia indicate that the notion of individuals having defined rights, is far from being a universal one and therefore it has been stated, that the tendency to familiarise oneself with Western tradition, can 'blind' one to fundamental differences in concepts of 'property' and 'persons' in other societies. An example of this can be seen in parts of the non-Western world where kin-based societies are a prominent feature. In some of these communities, property may be 'detachable' but it is never 'inalienable', and is mainly due to the magico-religious belief systems which provide the framework whereby the existence and relationship of all elements both physical and non-physical are rationalised. For this matter, land is not only seen as a resource which sustains life but on a more metaphysical level, it is also the means through which the relationship between and amongst human members are shaped, hence the use of extensive ritualistic symbols in these concepts.

In societies where dual legal systems prevail, Hirschon (1984) states that the implications of 'legal pluralism' places women in fairly disadvantaged positions. Examples of marriage unions in dual systems like Swaziland and South Africa indicate that for women, their rights to property and ultimately other socio-economic resources are affected drastically either way. Although it is common that most societies advocate the ideology of sharing, in the final analysis, it is always the women who tend to get the smaller share.

If property is seen to be a crucial indicator of the balance of power between women and men, or even as an indication of the status of women, then the relativity of this issue would only be meaningful within
its own context. On the whole, it can be said that in most contemporary societies 'property' is perceived in asymmetrical relationships, in that in addition to having differential access to resources, men and women also have distinct degrees of control over property.

2:7 Dissecting data bases : fighting half-truths

In the last of these series of discussions for this section, an attempt will be made to highlight the extent to which statistics can reliably portray women's work in society. Countless experiences have brought out the problems pertaining to data collection and usage in the past, and despite all this, it serves to remain a 'permanent feature' of many data bases in most countries today. The factors perpetuating this may range from attitudinal as reflected in the diversity of socio-economic systems, to basic technical issues which when compared to the former, tend to be more manageable.

In her work on 'development planning for women', Papanek (1977) states that although some governments recognise the importance of women, their potential is not crucial to the survival or downfall of any government in power. This is due to the fact that women as a group, do not constitute a 'single political constituency' on development issues of socio-economic importance. As a general rule, it has been seen that women's interests are usually 'overshadowed by broader allegiances' to either class interests or political movements. Even in the process of bargaining displayed in development planning, or some other form of economic policy-making, women's interests are rarely considered, as they are either seen to be either automatically part of the overall package, or, to run counter not only to men, but to the interests of society at large. (ibid, 1977)

The lack of knowledge about women, as an argument commonly put
forward is seen to be a weak justification for non-action. To this end Papanek (1977) argues that if governments are committed to the plight of women in development, then planning must respond to certain arguments in which 'questions of their political survival and self-interest are addressed'.

In turning to the experiences of Latin America and the Carribean, Arizpe (1982) has come up with a couple of fairly strong arguments to show how continuous research has furnished new evidence on a whole variety of issues pertaining to women, with the message that, such evidence should provide us with a couple of lessons that should be borne in mind, when trying to assess future hopes and directions.

The three examples from Arizpe's (1982) work that will be referred to briefly are those of acculturation, modernisation and capitalism. With regards to the first, she says that the belief that acculturation, that is the assimilation of groups of African and Indian descent into the national Hispanic populations, implied an improvement in the condition of women, has been challenged through ethnographic and historical research. In terms of development theories, the early assumptions that modernisation would automatically improve women's condition, have been proved otherwise from research carried out on campesinas in the Sierras. Finally with regards to the notion that capitalism is responsible for women's subordination, Arizpe (1982) directs our attention to the large-scale study in Colombia done by Deere and Leon. They conclude that sexual division of labour among small agricultural producers, does not vary in a unilinear way like the development of agrarian capitalism. Their empirical study, as well as that of others in different countries, confirms that women's subordination precedes capitalism, and is further used by this
production system as a means to its own ends.

On a more subtle level, it is worth noting Nelson's message in her attempts to ward off complacency in academic enquiry and to provide encouragement to those who are genuinely interested in pursuing women's issues.

"Research is necessary to convince planners and administrators that the potential of women is at the moment largely untapped by rural development projects." (Nelson 1979, p.2)

The 'discovery' and dissemination of knowledge is only half the struggle to encouraging awareness and action on women's issues, the other half constitutes a continuous fight to obliterate 'half-truths' which over a period of time tend to entrench themselves into the value systems of society.

2.8 Summary

It can be seen that the various works on women have enabled one to understand the factors that determine the expectations of what constitutes women's roles and, ultimately, their contribution to national development. The different conceptualizations used to define women's work in rural areas have, as a result of research, led to a continual review of classifying gender activities. In addition, the unrealistically low statistical percentages reflecting women's work in many countries mean that this has been proved to the contrary during the last decade, as in most countries, peasant women work longer hours than men, and are more liable to increase their time and work load in order to offset either poverty or increased pauperisation. In so far as the contributions of nutrition training programmes, maternity and
child health and social services goes, experience show that these well-meaning efforts will continue to be misdirected and unimplementable as long as rural women face particular problems of access that currently emerge from a narrow resource base. (Jiggins, 1985)

The divergent strands of women's issues are aptly summed in the following words which offer an unfailing realism to such a challenging task.

"The subordination of women as a total equation, therefore, requires the addition of more flexible terms since subordination in one sphere may be offset by power in another. The picture can only be complex. Its completion necessitates a more detailed examination of women's roles in domestic, economic as well as ritual and religious spheres of action. In doing so, we need also to consider the evaluations made in terms of indigenous categories of thought."

(Hirschon, 1984,p.19)
CHAPTER 3

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS IN DEVELOPMENT

3:1 Introduction

".....the position of women in contemporary Africa is to be considered at every level of analysis as an outcome of structural and conceptual mechanisms by which African societies have continued to respond to and resist the global processes of economic exploitation and cultural domination.....the problems facing African women today, irrespective of their national and social class affiliations, are inextricably bound up in the wider struggle by African people to free themselves from poverty and ideological domination in both intra- and international spheres."

(Pala, 1977, p.9)

The above statement in many ways reiterates common sentiments that have been widely stated in the attempts to discern women's conditions and contributions in national development. As such it can be said that the interrelationship between wider development issues and women's status means that insofar as development is concerned, the structural mechanisms that accommodate the whole process of modernisation in itself, perpetuates the institutionalization of women's subordination.

It is worth noting that although studies on women have highlighted the different factors influencing women's position, one cannot help but sense an undercurrent of extraordinary determination inherent in the various works. Despite the overall 'gloominess' of results that these studies have depicted, the urge to do something for women, by women themselves is in the final analysis, rarely compartmentalised into exclusively female pursuits, in the attempt to actively participate in national development.
The very nature of this participation will be the subject of this chapter in which issues related to women's organisations as viewed within the general framework of non-governmental organisations, will be analysed in more depth. Due to the nature of their non-governmental status, the discussion will focus initially on a general analysis of non-governmental agencies in development as perceived from the positions of international agencies, national governments and the indigenous organisations themselves. Along the same vein attempts will be made to highlight the various implications that these various perceptions will have on women's organisations and it is hoped that this will lay the basis of a solid understanding on which an analysis of women's organisations in the context of rural development in Fiji will be eventually pursued.

3:2 Working with alternatives

The main aim of this section is to bring out some relevant issues that needs to be considered when trying to account for the way in which specific non-governmental organisations like women's associations attempt to contribute to development activities. An examination of the three different perspectives of non-governmental organisations will inevitably influence the way in which women's organisations themselves operate in the field, and, in most cases, the analysis will attempt to highlight the notion that the factors that determine their activities, are linked up to the wider ideological issues that exist at both national and international levels.

3:3 From the outside, looking in: international agencies in development

The extent to which international agencies perceive themselves
in relation to promoting the activities of non-governmental organisations in developing countries is but an aspect of interdependency reflected in the development process. As an area of significance, an examination of the main issues cannot be ignored for the following reasons.

(i) The type and form of development is usually reflective of the wider ideological interests that abound in the metropolis of the world, whose centres are found in London, New York, Geneva or Paris, rather than the interests of those in peripheral areas for whom as recipients, are in most cases, from countries of the Third World. In the words of a leading scholar on African studies, her concern about the way in which problems of African women are addressed are echoed in the following statement:

".....the primary orientation to development problems tends to be created on the basis of what happens to be politically and/or intellectually significant in the metropoles."

(Pala, 1977,p.10)

In addition, this can be easily linked to the whole question of public accountability, and being one of the main operative principles of voluntary agencies, one could almost sense the powers of persuasion reflected in the changing nature of public opinion.

(ii) The choice to accept or reject a particular development package is a discretionary right that is either under-utilised or non-existent, as decision-makers unknowingly internalise
the 'trappings' of aid deals that are presented to them through the use of sophisticated public relations techniques.

(ii) It is quite common to find that the very projects which are funded to alleviate poverty by encouraging income-generation or improved health-care delivery systems, are the very same ones that often create a system of perpetual dependency brought about through mass subsidisation, so characteristic of rural self-help schemes.

(iii) The tendency of projects turning into 'white elephants' is one that often arises when there is a conflict in perceptions of actual needs vis-a-vis assumed needs thereby resulting in a loss of support from the target group.

(iv) It is interesting to note that the originally one-sided relationship seen in the 'patron-client' status between donors and recipients of aid, has seen a shift from one which originally focused on territorial and economic expansion, to a policy which favoured and committed itself to a greater equitable distribution of benefits of development.

(v) The strength of international agencies in their capacities as transnational vehicles of development mean, that their autonomy gives them a great deal of flexibility in working with local groups. This is often accentuated by the fact that their international status, together with their global networks, automatically gives them the credibility required to involve themselves in national
development of host countries. However, the extent to which they become accepted and the degree of impact they have on the defined target group, is another whole issue worthy of a separate assessment in itself.

(vi) It has been said that the problem of defining the rural poor is one aspect of development aid that has never quite been clarified. Intellectuals and international agencies have constantly reviewed criteria of 'rural poor' to ensure that the benefits of development directed at this very sector of the population do in fact reach them. In his work on 'rural poor' Sethi (1985) points out that although terms like 'scarcity', 'powerlessness' and 'alienation' in an 'unjust system' aptly describes the condition of the rural poor;

"......the task of organising them means more than simply protecting or extending their material basis. It aims at strengthening basic unity that links all sub-groups within the "rural poor" category."

(Sethi, 1985, p.19)

With all these in mind, it seems to be an opportune time to reflect on the works of a couple of writers who emphasise some of the concerns highlighted above.

With regard to the role of international agencies in development, Lissner's (1977) work serves to be one of the most comprehensive analysis that has been carried out so far. His attempts to establish a theoretical framework that would help explain the
behaviour of voluntary agencies implies that, although these agencies have features of organisation which do not strictly adhere to Weber's notion of an ideal bureaucracy, the impact which these voluntary organisations have generated, in terms of providing assistance to millions of individuals in developing countries, is an issue of great significance that has to be considered, in view of the quest to find viable alternatives to development strategies.

The shift from an "adhocracy" in the pattern of voluntary foreign aid at the end of World War I, to more organised packages of "overseas philanthropy" prior to World War II, is acknowledged by Lissner (1977) as an indication of the sensitivity attached to the newly acquired status of superpowers like the United States of America. By implication, this meant that the repercussions of both natural and man-made disasters, together with territorial expansion and decolonisation provided an ideal platform through which developmental assistance could be channelled, if the projected era of reconstruction and nation-building in the post-war years was anything to go by.

The definition of a non-governmental organisation as acknowledged by Lissner (1977) is described by an ECOSOC resolution in the following terms.

"Any international organisation which is not established by inter-governmental agreement shall be considered as a non-governmental organisation."

(Lissner, 1977, p.24)

For the above-named author, his studies on the history and emergence of non-governmental organisations has meant that a definition of this kind which is currently being used by the United Nations, tend to
limit the use of other criteria which are reflected in other voluntary agencies.

"Limiting criteria to the question of origin of the organization seems insufficient inasmuch as many private organisations have been launched by governmental initiative while leading an independent life of their own (eg. a number of the educational organizations established by UNESCO). For this reason, the question of autonomy is important." (ibid, p.24)

The discussion on the varying degrees of autonomy that Lissner (1977) identifies as being an important determinant of non-governmental status is reflected in the following statements, and on reading them through it makes one wonder as to the implications these have on the actual vis-a-vis perceived status of women's organisations in general. The respective definitions are given here for the sole purpose of enabling one gain an insight into the extent to which the varying categories of non-governmental status, together with their inherent implications influences the nature of women's organisations, if they are classified accordingly.

1. "Organisations which depend on public (i.e.taxpayer) funds for more than 50% of their administrative costs should be called quasi-voluntary agencies....."

2. "Non-governmental organizations in which governmental bodies have a decisive influence (either by majority representation or by other mechanisms of veto power in the policy-making body) should be called para-governmental organizations."

3. "In fact there are two main types of voluntary agencies : one that stands completely on its own and is supported by a constituency that has grown up around that particular cause for development aid (eg. OXFAM), and another that is a specialised service arm of larger organizations with other
primary purposes and objectives, e.g., trade union, churches, youth and student organizations."

( Ibid, p.25)

In relating this again to women's organisations it seems inevitable that when they strive to gain access to funds required to mount various projects, the different criteria used by international agencies in classifying different types of voluntary agencies, undoubtedly influence the degree of support women get through officially prescribed channels. However on the other hand, for those agencies like OXFAM and War on Want, who often link up directly to local groups without having to utilize conventional inter-governmental links, the choice of local contacts is more or less determined by the responses to different interests, that shape the nature of activities of these non-governmental agencies, both at home and abroad. And so, for example, if women in some society constitute the majority of the rural poor, their status in the social system may only constitute an insignificant proportion of the relative power positions, and this may be a crucial factor in deciding the degree of support that should be given to the promotion of women's projects.

In drawing one's attention to the tables (refer to Figs. 1 & 2; Page 76), it is worth noting a couple of observations with regards to non-governmental organisations.

(i) The emergence of 'mission agencies' is in the words of Lissner (1977) something to be expected as their influx in the early 19th century correlates with the period of colonial expansion, and as such the evangelical process was seen by the administration as plausible
attempts to pacifying the indigenous inhabitants of new territories.
The works of missionaries are recorded in various studies and although it is often argued that the introduction of standards of hygiene, education in the 3R's and general 'uplifting of living standards were conducted mainly for the comfort and benefit of the 'white man', counter studies also point out, that the well-meaning intentions of these mission agencies, were often misunderstood and misdirected, due to a lack of understanding of corresponding value and belief systems on the part of both parties concerned.

(ii) The tables reveal organisations of a varied nature ranging from religious, through to welfare to large umbrella organisations, but there seems to be no break-down of these organisations into sexes. One cannot help but ask the following questions; was this reflective of the status of women in the western world; or if they existed, were they seen to be 'service arms' or 'convenient appendages' of large umbrella organisations? It is not possible to provide an immediate answer but the issue is one worth pursuing further.

(iii) With the exception of Japan, all the countries listed have a common European heritage and one wonders as to the extent this common bond underlies the commitment to contribute, as a power bloc, to developmental assistance in developing countries. From the stance of modernisation, Japan as one of
the 'giants of modern industry' plays an important role in that like Germany, Norway and the United States their assistance to labour industry organisations portrays their interest in the overall capitalist system of production so predominant in the world today.

The so-called 'trickle-effect' of such strategies is nowhere to be seen when relating this to women. Thus in her attempts to analyse the policies of non-governmental organisations towards women Hall (1982) had this to say.

"Because development strategies have generally relied on large-scale infrastructural projects and the introduction of technology to increase the production of cash crops and cash income, women remained invisible to development planners for many years..... Little account was taken of the effect of unequal sexual divisions of labour and responsibility within the family, or of different access to resources provided by outside agencies."

(Hall, 1982,p.2)

3:4 From the inside looking out : government attitudes to NGOs

Now that we have examined the position of international agencies involved in non-governmental work, it is only proper to try and decipher the position of governments who host the activities of these voluntary agencies in their own countries.

(i) Generally speaking, the competition for scarce resources in countries, both physical and human, mean that governments tend to view the activities of voluntary agencies with fairly grave misgivings. This is often related to the inherent fear on the part of the establishment, that such activities
eventuate in a 'blacklash', as the majority of the poor to whom development efforts are directed, will over time result in a political upheaval in favour of the masses. What is often forgotten, is that the way in which the existing economic and legal-politico institutions are arranged in society, provide for certain checks and control measures within the system, to counteract any potentially extensive dysfunctioning occurring. This is acknowledged by Hall (1982) who reiterates the more subtle terms outlined in the proposals put forward by the Council of International Development Working Party (COID) in 1978, in their attempts to find 'new initiatives for British aid'.

"Poverty eradication depends on generating incomes among the poorest-and in turn on a mass of small-scale projects rather than a few large ones. These are not the sorts of projects most easily supported by international aid."

(Hall, 1982, p.6)

In short, it can be seen that although there seems to be widespread recognition on the need to eradicate poverty, the strategies designed to tackle this very problem, are seen to lack measures of cost effectiveness and as such, do not receive the required support.

(ii) The dilemma of using voluntary agencies by donors and recipients is an issue that has not been
adequately settled by both parties. In outlining the advantages that voluntary agencies have, with regards to the nature of their existence and methods of operations, Hall (1977) reiterates the concerns of the CORD Working Party who states that 'the experience and network of voluntary agencies' can be further utilised, if governments and the latter study ways, in which co-operation between the two be implemented.

(iii) Another response to non-governmental agencies often queried by governments is the exact nature of their work, and is reflected in the following statement.

"Governments have also objected to the publicity and fund-raising campaigns of voluntary agencies which depict only starvation and misery in their countries. There has also been some suspicion about the basic motives of voluntary agencies."

(ibid, p.8)

Nevertheless these attempts by voluntary agencies do not pass unnoticed and Hall (1982) states that as developing countries themselves shift their development priorities to include working with the poor, the efforts of voluntary agencies "have sometimes become more acceptable and welcome."

(ibid, p.8)

(iv) In terms of co-ordinating development activities, governments have often found that the non-governmental voluntary organisations have at times proved difficult to control and there have been problems related to
duplication of projects which often result in wastage of resources and poorly integrated efforts into national development schemes. Coombs (1981) in his analysis of voluntary organisations points out that although their work benefitted the population in a limited area, their overall influence rarely spread to other areas or programmes including those of the government.

(v) In countries where voluntary agencies perform basic relief and simple social services instead of 'fundamental developmental efforts', Coombs (1981) states that this can be quite frustrating for governments as these types of activities do not tackle the real cause of social problems, and only focus on the varied symptoms which in the long run, fail to create a 'self-sustaining process of development', than can be managed by the people themselves'.

On the whole it can be said that the perspectives of governments vis-a-vis non-governmental organisations is an issue worth pursuing when taking into account the vast potential of voluntary agencies and this is aptly summed up in the following statement;

".....there are abundant possibilities for well-conceived and well-managed voluntary programmes to cooperate with an supplement governmental rural development efforts in a variety of significant way, even (my own emphasis) if on a modest scale."

(Coombs, 1981,p.61)
In reasserting the above claims Hall (1982) states that in relation to large-scale governmental programmes, the work of voluntary agencies is 'undoubtedly valuable and often innovative' and is a potentially viable mechanism with respect to improving women's conditions.

"Voluntary agencies are able to reach some of the poorest women, and to offer them assistance, services and training to which they would otherwise have no access, and in such a way that they can take advantage of this assistance. But problems will continue to arise, no matter what the scale of a project, when the donor agencies or the organizations with which they work consider the symptoms and not the root causes of women's disadvantages and poverty.

(Hall, 1982,p.65)

3:5 Bridging the gap: indigenous organisations at work

This section will give a general overview of the role of indigenous organisations in light of their positions as non-governmental agencies in development. It ought to be noted that the term 'indigenous as used in the context of this study is synonymous with 'local' and in most countries such groups would comprise of a wide range of organisations ranging in size and complexity, serving varied interests, in a multitude of contexts.

In looking at indigenous organisations, the ultimate question that comes to mind is related to the extent to which these groups do cater for the interests of the rural poor. It is commonly assumed that indigenous organisations emerge as a response to a whole range of interests, one of these being the dissatisfaction by the masses at the unequal distribution in the benefits of development. As such, the resort to mobilisation of resources is seen to be reinforced by the motive of providing greater accessibility of resources to the poorer
majority, who would otherwise not have the opportunity of doing so, under conventional development programmes.

The extent to which the above issues are justified is an area of great debate but the following points that will be highlighted will portray some features of indigenous organisations worth noting, and to this end, the works of Coombs (1981) and Sethi (1985) are gratefully acknowledged.

(i) In essence, the category "rural poor" encompasses a wide variety of communities and the nature of heterogenous interests reflected within them makes the attempts to organise them equally difficult.

(ii) In stratified societies like India, Sethi (1985) states that the "poor" are divided by 'class, caste, gender, language, culture and region', and as such, efforts to organise them have to be seriously considered, as the selection of issues that are to form the basis of this organisation, should not in any way fragment them any further.

(iii) It has also been stated that the conditions of rural poor are often fairly marked in economies, marked by scarcity, and in developing countries where the 'rural poor' are 'producers and sellers' of labour power, the powerlessness of their positions in such a system becomes a common factor.

(iv) With regards to the South Asian experience Sethi (1985) states that an analysis of the nature and structure of some of the most renowned non-governmental organisations in this region showed that they could not be classified as
organisations of the rural poor.

(v) Studies have shown that the initiative to form indigenous organisations emerged from those in the middle class with whom some "poor" may be associated, and for most of the time, the latter remained 'passive recipients of development packages', while key roles related to decision-making and general policy, were in the hands of 'animators'.

(vi) Due to the nature of the 'patron-client' relationships exercised in these organisations, Sethi (1985) states that they inevitably reflected a microcosmic reality of the pattern of societal relationships that existed in the larger environment, and it was not uncommon to find a weak, if not a non-existent participatory role, of the lower classes and of women in their activities.

(vii) The implications that this has on the overall direction of policy and activities of non-governmental organisations are adequately summed up in the following terms;

"....furthermore the structure of an NGO, with its connection with funding, including government agencies, its pre-conceived programmes, its middle-class leadership, might constitute an obstacle to interpreting truly the problems of rural population and to proposing appropriate solutions."

(Sethi, 1985, p.19)

(viii) Both Coombs (1981) and Sethi (1985) point out that most groups have long been active in many developing
countries, where the initial focus was on a social services and welfare orientation, with a modest impact on national development as a whole.

(ix) The change in orientation of activities by indigenous organisations to more 'fundamental development efforts', reflect an increasing awareness of wider issues far beyond domestic and regional levels, and is reflected in the varying approaches to specialisation in organisational structure and activities.

(x) With reference to increasing levels of political awareness that has tended to become a significant feature of indigenous groups, Coombs (1981) has this to say;

"...a new brand of indigenous secular voluntary organisations has begun to appear that is strongly committed to integrated, community-based, long term development and to cooperating with government agencies and other private organisations in order to enhance their mutual effectiveness."

(Coombs, 1981, p. 58)

(xi) Finally, the crucial statement put across by Sethi (1985) in reiterating the view of his predecessors in the school of Participatory Action Research (PAR) is reflected in the argument that the concerns of the rural poor can only be reflected by an organisation which is controlled and run by the poor themselves, and is in itself indicative of changing global perspectives on development theory.
Summary

In highlighting the above issues, they have served an immensely useful purpose, in that the features portrayed in the works of the respective authors in this field, all point to a number of characteristics which are identifiable in most non-governmental organisations that exist today. The links between international and national levels with respect to the emergence of non-governmental organisations has meant that the growth of these 'voluntary agencies', in the broadest sense of the term, in most countries, has followed a life-cycle that correlates quite markedly, with the levels of socio-economic development of the societies concerned.

If non-governmental organisations strive to supplement governments' efforts in national development, then the above analysis shows that the complementary roles they are expected to perform should be continually reassessed, so as to ensure that their target group(s) is not confined within the limits of the so-called status quo, nor should it become 'invisible' due to the inherent contradictions reflected in the definition of 'rural poor'. Studies have shown that the more successful projects are usually those that are carried out by indigenous organisations which have already been in existence prior to funds being channelled in, and not those organisations which are set up specifically for certain projects. The idea is to fully utilise existing resources rather than to create more of the same which the situation may not necessarily demand.

With regards to women's organisations, it can be said that as non-governmental agencies of development, their role is perceived according to the interests of other parties existing in the wider
societal environment, and, for that matter, the price of collective responsibility is often one determined outside the control of such organisations. The extent to which these factors influence women's associations, will be the subject of the next chapter, although here, the examination will be specifically focused on women's organisations in the context of Fijian rural development.
CHAPTER 4

A REVIEW OF WOMEN'S ORGANISATIONS IN FIJIAN RURAL DEVELOPMENT

4:1 Introduction

In the attempt to find out the contributions of women's organisations in rural development and the factors that influence their activities, this study has so far examined a range of issues that attempt to highlight the inter-relationship of variables as reflected in current ideological perspectives that exist at international level, and which ultimately link up with corresponding socio-economic and political variables at national, regional and village levels. Insofar as the analysis goes, it is undoubtedly the case that in order to have a thorough understanding of how women's organisations operate, there is a need to perceive this in the context of wider prevailing issues, that either substantiate or hamper organisational activities. Although the degree of success of women's organisations varies from one country to another, it is quite common to see that the socio-economic and political factors that influence organisational performance are somewhat similar in many societies, and in more ways than one almost reflect a 'universal prescription' of women's status in the respective countries.

As non-governmental agencies of development, women's organisations perform quite an important role as can be seen from the respective literature, but the criteria of definition means that the genuine attempts to participate may be influenced by the degree of non-governmental status as perceived by donor and recipient governments alike.

The extent to which women's organisations do contribute to national development through their efforts in the rural sector will be
the focus of this chapter in which a brief case-study analysis on Fiji will be discussed. In addition to the literature, much of the work in this chapter will also be drawn from the experience of the author as a researcher in the field and in her involvement with women's organisations in the country.

It must be borne in mind that it is not the intention of this study to give a comprehensive account of the activities of all women's organisations, despite a brief mention, but rather to highlight the various factors that face these associations, in their attempts to effectively contribute to rural development. Although a general overview will be given, specific references to women's organisations will be made, as the need arises, for not only do they reassert the interdependency of organisational systems on which much of their work depends, but that the factors discussed here commonly affect most women's organisations in Fiji. (see Appendix A; p. 77)

Despite the proliferation of women's organisations that abound in the country, this study will restrict itself to those women's groups that directly focus their activities within the area of rural development, and on this note, the efforts of their professional urban counterparts despite not being dealt with, is duly acknowledged.

4:2 The status of women's organisations

In the context of rural development in Fiji, the increasing number of women's organisations which contribute to improving the socio-economic standards of living in the rural sector can be said to perform the following roles.

(a) Welfare - It is worth noting that emphasis on the provision of basic social services, performing
charitable work and contributing to relief and rehabilitation work as a result of natural disasters, are issues reflected in the objectives of many women's organisations in their initial stages of growth. In most cases, these reflect the influence of missionary teachings. However, the change in objectives and organisational strategies, as seen in the rest of this role analysis, indicate the extent to which the factors in the larger environment raise the consciousness of women, to be more fully aware of the need to expand, modify and alter existing roles, so that not only do their organisations effectively address the plight of rural women, but that in addition, their overall efforts in rural development will be integrated much more effectively into the mainstream of national development. (see Appendix B ; p. 79 )

(b) Advisory - In their capacity as associations representing particular communities, ethnic interests, religious bodies, traditional groupings and ideological ties, women's groups provide effective links and advice to various agencies who may wish to work in respective localities. The internal expertise reflected in their membership also help towards the provision of advice to members of their own and other organisations.

(c) Educational - The objectives of teaching skills-oriented courses as compared to a collection
of subjects to be learned, mean that there is a flexible educational role built into organisational strategies that try to address the issue of alleviating rural drudgery.

(d) Agents of social change - The emphasis on issues like family education, primary health care, spiritual growth, developing effective leadership, community and culture and resource management, to name but a few reflect an interdisciplinary approach to the areas of concern which, according to varied interests that influence women's organisations, constitute a solid grounding in rural and ultimately national development.

(e) Innovators - As collective entities, women's organisations have the capacity to pursue a whole range of projects ranging from small-scale activities as seen in handicraft initiatives, agricultural and fishing enterprises to the promotion of appropriate technology in the different sectors and generally speaking, women's associations enable what would otherwise be impossible to pursue on an individual basis, as far as most rural families are concerned.

(f) Community developers - This role was adamantly echoed in the early 60's in the words of the wife of a former governor of Fiji who had this to say when opening a leadership training course at a top government girls school, which had been organised by the Pan Pacific South East Asia
Women's Association (PPSEAWA).

"Move the women and you move the household; move the household and you move a whole community."

(Low ed., 1970)

(g) **Information brokers** - Because of the nature of Fijian stratified society, women's organisations perform an important role in the social networks, as the dissemination of information along these lines often affects influential decision-making processes at various levels.

(h) **Social** - The emergence of women's organisations in rural areas is often met with mixed enthusiasm as on the one hand they provide a social outlet for the suppressive and equally frustrating situations which encapsulate rural Fijian women, while on the other hand, these associations provide an alternative haven for in-marrying women, whose status as an 'outsider' may prevent them from utilising all their talents within the confines of their newly acquired kinship group.

(i) **Economic** - In some cases, women's organisations provide a ready source of labour and capital resource which members and non-members alike can utilise for personal and/or communal interests. In a country like Fiji, comprising of about 100 inhabited islands, the smallness and isolation of many villages from the main
urban centres, means that the existence of such voluntary associations in rural communities, are assets highly valued, in view of the scarcity of resources.

It would be impossible to list all women's organisations in Fiji that undertake the following roles as most tend to exhibit a multitude of objectives, serving multiple clients in varying rural contexts. However the ones worth mentioning which have made an impact on Fijian rural development and which perform most of the above-mentioned roles are; Soqosoqo Vakamarama (Fijian Women's Society), The Fiji National Council of Women (FNW), YWCA and all the major Women's associations affiliated to the main religions; namely the Methodist Old Girls Association, Catholic Women's League, Anglican Women's Guild, and the Dorcas Society. It is interesting to note that all these organisations have international connections, as in the case of the Soqosoqo Vakamarama, although founded in 1924, it was not until a few decades later, that its National Executive Committee decided to join the ranks of the Associated Countrywomen of the World (ACWW) as an associate member. The Fiji National Council of Women and the 'Y' both retain links with their international counterparts and as for the main religions, their outside links also span an equally effective global network, and for women's organisations in this sphere, there is undoubtedly no shortage of contact.

The implications that these international links have on women's organisations in Fiji influence the following:

- the degree of support, financial and otherwise, they can muster in their concerted efforts to undertake developmental activities.
the credibility of their own status as viable agencies of development;
- the degree of sustainability and continuity, so essential to the stability of any organisation;
- the ability to flex priorities in organisational objectives to suit the socio-economic and political climate;
- the nature of their autonomy and the extent to which their voluntary status becomes slowly bureaucratised into the 'red-tape' procedures of government;
- the degree of potential influence in decision making processes at different levels and finally,
- the right of choice to determine organisational objectives without accounting for the wide range of interests in the larger environment.

4:3 Barriers to effective participation

Like any organisation, women's organisations confront a whole range of obstacles that influence the extent to which they can effectively contribute to development and the following analysis tries to identify these with reference to the Fijian situation.

(a) Socio-cultural issues

As mentioned earlier, the Fijian social system is characterised by a class structure which is patrilineal in nature, and organised along communal lines. The status of Fijian women, unless otherwise stated occupy an inferior position in society. (see Appendix C; p. 82). In essence therefore, the kinds of barriers that face women's organisations in this sphere relate more to the contradictions reflected in traditional and modern value systems with
regards to women's roles.

Because life in the village, the basic social organisation with which every Fijian identifies, is arranged along communal lines, the attempts of women to work through their own associations, is often viewed as an individualistic move by the sector of the community who "should be seen, and not heard." In addition the attempts by women through collective action to pursue developmental activities outside the domestic domain is seen as a threat by men and even wider society who due to their entrenched upbringing in patrilineal terms, perceive all activities outside of the home as exclusively male-oriented and male-dominated.

With regard to other values, the achievement of positions through hard work on the part of women's organisations is often regarded as petty successes, riddled with scorn and indifference as priority is often given to notions of ascription. Nevertheless despite all this, the efforts of women's organisations to press on regardless, is indicative of the changing perceptions that have to be considered in the move to promote and participate in a cash economy.

It should be borne in mind, that much of what has been said relates to attitudes and value systems displayed both within and outside of women's organisations themselves. As such the battle is a long one and will continue to be so, for some time yet.

(b) Economic issues

Generally speaking, the economic factors that affect women's organisations relate to the circumstances brought about by the existence of a market economy. In most cases, the economic activities pursued by women are undermined by competition from the manufacturing
sector and from men themselves who invest capital into these areas of lucrative activity through mass consumption.

Furthermore as most of these women's organisations depend on voluntary contributions which are often supported by their own constituencies, the ability to become a member depends a great deal on the extent to which the market prices of labour allow this to be accommodated within the limits of the household budget. The women who join are able to do so because either their husbands contributed, or they themselves saved enough from small 'home-sales' of cooked foods and handicraft to pay their dues. Those who join and are in financially dire straits, are often widows, unmarried mothers, young female drop-outs and unemployed school-leavers, and female heads of households who are encouraged to try and pay up so as to reduce any potential split in the ranks of the organisation, due to the range of different class positions inherent amongst these women. (see Appendix D; p. 86). The rationale behind this kind of membership drive is an area of concern, but in relating the whole idea to the strength of numbers, gives one a better insight into the impact this has on overall planning, request for funding and the area and scope of organisational activities.

The focus on an agriculturally-oriented export based economy, means that the implications for women's organisations are far-reaching. The tendency to draw upon the mobile and active sections of the population in this case, men, to provide labour in the different sectors, ultimately leaves the women to fend for their households while the 'men are away'. Due to the extra-domestic roles which they have to shoulder, women often find it difficult to find time in which they can contribute to the work of their organisations.
(c) Organisational issues

This will be examined from the positions of government and women's organisations themselves.

It is fully acknowledged that non-governmental organisations in Fiji has had a long history of activity in the country, but until recently was largely separate from Government's efforts. Women's concerns were seen through the eyes of male colonial administrators and the ensuing policies were handed down through local male counterparts until they reached women.

The Women's Interest Office (WIO) has since its inception in 1960 been moved around from the Department of Education to Social Development and Welfare in 1968, to the Ministry of Youth, Sports and Rural Development in 1972, to the Ministry of Fijian Affairs and Rural Development later on in the same year and finally to the newly separated Ministry of Rural Development in 1983 which by now had been commissioned a ministry of the state as compared to a ministry of the Crown. It is worth noting that the 'services and welfare' sections of government seem to be the 'ideal hosts' of women's interests and undoubtedly says a lot about the attitudes of the establishment. The plight of the Women's Interest Office has been further accentuated by problems of shortage of manpower and finance, poor communication links and inadequate coordination between their office and other agencies.

However, a number of significant changes has emerged, the main one being that in the latter period of 1985 and the early part of 1986, two economic summits have been held in the capital Suva where various parties representing different sectors, were asked by the government to contribute submissions for the country's next development plan, otherwise known as DP.9. The women's organisations through the
Fiji National Council of Women were one of the participants and submissions by women in the various sectors were presented and received by the government. These efforts are now reflected in the final document which has a separate section dealing with women's affairs. It may be true that governments tend to display a certain degree of indifference to women's issues, but the above example shows that these attitudes are not unchanging and reflect the change in value systems that correspond with dynamic societies.

With regards to traditional leadership, women's organisations are often perceived as a threat to the existing social system as they are deemed to perform a dysfunctional role in the community. What is often forgotten is that some of these women's organisations indirectly perpetuate the existing status quo and so their activities do not drastically alter current power positions. It is therefore not surprising when 'women's motions' fail to gather enough support in the various provincial council meetings or even discussed at other respective forums, as in most cases, the effect of development on women is assumed to result from the 'trickle-effect' of wider development initiatives.

The internal organisational crisis most common to voluntary organisations of this nature portrays itself in the following form:

- confused and contradictory role expectations of members;
- petty personality clashes which indirectly reflect the subtlety of power and organisational politics;
- communication gap between leaders and members;
- lack of sound financial and accounting expertise required in the control of organisational affairs;
- the absence of compulsion of attendance and
contributions to organisational activities often result in periods of non-growth and a high degree of apathy towards communal pursuits;

- continual shortage of skilled manpower and finance as organisations move into areas of activity which require a greater degree of specialisation;

- problem of mixed loyalties often portrayed in the degree of commitment to organisational objectives, and this is usually offset by the element of voluntarism which in short, fails to provide the sustainability such organisations require.

4:4 Summary

The emphasis on role analysis is highly significant in that it reflects the flexibility of non-governmental women's organisations, in accommodating the different interests in the wider environment. In addition, the examination of factors that influence women's organisations portrays the interdependency of functional units that constitute social systems. Thus in order to fully understand the extent to which women's organisations can be better utilised, it is probably appropriate to also consider alternative suggestions, that would assist these associations, in fully exercising their roles, as non-governmental agencies of development. This will be the focus of the final chapter.
CHAPTER 5

MAKING A CHOICE: IDEAS FOR ACTION

5:1 Introduction

In a study of this type which is based on secondary sources, it is quite difficult to make specific recommendations of the kind that can be justifiably drawn from primary data and so, with this in mind, the various ideas presented here will be based on a summary of findings taken from the literature related to rural women's organisations. These ideas are in no way more original than the ones aired by proponents of women's issues in other parts of the world but, their reassertion here indicate that women in developing countries, especially in small island states, who perhaps do not attract the same global attention as their counterparts in bigger developing countries, also face similar problems in their attempts to live up to the expectations and dilemmas of a modernising society.

In the context of small island states in the South Pacific, the smallness of population, land resources and low levels of GNP mean that there is a heavy dependency on external assistance (Shand ed., 1980). Nevertheless, if being 'small is beautiful' then that 'smallness' depicts a potentially valuable asset that is worth consolidating in the attempts to develop national resources.

5:2 Identifying Alternatives

The following issues attempt to highlight some of the areas of concern that can serve as guidelines to improving and better utilising women's organisations in national development. They are not intended to restrict the search for other viable alternatives relevant to specific
situations.

(1) **Research**: The importance of more sound research cannot be over-emphasised at this stage, as pointed out earlier by Nelson and others, and unless statistical information actually portrays the conditions and contributions of women, the result of this paucity and inaccuracy of data collection, will result in the design and implementation of strategies, that continue to tackle the symptoms of social stress instead of addressing the roots of the problem. Women's organisations can also participate in sound research if it is possible to draw upon the range of expertise within their ranks, and where the situation demands it, this should be strongly encouraged and supported with proper guidance and control from the parties involved in such an enquiry. Due to the nature of their status in the social networks of small communities, women's organisations ought to be more effectively utilised in the respective forums below national levels so that their roles can be effectively integrated into rural development programmes.

Coombs' (1981) reference to the dependency of indigenous organisations on external aid due to the scarcity of resources that these associations face is duly acknowledged. However, on the other hand, it is also argued that there are certain aspects of foreign aid that should be reviewed
periodically, if there is a need to reduce overall dependency. For example, in conducting a basic situational analysis one could identify the extent to which potential projects require foreign assistance, and in the case of women's organisations, this makes a very significant difference in terms of the impact such intervention measures would have on their existing roles.

Although it is often advocated that women's interests are best determined by women, the various factors that influence the identification of women's needs and areas of priority, often cloud the well-meaning efforts directed to poor rural women. The common 'lip-service' approach by both government agencies and women's organisations is reflected in the degree of prescriptive and passive participation often encouraged in the respective decision-making forums, and unless public awareness is heightened through research findings, women's organisations will continue to be a 'servicing appendage' of development agencies.

(ii) Cultural relativity: The term itself is taken from Schoeffel's (1983) report on women's associations in the rural economy and she has this to recommend from the studies conducted in Western Samoa and East New Britain Province in Papua New Guinea;
"...when planning women's projects or strategies for women's advancement, careful attention should be paid to the actual roles of women rather than assumptions about women's roles in general."

(Schoeffel, 1983, p.34)

(iii) Provision of training: In its varied dimensions, this is very important in that the provision of training can help to:

- utilise women's organisations as vehicles for the dissemination of knowledge and skills to other rural women; (Schoeffel, 1983)
- maintain the stability of organisations by training office-bearers and volunteers recruited for special skills, as to ways in which their duties can be performed on a more cost-effective basis;
- provide easy access to rural women interested in learning various skills to attend workshops conducted by women's organisations at the community level;
- integrate the training measures of extension workers with the varied capacities of women in the field and;
- generate the exchange of ideas and experiences between the various agencies involved.

(iv) Increased co-ordination: The call to improve co-ordination links range from reviewing and strengthening existing ones to the introduction
of new measures designed solely for this role. Experience has shown that one of the main weaknesses facing women's organisations is the lack of co-ordination amongst themselves and with other agencies in both the public and private sectors. If women's organisations wish to effectively promote their functions, then as voluntary and/or non-governmental agencies, they need to review their organisational structures defining, specific areas of responsibility, lines of communication, chains of command and authority and respective control measures, if organisational objectives and strategies aim to reflect this coordinated approach. (see Appendix E; p. 88) With regards to formal organisations like government agencies and so on, their contribution to maintaining effective links with less formal structures like women's organisations, can be maintained by pursuing healthy communication systems at all levels, together with the provision of essential supportive services where necessary.

In short, effective coordination helps to reduce wastage of resources, duplication of activities, unnecessary delays and improved public relations both within the organisation and with the wider environment, and for women's organisations operating on a very restricted budget, these are fairly important concerns.
5:3 Summary

The tendency to propose alternative strategies of development not only displays the concern to adapt to changes, but in themselves reflect the irony of the development process. The list of suggestions aimed at improving the role of women's organisations points to areas of concern that are both feasible, and commonly pursued by women's associations in most developing countries. Although these suggestions do not provide 'new answers' to 'old problems', it is worth noting that their emphasis here indicate the need to reassess conventional socio-economic, and legal-politico structures, that form the base of developing countries.
CONCLUSION

In concluding, this study has shown that the extent to which women's organisations contribute to national development through their participation in the rural sector, is inevitably linked to wider issues of development, which above all else, are reflected in attitudes to women and work, and in the various perceptions attributed to non-governmental organisations in development.

The initial discussion highlighting different issues portrays to some degree, the changing perceptions surrounding development paradigms, and as such, these will undoubtedly influence intervention measures directed at improving women's conditions and contributions in the respective societies.

In emphasising women and work in developing countries and related issues, these in turn highlight some of the reasons why women's issues have increasingly become a focal point of concern in development pursuits. In addition they also provide an insight into the difficulties facing women's organisations in their attempts to contribute to national development.

The illustrations offered in the context of women's organisations in Fiji are but some of many references which highlight the factors that are commonly experienced by similar associations in their attempts to counteract development strategies that strive to promote the advancement of one sector at the expense of the other. The attempts to provide suggestions of a remedial nature indicate that the development process is a mutually reinforcing one. Not only do governments and the wider society have to play their part in supporting
and recognising women's contributions in development, but that, women themselves, as members of women's organisations, must ensure that in the final analysis, the target of their objectives, must be in full recognition of the common universal struggles, aimed at alleviating the drudgery of rural women and ultimately that of rural communities.

Due to the nature of their smallness, rural development in the context of South Pacific island states is often difficult to separate from national development, and therefore the contributions of non-governmental organisations like women's groups play a considerable role, in view of the scarcity of resources. Bearing this in mind, it is vital that if development initiatives undertaken require a fuller utilisation of resources, then women's organisations as viable alternatives, should be recognised and facilitated, preserved where threatened and strengthened where the need arises, in the promotion of a more equitable distribution of benefits.
Table 1. The Emergence of Non-Governmental Aid Organizations 1650 - 1790

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of Establishment</th>
<th>Mission Societies</th>
<th>Church Societies</th>
<th>Similar Organizational Institutions</th>
<th>Student Welfare Agencies</th>
<th>Jewish Welfare Agencies</th>
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Source: Constructed from data in the OECD-ICVA Directory from 1967 and the ACTRAIC Directory from 1981 (ref. note 1)

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Table A. Classification of Aid-Giving NGOs According to Type and Nationality

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<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Mission Societies</th>
<th>Church Societies</th>
<th>Similar Organizational Institutions</th>
<th>Student Welfare Agencies</th>
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Sources: Based on data in the OECD-ICVA Directory from 1967 and the ACTRAIC Directory from 1981 (ref. note 1)
Appendix A

The purpose of these brief notes is to give an insight into the socio-economic and political environment of women's organisations in Fiji.


Location: scattered over 650,000 sq.km. of the South Pacific Ocean, the Fiji Group is about 2,720 km NE of Sydney (Australia); 1,760 km N. of Auckland (New Zealand); and halfway around the world from Western Europe.

Physical: no less than 520 islands of which about 100 are permanently inhabited. Total land area is 18,343 sq.km. and 2 principal islands account for 87% of total land area. Existence of a wide range of regional variations eg. atolls, raised coral islands and volcanic or 'high islands'.

Population: Taken from the 1976 census
- Indians - 50%
- Fijians - 44%
- Others - 6%
High rate of population growth at about 2.3-2.5% and total population is approximately 588,000.

Economy: Has always been dominated by sugar
- 1970 - 68% of domestic exports
- 1976 - 80%
Other major exports are: coconut oil, coconut products, gold, cement, paint, veneer sheets, lumber, ginger, cigarettes.

Employment: despite population growth in the mid 20th century, broad pattern of economic activity have not changed significantly. Reference to Fisk's analysis on pattern of economic activity in 1966 showed that 45% of economically active Fijians engaged mainly or wholly in subsistence agriculture, 20% in other primary industries eg. mining of the Indian component; 51% were in primary industries, mainly commercial farming. By 1976, 20% of economically active Fijians were employed in secondary industry, commerce, construction and transport.
- 37% of Indians who were economically active
- 48% of Europeans
- and Chinese were in these sectors.
As for status within growth industries, European-Chinese group dominate higher paid and supervisory roles, while Fijians predominantly found in least skilled and lowest paid categories of employment.
Political development:

- 1874 - Fiji ceded to Great Britain and assumed status of Crown colony.
- 1963 - Franchise extended to Fijians for first time.
- 1964 - Membership system introduced.
- 1965 - Constitutional conference in London resulted in major structural changes of government.
- 1966 - Emergence of party politics.
- 1967 - Ministerial system was introduced.
- 1970 - Constitutional conference agreed that House of Representatives should have 52 members elected through a cross-voting system.

10th October - country became Independent and attained Dominion status.

Land Tenure:

- About 83% of all land of varying quality owned on a communal basis by over 6,000 Fijian land-owning units. 10% - privately owned freehold. Balance held by government as crown land.

Indians own very little land, but they farm on a commercial basis, about 18,000 hectares under sugar cane and leased from Fijian proprietary units.

Fijian social structure:

- Traditionally hierarchical in structure and largely patrilineal. Essential social structure to which every Fijian belongs comprises fairly intricate social network. Groupings universally recognised by Fijians, and are units under which they are registered as landowners.
Appendix B

(ref. Ch.4,p.58)

The following illustrations attempt to highlight the objectives and project activities of various women's organisations in Fiji especially that of the Women's Interest Office (WIO) a governmental agency and those related to the Fiji National Council of Women (FNCW) and the Soqosoqo Vakamarama (SSV) both non-governmental organisations and it is hoped that they will provide an interesting comparison.

WIO - "...the task of the Women's Interest Section is to provide advisory services and impart appropriate skills for the productive usage of labour and time. The nature of activities and the projects undertaken through this section are craft development, home economics, family education, cooking, sewing, marketing and other women-related work." (1984, p.55)

Source: Ministry of Fijian Affairs and Rural Development
Annual Report for the Year 1982
Parliamentary Paper No.59 of 1984. WIO projects have changed the emphasis of their programmes to allow for greater flexibility in trying to meet increasing demands.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Before</th>
<th>Now</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Club organisation and management</td>
<td>1. Leadership &amp; Raising Awareness</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Clothing &amp; Textile</td>
<td>2. Home Economics</td>
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<td>4. Budgeting</td>
<td>4. Community work</td>
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<td>5. Craft Development and Marketing</td>
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<td>7. Handicraft</td>
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</table>

The following categories marked by brackets ( ) are my own understanding of the respective modifications.

FNCW - "The NCW which was formed in 1968 is the only multi-racial and coordinating National Women's organisation in Fiji. Its purpose was to coordinate and implement women's programmes through its affiliates. Its constitutional aims were especially geared towards the betterment and improvement of the female population in Fiji, making the public aware of their needs and aspirations and to keep them (women) informed as well as being aware of their role in the development of their country."
Projects: The NCW has 9 specific projects to be followed up and some are being implemented right now. They include:

1. Women in Business
2. Training for financial accountability
3. Self employment projects.
4. Women in village agriculture
5. Women in tourism
6. Leadership training
7. Coordinating of local, regional and international activities
8. Women in handicraft
9. Appropriate technology, energy saving, and wood burning stove.

NCW receives very little financial support from government, but it receives aid from UN Voluntary Fund. There are 39 women organisations affiliated to the National Council and each organisation pays an annual subscription of F$10(approx. £6-7)."

Source: excerpt of address by Fani Vosaniveibuli, Coordinator/Administrator of NCW given at 'End of Decade National Women's Meeting' held in Fiji, February 1985.

Soqosoqo Vakamarama (SSV)

Objectives:
1) To preserve and encourage traditional Fijian arts and crafts among the women of the country by example and instruction.
2) To instruct members in cooking with particular emphasis on Fijian foods - how to combat malnutrition and improve family diet.
3) To assist members in the improvement of standard of living in the homes and communities.
4) To assist in child welfare work throughout the country.
5) To promote Family Education.

Activities:
Culture - promotion of - through the Family Education programmes. Traditional Craft and Cookery
Health - improved rural conditions and better homes - improved nutrition - child care - women's health committees
Education - promotion and nurturing of Family Education programmes.
- organisation of the all non-formal education training programmes by way of demonstrations and courses.
- offering of scholarships
- training of office bearers
Charity - Donors to hospitals, maternity annexe, Cripple Children's homes, Old People's Homes, Orphanages, Red Cross and Disasters.

Social Welfare - adoption of aged and disabled people.

Source: Na i Soqosogo Vakamarama i Taukei (SSV) Brochure Associate Member of the Associated Countrywomen of the World (ACWW) Produced by SSV office.
The following summary of answers based on a modified questionnaire of status of women report reflects the collective response obtained from more than a hundred representatives of different women's groups of various ethnic backgrounds who attended the end of decade national women's meeting in Suva, Fiji from February 4th - 7th, 1985. The author herself was also at this meeting.


1. Role of Women

(a) In your opinion what is the role of women in Fiji?

(i) at home as an individual

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Complementary to men.</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Serve the family.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Prepares herself for marriage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Biological mother of next generation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Binds her family together.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Offers care and comfort.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Has family health and welfare at heart.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Has confidence in herself.</td>
</tr>
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</table>

(ii) in the family as a member.

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<th>Answers</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- manages home budget.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- teacher of moral and religious values.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- bridges gap between children and father.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- militant houseperson who is able to change roles.</td>
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</table>

(iii) at work

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<tr>
<th>Answers</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- backbone/mobiliser/motivator.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- discrimination at work not preferred.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- gets little recommendation for high quality performance thus works doubly hard with negative forces being taken care of.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- working mother upset the traditional set up. A locum mother in the form of granny or housegirl replaces her role in the home.</td>
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(iv) in the community development (urban/rural)

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<th>Answers</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- resourceful in fundraising projects.</td>
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<tr>
<td>- maintains the smallest working unit-family.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- helps run religious organisations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- contribute to FIA projects.</td>
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<tr>
<td>- volunteers in community projects eg. Red Cross, Save the Children's Fund etc.</td>
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</table>

(v) in national development

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answers</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Resource person.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Provides labour in the agriculture sector.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- voluntary service in charitable organisations.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(vi) in the promotion of peace and good-will
- Promotes healthy working relationships by tolerating others.
- Encourages children to tolerate cultural differences.
- Putting God first in her life thus trickling down into her family’s life.
- Understand and loves her children thus meeting and satisfying their needs. Helps & develops them into well behaved children.

(b) Has this role changed and if so in what way?
Their role has changed.
- Cash Economy—changes and wrecks most families. Women earning regularly tend to be financially secure and at times this goes to their heads thus leading them to look down on their spouses earning abilities. Most times this leads to divorces and separation.
- Education—makes women to be self-confident.
- Contributes to their ability to assess situations and to be able to make decisions at any level.
- Women are participating in the profession field—doctors, nurses, teachers, lawyers and so on.
- Leadership roles—some women are in leadership or management roles in the government, private as well as religious sectors.
- Women now are becoming more vocal about their rights and issues concerning themselves.
- Because of having a good Educational background, they are able to teach or help their children with their academic subjects.
- Women are more mobile going on overseas trips for training, courses or for holidays.
- Women are now infiltrating male dominated fields eg. Engineering, Architecture and others.

(c) Identify the Factors that have caused these changes:
- Education
- Participation in the Monetary Economy.
- Modern technology—household gadgets eg. washing machines etc.
- Improved water supply enables women to spend more time in the house.
- Electricity.
- Transportation.
- Ability to overcome restrictive religious, and traditional values.
- Exposure to participation in community and national projects enhances the confidence of women.

(d) What other changes would you recommend that will promote women in development?
- Women to be more vocal and to have the confidence to speak for themselves.
- An increase representation of women on Decision making statutory bodies and Boards.
- As the health of women is important we must promote Primary Health care and related activities especially programmes concerning environmental health care and sanitation.
- Proper and wise utilisation of time.
- Promote small scale gardening in households thus cutting down on food expenditure.
- More adult education programmes in villages and rural areas.
- Capital loans must be made easily accessible for women's projects from FDB and Commercial Banks.
- Educate the male population to recognise women as able partners who can assist in policy making at all stages.
- Incentives must be given to women to generate small business especially cottage industries and Agriculture.
- The media be used more effectively to give recognition to women's participation in the Economy.
- An office for Women's Affairs be attached to the PM's office.
- Community centres be set up to cater for women's clubs in the area, accommodating them and providing material and a full time community worker.

2. What Developmental Projects are you doing in your Organisation? Name them.

(i) Education and Training Projects
(ii) Health Projects
(iii) Employment Projects

Answers

(i) Education and Training Projects
- Leadership training programmes.
- Vernacular studies - urdu, Arabic, Hindi.
- Sewing and handicraft classes.
- Adult education.
- Nutrition education supplemented by talks from visiting lectures; in addition to prepare pamphlets.
- Cooking classes emphasising proper cooling methods which minimises the loss of food nutritional value.

(ii) Health Projects
- Promoting basic health care in community eg. proper disposal of rubbish, proper drainage system and so on.

(iii) Employment Projects
- Livestock rearing.
- Sewing, knitting, cooling, tapa making, accessories making.
- Voluntary work with Poor Relief Society.
- Soroptimist Society involve in issues such as Health Education, Human rights and Status of Women, Economic Development, Environment, lobbying Civil Authorities.
3. How can you improve development programmes in your local area?

(i) as an individual
(ii) as a member of your organisation.
(iii) as a women's national group.

(i) As an individual - not answered as most women felt this question had been asked earlier in Q.I a.i)

(ii) As a member of your organisation
- encourage other women to increase skills and confidence.
- share opportunities for learning new things.
- putting aside individual differences for the overall good of the group.
- allow open dialogue no taking sides.
- combine skills.
- consider work schedule of women for wish to reach.
- use the media to publicize successful ventures.
- visit and identify and do something constructive about needy women.
- effective communication and co-ordination amongst clubs.
- encourage decentralisation of branch activities.
- Good leadership is essential for positive response from members unifies group effort

(iii) As a Women's National Group
- Market outlets for handicrafts to promote employment of youths in the handicraft market.
- Lobby for effective representation on Statutory bodies.
- Closer communication and liason amongst National clubs and their sub branches. Could be investigated by FIJI NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN and FIJI COUNCIL OF SOCIAL SERVICES.
- Convene annual functions (conventions) nationwide so as to enlighten others on the various activities of the organisation.
- WIO needs more support-increase budget.
- Publish a National Women's newsletter to keep the public informed of women's activities.

The questionnaire was well answered and this showed that the women had put a lot of thought and effort in answering the questions.
Appendix D

(ref. Ch.4,p.64)

ANALYSIS OF SUBS OF SSV
1983 1984 1985 (Income)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROVINCE</th>
<th>1983</th>
<th>1984</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SOL1</td>
<td>S 5</td>
<td>SOL1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Tailevu</td>
<td>772.52</td>
<td>154.50</td>
<td>459.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Lomaiviti</td>
<td>275.00</td>
<td>55.00</td>
<td>449.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Ra</td>
<td>856.50</td>
<td>171.30</td>
<td>70.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Naitasiri</td>
<td>118.00</td>
<td>23.60</td>
<td>503.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Rewa</td>
<td>480.00</td>
<td>96.00</td>
<td>515.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Nadroga/Navosa</td>
<td>651.00</td>
<td>130.20</td>
<td>533.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Ba</td>
<td>1173.00</td>
<td>234.60</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Kadavu</td>
<td>695.90</td>
<td>139.18</td>
<td>494.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Serua</td>
<td>161.00</td>
<td>32.20</td>
<td>120.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Namosi</td>
<td>101.00</td>
<td>20.20</td>
<td>88.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Cakaudrove</td>
<td>1530.00</td>
<td>306.00</td>
<td>1058.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Lau</td>
<td>2375.00</td>
<td>475.00</td>
<td>1168.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Macuata</td>
<td>430.00</td>
<td>86.00</td>
<td>237.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Bua</td>
<td>530.00</td>
<td>106.00</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL: $F</td>
<td>10148.92</td>
<td>2029.78</td>
<td>5794.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SSV - Soqosoqo Vakamarama (Fijian Women's Society)
Soli - financial contribution or in more broader terms as stated above
this refers to income gained from subscriptions.

For this organisation the $5.00 (approx. 2-3 pounds sterling) annual membership fee levied is divided into equal portions along the following lines;

- \( \frac{1}{5} \) Wages
- \( \frac{1}{5} \) Handicraft
- \( \frac{1}{5} \) Executive (Branch)
- \( \frac{1}{5} \) Branch Voluntary Workers
- \( \frac{1}{5} \) Scholarship

Note that \( \frac{1}{5} \) of the total goes back to the provincial branch executive for use in promoting their own activities and \( \frac{4}{5} \) remain in the control of the national executive at headquarters. The appearance of the odd cent maybe due to either incomplete and partial payment.
of subscriptions at the time this analysis was carried out, or some other contribution. If one were to try and estimate the number of financial members in a given year then divide by 5 and so for eg. in 1985 there were approximately 2,029 financial members of the SSV, not including those large numbers of non-financial supporters of organisational programmes. The SSV has faced severe problems of financial shortage as seen in the decline of overall total income generated from membership dues and have until recently undertaken a series of public fundraising efforts. Funding for the organisations involvement in national projects like primary health care and family planning come through bi-lateral aid agreements and thus subscription costs are used mainly to maintain general upkeep and running of the Soqosoqo Vakamarama. It should be noted that the provinces which contribute the most like Cakaudrove and Lau (11 & 12) are in themselves traditional strongholds of power in Fijian society, and for provinces like Ra and Ba (3 & 7) their position in the sugarcane farming belt coupled with rent monies received from leased land mean that they are also able to improve their numbers. The absence of Bua provincial branch (14) to contribute in 1984 is a repercussion of the impact that the Fiji National Council of Women (FNCW) had in that province. The SSV is not an affiliate of FNCW as it had pulled out in 1967.
Appendix E

The organisational structures of two women's organisations, namely Women's Interest Office and the Soqosoqo Vakamarama will be illustrated to highlight the importance of maintaining effective coordination links in both governmental and non-governmental agencies. Both structures obviously have certain weaknesses that hamper effective coordination.

Ministry of Rural Development
Women's Interest Section

Central Division Eastern Division Northern Division Western Division

DRD PAS DRD PAS DRD PAS DRD PAS

WIO WIO WIO WIO

DWIA (HQ) DWIA - shift to Suva-DPOE DWIA Labasa DWIA Lautoka

WIA (3) WIA (6) WIA (4) WIA (6)

Source: Women's Interest Office, Suva, Fiji (August, 1985)

DRD - Director of Rural Development
PAS - Principal Assistant Secretary
WIO - Women's Interest Officer
DWIA - Divisional Women's Interest Assistant
WIA - Women's Interest Assistant

In short one can only say that the functional model of administrative systems, so common of former British colonies mean that emphasis is on a fairly heavy degree of centralised control and in an island setting, the implications of time and continual delays in decision making are enormous.
The following illustrates an example of a non-governmental organisational structure, and for a voluntary agency of this nature, this holds far-reaching implications for organisational efficiency.

Organisational Structure of the Soqosoqo Yakamaruma.

- Executive Council
  - 9 members
- Central Committee
  - 41 members
- Branch Advisory Committee
  - 20 members
  - District Advisory-25
    - 10
    - Sub-D C-15
      - 5
      - (3)
      - Village Committees
    - District Advisory-25
      - 10
      - Sub-D C-15
        - 5
        - (3)
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MENCHER, J.P.* Change agents and villagers (mimeo) in MATHUS. (Editor) Anthropology in the development process. 241-269. *Incomplete reference.


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