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IICA - C.I.A.

## WOMEN IN SMALL-SCALE AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION IN TRINIDAD

### SURVEY REPORT

July 1993  
Port of Spain, Trinidad

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IICA OFFICE IN TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

## WHAT IS IICA?

The Inter-American Institute for Cooperation on Agriculture (IICA) is the specialized agency for agriculture of the inter-American system. The Institute was founded on October 7, 1942 when the Council of Directors of the Pan American Union approved the creation of the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences.

IICA was founded as an institution for agricultural research and graduate training in tropical agriculture. In response to changing needs in the hemisphere, the Institute gradually evolved into an agency for technical cooperation and institutional strengthening in the field of agriculture. These changes were officially recognized through the ratification of a new Convention on December 8, 1980. The Institute's purposes under the new Convention are to encourage, facilitate and support cooperation among its 33 Member States, so as to better promote agricultural development and rural well-being.

With its broader and more flexible mandate and a new structure to facilitate direct participation by the Member States in activities of the Inter-American Board of Agriculture (IABA) and the Executive Committee, the Institute now has a geographic reach that allows it to respond to needs for technical cooperation in all of its Member States.

The contributions provided by the Member States and the ties IICA maintains with its 14 Permanent Observers and numerous international organizations provide the Institute with channels to direct its human and financial resources in support of agricultural development throughout the Americas.

The 1987-1993 Medium Term Plan, the policy document that sets IICA's priorities, stresses the reactivation of the agricultural sector as the key to economic growth. In support of this policy, the Institute is placing special emphasis on the support and promotion of actions to modernize agricultural technology and strengthen the processes of regional and subregional integration. In order to attain these goals, the Institute is concentrating its actions on the following five Programs: Agricultural Policy Analysis and Planning; Technology Generation and Transfer; Organization and Management for Rural Development; Trade and Integration; and Agricultural Health.

The Member States of IICA are: Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Barbados, Belize, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominica, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Grenada, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, St. Lucia, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Suriname, Trinidad and Tobago, the United States of America, Uruguay and Venezuela. The Permanent Observers of IICA are Arab Republic of Egypt, Austria, Belgium, European Communities, Federal Republic of Germany, France, Israel, Italy, Japan, Kingdom of the Netherlands, Portugal, Republic of Korea, Romania and Spain.

Centro Interamericano de  
Documentación e  
Información Agrícola

23 JUL 1995

IECA — CIDA



**Women in small-scale agricultural  
production in Trinidad**

**Report on a survey of five groups  
as part of the IICA project:**

**"Enhancing the participation of women in the rural  
development process in Trinidad and Tobago  
through institutional strengthening"**

**Inter-American Institute for Cooperation on Agriculture  
(IICA)**

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## **FOREWORD**

The baseline survey of five groups of small-scale, women producers represented Phase one of a project entitled "Enhancing the Participation of Women in the Rural Development Process in Trinidad and Tobago through Institutional Strengthening", implemented by the Inter-American Institute for Cooperation on Agriculture (IICA).

The project was undertaken in response to a request by the Director, Extension Training and Information Services Division (ETIS) of the Ministry of Agriculture, Land and Marine Resources (MALMR). Although it was known that women were actively engaged in agriculture, it was realized that generally, fewer women on average attended the training courses offered by the ETIS. The decision to focus on women and members of women's groups rather than on individual producers was in response to the general perception, expressed by the extension officers themselves, that there was need for more information on women farmers, as well as, on the belief that the recommendations and the resulting extension programmes would be more efficiently disseminated by a group approach.

It is hoped that the findings of the survey will provide additional information on the needs of rural women and that the recommendations will serve to underscore the fact that Rural Development Programmes must seek to address some issues outside of the traditional 'economic' sphere of productive activity. For example, strategies for intervention must be sensitive to the very real time constraints which are imposed on women as a result of their disproportionate reproductive responsibilities. At all times, efforts should seek to correct the imbalances caused by the implicit devaluation of the contribution that women make to development.

We wish to acknowledge the invaluable contribution of Mrs. Alicia Mondesire-Grant who was instrumental in the design of the questionnaire and the analysis of the data.

**IICA Representative in  
Trinidad and Tobago**





## CONTENTS

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<b>Foreword</b>	<b>i</b>
<b>Contents</b>	<b>ii</b>
1. Introduction	1
2. Overview of Women in Agriculture in Trinidad and Tobago	5
3. The Survey	10
4. Research Findings	16
5. Conclusions and Implications for Planning	33
6. Recommendations	36
7. Areas for Further Research	38
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>39</b>
<b>Appendices:</b> Appendix A Matrix for data collection	<b>44</b>
Appendix B Questionnaire	<b>45</b>
<b>Tables:</b>	
2.1 Educational status of private holders by sex	8
4.1 Group data	18
4.2 Access to property and ownership	19
4.3 Access to property and ownership by ethnic group	19
4.4 Responsibility for earning family income	21
4.5 Occupational status within household by group	28
4.6 Satisfaction levels among group members	30
4.7 Summary of factors affecting the enterprises	32
<b>Figures:</b>	
4.1 Age Groups	16
4.2 Ethnic Origin	16
4.3 Marital Status	16
4.4 Religion	17
4.5 Educational Status	17
4.6 Skills/Experience	17
4.7 Major Activity Outside the Home	17



# **1. INTRODUCTION**

## **Background and objectives**

The baseline survey was undertaken as part of Phase I of a technical co-operation project undertaken by the Inter-American Institute for Cooperation on Agriculture (IICA), in collaboration with the Ministry of Agriculture, Land and Marine Resources (MALMR). The aim of the project entitled, "Enhancing the Participation of Women in the Rural Development Process in Trinidad and Tobago through Institutional Strengthening", was to "improve the quality of life of rural families, with specific reference to the women." Additionally, the project was to provide data on the limitations and potential of women, agricultural producers who operate small plots. Background information on the productive activities and organizational structures of five groups of female, agricultural producers was obtained through an exploratory survey carried out by IICA in 1991. From this probe, it was realized that there was a need for specific social and gender-related data on factors which might impact upon the productivity and effectiveness of the women producers.

The major objective of the survey was to gather data which would provide additional insights on small scale, women, agricultural producers, thereby, giving directions to the delivery of the support services provided to the groups by the Extension Training and Information Services (ETIS) and by IICA.

The preliminary findings were presented to a group of Extension Officers at a Workshop entitled, "Building Gender-Sensitive Activities into Agricultural Extension Programmes." Some of the views expressed were included in the final recommendations.

## **Scope and limitations**

The five groups covered by the survey were:

- Southern Women's Cooperative
- St. Mary's Creative Women's Group
- Women in Rice (WINRE)
- St. Helena's Women's Group
- Paramin Women's Group

The first four groups are located in rural areas of Trinidad (Barrackpore, Moruga, Penal and Matelot, respectively). The last is regarded as a 'rural enclave' within the urban perimeter of Port of Spain. Geographically, only Trinidad was covered.

The survey population was exclusively female. The emphasis on women was in response to the desire by the ETIS for a 'women's project'. Additionally, the survey sought to address the problem of the paucity of data on women farmers, in an effort to reduce their 'invisibility' in the national statistics and to address the general perception, echoed by Extension Officers that women farmers were not receiving enough attention by the ETIS division.

The all female population therefore limited the extent to which gender inter-relationships could be studied. However, data gathered about the occupants of the households to which the women belonged did offer a basis for examining gender-related issues in some ways.

The survey also did not cover commercial farming operations in which the organization of male and female labour, the working conditions that pertain to males and females (including risks and dangers which affect women farmers) and the access to and use of technology, would be different from that found on a subsistence farm.

### **Conceptual framework**

The design of the questionnaire and analysis of the data incorporated an adapted version of a diagnostic framework developed by Mary B Anderson and Peter J Woodrow of Harvard University, referred to as the Capacities and Vulnerabilities (C&V) Framework. The original framework which was used to design and evaluate relief projects at the community level outlined three areas in which capacities and vulnerabilities were analyzed, namely:

- a) physical/material;
- b) social/organizational;
- c) motivational/attitudinal.

The methodology designed by Anderson and Woodrow entailed compiling case studies of the communities which were discussed within and among the communities during workshops.

The adapted framework used to analyze the capacities and constraints facing the women producers utilized three main categories, namely:

- social and attitudinal patterns;
- physical/material resources; and
- organization and management.

**The matrix is presented in Appendix A.**

**The survey instrument was constructed to examine women's productive labour both in the household and in the field and the relationship between those two spheres of women's responsibility. The approach to the survey was guided by the concepts used in the Women in Caribbean Agriculture (WICA) project, sponsored by the Caribbean Association for Feminist Research and Action (CAFRA).**

**The WICA project defined productive activity as "all that activity which produces income directly for the household, that is, the production of goods and services in exchange for cash." (French, 1988: 10). Reproductive strategies were defined as "all those activities and relations of exchange which result directly or indirectly in economic benefits to the household. These include the productive activities outlined above, in addition to remittances from live-in relatives, gifts, labour-exchange, and so on" (ibid). Reproductive work "is a concept meant to include domestic work, that is, washing and ironing, cooking, cleaning, etc., work involved in the socialization of children, organization of the household, as well as the work of biological reproduction" (ibid).**

**The WICA research was concerned about "the subsistence economy as the 'domestic' area of agricultural production, which like housework, fails to be recognized" (ibid). Subsistence farming would apply to those persons who are own-account farmers, who may also be engaged in wage labour.**

**In describing the ethnicity of the persons surveyed, references were made to East Indian, African or mixed, as a way of identifying the ancestry or ethnic origins of those persons. Those persons categorized as 'mixed' included persons of French and Spanish ancestry as well.**

## **Methodology**

### ***Survey population***

**A total of 66 women were covered in the survey. This cluster sample represented only a small percentage of the total population of female, agricultural producers which was estimated to be 9,100 in 1989. The members of the five groups were involved in some form of subsistence farming, which was supplemented in the majority of cases by other production, processing and service activities.**

Since one of the major concerns was the delivery of support services to the groups, in particular extension services, the selection of the target groups was based on locality and accessibility. The groups were chosen to ensure a wide, geographic spread of rural, farming communities and to cover the two major ethnic groups in Trinidad and Tobago.

### ***Data gathering***

The survey instrument was developed by Ms. Alicia Mondesire-Grant, consultant, with inputs from Ms. Amber Denoon and Ms. Denise Lewis, students enrolled in the Department of Sociology ( Social Work Programme) at the University of the West Indies, St. Augustine. All work was supervised by Ms. Marlene Antoine, Project Coordinator, IICA. The tabulations were undertaken by Ms. Deborah Daniel-Arthur with assistance from the staff of the Agricultural Planning Division, MALMR.

The questionnaire (Appendix B) was pre-tested among four persons and was modified three times, based on input from IICA staff. A half-day orientation session for the field workers was held to:

- discuss the purpose of the survey;
- explain procedures for administering the questionnaire; and
- discuss points of clarification and areas of sensitivity.

An interview schedule was drawn up in consultation with the group leaders and the questionnaire was administered to individuals within the groups who volunteered to be interviewed.

The data were collected during face-to-face interviews in July 1992 by the Project Coordinator, the students and a female extension officer of the MALMR. The venues for the interviews included the factory site (Paramin), the homes of the groups' leaders and the homes of individuals who belonged to the groups. The interviews were conducted in private, as far as possible. Each interview consumed approximately thirty to forty-five minutes. Three questionnaires were discarded, of respondents who were not considered to be *bona fide* members of the groups at the time.

## **2. OVERVIEW OF WOMEN IN AGRICULTURE IN TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO**

### **Geographical Perspective**

The Republic of Trinidad and Tobago is the southernmost of the Caribbean Islands located only 10 km. off the Venezuelan eastern coast. Tobago is 300 sq. km. while Trinidad is 4828 sq. km.

In 1990, the total population was approximately 1.2 million, almost evenly distributed between males and females and with colonial ties to Africa, India, Europe and the Middle East, and China.

Average temperature is 29° C. The wet season is from June to December with an average rainfall between 2880 mm. in the north and north-east to 1200 mm. in the south and south-west. Total arable land is 141,000 ha. out of a total of 512,600 ha. The State is the largest owner of arable land.

Agricultural production is primarily dependent on a rainfed farming system. There were approximately 40,000 farmers in 1989 with 20 percent being women. Approximately 85 percent of farmers occupy holdings of less than 5 ha. in size with 50 percent of holdings less than 2 ha. Land distribution is heavily skewed in favour of larger land holders who occupy 59 percent of total agricultural land. Ownership of large agricultural land is closely associated with tree crops cultivation, namely, cocoa, coffee, citrus coconuts and sugarcane. This accounts for over 70 percent of the arable land. On the other hand, lands which are subjected to squatting, lease or rental arrangements are associated with short term crops such as vegetables and food crop production.

### **Historical Perspective**

Researchers have traced the origin of peasant agriculture in Trinidad and Tobago to the granting of small pieces of land, which allowed African slaves to grow food for their own consumption and for sale. Female slaves who were able to sell surplus food in the 'Sunday market' were able to gain a certain degree of economic independence. In the post-emancipation period, however, the ownership of peasant holdings reverted to large plantation owners and peasant farmers were forced to earn a living as wage labourers (Reddock and Huggins, 1988: 11).

The importance of female wage labour to capital accumulation by the plantation owners has been well documented. Reddock and Huggins have pointed out that "under slavery, it was profitable to have a more flexible sexual division of labour, since female wage labour then, of course unpaid, could be exploited without any moral or ethical restrictions" (1988: 14). According to the authors, this was the situation from the beginning of slavery in the seventeenth century and which persisted into the nineteenth century. The now well-established fact that women performed the same tasks as men in the fields negates the claim that women were physically unable to perform strenuous tasks, which was often the reason given for excluding women from being full-time labourers and for assigning them low-status, unskilled tasks (ibid: 11).

In the same work, the authors argued that with the introduction of the indentureship system, in which East Indians were brought to the Caribbean to replace African slave labour on the plantations, the sexual division of labour was enforced. Although women often carried out the same tasks as men, they were paid wages well below those paid to their male counterparts (ibid: 14).

In today's farming systems, role differentiation based on gender has continued to be economically motivated. Not only does such a differentiation determine the types of tasks performed by women and men on the same farm, but it also governs the organization of males and females in commercial and domestic production systems (Rajack, 1990: 4). The predominance of males in commercial farming activity geared to export and of females in subsistence farming activity linked to domestic food production, reflect the relative economic importance of those activities and the direction of state resources to support them. This observation supports the contention that gender roles in agricultural production are determined more by economic and less by cultural factors. In the critical areas of income and employment, education and land ownership, women have remained in an unfavourable position compared to their male counterparts.

## **Socio-economic Perspective**

### ***Income and Employment***

It has been suggested that Trinidad and Tobago does not have a subsistence or peasant farming sector in the classical sense (Henry and Demas; 1991: 144), however, it has been common to find backyard plots adjoining a house, particularly among East Indian households. These plots, which were usually worked by women, provided for domestic food needs with the surplus being sold. Subsistence farmers faced disadvantages which included outdated technology, inadequate opportunities for marketing and difficulties in obtaining credit.



The extent to which women can derive a cash income from subsistence farming has been limited by the domestic demands on the products of such farming. Women have been at a double disadvantage in deriving economic benefits from the subsistence activity: firstly, these activities were not accorded the same importance as large-scale farming and secondly, what they can sell was only the surplus that remained after the household food needs have been addressed. It has not been surprising, therefore, that women's earnings from subsistence farms were substantially lower than the earnings of their male counterparts who predominated in commercial and large-scale farming.

This gender-based income differential has not been peculiar to the agricultural sector. National statistics showed that the per capita income in 1991 was estimated at TT\$18,287 and that the average monthly earnings of employed men exceeded those of employed women by TT\$200 to \$300. In 1987, the official unemployment rate for women was 25 percent, while for males it was 20 percent. Women headed 37 percent of all households, and for a majority of those who head households, 67 percent, either did not have jobs or were not considered as part of the labour force. Consequently, some 39 percent of the households headed by women were considered below the poverty line.

Women have been a minority within the agricultural labour force, although it is believed that their participation was underestimated. Figures for the year 1989 indicated 41,600 men and 9,100 women within the labour force. The figures show that of the 9,100 women who were counted within the agricultural labour force 2,100 or 23 percent, were own-account workers. By comparison 15,000 or 36 percent of the 41,600 men within the agricultural labour force are own-account workers.

The 'farmer' tends to be defined as the person who 'owns and controls' the means of production and has decision-making authority. Accordingly, women, only a minority of whom are land holders, have remained largely unrecognized as farmers and continue to receive little remuneration for their labour. Knudson and Yates have noted that "the production of food crops for household consumption usually does not enter into national accounts, thereby understating the economic role of women" (1981: 17).

Labour force trends in the agricultural sector fluctuated in the 1970s and 1980s. During the oil boom of the 1970s, the agricultural labour force declined as a result of employment opportunities which became available directly or indirectly through the growth of the petroleum sector. This trend coincided with a decrease in domestic food production and an increase in imported food. With the subsequent decline of the petroleum sector, the domestic agricultural labour force grew by almost 2 percent between 1984 and 1989 and output increased by 22 percent during the same period.

The effect of this move into agriculture on opportunities for women producers is not totally clear and is suggested as an area for further research (See Section 7.5). It has, however, been reported that the percentage distribution of females employed in agriculture showed a slight increase from 7.4 percent in 1987 to 7.8 percent in 1989.

### *Educational Status*

The 1982 agricultural census indicated consistently lower levels of educational attainment for female, private land holders when compared to males (Table 2.1).

**Table 2.1**  
Educational status of private holders by sex

	% Males	% Females
No education	10	24
Primary	77	70
Secondary	10	6
Tertiary	1	2

Source: Trinidad and Tobago Central Statistics Office, 1982 Agricultural Census p 43

A similar trend was to be found outside of the formal education system. A 1990 study on female participation rates in agricultural extension programmes revealed that 25 percent or fewer women on average participate in those programmes (Lewis: 1990:4). This confirmed the observation that the majority of women farmers were not benefitting from opportunities (training and technology) that could enhance their productive capacity and hence improve their means of livelihood.

### *Land Ownership and Access*

According to Henry and Demas, one quarter of the private holders in St. Patrick's County were female and represented the county with the most female, private holders (1991:139).

The pattern of land ownership was not, however, consistent in all farming systems and gender-based differences in the size of holdings have been found. Henshall (1984:187) reported in one study that female farmers in Trinidad controlled a larger acreage than their male counterparts; half of the farms controlled by women were over ten

acres, compared to 36 percent of the farms operated by males, or jointly operated. This finding, according to Henshall, might be explained by the large number of female managers found on cocoa farms and the proportion of such land which was freehold. New research would be needed to examine the gender basis of land ownership patterns within specific farming systems.

### **Conclusion**

The background readings suggested that a greater effort was needed to ensure that women farmers have access to, and use of, the resources that would give them a competitive advantage and reduce their reproductive and productive constraints as agricultural producers.

### **3. THE SURVEY**

#### ***Introduction***

In 1991, an exploratory survey of five selected groups was undertaken. In this exploratory exercise, interviews of the leaders of the groups were conducted to get an overall view of the activities of the groups. The follow-up survey, which is the subject of this report, was undertaken in July-August of 1992 whereby the individual members of the groups were interviewed.

#### ***Group 1: PARAMIN WOMEN'S GROUP***

The preliminary survey had indicated that this group was founded in 1985 and legally registered as a Group in 1987. The group started with six members and, at the time of the survey, numbered seven. The group was initially involved in handicraft, (including tie-dye, basketry, crochet, macrame), upholstery and finally processing of vegetable seasonings and making of snack items, such as toolum.

Initially, they received financial assistance from the Canadian Embassy and training from the Community Development Division of the Ministry of Community Development, Culture, and Women's Affairs. At the time of the survey, they were receiving technical assistance from CNIRD.

On Wednesday, July 22, 1992, three interviewers visited the Paramin Women's Group at the factory where the group of women were involved in processing vegetable seasoning (cleaning, mincing, bottling and packaging). The factory is situated at Saut D'eau Road, Paramin on the outskirts of Maraval. Although, in geographical terms this area is located within close proximity to the largest urban centre in northwest Trinidad, logistically and in terms of the way of life, this is a rural enclave characterized by winding roads and hilly terrain.

The women were busy at their various tasks involved in processing the seasoning. Although the team was expected, it seemed that the intrusions were not welcomed. The project coordinator explained the purpose of the exercise and it was decided that only two women would be interviewed at a time, in an effort to minimize the stoppage of work on the production line.

The factory was located under one of the member's home and measured approximately 32' x 10'. Collectively, they produced an average of 150 to 200 bundles of chive each week which they wholesale in the Central Market, Port-of-Spain. Alternatively, one member had the option to sell to the factory each week. Each member was paid for one day's work each week.

The average age of the members was 40 years. All have attained primary level schooling and have attended a number of handicraft courses including basketry, crochet and tie-dye. They each have two to four grown children, between the ages of fourteen and thirty-two. They all belonged to the Roman Catholic faith.

Each member occupied at least one acre of land on which either she and/or her family cultivated. All, except one, were active gardeners producing a combination of three or four crops including cabbage, chive, tomatoes, sweet pepper, cucumbers, peas and lettuce. All the family members were involved in primary production. The women undertook a multitude of activities including clearing, sowing, digging, planting, weeding, fertilizing. Ploughing was usually left to the men. The women rose very early in the morning to begin their domestic chores, then went into their gardens with a two-hour break for lunch and again in the early afternoon. After garden work, they returned to their homes to complete domestic chores or to relax.

As a group, some of the women have been together for as much as twenty years; the most recent members have been with the group for the past five years.

Although they have been involved in semi-processing production for some time, they still seemed to have only grasped the simple rudiments of business management and were unaware of how to improve the profitability of the business.

Transportation was expensive and unreliable. Processing techniques were in need of improvement including the appearance of the bottled, finished product. Administration of finances was uncertain. The factory was incomplete and under-equipped.

The general observation was that of a small and unified group in which all members voice their opinions. Although they met twice each week, they did not conduct formal meetings; rather, they worked on various aspects of processing the vegetables or producing other products. Nonetheless, decision-making seemed to be shared and loyalty was strong.

## ***Group 2: ST. MARY'S CREATIVE WOMEN'S GROUP***

St. Mary's Village, Moruga is a farming and fishing community situated in the south of Trinidad.

The preliminary survey indicated that the group was founded in 1989 with a total of thirty-four members. The group was the women's arm of the legally registered Cachippe and St. Mary's Farmers' Cooperative, which was involved in the operation of a co-operative multi-purpose shop. Membership varied but at the time of the interview, it was estimated to be around twelve.

On Thursday, July 23, 1992, the team of interviewers met at the home of the group leader as previously arranged. The Project Coordinator explained the purpose of the interview to the group leader. In addition to the group leader, two or three other ladies were interviewed at this location. The team was then directed to the individual members' homes. Accordingly, only the group members who were at home at the time were interviewed. Each interviewer thereafter conducted private and individual interviews. Each interviewer was expected to introduce herself and explain the purpose of the exercise.

Because of the house-to-house and private nature of most of the interviews, the interviews became lengthy and the interviewers were able to develop, to some degree, a close rapport with the members of the group.

The average age of the ten group members who were interviewed was 33 years with just two members over 50. They were mainly London Baptists, with one Muslim, one Roman Catholic and one Seventh Day Adventist. It was a largely African group.

Half of the members received Secondary Level education, one (an East Indian) did not receive any schooling, while one other only reached the primary level. In terms of skills, their experiences ranged from general handicraft (basketry) to sewing, typing and to the more specific areas such as Nutrition, Accounting and Pre-school Teacher training.

There was a high incidence of young children ranging from 3 to 20 years but most of them were still at school.

Most of the women were gardeners producing such crops as corn, peas, bodi, cane, lettuce, patchoi, chive, spinach, ochro, dasheen and cassava.

The group met once a week to exchange handicraft skills. The leader, who acted as the instructor and displayed a wide range of finished crafted items, seemed the dynamic force in the group. However, this seemed to be a strong community based group which encouraged social interaction. The group made mention of getting involved in a bakery and multi-purpose outlet for their crops and handicraft items. They seemed unsure of how to proceed.

### ***Group 3: ST. HELENA'S WOMEN'S GROUP***

St. Helena's Village is situated along the winding, hilly road that runs alongside the rocky coastline in the Matelot area, in the northeastern coastal region of Trinidad.

The preliminary investigation revealed that the group was founded in 1963 with a membership of over thirty. Membership at the time of the survey was eight. The group was affiliated to the St. Helena's Village Council which was involved in the operation of a Cooperative Multi-Purpose Shop in 1973. As a group, the women were initially involved in handicraft (including basketry and artificial flowers) but because of the low returns, they turned to the School Feeding Programme in 1989. At the time of the interview, they were providing meals to five schools in the area for three days each week.

The team of interviewers met at the home of the group's leader as arranged. After being refreshed with some home-made fish broth, the team was met by the other group members who all gathered at the leader's residence.

The Project Coordinator explained the purpose of the exercise after which the team proceeded to conduct the interviews in the living room, as far apart from each other as possible, to maintain some degree of privacy. Although the setting was quite cordial and the women seemed at ease, the fact that everyone was within one room did not allow for much probing.

The group members, although mature women with an average age of thirty, appeared friendly but shy. There was only one member under the age of twenty-five. Most members have been together for over nine years. All the women have attained primary level education except for the youngest, who attained secondary level. It was an African group belonging to the Roman Catholic faith except for one. The number of children still in the household ranged from two to six with all of the children still at school.

They all viewed themselves as full-fledged 'housewives', although three of them were engaged in backyard gardening growing celery, ochros, peppers, tomatoes, pumpkin, bananas, plantain, cassava, yam and citrus. The production was mainly for home consumption with very limited marketing.

The leader did most of the talking and seemed fully in charge of all the activities. It was noted that she owned many of the appliances on which the group depended to prepare the meals. In addition, the contract with the School Feeding Programme to supply the meals was in her name. She was the employer. She made the decisions. Nevertheless, there seemed to be a very cordial working relationship among all the members.

They met two to three times a week to work, however, there is a lack of formal meetings and the records of the minutes were staledated. Group loyalty seemed strong but since the leader owned most of the equipment, the sharing of the responsibilities seemed questionable.

#### ***Group 4: SOUTHERN WOMEN'S COOPERATIVE***

On Monday, August 3, 1992, the team visited the Southern Women's Cooperative (SWC). The members were concentrated in two main areas, namely; around Seebalack Trace and along the Rochard-Douglas Road, Barrackpore.

This group was a break-off from the WINRE Group and was founded in 1991 reportedly with forty members. Membership at the time of the survey was estimated at about twenty. They were not registered. Since they have been together, they have participated in the ECHO (Each Community Helping Out) Programme by preparing and distributing meals to needy persons in the community. At that present time there was no group activity.

As pre-arranged, the team met one group of members who were gathered under the house at the home of the President, who resided in Seebalack Trace. The interviews were conducted at different locations within the house; on the first floor, in the kitchen, on the ground floor and in the garage, in an attempt to maintain privacy. Two additional interviews were conducted at another member's home a short distance away.

In the afternoon, the team met the remaining group members who all lived along the Rochard-Douglas Road. Some were gathered at the home of the Secretary where each interviewer conducted interviews on three separate benches.

Each woman, together with her family members, was involved in rice cultivation on approximately 120 acres collectively. The average age of the members was 36 years. Generally the younger members, under 30 years, have attained secondary level education. Those over 35 years only primary level. Only one woman interviewed did not receive any schooling and she was over 50 years old. The majority belonged to the Hindu faith; there were two Pentecostal, two Muslims and one Jehovah Witness. The number of children in each household ranged from one to six between the ages of five and thirty-one. Many of the families had only one or two children.

The team interviewed a total of twenty-four women. However, it seemed that the President and the Secretary, in an attempt to impress the team of interviewers, attempted to include some women who were obviously not members of the group. In one instance, it was reported that one of the members was not at home, but that someone else who was present in the house would be willing to be interviewed in her place. In another instance, a fifteen year old young woman came forward who was also not a member of the group. The experience however showed that the members of the community were willing to come together, at short notice, to take advantage of an exercise which promised to yield some benefit to them.

The women had a project idea to process rice into snack foods and a number of enquiries had been made to CARIRI in an attempt to develop this idea. Also, IICA in collaboration with the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC), had attempted to arrange a training course in garment construction, but these efforts had been undermined by someone from the former group to which they belonged. Now they were disillusioned.



They claimed that some of the members had lost interest in the group because the group had nothing to offer them. They were looking for someone to somehow give them the assistance they needed.

***Group 5: WOMEN IN RICE - WINRE***

On Wednesday, August 5, 1992, the team visited eighteen women who belonged to the group called WINRE or Women In Rice. The women live in Penal in the vicinity of Jokhan Trace and Suchit Trace.

This group was founded in 1989 as an affiliate to the Trinidad Islandwide Rice Growers Association (TIRGA). The original membership was reported to be approximately sixty women. At the time of the survey, membership was estimated at about twenty.

The average age of the women was 36 years. Generally, the younger members under 30 years attained secondary level education; those over 35, only primary level. The two women who did not receive any schooling were over 50 years old. All belonged to the Hindu faith. Only the two teenagers (15-19) were not in some form or the other of union.

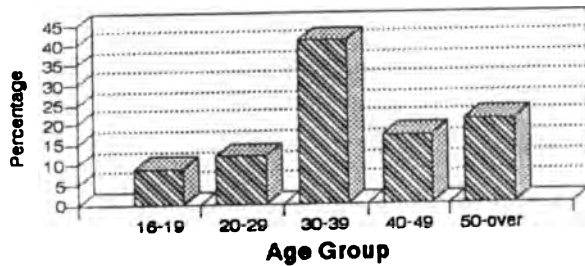
The Secretary of the group, who appeared to be the defacto leader, did not inform the members of the visit although the team had made prior arrangements with her to interview the women individually. She insisted on accompanying the team to the various homes to sit in on the interviews. In some cases, interviewees appeared to be 'coached' to give specific responses to certain questions. One instance in particular, an individual admitted that she was not a member of the group but had agreed to be interviewed because the Secretary had asked her to answer the questions. Again, it would seem that the Secretary, in an attempt to impress the team, attempted to include some women who were obviously not members of the group.

#### 4. RESEARCH FINDINGS

##### Characteristics of the survey population

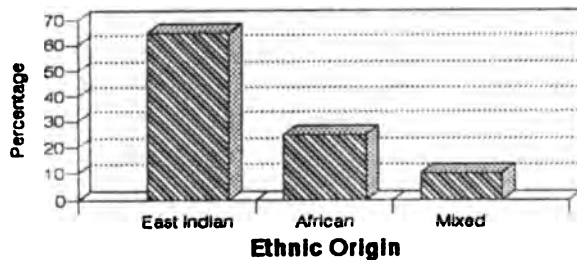
###### *Personal Data*

Figure 4.1 Age Groups



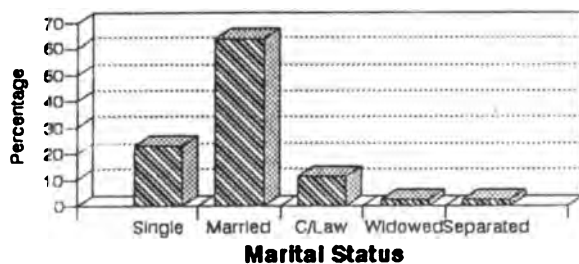
Eighty percent of the women surveyed were over the age of 30 with the greatest proportion in the 30-39 age group.

Figure 4.2 Ethnic Origin



The two larger groups were made up of women of East Indian origin. These persons categorized as mixed included persons of the two major ethnic groups as well as of French and Spanish ancestry.

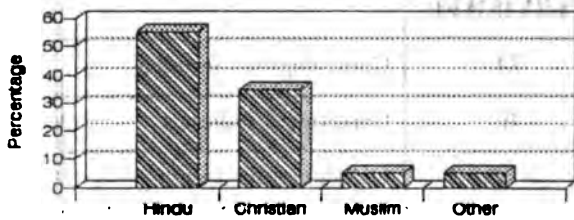
Figure 4.3 Marital Status



Eighty percent of the women surveyed were either married, in a common-law relationship or previously had a partner.

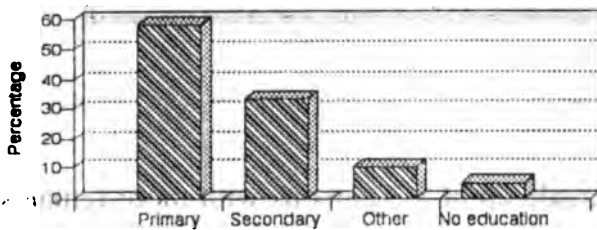
**Personal Data (continued)**

**Figure 4.4 Religion**



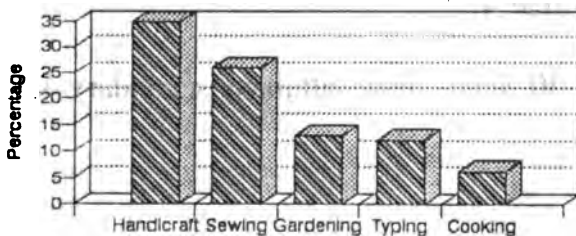
The dominant religion reflected the fact that the majority of the women surveyed were of East Indian ancestry.

**Figure 4.5 Educational Status**



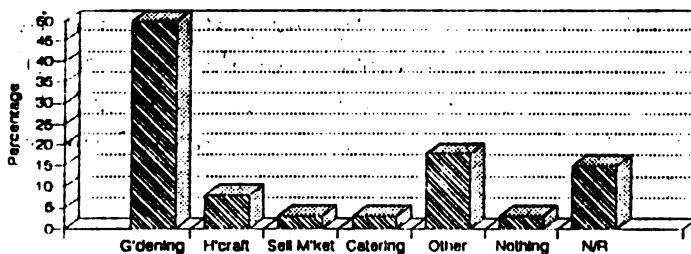
Eighty percent of the women surveyed received formal education.

**Figure 4.6 Skills/Experience**



Skills were largely confined to the traditional 'home economics' types of activities.

**Figure 4.7 Major Activity Outside the Home**



Half of the women identified gardening as a separate activity outside the home.

**Table 4.1  
Group data**

<b>NAME</b>	<b>MEMBERS INTERVIEWED</b>	<b>MAJOR ACTIVITY</b>
A. Southern Women's Cooperative	24	Gardening/rice farming
B. St. Mary's Women Creative Group	10	Gardening/handicraft
C. WINRE (Women in Rice)	18	Gardening/rice farming
D. Paramin Women's Group	7	Gardening/food processing
E. St. Helena's Women's Group	7	School feeding/gardening
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>66</b>	

**Summary of Personal data**

The average size of the household was made up of 5.3 persons with more females in each age category.

The majority of the women were engaged in subsistence, non-commercial farming, which was supplemented by other activities (Table 4.1).

Generally, the younger women, under 30 years, have attained secondary level education.

**Physical and Material Resources**

***Access to and ownership of property and infrastructure***

The most common pattern of property ownership was by the partner (cited by twenty-nine women or 44 percent of the sample). Only thirteen of the women (20 percent) owned their property independently. Three women (4 percent) owned the property jointly with their partners. Property was rented, leased or squatted on by twenty-one women (32 percent of the respondents).

**Table 4.2**  
**Access to property and ownership**

<b>Status</b>	<b>Women</b>	<b>%</b>
Independent owner	13	20
Owned by partner	29	44
Jointly owned with partner	3	4
Other (lease, rent, squat, family property)	21	32
<b>Total :</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>100</b>

Cases were found of partial ownership of property. This arose where, for example, the woman and/or her partner did not own the land but owned the dwelling situated on the land. Another pattern was found in which the woman and/or her partner did not own the dwelling which was placed on family land, or on land being rented or leased (Table 4.2).

**Table 4.3**  
**Access to property and ownership by ethnic groups**

	<b>Full ownership of land and dwelling</b>		<b>Partial ownership of land or dwelling</b>		<b>Own neither dwelling nor land</b>	
	<b>Persons</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Persons</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Persons</b>	<b>%</b>
East Indian	20	48	10	22	13	30
African	4	25	8	53	4	25
Mixed	3	43	0	0	4	57
<b>TOTAL NUMBER</b>	<b>27</b>		<b>18</b>		<b>21</b>	

Among the persons who were not property owners (that is who were partial owners or who owned neither land nor dwelling) 37 percent of the East Indians were using family property compared to 33 percent of the 'mixed' persons and 27 percent of Africans. Property was rented or leased by 26 percent of the Africans compared to 17 percent of the 'mixed' group and 10 percent of the East Indians. Twenty percent of the Africans reported that they were squatting on the land compared to 5 percent of the East Indians and none in the 'mixed' group (Table 4.3).

While a large number of the houses were equipped with electricity (84 percent), television (81 percent) and radio (75 percent), only 21 percent had indoor bathrooms and 37 percent had water in the house. Forty-five percent had concrete walls and 70 percent had wooden walls.

### *Access to and use of credit*

Thirteen persons or 28 percent reported applying for a loan on their own and 11 persons (16 percent of the total sample) or 85 percent of those who applied, had the loan approved. Nine of those who applied (69 percent) were married, three (23 percent) were single and one (8 percent) was widowed. In seven of the thirteen cases, the title for the property was in the partner's name; in two cases it was joint; in two cases it was owned by parents; and in one case, it was state land. One person did not respond.

The St Mary's Creative Women's Group and the SWC had the largest percentage of women applying for loans (40 percent and 33 percent of members respectively). The form of security used by the St Mary's Creative Women's Group was personal guarantee and fixed deposit. A number of the women in this group had secured loans through a credit programme sponsored by the Caribbean Network for Integrated Rural Development (CNIRD), which did not require them to provide collateral. It was thus possible for all four women who applied to obtain credit under this scheme. With the SWC, five of the six persons who applied for loans from traditional sources were successful. The forms of collateral used were fixed deposit, job letter, contract and plough.

The findings were not conclusive. The percentage of married women and the percentage of single women who applied for credit compare to the overall percentages of married and single women in the sample. The findings do not show a clear link between property ownership and successful loan applications, since property was never cited as the form of collateral used. The small number of the sample who sought loans on their own (28 percent) can, however, be accounted for by the fact that women, not having the necessary collateral, were not inclined to seek loans in the first place. It is also evident that women are seldom responsible for financial decision-making in the household (See Sub-section on Organization and Management).

A July 1990 feasibility study for a rural credit programme carried out by CNIRD pointed out that the majority of persons in rural communities who received loans from credit institutions were men (Clarke and Laughlin, 1990: 19, 29). There were, according to the study, no data on the number of women whose applications for loans to credit institutions had been rejected (ibid: 19) and hence a basis for discrimination against women cannot be cited. The report noted that the Agricultural Development Bank (ADB) had adjusted its eligibility criteria to cater to persons who are squatters. More information

is needed about women's ability to access credit from lending institutions and this is suggested as an area for further investigation (See Section 7.2).

### *Source of income*

Sixty-four percent of the women reported dependency on a partner or family member, or both, for their income needs. Nine percent described themselves as the sole income earner, while 27 percent indicated that they were joint income earners with either their partners, family members or both (Table 4.4).

**Table 4.4**  
**Responsibility for earning family income**  
**(% of group members)**

	S	J/P	D/P	D/F	D/PF	J/F	J/PF
SWC	4	13	58	25	-	-	-
St. Mary's	10	20	30	10	10	20	-
WINRE	11	17	33	17	11	-	11
St. Helena's	14	43	43	-	-	-	-
Paramin	14	28	15	28	-	-	15
OVERALL %	9	19	41	17	6	3	5

Sole income earner	S
Joint with partner	J/P
Dependent on partner	D/P
Dependent on family member	D/F
Dependent on partner and family member	D/PF
Joint with family member	J/F
Joint with partner and family member	J/PF

The SWC had the highest percentage of women who reported their major source of income to be their partners (50 percent), followed by WINRE (39 percent) and St. Mary's Creative Women's Group (30 percent). Only 13 percent of the SWC derive income from rice farming. For WINRE, rice farming accounted for the major income of 11 percent of the women, while gardening and livestock were the major source of income for 12 percent. These findings were consistent with those of Janet Henshall, who, in her

analysis of levels of off-farm employment, found that rice farmers in Trinidad do not derive their major income from rice farming (1984: 189).

In the St Helena's Women's Group, 86 percent of the members derived their income from the School Feeding Programme in which the group participates. In the Paramin and St Mary's groups, gardening was reported as a major source of income by 86 percent and 50 percent of the women respectively. When, however, the source of income was correlated to the major activity outside of the home, only 26 percent of the total sample reported that they make an income from their backyard plots. For example, in the St. Mary's group, 50 percent of the women reported gardening as their major source of income, but only 30 percent reported gardening as their major activity outside of the home. This could be explained by the women's perception that gardening was not distinct from the home activity.

The tendency of the women to see the work on their backyard plots as an extension of their housework and to see such planting as part of their obligation to provide food for their families has been reported in other research. Henshall, in her article, *Women and Small Scale Farming in the Caribbean*, described "women who defined even planting and harvesting as homemaking rather than agricultural work" (1981: 7). This attitude was not surprising given the historical relationship between the woman's economic and domestic responsibilities. The perception, however, may curtail the aspirations of the female producer, who may not see scope for expanding the farming enterprise beyond the subsistence level to realize greater economic gains from farming.

Vending was cited as an income source by 5 percent of the women. This low percentage may be explained by the use of the bulk of the farming products for domestic purposes and it may also be linked to cultural factors. Janet Henshall has pointed out that although small scale marketing is usually carried out by women, East Indian women are less often found in such activity, compared to other Caribbean women (1984: 186).

### *Amount of income*

The St Mary's Women's Creative Group reported the largest number of members earning income from the group (ten persons) followed by the Paramin Women's Group and the St Helena's Women's Group (seven persons each). The responses suggested that for the St Helena's Group, as many women depended on income from the group activities as on income from other sources. In the case of WINRE, the income came more from other sources than from the group (nine persons reported that their income was from other sources, compared to two who reported that their income was from the group). In the SWC, only one person reported receiving income from the group. The highest amount of income earned from the group per week was in the range of \$100 - \$200, reported by



five members of the St Helena's Women's group and the lowest was \$0 - \$50, reported by 30 percent of the sample. The highest income earned from other sources was \$400-\$500 per month, reported by one member of the Paramin Women's Group. Nineteen women (29 percent) earned between \$0-\$100 from other sources, while twelve women (18 percent) earned between \$100-\$300 from other sources.

Food was the item that 87 percent of the women spent most of their money on, then clothing (10 percent) and transportation (5 percent).

### **Conclusion: physical and material resources**

The women were typically dependent on their partners and/or family members, both for household income and for access to land. This dependency may affect the women's ability to access additional resources, such as credit and it circumscribed her potential to develop a viable enterprise. Another factor which constrained this potential arose with the women's perception that the backyard plot was part of her obligation to provide food for the household. The data on women's access to credit showed a high success rate of the applicants, partly because a significant number of women who were successful obtained credit outside of the established lending institutions. The small number of the sample which sought credit may be explained by the women's fear that they would not be eligible for loans without having the necessary collateral.

In light of the scepticism about the economic value of backyard farming expressed by some of the extension workers who reviewed the findings of the present survey, it is suggested that follow-up research be done on the cost effectiveness of subsistence operations and their economic contribution to domestic agriculture (See Section 7.3). Such research would serve to inform policy measures which are needed to support subsistence farmers, to ultimately enhance their economic viability.

### **Organization and Management**

#### ***Schedule of daily activities***

The pattern common to all five groups showed the woman spending the early part of the day, in some cases as early as 4 a.m., engaged in the multiple roles of managing the household and tending to food production. In most cases, food production involved maintaining a vegetable garden on the property and/or a rice plot.

In the case of the St. Mary's Creative Women's Group, most of the women were involved in vegetable gardening (dasheen, bodi, cassava, corn, ochro, etc.) and handicraft.

The majority of the women (89 percent) spent time on housework between 6 and 8 a.m. and from 4 p.m. onwards (52 percent). A number of them were also doing backyard gardening during these periods.

Farming activity of the WINRE farmers was concentrated between 8 a.m. and 4 p.m. A number of the WINRE women who were rice farmers also maintained a backyard garden, moreso when it was not 'rice time'. Some of the women rested between 12 noon and 4 p.m. In some cases, gardening and housework were recorded as simultaneous activities over a specific time.

In the Paramin Women's Group, the majority of the women did their domestic work during the early morning (before 8 a.m.) and spent the rest of their day doing gardening or domestic work and working in their factory on certain days.

In the St Helena's Women's Group, at least three members devoted their time from 5 a.m. onwards to the 'School Feeding Programme'. Two of the women reported doing domestic work from 6 to 8 a.m., while one said she did backyard gardening during this period. From 4 p.m., the women were engaged in housework, child care, cooking and relaxation.

The majority of the Southern Women's Group members spent the early morning on housework and were involved in gardening (corn, peas and rice) and small livestock rearing from 12 noon until evening, when they devoted the balance of their time to domestic work.

### *Access to information for planning*

In terms of access to information for planning, the majority of responses indicated no knowledge of such access (fifty-six responses or 71 percent of the sample). The ETIS was the source of information in 13 percent of the responses followed by CNIRD (6 percent). In 4 percent of the responses, information was received from the group leader and from IICA in 3 percent of the responses. The groups which reported receiving assistance from the ETIS were Paramin, WINRE and SWC, with the Paramin Group having the most contact with Extension (29 percent of the responses) followed by WINRE (20 percent) and Southern Women (13 percent).

## *Decision-making*

Among the forty-nine persons interviewed who were in a common-law relationship or married, instances were cited in which the partner was solely responsible for making certain decisions. In twenty-one of the twenty-four such instances (88 percent), the decisions made by the partner were on borrowing money, home repairs and the type of crops to be produced. This finding confirmed the trend reported by Harry (1980: 104) and cited by Reddock and Huggins, that decision-making in the farming household was based on the type of crop and the ownership of the farm. Reddock and Huggins have pointed out that "the typical line of distinction for who was responsible for crops between men and women was determined by the economic viability of crops" (1990: 38). The male was responsible for decision-making, selling and marketing for major crops, while for minor crops selling, marketing and cultivation was very often a joint responsibility."

In sixteen of the fifty-four instances (30 percent) where the woman was the sole decision-maker, the decisions concerned goods and services to be purchased, education, allocation of work activities and clothing for self. Instances in which decisions were arrived at jointly between the woman and her partner were around education (57 percent), allocation of work activities (51 percent), repairs (46 percent) and goods and services to be purchased (43 per cent). In financial matters, joint decisions with respect to savings and borrowing were jointly arrived at in 27 percent and 19 percent of the instances, respectively.

## *Work activities*

Work activities of the women farmers were concentrated mainly on harvesting (67 percent of the respondents), sowing seeds (60 percent), clearing and weeding (58 percent each). The survey found that women were doing a range of other activities on their plots, fertilizing (46 percent), digging (37 percent), drying and ploughing (33 percent each), spraying and winding (31 percent each) and packing (16 percent).

The suggestion that women farmers tend not to be involved in what are considered more strenuous tasks has been challenged by some researchers. French (1988: 59) has pointed out that the task differentiation was not significant when men and women were operating their own plots, although it applied when hired labor was used. Henshall, describing the gender roles in various farming systems, noted that "application of both chemical and in-organic fertilisers is generally carried out jointly, but other tasks involving modern inputs are predominantly male" (1984: 185). She also cited Harry's finding (1980) that while gender roles have changed as a result of mechanization, "the use of mechanical equipment, fertilisers, weed killers and pesticides and irrigation on male- and female-

operated farms is not statistically different" (ibid). Henshall's findings supported the present research, in which only 31 percent of female farmers sprayed their own crops.

Family members involved in the same activity would suggest that the woman was not alone in running the enterprise. Twenty-seven percent of the responses indicated assistance from the partner, 24 percent by children, 8 percent by other relatives and 23 percent by no one. Gardening was the activity in which family members were engaged in 38 percent of the responses, followed by rice farming (22 percent), livestock and fishing (6 percent). There was no response in 30 percent of the cases.

### ***Working conditions***

The time required to get from home to work was half an hour or less for 65 percent of the women. Only one person reported that it took her more than one hour to get to work. The most common form of transportation was walking (66 percent), followed by own vehicle (10 percent) and public transport (4 percent). Access roads were reported as a problem by 58 percent of the women, while 24 percent said they had good access roads.

Only 15 percent of the women said they were exposed to dangers or risks on the job identified as snakes, flooding and bandits. Gangrene was cited in 9 percent of the responses.

Forty-five percent said they needed special clothing or equipment for work which the majority provided for themselves. In the case of the Paramin Women's Group, the group provided the aprons and caps.

Sixty-three percent said they did not face any problems as a woman worker compared to 11 percent who said they did. Among the 11 percent, the problems faced were described in terms of lack of insurance (three responses), lack of infrastructure (three responses), heavy workload (three responses), over-dependence on male workers (two responses), middle men/contractors (two responses) and no respect from male co-workers (one response).

### **Conclusion: organization and management**

The data show that the women were almost constantly engaged in either productive or reproductive activities and that they were involved in almost all types of tasks on the plots. They typically spent the early part of the day organizing for the household and, in many cases, tending simultaneously to a backyard plot. Sixty-six percent of the women

indicated that their partner and/or other relatives were involved in the enterprise, although the percentage of children who assist, 27 percent, was high. In some cases, where there were teenaged, unemployed women in the household, some assistance was provided for domestic work. While this was helpful for the women, it reflected a trend (as will be pointed out in the next section) in which there were far more unemployed women than men in the households surveyed.

The findings indicated that the women farmers operated on the fringes of the agricultural system and were generally not aware of, nor have they received, assistance through established government delivery systems.

Patterns of decision-making in the household reflected male control over the economic resources (money and land). Joint decision-making by the woman and her partner seemed to occur less frequently and focused on domestic matters such as goods and services to be bought, education for children and repairs.

The survey provided supporting data on the multiple demands on women's time and the constraints this created for their participation in extension training programmes.

## **Social and Attitudinal Issues**

### ***Household demography***

The average size of the household was 5.3 persons. Thirty percent were of school age, 64 percent were adults and 6 percent were infants or of pre-school age. The occupational status within the household is presented in Table 4.5. The pattern showed larger numbers of women (59 percent) in the sales/service category and smaller numbers (22 percent) in the professional/technical category. Sixty-four percent of those unemployed in the households were women.

### ***Education***

The survey clearly showed that generally, the younger women under 30 years, have attained secondary level education and those over 30 years, only primary level. Those over 50 years had not received any schooling.

The survey found that more young males (63 percent) than females (37 percent) were attending school. The gap in male and female attendance exceeded the gap reported in national enrolment statistics for 1986/87, when there were 89,338 males (51 percent),

and 87,133 females (49 percent) enrolled at the primary and secondary levels. The exception was in Standard V, where the number of females exceeds the number of males (13,044 males and 13,729 females, Henry and Demas; 119:52). The survey also found a larger percentage (63 percent) of females of school age who were not attending school, compared to males.

**Table 4.5**  
**Occupational status within household by group**

OCCUPATION	A		B		C		D		E		TOTAL		
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	%
Professional/Technical	-	-	-	1	2	2	-	3	-	1	2	7	22
Sales/Clerical	1	2	3	-	3	4	3	1	-	-	10	7	59
Housewife	3	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	100
Student	8	17	7	12	11	17	4	4	2	5	32	55	37
Administration/Managerial	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	3	-
Trades	-	6	-	3	1	1	-	-	-	1	1	11	8
Farming/Gardening	4	12	-	5	3	6	4	11	-	2	11	36	23
Self-employed	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	25
Labourer/Transport/Equipment	-	9	-	3	-	6	-	2	1	5	1	25	4
Pensioner/Retired	-	-	1	-	3	2	-	-	-	-	4	2	67
Unemployed	10	6	1	1	6	3	1	-	3	2	21	12	64
Pre-school	1	-	6	1	1	2	3	1	-	4	11	8	58
Not in School	2	2	3	1	7	4	-	-	-	-	12	7	63
TOTAL	29	59	22	27	38	48	15	22	6	20	110	176	286

- A Southern Women's Cooperative
- B St. Mary's Creative Women's Group
- C WINRE
- D Paramin Women's Group
- E St. Helena's Women's Group

### ***Domestic issues***

Alcohol was most frequently reported as a problem in the home (13 percent of respondents), followed by physical retardation (7 percent of respondents) and mental illness (5 percent of respondents). Only one response indicated domestic abuse (the questionnaire did not ask specifically about child molestation). Forty-four percent of the respondents indicated no domestic problems (the low incidence of domestic problems reported may well be due to the sensitive nature of those problems and the inadequacy of an interview/ questionnaire approach to eliciting such sensitive information).

### ***Health and access to facilities***

Access to health centres was indicated in 46 percent of the responses, 43 percent indicated access to family doctors, 94 percent indicated access to schools, 54 percent indicated access to community centres and 10 percent indicated access to social welfare offices.

Illness was cited as the reason for not going to work in 57 percent of the responses, domestic problems in 6 percent of the responses and child care problems in 4 percent of the responses. Tiredness was the major complaint experienced on the job (42 percent) followed by back pain (26 percent) and headaches (23 percent). The major health-related problems among the women were high blood pressure (15 percent) followed by diabetes (6 percent) and heart problems (3 percent).

### ***Attitudes to work and job satisfaction***

In terms of levels of job satisfaction, 58 percent responded either 'okay' or 'satisfied', 11 percent of the sample was 'unsatisfied'. One person (of the St. Helena's Group) reported being 'very satisfied' with the job conditions and 77 percent responded 'Yes'. In all the groups, the number of those who were satisfied was greater than those who were unsatisfied (Table 4.6).

Women's perception of their agricultural labour or 'work in the garden' as being part of the household responsibility was seen as being linked to traditional patterns of gender relationships in farming systems and it might also be related to the limited economic benefits which they have derived so far from subsistence farming.

More money was identified as an area for improvement in the job by four groups (excluding St. Helena's). Other areas for improvement were more produce for market (St. Mary's), better roads and overhead cover in market (WINRE), more working space and better water supply (Paramin).

**Table 4.6**  
**Satisfaction levels among group members**

	Satisfied	Unsatisfied	Total Members
Southern Women's Coop	7	2	24
St. Mary's	7	1	10
WINRE	14	1	18
Paramin	5	2	7
St. Helena's	6	1	7

Thirty-nine percent of the respondents did not want their girl children to do the same work, while 26 percent said they did not want their boy children to do the same work. Twenty two percent wanted their boy children to do the same work, while 13 percent wanted their girl children to do the same work. The main reason given for not wanting the girl and boy children to follow a similar occupation was that the women wanted their children to 'do better'. The second most frequently cited response was that 'the work was too hard'. Only three of the respondents cited the reason of too little remuneration (for both boy and girl children). The pattern of the responses was similar to that revealed in other research (Knudson and Yates, 1981: 59; French, 1988: 61).

Thirty-six percent wanted to change their work, compared to 18 percent who did not, (46 percent did not respond). Among those who aspired to change their work, the changes desired were to retail, sales and domestic/cook/babysitting (21 percent each), while professional and office work (7 percent), sewing/handicraft (13 percent) and self-employment (13 percent).

### **Conclusion: social and attitudinal issues**

The household data suggested a more severe unemployment problem among women than has been reported in national statistics. Whereas the national unemployment statistics indicated male and female unemployment to be 20 and 25 percent respectively, the survey found not only a significantly greater gap in male and female unemployment, but also much higher unemployment levels among women (63 percent among women compared to 37 percent among men).

Patterns of enrolment at school also did not conform to the national enrolment picture. The percentages of female students were considerably lower than male students and the percentage of school age children not attending school was higher for girl



children. The reasons for those disparities were not fully investigated for the purposes of the present study.

The diseases which were reported to be affecting the women - high blood pressure, diabetes and heart disease - bore some relationship to the incidence of those diseases at a national level. Cardiovascular disease and diabetes accounted for 45 percent of all deaths in Trinidad and Tobago in 1979 (Henry and Demas; 1991: 80). Between 1979 and 1985, the incidence of hypertension and diabetes was 27 percent and 12 percent respectively (ibid). The back pain, fatigue and headaches reported suggested occupational and perhaps emotional stresses, brought on by the demanding nature of the women's responsibilities and the inadequacy of the technology used for production.

The findings suggested a link between the level of satisfaction of the women, the income-earning potential of the enterprise and the cohesiveness of the group. It is worth noting that the St Helena's group, which did not identify more money as an area for improvement and in which members were found to earn the largest income from the group, was observed to be the most cohesive of the five groups. This observation suggested that the economic viability of the enterprise had an effect on the attitude of the women to their work and their general motivation. The assurance of a more viable enterprise, which was also less demanding physically, would presumably lead the women to encourage their children to follow in their footsteps.

### **Summary of factors affecting the performances of the women**

The factors affecting the reproductive and productive performances of the women in small scale agricultural production in Trinidad is summarized in Table 4.7 using the capacities and vulnerabilities framework.

**Table 4.7**  
**Summary of factors affecting**  
**the performance of the women**

CAPACITIES	CONSTRAINTS
<p><b><u>PHYSICAL AND MATERIAL RESOURCES</u></b></p> <p>Ability to access credit through non-establishment institutions, e.g. CNIRD</p> <p>Limited access to credit through established lending institutions.</p> <p>Diverse productive strategies to supplement incomes.</p>	<p>Limited ownership of property (dependence on partners for access to land and credit); and ambiguities in property ownership. Insecurity of land tenure</p> <p>Only 28% of the women had applied for credit</p> <p>Dependence on middle men, contractors</p> <p>Inadequate access to insurance and infrastructure (including access roads)</p> <p>Limited economic gains from productive activities on small plots, and the dependence on other sources of income</p>
<p><b><u>ORGANIZATION AND MANAGEMENT</u></b></p> <p>Strong leadership and group cohesion (Paramin, St Helena's)</p> <p>Support of family members in assisting with reproductive work</p> <p>Proximity to work place/plot</p> <p>Diverse reproductive strategies to supplement labour resources</p> <p>Limited exposure to dangers on the job</p>	<p>Lack of a clear and consistent policy and approach by the MALMR to support farmers who operate small plots</p> <p>Inadequate database on gender considerations within farming systems</p> <p>Inadequate access by women to technical support and training, and exposure to new technologies</p> <p>Decision-making authority of the women is constrained by lack of control of, and/or access to, essential resources and services.</p>
<p><b><u>SOCIAL AND ATTITUDINAL ISSUES</u></b></p> <p>Educational attainment (33% attended secondary school)</p> <p>Positive attitude by the women towards the productive work they do.</p> <p>Good access to schools, health services, community centres</p> <p>Growing sensitivity of Extension Division to gender issues</p>	<p>Occupational and emotional stresses (which cause back pain, fatigue, headaches) linked to the demanding nature of the women's responsibilities</p> <p>Women's perception that productive work is an extension of reproductive responsibilities.</p> <p>Significant number of school age females not attending school.</p> <p>Negative attitude by the women towards their status as primary producers or 'gardeners'.</p>

## **5. CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS FOR PLANNING**

The background research has shown the historical basis for gender roles in agriculture and the challenges which this legacy poses for women agricultural producers. In light of the fact that national planning priorities are oriented towards large-scale commercial farming, in which men predominate as land holders, women who engage in subsistence farming have benefitted only marginally from Public resource allocations to agriculture. The situation affecting women agricultural producers was not isolated from national trends in which women have remained in an unfavourable position in the areas of income and employment. Female farmers were not as educated as male farmers and only a minority owned land, or have independent access to land. In the survey, the pattern of land ownership showed a minority of women who were farm holders. Extension services and credit have generally not been widely accessed by the women. Together those factors have served to constrain the ability of the women to improve and expand their productive capabilities.

From the discussions at the workshop entitled, "Building Gender Sensitive Activities into Extension Programmes" with the staff of the ETIS, there appeared to be some ambiguity about the Division's practice in catering to persons who operate backyard plots. This suggested the absence of a clear and consistent policy guidance, which would determine the access of subsistence farmers to mainstream resources.

The survey provided supporting data about the multiple demands on women's time and the constraints this create for their participation in extension training programmes.

During the gender-sensitization workshop at which the survey's findings were discussed, the Extension Officers pointed out that the time available to the woman was not the only factor which affected her participation in extension programmes. Other critical factors included:

- the motivation of the women to attend such sessions which may focus on subject areas that do not interest them or are not immediately applicable to their farming system;
- restrictions imposed by their partners;
- lack of secure transportation to venues where sessions are conducted and the attendant fear of exposure to dangers and attacks en route to the session;

- low educational levels, which may have affected their ability to absorb the material; and
- class and income status, which were also linked to the availability of hired domestic assistance to relieve the woman and enable her to attend such sessions.

The need was recognized for the ETIS to:

- a) clarify its policies on delivery to farmers within the subsistence sector; and
- b) where appropriate, to target women as a specific group for training.

The survey has pointed to a range of other measures that can be taken at the level of the community and at the national planning and policy level.

At the level of the community, the measures should involve the women themselves in discussing their expectations, their capacities and their constraints and proposing ways of overcoming the constraints. At the planning and policy level, the process would entail:

- a) gathering more in-depth and current data about the subsistence sector, and how women and men are involved and affected by agricultural policies and planning, and about other issues including ethnicity;
- b) raising awareness of the shortcomings in the present delivery systems to the extent that they affect the subsistence sector; and
- c) deciding how resources can be allocated to ensure that subsistence farmers can improve their productive capacity.

This may well involve non-governmental agencies in the delivery of essential training, which the government cannot now provide.

Ultimately, programmes should be aimed at improving women's self-esteem and, at the same time, removing the obstacles which prevent them from achieving economic independence. Those obstacles include:

- the disproportionate responsibility that women have for productive and reproductive work;

- the dependence of women on men for access to land, which curtails their economic independence and their decision-making ability. This should be linked to the general issue of land use and land tenure;
- access by women farmers to technological and infrastructural reforms, which can serve to mitigate the physical stresses that they currently face, while improving the efficiency of their operations and maximizing their yields; and
- a planned approach to management and marketing, supported by training for women in those areas.

With the current economic difficulties, it is conceivable that more people will enter the domestic agricultural labour force, as opportunities in other economic sectors decline. It will be important for resources (land, credit and extension) to be allocated to domestic agriculture, to ensure that productivity can be improved. The country thus has a vested interest, which is largely unexpressed, in maintaining and enhancing the productive potential of women subsistence farmers, who make a crucial contribution to the nutritional needs of their households and generally to the food security of the country.

To address the issues would require an understanding of the many factors which shape the roles and expectations that are deeply ingrained in the society. The MALMR would only be able to address those issues in collaboration with other governmental and non-governmental institutions.

## **6. RECOMMENDATIONS**

- 1. The information gathered in this survey and in the gender sensitization workshop should be incorporated into subsequent plans of the ETIS.**
- 2. The MALMR should establish a policy which encourages collaboration with other government offices in the delivery of extension services, including the Ministry of Social Services and the Ministry of Community Development, Culture and Women's Affairs to increase the impact upon the reproductive strategies.**
- 3. In keeping with the concept of 'farmers participation' advocated by the MALMR, dialogue about social issues should be part of the interventions made by field staff who interface with farmers. In this dialogue, decision-making by the 'farm family' should be encouraged.**
- 4. The ETIS should build on the process initiated with the survey to develop a strategy for expanding the information base which guides Farming Systems Research and Extension. This information base should reflect specific gender issues which are at play within the farming household. One approach to acquiring information would be to analyze the dynamics of each community to better understand the activities and roles of women and men.**
- 5. There should be on-going training and sensitization programmes for extension officers on social and gender issues.**
- 6. In view of the high incidence of radio and television in the farm households, the ETIS should expand the use of the mass media (in particular television) in its outreach programme, to reach a wider cross-section of farmers.**
- 7. The expanded use of on-site training would make it possible for greater numbers of women farmers to benefit from the services offered by the ETIS.**
- 8. Depending on the outcome of the community analysis described in (3) above, the ETIS may wish to target women farmers as a specific group for training activities in certain communities.**
- 9. The ETIS should devise a strategy to build the confidence of farmers in the officers to enhance the credibility of the officers.**

10. **IICA should initiate a comprehensive programme of support to the women producers who were part of the survey, beginning with personal development training to build their self-esteem. Technical, managerial and marketing support should be provided, which should address product feasibility and product development.**
11. **IICA should organize a consultation among institutions, government and non-government, which can assist with the programme of support to women farmers.**

## **7. AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH**

The following general areas are suggested for investigation:

1. **Household demography:** A comprehensive survey of farm households to determine the numbers of persons who contribute to the farm economy, the actual tasks they perform and the hours which they devote to it and to assess the child bearing and caring responsibility of the women in various farming systems.
2. **Access to credit:** Data about the numbers and socio-economic backgrounds (including ethnicity) of women who apply for credit, how lending criteria affect women's eligibility and the basis for approval and rejections of applications.
3. **Subsistence economy:** Quantification of the contribution of subsistence farmers to the domestic agricultural economy, the cost-effectiveness of such systems and ways of enhancing social and economic impact, the participation rates of women in the subsistence economy, land tenure and the impact of agricultural policies on this sub-sector.
4. **Commercial farms:** Statistics on male and female participation rates in commercial crops (sugar, rice, poultry, etc.), as owners and wage labourers, and gender implications vis-a-vis their earnings, access to technology, credit, marketing, management issues, working conditions, acreage, land access, and types of land available to women farmers.
5. **Domestic agriculture:** An assessment of the impact of the growth of the domestic agricultural sector in the mid-1980s on women farmers and agricultural labourers.

It would be interesting for IICA to document the process which led to the formation of the Women in Rice Group (WINRE) and of the other grouping which subsequently broke away from the Trinidad Island-wide Rice Growers Association. There are sure to be lessons in that experience which could be useful to other women farmers and to planners.



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**APPENDIX A**

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**MATRIX FOR DATA COLLECTION**

	<b>Capacities</b>	<b>Constraints</b>
<b>Social/ attitudinal</b>		
<b>Physical/material resources</b>		
<b>Planning/organiz- ation/management</b>		

(Adapted from *Rising from the Ashes: Development Strategies in Times of Disaster*, Mary B Anderson and Peter J Woodrow, Colorado: Westview Press, 1989)

## APPENDIX B

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### QUESTIONNAIRE

#### SECTION 1: PERSONAL DATA

1. AGE:

- |                                  |                                |                                |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 15-19   | <input type="checkbox"/> 20-24 | <input type="checkbox"/> 25-29 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 30-34   | <input type="checkbox"/> 35-39 | <input type="checkbox"/> 40-49 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Over 50 |                                |                                |

2. MARITAL/UNION STATUS:

- |                                   |                                  |                                     |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Single   | <input type="checkbox"/> Married | <input type="checkbox"/> Common Law |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Divorced | <input type="checkbox"/> Widowed | <input type="checkbox"/> Separated  |

3. RACE/ETHNIC BACKGROUND:

- |                                      |                                  |                                  |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> East Indian | <input type="checkbox"/> African | <input type="checkbox"/> Chinese |
| <input type="checkbox"/> White       | <input type="checkbox"/> Mixed   | <input type="checkbox"/> Other   |

If your ethnic background was not mentioned, please tell us what it is: \_\_\_\_\_

4. RELIGION:

- |                                    |                                |                                 |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Christian | <input type="checkbox"/> Hindu | <input type="checkbox"/> Muslim |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other     |                                |                                 |
- 

#### SECTION 2: SOCIAL AND ATTITUDINAL ISSUES

5. What level of schooling have you attained?

- |   |  |   |
|---|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> None                   | <input type="checkbox"/> Primary       | <input type="checkbox"/> Secondary            |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Vocational             | <input type="checkbox"/> Short Courses | <input type="checkbox"/> Continuing Education |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Please explain) |  |   |

6. What skills/experiences do you have?

---



---

7. What do you do in a typical day?

6.00am - 8.00 am: \_\_\_\_\_

8.00am - 12.00noon: \_\_\_\_\_

12.00noon- 4.00pm: \_\_\_\_\_

4.00pm - onwards: \_\_\_\_\_

8. What do you do on a typical weekend?

Religious Service       Family Outing       Cooking

Look after Children       Meet Friends       Other (Please explain)

---



---

9. How many persons are in your household?

a. Members of the household:

Relationship			School/ Occupation	Skill	Weekly Contribu- tion to Household Income
	Age	Sex			

9. b. Members of family outside the household.

Relationship			School/ Occupation	Skill	Weekly Contribu- tion to Household Income
	Age	Sex			



10. Who is responsible in your household for earning the family income?

- I am                       My partner is                       Another family member(s)  
 Other. (Please explain)
- 

11. Who looks after your children while you are away from home?

- I do                               My Partner                               Other (Please explain)
- 

12. Who makes the following decisions in your home?

TYPE OF DECISION	DECISION MAKERS		
	SELF	PARTNER	OTHER
Goods and services to be purchased			
Education			
Allocation of work activities			
Clothing for self			
Savings for children			
Vacation			
Borrowing			
Repairs			
Type of crops to be produced			
Other			

13. What is your major activity outside of the home?

---

14. Who else in your family is involved in the same activity?

- No one                       Partner                       Children  
 Relative (s)

15. What do other family members do?

---



---



---



---

16. Would you like your girl children to do the same work you do?

Yes  No

17. If not, why?

---

18. Would you like your boy children to do the same work you do?

Yes  No

19. If not, why?

---

20. What might prevent you from going to work?

Illness  No child care  Transportation  
 Religion  Domestic Problems  Other (Please explain)

---

21. Do you have any problems in the home with:

Drugs  Alcohol  Mental Illness/Retardation  
 Physical Retardation  Domestic Abuse  Other (Please explain)

---

22. Should you have a problem, where would you go for help?

---

---

23. Where do you and your family go for medical care?

District Health Centre  Family Doctor  Other (Please explain)

---

24. Are there community centres close by?

Yes  No

---

25. Are there schools close by?

Yes  No

---

26. Is there a social welfare office nearby?

Yes  No

27. On the job, have you ever suffered from:

Headaches  Tiredness  Dizziness  
 Rash  Insect Bites  Fungus  
 Back Pains  Fever  Burns  
 Other. (Please explain)

---

---

28. Do you have any of the following health-related problems?

High Blood Pressure  Diabetes  Kidney Problem  
 Heart Problems  Other (Please explain)

---

---

**SECTION 3 : PHYSICAL AND MATERIAL RESOURCES**

29. Do you own a home?

Yes  No

30. If No, do you:

Use Family Property  Squat  Rent  
 Lease  Other. Please explain

---

31. If you own your home, in whose name is the title to the property?

Mine  My Partner  Other. (Please explain)

---

32. In your home, do you have the following?

- |                                       |   |  |
|---------------------------------------|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Electricity  | <input type="checkbox"/> Concrete Walls | <input type="checkbox"/> Indoor Bathroom |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Telephone    | <input type="checkbox"/> Water          | <input type="checkbox"/> Television      |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Wooden Walls | <input type="checkbox"/> Radio          |  |

33. What is the size of your plot(s)?

- (a) House: \_\_\_\_\_  
(b) Garden: \_\_\_\_\_  
(c) Other: \_\_\_\_\_

34. What work do you do on your plot?

- |                                      |                                  |                                       |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Clearing    | <input type="checkbox"/> Digging | <input type="checkbox"/> Weeding      |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Harvesting  | <input type="checkbox"/> Packing | <input type="checkbox"/> Spraying     |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Ploughing   | <input type="checkbox"/> Drying  | <input type="checkbox"/> Sowing Seeds |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Fertilizing | <input type="checkbox"/> Winding | <input type="checkbox"/> Other        |
- 
- 

35. From what source do you get most of your income?

- |  |                                       |   |
|--|---------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> The Group Activities  | <input type="checkbox"/> Vending      | <input type="checkbox"/> Backyard Plot          |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Child Support Payment | <input type="checkbox"/> Making Craft | <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Please explain) |
- 

36. How much weekly income do you earn from the group?

- |  |  |  |
|--|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$0 - \$50    | <input type="checkbox"/> \$50 - \$100  | <input type="checkbox"/> \$100 - \$200 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$200 - \$300 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$300 - \$400 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$400 - \$500 |

37. How much do you earn from other activities in a week?

- |  |  |  |
|--|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$0 - \$50    | <input type="checkbox"/> \$50 - \$100  | <input type="checkbox"/> \$100 - \$200 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$200 - \$300 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$300 - \$400 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$400 - \$500 |

38. On what do you spend most of your money?

---

---

39. Have you ever applied for a loan on your own?

Yes  No

40. If you answered Yes to Question 39, was the loan approved?

Yes  No

41. If you answered Yes to Question 40, what did you use as security for the loan?

---

42. If you answered No to Question 41, what was the reason given for non-approval of the loan?

---

43. How long does it take you to get to work?

1/2 Hour or less  1 Hour or less  More than 1 hour

44. Do you have access roads in good repair?

Yes  No

45. What means of transportation do you have to get to work?

Means of Transport	Cost One Way
Walk	
Route Taxi	
Maxi Taxi	
Own Vehicle	
Other (Explain)	

---

46. Are you exposed to any risks or dangers on the job?

Yes  No

47. If you answered Yes to Question 46, please explain what type of risks.

---

48. Do you need special clothing or equipment for work?

Yes  No

---

---

49. If you answered Yes to Question 48, how did you obtain the clothing or the equipment?

- Bought it Myself       Group Bought it       Other (Please explain)
- 
- 

50. If you were to change your job, what other job would you consider?

---

---

51. How do you feel about your working conditions?

- Very Satisfied       Satisfied       It's okay  
 Unsatisfied       Very unsatisfied

52. If you are not satisfied with the working conditions, what would you suggest for improvements?

---

---

---

53. Do you enjoy what you do?

- Yes       No

54. Do you face any problems as a woman worker?

- Yes       No

55. If so, what type of problems?

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Lack of Insurance                      | <input type="checkbox"/> Lack of Information w.r.t. Legal Rights |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Lack of Infra-structure                | <input type="checkbox"/> Access to credit                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Heavy workload                         | <input type="checkbox"/> Sexual Harrassment                      |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Over dependence on male manual workers | <input type="checkbox"/> No respect from general public          |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Middle men, contractors                | <input type="checkbox"/> No respect from male co-workers         |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other. Please explain                  |  |
- 
-

GROUP

56. How long have you been involved in the group?

Months                       Years

57. What led you to join the group?

Needed extra money                       Need for leisure                       Need to do something for myself  
 Other reason (s). Please explain.

---

58. How has being in the group affected your life?

Gained skills                       Earned more money                       Made new friends  
 Other. Please explain.

---

59. How did the Group raise money to start the business?

---

---

60. How are the earnings of the Group shared?

Number of hours/days worked  
 Position in the Group  
 Members' needs  
 Number of items produced individually  
 Other. Please explain.

---

61. How do you get information to help you plan?

Extension Division                       Radio  
 Television                       Other. Please explain.

---

---

62. What services are provided to members (for major activity)?

Services Rendered	Yes	No	Institution	Rating
Credit				
Technical Assistance				
Information				
Farm Inputs/supplies				
Spraying				
Processing				
Marketing				
Storage				
Transport				
Training				
Social Services				
Access Roads				
Other				

Rating: E = Excellent; G = Good; F = Fair; N = Not G

63. Would you like to see changes in the type of assistance you have received?

Yes

No

64. If Yes, please explain what type of changes.

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**SECTION 4 : PLANNING, ORGANIZATION & MANAGEMENT**

65. How many days a week do you work in the Group?

2 Days  
or less

3 Days  
or less

4 Days  
or less

5 Days

66. What is your position in the Group?

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67. What tasks do you perform?

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68. What are your working hours? \_\_\_\_\_

69. What tools and equipment does the Group use or have access to?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

70. What types of herbicides or fertilizers does the Group use?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

71. How are the tasks of the group shared?

Position of Person/s  
responsible

Purchase of equipment/machinery	.....
Maintenance of equipment/machinery	.....
Production	.....
Financial control	.....
Book Keeping	.....
Marketing	.....

72. To whom do you report?  
\_\_\_\_\_

73. Who decides production quotas?

The leader       All Group Members       Production  
 Other. Please explain.

74. Who decides what to grow or produce?

The leader       All Group Members       Production

75. Who decides production schedule?

The leader       All Group Members       Production

76. Does the group hire labour? If yes, to perform what type of tasks.  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

77. How often does the Group meet?

Once a week

Once a month

Once every 2 months

Other. Please explain.

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78. Where does the Group hold regular meetings?

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79. Are decisions recorded?

Yes

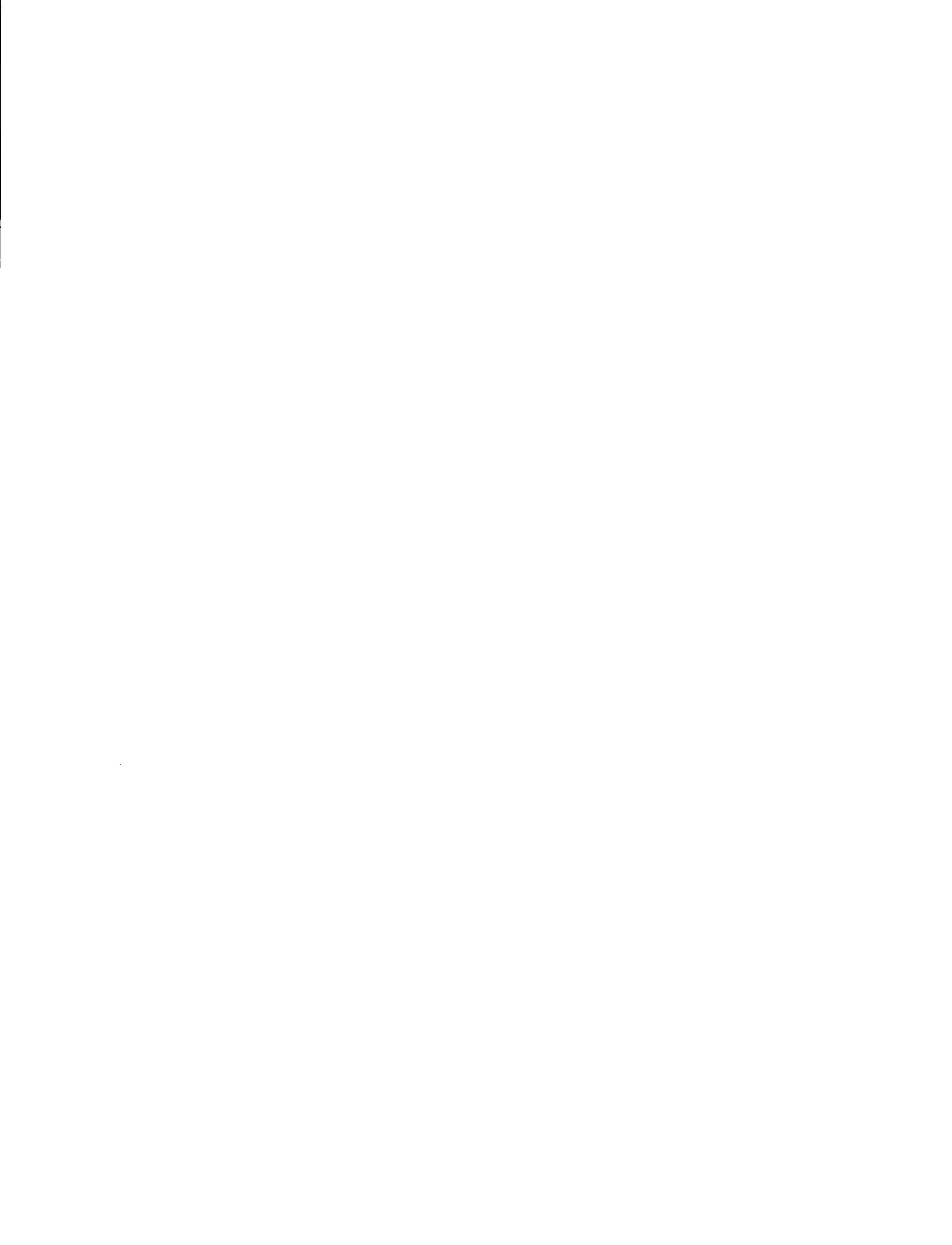
No

80. Is there anything we have not discussed that you will like to raise?

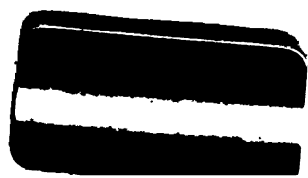
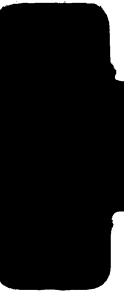
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